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THE END OF THE WORLD

W. P. Miller
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THE
LIFE OF PAUL JONES.

THE GREAT WALL

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LIFE OF PAUL JONES.

BY

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ABERDEEN:

PUBLISHED BY GEORGE CLARK AND SON.

LONDON:—W. BRITAIN, 54, PATERNOSTER ROW.

MDCCLXVIII.

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THE
LIFE OF PAUL JONES.

CHAPTER I.

Birth of Paul Jones. His parentage. His reputed Paternity; disproved. Situation of his Birth-place. His first Voyage to Virginia. Resides with his Brother. Enters the Slave-Trade. Abandons it from Humanity. Becomes Master of a West-Indiaman. Charged with Cruelty. The Charge proved to be unfounded. Charged with Smuggling. Death of his Brother. Abandons the Sea. Settles in Virginia. Takes Possession of his Brother's Estate. American Revolution. Offers his Services. His Motives. Is commissioned Lieutenant in the Navy. Appointed to the Alfred.

IN every pursuit of life, successful example serves to encourage the enterprising and stimulate the doubting. This is eminently the case in the career of arms. England will owe many a future naval hero to the memory of her Nelson. History also furnishes the example of heroes, who, with less extensive means and in a smaller sphere of action, have reflected honour on our own land. Among the foremost of these is Paul Jones, the events of whose life it is the object of the following pages to portray.

JOHN PAUL JONES was born on the 6th of July, 1747, on the estate of Arbigland, in the parish of Kirkbean, in Scotland. His father's family was originally from Fifeshire; but his grandfather removed to Leith, where he followed the business of a gardener. John Paul, the father of our hero, by whom the name of Jones was subsequently assumed, followed the same calling; on finishing his apprenticeship, he entered into the

employment of Mr. Craik, of Arbigland, for whom he laid out the garden much as it now exists, and planted the trees which still surround the mansion.

Soon after John Paul removed to Abrigand, he married Jean Macduff, daughter of a small farmer in the neighbouring parish of New Abbey, whose family had been established in that district from time immemorial. There were seven children from this marriage, the two youngest of whom died in infancy. Of those who survived, and came to years of maturity, the eldest was a boy named William, the next three were girls, called Elizabeth, Janet, and Mary Ann, and the youngest, John, the subject of the following biography. The long period of John Paul's service with Mr. Craik, and the interest which this gentleman is known to have always taken in the family of his dependent, after the death of the latter, are cited as conclusive evidence of his fidelity and worth.

In after times, when the name of Jones became the subject of romantic interest, an effort was made to assign to him what was thought a nobler origin, as the natural son of the Earl of Selkirk, or of Mr. Craik. As if the brand of illegitimacy, and the stigma on a mother's fame, would be more than compensated by an association with noble names, or a sinister descent from a Scottish earl or from a bonnet laird best known to fame by the fact of our hero being the son of his gardener, would be a more fitting introduction to a career of glory, than birth in honourable wedlock, of humble but honest parents. These calumnies, though intended for commendations, were falsified by the unsullied character of the wife of John Paul, and by the happiness of their union.

The birth place of our hero, and the home of his boyish days, are surrounded by scenes well suited to cherish an adventurous temperament, and create an inclination for the sea. Arbigland, the estate of Mr. Craik, occupies a jutting promontory of the Galloway shore, where the river Nith opens into the estuary of the Solway. The bank rises gradually from

the water, until it blends with the steep side of Criffel, a towering mountain of granite. While the Nith opens away to the north, and is bounded on the opposite side by the Dumfries shore, the upward course of the Solway may be traced eastward, to where it receives the waters of the Esk. Beyond and far seaward, stretches the Cumberland shore, while in the remote distance rise the majestic tops of Helvellyn, Skiddaw, and the Saddleback. The mansion of Arbigland stands about a quarter of a mile from the shore; and a little farther west, on the same gently sloping promontory, is the cottage in which young Paul was born. Both buildings are surrounded by dense masses of thrifty and umbrageous trees, many of them planted by Paul's father, openings through which render the houses visible from the Solway, and conspicuous objects to the passing mariner.*

* In the summer of 1831, Arbigland was visited by Lieutenant Alexander B. Pinkham, of the United States Navy. He found the cottage, in which Paul Jones was born, a perfect ruin, with only the stone walls, gables, and one chimney standing. Feeling a lively sense of gratitude for the services of Paul Jones to his country, he was painfully affected by this sight, and conceived a strong desire to contribute to the preservation of so interesting a memorial. Through a friend in Dumfries, he sought the acquaintance of Mr. Craik, and was kindly received by him, and readily obtained permission to do what he pleased with the cottage. An architect was employed to make an estimate of the probable expense, and Mr. Pinkham, with a liberality alike creditable to his patriotism and to his professional feelings, generously set apart from his savings, the sum of twenty-five sovereigns, which considerably exceeded the estimate. Mr. Craik also entered with spirit into the project, and caused the repairs to be prosecuted on a more extensive scale. The present condition of the house may be gathered from the following extract from the "Dumfries Courier," of the 30th of July, 1834, which contains an eloquent tribute to the generous enthusiasm of Mr. Pinkham. "The site of the cottage is a glade in a thriving wood, on the shores of Solway, with a green in front, fancifully railed in, and tastefully ornamented with evergreens, flowers, and flowering shrubs. Inside and out, it is a trim cottage, which may vie with similar buildings in England; and, as the walls are whitened annually with the finest lime, it is become a sort of landmark to nearly every sail that enters the Solway. The widow of a fisherman, who died under highly distressing circumstances, and who owes much to the humanity of Mr. Craik, tenants it rent-free, and will probably close her eyes under its honoured

Amid such scenes as these our hero first gazed abroad upon the world. As years gave him strength to wander, the enchanting views, which on all sides presented themselves, increased the temptation to ramble forth. Sometimes in company with the son of the proprietor, who was very recently still living, he explored the magnificent rocks and caverns, which impart such an air of grandeur to the seaward coast, and which, in more recent times, have furnished romance with scenes for its fictitious horrors; occasionally, they clomb the side of Criffel, to gaze abroad upon the majestic spectacle which it commands; or oftener strolled towards the protected bay of Carsethorn, at the foot of the lawn, where vessels not unfrequently took shelter from storms. As the boldness of the coast permitted vessels to approach it within a stone's throw, to avoid the tide, their masts, as they glided closely along, seemed blended with the trees through which they were seen; while the hoarse voices of the mariners, as the commands were given and responded to, resounded loudly through the avenues.

Thus early did our hero become familiar with the sights and language of the sea. Tradition relates, that the words of command, of which he early caught the sound, and perhaps imbibed something of the sense, he was wont to repeat among his playmates, mustered on the shores of some little inlet, each with his mimic bark, while he himself, perched on a rocky eminence, screeched forth the various orders, in imitation of the mariners. At other times, he passed his leisure alone, in similar amusements. Of those, however, who in their boyish days sail boats in brooks and horseponds, and sometimes by the sea-shore, there are many who get no farther in the sailor's career, for the taste is a very prevailing one; but, in the case of our hero, the inclination must have been very decided; for

roof; and, as this fact is generally known, almost every tar, in passing the spot doffs his bonnet in token of gratitude, and says, 'God bless the kind Lieutenant Pinkham!'

at the age of twelve years we find him, with the consent of his parents, crossing the Frith to Whitehaven, which lay opposite to his father's residence, and is the principal port of the Solway, in order to be bound apprentice to Mr. Younger, a merchant in the American trade.

Paul soon after went to sea, in the *Friendship*, of Whitehaven, Captain Benson, bound to the *Rappahannock*. While in port, he passed his time on shore, with his brother William, who had been some time settled and married at Fredericksburg, in Virginia, where he bore an honourable reputation, and is said to have eventually acquired a handsome fortune. While under his brother's roof, he improved the leisure afforded him, to continue his studies. He particularly devoted himself to navigation. The habit of studious application thus early formed, and unremittingly prosecuted both at sea and on shore, enabled him so far to overcome the disadvantage of an interrupted education, as always to enable him to appear equal to every situation in which he was placed, and subsequently to figure, without risk of an unfavourable comparison, in the highest circles of society. In this respect, his example may be usefully imitated by every youth who makes the sea his profession, whether in the navy or the merchant service; as it shows, that, however early one may be called from study to the active pursuits of life, leisure and opportunity for the improvement of the mind can never be wanting to those who are sedulous to profit by them.

The uniform good conduct of young Paul, and his extraordinary aptitude in acquiring a knowledge of all that is necessary to form an accomplished seaman, speedily recommended him to the favour and good-will of Mr. Younger; but, the affairs of this gentleman becoming soon after embarrassed, he had no other means of serving his apprentice, than by surrendering his indentures, and abandoning him, at a very early age, to his own guidance. It is a sufficient evidence of the favourable estimation which he had already won for himself,

that he was almost immediately employed as third mate of the King George slaver, of Whitehaven.

In 1766, being only nineteen years old, he was received on board the brigantine *Two Friends*, a slaver of Jamaica, in the important office of chief mate. This is conclusive evidence that he was already an accomplished seaman, and admitted to possess a firm and decided character. It is stated by the relations of John Paul, from whom the only account of this period of his life is to be derived, that, in abandoning this iniquitous traffic in human beings, he was impelled by an irresistible feeling of disgust at the cruelties and horrors with which it was necessarily attended. As the slave-trade was exceedingly profitable, having mainly contributed to build up the early fortunes of Bristol, Liverpool, and other considerable ports in England, where it is now held in becoming detestation, it is highly probable that the motives of young Paul, in relinquishing it, were those which his relatives ascribe to him, and for which he deserves the greater honour, from their being not only in opposition to his own interests, but so much in advance of the age and country in which he lived.

Giving up his situation on board the *Two Friends*, John Paul sailed from Jamaica for Scotland, in 1768, as a passenger in the brigantine *John*, of Kirkcudbright. Both the master and mate dying of fever on the voyage, Paul assumed the command, and arrived safely at Kirkcudbright. The owners of the vessel, feeling grateful to him for the preservation of their property, placed him on board of the *John*, as master and supercargo, and despatched him to the West Indies. He made a second voyage in the same vessel to the West Indies, and in the course of it became involved in a difficulty, in consequence of his having inflicted punishment on the carpenter of the *John*, Mungo Maxwell by name, by flogging him, in the customary manner, on the back. Maxwell had been guilty of mutinous and disrespectful conduct towards his commander, who made use of the power intrusted to him by the law for the necessary

preservation of discipline, to inflict a corresponding punishment. Maxwell was subsequently discharged from the John, and entered on board the Barcelona Packet, where he took a fever and died. Out of these circumstances a report originated, that Maxwell owed his death to the punishment inflicted by his commander.

This report, which is supposed to have been circulated by some rivals, who, in the little community of Kirkcudbright, envied the eminence as a shipmaster, to which Paul's intelligence and skill had raised him at such an early age, was fully set at rest by affidavits from persons in authority at Tobago, where the affair took place, and from the master of the vessel on board of which Maxwell died. Nor would it, indeed, have been thought worthy of refutation here, had it not been long after renewed on another scene of action, when Paul's own nephew was substituted for Maxwell, the carpenter; and the motive to detraction, instead of being rivalry for the command of the brigantine, and the desire to supplant him in the favour of its owner, had its origin in the wish to remove him from the command of a warlike fleet, conferred upon him by the favour of Catherine of Russia.

Paul's last visit to Scotland took place in 1771, where he seems to have been looked upon with some distrust, on account of his alleged cruelty to Maxwell. This affair is adverted to in one of the earliest of his letters extant, written two years afterward, during which interval he must have made other voyages. This letter is interesting as furnishing a transcript of his feelings and character at this early period. It is dated at London, on the 24th of September, 1772.

“ My dear Mother and Sisters,

“ I only arrived here last night, from the Grenadas. I have had but poor health during the voyage; and my success in it, not having equalled my first sanguine expectations, has added very much to the asperity of my misfortunes, and, I am well

assured, was the cause of my loss of health. I am now, however, better; and I trust Providence will soon put me in a way to get bread, and, which is by far my greatest happiness, be serviceable to my poor, but much valued friends. I am able to give no account of my future proceedings, as they depend upon circumstances which are not fully determined.

“I have enclosed you a copy of an affidavit made before Governor Young, by the judge of the court of Vice-admiralty of Tobago, by which you will see with how little reason my life has been thirsted after, and, which is much dearer to me, my honour, by maliciously loading me with obloquy and vile aspersions. I believe there are few who are hard-hearted enough to think I have not long since given the world every satisfaction in my power, being conscious of my innocence before Heaven, which will one day judge even my judges. I staked my honour, life, and fortune for six long months on the verdict of a British jury, notwithstanding I was sensible of the general prejudices which ran against me; but, after all, none of my accusers had the courage to confront me. Yet I am willing to convince the world, if reasons and facts will do it, that they have had no foundation for their harsh treatment. I mean to send Mr. Craik a copy properly proved, as his nice feelings will not, perhaps, be otherwise satisfied; in the mean time, if you please, you may show him that enclosed. His ungracious conduct to me, before I left Scotland, I have not yet been able to get the better off. Every person of feeling must think meanly of adding to the load of the afflicted. It is true I bore it with seeming unconcern, but Heaven can witness for me that I suffered the more on that account. But enough of this.”

The above letter shows a commendable interest in preserving the favourable opinion of those who had hitherto esteemed him, a jealousy of any imputation which was likely to sully it, and a spirit easily wounded by the suspicion of those from whom he expected confidence in his character, founded on a

long-continued observation of its worth. We may discover, also, in his solicitude about his relations, and his desire to be serviceable to his "poor but much valued friends," the traces of a gentle and affectionate spirit. This spirit, which never forsook him, stamps his heroism with the seal of genuineness. As he does not mention his father, he was no doubt dead; and his mother and sisters were probably dependent on their own exertions, and his occasional aid.

There is no means of ascertaining now the exact nature and motive of the ungracious treatment which he received from Mr. Craik. It was evidently occasioned by the calumnies of which he was the subject, on account of his punishment of Maxwell; and the acuteness with which he felt it was doubtless augmented, by his having always looked up to Mr. Craik for protection, as having been born on his estate, and passed his early years under his immediate observation. It is satisfactory to know that Mr. Craik was subsequently convinced that Paul had been calumniated.

On the completion of the second voyage of the *John*, her owners dissolved partnership, and sold her, giving to Paul an honourable discharge from their service, as a skilful navigator and supercargo. Subsequently to this period, Paul is said to have been engaged in the smuggling trade, extensively carried on at that time, between the Isle of Man and the shores of the Solway. The first entry of goods from England to the Isle of Man, after it was annexed to the crown, and the motive for smuggling taken away, stands in his name in the custom-house books of Douglas. This shows that he did trade to the island at one time, and may have given occasion to the report that he was engaged in smuggling to it, when his name became afterwards the subject of vilification. He, however, always denied the charge, and pronounced it calumnious and untrue.

Soon after, we find Paul in command of the *Betsey*, of London, in the West India trade. He continued in this trade for

some time, and seems, from his subsequent letters, to have been engaged at Tobago and Grenada, in some commercial speculations on his own account. In 1773, he went to Virginia, to arrange the affairs of his brother William, who had died intestate and without children. As this brother of Paul's is reported by all the biographers to have left a considerable fortune, and as Paul took charge of the estate on behalf of his family, it is difficult to account for the penury of which he soon after complains. About this time he conceived the project of abandoning the profession of the sea, and devoting himself to agriculture, by taking advantage of the opening which his brother's estate offered. It is probable that he commenced carrying his project into execution, for two years of his life at this period are unaccounted for by his biographers. It is to this period that he subsequently referred, in writing to the Countess of Selkirk, when he said: "Before this war began, I had at the early time of life withdrawn from the sea service, in favour of 'calm contemplation and poetic ease.' I have sacrificed not only my favourite scheme of life, but the softer affections of the heart, and my prospects of domestic happiness, and am ready to sacrifice my life also with cheerfulness, if that forfeiture would restore peace and good will among mankind."

There are no means now of ascertaining whether more was meant by this passage, than to please the ear of the lady to whom he was writing, by this array of soft words, and to present himself before her imagination as a species of knight-errant in the cause of liberty, abandoning the retirement that was dear to him, in order to do battle against tyrants and oppressors. The susceptibility to female attractions, which he afterwards showed, renders it likely that his feelings may have become interested in the course of a residence of two years on shore; but, beyond the passage which we have quoted, there is no clue to any entanglement in which our hero's heart may have been engaged during his residence in Virginia.—

His planting operations do not seem to have prospered, and his brother's fortune, if it ever existed, seems to have evaporated, or to have passed into other hands.

About this time the American Revolution broke out. It found Paul buried in the retirement of the country, and overwhelmed by penury. His feelings had doubtless been long before enlisted in favour of the country of which, during two years, he had considered himself a permanent inhabitant, and with which he must have identified himself from the moment that he settled in it, in the belief that it was for life. It was easy for him to feel a real interest in the cause of the colonies, and a real indignation at wrongs that were any thing but imaginary. The humbleness of his social position in Britain could have given him little sympathy with an aristocratic government, wielded by the privileged and the rich for their own interests, and in opposition to the interests of the class to which he belonged. He might as a conscientious Briton, have sided with his fellow subjects of the colonies, on the abstract question in which he believed them to be right, in their struggle against oppression. A colonist himself of two years' standing, attached moreover, to the country from the very early period when he had first visited it, then less than nineteen years old, his adhesion to the cause of America became not only justifiable, but obvious. There may, however, have existed a belief in his mind, that some of his family and friends at home might be led, by the bias of their feelings in a contrary direction, to disapprove of the step he had taken. Perhaps it was to spare the feelings of these, that he about this time assumed the name of Jones; for which he himself gives no reason, and which may well be accounted for in this way; or, what is perhaps more likely, he may have dreaded being recognised as a born Briton, in case of capture in arms against his native country.

Though the revolution found Jones in poverty, it does not necessarily follow that the offer, which he almost immediately made to Congress, to serve in the navy, was in any great mea-

sure due to his immediate want of profitable employment. There was little in the condition of our national finances, to excite the cupidity of office-seekers; and the privateers which were fitted out from the commencement of the revolution, to cruise against British commerce, afforded the prospect of much greater gain. Jones was probably impelled by far nobler motives; enthusiasm in the cause of America, a spirit of adventure, and a chivalrous longing for glory.

Fortunately Jones's tender of his services was accepted, and he was commissioned as a lieutenant in the navy, on the 22d of December, 1775, by the following resolution; "Resolved, that the following naval officers be appointed: E. Hopkins, Esquire, commander-in-chief of the fleet. Dudley Saltonstall, captain of the Alfred; Abraham Whipple, captain of the Columbus; Nicholas Biddle, captain of the Andrew Doria; John B. Hopkins, captain of the Cabot. First lieutenants, John Paul Jones, Rhodes Arnold,—Stansbury, Hersted Hacker, Jonathan Pitcher. Second lieutenants, Benjamin Seabury, Joseph Olney, Elisha Warner, Thomas Weaver.—McDougall. Third lieutenants, John Fanning, Ezekiel Burroughs, Daniel Vaughan." A resolution was also passed, for equipping thirteen frigates, and in the mean time a few vessels were purchased from the merchant service, and fitted out in the Delaware. They consisted of the Alfred, of thirty guns and three hundred men; Columbus, of twenty-eight guns and three hundred men; Andrew Doria, of sixteen guns and two hundred men; Cabot, of fourteen guns and two hundred men; Providence, of twelve guns; Hornet of ten; Wasp, of eight; and the despatch vessel Fly. Jones was appointed first lieutenant of the Alfred flag-ship; and, when the commander-in-chief came on board of her, Jones hoisted the American flag with his own hands, being the first time it was ever displayed. The exact appearance of this flag is not known, though it is believed to have represented a pine tree, with a rattlesnake coiled at its root, as if about to strike. Our present national standard

was not adopted until nearly two years later. Jones had been offered the command of the sloop Providence, which he declined; because as he says, he had never sailed in a sloop, and considered that rank the most acceptable, in which he, could be most useful in a moment of public calamity.

At this time Jones was in the twenty-ninth year of his age. His health was excellent, his figure light, graceful, and active, and he was capable of enduring great fatigue. His countenance was thoughtful, melancholy, and somewhat stern in its expression, and his air decidedly officer-like. He must necessarily have been a skilful and dashing seaman; for having raised himself by merit alone, without other friends than it procured him to the responsible situation of chief mate of a slaver at the early age of nineteen, and to the command of a merchant ship when barely twenty-one, his qualifications as a seaman must have been of a high order. His familiarity, too, with armed vessels, and the command of numerous crews, must have furnished him with all the information essential to the management and discipline of a man-of-war, whilst his natural lofty and chivalrous character eminently fitted him to assume at once the bearing of an officer. Could Jones's character have been penetrated and comprehended at the first, and he placed at the head of our navy, there can be little doubt that it would at once have assumed a tone and order to which it was long a stranger, and, while commending itself to the gratitude of the country by the achievement of glorious deeds, would have greatly accelerated the events which led to the recognition of our independence.

CHAPTER II.

Departure of First American Squadron. Destined against New Providence. Capture of the Island. Squadron returns. Engagement with the Glasgow. Jones appointed to command the Providence. Engaged in Convoying. Cruise to Nova Scotia. Narrow Escapes. Destruction of Fisheries. Commands a Squadron. Expedition against Cape Breton. Is superseded in his Rank. Deprived of Command. His Ideas on Naval Organization. Is ordered to proceed to Europe, to take Command of a heavy Ship. Letter from the Marine Committee. Appointed to the Ranger. Sails for France. Arrives at Nantes.

THIS first squadron fitted out during the revolutionary war was originally intended to act against Lord Dunmore, who was ravaging the shores of Virginia. The Delaware having, however, been frozen up before it could get to sea, its destination was changed; and, when it finally sailed, on the 17th of February, 1776, the course was shaped for the Bahama Islands. Jones's narrative of this expedition, contained in the journal drawn up by him for Louis the Sixteenth, and read by that unfortunate monarch, shortly before his execution, furnishes the best account of it extant. We shall accordingly follow it very closely. On the 1st of March, the squadron anchored at Abaco, carrying in with it two sloops belonging to New Providence, which it had just captured. From persons on board these vessels, information was obtained, that the fortifications of New Providence could easily be taken, and that they contained a large supply of munitions of war. An expedition was accordingly determined on against that island.

A plan was formed, to embark the marines on board the two sloops, keeping the men below until the vessels had anchored in the harbour, close to the forts, when the marines were to land, and take possession. As there was no force in the island capable of opposing them, the plan seemed likely to succeed; in which case all the public stores would have been secured, and a considerable contribution might have been obtained, as

a ransom for the town. But the whole squadron very injudiciously appeared off the harbour in the morning, instead of remaining out of sight till after the sloops had entered; the alarm being given, it was impossible for the sloops to attempt crossing the bar. The commander-in-chief proposed to land at the west end of the island, endeavour to march the marines up, and attack the town on the land side; but Jones, on being consulted, suggested that this could not be effected, as the islanders would have time to collect, and there was no fit anchorage for the squadron, nor road from that part of the island to the town. Jones had learned from the pilots that there was anchorage under a key, three leagues to windward of the harbour, and now acquainted the commander-in-chief with the fact. Hopkins having objected to confiding in the pilots, Jones personally undertook to carry the Alfred safely in. Taking the pilot to the fore-top-mast head, from whence every danger was clearly seen, he carried the squadron in without accident. The marines were immediately sent in by the east passage, with two vessels to cover their landing. The inhabitants immediately abandoned the forts. In the course of the night, the governor, finding he must surrender the island, embarked all the powder in two vessels, and sent them away. Jones says this was foreseen, and might have been prevented by sending the two brigantines to lie off the bar. The squadron entered the harbour of New Providence the following morning, being the 17th of March, and sailed the same day, carrying away near a hundred cannon, and other military stores, together with the governor.

In the night of the 6th of April, the squadron fell in with the British ship Glasgow, of twenty guns, off Block Island. After a running engagement of several hours, in which, notwithstanding the great collective superiority of our squadron, it suffered more than the enemy's single ship, the Glasgow got away, and the American squadron ran into New London. This action shows conclusively, not only the inefficient cha-

racter of these our first ships of war, taken from the merchant service and hastily equipped, but also the total unfitness of most of the commanders. On this occasion, Jones commanded the lower battery of the Alfred, and did his duty bravely. Had he been on the quarter-deck, which is now the station of the lieutenant, there can be no doubt that the Glasgow would have been captured.

One of the results of this inglorious action was the dismissal of Captain Hazard, of the Providence sloop, from the navy, for having failed to do his duty. Jones was ordered to take his place. The Providence mounted twelve long fours, and had a crew of seventy men. After being engaged for several months in convoying along the coast between Boston and the Delaware, in which Jones showed great coolness and seamanship in avoiding the enemy's cruisers, he was ordered out on a six weeks' cruise against the enemy's commerce. In this vessel Jones put to sea from the Delaware, on the 21st of August, and stood to the eastward. On the 1st of September, near the latitude of Bermuda, he chased a large ship, under the belief that it was a merchantman; on a nearer approach, the ship was seen to be a frigate, afterwards known to be the Solebay. After a chase of four hours by the wind, with a heavy sea, the Solebay had got within musket-shot, on the lee quarter of the Providence, keeping up a fire with her bow chasers, which Jones returned with his light guns, his colours being kept flying. Capture seemed inevitable; but Jones had no thought of yielding while a single expedient remained untried. He had gradually edged away, until he had brought the Solebay on his weather quarter, when, putting his helm suddenly up, he stood dead before the wind, setting all his light sails together. This manœuvre brought the vessels within pistol-shot: but before the Solebay could imitate it, the Providence had got a considerable start, and, sailing better than the Solebay with the wind aft, she escaped. Jones subsequently had an encounter with the British frigate Milford,

off the Isle of Sable, from which he escaped with equal success, and some little display of bravado. He was lying to, in order to allow his men to fish, when the Milford was first seen. He made sail to try his speed, and, finding he had the advantage, shortened sail again, to let the Milford approach near enough to waste her ammunition. The ship, as he expected, kept up her fire at a great distance, occasionally rounding to and discharging her broadside. "He excited my contempt so much," says Paul Jones, in his report of the cruise to the Marine Committee, "by his continued firing, at more than twice the proper distance, that when he rounded to, to give his broadside, I ordered my marine officer to return the salute with only a single musket." On the following day he entered the harbour of Canso, where he broke up the fishery, and the day after sailed for the Island of Madam. Here he made two descents, and destroyed the shipping. After these successful enterprises he returned to Newport, having made sixteen prizes, during a cruise of forty-seven days.

At Jones's suggestion, an expedition was now fitted out, and placed under his command, to capture the coal fleet and break up the fishery at Cape Breton, as well as to liberate about a hundred Americans, said to be confined at hard labour in the mines. Jones sailed on the 2d of November on this service, in the Alfred, having the Providence also under his command. Off Louisburg he took a brig, with a valuable cargo of dry goods, a scow laden with fish, and an armed ship called the Mellish, bound to Canada, with a cargo of clothing for the troops. The day after this capture, Jones says that his consort, the Providence, Captain Hacker, ran away from him, and left him to prosecute the expedition. He remarks that the runaway made shift to get into Newport a day or two before it was taken. Touching again at Canso, Jones destroyed a transport which was lying in the harbour, burnt a warehouse of oil, and buildings connected with the fisheries. Off Louisburg, during a fog, he captured three coal vessels,

which were under convoy, and, two days later, a Liverpool letter of marque. Finding the harbour adjacent to the coal mines frozen up, having one hundred and fifty prisoners on board the *Alfred*, and being, moreover, short of water and provisions, he abandoned the further prosecution of his enterprise, and shaped his course homeward, with five prizes under convoy. On the 7th of December, he again fell in with the *Milford*, on St. George's Bank, which gave chase to him, and captured one of his prizes. Jones got into Boston on the 15th of December. The *Mellish* arrived safely at Dartmouth, and the clothing with which she was laden was of incalculable use to the army under Washington, which was at this inclement season of the year in a very destitute condition.

The reward which awaited Jones on his arrival, for these faithful and important services, was, to be superseded in the command of the *Alfred*, by Captain Hinman, and be ordered back to the *Providence*. He was obliged not only to submit to this indignity, but to find himself placed eighteenth on the list of captains, whereas, in the original appointment of officers in the navy, he stood sixth from the head of the list; he being then the senior lieutenant of the navy. He subsequently received a commission as captain, dated the 8th of August, 1776, and, on the 10th day of October following, a new list of captains was made out, many on the list having been commissioned only on that day, and yet placed above him. This grievous injustice to Jones, which, notwithstanding the splendour of his subsequent achievements, was never redressed, was a perpetual source of annoyance to him. He was true to himself in never acquiescing in it, and returned, after a lapse of years, to bring forward arguments in favour of his seniority, which could not be answered, though they produced no effect. Long after the injustice had been done, he thus expresses himself on the subject. "I was superseded in favour of thirteen persons, two of whom were my junior lieutenants at the beginning; the rest were only commissioned into the Continental

navy on that day ; and, if they had any superior abilities, these were not then known, nor have since been proved. I am the oldest sea-officer, except Captain Whipple, on the journal and under the commission of Congress, remaining in the service. In the year 1775, when the navy was established, some of the gentlemen by whom I was superseded were applied to, to embark in the first expedition ; but they declined. Captain Whipple has often and lately told me, that they said to him, they did not choose to be hanged." He afterwards adds ; " It has been said, with a degree of contempt, by some of the gentlemen who came into the navy the second year of the war, that I was only a lieutenant at the beginning ; and pray what were they, when I was out on the ocean in that character ?" He seems, indeed, to have clung with the feeling of a true hero to the sacredness of that "rank" which, in his own noble and comprehensive expression, "opens the door to glory." It was a similar injustice to this, which, operating on the less honourable mind of Arnold, first excited that spirit of discontent, which, encouraged by other causes, at length ripened into treason.

Jones was superseded in the command of the Alfred on the 14th of January, 1777, by an order from Commodore Hopkins, the commander-in-chief of the navy, and in consequence, probably, of his remonstrances on this account and on account of being superseded in his rank he received an order from the vice-president of the Marine committee of Congress, dated the 5th of February following to undertake an expedition against Pensacola and other places, having under his command the Alfred, Columbus, Cabot, Hampden, and Providence. Owing, however, to some want of formality, or the irregularity with which every thing was conducted, and in some measure, perhaps, to the mean jealousy of the inefficient Commodore, he affected to disbelieve the reality of Jones's appointment, and refused to recognise it.

In order to elucidate this strange transaction, and to seek

redress of the injustice which had been done him with regard to his rank, Jones made a visit to Philadelphia. The only result of his exertions, with regard to the proposed expedition against Pensacola, was, that it was wholly abandoned; and, with regard to the restoration of his rank, his efforts were equally unavailing. It seemed that, both as to the command of the best ships, and to a favourable position on the navy list, the recommendation of the provinces, especially those in which the new frigates were building, in favour of citizens of influential families, was of far greater weight than the length, value, and priority of Jones's service. The circumstance of his having been born a foreigner probably operated against him. Still the Marine Committee did him justice to express regret, that they had not a good ship vacant for him to command; and, soon after, three ships were ordered to be purchased in Boston, and Jones was especially authorized, by a resolution of Congress, to choose the best of them, "until better provision could be made for him." He was now ordered to Boston, to make his selection and fit out his ship. Perhaps the Marine Committee were not unwilling, while doing tardy justice to Paul Jones, to be also rid of his importunities; for, in his strong desire to be employed, and in the road to honourable distinction, he followed every one in authority closely up, both by correspondence and by personal solicitation.

His letters of this period are full of enlightened views on the subject of naval organization; and such of them as were not adopted at the time, a mature experience has forced upon the country, as necessary measures of improvement. To Robert Morris, a member of the Marine Committee, and the early steadfast, and enlightened friend of Jones, he thus, at various times, addressed himself. "As the regulations of the navy are of the utmost consequence, you will not think it presumptuous, if, with the utmost diffidence, I venture to communicate to you such hints as, in my judgment, will promote its honour and good government. I could heartily wish

that every commissioned officer were to be previously examined ; for, to my certain knowledge, there are persons who have already crept into commission without abilities or fit qualifications ; I am myself far from desiring to be excused. From experience in ours, as well as from my former intimacy with many officers of note in the British navy, I am convinced that the parity of rank between sea and land or marine officers, is of more consequence to the harmony of the sea service than has generally been imagined. In the British establishment an admiral ranks with a general, a vice-admiral with a lieutenant-general, a rear-admiral with a major-general, a commodore with a brigadier-general, a captain with a colonel. a master and commander with a lieutenant-colonel, a lieutenant commanding with a major, and lieutenant in the navy with a captain of horse, foot, or marines, I propose not our enemies as an example for our general imitation ; yet, as their navy is the best regulated of any in the world, we must, in some degree, imitate them, and aim at such further improvement as may one day make ours vie with and exceed theirs."

With regard to the difficulty of recruiting seamen, many of whom had entered the army at the breaking out of the war, and more had engaged in privateering, he says ; " It is to the last degree distressing to contemplate the state and establishment of our navy. The common class of mankind are actuated by no nobler principle than that of self-interest ; this, and this alone, determines all adventurers in privateers ; the owners, as well as those whom they employ. And while this is the case, unless the private emolument of individuals in our navy is made superior to that in privateers, it can never become respectable ; it never will become formidable. And without a respectable navy—alas ! America. In the present critical situation of affairs, human wisdom can suggest no more than one infallible expedient ; enlist the seamen during pleasure, and give them all the prizes. What is the paltry

emolument of two thirds of prizes to the finances of this vast continent. If so poor a resource is essential to its independency, in sober sadness we are involved in a woful predicament, and our ruin is fast approaching. The situation of America is new in the annals of mankind; her affairs cry haste, and speed must answer them. Trifles, therefore, ought to be wholly disregarded, as being, in the old vulgar proverb, penny wise and pound foolish. If our enemies, with the best establishment and most formidable navy in the universe, have found it expedient to assign all prizes to the captors, how much more is such policy essential to our infant fleet; but I need use no arguments to convince you of the necessity of making the emoluments of our navy equal, if not superior, to theirs. We have had proof that a navy may be officered on almost any terms, but we are not so sure that these officers are equal to their commissions; nor will the Congress ever obtain such certainty, until they, in their wisdom, see proper to appoint a board of admiralty, competent to determine impartially the respective merits and abilities of their officers, and to superintend, regulate, and point out, all the motions and operations of the navy."

In another letter, also to Robert Morris, he says, "There are no officers more immediately wanted in the marine department, than commissioners of dock-yards, to superintend the building and outfits of all ships of war; with power to appoint deputies, to provide, and have in constant readiness, sufficient quantities of provisions, stores, and slops, so that the small number of ships we have may be constantly employed, and not continue idle, as they do at present. Besides all the advantages that would arise from such appointments, the saving which would accrue to the continent is worth attending to. Had such men been appointed at the first, the new ships might have been at sea long ago. The difficulty now lies in finding men who are deserving, and who are fitly qualified for an office of such importance."

These wise suggestions of Jones are the more creditable to him, from having been made when he was as yet a naval officer of little more than a year's standing. They are characterized throughout by a sound and discriminating judgment and practical good sense. The best commendation that can be passed upon them is the fact, that Congress soon after adopted most of them, by establishing a parity of rank between the navy and army, on the basis proposed by Jones, in which provision was made for the assimilated rank of admirals, vice-admirals, and rear-admirals, though, unfortunately for the efficiency of the service, no appointments to fill those grades have ever been made; and by increasing the portion of prizes to be assigned to captors, so as to give them one half of merchantmen, transports, and store-ships, and the whole value of men-of-war and privateers, taken from the enemy. The other suggestions of Jones, with regard to the organization of dock-yards, the examination of officers before promotion, and the increase of the term of enlistment of seamen, have gradually been acted upon: and the only matter of regret is, that these things should have been so long delayed.

About the same time, Paul Jones addressed a letter to a former friend in the island of Tobago, which furnishes some insight into his private affairs, and is interesting, as it affords a gratifying evidence of his affectionate regard for his family. He forwarded a power of attorney to his friend, and a statement of some unsettled accounts which he had left, when he removed to Virginia, earnestly requesting him to transmit whatever balance should remain on closing his accounts, (and he apprehended there would be a considerable one,) to his mother in Scotland, for her support, and that of some of her orphan grand-children.

While Paul Jones was waiting at Boston, for the purchase of the three ships of which he was to have his choice, he received an honourable proof of the favourable opinion of Congress, in being ordered to proceed to France in the French merchant

ship *Amphitrite*, and to carry out officers and seamen, in order to take command of a heavy ship, to be purchased for him on his arrival in Europe. The following letter from the Marine Committee of Congress, to the American Commissioners at Paris, was transmitted to Jones, together with his order to take passage in the *Amphitrite*.

“Philidelphia, 9 May, 1777.

“Honourable Gentlemen,

“This letter is intended to be delivered to you by Paul Jones Esquire, an active and brave commander in our navy, who has already performed signal services in vessels of little force; and, in reward for his zeal, we have directed him to go on board the *Amphitrite*, a French ship of twenty guns, that brought in a valuable cargo of stores from Messrs. Hortalez & Co.,* and with her to repair to France. He takes with him his commission, and some officers and men, so that we hope he will, under that sanction, make some good prizes with the *Amphitrite*; but our design of sending them is, with the approbation of Congress, that you may purchase one of those fine frigates that Mr. Deane writes us you can get, and invest him with the command thereof as soon as possible. We hope you may not delay this business one moment, but purchase, in such port or place in Europe as it can be done with most convenience and despatch, a fine, fast sailing frigate, or larger ship. Direct Captain Jones where he must repair to, and he will take with him his officers and men towards manning her. You will assign him some good house or agent, to supply him with everything necessary to get the ship speedily and well equipped and manned; somebody that will bestir himself vigorously in the business, and never quit it until it is accomplished.

“If you have any plan or service to be performed in Europe by such a ship, that you think will be more for the interest

* A fictitious house, under the name of which the Commissioners sent out military stores.

and honour of the States, than sending her out directly, Captain Jones is instructed to obey your orders ; and, to save repetition, let him lay before you the instructions we have given him, and furnish you with a copy thereof. You can then judge what will be necessary for you to direct him in ; and whatever you do will be approved, as it will undoubtedly tend to promote the public service of this country.

“ You see by this step, how much dependence Congress places in your advices : and you must make it a point not to disappoint Captain Jones’s wishes and expectations on this occasion.”

Owing to some difficulty made by the commander of the *Amphitrite*, with regard to receiving Jones and his officers and men on board of his ship, this arrangement fell through ; and, in consequence, Congress, on the 14th of June, invested Jones with the command of the *Ranger*, a new ship, built for the service at Portsmouth. His appointment was contained in the following resolutions. “ Resolved, that the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white ; that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation. Resolved, that Captain John Paul Jones be appointed to command the ship *Ranger*. Resolved that William Whipple, Esquire, member of Congress and of the Marine Committee, John Langdon, Esquire, Continental agent, and the said John Paul Jones, be authorized to appoint lieutenants and other commissioned and warrant officers, necessary for the said ship ; and that blank commissions and warrants be sent them, to be filled up with the names of the persons they appoint, returns whereof to be made to the navy board in the eastern department.” Jones immediately commissioned the *Ranger* at Portsmouth, and no doubt was the first to hoist the new flag of the republic on board that ship, as he did the original one, with his own hands, on board the *Alfred*, not quite two years before.

Though great diligence was used by Jones in equipping the

Ranger for sea, she was not ready to proceed on her destination, until the middle of October. Twenty-six guns had been provided for the ship, but Jones exercised great judgment in mounting only eighteen on her, as he considered, from her size and slight construction, that she would be more serviceable with eighteen than with a greater number. The following extract from his letter to the Marine Committee, dated on the 29th of October, 1777, gives a lively idea of the difficulties he had to contend with, and of the poverty of our resources. "With all my industry I could not get the single suit of sails completed until the 20th current. Since that time the winds and weather have laid me under the necessity of continuing in port. At this time it blows a very heavy gale from the north-east. The ship with difficulty rides it out, with yards and topmasts struck, and whole cables ahead. When it clears up, I expect the wind from the northwest, and shall not fail to embrace it, although I have not now a spare sail, nor materials to make one. Some of those I have are made of hissings. I never before had so disagreeable service to perform, as that which I have now accomplished, and of which another will claim the credit as well as the profit. However, in doing my utmost, I am sensible that I have done no more than my duty."

Thus imperfectly equipped, having a very good crew, but "only thirty gallons of rum," as Jones laments, for them to drink on the passage, the Ranger sailed from Portsmouth on the 1st of November, 1777. The ship proved exceedingly crank, and Jones, no doubt, had occasion to congratulate himself on his judicious forethought in leaving eight of his guns on shore. He made two prizes on his passage, chased a fleet of ten sail, under a strong convoy, without being able to cut any of them out, and arrived safely at Nantes, on the 2nd of December, 1777.

He immediately forwarded to the American Commissioners at Paris, the letter from the Marine Committee, of which he

was the bearer, and expressed at the same time his great desire to render useful services to the American cause. He gave it as an opinion he had long entertained, that our ships should be employed singly or in small squadrons, on detached services, remote from each other. The field of cruising being thus extended, and perfect secrecy being observed with regard to our projects, he gave it as his opinion, that the enemy had many important places in such a defenceless state, that they might easily be surprised and taken by a small force. "We cannot," he says, "yet fight their navy; as their number and force are so far superior to ours. Therefore it seems to be our most natural province, to surprise their defenceless places, and thereby divert their attention, and draw it from our own coasts."

These suggestions contained the plan of annoyance, which was eventually adopted in Paul Jones's cruises in the European seas. While waiting for the instructions of the Commissioners, he employed himself in shortening the lower masts of the *Ranger*, and in altering the stowage of her ballast, so as to increase her stability.

CHAPTER III.

Jones visits Paris. Transfer of the *Indien* to France. Submits a Plan for employing the French Fleet. Return to Nantes. Sails for Brest. Receives the first Salute abroad to the American Flag. Projects a Cruise. Sails from Brest. Enters the Irish Channel. Makes various Prizes. Appears off *Carrikerfergus*. Bold Attempt to board the *Drake*, at Anchor. Descent on *Whitehaven*: Capture of the Forts. Consternation of the Inhabitants. Return to the *Ranger*. Propriety of the *Enterprise*, generally—as undertaken by Jones. Descent on *St. Mary's Isle*. Removal of Lord *Selkirk's* Plate. Alarm at *Kirkeudbright*. Second Appearance off *Garrickfergus*. Engagement with the *Drake*. Arrest of Lieutenant *Simpson*. Arrival at Brest. Letter to Lady *Selkirk*. Restoration of the Plate.

ON the receipt of Paul Jones's letter, the American Commissioners invited him to repair to Paris, for the purpose of consulting with them on the subject of his future employment. On his arrival there, he found that he should be obliged to relinquish the flattering prospect with which he had come to Europe, of being placed in command of the fine frigate *Indien*, then building at Amsterdam for the service of Congress. Owing to the opposition made to the equipment of this ship by the British minister at the Hague, who had discovered the secret of her ownership and destination, the Commissioners had sold her to France. This was a real misfortune to America, as well as to Jones. He submitted, however, to the disappointment, with as good a grace as his irritability would permit, and returned to Nantes, for the purpose of completing the equipment of the *Ranger*, and making a cruise in her for the annoyance of the British coasts, in conformity with the suggestion contained in his letter to the Commissioners.

It is probable, that while in Paris, he was also consulted, at the request of the French ministry, with regard to the employment of the Count *D'Estaing's* fleet, France being then on the eve of commencing hostilities against England. At any rate, Jones submitted a written plan for the employment of

that fleet, in a letter to Mr. Silas Deane, one of the Commissioners, immediately after his return from Paris to Nantes; which plan he repeatedly asserts to have been the one that was adopted. In his memoir to the King of France, whose recollection must have furnished him with the means of detecting any mistatement with regard to a matter with which he must necessarily have been acquainted, Jones distinctly says, while speaking of himself in the third person; "On receiving agreeable news of affairs in America, and the position of Lord Howe's fleet, he wrote a letter to Mr. Deane, one of the Commissioners of Congress, at Paris, containing the plan that was adopted; which would have ended the war, had it been immediately pursued." In a subsequent letter to the French Minister of Marine, who must also have been familiar with the facts, he thus repeats the claim; "Had Count D'Estaing arrived in the Delaware a few days sooner, he might have made a most glorious and easy conquest. Many successful projects may be adopted from the hints which I had the honour to draw up; and, if I can still furnish more, or execute any of those already furnished, so as to distress and humble the common enemy, it will afford me the truest pleasure." The plan for the employment of D'Estaing proposed that he should fall suddenly upon the British fleet under Lord Howe, which was of inferior force, and destroy it, or at least block it up in the Delaware, together with the transports and victuallers under its convoy. Shortly before D'Estaing appeared, Lord Howe succeeded in placing the fleet in security. Nothing is more likely than that Jones should indeed have been the author of this project. He was familiar with the situation of affairs in America, from which he had just arrived, and was moreover eminently fitted by his qualities of mind and character to shape out a bold and ingenious plan of naval enterprise.*

* See note at the end.

From Nantes, Jones proceeded in the *Ranger* to Quiberon bay, giving convoy to some American vessels which were desirous of joining the convoy of the French fleet, commanded by Admiral La Motte Piquet, who had been ordered to keep the coast of France clear of British cruisers. From this admiral he succeeded, after some correspondence and the exhibition of considerable address, in obtaining the promise of having his salute returned. Writing to the Marine Committee, on the 22d of February, 1778, he thus speaks of this affair.

“I am happy in having it in my power to congratulate you on my having seen the American flag, for the first time, recognised in the fullest, and completest manner, by the flag of France. I was off their bay the 13th instant, and sent my boat in the next day, to know if the admiral would return my salute. He answered, that he would return to me, as the senior American Continental officer in Europe, the same salute which he was authorized by his Court 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. 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 had really told the truth, I was induced to accept of his offer, the more so, as it was in fact an acknowledgment of American independence. The wind being contrary and blowing hard, it was after sunset before the *Ranger* got near enough to salute La Motte Piquet with thirteen guns, which he returned with nine. However, to put the matter beyond a doubt, I did not suffer the *Independence* to salute till next morning, when I sent the admiral word that I would sail through his fleet in the brig, and would salute him in open day. He was exceedingly pleased, and he returned the compliment also with nine guns.”

This brig *Independence* was probably a privateer, which

had placed itself temporarily under Jones's orders. His sailing in her through the French fleet was a very characteristic trait. It was his plan to do every thing with proper ceremony. Nor was this interchange of courtesy a matter of inferior importance at that time; though now America, republic though she be, salutes no foreign flag, without receiving gun for gun. Paul Jones had thus the singular honour of being the first to hoist the original flag of liberty on board the *Alfred*, first, probably, to hoist the flag, which, after more than half a century, still waves in pride as our national emblem, and first to claim for it from foreigners the courtesy due to a sovereign state.

In the sequel of the letter last quoted, Jones gives us the following insight into his views. "I have in contemplation several enterprises of some importance. When an enemy thinks a design against him improbable, he can always be surprised and attacked with advantage. It is true, I must run great risk; but no gallant action was ever performed without danger. Therefore, though I cannot insure success, I will endeavour to deserve it." In fulfilment of these views, he put to sea in the *Ranger* from Brest, on the 10th of April. On the 14th he took a brigantine between Scilly and Cape Clear. She had a cargo of flax-seed, and was bound to Ireland. Having burned her, he ran into the Irish Channel. On the 17th he took a ship bound from London to Dublin, with a cargo of porter and other goods; this ship he manned and ordered to Brest. On the following evening, the *Ranger* was off the Isle of man. The wind was fair for Whitehaven, and Jones determined to stand for that place, in order to execute a project, which he had formed, to attack the town and burn the shipping, and thus, as he said, "to put an end, by one good fire, in England, of shipping, to all the burnings in America." At ten o'clock he was off the harbour, and had his boats ready to start; but, before they had left the ship, the wind shifted and commenced blowing fresh directly on shore,

accompanied by a heavy sea. The expedition was necessarily abandoned for the present, and Jones was even obliged to carry sail heavily on his ship, in order to keep her clear of the land.

On the morning of the 19th, being off the Mull of Galloway, he learned from a schooner, which he captured and sunk, that there were ten or twelve sail of merchantmen, besides a king's tender with a number of impressed seamen on board, at anchor in Lochvyau, on the Scotch coast. He at once determined to enter and capture them, as the wind was fair both to enter and leave the loch; but, as he was about to put his project into execution, the wind shifted suddenly in a squall, and blew directly in, with an appearance of bad weather, compelling him to give up the enterprise.

On the 20th, the Ranger sunk a sloop, and on the following day, being off Carrickfergus, a fishing boat boarded her, from the crew of which Jones learned that a ship which he saw at anchor in Belfast Loch, was the sloop of war Drake, of twenty guns. Jones immediately conceived the bold project of running into the harbour, and overlaying her cable, so as to drop foul of her bow, having her decks open to the Ranger's musketry, to cover the boarders. As the night came on, the ship was cleared for action, the grapnels were triced up to the yard-arms, ready for falling on the enemy's decks, to secure her in case she should cut her cable, and the boarders prepared for service. One of the fishermen was compelled to act as pilot, and all lights were carefully concealed, to prevent the discovery of the Ranger's guns, and other evidences of her warlike character and intentions. It blew fresh, and, as the ship rounded to on the Drake's bow, the anchor was not let go at the order, but hung for a minute or two. During this interval, the Ranger drifted by the Drake, and brought up on her quarter, at half a cable's length distance, instead of on her bow. The enterprise of course failed; but, as every thing had been managed quietly, and as if the Ranger had been a merchant-

man, no alarm was given on board of the Drake. Moreover, his Majesty's ships were not perhaps prepared for such hardihood in their own ports. Jones determined, therefore, to cut immediately, making it appear as if his cable had parted, and, after making a stretch or two out of the loch, to return and repeat his hardy enterprise. The wind, however, which so often interferes with projects of this nature, freshened rapidly, and soon blew a gale, so that the Ranger was barely able, by carrying a press of sail, to work out of the loch. The gale continuing afterwards to increase, and bringing on a heavy sea, Jones took shelter under the south coast of Scotland.

The following morning, being the 22d, was fair and mild, though the whole extent of the three kingdoms was seen to be covered with snow. Paul Jones determined now to make another effort to accomplish his projected attack on Whitehaven. The lightness of the wind, however, prevented him from approaching the town so as to leave his ship at so early an hour as he had wished. It was only at midnight that he got away from the Ranger with two boats, provided with combustibles, and containing thirty one officers and men, all of them being volunteers. He commanded the first boat himself, and placed the other under the orders of Lieutenant Wallingsford. The tide was running ebb; so that, by the time the boats reached the outer pier, the day had dawned. Nevertheless, Jones was determined not to abandon the enterprise. He therefore directed Lieutenant Wallingsford to set fire to the ships on the north side of the harbour, while he charged himself with the task of destroying the rest.

Jones estimated the number of ships on the north side of the port to amount to from seventy to one hundred large ships, whilst as many as one hundred and fifty others, chiefly of from two to four hundred tons, lay on the other side. The two docks were only divided from each other by a stone pier. All the other ships were aground, and there was no water alongside of them, to facilitate extinguishing the flames. The

port was commanded by a couple of batteries, mounting thirty pieces of artillery. Paul Jones personally charged himself with the task of securing these; he scaled the breastwork of that which stood nearest to the pier, made prisoners of the soldiers whom he found, the sentry included, very snug in the guard-house, and spiked the guns; and, having posted sentinels and left the bulk of his party to fire the shipping, he went, attended by a single follower, to a fort which lay a quarter of a mile off, the guns of which he also spiked. His object in doing this was to secure a harmless retreat for his party, when the inhabitants should awake from their panic.

As Paul Jones returned towards the port, he was disappointed at not seeing the fire from the ships on the north side of the port. At the pier Jones met Lieutenant Wallingsford who had returned without setting fire to the ships in the north basin. He stated, that his light had gone out as he was about to use it; and seemed, moreover, to dislike the service on which he had been sent. He said, that "nothing could be gained by burning poor people's property." To Jones's great annoyance, he found that his own immediate party, which he had left with directions to fire the shipping in the south basin, had been equally inactive during his absence. In consequence of the late hour to which the expedition had been delayed, their candles had also burnt out. The day, moreover, was beginning to dawn, and the inhabitants to assemble in alarm. Still, Jones was unwilling to depart without effecting any thing, after all the most serious difficulties had been overcome. He again posted the sentinels which he had called in to be ready to depart, obtained a light from a neighbouring house, and deliberately kindled a fire in the steerage of a large ship, which was surrounded by many others, all lying high and dry ashore.

The lateness of the hour, for the sun had now risen, and the assembling of the startled inhabitants, left no time to kindle fires in other ships, but Paul Jones was determined that the

one which he had lighted, should not be easily extinguished. He caused search to be made among the vessels for a barrel of tar, which he emptied into the flames, which soon blazed up the hatchway and spread to the spars and rigging. The inhabitants began now to appear in great numbers, and, attracted by the flames, to run towards the pier. Paul Jones stood between them and the ship on fire, with a pistol in his hand, and ordered them to retire, which he says they did, with precipitation. The sun was now an hour high, and it became necessary to bring this daring enterprise to a close. There being no spare space in the boats, the captured soldiers were released, with the exception of three, whom Jones said he "brought away for a sample," and the party re-embarked. Jones stood for a moment alone on the pier, contemplating with no little pride and exultation the terror and awe with which he had impressed the inhabitants of this considerable town, who stood gazing on him, with stupid and panic-stricken wonder, from the surrounding eminences.

At length he entered his boat, and rowed quietly out of the harbour. The inhabitants were presently seen running in vast numbers to their forts, and of course found no means of venting their rage, to the great amusement of Jones, who had himself spiked the guns. Not long after, however, they began to fire, from what Jones supposed to be some ship guns. But the shot fell short, and the direction was so ridiculously wild, that the sailors amused themselves by firing back with their pistols. Jones now discovered that one of his men had been left behind, and expressed a fear in his report, that he had fallen into the hands of the enemy. It afterwards appeared, that this man, who was borne on the Ranger's books as David Smith, but was known in Whitehaven as David Freeman, had not only voluntarily abandoned his party, but gave information, in various houses in the neighbourhood of the piers, of the character and object of the expedition. In consequence of the statement made by this man, whom the newspapers of

the day pronounced the saviour of Whitehaven, the inhabitants so far recovered their presence of mind, as to rally for the preservation of the shipping, of which only the ship fired by Paul Jones was probably destroyed. He was sadly disappointed at the result, after his plan had been so well matured, and had so far succeeded. He was well justified in drawing the conclusion, in his written report of what had happened, that, if he had got on shore a few hours sooner, his success would have been complete; that not a single ship out of more than two hundred, nor even the town itself, could have probably escaped. He consoled himself as best he could, with the reflection, that enough had been done to show the English, "that not all their boasted navy could protect their own coasts, and that the scenes of distress, which they have occasioned in America, might soon be brought home to their own doors." Even with the disadvantage of having arrived at the pier of Whitehaven at so late an hour, Jones was under the impression that he should still have succeeded, but for the scruples of the "wise officer," to whom he had intrusted the service of firing the ships in the north basin, and who had entertained him with the ill-timed moralizing as to the inexpediency of "burning poor people's property." As poor Wallingsford, the "wise officer" alluded to, fell in battle the following day, it would have been generous in Jones to have spared his sarcasm, and, while dispensing merited censure for disobedience of orders, to have stated that Wallingsford's fault was nobly redeemed by his dying in defence of his country. It is creditable to Jones humanity, that he mentions, as a gratifying circumstance, that in the course of this well contrived and most coolly executed service, not one of his own men or of the enemy was either killed or wounded.

Few naval enterprises exhibit a character of greater daring and originality than this descent on Whitehaven. The hardihood with which it was conceived, and the imperturbable coolness with which it was executed, cannot be surpassed.

As to the propriety of attempting to destroy such an amount of private property, it was amply justified, as it was provoked and occasioned, by the burnings and devastations of the British on our own coasts. Still the author cannot coincide with such of his countrymen as have commended Jones for volunteering to be the agent of this retribution. The scheme was wholly his own; he selected the scene, choosing for the purpose the familiar haunts of his boyhood and maturer years. Had he succeeded in his wish of destroying the whole shipping of the port of Whitehaven, out of which he had so long sailed, where he had obtained promotion, and necessarily received kindness, he must have involved shipmates, employers, and benefactors in one common ruin. He had a mother and sisters living in security in the neighbourhood, whose position must have been prejudiced by such wholesale desolation, perpetrated by a son and brother. It cannot be forgotten, that Paul Jones had continued his associations with his home and family, until long after he arrived at manhood; his connexion with America was only of five years' standing, whilst it was less than three since he took up arms in behalf of the colonies. Under these circumstances, his boasted "principles of philanthropy," and desire to support "the dignity of human nature," hardly justify such rancorous hatred of his native land. It has been said, that Paul Jones alone, on account of his familiarity with the localities, could have attempted this project with any prospect of success. If so, it had better been omitted altogether.

On reaching the Ranger, Jones stood over to the Scotch shore, every foot of which in this neighbourhood had been familiar to him from his earliest years. He had conceived the project of endeavouring to get possession of the person of the Earl of Selkirk, who had an estate near Kirkcudbright, on a beautiful wooded promontory, which makes out into the river Dee, about a mile below the town, and is known as St. Mary's Isle. Jones thought that the possession of this nobleman's person might be rendered useful in an exchange for some dis-

tinguished American prisoner, and in bringing about a general system of exchanges, to which England had hitherto shown a reluctance.

With this motive Jones now stood boldly into Kirkeudbright bay, and started with a single boat on this extraordinary errand. Landing on St. Mary's Isle, he was informed by some men whom he met as he was proceeding towards the house, that Lord Selkirk was absent from home. According to his own account, he was about to return to his boat, on hearing this information, but some of his officers expressed a great desire to take away the family plate, in conformity with the universal custom of the English on our coast. Jones seems to have yielded reluctantly to the discontented muttering of his officers, in giving them permission to seize the plate. He did not like the errand, as he did not go upon it himself; and he charged Simpson, his first lieutenant, who accompanied him on this occasion, to perform the service with all possible delicacy. Paul Jones remained on the shore, while Simpson went to the house with the boat's crew, armed with cultasses and pistols. On reaching the house, they were taken for a press gang, or the crew of a revenue cutter. Lady Selkirk, who happened to be at home, sent a servant to ask their business and offer them refreshment. The first thing, that excited suspicion, was the officers' rejecting the whiskey which was offered to them, and calling for wine. Simpson now went into the house, accompanied by another officer, and stated his errand to Lady Selkirk. The breakfast things were not yet removed, and the teapot was emptied and sent away, together with the rest of the plate, which the butler busied himself in collecting. No violence or incivility was offered to any one, and the party, having fulfilled its errand, withdrew. Meanwhile Paul Jones strolled under the noble oaks and chestnuts, that adorn St. Mary's Isle, with reflections, which his sudden return among scenes so attractive, where every object was so familiar to him, must have strangely blended with exultation

and with pain. That he did not approve of the abstraction of this silver, was afterwards made evident by the earnestness with which he laboured for its restoration. When the party arrived at the boat, he regained his ship, and stood out into the channel.

As for the worthy burghers of Kirkcudbright, when they heard of the outrage that had been perpetrated in their immediate neighbourhood, nothing could equal their consternation. The town affords no eminence from which a view of the enemy could be obtained, and the danger became all the more terrifying from being unseen. The people ran hither and thither in search of a place of safety for themselves and their valuables, and were completely at their wits' end. After the consternation had been abated by the arrival of intelligence of the disappearance of the cruiser, the more heroic seized upon a venerable twenty-four pounder, and dragged it down to the beach of St. Mary's Isle. There they watched during the night. When the day dawned, the valiant burghers were overwhelmed with mortification at discovering, that they had been venting their prowess upon an invulnerable rock which stood at no great distance from the land.

On the morning of the 24th of April, Paul Jones was again off Carrickfergus, on the look-out for the Drake, which he had the extreme satisfaction to see coming out of the harbour. The wind being light, the Drake's boat was sent out ahead to obtain information concerning the Ranger, intelligence of her proceedings at Whitehaven and Kirkcudbright having already been received at Belfast. The Ranger's stern was kept towards the boat, so as to conceal her character, which so far succeeded, that the boat came within hail without suspicion. On reaching the Ranger's deck, the officer of the boat found himself a prisoner. Paul Jones now learned, that, intelligence having been received the evening before from Whitehaven of the Ranger's proceedings, the Drake was coming in pursuit of her, with a large number of volunteers on board.

making her crew amount in all to one hundred and sixty men. Alarm smokes were now seen rising from various points, on both sides of the Channel.

The Drake had to encounter a strong tide setting into Belfast Lough, and worked out very slowly. She was accompanied by five small vessels, filled with people, who were desirous of beholding the approaching engagement. As they got nearer the Ranger, and the day was closing, they wisely put back without satisfying their curiosity. To bring the matter sooner to an issue, the Ranger ran down towards her antagonist, and hauling up her courses, lay to with her main-topsail to her mast. At length the Drake made her last tack, and stretched out of the lough. The Ranger now filled away, and ran out into mid-channel, followed by the Drake, which now came within hail. Both ships wore their national colours. As the Drake came up astern of the Ranger, she hailed and asked what ship it was. Paul Jones directed his sailing-master to reply, "The American Continental ship Ranger! we are waiting for you! come on!" At this time the sun was little more than an hour high.

Paul Jones now ordered his helm put up, and sheering across the enemy's bow, poured in the first broadside; the fire was returned with equal energy, so soon as the enemy could imitate the manœuvre, and, as the two ships ran broadside and broadside, was kept up obstinately at close quarters for more than an hour, at the end of which time the Drake was very much cut up. Her fore and main-topsail ties were shot away, and the yards came down on the cap; the foretop-gallant yard and mizzen gaff hung up and down the masts, her ensign towing overboard astern from the gaff, and her jib-stay was shot away so that the sail hung in the water. Her sails and rigging were much cut up, many of her spars badly wounded, and her hull much shattered. When the action had continued an hour and four minutes, the Captain of the Drake received a musket ball in his head, immediately after which

the crew called for quarter, and the action ceased. The Drake was found to have lost, in killed and wounded, no fewer than forty-two of her company. Captain Burden, her commander, lived, and continued sensible, a few moments after the Drake was boarded. The first lieutenant was also severely wounded, and died on the second day after the action. Both were subsequently buried with the honours of war. The loss of the Ranger was comparatively very inconsiderable, Lieutenant Wallingsford and one seaman being killed, and six wounded, one of whom afterwards died. The weather being moderate during the night and following day, the business of repairing damages was soon accomplished. Among the trophies of the victory was the anchor which the Ranger had dropped in Belfast Lough, and which the Drake had taken up. In estimating the brilliancy of this victory, it is necessary to take into consideration not only that the Drake was of superior force to the Ranger by two guns, and in a still greater proportion with regard to her crew, but also that the Drake belonged to a regularly established navy, whose ships were everywhere accustomed to conquer, whilst the equipping of the Ranger was among the earliest efforts of a new and imperfectly organized service. The result was eminently due to the skill and courage of Jones, and his inflexible determination to conquer. This was first, though unsuccessfully, made manifest, in the dashing attempt to carry the Drake while at anchor in Belfast Lough, than which few naval conceptions could be more brilliant. It only failed through the anchor's not being let go at the proper instant. The result, however, was but the more glorious to the American arms; as the Drake was subsequently compelled to yield after a sanguinary engagement, which she sought with every possible preparation and confidence of victory, in the presence, too, of the three kingdoms.

Paul Jones had intended returning out of the Irish Sea by St. George's Channel; but, the wind being ahead to run in

that direction, he bore up and ran to the northward. In passing the Lough of Belfast he released the fishermen, whom he had detained on his first appearance off the Lough five days before. As their boat had been swamped and lost while in tow of the Ranger, he gave them another to reach the shore in, and money to replace whatever they had lost. He also sent with them two infirm persons, taken in one of his prizes, to whom he gave his last guinea to defray their travelling expenses to their home in Dublin. He says, that "the grateful Irishmen were enraptured, and expressed their joy in three huzzas as they passed the Ranger's quarter."

The two ships now stood out of the Channel, and rounding the north coast of Ireland, ran down on the western side. Nothing of note happened, until the 5th of May, when, the Ranger being off Ushant, and having the Drake in tow, a strange sail was seen, to which, having cut the hawser, Paul Jones gave chase. In the mean time, Lieutenant Simpson, who had been placed in command of the Drake, instead of continuing his course towards Brest in conformity with his orders, steered off to the southward, so that when Paul Jones had overhauled the chase, the Drake was nearly out of sight. The same eccentric evolutions, having apparently for object to part company with the Ranger, continued during the day, to Jones's great annoyance, as it prevented him from chasing many vessels that were seen standing into the Channel, from among which he hoped to have made some valuable prizes. When Jones was at length able to overtake his wandering lieutenant, he placed him under arrest, and conferred the command on Lieutenant Elijah Hall. From this circumstance, and the perverse character of Simpson, Jones was yet destined to derive a great deal of trouble. On the 8th of May, both vessels arrived safely at Brest, on which very day, Paul Jones hastened to indite and send off triplicate copies of the following romantic epistle to Lady Selkirk, which, as it tells its own

tale, and is illustrative of his feelings and character, we will introduce without further commentary.

“Madam,—It cannot be too much lamented, that, in the profession of arms, the officer of fine feelings and real sensibility should be under the necessity of winking at any action of persons under his command, which his heart cannot approve; but the reflection is doubly severe, when he finds himself obliged, in appearance, to countenance such actions by his authority. The hard case was mine, when, on the 23d of April last, I landed on St. Mary’s Isle. Knowing Lord Selkirk’s interest with his King, and esteeming as I do his private character, I wished to make him the happy instrument of alleviating the horrors of hopeless captivity, when the brave are overpowered and made prisoners of war. It was perhaps fortunate for you, Madam, that he was from home; for it was my intention to have taken him on board the Ranger, and detained him until, through his means, a general and fair exchange of prisoners, as well in Europe as in America, had been effected.

“When I was informed, by some men whom I met landing, that his Lordship was absent, I walked back to my boat, determined to leave the island. By the way, however, some officers who were with me, could not forbear expressing their discontent, observing that in America no delicacy was shown by the English, who took away all sorts of movable property, setting fire not only to towns and to the houses of the rich, without distinction, but not even sparing the wretched hamlets and milch-cows of the poor and helpless, at the approach of an inclement winter. That party had been with me the same morning at Whitehaven; some complaisance, therefore, was their due. I had but a moment to think how I might gratify them, and at the same time do your Ladyship the least injury. I charged the officers to permit none of the seamen to enter the house, or to hurt any thing about it; to treat you, Madam, with the utmost respect; to accept of the plate

which was offered, and to come away without making a search, or demanding any thing else. I am induced to believe that I was punctually obeyed, since I am informed that the plate which they brought away is far short of the quantity expressed in the inventory which accompanied it. I have gratified my men; and when the plate is sold, I shall become the purchaser, and will gratify my own feelings, by restoring it to you by such conveyance as you shall please to direct.

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

‘For they, ’twas they unsheathed the ruthless blade,
And Heaven shall ask the havoc it has made.’

“The British ship of war *Drake*, mounting twenty guns, with more than her full complement of officers and men, was our opponent. The ships met, and the advantage was disputed with great fortitude on each side for an hour and four minutes, when the gallant commander of the *Drake* fell, and victory declared in favour of the *Ranger*. The amiable lieutenant lay mortally wounded, besides near forty of the inferior officers and crew killed and wounded; a melancholy demonstration of the uncertainty of human prospects, and of the sad reverses of fortune, which an hour can produce. I buried them in a spacious grave, with the honours due to the memory of the brave.

“Though I have drawn my sword in the present generous struggle for the rights of men, yet I am not in arms as an American, nor am I in pursuit of riches. My fortune is liberal enough, having no wife or family, and having lived long enough to know that riches cannot secure happiness. I profess myself a citizen of the world, totally unfettered by the

little mean distinctions of climate or of country, which diminish the benevolence of the heart and set bounds to philanthropy. Before this war was begun, I had, at an early time of life, withdrawn from sea service in favour of 'calm contemplation and poetic ease.' I have sacrificed not only my favourite scheme of life, but the softer affections of the heart, and my prospects of domestic happiness, and I am ready to sacrifice my life also with cheerfulness, if that forfeiture could restore peace among mankind.

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

"I hope this cruel contest will soon be closed; but, should it continue, I wage no war with the fair. I acknowledge their force, and bend before it with submission. Let not, therefore, the amiable Countess of Selkirk regard me as an enemy; I am ambitious of her esteem and friendship, and would do any thing, consistent with my duty, to merit it. The honour of a line from your hand, in answer to this, will lay me under a singular obligation; and if I can render you any acceptable service in France or elsewhere, I hope you see into my character so far as to command me, without the least grain of reserve. I wish to know the exact behaviour of my people, as I am determined to punish them if they have exceeded their liberty."

This is a very odd letter ; but even making all due allowance for the effort at effect, and the desire to touch the "gentle bosom" of his fair correspondent, it is still conceived in a generous and kindly spirit, creditable to the feelings of the writer. In the fulfilment of his promise to return the plate, Jones was destined to encounter a due share of those difficulties and annoyances, which, in small matters as in great, it was his fortune to meet with, and his pleasure to overcome. The plate having passed into the hands of prize-agents on the arrival of the *Ranger* at Brest, it was rescued with infinite difficulty and delay, and did not eventually reach England until many years afterward, when it was all safely returned in the condition in which it was taken away, even the tea leaves remaining in the tea-pot. Jones made the return of this plate the fertile subject of a voluminous correspondence, having written two more letters to his "amiable Countess," and several to Franklin, the Count of Vergennes, and others whom he found occasion to interest in the subject. He was naturally enough disappointed in the expected "honour of a line from the hand" of the Countess, who responded through her husband. The Earl at first consented to accept the plate, if it were restored by order of Congress, but scrupled to receive it if its restoration were due to the generosity of an individual. These scruples were eventually overcome ; the plate was recovered and returned at Jones's expense, and accepted with thanks by the Earl, and a tardy acknowledgment of the courteous behaviour of the *Ranger's* crew when they landed on St. Mary's Isle. This whole matter is strikingly illustrative of Jones's ingenuity in creating difficulties in his own path, and his obstinate energy in overcoming them. The plate was taken by Jones's order, as we see by the letter to the Countess of Selkirk, and not, as Mr. Cooper in his naval history intimates, by an inferior officer on his own responsibility. It was scarcely on board, however, before he began to busy himself about the task of returning it, and at the end of a fortnight

we find him writing his letter to the Countess, the ultimate result of which was the restoration of the plate, after an interval of seven or eight years.

CHAPTER IV.

Effect of Jones's Exploits. His Letter of Credit dishonoured. Difficulties for Want of Money. Contention with Simpson. Simpson imprisoned. Cause of Disagreement. Care of Prisoners. Franklin's Views for the Employment of the Ranger. Jones's Views in Reply. Asks for the Indien. Offer of the Indien by the French Government. Jones proceeds to Paris. Offers his Services to France. Project for intercepting the Baltic Fleet. It fails. Gives up the Command of the Ranger to Simpson. Repents having done so. The Ranger sails for America.

THE Ranger's arrival at Brest, from this daring cruise in the Irish Channel, with the Drake in company as her prize, and two hundred prisoners, being nearly double the number of her own crew, was greeted with lively demonstrations of joy by the American Commissioners, to whom Paul Jones hastened to make the circumstances known in an able report, in which the events of his cruise were most vividly described. The French Court, which was on the eve of joining our cause, shared heartily in the gratulation which the circumstances were so well suited to awaken. The exploits of Paul Jones had been conceived and executed in the highest spirit of naval enterprise, in sight of the three kingdoms, and within the very stronghold of British power. England was thus taught the wholesome lesson, that her burnings on our coast could be retaliated upon her at home, and that so far from being everywhere supreme upon the seas, her merchant ships were no longer safe within her docks, though protected by the presence of a large population and formidable batteries. Even her men-of-war were liable to be assailed within her own roadsteads, to owe their safety to accident, and finally to be obliged to

yield in fair conflict with an inferior force. For these brilliant results, Paul Jones received the commendations which he so richly merited, and to the value of which he was ever sensitively alive. Envidable, however, as his position at this moment might seem, he soon found himself involved in a series of annoying difficulties.

Of these difficulties, the first was the dishonouring of a draft for twenty-four thousand livres, which he had drawn on the commissioners, for the purpose of refitting and provisioning the Ranger and the Drake, and supplying the officers and crew with a portion of their arrears of pay. The principal motive of the commissioners, in dishonouring this draft, was no doubt the straitened condition of the funds entrusted to them; nor had they authorized Jones to draw for so large an amount. He complained bitterly of this treatment, inasmuch as he had not made use of the letter of credit, given to him several months before, for half the sum which he now drew for. He also considered the grievance augmented by the fact of his being fifteen hundred pounds in advance to the government, for the payment of the crews of the Alfred and the Providence, before he left America. This fact was known to Mr. Arthur Lee, one of the Commissioners, but not to the other two. At any rate, they had no funds for the payment of such a balance, and Jones would have done better to have first drawn for the sum which he had credit for, and then waited until the credit could be extended. He must have known enough of the financial difficulties of Congress, and of the Commissioners, to have put him on his guard against calling on them too suddenly for the payment of any considerable sum.

Whether Jones was censurable or not in this transaction, it involved him in great trouble. In speaking of his position at this moment, he said, "I was left, with two hundred prisoners of war, a number of sick and wounded, an almost naked crew, and a ship, after a severe engagement, in want of stores

and provisions, from the 9th of May till the 13th of June, destitute of any public support." In writing to the Commissioners, he thus describes the emergency in which he was placed: "I know not where to find to-morrow's dinner for the great number of mouths that depend on me for food. Are the Continental ships of war to depend on the sale of their prizes for a daily dinner to their men? Publish it not in Gath!" How he extricated himself from this painful dilemma may be gathered from the following passage of his Journal for the King: "Yet, during that time, by his personal credit with Count D'Orvilliers, the Duke de Chartres, and the Intendant of Brest, he fed his people and prisoners, cured his wounded, and refitted both the Ranger and Drake for sea."

Owing to this want of funds to distribute among the sailors of the Ranger, and the delay in realizing the proceeds of their prizes, they became exceedingly discontented. Their discontent, too, was artfully augmented by Lieutenant Simpson, who, as Jones states in his Journal for the King, while under arrest on board the Drake, had constant intercourse with the crew, and rendered them so insolent, that they refused duty, and went below repeatedly before the Captain's face. Count D'Orvilliers had assured Paul Jones, that, unless he could get the Drake ready to transport the prisoners to America before orders arrived from Court, they would in all probability be given up without an exchange, to avoid an immediate war with England. It thus became impossible to suffer Simpson to remain any longer among the crew. He was therefore removed to a ship, in which the French confined their officers when under arrest. Here Simpson had good accommodations, and liberty to walk the deck. Nevertheless he endeavoured to desert, and behaved so extravagantly, that Count D'Orvilliers, without consulting Jones, ordered him to prison.

This Simpson was a very troublesome person, though it is difficult at this time to say whether the fault lay entirely with him or partly with Jones. It appears that there had been

constant disagreement between the commander and his first lieutenant, and the latter was charged with insubordination himself, and with exciting the crew to discontent. Jones relates in his Journal for the King, that when he was about to engage the Drake, "the lieutenant having held up to the crew, that, being Americans fighting for liberty, the voice of the people should be taken before the Captain's orders were obeyed, they rose in mutiny; and Captain Jones was in the utmost danger of being killed or thrown overboard." This was an offence, which would have justified the commander in putting Simpson to immediate death. Yet Jones nowhere states this circumstance in his report of the cruise for the Commissioners, though he mentions having arrested Lieutenant Simpson for the inferior, though sufficient offence, of disobeying his orders for keeping company while in command of the Drake. It is highly probable that this circumstance never occurred, but was imagined by Jones upon some slight foundation; with the motive, so apparent in all his writings, of giving himself the greater credit for his achievements. He had a voice originally in the selection of all his officers, and was therefore in a measure responsible for the character of Simpson, whose insubordination was doubtless the consequence of injudicious management. It is probable, that the whole difficulty had its origin in Jones's large promises, at the outset, of leaving Simpson in command of the Ranger on his arrival in Europe, when he should be transferred to the fine frigate which Congress had authorized the Commissioners in France to purchase for him. Upon the foundation of this order to purchase a ship for him, of which order he was himself to be the bearer, he had addressed a letter to the person engaged to enter men to accompany him, in which he informs him, that the men "on their arrival in France are to be turned over to one of the finest frigates of the French navy, she having been purchased for the United States by their Commissioners at the Court of Paris, and to be put under my command." Probably

Jones made a similar promise to Simpson, of leaving him in command of the *Ranger* on his transfer to the large frigate; and, no doubt, when he made the promise, he had the fullest confidence in his ability to perform it; but a person, who had seen as much of sailors as Jones had, should have known that nothing should ever be promised, either to officers or men, that by any possibility might not afterwards be fulfilled. There is no class of men who attach so much importance to the fidelity of those who command them, in the fulfilment of their engagements, or who concede such unqualified respect to those who observe it. Perhaps we may attribute Jones's want of influence among his officers and crew to his aptness to jump too quickly to results, to consider every project accomplished the moment that it was hinted to him, and, on the faith of these anticipations, to promise more than he was usually able to perform. Another source of dissatisfaction among his crew grew out of the difficulty of procuring money to make advances to them, and of realizing the proceeds of their prizes. Simpson artfully took advantage of the discontent, occasioned by these causes, to direct the hatred of the men against Jones, by ascribing them to his artifices. Mr. Arthur Lee, one of the Commissioners, also increased the discontent by listening to the complaints of the crew.

Jones was involved in another serious difficulty, at this time, with regard to the safe keeping of his prisoners, from which he was relieved by the assistance of the authorities at Brest, whom he had interested in his behalf. Dr. Franklin was engaged at the time in negotiations for an exchange of prisoners, which he soon effected. Jones greatly contributed by his captures to this result, which he had much at heart; partly, no doubt, from those philanthropic views which he puts forward, and partly because he was personally interested in establishing a settled system of exchanges, on account of his peculiar position as a native of the country he was making

war against, and his great liability to capture on account of the reckless intrepidity with which he exposed himself.

The interest which he took in securing kind treatment to his prisoners, while he watched over their safe keeping is most creditable to his feelings. In a letter addressed to Franklin, enclosing a memorial of the prisoners, he thus expresses himself with characteristic warmth, concerning the person who supplied them. "The fellow who holds the rod over their wretched heads has menaced them if they dare to complain, and would have intercepted their memorial, had I not prevented it. This Riou is the scoundrel, who, by his falsehood, promoted discord in the Ranger, and got the deluded people to appoint him their particular agent. Before that time he never could call twenty louis his own, and now he is too rich for his former profession of King's interpreter. He does not deny that he is a scoundrel, for so I have called him more than once before witnesses, and so every person of sense thinks him at Brest."

Late in May, Franklin wrote to Jones proposing immediate employment for the Ranger against the Jersey privateers, who did a great deal of mischief by intercepting supplies for America. Franklin said, that it had been intimated to him from authority, that Jones's small vessel, commanded by so brave an officer, might render great service, by following the privateers where larger ships could not venture, and, being accompanied by some French frigates, following at a proper distance, might decoy them out. Franklin mentioned, that he had written to England about an exchange of prisoners, and concluded by congratulating Jones most cordially on his late success, and wishing him an increase of the honour he had acquired.

In reply to this letter, Jones began by expressing great readiness to perform any service that might be required of him, but expressed doubts as to his ability to lead his crew, "which," he said, "could only be done by the seldom-failing

bait for sordid minds, great views of interest." He complained much of their home-sickness, and proposed that those officers who were "most dangerously ill" of that disease might have liberty to resign, that their commissions might be given to men of stronger nerves. He stated that the *Ranger* was crank, slow, and of too trifling a force to be a match for most of the enemy's cruisers, and intimated his strong desire to be placed in command of the ship building at Amsterdam and which he did not doubt his ability to man with American seamen. He said that if two or three fast sailing ships could be collected, there was a great choice of enterprises, some of which might succeed, and add more to the interest and honour of America than cruising with twice the force. "It appears to me," he said, "to be the province of our infant navy to surprise and spread alarms with fast sailing ships. When we grow stronger, we can meet their fleets, and dispute with them the sovereignty of the ocean."

Among the various plans for expeditions submitted on this occasion by Jones, was one for entering the British Channel, and burning the shipping and town of Whitehaven, and thereby interrupting the winter's supply of coal for Ireland, chiefly from that place; another to take the bank of Ayr in Scotland, and burn the town, also the towns of Greenock and Port Glasgow, and the shipping in the Clyde. He considered the fishery at Cambletown also an object worthy of attention, and and thought that some very valuable prizes might be found in the Irish ports. While preparations were making for this enterprise, he suggested that the eastern coast of England and Scotland might be ravaged, the collieries of Newcastle burned, and several towns destroyed or laid under contribution. He had also a project for intercepting the Baltic or West India fleet, or the Hudson's Bay ships. It is quite painful to observe how many of these schemes for annoying the enemy had reference to his native country.

Before this letter could be received, Dr. Franklin addressed a letter to him, well suited to flatter his pride, and gratify his ambition to be on the road to greater distinction; for it proposed the very thing he had asked for, namely, the command of the *Indien*.

Franklin stated, that she was the property of the King of France, and, as he had not yet declared war against England, it was proposed to place her under Paul Jones's command, with the commission and flag of the States. The Prince de Nassau, who had already signalized his taste for romantic adventure, promised to make the cruise as a volunteer under Jones's command. The ship was to be brought to Brest as a French merchantman, and be there equipped and manned. Franklin mentioned, that the other Commissioners were not acquainted with this proposition as yet, since it was necessary that it should be kept a secret until the vessel should arrive in France, for fear of difficulties in Holland, and interception. As the French ministry had desired that the affair should rest between Franklin and Jones, he suggested to the latter, that it might be best for him to come to Paris to mature the project.

After an interval of ten days, Franklin wrote again to Jones to say, that, in consideration of the disposition and uneasiness of the *Ranger's* crew, the Commissioners felt an inclination to order her directly back to America. He therefore suggested, whether it would not be advisable for Jones, in consideration of the proposal which had been made by the French ministry, that the ship should be sent back under some other commander. He mentioned, that in consequence of the high opinion the Minister of Marine had formed of Jones's bravery, he had determined to give him the frigate in Holland, to be furnished with as many French seamen as he might desire; but to act under the commission and flag of Congress; and, as Jones might like to have a number of Americans, and his own were home-sick, it was proposed to give him as many as he could

engage out of two hundred prisoners, which the ministry of Britain had at length agreed to exchange for those brought in by the Ranger. The English offered to make the exchange at Calais, where they were to bring the Americans. Nothing was wanting to complete the arrangement, but a list of the Ranger's prisoners, containing their names and rank; immediately after the receipt of which, an equal number were to be prepared, and sent in a ship to Calais, where the Ranger's prisoners were to meet them. Franklin suggested, that, if by these means Jones could get a good new crew, it would be best that he were quite free of the old; for a mixture might introduce the infection of that sickness he had complained of. But this was to be left to his own discretion. Franklin added, that the Commissioners might place under his orders the Providence, a new Continental ship of thirty guns, which, as the sage stated with great apparent delight, "in coming out of the river of Providence, had given two frigates, that had been posted to intercept her, each of them so heavy a dose of her eighteen and twelve pounders, that they had not the courage or were not able to pursue her." He stated, that it was desired that Jones should come to Versailles, where one would meet him, in order to such a settlement of plans with those who had the direction, as could not well be done by letter. He said, that the project of giving Jones the command of the Indien pleased him the more, as it was a probable opening to the higher preferment he so justly merited.

The intelligence thus communicated to Jones, was of the most gratifying character; and as the project gradually became matured; we find M. de Sartine, the Minister of Marine, signifying the desire of his sovereign to the American Commissioners, that they would relinquish to him the services of Captain Jones, to which they readily assented, with the assurance that they would be happy if his services should be in any respect useful in promoting the designs of the French government.

In accordance with the hint which he had received from Franklin, Jones proceeded to Paris, and on his arrival hastened to place his services at the disposal of M. de Sartine, while at the same time he very ingeniously gave it to be understood, that he was not dependent on his patronage, but was well satisfied with his present position and prospects. He wrote, that he should be ungrateful did he not return thanks for the Minister's kind and generous intentions in his favour; his greatest ambition would be to merit such approbation, by services against the common enemy of France and America. He stated, that he had now under his command a ship bound to America, and that, on his arrival there, from the former confidence of Congress he had reason to expect an immediate removal into one of the best American ships; he had even reason to expect the chief command of the first squadron destined for an expedition, as he had in his possession several similar appointments; moreover, when Congress should see fit to appoint admirals, he had assurance that his name would not be forgotten. These, he said, were flattering prospects to a man, who had drawn his sword only upon principles of philanthropy, and in support of the dignity of human nature. But, as he preferred a solid to a shining reputation, a useful to a splendid command, he held himself ready, with the approbation of the Commissioners, to be governed by M. de Sartine in any measures that might tend to distress and humble the common enemy.

The hope, however, on the wings of which Jones had hastened to the Capital, and which had animated him while writing his grandiloquent letter, having for its object to magnify his own importance, and procure for him that of which he was so worthy, a formidable command, and the means of winning glory on a great scale, was destined soon to fade away. To be sure, he was kindly received, and hospitably entertained, by many persons of distinction; but, as the war, which about this time commenced between France and England, enabled

France to carry on hostilities under her own flag, she now required all her ships and seamen for her own armaments, so that Jones, in his subsequent efforts to obtain a better command than that of the *Ranger*, had to incur the jealousy and opposition of the whole French marine.

Owing to this state of things, and to some difficulty which Holland is supposed to have thrown in the way of removing the *Indien* from Amsterdam, for fear of provoking the enmity of England, the project of conferring the command of that ship on Jones, which the Minister had made the pretext of inviting him to Court, fell through entirely. Instead of it, he was amused with another scheme for the capture of the Baltic fleet. Three frigates and two cutters were destined to effect this object, under the command of Jones. One of the frigates lay at Brest, which he was to command in person; the other two and the cutter were at St. Malo.

Jones felt so sure that he should be appointed to this command, that he went so far as to make inquiries for a chaplain, in order to give greater dignity to his flag. Another previous step of more serious importance, which he took, was to give up the command of the *Ranger* to his former troublesome lieutenant. Finding Simpson more reasonable before he left Brest, Jones had released him from confinement, on his giving his parole in writing, that he would not serve again in the navy until acquitted by a court-martial. Jones now addressed a letter to the Commissioners, in which he stated, that at the time when he took Lieutenant Simpson's parole, he did not expect to have been long absent from America; but, as circumstances had now rendered the time of his return less certain, he was willing to let the dispute between them drop for ever, by giving up his parole, which would entitle him to command the *Ranger*. He said he had no malice towards him, and, if he had unconsciously done him any injury, this would be making him all the satisfaction in his power. If, on

the contrary, Simpson had injured him, he was willing to trust to that officer for a suitable acknowledgment.

It was in virtue of this complete release of Lieutenant Simpson from the obligation not to serve until tried by a court-martial, which Jones had imposed on him as the condition of his release from confinement, that the Commissioners probably made use of their authority to invest Lieutenant Simpson with the command of the *Ranger*, in order to return in her to the United States, her crew being exceedingly turbulent and discontented. Or else, he being the first lieutenant of the *Ranger*, the command naturally vested in him, when Captain Jones was detached, at the request of the French Minister of Marine, with a view to more important employment.

On his return to Brest, Paul Jones found that Count D'Orvilliers had already returned from sea with the French fleet, and had given the command of Jones's proposed flag ship to one of his captains, who had lost his own ship in the course of the cruise. With regard to the two frigates and cutter, at St. Malo, that were to constitute the rest of Jones's squadron, M. de Sartine, finding himself harassed by abundant applications from French captains to be appointed to these very ships, found it convenient to change his arrangements as soon as Jones had departed, and sent the ships off at once, with French commanders, to fulfil Jones's project for the interception of the Baltic fleet, in which they met with no success. The result of these various events was, that Paul Jones found not only that his promised command of the expedition against the Baltic fleet had passed into other hands, but also that his late contumacious lieutenant, Simpson, was in command of the *Ranger*. Among the multiplicity of prospects of honourable employment which had a few days before been held up to him, he now found himself without a ship. He was naturally full of irritability; but his rage was unreasonably directed almost wholly at Simpson, who had only accepted the command which

Jones had promised to him before his departure from Portsmouth, and which he had now voluntarily relinquished to him. He wrote to the Commissioners on the 13th of August, that, since his arrival at Brest, five days before, he had neither seen nor heard from Lieutenant Simpson; but had been creditably informed, that it was generally reported in the *Ranger*, throughout the French fleet, and on shore, that he was turned out of the service; that the Commissioners had given Simpson his place, with a captain's commission, and that his letter to the Commissioners in Simpson's behalf had been involuntary, and in obedience only to their orders. That these reports prevailed, Jones said, was not an idle conjecture, but a melancholy fact. He therefore sought, nay demanded redress, redress by a court-martial, to form which he said that there was now a sufficient number of American officers in Brest and the neighbouring ports. Among the claims which he urged why his wounded feelings should be considered, he said that he had "faithfully and personally fought in the dignified cause of human nature, ever since the American banner first waved on the Delaware and on the ocean."

The Commissioners very judiciously abstained from losing the time, and employing the services, of our officers in the French ports, by the investigation of this difficulty. Having determined to retain Jones in France, to carry out some projects of the French Ministry for the annoyance of the English coasts, and to despatch the *Ranger* to the United States under the command of Lieutenant Simpson, both of which measures were settled with the approbation of Jones, they ordered that vessel to return to Portsmouth, where she had been fitted out, and where she duly arrived, having made several prizes on the homeward passage. In order to put a stop to the injurious reports of which Jones complained, of his having been turned out of the *Ranger*, he not long after was furnished with an official letter from Franklin and Adams, stating that, as his removal from the *Ranger*, and the appointment of Lieutenant

Simpson to command, might be liable to misrepresentation, they certified that it had been done by the Commissioners, at the request of the French Minister of Marine, who was desirous of employing Jones on important service; and that Simpson had been appointed to command the Ranger with the consent of Jones, after he had released him from arrest. As an evidence that Jones's ill opinion of Simpson was not altogether prejudice, it may be well here to mention, that he was not again employed in the navy.

CHAPTER V.

Season of Inactivity. Jones's Impatience. His Efforts to Obtain a Command.

Writes to Prince of Nassau-Siegen. His Letter is not answered. Writes to the French Minister of Marine. Recapitulation of Claims and Grievances. Letter to the Duke of Rochefoucauld. Denunciation of the Minister of Marine. Letter to M. Chaumont. Letter to the King. Statement of Wrongs. Appeal to the Magnanimity of the Sovereign. Determination of Government to buy a Ship for Jones. Efforts of M. Chaumont. Character of this Gentleman. Jones enters into a Contention with Mr. Arthur Lee. Prolonged Delay. Advice of Poor Richard. Jones adopts it. Visits Versailles. Receives Command of a Ship under the American Flag. Calls her the Poor Richard.

DURING the five following months, Paul Jones was engaged in ineffectual efforts to secure the fulfilment of that promise of honourable employment, by which the French Minister of Marine had induced him to abandon the Ranger, and the project of returning to the United States. The hopeless inactivity in which he was kept, during this period, was by no means of his own choosing, and he made amends for it, as best he could, by indefatigable correspondence with every one who could in any way forward his object of obtaining instant employment. Among the personages whom he endeavoured to interest in this matter, was the Prince of Nassau-Siegen, who had entertained the intention of accompanying Jones in the *Indien*, in the character of a volunteer. Jones wrote to him, to say that

the honour which he had proposed to do him, by accompanying him on the ocean, had filled his heart with the warmest sentiments of gratitude. When the Prince's intentions were first communicated to him, he had under his command a ship bound with two frigates for America, where there were now two new ships of eighty guns each, and eight frigates of forty guns each, nearly ready for sea. When he should arrive there, from the former confidence of Congress, he had assurance of an immediate removal into one of their best ships, and of being appointed to command the first squadron, destined for any private expedition. Before he came to Europe, Congress had honoured him with several such appointments, and he was assured, that, when admirals were appointed, his name would be remembered.

"These," he said, "were flattering prospects to a man who had drawn his sword only from principles of philanthropy, and in support of the dignity of human nature;" and these were the prospects he had voluntarily laid aside, that he might pursue glory in the Prince's company. "Suffer me not, therefore," he said, "I beseech you, to continue longer in this shameful inactivity; such dishonour is worse to me than a thousand deaths. I have already lost the golden season, the summer, which in war is of more value than all the rest of the year. I appear here as a person cast off and useless; and, when any one asks me what I purpose to do, I am unable to answer."

He told the Prince, that he had been unaccustomed to ask any favours, even from Congress, as he was not in pursuit of interest; but he besought him to represent his situation to the best of Kings, that they might together be forthwith enabled to pursue glory, and humble the common enemy of humanity. If the ship that was at first proposed, could not be got ready for sea at once, others might be obtained. He mentioned a fine and fast sailing frigate at L'Orient, built on the same construction with the Indien, and mounted with eighteen-pounders; and there were several others at St. Malo, to whom command-

ers had not yet been appointed. He avowed the greatest reliance on the generous intention of that great minister, M. de Sartine, but expressed an unwillingness to intrude on him every day with letters, and in the multiplicity and importance of his affairs, Jones found that his concerns might be forgotten.

The Prince of Nassau, having abandoned the project of making the cruise with Jones, as capriciously as he had taken it up, lent him no further aid in procuring a ship, and had not even the ordinary courtesy to reply to the above letter. The generous intentions of that great minister M. de Sartine, whose delusive offers had alone occasioned Jones's remaining in France, were equally unproductive of any tangible results, and, in consequence, Jones addressed him, on the 13th of September, what he called an "explicit letter."

"Honoured Sir,

"When his Excellency, Dr. Franklin, informed me that you had condescended to think me worthy of your notice, I took such pleasure in reflecting on the happy alliance between France and America, that I was really flattered, and entertained the most grateful sense of the honour which you proposed for me, as well as the favour which the King proposed for America, by putting so fine a ship of war as the *Indien* under my command, and under its flag, with unlimited orders. In obedience to your desire I came to Versailles, and was taught to believe that my intended ship was in deep water, and ready for sea; but when the Prince de Nassau returned, I received from him a different account. I was told that the *Indien* could not be got afloat within a shorter period than three months, at the approaching equinox.

"To employ this interval usefully, I first offered to go from Brest with Count D'Orvilliers, as a volunteer, which you thought fit to reject. I had then the satisfaction to find that you approved, in general, of a variety of hints for private enterprises which I had drawn up for your consideration, and I was flat-

tered with assurances from Messieurs de Chaumont and Baudouin, that three of the finest frigates in France, with two tenders and a number of troops, would be immediately put under my command; and that I should have unlimited orders, and be at free liberty to pursue such of my own projects as I thought proper. But this plan fell to nothing, in the moment, when I was taught to think, that nothing was wanting but the King's signature.

“Another much inferior armament from L'Orient was proposed to be put under my command, which was by no means equal to the services that were expected from it; for speed and force, though both requisite, were both wanting. Happily for me, this also failed, and I was thereby saved from a dreadful prospect of ruin and dishonour. I had so entire a reliance, that you would desire nothing of me inconsistent with my honour and rank, that the moment you required me to come down here, in order to proceed around to St. Malo, though I had received no written orders, and neither knew your intention respecting my destination or command, I obeyed, with such haste, that although my curiosity led me to look at the armament at L'Orient, yet I was but three days from Passy till I reached Brest. Here, too, I drew a blank; but when I saw the *Lively*, it was no disappointment, as that ship, both in sailing and equipment, is far inferior to the *Ranger*.

“My only disappointment here was my being precluded from embarking in pursuit of marine knowledge with Count D'Orvilliers, who did not sail till some days after my return. He is my friend, and expressed his wishes for my company. I accompanied him out of the road when the fleet sailed; and he always lamented, that neither himself, nor any person in authority at Brest, had received from you any order that mentioned my name. I am astonished, therefore, to be informed that you attribute my not being in the fleet to my stay at L'Orient.

“I am not a mere adventurer of fortune. Stimulated by principles of reason and philanthropy, I laid aside my enjoyments in private life, and embarked under the flag of America, when it was first displayed. In that line, my desire of fame is infinite, and I must not now so far forget my own honour, and what I owe to my friends and America, as to remain inactive. My rank knows no superior in the American marine; I have long since been appointed to command an expedition, with five of its ships, and I can receive orders from no junior or inferior officer whatever.

“I have been here in the most tormenting suspense for more than a month since my return; and agreeably to your desire, as mentioned to me by M. Chaumont, a lieutenant has been appointed, and is with me, who speaks the French as well as the English. Circular letters have been written, and sent the 8th of last month from the English Admiralty, because they expected me to pay another visit with four ships. Therefore I trust, that, if the *Indien* is not to be got out, you will not at the approaching season substitute a force that is not at least equal, both in strength and sailing, to any of the enemy's cruising ships.

“I do not wish to interfere with the harmony of the French marine; but, if I am still thought worthy of your attention, I shall hope for a separate command, with liberal orders. If, on the contrary, you should now have no further occasion for my services, the only favour I can ask is, that you will bestow on me the *Alert*, with a few seamen, and permit me to return, and carry with me your good opinion in that small vessel, before the winter, to America.

“I am happy to hear that the frigates from St. Malo have been successful near Shetland. Had Count D'Estaing arrived in the *Delaware* a few days sooner, he might have made a most glorious and easy conquest. Many other successful projects may be adopted from the hints I had the honour to draw up; and if I can still furnish more, or execute any of those

already furnished, so as to distress and humble the common enemy, it will afford me the truest satisfaction. I am ambitious to merit the honour of your friendship and favour; and am fully persuaded that I now address a noble minded man, who will not be offended with the honest freedom which has always marked my correspondence."

Not too confident in the unassisted justice of his cause, Jones soon after sought the friendly interest of the Duke de Rochefoucauld in a letter, in which he very injudiciously launched forth into bitter invective against the Minister whom he had, the month before, so respectfully addressed. He pronounced the minister's behaviour towards him incomprehensible; denied the connexion with the Court; and said that he had given up absolute certainties, and far more flattering prospects than any of those which had been held out to him. What inducement, Jones asked, could he have for this, but gratitude to France for having first recognized our independence? And, having given his word to stay for some time in Europe, he had been unwilling to take it back, especially after having communicated the circumstances to Congress. The Minister, after possessing himself of his schemes and ideas, had treated him like a child five times successively, by leading him on from great to little, and from little to less. Does such conduct, he asked, do honour either to his head or to his heart? Nor had he offered the least apology for any of these five deceptions; nor assigned any good reason to that venerable and great character, Dr. Franklin, who had been made the instrument of entrapping Jones into this cruel state of inaction and suspense.

He complained moreover, that M. de Sartine had lately written a letter to Count d'Orvilliers, proposing to send him home, "*dans une bonne voiture*,—in an easy coach." This, he said, was absolutely adding insult to injury; and was, besides, the proposition of a man whose veracity he had not exp-

rienced on other occasions. He said that he might, during the summer, with the Ranger, joined with two other American frigates, then in France, have given the enemy sufficient foundation for its fears in Britain, as well as Ireland, and could since have been assisting Count D'Estaing, or acting separately with an American squadron. Instead of this, he had been chained down to shameful inactivity here, after having written to Congress, to reserve no command for him in America. Feeling convinced that the noble and generous breast of his correspondent would feel for his unmerited treatment, Jones besought him to interest himself with the Duke de Chartres, that the King might be made acquainted with his situation, as he had been taught to believe that he had been detained in France with his Majesty's knowledge and approbation, and he felt sure he was too good a prince to detain him for his disadvantage or dishonour.

To M. le Ray de Chaumont, a rich and influential individual, who had taken a lively interest, from the first, in our revolutionary struggle, had made advances for the purchase of military stores to be shipped to America, and had exerted himself at court to procure Jones a suitable command, he a few days later addressed himself on the same subject, and with greater familiarity. M. de Chaumont had offered him, with many encomiums on his valour, the command of a ship of his own, to be fitted out as a privateer, as so many difficulties occurred to prevent his getting a ship of war. To this proposition he replied, with many thanks for the kindness intended to him, that he was not his own master; and, as a servant of what he called the Imperial Republic of America, honoured with the friendship and favour of Congress, he could not, of his own authority or inclination, serve either himself, or even his best friends, in any private line whatever. He held himself to be the servant of America, devoted wholly to her interest and honour. He said that he had believed the minister at the beginning, but now, having been deceived so often, he

would doubt him even though he were to swear again by the Styx; for it seems he had taken this oath in affirmation of one of his promises to Jones. Jones had written to him several respectful letters, to none of which he had condescended an answer. Jones said that the secrecy, which he had been required to observe respecting the minister's intentions in his favour, had been inviolable; and he had been so delicate with respect to his situation, that he had been considered everywhere an officer disgraced and cast off for discreditable reasons. This had been his situation ever since his return from Paris, more than two months before; and he had already lost nearly five months of his time, the best season of the year, and such opportunities of serving his country, and acquiring honour, as he could not again expect during the war. Jones protested that his sensibility could not brook this unworthy situation, and if the ministers did not make a direct written apology to him, suitable to the injury which he had sustained, he would, in vindication of his sacred honour, painful as it would be, publish in the gazettes of Europe an account of his treatment.

As the minister had invited him to stay in Europe, by the laws of hospitality it was his duty to make offers. And, if he did not confer the command of the *Indien*, as first proposed, Jones insisted that he could not in honour now offer less than an equivalent force. He said that he would accept of nothing that sailed slow, or was of trifling force, and, finally, that he should expect a reply to his demands immediately, and that it would afford him the truest satisfaction, if his honour should be made whole, and the misunderstanding happily removed.

Wearied with feeding his famished hopes upon no more substantial aliment than the delusive promises of men in power, and half frantic with impatience at such prolonged inactivity, Jones at length bethought himself of making a last appeal to the magnanimity of the sovereign. He accordingly drew up a succinct history of his wrongs in a letter to the King of

France, which he enclosed to Dr. Franklin, to be placed in the King's hands by the Duke de Rochefoucauld or the Duchess of Chartres, if they were disposed to do him that kindness. He expressed the hope that Dr. Franklin would find the letter to the King entirely free from asperity or ill-nature. He had been, and was still, he said, in the eyes of Brest and the French marine, considered as having incurred the Doctor's displeasure, and being consequently in disgrace. The Commissioners' refusal of his bill, his journey to Paris without any visible reason, the cabals and representations of Lieutenant Simpson, and his long inactivity, were held to be so many circumstantial proofs, and his dishonour was now so firmly believed everywhere, that it was in vain for him to attempt any defence of himself. Such a situation, he said, destroyed his peace of mind; and was incompatible with his sensibility; yet he was far more affected by the indignity that had been thus cast upon Dr. Franklin and America, than on his account. His heart could not forgive the minister, until he should make whole his injured honour, by a direct apology and atonement for the past.

The letter to the King is written with Jones's characteristic ability. It paid due homage to the virtues of the sovereign, and forcibly set forth the services which he himself had rendered to the common cause, his claims to distinction, the promises which had been made to him of speedy employment, and the way in which those promises had been forfeited. He stated, that, after he had given up the command of the Ranger and remained in France at the express request of M. de Sartine, that Minister had not even condescended to answer his letters, also that the Prince of Nassau had treated him with equal incivility. He begged the King to observe, that he was not an adventurer in search of fortune, of which he thanked God he had a sufficiency. When the American banner was first displayed, he had drawn his sword in support of the violated dignity and rights of human nature; as the King, by espous-

ing the cause of America, had become the protector of the rights of human nature, Jones hoped that he would not allow him to remain any longer in such insupportable inactivity.

Owing to the advice of Franklin, and the more favourable aspect which Jones's prospects for employment began about this time to assume, this letter was not delivered. In consequence of the influence of M. le Ray de Chaumont, M. de Sartine had determined to purchase, at the King's expense, the best armed ship that could be found, to be fitted out under the American flag, and placed under the command of Jones. The gentleman who had been instrumental in effecting this favourable determination, and who was charged with carrying it into effect, had held the highly important public offices of *Grand Maître des Eaux et Forêts* and *Intendant* of the Invalids. He took an early and enthusiastic interest in the success of our Revolution, and not only aided us by his influence at court, but freely placed his large fortune at the disposal of our government by furnishing large quantities of military stores, for which he only asked to be repaid when our independence should be fully established. He, moreover, courteously placed his magnificent hotel at Passy, with all its furniture, at the disposal of the American Commissioners, while they resided at the capital in secret relation with the government, but without being recognised. When subsequently called upon by John Adams, to state what rent the Commissioners were to pay, on the ground that it was not reasonable that the United States should be under so great an obligation to a private gentleman, he courteously replied, that, when he had consecrated his house to Dr. Franklin and his associates, he had made it to be fully understood that he should expect no compensation; because he perceived that they had need of all their means to send to the succour of their country, or to relieve the distresses of their countrymen escaping from the chains of their enemies. He begged that this arrangement, which he had made when the

fate of our country was doubtful, might be permitted to remain. When she should enjoy all her splendour, such services on his part, would be superfluous and unworthy of her; but at present they might be useful, and he felt most happy in offering them. There was no occasion, he said, for strangers to be informed of his proceeding in this respect. It was so much the worse for those who would not do the same if they had the opportunity, and so much the better for him to have immortalized his house by receiving into it Dr. Franklin and his associates.

Such was the character of the gentleman who was charged with carrying the intentions of the government into effect with regard to Jones; who wrote to him begging him to buy a frigate that sailed fast and was sufficiently large to carry twenty-six or twenty-eight guns, not less than twelve-pounders, on one deck. "I wish," he says, "to have no connexion with any ship that does not sail fast, for I intend to go in harm's way." A vexatious delay, however, of three months still continued to annoy Jones, and make him almost beside himself with impatience. During this period of expectation, he wrote a letter to Mr. Arthur Lee, one of the Commissioners, in reply to a charge of disrespect made by that gentleman against Jones while transmitting some inquiries about the Ranger's prizes; which letter no doubt served as a great relief to his irritation. It is remarkable, not only as throwing light upon this period of history, but also showing that the tone of respectful entreaty in which he habitually addressed men in power, while soliciting to be placed in a position to meet danger and win glory, had not its origin in an over-obsequious or servile spirit, and that he could occasionally, when offended by one of these retort with bitterness and sarcasm.

After furnishing the information required of him, and referring to a letter to the Commissioners, in which he had previously transmitted a full report on the subject, he defended

himself from the charge of disrespect, and then proceeded to active recrimination against Mr. Lee. He charged Mr. Lee with having concurred in dishonouring his draft on the Commissioners for funds to pay his crew, when he was aware of the obligation which Jones had personally entered into with them at the time of their enlistment, of which fact the other Commissioners were ignorant. In consequence of this dishonour of his draft, he had found himself, for more than a month, destitute of funds, with a ship, disabled after a severe engagement, to be put in order, an almost naked crew to be clothed, and a large number of wounded, and two hundred prisoners of war, to be provided for. In reply to a second charge of disrespect brought against him by Mr. Lee, who had refused to furnish copies of some documents which Jones had asked for, he thus indignantly defends himself. "You objected to my receiving copies of some papers that concern me, because you thought that I had not made a respectful application. A copy of it is enclosed, which, though not in the form of an humble petition, I believe it will be difficult to construe into disrespect. True respect can never be extorted; and I will say of myself, that

* The tribute of respect to greatness due

Not the bribed sycophant more freely pays."

Jones's indulgence in this honest outbreak of indignation, and the doubtful compliment conveyed in his quotation, cost him very dear, as we shall see in the sequel.

Months rolled on without producing any results from M. de Sartine's "final determination" to furnish Paul Jones with a ship. He had been instructed to look out for a suitable one; but, though he saw several that might be purchased, some difficulty perpetually presented itself to the fulfilment of his wishes. Having made a visit to L'Orient, he found there an uncommonly fine eighty-four gun ship, called the *Maréchal de Broglie*, which was for sale, but he doubted his ability to man

her; there was also a small frigate, called the Alert, which had been taken from the English, and which he was willing to accept; and an Indiaman, fourteen years old, called the Duc de Duras, which he also thought might answer in the absence of a better one. Though ships were thus found, and a solemn promise had been made, still no order had yet been issued by M. de Sartine for the actual purchase of one.

While in this weary state of suspense, a prey to impatience, anxiety, and mortification, Jones happened one day to be looking over an old number of Franklin's Pennsylvania Almanac, when his attention was struck with the saying of Poor Richard; "If you would have your business done, go; if not, send." It immediately occurred to him, that the delay of his own business was in no slight degree owing to his having so long remained at a distance, sending letters to court, instead of going to attend it in person. He set out forthwith for the capital, and made such good speed in his errand, that, ere many days had elapsed, he received from the reluctant M. de Sartine, the following conclusive letter, dated at Versailles, on the 4th of February, 1779.

"To John Paul Jones, Esq., Commander of the American Navy in Europe.

"Sir, I announce to you that, in consequence of the exposition I have laid before the King, of the distinguished manner in which you have served the United States, and of the entire confidence which your conduct has merited from Congress, his Majesty has thought proper to place you in command of the ship Duras of forty guns, at present at L'Orient. I am about, in consequence, to issue the necessary orders for the complete armament of that ship. The commission, which was given to you at your departure from America, will authorize you to hoist the flag of the United States, and you will likewise make use of the authority which has been vested in you to procure a crew of Americans; but, as you may find difficulty in raising

a sufficient number, the King permits you to levy volunteers, until you obtain men enough in addition to those who will be necessary to sail the ship. It shall be my care to procure the necessary officers, and you may be assured that I shall contribute every aid in my power to promote the success of your enterprise.

“As soon as you are prepared for sea, you will set sail without waiting for any ulterior orders; and you will yourself select your own cruising ground, either in the European or American seas, observing always to render me an exact account of each event that may take place during your cruise, as often as you may enter any port under the dominion of the King. So flattering a mark of the confidence with which you are honoured, cannot but encourage you to use all your zeal in the common cause; and I am persuaded that you will justify, on every occasion, my favourable opinion of you. It only remains for me to recommend to you to show to those prisoners, who may fall into your hands, those sentiments of humanity which the King professes towards his enemies, and to take the greatest care, not only of your own crew, but also of all the ships which may be placed under your orders. According to your desire, I consent that the Duras take the name of the Bon Homme Richard.”

Feeling that his final success in obtaining a command had been owing to his having adopted the good advice which he had met with in Dr. Franklin's Almanac, and out of compliment to the sage, for whom his veneration was so unbounded, Paul Jones had asked leave, as appears by M. Sartine's letter, to give the ship of which the command was now conferred upon him, the name of the Bon Homme Richard, the Poor Richard; a name which his heroism was destined to render as enduring as his own.

CHAPTER VI.

Object of the French Government in giving Jones a Command. Arrival of the Alliance frigate in France. She is added to the Expedition. Lafayette proposes joining it. Force and Character of the Squadron. Advice of Franklin to Jones with Regard to Co-operation. Instructions for the Cruise. Treatment of Prisoners. Jones's Gratification with his Instructions. Object of the Expedition changed. Lafayette withdraws, to join in the Invasion of England. The Squadron is employed in Convoys. The Richard and the Alliance get foul. The Squadron returns to refit. Orders for a new Cruise. Mutinous Spirit of the Richard's Crew. Agreement entered into by all the Commanders. Cause of future Contention. Mixed Character of the Expedition.

THE original object of the French government in employing Jones, and furnishing him with a naval command, seems to have been to take advantage, not only of his brilliant courage and seaman-like skill, but also of his commission as an American officer, and of the American flag which he was entitled to display, to carry on a more harassing system of warfare on the British coasts than they would have been justified in doing under their own flag. Jones's favourite system, from the first, had been to retaliate for the burnings and devastation with which the British had visited our shores; and, as the observance hitherto of civilized rules of warfare had prevented them from enacting the same scenes on the coast of France, the coasts of England could be more effectually annoyed under the American flag. In addition to the *Bon Homme Richard*, four or five vessels of inferior force, two of them being fire-ships, were to be placed under the command of Jones, and a body of five hundred picked men, taken from the Irish brigade, were to embark under the immediate orders of the *Chevalier Fitz-Maurice*. The object of this expedition was to destroy the shipping and town of Liverpool. M. le Ray de Chaumont was appointed the confidential agent of the French govern-

ment for the equipment of the squadron, and had charge of all the purchases.

The moment that Jones received his appointment, releasing him from such long inactivity, he bestirred himself in his preparations with characteristic zeal. He proceeded forthwith to Nantes, to engage seamen from among the Americans captured on board of English ships. The sailors were pleased with the name of the *Poor Richard*, and entered readily. Jones, too, had a very persuasive way with sailors, and would walk for an hour on the pier with a single sailor whom he was desirous of securing, and rarely failed of success. About this time Lafayette arrived from the United States in the *Alliance*, a new American frigate of thirty-six guns, which had been named out of compliment to the recent alliance with France. With the same friendly motive towards that nation, the command of her was conferred on a Frenchman, by the name of Pierre Landais, who had recently arrived in the United States, as master of a merchant ship laden with military stores. According to a subsequent statement of Jones, Landais obtained the command by representing, that he had been a captain in the French navy, had commanded a ship of the line, and held an important station in the arsenal at Brest; moreover, that the estimation in which he was held in his own country would have enabled him to choose whatever honourable station he was willing to accept; but his desire to serve America had induced him to abandon his country, and even to refuse the cross of St. Louis, that he might be free to abjure the religion of his forefathers. Landais had, in fact, belonged to the French navy; but he forgot to mention the material circumstance of his having been dismissed from it on account of infirmity of temper. Congress, having thus received the impression that Landais was in favour at the Court of Versailles, thought to pay that court an additional compliment by appointing him to the command of the *Alliance*. On the passage out, he had betrayed utter professional incompetence, coupled with a fitful

irritability of temper which had thoroughly disgusted everybody. A mutiny was concerted among some Englishmen of the crew, who designed taking the ship into England, and narrowly failed of success; which the exertions of Lafayette greatly aided in preventing.

Lafayette, having heard of the projected expedition under Paul Jones, immediately conceived a desire to take part in it. His wish being encouraged by the Court, Jones was summoned to Paris to consult on the projected change in the expedition, consequent upon the accession of Lafayette. It was decided that Lafayette should embark with a body of seven hundred picked men, assigned to him by the King. Franklin having received his credentials as ambassador by the Alliance, Jones applied to him to add that fine and uncommonly fast frigate to his squadron, and, the French government having joined in the request, it was readily, though as it afterwards proved, in an evil hour, granted.

Some idea of the character of this armament may be drawn from the following extract from Jones's Journal for the King, though he doubtless exaggerates the real defects of his force in order to magnify the glory which he subsequently won with it. "The cannon had not arrived for the *Bon Homme Richard*, and she was in great haste mounted with a battery of indifferent twelve-pounders. Six old-fashioned long eighteen-pounders were mounted in the gun-room: and ports were cut to fight them, six on one side. Thus, with the guns on the quarter-deck and forecastle, the *Bon Homme Richard* mounted forty guns; and, with the *Alliance* of thirty-six, the *Pallas* of thirty-two, the *Cerf* of eighteen, and the *Vengeance* of twelve, composed the little squadron. A crew was hastily procured for the *Bon Homme Richard* from among the English prisoners, and by enlisting raw French peasants and volunteers. Captain Jones had not more than thirty Americans among the crew. In the *Alliance* there had been a mutiny on the passage from America, and the captain and officers were ready to

cut one another's throats. The first and second lieutenants deserted. The Pallas, a merchant ship, had been built for the King, and hastily fitted at Nantes. The Vengeance was bought by the Commissary, and fitted in the same manner. The Cerf, a fine cutter, was alone well fitted and manned."

In the belief that Lafayette would take part with Jones in the expedition, Franklin addressed to the latter some admirable advice, to regulate their conduct towards each other while acting together. He remarked, that it had been observed, that joint expeditions of land and sea forces, often miscarry through jealousies and misunderstandings between the officers of the different corps. This, he said, must happen where there were little minds, actuated more by personal views of profit or honour to themselves, than by a sincere desire of good to their country. Knowing both Lafayette and Jones as he did, he felt confident that nothing of the kind could happen between them, and that it was therefore unnecessary for him to recommend to either of them that condescension, mutual good will, and harmony, which contribute so much to success in such undertakings. He said, that he looked upon this expedition as an introduction to more extensive commands, and as a kind of trial of their abilities, and fitness in temper and dispositions for acting in concert with others, and therefore felt assured that nothing would happen that could give impressions to their disadvantage, when greater affairs should come under consideration. As the Marquis was a major-general in our service, he of course was superior in rank, and must have the entire command of the land forces, committed by the King to his care; but the command of the ships was to belong wholly to Jones, in which Franklin felt persuaded, that, whatever authority Lafayette's rank might in strictness give him, he would not have the least desire to interfere. There was honour enough, he said, to be got for both, if the expedition was conducted with a prudent unanimity.

The letter concerning Lafayette was accompanied by instructions most creditable to the heart of the sage, and to the country which he represented. After directing the manner in which the squadron was to co-operate with the land forces, he proceeded to give directions for the treatment of prisoners, and of captured towns, in honourable contrast with the proceedings of the enemy on our own coast. When they became known to the British public, they called forth everywhere unmeasured commendation, and threw no little discredit on the ministry.

“You are to bring to France all the Englishmen you may happen to take prisoners, in order to complete the good work you have already made such progress in, of delivering by an exchange the rest of our countrymen now languishing in the jails of Great Britain. As many of your officers and people have lately escaped from English prisons, either in Europe or America, you are to be particularly attentive to their conduct towards the prisoners, whom the fortune of war may throw into your hands, lest resentment of the more than barbarous usage by the English in many places towards the Americans should occasion a retaliation, and an imitation of what ought rather to be detested and avoided, for the sake of humanity and for the honour of our country. In the same view, although the English have wantonly burnt many defenceless towns in America, you are not to follow this example, unless when a reasonable ransom is refused, in which case your own generous feelings, as well as this instruction, will induce you to give timely notice of your intention, that sick and ancient persons, women and children, may be first removed.”

Jones received this admirable counsel, and these enlightened orders, in the same high-minded spirit in which they were conceived. In replying to a letter from Lafayette, which had accompanied them, and in which he had announced his intention of taking part in the cruise, Jones professed his readiness to co-operate heartily with him, and assured him that so flatter-

ing a proof of his esteem and friendship had made an impression on his mind that would attend him while he lived. And to Dr. Franklin, he wrote, that the letter he had received from him, together with his liberal instructions, would make a coward brave. He told him that he had called up every sentiment of public virtue in his breast, and it should be his pride and ambition, in the pursuit of his instructions, to deserve success. Few prospects, he said, could afford him so true a satisfaction as that of rendering some acceptable service to the common cause, and at the same time of relieving from captivity his unfortunate fellow countrymen still in the hands of the enemy.

At this conjuncture, Spain was on the point of joining in the alliance against England, and hopes were conceived of obtaining the mastery of the seas by the junction of the French and Spanish fleets, so as to cover an invasion of England, for which preparations were made on a grand scale in the adjacent provinces of France. It was to take part in this meditated grand invasion, that Lafayette was withdrawn from the humbler expedition of Jones; which was in reality more formidable, because it was more likely to take effect.

The expedition being thus abandoned, it was desirable to find employment for this expensive armament, and, instead of the daring project of destroying Liverpool and its shipping, Jones was assigned to the less congenial service of driving the enemy's cruisers out of the Bay of Biscay, and giving convoy to vessels bound from port to port along the coast. He sailed from L'Orient on this service on the 19th of June. In the night of the 20th, the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Alliance* got foul of each other, by which accident, the former lost her head, cut-water, jib-boom, and spritsail-yard, and the latter her mizen-mast. The character of Captain Landais, which had exhibited itself in a very odious light on the passage out from America, and which in his new association had already begun to show the jealousy, insubordination, and braggart insolence which,

belonged to it, led to the impression that the collision was not avoided by him. As, however, the lieutenant of the *Bon Homme Richard*, who had the watch at the time, was subsequently broken for his conduct on this occasion, the blame could not have belonged wholly to Landais; though he, it seemed, behaved infamously at the time; for it was solemnly attested by the officers of the squadron, that, instead of giving the necessary orders to prevent the collision, and afterwards remaining on deck to assist in the extrication of his ship, he went below to load his pistols. The base desertion of his station at a critical moment, when the fate of his ship was at hazard, showed a shrinking from duty and responsibility, and a want of presence of mind, whilst the search for his pistols, real or affected, to be used against his commanding officer, evinced a braggart disposition to shed blood, which was doubtless assumed to cover the timidity with which the jeopardy of his ship had affected him. This anecdote will be found very characteristic of the man in after scenes of much greater peril.

On the last day of June, Jones returned to L'Orient to repair the damages sustained in his collision with the *Alliance*. During this cruise, he transmitted a draft for thirty pounds for the use of his relations. It was sent circuitously through a friend in Dublin, under a feigned name, but from some accident or dishonesty, never reached its destination. Soon after his return to L'Orient, he received instructions from Dr. Franklin with regard to his future movements. He was directed to proceed, with the vessels under his command, to the west coast of Ireland, and cruise off the Orcades, the Cape of Derneus, and the Dogger Bank, in order to take the enemy's property in those seas. All prizes were to be sent to Dunkirk, Ostend, or Bergen in Norway, according to the proximity of either of those ports, and be addressed to the persons M. de Chaumont should name. About the 15th of August, he was directed to proceed to the Texel, where he would find further orders.

In writing to Franklin on his return to L'Orient, Jones re-

turned to the old theme, his desire to obtain the command of the *Indien*, and stated, that if the Court was still disposed to give him that ship, he thought he could make a useful cruise towards the Texel with the force under his command, and afterwards bring that ship out with the crew he now had. He found great fault with the dull sailing of the old *Bon Homme Richard*, and her defects of every description. Franklin's reply betrays as much gentle impatience as the sage was probably capable of feeling. He said he had no other orders to give; for, as the Court was at the chief expense, he thought they had the best right to direct. When a thing had been once determined on in Council, they do not care to resume the consideration of it, having much business on hand, and no time for reconsideration. By way of comfort, however, he mentioned in confidence that the cruise had been ordered to terminate at the Texel, with the view of getting out the *Indien*.

During Jones's cruise in the Bay of Biscay, a mutinous spirit had exhibited itself among the Englishmen of his crew, who had entered the service as Americans, in order to escape from prison, and in the hope, perhaps, of afterwards returning to the allegiance of their own flag. Two quarter-masters were implicated as ringleaders in a conspiracy to take the ship. It was necessary to hold a court-martial for the trial of those offenders; and a knowledge of those circumstances, thus reaching M. de Sartine, created a distrust with regard to the efficiency of the *Bon Homme Richard*, which gave Jones great annoyance. The result of the court-martial was, that the quarter-masters were severely whipped, instead of being condemned to death, as Jones, from a letter written about this period, seems to have apprehended. As a cartel arrived at Nantes with one hundred and nineteen American prisoners at this conjuncture, and efforts were made to enter them for the *Bon Homme Richard*, it is probable that the character of her crew was much improved before she again put to sea. At the request of M. de Sartine, Lieutenant-Colonel de Chamillard de Warville was

received on board of the *Richard* as commander of marines, and the cruise was also extended so as to take in the whole of September.

Before the squadron put to sea, M. le Ray de Chaumont produced an agreement for the signature of Jones, and the other commanders, in conformity with an intimation which he had made to him two months previously, that such a document would be required. By this agreement, styled a *concordat*, the five captains, Jones, Landais, Cottineau, Varage, and Ricot, bound themselves, unless detached from the squadron by order of the Minister of Marine, to act together by virtue of the commission which they had received from the United States. In the event of the death of the commander-in-chief, the next officer in rank was to succeed him. The division of prize-money to the crews was to be regulated by the American laws; but the proportion of each vessel was to be decided by the French Minister of Marine and the American ambassador, under whose joint orders the squadron acted. A copy of the American laws was annexed to the *concordat*. All prizes were to be consigned to M. le Ray de Chaumont, who furnished the expenses of the armament. He was not to pay the prize-money of any individual of the squadron except to his order, and was to be personally responsible to each for the amount of his share. Armed vessels, whether French or American, could unite with the squadron by mutual consent.

Though Jones signed the paper, he subsequently made it the subject of bitter complaint. He ascribed to it most of the discord and insubordination which occurred during the cruise; and no doubt the novel feature, in a military expedition, of the inferior commanders becoming parties to an agreement, by which the commander-in-chief was also bound, instead of being subject to his unconditional orders, contributed to the disorder of which the discordant materials composing the expedition were likely to be in themselves sufficiently productive. In the *Bon Homme Richard*, whilst the

commander was by birth a Scotchman, a part of his officers were American and a part French. Of his crew, one third might be Americans, half of the remainder Englishmen, and the rest French volunteers, to act as marines, and guard the doubtful fidelity of the English, who had entered to escape from prison. The captain of the Alliance was a Frenchman, by character jealous, irritable, incompetent, and treacherous, whilst his officers and crew were all Americans. Of the other vessels, the officers and crews were entirely French, though all bore equally the flag, and acted under the commission, of the United States. As the squadron was about to put to sea, it was joined by two privateers, the Monsieur of forty guns, and the Grandville of fourteen. The two privateers did not, however, enter into the *concordat*, but remained in company by voluntary agreement.

CHAPTER VII.

Departure of the Squadron from L'Orient. Incipient Insubordination. A Privateer parts company. Makes the coast of Ireland. Desertion of the Richard's Barge. Loss of another. Insolence of Landais of the Alliance. Desertion of the two Vessels. The Squadron encounters a severe Gale. Separation of Ships. The Richard passes between Scotland and the Western Isles. Falls in with the Alliance off Cape Wrath. Capture of two valuable Prizes. They are sent to Norway. Renewed Insolence of Landais. The Alliance parts Company. The Squadron of the Firth of Forth. Project of a Descent upon Leith. His Captains oppose the Enterprise. They yield their Consent. The Squadron enters the Firth. Is taken for an English Force. Request sent to Jones for Ammunition. Summons prepared for Leith. Approach to Kirkcaldy. Prayer of Mr. Shirra. Gale out of the Firth. The Squadron driven off. Project against Hull and Newcastle. Evils of the Concordat.

HAVING issued general orders for the government of the different commanders, assigned to each vessel its station in the order of sailing, and appointed two points of rendezvous in the case of separation, Jones put to sea from L'Orient on the

14th of August, 1779. His squadron amounted, with the two privateers, to seven sail; a force says he, "which might have effected great services and done infinite injury to the enemy, had there been secrecy and due subordination. Unfortunately there was neither. Captain Jones saw his danger; but his reputation being at stake, he put all to the hazard."

On the 18th, the squadron re-captured a large Dutch ship which had been taken a few days before by an English privateer. The captain of the *Monsieur*, which was the boarding vessel, took a number of articles out of this prize, and then manning her, ordered her into port, without reference to the commander-in-chief, who was in sight. Jones, however, countermanded the orders, and despatched her for L'Orient, which doubtless gave offence to the captain of the *Monsieur*, as he disappeared that evening, and did not rejoin the squadron.

On the 23d, the squadron made Cape Clear, the extreme southern point of Ireland, having taken several prizes on the passage. It being calm, Jones sent his boats in-shore to capture a brigantine. Soon after it became necessary to lower the barge, and send her a-head to tow, so as to keep the ship from drifting into a dangerous bay. At dusk, the barge's crew cut the tow line and pulled for the shore. Several shots were fired without effect, and Mr. Cutting Lunt, the master, went with another boat and several marines in chase of them, and pursuing too far, a fog came on which prevented his return. On the following day Captain Landais came on board the Commodore's ship, and reproached him in the most insulting and disrespectful manner for losing his boats, telling him that he, Landais, was the only American in the squadron, that he should hereafter follow his own opinion with regard to chasing, notwithstanding Jones's orders, and, moreover, that if Jones kept the squadron three days longer in that situation, it would inevitably be taken. In a regular service, such insolence and insubordination would be inconceivable. The disaffected character of Jones's crew, and the great proportion

of Englishmen it contained, are also made manifest by the desertion of the barge, which usually contains the best and most trusty men. He reports to the Ambassador, that, by the advice of Captain Cottineau, and with the free consent of Captain Varage, he had sent the Cerf in to reconnoitre the coast, and endeavour to find the boats and people, the next day, while the squadron stood off and on in the south west quarter, in the best possible situation to intercept the enemy's merchant ships. Thus, before giving orders of indispensable necessity, as a superior officer, we find him taking the advice of one captain, and obtaining the free consent and approbation of another. It is necessary, however, to take all these circumstances into consideration, in order to estimate the difficulties with which he was surrounded, and the glory which, in defiance of them, he was still able to achieve.

The Cerf, on approaching the shore to reconnoitre, was seen by Mr. Lunt in the ship's boat; but, as the Cerf was under English colours, he mistook her character, and attempting to escape towards the land, was made prisoner. By this means, the Bon Homme Richard lost two of her boats, her master, and twenty of her crew. The Cerf was not again seen, she having returned to France, instead of proceeding to the rendezvous, which had been fixed upon. The Grandville, having made a prize, also lagged behind and parted company. There remained of the original squadron only the Bon Homme Richard, the Alliance, the Pallas, and the Vengeance. As Jones, however, undoubtedly gained strength as he parted with his insubordinate and faithless followers, it was rather to be regretted that the defection had not been greater; especially would he have gained by parting with the treacherous Landais.

On the night of the 26th of August, it came on to blow heavily from the southwest; and Jones, yielding to the insolent and insubordinate objections of Landais, against remaining longer in that neighbourhood, bore up and ran to

the northward along the coast of Ireland. Landais steered a course two points different from that which Jones had ordered by signal, the Pallas carried away her tiller in the night, and Jones found himself the next morning alone with the Vengeance. On the 31st, the Alliance, being off Cape Wrath, joined company with a valuable West Indiaman, called the Betsey, mounting twenty-two guns, which she had taken. As the Alliance came up with her prize, the Bon Homme Richard was in the act of capturing a twenty-two gun ship, called the Union, bound for Canada with naval stores. Landais had the insolent folly to send a message to Jones, to ask whether he should man the ship, as, in that case, he would suffer no boat from the Richard to board her. "For the sake of peace," as he says, Jones yielded to these terms, and the prize was manned from the Alliance, while the prisoners were received on board the Richard. On the same day, Jones having made a signal to Landais to chase, instead of obeying, he wore and laid the ship's head the other way. The next morning, a signal was made for him to come within hail of the Richard; this he did not even answer; and, on September 3d, he acted in direct violation of Jones's orders, by sending the two valuable prizes, recently taken, to Bergen in Norway, where they were subsequently given up to the English, by order of the Danish government. Their value was estimated to exceed forty thousand pounds sterling. On the evening of the 4th, the Commander made signal for all captains to repair on board, which Landais not only refused to do, but, when Captain Cottineau, who had joined company in the Pallas the day before, and M. Chamillard went to persuade him, he used the most insulting language with regard to the Commodore, and said that he would see him on shore, when one of them must kill the other. After this amiable demonstration, he again parted company.

On the 5th, it came on to blow heavily and continued boisterous for several days. In the mean time the squadron

having doubled the north of Scotland, ran down on the eastern coast, and on the evening of the 13th, came in sight of the hills of Cheviot. On the following day, being off the Firth of Forth, Jones captured several vessels from Leith, by which he learned that the only vessels of war lying in the roads were a twenty-gun ship and three or four cutters. He immediately conceived the daring and characteristic design of capturing this force, and then landing his marines, and laying the town under contribution, under the penalty of being immediately burned. Though much weakened, and embarrassed with prisoners, he was anxious to teach the enemy humanity by some exemplary stroke of retaliation, as well as to make a diversion in the north, to favour a formidable descent, which he expected would have been made about this time on the south side of Great Britain, under cover of the combined fleet. The wind was favourable to run up the Firth; but the Pallas and Vengeance being at a distance in the offing, he stood out to meet them, in order to concert the attack. On communicating his plan to his captains, they started many difficulties and objections. "After spending the whole night," he says, "all his arguments on the side of honour and humanity failed. He then spoke to their ruling passion, and showed them a large heap of gold at the end of the prospect. He was now heard with attention." "They appeared to think better of the design," he elsewhere says, "after I had assured them that I hoped to raise a contribution of two hundred thousand pounds on Leith, and that there was no battery of cannon there to oppose our landing. So much time, however, was unavoidably spent in pointed remarks and sage deliberation that night, that the wind became contrary in the morning." Nevertheless, Jones did not abandon his design, but continued working to windward.

On the 15th, they captured a small collier, called the Friendship, of Kirkaldy, the master of which, Andrew Robertson, agreed, on condition of his vessel being restored to him, to

pilot the squadron into Leith. On the 16th, the ships being close in with the coast of Fife, under English colours, were taken for King's vessels in pursuit of Paul Jones, who was supposed to be off the coast; for a large proprietor of that neighbourhood, who was a member of parliament, sent off a boat to the Richard, to ask for powder and shot, that he might have the means of defending himself from the expected visit of the pirate Paul Jones. Jones returned a very polite message, and sent a barrel of powder, but expressed his regret that he had no suitable shot. In order to make the favour reciprocal, and diminish the weight of obligation he was imposing on the honourable gentleman, he detained one of the boatmen as a pilot.

Meantime every preparation was made for landing, and a summons was prepared with every prospect of its being not only delivered, but complied with. It was sufficiently tumid; but perhaps not the less suited to terrify the worthy burghers. A blank capitulation was at the same time drawn up in readiness to be signed by the magistrates. The summons ran as follows.

“The Honourable J. Paul Jones, Commander-in-chief of the American Squadron, now in Europe, to the Provost of Leith, or, in his absence, to the Chief Magistrate, who is now actually present, and in authority there.

“Sir: The British marine force, that has been stationed here for the protection of your city and commerce, being now taken by the American arms under my command, I have the honour to send you this summons by my officer, Lieutenant-Colonel de Chamillard, who commands the vanguard of my troops. I do not wish to distress the poor inhabitants; my intention is only to demand your contribution towards the reimbursement which Britain owes to the much injured citizens of the United States; for savages would blush at the unmanly violation and rapacity that have marked the tracks of British

tyranny in America, from which neither virgin innocence nor helpless age has been a plea for protection or pity.

“Leith and its port now lie at our mercy; and, did not our humanity stay the hand of just retaliation, I should, without advertisement, lay it in ashes. Before I proceed to that stern duty as an officer, my duty as a man induces me to propose to you, by means of a reasonable ransom, to prevent such a scene of horror and distress. For this reason, I have authorized Lieutenant Colonel de Chamillard to conclude and agree with you on the terms of ransom, allowing you exactly half an hour’s reflection before you finally accept or reject the terms which he shall propose. If you accept the terms offered within the time limited, you may rest assured that no further debarkation of troops will be made, but the re-embarkation of the vanguard will immediately follow, and the property of the citizens shall remain unmolested.”

Late in the afternoon of the 16th, the squadron was distinctly seen from Edinburgh Castle, beating up the Firth. Its real character was suspected. The alarm spread far and wide, and the audacity of Jones struck a panic terror far beyond what his force justified, and which was well suited to paralyze any effort at resistance; arms, however, were distributed to the trades, and efforts hastily made to erect batteries at Leith. On the morning of the 17th, in one of her tacks towards the northern shore the Richard stood boldly up within a mile of Kirkaldy, as if about to make a descent on the town. The simple inhabitants were in an awful consternation. It is related that the minister of the place, the Rev. Mr. Shirra, who was very eccentric and remarkable for the quaint and somewhat unseemly hardihood which often characterized his prayers, joined his flock on the sandy beach which skirts the town, and commenced supplicating earnestly in the following odd strain.

“Now deer Lord, dinna ye think it a shame for ye to send this vile piret to rob our folk o’ Kirkaldy for ye ken they’re

puir enow already, and hae naething to spaire. The wa the ween blaws, he 'll be here in a jiffie, and wha kens what he may do? He's nae too guid for ony thing. Meickle's the mischief he has dune already. He'll burn thir hooses, tak their very claes and tirl them to the sark; and wae's me! wha kens but the bluidy villain might take their lives? The puir weemen are maist frightened out o' their wits, and the bairns skirling after them. I canna thol't it! I canna thol't it! I hae been lang a faithfu' servant to ye, Laird; but gin ye dinna turn the ween about, and blaw the scoundrel out of our gate, I 'll na staur a fit, but will just sit here till the tide comes. Sae tak yere wull o't."

Such is said to have been the prayer of Mr. Shirra on this occasion, the extravagance of which may have grown in the hands of some waggish editor of the day. Be it as it may, a violent gale just then sprung up, which stranded one of the prizes, and compelled Jones to bear up and run out of the Firth. Popular belief among the good people of Kirkaldy long continued to ascribe this gale to a direct manifestation of divine interposition in their favour, brought on by the energetic supplications of their worthy minister. Nor did he altogether disclaim the honour; for, when long after he used to be complimented on the subject, he was wont to say, "I prayed; but the Lord sent the wind."

Jones tells us in his official account, that he was nearly within gun-shot of Leith, having made every preparation to land, when the gale freshened to blow with great violence. He made an effort to withstand its force and reach his anchorage, now quite near; but, after an ineffectual struggle, he was obliged to bear away and run out of the Firth. The gale abated in the evening; but he was then far from the port; and, thinking that the alarm had been effectually given far and near, and the proximity of Edinburgh would have enabled the authorities to make formidable preparations to meet him at Leith, he was obliged, though reluctantly and

with many regrets, to abandon his enterprise. Daring as it was, had he been so favoured by the wind as to have reached Leith without warning, which he might have done had his coadjutors lent him hearty co-operation from the first, instead of enlightening him with their "pointed remarks and sage deliberation," the very suddenness of the attack would have doubtless secured its success. The exploit bears the same character of hardihood as the descent on Whitehaven. Had circumstances been more propitious, it would doubtless have been successful. The conception, at any rate, belongs to the highest character of intrepidity.

Two days after, Jones was already meditating another attempt to destroy one of the enemy's towns. It is supposed that his attention was now directed against Hull, or Newcastle, probably the latter, as it had been a favourite project of his to cut off the supply of coal for London, which the destruction of the shipping of that place would have temporarily effected, in addition to the great loss of property. He proposed his scheme to Captain Cottineau, of the *Pallas*. This officer objected to the project, and warned Jones that a delay of two days more on the coast would inevitably lead to their capture. He intimated, moreover, to Colonel de Chamillard, that, unless Jones left the coast the next day, the *Pallas* and *Vengeance* would abandon him. It was an evil, that grew out of the concordat, and the inferior commanders being made acquainted with the orders under which Jones acted, that they knew that the period fixed for the termination of the cruise at the Texel had arrived. They were, therefore, anxious to leave a neighbourhood, which they expected would soon be too hot for them. Jones had thought of attempting the project alone, and protests that he would have done so, with every confidence of success, but for the reproach that would have been cast upon his character as a man of prudence, had the enterprise miscarried. It would have been said, "Was he not forewarned by Captain Cottineau and others?"

Jones was the last man to have others associated with him, with the right to claim an explanation of his views and to pass judgment upon them, as, owing to the nature of the agreement entered into by the various commanders, the distrust of the chief, and the indiscreet confidence reposed in the subordinates, was the case on this ill-arranged expedition. The accuracy of the local knowledge of this coast which he obtained from his prisoners, and his ingenuity in combining it, above all, the freedom from vague apprehension of unseen dangers which left his judgment undisturbed to study and appreciate the real difficulties of any undertaking, enabled him to estimate the chances of success with an accuracy convincing to himself, though not obvious to others, less ingenious, and less free from disturbance by the prospect of danger. Others could not see with his eyes. It was an inherent vice in this armament, that its ill-assorted composition, and the principle upon which it was sent out, rendered it necessary they should do so. Jones was a man to be obeyed. Had he been at the head of a regular force of American ships, fitted out at home, imperfectly organized as our navy then was, there is scarcely a limit to the services that he might have effected. There was one service, however, that he did effect in defiance of all obstacles which surrounded him. In the decayed and ill-contrived old ship in which he found himself cast forth upon the ocean, in a scarcely seaworthy condition from the first, and having under his orders a motley collection of officers and seamen of almost every country, he fought a battle, which, for stubborn and resolute courage, and triumphant success, is unsurpassed by any sea-fight of ancient or modern times. This is a service, the value of which will be felt in its animating and encouraging example, so long as we continue to have a name among the nations of the earth.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Squadron off Flamborough Head. Discovers the Baltic Fleet. Gives Chase. The opposing Ships approach. State of the Weather. Spectators on Shore. Eccentric Movements of the Alliance. The Action begins between the Richard and the Serapis. Two guns of the Richard burst. The Serapis passes round the Richard. Attempts to cross her Bow. The two Ships get foul. Jones attempts to board. Is repulsed. The Ships separate. The Richard lays the Serapis athwart Hawse. The Ships swing Broadside and Broadside. The Serapis anchors. Terrible cannonade from the Serapis. The Alliance rakes the Richard. Jones superintends the Quarter-deck Battery, Effective Fire from the Richard's Tops. Combustibles thrown on board the Serapis. Explosion on her Main Deck. Alarm lest the Richard should sink. Gunner cries for Quarter. Prisoners released. Desperate Situation of Jones. He does not despair. The Serapis strikes. Her Captain delivers up his Sword. Mangled Condition of the Richard. Both Ships on Fire. Removal of the Wounded. The Richard sinks. Comparative Force of the Ships. Victory due personally to Jones. Conduct of Landais. Jones's Heroism.

THE battle between the Bon Homme Richard and the Serapis is invested with an heroic interest of the highest stamp. From the day of his unsuccessful effort to attack Leith, Jones had been cruising off the mouth of the Humber, and along the Yorkshire coast, intercepting the colliers bound to London, many of which he destroyed. On the morning of the 23d of September, he fell in with the Alliance. This rencontre was a real misfortune; as, in the battle which ensued, the disobedience and mad vagaries of Landais were about to be converted into absolute treason. The squadron now consisted of the Richard, the Alliance, the Pallas, and the Vengeance.

About noon, Jones despatched his second lieutenant, Henry Lunt, with fifteen of his best men, to take possession of a brigantine, which he had chased ashore. Soon after, as the squadron was standing to the northward towards Flamborough Head, with a light breeze from south-south-west, chasing a ship which was seen doubling the cape, in opening the view beyond,

they gradually came in sight of a fleet of forty-one sail running down the coast from the northward, very close in with the land. On questioning the pilot, the Commodore discovered that this was the Baltic fleet, with which he had been so anxious to fall in, and that it was under convoy of the *Serapis*, a new ship, of an improved construction, mounting forty-four guns, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, of twenty guns.

Signal was immediately made to form the line of battle, which the *Alliance*, as usual disregarded. The *Richard* crossed her royal yards, and immediately gave chase to the northward, under all sail, to get between the enemy and the land. At the same time signal of recall was made to the pilot boat; but she did not return until after the action. On discovering the American squadron, the headmost ships of the convoy were seen to haul their wind suddenly, and go about so as to stretch back under the land, towards *Scarborough*, and place themselves under cover of the cruiser; at the same time, they fired signal guns, let fly their top-gallant sheets, and showed every symptom of confusion and alarm. Soon afterward, the *Serapis* was seen stretching to windward, to get between the convoy and the American ships, which she soon effected. At four o'clock, the English cruisers were in sight from deck. The *Countess of Scarborough* was standing out to join the *Serapis*, which was lying to for her, whilst the convoy continued to run for the fort, in obedience to the signals displayed from the *Serapis*, which was also seen to fire guns. At half past five, the two ships had joined company, when the *Serapis* made sail by the wind; at six, both vessels tacked, heading up to the westward, across the bows of the *Richard*, so as to keep their position between her and the convoy.

The opposing ships thus continued to approach each other slowly, under the light southwesterly air. The weather was beautifully serene, and the breeze being off the land, which was now close on board, produced no ripple on the water, which lay still and peaceful, offering a fair field to the com-

batants about to grapple in such deadly strife. The decks of the opposing vessels were long since cleared for action, and ample leisure remained for reflection, as the ships glided towards each other at a rate but little in accordance with the impatience of the opponents. From the projecting promontory of Flamborough Head, which was less than a league distant, thousands of the inhabitants, whom the recent attempt upon Leith had made aware of the character of the American ships, and the reckless daring of their leader, looked down upon the scene, awaiting the result with intense anxiety. The ships also were in sight from Scarborough, the inhabitants of which thronged the piers. The sun had already sunk behind the land, before the ships were within gun-shot of each other; but a full harvest-moon rising above the opposite horizon, lighted the combatants in their search for each other, and served to reveal the approaching scene to the spectators on the land with a vague indistinctness which rendered it only the more terrible.

We have seen, that the Alliance had utterly disregarded the signal to form the line of battle, when the Baltic fleet was first discovered and our squadron bore down upon them. She stood for the enemy without reference to her station, and, greatly outsailing the other vessels, was much sooner in a condition to engage. Captain Landais seemed, for once, to be actuated by a chivalrous motive, and likely to do something to redeem the guilt of his disobedience. The officers of the Richard were watching this new instance of eccentricity, for which Landais's past conduct had not prepared them, with no little surprise; when, after getting near to where the Serapis lay, with her courses hauled up and St. George's ensign, the white cross of England, proudly displayed, he suddenly hauled his wind, leaving the path of honour open to his commander. While the Pallas stood for the Countess of Scarborough; the Alliance sought a position in which she could contemplate the the double engagement without risk, as though her commander

had been chosen umpire, instead of being a party interested in the approaching battle. Soon afterward, the *Serapis* was seen to hoist the red ensign instead of St. George's, and it was subsequently known that her captain had nailed it to the flag-staff with his own hand.

About half-past seven, the *Bon Homme Richard* hauled up her courses and rounded to on the weather or larboard quarter of the *Serapis*, within pistol-shot, and steered a nearly parallel course, though gradually edging down upon her. The *Serapis* now triced up her lower deck ports, showing two complete batteries, besides her spar-deck, lighted up for action, and making a most formidable appearance. At this moment, Captain Pearson, her commander, hailed the *Bon Homme Richard*, and demanded, "What ship is that?" Answer was made, "I can't hear what you say." The hail was repeated: "What ship is that? answer immediately, or I shall be under the necessity of firing into you!" A shot was fired in reply by the *Bon Homme Richard*, which was instantly followed by a broadside from each vessel. Two of the three old eighteen-pounders in the *Richard's* gun-room burst at the first fire, spreading around an awful scene of carnage. Jones immediately gave orders to close the lowerdeck ports, and abandon that battery during the rest of the action.

The *Richard*, having kept her head-way, and becalmed the sails of the *Serapis*, passed across her forefoot, when the *Serapis*, luffing across the stern of the *Richard*, came up in turn on the weather or larboard quarter; and, after an exchange of several broadsides from the fresh batteries, which did great damage to the rotten sides of the *Richard*, and caused her to leak badly, the *Serapis* likewise becalmed the sails of the *Richard*, passed a-head, and soon after bore up and attempted to cross her forefoot, so as to rake her from stem to stern. Finding, however, that he had not room for the evolution, and that the *Richard* would be on board of him, Captain Pearson put his helm a-lee, which brought the two ships in a line ahead,

and, the Serapis having lost her head-way by the attempted evolution, the Richard ran into her weather or larboard quarter. While in this position, neither ship being able to use her great guns, Jones attempted to board the Serapis, but was repulsed, when Captain Pearson hailed him, and asked, "Has your ship struck?" To which he at once returned the discouraging answer, "I have not yet begun to fight!"

Jones now backed his topsails, and the sails of the Serapis remaining full, the two ships separated. Immediately after, Pearson also laid his topsails aback, as he says in his official report, to get square with the Richard again; Jones, at the same instant, filled away, which brought the two ships once more broadside and broadside. As he had already suffered greatly from the superior force of the Serapis, and from her being more manageable and a faster sailer than the Richard, which had several times given her the advantage in position, Jones now determined to lay his ship athwart the enemy's hawse; he accordingly put his helm up, but some of his braces being shot away, his sails had not their full power, and, the Serapis having stern-way, the Richard fell on board of her farther aft than Jones had intended. The Serapis's jib-boom hung her for a few minutes, when, carrying away, the two ships swung broadside and broadside, the muzzles of the guns touching each other. Jones sent Mr. Stacy, the acting master, to pass up the end of a hawser to lash the two ships together; and, while he was gone on this service, assisted with his own hand in making fast the jib-stay of the Serapis to the Richard's mizzen-mast. Accident, however, unknown for the moment to either party, more effectually secured the two vessels together; for, the anchor of the Serapis having hooked the quarter of the Richard, the two ships lay closely grappled. In order to escape from this close embrace, and recover the advantage of his superior sailing and force, Captain Pearson now let go an anchor, when the two ships tended round to the tide, which was setting towards Scarborough. The Richard being held

by the anchor of the *Serapis*, and the yards being entangled fore and aft, they remained firmly grappled. This happened about half-past eight, the engagement having already continued an hour.*

Meantime the firing had recommenced with fresh fury from the starboard sides of both vessels. The guns of either ship actually touched the sides of the other, and some of them being opposite the ports, they entered those of the opposite ship when in the act of loading, and the guns were discharged into the side or into the open decks. The effect of this cannonade was terrible to both ships, and wherever it could be kept up in one ship, it was silenced in the other. Occasional skirmishing with pikes and pistols took place through the ports, but there does not appear to be any concerted effort to board from the lower decks of the *Serapis*, which had the advantage below.

The *Richard* had already received several eighteen-pound shot between wind and water, causing her to leak badly; the main battery of twelve-pounders was silenced; as for the gun-room battery of six eighteen-pounders, we have seen, that two out of the three starboard ones burst at the first fire, killing most of their crews. During the whole action but eight shots were fired from this heavy battery, the use of which was so much favoured by the smoothness of the water. The bursting of these guns, and the destruction of the crew, with the partial blowing up of the deck above, so early in the action, were discouraging circumstances, which, with a less

* As considerable difference will be observable between the account of this battle, given in Mr. Cooper's "Naval History" and the above, it is proper to state, that Mr. Cooper has followed Mr. Dale's description of the manœuvres antecedent to the ships being grappled; whilst, in the present account, more reliance has been placed on those of the two commanders, who directed the evolutions. Mr. Dale was stationed on the *Richard*'s main deck, in a comparatively unfavourable position for observing the manœuvres. The evolution of boxhauling his ship, ascribed by Mr. Cooper to Captain Pearson, would, under the circumstances, have been highly unseamanlike,

resolutely determined commander, might well have been decisive of the fate of the battle.

Colonel Chamillard, who was stationed on the poop, with a party of twenty marines, had already been driven from his post, with the loss of a number of his men, probably by the raking fire of the Alliance. This ship kept studiously aloof, and hovering about the Pallas and Countess of Scarborough, until the latter struck, after half an hour's action, when Landais endeavoured to get information as to the force of the Serapis. He now ran down, under easy sail, to where the Richard and Serapis lay grappled. At about half-past nine, he ranged up on the larboard quarter of the Richard, of course having the Richard between him and the Serapis; though the brightness of the moonlight, the greater height of the Richard, especially about the poop, and the fact of her being painted entirely black, whilst the Serapis had a yellow streak, could have left no doubt as to her identity; moreover, the Richard displayed three lights at the larboard bow, gangway, and stern, which was an appointed signal of recognition.

Landais now deliberately fired into the Richard's quarter, killing many of her men. Standing on, he ranged past her larboard bow, where he renewed his raking fire, with like fatal effect. To remove the chance of misconception, many voices cried out, that the Alliance was firing into the wrong ship; still the raking fire continued from her. Captain Pearson also suffered from this fire, as he states in his report to the Admiralty, but necessarily in a much less degree than the Richard, which lay between them. There is ample evidence of Landais having returned there several times to fire on the Richard, and always on the larboard side, or the opposite one to that on which the Richard was grappled with the Serapis.

While the fire of the Serapis was continued without intermission from the whole of her lower-deck battery, the only guns that were still fired from the Richard were two nine-pounders on the quarter-deck, commanded by Mr. Mease, the

purser. This officer having received a dangerous wound in the head, Jones took his place, and, having collected a few men, succeeded in shifting over one of the larboard guns; so that three guns were now kept playing on the enemy, and these were all that were fired from the Richard during the remainder of the action. One of these guns was served with double-headed shot and directed at the main mast, by Jones's command, whilst the other two were loaded with grape and canister, to clear the enemy's deck. In this service, great aid was rendered by the men stationed in the tops of the Richard, who, having cleared the tops of the Serapis, committed great havoc among the officers and crew upon her upper deck. Thus, while the action was carried on with decided advantage to the enemy on the lower decks, from which they might have boarded with a good prospect of success, as nearly the whole crew of the Richard had been driven from below by the fire of the Serapis, and had collected on the upper deck,—above, it was equally in our favour. In addition to the destructive fire from the tops of the Richard, great damage was done by the hand-grenades thrown from her tops and yard-arms. The Serapis was set on fire as often as ten or twelve times in various parts, and the conflagration was only with the greatest exertions kept from becoming general.

About a quarter before ten, a hand-grenade, thrown by one of the Richard's men from the main-top of the Serapis, struck the combing of the main hatch, and, glancing inward upon the main deck, set fire to a cartridge of powder. Owing to mismanagement and defective training, the powder boys on this deck had brought up the cartridges from the magazine faster than they were used, and, instead of waiting for the loaders to receive and charge them, had laid them on the deck, where some of them were broken. The cartridge fired by the grenade now communicated to these, and the explosion spread from the main-mast aft on the starboard side, killing twenty men and disabling every man there stationed at the guns, those

who were not killed outright being left stripped of their clothes and scorched frightfully.

At this conjuncture, being about ten o'clock, the gunner and the carpenter of the *Richard*, who had been slightly wounded, became alarmed at the quantity of water which entered the ship through the shot-holes, which she had received between wind and water, and which, by her settling, had got below the surface. The carpenter expressed an apprehension that she would speedily sink, which the gunner mistaking for an assertion that she was actually sinking, ran aft on the poop to haul down the colours. Finding that the ensign was already down, in consequence of the staff having been shot away, the gunner set up the cry, "Quarter! for God's sake, quarter! Our ship is sinking!" which he continued until silenced by Jones, who threw at the recreant a pistol he had just discharged at the enemy, which fractured his skull, and sent him headlong down the hatchway. Captain Pearson, hearing the gunner's cry, asked Jones if he called for quarter, to which, according to his own words, he replied "in the most determined negative." Captain Pearson now called away his boarders and sent them on board the *Richard*, but, when they reached her rail, they were met by Jones himself, at the head of a party of pikemen, and driven back. They immediately returned to their ship, followed by some of the *Richard's* men, all of whom were cut off.

About the same time that the gunner set up his cry for quarter, the master-at-arms, who had been in consultation with the gunner and the carpenter, in regard to the sinking condition of the ship, hearing the cry for quarter, proceeded, without orders from Jones, and either from treachery or the prompting of humane feelings, to release all the prisoners, amounting to more than a hundred. One of these, being the commander of the letter-of-marque *Union*, taken on the 31st of August, passed, with generous self-devotion, through the lower ports of the *Richard* and the *Serapis*, and, having

reached the quarter-deck of the latter, informed Captain Pearson, that, if he would hold out a little longer, the Richard must either strike or sink. He, moreover, informed him of the large number of prisoners who had been released with himself, in order to save their lives. Thus encouraged, the battle was renewed from the Serapis with fresh ardour.

The situation of Jones, at this moment, was indeed hopeless, beyond anything that is recorded in the annals of naval warfare. In a sinking ship, with a battery silenced everywhere, except where he himself fought, more than a hundred prisoners at large in his ship, his consort, the Alliance, sailing round and raking him deliberately, some of his officers counselling surrender, whilst the inferior ones were setting up disheartening cries of fire and sinking, and calling loudly for quarter; the chieftain still stood undismayed. He immediately ordered the prisoners to the pumps, and took advantage of the panic they were in, with regard to the reported sinking of the ship, to keep them from conspiring to overcome the few efficient hands that remained of his crew. Meanwhile, the action was continued with the three light quarter-deck guns, under Jones's immediate inspection. In the moonlight, blended with the flames that ascended the rigging of the Serapis, the yellow main-mast presented a palpable mark, against which the guns were directed with double-headed shot. Soon after ten o'clock the fire of the Serapis began to slacken, and at half past ten she struck.

Mr. Dale, the first lieutenant of the Richard, was now ordered on board the Serapis, to take charge of her. He was accompanied by Midshipman Mayrant and a party of boarders. Mr. Mayrant was ran through the thigh with a boarding-pike, as he touched the deck of the Serapis, and three of the Richard's crew were killed after the Serapis had struck, by some of the crew of the latter who were ignorant of the surrender of their ship. Lieutenant Dale found Captain Pearson on the quarter-deck, and told him he was ordered to send him on board the

Richard. It is a remarkable evidence of the strange character of this engagement, and the doubt which attended its result, that the first lieutenant of the Serapis, who came upon deck at this moment, should have asked his commander, whether the ship alongside had struck. Lieutenant Dale immediately answered, "No, sir! on the contrary, he has struck to us." The British lieutenant, like a true officer, repeated the question to his commander, "Have you struck, sir?" Captain Pearson replied, "Yes, I have." The lieutenant replied, "I have nothing more to say," and was about to return below, when Mr. Dale informed him, that he must accompany Captain Pearson on board the Richard. The lieutenant rejoined, "If you will permit me to go below, I will silence the firing of the lower deck guns." This offer Mr. Dale properly declined, and the two officers went on board the Richard, and surrendered themselves to Jones.

Pearson, who had risen, like Jones, from an humble station by his own bravery, but who was as inferior to Jones in courtesy, as he had proved himself in obstinacy of resistance, evinced from the first a characteristic surliness, which he maintained throughout the whole of his intercourse with his victor. In surrendering he said, that it was painful for him to deliver up his sword to a man, who had fought with a halter round his neck. Jones did not forget himself, but replied, with a compliment, which, though addressed to Pearson, necessarily reverted to himself, "Sir! you have fought like a hero, and I make no doubt but your sovereign will reward you in a most ample manner."

As another evidence of the strange *mélée* which attended this engagement, and of the discouraging circumstances under which the Richard fought, it may be mentioned, that eight or ten of her crew, who were of course Englishmen, got into a boat, which was towing astern of the Serapis, and escaped to Scarborough during the height of the engagement. This defection, together with the absence of the second lieutenant with fifteen

of the best men, the loss of twenty-four men on the coast of Ireland, added to the number who had been sent away in prizes, reduced Jones's crew to a very small number, and greatly diminished his chance of success, which was due at length solely to his own indomitable courage.

Meantime, the fire, which was still kept up from the lower-deck guns of the *Serapis*, where the seamen were ignorant of the scene of surrender which had taken place above, was arrested by an order from Lieutenant Dale. The action had continued without cessation for three hours and a half. When it at length ceased, Jones got his ship clear of the *Serapis*, and made sail. As the two separated, after being so long locked in deadly struggle, the main-mast of the *Serapis*, which had been for some time tottering, and which had only been sustained by the interlocking of her yards with those of the *Richard*, went over the side with a tremendous crash, carrying the mizzen-topmast with it. Soon after, the *Serapis* cut her cable and followed the *Richard*.

The exertions of captors and captives were now necessary to extinguish the flames, which were raging furiously in both vessels. Its violence was greatest in the *Richard*, where it had been communicated below from the lower-deck guns of the *Serapis*. Every effort to subdue the flames seemed for a time to be unavailing. In one place they were raging very near the magazine, and Jones, at length, had all the powder taken out and brought on deck, in readiness to be thrown overboard. In this work the officers of the *Serapis* voluntarily assisted.

While the fire was raging in so terrifying a manner, the water was entering the ship in many places. The rudder had been cut entirely through, the transoms were driven in, and the rotten timbers of the old ship, from the main-mast aft, were shattered and almost entirely separated, as if the ship had been sawn through by ice; so much so, that Jones says, that, towards the close of the action, the shot of the *Serapis*

passed completely through the Richard; and the stern-post and a few timbers alone prevented the stern from falling down on the gun-room deck. The water rushed in through all these apertures, so that at the close of the action, there were already five feet of water in the hold. The spectacle, which the old ship presented the following morning, was dreadful beyond description. Jones says, in his official report, that "a person must have been an eyewitness to form a just idea of the tremendous scene of carnage, wreck, and ruin, that everywhere appeared. Humanity cannot but recoil from the prospect of such finished horror, and lament that war should produce such fatal consequences."

Captain Pearson also notices, in his official letter to the Admiralty, the dreadful spectacle the Richard presented. He says, "On my going on board the Bon Homme Richard, I found her to be in the greatest distress; her counters and quarters on the lower deck entirely drove in, and the whole of her lower-deck guns dismounted; she was also on fire in two places, and six or seven feet water in her hold, which kept increasing upon them all night and the next day, till they were obliged to quit her, and she sunk with a great number of her wounded people on board her."* The regret which he must, at any rate, have felt in surrendering, must have been much augmented by these observations, and by what he must have seen of the motley composition of the Richard's crew.

On the morning after the action, a survey was held upon the Poor Richard, which was now more than ever, entitled to her name. After a deliberate examination, the carpenters and other surveying officers were unanimously of opinion, that the ship could not be kept afloat, so as to reach a port, if the wind should increase. The task of removing the wounded was now

* This was a mistake. Jones says, in his official letter; "No lives were lost with the ship, but it was impossible to save the stores of any sort whatever. I lost even the best part of my clothes, books, and papers; and several of my officers lost all their clothes and effects."

commenced, and completed in the course of the night and following morning. The prisoners who had been taken in merchant ships were left until the wounded were all removed. Taking advantage of the confusion, and of their superiority of numbers, they took possession of the ship, and got her head in for the land, towards which the wind was now blowing. A contest ensued, and, as the Englishmen had few arms, they were speedily overcome. Two of them were shot dead, several wounded and driven overboard, and thirteen of them got possession of a boat and escaped to the shore.

Jones was very anxious to keep the *Richard* afloat, and, if possible, to bring her into port, doubtless from the very justifiable vanity of showing how desperately he had fought her. In order to effect this object, he kept the first lieutenant of the *Pallas* on board of her, with a party of men to work the pumps, having boats in waiting to remove them, in the event of her sinking. During the night of the 24th, the wind had freshened, and still continued to freshen on the morning of the 25th, when all further efforts to save her were unavailing. About nine o'clock, it became necessary to abandon her, the water then being up to the lower deck; an hour later, she rolled as if losing her balance, and settling forward, went down bows first, her stern and mizzen-mast being last seen. "A little after ten," says Jones in his report, "I saw with inexpressible grief, the last glimpse of the *Bon Homme Richard*." The grief was a natural one, but far from being destitute of consolation; the closing scene of the *Poor Richard*, like the death of Nelson on board the *Victory*, in the moment of winning a new title to the name, was indeed a glorious one. Her shattered shell afforded an honourable receptacle for the remains of the Americans who had fallen during the action.

The best commentary that we can offer on the battle between the *Richard* and *Serapis*, is to be found in the faithful narrative in which we have embodied all the facts that have been related with regard to it, from whatever source they can

be derived. It is strongly corroborative of the truth of the various statements, that they do not, in any respect, differ materially from each other. In Sherburne's "Life of Paul Jones," we find a detailed statement of the relative force of the Richard and the Serapis, which, from its particularity, is doubtless correct. It, moreover, agrees with the relative rates of the two vessels, as given by the commanders. The Richard is called by Captain Pearson a forty-gun ship, while the Serapis is stated by the pilot, who described her to Jones when she was first made, to have been a forty-four. Jones and Dale also give her the same rate. The Richard, as we have seen, mounted six eighteen-pounders in her gun-room, on her berth-deck, where port-holes had been opened near the water; fourteen twelve and fourteen nine-pounders on her main-deck, gangways and fore-castle. The weight of shot thrown by her, at a single broadside, would thus be two hundred and twenty-five pounds. With regard to her crew, she started from L'Orient with three hundred and eighty men. She had manned several prizes, which, with the desertion of the barges's crew on the coast of Ireland, and the absence of those who went in pursuit under the master, and never returned, together with the fifteen men sent away in the pilot boat, under the second lieutenant, just before the action, and who did not return until after it was over, reduced the crew, according to Jones's statement, to three hundred and forty men at its commencement. This calculation seems a very fair one; for, by taking the statement of those who landed on the coast of Ireland, as given in a contemporary English paper at twenty-four, those who were absent in the pilot boat, being sixteen in number, and allowing five of the nine prizes taken by the Richard, to have been manned from her, with average crews of five men each, the total reduction from her original crew may be computed to be seventy men. Eight or ten more escaped, during the action, in a boat towing astern of the Serapis. To have had three hundred and forty men at

the commencement of the action, as Jones states he had, he must have obtained recruits from the crews of his prizes.

In the muster-roll of the *Richard's* crew in the battle, as given by Mr. Sherburne, from an official source, we find only two hundred and twenty-seven names. This can hardly have been complete; still the document is interesting, inasmuch as it enumerates the killed and wounded by name, there being forty-two killed and forty wounded. It also states the country of most of the crew; by which it appears that there were seventy-one Americans, fifty-seven acknowledged Englishmen, twenty-one Portuguese, and the rest of the motley collection was made up of Swedes, Norwegians, Irish, and East-Indians. Many of those not named in this imperfect muster-roll, were probably Americans.

With regard to the *Serapis*, her battery consisted of twenty eighteens on the lower gun-deck, twenty nines on the upper gun-deck, and ten sixes on the quarter-deck and fore-castle. She had two complete batteries, and her construction was, in all respects, that of a line-of-battle ship. The weight of shot thrown by her single broadside was three hundred pounds, being seventy-five pounds more than that of the *Richard*. Her crew consisted of three hundred and twenty; all Englishmen, except fifteen Lascars, and, as such, superior to the motley and partially disaffected assemblage of the *Richard*. The superiority of the *Serapis*, in size and weight, as well as efficiency of battery, was, moreover, greatly increased by the strength of her construction. She was a new ship, built expressly for a man-of-war, and equipped in the most complete manner by the first of naval powers. The *Richard* was originally a merchantman, worn out by long use and rotten from age. She was fitted, in a make-shift manner, with whatever refuse guns and materials could be hastily procured, at a small expense, from the limited means appropriated to her armament.

The overwhelming superiority thus possessed by the *Serapis*, was evident in the action. Two of the three lower-deck

guns of the Richard burst at the first fire, scattering death on every side, whilst the guns of the Serapis remained serviceable during the whole action, and their effect on the decayed sides of the Richard was literally to tear her to pieces. On the contrary, the few light guns which continued to be used in the Richard, under the immediate direction of her commander, produced little impression on the hull of the Serapis. They were usefully directed to destroy her masts and clear her upper deck, which, with the aid of the destructive and well-sustained fire from the tops, was eventually effected. The achievement of the victory was, however, wholly and solely due to the immoveable courage of Paul Jones. The Richard was beaten more than once; but the spirit of Jones could not be overcome. Captain Pearson was a brave man, and well deserved the honour of knighthood, which awaited him on his arrival in England; but Paul Jones had a nature which never could have yielded. Had Pearson been equally indomitable, the Richard, if not boarded from below, would, at last, have gone down with her colours still flying in proud defiance.

The wounded of the Serapis appear, by the Surgeon's report, accompanying Captain Pearson's letter to the Admiralty, to have amounted to seventy-five men, eight of whom died of their wounds. Of the wounded, thirty-three are stated to have been "miserably scorched," doubtless by the explosion of the cartridges on the main deck. Captain Pearson states, that there were many more, both killed and wounded, than appeared on the list, but that he had been unable to ascertain their names; the list of killed on board the Serapis does not appear in the account published by Mr. Sherburne. Jones states the number of wounded on board the Serapis as more than a hundred, and that the killed were probably as numerous. The surviving prisoners, taken from the Serapis and the Countess of Scarborough, amounted to three hundred and fifty; the whole number of prisoners, including those previ-

ously taken from captured merchant vessels, amounted to near five hundred.

During the engagement between the *Richard* and *Serapis*, the *Pallas*, commanded by Captain Cottineau, seems to have done her duty. She engaged the *Countess of Scarborough*, and captured her after an hour's close action. The *Pallas* was a frigate of thirty-two guns, and the *Countess of Scarborough* a single-decked ship, mounting twenty six-pounders. The *Alliance*, in the course of the night, also fired into the *Pallas* and the *Countess of Scarborough*, while engaged, and killed several of the *Pallas's* men. Subsequently to the engagement, it was attested by the mass of officers in the squadron, that about eight o'clock the *Alliance* raked the *Bon Homme Richard* with grape and cross-bar, killing a number of men, and dismounting several guns. He afterwards made sail for where the *Pallas* and the *Scarborough* were engaged, and, after hovering about until the latter struck, communicated by hailing with both vessels, and then stood back to the *Richard*, and, coming up on her larboard quarter, about half past nine, fired again into her; passing along her larboard beam, he then luffed up on her lee bow, and renewed his raking fire. It was proved, that the *Alliance* never passed on the larboard side of the *Serapis*, but always kept the *Richard* between her and the enemy. The officers of the *Richard* were of opinion that Landais's object was to kill Jones and disable his ship, so as afterwards to have himself an easy victory over the *Serapis*. As it was, he subsequently claimed the credit of the victory, on the plea of having raked the *Serapis*. There can be little doubt that he was actuated by jealous and treacherous feelings towards Jones, or by base timidity.* The *Vengeance* also behaved badly; neither she nor the *Alliance* made any prizes from among the fleet of

* Several of these circumstances have a strange similarity to what has occurred in our own times, in the battle on Lake Erie, of which the writer proposes to treat at large, in a life of Commodore Perry.

merchantmen, and the whole escaped under cover of Flam-borough head, and the adjacent harbours. Lieutenant Henry Lunt, who was absent in the pilot-boat with fifteen of the Richard's best men, lay in sight of the Richard, during the action, but "thought it not prudent to go along-side in time of action." His conduct at least involved a great error of judgment, which no doubt he lived to repent.

The conduct of Jones throughout this battle displayed great skill and the noblest heroism. He carried his ship into action in the most gallant style, and while he commanded with ability, excited his followers by his personal example. We find him, in the course of the action, himself assisting to lash the ships together, aiding in the service of the only battery, from which a fire was still kept up, and, when the Serapis attempted to board, rushing pike in hand, to meet and repel the assailants. No difficulties or perplexities seemed to appall him or disturb his judgment, and his courage and skill were equalled by his immovable self-composure. The achievement of this victory was solely due to his brilliant display of all the qualities essential to the formation of a great naval commander.

CHAPTER IX.

Damages of the *Serapis* repaired. The Squadron steers for Dunkirk. Jones's Colleagues run for the *Texel*. The *Serapis* follows. Arrival in the *Texel*. The English Squadron appears off the Port. The Squadron refits. Jones visits Amsterdam. His enthusiastic Reception. Shows Himself on the Exchange. His Appearance. Sympathy of the Dutch for America. The British Minister demands a Surrender of Jones and his Prizes. Not complied with. The Squadron allowed to refit. Jones takes Possession of a Fort on the *Texel*, as a Hospital for the Wounded. Agreement for an exchange of Prisoners. Franklin's Opinion of the Victory. Arrest of Landals. Charges against him. Fights Captain Cottineau. Challenges Jones. Escapes to Paris. Jones's Perplexities. The Squadron ordered to depart. The Prizes and French Ships hoist French Colours. Jones removes to the Alliance. Renewed Orders to depart. Prisoners re-embarked. Part of them delivered to France.

WHEN Jones took command of the *Serapis*, he hastened to erect a jury main-mast and repair her damages. Having beheld the melancholy spectacle of the sinking of the *Poor Richard*, he shaped his course for Dunkirk, which port he was desirous of making, as the most favourable point for exchanging his prisoners, on account of its proximity to England. The squadron encountered contrary winds for ten days subsequent to the action. At length, Jones's "colleagues," as he styled the captains under his command, insisted upon proceeding to the *Texel*, instead of beating up for Dunkirk, and actually bore away and left him to windward, which obliged him to follow.

Jones ascribes this and all the other insubordination, of which he was the victim, to the unfortunate "concordat," which M. Chaumont had induced him to sign with the other captains, and which substituted a species of joint agency for the principle of unquestioning obedience. The inferior commanders were, moreover; as Jones alleges, made acquainted, by M. Chaumont, with the destination, object, and proposed dura-

tion of the cruise. From this they learned that Jones had been ordered to terminate his cruise in the Texel, and were indisposed to allow him the exercise of his discretion in seeking first another port, for reasons which seemed good to him, but were not foreseen by Franklin, when the orders were given.

Submitting to this affront with the best grace that he was able, which was not a very good one, Jones bore away in pursuit of his disorderly followers, and anchored on the 3d of October, in the Texel. As he entered the roads, an English squadron, consisting of a sixty-four and three frigates, which had arrived at Flamborough Head the day after he left it, and which had been ever since in pursuit of him, hove in sight. The Dutch commander in the roads objected to the entry of the squadron; but Jones insisted on running into the harbour and anchoring, pleading the necessities of his situation, as an excuse for taking the hospitality which was not voluntarily tendered to him. The British ships remained in the offing, blockading the port.

Having made arrangements for the immediate refittal of the Serapis, which required new spars and rigging nearly throughout, and for preparing the Countess of Scarborough to proceed to Dunkirk with the prisoners, if it should become necessary, Jones went to Amsterdam to take part in the negociation likely to grow out of his entry into the port of a country in alliance with England, and to meet the remonstrances which the British Minister was sure to make against his claims to a hospitable reception.

The fame of his achievement, which had preceded him, and which spread far and wide throughout the civilized world, wherever heroism had admirers and England enemies, secured him a brilliant welcome to the commercial capital of Holland. The dismay and rage felt in England at finding her coasts again invaded by the ships of her former colonies, in defiance of her invincible fleets, and at the capture of one of her finest ships by an enemy of greatly inferior force, after an action un-

surpassed for its sanguinary and desperate character, was only equalled by the exultation and sympathy everywhere felt among those who had so long quailed before British maritime power, and the despotic spirit with which it was exercised. If then the press of England gave way to unmeasured vituperation of the "pirate" who had defied her power, humbled her pride, and broken the charm of her invincibility on the ocean, that of Europe generally was as unmeasured in the eulogy, with which it welcomed the triumphant chieftain.

On the 7th of October, Jones arrived at Amsterdam, and with characteristic and pardonable vanity, made his appearance at the Exchange. In a contemporary letter, published in a London newspaper of the day, he is described as being of middling stature, with a stern countenance, and swarthy, weather-worn complexion. He wore a continental uniform, picturesquely set off by a Scotch bonnet edged with gold, to give him more the air of a hero of romance. His reception was most enthusiastic; business is represented to have given way to lively interest and curiosity, and the crowd pressed round him with cheers and compliments, until he was compelled to withdraw to a room, fronting the public square, whence the anxiety of the multitude could be gratified by a sight of his person.

On the following day, the Commodore made a flying visit to the Hague, from which he returned the day after. Nor does it appear that he again visited the Court, though pressingly invited to do so by many distinguished persons, who were desirous of hospitably entertaining him, and offering him the homage of their admiration. "Duty," he replied to the correspondent who had forwarded to him some invitations, "must take the precedence of pleasure. I must wait a more favourable opportunity to kiss the hands of the fair."

The enthusiasm awakened by the heroism of Jones was not merely gratifying to his own vanity. It rendered essential service to the country of his adoption, and the cause in which

he was so heartily engaged. Holland was bound by treaties with England, somewhat compulsory, perhaps, on her part, to make common cause with her against every enemy. The memory of her former naval, and her still existing commercial rivalry, must have made her hail with pleasure the discomfiture of her powerful ally. Naval stores and munitions of war, for the assistance of the United States, in their struggle for independence, had already been covertly shipped from Holland. She was already meditating an accession to the armed neutrality, against the blockades and naval assumptions of England, then maturing under the influence of Russia, and to which Holland became a party in the course of the following year. The citizens of Holland were openly, and her government secretly, desirous of our success; from enmity to England, no less than from enthusiasm in the generous cause in which we fought.

A treaty had already been secretly negotiated between Mr. Laurens and the grand pensionary of Amsterdam, the knowledge of which reached the British cabinet by the capture of Mr. Laurens. Among papers thrown overboard by him, previous to his capture, but recovered from the water, was a copy of the treaty. This awakened the attention of the British government to what was passing in Holland. Its able minister at the Hague, Sir Joseph Yorke, was instructed to watch the movements of the court narrowly, and exact the rigorous fulfilment of its treaties. With this view, he addressed the government on the 9th of October, communicating the fact, that two of the King's ships, the *Serapis* and the *Countess of Scarborough*, had arrived in the *Texel* a few days before, "having been attacked and taken by force, by a certain Paul Jones, a subject of the King, who, according to treaties and the laws of war, can only be considered as a rebel and a pirate. Sir Joseph Yorke accordingly demanded that immediate orders should be given for the arrest of the ships, with their officers

and crews. He also solicited that the wounded Englishmen might be landed, to be cured at the expense of England.

The government of Holland was of course greatly embarrassed by this demand, and by the conflict which it occasioned between their treaty obligations to England, and their strong sympathies in the success of our cause. Franklin is said to have a double object in ordering Jones to terminate his cruise at the Texel: in the first place, to get out the *Indien*, the command of which he still hoped to secure for Jones; and, in the second, to involve Holland in a difficulty with England, growing out of the hospitality to be afforded to our flag, and thus to increase the chances of an open declaration in our favour.—

The result showed his characteristic sagacity. When war was eventually declared by England against Holland, the chief complaint against Holland, set forth in the manifesto, was the hospitality which she had extended to the American squadron and its prizes; suffering “an American pirate to remain, several weeks, in one of her ports, and even permitting part of his crew to mount guard in a fort on the Texel.” It was not until the 25th, that the Dutch government replied to Sir Joseph, informing him that Holland had, for a century, strictly abstained from deciding as to the legality of the captures of vessels brought into her ports. She simply opened her ports to give shelter to captors and their prizes, from storms or disasters, and obliged them to put to sea without unloading. The government declined passing any judgment either upon Paul Jones or the legality of his captures. It had, however, already evinced its willingness to discharge the offices of humanity, by the orders it had given with regard to the wounded prisoners. The States-General had previously deliberated on the subject, and after consultation with the courts of Admiralty, decided to suffer the ships to make such repairs as were actually necessary for their putting to sea; also to land the wounded for their recovery. They declined all responsibility for the escape of the prisoners, the care of

whom was thus relinquished to the captors, instead of their being placed in the hands of Sir Joseph Yorke, in conformity with his demand.

By virtue of an order from the Prince of Orange, the Commodore now remove his wounded to a fort on the Texel. He had authority to place sentinels to guard his prisoners, and to raise the drawbridge over the ditch, at his pleasure, for their greater security. He completed his arrangements for their safe keeping, by appointing Lieutenant-Colonel Weibert to the command of the hospital, and of the troops stationed for the care of the prisoners. About the same time, he secured himself still further against the chances of desertion among his prisoners, and set wholly at rest the question of his property in them, hitherto contested by Sir Joseph Yorke, by entering into an agreement with Captain Pearson, for the exchange of all his prisoners, amounting to five hundred and four, for an equal number of Americans; and it was agreed between the contracting parties, that all the prisoners landed in the fort should be considered as such until their regular exchange; so that in the event of any of them deserting, an equal number of Americans should be released in England, and sent to France by the first cartel.

Of all the sympathy and admiration which Jones's achievement excited far and wide, and among all the congratulatory epistles which it called forth, the dearest to his heart, as well as the most honourable to his reputation, was that of Franklin. The sage wrote to him as follows; "For some days after the arrival of your express, scarce any thing was talked of at Paris and Versailles, but your cool conduct, and persevering bravery during that terrible conflict. You may believe that the impression on my mind was not less strong than that of others; but I do not choose to say in a letter to yourself all I think on such an occasion."

He subsequently adds; "I am uneasy about your prisoners;

I wish they were safe in France. You will then have completed the glorious work of giving liberty to all the Americans that have so long languished for it, in the British prisons; for there are not so many there, as you have now taken." This passage must have been peculiarly gratifying to Jones. From the outset of his cruise in the *Ranger*, it had been a favourite object with him to procure the release of all the American prisoners in England, by capturing Englishmen. It was this, which suggested the project of seizing the person of Lord Selkirk; and which was the source of the greatest gratification to him, in the capture of the *Drake*. By his last cruise, he had, at length, prepared the completion of the humane task which he had assigned to himself, and Franklin's letter gave him the gratifying assurance that "the glorious work" was about to be accomplished.

Many of his letters of this period evinced a lively interest in the fate of a Captain Cunningham, whom he supposed to be a continental officer, but who was probably the captain of a privateer, at that time a prisoner in England. Jones was desirous of exchanging Captain Pearson for him, and this he had the satisfaction eventually to effect. Some complaint had been made by Captain Pearson to Jones, of a want of attention to the comforts of his men, and of courtesy to himself.

In the course of his reply, Jones, after having vindicated himself from the charges, goes on to say; "I know not what difference of respect is due to rank, between your service and ours; I suppose, however, the difference must be very great in England, since I am informed that Captain Cunningham, who bears a senior rank, in the service of America, to yours in the service of England, is now confined at Plymouth, in a dungeon and in fetters." The interest taken by Jones in the fate of Captain Cunningham, and of the American prisoners in England generally, the whole of whom it was his proud work to have been the means of releasing, is conclusive as to the eminently humane feelings by which he was characterized.

His bravery was both equalled and adorned by his sympathetic humanity for the sufferings of his fellow-men.

With regard to Captain Pearson, so far from having any just motive of complaint against the Commodore for failing in courtesy to him, he was himself grossly rude to Jones throughout the whole of his intercourse with him, and invariably repelled all his efforts to soothe his irritation, and treat him with civility. Captain Pearson had a large quantity of plate on board the *Serapis*, of which Jones, having lost all his own in the *Richard*, necessarily made use until he could replace his furniture. Pearson had been allowed to go on parole to the *Helder* with his officers. Jones now had all the plate, arms, and effects of every description, belonging to Captain Pearson, packed and sent to him by a lieutenant, with his polite compliments. Pearson rudely replied that he could receive nothing from the hands of a rebel. He intimated, however, that if his plate were offered to him by Captain Cotteineau, who was an officer of the French King, it would be received. Jones magnanimously overlooked this intolerable insolence and caprice, and sent the plate in the form which had been pointed out. It was received without one word of thanks or compliments to the generous victor.

In reply to the complaint which Paul Jones had made, in his official report, of the conduct of Landais, during the cruise generally, and especially during the engagement with the *Serapis*, Franklin testified his strongest displeasure, as well as that of the French court, at the behaviour of this miserable man. He directed that he should be sent to Paris, in reality to get him out of the way, but ostensibly with the view of furnishing him an opportunity of offering what he had to say in his justification, as it was not then convenient to order a court for his trial. Jones was instructed, at the same time, to furnish a list of charges alleged against him, together with the evidence in support of them, that Franklin might be able to give a just account of his conduct to Congress. In the event of his failing to obey

Franklin's order to repair to Paris, Jones was directed to arrest him.

In the mean time, Landais, instead of being overwhelmed with shame at his own baseness, put himself forward as the hero of the engagement with the *Serapis*, and insisted that his raking fire had caused her to surrender, though ample evidence existed, that it could only have reached her through the sides of the *Richard*. He, moreover, affected a perfect independence of Jones, and made requisitions for supplies, without consulting him. After figuring as a hero, at Amsterdam, he made his appearance at the Hague, with the same object of self-glorification, when he was arrested in mid-career, by Franklin's summons to Paris. The charges against him, required by Franklin, were presently forwarded. They were not drawn up in the name of Jones, but began as follows; "We, the officers of the American squadron, now at the *Texel*, this thirtieth day of October, 1779, do attest and declare upon our words of honour, as gentlemen, that all the following articles, which we subscribe, respecting the conduct of Peter Landais, Captain of the *Frigate Alliance*, are really and truly matters of fact. In witness whereof we hereunto sign our names and qualities; and will, at any time hereafter, be ready to prove the same upon oath if required."

The charges stated, among other things, that Landais had behaved with disrespect and impertinence to the commander-in-chief of the squadron, on many occasions; that he had disobeyed the signals; that he very seldom answered them; that he purposely separated from the squadron on two occasions; that when the *Bon Homme Richard* came in sight of the *Alliance* and *Pallas*, off *Flamborough Head*, Landais told Captain *Cottineau*, that if the sail proved a fifty-gun ship, they must run away, though he must have been sure that the *Pallas*, from her dull sailing, would be captured; that, though a long way ahead, when running down for the *Baltic fleet*, Landais lay out of gun-shot to windward, and allowed the *Richard* to

pass into action ; that, an hour after the action between the Richard and the Serapis had commenced, the Alliance raked the Richard with cross-bar and grape shot, and killed a number of her men ; that, after an absence of two hours, she returned again, and fired a whole broadside into the Richard's quarter, being then not more than three points abaft the Richard's beam ; and that, soon after, the Alliance crossed the Richard's bow and repeated a third time her fire upon the Richard ; that the Alliance never passed on the off-side of the Serapis, and that the Serapis could not bring a single gun to bear on the Alliance during the engagement ; and that Captain Landais had acknowledged, since the battle, that he would have thought it no harm if the Richard had struck, for it would have given him an opportunity to retake her, and to take the Serapis.

This fearful amount of testimony, and more to the same effect, was subscribed by no fewer than nineteen officers of the different ships, each testifying to the truth of the particular facts which had fallen under his observation, and many of them accompanied their affidavits with detailed statements of what they had individually seen. The first lieutenant, master, and master's mate of the Alliance testified to the conclusive fact, that the Alliance had never been on any other side of the Serapis than that on which the Richard lay, or once in a situation to be fired on by the Serapis ; and also, that the crew of the Alliance repeatedly told Captain Landais that he was firing on the wrong ship ; and some of them refused to fire. Several of the officers expressed the firm conviction that Landais's object must have been to kill Jones, and distress the Richard, so as to compel her to strike, and afterwards recapture her and take the Serapis ; others attributed his conduct either to the same motive or to cowardice. Mr. Mease sums up his evidence by saying, "The behaviour of our consorts upon this day was very mysterious ; but that of Captain Landais was of such a cast, as, in my opinion, most unavoidably

announce him to the public as a man devoid of conduct, a man of infamous principles, or a rank coward." Before Landais disappeared from the scene, he contrived to vary his eccentricities, and vindicate his claim to one sort of courage, by a duel with Captain Cottineau. They had disagreed on the cruise, and Landais doubtless found cause of offence in Cottineau's testimony against him. Landais was the challenger. They met on the Helder island, with small swords. Landais was a thorough master of his weapon, and succeeded in badly wounding his far worthier antagonist. Being in the mood, he now sent a similar invitation to the Commodore who replied by sending officers to arrest him. Upon this Landais made his escape, and proceeded to Paris in fulfilment of Dr. Franklin's order.

Having thus, for the present, got rid of the traitorous coadjutor who had so long harassed him, and so sensibly impeded his services in the cause of his country, the situation of Jones was still surrounded with annoyance and difficulty. The combined French and Spanish fleets had now returned to Brest, and the British cruisers were at liberty to blockade Jones in the Texel, and beset his track in every direction, even if he should succeed in eluding the blockade. The Dutch government was unceasing in its demands upon him to hasten to sea; and the Prince of Orange, who was under the influence of the British minister, and who did not share the sympathy of the Dutch people on behalf of Jones, continued to harass him with constant injunctions to depart. Finding that the officer, who commanded the Dutch ships in the Texel roads, was disposed to be too indulgent, the Prince of Orange superseded him, and appointed Vice-Admiral Reynst to take his place, and use every exertion in driving the Americans to sea; thirteen men-of-war, anchored in the Texel, were placed under his orders for this purpose.

To increase the obstacles in the way of the equipment of the ships, the weather proved very bad, and repeated gales of

wind prevented them from communicating with the shore. On the 4th of November, Jones wrote to the Duc de Vauguyon, French minister at the Hague, who, being the agent of the French King, as owner of all the ships except the Alliance, took an interest in, and exercised, in connexion with Franklin, a control over all his proceedings, that he had been waiting a fortnight for the water which was to have been sent to him from Amsterdam in tanks, and that at the end of that time he was informed, that it could only be procured by his sending up his own casks; the provisions, too, that had been ordered on the 9th of October, had not yet arrived, the spars sent from Amsterdam had been spoiled in the making, and none of the iron work for the Serapis had been yet completed, so that he was now without hinges to hang the lower-deck ports. The bread which was sent twice a week from Amsterdam, he said, was of so bad a quality that his men were absolutely falling ill from the use of it. Most of his officers and men had lost their clothes and bedding in the *Bon Homme Richard*, and these articles had not yet been replaced. In addition to so many motives for discontent among the men, he was unable to assure them that their property in the prizes would be made good, should they be lost or captured in proceeding to France before their sale. He begged the minister to authorize him to assure the men, that, at all hazards, they should not lose their prize money, and that they should soon receive a supply of clothes and bedding, or money to purchase them, in which case he hoped to be able to restore them to good humour.

In the mean time, Sir Joseph Yorke, having failed in his efforts to induce the Dutch government to detain the *Serapis* and Countess of Scarborough, together with their crews, as illegal captures, for want of being made by vessels having proper commissions granted by a sovereign power; and having equally failed in his attempt to get possession of the person of the pirate Paul Jones, which last purpose he is said to have attempted to effect, after failing with the government, by

instigating the magistrates of Amsterdam and even private individuals to lay hands on him ; endeavoured by every means, to force the American squadron at once to sea, that it might fall into the hands of the blockaders. By his unremitting exertions, aided by the influence of the court, he procured a resolution to be passed by the States-General, on the 19th of November, in which they disavowed any intention of recognising the independence of the American Colonies, thereby disavowing the treaty which had been signed by the authorities of the city of Amsterdam ; whilst they still refused to pass upon the legality of the captures of the ships brought into their port by the American squadron, they insisted that they had proved their unwillingness to render aid to the captors, by ordering that they should be furnished with no munitions of war, nor other articles, except such as were indispensable to their putting to sea ; they expressed their readiness even to compel them to sail, so soon as they could keep the sea, and the wind should permit, and, in consequence, directed the Admiralty college of Amsterdam to advise the American commander, that, as the approaching season of winter would make his departure inconvenient, it was necessary that he should seize the first opportunity of sailing. They stated that such was their serious intention, and required the Prince of Orange to order the officer, commanding in the Texel, to permit no delay, and even to use force, if necessary, to compel the departure of the squadron.

The French government, having knowledge of the turn that the affair was likely to take, had prepared, in the mean time, to save the King's property from almost certain capture, by covering it with its own recognised flag, to which Holland could not refuse a more prolonged hospitality. In order to be beforehand with this measure when it was seen to be unavoidable, the French Minister of Marine, had addressed a letter to Dr. Franklin, informing him that " circumstances require that the expedition of the squadron, under the orders of

Mr. Jones, should terminate in the *Texel*. It seems indispensable to give a new destination to the different ships which compose it. You are at liberty, Sir, to dispose of the American frigate, the *Alliance*, according to the views you may entertain in relation to the service of the United States. I pray you only to observe to Mr. Jones, or any other officer to whom you may intrust the command, that he must not have any subject of the King on board that frigate."

The French Ambassador at the Hague received instructions with regard to this measure on the 12th of November, and immediately sent orders to Jones through Mr. Dumas, the American agent, to suspend the sailing of the squadron, but to lose no time in completing the preparations for departure. It does not appear from this message that Jones was immediately made aware of the sudden reduction of his command, which had been determined on, and of his contemplated removal from the noble ship which his courage had won. He could not, however, have been long kept in ignorance of it, as Franklin's order, dated the 15th, to deliver up to the Ambassador, all the ships belonging to the French King, together with his prizes and the prisoners taken in them, must soon have arrived. In obedience to this order, Jones assumed the command of the *Alliance*, whilst that of the *Serapis* was conferred on Captain Cottineau of the *Pallas*. The exchange was effected silently, in the dead of night. Jones parted with the *Serapis* with infinite reluctance. He considered her the finest ship of her class that he had ever seen; she was, moreover, a proud trophy of his valour, and as such he felt that he was abandoning what was eminently his own.

The change to the *Alliance*, too, in the state in which she then was, he represents as "most disagreeable and mortifying." She was, in point of model and construction, an admirable ship, being of perfect beauty, and unsurpassed for her sailing qualities. But the madness and imbecility of Landais, had reduced her to a miserable condition. Whilst Jones's

exertions had resulted in the complete equipment of the *Serapis*, he found the *Alliance* in a wretched state of disorganization. Her sails and cables had been destroyed by negligence; the officers and men were lazy, intemperate, and insubordinate, and epidemical diseases, brought on by want of cleanliness and order, prevailed among the crew; her battery and small arms were out of order, and the powder had become damaged by leakage or want of turning. From the stores and armament of the *Serapis*, Jones was, however, able to supply the principal deficiencies, and was soon in a condition to put to sea.

While these preparations were going on, our hero was not even allowed the seaman's comfort of a growl at the hardship of his case, and the little ceremony with which he had been treated. It was probably the policy of the French court to prolong the stay of the squadron as much as possible under the American flag, which the ships must have continued for some time to wear; for we find the Dutch Admiral still unremitting in his urgent demands for the sailing of the squadron, accompanied by threats of appealing to force to compel it. On one occasion he sent his flag-captain to the ships of the squadron to read aloud a proclamation for them to depart, and in a few days after, with a still more urgent message. Jones now announced his readiness to depart, whenever he should have a leading breeze. On this last occasion, when the flag-captain visited the *Serapis*, to go through the formula of his warning to depart, he was informed that she was no longer under the command of Paul Jones; but that Captain de Cottineau de Kloguene had taken possession of her in the name of the King of France. The French flag was also displayed on board of the prizes, and of all the ships of the squadron except the *Alliance*, which alone continued to wear the American flag. The Dutch Admiral being somewhat astounded at this unexpected intelligence, appealed to the Prince of Orange for fresh instructions, and was directed by him not to proceed any farther with regard to those of the vessels whose commanders

exhibited French commissions, but to carry out his previous instructions, so far as the Alliance was concerned. He, at the same time, charged him not to allow any of the prisoners still in the fort to be carried on board the Alliance.

Notwithstanding this order, Jones persisted in embarking all his surviving wounded prisoners from the fort, and withdrew his garrison. His motive for doing so, notwithstanding the instructions of Franklin, consequent upon an agreement between him and the French Minister, was the convention that he had entered into with Captain Pearson, for the exchange of these particular prisoners. He had effected the exchange of Captain Pearson for Captain Cunningham, whom he now had the pleasure to receive on board his ship, and had still one hundred prisoners, whom he was determined to keep to be exchanged for the Americans, whom Captain Pearson had stipulated to have liberated. The rest of his prisoners, confined on board the prizes, he with great regret, relinquished to the French Ambassador; for his humane desire to be the means of liberating Americans made him value his prisoners more even than his prizes. The result was, that the prisoners delivered to the French Ambassador were exchanged at the Texel for Frenchmen, France agreeing to return an equal number of Englishmen, at a more convenient point, to be exchanged for Americans.

The British government did not sanction the convention entered into between Jones and Pearson, for an exchange of prisoners; because they hoped to recapture them on the passage of the squadron to France. Out of this danger of recapture grew the expediency of transferring the prisoners to France. Jones does not seem, by his correspondence, to have been entirely aware of the object of the transfer, or he would scarcely have insisted upon carrying away so many hundred prisoners, including the wounded who had been landed, notwithstanding the agreement made between the French government and Dr. Franklin, and the express orders of the latter.

He seems, on this and other occasions to have disliked his instructions, and to have obeyed them unwillingly, from want of clearly appreciating the motives for which they were given. His self-will was, however, fortunate on this occasion, as France never completely fulfilled her engagement to return an equal number of prisoners.

CHAPTER X.

Dissatisfaction of Paul Jones. Contemplates returning to America. Is offered a French Privateer's Commission. Rejects it with Disdain. Is ready for Sea. Refuses to hoist French Colours. Receives a soothing letter from the French Ambassador. His Anger Appeased. The Alliance sails. Finds the Coast clear of Blockaders. Passes the Downs and Straits of Dover. New Year's Day. Verses to a Lady. The Alliance sails badly. Singular Arrangement of Baliast. Goes into Corunna. Mutinous Disposition of the Crew. Makes a short Cruise. Enters L'Orient. Jones's Health impaired.

ON the 1st of December, the Alliance was ready for sea, whenever the wind should become favourable. It continued, however, a-head, with heavy gales, until nearly the close of the month, and Jones, deprived of his squadron, his prizes, and most of his prisoners, lying under the guns of the Dutch fleet, drawn up in battle array to drive him out of the port, whilst twelve sail of the British cruisers lay in the offing ready to capture him, was in a fit mood to dwell on whatever was painful in the history of his life, and to sum up all the disappointments and mortifications of which his ardent spirit had been the victim. Disgusted with the court of France, wearied with the way in which it had so long deluded him with the prospect of a formidable command, after it had formally invited him to give up the Ranger, and seeing in its recent withdrawal of his squadron and prizes, less a motive of state policy than a studied injury to himself, he began to look with

satisfaction to the prospect of returning to the United States. In a letter, of the 5th of December, to Robert Morris, he says, "I am persuaded you will observe with pleasure, that my connexion with the court is at an end, and that my prospect of returning to America approaches. The great seem to wish only to be concerned with tools, who dare not speak or write truth. I am not sorry that my connexion with them is at an end. In the course of that connexion, I ran ten chances of ruin and dishonour, for one of reputation; and all the honours of profit that France could bestow, should not tempt me again to undertake the same service with an armament equally ill-composed, and with powers limited." With this letter he forwarded a memorial to Congress, termed by him a "refreshing memorial," recapitulating the nature of his services in the cause of Independence, and complaining of the imperfect manner in which those services had been requited. He dwelt particularly, and with reason, upon the injustice which had been done him by the line of rank established on the 10th of October, 1776.

The detention of the Alliance in the Texel not only afforded Jones time to brood over his disgusts, and aggravate them by his morbid sensibility to neglect, whether real or imaginary, but also exposed him to an affront, which he felt more deeply and resented more indignantly, than any that he had yet received. This was the offer from M. de Sartine, through the Duke de la Vauguyon, of a French commission to command the Alliance, as a letter-of-marque. In disdainfully rejecting this insulting proposition, Jones expressed himself in such unmeasured language as, doubtless, greatly relieved him. The following passages are taken from his reply to the Duke "Perhaps there are many men in the world who would esteem as an honour the commission that I have this day refused. My rank, from the beginning, knew no superior in the marine of America; how then must I be humbled were I to accept a letter-of-marque! I should, my lord, esteem myself inex-

cusable, were I to accept even a commission of equal or superior denomination to that I bear, unless I were previously authorized by Congress, or some other competent authority in Europe."

"It is a matter of the highest astonishment to me, that, after so many compliments and fair professions, the court should offer the present insult to my understanding, and suppose me capable of disgracing my present commission. I confess that I never merited all the praise bestowed on my past conduct, but I also feel that I have far less merited such a reward. Where profession and practice are so opposite, I am no longer weak enough to form a wrong conclusion. They may think as they please of me; for where I cannot continue my esteem, praise or censure from any man is to me a matter of indifference. I am much obliged to them, however, for having, at last, fairly opened my eyes, and enabled me to discover truth from falsehood. While I remained eight months, seemingly forgot by the Court at Brest, many commissions, such as that in question, were offered to me; and I believe when I am in pursuit of plunder, I can still obtain such a one without application to court."

Jones immediately enclosed a copy of this letter to Franklin, to whom he always unbosomed himself in his troubles; and wrote to him in the following strain, expressing himself in no very elegant terms of the time-serving, promise-making, and promise-breaking M. de Sartine: "I hope the within copy of my letter to the Duke de la Vauguyon will meet your approbation; for I am persuaded that it never could be your intention or wish that I should be made the tool of any great rascal whatever; or that the commission of America should be overlaid by the dirty piece of parchment which I have this day rejected! They have played upon my good humour too long already; but the spell is at last dissolved. They would play me off with assurances of the personal and particular esteem of the King, to induce me to do what would render

me contemptible, even in the eyes of my own servants. Accustomed to speak untruths themselves, they would also have me to give under my hand that I am a liar and a scoundrel. They are mistaken, and I would tell them what you did to your naughty servant; 'We have too contemptible an opinion of each other's understanding to live together.'"

In the same letter, Jones announced his determination to depart with the first wind, notwithstanding the presence of the British Squadron off the Texel. He expressed the hope that he had recovered the trim of the Alliance, which had been entirely lost by Landais, and that the length of the nights at that season, in those high latitudes, would enable him to elude all pursuit; at any rate, he promised that the Alliance should not be given away. She was well manned, having four hundred and twenty-seven souls on board, nearly all Americans, and he had every confidence, not only that he should keep her, but that he should make some prizes and add to the number of his prisoners, before his arrival at L'Orient. At this time he constantly impressed on his officers and crew, that the Alliance was a match for any British ship, not mounting more than fifty guns.

While still wind-bound, the Dutch Admiral sent Jones a message, on the 16th of December, requesting him to come on board of his ship; which he declined doing. On the following day the 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 pendant, announcing it by firing a gun; if an American, that he should lose no occasion to depart. At the same time, the Chevalier de Lironcourt, the French Commissary of Marine at Amsterdam, urged Jones to satisfy all parties by hoisting French colours, and assured him that the commission that had been offered him was only intended for the exigency, and was not offered him with any idea of wounding him: Jones, however, still refused to wear

any other than the American flag, and sent word to the Admiral, that under that flag he should proceed to sea, whenever the pilot would undertake to carry the ship out. At the same time he took occasion to express to the Admiral's flag-captain, his indignant sense of the daily threats and annoyances of every sort to which he had been subjected, and begged him to say to his chief that though the ship which bore his flag was a sixty-four, if she and the Alliance were at sea together, the Admiral's insults and menaces would not be for a moment tolerated. From this time until the Alliance's departure, no further messages were received from the Admiral.

Before the wind became fair, Jones received from the Duke de la Vauguyon, in answer to his abrupt epistle, the following mollifying communication, filled with abundance of cheap promises, which were never performed, but which had, at least, the effect to send him away in a somewhat better humour. "I perceive with pain, my dear Commodore, that you do not view your situation in the right light. I can assure you that the ministers of the King have no intention to cause you the least disagreeable feelings, as the honourable testimonials of the esteem of his majesty, which I send you, ought to convince you. I hope you will not doubt the sincere desire with which you have inspired me to procure you every satisfaction you merit. It cannot fail to excite you to give new proofs of your zeal for the common cause of France and America. I flatter myself that I shall be able, before long, to provide you the means of increasing, still more, the glory you have already acquired. I am already exerting all the interest I promised you; and if my views are realized, as I have every reason to hope, you will have reason to be perfectly content, but I must beseech you not to impede my efforts, by indulging in the expression of those strong sensations to which you appear to give way, and for which there is really no foundation. You appear to possess full confidence in the justice and

kindness of the King ; rely upon the same sentiments on the part of his ministers."

That Jones was softened by this communication is evident from the first sentence of his reply ; " I have not a heart of stone, but am duly sensible of the obligations conferred on me by the very kind and affectionate letter that you have done me the honour to write to me." He, however, did not retract his complaints of the treatment which he had received, but repeated them. He mentioned, moreover, that the Chevalier de Lironcourt had recently reproached him with the expense that France had been at to give him reputation in preference to twenty captains of the French navy, far better qualified, who had solicited the command which had been conferred upon him. The fact is indictive of the jealousy which Jones's position had awakened among the French officers, and accounts very satisfactorily for the subordinate spirit of his " colleagues," while it shows how much better would have been his chance for achieving fame, had he sought it in a single well-equipped American ship.

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 Mr. Dumas, by the pilot, as follows ; " I am here, my dear Sir, with a good wind at east, and under my best American colours, so far you have your wish. What may be the event of this critical movement, I know not ; I am not, however, without good hopes. Through the ignorance or drunkenness of the old pilot, the Alliance last night got foul of a Dutch merchant ship, and I believe the Dutchmen cut our cable. We lost the best bower anchor, and the ship was brought up with the sheet anchor, so near the shore, that this morning I have obliged to cut the cable in order to get clear of the shore, and that I might not lose this opportunity of escaping from purgatory."

Shortly before the departure of Jones, there had been eight

British ships cruising off the southern entrance of the Texel, and four more off the northern. It appears from a despatch of Jones to Congress, that no fewer than forty sail, consisting of ships of the line and frigates, had been stationed to intercept him. Two out of the number, he says, were wrecked. The number is doubtless exaggerated; though it is known from the English papers, that sixteen sail of men-of-war were already in pursuit of him, previous to his capture of the *Serapis*. In one of his interviews with the Dutch Admiral, in which he had been urged to depart, Jones had told him, with something of the boasting which belonged to his character, that he was unable to fight more than three times his force, though he was ready to depart whenever there was a possibility of getting clear. Fortunately for him, he was not called upon to encounter even the modest allowance of enemies, for which he professed his willingness to compound. The gales which he experienced immediately before his departure, and which had even endangered the *Alliance*, at her moorings in the Texel roads, probably drove the blockaders to a distance. At any rate, he was able to dash out under his "best American colours," which the effort that had been made to compel him to substitute French colours for them, made him still prouder to display. The *Alliance* bore away along the coast, the moment she was clear of the mouth of the harbour; and, keeping as close in with the Flemish banks, which formed the weather shore, as safety would allow, she thus got to windward of the British fleet, stationed in the north sea for her interception. Favoured by the strong east wind, she the next day passed through the Straits of Dover, with colours set, running close to the Goodwin Sands, in full view of the fleet anchored in the Downs, only three or four miles to leeward. On the following day, being the 29th, she ran past the Isle of Wight, near enough to reconnoitre the fleet at Spithead, still showing her colours. On the 1st of January, 1780, she was fairly out of the channel, having passed in sight to windward

of several British two-deckers, which were doubtless on the look-out for her, but which she had the good fortune to evade.

Having thus escaped from the "purgatory" of his tortures in the *Texel*, and the manifold dangers from capture which seemed to him so much less formidable, and finding himself once more on the open ocean of adventure, with a staggering breeze, in the beautiful *Alliance*, Jones was in a mood to welcome the new year with cheerful exultation, and the delusive hope that it would be freer from annoyance and perplexity than the last, though it could not be more glorious. His feelings broke forth into poetry, a mode of expression in which, in his moments of leisure, when addressing the fair, he sometimes indulged. While in the *Texel*, the daughter of Mr. Dumas, partaking of the enthusiasm of her father and of society generally, had offered the homage of her muse to the victorious chieftain. It had occasioned him much self-reproach that his unremitting occupations, in fitting out his ships and maintaining his stand against the pretensions of Sir Joseph Yorke, the threats of the Dutch Admiral, and the mortifications inflicted upon him by his French friends, had prevented him from responding in fit terms to the compliment of his gentle correspondent. Remembering that it was better for him to acquit himself, at this late period, of his obligation as a man of gallantry, than to omit doing so altogether, he now perpetrated the following verses, which, though not the best that are found among his papers, are far from being discreditable to a rude "sea king," as the lady seems, in her verses, to have styled him. They are dated off Ushant, on the 1st of January, 1780.

"Were I, Paul Jones, dear maid, 'the king of sea,'
I find such merit in thy virgin song,
A coral crown with bays I'd give to thee,
A car which on the waves should smoothly glide along;
The Nereides all about thy sides should wait,
And gladly sing in triumph of thy state,

Vivat ! vivat ! the unhappy virgin muse !
Of liberty the friend, who tyrant power pursues !"

" Or, happier lot ! where fair Columbia free
From British tyranny, and youth still mine,
I'd tell a tender tale to one like thee
With artless looks and breast as pure as thine.
If she approved my flame, distrust apart,
Like faithful turtles, we'd have but one heart ;
Together then, we'd tune the silver lyre,
As love or sacred freedom should our lays inspire.

" But since, alas ! the rage of war prevails,
And cruel Britons desolate our land,
For freedom still I spread my willing sails,
My unsheath'd sword my injured country shall command.
Go on, bright maid ! the muses all attend
Genius like thine, and wish to be its friend.
Trust me, although conveyed through this poor shift,
My new year's thoughts are grateful for thy gift."

Shaping his course to the southward, Jones cruised off Cape Finisterre, in the hope of making some prizes. He found, however, that there was little hope of this, on account of the defective sailing of the Alliance. He had been mistaken in supposing that he had recovered the trim of this ship, as this had been effectually destroyed by an arrangement of the ballast which Landais had made at L'Orient, on his arrival from America, and which Jones had not probably before discovered. This arrangement corresponded with the mad imbecility and ignorance which Landais betrayed in all his acts. It consisted in extending the ballast along the ceiling, from the sternpost to the stem ; a considerable portion of it being stowed in the fore and after peaks, and even laid on the breast-hooks and transoms at the very extremities of the ship ; " an idea," Jones remarked, " which Landais might, without vanity, call his own." The consequence of this arrangement was, that she strained and pitched violently, losing her head-way at every sea.

There is no axiom of seamanship better established than that the ballast should be stowed as nearly amidships as possible. It then occupies the fullest part of the ship, where there is

greatest buoyancy, and its weight is sustained by the upward pressure of the water which is displaced. The bow and stern have comparatively little buoyancy, and are chiefly sustained by the strength of the materials connecting them with the rest of the ship. Hence the removal of weight to the extremities, besides unduly straining a ship, also increases her vibrations in a seaway; thereby fatiguing the spars, upon which less sail can be carried, and tending, moreover, to arrest and diminish her headway. This defect of the Alliance could only be remedied in port, by breaking out the hold. Moreover, her sailing was much diminished by her canvass being old and thin.

Under these circumstances, Jones saw little motive in prolonging his cruise, and, being threatened with a gale, he put into Corunna, on the 16th of January. Here the Alliance was hospitably received by the Spanish authorities. Having scrubbed the ship as low as she could be reached, by slightly careening her, and procured an additional anchor, Paul Jones prepared to put to sea on the 28th of January.

At this time, so much discontent existed among the crew, that they absolutely refused to weigh the anchor, unless they should first receive a portion of their pay or prize-money. The officers and crew of the Poor Richard were particularly destitute, as most of them had lost every thing when she went down. At Amsterdam Jones had received some money, from which he had advanced five ducats to each of the officers, and one to each of the men. This sum was so ridiculous when compared with their wants, that many of them instantly threw overboard what they received. The credit of the Confederation was very bad, both at home and abroad; and the sum which Jones had received at Amsterdam, besides what had been advanced by France for the expense of the ships, was probably a very small one. The officers and crew took up the opinion, that, small as it was, Jones had reserved a large

portion of it for himself. Hence, and from their destitution of clothes, the causes of their discontent.

Fanning states, that Jones prevailed upon the men to return to their duty, and get the ship under weigh, by promises of running directly for L'Orient, where they were to receive their prize-money. When the ship, however, was fairly at sea, he summoned his officers into the cabin and acquainted them with his wish to cruise two or three weeks before putting into L'Orient; he touched, in an eloquent strain, upon all the topics which were likely to excite them, and concluded by telling them that if by cruising a few days they could carry in a British frigate, of their own or of superior force, it would add to the lustre of their former victories, and be the means of handing their names down honourably to the latest posterity. The officers withdrew his imagination from these visions of glory, by representing the mutinous condition of the crew, and the unromantic fact, that they had no clothes but those they stood in. At this, Jones lost all patience. "I do not want your advice," he said, with a contemptuous sneer, "neither did I send for you to comply with your wishes, but only by way of paying you a compliment, which was more than you deserve by your opposition. Therefore you know my mind, go to your duty, each one of you, and let me hear no more grumbling!" He concluded his harangue with an emphatic stamp of the foot, and so broke up the assembly.

The Alliance accordingly cruised for a few days to the westward of Cape Finisterre, but so much discord occurred among the original officers of the Alliance and those who had come from the Richard, who were continually quarrelling about the relative merits and courage of Jones and Landais, and so much discontent existed among the crew, that there was little likelihood of their effecting any brilliant service. Having fallen in with an American ship, called the Livingston, laden with a valuable cargo of tobacco, Jones convoyed her into L'Orient, where he arrived on the 10th of February. His

health had suffered severely from exposure to winter gales and constant watching; and his eyes were almost blind with inflammation. He, therefore, went immediately on shore in search of necessary repose.

CHAPTER XI.

Jones finds the *Serapis* at L'Orient. Proposes Repairs on the Alliance, and the Purchase of the *Serapis*. Franklin remonstrates against the Expense. Entreats Jones to practice Economy. Orders the Alliance to prepare to return Home. Arms to be transported to America. Jones's Promise of Frugality. His Mode of keeping his Promise. Alterations in the Alliance. Jones is charged with Enmity to the French. Defends Himself from the Charge. Landais obtains Leave to return to America. Proceeds to L'Orient. Asks the Command of the Alliance. Reply of Franklin. Intrigue of Arthur Lee to place Landais in Command. Discontent of the Crew about Prize-money. Fate of Prizes in Norway. Disposal of other Prizes. Jones visits Paris. Flattering Reception. Contemporary Account of Paul Jones.

ON the arrival of the Alliance at L'Orient, Jones found the *Serapis* in the harbour. The Countess of Scarborough had put into Dunkirk, where she remained until sold. Jones wrote immediately to Dr. Franklin to report his arrival and the events of his cruise; he also entered into a detailed statement of the condition of the Alliance, and of the repairs which would be necessary to enable her to proceed on another cruise. He stated, that on her passage from Boston to Brest she had broached to, while scudding before a gale of wind, and had been nearly lost. In that situation a sea had struck her with such force on the cut-water, as to wrench it considerably to one side. When she was hove down, on her arrival, Captain Landais had satisfied himself with ordering the part which projected to be dubbed away, instead of having it got back into its place and properly secured. Afterwards, when he had abandoned the *Richard* on the coast of Ireland, he had steered his ship in the trough of the sea, which had not only strained

the ship very much, generally, but loosened the cut-water again. In order to repair this damage Jones was desirous of heaving the ship out, and asked leave at the same time to sheathe her with copper. She also required new sails and rigging. In the same letter Jones expressed an ardent wish that the *Serapis* should become the property of the United States.

In reply, Franklin told him, that the Alliance could not possibly be repaired at the expense of the French court, in whose service she had been cruising; especially, since the damages which she had sustained were attributed by Jones more to the negligence and incompetence of Captain Landais, than to the accidents of the cruise. The whole expense, therefore, would have to fall on him, as the agent of the American government; and he said that he was ill provided to bear it, having so many unexpected demands upon him from all quarters. The Sage resorted to humble entreaty to moderate Jones's passion for what, to a government having a flourishing exchequer, would doubtless have been a judicious expenditure. "I therefore beg," he wrote, "you would have mercy on me, put me to as little charge as possible, and take nothing that you can possibly do without. As to sheathing with copper, it is totally out of the question. I am not authorised to do it, if I had money; and I have not money for it, if I had orders. The purchase of the *Serapis* is in the same predicament."

Franklin had determined to despatch the Alliance to the United States, and he expressed a wish that Jones should take fifteen thousand stands of arms, which he hoped to obtain from the French government, and also one hundred and twenty bales of cloth, for the army, if he could find room for it. He mentioned several persons who were desirous of taking passage with him to America, and expressed the hope that Jones would be able to accommodate them. Among the number was Mr. Arthur Lee, formerly one of the American Commissioners at Paris, before the recognition of our independence by France, and the appointment of Dr. Franklin as our minister. The

connection of this gentleman with the Alliance was destined to be a source of the greatest possible annoyance to Jones, of insult to Dr. Franklin, and of injury to the public service. Franklin urged Jones to make his preparations with the least possible delay, and acquaint him when he was ready for sea, that he might forward his despatches.

Jones expressed his readiness, in reply, to meet the wishes of the Minister. "I feel your reasons," he wrote, "for urging frugality; and, as I have not hitherto been among the most extravagant servants of America, so you may depend on it my regard for you will make me particularly nice in my present situation. It will give me very great pleasure to be able to carry to America the supplies of arms and clothing you mention, and I hope to be able to cram a great part, if not the whole, into the Alliance. I will pay the most cheerful regard to the accommodation of the four gentlemen that you mention as passengers. I hope they will agree together, and I shall be happy in showing them attentions."

It would seem, that, notwithstanding Jones's promises to have mercy on Franklin's exchequer, and observe frugality, his desire to improve the Alliance, which under other circumstances would have been so commendable, must have betrayed him into considerable expenditure. In his answer to various interrogatories, made to him by a Committee of Congress, on his return to the United States, having for their object to ascertain the causes which delayed the arrival of the arms and cloth, anxiously expected for the army from France, he made a very long list of the defects of the Alliance, which he had remedied in refitting her at L'Orient. "The bowsprit," he said, "was too long, ran out too much in a horizontal line, and was loose. The topmasts, yards, and rigging were large enough for a sixty-gun ship, and the tops were so ill-made, and so narrow, as to give the masts no proper support. It is impossible to imagine a worse arrangement than that of the

store-rooms. They were divided and subdivided into little closets, nooks, and winding passages, and instead of being adapted to contain the ship's stores, appeared only fit to lodge dirt, and increase the quantity of rats, already immense. The magazine was not only inconvenient, but very insecure from fire. There was no fit orlop for the cables, and the sail-room could contain, at most, only one of the spare courses. The deck was burnt through under the hearth, and the bottom of the copper burnt out. Many obstructions of useless hatchways were in the way of the recoil of the guns; and the gangways were so ill-contrived, as neither to afford a convenient passage from the quarter-deck to the fore-castle, nor cover the men at the guns in the waist. The mizzen-mast stood too close to the main-mast. The ship was very crank, plunged very deep in a head sea, and could neither work nor sail as a frigate. I began to put that ship in order immediately on taking command; and, after my arrival at L'Orient, the essential repairs were finished early in April, by the crew of the ship and four or five American carpenters. The materials of the old arrangement did not fall much short of finishing the new. Judges have allowed, that when the business was finished every thing about that frigate was perfect. I know not what was the amount of the disbursements."

No doubt the amount of the disbursements was sufficient to distress Dr. Franklin, if not to disturb his equanimity. These extensive alterations, at the moment, were the more injudicious as they deferred the period of the ship's readiness to proceed to the United States, where they could have been so much more cheaply made, and where her coming, with the supplies for the army, was so anxiously expected by General Washington. As to the particular alterations themselves, apart from these circumstances, they were eminently judicious and expedient, as well as indicative of Jones's high qualifications as an accomplished seaman. It is a little remarkable, too, that many of the defects which Jones corrected in the

Alliance are still found in our ships of war at the present day ; such as the drooping bowsprit, the excessive dimensions and weights of masts and yards, the stepping of the mizzen-mast too far forward, and the defective arrangement of the sail and store-rooms. With regard to the useless hatchways on board of the Alliance, of which he complains, we have now passed to the other extreme, and, with the view of leaving abundant space for working the guns, and of shifting them from side to side, our ships have not now sufficient hatches to let the men up rapidly from below, and furnish light and ventilation to the lower deck.

In his intercourse with society at L'Orient, Jones found that an opinion prevailed there, that his feelings towards the French people were of an unfriendly character. The opinion had its origin probably in the indignant manner in which he had rejected the French commission to command a privateer, which had been offered to him by M. de Sartine, towards the close of his stay in the Texel. It was in his nature to give way to very strong expressions in conversation on the same subject. Perhaps, also, Frenchmen might have been found to vindicate the imaginary wrongs of their countryman, the miserable Landais. There must have been something plausible about the appearance or manners of the individual. This only will account for the important command which had been intrusted to him, and for his having found the means, when covered with merited disgrace, to propitiate friends of some sort. Be it as it may, Jones thought it necessary to enter into a laboured vindication of his feelings towards France in letters, which he wrote almost immediately after his arrival at L'Orient, to Lafayette and the Duke de la Vauguyon.

In his letter to Lafayette, he gives the following summary of his political faith. " I am a citizen of the world, totally unfettered by the little mean distinctions of country or of climate, which diminish or set bounds to the benevolence of the heart. Impelled by principles of gratitude and philanthropy,

I drew my sword at the the beginning of the American revolution, and, when France so nobly espoused that great cause, no individual felt the obligation with truer gratitude than myself. When the court of France soon after invited me to remain for a time in Europe, I considered myself as highly honoured by the application that was made to the American commissioners. Since that time I have been, at every instant, and still am, ready to do my utmost for the good of the common cause of France and America. As an American officer, and as a man, I affectionately love and respect the character and nation of France, and hope the alliance with America may last for ever. I greatly love and esteem his most Christian Majesty, 'as the great ally of America, the best of kings, and the amiable friend and 'protector of the rights of human nature'; therefore he has very few of his own subjects who would bleed in the present cause with greater freedom than myself, and none who are more disinterested. At the same time, I lament the calamities of war, and wish, above all things, for an honourable, happy, and lasting peace." These were no doubt the honest sentiments of Jones's heart, and, making due allowance for the slang of the day about universal philanthropy, which Jones perhaps felt more strongly than most who talked about it, were creditable to his character.

About this time, Landais applied to Dr. Franklin for leave to proceed to the United States, in order to be tried on the charges which had been preferred against him, for his conduct in the battle with the Serapis. The leave was granted to him and money advanced to pay his passage to the United States. He moreover applied to Dr. Franklin for an order to Jones, to deliver up some trunks and other effects, said to have been left by him on board the Alliance. There could have been no necessity for this, as Jones had no motive for retaining any thing belonging to him. Still Franklin wrote to state the demand which Landais had made, and took occasion to speak of him as follows. "I find him so exceedingly captious and critical,

and so apt to misconstrue, as an intended injustice, every expression in a language which he does not understand, that I am tired of writing any thing for him or about him, and am determined to have nothing farther to do with him. I make no doubt, however, that you will deliver his things to any person he may empower to receive them, and therefore think such an order unnecessary."

Furnished with this pretext for withdrawing himself from under the surveillance of the French government, Landais wrote to obtain a passage to the United States, in the American ship *Luzerne*, then about to sail from L'Orient under convoy of the Alliance, and soon after proceeded to that place with the ostensible object of recovering his effects and embarking. When at L'Orient, however, his ulterior object soon manifested itself to be the recovery of the command of the Alliance. On the 17th of March he wrote to Franklin, requesting his opinion with regard to himself, and asking to be reinstated in the command which had been conferred upon him by Congress.

The reply of the Sage showed, that he could sometimes be stern in his justice. "No one ever learned the opinion I formed of you from inquiry made into your conduct. I kept it entirely to myself. I have not even hinted it in my letters to America, because I would not hazard giving to any one a bias to your prejudice. By communicating a part of that opinion privately to you I can do no harm, for you may burn it. I should not give you the pain of reading it, if your demand did not make it necessary. I think you then, so imprudent, so litigious, and quarrelsome a man, even with your best friends, that peace and good order, and consequently the quiet and regular subordination so necessary to success, are, where you preside, impossible. These are within my observation and apprehension. Your military operations I leave to more capable judges. If, therefore, I had twenty ships of war in my disposition, I should not give one of them to Captain

Landais. The same temper which excluded him from the French marine, would weigh equally with me. Of course I should not replace him in the Alliance."

Unfortunately for Captain Landais, and still more unfortunately for the country which had most unwisely called him to its service, he had not the rare gift of seeing himself as others saw him. His good opinion of himself was overweening. He determined, if possible, to recover by intrigue the station which was refused to him by the competent authority. In attaining this object he was encouraged and abetted by Mr. Arthur Lee, who had come down to L'Orient to take passage in the Alliance. This gentleman probably bore a secret resentment against Jones for the spirited but just remonstrance, which he had addressed to him when in the command of the *Ranger*, on the subject of dishonouring his draft to meet necessary expenditures, and fomenting discontent among his crew. He was also annoyed at Jones's unwillingness to receive his carriage and an unusual quantity of baggage on board of the Alliance, to the necessary exclusion of some of the military stores, which Dr. Franklin was so anxious to ship by her, to meet the urgent wants of Washington's army. His jealousy, moreover, of Franklin made Landais respectable in his eyes, because the Sage despised him, and induced him, with the other motives we have mentioned, to lend a secret but successful aid in driving Jones out of the Alliance, to make room for Landais. By what extremely insidious means this was effected will be seen hereafter.

Early in April the repair and improvements of the Alliance were completed, and most of the military stores intended for the army, including fifteen thousand muskets and one hundred thousand pounds of powder, were already embarked. The battery of twenty-eight eighteen, and twelve nine-pounders, which Jones had contracted to have cast at Angouleme the year before, for the *Bon Homme Richard*, but which had only arrived at L'Orient after her departure, was also taken on

board. A cartel had arrived with American prisoners, in exchange for those whom Jones had retained on board of the Alliance, and many of them having entered for that ship, added to the strength and efficiency of her crew. She was therefore, ready to sail, and Franklin was desirous that she should depart forthwith, in company with a large convoy, which was about to put to sea. The officers and men of the Alliance were, however, very anxious to receive their prize-money, for the captures during the late cruise, before putting to sea. Jones shared their feelings on his own account, and was, moreover, desirous as their commander, that they should be gratified in their reasonable request, which he urged unremittingly in his letters to the Minister. Franklin exerted himself to attain this object, which was surrounded with many difficulties.

With regard to the two armed ships *Betsey* and *Union*, each mounting twenty-two guns, and having on board military and naval stores on the account of the British government, valued together at not less than forty thousand pounds sterling, we have seen that they were sent by Landais, without authority from Jones, to Bergen in Norway, where they had arrived on the 13th of the previous September, in charge of two officers of the Alliance. The French consular agent in that port had orders from his government to render the same service to American vessels and their prizes as to those of France. An attempt was made to sell the prizes, which was vehemently opposed by the British Consul. Soon after, these vessels were given up to him, on his demand, by order of the Danish government, on the ground, that it did not recognise the independence of the United States. The Danish government was justified in refusing to allow the sale of these prizes within its ports; but there was no colour of justice in delivering them up to their original owners. It might have ordered them to put to sea; and would scarcely have impeded them had they attempted to do so; but Landais had given no orders

to the prize-masters, except to take them to Bergen, and the French Consul wanted the discretion and energy to do quickly what the circumstances rendered necessary. These valuable prizes were therefore lost to the captors.

In the case of the *Serapis* and the *Countess of Scarborough*, the French government proposed to value them in the usual way, and purchase them into the service. Franklin approved of this arrangement; but as it would require time to carry it into effect, he proposed, that if it should not be effected before the *Alliance* was ready for sea, she should not wait. As, however, the crew of the *Alliance* might require some supplies for the voyage, he authorized Jones in this case to draw upon him for twenty-four thousand livres to be advanced to them, but enjoined upon him not to exceed that sum.

The crew of the *Alliance* would probably have been very well satisfied with this project, had they not, as Dr. Franklin states in his reply to a question, proposed to him by the Board of Admiralty, "been encouraged by some meddling passengers to persist. The King would have taken the prizes and paid for them at the rate per gun, which he pays for warlike vessels taken by his ships, but they raised a clamour at this, it being put into their heads, that it was a project for cheating them, and they demanded a sale by auction. The Minister, who usually gives more when ships are taken for the King, than they will produce by auction, readily consented to this when I asked it of him; but then this method required time to have it inventoried and advertised in different ports to create a fuller concurrence of buyers."

From Jones's answer to a committee of Congress, as to the cause of the long detention of the *Alliance*, we learn, that among the "meddling passengers" engaged in the bad design of exciting discontent and mutiny among the crew of the *Alliance*, foremost stood the quondam commissioner, Mr. Arthur Lee, who endeavoured to persuade them that they had been sailing with Jones in a privateer, and that they would be

detained in Europe during the war, and get nothing at last. "I found it impossible," he says, "to reason them into good humour, so as to go to sea; they positively declared they would not weigh anchor till they were fully paid, and wrote to this effect to Mr. Franklin." In consequence of those difficulties, Jones determined, in an evil hour, to make a visit to Paris, with the hope of being able, by his personal exertions, to urge forward the sale of the prizes, and the distribution among his officers and men of their share of the proceeds. He was urged to pursue this course by most of the Americans waiting at L'Orient to take passage in the Alliance, or under her convoy. Mr. Arthur Lee was no doubt among the most urgent in counselling this measure, as it left him a clearer field to set in motion the various springs of intrigue, that were necessary to fulfil his favourite project of defeating the measures of Dr. Franklin, and mortifying Jones, by depriving him of the command of the Alliance, to bestow it on the degraded Landais. Nor can Jones himself be freed from all blame, for abandoning his ship at this critical moment. The desire to accelerate the sale of his prizes was his main, as it was his ostensible, motive. He was, doubtless, also influenced in no small degree by the wish to appear once more, surrounded with the brighter halo of glory, conferred by his recent achievement, at that court where he had already been so graciously received, and of tasting again the intoxicating pleasure of being praised by fair and high-born lips. It was a hero's weakness, and if he had not possessed it in such an eminent degree, he might also have failed to carry so far the love of desperate enterprise which has rendered his name so celebrated.

Paul Jones arrived in Paris towards the middle of April, and immediately accompanied Dr. Franklin to wait upon the Minister of Marine, M. de Sartine. In one part of his correspondence, Jones says, the minister "gave us a reception as cold as ice, did not say to me a civil word, nor even ask if my

health had not suffered from my wounds, and the uncommon fatigue I had undergone. The public did me more justice than the minister, and I owe to the King alone the flattering marks of distinction with which I was honoured." In his answers to the committee of Congress, in whose eyes he had no disposition either to disparage his own brilliant deeds or the estimation in which they were held in other lands, he makes a very different statement. "Mr. Franklin went with me to the minister, who, contrary to my expectations, gave me the most friendly welcome, and sent immediate orders to publish the inventories, and advertize the sale of all the prizes." Contradictions of this character occur not unfrequently in Jones's correspondence. He was betrayed into them by the fervour with which he thought and felt, on occasions when his pride and vanity were interested, and the strong terms in which he habitually expressed himself. It is certain, at any rate, that his wishes were promptly complied with, for the sale of the prizes, and the proper orders issued. He readily obtained the loan of the *Ariel*, of twenty guns, to assist the Alliance in transporting the military stores, then ready at L'Orient, to be forwarded to the army under Washington. His reception by the King was also most flattering, and from the court as well as the public, enthusiastic. He himself states, that "he was received in Paris, as well as in other parts of the kingdom, with flattering applause. Both the great and learned sought his acquaintance and honoured him with particular marks of friendship. At court, he was always received with a kindness which could only have arisen from a fixed esteem."

Nor were the fair backward in offering to our hero the homage so willingly render to the brave. A chivalrous devotion to the gentler sex formed part of his character. He appears to have spoken French with some fluency, and to have had a strong natural taste for music and poetry, irregularly cultivated in those hours of leisure at sea, which his occupa-

tions left him. His desire to please, assisted by the reputation won for him by his heroism, and perhaps the very distinction which must have been perceptible between his untutored devotion, and the more regulated approaches of court-bred admirers, doubtless gave a peculiar piquancy to his manners. At any rate, he is known to have so far improved his acquaintance with many distinguished ladies of the court, as subsequently to be found corresponding with them. Perhaps to one of his scribbling propensities, and whose peculiar position as a hero and a stranger, placed him in a class by himself, not much excuse or encouragement was required to justify the opening of a correspondence. Among those who thus honoured him with their friendship, were Madame T——, a daughter of Louis the Fifteenth, and a lady of rank, Madame la Presidente D'Ormy, and the Countess de Lavendahl. With the first of these ladies, who is believed to be the person with whom he long corresponded, under the name of De la his friendship seems to have passed the bounds of the platonic. The letters of Delia indicate the most passionate and devoted love, and a readiness to give up every thing for its object.

Some letters written by an English lady, residing at Versailles, went the rounds of the English press, at this period. In one of them the proceedings of our hero are thus chronicled. "The famous Paul Jones dines and sups here often; he is a smart man of thirty-six, speaks but little French, appears to be an extraordinary genius, a poet as well as hero; a few days ago he wrote some verses, extempore, of which I send you a copy. He is greatly admired here, especially by the ladies; who are wild for love of him; but he adores the Countess of Lavendahl, who has honoured him with every mark of politeness and distinction. The verses are after this fashion:—

"Insulted freedom bled; I felt her cause,
And drew my sword to vindicate her laws,
From principle, and not from vain applause.

I've done my best ; self-interest far apart,
 And self-reproach a stranger to any heart,
 My zeal still prompts, ambitious to pursue
 The foe, ye fair ! of liberty and you ;
 Grateful for praise, spontaneous and unbought,
 A generous people's love, not meanly sought ?
 To merit this, and bend the knee to beauty,
 Shall be my earliest and latest duty."

In a subsequent letter the subject was thus resumed by the fair correspondent. We introduce here, what she adds, though somewhat out of date, in order not to leave the fair fame of his lady-love, even for a few pages, under any injurious imputation. "Since my last, Paul Jones drank tea and supped here. If I am in love with him, for love I may die. I have as many rivals as there are ladies ; but the most formidable is still Lady Lavendahl, who possesses all his heart. This lady is of high rank and virtue, very sensible, good natured and affable. Besides this she is possessed of youth, beauty, and every other female accomplishment. He is gone I suppose for America. They correspond, and his letters are replete with elegance, sentiment and delicacy. She drew his picture,* a striking likeness, and wrote some lines under it, which are much admired and presented it to him. Since he received it, he says, he is, like a second Narcissus, in love with his own resemblance ; to be sure he is the most agreeable sea-wolf one would wish to meet with."

* Now in possession of Lieutenant Pinkham, U.S.N., to whom it was recently presented by Miss Janette Taylor, niece of Paul Jones.

CHAPTER XII.

Proceedings on Board the Alliance. Letter of the Officers to Dr. Franklin about Prize-money. Mutinous Demand of the Crew for the Restoration of Landais. They express a favourable Opinion of his Qualifications. Franklin's noble Reply. Warning Order to Landais. The King offers Jones the Cross of Military Merit. Also a gold Sword. Jones returns to L'Orient. Instructions from Franklin. Muntiny on Board the Alliance. Landais takes the Command. A legal Exposition by Arthur Lec. Its artful Character. Lee's Jealousy of Dr. Franklin. Jones proceeds to Paris. Returns to L'Orient. The Alliance removes out of Port. Jones prevents her being stopped. Applies for the Scapis. Takes Command of the Ariel. Further Vagaries of Landais. He sails.

WHILST, however, our hero remained at court, basking in the sunshine of royal favour, caressed by courtiers and smiled upon by the fair, every thing on board the Alliance, his proper scene of action, was going to destruction. Scarcely had Jones's back been turned upon the ship, when Mr. Arthur Lee began to set his schemes into motion for the overthrow of Franklin's view, and Jones's authority on board the Alliance. The effect was first manifested in a letter to Franklin, on the 12th of April, signed by the officers of the Alliance, expressing their alarm at not receiving either wages or prize-money, when the ship was so nearly ready to sail. Franklin replied, that he had already advanced twenty-four thousand livres, for the immediate wants of the officers and crew, on account of their discharge. With regard to the prize-money, he had nothing to do with its distribution, which remained with the agent, M. Chaumont. In consequence of having been repeatedly informed that the proposed method of selling the prizes to government by a valuation in the usual manner, had excited discontent among the officers and crew, he had procured the consent of government to their being sold at auction; though he was of opinion, that the first method proposed would have been more for their interest. The plan now adopted, in conformity with

their wishes, would still require time unless the prizes were to be sacrificed.

By the 29th of May the schemes were so far matured, that Landais wrote on that day to Franklin, to inform him, that since his application of the 17th of March, to be replaced in command of the Alliance, he had been waiting patiently for his orders to that effect; thus utterly disregarding Franklin's positive refusal to comply with his request, coupled with his cogent reasons for it, and the humiliating assurance, that if he had the disposal of twenty ships of war he "would not give one of them to Captain Landais." With this new application Landais now enclosed to Franklin a mutinous letter, which he had procured to be writted and signed by one hundred and fifteen of the crew of the Alliance, "declaring that they would not raise the anchor, nor sail from L'Orient, till they had six months' wages paid to them, and the utmost farthing of their prize-money, including the ships sent into Norway, and until their legal captain, P. Landais, was restored to them." The evidence of Landais's participation in this mutiny was rendered manifest, not only by his enclosing it, but also by the fact of his name being interlined, with his own hand, being in fact his signature.

It was rumoured on board the Alliance, that Jones had been backward in demanding justice for his officers and crew, from those functionaries who were heaping honours on himself; and that he not only neglected those by whose exertions he had achieved his glory, but had fraudulently joined M. de Chaumont in withholding from them their just rights. Though the notorious disagreement between Jones and M. de Chaumont rendered this fabrication eminently absurd, it so far influenced fourteen of the original officers of the Alliance as to induce them to join in a letter to Dr. Franklin, in which they expressed the belief, that the ship's crew was unanimous in favour of Captain Landais. They also gave it as their opinion, that he was a capable officer, whose conduct off Scarborough had

been misrepresented to his disadvantage. They moreover, considered themselves bound to obey him as their legal captain according to the rules and regulations of the navy. These fourteen officers were evidently, from Franklin's answer, among those who had originally belonged to the Alliance, and who, having shared her dishonour in the battle with the *Serapis*, were thus forced into sympathy with their commander, and excited to hatred against the chief who had denounced their conduct as it deserved. Their interpretation of navy regulations was aided by the legal acumen of Mr. Lee, who had been very profuse and urgent with his opinions in the same sense.

Franklin's reply to this disgraceful document does equal credit to his justice, his kindness, and his ingenuity. It was eminently suited to soothe and restore them to a sense of duty and honour; but it was addressed to unworthy ears, and perverted by malignant influences. The Sage expressed no little surprise, that the officers of the Alliance, having a year before made complaints against Landais, coupled with the statement from him, that they were all leagued against him, should now wish to be placed again under his command. "I have related," he says, "exactly to Congress the manner of his leaving the ship, and though I declined any judgment of his manœuvres in the fight, I have given it as my opinion, after examining the affair, that it was not all likely, either that he should have given orders to fire into the *Bon Homme Richard*, or that his officers should have obeyed such an order had it been given them. Thus I have taken what care I could of your honour in that particular. You will, therefore, excuse me if I am a little concerned for it in another. If it should come to be publicly known, that you had the strongest aversion to Captain Landais, who had used you basely, and that it is only since the last year's cruise, and the appointment of Commodore Jones to the command, that you request to be again under your old captain, I fear suspicions and reflections may be

thrown upon you by the world, as if this change of sentiment may have arisen from your observation during the cruise, that Captain Jones loved close fighting, that Captain Landais was skilful in keeping out of harm's way, and that you, therefore, thought yourselves safer with the latter. For myself, I believe you to be brave men and lovers of your country and its glorious cause; and I am persuaded you have only been ill-advised, and misled by the artful and malicious representations of some persons I guess at. Take in good part this counsel from an old man who is your friend. Go home peaceably with your ship. Do your duty faithfully and cheerfully. Behave respectfully to your commander, and I am persuaded he will do the same to you. Thus you will not only be happier in your voyage, but recommend yourselves to the future favours of Congress and of your country."

On the same day he wrote to Landais, expressing his astonishment, that he should be still at L'Orient, when he had supposed him long before on the way to America to be tried, for which purpose he had furnished him with money to defray his expenses. With regard to his application for the command of the Alliance, he thus briefly replied. "I waive any further dispute with you; but I charge you not to meddle with the command, or create any disturbance on board her, as you will answer the contrary at your peril."

In the mean time, Jones, having heard of the intrigues that were going on at L'Orient, for the overthrow of his authority on board of the Alliance, prepared to depart for that place, and actually set out on the last day of May, probably without having yet heard of the mutinous demands which the crew had addressed to Dr. Franklin. In taking leave of the court, he was careful to fortify himself for his return to America, by ample vouchers of the high character of the services which he had rendered to the common cause of France and America.—They consisted of a brief but strong recommendation from Franklin to the President of Congress, given at the solicitation

of Jones, as is apparent from the following passage: "I cheerfully comply with his request, in recommending him to the notice of Congress, and to your Excellency's protection, though his actions are more effectual recommendations, and render any from me unnecessary;" also of a letter from M. de Sartine, to the same gentleman, stating that the King had charged him to express his perfect satisfaction with Jones's services. "He has offered," the letter states, "as a proof of his esteem, to present him with a sword, which cannot be placed in better hands, and likewise proposes to Congress to decorate this brave officer with the Cross of Military Merit." It further stated in the sequel, "If, after having approved of the conduct of the Commodore, it should be thought proper to give him the command of any new expedition to Europe, his Majesty will receive him again with pleasure, and presumes that Congress will oppose nothing that may be judged expedient to secure the success of his enterprises." In this clause, written, no doubt, at Jones's suggestion, we see the dawning already of a new hope for active employment on the enemy's coast. In addition to these honourable testimonials, M. de Sartine wrote to Jones himself, accompanying a packet for the French Minister in the United States, which contained the cross of the order of Military Merit, with which Jones was to be invested if Congress consented. "But at any rate," he wrote, "that you should have a proof of the King's approbation and munificence, his Majesty has ordered a gold-headed sword to be made for you, which will be immediately delivered to you, and he has the greatest confidence in the use you will make of it for his glory, and that of the United States."

When Franklin received the letter in which Landais informed him that he was patiently waiting for his orders, to resume the command of the Alliance, accompanied by the letter of the fourteen officers of the Alliance, giving their opinion that

the crew was unanimously in his favour, that he was a capable officer, whose conduct, in the battle off Scarborough, had been misrepresented, and that he was their legal captain, whom they felt bound by the regulations of the service to obey; as well as by the mutinous demand of the one hundred and fifteen seamen of the Alliance, that their wages and prize-money should be paid, and their legal captain, P. Landais, restored to them before they would put to sea; Jones had already arrived at L'Orient. To that place Franklin immediately wrote to him, informing him of the nature of these various communications, and of the measures which he had adopted in consequence. He had gone at once to the government and exhibited the documents, which produced an immediate order to the authorities of L'Orient for the arrest of Landais, to be tried for his life, as an emigrant without the King's permission, and, as such, subject to be punished for his misdemeanour by the laws of France. Franklin directed that those sailors who had signed the mutinous letter should not receive any portion of the money which it was proposed to advance before the departure of the Alliance, on account of the prizes, and that all such as were unwilling to trust to their country to see justice done to them, should be put on shore to await the sale of the prizes, at their own expense. Franklin ended his letter with the following pithy advice: : " You are likely to have great trouble. I wish you well through it.— You have shown your abilities in fighting; you have now an opportunity of showing the other necessary part, in the character of a great chief, your abilities in policy."

Before this pithy, though not very encouraging, advice was received, together with the government order for the imprisonment of Landais, and the salutary admonition of the officers who had signed the approbatory letter in his favour, the affair had already been brought to a crisis and terminated in the ejection of Jones and the installation of Landais in the command of the Alliance. Immediately on his arrival

from court, Jones prosecuted his preparations to depart with the Alliance and Ariel, which had now been added to his command, in order to complete the transportation of the military stores, intended for the army. Several American vessels, having cargoes to the amount of two millions of livres, were ready to sail under his convoy.

Jones had gone on board of the Alliance, as usual, in the prosecution of his duty, and had always been respectfully received and met with a ready obedience. Having, however, heard that his authority to command the Alliance had been called in question, and being now perhaps first informed of the letters written by Landais, and by the officers and the crew to Franklin, having for their object to displace him, he, on the morning of the 13th of June, mustered his crew upon the quarter-deck, and caused his commission to be read aloud to them, together with the order from Franklin, while in the Texel, to take command of the Alliance, and a more recent order to carry her to Philadelphia, to which port he had been directed to send her by the board of Admiralty. After reading those documents, he addressed the crew, inculcating upon them their obligations, and urging them to the faithful performance of their duty. He asked, in conclusion, that whoever had any complaint to make against him should now step forward. No reply being made, Jones took it for granted that there was nothing to fear from insubordination, and soon went on shore to confer with the commander of the arsenal, with regard to the equipment of the Ariel.

As soon as Jones landed, Landais dispatched a letter to Mr. James Degges, the first lieutenant of the Alliance, directing him to retain the command of the ship from any one who should attempt to assume it, contrary to the resolution of Congress, by which it had been entrusted to him, until he should receive a favourable answer from Dr. Franklin, which he thought could not be denied to him, unless he had an order from Congress to remove him. On the receipt of the expected

order, he would repair on board to resume the command. When Lieutenant Degges had received this letter, he mustered the crew and read it to them. He had, no doubt, been prepared for this act of insubordination, by the constitutional commentaries of Mr. Lee, which, together with the insinuations as to Jones's betrayal, had not been thrown away on the crew. They declared at once for Landais, who, opportunely arriving at this crisis, without waiting for the order from Dr. Franklin, to resume the command, which he knew never would arrive, walked over the side and took possession of the ship. Lieutenant Dale and the other officers who had come with Jones from the *Richard*, had not been called up to take part in these proceedings, their dinner hour having been fixed upon for the execution of the plot. Aroused by the cheers, they came upon deck, and found Landais parading up and down, in the presence of the officers and crew, with his commission in his hand, and haranguing them in broken English. They were all sent ashore with little ceremony.

As both a key and commentary to this transaction, and what has gone before it, we are here tempted to insert a letter from Mr. Arthur Lee, of this very date, a copy of which, no doubt, came into the possession of Landais this very day, to serve as authority for the step which he was taking.

“Sir,—When you showed me yesterday the authorities, under which you conceive you have a right to command the *Alliance* frigate, I told you it was not in my power to give you an opinion upon them without seeing those of Captain Landais; and that I would not give an opinion in this matter but in writing. Since that, I have seen the authorities of Captain Landais, and I now shall state them both, with my opinion upon them; which I hope may be of use in preventing any further contest, which cannot but be disgraceful and injurious to those who are in the wrong.

“The authorities you showed me consisted of a commission of Congress, oppointing you a captain in the marine of the

United States, and a late order from Dr. Franklin to you to take command of the Alliance, and carry her where she is ordered by the Admiralty. This order from Dr. Franklin does not recite or allege any power from Congress to take the command from Captain Landais, and put another in his place.

“The authorities Captain Landais laid before me, were a commission from Congress, like yours, appointing him captain in the service; a resolve of Congress, giving him the command of the Alliance frigate; and a letter of instructions for that purpose, from the Marine Committee.

“From these documents it is clear, beyond a possibility of doubt, that Captain Landais commands that ship, under the full, direct, and express order of Congress; and that no such authority appears, to dismiss him from the command. In this situation, Captain Landais must answer at his peril for the frigate intrusted to him, till he receives an order of Congress to deliver her to another. If any such order exists, those who have it do infinite wrong to the service in not producing it, to prevent any disturbance. If there is no such order, the subjects of the United States, who attempt to divest Captain Landais of the command he holds from the sovereign power, or to disturb him by violence in the exercise of it, commit a high crime against the laws and sovereignty of the United States, and subject themselves to proportionate punishment.

“This, Sir, is my opinion, founded upon a cool and candid consideration of the authorities on both sides; which alone ought to determine our judgments and our actions. You are at liberty to show this letter to whom you please, or to send it to Dr. Franklin. Should it prevail upon you to urge the matter no further, till you know whether there is authority of Congress for what you are doing, I shall think I have rendered no less service to you personally, in preventing you from committing a rash and illegal action, than to the public, the honour of which must be committed by such a contest in a foreign port. When I see such things threatened, my duty to my country,

and the love of law and order, call upon me to do whatever is in my power to prevent them."

This is an able letter, but its ability, exercised as it was for the mischievous perversion of truth, and in violation of the interests of the country, only renders it the more reprehensible. Mr. Lee knew, better than any one, that the Alliance had been placed at the disposal of Dr. Franklin, who represented our country, with full powers, for the purpose of forwarding the great object of annoying England. For this object she had been put under the orders of Jones. Her commander had wilfully disobeyed these orders on various occasions. In battle he had basely deserted his duty and station, and adding treachery to desertion, had fired upon the flag which he served under, and killed many of the citizens of the United States, boldly avowing afterwards, that he would have thought it no harm if the *Richard* had struck, as it would have given him an opportunity to retake her and take the *Serapis*. For these offences, Dr. Franklin had removed him from the command of the Alliance, and conferred it on Jones. Landais had acquiesced in this removal, had solicited leave to proceed to the United States for trial, and obtained money to pay his expenses. Jones had been seven months in the command of the Alliance. None of these facts are noticed in Mr. Lee's letter. Under these circumstances, his affected horror of disturbance, his apprehension of the disgrace and injury which it was likely to reflect on the country, his pretension to a cool and candid consideration of the circumstances, when he had left the most essential ones unadverted to, and, finally, his claim to render a service to Jones personally, by inducing him to abstain from what he considered rash and illegal, make this letter very unworthy of Mr. Lee, and of the real services, which his genius, learning, and enthusiastic love of liberty had already enabled him to render to the cause of his country.

¶ It is not easy to account very satisfactorily for Mr. Lee's course in this transaction. Several reasons may be assigned,

none of which are very creditable. He had had a difficulty the year before with Jones, in which the conduct of the latter had been more spirited than respectful. It would seem also, from a letter written by Jones to Robert Morris, at this time, that he had objected to the space which Mr. Lee's baggage, carriage, and family would occupy in the Alliance, if taken to the exclusion of the soldiers' clothing, so much needed by the army. In this letter he says, "I found the Alliance at the entrance of Port Louis, and every necessary disposition was made to stop her from going out; but my humanity would not suffer me to remain a silent witness of bloodshed, between the allied subjects of France and America. My having prevented that scene of horror, has been no small disappointment to the wicked hearts and empty heads of Captain Landais's principal advisers. One of these two would-be great men will now have his carriage, baggage, and family transported from hence in the space on board the Alliance, that should have been occupied by the soldiers' clothing; while the red-ribboned Commodore has taken advantage of the confusion, and inveigled away from the continental service a number of seamen, that I had redeemed from English dungeons, and fed for three months on board the Alliance, in order to man the Ariel."

The red-ribboned Commodore, here spoken of, was Commodore Gillon, an officer in the service of South Carolina, who had been sent out by that State to purchase and equip men-of-war for the defence of its own coasts. By a singular arrangement made with an influential courtier, who had procured from the King the loan of the *Indien*, Gillon had got possession of that ship which Jones had been so ambitious of commanding. If Jones was at the time aware of this arrangement, it must have added no little poignancy to his resentment against Gillon, for aiding in the intrigues which had driven him from the Alliance, and enticing away his sailors to man a ship, which had been withheld from him after so many promises.

As for the ruling motive of Mr. Lee's conduct, it is, perhaps, more truly unfolded in the sequel of the same letter; and certainly is not well suited to commend his memory to the veneration of the American people.

It will be remembered, that Mr. Lee had been associated with Franklin and Deane, as a commissioner, previous to the recognition of our independence by France. When, in consequence of that event, Franklin was invested with the sole control of our relations as minister, Mr. Lee continued Commissioner to Spain, which country he had already visited in that capacity. He hoped to have been made minister to that court, but Congress appointed Mr. Jay, from the belief that he would be more acceptable to Spain, and more useful to the country. This rendered Mr. Lee exceedingly discontented. He had been, while a member of the English bar, before the Revolution, associated with Dr. Franklin, as the agent of Massachusetts, with power to take Dr. Franklin's place, in the event of his absence or death. At that time he frequently aspersed Dr. Franklin in his correspondence, and impeached the purity of his motives. When Mr. Lee was associated in the commission to France, as a reward for the distinguished services which he had already rendered to the American cause, a disagreement grew up between Mr. Lee and Mr. Deane, which afterwards extended itself to Dr. Franklin. A recapitulation of these facts gives a colour of probability to Jones's mode of accounting for Mr. Lee's interference.

“I am convinced that Mr. Lee has acted in this manner, merely because I would not become the enemy of the venerable, the wise, and good Franklin, whose heart, as well as head, does and will always do honour to human nature. I know the great and good, in this kingdom, better perhaps than any other American, who has appeared in Europe since the treaty of alliance, and if my testimony could add any thing to Franklin's reputation, I could witness the universal veneration and esteem with which his name inspires all ranks, not

only at Versailles and all over this kingdom, but also in Spain and Holland. And I can add from the testimony of the first characters of other nations, that, with them, envy itself is dumb when the name of Franklin is but mentioned.

On the very afternoon of the mutiny, Jones, after consulting with the French Admiral, with whom he was dining at the time, wrote by express to Franklin, relating the circumstances which had taken place. In the course of this letter he mentioned what had occurred in the morning, when he had asked the crew at muster, whether any of them could speak a word to his disadvantage, and they answered they could not. He wrote, "I am certain that the people love and would readily obey me." The proofs they had given of this love were very extraordinary, to be sure, but even if it did not exist at all, except in the imagination of Jones, or perhaps only in his letter, it would have been far more honourable to Jones, as well as more to his interest, if he really wished to recover the command, to have gone at once on board of the Alliance with his officers, as soon as he heard that Landais had taken possession of her. There could scarcely have been any open opposition from the officers and crew, and from the relative conduct of the two chiefs in battle, we cannot but think that Landais would have quailed beneath his eye. If he had ventured upon personal violence, Jones, being in the right, would not have been blameable for the consequences. From evidence of the circumstances, the conclusion is irresistible, either that Jones behaved weakly in yielding his right, and abandoning the post to which duty bound him, or, which is more likely, that he was not particularly anxious to retain the command of the Alliance, and leave France.

Instead of encountering the "scene," with Landais, which he told the French commander he was desirous of avoiding, though it would probably have been of very short duration, Jones immediately followed his express to court. He found

that orders had already been despatched to L'Orient to detain the Alliance and arrest Landais. Franklin had also written to Landais and the officers of the Alliance, commanding them to yield obedience to his orders. He had also written to Jones that, having been informed by several gentleman from L'Orient, that it was understood there that the mutiny on board of the Alliance had been advised and promoted by Mr. Arthur Lee, whom he had ordered Jones to receive as a passenger, that order was so far withdrawn as to leave it to Jones's discretion, whether to take him or not. He said that this need not obstruct Mr. Lee's return to America, as he might exchange places with some of the passengers on board the ships going out under convoy of the Alliance.

Having been absent rather more than six days, including nearly two that he spent at Versailles, Jones found himself again at L'Orient, on his return from his fruitless errand, on the morning of the 20th of June. He found that during the preceding night, the Alliance had been warped from the inner roads to Port Louis. There was still a narrow strait, enclosed by rocks and commanded by batteries, which it was necessary for her to pass before she would be in the outer roads of Groix. The commander of the port had caused a barrier to be moved across the narrow entrance to Port Louis, and had given orders to sink the Alliance if she should attempt to pass it. The French commander now sent a boat on board with an officer bearing the King's order, for the arrest of Landais. He refused to surrender himself. The letters from Franklin to Landais, and to the officers and men of the Alliance, containing his positive orders for their submission, were then delivered. They were equally disregarded.

At this conjuncture, Jones, having his ship completely in his power, with the certainty of being able to reduce her to terms, interfered to have the order to fire upon her if she should attempt to pass, revoked, and the barrier removed from before the strait. He took great credit to himself for this forbearance.

In writing to Franklin, on the 21st, he says: "Had I even remained silent an hour longer, the dreadful work would have been done. Your humanity will, I know, justify the part I acted, in preventing a scene that would have rendered me miserable for the rest of my life." Few commanders would have ventured, in the presence of enemies, and with the clearest justice on their side, to attempt this hazardous and necessarily murderous passage. The crew of the Alliance, accustomed as they were to mutiny, would not have hesitated to repeat for the third time the scene which they had first enacted with Landais, on the passage from America. Jones must have known his man sufficiently to be convinced, in his own mind, that there would have been no "dreadful work" at all. The commandant called his chief officers together, and they signed a paper setting forth the preparations which had been made to stop the Alliance, and their great admiration of Jones's magnanimity, in causing them to be suspended. This paper was too clearly got up at Jones's suggestion. Throughout the whole of his career he evinces the same passion for fortifying himself with affidavits and certificates. Meanwhile Jones had his certificate, and Landais, what he equally appreciated, the mouth of the harbour open for his egress. He quietly warped his ship through the narrow passage between the rocks, and cast anchor in the open roads of Groix.

In evidence that Jones was not earnest in carrying out, with singleness of purpose, Franklin's ardent and patriotic desire, that he should put to sea without delay in the Alliance, with the military stores so urgently required by Washington, we find him, by the next post after that in which he had advised Franklin of the circumstances attending the withdrawal of the ship from under the control of the authorities, and of the fate of the King's letter of arrest, and of his own orders, urging the expediency of procuring the loan of the Serapis. That ship had just been purchased by the King, for two hundred and forty thousand livres. Upwards of five hundred tons of

public stores yet remained to be shipped for America. The Ariel would not be able to carry the whole of it, and Jones's new project was to fit the Serapis out to carry the remainder, arming her for the purpose as a transport, whilst the Ariel should accompany her as a cruiser. He hoped to be able to obtain from the Alliance, and from among the American seamen in the port, a sufficient number of men to man both ships. On his arrival in the United States, the Serapis could be fitted as a cruiser, and, together with the Ariel, and such other ships as he hoped Congress would be ready to place under his command, carry out some one of the projects for the annoyance of the enemy, which he had so often submitted to the French government.

Such was the new scheme which Jones produced, with a readiness which showed that he must have long meditated on it. He had originally given up the command of the Serapis with reluctance and mortification. He was desirous to take her to America with him in any shape, in order to exhibit her as a trophy won by his valour, and thus to make more present to men's minds, the reality of his achievement. Franklin's reception of this scheme was far from being encouraging. His answer betrays some dissatisfaction with the efforts of Jones to recover the command of the Alliance. He had not received Jones's letter of the 21st of June, and he wrote: "I only know by other means, that the Alliance is gone out of the port; and that you are not likely to recover, and have relinquished, the command of her. So that affair is over; and the business is now to get the goods out as well as we can. I am perfectly bewildered with the different schemes that have been proposed to me for this purpose, by Mr. Williams, Mr. Ross, yourself, and M. de Chaumont. Mr. Williams was for purchasing ships; I told him I had not the money, but he still urges it. You and Mr. Ross propose borrowing the Ariel; I joined in the application for that ship. We obtained her. She was to convey all that the Alliance could not take. Now you find her insuf-

ficient. An additional ship has already been asked, and could not be obtained. I think, therefore, it will be best that you take as much into the Ariel as you can, and depart with it. For the rest, I must apply to the government, to contrive some means of transporting it in their own ships. This is my present opinion; and when I have once got rid of this business, no consideration shall tempt me to meddle again with such matters, as I never understood them." Franklin terminated his correspondence on this subject, by directing the commanding officer of the Alliance, for the time being, to take on board all the military stores that were ready, and deliver them at Philadelphia.

Meantime Landais being completely beyond the control of Jones, the latter kept up upon him, from on shore, a brisk discharge of orders, which he received with studied contempt. This discharge was begun, on the same day that the ship warped out into the outer roads, by an order carried by Lieutenant Dale, for the delivery of some seamen required for the Ariel, together with his own baggage, stores, and barge. An "impertinent note" was Landais's only reply to the order. It does not appear, whether Jones's effects came on shore on this occasion. When they did come on shore, his trunks were broken open, his papers scattered, and many of his effects missing. Not discouraged by this reception, he wrote again on the 28th, ordering Landais not to sail without his instructions, and in the mean time to send eighty of his best riggers on shore, with all the carpenters, to assist in equipping the Ariel. Mr. M. Livingston was charged with this letter, Lieutenant Dale having probably been too much disgusted with his previous reception to desire to repeat his visit. Landais answered briefly. "I send the under-named people on shore, being such as I do not find necessary for the service of the United States of America, on board this ship; if you have any authority for taking them, you will do it." The names of twenty-two men were added below. On the following day

Jones wrote to say, that the boat was sent back for the remainder of the men mentioned in his order of the previous day. Landais ordered the officer bearing the letter to remain in the boat alongside of the Alliance, and hold the letter open towards him. Having made out the contents, he ordered him to be gone. The Alliance soon after sailed, carrying away, in irons, in her hold, many of the old crew of the Bon Homme Richard, who adhered to Jones, and refused to assist in getting under way.

CHAPTER XIII.

Equipment of the Ariel. Correspondence. Jones receives the Sword presented by the King. Offers to intrust it to a Lady. Addresses the Count of Vergennes. Unaccountable Delay in the Departure of the Ariel. One Month passed in the Roads of Groix. Puts to Sea. Dreadful Hurricane. Critical Situation of the Ariel. Anchors in the open Ocean. Masts cut away. Rides out the Gale. Jury-Masts rigged. Returns to L'Orient. Effects of the Gale. Correspondence resumed. Application for a larger Ship. Is rejected. News of Landais's Disgrace. Delay of the Ariel. Prize-Money not paid. Ariel puts to Sea. Encounter with an English Ship. Enemy strikes. Afterwards escapes. Ariel arrives at Philadelphia.

THE month of July seems to have been less employed by Jones in urgent efforts to get off in the Ariel, with part of the residue of the military stores, than in corresponding with Madame T——, Madame Lafayette, Madame d'Ormy, and such other ladies connected with the court as he had contrived, in his various visits to Paris, to interest in his fortunes. He entertained them with accounts of his past achievements, complaints against Messrs. de Chaumont, Lee, and Landais, and new schemes for expeditions against the ports and commerce of England, in the course of which, if sent forth unshackled by any "concordat," or "sage deliberation" of "colleagues," he hoped yet to strike a blow against the common enemy, "that should resound throughout the universe."

Early in July, Jones received the sword which the King

had ordered to be presented to him. It was mounted in gold; and bore on the blade, surrounded by the blended emblems of America and France, the following inscription: "VINDICATI MARIS LUDOVICUS XVI. REMUNERATOR STRENUO VINDICI." Within a few days after the reception of this sword we find Jones addressing the Countess de Lavendahl, and begging her to become the depositary of it. He thus gives his reasons for the request. "I hold the sword in too high estimation to risk its being taken by the enemy; and therefore propose to deposit it in the care of a friend. None can be more worthy of that sacred deposit than you, Madam; and if you will do me the honour to be its guardian, I shall esteem myself under an additional obligation to deserve your riband, and to prove myself worthy of the title of your knight." The lady declined accepting the charge. She had taken some umbrage at a previous letter which he had written to her, sending a lock of his hair, and expressing his regret that he could not send even his heart. She had intimated to him, that his letter must have been misdirected, and begged leave to introduce him to the Count, her husband, who was passing through L'Orient, with the request, that he would show him every civility in his power.

In reply to the letter, in which the lady declined accepting the guardianship of the sword, Jones thus expressed himself; "I am sorry that you have found it necessary to refuse me the honour of accepting the deposit mentioned in my last, but am determined to follow your advice, and be myself its guardian. A day or two before I wrote to you last, I had received a challenge from Sir James Wallace, who, in the *Nonesuch*, a ship of the line, copper-bottomed, and of superior swiftness, declared he waited in sight for my departure. Had I commanded an equal force, I hope you will believe I would have employed my time otherwise than in writing you any proposi-

tion for the safety of a weapon, that I should have hoped to use immediately with success.”*

On the 2d of August, Jones addressed himself directly to Count de Vergennes, the Prime Minister, informing him that he was nearly ready to sail for the United States, and telling him how happy he should be to carry with him to Congress the interest of the French government for his promotion, and especially its request that he might be constantly employed, with a sufficient force, in such enterprises as might be best suited to distress the common enemy. He adverted to various projects of annoyance, which he had previously laid before the Minister of Marine, and which had merited his approbation; and suggested, that circumstances were not so altered as to affect their present expediency. If such expeditions as he wished to undertake were prepared in America, he should be able, with the greater certainty, to surprise the enemy by an unexpected blow. He wished to alarm their colonies, as well as their own coasts. England having carried on the war against America in a more barbarous spirit than the usages of war would have permitted her to adopt against a European power, conferred on America the right to retaliate. Our speaking the same language with the enemy would enable us to surprise them more effectually. “This is not theory,” he concluded, “for I have proved it by my experience; and if I have opportunity I will yet prove it more fully.”

It does not appear, that the French government made any

* This sword was sent by Jones's heirs to his valued friend, Robert Morris, to whose favour he had owed his opportunities for distinguishing himself. Mr. Morris gave this sword to Commodore John Barry, at that time the senior officer of the Navy of the United States. On the death of this distinguished veteran, he bequeathed the sword by his will to his intimate friend and fellow-townsmian, Commodore Richard Dale, who, having been the first lieutenant of the *Poor Richard*, and, consequently, second in command in the celebrated action in which the *Serapis* was taken, seemed the most proper person to possess this trophy of so memorable a victory. It now remains in possession of Commodore John Montgomery Dale, son of Commodore Dale,

further application on behalf of Jones's promotion, and employment against the common enemy, than had already been done through the urgent recommendation which M. de Sartine had addressed, in the previous May, to the President of Congress. His suggestions, however, were approved, and every assistance which the government could render was promised to him, in the event of his appearing again in the European seas in command of an expedition.

We have seen, that Franklin had taken leave of Jones and his grievances on the 23d of June, when the difficulty about the Alliance was brought to a conclusion, and Jones returned to his old request of obtaining the *Serapis*, by telling him to take what military stores he could on board the *Ariel*, and depart forthwith in that ship. Towards the close of July, supposing him to be ready for sea, he forwarded his despatches for the United States by the Count de Vauban, who was to take passage in the *Ariel*. What could have detained the *Ariel* in the harbour of L'Orient, from this time to the 4th of September, when she moved out into the open road of Groix, does not appear, either from Jones's correspondence, or from his answers to the Board of Admiralty, when questioned on the subject. The delay can only be attributed to his unwillingness to depart, owing to his desire to receive the prize-money for his crew; the pleasure which he took in prosecuting his correspondence with the French ministers and his fair friends about the court; and perhaps the fascinations of his *Delia*. His reasons must have been private ones, having nothing to do with the wishes of Dr. Franklin, who was most urgent for his departure, though tired perhaps of telling him so, or with the obligations of his duty.

The *Ariel* still remained in the open roads of Groix, from the 4th of September to the 7th of October. He attributes his detention to storms and contrary winds. During that time, however, he might certainly have got to sea, though the wind was a-head, and, by stretching to the southward, placed

himself in a position to effect his passage across the Atlantic. On the 7th, he at length put to sea, with a fair wind and pleasant weather. As the wind was light, but little progress was made, and on the following day, before the ship was well clear of the land, the wind chopped round a-head, and commenced blowing a most furious gale. The ship was put under reefed courses, which was all she could carry, and her head laid to the northward, in the hope of fetching out clear of the coast. In stretching along the land, she had reached as far as the Penmarque rocks, a very dangerous reef, off the cape of that name, and only a league distant from the land, when the hurricane blew with such violence as to smother the ship, obliging Jones to furl the courses, and preventing him from showing even so much as a staysail. The ship was very deep, and lay buried in the water by the mere force of the wind on her hull and spars, her waist lying constantly buried, and even her lower yards frequently dipping as she rolled. It was too dark to discover the land or the reef, but the lead with which Jones kept frequently sounding with his own hand, showed that they were shoaling the water rapidly; there was no room to veer and get her head the other way. The ship leaked badly, and one of the chain-pumps became choked, and would deliver no water. Destruction seemed almost inevitable; Jones said, that never before did he "fully conceive the awful majesty of tempest and of shipwreck."

The only remaining resource was to anchor. A consultation of the superior officers was hastily held upon the quarter-deck, and this alternative was determined on. The best bower anchor was let go, but the ship continued to drive broadside to, and nearly on her beam-ends; the anchor did not even bring her head to wind. Two additional cables were spliced on and veered out; still she drove. In this extremity the foremast was cut away; the anchor now began to hold, and the ship came head to wind. The step of the mainmast had twisted off, while the ship was on her

beam-ends, and now, as she lay rolling head to wind, and bringing up suddenly at every sea, it surged from side to side and jerked with such violence that Jones feared it might part below the main-deck, or even work through the ship's bottom. He ordered it to be cut away above the spar-deck; but before this was effected the chain-plates broke, and the mast parted by the main-deck, and, falling aft, carried with it the mizzen-mast, and one of the quarter-galleries. Her motion without her spars was so violent that the most practised seamen could not keep their legs. Thus, stripped to the mere hull, with nothing but the bowsprit left, the Ariel rode for two days and nearly three nights close to windward of a reef, upon which, had she struck, every soul must have perished. On the morning of the 12th, the gale had so far moderated as to allow the wreck to be cleared, and the business of erecting jury-masts commenced. The cable was hove short, but the anchor could not be weighed, as it had probably caught a rock. The cable was therefore cut, and the Ariel returned in miserable plight to L'Orient. The gale had created fearful devastation along the whole of the neighbouring coast, which was strewed with wrecks and the bodies of the drowned; vessels had been driven from their anchors even in the port of L'Orient. Under these circumstances the preservation of the Ariel was wonderful. It showed that nothing had been omitted, that seamanship could suggest, to save her; and the fact, that no lives were lost, is creditable to Jones's coolness and the humane efforts to keep his crew out of danger, which he must necessarily have exerted throughout the whole scene of terror and destruction.

Once more within the reach of the port, Jones returned to his epistles to Dr. Franklin, to the Secretary of Legation, Dr. Bancroft, to Madame d'Ormy, and to the whole train of his correspondents. "I have returned," he wrote, "without laurels, and, what is worse, without having been able to render service to the glorious cause of liberty." To make up for

these deficiencies he had brought back a fresh stock of materials for correspondence. On the 13th, he wrote to Dr. Franklin, that by the assistance of the commander of the arsenal the repairs had been commenced with great activity. He paid the highest compliments to the spirited exertions of his officers during the gale; the passengers, he said, had shown "a manly spirit and true greatness of mind, even when death in all its pomp stared them in the face;" the conduct of every person in the vessel had merited his fullest approbation. To Madame d'Ormoÿ he wrote in a more poetic strain. "I know not why Neptune was in such anger, unless he thought it an affront in me to appear on his ocean with so insignificant a force." To avoid exciting the sea-god's indignation in a similar way, he had already commenced a fresh set of applications for a larger ship.

The Count de Vauban, who had returned to Paris, engaged to use all the interest he could to procure the loan of the *Terpsichore* frigate. Jones wrote to the Duke de la Rochefoucault, Mr. Deane, and Dr. Bancroft, to aid him in the application which he at the same time made to the Marquis de Castries, the new Minister of Marine, for the loan of the *Terpsichore*. It does not appear that he made any effort to engage Dr. Franklin to forward this object; the positive manner in which the Sage had declined wasting his influence in a useless effort to procure the loan of the *Serapis*, was still fresh in his memory. At the same time that Jones made his application to the Marquis de Castries, he enclosed him copies of the various projects for expeditions against England, which he had laid before his predecessor. "Permit me, my Lord," he wrote, "to congratulate your Excellency on the happy choice his Majesty has made, in appointing a disinterested patriot of your liberal mind and comprehensive understanding to govern the royal navy of this kingdom. Believe me, my Lord, I anticipate, with a heart-felt pleasure, the happy events of your administration; and I shall rejoice in-

deed to be found worthy of your Excellency's protection, and to be made instrumental, under your direction, in concert with the Congress, in putting an honourable end to the war." He also intimated to the Minister, that his confirmation of the flattering testimonial with which M. de Sartine had furnished him, in his letter to the President of the Congress, would be most acceptable to him. The Minister caused him to be informed, that the previous letter being the act of the King could not be strengthened by his testimonial. With regard to the *Terpsichore*, she was bound to the East Indies with despatches, and could not, therefore, be substituted for the *Ariel*.

One gratifying piece of intelligence qualified the discouraging replies which Jones received to his various letters to his correspondents in the capital. He had heard, on his return to L'Orient, of the arrival of the Alliance at Boston, and of Mr. Arthur Lee's having reached Philadelphia. In mentioning the fact to Dr. Bancroft, he said, "We know nothing further, except that no guns were fired, no bells were rung, nor bonfires made, in consequence of so great an event." Dr. Franklin had received a letter from a friend in Boston, the substance of which was transmitted to Jones by Mr. Temple Franklin. It stated that the Alliance had arrived, and that the circumstances under which she had left France were considered irregular and illegal. The officers and crew had become dissatisfied with Landais during the passage, and compelled him to relinquish the command. The passengers also were highly incensed against him, and among the most rabid was Mr. Arthur Lee. On the arrival of the ship, Landais's conduct on the passage became the subject of a court of inquiry. Mr. Lee's evidence went to prove that he was insane. The result of this investigation, which did not embrace the damatory charges preferred against him by Jones, and substantiated by the certificates of so many officers, was his summary dismissal from the service. As an offset to this consolatory

information of the result of the friendship between Mr. Lee and Landais, Jones found himself involved at L'Orient in a mortifying dispute with Captain Truxtun, subsequently so celebrated as the captor of the Insurgent. Captain Truxtun was at L'Orient in command of the letter-of-marque ship Independence, of Philadelphia, and very improperly presumed to hoist a broad pendant upon his ship, in defiance of the resolution of Congress. Jones took this in great dudgeon, and ordered him to strike his pendant. This he refused to do, and, after an angry correspondence, continued to wear it. Nothing remained for Jones but to vent his feelings for the indignity in a letter to the Board of Admiralty. "Is not this," he wrote, "bidding defiance to Congress and the continental flag? Congress will judge what punishment is equal to such a crime, when committed in sight of the flags and forts of an illustrious ally."

Paul Jones continued to prolong his stay at L'Orient more than two months from the time of his putting back dismayed. The expenses of refitting the Ariel were proportioned to the time employed in them, and of course very grievous to the frugal spirit and empty purse of our venerable minister. To add to Franklin's distress, the arms that had been shipped in the Ariel, were so much damaged that it was necessary to discharge them, and they were not again taken on board of the Ariel. Jones continued urgent in his demands and solicitation in every quarter, for the payment of the prize-money due to his officers and men, from the cruise which had terminated in the Texel. The proceeds had not yet been realized and Franklin, in reply to the urgent appeals which had been made to him, could only write from his sick-bed, on the 4th of December, that he would use his best efforts to see justice done to his countrymen. "I hope," he wrote, "soon to see an end of that affair, which has met with so many unaccountable obstructions. I enclose despatches for Congress, which are to be sunk in case of danger. I wish you to make

the best of your way to America, and that you may have a prosperous voyage."

In consequence of waiting for further despatches, which Jones had learned from some unofficial source, not sufficient to justify the detention, were still to be sent, a fair wind was lost. The delay enabled him to make his valedictory, in due form, to his various correspondents; among others to Madame d'Ormy, to whom he expressed his gratification at her having mentioned him "to so great a man as the King of Prussia." He furthermore beguiled the time by an elegant entertainment to some distinguished friends, who had treated him with civility. The ship was tastefully prepared by spreading her awnings, so as to convert the quarter-deck into a ball and banqueting room. A curtain of pink-coloured silk hung from the awning to the deck, decorated with alternate mirrors and pictures, some of which latter partook of the prurient character of the French taste of that day. Between the mirrors and the pictures were wreaths of artificial flowers. The deck was laid with carpets. These arrangements were made under the superintending care of a French lady, of Jones's acquaintance; while cooks and waiters from the shore made liberal preparations for the feast. When all was ready, at the appointed hour, Jones despatched three of his boats ashore, the crews of which were neatly dressed in uniform, and decorated with the American and French cockades united. The ship too, was dressed with flags. At three o'clock the company arrived, consisting of many persons of rank of both sexes, splendidly dressed. Fanning says, that, "Jones received them, as they came up the ship's side, and conducted them to their seats on the quarter-deck, with a great deal of ease, politeness, and good nature." At half past three, the company sat down to an elegant dinner, from which they did not rise till sunset. All hands were at quarters, prepared, by Jones's order, to exhibit a representation of the capture of the *Serapis*. At eight o'clock, as the moon rose, the evening

being much the same as on that memorable occasion, a gun was fired, on the fore-castle, as a signal to commence. It was immediately followed by a tremendous explosion of great guns, small arms, rockets, and grenades. The tops, as in the action with the Serapis, were kept in a complete blaze. The scene was splendid, but the din was awful. The ladies, beside themselves with terror, begged Jones to have mercy on them, and the action was prematurely arrested, at the end of an hour. The Admiral's band, which had been lent for the occasion, now struck up a lively air and the dance began. It continued with unabated spirit until midnight, when the company was set on shore by the boats, with the same regularity with which they came off, except, as Fanning says, that some of them were "half seas over." The officers gallantly attended them to their very doors.

On the 18th of December, the Ariel was at length once more at sea, on her voyage to Philadelphia. Owing to the lumbered condition of the ship, and the important nature of the despatches, which had been intrusted to Jones, he was not particularly anxious to meet with any of the enemy's cruisers. He had also discovered that a conspiracy existed among the English part of the crew to take the ship. To defeat this design, part of the marines were kept constantly under arms, and the officers and passengers prepared to defend themselves. With a view, therefore, to avoid the enemy's ships, he followed an unfrequented track, and took the southern passage along the edge of the trade winds. Nothing particular occurred until the Ariel had reached the meridian of Barbadoes, which they were passing, in latitude 26, when a large sail was discovered, which immediately gave chase to the Ariel. She came up very fast, and her rate of sailing showed her to be a cruiser. It was, however getting dark, and Jones hoped to escape under cover of the night. But in the morning the stranger was still in sight, and an engagement had become inevitable, if the ship should prove an enemy. The Ariel was therefore cleared

for action; still every effort was made to conceal her force, and to prevent the display of her armament. As the day drew on, the lightness of the wind prevented the stranger from getting alongside. Having ascertained that the force of the pursuing vessel did not exceed his own, Jones ordered a stern-chaser to be fired occasionally, and showed a desire to crowd more sail and escape, which led to a display of increased eagerness, on the part of the enemy, to come up.

As the night closed in, Jones, having determined to fight, shortened sail to bring the stranger alongside. He, at length, came up on the lee-beam of the Ariel. Both ships wore English colours, and a conversation of some length ensued between the two commanders. The stranger proved to be the British ship *Triumph*. It does not appear whether she was a King's cruiser or a privateer; but it is most probable, from the tone of the conversation, that she was a privateer. Jones had the ingenuity to learn from her captain all the information that he desired, concerning the state of war in America. After obtaining this information, he ordered the captain to lower his boat and come on board with his commission. He excused himself from this, on account of Jones's not having told him who he was; he also stated that his boat was leaky. Jones told him to consider the consequences of refusing, and gave him five minutes to decide. He said he could answer for twenty guns; and that he and his people had shown themselves to be Englishmen.

Upon this Jones yawed his ship, so as to make her drop on the enemy's weather-quarter, when he put his helm up, and crossed her stern, hoisting American colours, and delivering his broadside within pistol-shot. The action was continued on the lee-beam of the *Triumph*. The fire from the Ariel's battery and tops, Jones represents as having been kept up with steadiness and destructive effect. The enemy made a feeble resistance of about ten minutes, when he struck his colours,

and cried for quarter. The Ariel's fire ceased and the crew gave three cheers. Meantime the Triumph, having got on the Ariel's bow, made all sail to escape. The Ariel was quickly under a press of canvass in pursuit; but the Triumph had so much advantage in speed, that she drew quickly ahead, and was soon out of gun-shot. Jones was very indignant at this proceeding, and vents his rage, in his journal, to the following effect. "The English captain may properly be called a knave, because, after he surrendered his ship, begged for, and obtained quarter, he basely ran away, contrary to the laws of naval war and the practice of civilized nations."

After this action, the plot of the mutineers, to get possession of the ship, was so far discovered, that twenty of the ring-leaders were identified and put in irons. No further incident of note occurred, until their arrival in Philadelphia, which took place on the 18th of February, 1781, three years and nearly four months after Jones's departure from Portsmouth in the Ranger.

CHAPTER XIV.

The board of Admiralty investigate the Delay of the Military Stores. Jones questioned by the Board. Resolution of Congress in his Honour. Is invested with the French Order of Military Merit. Answers Questions of the Board. His Answers pronounced satisfactory. Board recommends him to the Attention of Congress. Vote of Thanks to him. Receives a letter from Washington. Applies for Restoration of Rank. Application unsuccessful. Appointed to the America, Ship of the Line. Endeavours to settle his Accounts. Visits Head-Quarters of the Army. Proceeds to Portsmouth. Backward Condition of the America. Jones's Occupations. Letter from John Adams, on Naval Affairs. Construction of the America. Jones's Description of her. She is given to France. Is launched. Jones goes to Philadelphia. Prospect of Commanding the Indien. Disappointment.

WHEN Jones arrived in Philadelphia, he found the board of Admiralty engaged in investigating the causes of the delay of

the military stores, which had long since been expected from France in the Alliance, and under her convoy. The delay had caused great distress to the army, and occasioned much dissatisfaction to General Washington, to Congress, and to the country. The board had already reported, as one of the causes of delay, that Landais had regained command of the Alliance, from which he had been suspended by Dr. Franklin, through the advice of Mr. Arthur Lee, and notwithstanding that Dr. Franklin, by the direction of the marine committee, had the sole management of our marine affairs in Europe.

On the day after the Ariel's arrival, a motion was made to summon Jones to appear before the board, to give all the information in his power on the subject under deliberation. This was subsequently superseded by a motion to submit to him a series of written questions, the answer to which would embrace a complete history of all his transactions, since his departure from Portsmouth in the Ranger. While Jones was preparing his answers to these questions, the letter addressed by the French Minister of Marine, at the King's order, to the President of Congress, was laid before that body; and on the 27th of February, the following resolutions were adopted:

“Resolved, That the Congress entertain a high sense of the distinguished bravery and military conduct of John Paul Jones, Esq., captain in the Navy of the United States, and particularly in his victory over the British frigate Serapis, on the coast of England, which was attended with circumstances so brilliant, as to excite general applause and admiration.

“That the Minister Plenipotentiary of these United States at the court of Versailles, communicate to his Most Christian Majesty, the high satisfaction Congress has received from the conduct and gallant behaviour of Captain John Paul Jones, which have merited the attention and approbation of his Most Christian Majesty, and that his Majesty's offer of adorning Captain Jones with a Cross of Military Merit, is highly acceptable to Congress.”

Permission being thus promptly granted for Jones's investment with the order which the King had been desirous of conferring upon him, the French minister, M. de la Luzerne, gave a splendid entertainment to the members of Congress, and the most distinguished inhabitants of Philadelphia, in whose presence, he, in the name of the King, invested the Commodore with the decoration of Knight of the Order of Military Merit. He subsequently wore habitually his decoration, and retained the title of Chevalier, by which he loved to be addressed.

Our newly created knight was, in a few days, ready with his answers to the queries which the board of Admiralty had proposed to him; and these answers being received, as in all respects satisfactory, though we must confess that, being in possession, through Jones's voluminous correspondence, of more facts than he thought proper to lay before the board, they are not conclusive to us, as to his having used every diligence in hastening to America with the military stores, he was again a candidate for fresh honours from Congress, and fresh testimonials of public favour. On the 29th of March, the board delivered in their report upon the whole subject, which had been referred to them. In the course of it, they expressed themselves entirely satisfied, that the delay in the arrival of the military stores and clothing "had not been owing in any measure to a want of the closest attention to that business, either in the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, or in Captain Jones; who had, on the contrary, made every application and used every effort to accomplish that purpose; but that it was owing to Captain Landais's taking the command of the Alliance, contrary to the express orders of Dr. Franklin."

The board further went on to state the nature and extent of the services which Jones had rendered to the country during his absence, and, after a brief history of all that he had performed, summed up as follows: "Ever since Captain Jones first became an officer in the navy of these States, he

has shown an unremitting attention in planning and executing enterprises, calculated to promote the essential interests of our glorious cause: That in Europe, although in his expedition through the Irish channel in the *Ranger* he did not fully accomplish his purpose, yet he made the enemy feel that it is in the power of a small squadron, under a brave and enterprising commander, to retaliate the conflagration of our defenceless towns: That returning from Europe, he brought with him the esteem of the greatest and best friends of America; and hath received from the illustrious monarch of France that reward of warlike virtue which his subjects receive, by a long series of faithful services or uncommon merit. The board are of opinion that the conduct of Paul Jones merits particular attention, and some distinguished mark of approbation from the United States, in Congress assembled."

This report, when brought before Congress, was referred to a committee, by whose recommendation the following resolution was passed on the 14th of April, "That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be given to Captain John Paul Jones, for the zeal, prudence, and intrepidity, with which he hath supported the honour of the American flag; for his bold and successful enterprises, to redeem from captivity the citizens of these States, who had fallen under power of the enemy; and in general, for the conduct and eminent services by which he has added lustre to his character, and to the American arms: That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be also given to the officers and men who have faithfully served under him, from time to time, for their steady affection to the cause of their country, and the bravery and perseverance they have manifested therein."

It would seem that Jones had taken occasion to address Washington, in order to vindicate himself, in his eyes, from all blame on account of the detention of the military stores, and to provoke from him some opinion, as to the conduct of our military affairs. It had the effect of drawing from Wash-

ington a fresh testimonial to add to those which he had already received ; testimonials which he so highly valued, which he so ingeniously drew forth, and which, in his visits from land to land, he knew so well how to use advantageously. The letter is dated from head-quarters, at New Windsor, on the 19th of May, and ran as follows :

“ Sir,—My partial acquaintance with either our naval or commercial affairs makes it altogether impossible for me to account for the unfortunate delay of those articles of military stores and clothing, which have been so long provided in France. Had I any particular reasons to have suspected you of being accessory to that delay, which I assure you has not been the case, my suspicions would have been removed by the very full and satisfactory answers, which you have, to the best of my judgment, made to the questions proposed to you by the Board of Admiralty, and upon which that Board have, in their report to Congress, testified the high sense which they entertain of your merit and services.

“ Whether our naval affairs have, in general, been well or ill-conducted, it would be presumptuous in me to determine. Instances of bravery and good conduct, in several of our officers, have not, however, been wanting. . Delicacy forbids me to mention that particular one which has attracted the admiration of all the world, and which has influenced a most illustrious monarch to confer a mark of his favour, which can only be obtained by a long and honourable service, or by the performance of some brilliant action.

“ That you may long enjoy the reputation you have so justly acquired, is the sincere wish of, Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

These flattering testimonials and the gratifying reception that awaited the Chevalier, wherever he appeared, did not, however, leave him without something to desire. The injus-

tice which had been done to him in the arrangement of naval rank, adopted in October, 1776, by which thirteen captains were placed over his head who had not entered the service until some time after his appointment, still rankled in his bosom, and excited him to seek for redress. The moment for doing so seemed most propitious. He therefore addressed a memorial to Congress, on the 28th of May, recapitulating his claims to stand above those who had been so unjustly placed over him, and respectfully praying for redress. His memorial was referred to the same committee, with the exception of one new member, which had reported the approbatory resolutions in his favour, passed by Congress, in the previous month. Jones states, that the committee reported that he had been very unfairly treated, and that to do him justice, as well as to reward him for his services, they were of opinion that he should be promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral. Before Congress, however, had time to act upon the report, Jones says, that opposition was made to his promotion, by one or two of those captains who had been originally placed over him, at the first appointment of officers in the navy. In consequence of this opposition, the report of the committee was returned for further consideration, and it does not appear that it was again taken up. The same cause which defeated the creation of the grade of Admiral, in the service at that time, has operated ever since; namely, jealousy among the older officers, as to whom the rank should be first conferred on.

Soon after this occurrence the Board of Admiralty was dissolved, and Robert Morris, the Minister of Finance, was also appointed Minister of Marine. On the 23d of June, this gentleman was authorized by a resolution of Congress, to take measures for speedily launching and equipping the ship of the line *America*, then on the stocks at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. It was at the same time resolved, that Congress would proceed, three days thereafter, to the appointment of a commander for that vessel. Accordingly on the 26th, Congress proceeded

to ballot for the commander, and the result was Jones's unanimous election. As the *America* was the only ship of the line we had, and as the other captains were desirous also of obtaining command of her, the decision of this question was considered by Jones as settling in his favour, in another mode, the question of rank, which had recently been under consideration. He conceived that since the act of Congress, of the 15th of November, 1776, establishing assimilated rank between the navy and army, made the captain of a ship of from twenty to forty guns equal only to a lieutenant-colonel, whilst a captain of a ship of forty guns and upward was made equal to a colonel, he, being the only officer intrusted with so large a command, was thus, in effect, placed at the head of the navy list. The conclusion seems to be drawn from sufficient premises. He was accordingly, for the time being, entirely satisfied, as appears from the following passage in his journal. "Thus Congress took a delicate method to avoid cabal, and to do justice. It was more agreeable to Captain Jones to be so honourably elected captain of the line, than to have been, as was proposed by the committee, raised at once to the rank of rear-admiral; because Congress had not then the means of giving him a command suitable to that rank."

Justice having thus been done to him in the matter of his rank, which was, to use his own noble expression, so near to his heart, because it "opened the door to glory"; it only remained for him to seek justice in another particular, which, if it were less near his heart, could not be altogether neglected. This was the settlement of his accounts with Congress, which was largely in arrears to him, both for pay and for advances on account of the public service. It does not appear, indeed, that Jones had received anything from his first entry into the service on account of pay. On the contrary, he had paid off the crews of the *Alfred* and the *Providence* from his own resources, and actually left the United States in the *Ranger*, fifteen hundred pounds, currency, in advance to the United

States. The money for this purpose, and for his subsistence during this long period, he must have derived from prize-money. Owing to the delay in distributing what had been realized from the captures made by the squadron recently under his command, he had not only come to the United States without funds, but had left considerable debts in Europe. To defray these, and place himself in funds for his current expenses, he now laid his accounts before Robert Morris, the Minister of Finance and Marine. They exhibited a balance in his favour of more than thirteen thousand dollars. The poverty of the treasury prevented the immediate liquidation of this balance, and we find Jones petitioning the President of Congress, on the 28th of June, for an advance of a thousand dollars on account of what was due to him, to enable him to defray his small debts in Philadelphia, and proceed to New Hampshire, in order to testify by his conduct his very grateful sense of the high honour which Congress had done him, by conferring upon him the command of the America.

Towards the middle of August, Jones left Philadelphia for Portsmouth. On his way he made a visit to the head-quarters of the allied army, under Washington and Rochambeau, then encamped at White Plains, in West Chester county, New York. He was no doubt received there with the distinction due to his gallantry, which Washington had so elegantly recognised in the letter already quoted. The only circumstance, however, attending this visit, which has been chronicled, was the advice given him, that the people of the eastern states might take offence at the display of his cross as a Knight of the Order of Military Merit, which he wore conspicuously upon his breast. On leaving head-quarters he therefore discontinued wearing it.

At the close of the month he reached Portsmouth, and found to his great regret, that the America was less advanced towards completion than he had been led to hope. So far from

being nearly ready for launching, and in a condition to put to sea within six months, as had been stated at Philadelphia, the ship was not more than half-built. Even the materials for her completion had not been purchased, and the resources of the country were so entirely absorbed in providing for the combined army, which was about making its movement for the capture of Lord Cornwallis, in Virginia, that but scanty funds could be found for the construction of the *America*. Something, however, was done; for Jones went to his task with characteristic energy, grumbling, as he advanced, at the slow progress of what he pronounced "the most lingering and disagreeable service he was charged with during the period of the Revolution." He was, however, sustained in his toils by the cherished hope of appearing again in the European seas, with his flag on-board of the *America*, and a combined squadron of French and American frigates under his orders, to resume and carry into effect some of those plans for the annoyance of the enemy, which he had so often proposed to the two governments.

The task of superintending the construction of the *America*, though Jones devoted himself to it most faithfully, did not, however, occupy the whole of his time. He had collected a valuable library of professional works in the course of his wanderings, and he now found leisure to prosecute a variety of studies in naval tactics, the construction and equipment of ships, the police of fleets and dockyards, and other branches suited to enlighten and adorn the noble profession of the sea-officer. These studies he now made conducive to the skilful execution of the duty in which he was engaged. Nor did he fail to prosecute his extensive correspondence with the great and the fair. Among the most gratifying of the letters which he received while at Portsmouth, was one from John Adams, then minister at the Hague, congratulating him upon his appointment to the *America*. It is remarkable, as evincing that lively perception of the value to us of our navy, and interest

in its advancement, which none of our patriots seem ever to have felt so strongly; not even those of the present day, who can look back upon our history and see how time has set its seal upon the truth of John Adam's opinions. Many of the truths contained in the following letter are of present application:

"The command of the America could not have been more judiciously bestowed; and it is with impatience, that I wish her at sea, where she will do honour to her name. Nothing gives me so much surprise, or so much regret, as the inattention of my countrymen to their navy; it is a bulwark as essential to us as it is to Great Britain. It is less costly than armies, and more easily removed from one end of the United States to the other.

"Rodney's victory has intoxicated Britain again to such a degree that I think there will be no peace for some time. Indeed, if I could see a prospect of half a dozen line-of-battle ships under the American flag, commanded by Commodore Paul Jones, engaged with an equal British force, I apprehend the event would be so glorious for the United States, and lay so sure a foundation for their prosperity, that it would be a rich compensation for a continuance of the war."

From Lafayette, who took passage in the Alliance for France, soon after the fall of Cornwallis, in which the Marquis had taken so brilliant a part, Jones received an affectionate greeting, on the eve of the Alliance's departure. From this letter it would seem, that Jones had seriously contemplated repairing to the army to serve under the immediate orders of his friend. Lafayette expressed great regret at not being able to see Jones, as he had much to say to him. He begged him to write to him by every good opportunity, but not often in ciphers, unless the matter was very important. Lafayette had a great horror of Jones's mysterious ciphers, in which he dealt very profusely, furnishing to most of his correspondents a key to their interpretation.

Though the Chevalier had not been able to realize his-half-formed wish, of assisting in the downfall of Cornwallis, he did not fail to join heartily in the rejoicings which took place at Portsmouth for its celebration. On this occasion he resumed his decoration of the Order of Military Merit, which, with the title of Chevalier, he continued ever afterwards to wear, as he found that the good people of those parts did not take offence at the foreign bawble which had been apprehended. On the occasion of the birth of the French Dauphin, Jones celebrated the auspicious event by mounting a battery on the America, at his own expense, from which royal salutes were fired at repeated hours during the day, the flag of France being conspicuously displayed on board the ship, in connection with our own. In the night the ship was illuminated, and made a brilliant display of fire-works. This manifestation of zeal and good feeling, produced from the French minister a highly complimentary letter. The succeeding anniversary of our Independence was celebrated by Jones after the same fashion, and, as on the former occasion, much to the delight of the inhabitants, who lined the banks of the river and testified their applause.

During the construction of the America, Jones had, at one time, the prospect of burning powder in a way more according with his past habits. When the enemy became aware that it was intended to complete and equip the America, they became anxious to destroy her. Intelligence of their intentions having been communicated to Jones, both by Washington and the Minister of Marine, he organized a night-guard for her protection, composed of the mechanics who were engaged in building her. The foremen took command of the guard in turn, and Jones himself frequently attended in person. Large whale-boats, filled with men, and pulling with muffled oars, were seen occasionally passing and repassing the ship; but she was so well watched that the project was at length abandoned.

Though Jones found his task of superintending the construction of the *America* lingering and disagreeable, and therefore uncongenial with his impatient and restless temperament, he still seems, thus relieved by festal celebrations and an occasional prospect of strife, to have prosecuted his task with characteristic zeal. The architect of the ship, Mr. Hackett, received great credit from Jones, for the skill which he had displayed in planning her model. Jones, however, introduced many alterations in the arrangement of her upper-works, which seem to have been very judicious. He also designed the sculptured ornaments with which the ship was decorated, and takes evident pride and pleasure in detailing them in his journal. "The plan which Captain Jones projected for the sculpture expressed dignity and simplicity. The head was a female figure crowned with laurels. The right arm was raised, with the fore finger pointing to heaven, as appealing to that high tribunal for the justice of the American cause. On the left arm was a buckler, with a blue ground and thirteen silver stars. The legs and feet were covered here and there with wreaths of smoke, to represent the difficulties of war. On the stern, under the windows of the great cabin, appeared two large figures in bas-relief, representing tyranny and oppression, bound and biting the ground, with the cap of liberty on a pole above their heads. On the back of the starboard-quarter gallery was a large Neptune; and on the back part of the larboard-quarter gallery, a large Mars. The *America* was fifty feet six inches in the extreme breadth, and measured a hundred and eighty-two feet six inches on the upper gun-deck. Yet this ship, though the largest, of seventy-guns, in the world, had, when the lower battery was sunk, the air of a delicate frigate; and no person, at the distance of a mile, could have imagined she had a second battery. The workmanship was far superior to any before seen in naval architecture; and it would only have been necessary that the Abbé Raynal should have seen the *America*, to have induced him to give the world a different

idea of the continent, of which that elegant ship bore the name."

Toward the close of the summer of 1782, the noble ship which Jones so enthusiastically describes, was nearly completed, and he had the near prospect of reaping the reward of his patient labours, by seeing her, ere long, floating proudly on the ocean, to bear his banner into nobler strife, than the inferior force of the ships, which he had hitherto commanded, had permitted him to encounter. But this reward of his labours he was not destined to enjoy. A squadron of French line-of-battle ships, under the Marquis de Vaudreuil, happened to enter the harbour of Boston about this time, when one of them the *Magnifique*, stranded, and was, most unfortunately, lost. As these ships had approached our coast, for the purpose of aiding in the triumph of our cause, Congress considered her as lost in our service. As well therefore, to show our gratitude to the king of France for his valuable friendship, as to indemnify him for this particular loss, it was determined to present the *America* to him, to take the place of the *Magnifique*. A resolution of Congress was passed to that effect, on the 3d of September. and the unpleasant intelligence was communicated to Jones by Robert Morris, on the following day.

In forwarding a copy of the resolution of Congress, Mr. Morris expressed the great regret that he felt on Jones's account, at this unlooked-for disposition of the *America*, and the sincere sympathy which he felt in his disappointment at the near prospect of reaping fresh laurels, in so fine a vessel, on his favourite field of adventure. He begged Jones to continue his inspection of the ship until she was launched, and then to repair to Philadelphia, when he would explain his future views for the employment of Jones afloat. Though Jones vented some expressions of vexation, in his journal, at the inferior fact of the act of Congress, not having mentioned his name, while dispossessing him, so summarily, of his command, and regretted that the honour which had been done him, by his unanimous ap-

pointments should have kept him so long on an irksome and disagreeable service, when he might have been so much more congenially employed in reaping laurels at Yorktown, by the side of Lafayette, he betrayed no irritation in his reply to Mr. Morris. This gentleman was so pleased with it, that he immediately wrote, to say to him that the sentiments which he expressed, would always reflect the highest honour on his character, and that they had made so strong an impression upon his mind, that he had immediately laid an extract of the letter before Congress, which he did not doubt would view them in the same light.

On the 5th of November, the America was ready to be launched. The situation of the island on which she was built rendered this operation extremely difficult. On one side of the building-slip, lay a ledge of rocks, which ran nearly parallel with the direction of the keel two thirds of the way across the river, which was not more than two hundred yards wide, and the opposite shore of which was bounded with rocks. Over this ledge of rocks, which so slightly diverged from the direction which the ship must first take, the flood-tide continued to run with rapidity for more than an hour after high water. As it was necessary to launch the ship at the top of the tide, there was obviously very great danger that she would be swept against the ledge. The rocky character of the bottom prevented Jones from fixing stocades in the river to conduct the ship out clear of this reef, and he was obliged to effect the object by the use of cables and anchors alone, which he seems, from his description, to have effected with great ingenuity.

The flags of America and of France being displayed over the stern, in friendly union, and all being ready, Jones took his station on the highest part of the platform, leading from the ground to the bow of the ship. At the top of the tide the wedges were driven to lift her into her cradle, and the blocks upon which she was built being split from under the keel, she gradually put herself in motion. Stout cables had been se-

cured to anchors on the shore, bitted and ranged on the deck and stoppered with ropes that would break at a given pressure, and check the ship completely at an estimated distance. Jones, from his conspicuous station, watched the motion of the ship, and, by concerted signals, marked the moment when the anchors at the bows were to be let go in succession. The ship ran safely along the reef, was checked when clear of it, and dropped with the tide past it into the channel. "The operation," in the words of Jones, "succeeded perfectly to his wish, and to the admiration of a large assembly of spectators." The ship, being securely moored, was immediately delivered up to the Chevalier de Martigne, the former commander of the *Magnifique*, and Jones departed on the following morning for Philadelphia.

The views of Robert Morris, with regard to the employment of Jones, when thus displaced from the command of the *America*, proved to have for their object to place him in command of a very heavy frigate, called the *South Carolina*, then in the service of the State after which she was named. This ship was the *Indien*, which had been originally built at Amsterdam by the American Commissioners; and to assume the command of which, Jones went to Europe in the *Ranger*. We have seen that Jones's object was defeated by the transfer of the *Indien* to the French Government, owing either to the inability of the Commissioners to pay for her, or to difficulties made by the Government of Holland, to the equipment in its port of a vessel intended to act against an ally in behalf of her insurgent colonies. The King of France, not long after, having no use for this ship, and being probably influenced by court favour, lent her to the Chevalier de Luxembourg, who entered into a contract with Commodore Gillon, to loan her to the State of South Carolina for three years, on condition that the Chevalier should receive one fourth of the proceeds of her prizes. This Commodore Gillon had commanded the small naval force employed by the State of South Carolina, for the protection of its

coasts. Being desirous to procure increased means of annoying the enemy, Commodore Gillon had been sent to Europe to procure ships; and several cargoes of agricultural produce had been forwarded, to place him in funds. He procured the loan of the *Indien* on the terms we have mentioned, and called her the *South Carolina*. We have seen that he was one of the abettors, in conjunction with Mr. Lee, of the scheme for replacing Landais in command of the *Alliance*. Jones charged Commodore Gillon with inveigling men away from the *Alliance*, which were, no doubt, carried to the *Texel* to man the *South Carolina*. With that ship Commodore Gillon had sailed on a species of privateering cruise, and, after numerous captures of merchantmen, put into the *Havana*; there he had joined a Spanish expedition against *New Providence*, which was attended with success. He then proceeded with his ship to *Philadelphia*.

As the United States had made considerable advances to Commodore Gillon in *Holland*, to enable him to sail, in order that he might bring over some clothing for the army, Mr. Morris conceived the project of obtaining the control of this uncommonly fast, as well as formidable ship, in order to place her, with some other vessels, at once under the command of Jones, with a view to his executing some one of his often proposed enterprises against the enemy. In this project Mr. Morris was heartily seconded by M. de la Luzerne, the French Minister. It seems that no payment had yet been made to the Chevalier de Luxembourg for his share of the prizes which the ship had made. He had therefore authorized the French Minister to attend to his interests, and this gentleman had now joined Mr. Morris in the effort to induce Commodore Gillon, and the State which he represented in the matter, to relinquish the control of the ship. Though Commodore Gillon was sorely embarrassed by these various claimants, and even wanted funds for the refitment of his ship, he contrived to evade the legal processes by which it was attempted to stop her, and sent her

to sea under another commander. She had scarcely cleared the Capes of the Delaware, when she was captured by the *Diomede*, *Astrea*, and *Quebec*, three of the enemy's frigates, stationed to intercept her. Thus, for the third time, ended Jones's prospect of getting the command of this noble ship. He was disappointed again in this instance, as in that of the *America*, which he had built, and of the *Serapis*, which he had taken from the enemy.

CHAPTER XV.

The French Fleet bound to the West Indies. Jones desires to embark in it. Applies to Congress for Permission. Obtains it. Reception on Board the *Triumphant*. Fleet sails. Calls off Portsmouth. Steers for the West Indies. Arrives at Porto Rico. Sails for Porto Cabello. Inactivity of the Fleet. Jones's Impatience. He becomes ill. Intelligence of a general Peace. Fleet sails for St. Domingo. Testimonials from the General and Admiral. Jones proceeds to Philadelphia. Visits Bethlehem. Project for Rustication. Plan for improving the Navy. Jones offers his Services to recover Prize-Money. Sails for Europe. Traverses England. Arrives in France. Applies himself to his Mission. Obstacles to an Adjustment. Obtains a favourable Decision. Payment delayed. Is referred to *L'Orient*. Fresh Delays. Final Payment. Returns to Paris. Scheme of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast.

DISAPPOINTED a second time, within a period of little more than two months, in the hope of once more putting to sea with an independent command, the desire to be again afloat, after a prolonged sojourn of nearly two years on the land, still continued uppermost in the mind of Jones. A French fleet of ten sail of the line, under the orders of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, then lay at Boston, on the eve of sailing for the West Indies, where it was to join the combined French and Spanish fleet, expected from Cadiz, under the Count d'Estaing, and, after overpowering the British fleet, was to make a descent on Jamaica and the other English possessions in those

tercept the *Mined* fleet, when the expected junction should force, await *aid*, according to Jones's estimate, have amounted voy from *sail* of the line; a greater fleet than was ever brought together. A formidable army was to be embarked in it, and the projected expedition held out the promise of an exhibition of war, both by sea and land, on a brilliant scale.

Jones conceived at once the desire of embarking in this expedition. His enthusiasm was excited by the idea of beholding this splendid naval display, from which he hoped to obtain a practical insight into the evolutions of fleets, on the grandest conceivable scale. Nor was he without the expectation of having an opportunity to assist as an amateur, at the side of the Count d'Estaing, to whom his local knowledge of the West Indies, and particularly of Jamaica, could not fail to render him useful. As soon as the project was conceived, Jones hastened to put it in train for execution; and on the 29th of November, he addressed a request to Mr. Morris, that unless Congress had some important service to intrust to him, he might be ordered to embark with the Marquis de Vaudreuil, as a volunteer in pursuit of a professional knowledge, in order to qualify him to serve his country more effectually, when her navy should be hereafter increased. Mr. Morris forwarded this application to Congress on the same day, with a statement that the present condition of our resources did not permit him to employ Jones, and that he felt great concern at the little probability of being able to render his talents useful to the country which he had already served so faithfully and with such great disinterestedness. Mr. Morris went on to state that Jones's present desire to join the Count d'Estaing, in order to acquire knowledge which might hereafter render him still more useful to his country, should he be again called to the command of a squadron, was consistent with all his former conduct, and that he himself would do injustice to his own feelings as well as to the interest of his country, did he not warmly recommend Jones to the notice of Congress,

whose favour he had merited by the most ^{parcely cleared} request thus made and seconded, was immediat^{ly} ^{ured by the} in the most complimentary terms, by the following ^{frigates,} "Resolved, That the agent of marine be informed that ^{and} Congress, having a high sense of the merit and services of Captain J. P. Jones, and being disposed to favour the zeal manifested by him to acquire improvement in the line of his profession, do grant the permission which he requests, and that the said agent be instructed to recommend him accordingly, to the countenance of his Excellency, the Marquis de Vaudreuil."

Being furnished with commendatory letters from Mr. Morris and the French Minister, Jones repaired at once to Boston, where he was kindly received by the Marquis, on board his flag-ship, the *Triomphant*. She was very much crowded, in consequence of the mass of Rochambeau's army, under the orders of Baron de Viomenil, being embarked in the fleet, and in transports under its convoy. Jones mentions that sixty officers dined daily at the Admiral's table. It was a goodly number; but Jones states it for the purpose of showing the distinction with which he was lodged, and which the crowded state of the vessel of course enhanced. While the Baron de Viomenil was lodged on the larboard side of the after-cabin, the starboard side, he says, was assigned to him.

On the 24th of December, the fleet put to sea, and stood off Portsmouth, in order to join company with the *Auguste* and the *Pluton*, line-of-battle ships, lying in that port under the orders of the Count de Vaudreuil, brother to the Admiral. The *America* was not yet ready for sea. None of the ships joined the Admiral. The wind blew strong on shore, and after having separated from part of the convoy, the fleet was driven into the Bay of Fundy. Being extricated from this difficulty, it stood for the West Indies, and, making Porto Rico, remained for ten days at its rendezvous, in sight of the harbour of St. John's. It was ascertained that Admiral Hood was cruising off Cape Francois, with sixteen sail of the line to in-

tercept the Marquis, whilst Admiral Pigot, with an equal force, awaited him off St. Lucie. Having joined a large convoy from France, the Admiral stood past Porto Rico, as if bound down the south side of St. Domingo, and then hauling to the southward in the night, balked the vigilance of some of Admiral Hood's frigates, which had seen the French fleet in the Mona passage.

Porto Cabello had been fixed on as a general rendezvous for all the French and Spanish ships in the American seas, as well as for the combined French and Spanish squadron, expected from Cadiz, under the Count d'Estaing. For this port the Marquis de Vaudreuil now steered. Owing to an imperfect appreciation of the leewardly current which exists in those seas, or to very bad management of some sort, the squadron, under the Marquis, fell to leeward of its port. Three weeks were lost in beating to windward. The Burgoyne line-of-battle ship, getting too near the shore in the night, struck on a rock and was lost with two hundred of her crew. The transports were lost sight of to leeward, and not being able to work up, bore away for St. Domingo. On the 18th of February, 1783, the *Triomphant* arrived in Porto Cabello, where the *Auguste* and the *Pluton* were lying. The rest of the ships of war soon after got in. Nothing had been heard of the Spanish ships from Havana, under Solano; nor of the combined fleet under D'Estaing, although the Marquis was himself nearly two months behind the period fixed for the rendezvous.

The fleet continued until the month of April to await the expected junction, without any news of the causes that had prevented it. Jones had partially gained his object of observing the management and evolutions of a considerable fleet, and had personally received the greatest kindness from the Admiral, and from the naval and military officers with whom he was associated. But he had expected more stirring events, and the delays and disappointments were uncongenial to his impatient spirit. The only outlet that Jones now found for

his activity was in a return to his correspondence, which he resumed with fresh vigour, addressing letters to most of the persons, both in America and France, to whom he had formerly been in the habit of writing. In a letter addressed at this time to Lafayette, he expresses himself towards England with an exasperation which could only have been excited by the rancorous manner in which the press of that country had stigmatized him as a traitor and pirate. There had been rumours of peace, which were not immediately verified. Jones thus adverted to the subject; "Humanity has need of peace; but, though I was led to expect it from the late speech from the throne, I begin to fear that it is yet at some distance. There seems to be a malignity in English blood, which cannot be cured, till in mercy to the rest of mankind it is let out, that the disease may not become epidemical.

To render the situation of the fleet more irksome and distressing during this long detention at Porto Cabello, disease now began to make ravages in the ships, and Jones himself fell ill of intermittent fever. The period of the fleet's delay was, however, drawing to a close. Notwithstanding Jones's prognostication, that the malignity of English blood would require to be much diluted before peace could be realized, the provisional articles of a treaty had already been agreed on at Paris before he wrote. The circumstance, that this negotiation was pending, with a near prospect of completion, had probably prevented the sailing of the combined fleet for its rendezvous, and the contemplated junction at Porto Cabello.

The pleasing intelligence was brought by a frigate to Porto Cabello from France by the way of Martinique, and, on the 8th of April, being the day after that which had been fixed for the cessation of hostilities in those seas, the fleet sailed for Cape François, in St. Domingo. Even Jones, to whom war seemed a native element, gave way to the universal feeling of gratulation, and he placed on record, the following testimony of his joy, in which, however, the pleasure of seeing England

humbled, seems to have predominated. "The most brilliant success, and the most instructive experience in war, could not have given me a pleasure comparable with that which I received, when I learned that Great Britain had, after so long a contest, been forced to acknowledge the independence and sovereignty of the United States of America."

The French fleet arrived at Cape François after a passage of eight days. Here it found the Spanish fleet from Havana. Jones continued to suffer from fever, and he immediately took passage in a vessel bound to Philadelphia. He was careful, however, before leaving the fleet, to secure favourable testimonials of his conduct and character from the Admiral and general-in-chief, both of whom wrote to the French minister in the United States, expressing themselves in his behalf, in the most complimentary manner, and begging the minister to use his interest in recommending him to the favourable regard of Congress. The Baron de Viomenil spoke of him in the following commendatory terms. "Mr. Paul Jones, who will have the honour of delivering this letter, has for five months conducted himself among us with such wisdom and modesty, as add infinitely to the reputation gained by his courage and exploits. I have reason to believe, that he has preserved no less gratitude and attachment towards France, than patriotism and devotion to the cause of America. Such being his claims to attention, I take the liberty of recommending his interests near the President and Congress to your favourable regard."

Thus armed, Jones arrived at Philadelphia on the 18th of May, 1783. The intermittent fever which had attacked him at Porto Cabello, continued to afflict him on the passage to Philadelphia, and after his arrival. His constitution was much shattered, and with a view of restoring it, and breaking the fever, he removed to the village of Bethlehem, where he passed the summer. While in the West Indies, and suffering from disease, he had formed the project of purchasing a farm and retiring to the country, until his services afloat should be again

required. He had heard of a large estate, situated near Newark in New Jersey, which was for sale at a price far below its value, and wrote from Porto Cabello, to a friend to endeavour to turn some assets, which he had left in his hand, into money, and to purchase the estate for him. He thought, that, as the estate was only ten miles from New York, which would probably become one of our first naval ports, it would be a very desirable residence for him. That he carried his views a step further than the solitary possession of an estate in the country, is evident from the following passage in his letter. "If the peace should, as I wish it may, be concluded, I wish to establish myself on a place I can call my own; and to offer my hand to some fair daughter of liberty." He now found that nothing had been received on his account for the prize-money due to him in France; and that his other claims had not been liquidated. The purchase of the estate was therefore out of the question, and the "fair daughter of liberty," who was to form its graceful appendage, was equally unattainable.

With the recovery of his health, Jones began to seek consolation for his recent disappointment in more stirring hopes. He employed his time in drawing up a detailed statement of his views on the naval service of the country, and urged the necessity of starting with a settled system, in which every thing should be provided for, and which should be based upon a careful observation of the condition and organization of other navies, and an extended and liberal view of what was required in our own. He adverted to the glaring mistakes which had been made in the original organization of our navy, and the evil consequences which they had occasioned; and strongly inculcated the importance of setting out right, when our finances would again permit us to establish a navy. He remarked, that as we were a young people, we should not be ashamed to learn from those who were more experienced than ourselves in naval affairs. To do this more effectually, Jones proposed to the minister of marine, that a handsome frigate should be fitted

out and despatched under a proper person, to make an extensive cruise in the European seas, touching at the principal ports of the various powers, and offering to each the hospitality of our own harbours, and commercial advantages to be secured by reciprocal treaties. He further proposed, that after this initiatory step should have been taken, to ask leave to visit the various dock-yards, and examine carefully into all the details of the systems pursued in them; the models of the ships, dimensions of spars, mode of supplying materials of construction, stores, and provisions, the complements of men and officers to various classes, rate of wages and mode of paying them, police of dock-yards and ships, line of distinction between officers of each arrangement of naval schools and hospitals, and in general whatever might be useful in carrying out a systematic plan for the organization of a navy. Jones further proposed as a sequel to this plan, that when the finances of the country would admit of it, a fleet of frigates should be kept in commission for the practice of evolutions, and for perfecting the officers in every branch of their duty, by the competition which is only to be found where a number of vessels are brought together.

His views throughout evinced an enlightened appreciation of the best means of creating an efficient and respectable marine, and a lively zeal for the attainment of the object, which he himself was desirous of being personally engaged in forwarding. He was of course the "proper person" to command the "handsome frigate," which was to "display our flag" in Europe, and fulfil these various functions of offering the hospitality of our ports, inviting to an interchange of commercial treaties, and collecting the necessary information for the establishment of our navy on an enlightened and prosperous foundation.

The poverty of our exchequer prevented the fulfilment of this well-conceived project. Jones, finding no employment in the United States, and not being able to realize his day-dream

of an estate in the country, if he continued to entertain it, for want of funds, now offered his services to Congress, to proceed to France, and recover the prize-money for captures made by the squadron under his orders, which, after an interval of more than four years from the time the *Serapis* was taken, still continued unpaid.

By an act of Congress of the 1st of November, 1783, and on the recommendation of a committee, of which Mr. Arthur Lee was one, it was resolved, that Jones should be sent to France in the packet *Washington*, then on the eve of sailing from Philadelphia, with power, under the direction of the American minister, to solicit and receive the money due for prizes made in the European seas by ships under his command. He was authorized to receive for himself the commission usually allowed in such cases, and was required to give bonds for the faithful discharge of his trust, and the due payment of the money he might recover to the minister of finance for the benefit of the concerned. It is an evidence of the honourable estimation in which Jones was held, as a man of integrity, that he found no difficulty in finding friends to sign bonds for him to the amount of two hundred thousand dollars.

The *Washington* sailed from Philadelphia, on the 10th of November. She was bound to Havre; but, meeting with a head wind in the channel she put into Plymouth on the 20th day out, and as Jones had important despatches in charge, he went by post to London, where, meeting with Mr. Adams, and being informed by him, that his despatches for Dr. Franklin probably contained powers for concluding a commercial treaty with England, he continued his journey to Paris, where he arrived on the 5th day after his departure from Plymouth. Dr. Franklin immediately recognized his authority to solicit the payment of the prize-money due to the officers of the *Richard* and *Alliance*. He had, as usual, come duly backed by letters from the French minister in the United States. He was, in consequence, kindly received by the Maréchal de Castries,

still Minister of Marine, with whom he dined; and by whom he was presented to the King. The King received him graciously, and expressed a readiness to advance his fortunes.

Jones now set about this business with characteristic energy, and displayed as much inflexible perseverance in bringing his shuffling creditors about the French court to terms, as he had done in sterner contests. The prizes for which payment was claimed of the captors' share, had all been sold four years before; yet payment had all this time been withheld, notwithstanding that the American Consul-general had been specially charged to demand it. Not discouraged by this circumstance, Jones forthwith addressed himself to the Maréchal de Castries enclosing Dr. Franklin's acknowledgment of his authority to solicit payment of the prize-money, due to the crews of the *Richard* and *Alliance*, and begging that their quota might be immediately paid into his hands.

By the direction of the French minister, an account was now made out from papers furnished by M. de Chaumont, in which the American captors were charged the same percentage on their shares, for the benefit of the Hospital of Invalids, as was customarily deducted from prizes taken by French men-of-war, for the support of that benevolent institution. A charge was also made for the repairs of the *Serapis*, and *Countess of Scarborough* at the *Texel*; and their other expenses while employed in the safe keeping of the prisoners captured on board of them. In the concordat, or written agreement under which the squadron had sailed from *L'Orient*, it had been decided, that the division of the proceeds of prizes should be made in conformity with the American laws, but that the proportion of the whole, coming to each particular vessel, should be regulated by the joint decision of the French Minister of Marine, and the American minister plenipotentiary at the court of France. Now the American prize-laws gave captors the whole value of captured British ships of war, and half the value of merchantmen; but, as the

proportion coming to each vessel was to be settled by agreement between the French Minister of Marine, and our resident minister, advantage was taken of the circumstance, to attempt bringing the general distribution of the prize-money within the control of the French laws. Jones combated this attempt manfully, and urged very justly, that there could be no propriety in compelling American seamen to contribute to the support of the Hospital of Invalids, from which they could not derive support. Some of the very persons, from whom it was attempted to withhold a portion of their prize-money, had already been pensioned by Congress for wounds received during the engagement with the *Serapis*. There might have been some colour of justice, in charging the prizes with their removal to a French port, as they could not be sold for the benefit of the concerned in Holland, as well as for such repairs as were absolutely necessary to enable them to put to sea. Jones contended, however, that no repairs were necessary to effect this object, as the *Serapis* performed well under jury-masts. With regard to the support of the prisoners brought into the Texel, Jones was able, in resisting the charge against the prizes on this account, to fortify himself with the opinion of Dr. Franklin, who wrote to Jones, in answer to his queries, that he "certainly should not have agreed to charge the American captors with any part of the expense of maintaining the five hundred prisoners in Holland, till they could be exchanged, when none of them were exchanged for the Americans in England, as was your intention, and as we both had been made to expect."

The result of this matter was, that Jones, after nearly a year of persevering, urgent, and not always over-polite solicitation, procured the allowance of his claims, on behalf of the crews of the *Richard* and *Alliance*, without any of the deductions by which it had been attempted to abate the already inconsiderable amount. On the 23d of October, 1784, the *Maréchal de Castries* signed the account for the re-partition

of the proceeds of the prizes, in conformity with the terms upon which Jones had insisted; and furthermore the King generously relinquished his half of the proceeds of the captured merchant ships, awarded to him by the American laws. Additional delay was, however, still made in the settlement of some of the accounts, so as to defer the payment from day to day, and from month to month, until Jones, losing his patience, wrote again, in June, 1785, to De Castries, and somewhat sarcastically reminded him of his promise, so often made, for the immediate payment of the money. "From the great number of affairs more important that engage your attention," he wrote, "I presume this little matter which concerns me, in a small degree personally, but chiefly as the agent of the brave men who served under my orders in Europe, may have escaped your memory. My long silence is a proof that nothing but necessity could have prevailed on me to take the liberty of reminding your Excellency of your promise."

To get rid of this disagreeable quickener of ministerial memory and unreasonable claimant for the fulfilment of promises, Jones was now directed to apply to the Royal Auditor at L'Orient, for the payment of the money which was lodged in his hands. He was informed, however, that security would first be required of him for the application of the money about to be paid to him. Having satisfied the minister on this head, by a reference to the bonds which he had already given in the United States, he set out for L'Orient in July, 1785, with many misgivings as to fresh troubles awaiting him in the final settlement of his claim, and renewed delay from the reluctance of the Auditor.

These misgivings were too well realized. When Jones presented his demand for the payment of the prize-money, he was met by a claim from a merchant of L'Orient, by the name of Puchilberg, who presented a power of attorney which had been given to him by the officers and crew of the Alliance, while at L'Orient, under the hope that he would be able to

procure their share of the prize-money for them before their departure from the port. It did not appear that Puchilberg had advanced any money to the signers of the power of attorney; still there was a disposition to pay over to him the share of the crew of the Alliance; especially that of Captain Landais, on account of his being a native of France. Jones resisted this claim manfully, both at L'Orient and at court. In his letters to Mr. Jefferson, who had succeeded Dr. Franklin as minister, he gave conclusive reasons why Mr. Puchilberg was not a proper person to receive the prize-money of the crew of the Alliance. With the exception of Captain Landais, the whole ship's company were Americans, and resident in the United States. Landais had renounced his allegiance as a French subject, as well as his religion as a Roman Catholic, had become an American citizen, and was still a resident of the United States. Mr. Puchilberg had given no bonds for the faithful application of the funds, had no muster-roll of the crew of the Alliance, was unacquainted with the American law for the distribution of the prize-money, and could not therefore do justice to the crew, most of whom were in the United States, even if he were inclined to do so.

In defiance of Mr. Puchilberg's pretensions, and the countless devices which were adopted, to avoid or defer the payment of the prize-money, it was, at length, forthcoming towards the close of September, 1785. The gross sum made over to him amounted to a little more than one hundred and eighty-one thousand livres. The resolution appointing Jones agent for the recovery of this prize-money, had authorized him to receive the commission usually allowed in such cases for the amount he should recover. Not deeming this commission a sufficient compensation for his time and services, Jones now charged the captors with forty-eight thousand livres for his expenses during the time he had been employed in recovering the money. This sum, with his share as captain of the *Richard*, amounting to more than thirteen thousand livres,

made his portion upwards of sixty-one thousand livres; while that which remained for the officers and crews of both vessels, was reduced to one hundred and twenty thousand livres. After further deducting some shares, which Jones paid personally to a few of the captors who happened to be on the spot, a residue of one hundred and twelve thousand livres, was placed by Jones in the hands of Mr. Jefferson, and transmitted to Congress, to be divided among the captors. It appears from a letter addressed many years after to Paul Jones, by the French Minister of Marine, that he at this time received fifteen thousand livres from the Treasury, to pay the American part of the crew of the *Richard*. Of this sum, no mention is made in the settlement of his account.

The share of the prize-money which the chevalier reserved for himself, seems very exorbitant. He, however, represents that no one but himself, with the exception of Dr. Franklin, who would never have any thing to do with the business, knew enough of the circumstances under which the expedition was fitted out, to have been enabled to follow the matter up so as to recover any thing. The money seems to have been retained in the hands of M. Chaumont, who was in advance to the government for this very expedition, far beyond the proceeds of the prizes, and who was moreover largely in advance to the government of the United States. Jones accounts for the extravagant amount of his expenses, during the time that he was engaged in recovering this prize-money, being more than five thousand a year, by ascribing it to the expense imposed upon him by the distinguished position he occupied at Paris, and his familiar personal acquaintance with the great men of the day. In magnifying the dignity of his position, he almost fancied himself of more consequence than an ambassador; "I went to court," he said, "much oftener, and mixed with the great much more frequently, than our minister plenipotentiary; yet the gentlemen in that situation consider their salary of two thousand sterling a year, as

scarcely adequate to their expenses." Jones's frequent appearance at court may have had its uses in bringing about the payment of the claim he was authorized to sue for; but the claimants, when they came to divide the miserable residue, would doubtless have been willing to compound for a smaller display of wealth on the part of their representative. The unjustifiable extravagance of Jones's style of living may be best understood by stating the fact, that he charged his shipmates for his expenses, during less than two years, more than Washington did the people of the United States, for his household expenses, throughout the Revolutionary War.—By the statement of the Chevalier's account, too, his own share as a captor is taken apparently from the gross amount recovered, and not from the net amount, after his own expenses were deducted; so that, though more interested in the recovery than any other, he does not seem to have borne his due share in the expenses. On the other hand, it appears in his favour, that his accounts were approved by Mr. Jefferson, and eventually by Congress; though the board of Treasury, which had them under consideration, considered his charges excessive.

Immediately after the remittance of the residue of the prize-money to Mr. Jefferson, the Chevalier returned to Paris, and having now money in both pockets, resumed his connexion with the great and fair. At the request of the Masonic Lodge of Nine Sisters, of which he was a member, he had his bust taken by Houdon, a distinguished sculptor of the day, (afterwards employed by the State of Virginia to come to America and make a statue of Washington,) and multiplied copies of it, which he presented to his most distinguished friends. The bust is said to be a perfect likeness of him.—An attempt having been made to exact duties upon two copies of it, that were shipped to Philadelphia, it excited his indignation beyond measure. "They are not merchandise," he wrote to Dr. Morris, "and I flatter myself, that my zeal

and exertions for the cause of America will not be requited with such a mark of dishonour. I would rather hear that the busts were broke to pieces, than consent that they should be subject to a duty. He also completed his journal, narrating all his adventures and achievements, a copy of which was laid before the King, and others circulated among those distinguished persons of either sex, whose regard he was desirous of winning.

Views, however, of more active employment continued to occupy his attention. While Jones was at L'Orient, and subsequently to his return to Paris, his mind was much occupied with a scheme which Ledyard, the celebrated American traveller, had suggested to him, for a trading voyage to the Pacific Ocean, in search of furs to be sold at China. The original project, concerted between Ledyard and Jones, was to procure a couple of armed vessels from the French government through Jones's influence at court. A factory was to be established on the north-west coast of America, in which Ledyard was to remain with a small force. One of the vessels was to be employed under Ledyard's orders, in trading along the coast, whilst Jones was to depart for China, as soon as a single cargo of furs should be collected by both vessels. He was afterwards to return to the coast, by which time loads would be procured for both vessels, proceed with them to China, and, having exchanged them for silks and teas, repair to Europe, take on board fresh cargoes, and return to the north-west coast, where Ledyard was to remain in the mean time, collecting furs, and cultivating a good understanding with the Indians.

The undertaking having been found impracticable on this extensive scale, it was narrowed down to a single vessel of two hundred and fifty tons; and the scheme was so far matured between the two, and the whole details of the expedition, the cost of the outfit, the expense of purchasing furs, their value at

China, the costs of the return cargo for Europe, and the vast balance of profits to accrue to the concerned in the enterprise, were carefully estimated. The vessel was to be purchased, and fitted out under the French flag, and loaded with a suitable cargo for barter with the Indian tribes of the north-west coast of America. She was to sail on the 1st of October, for the north-west coast, by the way of Cape Horn and the Sandwich Islands; where she was expected to arrive in April. By the following October, she was expected to be ready to sail with a full cargo of furs for Japan or China, whichever might offer the best market. Having exchanged her furs for Eastern merchandise, she was to return to Europe after a contemplated absence of only a year and a half. The expenses of this expedition were estimated to amount to less than twenty thousand dollars, while the net profits were fixed at more than five times that sum. The fortunes, that have been so easily made by those who first had the enterprise and sagacity to enter into this remote trade, prove that the estimates of Ledyard, founded as they were on observations made upon the spot, were not exaggerated. Jones saw the feasibility of the project, and was allured by the tempting prospect of united gain and adventure which it presented. He would have willingly embarked both person and fortune in the enterprise. But his own means were not sufficient to furnish the outfit, and failing to induce capitalists to share his faith and join in the undertaking, it was reluctantly abandoned. He subsequently invested part of his prize-money in a joint speculation with Dr. Bancroft, to introduce quercitron bark among the English dyers. About this time, he no doubt found an abundant outlet for his spare funds, in a connexion which he appears, from the subsequent correspondence, to have formed or renewed with Madame T——. He induced the Marchioness de Marsan to present her to the King, who received her graciously, and promised to provide for her. From the Chevalier's subsequent

correspondence, the impression is irresistible, that she at this time bore him a son.

CHAPTER XVI.

Negotiation concerning Prizes delivered up by Denmark. Position of the Claim. Previous Negotiation. Jones determines on going to Copenhagen. Proceed, to Brussels. Failure of Funds. Goes to the United States. Prepares to return to Europe. Solicits a letter to the French King. Project for redemption of Captive Seamen. Also for Naval Asylum. Difficulty about accounts. Settled on Jones's Terms. Congress votes Jones a Gold Medal. Writes a letter to the French King, in Behalf of Jones. Singular Scene with Landais. Letter to Madame T——. Departure for France: Prospect of Employment in Russia. Visit to Copenhagen. Flattering Reception. Negotiation fails. Jones is pensioned by Denmark. Invited to St. Petersburg. Accepts the Offer. Difficulties about Rank. Objection to subordinate Command. Jones communicates his Decision to Mr. Jefferson. Solicits an Appointment as American Rear-Admiral.

THE resolution of Congress appointing Jones agent to solicit payment of the prize-money due to his officers and crews, extended to "all the prizes taken in Europe, under his command." It became of course, a very important part of his duty, to give his attention to the case of the two English armed ships, *Union* and *Betsey*, which had been sent into Bergen by Landais, and had been so unjustly given up to England by the Danish government. The prizes had been valued as worth, at the lowest estimation, forty thousand pounds sterling. A third prize, called the *Charming Polly*, was also given up about the same time. Immediately after the news of this gross violation, by Denmark, of the hospitality due to neutrals, and of the laws of nations, had reached Dr. Franklin, he had addressed the Danish Prime Minister, protesting against his unjust decision, and demanding the return of the prizes, if they had not sailed from the kingdom, or the payment of their full value. The minister replied evasively,

though with many compliments, and concluded by referring Franklin, for further explanations, to the Danish minister at Paris. From this gentleman nothing could be extracted beyond further compliments and fresh evasion. In this position the affair remained, until the recognition of our independence by Denmark; soon after which, the Danish government instructed its minister in London, who was about visiting Paris, to endeavour to gain the intimacy and favourable regard of Dr. Franklin, as a step towards procuring a similar treaty between the United States and Denmark; to that which had been entered into between the United States and Holland. This letter was exhibited to Franklin, who, in consequence, addressed the Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs, and intimated that the readiest way to prepare the United States for so desirable a bond of friendship, would be for Denmark to redress the injustice which she had done to the United States, by the delivery of the prizes to England, in consequence of the importunities of her minister.

The result of this proposition had been that the Government of Denmark solemnly recognised the injustice of its own act and the validity of the claim, by offering to pay ten thousand pounds for its adjustment. Dr. Franklin declined an adjustment on these terms, upon the ground that the value of the prizes should form the true measure of compensation, and that this should first be inquired into. Some further negotiations towards the settlement of this claim took place between John Adams, our minister at London, and the Danish minister at the same court; but with no better result, as is evident from a letter of Mr. Adams to Jones, dated in July, 1786, which he concludes by saying, "As there is a Danish minister now in Paris, I should advise you to apply to him; for the foreign ministers in general at the court of Versailles have less weight upon their spirits in all things relating to America, than those at London. Cash, I fancy, is not an abundant article in Denmark, and your claim has probably

delayed and suspended all negotiations with Mr. Jefferson and with me respecting a commercial treaty, for which three years ago there was no little zeal."

Conceiving that his presence might be necessary in the United States, to settle his accounts connected with the recovery of the prize-money, and attend to the distribution of the residue falling to his officers and crew, Jones had meditated transferring his agency for the recovery of the value of the prizes delivered up by Denmark, to Dr. Bancroft, and returning to America. Learning, however, that Congress had, in the previous June, directed that the amount which had been paid over to the board of treasury should by it be distributed to the officers and crews of the *Richard* and *Alliance*, entitled to receive the same, he gave up the idea of returning to America, and determined at once to proceed to Copenhagen to attend personally to the recovery of the claim against Denmark. Mr. Jefferson approved of this course, furnished Jones with proper credentials, and procured for him a letter from the French Prime Minister to the French representative at Copenhagen.

Thus prepared to appear advantageously at the Danish court, Jones set out from Paris in the spring of 1787; but got no further on his way than Brussels, when the want of funds, occasioned by his failing to receive an expected remittance from the sale of some bank stock he had ordered to be disposed of in America, induced him to turn back, and carry into effect his original project of a visit to the United States. His business in the United States was very briefly concluded; for we find him on the 18th of July acquainting Mr. John Jay, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, of his approaching departure for Europe, to resume his agency at Copenhagen for the recovery of the claims. He stated his intention of going by way of Paris, in order to procure additional recommendations for the advancement of his errand, and intimated to Mr. Jay how flattering it would be to him to carry with him a letter

from Congress to his Most Christian Majesty, thanking him for the squadron which he had placed under our flag. "And on this occasion, Sir," he continued, "permit me, with becoming diffidence, to recall the attention of my sovereign to the letter of recommendation I brought with me from the court of France. It would be pleasing to me, if that letter should be found to merit a place on the journals of Congress. Permit me also to entreat, that Congress will be pleased to read the letter I received from the Minister of Marine, when his Majesty deigned to bestow on me a golden-hilted sword, emblematic of the happy alliance; an honour which his Majesty never conferred on any other officer."

After much further modest recapitulation of his claims and services, Jones concluded by calling the minister's attention to the situation of our unhappy fellow-citizens in slavery at Algiers, whither they had been conducted, while in their lawful pursuits, by the corsairs of that piratical regency. He said, that their hopeless condition was a deep reflection on our national character in Europe, begged leave to influence the humanity of Congress in their behalf, and suggested as an expedient for their redemption, that a tax of a shilling a month should be levied on the wages of all seamen, and appropriated to that purpose. This tax, he thought, would create a fund not only sufficient to redeem all our fellow-citizens in captivity at Algiers, but also to create an institution for the reception of superannuated and disabled seamen, on the plan of Greenwich Hospital in England, except that it would be for the benefit of the commercial marine. This benevolent project of Jones, so characteristic of the interest which he took in the fate of captive seamen, throughout the whole of his career, is creditable alike to his humane feelings and his ingenuity. His proposition may have suggested the idea, subsequently adopted and still enforced, of a tax on the pay of seamen, levied under the title of "Hospital Fund," on their return voyages into the ports of the United States,

from which a home in sickness and old age is secured to them.

Jones had so far arranged his private affairs, as to be ready to return to Europe in July. He was, however, anxious probably to procure a response from Congress to the letter which had been written by order of the King when he returned in the *Ariel*, and besides, there was some difficulty about the settlement of his accounts, connected with the proportion of the prize-money which he had reserved to himself. The board of treasury either considered it too great, or conceived that, if it were not too great, he had reserved it without sufficient authority, as the resolution of Congress merely authorized him to receive "the commissions usually allowed." The delay in the settlement of the question was prolonged by the fact, that Congress was not in session, as the convention was then deliberating on the adoption of the federal constitution. The report of the board of treasury, when it was at length made, was unfavourable to Jones's claim for so large a portion of the prize-money. He became very indignant at the report, and, in a letter to the chairman of the committee to which the report of the board of treasury had been referred, made the following very absurd complaint of an encroachment on his dignity, of which he was always disposed to entertain an exaggerated estimate. "The board of treasury have been pleased, in their report, to treat me as a mere agent, though employed in that delicate concern. In France I was received and treated, by the King and his ministers, as a general officer, and a special minister from Congress." Eventually his claim was allowed; the fact of his having already received and disposed of the money, contributing, no doubt, to narrow down and simplify the question.

How well Jones was able to advance his interests with Congress, may be understood from the fact of his success, not only in procuring the sanction of his accounts, but also a unanimous resolution of that body, "That a medal of gold be

struck, and presented to the Chevalier Paul Jones, in commemoration of the valour and brilliant services of that officer, in the command of a squadron of American and French ships under the flag and commission of the United States, off the coast of Great Britain, in the late war; and that the Honorable Mr. Jefferson, minister plenipotentiary of the United States at the court of Versailles, have the same executed with the proper devices."

In addition to this singular honour, the following letter was addressed by Congress to the King of France. "Great and beloved Friend: We, the United States in Congress assembled, in consideration of the distinguished marks of approbation, with which Your Majesty has been pleased to honour the Chevalier John Paul Jones, as well as from a sense of his merit, have unanimously directed a medal of gold to be struck and presented to him, in commemoration of his valour and brilliant services, while commanding a squadron of French and American ships, under our flag and commission, off the coast of Great Britain in the late war.

"As it is his earnest desire to acquire knowledge in his profession, we cannot forbear requesting of your Majesty, to permit him to embark in your fleets of evolution, where only it will be probably in his power to acquire that degree of knowledge, which may hereafter render him most extensively useful.

"Permit us to repeat to your Majesty, our sincere assurances, that the various and important benefits for which we are indebted to your friendship, will never cease to interest us in whatever may concern the happiness of your Majesty, your family, and people. We pray God to keep you, our great and beloved friend, under his holy protection.

"Done at the City of New York, the 16th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1787, and of our sovereignty and independence the twelfth."

On the 25th of the same month, Congress passed resolutions

instructing our minister at Versailles, to represent to His Danish Majesty, that the United States were sensibly affected by the circumstance of his Majesty having caused a number of their prizes to be delivered to Great Britain during the late war; and that not only a sense of the justice due to the individuals interested in those prizes, but also an earnest desire, that no subject of discontent might check the friendship which they wished might subsist, and increase, between the two countries, prompted them to remind his Majesty of the transaction, and request that as a restitution of the prizes was not practicable, he should render a compensation equal to their value. The minister was directed if he thought proper, to despatch the Chevalier, Paul Jones, or any other agent, to the Court of Denmark, to prosecute the claim; but no ultimate conclusion of the business was to be made, without the approbation of the minister. The agent so employed was to be allowed five per cent., for all expenses and demands, upon the money he might recover, which was to remain in the hands of the minister to await the further order of Congress.

During his stay in New York, a very singular difficulty took place between the Chevalier; and his quondam colleague, the extraordinary Landais. Landais had been in the habit of making Paul Jones the subject of his daily conversation, and of fierce threats of dire punishment, whenever they should meet. One day in October, the Chevalier happened to be standing in Water Street, engaged in conversation with a friend of the name of Milligan, when Landais was seen coming down the street towards them. Milligan mentioned the circumstance to Jones, whose back was turned towards Landais, but he continued his conversation without turning. Landais approached slowly, wearing a vindictive smile on his countenance, and when a few yards off, having spit upon the pavement, muttered the words, "I spit in his face!" Mr. Milligan asked Jones if he had understood what Landais had said. He answered, he had not, and remained perfectly frau-

quill. As Mr. Milligan did not repeat Landais's expression, Jones continued for some days ignorant of it. The remark probably partook of the nature of an aside at the theatre, and was put forth more for Landais's own comfort, and as a subject for future self-glorification, than to be audible to his enemy. Landais's object soon after evinced itself in exaggerated reports of what had occurred, circulated to Jones's disadvantage. To these, the latter replied by publishing Mr. Milligan's statement, as substantially given above, of what had really occurred, briefly adding, that his respect for the public had induced him to establish the falsity of Peter Landais's report by the only witness present; "having discharged that duty," he said, "I shall not condescend to reply to any thing that may be said or published by a person of his known character."

As this eccentric individual has so often crossed the path of Jones, to mar his projects and occasion him annoyance, the reader may be curious to hear what subsequently became of him. He had fixed his residence in Brooklyn, where he lived with the strictest economy, on a small annuity purchased by his arrears of prize-money, having received four thousand dollars from Congress, to be deducted from his portion of whatever might be recovered from Denmark, for the prizes given up to England. Though his income was of the narrowest, very little exceeding two hundred dollars a year, he had a morbid feeling of independence, which never suffered him to receive an obligation, which he was unable to return. Even an offer to pay his ferriage over a river, he has been known to receive as an insult, and reject with disdain. During the latter years of his life, he was a constant petitioner to Congress for his share in the value of the prizes, sent into Norway and illegally given up by Denmark, five thousand dollars more, as he conceived, being due to him on that account. From savings set apart from his income, he contrived every other year to make a visit to the seat of government, in order to attend

personally to the furtherance of his claim. During these visits, he frequently exhibited his captious irritability. On one occasion, having heard that a member of Congress had spoken slightingly of him, he put on his faded continental uniform, and mounting his small sword, repaired to the gallery of the House of Representatives, where he gave it to be understood, that he was very much at the service of any gentleman, who wished for a little honourable satisfaction. He vapoured a great deal among the youthful wags, who were wont to collect about him, and threatened, if there were any bad blood in Congress, he would draw it out. Like his modern imitator, he never ceased affirming that he, and not Paul Jones, had captured the *Serapis*. He died in the summer of 1818, aged eighty-seven years, and was buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral Yard. He had, therefore, probably returned into the bosom of the Catholic Church, which he is said to have abjured on his first entry into the service of America.

Towards the close of the Chevalier's stay at New York, he addressed a letter to Madame T——, through Mr. Jefferson, which explains the nature of his relation with that lady. She had just informed him of the death of the Marchioness de Marsan, her protectress, who had filled the station of governess to the King's sisters. The following is part of his reply. "No language can convey to my fair mourner, the tender sorrow I feel on her account! The loss of our worthy friend is indeed a fatal stroke. It is an irreparable misfortune, which can only be alleviated by this one reflection, that it is the will of God, whose providence has, I hope, other blessings in store for us. She was a tried friend, and more than a mother to you! She would have been a mother to me also, had she lived. We have lost her! Let us cherish her memory, and send up grateful thanks to the Almighty, that we once had such a friend. I cannot but flatter myself, that you have yourself gone to the King in July, as he had appointed. I am sure, your loss will be a new inducement for him to protect

you, and render you justice. He will hear you, I am sure ; and you may safely unbosom yourself to him, and ask his advice, which cannot but be flattering to him to give you. Tell him, you must look on him as your father and protector. If it were necessary, I think too, that the Count D'Artois, his brother, would, on your personal application, render you good offices by speaking in your favour. I shall like it better, however, if you can do without him. I am almost without money, and much puzzled to obtain a supply. I have written to Dr. Bancroft, to endeavour to assist me. I mention this with infinite regret, and for no other reason, than because it is impossible for me to transmit you a supply under my present circumstances. This is my fifth letter to you, since I left Paris. The two last were from France, and I sent them by duplicates. But you say nothing of having received any letters from me ! Summon, my dear friend, all your resolution ! Exert yourself, and plead your own cause. You cannot fail of success. Your cause would move a heart of flint ! Present my best respects to your sister. You did not mention her in your letter ; but I persuade myself, she will continue her tender care of her sweet godson, and that you will cover him all over with kisses from me ; they come warm to you both from the heart !”

Jones's remark, that the deceased lady had been “more than a mother” to Madame T——, and the assurance that she would have been a mother to him also, had she lived, might lead to the inference, that she really bore that relation to Madame T——, as well as that Jones contemplated making this lady his wife. His unwillingness, that she should use the influence of the Count d'Artois, (since, Charles the Tenth,) except in the last extremity, when it is remembered that she was actually his aunt, being the daughter of Louis the Fifteenth, his grandfather, is a painful commentary on the morals of the times. It is not to be wondered at, that the dethroned monarch should,

in his declining years, have become so gloomy and remorseful a devotee.

On the 11th of November, Jones sailed from New York in a vessel bound to Holland, which had agreed to land him in France; and took what proved his final leave of America. The wind being a-head to reach a French port, he was put on shore at Dover, and proceeded to London, where he passed several days, during which he conferred with Mr. Adams, on the subject of the mission on which he expected to be employed. He then proceeded to Paris, where he arrived on the 11th of December. On the same evening, he had an interview with Mr. Jefferson, and presented his despatches. Mr. Jefferson now communicated to him a piece of intelligence, well suited to arouse his ambitious and aspiring spirit. Mr. Simolin, the Russian ambassador at Versailles, had intimated to Mr. Jefferson, in conversation on the subject of some recent disasters of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, that it would be a very valuable acquisition to the navy of the Empress Catharine, his mistress, if she could procure the services of the Chevalier in the war she was then waging against the Turks.

The intimation, thus made to Mr. Jefferson, does not appear to have been acted upon during Jones's sojourn in Paris. He was, however, sounded on the subject, on the part of the Russian minister, and, in the midst of an affected coyness, probably evinced his real impatience to enter upon the brilliant career, which seemed thus to open on him. Still, no distinct proposition was at this time made to him. He was so far influenced by the prospect of soon commanding a fleet himself, that he forebore for the present to deliver the letter from Congress to the King, asking permission for him to embark in his fleet of evolution. At the close of January, 1788, he received from Mr. Jefferson his credentials for prosecuting his claims at the court of Denmark. On the morning of the 2nd of February, being the day fixed for his departure, he went, by invi-

tation, to breakfast with Mr. Littlepage, Chamberlain of the King of Poland, for the purpose of meeting Mr. Simolin, the Russian minister. In the course of the interview, Mr. Simolin treated Jones with great attention, and informed him, that, in consequence of the knowledge which he had obtained of Jones's character, during his residence in England as ambassador, and since his removal to France, he had already proposed to his sovereign to intrust the Chevalier with the command of her fleet in the Black Sea, and soon expected that advantageous proposals would be made to him in consequence. Jones expressed his gratitude for the compliment, and probably his readiness to comply with the Empress's orders, though he has not placed the fact on record. After Mr. Simolin had left the house, Mr. Littlepage informed Jones, that Simolin had written to his court, "if her Imperial Majesty should confide to Jones the chief command of her fleet on the Black Sea, with *carte blanche*, he would answer for it, that in less than a year Jones would make Constantinople tremble."

With this compliment tingling in his ears, and his imagination filled with brilliant visions of glory and distinction, he set forward for Copenhagen, having in view the double object of recovering the prize-money, and being nearer to St. Petersburg to receive the proposals of the Empress. He arrived there on the 4th of March, after having suffered severely from fatigue and cold. He was at this time only forty years old; but his constitution was already beginning to yield to the hardships of his profession, aided by the wear and tear of an excitable and impatient temper.

In a few days, Jones was so much improved in health, as to be able to wait on Baron de la Houze, the French minister, by whom he was cordially welcomed, and who soon after presented him to the King, and all the different members of the royal family. He thus chronicles his interview. "I had a very polite and distinguished reception. The Queen dowager conversed with me for some time, and said the most civil

things. Her majesty has a dignity of person and deportment, which becomes her well, and which she has the secret to reconcile with great affability and ease. The Princess Royal is a charming person, and the graces are so much her own, that it is impossible to see and converse with her, without paying her that homage which artless beauty and good nature will ever command. All the royal family spoke to me, except the King, who speaks to no person when presented. His Majesty saluted me with great complaisance at first, and as often afterwards as we met in the course of the evening. The Prince Royal is greatly beloved and extremely affable; he asked me a number of pertinent questions respecting America. I had the honour to be invited to sup with his Majesty and the royal family. The company at table, consisting of seventy ladies and gentlemen, including the royal family, the ministers of state, and foreign ambassadors, was very brilliant."

Having taken this initiatory step so much to his satisfaction, Jones now bethought himself of the business which had brought him to Copenhagen, and accordingly addressed Count Bernstorff, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, enclosing to him a copy of the act of Congress, by which the American minister at Versailles had been directed to demand of Denmark indemnification for the prizes which she had given up. He mentioned, that he had seen the despatches from Mr. Jefferson, with which he had been charged, and that it was therefore unnecessary for him to enlarge upon the subject; so he simply confined himself to calling the minister's attention to the act of Congress, "the act," he added in parenthesis, "by which I am honoured by a gold medal;" and concluded by telling him how happy he was in being the chosen "instrument to settle the delicate national business in question with a minister, who conciliated the views of the wise statesman with the noble sentiments and cultivated mind of the true philosopher and man of letters."

It does not appear, that this flattering allocution produced

any favourable effect; for we find Jones at the end of a week again addressing the minister, and assuring him how sensible he was to the favourable manner in which he had been received. He said, however, that though particularly flattered by the polite attention with which he had been honoured at every conference, he had remarked with pain, that the subject of his mission was avoided. He therefore told the minister, that a man of his liberal sentiments could not be surprised at his expecting impatiently a prompt and categorical answer in writing, to the demand contained in the act of Congress, which had been brought under his notice.

Though the prompt and categorical answer, which Jones required, was not forthcoming, an evasive one was sent in its place, which terminated the negotiation. The Danish minister avoided speaking at all on the subject of the indemnity claimed for the prizes, which had been surrendered. He contrived to mix up Jones's demand with the previously pending negotiation for a treaty of amity and commerce, and said that nothing could be further from the wishes of the King, than to abandon a negotiation which had only been temporarily suspended, to avoid the inconvenience of a precipitate arrangement. He promised, on behalf of the King, that the negotiation should be resumed so soon as the new constitution, which he denominated "an admirable plan, so worthy of the wisdom of the most enlightened men," should be adopted by the states. The minister repeated to Jones the invincible obstacle to treating with him, which he had previously adverted to in conversation, growing out of Jones's want of plenipotentiary powers; and said that it would likewise be contrary to usage, to change the seat of the suspended negotiation from Paris to Copenhagen. As there does not seem the least colour of common sense in thus disregarding Jones's demand for a consideration of a claim, which came commended to their notice by an act of Congress, transmitted through our minister at Paris, and as Jones would never, under other circum-

stances have permitted himself to be thus put off, it seems not unlikely, that, when he found that nothing would be immediately done with reference to the claim he himself procured the removal of the seat of negotiation to Paris, that he might be left at liberty to proceed to St. Petersburg. He, in fact, states this to have been the case, in his subsequent correspondence. Soon after this occurrence, Jones received from the Danish government a patent for a pension of fifteen hundred crowns a-year, as an acknowledgment "for the respect he had shown to the Danish flag, while he had commanded in the European seas." Jones never mentioned to his most familiar correspondents that this pension had been settled on him, nor was its existence known until several years afterward, when he applied ineffectually for its payment. He then first communicated the fact to Mr. Jefferson in terms that are certainly apologetical. "The day before I left Copenhagen, the Prince Royal had desired to speak with me in his apartment. His Royal Highness was extremely polite, and after saying many civil things, remarked, he hoped I was satisfied with the attention that had been shown to me since my arrival, and that the King would wish to give me some mark of his esteem. 'I have never had the happiness to render any service to his Majesty!' 'That is nothing; a man like you ought to be excepted from ordinary rules. You could not have shown yourself more delicate as regards our flag, and every person here loves you.' I took leave without further explanation. I have felt myself in an embarrassing situation with regard to the King's patent, and I have not yet made use of it, though three years have nearly elapsed since I received it." It appears moreover from his correspondence with the Danish Prime Minister, that he had consulted him as to accepting the offer which the Empress of Russia had made to him, and had been advised by the minister to accept it. An awkward coincidence with regard to this pension is, that it was dated on the very day that he agreed to suspend the negotiation and

remove it to Paris. The alleged motive for conferring and receiving it, is so flimsy as to awaken well-grounded suspicions as to the nature of the transaction, unless we adopt the opinion of the Crown Prince with regard to the Chevalier, "a man like you ought to be excepted from ordinary rules."

Meantime, the negotiation for entering the naval service of Russia, being of greater personal interest to Jones, was soon brought to a successful issue. In consequence of the intimation which the Russian minister had made to his court, that Jones might be induced to enter the service of the Empress, orders were transmitted to Baron Krudner, the Russian Minister at Copenhagen, by express, to offer him the rank of captain commandant, equivalent to that of major-general in the army, and to invite him to repair as soon as convenient to court. He was informed that it was the intention of the Empress to give him a command in the Black Sea, under the orders of the Prince Potemkin. He was excited by Baron Krudner, to take advantage of the opportunity which now offered itself to add to the laurels which he had already won; and was assured that, in pursuing glory in the cause of so magnanimous a sovereign, he might depend upon the most distinguished reward and every advantage of fortune.

Jones immediately determined to abandon his business in Copenhagen, and proceed to St. Petersburg, with a view to taking service in the Russian army. In his reply to Baron Krudner, he expressed dissatisfaction with the rank which was offered to him in the place of the more appropriate one of rear-admiral, to which he considered himself entitled. He laid all his various testimonials, which he had so diligently collected, before the Russian minister, and wrote regarding them as follows:—"You will discover, I presume, that my talents have been considerable; but that loving glory, I am perhaps too much attached to honours, though personal interest is an idol to which I have never bowed the knee. The unbounded admiration and profound respect, which I have long felt for the

glorious character of her Imperial Majesty, forbids the idea that a sovereign so magnanimous should sanction any arrangement that may give pain at the outset to the man she deigns to honour with her notice, and who wishes to devote himself entirely to her service." In allusion to what had been said about acting under the orders of the Prince of Potemkin, he began already to betray impatience of any control. "A conjoint command," he wrote, "is hurtful, and often fatal, in military operations. There is no military man, who is so entirely master of his passions as to keep free of jealousy, and its consequences, on such occasions. Being an entire stranger, I have more to fear from a joint authority than any officer in her Majesty's service.

Having formed his determination to accept service in the Russian navy, Jones wrote to Mr. Jefferson on the 8th of April, 1788, to give him an account of the unfavourable termination of his negociation. He flattered himself, however, that his visit to Copenhagen would be attended with a good effect, by leading to the renewal, at Paris, of the negociation for a treaty between the two countries. He suggested to Mr. Jefferson, that it would be advisable to introduce into such a treaty a stipulation for the admission of the United States into the armed neutrality. He thought that such a measure would afford great pleasure to the Empress of Russia, and promised on his arrival at St. Petersburg to mention the subject to her. He acquainted Mr. Jefferson with his intention to enter the Russian service, and told him, that he relied upon his friendship to justify to Congress the important step he was about to take with Mr. Jefferson's advice. He thought, that as Congress had passed acts, recommending his employment in the French fleets, in order to improve himself in naval science, it could not fail to approve of his occupying the high station which had been allotted to him, and in which he would be called, himself, to direct the evolutions of fleets, and practice the art of naval warfare on an extended scale, instead

of acting the part of a simple observer. He protested that he had not forsaken his country, and that he would never renounce the glorious title of a citizen of the United States.

“If,” he continued, “Congress should think I deserve the promotion that was proposed when I was last in America, and should condescend to confer on me the grade of rear-admiral, from the day I took the *Serapis*, I am persuaded it would be very agreeable to the Empress, who now deigns to offer me an equal rank in her service, although I never yet had the honour to draw my sword in her cause, nor to do any other act that could directly merit her Imperial benevolence.” It was not the fact; that the Empress had offered Jones a rank equal to that of rear-admiral. On the contrary, he was complaining at this very time of that title being withheld from him; and his chief object in now seeking to obtain from Congress, what during his absence could only be an honorary distinction, was to use it as a lever in Russia, to raise himself to the same rank. This is evident from what he afterwards says; “I ask for nothing; and beg leave to be only understood as having hinted what is natural to conceive, that the mark of approbation I mentioned could not fail to be infinitely serviceable to my views and success in the country where I am going.”

As Paul Jones was about setting out from Copenhagen, Baron Krudner brought him a thousand ducats, to defray his expenses to St. Petersburg. He mentions, that he endeavoured to induce the Baron to take it back; but, as he refused to do so, Jones determined not to use it by the way, having money of his own, and to return it at St. Petersburg, in the event of his declining to accept the station which might be offered to him.

CHAPTER XVII.

Jones leaves Copenhagen. Arrives at Stockholm. Finds the Gulf of Bothnia frozen. Crosses the open Baltic. Perilous Adventure. Arrival at Revel. Arrival at St. Petersburg. Presentation to the Empress. Is created Rear-Admiral. Receives a Letter from the Empress. Departure for the Black Sea. Interview with Potemkin. Siege of Oczakow. Jones Appointed to the Command of a Squadron in the Lima. The Prince of Nassau in Command of the Flotilla. Arrival at Cherson. Uncivil Treatment of the Russian Admiral. Visit to the Squadron at Schiroque. Tour of Observation. Jones hoists his Flag in the Wolodomer. Changes the Position of the Squadron. Holds a Council of War. Jealousy between Jones and Nassau. Engagement between the Russian and Turkish Squadrons. Cruelty of Nassau. Potemkin dines with Jones. Reconciles Jones and Nassau. Second Battle. Brilliant Exploits of Jones. Unjust Distribution of Rewards. Capricious Conduct of Potemkin. Offensive Orders. Correspondence between Potemkin and Jones. Jones superseded. Interview with Potemkin. Jones departs from the Black Sea.

TOWARDS the middle of April, 1788, Jones started from Copenhagen for St. Petersburg, by the way of Sweden. Having remained a single day at Stockholm, he went to Gresholm to embark, but found so much ice, that he was unable either to cross the Gulf of Bothnia, or even to reach the islands which lie midway in the channel. After several ineffectual attempts to cross in that direction, Jones, believing, as he says, that the Empress would be impatient for his arrival, determined to attempt doubling the ice to the southward in the open Baltic. For this purpose, he hired an open passage-boat about thirty feet long, and took a smaller boat in tow to drag over the ice, in case of abandoning the larger boat.

Jones did not make his project known to the boatmen, lest they should have been unwilling to undertake so dangerous an enterprise. He therefore first attempted to cross to the intermediate islands, in the direction of the coast of Finland. Having made a little progress in that direction, he steered to the south, between the ice and the Swedish shore, where he barely found

room to pass. At nightfall, being nearly opposite Stockholm, "pistol in hand," he compelled the reluctant boatmen to put out into the Baltic, and steer for Finland. The wind continued fair during the night, and the next morning the coast of Finland was in sight, but at a great distance, and so bound with ice as to render it unapproachable. As the wind blew strong from the Swedish shore, it was impossible to put back; it only remained for Jones to skirt along the ice until he came to the entrance of the Gulf of Finland. Meantime, the second night came on squally. In the course of it the small boat was swamped, and the men who were in it were saved with difficulty. Jones had provided himself with a small compass, and fixing the lamp of his travelling carriage so as to throw a light on it, the boatmen were able to keep the boat's head in the right direction. On the fourth day, Jones landed safely at Revel, where the performance of such a perilous adventure excited no little astonishment. In Sweden it was for some time reported, that he had perished in a storm in the Gulf of Finland.

Having rewarded the boatmen who had reluctantly shared his perils, and furnished them with the means of procuring a new boat, provisions for their homeward voyage, and a pilot to conduct them, when the weather should be more favourable, Jones set forward for St. Petersburg, where he arrived on the evening of the 23rd of April.* On the 25th of April, he was presented by Count Ségur the French minister, to the Empress, who received him very graciously, and immediately conferred on him the coveted rank of rear-admiral. Jones was overwhelmed with the courtesy with which he was received. In accepting employment under the Empress, he made no conditions, and only proffered one request, which seemed to carry with it a foreboding of future disgrace; "never to be condemned unheard."

The individual whom the sovereign delighted to honour, of

* The dates during Jones's sojourn in Russia are according to old style, eleven days behind our mode of computing time.

course found abundant favour in the eyes of others. The Chevalier's distinguished reputation as a naval hero was, for the moment, not a little enhanced by the romantic adventure which had attended his arrival in Revel. Nobles, statesmen, and foreign ministers besieged his door; and invitations to entertainments at court and in the highest circles, left him without an unoccupied moment. These unusual marks of favour, and the elevated rank with which Jones had been instantly invested, occasioned great discontent among the foreign officers already in the Russian navy. The English, particularly, affected great horror in being thus superseded by an English "pirate," and former "smuggler"; and thirty officers addressed a memorial to their chief and countryman, Admiral Greig, threatening to throw up their commissions if they were associated with him. This, however, did not prevent his appointment. The difficulty was avoided by not employing those officers under Jones's immediate command.

In writing to Lafayette, Jones gave way to the exultation which his present brilliant prospects awakened in him: This letter abounds in enthusiastic praises of the Empress; and enters into various projects for a closer political union between Russia and France. It also suggests the great advantage which America might derive from joining the armed neutrality, and from a close commercial intercourse with Russia.

The letter in which Jones replied, in Copenhagen; to Baron Krudner's proposal for him to enter the Russian navy, had evinced some misgivings as to being placed under the orders of the Prince Potemkin. He appears to have recurred to this objection in conversation with the Empress, who in consequence addressed to him the following letter, when on the eve of departure for the Black Sea.

"Sir: A courier from Paris has just brought from my envoy in France, M. de Simolin, the enclosed letter to Count Besborodko. As I believe that this letter may help to confirm to you what I have already told you verbally, I have

sent it, and beg you to return it, as I have not even had it copied, so anxious am I, that you should see it. I hope that it will efface all doubts from your mind, and prove to you, that you are to be connected only with those who are most favourably disposed towards you. I have no doubt that, on your side, you will fully justify the opinion which we have formed of you, and apply yourself with zeal to support the reputation you have acquired, for valour and skill, on the element on which you are to serve.

“Adieu! I wish you happiness and health.

“CATHARINE.”

The letter alluded to, mentioned one which M. de Simolin had shortly before received from Prince Potemkin, requesting him to induce the Chevalier Paul Jones to repair to his headquarters that he might employ his talents at the opening of the campaign; and begging him to assure Jones that he, Potemkin, would do all that depended on him to make Jones's situation advantageous, and to procure for him occasions of displaying his skill and valour. Jones may have had a well-founded distrust of the overbearing character of Potemkin, but his pretension to be independent of the military commander with whom he was to co-operate, and who was carrying on a war at a great distance, from the seat of government, was very unreasonable.

On the 7th of May the Chevalier left St. Petersburg, bearing a letter from the Empress to Potemkin, and a purse lined with two thousand ducats, for the expenses of his journey and outfit. His appointments were fixed at eighteen hundred roubles a year.* He arrived at St. Elizabeth, the head-quarters of Potemkin, on the 19th, where he was received with distinction and kindness. As the character of this singular individual had an important influence over the fortunes of

* The rouble at that time was worth about 96 cents.

Jones, it may not be amiss here to recall its most striking features. Originally the lover of the Empress, his valour, political sagacity, and commanding temper gave him a control over her mind which she was never able to shake off. He shared and flattered her passion for the overthrow of the Turkish empire, and the establishment in Constantinople, on the throne of the Cæsars, of the grandson who had been named Constantine, with a view to the restoration of the Empire of the East. It was this scheme of conquest, and his desire to obtain the cross of St. George, which could only be conferred on a commander-in-chief after a victory, which had excited the war in which Jones had now come to take part, and in which the Turks had been forced, by systematic outrages, to take the initiative. Haughty, irritable, and despotic, Potemkin was not the sort of person with whom Jones could give way with impunity to his own querulous discontent. As it was, they met with a mutual disposition to be pleased with each other. Potemkin required the services of a skilful and dashing sea officer, and Jones was habitually prone to honour the great and powerful. The first object of Potemkin was to get possession of the fortified town of Oczakow at the junction of the Bog with the Dnieper, which formed the maritime frontier of the Turks in this direction. The place was invested by land. The fort of Kinburn, laying on the south side of the Dnieper, immediately opposite Oczakow, was in possession of the Russians, and held by Suwaroff, with a strong garrison. The Capitan Pacha had come to the succour of Oczakow with a hundred and twenty small vessels and barges, and lay at anchor in front of the place, beyond the reach of the guns of Kihburn. Jones was appointed to the command of the squadron intended to oppose the Capitan Pacha. His force consisted of a single line-of-battle ship, the Wolodomer, which, on account of the shoalness, had only twenty-six guns mounted, five frigates and five sloops,

mounting from sixteen to twenty-four guns, and four smaller vessels, making in all fourteen sail. He was stationed in the Liman, as that narrow arm of the Euxine is called which forms the mouth of the Dnieper. The ships were badly constructed, drew too much water for the general navigation of the Black Sea, were too crank to carry the heavy guns that were mounted on them, and sailed badly. In all these respects Jones found the Turkish ships superior to those he was to command; besides being much more numerous.

In addition to Jones's squadron, a considerable number of Russian gun-boats and barges were stationed in the Liman. By a great mistake, the command of this flotilla was made entirely distinct from that of the squadron. The two forces were to act in unison when practicable, but each had its distinct commander. The commander of the flotilla was the same Prince of Nassau Siegen who had volunteered to accompany Jones in his projected expedition in the Indien, in 1799, and who had subsequently abandoned his purpose without explanation or excuse, or even exercising the ordinary courtesy of replying to Jones's letters. This nobleman who seemed to possess the spirit of adventure without the ability to pursue it with success, had subsequently been engaged in an unsuccessful attempt to take the island of Jersey, and afterwards passed some time at the siege of Gibraltar. On the breaking out of the war between Russia and Turkey, he had tendered his services to the former, and been placed in command of the fleet of the Black Sea. He is said to have been unsteady in his purpose and of very humble capacity, though extremely arrogant and presumptuous. No two persons could have been more ill-suited to act harmoniously together than Jones and Nassau, yet the former was now placed in command of the squadron, while the latter retained command of the flotilla, each independent of the other, and both having motives for jealousy and hatred.

Having been informed that the army would soon be concen-

trated about Oczakow, and that Potemkin would bring up his head-quarters, Jones set forward to assume his command on the 20th of May. He was accompanied by an officer of Potemkin's staff, who had orders to place him in command. At Cherson, at that time the chief Russian naval station on the Black Sea, Jones received a foretaste of the jealousy and annoyance which awaited him in the new service which he had entered. Rear-admiral Mordwinoff, who was at the head of the Arsenal at Cherson, received him with studied disgust, and, though ordered by Potemkin to furnish him with all the particulars concerning his command, abstained from making any communications to him, or delivering to him the rear-admiral's flag, to which he was entitled.

After a short delay at Cherson, Jones proceeded to the Roads of Schiroque, between the mouths of the Dnieper and Bog, where the squadron was at anchor, and went immediately on board the Wolodomer. The squadron of ships had been hitherto commanded, under the orders of Nassau, by Brigadier Alexiano, a Greek, originally a subject of Turkey, who had distinguished himself as a corsair against the Turks. Alexiano was naturally annoyed at being superseded, and threatened to retire from the service. He was eventually, however, persuaded by Potemkin to remain. In order to make himself acquainted with the localities of the proposed scene of action, and also to give time for the angry feelings of Alexiano and some of his Greek followers to subside, Jones now made a visit, with the officer who accompanied him, to Kinburn, to examine the entrance of the Dnieper, and reconnoitre the position and strength of the Turkish fleet and flotilla. Observing that there was no fortification on the extreme point of Kinburn, which commands the entrance into the Liman, Jones persuaded Suwaroff to erect one. It was afterwards very useful. On his return to the squadron, the discontent of Alexiano seemed to have disappeared, and Jones hoisted his flag on board the Wolodomer. This occurred on the 26th of May.

In the course of a few days the ships and flotilla were reinforced by troops to complete the complements of their crews, and on the 29th of May the whole armament got under weigh and stood for the entrance of the Bog, off which it anchored, in a line forming an obtuse angle, so as to command the passage into the Liman, thus covering Cherson, which was without fortifications, guarding the free passage of the Bog for the army of Potemkin, and keeping the Turks in check from attempting to carry Kinburn. Jones had every confidence in his ability to make good his position, though Nassau and Alexiano, having commenced intriguing against him, endeavoured to unsettle Suwaroff's faith in the efficiency of the flotilla, by representing to him that the vessels which composed it, having been constructed to convey the carriages of the Empress in her famous triumphal visit to Cherson, a few years before, to survey the empire which she was about to grasp for her own, were so slight that they would probably sink with the weight of their guns, at their first discharge. Soon after assuming the command, Jones, having, as he says, no orders from Potemkin assembled a council of war on board the Wolodomer, in conformity with the naval ordonnance of Peter the Great. He opened the council with an eloquent speech, in which he endeavoured to inculcate the importance of a perfect understanding between the squadron and flotilla; and urged that, forgetting all personal considerations, they should unite heart and hand in the determination to conquer. The council approved of the position which the squadron occupied, and it is remarkable, as showing that Jones's superiority was so far recognised by the Prince of Nassau, that he attended the council which Jones had convened, and at which he presided.

On the 7th of June, an encounter took place between the Russian and Turkish flotillas, which resulted in the retreat of the latter with the loss of two vessels, which were burnt. During this engagement, Jones fought in the flotilla, and, part of the time, he was in the same boat with the Prince of Nas-

sau, where he represents himself as giving the necessary orders along the line. He says, though he had directed the whole affair, he relinquished all the credit of it to the Prince, as the action had been sustained by the flotilla. He represents the Prince as having spoken little during the action except in praise of Jones, though soon after, he assumed a very haughty tone towards him. It seems that Jones, in his report of the battle to Potemkin, gave Nassau credit, among other things, for having taken his advice, with regard to the direction of his flotilla, in good part. Jones showed this to Nassau, before it was sent, who did not object to any part of it, though he afterwards took offence at the expression. A few days after, he addressed a letter to Jones, proposing that the squadron and flotilla should advance nearer to the Turkish fleet, which had taken post under the batteries of Oczakow. Jones objected to this movement, as it would leave the Liman and Cherson open to the enemy, and constitute an abandonment of that defensive system which Jones had adopted, and of which Potemkin had approved. Out of this difference of opinion and mutual jealousy, augmented by an ill-suppressed contempt on the part of Jones, for Nassau's weakness and instability, grew a disagreement which, though outwardly often reconciled, augmented from day to day to the great injury of the public service.

On the 16th of June, the Turkish fleet, having been reinforced, approached very near the Russian with the intention of attacking. One of the largest Turkish ships, bearing an admiral's flag, having grounded, the rest of the fleet anchored in a line. During the night, the wind became favourable for the Russian fleet, and, at daylight on the following morning, Jones made the signal to weigh. The squadron and flotilla now bore down on the Turkish fleet, which immediately weighed or cut their cables, and attempted to escape in the greatest confusion. The Wolodomer steered for the Capitan Pacha's ship, and had approached within pistol-shot, when

the Turk grounded, and Alexiano, without orders from Jones, let go the Wolodomer's anchor, under the pretence of saving her from grounding, as he said there was only fifteen feet of water a-head. Meantime the Russian flotilla having lagged behind, Jones's ships were much annoyed on the right by the Turkish flotilla, a bomb from which sunk one of the frigates alongside of the Wolodomer. The Chevalier now took to his boat, and went in quest of the Prince of Nassau, to endeavour to persuade him to proceed with his flotilla to dislodge the Turkish gun-boats. But the Prince was altogether taken up in firing upon two Turkish ships which were aground, keeling over too much to bring any guns to bear, and moreover under cover of the guns of the Russian ships, of which they might be considered prizes. These two Turkish ships were soon set on fire by means of a species of bombs, called Brandkugel, which were perforated with holes and filled with combustible matter; and their crews perished miserably in the flames. The flag of the Capitan Pacha having been shot away with the mast on which it was hoisted, and the great inclination of the ship causing it to fall into the water, it was drawn up by the boatmen, and delivered to the Prince. The Pacha himself had abandoned his ship, and assumed the command of the flotilla. Being unable to withdraw the Prince from the burning ships to attack the Turkish flotilla, Jones sent Alexiano and Brigadier Corcasoff to perform this service; and they soon succeeded in dislodging them and driving them under the walls of Oczakow.

Part of the squadron still remained within the Liman, and the Russian squadron and flotilla took a position to prevent it from running out, without passing under the guns of the fort, which Suwaroff had erected on the extreme point of Kinburn by Jones's advice. During the night, the Capitan Pacha attempted to pass out secretly with the remains of his squadron; but nine of his largest vessels grounded on the sand-bank, which stretched from Oczakow until within cannon-shot of

the new fort. A constant fire was kept up on the grounded vessels during the whole night. In the morning, Suwaroff sent a request for the men-of-war to take possession of the ships that had grounded. Jones was desirous of sending frigates to perform the service; but Alexiano represented to him, that the strength of the current at that point might occasion their loss. The flotilla was therefore despatched on this service under the Prince of Nassau, accompanied by Alexiano. They immediately commenced a fire of Brandkugels upon the grounded ships, and seven out of the nine were soon in flames. No effort had been made to save either the ships or their crews. In vain did the Turks throw themselves on their knees, and invoke pity by cries and by signing the cross. More than three thousand of them were mercilessly consumed in the flames.

Meantime the whole Russian army had concentrated before Oczakow. Potemkin made Jones a visit on board of the Wolodomer; he was attended by the chief officers of his staff. The whole party remained to dinner, and it appears that Nassau was also there; for in the course of the entertainment, Potemkin employed the Prince de Ligne and Mr. Littlepage, to persuade Nassau to make some explanations to Jones. This they effected, and the two commanders embraced in the presence of the whole company, in token of their complete reconciliation. This was the second effort of Potemkin to establish a good understanding between the two chiefs. A fortnight before, he had written to Jones as follows; "I regard perfect union between you, as the foundation of all the services that your talents and your known valour give you both the power of rendering to my country; and I cannot strongly enough recommend to you to live in perfect understanding with the Prince of Nassau."

Harmony being thus ostensibly established between the two nava commanders, Potemkin gave orders to the Prince of Nassau to destroy the Turkish flotilla, which lay under the

walls of the besieged city. Jones was to render every possible assistance with the squadron. On the 1st of July, Potemkin, having attacked by land, to make a diversion, the Russian flotilla advanced within gun-shot of the Turkish, and opened its fire. Jones, after having assisted, with the boats of the squadron, in towing up the flotilla abreast of that of the enemy, cast off the tow-lines, and dashed on to capture five Turkish galleys, which lay under the guns of Fort Nassau, within range of canister shot. They were moreover within gun-shot of the Turkish flotilla, and the batteries of Oczakow, and the enterprise was full of peril. He boarded and carried the first galley, and then passed on to the second, which was that of the Capitan Pacha, which he carried in like manner. An inexperienced young officer who accompanied him, immediately cut the cable of the Pacha's galley, and she drifted in under the fort and grounded. Jones attempted to run a warp to the wreck of a fire-ship, which the Turks had attempted to send among the Russian flotilla, as it approached; but found that he had not sufficient length of rope. He immediately despatched a lieutenant to the Wolodomer for a cable and anchor, and at the same time removed the prisoners, fifty-two in number, which he had taken from the two galleys. In the interval, he was exposed to a close fire from the flotilla and batteries. Meantime the remaining three of the five galleys were burnt by the Brandkugels with all on board.

After waiting for some time for the cable and anchor, Jones went to assist in bringing up the flotilla. While engaged in this, he saw, to his regret, that fire had broken out in the Pacha's galley. His first thought was, that the slaves had found means to escape, and had fired the vessel. He ascertained afterwards, that Nassau and Alexiano being together in a boat on the outside of the flotilla, and perceiving Jones's intention, had sent a Greek caique to fire the galley. The whole number of slaves chained on board the galley, most of them doubtless Christians, and who had not been removed

with the rest of the crew, perished miserably without the power of escape. Two large vessels were also burnt near the fort, making six vessels in all that were burnt with their crews. The only prisoners were those which Jones had rescued from the two galleys. This mode of warfare was at variance with Jones's habits, and pained him inexpressibly. To spare life was not in accordance with the sanguinary spirit in which the war was conducted.

The engagement over, Jones, whose conduct on this occasion is represented by Mr. Littlepage, as having been brilliant in the extreme, withdrew on board the *Wolodomer* to attend to the further prosecution of his duty, whilst Nassau and Alexiano hurried to head-quarters to entertain Potemkin with an account of their achievements. Jones takes a quiet pleasure in mentioning that the rain fell in torrents, while they were on their way to the quay. The propriety of such movements was soon after manifest, when Nassau, for his previous services in the month of June, found himself rewarded with a valuable estate, having three or four thousand peasants on it, the military order of St. George, and authority to hoist the flag of rear-admiral on the day on which Oczakow should capitulate. Alexiano also received a considerable estate, and a promotion of two grades. As, however, he had caught a violent fever, in consequence of exposure in the storm, on his way to Potemkin's head-quarters, and died the day after he heard of his good fortune, Jones had not so much occasion to envy him. As for Jones himself, he received the order of St. Anne, an honour with which he said he should have been entirely satisfied, had the services of others been requited in the same proportion. All the officers of the flotilla were promoted one grade, and received the gratuity of a year's pay. Many of them, moreover, were decorated with orders of distinction. Subsequently, twenty-four swords, decorated with massive gold, were sent by the Empress for distribution. One of them, studded with diamonds and eme-

ralds, was given to Potemkin; another, studded with diamonds, to Nassau; the rest were distributed among the officers of the flotilla. The officers of the squadron, almost all of whom had been bred to the sea, and had done their duty well in all the engagements, received neither promotion, mark of distinction, nor gratuity. These slights were no doubt owing to the arts of Nassau, and his superior favour with Potemkin.

Mr. Littlepage, who had been instrumental in getting Jones to enter the Russian service, and was himself now employed as a commander in the squadron, had written to Jones the following excellent advice: "Prince Potemkin has conceived a high esteem for you, but he loves Nassau. If ever mutual interest dictated union between two persons, it is between you and the Prince of Nassau at the present moment. The reverse will be to the prejudice of both. In the name of friendship reflect upon this." The appeal of friendship was however disregarded. Jones, instead of rising superior to Nassau by his actions, and trusting to their quiet agency to give him a mental ascendancy in the end, was petulant, irritable, and jealous, in proportion as Nassau was absurd, conceited, and boastful. Potemkin lost patience at this trifling with the public service, and became at length disgusted with both of them. Nassau in the mean time found most favour with him, and turned it to good account.

The sequel of Jones's services in the Liman does not afford any remarkable event. The squadron under his orders continued to be employed in the blockade of Oczakow on the side of the Liman. On one occasion, in the absence of the Prince of Nassau at Sevastopol, to ascertain if the squadron there had received much injury in a recent engagement with the Turkish fleet, Potemkin proposed giving Jones the command of the flotilla, to make an attack on Oczacow. Nassau, however, returned and resumed the command of the flotilla. On another occasion, he offered to give him the command

of the fleet at Sevastopol, that he might come out with it, attack the Turkish fleet before Oczakow in the rear, and destroy it, or at any rate make a junction with the squadron in the Liman. Jones was not again called upon to effect any important movement, though he was occasionally engaged in partisan attacks.

On the 20th of July, Potemkin, having noticed two of the enemy's gun-boats anchored under Fort Nassau, apparently in readiness to go out, conjectured that they were about to sail with despatches. He asked Jones if it were possible to capture them. Jones undertook the service, and started at eight o'clock from the Wolodomer with five armed launches. He found one of the gun-boats ashore, and attempted, under a heavy fire from the battery, to get it afloat. This he was unable to effect. He then proceeded to the other gun-boat, which had been boarded by Lieutenant Edwards with three launches. He found that Edwards had been driven away with a loss of several men, after having cut the gun-boat's cables. Jones boarded the gun-boat from which Edwards had been repelled, and succeeded in carrying her, with the loss of several men. He towed the vessel out under a heavy fire, and anchored her opposite Potemkin's head-quarters.

In a similar enterprise which he undertook in October, the Chevalier was less fortunate. Having been one afternoon to head-quarters to make a report, Potemkin showed Jones, with his telescope, a very heavy gun on the bow of the outermost vessel of the Turkish flotilla, and told him that he should like to see it pitched overboard. Jones pronounced the thing to be easy of execution, and fell readily into the Prince's whim. As, however, he did not imagine that Potemkin attached any special importance to the enterprise, so as to make it proper for him to execute it in person, he confided it to Lieutenant Edwards. This officer found the crew of the vessel numerous and on the alert, and he was repulsed with loss; at daylight

he returned to the Wolodomer to report his failure. Jones made a report of the circumstances to Potemkin, in which he offered himself to perform the service on the following night. Lieutenant Edwards carried the report, and brought back a message from Potemkin that he accepted Jones's offer. Edwards did not, however, return with the answer until eleven o'clock at night. The wind and current were both ahead, and the rain fell in torrents. Nevertheless Jones set forward with five armed boats. His progress, however, under these disadvantages, was so slow that he found himself at daylight still distant from the enemy's flotilla. Under these circumstances he returned to the Wolodomer, to prevent giving any alarm, with the intention of renewing the attempt at an earlier hour the following night. Without waiting to receive Jones's report, Potemkin sent orders for him to abandon the enterprise, as he had intrusted it to other ships. The weather continued favourable for several successive nights, but the "other ships," as Jones remarks, did nothing. His mortification was excessive; but still greater awaited him.

On the 13th of October, being the day after Jones had received the order to abandon the trifling enterprise in which he had failed from want of time to perform it, Potemkin sent Jones the following order; "As the Capitan Pacha has been observed passing in his Kirlangitch from the grand fleet to the smaller vessels, and as before quitting this he may resolve to attempt something, I request your Excellency, as the Capitan Pacha is superior in vessels, to hold yourself in readiness to receive him courageously, and drive him back. I require that the preparations be made without loss of time, if not, you will be made answerable for every neglect. I have already ordered the flotilla to approach. Potemkin Tauricien."

At the bottom of this order is found written in Jones's hand,—“A warrior is always ready, and I had not come there an apprentice.” It would have spared him much future regret, if he had confined himself to this brief testimony to the

unpalatableness of this order. He might have benefited by the example of Nassau, who had already departed in disgrace. Unfortunately he entered, in reply, into a laboured defence of himself, which implied some blame in Potemkin. He promised, somewhat sarcastically, that his followers would do their duty "courageously," though they had not yet been rewarded for the important services which they had already performed; and added, that it was on the sacred promise which he had made to them of demanding justice from Potemkin, on their behalf, that they had consented to stifle their grievances and remain silent.

Several additional letters passed, having reference to the arrangement of the squadron and flotilla so as to guard against an attack from the Pacha. Jones very imprudently mixed up his business communications with complaints of ill-treatment on various occasions, especially with regard to the pitching the gun overboard. "I leave to your Highness," he wrote, "as you have a noble heart and magnanimous soul, to judge whether I ought not to have been offended at your sudden order of the next morning, before you had heard any reasons I had to offer." The gross flattery of this passage did not make its censure palatable. In objecting to one of Potemkin's orders with regard to the position of part of the squadron, Jones put forth the following expression; "Every man, who thinks, is master of his own opinion; and this is mine." This might be very good doctrine in the United States, but was not well suited to be addressed, in Russia, to the man whom rumour has even accused of striking the Empress, and to whom she herself, in rendering an account of some of her measures at the other extremity of the empire, once wrote, more in earnest perhaps than she fancied, "Have I done right, my master?"

The result of Jones's being "master of his own opinion," and failing to keep it to himself, was the arrival of an order the next day from Potemkin, given in conformity with Jones's opinion. It terminated very ominously, however, with the

expression which had already given offence. "Should the enemy attempt to pass to Oczakow, prevent him by every means, and defend yourself courageously." Jones appended to the order the following expression of conscious, though wounded pride; "It will be hard to believe that Prince Potemkin addressed such words to Paul Jones!" By way of further commentary upon the independence of Jones's opinions, Admiral Mordwinoff arrived on the following day, being the 18th of October, to take command of both the squadron and flotilla; a piece of information which was communicated to Jones in the following softened terms. "According to the special desire of her Imperial Majesty, your service is fixed in the northern seas; and as this squadron and the flotilla are placed, by me, under the orders of Vice-Admiral Mordwinoff, your Excellency may, in consequence, proceed on the voyage directed; especially as the squadron in the Liman cannot now, on account of the advanced season, be united with that of Sevastopol."

Jones says, that some malicious persons persuaded Potemkin, that he had ridiculed his military conduct in the siege of Oczakow; and vented strictures on his unnecessary delays in reducing the place. If such were the case, his enmity is easily accounted for. He in vain attempted to change the purpose of Potemkin; expressed his regret for the hastiness of his expressions, his readiness to do all that could be required of a man of honour to continue in the service, and his willingness to perform any duty which the Prince could point out for the good of the empire. Potemkin was inexorable. It only remained for Jones to take his leave. Affecting to find an honour in being called by the Empress, who in fact had nothing to do with it, to a command in the northern seas, rather than a disgrace in being dismissed from his command in the Euxine, Jones thus wrote to Potemkin. "I am much flattered, that her Majesty yet deigns to interest herself about me; but what I shall for ever regret is, the loss of your regard. I will not

say, that it is difficult to find more skilful sea-officers than myself; I know well, that it is a very possible thing; but I feel emboldened to say, that you will never find a man more susceptible of a faithful attachment, or more zealous in the discharge of his duty. I forgive my enemies who are near you, for the painful blow aimed at me; but if there is a just God, it will be difficult for him to do as much. I wish you, my Prince, complete success in your military operations, and continued happiness during the rest of your life."

It was a poor way to soothe the ungovernable Potemkin, to charge the persons who were near him, with being the authors of his disgrace. In the interview to which he subsequently admitted Jones, to take leave, he was careful to undeceive him on this point, to which Jones probably again imprudently adverted. "Don't believe," he exclaimed, rising and stamping his foot with rage, "that any one leads me! no one leads me! not even the Empress." With regard to the Prince of Nassau, and his pretensions to have effected great services with his flotilla, Potemkin disavowed having ever been deceived or influenced by him. "He pretended," Potemkin said, "that all was done by himself; but I have never been deceived by him. I have always known him for what he is." In fact, Potemkin had some time before taken offence at Nassau's presumption in offering, if he were intrusted with an assault of Oczakow, to effect a practicable breach in a weak part of the fortress, which he had discovered, and which could easily be made wide enough for the passage of a regiment. Offended at this vain boast, Potemkin sarcastically inquired of him, how many breaches he had opened at Gibraltar. Nassau, who had reaped no laurels there, was in turn offended, and applied to the Empress for his recall. It was granted, and he was soon after intrusted with the command of the Russian galley fleet in the Baltic. Assisted by some able officers, he gained a victory over the fleet of Sweden, which had now declared war against Russia. Subsequently, in an en-

gement with a Swedish fleet of half the size of his own, commanded by Gustavus the Third, Nassau, being less judiciously advised, was shamefully beaten. His arrogance, however, led him to ascribe the reverse to a desire, on the part of his Russian followers, to tarnish his glory. In this insolent spirit, he wrote to the Empress. "Madam! I have had the misfortune to fight against the Swedes, the elements, and the Russians. I hope your Majesty will do me justice." He was a favourite with the Empress, and she received him kindly, loaded him with wealth and honours, but did not again employ him. He subsequently entered the service of Prussia. Despite of the brilliancy of his title, he appears to have been an adventurer, more needy than Paul Jones, while he was far less suited to win distinction by honourable enterprise.

In order to get rid for ever of this captious and eccentric Prince, who had so unfavourably influenced the fortunes of our hero, we have anticipated some events, which could not of course have been disclosed in the interview with Potemkin. Jones could sympathize heartily with Potemkin in his contempt for the man; and he was no doubt soothed by the admission which the Prince now made, that he had done wrong in dividing the command of the squadron and flotilla. Their accordancy in condemning Nassau, after their disagreement on so many other subjects, seemed to put Potemkin in a better humour, than at the beginning of the interview, and to prepare him for the request, which Jones, according to his custom, probably made, for a testimonial of good conduct to be presented to the Empress. At any rate, he did not commence his journey without the following complimentary, though guarded epistle.

"Madam.—In sending to the high throne of your Imperial Majesty, Rear-Admiral Mr. Paul Jones, I take, with submission, the liberty of certifying to the eagerness and zeal, which he has ever shown for the service of your Imperial Majesty, and to render himself worthy of the high favour of

your Imperial Majesty. From the most faithful subject of your Imperial majesty. Potemkin Tauricien." At the moment of taking leave, Potemkin became still more gracious; and, finally, dismissed our hero with the following charge, and an assurance, which would have been more encouraging, had it accorded better with the experience of the past. "Rely upon my attachment! I am disposed to grant you the most solid proofs of my friendship for the present, and for the future."

Having heard that a report was in circulation in the army, that he had been deprived of his command, because the officers of his squadron were unwilling to serve under him, Jones had a paper drawn up, contradicting the report, and endeavoured to procure signatures from the officers. Russia was not, however, the country for certificates. The officers admitted to Jones, in the presence of witnesses, that the statement contained nothing but pure truth, yet they declined signing it for imperative reasons. It only remained for Jones to depart with the certificate which he had received from the omnipotent Potemkin, lamenting, as he went, "that the mind is not always free; and that men sometimes dare not render homage to truth."

On the 19th of November, Paul Jones embarked in an open galley for Cherson. The weather was excessively cold, the ice was already beginning to form in the Dnieper, and he suffered so much from the exposure during three days which the voyage occupied, that on his arrival at Cherson, he found himself dangerously ill. It was nearly a month before he was in a condition to resume his journey. On the 6th of December, he again set forward, on which day he learned, on his arrival at t. Elizabeth, that Oczakow had been taken by storm. The garrison was eleven thousand strong; but they were completely benumbed by the severity of the weather. The past inactivity of Potemkin, who had long been negotiating to bribe the governor into a surrender, had not prepared them for any measure of vigour. The Russian army being strung with fresh vigour by the cold, rushed briskly to the assault, at dawn of day, in six co-

lunns. The Turks became panic stricken, and the assailants were every-where triumphant ; neither the garrison nor the peaceful inhabitants were spared, and the number of the slaughtered was estimated at thirty thousand. Jones also learned, and perhaps the weakness of human nature made him learn it with satisfaction, that Admiral Mordwinoff, after having been intrusted with full powers, without which he had declined accepting the command, had committed various blunders, provoked the displeasure of Potemkin, and had been dismissed from his station in disgrace. The fact is so far favourable to Jones, that it showed that it was not an easy task to please Potemkin.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Paul Jones returns to St. Petersburg. Submits new Projects. His Suggestions to Mr. Jefferson. He falls into Disgrace. Imputation against his character. Is charged with Immorality. Defended by Count Segur. Jones addresses the Empress. Is pronounced innocent. Asks for Employment. Receives Leave of Absence. Submits new Projects. Departs from Russia. Arrives at Warsaw. Intimaey with Kosciusko. Journey to Vienna. Arrival at Amsterdam. Contemplated Service in the Swedish Navy. Jones resumes his American Correspondence. Addresses the French and Russian Ministers at Copenhagen. Visits London. Supposes himself in Danger. Motives for not visiting his Relations. Returns to Paris. Appeal to Potemkin. Letter to his Sister. Attempt to reconelle his Family.

PAUL JONES arrived at St. Petersburg on the 28th of December, 1788. His second entry into the capital of Russia was made under very different circumstances from the first. In coming from Sweden to offer his services to the Empress, no opposition of seasons or elements could arrest or turn him from his path. Now, after a journey, which he had purposely prolonged by loitering on the way, he was again in the capital, a disappointed man, doubtful of the favour of the sovereign who had not long before so graciously received him, and prepared to find enemies and detractors in so many who had been too happy to reflect upon him the sunshine of the court. Willing, however, to test his position in the favour of the Empress, he asked an interview on the day after his arrival

and was admitted on the following day to a private audience, in which he presented the letter of Potemkin. In this interview he received the assurance, that, on the arrival of Potemkin, some decision would be made with regard to his future employment.

Potemkin did not arrive until the middle of February of the following year. And, as a month and a half was too long a time for Jones's impatient temperament to leave him idle, he, in addition to personal applications for service, sent in a project for forming a political and commercial alliance with the United States. He represented this alliance, and the commerce which would spring from it, as the best means of forming a school for seamen. The commerce of the Black Sea was very advantageous to Russia; but it would always be interrupted by the Turks, until Russia had a formidable fleet in that sea, commanded by an experienced admiral, with a properly instructed staff. This fleet would form at the same time a school of evolutions, and keep the Turks in check, and, when the favourable moment arrived, place the key of Constantinople in the hands of the Empress. In connexion with this project, he suggested the advantage to Russia of having a port on the Asiatic side of the Euxine, to serve as a sentinel-post on the Turks, and pointed out a peninsula between Sinople and Constantinople, which he thought well suited to that purpose. Of course the author of the scheme was to be intrusted with its execution, and when Jones adverted to the commanding admiral, he was thinking of himself.

On the arrival of Potemkin, Jones submitted his project to him also. Potemkin encouraged him with the assurance that it contained some good ideas, but that he did not think it expedient to adopt it at that time, lest it might increase the irritation of England. To Mr. Jefferson he suggested the same project of an alliance between Russia and the United States, which, while it should concede to Russia the right to enlist seamen for her fleets in America, should secure in return to the latter the free navigation of the Black Sea, after the con-

clusion of the war. Inasmuch as the Turks and Algerines had united their forces before Oczakow, he drew the conclusion, that, if the United States were still bent on making war upon Algiers, the treaty might provide for a combined attack. Jones thought that in such a case he could obtain command of the Russian force destined to act in conjunction with that of the United States. His object no doubt was to take the initiative in a treaty between the two countries, and thus make himself of consequence to both, and bring back from Mr. Jefferson some manifestation in favour of his project upon Algiers, which might fortify his application for employment. In previous letters he had asked Mr. Jefferson to send him some information concerning Madame T——. Interest, however, had as much to do with his inquiries as love. He mentioned that besides supplying her from his purse, he had been foolish enough to borrow for her four thousand and four hundred livres. Subsequently he had given her money to pay off the debt, and he was anxious to learn if she had done so. He also begged Mr. Jefferson to have four gold medals struck for him from the die which Congress had instructed Mr. Jefferson to have made in honour of the victory over the Serapis. He was desirous of presenting one of these to Congress, one to the King of France, and another to the Empress. He completed his catalogue of requests by asking Mr. Jefferson to send copies of his bust to a number of friends in America, whose names he forwarded.

It does not appear that Jones's first letters, written from the Black Sea, were received; for he learned, with great mortification, that the letter from St. Petersburg, proposing an alliance between Russia and the United States, was the only proof his friends had received of his existence since his departure from Copenhagen. It proved to him both that his letters had been intercepted, and that his career in the Liman had not been truly represented; on examination of the official reports which had been forwarded from the scene of war, he pronounced them false even in their most trifling details.

Among the complaints which Jones made in his journal, presented afterwards to the Empress, of the depreciation of his services, and the imperfect manner in which they had been requited, he mentioned the splendid offers which the Empress was reported about this time to have made to Admiral Kinsbergen to quit Holland and enter the service of Russia. He was offered the rank of vice-admiral, the order of Alexander Newsky, and twenty thousand roubles a year. He was said, however, to have refused these offers, because he had lately married a wife with a fortune which enabled him to live in independence at home. Jones said that when he entered the Russian service, he had stipulated nothing with regard to his personal interests. "I have a soul too noble for that," he says, "and if my heart had not been enlisted for her Majesty, I would never have drawn my sword in her cause. I have now nothing for it but, like Admiral Kinsbergen, to marry a rich, wife; but I have sufficient to support me wherever I choose, and I know enough of the world to be a philosopher."

Causes, however, were at this time in operation to convince Jones that he was not so immovable a philosopher as he fancied himself. His favour at the court was found to be sensibly on the wane. At first at a loss to what circumstance to attribute it, he at length came to the conclusion that it was owing to the enmity of the English, by which he had been steadily pursued since his arrival in the country. They could not forgive him his abandonment of his native country in her struggle with the colonies, the terror which he had spread along her coasts, and his brilliant triumphs over her arms. On his arrival, he had been stigmatized with the epithets of smuggler, renegade, and pirate. The old story of the carpenter whom he had flogged while in the West India trade was now revived, and converted into an accusation of his having murdered his own nephew. In his journal he takes occasion to disprove the charge, asserts that he never had a nephew under his command, and mentions that he has one dear nephew, then pursuing his studies, whom he had intended for the Rus-

sian navy when his age would admit. "Instead of embruing my hands in his blood, he will be cherished as my son." With regard to his treatment of his crews, he mentions, that although he delightful in good discipline, as indispensable to the success of military operations especially at sea, where men are crowded into such close contact, he had always been able to secure it without flogging, though in the American navy the regulations were the same as in the English, where this punishment was frequently inflicted. It appears from concurrent testimony that Jones did not frequently punish his sailors; at the same time his difficulties in every ship which he commanded show, that he was not able to win their affections.

He defended himself from the general charge of cruelty, by instancing his strenuous and effectual efforts to release the American prisoners from their painful bondage. "If," he says, "I have sacrificed my personal tranquillity and my domestic happiness, with a portion of my fortune and my blood, to set at liberty these virtuous and innocent men, have I not given proofs sufficiently striking that I have a heart the most sensitive, a soul the most elevated? I have done more than all this. So far from being harsh and cruel, nature has given me the mildest disposition. I was formed for love and friendship, and not to be a seamen or a soldier; as it is, I have sacrificed my natural inclination." It is quite evident that the evil opinion of others did not have the effect of sinking our hero in his own. He was an enthusiast in his own favour; and as he repeats, in more than one place, the same estimate of himself, and the same belief that his inclination led him to turn with aversion from the horrors of war in search of a life of "calm contemplation and poetic ease," it is reasonable to think that the opinion was as sincere as it was mistaken.

A passage in Paul Jones's journal conveys the idea, that, among his enemies and detractors, persons of more importance were numbered than the English officers whom he had superseded in rank. "It is painful, for the honour of human

nature," he writes, "to reflect how many malevolent and deceitful persons surround the great, and particularly crowned heads. I speak from my own unhappy experience." He mentions that malicious misstatements had been made to Prince Potemkin, while he served under him in the Liman, of his having ridiculed the Prince's military conduct in prosecuting the siege of Oczakow. These reports may have come from the prince of Nassau before he quarrelled with Potemkin; and the same individual may have aided now in effecting his ruin with the Empress, both being candidates to succeed Admiral Greig in the command of the Baltic fleet. At all events his favour at court declined rapidly. His occasional invitations to dinner and other court entertainments became infrequent. At length they ceased entirely, and on his appearing, in the month of April, to pay his respects to the Empress, he was unceremoniously ordered away.

The cause of this sudden disgrace is supposed to have been a conspiracy at this time set in motion by Paul Jones's enemies to blast his moral character, and ruin him entirely with the Empress, who, however notoriously unscrupulous herself, could not countenance a glaring breach of decency in an officer high in rank in her service. Instigated, as it is stated in Ségurs's "Memoirs," by the enemies of Jones, a woman of bad character accused him of assaulting her daughter, a girl only twelve years old. This report was quickly borne to court, and occasioned his dismissal from the royal presence. The discreditable story, and the account of his disgrace, spread far and wide. Jones found himself suddenly abandoned by his friends, no door was open to him, people avoided speaking to him in the street, no advocate would take charge of his cause, and even his domestics abandoned his service. One only friend gave him an opportunity of relating his story, and, being convinced of his innocence, generously came forward in his defence. The Count de Segur, then French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, having known Jones in America, where he had served under Rochambeau, called at

his lodgings to hear what he had to say in his defence. He found him plunged in grief, his pistols were before him on the table, and he seemed to be meditating some desperate act. The visit of Count Segur affected him to tears. He said that he had been unwilling to knock at the Count's door, and expose himself to a fresh affront, which would have been more cutting than all. He had braved death many times; now he wished for it. The Count urged him to resume his composure, and if he were innocent, to endeavour to prove it, and thus destroy the calumny by which he was assailed; if not, to confess his offence frankly, and the Count would endeavour to aid his escape.

Jones protested on his honour, that he was innocent, and a victim of the most infamous calumny; he said, that, some days before, a young girl had come to him in the morning, to ask if he could give her some linen or lace to mend. Having no work for her, he had given her some money, and dismissed her; but she seemed determined to remain. Impatient at her resistance, he had taken her by the hand and led her to the door; but at the instant when the door was opened, she commenced shrieking, and complained that he had assaulted her. She then threw herself into the arms of an old woman, whom she called her mother. The mother and daughter immediately raised the house with their cries, and then went and denounced him to the police.

Thus in possession of the facts, the benevolent ambassador went forth, and set on foot various inquiries as to the character of the persons, who had brought this infamous charge. The result was, the collection of conclusive evidence, as to their unworthiness of belief, and a strong impression on the mind of Segur, that the whole affair had its origin in a conspiracy to destroy Paul Jones. In a letter which Jones addressed to Potemkin in his own defence, he wrote; "After the examination of my people before the police, I sent for, and employed, Monsieur Crimpin as my advocate. As the mother had addressed herself to him before, to plead her cause, she naturally

spoke to him without reserve, and he learned from her a number of important facts; among others, that she was counselled and supported by a distinguished man of the court." As another evidence of secret interest of this sort at work against him, Jones mentions in the same letter the following fact; "I thought that in every country, a man accused had a right to employ counsel, and to avail himself of his friends for his justification. Judge, my prince, of my astonishment and distress of mind, when I yesterday was informed, that, the day before, the governor of the city had sent for my advocate, and forbidden him, at his peril, or any other person, to meddle with my cause. I am innocent before God! and my conscience knows no reproach. If your Highness will condescend to question Monsieur Crimpin, for he dares not now even speak to me, he will tell you many circumstances which will elucidate my innocence."

The benevolent Ségur, having at length possessed himself of various certificates to overthrow the evidence of Paul Jones's accusers, advised him to address the Empress in his own vindication. This he did, in a very able letter, in which, after recapitulating the circumstances under which he entered her service, and his exertions in her cause, he goes on to say: "Such was my situation when, upon the mere accusation of a crime, the very idea of which wounds my delicacy, I found myself driven from court, deprived of the good opinion of your Majesty, and forced to employ the time, which I wish to devote to the defence of your empire, in cleansing from myself the stains with which calumny has covered me. Condescend to believe, madam, that if I had received the slightest hint that a complaint of such a nature had been made against me, and still more, that it had come to your Majesty's knowledge, I know too well what is owing to delicacy, to have ventured to appear before you till I was completely exculpated."

He went on to state the difficulties which had been thrown in the way of his exculpation, by the withdrawal of his advo-

cate, but that he had still been able to collect conclusive proof of his innocence, which he begged the Empress to order to be investigated, when it would clearly appear, as he said, "that my crime is a fiction, invented by the cupidity of a wretched woman, whose avarice has been countenanced, perhaps incited, by the malice of my numerous enemies. Take a soldier's word, Madam; believe an officer whom two great nations esteem, and who has been honoured with flattering marks of their approbation, I am innocent; and if I were guilty, I would not hesitate to make a candid avowal of my fault, and to commit my honour, which is a thousand times dearer to me than my life, to the hands of your Majesty."

"If you deign, Madam, to give heed to this declaration, proceeding from a heart the most frank and loyal, I venture from your justice to expect, that my zeal will not remain longer in shameful and humiliating inaction. It has been useful to your Majesty, and may again be so, especially in the Mediterranean, where, with insignificant means, I will undertake to execute important operations, the plans for which I have meditated long and deeply. But if circumstances, of which I am ignorant, do not admit the possibility of my being employed during the campaign, I hope your Majesty will give me permission to return to France or America, granting as the sole reward of the services, I have had the happiness to render, the hope of renewing them at some future day."

Séguir charged himself with forwarding this letter, dated on the 17th of May, 1789, by the post from a neighbouring town, so as to prevent its being intercepted. It reached the Empress, and was attentively read. She ordered the requested investigation, and being convinced of Paul Jones's innocence, revoked her orders excluding him from court, and subsequently received him with her former kindness. Projects of expeditions began once more to effervesce in his mind. On the 6th of June, he had an interview with Count Besborodko, in which he offered to cut off the commerce in corn, rice, and coffee, between Constantinople and Egypt, and the coast of Syria

and thus compel the Turks to withdraw a portion of their fleet from the Black Sea. To effect this service, Jones asked for five old English East-Indiamen, mounted each with from forty to fifty guns. They could proceed to Naples under the English flag, as if on a trading voyage; and there he would commission them, and induce most of their crews to enter the Russian service; seamen, to complete their crews as men of war, could readily be enlisted in Naples and Malta. The plan contemplated the employment of a couple of French vessels, trading to Smyrna, to furnish the squadron with constant intelligence of what was passing at Constantinople. This scheme, like all those of Jones's, was original, ingenious, and well conceived, and involved a complete attention to details. He doubtless underrated, however, the difficulty of keeping such an expedition secret, and the obstacles which the British government would be likely to throw in the way of its equipment. The minister appeared pleased with the project, promised to submit it to the Empress, and proposed, at any rate, to give Paul Jones a command in the Black Sea, with which he might force his way into the Mediterranean.

In a subsequent visit, the minister promised Jones that he should be informed, within two days, whether it was the Empress's pleasure to give him a command, or the temporary, leave of absence, for which he had conditionally asked, in his letter of the 17th of May. The two days, and many more, having glided by without the promised decision, Paul Jones wrote on the 24th June, to refresh the minister's memory, and to ask leave to call on the following day to receive it. He took occasion to remark, that the minister's proposal of placing him in command of a squadron in the Black Sea, might be very advantageously blended with his own, with regard to the squadron of East-Indiamen, which might form a junction under his orders. In conclusion, he reminded the minister, that he was the only officer who had made the campaign of the Liman without promotion.

The bubbling well-spring of expeditionary projects, which

was now overflowing from Paul Jones's inventive brain, was however, effectually checked on the 27th of June, by his being officially informed that his request for a leave of absence was granted, and that he was permitted to absent himself from the empire for two years. His salary was to continue. This notification was equally unexpected and unwelcome. He had no choice, however, but to accept it with a good grace, and depart accordingly, On the 7th of July he was admitted to an audience to take leave of the Empress, and on kissing her hand she wished him a pleasant journey, or, as it was more expressively said in French, "bon voyage!"

Jones did not, however, commence the realization of this wish, without taking occasion to speak his mind with some freedom to the minister, with whom he had been in correspondence. He wrote to him, on the 14th of July, to say, that he had called, two days before, to ask for his commission, his passport and the leave of absence which her Majesty had thought fit to grant him. "Though I have perceived," he wrote, "on several occasions, that you have shunned giving me an opportunity to speak with you, I made myself certain that this could not occur at a last interview; and I confess I was very much surprised to see you go out by another door, and depart without a single expression of ordinary civility addressed to me, at the moment of my departure, to console me, for all the bitter mortifications I have endured in this empire. Before coming to Russia, I had been connected with several governments, and no minister ever either refused me an audience, or failed to reply to my letters. I am aware that your Excellency is sometimes teased by importunate persons; but as I am a man of delicacy in every thing, I desire to be distinguished from the crowd."

Without stopping to dispute Jones's claim to be a man of delicacy, we must say that he exhibited very little tact in thus opening a letter in the sequel of which he requested, as he was soon again to be connected with his old friends, constituting the government of the United States, to be

appointed to forward the project of an alliance between Russia and the United States, in conformity with a proposition, which he had previously laid before the government. He also stated, upon what authority it is not now easy to discover that the United States were about to propose to the European powers to form a confederation for making war against the Barbary pirates, until they should be annihilated as maritime powers. He thought that it would be worthy of the august sovereign of Russia to place herself at the head of so honourable an alliance, and said, in conclusion, that it would give him pleasure to be appointed to make known to the United States, the intentions of the Empress, on these two points, trusting that he would be able to acquit himself of so honourable a duty to the minister's satisfaction.

These suggestions seem to have been thrown away on the minister, but in other respects his civility was shown by the promptness with which he forwarded the passport on the succeeding day. Paul Jones did not, however, depart until the end of the following month. Long after, in a letter to Potemkin, he ascribes this detention to the agency of the government, to whom his enemies had made a representation that he was about to take service in the Swedish navy. He mentions this imputation with a sneer; but after occurrences render it neither impossible nor unlikely that propositions of this nature had already been made to him, or that the thought of accepting them had passed through his mind.

Towards the close of August, Jones took his final leave of the Russian capital. The disinterested and benevolent friendship of Count Ségur accompanied him on his way, enabling him to carry with him commendatory letters to the French ministers at the various courts on the way, and to persons of the highest rank and station in Paris, explaining the circumstances under which he left Russia, and vindicating his character from the aspersions which had been cast upon it. Ségur also prepared a newspaper paragraph to the same effect, and forwarded it to the Count Montmorin, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, to

be published in the *Gazette de France*, and other journals of the capital. M. Genet, Secretary of the French Legation, whose father had been a warm friend of Paul Jones, also wrote to his sister, the distinguished Madame Campan, stating the circumstances under which Jones left Russia, and the unfounded nature of the calumnies which had been circulated against him, in order that she might correct any rumours to his disadvantage which might be circulated at Versailles, and thus prepare his friends about the court to receive him with their wonted kindness. M. Genet also charged himself with receiving and transmitting Jones's arrears of pay as they fell due. This is the same person who subsequently acted so extraordinary a part in the United States, as representative of the French Republic.

Paul Jones had intended to proceed to Copenhagen, with the double motive, doubtless, of prosecuting his claim on account of the prizes sent into Norway, and being at hand to receive propositions from Sweden. On his arrival at Warsaw, he was advised by his friends not to appear at the courts of Berlin or Copenhagen, as, in the unfriendly state of those courts towards Russia, advantage might be taken of the circumstance, to strengthen the insinuation that he was inclined to enter the navy of Sweden. He therefore remained in Warsaw two months, and it is not wholly improbable that the influence of Russia may have detained him there. During this time he was kindly received by the titular King and his court, and hospitably entertained by the nobility. He employed his leisure in preparing a copy of his journal from the beginning of his service in the United States, down to the conclusion of the campaign in the Liman, for the perusal of the Empress Catharine, which he followed with a letter expressive of his anxiety to regain her "precious esteem."

While at Warsaw, Paul Jones became intimate with Kosciusko; their mutual services in giving freedom to America, though rendered on different elements, created a bond of sympathy between them, and brought them together as friends.—

Kosciusko was then deep in the unfortunate conspiracy to throw off the yoke of Russia, which broke out a few months after, and which the treachery of Prussia, which power had chiefly instigated it, rendered so disastrous. It is certain that the project of Paul Jones's entering the Swedish navy was the subject of discussion between them. On the 2d of November, Jones wrote to Kosciusko to announce to him that he should depart on that day for Vienna, on his way to Holland, and to give his address in Amsterdam. At Vienna he was unable to have an audience of the Emperor, who was ill; and he achieved nothing that can be gleaned from his correspondence, beyond delivering a fan and some other trifles to a young lady in a convent, from her mother, the Countess de Valery, in Warsaw. With the young lady he also deposited a pencil-marked copy of Thomson's "Seasons," to be presented to her mamma, to whom he addressed a just eulogium of a work which was evidently a favourite with him. As Berlin is in the direct track from Warsaw to Amsterdam, the three places forming, in fact, a right line on the map, it is not easy to account for his turning so entirely aside from his path as to go to Vienna. It is very likely that the influence of the Russian government was exerted to keep him out of the reach and influence of courts which were in enmity with it. Though the Empress had relinquished the services of Paul Jones with little ceremony, she did not, perhaps, contemplate with indifference the chances of his meeting her fleets at the head of her enemies. This feeling was probably expressed by Baron Krudner, the Russian minister at Copenhagen, who had probably been directed to watch Paul Jones's movements, when he wrote to him in reply to a letter which he had received from him, and, after speculating on the probable continuance of the war, said: "At all events I flatter myself, as a good Russian, that your arm is still reserved for us."

At Amsterdam, Paul Jones received the expected letter from Kosciusko, which was evidently considered of importance, as it was personally delivered to Jones's bankers, and a

receipt taken. It mentioned that the Swedish minister at Warsaw had informed him that both himself and the Swedish minister at Amsterdam had orders to make propositions to Paul Jones. Kosciusko states his ignorance of their purport; but as he immediately adds an expression of his wish to see Paul Jones fighting against oppression and tyranny, they could only have had reference to his accepting a command in the Swedish fleet to act against Russia. A document of this period among his published papers is suited to throw some light on this subject. It seems to have been prepared for publication in the event of his accepting an appointment in the Swedish navy, and was designed to prepare the public mind for so sudden a transition. It was as follows: "Notice. The Rear-Admiral Paul Jones, desirous of making known unequivocally his manner of thinking in relation to his military connexion with Russia, declares: 1. That he has at all times expressed to her Imperial Majesty of Russia, his vow to preserve the condition of an American citizen and officer. 2. That having been honoured by his Most Christian Majesty with a gold sword, he has made a like vow never to draw it on any occasion when war might be waged against his Majesty's interest. 3. That circumstances which the Rear-admiral could not have foreseen make him feel a presentiment, that, in spite of his attachment and gratitude to her Imperial Majesty, and notwithstanding the advantageous propositions which may be made to him, he will probably renounce the service of that power, even before the expiration of the leave of absence which he now enjoys."

The distinct declaration that he could never be engaged against America or France, coupled with his failure to declare the same thing with regard to Russia, at a moment, when he was announcing his probable abandonment of her service, plainly prove, that he contemplated serving against her. Paul Jones was not particular as to the banner under which he served. The cause was to him of inferior importance, to the opportunity of winning glory. When he had once brought him-

self to fight against his own country, in defence of freedom and universal philanthropy, he could easily have persuaded himself, if necessary, that the cause of the Empress against the Turks was a pious and Christian one. And so with regard to Sweden against Russia, Kosciusko had expressed the fervent hope of seeing him fight against "oppression and tyranny." The favours which he had received in Russia had been balanced in his own mind, by the services which he had rendered, and ten times cancelled by the circumstances of his expulsion, as his leave of absence might perhaps be most properly denominated. The chances of meeting his once treacherous and capricious friend, his subsequent presuming, and vain-glorious rival, and his late supposed concealed enemy, the Prince of Nassau, in deadly conflict, each at the head of an opposing fleet, must have offered to his mind no slight temptation. Their comparative merits as courageous and skilful captains might then have been fairly tested in the presence of the world. What is most reprehensible in Paul Jones's probable readiness at this time to change his flag, and fight against that which he had so recently fought under, was the inconsistency of such feelings with his simultaneous expressions of regard for the Empress, and of his ardent desire to retain her "precious esteem." At any rate, there is little doubt that his failing to follow Kosciusko's suggestion with regard to entering the service of Sweden, was not owing to his own reluctance. This is manifest from his reply to Kosciusko.

"You propose, if I am not mistaken, that I should apply to a gentleman at the Hague, who has something to communicate to me. But a moment's reflection will convince you, that considerations of what I owe to myself, as well as the delicacy of my situation, do not permit me to take such a step. If that gentleman has any thing to communicate to me, he can either do it by writing, by desiring a personal conference, or by the mediation of a third person. I have shown your letter to my bankers, and they have said this much to the gentleman from whom they received it; but this message, they say, he received

with an air of indifference." Thus, whatever desire the Swedish government might have had to procure the services of Paul Jones, had probably ceased.

Paul Jones made use of his abundant leisure at Amsterdam, by resuming his former habits of active correspondence. He wrote to Washington, to enclose a friendly letter from Count Ségur, and to congratulate him on his election to the station of the President, under the new constitution; he dealt profusely, as usual, in those extravagant compliments to which he was naturally prone, and which his French associations had taught him to express with familiar dexterity. "In war," he wrote, "your fame is immortal, as the hero of liberty! In peace, you are her patron, and the firmest supporter of her rights!" He alluded to the unsuccessful result of his negotiation with Denmark, for indemnity for his prizes, and put forth the following sentiment. "I was received, and treated there with marked politeness; and if the fine words I received are true, the business will soon be settled. I own, however, that I should have stronger hopes, if America had created a respectable marine; for that argument would give weight to every transaction with Europe."

He also wrote to Mr. Charles Thomson, then secretary of Congress, and, in the course of his letter, begged him to make inquiry about a small but convenient estate near Lancaster, which that gentleman had mentioned to him as being for sale; and asked his advice with regard to the purchase. In a letter to Mr. John Ross, who took charge of his funds in the United States, he also adverted to the same subject, and intimated an intention to return to the United States in the course of the summer, in which case it would be his wish to purchase a little farm, where he might live in peace. To his most venerated friend, Dr. Franklin, he also wrote, enclosing the documents, with which the friendship of Count Ségur had furnished him, in order, as he writes, to "explain to you in some degree my reasons for leaving Russia, and the danger to which I was exposed, by the dark intrigues and mean subterfuges of

Asiatic jealousy and malice." He expressed the hope that Franklin's friendship, which he had always been ambitious to merit, would be exerted to use the documents which he enclosed to him, for his justification in the eyes of his friends in America, whose favourable opinion had ever been so dear to him.

He also wrote to Mr. John Parish, a merchant of Hamburg, enclosing letters to the French and Russian ministers at Copenhagen. After thanking Mr. Parish for the kindness which he had received from him, when he passed through Hamburg, on his journey to Copenhagen, he concluded by saying jocosely, that as he was then master of his time, he would perhaps visit Hamburg in the coming spring, "and pay court to some of your kind, rich old ladies. To be serious, I must stay in Europe till it is seen what changes the present politics will produce, and till I can hear from America; and if you think I can pass my time quietly, agreeably, and at a small expense at Hamburg, I should prefer it to the fluctuating prospects of other places."

Of the letters enclosed to Mr. Parish, that to the Baron de la Houze, the French Minister at Copenhagen, likewise enclosed copies of the justificatory documents, with which Count Ségur had furnished him. It also asked for information with regard to the progress of the claim against Denmark. The minister in his answer, expressed his satisfaction at Ségur's complete vindication of Paul Jones, from the calumny, by which he had been assailed, and for his greater comfort, likened him to Themistocles, when forced to exclaim; "I do not envy the situation of the man, who is not envied!" He further replied, that nothing more had been done in relation to the claim, with regard to which he had been invested with powers to treat. The letter to Baron Krudner, the Russian minister, enclosed on the same occasion, referred him to the French minister, for a perusal of the documents in relation to the circumstances which had attended his departure from St. Petersburg. He entered into a defence of his services in the

cause of the Empress, and complained of the manner in which they had been requited; towards the close of his letter, he alluded to the patent, for the pension of fifteen hundred crowns, which had been forwarded to him by the Danish government, through its minister at St. Petersburg. It seems that Baron Krudner had had some knowledge of the grant at the time it was made, and had seen the patent in which it was conferred, before it was sent off to St. Petersburg. He was, in fact, as appears from Paul Jones's letter to him, the only person, beyond the parties interested, who had any knowledge of the transaction. Jones now requested him to procure it, to be paid at Amsterdam, and expressed the hope that it would not be paid in Danish bank paper. Baron Krudner replied, that the Danish Prime Minister readily promised to pay the pension at Copenhagen, to any person who might appear on Jones's part duly authorized to receive it; but that it could only be paid in the money of the country. After such a promise, it is not easy to see how the pension could have been withheld when properly called for; though in Jones's will, the whole amount of it, from the time at which it was granted, is set down as due.

Among the numerous letters written by Jones at this period, is one to his sister, Mrs. Taylor, which is interesting, as evincing the warmth of affection, with which, after so long a separation, he still turned to the companions of his childhood. He expresses great solicitude for the welfare of Mrs. Taylor and his younger sister, Mrs. Loudon, who, with their descendants, were the only surviving members of his family. "I have a tender regard," he writes, "for you both, and nothing can be indifferent to me that regards your happiness and the welfare of your children. I wish for a particular detail of their age, respective talents, characters, and education. I do not desire this information merely from curiosity. It would afford me real satisfaction to be useful to their establishment in life. We must study the genius and inclination of the boys, and try to fit them, by a suitable education, to the pursuits we

may be able to adopt for their advantage. When their education shall be advanced to a proper stage at the school of Dumfries, it must then be determined whether it may be most economical and advantageous for them to go to Edinburgh or France to finish their studies. All this is supposing them to have great natural genius and goodness of disposition: for, without these, they can never be eminent. For the females, they require an education suited to the delicacy of character that is becoming in their sex. I wish I had a fortune to offer to each of them; but though this is not the case, I may yet be useful to them. And I desire particularly to be useful to the two young women, who have a double claim to my regard, as they have lost their father."

Towards the close of April, 1790, Paul Jones crossed over to London for the purpose of settling some accounts growing out of an advance of money which he had made to Dr. Bancroft, from his share of the recovered prize-money, to enable that gentleman to execute a project which he had undertaken of introducing the Quercitron bark among the English woollen dyers. It appears that Jones was interested in the speculation, which had probably been successful, as he now received eighteen hundred pounds sterling for half of his share of the proceeds, and an equal sum was subsequently deposited to his credit with a London banker. He mentions, in a letter of this period, that he escaped being murdered on landing in England: but does not mention the cause or circumstances. Jones seemed always to feel apprehensive of personal violence in visiting London. Popular belief had surrounded him with attributes there, which rendered him an object of hatred and terror. His picture was usually displayed, in the lower class print shops, among those of the most noted pirates; and one picture of him, which was thus seen by Mr. Fanning, one of his midshipmen in the *Richard*, represented him completely encircled by pistols sticking in his belt, besides one in each hand, which he presented in the act of firing at two persons kneeling at his feet, while a third had just fallen dead before

him. Mr. Fanning supposed this to be a popular exaggeration of what occurred on board the *Richard*, when the three forward-officers cried to the *Serapis* for quarter.

The question naturally enough occurs, why Jones, who ever expressed in writing to his relations so much solicitude for their welfare, should not have improved the occasion, offered by some one of his visits to England, to go to Scotland, and renew in person his acquaintance with his family. But it does not appear that he ever visited England but on urgent business, and then he remained unknown in the vast solitude of the capital. His stay was always the briefest that his affairs would permit, and he seems ever to have been haunted with the idea of hatred on the part of the people, and the apprehension that it might pass into violence. The rancour with which he ever expressed himself towards his native country, his boasting that "though born in Britain he did not inherit the degenerate spirit of that fallen nation, which he at once lamented and despised," could not be natural. His feelings may have owed something of their intensity to the bitterness with which the British press had denounced him; but they doubtless were not a little quickened by inward misgivings as to the nobleness of his own course. If, then, he reluctantly visited London, where he was little known, and where seclusion was so easy, with how much more reluctance must he have contemplated a visit to the immediate country of his birth, and the home at once of his youth and of his early manhood, whose coasts he had selected as the favourite scene of his ravages. That Paul Jones did not, therefore, personally visit his kinsmen, and while receiving their embraces, encounter the contumelious frowns of his early friends and patrons, is no proof of his failing in affection to his family. He always maintained a correspondence with them, and forwarded occasional remittances to them from his hard-won earnings.

Towards the close of May, Paul Jones returned to Paris. In the following July he addressed Potemkin in a very long and laboured vindication of his conduct while commanding in

the Liman, coupled with complaints of the manner in which the essential services which he then rendered had been requited. He reminded the Prince of his injunction at parting; "Rely upon my attachment! I am disposed to grant you the most solid proofs of my friendship for the present and for the future." He now told the Prince that he relied upon his attachment, because he knew him to be just and a lover of truth. He relied upon it, because he felt himself to be worthy of it. Time, he said, would teach the Prince that he was neither a mountebank nor a swindler, meaning that he was not like the Prince of Nassau, to whom he delighted to apply those epithets, but a true and loyal man. He stated that in all his relations with Potemkin he had committed but two faults. The first was in not requiring the complete command of all the naval forces in the Liman, *cart blanche*; the second was in having allowed himself to write to Potemkin under feelings of irritation. Paul Jones then insisted that he, under the orders of Potemkin, had conducted all the useful naval operations in the Liman; he had beaten the Pacha on the 7th of June, conquered him again on the 17th, and captured his finest ships; on the 1st of July he had boarded the Turkish galleys under the fire of the batteries of Oczakow; finally, he had first suggested to Suwaroff, as that general always had the nobleness to admit, the erection of the battery on the point of Kinburn, which proved so fatally destructive to the Turks. While he had performed all these services without promotion, rewards of all sorts were showered on those who remained at a distance from danger. The practical purport of the Rear-Admiral's letter was to claim the decoration of the order of St. George, to which the victory of the 17th of June entitled him, to call Potemkin's attention to some of the naval projects which he had laid before the government on previous occasions, and finally to offer his services for their execution, or for any service, that might be required of him in the prosecution of the war; in conclusion, he informed the Prince, that the Congress of the United States had unanimously granted him a gold

medal, to commemorate the service which he had rendered the United States in the capture of the *Serapis*. He said that Congress had ordered a copy of this medal to be presented to every sovereign and academy of Europe, with the exception of those of Great Britain; suggested the probability of Potemkin's being numbered among the sovereigns of Europe, in consequence of the treaty which he was about concluding with Turkey; and offered the Prince a copy of his medal in any event, provided it would be acceptable to the Prince as a mark of his attachment to his person.

The letter which follows in the published collections of his correspondence, is far more creditable to his character, as well as his heart. It was addressed to his favourite sister, Mrs. Taylor, and was perhaps rendered more touching by the declining condition of his health. His constitution, shattered by exposure in every climate from his earliest years, and worn by the chafings of an ardent and impatient temperament, throughout the course of a precarious career, checkered by alternate exultation and disappointment, was rapidly yielding to decay, and pains and ailments were ushering in the fatal moment, which should put an end to all his schemes of enterprise, and aspirations for glory. It is in such seasons, when the mind loses its ability to conceive, and the arm its vigour to execute, that ambition relinquishes its hold, and the heart, forgetting all that has intervened, wanders back to seek comfort in its early affections. The moment was well suited for Jones to appreciate the value of family affection, and to prompt him to the benevolent effort of reconciling his sisters, who, it seems, were at variance with each other. After speaking of his own illness, he thus eloquently urges their reconciliation: "I shall not conceal from you, that your family discord aggravates infinitely all my pains. My grief is inexpressible, that two sisters, whose happiness is so interesting to me, do not live together in that mutual tenderness and affection, which would do so much honour to themselves, and to the memory of their worthy relations. Permit me to recommend to your

serious study and application, Pope's 'Universal Prayer.' You will find more morality in that little piece, than in many volumes that have been written by great divines ;

' Teach me to feel another's woe,
To hide the fault I see;
That mercy I to others show,
Such mercy show to me !'

This is not the language of a weak, superstitious mind, but the spontaneous offspring of true religion, springing from a heart sincerely inspired by charity, and deeply impressed with a sense of the calamities and frailties of human nature. If the sphere in which Providence has placed us as members of society, requires the exercise of brotherly kindness and charity towards our neighbour in general, how much more is this our duty, with respect to individuals, with whom we are connected by the near and tender ties of nature, as well as moral obligation. Every lesser virtue may pass away, but charity comes from heaven, and is immortal. Though I wish to be the instrument of making family peace, which I flatter myself would promote the happiness of you all, yet I by no means desire you to do violence to your own feelings, by taking any step that is contrary to your own judgment and inclination. Your reconciliation must come free from your heart, otherwise it will not last, and therefore it will be better not to attempt it. Should a reconciliation take place, I recommend it of all things, that you never mention past grievances, nor show by word, look, or action, that you have not forgot them."

CHAPTER XIX.

Jones's last Efforts to return to the Russian Service. Proposes a New Method of constructing Ships. Declining Condition of his Health. Interests himself in the Liberation of American Captives in Algiers. Advances claims against France for Wages of the Richard's Crew. Resisted by the Minister of Marine. Jones becomes seriously ill. His last Moments. Makes his Will. Dies. A Commission for him to treat for the Liberation of Algerine Captives arrives. His Burial. Funeral Oration.

IN March of 1791, we find Paul Jones again eagerly seeking to

renew his connexion with Russia, by solicitations to the Empress Catharine, to whom he now forwarded copies of documents relating to the campaign of the Liman. He had been led to believe, that his letter and journal addressed to her from Warsaw, had been intercepted by some of those who were criminated in it, and had never reached her hand, It is more likely, that the Empress had dismissed from her mind all idea of again employing Jones; though he was better pleased to attribute her neglect of him to the interference of enemies. He therefore invited her attention anew to one of his naval projects, and tendered his services, as usual, to carry it into execution. He begged to be soon withdrawn from the painful inaction and uncertainty of his present position. The last appeal which Paul Jones made to the justice of the Empress, or to be again employed in her marine, was early in the following July, through Baron Grimm, who corresponded directly with her, and filled for her, at Paris, the post of secret agent and spy, catering at the same time for her tastes in the current literature and scandal of the day, and for the interests of her empire. Paul Jones opened his communication to the Baron, by the customary tender of a copy of his bust. He then went on to lay before the Baron, for the information of the Empress, the project of a man whom he had known fifteen years, who had just invented a new construction of ships of war, possessing the following notable advantages. They were to cost less than the old ships, have a more majestic and imposing appearance, sail nearer the wind, furnish more space for the accommodation of the crew, protect them better during an engagement, and be less annoyed by smoke.

Jones knew nothing of the mode by which all these rare advantages were to be obtained, but said, that a long time before, he had, in conjunction with his friend Dr. Franklin, endeavoured to devise a mode of constructing ships, to navigate without ballast, draw less water than the old ships, and at the same time drive less to leeward. He said that the Doctor and he had always encountered great obstacles; as well, indeed,

they might. Since the death of that great philosopher, having too much time on his hands, he had surmounted the difficulties which before had baffled their united researches. Jones stated that the ship-builder, in whose favour he wrote, had proposed going to England, where his invention would probably have been adopted; but that he, Jones, had persuaded him to offer it first to the Empress. With regard to what his own feeble genius had accomplished in naval architecture, he offered it to the Empress freely and without stipulation. This, notwithstanding his deprecating apology for his feeble genius, he did not consider very trifling; for he said, he believed he had discovered the secret of mounting, on a ship of his proposed construction, five batteries of the heaviest calibre. He might well ask if this would not be of immense advantage to the infant marine of the Black Sea, and to the prosperity of the Russian empire.

Baron Grimm forwarded these propositions to the Empress, but neither the empirical pretensions of Jones's friend, or his own, which he was too good a sailor to have believed in himself, and which he could only have adopted as a bait to procure for him a recall, produced any favourable effect upon his fortunes. The Empress did indeed reply to Grimm, concerning Paul Jones's suggestions. She mentioned that a general peace was probable: and that if she should hereafter have occasion for the active services of her Rear-Admiral, she would communicate directly with him. These various rejections of his offers to return to Russia, led him about this time to speak of resigning his commission, as a rear-admiral; but he could scarcely have seriously meditated it, as he clung tenaciously to the title, and had taken care to add his decoration of the Order of St. Anne to those of Cincinnatus and of Military Merit, which already adorned the busts of himself, which he so profusely distributed. In a letter of this period to Lafayette, he speaks of some fur-linings which he had brought from Russia, and which he sent to Lafayette with a request that he would offer part of them to the King as a trifling mark of attachment

to his person. He said that when his health should be re-established, M. de Simolin would do him the honour to present him to the King, as a Russian admiral; after which, it would be his duty to wait on the King as an American officer, with the letter of which Congress had made him the bearer on his last departure from the United States.

The re-established health, on which Paul Jones's appearance at the French court depended, never came, and he was thus both spared the painful sympathy, which the altered position of the King, now carried forward on those tumultuous waves of revolutionary excitement which were to bear him to a tragical end, must have awakened in one whom he had honoured, and the temptation which his ardent temperament might have betrayed him into, of embarking in the desperate struggle. Notwithstanding his past familiar use of the words liberty, equality, and universal philanthropy, it is not unlikely that his sympathy with the court itself, and some of the individuals who surrounded it, as well as his professional abhorrence of popular violence and mob law, of which he had seen something in the Ranger and the Alliance, would have led him to range himself among the defenders of the throne. Fanning mentions that Paul Jones went about this time, with all the Americans in Paris, to the Constituent Assembly, over which the King presided, to compliment him and the nation on their glorious revolution, on which occasion Jones delivered an eloquent address on behalf of his countrymen. As his health was rapidly failing, and no mention of the circumstance is found among his papers, the statement is probably incorrect. Meantime he continued to preserve his relations with the United States, through the medium of his former friends, and especially of Mr. Jefferson, who had become Secretary of State. He intimated that he still considered himself an American officer, by requesting Mr. Jefferson to obtain leave for him to wear the decoration of the Russian Order of St. Anne.

About this time he encountered an Algerine, who, as captain of a corsair, had taken most of the American prisoners

now detained in Algiers. From him he received accounts of the destitute condition of these unhappy men, whom their country had failed to protect from capture while in the prosecution of their lawful business, and whom it had made no effort to relieve. The corsair informed him that if these captives were not soon ransomed they would receive the same treatment as the most abject slaves. Paul Jones seems ever to have had a heart peculiarly alive to the helpless condition of captive sailors, which no one of his time did more to relieve. He wrote to Mr. Jefferson to say how painfully he was affected by the condition of these unhappy men. Had he lived long enough, he would have learned that his petition in favour of these captives had been heard; and would have enjoyed the satisfaction, so dear to him, of removing their chains.

The disease under which Paul Jones, with much resistance from a constitution of great natural vigour, was gradually wasting away, appears to have been a complication of liver complaint and dropsy. Though his bodily activity was gone, his mind retained its vigour. He continued his correspondence, and, in the opening of 1792, revived a claim against the French government for wages due to the crew of the *Poor Richard*. His own portion of this claim he estimated at seven thousand livres. He had received nothing from the French government, either as the commander of the ship, or for the expenses of his table. He had certainly been paid by Congress, as a captain in the navy, during this time; but his services were lent to France during this period, and as the expedition cruised entirely at the expense of the King, he might perhaps with propriety claim to be paid by him also for services out of the line of his ordinary duty.

M. Bertrand, then Minister of Marine, replied that the same subject had been under consideration by M. de Castries, in 1784, on a similar demand from Paul Jones. That minister then decided, that only the wages due to the American portion of the crew should be paid to Jones, and fifteen thousand livres were paid accordingly, under a guaranty from Jones's

banker that it should be properly appropriated. The minister stated that no further sums could be paid on the same account, until the mode in which the fifteen thousand livres had been disbursed was first explained; and he therefore asked for a detailed statement of the particulars, with the corresponding vouchers, as Jones could only be indemnified for what he had advanced of his own funds, and not for what had been paid on the arrival of the crew in the United States. This Jones says was paid by his order, but leaves it apparently purposely in doubt whether it was from his own purse.

The letter of M. Bertrand seems very plain and reasonable. It served, however, in Jones's weak and irritable condition, to throw him into frantic rage, in which he penned a long, violent, and rambling reply, containing a long story of all his connexion with the French court, and all the griefs which had attended it. The letter does not throw much additional light on the claim, or vindicate the justice of it, nor does it account at all for the disbursement of the fifteen thousand livres advanced to him on account of the crew of the *Richard*, concerning which the minister asked for explanation and vouchers. It is almost entirely occupied with the relation of his own achievements, and the ingratitude with which they were requited, and is, in short, an exaggerated eulogium of himself, coupled with a little denunciation of almost every one else. In the course of the letter he thus denounces the former Minister of Marine, the Maréchal de Castries; "But the shuffling of a man who can forfeit his word of honour, solemnly pledged who, to hide his disgrace, dares use the name of his sovereign for protection; the pitiful evasions of such a man cannot surprise one who has for many years been accustomed to the baseness and duplicity of some attached to courts." Of himself he speaks in the following very different strain; "I pray you, Sir, to lay this letter before the King. It contains many things out of the general rule of delicacy which marks my proceedings, and which, on any other occasion less affecting to my sensibility, would never have escaped from my pen."

Again, in announcing his intention of appearing at court to present the letter from Congress, he says ; " As I have hitherto been the dupe and victim of my modesty, and especially as you appear to make no account of my services and sacrifices, I am persuaded I shall gain much by increasing the number of my judges." As his health declined and bodily strength failed, his disposition to disparage others and to glorify himself, the great error of his character, which had so injuriously affected his fortunes, and stirred up for him so many enemies, grew more inveterate. The violent letter to the minister was not however sent to M. Bertrand, as he was soon after driven from office by the troubles of the times. That it might not be lost, and also to give a specimen of his more tragic vein, he enclosed it, with a copy of the letter to which it was an answer, to the new minister. It does not appear that Jones recovered the amount of this claim, though something was subsequently obtained by his heirs from the French government, on account of his own share of the arrears of pay which he demanded. A temporary want of funds, from inability at that moment to command his resources, rendered him more urgent in his demand.

This correspondence took place in March. Soon after, his disease began to assume a more serious character ; he lost his appetite, grew yellow, and affected with jaundice. Under medical treatment, he gradually grew better, until the beginning of July, when his system seemed to fail entirely, and he became suddenly worse. The dropsy now began to manifest itself more openly ; his legs first became much swollen ; and the enlargement subsequently extended upwards, so that he could not button his waistcoat ; he breathed, too, with difficulty. His disease had now assumed the character of dropsy in the chest. In this helpless condition, and fast verging towards the closing scene of his turbulent career, it is a satisfaction to know, that Paul Jones was not, as has been represented, a prey to poverty and want. He was comfortably lodged, and his means enabled him to secure the attendance of the

Queen's physician. Nor was he friendless at a moment when friends are most valuable. It appears, that his last moments were cheered by the presence of several kind acquaintances, among whom were a French officer by the name of Beaupoil, a Colonel Blackden, and Gouverneur Morris, who had recently received the appointment of minister to the court of France.

Colonel Blackden, who has left the most particular account of his last moments, in a letter to the Admiral's sister, Mrs. Taylor, having for some days noticed the rapid decline of his strength, assumed the friendly, though painful duty of advising him to settle his affairs. This he put off until the 18th of July, when Mr. Gouverneur Morris drew up a schedule of his property, from his dictation while in a dying state. This schedule exhibited various items of bank stock, loan office-certificates, amounts in bankers' hands, arrearages of pay and prize-money from Russia, and of his pension from Denmark, besides lands in Ohio, Indiana, and Vermont, which, after making due allowance for bad speculation and bad debts, must still have left an estate of from twenty to thirty thousand dollars* After completing the schedule, two notaries were sent for, and the dying man proceeded to make his will. It was drawn by Mr. Morris, in English, and then written down in French by the notaries. The opening clause of it is interesting, as exhibiting a picture of the circumstances by which Paul Jones was surrounded in the last moments of his life, and of the dwelling-place which he exchanged only for the final one of the grave. It will be observed, that the near approach of death had at last destroyed his veneration for titles and orders, and the pride with which he reflected on his own. He is no longer Admiral, or Chevalier, but simply a "citizen of the United States."

"Before the undersigned, notaries at Paris, appeared John Paul Jones, citizen of the United States of America, resident at Paris, lodged in the Street of Tournon, No. 42, at the house

* See note at the end.

of Mr. Dorberque, hussier audiancier of the tribunal of the third arrondissement, found in a parlour in the first story above the floor, lighted by two windows, opening in the said street of Tournon, sitting in an arm-chair, sick of body, but sound of mind, memory and understanding, as it appeared to the undersigned notaries, his testament as follows :

“I give and bequeath all the goods, as well moveable as heritable, and all, generally, whatever may appertain to me at my decease, in whatever country it may be situated, to my two sisters, Janette, spouse to William Taylor, and Mary, wife to Mr. Loudon, and to the children of my said sisters, to divide them into as many portions as my said sisters and their children shall make up individuals.” The will went on to provide that the children should receive their portions on coming of age, until which time the mothers should enjoy it, with charge to provide their children with maintenance and education. If any of the children died before they should be of age, their portions were to be divided equally among the rest. Robert Morris was named the sole testamentary executor.

The will being completed, was signed about eight o'clock in the evening, and his friends, after witnessing it, withdrew, leaving him still seated in his arm-chair. Not long after, the physician arrived to make his customary visit. The arm-chair was found vacant, and there were no signs of the patient in the parlour. On going to his bed-room which adjoined, he was found lying upon his face on the bedside, with his feet resting on the floor. On turning him over, it was found that he was dead.

Had Jones survived a few days longer, he would have found that the country which he had remembered in his last moments, and of which, unmindful of his titles and honours from other lands, he claimed as his only distinction in his will, to be a citizen, had not forgotten him. He would have found, that the honourable solicitude which he had expressed for his unfortunate countrymen, groaning in captivity at Algiers, had awakened a corresponding feeling in the

government at home, and led to his appointment as a commissioner, to treat with the regency of Algiers, for the ransom of all captive Americans, and for the establishment of peace. This consolation, which would have been grateful to his spirit he was not destined to enjoy.

On the 20th of July, being the second day after his death, the remains of Paul Jones were placed in a leaden coffin, for the convenience of their removal, in case the United States should ever claim them for burial, and conducted to their last resting-place, followed by a respectable concourse, among whom were twelve members of the National Assembly. These attended in virtue of the following resolution: "The National Assembly, desirous of honouring the memory of Paul Jones, Admiral of the United States of America, and to preserve, by a memorable example the equality of religious rites, decrees that twelve of its members shall assist at the funeral rites of a man, who has so well served the cause of liberty." After the interment of his remains, the following funeral oration was pronounced over them by M. Marron, a French protestant clergyman. It evinces the prevalent desire in all ages, to turn calamities of this sort to account, and in excited times, especially, to render them politically useful.

"Legislators! citizens! soldiers! brethren! and Frenchmen! We have just returned to the earth the remains of an illustrious stranger, one of the first champions of the liberty of America; of that liberty which so gloriously ushered in our own. The Semiramis of the north had drawn him under her standard, but Paul Jones could not long breathe the pestilential air of despotism; he preferred the sweets of private life in France, now free, to the eclat of titles and honours, which from an usurped throne were lavished upon him by Catharine. But the fame of the brave man survives; his portion is immortality. And what more flattering homage can we offer to the manes of Paul Jones, than to swear on his tomb to live or to die free? Let this be the vow and watchword of every Frenchman!

“Let neither tyrants nor their satellites ever pollute this sacred earth! May the ashes of the great man, too soon lost to humanity enjoy here an undisturbed repose! May his example teach posterity the efforts, which noble souls are capable of making, when stimulated by hatred to oppression.

“Friends and brethren! a noble emulation brightens in your looks; your time is precious; your country is in danger! Who amongst us would not shed the last drop of his blood to save it? Identify yourself with the glory of Paul Jones, in imitating his contempt of danger, his devotion to his country, and the noble heroism, which after having astonished the present age, will continue to call forth the veneration of ages yet to come.”

CHAPTER XX.

Review of Jones's Life. Sketch of his Character. His Qualifications for War. Qualities of his Mind. Skill as a Writer. Habits of Study and Self-Culture. Prone to Flattery. Naturally arrogant. Contentious. Sarcastic and contemptuous. Abounding in Vanity. Allowed no Participation of Glory. Never praised his Subordinates. His Crews not attached to him. His Achievements on that Account more difficult. Taste for Expense. Doubtful Veracity. Exaggeration. Manners. Address as a Courtier. Defects caused by Education. Personal Appearance. Conclusion.

IN the course of the foregoing pages, we have seen Paul Jones, after being cradled in obscurity and humbly nurtured, enter, when only twelve years old, without encouragement or protection, upon a career which, in the vast majority of cases, conducts only to the servile and toilsome existence of the common seaman. By the force of his character, he rose rapidly in this profession, and attained its highest stations, at an unusually early age. Sedulously employing his leisure moments in study, he readily overcame the disadvantages of his education, so as always to appear creditably in the position to which his own energy had advanced him. Having no further distinction to win in his own career, fortuitous circumstances connected with his visit to America, and the breaking out of our revolutionary war, opened to him a fresh field for distinc-

tion. Upon this he entered with ardour. It was a civil war, and he felt free, like other born Britons, whose honour has never been questioned, to take part with those of his fellow-countrymen whom he believed to be in the right. The struggle, moreover, found him a resident of America, and his feelings were those of the country in which he lived. Resolute, intelligent, indefatigable, brave, he soon rose to rank and distinction, until at length by a victory, unsurpassed in the annals of warfare, he placed his name among the first of naval heroes. He had been the first to hoist the flag of liberty over an American cruiser; the first to carry war into the enemy's waters, to surprise her shores, and to check her devastating inroads, by showing that she was also assailable. The meditated and attempted capture of the Drake, in a British harbour, was a conception of the highest daring; and her subsequent capture by an inferior force, within sight of the three United Kingdoms, was as brilliant an achievement as any in naval history. To the taking of the Serapis, no commentary can do justice. The simple narration of the combat can alone afford any conception of the heroism displayed by Paul Jones, on that memorable occasion. To these victories, obtained by his valour, and to his solicitude for suffering captives, all the American seamen languishing in the studied and inhuman torments of English imprisonment, owed their release. To the sympathy excited among the people of Amsterdam by his heroism, and to the assistance which this sympathy led them to extend to his ships, was owing the subsequent breach between England and Holland, and an important accession of strength to our cause. The liberation of imprisoned American seamen having become a passion with him, led him to make and repeat the suggestion which at length occasioned the deliverance of our fellow-countrymen from Algerine bondage. These were among the services which he rendered to his adopted country. Her gratitude was first shown by conferring upon him the command of her only line-of-battle ship; by a solemn and unanimous

vote of thanks from Congress, and by causing a medal to be struck in honour of his achievements.

The independence of the United States being consummated, the service of his adopted country offered no sufficient field for the employment of his energies, and he yielded to the invitation tendered to him by an illustrious sovereign, to lend his arm in a warfare to be urged against a foe, whom the prejudices of Christians place beyond the pale of their sympathies. After serving usefully the cause in which he embarked, intrigue and jealousy drove him from his post, and calumny at length effected this expulsion from the despotic soil, where he was so ill suited to flourish. He retired reluctantly from the country, in which he had vainly hoped to have added to his honours, and the lustre that already surrounded his name. Defeated in the hope of being permitted to return to it, his shattered frame yielded to the chafing of his irritable and impatient spirit, and he died a victim of wasting cares and disappointed ambition.

The character of Paul Jones was composed of great and brilliant qualities blended with glaring defects. He was ambitious of distinction and glory to the utmost extreme that this feeling can be carried. He had in perfection that element of a great and creative mind, which gives power to conceive projects of national importance, involving extensive combinations necessary to success, and drawing after them important consequences. Enterprising and ingenious, wholly free from apprehension of every sort in the conception of his daring schemes, he was calmly and imperturbably brave in their execution. He did not rush headlong and with frantic rage into battle, desperate as was usually the character of his engagements; but coolly, and with a deliberate estimate of all the means of success, and a determination to use them to the utmost.

Nor had he merely the power to frame and execute important projects, and conceive powerful thoughts, but great felicity in conveying his ideas forcibly to others. He wrote with exceeding clearness and vigour, and possessed in an eminent

degree the merit, so uncommon among us, of conciseness; of expressing forcible ideas in few and meaning words. None could better set forth whatever he had to say of interest to others or to himself, or better vindicate his claim to notice and attention. This faculty he owed, of course, to his industry alone. In the midst of the most active pursuits, he ever sedulously kept up a taste for study and self-improvement, which enabled him to do more than make up for the defects of his early education, and place himself in information far above the level of those who were found in the same sphere with himself. He valued time as it deserves. When not engaged in the pursuit of glory, he was fortifying himself by study for future achievements, or recording those which were past. His industry, indeed, was unwearied; and his example may be offered as a useful lesson to those who follow the same profession, and who in the intervals of their duties have so many unemployed hours, which may be devoted to improvement, of which the good effects will be felt throughout their career.

Paul Jones owed to his native country and his humble station in it, his obsequiousness to those who were above him, or from whom he had something to ask. This propensity, however, was not naturally congenial to his haughty and intractible character. He was willing enough to succeed in any object by the appropriate use of adulation in his intercourse with the great; but he never was restrained by any undue awe of them from speaking his mind freely when he suspected any disposition to trifle with him. The natural arrogance of his disposition and his impatience of control, predisposed him, on the contrary, to trample on opposition and resist any interference with his plans. The slightest obstruction in his path, the least injustice, real or fancied, rendered him frantic; instead of quiet remonstrance, he resorted at once to furious denunciation, and too often succeeded in making an enemy for life. To this infirmity of disposition may be attributed his misunderstanding with Le Ray de Chaumont, a gentleman to whom his country owed much, and he himself not a little. It was this gentle-

man who procured him the command of the expedition fitted out under the American flag by the King of France. M. de Chaumont furnished part of the funds for this expedition from his private fortune. Yet Paul Jones contrived, very unnecessarily, to quarrel with him. The consequences recoiled upon himself. He was thwarted in the equipment of the ships, and hampered in the concordat; and the objects of the expedition were intrusted to the subordinate commanders, with whom Jones's opposition threw De Chaumont into contact. A ground-work of insubordination was thus laid which was fatal to most of the objects of the cruise, the character of which was only redeemed at the close by Jones's heroism in the capture of the Serapis. Paul Jones carried with him, moreover, everywhere a dangerous weapon in an indiscreet tongue. This fomented his disagreement with De Chaumont. It is probably the real secret of his disgrace with Potemkin. He was reported to have complained of the tardiness with which this spoiled favourite and barbaric hero prosecuted the siege of Ochakow. He denied the allegation; but it was in his character to have done what was charged against him. He was prone, moreover, to personal contention; yet indisposed to settle his disputes by personal conflicts. Calmly satisfied in the consciousness of his own courage, he reserved it for encounters more likely to contribute to his fame. The natural haughtiness of his disposition evinced itself in his association with his officers. He was too conscious of his superiority in all respects over them. He did not correct or reprove in a way to produce reformation, without wounding the feelings; but with sarcasm and contempt.

The glaring defect of Paul Jones's character, and the foundation of many others, was his abounding vanity. This evinced itself in the stress which he laid on the honours he had received from kings and congresses, and which, though not unmerited, were in no slight degree drawn forth by his own well-applied solicitation; in the multiplication of his busts and medals; and the constant recapitulation, with due

exaggeration, of his various achievements. No hero, indeed, ever sounded his own trumpet more unremittingly, or with a louder blast. This absorbing vanity led him to claim for himself the whole glory of his victories. In all his elaborate reports of his engagements, except, indeed, during his Russian campaign, where the slight passed upon his officers became a reflection on himself, he is the hero, and the sole hero, of his own tale. The only occasion on which he commends any of his officers, is in small notes at the foot of each of their certificates appended to their charge against Landais, and where his object is to give force to their testimony. It may be said in excuse, that this vanity of distinction, which was the cause of his injustice, in restraining him from giving credit to others, was also the exciting motive of his actions, by so powerfully stimulating him to excel. Still, his unwillingness to commend others, and award to each of his followers his just meed of praise, was a very great fault. A commander can have no more sacred duty than that which he owes in this respect to those who, even in the humblest stations, contribute to his glory.

To this disposition of Paul Jones to disparage others and to glorify himself, we must look for the frequent evidence which his life affords, of a want of sympathy between him and his officers and crew, and the total absence of any evidence on their part of affectionate attachment to his person. His followers evince, on the contrary, a distrust of his character, and a want of confidence in his justice, even with regard to the distribution of the proceeds of their prizes. It is not unlikely that his original training in the English merchant-service, where the seamen, having all been subjected to the stern discipline of the King's ships, are insubordinate and uncontrollable when released from it, and where every voyage almost is a prolonged contest between the master and his crew, may have tended to implant in him a feeling of hostility towards seamen, and a disposition to extract from them the greatest amount of services at the least expense of rewards. His not being an Ame-

ican by birth may have also operated against him in the affections of his crew, though not a great deal, as many of his seamen were also foreigners. This want of sympathy with his crew was in fact Paul Jones's greatest defect as a naval officer. In one respect, however, it does not detract from his glory; for it stripped him of a powerful aid, and rendered every achievement more difficult, and more completely his own.

As an officer, Paul Jones seems to have had correct notions of discipline, and usually succeeded in enforcing it in his ships, except in cases where some rooted cause of discontent, growing out of the poverty of the government, and its irregularity in the payment of wages, or his own neglect, had excited among his crews a mutinous disposition. They were generally composed of incongruous materials, and made up of many nations, especially in the ships fitted out in France. His industry, habits of order, and neatness, were conspicuous in the condition of his ships. They were always kept in admirable order, and made a fine appearance. As part of the daily etiquette of his ships, he always had two or three of his officers to dine with him, among whom were usually one or more midshipmen. They were expected to appear neatly dressed, and in this he always set them the example. If there was any defect in this particular, the individual was sure to be made aware in some way of his displeasure. If we are to believe an anecdote of Fanning, who was a midshipman in the *Richard*, Paul Jones was sometimes sufficiently capricious in his hospitalities. Having on one occasion had a dispute with one of his lieutenants, a thing not unusual, as he was very rigorous, and somewhat hard to please, he got into a rage, ordered the lieutenant below, and assisted him with a couple of kicks as he was descending the ladder. Reflecting soon after, however, that he had done more than the occasion called for, he sent his servant to invite the sufferer to dinner, and strangely enough, as the story goes, the lieutenant consented to come. Paul Jones's lieutenants were appointed by

himself, and almost entirely the creatures of his will. Even this, however, will hardly account for such an exercise of forbearance. This anecdote, if exaggerated, is still characteristic of Jones and his fitful temperament.

Paul Jones is represented, by those who sailed with him, to have been a thorough seaman. This evidence is amply borne out by the history of his various cruises, and by his remarks on the qualities of the different ships in which he sailed, the more or less critical positions in which they were placed, and the manner in which he extricated them. Early training and long experience had occasioned him to see ships in every possible situation. He knew exactly what could be done with them; and was both skilful and daring in the execution of his manœuvres. This quality he exhibited usefully in the battle with the *Serapis*, when his only chance for victory, in the decayed and sinking *Richard*, over a ship of superior force, was in laying her aboard, and referring the issue of the struggle to the superior courage and obstinacy of the commanders.

Among the defects of Paul Jones's character, was a taste for luxury, display, and profuse expense. This led him to reserve from the prize-money of his crew, an undue share for himself. For two years and seven months, that he was employed at Paris, in recovering the prize-money for the American part of the crews of his squadron, he charged his expenses at nearly forty-eight thousand livres. In the letter of bitter denunciation which Paul Jones, just two months before his death, wrote to the French Minister of Finance, he states, that he was detained four years in Europe, in recovering the prize-money due from the French court for prizes which it had purchased, and that in that time, he had spent sixty thousand livres of his money, and had only received thirty thousand livres for his share of the prizes. He intimates of course, that he received nothing more. He thus implies what is untrue in the last part of his assertion, after having stated what was palpably untrue in the first. We cannot, indeed, award to Paul Jones the crowning virtue of veracity. In whatever

concerned himself, his achievements, or his services, he gave way to gross exaggeration. His letters evince perpetual instances of the manner in which he would magnify his position, and the estimation in which he was held in one country in order to promote his elevation in another. As he passed from one side of the Atlantic to the other, he contrived to fortify himself with fresh credentials, so as to gain new impulse from each rebound. By whatever means, however, he succeeded in advancing himself, he always proved himself worthy of the station which he attained.

The manners of Paul Jones, like his education, were formed by himself upon his own model. They were doubtless advantageously affected at a very early age, notwithstanding his rude associations on shipboard, by the refining nature of the studies, which in every situation he so diligently pursued. Very soon after his entry into our naval service, we find him boldly asserting pretensions, which there must have been external circumstances to justify. In appealing from the injustice which had been done to him, by superseding him in rank, in favour of thirteen officers who had entered the service after him, he says: "Among these thirteen, there are individuals who can neither pretend to parts nor education, and with whom as a private gentleman, I would disdain to associate." This was not the way to make friends, though it shows, that he was conscious of no defect in his manners.

When his victories had opened the French court to him, he was doubtless without success in assimilating himself with those, by whom he found himself surrounded. Though he on one occasion pronounced himself "a man of delicacy in every thing," and on another, complained of having been "the dupe and victim of his modesty," there is little reason to believe, that he was kept back by an embarrassing diffidence. On board ship, he harangued his officers and crew when occasion required it, with great force and eloquence; and no doubt, he could talk glibly enough on shore. Endowed with a perfect self-composure and carrying on his shoulders an ingenious

and well-furnished head, he had little difficulty in making his way in society, and sustaining himself there long after he had ceased to be a novelty. Though his manners are said to have been somewhat conceited and foppish, they could not have been unpleasing, much less rude or brutal, as they have been sometimes represented. Nor was he wanting in elegant tastes. He was fond of music, and is said to have performed pleasingly on the flute; a very common accomplishment indeed among naval officers, but which Paul Jones had probably cultivated for years with his characteristic assiduity. He wrote verses also, which were read with pleasure, and which ladies did not disdain to have addressed to them. The eclat of his naval victories over the common enemy of America and France, prepared for him a favourable reception at the French capital, which his appearance and manners did not at all tend to diminish. With the gayeties of the court, there is reason to believe, that he also shared in its gallantries, which the prevailing immorality rendered so contagious. As a courtier exerting himself for the advancement of objects, in which his interests or his pride were concerned, Paul Jones was far from unskilful. He did not, however, keep always to the beaten track in the pursuit of his objects. When obsequiousness and submission failed, the vivacity of his temper led him to break through the barriers that were placed in his way, and bring whatever negotiation he had in hand, to a direct and speedy issue. Nor was this abruptness, though it occasionally failed, as in Russia, after his disgrace was already determined, always unproductive of success.

After all, it may well be doubted whether the defects of Paul Jones were not rather those of education and circumstance, than of heart. The rudeness of his early life, the absence of early friends to watch with solicitude over his career, to check what was evil and commend the good, the blunting effects of his ship life, and the demoralization of the slave-trade, were all fruitful causes of moral deterioration. After he entered our naval service, he laboured under some disad-

vantage in being a foreigner, which his disposition did not lead him to overcome. He had also to contend against the irregularities of a new and ill-established service. Had he entered the British navy with the early advantages of Nelson, with the sympathy, interest, and observation of anxious friends to follow him in his remotest wanderings, enjoying the early lessons of honour taught in a chivalrous profession, and relieved, as he advanced in distinction, from the bickerings and jealousies of an uncertain position, there is no reason to doubt that he would have attained to an equal eminence. He certainly was not inferior to Nelson in courage; nor was he inferior to him in genius. We will not say that he would ever have been so well beloved by his associates. His heart perhaps was less affectionate; his character was more sternly moulded. He does not seem to have cherished a single friendship, beyond the sphere of those who were in a situation to be useful to him. His entire correspondence is occupied with matters connected with the gratification of his ambition; not a single sketch is to be found in it, while rambling through so many lands, of scenery, manners, or any object of ordinary interest. Even his verses were but hymns to his own honour. Of love he seems to have known only the grosser kind, and in that he was a truant. He thought of marriage but as a speculative good, a means of promoting comfort in declining years. Glory was indeed the only true mistress of his idolatry. Still there was nothing of cruelty in his disposition, though this vice has been ascribed to him. He evinced on many occasions his detestation of it, his sympathy in the sorrows of his fellow-men, and his eager desire to relieve them. This feeling is abundantly evinced in his solicitude for the release of captive Americans.

The personal appearance of Paul Jones is represented as not having been particularly striking or distinguished. He was about five feet high; slightly made, but exceedingly active, and graceful. Confinement on shipboard had rendered him somewhat round shouldered, and given him a perceptible

stoop. His frame was naturally vigorous, and capable of enduring great fatigue, exposure, and loss of rest. He had black hair, with dark and piercing eyes, and a naturally brown complexion, rendered extremely swarthy by exposure to weather, and, in his early years, to tropical suns. The habitual expression of his countenance was abstracted, thoughtful, and melancholy; it indicated study and habits of seclusion. In moments of excitement it bore the impression of intelligence, and lively perception; in battle it was fiercely determined; and sometimes in altercations with his associates or his officers, a dark and scornful sneer would pass over it, which doubtless did not diminish the number of his enemies.

In balancing the merits and defects of Paul Jones, it cannot be denied that the first greatly predominated; nor should we be backward in yielding our esteem to a man, who won by his own exertions, and continued for long years to preserve, the friendship of Franklin, Adams, Robert Morris, Jefferson, and Lafayette; men who knew him intimately, and prized him highly. During our Revolutionary war, no one on the ocean so usefully sustained the great cause of American liberty. Nor was the gratitude of America unfelt or unacknowledged. May she ever, in her future wars, command hearts as devoted, minds as ingenious to conceive enterprises for her honour or defence, and arms as heroic to execute them! With this view we would offer the faults of Paul Jones as a warning beacon to our young officers, and his skill, courage, and conduct, as every way worthy of their imitation.

NOTES.

See p. 33.)

The French government most unwisely directed the fleet to be equipped at Toulon instead of at Brest, by which more than a month was lost in getting clear of the Mediterranean. When the fleet arrived on our coast, and found that Lord Howe had removed his ships from the Delaware to New York, General Washington sent Colonel Alexander Hamilton with two pilots, to assist D'Estaing in entering the harbour at New York, when it was hoped that the British force being inferior, would easily be overpowered. The pilots, however, after getting on board, gave it as their opinion that the heavier ships could not enter. Had the harbour been as well known as now, through Lieutenant Gedney's discoveries, they would have come to a very different conclusion, and a blow might have been struck, that would have hastened the conclusion of the war.

(See p. 288.)

Miss Janette Taylor, niece of Paul Jones, arrived in this country more than ten years ago, for the purpose of soliciting payment of certain sums due to her uncle at his death, by the government of the United States, for interest on money advanced by him for the public service, for unpaid balances of pay and for his share in the value of the prizes sent into Norway, where they were forcibly taken possession of by the Danish government, and given up to England, on the ground, that Denmark did not recognise the independence of the United States, and therefore the legality of captures made by our cruisers. Miss Taylor long since presented a memorial to Congress on the subject of these claims; but though she has succeeded at various times in interesting several influential members of Congress in her cause, no bill has yet been introduced for her relief, and she continues at the end of more than ten years, an ineffectual petitioner for justice.

With regard to the claim of the heirs of Paul Jones, to be indemnified for his share of the prizes delivered up by Denmark, its justice has been recognised in the case of Landais, who received from Congress in 1806, four thousand dollars, to be deducted from his portion of whatever might be subsequently recovered from Denmark in satisfaction of these claims. If it was thought proper, thus solemnly to consecrate the principle, that government is bound to see justice done to its citizens by foreign states that have wronged them, in the case of a broken and disgraced officer, how much more strongly is it bound to do equal justice to his superior, who commanded in chief the squadron by which the captures were made, and who had received the solemn thanks of Congress, "for the zeal, prudence and intrepidity, with which he had supported the honor of the American flag; for his bold and successful enterprise, to redeem from captivity the citizens of these States, who had fallen under the power of the enemy; and in general for the good conduct, and eminent services, by which he had added lustre to his character and to the American arms;" to whom, moreover, a gold medal had been unanimously voted in commemoration of his services?

The prizes sent into Norway were never valued at less than forty thousand

pounds sterling. They were scarcely given up by Denmark, before Dr. Franklin remonstrated against the injustice and illegality of the proceeding, and claimed the restitution of the ships, or indemnity for their value. In a subsequent negociation, Denmark offered to pay ten thousand pounds in liquidation of the claim, the justice of which was thus solemnly recognized. Dr. Franklin declined receiving this sum, on the ground, that the value of the prizes should form the just measure of compensation. The claim has often since been insisted upon by our government, and never relinquished. In 1812, the Secretary of State, addressed a letter on the subject to the representative of Denmark in this country, who for want of better arguments, got rid of the claim by characterizing it, as, "a superannuated and abandoned affair." It has, however, never been abandoned by Congress, before which body the subject has been received from time to time, by memorials from the descendants of the captors.

This question involves not merely the obligation especially incumbent on a free state of seeing justice done to its citizens, an obligation not diminished in this case, by the fact, that the claim is now made in right of one of our earliest benefactors; it involves also a principal of national honour. We have exacted payment of France and Naples, for unjust spoliations on our commerce. Denmark has also indemnified us for similar spoliations, under the same decrees of Napoleon. The indemnification was, however, expressly limited to "the last maritime war of Denmark." We should claim at once from her, in terms not to be resisted or evaded, full indemnity for these prizes, thus forcibly seized, and given up to our enemies in violation of the laws of nations, and the rights of hospitality. Until this demand can be prosecuted to justice, the United States should assume the claim of the remaining captors, and their heirs, as they have already done in the case of Landais, putting none of the former on a worse footing than the basest of their associates. Two of the captors, John Buckley, second lieutenant of the Alliance, and Nathaniel Fanning, a midshipman on board the Richard, with possibly one or two others, are still living, though in the course of nature they must soon be beyond the reach of our tardy justice.

This course of at once indemnifying the surviving captors and the heirs of the deceased, has been suggested by Mr. Taliaferro, a member of the committee on Revolutionary claims, to whom Miss Taylor's memorial was last referred. In a letter to Miss Taylor, he thus expresses himself. "In regard to the prizes sent into Denmark, I consider the delay, not to say culpable omission of our government, to have justice done to the captors by Denmark, imposes on us the obligation to satisfy the claimants to those prizes directly, and that our government, not the claimants, should abide the issue of negociations with Denmark."

Whether Mr. Taliaferro has had an opportunity of urging his just views, and what success has attended them, we have not the means of knowing. The hopes of Miss Taylor, for speedy justice, have been too often deferred, to leave her very sanguine. The annoyance of this lady at her long, wearisome, and fruitless detention in this country may be readily conceived, and should call for the hearty sympathy of those who have the means of advancing her cause. In a brief statement of the condition of her claim, she thus expresses herself with all the point and vigour, which characterize the style of her uncle. "Detaining his representative ten years, in a foreign land, far from her country and her friends, at great inconvenience and considerable expense, is surely a novel mode of raising a monument to the memory of a benefactor."

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