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THE LIFE
OF
OLIVER HAZARD PERRY.

WITH AN
APPENDIX,

COMPRISING BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE LATE
GENERAL PIKE AND CAPTAIN LAWRENCE, AND A
VIEW OF THE PRESENT CONDITION AND FUTURE
PROSPECTS OF THE NAVY OF THE UNITED STATES.

“He met the enemy and they were ours.”

BY JOHN M. NILES, ESQ.

HARTFORD .
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DISTRICT OF CONNECTICUT, SS.

L. S. **BE IT REMEMBERED,** That on the eleventh day of June in the forty-fourth year of the independence of the United States of America, **WILLIAM S. MARSH**, of the said district, hath deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

“The life of Oliver Hazard Perry, with an Appendix, comprising biographical sketches of the late General Pike and Capt. Lawrence; and a view of the present condition and future prospects of the Navy of the United States. ‘He met the enemy and they were ours.’ By John M. Niles, Esq.”

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, “An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts and Books to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned.”

CHARLES A. INGERSOLL,
Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

A true copy of record, examined by me,

CHARLES A. INGERSOLL,
Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

PREFACE.

THE ingratitude of Republics to their distinguished benefactors and heroes, has long been proverbial. But this opinion, like many others with relation to Republican governments, had its origin in the examples of Greece and Rome, and so far as it imports that ingratitude to those who render important services to their country, is peculiar to, or in any way a consequence of, Republican institutions, is entirely unfounded. We speak of the *sense* of a nation, not of its *policy*. That the policy of monarchical and aristocratical governments, is different from that of Republics with relation to this subject, is admitted. The former are governments of *men*, the latter of *laws*. They are founded not only upon different principles, but upon those which are directly opposite. The former is established upon the basis of *social distinctions*—the latter upon that of the *equality* of mankind.—To exalt and ennoble a few, at the expense of the rest, is not only consistent with the general views and policy of a monarchical govern-

ment, but forms a part of the government itself.—The ‘Corinthian capitals of society,’* form the principal feature in its constitution. It is *necessary*, therefore, in such governments to confer titles, dignities and estates, and that these are sometimes conferred according to merit, must be admitted. But the question is, whether a government of this description is more favourable than a Republic to the appreciation of real merit and services. It is ridiculous, we think, to contend that it is. Where there is so much *artificial* and *hereditary* greatness, dignity and consequence, real merit, talents and services must be exposed to serious obstacles. Let it not be said that monarchical governments, from their power of conferring titles, and creating an hereditary nobility, possess more ample means of rewarding distinguished public services, than Republics. Titles at best are but an empty reward, and in this country they are altogether despised. The names of Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, convey to the mind more just and distinct ideas of exalted patriotism, of distinguished public services, and of real greatness, than could be done by any titles which could have been given them. But if we were

*A nobility are thus denominated by Edmund Burke.

to concede all that the greatest advocate for monarchy would claim, as to the importance of the power of conferring titles, and creating an hereditary nobility, as a means of rewarding public services, the advantages of this power, with reference to this object, are infinitely less than the disadvantages and embarrassments which arise from it. In a Republican government, the proper and legitimate reward for distinguished public services, (in addition to the nation's gratitude and admiration,) is the honours and emoluments of public offices and employments. But in a monarchy, the titled and hereditary great-men, engross nearly all of these, leaving to real talents and distinguished services, little chance of sharing in these honours and distinctions. If it is said that it is the nation, rather than its government, to whom its distinguished benefactors are to look for their reward, we would ask whether there is any thing in aristocratical institutions, which gives the people a more lively sense of justice; whether they are more *intelligent*, which enables them more justly to appreciate public merit, or have more *interest* in public affairs, which more strongly inclines them to reward it, than they have in a Republic. If we are told that in the ancient democratical governments to which we

have referred, those who had rendered their country the most important services, were often the victims of popular prejudice or indignation, we reply that those governments being without any fixed and permanent principles, were governments of *men*, and in this particular more resembled the aristocratical than the systematic and well regulated Republican governments of the present day. We also reply that examples of like ingratitude are to be found in all the feudal monarchies of Europe, particularly in England. In that country examples are not wanting of individuals distinguished for their services for the crown, the nation, and the people, having fallen victims to court intrigues and royal displeasure. Of the first, Wolsey, Raleigh, Essex, and many others, are distinguished examples, and the two last, comprise most of the enlightened and distinguished patriots of that country—her Sidneys, Russels and Emmets.

That the charge of the ingratitude of Republics is unfounded the history of this country fully demonstrates. Whilst it does not furnish a single important example in support of this opinion, it affords numerous distinguished examples to the contrary.—Among the most conspicuous of these, is that which

is the subject of the following volume. However splendid the achievements, or important the services of Perry may be considered, it must be admitted that they were duly appreciated, and suitably rewarded by his country. With the man of a cultivated understanding and refined sense of honour, the homage of a nation's respect and admiration, is the most grateful reward. Compared to this titles and dignities are a mere "sound of brass and tinkling cymbal." They may please the ear, but cannot reach the heart. Such are the rewards of our country, which in an eminent degree, were enjoyed by our youthful hero. In his life he was the subject of the admiration of his country—in his death, of its sorrow. The respect which was felt for his virtues and services, was translated into reverence for his memory—into veneration for his example. His memory will long be cherished, and defying oblivion's power, the lapse of time will consecrate his name and virtues.

These considerations have occasioned, and we trust will justify the following volume. How far its execution may correspond with the importance and merits of the subject, is submitted to the public. In addition to a faithful account of the life of Perry, we have aimed to give the work as much historic value

as would consist with the design of it, and have embodied a history of the war upon the north-western frontier, which was so gloriously terminated in the victories of lake Erie and the Thames. We have also given a brief account of the Tripolitan war of 1801, not so much in consequence of the concern Perry had in it, as in consideration of its being the great practical school of most of our naval officers, and of its general influence upon their character, in which Perry shared in common with others. The geographical information and topographical descriptions, as to the western lakes and the country bordering upon them, may be considered more ample than the nature of the work would justify; but when information is attempted to be given upon any subject it must be somewhat complete, or it is entirely useless.

The facts and materials which the work comprises, have been derived from authentic sources, and whatever may be thought of it in other respects, it is humbly believed, that so far as industry in research, and care in compilation, can ensure historic correctness and accuracy of detail, it possesses these essential characteristics.

THE AUTHOR.

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LIFE
OF
COM. PERRY.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory remarks—Perry's birth; his ancestry—sketch of the life of his father—his father's family—state of his health and constitution when a child—early indications of intellect—observations on that subject—Perry's education—his entry into the naval service of his country.

THE Deity, in the infinite wisdom in which he has created all things, seems to have ordered that no individual of the human species, however selfish his character, or insulated his situation, should live wholly for himself. Not only individual wants and dependence, but that necessity, of a participation with others, in those enjoyments which may be considered as most peculiarly belonging to the possessor, the principles of which are implanted in human nature, and which every one feels, tend to give to mankind a social character, and in some measure to weaken individual, and to create an aggregate or common interest among the different mem-

bers of the human family. The numerous obligations and duties arising from the social relations, extend the sphere of influence, and render every individual of some importance to others; and give each a character of contributing something towards the general welfare and happiness, or the detriment and injury of his species. All, whilst living, possess an influence which extends beyond themselves, and are, it is to be presumed, in some way useful; but there are few, whose usefulness does not cease with their existence; few who have been so fortunate, or so pre-eminently distinguished for talents and virtue, as to extend the limits of their influence beyond their lives. Yet there are some of this description: the great and the wise, are not only useful whilst living, but their example continues its instruction as long as it is preserved. It is consecrated by death, and rendered more sacred, and more happy and extensive in its influence. It is a mantle of inspiration, which instructs and animates; exalts the character, elevates the views, gives to ambition its proper direction, and to virtue its proper ascendancy. Hence the propriety of preserving a record of the lives of the great and the good. It is from the influence of these sentiments that we have supposed it important to preserve the history of the individuals in our juvenile republic, who have been distinguished for their talents, their virtues, their learning or their fortune, whereby they have contributed to the reputation, the honor, or the prosperity of their country.—Among

these individuals it will be conceded that the one who is the subject of this memoir, sustains, in the estimation of the citizens of the United States, a conspicuous rank.

OLIVER HAZARD, son of CHRISTOPHER RAYMOND and SARAH ALEXANDER PERRY, was born August 21st, A. D. 1785, at South-Kingston, an interesting maritime township, distinguished for the nautical character of its inhabitants, situated on the waters of the Narragansett, (opposite to the town of Newport,) in the County of Washington, and State of Rhode-Island. Christopher Raymond, the father of Oliver Hazard, was the son of the Hon. Freeman Perry, who was a man of talents and distinction, and held many important offices, having been at different periods of his life, clerk of the court for the county, a judge, &c. ; the duties of which numerous offices and trusts, he discharged with faithfulness and ability. He died at South-Kingston, at the advanced age of 82, in October, 1813, having lived to witness the blaze of Glory which surrounded his descendant, the gallant Oliver Hazard, his grandson.

Of the more distant ancestors of Commodore Perry, we are informed that on the maternal side, he was descended in a direct line from William Wallace, distinguished in the history and wars of Scotland. In the paternal line, his great-great-grandfather lived in Wales, in Great-Britain ; who had three sons, Samuel, Edward, and Benjamin, who emigrated to America. The two former were among the early

settlers of the colony of Plymouth, and the latter, the youngest, and the lineal ancestor of our hero, settled at South-Kingston, in Rhode-Island. He had two sons, Edward and Freeman, and two daughters, Mary and Susan. Freeman, who we have already mentioned as the grand-father of Oliver Hazard, had seven children, Joshua, Oliver Hazard, Christopher Raymond, Elizabeth, Mary, Susan, and George Hazard.

Christopher Raymond, the third son of Freeman Perry, and the father of Oliver Hazard, was born at South-Kingston, in 1761. Although but a youth at the commencement of the revolutionary war, he participated largely in the dangers and hardships of that trying period, and was often engaged, both in the military and naval service.

He was first employed as a seaman on board an American privateer, commanded by Capt. Reed, and afterwards served as a volunteer on board of the *Trumbull*, a public vessel of war. He was also a volunteer on board the *Mifflin* sloop of war, commanded by George Wait Babcock, and while in this service was taken by the enemy, and for three months was immured in the infamous Jersey prison ship. Here, in common with thousands of his countrymen, he suffered, from the loathsomeness of his situation, the badness of provisions, and other causes, all that human nature could bear. He was among the few who survived the sufferings and horrors of this situation. But he only survived, having been severely

attacked by a fever, occasioned by his situation, and the desolating contagion that surrounded the place, which nearly proved fatal. But his sufferings and dangers did not check his ardour or overcome his spirit. After his liberation and the restoration of his health, he again entered the naval service, on board a private armed brig commanded by Capt. Rathbone, and whilst cruising in the English channel was again taken prisoner, and confined for eighteen months in England; having at the end of that period, escaped from confinement; and, leaving a country which had been to him only a prison, he soon embarked for St. Thomas, and from thence for Charleston, where he arrived about the time of the conclusion of the treaty of peace. After the establishment of peace between the United States and Great-Britain, in 1783, he engaged in his favorite maritime pursuits, being employed in the East-India and other trade until in or about the year 1798, when he was appointed to the command of the United States' ship General Green. While in this command he performed several cruises, principally on the West-India station, and continued in the public service until the reduction of the marine in 1801. Subsequently to this period, he received the appointment of collector of the revenue for the first district of Rhode-Island. In 1783, he married Sarah Alexander Wallace, a Scotch lady, who, the year preceding, came as a passenger to Philadelphia, in the same vessel of which Capt. Perry was then mate, under the

protection of Matthew Calbraith. Mrs. Perry was of a respectable family, and her connections in Scotland comprised many individuals of consequence and distinction. Christopher Raymond, and Sarah Alexander Perry, had eight children, Oliver Hazard, the subject of the present work, Raymond Henry, a Lieutenant in the Navy, and now in the Mediterranean, Matthew Calbraith, and James Alexander, both Lieutenants in the navy, Nathaniel Hazard, and three daughters. Christopher Raymond Perry died June 1st, 1818.

Oliver Hazard, in early life, gave but little promise of physical energy, being slender and feeble, and the state of his health extremely delicate; yet his size was more than ordinary, and it was supposed that the feebleness of his constitution, and the delicacy of his health, were owing, in a great measure, to the rapidity of his growth. But this physical imbecility of constitution was, from its nature, soon overcome, and as he ripened towards manhood, his strength having become commensurate with his size, he was athletic and robust, and possessed an uncommon share of natural vigour and energy. At this period the size, stateliness and dignity of his person were uncommon and conspicuous. But these were not the only nor most important indications of his future character. At an early period he disclosed mental qualities, which were more sure presages of his future greatness—a mind sedate, studious and enquiring; soaring, at an early age, beyond the

trivial and ephemeral objects which usually circumscribe the views and occupy the attention of youth. In these remarks we would not wish to be misunderstood. We do not belong to that class who seem to suppose that every man who becomes distinguished, (even although his greatness may be rather fortuitous than the result of native powers,) must have been a *prodigy* when a child. Hence we find in the biographical memoirs of most distinguished individuals, numerous stories and anecdotes, narrated with all the dignity of historic truth, tending to shew that the man who afterwards became such, was a great mathematician, a great poet, or a great hero, even when a child, which had no existence in fact, or were so nearly allied to common occurrences, as not to have been a subject of observation at the time, and would never have been thought of afterwards, had it not been for the subsequent distinction of the individual. What can be more ridiculous! But with this, as with most other subjects, there is a proneness in mankind to ascribe to novel and extraordinary causes, what is the result of the ordinary principles of nature; and among these principles there are none more apparent, although none more disregarded and abused, than that of the *equality of mankind*. In the moral as well as the physical attributes of our species, mankind are essentially equal. All have the same passions, and the same intellectual powers: the difference which exists is not in *principle*, but in *degree*. We are not to expect prodigies in the shape

of men ; and the prevalence of such ideas is to be regretted : as they are unfounded in fact, so they are pernicious in their consequences. No more effectual way of degrading and oppressing mankind, has ever been devised—none has ever been more successful than that of exalting individuals of the human family above humanity ; of rendering them demi Gods, and secondary objects of adoration. From the exaltation of individuals, whole classes have been exalted ; and the same causes which raise one portion of the human family to superior beings, degrade others to the brute creation. Let it not be thought that the delusion of paying “divine honors” to mortal men, has passed by. It exists at the present day, and has existed at all times. It is true that ignorance and credulity are the support of such false and pernicious opinions ; but was there ever a time when ignorance and credulity did not exist. That some individuals have more innate bravery, and some more native genius and capacity than others, is admitted : yet it does not even follow that such uniformly, or perhaps more frequently than others, become distinguished. This shews how much depends upon education, industry, and the influence of favorable circumstances, having a tendency to give a developement and direction to the capacity of individuals.

From these considerations we shall not trouble the reader with any details of the early feats and exploits of our hero ; but shall consider him, when a

child, as like unto other children. We shall not claim that he was born a great man ; but that he became such from a judicious and successful use of the powers given him, and from a concurrence of circumstances, affording an opportunity for a display of those powers. We have remarked that when a boy, he was remarkably sedate and thoughtful, and considered this circumstance as in some measure a pre-sage of his future character. It may be deemed so as much as any other, but no characteristic of a child can indicate the character of the man, as that depends upon a great variety of causes, some of which are more or less fortuitous in their nature, and cannot be controuled by human foresight. Levity of mind, although it is not altogether incompatible with a certain species of talent, is never, however, associated with those mental qualities, which are requisite for the performance of great actions. It is to be expected in youth ; but the extention of its dominion to manhood, destroys the dignity, and in a great measure the usefulness of the human character. A mind naturally serious, thoughtful and enquiring, is seldom destitute of capacity and energy ; and when these qualities are discernible in youth, a period in which levity and passion usually have an undisputed dominion, they may be considered as affording a promise of future talents, character, and usefulness, which few other characteristics disclose.

The early education of Oliver Hazard was not neglected, although he did not enjoy very superior

advantages. He was principally educated at Newport, and attended the best schools that place afforded. He was an excellent scholar, remarkably studious, and made great proficiency in every branch of learning to which his attention was directed. But his father having designed him for the navy, the period of his education was very limited, and at the early age of fourteen, he was withdrawn from the peaceful and pleasing pursuits of literature, to that profession of which he became the brightest ornament, and to that element which has been the scene of his glory and usefulness.

CHAPTER II.

Perry's entry on board the General Green, commanded by his father—first cruise of the General Green on the Havana station—her subsequent cruises—incident with a British 74—General Green visited the port of Jacmael—assisted in the reduction of that place—Perry leaves the General Green at the reduction of the navy—sails for the Mediterranean in 1801—is promoted to an acting Lieutenancy—returns—in 1804, sails again for the Mediterranean—commencement of differences between the United States and the Regency of Tripoli—action between the American schooner Enterprize and Tripolitan Corsair—Com. Dale sails with a squadron for the Mediterranean—blockades Tripoli—in 1803 another squadron sent out under Com. Preble—differences with the Emperor of Morocco—loss of the Philadelphia—her re-capture by Lieut. Decatur—attack upon Tripoli, &c.

OLIVER HAZARD PERRY commenced his naval career under the auspices of his father. In April 1799, at the early age of fourteen, he received a midshipman's warrant, and entered on board the General Green, commanded by his father. The first cruise of the General Green was on the Havana station, and was one of great utility. She returned from her cruise on the 27th day of July following, having, in so short a period, convoyed more than fifty mercantile vessels, bound to different ports in the United States. The important services which the General Green rendered our commerce, would

have been prolonged, had it not been for the prevalence of a contagious disease among the crew, which obliged her to quit her station, and return to the United States. This was the first voyage made by our youthful hero ; and it was here, under the nautical and moral guidance and instruction of paternal experience and skill, that he was first initiated in the rudiments of that school of hardships and perils—a seafaring life. It was here that he first became familiar with that element upon which he was afterwards destined to act so conspicuous and useful a part.

Oliver Hazard continued on board the *General Green* during her subsequent cruises, and profiting both by instruction and experience, he made rapid proficiency in naval tactics. On a cruise from New-Orleans to Havanna, with a brig under convoy, the *General Green* fell in with a British 74, on which occasion an incident occurred, that, though unimportant in itself, disclosed the bravery of the elder Perry, and the character of the American navy, at that early period. The British ship fired a shot at the brig to bring her to ; but neither the brig nor the *General Green* paying any attention to this, but keeping their course, a boat was dispatched from the 74 to board the brig ; upon which the *General Green* fired a shot at the boat, which brought her alongside, whereupon the 74 bore down and spoke the *General Green*, demanding the reason why her boat was fired upon ; to which Capt. Perry replied that it was

to prevent her boarding the brig, which was under his protection. To this the British captain observed, that it was very surprising a *British 74 gun ship* could not examine a *merchant brig*! "If she was a first rate ship," said Capt. Perry, "she should not do it to the dishonour of my flag." The captain of the 74 then in very polite terms, asked Capt. Perry if he would consent to the brig's being examined; Capt. Perry assented, observing, however, that it would be useless, as he was confident that no part of her cargo was liable to seizure.

During the cruise of the *General Green* on the West-India station, in 1800, she visited the port of Jacmel, which at that time was invested by land by a detachment of the celebrated Toussaint's army. The *General Green*, after having cruised off the port for some time, and intercepted supplies destined for the relief of the garrison, assisted in the reduction of the place; which, being closely besieged on the land side by Toussaint's army, and blockaded by the *General Green*, was soon reduced to a state of starvation, and the whole garrison, consisting of more than 5000, surrendered to Toussaint. The *General Green* engaged three of the forts very warmly for some time, and obliged the enemy to evacuate the town and two of their forts, and retire to their strongest fort; the colours of which, however, were soon hauled down. The damage sustained by the American frigate in this affair, was very inconsiderable,

a few shots in her sides, and some of her rigging cut away.

The reduction of this place was at the time thought to be of great importance to the commerce of the United States.

From the spirit, promptitude, and bravery displayed in this affair, and the occurrence with the British 74, it would seem that the father taught the son by example as well as precept; and that neither were lost upon him has been fully proved.

Oliver Hazard continued on board the *General Green* until the reduction of the navy in 1801. The same year, the Tripolitan corsairs having committed depredations upon our commerce in the Mediterranean, three frigates and a sloop of war were ordered there for its protection. Perry was attached to the *Adams* frigate, one of the three, commanded by Capt. Campbell. This small squadron was active and useful. It afforded protection to a number of our mercantile vessels; cleared the Mediterranean of the piratical flag, the Tripolitan cruisers being compelled to retire to their ports; and blockaded Tripoli.—Perry returned to the United States in the year 1803, having during this cruise in the Mediterranean, improved greatly in naval tactics, from experience and observation, and been promoted to an acting Lieutenancy. This was a most useful school to him, as well as to many other of our naval officers; and that he made a good use of the opportuni-

ties which it afforded, will not be doubted. In 1804, under his old commander Capt. Campbell, he sailed again for the Mediterranean; Capt. Campbell commanding one of the four frigates sent out as a reinforcement to our squadron. Soon after this, he was appointed first Lieutenant of the *Nautilus*, in which situation he continued some time. Perry remained with our squadron in the Mediterranean, until the conclusion of peace with Tripoli, when he returned to the United States, in the capacity of second Lieutenant of the *Essex* frigate, commanded by Com. Rogers. He was concerned, with the exception of the interval that he was absent, in the various operations of our navy on this station; and it was here that he caught the spirit, as well as the skill and experience of naval warfare. It was here that his native bravery was first disclosed, and his character, which subsequently has become a subject of just admiration, developed.

From the connection which Perry had with the Tripolitan war, and as this may be considered as the school where most of our naval officers were first practically instructed in naval tactics, and hostile maritime operations, it will not be thought a digression to give a more connected and particular history of it.

In April, 1799, the Bashaw of Tripoli, under the influence of the capricious and arbitrary policy which

directs the councils of that government, (if government it can be called,) peremptorily ordered away the American consul, then resident at Tripoli, unless certain recent and novel demands which he had made upon the United States should be complied with. No depredations, however, were committed upon our commerce by the corsairs of Tripoli, until the year 1801, the Bashaw having, on the 10th of June, of that year, declared war against the United States. His cruisers were immediately ordered to capture American vessels, and five were taken the same month ; and many more it is probable would have fallen into the hands of these pirates, had it not been for the precautionary measures which were adopted. In February preceding, Mr. Cathcart, the British consul at Tripoli, perceiving that all hopes of accommodation with the Regency were at an end, addressed a circular letter to the American consuls and agents in Europe and Africa, advising them of the dispositions of the Bashaw towards the United States, and that he was convinced that the Tripolitans would commence hostilities within sixty days. In consequence of this information, many vessels of the United States in different ports in the Mediterranean were prevented from sailing, unless under convoy. Hostilities having been commenced by the Regency, there was no other course remaining for the government of the United States, but to chastise these pirates and freebooters. The first na-

val action that ensued, was in August following, off Malta, between the American schooner *Enterprize*, commanded by Capt. Sterrett, and a Tripolitan cruiser: the former had twelve guns, and a crew of ninety men; the latter fourteen guns, and eighty-five men. The action continued for nearly two hours, and was fought with the greatest desperation. The corsair being unable to withstand the dreadful fire of the *Enterprize*, hauled down her colours, upon which the crew of the *Enterprize* left their guns, and gave three cheers for victory: upon this the cruiser resumed the action, poured a broadside into the *Enterprize*, hoisted her colours, and attempted to board. They were again overcome, and struck their colours the second time. Being ordered by Capt. Sterrett under his quarter, they had no sooner taken that position, than they poured another broadside into the *Enterprize*, hoisting their bloody flag, and renewing the action once more. But they were soon overcome the third time by the brave and skilful crew of the *Enterprize*. When the cruiser renewed the action the third time, the crew of the *Enterprize*, indignant at such perfidious conduct, exclaimed, "fight on, and sink the perfidious villains to the bottom." But treacherous and vile as was their own conduct, they did not hesitate, the moment they perceived themselves in their power, to appeal in the most supplicating manner, to the mercy of their conquerors. The commander, to convince the

Americans that he would offer no more resistance, bending over the waist of the vessel, threw her colours into the sea. Notwithstanding the base and perfidious conduct of the Tripolitans, Capt. Sterrett was actuated by too just sentiments of bravery, to permit an unnecessary effusion of blood, or to continue to fire upon the enemy after they had ceased all resistance, and when it was evident that it was no longer in their power to make any. The corsair was dreadfully shot to pieces; her mizzen-mast shot away, numerous shots between wind and water, and fifty of her crew were killed and wounded. But the *Enterprize* did not lose a single man, although the action continued for nearly three hours.* Such is the difference between barbarian bravery and disciplined valour and skill.

Subsequently to this action, the same year, commodore Dale, with a squadron of three frigates and a sloop of war, sailed from the United States for the Mediterranean. As we have already mentioned, Perry was on board one of these frigates. On the arrival of this squadron, Commodore Dale blockaded the port of Tripoli, and published a regular notification of the existence of the blockade. The presence and operations of this squadron, afforded extensive protection to the American commerce, and compelled the Tripolitan cruisers to retire to their ports for safety.

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The subsequent year the *Constellation*, under the command of Capt. Murray, sailed to the Mediterranean. During this and part of the following year, the Mediterranean squadron was under the command of Commodore Morris, and its operations were unimportant, and occasioned much dissatisfaction, the conduct of the Commodore having been severely censured; but with what justice, we are not in the possession of information to determine. In 1803, the government resolved to prosecute the war with Tripoli with vigour and effect: accordingly, a squadron of seven sail was ordered to be fitted out for the Mediterranean.

This squadron sailed from the United States on the 13th of August, under the command of Commodore Preble. It consisted of the *Constitution* of 44 guns, on board of which was the Commodore; the *Philadelphia* of 44; the *Argus* of 18; the *Syren* of 16; the *Nautilus* of 16; the *Vixen* of 16, and the *Enterprize* of 14.* On the arrival of Com. Preble at Gibraltar, he learned that our affairs with Morocco had assumed a very suspicious aspect. A Moorish brig captured by Capt. Bainbridge, was discovered to have orders to cruise for American vessels, by the authority of which it had captured an American brig; the Emperor, however, denied having given any orders of this description. After this, another act of hostility was committed; an order was issued to seize

* Naval History of the United States.

all American vessels at Mogadore, and the brig Hannah, of Salem, was actually seized. This conduct of the Emperor determined Commodore Preble to adopt more decisive measures. He accordingly gave orders to bring in, for examination, all Moorish vessels; and on the 5th of October, the Emperor of Morocco being expected at Tangiers, the Commodore appeared with a part of his squadron, off that port. This spirited conduct had the desired effect. The next day a present was sent to the American squadron; the brig which had been detained at Mogadore was released, and in a few days the Commodore and American Consul, were invited to an audience with the Emperor; at which, he expressed much regret that any differences had arisen, and said that he was desirous to be at peace with the United States. By this spirited and vigorous conduct of Commodore Preble, the Emperor of Morocco was deterred from hostilities with the United States, upon which he had probably determined.

Our differences with Morocco being thus promptly adjusted, Commodore Preble was left at liberty to act, with his whole force, against Tripoli; but the season was too far advanced to admit of active operations; and, soon after, an accident occurred which reduced his force, and in some measure interrupted his views. It was the loss of the Philadelphia, under circumstances peculiarly unfortunate and distressing. On the morning of the 31st of October, the Philadel-

phia, under the command of Capt. Bainbridge, being about five leagues to the westward of Tripoli, discerned a sail, and immediately gave chase. The sail which had hoisted Tripolitan colours, continued her course near shore, and was pursued by the Philadelphia for some time. The pursuit, however, was given up when it was discovered that there was but seven fathoms water, and that the fire of the frigate had but little effect, and would not be likely to prevent the vessel from entering Tripoli. On attempting to beat off, the Philadelphia, about four miles and an half from the town, ran on a rock not laid down in any chart. On sounding, it was discovered that the greatest depth of water was astern, and it was thereupon determined to back off the frigate; to effect which the most active exertions were made; the sails were laid aback, all the guns thrown overboard, excepting a few abaft, which were required to defend the ship from the Tripolitan gun boats then firing at her; the water in the hold started—the anchors thrown away from the bows, and the foremast cut away. But all exertions proved ineffectual; yet her gallant commander and crew were determined to defend her to the last extremity, notwithstanding their embarrassed and distressing situation, deprived of almost every means of defence, against the numerous gun boats by which she was attacked; but a large reinforcement coming out of Tripoli, they were reluctantly compelled to strike,

and to surrender themselves into the hands of a barbarous foe. This was about sunset. The Tripolitans immediately took possession of the frigate, and made prisoners of the crew, which, including officers, consisted of about three hundred men. Two days afterwards, the Tripolitans succeeded in getting the frigate off, being favoured by a strong wind blowing towards the shore, and towed her into the harbour in great triumph. The loss of the Philadelphia under such circumstances, was apparently an occurrence peculiarly disastrous and mortifying; yet in the sequel it gave rise to one of the most bold and hazardous enterprizes of which there is any record in the history of human transactions.

Not long after the capture of the Philadelphia frigate, Lieut. Stephen Decatur, (now Commodore,) who had arrived in the Mediterranean subsequently to this event, projected a plan for her re-capture.—The enterprise being submitted to Commodore Preble, he at first hesitated in giving his authority, considering it too imminently hazardous; but finally assented to it. The projector of the enterprise having obtained the approbation of the commander of the squadron, made immediate arrangements for carrying it into effect. Accordingly, the ketch *Intrepid*, lately captured by him, having a crew of seventy volunteers, and the brig *Syren*, sailed from Syracuse, for Tripoli, where they arrived after a passage of fifteen days. It was near the close of the day when the

two vessels arrived off the harbour, and it was determined that at ten o'clock in the evening the attempt should be made. The arrangement was, to have the *Intrepid*, accompanied by the boats, enter the harbour, and the *Syren* to aid the boats, and to receive the crew of the *Intrepid*, in case it should be found expedient to make a fire ship of that vessel. A change of wind, however, having separated the two vessels several miles, and Lieutenant Decatur fearing that delay might prove fatal to the enterprize, entered the harbour alone, about eight o'clock. The *Philadelphia*, "fallen—but not disgraced," lay within half gun shot of the Bashaw's castle, and the principal battery; two Tripolitan cruisers being within cable length, upon the starboard quarter; and within half gun shot, on her starboard bow, were a number of gun-boats. From the lightness of the wind, with all the exertions they could make, they had advanced but three miles in the same number of hours. They were hailed from the *Philadelphia*, when within about two hundred yards, and were ordered to anchor, on peril of being fired into, the guns of the *Philadelphia* being mounted and loaded. The reply from the *Intrepid* was that all her anchors were lost; and in the mean time she continued to advance, until within fifty yards of the frigate, when the wind dying away, Lieutenant Decatur ordered a rope to be fastened to the fore chains thereof, which being effected, the *Intrepid* was warped along side. Hitherto

the Tripolitans had been completely deceived as to the character and designs of the vessel, and on discovering that she was an enemy, they were thrown into the greatest confusion and disorder. At this critical moment, the gallant Decatur sprang on board the Philadelphia, and was immediately followed by Midshipman Morris, (now Capt. Morris.) It was a minute or more, before any others of the crew succeeded in getting on board the frigate, so that had not the Tripolitans been in the greatest consternation, they might at this critical conjuncture, have defeated the enterprise ; and probably with the loss of the brave officer who planned and conducted it. But destiny ordered otherwise ; a better fate awaited these brave and patriotic Americans. A considerable proportion of the crew of the Intrepid were soon on board the frigate ; which was decisive of the contest. The Tripolitans were unable to withstand the desperate attack of the Americans ; they were immediately overpowered, and twenty of them killed. As soon as it was perceived that the Americans had got possession of the frigate, she was immediately fired upon from the castle and battery, and the two corsairs ; and a number of launches being observed to be put in motion in the harbour, Lieutenant Decatur thought it expedient to remain on board the frigate, considering that the best situation for defence ; but perceiving that the launches remained at a distance, it was determined to leave the frigate and set her on

fire, which was effected with complete success, and with entire safety, although the conflagration was so rapid, that the *Intrepid* was imminently exposed; but being aided by a favourable wind, which at this moment, almost providentially, sprang up, they succeeded in getting out of the harbour. In this brilliant affair the Americans did not sustain the loss of a single man, and had only four wounded.*—The novelty and boldness of this enterprise, the secrecy and success with which it was executed, and the desperate courage which the Americans displayed, filled the Tripolitans with astonishment, and gave them a most exalted opinion of the courage and skill of American seamen.

After the destruction of the *Philadelphia*, Commodore Preble employed the American squadron during the following spring and a part of the summer, in cruising, maintaining the blockade of the harbour of Tripoli, and in making preparation for an attack upon the town, should circumstances render that measure necessary or expedient. His force was considerably augmented, having put in commission a prize vessel, called the *Scourge*; and six gun-boats and two bomb ships were obtained from the King of Naples, and he was authorised to take a number of Neapolitans into his service to man the gun boats. After this addition, his force consisted of the following vessels: the *Constitution* frigate of 44 guns; the

*Naval History of the United States.

brigs Argus, Syren and Scourge, the two former of 18 guns; the schooners Vixen, Nautilus and Enterprize; six Gun Boats, each carrying a 26 brass pounder, and two Bomb-ketches. This force was united under the Commodore on the 21st of July, 1804, off the harbour of Tripoli. From the unfavourable state of the weather, and the adverse course of the wind, he was prevented from approaching the town until the 28th, when the squadron anchored within two and an half miles of the batteries; but were soon obliged to leave this station, the wind having risen up, which soon increased to a gale. On the 3d of August, the squadron again approached within about the same distance of the fortifications. The Commodore observing that several of the Tripolitan boats were without the reef of rocks which cover the entrance into the harbour, determined to take advantage of this circumstance, and to make an immediate attack upon the shipping and batteries. He accordingly made signals for the different vessels of the squadron to come within speaking distance, and communicated to the several commanders his orders of attack. The gun boats and bomb ketches were immediately manned and prepared for action, the former being arranged into three divisions, consisting of three boats each. The signal for a general attack was given at about three o'clock, P. M., which was immediately commenced by the bomb ketches throwing shells into the town. The attack having been commenced, it was immediately followed by the

most tremendous cannonade from the enemies batteries and vessels in the harbour, both comprising more than two hundred guns. The Bashaw's castle and the batteries mounted one hundred and fifteen guns, of which fifty-five were pieces of heavy ordnance ; the remainder long eighteen and twelve pounders ; and there were nineteen gun boats, each carrying a long twenty-four or eighteen pounder in the bow, and two howitzers abaft ; two schooners of eight guns each, a brig of ten, and two gallies of four each, in the harbour. Besides the ordinary garrisons and the crews of the vessels in the harbour, estimated at three thousand, more than twenty thousand Arabs had been collected for the defence of the town. The cannonading from the batteries and vessels of the enemy was immediately returned by the American squadron, which soon advanced within gun shot of the batteries. Captain Stephen Decatur, commanding three gun boats, having made an attack upon nine gun boats of the enemy, forming their eastern division, dashed in the midst of them, and a desperate conflict, with bayonet, spear and sabre, soon ensued. Captain Decatur grappled a Tripolitan boat, and boarded her with only fifteen men ; yet so resolute and desperate was the attack, that in ten minutes, her decks were cleared, and her flag was down. In this affair three Americans were wounded. Captain Decatur, at this moment, being informed that his brother, Lieutenant James Decatur, command-

ing gun boat, No. 1, having engaged and captured a boat of the enemy, had been treacherously and murderously shot by the Tripolitan commander, whilst in the act of stepping on board of the captured vessel, sailed immediately in pursuit of the murderer of his brother. He soon discovered him retreating within the lines, and succeeded in coming along side, and immediately boarded, although he had but eleven men with him. A desperate, and for a few minutes, doubtful contest ensued. Decatur immediately attacked the Tripolitan commander, who was armed with a spear and cutlass. The Turk thrust with his spear, which Decatur successfully parried, until he broke his sword close to the hilt, when he seized the spear, and immediately closed, and after a most violent struggle, both fell, Decatur being uppermost. The Tripolitan commander drew a dagger from his belt, but was prevented from using it, Decatur having seized his arm, and at the same time drawing a pistol from his pocket, shot him dead. This desperate rencountre between the two commanders, brought together both their crews for their defence, and a desperate and bloody conflict commenced around them. So many had fallen, killed and wounded, that it was with difficulty Decatur could extricate himself, when the struggle had ceased between him and the Tripolitan commander.— This affair, whether we consider the motive which impelled the commanding officer, the boldness of the

undertaking, the success with which it was executed, the incident of the contest between the two commanders, or the heroic bravery which the Americans displayed, is not surpassed in the annals of naval warfare. Decatur in his struggle with the Turk, was slightly wounded in his right arm and breast; and his men were all wounded but four. The life of Decatur was in the most imminent danger, and was saved by the interposition of one of his men, although at the hazard of his own life; which is an instance of fidelity and attachment on the part of a seaman to his commander, that has few examples, and which cannot fail to challenge the highest admiration.—During the struggle between Decatur and the Turk, the former was attacked in the rear, the assailant aiming a blow at his head, which must have proved fatal, had not this heroic American tar, who was so badly wounded himself as to be deprived of both of his arms, rushed in between Decatur and the Tripolitan, and exposed his own head to the falling sabre. He received the stroke, which fractured his skull, but happily not so as to be fatal, and he survived to receive the thanks and admiration of his commander and companions in the “bloody strife,” and a pension from his grateful country.—Captain Decatur secured the prize; which, together with the first boat he had captured, he conducted safely to the American squadron.

Another contest between an American boat and

one of the enemies' occurred, which in some of its circumstances was similar to this, in which the commander and crew of the former, displayed equal courage. Lieut. Trippe, with only a midshipman and eleven men, boarded a large boat of the enemy, manned by thirty-six men, the American boat falling off before any more of the crew could get on board. These eleven men were thus placed in a situation where there was no alternative but victory or death; and a victory over more than thrice their number. A most desperate and unequal conflict ensued, the result of which for some time seemed doubtful; but the vast superiority of disciplined valour over barbarian force, soon discovered itself. The Tripolitans were overcome, and with great slaughter, fourteen being killed, and seven wounded. All that survived were made prisoners. During the action a personal contest ensued between Lieutenant Trippe and the Tripolitan commander; the sword of the former bending, he closed with his antagonist, and both fell. Lieutenant Trippe wrested the Turk's sword from his hand, and thrust it through his heart.

The American squadron, for more than two hours, was exposed to the enemy's batteries, from which a constant fire was maintained, being within grape shot distance. But the damage which it sustained was inconsiderable, viewed with reference to its exposed situation. The Constitution was considerably injured in her sails and rigging, and her main mast was

struck by a thirty-two pound ball. The other vessels of the squadron sustained some injury in their rigging, and had several men wounded; but not a man was killed during the whole engagement, excepting Lieut. Decatur, already noticed. He was a young officer of great promise, and deeply lamented.—The enemy sustained a serious injury; and what, perhaps, was of more importance, the operations and activity of the squadron, and the determined and desperate bravery which the Americans displayed, made a most serious and salutary impression. The Tripolitans were astonished at what they had witnessed, and could hardly believe the Americans to be men. A number of their gun boats were captured, on board of all of which, were one hundred and three men, of whom forty-seven were killed and twenty-six wounded; three boats were sunk, with all their men on board; many were killed and wounded on board the vessels in the harbour, and on shore; a number of the guns of the batteries were dismantled, and the town sustained considerable injury.

Commodore Preble, on the 5th August, sent twelve of the wounded Tripolitans, who had had their wounds dressed, and received every attention which humanity could dictate, into Tripoli, by a French privateer; and a letter, addressed to the minister of the Bashaw. The representations of the released prisoners, contributed to increase the astonishment with which the Americans were viewed.

They informed their sovereign that in battle, the Americans were fiercer than lions, and in the treatment of their prisoners more kind than even musselmen. The Bashaw, being destitute of sentiments of humanity himself, could not conceive what had induced the American commander to send in their prisoners, but being informed that he had no other motive than that of humanity, he professed to admire so noble a principle of action ; and added, that if any wounded Americans should fall into his hands, he would in like manner restore them. But the sincerity of this declaration is very questionable, inasmuch as he refused to release any of the crew of the Philadelphia. Two days after, the Commodore received a letter from the French consul, advising him that he thought it probable the Bashaw would treat upon more reasonable terms ; yet the terms intimated were not such as the Commodore felt either authorised or willing to accept, and he accordingly made preparations for a second attack upon the town. The action commenced at half past two, and in two hours, one of the batteries, which mounted seven guns, had six of them silenced by our gun boats.—During the action, numerous shells were thrown into the town from the bomb ketches, which had taken a station in a bay west of the city, where they were but little exposed, and about five hundred round shot were thrown into the town and batteries. One of the gun boats taken from the Tripolitans in the first

attack, was blown up by a hot shot passing through her magazine: of twenty-eight men which she had on board, ten were killed and five wounded; the other twelve were saved, having jumped overboard the instant the explosion took place, and were taken up by another boat.

On the 10th, a negotiation was proposed by the Bashaw. He offered to release the American prisoners for five hundred dollars each, amounting in all to about one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, to put an end to the war, and to renounce tribute, or an annuity, as the price of maintaining peace. These terms were rejected; but, from a regard to the lives and liberty of the unfortunate captives who, in case no accommodation should take place, were exposed to the certain loss of the latter, if not of the former, he offered eighty thousand dollars as a ransom for all the prisoners, and ten thousand as presents. This offer was not accepted by the Bashaw, and the negotiation ended.—Commodore Preble immediately made arrangements for another attack upon the town, which commenced on the night of the 23d of August. It was conducted with the same boldness and spirit which characterised all the operations of the American squadron. On the 27th, the gun boats, aided by several of the small vessels, annoyed the shipping in the harbour, and kept up a brisk fire upon the town and batteries, which was warmly returned. In the height of the engagement

the Constitution fired a broadside at thirteen of the enemy's gun boats and galleys which were engaged with the American boats, and sunk one of them, disabled two, and dispersed the rest. The Commodore then ran within musket shot of the batteries, and commenced a lively cannonade upon them and the town, during which there was fired from the Constitution three hundred round shot, besides grape and cannister; and four hundred round shot were fired from the gun boats. The Bashaw's castle and two of the batteries were silenced; and considerable damage was done to the town, many houses having been seriously injured, and several lives lost. A thirty-six pound shot penetrated the castle, and entered the apartment of the prisoners.

Negotiations for peace were immediately renewed after this attack, by the French consul; but produced nothing satisfactory. The American squadron was employed for a few days in repairing the damages sustained in the last engagement, and in preparing for another attack, which was made on the third of September. The result of this attack was similar to the last; several of the enemy's batteries having been silenced, and considerable injury done to the town. The American squadron, however, was more injured than in any of the former attacks, although not a man was lost. One of the bomb vessels had all her shrouds shot away, and was so severely injured in her hull that she could scarcely be kept

above water; and the Argus received a thirty-two pound shot in her hull, but did little injury, having struck a lower cable, which so completely destroyed its force that it fell harmless upon the deck.

For some time Commodore Preble had meditated sending a fire ship into the harbour, to attempt to burn the flotilla, and injure and terrify the town. For this difficult and imminently hazardous undertaking, Captain Somers volunteered his services, and with the assistance of Lieutenants Wadsworth and Israel, fitted out the ketch Intrepid, for the expedition; one hundred barrels of gun-powder and one hundred and fifty shells having been placed in the hold, and fusees and combustibles applied in such a manner as to make the explosion sure, without preventing a retreat. Every thing being prepared, on the evening of the 4th of September, about eight o'clock, the fire ship, accompanied by two fast rowing boats, designed to bring off the men after the ship should be set on fire, stood into the harbour, being convoyed by the Argus, Vixen and Nautilus, to within a short distance from the batteries. Having entered the inner harbour and approached to near the place of destination, the fire ship was boarded by two galleys of one hundred men each, being such a vast superiority of force as rendered all resistance unavailing. Immediately upon this, the explosion took place, which produced an effect that would defy the powers of the boldest imagination to describe.

The scene was awfully sublime. The report was most tremendous, and the consternation and confusion which it occasioned, were augmented by the suddenness of it, the time, and other circumstances attending it; being the silent hour of night, when "creation sleeps." An awful pause ensued. The engines of human destruction, as if satisfied with the immense sacrifice of a single moment, ceased. The batteries were silenced, and not a gun was fired during the remainder of the night. But the cause of explosion is a matter of the greatest importance and astonishment. It is supposed that Captain Somers, perceiving no alternative but ignominious slavery, or death, resolved upon the latter, and with his own hands, set fire to the fatal train, which in an instant, identified his own and his companions' fate with that of their enemies, all meeting a common death. An act of such desperate courage as this, is hardly to be found in the history of human transactions. This closed the operations of Commodore Preble, being suspended in his command, by the arrival, a few days after, of a reinforcement, consisting of four frigates, under the command of Commodore Barron, who was a senior officer.

When this reinforcement left America, the government was not informed of the active and brilliant operations of Commodore Preble; yet a senior officer was not sent out from any want of confidence in the gallant Preble, but from the difficulty of ob-

taining Captains to command the four frigates who were juniors to him.

After this brief view of his operations, it can hardly be necessary to add that they were, not only in the United States but in Europe, considered as highly honourable to himself and his country.—On Commodore Barron's taking the command of the squadron, Commodore Preble returned to the United States, where he received the most distinguished attention, and numerous testimonials of the applause and approbation of his countrymen. Congress adopted a resolution, tendering him their thanks, and directing the President to present him with an emblematical medal. Such were the efforts of our infant navy, and such the school in which Perry, and most of our present naval officers were instructed. While all the great powers of Europe were submitting to insult and injury, and to pay tribute to the states of Barbary, the world beheld with astonishment, an infant nation, exhibiting so distinguished an example of chastisement to these barbarous and ferocious nations.

The Americans being determined to compel the Bashaw to liberate their countrymen, and agree to reasonable terms of accommodation, resolved upon prosecuting the war by land as well as by sea.—General Eaton, who had been consul at Tunis since 1797, having returned to America in 1804, disclosed to the government the bold enterprise of at-

tempting the restoration of the Ex-Bashaw of Tripoli, (who had been deprived of the government by his brother,) and having obtained the necessary authority, he embarked, in July the same year, in the brig *Argus*, for the Mediterranean. He arrived at Alexandria on the 26th November, and ascertaining that the Ex-Bashaw was in upper Egypt with the Mamelukes, who were then at war with the Turkish government, he proceeded from thence to Grand Cairo, where he arrived on the 8th of December.— On the 8th of January, General Eaton received an answer from the Ex-Bashaw, to the letter he had addressed to him, upon the subject of his enterprise; and immediately repaired, accompanied by Lieut. Blake, Mr. Mann, and twenty-three armed men, to the place appointed by him for an interview, being about 190 miles from the sea-coast. At the distance, however, of about 70 miles, they were stopped by a detachment of Turkish troops; the commander obstinately refusing to permit the General and his party to proceed. But he finally consented to send for the Ex-Bashaw, who in a short time arrived with his followers. The result of this interview was, that General Eaton returned to Alexandria, whither he arrived about the middle of February; and from a difficulty of the Ex-Bashaw's embarking at that place, it was decided to march by land through the desert, to Derne, which place they designed to attack. Accordingly, having collected four or five hundred

men, the principal part of which were Arabs, there being less than one hundred christians, on the 6th of March, General Eaton and the Ex-Bashaw commenced their march. Their provisions and baggage were carried by Camels, of which they had about one hundred. The march through the desert was one peculiarly difficult and distressing. On the 16th they arrived at Bomba; and on the 21st of April, General Eaton, with his singular army, was in the neighbourhood of the city of Derne. He ascertained that an army which had been sent by the reigning Bashaw from Tripoli, to oppose him, was within fourteen hours march. Perceiving that he had no time to lose, on the following day he demanded of the Governor of Derne, the surrender of the place; and received the following answer, which is characteristic of the sense of accountability felt by Turkish officers: "MY HEAD OR YOURS." The next day the place was attacked, and surrendered after a warm contest of two or three hours. The loss of the assailants was considerable, one third of the christians being either killed or wounded. Having obtained possession of the city, General Eaton commenced fortifying it, and otherwise making preparations to meet the Tripolitan army, which was hourly expected. It arrived, and commenced an attack upon the town on the 18th; and after a severe engagement of four hours, the assailants gave way, and retreated to their camp.—No further operations of

any importance took place until the 28th, when General Eaton, with about forty men, Americans and Greeks, made a sortie from the town, and fell upon a party of the enemy, consisting of about one hundred men, returning from a depredatory excursion, who made little resistance, and were pursued to within a short distance of their camp. In this affair the Americans sustained no loss, and returned safely to their fortifications, the enemy not making any attempt to intercept them. On the 10th a second attack was made upon the town; and although the enemy displayed more obstinacy and perseverance than in the first, the result was equally disastrous. The action continued, with the greatest warmth, for more than four hours, when the enemy was thrown into disorder, and obliged to retreat. The next day the Constellation appeared in the harbour; and on her being discovered by the Tripolitans they were thrown into the greatest confusion and dismay: they broke up their camp, and leaving most of their heavy baggage behind, sought safety in flight. The operations and views of General Eaton were in a short time after this, arrested by the conclusion of a treaty of peace, and accommodation of differences, between the United States and the Regency of Tripoli.—It has generally been considered that this treaty was premature, as there was every reason to believe that if General Eaton had been left to pursue the operations he had in contemplation, he

would have compelled the Bashaw to have agreed to terms altogether more favorable, if not forced him to unconditional submission.—Here ended the Tripolitan war—a war characterised by many important incidents, and which disclosed, on the part of the Americans, as bold a spirit of enterprise, as many heroic achievements, and instances of as determined and desperate personal bravery, as are to be found in the like compass of events in the records of human wars.

CHAPTER III.

The embarrassment of our commerce—the restrictive measures—employment of the navy in consequence thereof—Perry commands a flotilla of gun boats—is transferred to the Revenge—assists the Diana in distress—loss of the Revenge—declaration of war—state of the navy at that time—Perry appointed to command a flotilla of gun boats—is transferred to the Lakes—capture of Caledonia and Detroit—capture of York—Perry ordered to superintend the building a fleet at Erie—leaves there to assist in the attack upon Fort George—vessels built at Erie got over the bar—Perry sails with the squadron, and retires to Put-in-Bay—preceding events of the war upon the northwestern frontier—General Hull's army—his invasion of Canada—the employment of the Indians by the British—Hull's retreat and capitulation—General Harrison's campaign—defeat of General Winchester—Fort Meigs—Col. Dudley's defeat—gallant defence of Fort Stephenson.

AFTER the close of the Tripolitan war, in the year 1805, a period of several years ensued, in which the annals of our navy occupy but little space, and comprise no events of much importance, with the exception of the unfortunate outrage committed upon the Chesapeake frigate, in 1807, which produced a sensation that electrified the whole continent. The United States being at peace during this period, its marine force could not, of course, be employed in any belligerent enterprizes, nor for the protection of

the commerce of the country. Nothing; however, but the nominal existence of peace with the two great belligerents of Europe, could have prevented its having been used for the latter object ; for, from the conclusion of the Tripolitan war, to the commencement of the war with Great-Britain, in 1812, a period of seven years, the commerce of the United States was constantly subjected to the most serious embarrassments, and the most unwarrantable seizures and condemnations from Great-Britain, and a part of this period from France. In the summer of 1805, Great-Britain adopted, (and the commanders of her vessels were instructed accordingly,) the rule of war of 1756, which regards all trade carried on by a neutral, with the colonies of a belligerent, during war, which was not permitted by the belligerent nation during peace, as illegal. Under this rule, of which no previous notice had been given, the commerce of the United States was arrested—vessels and property, to an immense amount, were seized, carried into British ports and condemned ; notwithstanding their courts of admiralty, had previously, in the most explicit manner, disallowed this rule, and thereby legalized and sanctioned this description of commerce. This unjust and hostile conduct on the part of Great-Britain, produced a sentiment of indignation throughout the United States, particularly with the mercantile part of the community. Meetings were holden in most of our

commercial towns, and memorials presented to Congress, urging that body to adopt such energetic and decisive measures as would be most likely to obtain redress. In the Senate of the United States, a Resolution was adopted, declaring the seizure and condemnation of American vessels under the aforesaid rule, by Great-Britain, as an unprovoked aggression upon the property of the citizens of the United States, and a violation of our neutral rights. A law was also adopted, prohibiting the importation from Great-Britain into the United States, of certain important articles, the manufactures of that country. This act, which was passed on the 18th of April, 1806, was not to go into operation until the 15th of November following; it not being intended as a measure of hostility, but to aid negotiation. These measures, evincive alike of our sense of aggression and of justice, produced, however, no favourable effect upon the conduct of Great-Britain. Instead of being induced, by a respect for the sensibility which we manifested to our own wrongs, our love of justice, and a disposition to prevent, if possible, an interruption of existing amicable relations, to abandon her unjust pretensions, she advanced others equally novel and unjust, thereby adding injury to injury. In May, 1806, under the administration of the celebrated Charles James Fox, she declared the coast of France, Holland and Germany, from Brest to the Elbe, an extent of about 700 miles, in a state of blockade.

In November following, the decree of Berlin was adopted by the Emperor of France, in retaliation upon Great-Britain for this novel and unjustifiable measure. This decree was followed by the British Orders in Council, of November 11th, 1807; and those by the Imperial Decree, of December 17th, 1807. From these extraordinary measures of the two great belligerent powers, all of which violated the most established rights of neutrals, the commerce of the United States, then the only neutral nation, with the exception of Sweden, was exposed to have been almost entirely sacrificed. Under this unexampled and extraordinary state of the commercial world, the law establishing an embargo, was passed on the 23d December, 1807, as the only means calculated to save our commerce from this legalized system of depredation and piracy; which must have swept it from the ocean, as with the besom of destruction. This measure, although a very necessary and wise one at the time it was adopted, whatever may be thought of the policy of continuing it as long as was done, was one, however, extremely difficult to enforce, and which required the application of all the naval means within the controul of the government.

The spirit of commercial enterprise and cupidity, for which our citizens are distinguished, could not brook so entire a restraint. And the difficulties which from this and other causes, would be likely at

all periods to attend the enforcement of a measure of this description, were at this time greatly increased from the political state of the country ; this measure experiencing a decided and systematic opposition from one of the two great political parties by which the United States was then unhappily divided. Under these circumstances it required, on the part of the government, the utmost vigilance, and the employment of its whole naval means to enforce this measure. With reference to this object, an important service was assigned to Lieutenant Perry.— Soon after the embargo was adopted in 1808, he was appointed to the command of a flotilla of seventeen gun boats, on the Newport station ; in which service he continued until 1810, when he was appointed to the command of the United States' schooner *Revenge*, attached to the squadron of Commodore Rogers, then laying at New-London. During a cruise of the *Revenge* the same year, he rendered very signal services to the ship *Diana*, of Wiscasset, being in distress, off the coast of Georgia. The prompt and effectual assistance which he afforded this vessel, was duly appreciated by her commander and owners, from whom Perry received a letter of approbation and thanks, expressed in the most flattering terms, and requesting that the same might be forwarded with his dispatches to the Secretary of the Navy.— In January, 1811, the *Revenge*, whilst returning from Newport to New-London, under the command

of Lieutenant Perry, was unfortunately lost near the mouth of the Pawcatuck river, in Rhode-Island, having struck upon a reef of rocks off Watch-Hill, and in a few hours went to pieces. This accident was occasioned by a fog, which was so thick as to envelope all on board the *Revenge* in almost total darkness, and was accompanied with a heavy swell. There was a pilot on board, but being unable to discover their situation, it was impossible to do any thing for the safety of the vessel. But the presence of mind, and judicious and successful exertions of Lieutenant Perry, after the disaster, in saving the men and the property from the wreck, did him great credit and honour. The sails, rigging, the principal part of the cannon, and almost every article of any value, were saved. At Perry's own request a Court of enquiry was instituted, to examine into his conduct in this occurrence ; which, after a full investigation of all the facts, pronounced his conduct to be not only free from censure, but highly meritorious. His judgment and activity in the means employed to save the crew and property, and his cool intrepidity on the occasion, were a subject of the highest admiration, and contributed in no small degree, to raise the estimation in which he was held by the government.

The embargo so far as it was regarded as a measure of coercion, from the difficulty of its enforcement or other causes, not having produced the expected ef-

fects, and from the violent opposition which it experienced, was revoked in March, 1809, and followed by the non-intercourse law ; a measure which produced little or no change in the application and employment of the naval force of the United States.— The operations of this law were subsequently suspended as it respected France, by the proclamation of the President, pursuant to a provision of the law ; but it continued in force against Great-Britain.

These several measures, evincing at the same time on the part of the United States, a determination not to submit to a violation of their rights, a spirit of moderation and forbearance, and a disposition to prevent, if possible, an entire interruption of the amicable relations which were still, at least nominally, maintained between the two countries, entirely failing of inducing Great-Britain, either from a sense of justice, respect for her own character, or the inconveniences to which they subjected her, to cease her aggressions, and respect the commercial rights of the United States, and after all hopes of obtaining this object by negotiation, had long since expired ; as the last resort of injured nations, the Congress of the United States, on the 18th of June, 1812, declared war against the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland.

This measure, important in every point of view, was perhaps the most so, as it respected the navy of the United States. By the enemy, (if any reliance

is to be placed upon their public journals,) and many of our own citizens, it was regarded as the presage of its annihilation ; and it was believed in the course of the war, the American flag would be swept from the ocean.

During the rupture with France, and subsequently, in the war with Tripoli, of which a succinct account has been given in this work, our navy had been distinguished by many gallant and heroic exploits, and acquired much reputation ; but very few, if any of the officers or seamen belonging to it at this period, had ever encountered the self-styled "LORDS OF THE OCEAN," who, from their naval superiority over all the powers of Europe, the result of numerous wars, and many splendid victories, during a period of more than a century, had adopted the principle, that

"The wind and seas are Britain's wide domain,
And not a sail but by permission spreads."

At the commencement of the war, the navy of the United States, according to the official report of the Secretary of the navy, made a few months preceding, consisted of the following vessels : the Constitution frigate of 44 guns ; President 44, cost \$220,910 ;* United States 44 ; Congress 36 ; Essex 32, cost \$139,362 ; ships John Adams, 20, cost

*The estimated expence of building and equipping for actual service, of vessels of war, of the larger size ; ships of the line and the larger class of frigates, is 4,500 dollars per gun. Those of smaller rates cost less per gun.

\$113,500; Wasp 16; Hornet 12; brigs Argus, 16; Nautilus 16; Vixen 14; Enterprise 14; Syren 16; Viper 10; Oneida, (on Lake Ontario,) 16. The foregoing were in actual service.—The following were laid up in ordinary: Chesapeake 36 guns, original cost \$220,677; Constellation 36, cost 314,212;* the New-York 36, original cost, \$159,639; Adams 32, cost \$76,622; Boston 32, cost \$119,570. Some of these, particularly the New-York and the Boston, were in such a decayed condition as to render it doubtful whether they were worth repairing, and it is believed the two last named were not repaired. In addition to the aforesaid vessels of war; the United States had 165 Gun Boats; of which 65 were in commission, 93 in ordinary, and 7 under repairs.

That, in a contest between a nation possessing so inconsiderable a marine as this, and one which claimed the dominion of the seas, and boasted of its thousand ships of war, the former had every thing to fear and nothing to expect, as to naval enterprise and operations, would have been an opinion very natural, and apparently, very just. The result, however, was otherwise. The enterprise, activity, skill, bravery and success of the infant navy of the United States,

*The Constellation, although mounting but 36 guns, cost nearly 100,000 dollars more than the President of 44. This was owing to the former having been built when we had but little experience on the subject of building and equipping vessels of war.

was without any example, and the naval events of the war, without scarcely an exception, were not only highly creditable to the skill and courage of American seamen, but reflected the greatest honour upon the national character. Although all our naval officers, who had an opportunity of "meeting the enemy," acquitted themselves with great credit, and sustained the honour of the American flag; yet no one contributed so much to the honour and glory of the war, as the subject of this work—the gallant and lamented Perry.

The first service in which Perry was employed, after the commencement of the war, was that of the command of a flotilla of gun boats, stationed at Newport. He continued in this service for several months, in the summer and autumn of 1812; but being desirous of a more active situation, and one which might be likely to afford more opportunities for a display of his skill and courage, and to acquire honourable fame—the only object of private ambition, which is consistent with the character of a hero, he solicited and obtained permission to join our naval forces on the Lakes, under the command of Commodore Chauncey. Accordingly, he repaired to Sackett's Harbour, on Lake Ontario, where he joined Commodore Chauncey.

At an early period after the commencement of the war, the government perceived the importance of securing the command of the Western Lakes; and

in October, 1812, Commodore Chauncey, who had been designated for that service, proceeded with about 700 seamen, and about 150 marines, to Lake Ontario. A large number of ship builders and carpenters, had previously gone on, and the greatest activity was displayed in building and fitting out a naval force, which might give us the dominion of Lake Ontario. The season, however, being far advanced, no naval operations of any importance took place on that Lake, this year. On Lake Erie, the British, after the unfortunate surrender of General Hull, had undisputed command, the American brig Adams, afterwards called the Detroit, having fallen into their hands. On the 7th of October subsequently to this event, the British brigs Detroit and Caledonia, the former manned by fifty-six men, and having thirty American prisoners on board, and the latter having a crew of twelve men, with ten prisoners on board, came down the Lake and anchored under the protection of Fort Erie. This being observed by Lieut. Elliot, who was then at Buffalo, fitting out some vessels which he had purchased for the public service upon Lake Erie, he determined to attack, and if possible, get possession of them.

Lieut. Elliot, having collected a force of about one hundred men, more than half of which were sailors, who had arrived the same day, and were fatigued with a march of more than five hundred miles, had them, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, station-

ed in two boats, which he had prepared for this enterprise. The boats under the command of Lieutenant Elliot, put off from the mouth of Buffalo Creek at one o'clock the morning following, and in about two hours were along side of the British vessels, which were immediately boarded and captured. In ten minutes, Lieutenant Elliot had all the prisoners secured, and the vessels under way. But unfortunately the wind not being sufficiently strong to enable them to ascend the rapid current into the Lake, they were obliged to run down the river, passing the enemy's forts, whereby they were exposed to a severe fire from a number of pieces of heavy ordnance, and several pieces of flying artillery; and were compelled to anchor within four hundred yards of two of their batteries. Having secured the Caledonia in as safe a position as circumstances would allow, under one of our batteries, at Black Rock, the fire of the enemy was returned from the Detroit, and continued as long as circumstances and their ammunition would admit. Being unable to withstand the enemy's fire, Lieutenant Elliot, determined to drift down the river, out of the reach of the batteries, and to make a stand against their flying artillery. This was attempted, but having been abandoned by their pilot, the Detroit was run ashore on Squaw Island. Upon this the boarding boats were got ready, and the prisoners sent ashore. A few minutes after, a boat with forty men was discovered from the

British side making for the brig. They succeeded in getting on board, but were soon compelled to abandon her, with the loss of a great proportion of their number. The *Detroit* was then abandoned, and afterwards burnt by the Americans, the principal part of her stores and guns having been saved.

During the winters of 1812—13, great exertions were made at Sackett's Harbour to build and fit out a naval force which might ensure the command of Lake Ontario the ensuing season; the importance of which, as to the security of that frontier, and the operations of the Americans, was most apparent.—The British having on the 22d February, crossed the river and succeeded in capturing Ogdensburgh, considerable anxiety was felt for the safety of Sackett's Harbour, and the American shipping and naval stores at that place. Measures were immediately adopted for its security; but the enemy did not attempt this enterprise, and soon after re-crossed the river.—Early in the spring arrangements were made by General Dearborn, who had the command of the American army, for active operations, and the invasion of Canada.

On the 19th of April, being soon after the ice had disappeared, the *Growler* sailed from Sackett's Harbour, to reconnoiter the Lake; which appearing to be clear, arrangements were immediately made for embarking the troops, which however did not take place until the 23d; and in consequence of the un-

favourable state of the weather, the fleet did not sail until two days after. The number of troops which embarked was about 1700, under the command of General Dearborn.—On the morning of the 27th the fleet, with the boats containing the troops, arrived off York, the capital of Upper Canada, where the boats left the fleet, and took a position to the south and west of the principal fort of the enemy, with a view to the debarkation of the troops, which immediately commenced, and was completed about 10 o'clock in the forenoon. The boats having fallen to the leward before the landing was effected, which in some measure prevented the debarkation being covered by the fleet, the troops were exposed to a severe fire from the enemy's forces posted in a thick wood, near the place of landing. The riflemen, commanded by Major Forsyth, landed first, and were exposed to a heavy fire from the whole of the enemy's forces, consisting of about 700 regulars and militia, and 100 Indians, commanded by General Sheaffe, which had been concentrated to oppose their landing. A warm and severe contest was maintained for some time, under circumstances peculiarly disadvantageous to the Americans, who displayed the greatest coolness and intrepidity. Seven or eight hundred of the infantry, under the command of General Pike, having succeeded in effecting a landing, and the remainder of the troops approaching the shore, the enemy gave way, and retreated to their

fortifications, leaving a number of their killed and wounded upon the field. It was intended to make a simultaneous attack upon the fortifications, with the land and naval forces. Accordingly, the schooners, as soon as the troops were landed, took a position near the forts. The troops having been formed by General Pike, immediately advanced towards the batteries, which opened a heavy fire upon them; which was returned by the schooners, whose position at this time was within about 600 yards of the principal fort. The determined and intrepid manner in which the troops were led on by the brave General Pike, overcome all opposition. Two redoubts were immediately carried, and they were approaching to the principal work, when a dreadful explosion took place, by which many of the Americans were killed and wounded; and among the number their commanding General—the brave and gallant Pike, an accomplished officer, and a zealous patriot. He fell in the moment of victory, the result of his own counsels and valour. He was endeared to the soldier, and respected by the citizen. His name will be as immortal in the annals of his country as is the event with which his fall was identified.

This explosion was the result of design, the enemy having previously laid a train for the purpose of blowing up their magazine, in case they should be obliged to abandon their works.—General Dearborn being informed of the fall of Pike, immediately land-

ed and took the command of the troops. After the explosion of the magazine, the enemy, having previously set fire to their naval stores, and a ship on the stocks, retreated with the greatest precipitation, excepting the militia, which were surrendered to the captors, with the town. The number surrendered was about three hundred. Articles of capitulation having been entered into with the commanding officer of the militia, General Sheaffe having fled with the regulars, before two o'clock in the afternoon the American flag was waving in the capital of Upper Canada.

The loss of the Americans in landing, and the attack upon the town, was 52 killed, and 264 wounded, of which 38 of the former, and 232 of the latter were by the explosion.—The British in their official account, acknowledged a loss of 62 killed, 34 wounded, 43 wounded and prisoners, and 17 prisoners and missing.—This estimate of their loss, however, must have been confined to the regulars, as nearly 300 militia were surrendered as prisoners.—The rest of the day was employed in burying the dead. Such of the military stores as could not be brought away, were destroyed, and likewise the barracks and public buildings, it being determined to evacuate the place, which was done by the first of May, the militia prisoners having been paroled, and the troops embarked; but the fleet owing to contrary winds, did not sail until the 8th day; on the afternoon of which, they arrived at Four Mile Creek, below fort

Niagara, where the troops were disembarked, and the public property landed. On the 9th, two Schooners, with one hundred men, sailed for the head of the Lake, to seize a quantity of public stores ; which they succeeded in doing, and brought them away, although the property was guarded by about 80 regulars, which were repulsed, and the public buildings burnt. The schooners having effected their object, returned to fort Niagara.

On the 10th, Commodore Chauncey sailed for Sackett's harbour, where he arrived on the 13th.—Having received 350 troops on board, he sailed for fort Niagara, and arrived on the 25th, and landed the troops. General Dearborn immediately held a council of officers, to make the necessary arrangements for crossing to the British side ; and the following day, Chauncey reconnoitered the position for landing the troops ; and having at night sounded near the shore, he placed buoys to designate the stations for the small vessels. All the heavy artillery, and as many of the troops as could be accommodated, were taken on board of the Madison, Oneida and Lady of the Lake ; the rest of the troops were embarked on board of the boats.—On the 27th, at three in the morning, the fleet sailed, and the boats followed agreeably to directions. The schooners having taken judicious positions for that purpose, opened a fire upon the enemy's batteries, which in ten minutes were silenced and abandoned. Their situation also

enabled them to cover the landing of the troops, which was effected near one of the forts which had been silenced at Two Mile Creek. The enemy were not discovered at the landing of the troops, being concealed in a ravine near the spot; but they immediately advanced to the edge of the bank in great force, and with intention to charge; but the tremendous and well directed fire from the schooners which was opened upon them, compelled them to retire. The troops which were immediately formed ascended the bank and attacked the British, who were routed and fled in every direction, being still exposed to a destructive fire of grape and canister from the schooners. The enemy retreated to Fort George, and having set fire to their magazines, immediately left it and proceeded towards Queenstown. They were pursued for some distance by the light troops; but the main body having been under arms from one in the morning, were too much overcome with fatigue to join in the pursuit. The troops returned from the pursuit about 12 o'clock to fort George, of which the Americans then had quiet possession.

The total loss of the Americans on this occasion, was 39 killed, and 111 wounded: that of the British was 108 killed, 163 wounded, and 278 wounded and prisoners, exclusive of militia prisoners, of which Gen. Dearborn paroled about 500. The next day, Major Gen. Lewis, with a considerable part of the troops, marched by the way of Queenstown in pursuit

of the enemy, who made a stand at the Beaver Dam, where they had a depot of provisions and military stores, were reinforced by 300 regulars from Kingston, and were collecting the militia; from which circumstances, and the strength of the position, it was supposed that they might resolve to await the arrival of the American forces, and risk an action. They, however, determined otherwise.—Having been joined by the troops of Fort Erie, who had blown up their magazine previously to their evacuating the fort, they broke up their camp at Beaver Dam, and retreated along the mountains towards the head of Lake Ontario. General Lewis ascertaining that the British had retreated, returned with his troops to Fort George. Fort Erie was taken possession of the same evening that it was evacuated, by a party of Americans from the opposite shore.

In March 1813, Perry was appointed Master Commandant; and about the same time, he was designated to superintend the building and fitting out of a naval force upon Lake Erie, and to command upon that Lake. He arrived from Sackett's Harbour at the port of Erie, near the close of the month of March. Being informed that an attack was to be made upon Fort George, he proceeded from Erie on the 25th of April, two days previous to the attack, and joined Commodore Chauncey at Niagara. Having volunteered his services, he accompanied the fleet on the 27th, when the attack was made; and from his ac-

tivity, bravery, and skill, rendered great assistance in the disembarkation of the troops; and was distinguished, throughout the whole operations, for his active exertions and cool intrepidity. He was present at every point where he could be useful, and often exposed to showers of musketry; but fortunately escaped uninjured, being reserved for a higher destiny.

The next day, the 28th, he was dispatched by Commodore Chauncey, with fifty-five seamen, to Black Rock, to take charge of five vessels at that place, and proceed with them to the port of Erie, and to prepare and have the whole squadron on that lake, ready for service as soon as possible. These vessels had been prepared for service by Mr. Eckford after the capture of York—an instance of extraordinary dispatch.—Two hundred soldiers had been offered by General Dearborn, to be put on board of these vessels at Black Rock, to assist in protecting them on their passage to Erie.

Accordingly, Perry, early in June, proceeded with these vessels to Erie, and arrived safely, having eluded the vigilance of the *Queen Charlotte* and *Lady Prevost*, which were cruising off Long Point to intercept him. He passed them in the night, unperceived. The *Niagara* and *Lawrence*, which had been built at Erie, under the superintendence of Perry, were launched in the month of May, and great exertions were made to complete their equipment,

and fit them for service.—The Queen Charlotte, and three other vessels of the enemy, came down the Lake the 26th of May, but after the capture of Fort George and its dependencies, they returned and proceeded up the Lake. On the 22d July, Commodore Chauncey's squadron arrived at the head of Lake Ontario, bringing 170 seamen for Perry's fleet, fitting out at Erie, which arrived there soon afterwards.

On the 20th, 21st, and 22d of the same month, the enemy's vessels appeared off the harbour of Erie, and indicated a design to attack the place, their object undoubtedly being to destroy the vessels which were fitting out there. On the 22d, two of the American gun boats went out and directed a few shot at them, but their distance was too great to admit of their having any effect. No alarm, however, was felt for the safety of the place or the shipping, as the force there was considered as sufficient to repel any attack which the enemy might make.

The vessels at Erie, consisting of the Lawrence, Niagara, Caledonia, Ariel, Scorpion, Somers, Tigris and Porcupine, were completely equipped and fitted for service by the 4th of August, when Perry succeeded in getting them over the bar at the entrance of the harbour. This was an undertaking of no small difficulty, there being at the bar but six feet of water; the brigs Lawrence and Niagara drew nine, and the British squadron appeared off the harbour to prevent ours from going out. But difficul-

ties and dangers are no obstacles to the brave and ingenious, who never want expedients or resolution, when occasion requires them. A mind fertile in resources, is never at loss for ways and means. To get the Lawrence and Niagara over the bar, the following ingenious means were employed: two large scows, of fifty feet long, ten feet wide, and eight feet deep, having been prepared for the purpose, were filled with water and floated along upon each side of one of the vessels, parallel therewith, which were then secured by large pieces of timber extended from the port holes of the vessel across the scows; the space between the timbers and boats were secured by other pieces, properly arranged; the water was then bailed from the scows, which gave them an astonishing buoyant and lifting power. The two brigs were thus conveyed across the bar, before the enemy were apprised of what was transacting, or had taken any steps to oppose it. One obstacle had been overcome, but there were still difficulties and wants which must be obviated and supplied, before they could be prepared to seek the enemy. There were not at this time more than half the number of sailors that were required to man the fleet. This deficiency however, was in some measure supplied by the Pennsylvania militia, a number of whom volunteered their services on the occasion. Perry made a short cruise off Long Point, more, as was supposed, for exercising his men, many of whom were

wholly unexperienced, than for seeking the enemy. He returned to Erie, where he remained until the last of August, when he sailed with the squadron, to co-operate with General Harrison in the reduction of Malden. He anchored the fleet off the mouth of Sandusky river, where he had an interview with General Harrison, from whom he received about seventy volunteers, principally Kentuckians, who served in the capacity of marines, on board the squadron. The Ohio, commanded by Captain Dobbin, having been dispatched to Erie after provisions, and the Amelia having been left there for the want of men to man her, the fleet at this time consisted of nine sail, mounting in all fifty-four guns, with which Commodore Perry appeared before Malden, reconnoitered the British, and offered them battle, which they did not choose to accept; although their fleet consisting of six sail, mounted sixty-six guns. Being unable to draw the enemy out, and unwilling to engage them while under the protection of the guns of the fort, Commodore Perry retired with the fleet to Put-in-Bay, which is about thirty-four miles from Malden.

Here, we must for the present, leave the hero of Erie, and before we follow him to the scene of his glory, the splendid victory of the 10th of September, which has identified his name with that of the Lake upon which it was achieved, we must return to the first events of the war upon this frontier, and

give a succinct account of its operations, down to the period at which we have left the Commodore.—As the naval victory upon Lake Erie, led to the capture of Proctor's army, and the successful termination of the war upon that frontier, its preceding operations cannot, with propriety, be separated from that event.

The ultimate object of any measure, is the most important circumstance with respect to it; and whatever has a direct and conspicuous influence upon this object, not only claims in itself a distinguished notice, but in some measure renders all other operations and means, connected therewith and tending to the same end, appurtenants to it. Upon these principles, the history of the war upon the frontier of Lake Erie, belongs to that of the naval operations of Commodore Perry upon that Lake; and as the latter form a prominent part of the personal history of Perry, the former must accompany it also.—When the private history of an individual has become identified with the public annals of his country, he has attained a niche in the temple of fame, which will secure to his memory a just immortality.

At the time war was declared, General Hull, who was then Governor of the Territory of Michigan, was in the north-western part of the state of Ohio, on his march to Detroit. He had at that time under his command, about 2000 men, consisting of the 4th regiment of United States' infantry, and a detach-

ment of 1200 Ohio militia. In April preceding, the Governor of that state was required by the President to order into the service of the United States this detachment of militia, which was principally filled up by volunteers; a conspicuous evidence of the patriotism of the citizens of that state, and of the popularity of the war. This detachment rendezvoused at Dayton on the 29th of April, and early in June they proceeded to Urbanna, where, on the 10th they were joined by the 4th regiment of United States' Infantry. The next day (being seven days previous to the declaration of war,) they commenced their march through a wilderness, presenting numerous obstacles; being destitute of roads, bridges, and every facility to the march of an army which civilization affords.* The country from Urbanna to the rapids of the Maumee, or Miami of the Lakes, at that time belonged to the Indians, (but has since, with the exception of some reservations, been ceded to the United States,) and contained no settlements but those of the natives. From thence to Detroit, along the border of Lake Erie and Detroit river, were several French and Canadian settlements, which contained some other emigrants that had more recently come among them. By the treaty which General Wayne made with the Indians in 1795, (commonly called the Grenville treaty,) there were ceded to the United States a number of tracts, generally of six miles square, at dif-

* History of the war.

ferent stages, along the navigable waters, from the Ohio river to the Lakes; the object of which was to provide for the establishment of a chain of posts, which might constitute a barrier between the Indians and our frontier settlements. Previously to the war, however, no forts or block houses had been erected upon these ceded tracts; and the country from Urbanna to the Rapids, a distance of more than 120 miles, at the time it was penetrated by General Hull's army, did not contain a civilized being, nor disclose a single trace of civilization. This dreary wilderness was traversed in about twenty days, the army having arrived at the Rapids the last of June.

The transition from a frightful wilderness, tenanted only by the ferocious savage and wild beasts, to a country beautiful and highly picturesque by nature, enlivened by the visible evidences of civilization, and presenting to view the dwellings of their countrymen, had a most surprising and animating effect upon the army. From the fatigue of the rout, the difficulties encountered, and the privations endured, the army, most of whom were unaccustomed to the ordinary hardships of a soldiers' life, at the time they arrived here, were much dispirited; but immediately every aspect changed; the gloom of the wilderness disappeared; a renewed energy and fortitude was discoverable, and a beam of joy visible upon every countenance.

Having dispatched a small schooner, loaded with

hospital stores and officers' baggage for Detroit, guarded by a lieutenant and thirty men, and remained two or three days for refreshments, the army proceeded on their march. After a fatiguing march of more than a month, on the 5th of July, they arrived and encamped at Spring Wells, opposite Sandwich, and within a few miles of Detroit. The British having heard of the declaration of war, captured the schooner which had been dispatched for Detroit.

On being informed of the declaration of war, General Hull, who had been authorised, in case of such an event, to act offensively, and invade Canada, ordered arrangements to be immediately made for that enterprise—an enterprise which at that time it was thought promised almost certain success. Accordingly great exertions were made by the officers to discipline the troops, to inspire them with proper sentiments of subordination and obedience to orders; their arms were examined and repaired, and several pieces of ordinance which were in the fort of Detroit, were mounted and fitted for service.

The necessary preparations having been made, on the 12th of July, the army crossed the river into Canada, and encamped at Sandwich, a little below Detroit. It is worthy of notice that in this, the first attempt since our independence to lead the militia, in the service of the United States, without the limits thereof, the constitutional principle was not entirely inoperative, a small part of one company having re-

used to cross into Canada. The inhabitants having, on the approach of the enemy, been thrown into the greatest consternation, and fled in every direction, General Hull issued a proclamation offering protection to all who should not take a part in the war; whereupon many returned to their homes. Col. M'Arther, with a rifle corps and a company of militia, having been detached to reconnoitre the country, penetrated to McGregor's mills, upon the river La Trench, or Thames, near the spot where Proctor's army was subsequently captured by General Harrison. This detachment left Sandwich on the 14th, and returned on the 17th, having seized and taken possession of a considerable quantity of ammunition, blankets, and other military stores, and collected a considerable supply of provisions. That district of Upper Canada, which was traversed by M'Arther, is a beautiful and interesting country, and at this time, being the harvest season, the fields were every where bending under the weight of the 'yellow grain' with which they were enlivened and adorned. But the harvest song had given place to the harsh notes of war; and numerous fields of wheat, which were remarkably fine, were left ungathered; every male who was capable of bearing arms, having been drafted for the defence of the Province. On the 16th, the day preceding the return of M'Arther, another reconnoitering party of 280 men, under Colonel Cass, traversed the country towards Malden, where the

British forces and those of their Indian allies, were concentrated. This place, which is sometimes called Amherstburgh, is situated near the junction of the Detroit river with Lake Erie, and is about thirteen miles south from Sandwich. The road follows the course of the Detroit river, and crosses two creeks and the river Aux Canards, which is about four miles north from Malden, where Colonel Cass found an advanced post of the enemy, that commanded the bridge across that river.—Colonel Cass having examined the position of the British posts, resolved to attempt to surprise them; with a view to which, he posted a company of riflemen near the bridge, and proceeded with the rest of his detachment, about five miles up the river, where they forded it, and proceeded upon the opposite side of the river towards the bridge; the riflemen in the meantime, agreeably to their instructions, commenced and kept up a fire upon the enemy. The surprise would have been complete had it not been, that the progress of the detachment under Colonel Cass was impeded by a creek, which compelled them to make a circuit of two or three miles, that occasioned considerable delay, and afforded the British time and opportunity to prepare for their defence; yet on the approach of Colonel Cass, they did not deem it expedient to attempt to maintain their position, but retreated to Malden, leaving the bridge in the possession of the Americans. This bridge, the importance

of the possession of which was most apparent, as forming the principal obstruction between the American camp at Sandwich and the British at Malden, however, was abandoned; Colonel Cass not feeling authorised to retain it, or to leave there any part of his detachment, all of which returned to Sandwich; and no effort was afterwards made by the commanding general to regain the possession of it. General Hull, with the main body of the army, had hitherto remained entirely inactive. No movement had been attempted, nor any effective preparations therefor been made, although it was apparent to every capacity, that the success of the enterprise depended almost entirely upon the celerity of their operations, and an immediate display of energy and power, before the enemy were prepared to make a stand, and while the inhabitants were overwhelmed with consternation, who by active and successful operations, would have been either brought to the American camp, or confined to their homes as non-combatants. An invading army is not only conquered by defeat; the want of success, the reputation of which is indispensable to an army in that situation, and even inactivity, are often fatal to it. Nearly a month elapsed after this invading army had entered Canada, before a single piece of cannon or a mortar was upon wheels suitable for an attack upon Malden.

On the 7th of August, two 24 pounders brought from Detroit, and three howitzers, were mounted

and fitted for service. But at this time the aspect of affairs was greatly changed. The British had received great reinforcements of Indians, having instigated all the tribes within the reach of their influence, to "raise the tomahawk" against the United States. On the 17th of July, Fort Makinaw, or Michillimackinac, situated upon an island in the entrance of the strait between the lakes Huron and Michigan, was captured by a combined force of British and Indians; information of which reached the army on the 28th. Several indecisive skirmishes between reconnoitering parties, sent out by General Hull, and the advanced posts of the British and Indians, principally in the neighbourhood of the river Aux Canards, had occurred; the bridge across that river, had been taken up by the British, excepting the sleepers; a battery erected at one end of it, and the Queen Charlotte, carrying eighteen 24 pounders, and a gun boat, were stationed in the Detroit River, at the mouth of the Aux Canards, one mile only from the bridge. These events, particularly the capture of Fort Makinaw, were relied upon by General Hull as having rendered it necessary for him to recross the river and leave Canada. But these events, with the exception of the fall of Makinaw, were within his controul, and in a measure, the consequences of his inactivity. That the surrender of that post contributed to "open the northern hive of Indians," will not be doubted, and so did the inactive and inefficient operations of his ar-

my. The Indians are elated with success, and choose to join the strongest party. But independent of the influence of any special circumstances, there were causes of a permanent nature, which were calculated to attach the Indians to the British, and to induce them to join them in making war upon the United States. It is with these barbarous people, as with many others more civilized, but not more under the dominion of reason—their friendship is bestowed upon those who flatter their prejudices, and afford them the facilities of indulging their savage propensities; whereas those who attempt to reclaim them from their wretched condition, to wean them from the hunter state, and to introduce among them a knowledge of agriculture, the mechanic arts, and all the advantages of civilization, are regarded with suspicion, if not with hostility.

There is also another cause which has tended to render the Indians more suspicious and unfriendly to the citizens of the United States, than to those of Canada. It is the rapid progress which the former have made in the formation and extension of new settlements. They have been alarmed at the rapid inroads of civilization, which have compelled them either to abandon their hunter state, or their lands, and retire farther to the west. Upon these principles, the policy of the colonial government of the Canadas, both when subject to France, and since they have been under England, with relation to the

Indian tribes, has been founded ; and this policy is diametrically opposite to that which has governed the conduct of the United States, in their relations with the Indians within their borders.

They have attempted to reclaim them from their savage condition, to cheer their gloom with the lights of civilization, and to introduce among them the practice of cultivating their lands, instead of reserving them for hunting grounds ; but on the contrary, the British, and formerly the French, have endeavoured to keep them in their savage state, and dependent upon hunting for subsistence ; by means of which they have been enabled to carry on a lucrative fur trade, and of making use of them as an instrument of war. The policy of the British government has reference only to its own interests—That of the United States, not only to its own interest, but the amelioration of the condition of the Indians.

In the several wars in which the United States have been engaged, both before and since their Independence, the savages have always been instigated to join with their enemies in the contest.—During the three first years of the French war of 1756, they were used by the French as a most destructive instrument of hostility, and gave to the operations of the war a character peculiarly ferocious and horrible. At that period, the British government execrated, in the severest terms, this conduct of the French, and insisted that there was no excuse for their em-

ploying, as a means of hostility, a force which disregarded all the rules of warfare recognized by civilized nations, and whose ferocity they themselves could not controul. Yet since the Canadas have fallen into the hands of the British, they have not been behind their predecessors, the French, in making use of this terrible instrument of war, the consequences of which are so abhorrent to the feelings of humanity. In the war of the revolution, the ruins of Wyoming, and other desolations, attested the atrocities of the savages, then in the service of Great-Britain, and subsequently, particularly in 1791, after the memorable defeat of General St. Clair, our frontier settlements have been the victims of savage barbarity.

At the commencement of the late war, it was hoped, and by some believed, that these scenes of horror would not have been reacted upon our frontiers; that the savages who were no way concerned in the contest, would have been suffered to "smoke the pipe of peace," and not to have taken any part in the war. The result, however, was otherwise. The bloody tomahawk was again put into the hand of the savage, and the massacres of the river Raisin, swelled the record of their atrocities, and added another to the many evidences of the wickedness of the employment of them by civilized powers.

From the permanent influence which the British possessed over the Indians, aided by the fall of Fort

Makinaw, and other circumstances already noticed, they were enabled in a short time to collect a considerable number of Indian warriors. They also received reinforcements of regulars and militia, for the defence of Malden, before General Hull had made the necessary preparations for attacking it. The Indians in the mean time crossed the Detroit river, and interrupted the communication with the state of Ohio, upon which the American army depended for supplies. It being of great importance to keep open this communication, and as a reinforcement of volunteers, with provisions, were daily expected upon this rout, which were exposed to be cut off by the Indians, on the 4th of August, a detachment of 200 men, was dispatched for their protection, and to open this communication.

Having proceeded to Brownstown, the detachment was surprised by an ambuscade of Indians, and completely defeated; whereupon they returned to camp, without having effected the object of their expectation.

About this time an express arrived from General Hall, commanding the American troops on the Niagara frontier, stating that there was no prospect of a co-operation from that quarter. Under these circumstances, on the evening of the 7th and the morning of the 8th of August, General Hull, with the army, returned to Detroit. But many of the inhabitants of Upper Canada, having put themselves under

the protection of General Hull, in consequence of his proclamation, it was deemed necessary that some provision should be made for their security. Accordingly, a fortress was established a little above Sandwich, on the Detroit river, where there was left a garrison of 300 men. The main body of the army having encamped at Detroit, General Hull immediately ordered a detachment, under the command of the brave Colonel Miller, consisting of regulars, and a corps of artillerists, having one six pounder and a howitzer, a small body of cavalry, and some of the Ohio and Michigan volunteers, comprising 600 men, of whom the principal part were regulars, to open the communication with the state of Ohio, which was deemed of primary importance. This detachment left Detroit on the 8th of August, and having proceeded to Maguago, about 14 miles from Detroit, at about 4 o'clock, P. M., the next day the van guard of the detachment was attacked by a formidable body of British and Indians: they however received the attack in the most gallant manner, and maintained their position, although exposed to a heavy fire, until the line was formed, and the whole detachment, with the exception of the rear guard, was brought into action. The enemy had erected a temporary breast work of logs, behind which their line was formed, a numerous body of Indians extending into a thick wood upon their left.—The Americans having formed, immediately advanced to within a short dis-

tance of the enemy, reserving their fire, when they made a general discharge, and then rushed upon the enemy with charged bayonets. The enemy relying upon the security of their position, did not give way until forced by the point of the bayonet, when they retreated. They were pursued with activity and vigour for about two miles ; but the troops being fatigued, and night approaching, they gave up the pursuit, and returned to take care of the wounded.—The Indians in this action fought with the most desperate bravery. They were commanded by the celebrated Tecumseh, who fell fourteen months afterwards, in the action upon the Thames, gallantly fighting in the British service. The Americans in this affair, displayed great coolness and intrepidity. Their loss was considerable, 18 killed and 64 wounded. The loss of the enemy was not ascertained ; but the prisoners, among whom were four regulars, stated that Major Muir, who commanded, and two subaltern officers, were wounded, and fifteen privates killed and wounded of the 41st regiment. The loss of the militia and volunteers, must have been more serious, as they were in the warmest part of the action. Of the Indians, 40 were found dead on the field ; the number wounded was not known.—Their leader, Tecumseh, received a slight wound. The number of the enemy in this action is not known ; it is stated, however, by General Hull, to have been 400 regulars and volunteers, and more than that num-

ber of Indians. This victory, however complete and honorable, was productive of little benefit. The enemy although defeated, were in a situation to reinforce, and still to endanger, if not entirely obstruct the communication with Ohio ; and the condition of the wounded and sick, which required that they should be removed to the camp, and the occurrence of a severe storm of rain, obliged Colonel Miller to return with the detachment to Detroit. It was attempted to transport the wounded by water, boats having been sent for that purpose from Detroit ; but this proved to be impracticable, the enemy at Malden having discovered the boats, dispatched the Queen Charlotte and Hunter, in pursuit of them, whereby it was found necessary to remove the wounded to the woods, where they were left until waggons could be procured from Detroit, by which they were conveyed to that place. About this time the troops were withdrawn from the fort at Sandwich, which was abandoned and demolished.

From a chain of circumstances and events, equally surprising and mysterious, suspicions of treachery in the commanding officer, which for some time had existed among the troops, were now become greatly strengthened and extended. So strong were these suspicions, that a letter was addressed by five of the principal officers, to governor Meigs of Ohio, informing him of the inauspicious situation of their affairs, and of their suspicions as to their commanding general.

It being understood that a reinforcement of troops, with provisions and supplies for the army, had arrived at the river Raisin, which it was apprehended might be captured by the enemy, on the 14th of August, Colonels Cass and M'Auther, with 400 of the most effective men, were dispatched to make another attempt to open the communication with Ohio, and to penetrate to the river Raisin. This detachment proceeded upon the upper rout, through the woods. In the mean time the British had not been inactive or inattentive to the movements of General Hull. On the 14th, the same day Colonels Cass and M'Auther were detached, and ordered upon the aforesaid expedition, they began to erect batteries opposite to Detroit, and previous to this, had taken possession of Sandwich. On the 15th, the following day, General Brock dispatched two officers from Sandwich, with a flag of truce to General Hull, demanding the surrender of the army under his command, and fort Detroit; threatening all the horrors of Indian outrage in case of refusal, by an intimation that if the contest was commenced, it would be entirely beyond his power to controul the savages. In answer to this extraordinary demand, considering the circumstances under which it was made, and the relative strength of the two armies, General Hull replied that he was in a situation to meet any force which the enemy had at their disposal, and that he had no apprehension as to the consequences which

might arise from the exercise of it. On receiving this intelligence by the return of the flag, the British immediately commenced firing from their batteries upon Detroit, which was returned from the fort at that place. The firing continued until 10 o'clock that night, upon both sides, and was renewed at the dawn of light. During the night the Queen Charlotte and Hunter, had advanced up the river, nearly to Detroit, and took a position to cover the landing of the British and Indians, which they effected with perfect safety, no attempt being made to oppose them, and immediately advanced towards the fort of Detroit, whereupon General Hull, without making a single effort to repel them, ordered a white flag to be hoisted, and the firing which was still kept up by the fort upon the battery on the opposite side, to be stopped. Upon this, the firing from the enemy's battery ceased, and an interview immediately took place, which resulted in an agreement upon articles of capitulation, whereby all the troops, both regulars, militia and volunteers, including the detachment under Colonels M^cAuther and Cass, which had not then returned, and the reinforcement *expected* from Ohio, supposed then to be upon the river Raisin; the fort and town of Detroit; all the military stores and arms, and every article of public property, of whatever description, were surrendered to the British. The militia and volunteers were paroled, on condition of their not serving again, unless exchang-

ed. There was a provision in the articles for the security of private property.

The detachment of Colonels M'Auther and Cass, having been unable to penetrate to the river Raisin, returned to Detroit shortly after this capitulation. When within a mile of the place, they first heard of its surrender, and of the main army, when a council was held, and it was determined to dispatch an officer to the fort with a flag of truce. This having been done, the officer returned the ensuing evening, accompanied by two British officers, by whom they were informed that they were prisoners of war; whereupon the detachment marched to Detroit, and surrendered themselves up to the British.

Captain Brush, who commanded the detachment from Ohio, at the river Raisin, the day after General Hull had surrendered the army, received from a British officer, who had been dispatched for the purpose, copies of the articles of capitulation, together with a letter from Colonel M'Auther, signifying that his detachment was included in the surrender. The extraordinary nature of these dispatches, occasioned them at first to be considered as forgeries, and the officer was seized and thrown into confinement; but however great the surprise which they occasioned, or the reluctance with which they could be believed, the mind was soon deprived of the relief which it could derive from doubts, the truth of all that was stated being confirmed by a number of soldiers, who

had arrived there from Detroit. Immediately a council was called which, after due consideration, decided that General Hull had no authority to capitulate for them, and consequently that they were not bound to regard his surrender of them, not being at the time under his command ; and considering themselves at liberty to provide for their own safety, they resolved instantly to return to Ohio. What of the public property and stores could not be carried off, it was deemed expedient not to destroy, as some of the soldiers were obliged to be left behind, in consequence of sickness, and a number of American families had taken refuge in the fort ; and it was also apprehended that the destruction of the public property at this place, might induce the British to treat the prisoners surrendered to them at Detroit, with more severity. These resolutions were immediately carried into effect, and the detachment returned in safety.—Among the public property surrendered, were twenty-five pieces of iron, and eight of brass ordnance, belonging to the fort at Detroit ; several of the latter were received by the British with great enthusiasm, being the same pieces that, thirty-five years before, on the same day and month, (the 16th August, 1777,) were surrendered, by a detachment of Burgoyne's army, to the Americans, at Bennington.

The unfortunate and disastrous result of the operations of the army under the command of General Hull, occasioned the greatest surprise and astonish-

ment through the country ; and great solicitude and concern with all who anticipated with pleasure the success of our arms, and who regarded the national honour. But with the settlers of the north-western frontier, who were thereby left wholly defenceless, exposed to the murderous incursions and savage outrages of the Indians, it produced the most lively apprehensions and alarm.

This event was in every point of view productive of the most serious consequences. It occasioned all offensive operations in that quarter to be abandoned, or postponed to a distant day ; laid open an extensive frontier, which for more than twelve months, was exposed to all the horrors of Indian warfare ; occasioned many settlements to be broken up ; encouraged and greatly increased the hostility of the Indians ; converted the territory of Michigan into a British province, and rendered necessary all the subsequent operations of our troops under the command of General Harrison, upon that frontier, attended with an immense expense to the government, and the sacrifice of many valuable lives ; but which resulted so honourably to him and to his country, in the decisive victory upon the Thames.

To complete the disasters of this campaign, fort Chicago or Dearborn, situated near the south western extremity of lake Michigan, was evacuated, and the garrison all massacred, or made prisoners, by the Indians. About the time General Hull returned from

Canada, he dispatched a message to Captain Heald, who commanded at Chicago, directing him to evacuate the fort; make such disposition of the public property as he might think proper, and proceed with the garrison, consisting of 66 men, to Detroit.— Agreeably to the orders of General Hull, Captain Wells proceeded from fort Wayne, with 30 Miamies, for Chicago, where he arrived on the 13th of August, for the purpose of escorting the garrison at that post to Detroit. It being impossible to remove or preserve the public property, the next day all the goods in the fort were distributed among the neighbouring Indians, who having understood that the fort was to be abandoned, and the public property given to them, had come in for the purpose. But the surplus arms ammunition, and spiritous liquors, were destroyed, from an apprehension that the Indians might make a bad use of them.

The necessary arrangements being made, on the 15th the fort was evacuated, and the garrison commenced their march for Detroit, a part of the Indians being stationed in front, and the remainder in the rear. They had proceeded but about two miles along the border of lake Michigan, having the lake on their left, and a high sand bank on their right, when they were fired upon by a party of Indians, from behind the bank, which was returned by the garrison, and a severe, but unequal contest ensued. The garrison receiving no assistance from the Miamies, were

soon overpowered. In fifteen minutes, thirty-eight of their number, together with two women and twelve children, were killed, and the remainder having been surrounded, were made prisoners. These unfortunate individuals, consisting not only of soldiers, but of women and children, were carried back to the fort, and distributed among the different tribes, according to the "rules of war" of the Indians. The next morning, the Indians burnt the fort and departed with their prisoners.* There were between four and five hundred Indians in the action, of whom fifteen were killed. Captain Heald, a Lieutenant, twenty-five non-commissioned officers and soldiers, and eleven women and children, fell into the hands of the Indians. Captain Heald and his lady having been carried to the mouth of the river St. Joseph, were left there with an Indian trader, both of them being badly wounded. From thence they proceeded to Makinaw, then in the possession of the British, to whom the Captain surrendered himself as a prisoner of war.

Among the consequences which followed the disastrous issue of the operations of the north-western army under General Hull, was the undisputed dominion which it gave to the British upon Lake Erie, and which they maintained until the signal victory of the 10th of September, the following year. The United States' brig Adams fell into the hands of the

*History of the War, page 18.

British at Detroit, and was subsequently recaptured by Lieutenant Elliot.

The extensive and manifold evils and embarrassments arising from the surrender of General Hull, were not entirely without their accompanying advantages. The surrender of a fort, and of an army, of which favourable and even sanguine expectations had been indulged, and the exposure of an extensive frontier, to the ravages of Indian warfare, excited a lively sensibility, and awakened a spirit of patriotism throughout the United States, and particularly in the western country. Early in August, a body of troops destined for the relief and reinforcement of General Hull, to be commanded by General Harrison, had been ordered to rendezvous at Louisville, and the red banks on the Ohio river. This served as a direction and rallying point to the numerous volunteers who, animated with a spirit of patriotism, and a sense of the danger to which their brethren in the frontier settlements were exposed, poured forth from almost every part of Kentucky and Ohio, upon the spreading of the intelligence of the fate of General Hull's army. So great was the number, and so strong their ardour, that it became necessary to repress, rather than excite the public spirit, in this section of the country. Here, all was unanimity; all were united in one cause—the cause of their country. If this spirit had prevailed throughout the union, it would have given a very different complexion

to the events of the war. A considerable portion of those who volunteered their services, were not accepted, the whole number being so great; yet it was with difficulty they could be persuaded to return to their homes.

General Harrison having taken command of the troops, his attention was first directed to the relief of the exposed frontier posts. Accordingly, he proceeded to Piqua, where he arrived on the 2d of September, having a force, consisting of regulars and volunteers, of about 2500 men. Here he received his military stores, and made the necessary arrangements; when on the 5th, the army commenced their march for fort Wayne, situated at the junction of the rivers St. Mary and St. Joseph, whose united waters constitute the Maumee, or Miami of the Lakes. The Indians, flushed with the success which, in conjunction with the British, they had experienced, had advanced as far as this post, which was invested by them when General Harrison approached; but they fled precipitately, before he arrived, on the 12th of September.

General Harrison, deeming it expedient to break up the towns and disperse some of the hostile Indian tribes, before he proceeded towards Detroit, two expeditions were fitted out, one destined against the Miami towns, upon the Wabash, below its junction with the Tippacanoë river, the other against the Potawatamie settlements, situated upon a stream called

St. Joseph, which discharges itself into Lake Michigan. These enterprises were both attended with success. Nine villages were destroyed, and all the growing corn cut up, with a view to disperse the Indians from that part of the country, which the want of provisions, it was thought, would be most likely to effect.

A short time after these events, a reinforcement to the army arrived at fort Wayne, under General Winchester. General Harrison at this time held no military commission under the United States. He was Governour of Indiana, and had been breveted a Major General, and placed in command from the emergency of the occasion, by the Governour of Kentucky. On the arrival of Winchester, who had been appointed a Brigadier General, by the President, and designed to command the north-western army, Harrison relinquished the command, and set out for Indiana, with a body of mounted men, with which he intended to destroy the Indian settlements in that quarter. A few days after, however, and before Harrison had proceed far, an express arrived with a commission from the President, wherein he was appointed commander in chief of the north-western army. This appointment is supposed to have been made in consequence of the representations which were made to government by the Kentuckians, who had great confidence in General Harrison—a confidence which, as subsequent events pro-

ved, was not misplaced. It however, created no jealousy or dissatisfaction, and General Winchester continued in the service, as second in command.— On the 22d, Winchester marched with 400 regulars, a brigade of Kentucky militia, and a body of cavalry, comprising about 2000 men, for fort Defiance, and the day after, General Harrison returned to fort Wayne, and resumed the command.

The transportation of the provisions and baggage of a marching army, is usually attended with considerable difficulty and delay ; but in a country like this it is an undertaking presenting the most serious obstacles and embarrassments. The country was not only without roads, but intersected by innumerable small streams, which are swelled and rendered impassable by rains, and possesses a soil, naturally rich, deep, and free from stone, and which is rendered more soft and miry, from the prevalence of moisture, and the decomposition of vegetable substances, which in process of time, has produced an artificial stratum of considerable depth. From the difficulties arising from these and other causes, of transporting provisions with an army, traversing a gloomy wilderness, each soldier was furnished with six days supplies, and General Harrison proceeded to fort St. Mary's to forward supplies for the army, protected by a detachment of men, under Colonel Jennings, by the Au Glaze, which affords a water conveyance for a considerable part of the distance.

The army being now in the vicinity of the hostile Indians, and in the heart of a country affording great facilities for their mode of warfare, great vigilance and precaution were made use of to guard against a surprise. With a view to this object, the army was formed into three divisions—consisting of the centre, near which was the baggage, having a strong guard in front and in rear, and the right and left wings, which reached sixty, or an hundred yards distance from the centre. There was also an advance guard consisting of about 300 men, which marched so far in front as to bring their rear even with the advance baggage guard ; and the whole were preceded by a company of spies, usually one or two miles ahead, the rear of which was covered by the horse. Such were the difficulties and obstructions which the army had to encounter, that their progress was only from six to ten miles a day. They fortified their encampment for night, which was done by forming around it a breast work of logs and brush, four or five feet in height, and as soon as it was dark, small fires were kindled at the mouths of the tents, and large ones without the breast work. These precautions rendered it necessary for the army to halt from their march about 3 o'clock. On the third day of the march, a trail was observed, but was thought, however, to indicate a party of only twelve or fifteen Indians. A party of horse followed up the trail for six or eight miles, when having pressed hard upon

the Indians, they scattered, which occasioned the pursuit to be given up. On the 25th September, being the day after, Ensign Legett, of the regulars, and four men, proceeded at their own solicitation, in advance of the army, for fort Defiance, 25 miles distance, to reconnoitrē the number and situation of the enemy. These brave and patriotic youths, who were influenced by the ardour of their feelings and not by the dictates of experience, paid dearly for their temerity, in undertaking an enterprise so pregnant with danger, and for which they were so little qualified by experience. They were found the next day, about six miles from the place where the army encamped the preceding night, shot, scalped and tomahawked in the most barbarous and shocking manner. The day following, being the 27th, the spies, accompanied by about forty of the horse, were dispatched to bury them; but they had not proceeded far, before a body of Indians were discovered in ambuscade, on each side of a trail, upon which the Indians supposed that the detachment would march. Their stratagem, however, did not succeed—Ballard, the commander of the party, being acquainted with the character of Indian warfare, marched his men in two divisions, one on each side of the trail. Being frustrated in their ambuscade, the Indians proceeded to an elevation a short distance ahead, where they were fired upon by the spies, which they immediately returned, accompanied with the most terrific yell.

A charge was then made by the cavalry, but on their approach, the Indians, changing the war yell to the retreat yell, fled precipitately to their 'strong holds', the swamps and thickets. In this affair, the detachment had one wounded only; the Indians were supposed to have suffered considerably, several trails of blood being discovered. After interring the remains of their unfortunate brethren, the party returned to the army without further molestation from the enemy. On the 28th, several Indians having been discovered and fired upon by the spies, it was expected that a general engagement would take place, and the army was accordingly formed in order of battle; but no enemy appearing, the line of march was again resumed. A party of horse having been dispatched ahead to reconnoitre, discovered a fresh trail of Indians, which, with other circumstances, induced a belief that a numerous body of the enemy were near at hand, which determined the General to cross the river and encamp upon the opposite side. This was done at the first ford that was discovered. Here a fresh and a large trail was observed, which at first occasioned great joy with the troops, it being supposed to have been made by Col. Jennings' detachment, with the provisions, of which they were then in great want. But this joy was as fallacious as the supposed facts from which it originated. The trail, instead of indicating their brethren, with the provisions of the army, proved to be the precursor of a large body of

the enemy who were discovered by a party of horse, dispatched for the purpose, encamped three miles ahead, and two from fort Defiance, surrounded by savage fires and having war-poles erected, upon which were displayed the bloody flag.

On the 29th, the General was apprised, by an express from Colonel Jennings, that his detachment was then encamped on the Au Glaize, about 40 miles above fort Defiance, where, agreeably to orders, he had erected a block-house ; that he had not dared to proceed farther with the force he had, having ascertained by his spies, that the British and Indians were in possession of fort Defiance. On the morning of the 30th, a body of 30 horse, under Captain Garrard, were dispatched to Colonel Jennings' detachment on the Au Glaize, to escort a brigade of pack horses with provisions for the army, which was in a destitute and almost suffering condition. Garrard's body of horse, arrived on the following day, and in a few hours, started to return as an escort to the cavalcade charged with the conveyance of provisions, and reached the army on the evening of the 2d of October.— Their arrival, together with the provisions, revived the desponding spirits of the army, exhausted with fatigue, and suffering from hunger ; and the joy was greatly augmented, from the circumstance of their beloved General Harrison's having accompanied the escort, to resume the command. The army, during the absence of the detachment, had taken possession

of fort Defiance, and the British and Indians had retreated down the river.—General Harrison, on the 4th of October, left fort Defiance, leaving the troops at that place, which were to form the left wing of his army, under General Winchester, to return to the settlements in Ohio, to organize and bring on the rest of his forces, which were to constitute the centre and right wing.

General Tupper, who on the day of Harrison's departure had been ordered to proceed with his command, consisting of nearly 1000 mounted men, to the rapids of the Miami, and which expedition he had given up, principally from the undisciplined character of his troops, returned soon after to Urbanna. He was ordered to take command of a regiment of regulars and a body of Ohio volunteers and militia, which were to form the centre of the army, and proceed to Fort M'Auther. The right wing which consisted of a brigade of Pennsylvania, and another of Virginia militia, was stationed at Sandusky. Having arrived at fort M'Auther, General Tupper made immediate arrangements for proceeding with an expedition to the Rapids. The force organized for the expedition, consisted of more than 600 men, with which he set out on the 10th of October; each soldier carrying in his knapsack provisions for five days. On the 13th, having approached to within about thirteen miles of the Rapids, an officer was dispatched to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy; by whom,

on his return, General Tupper was informed that the British and Indians still possessed the fort, and occupied the settlements at the Rapids, and that their boats and vessels lay a little below.

In consequence of this information, it was thought expedient to suspend the march of the detachment until sun set, to prevent the enemy's obtaining information of them ; and then to proceed to a ford, about two and a half miles above the Rapids, with the view of crossing the river and attacking the enemy, if, on obtaining more particular information, it should be thought advisable. Accordingly, scouts were again sent out to examine the situation of the enemy, which having returned and brought satisfactory information, orders were given to ford the river and attack the enemy at the break of day ; but it was soon found that the troops could not pass.—So strong and rapid was the current, that a number of men in attempting to ford it were swept away, and could with difficulty be saved with the loss of their arms and ammunition. This plan of attacking the enemy having proved impracticable, an attempt was made the next morning to decoy them over ; with a view to which, a number of the spies proceeded down the river, and discovered themselves to the enemy ; but the Indians were too old in stratagems to be taken in this ; a few only crossed the river, and they were too cautious to be drawn within the lines. The main body of the detachment then moved down the

river opposite the enemy ; who disclosed considerable disorder as the advance guard opened from the woods. The British immediately fell down the river with the vessels and boats. The Indians commenced a fire of musketry, and also from a four pounder, at the detachment, and their women were seen running off on the road to Detroit. General Tupper apprehending that his camp might be surprised, a number of Indians having been observed proceeding up the river, on the opposite side, ordered the detachment to return. Having proceeded to within about a mile of the encampment, some of the soldiers being pinched with hunger, their provisions having for some time been exhausted, contrary to orders, fired upon a drove of hogs, and pursued them nearly half a mile, and in the mean time, others leaving the ranks, entered a field to gather corn, who, in this situation, were attacked by a body of mounted Indians, and four of their number killed. The Indians then attacked the rear of the right flank, but the column being instantly thrown back, commenced a brisk fire upon the Indians, which caused them to give way ; but they soon rallied, passed along the van guard, and made an impetuous charge upon the rear of the left column, which, however, firmly resisted every attempt of the Indians to break the line, and in twenty minutes, the Indians were driven from the field. Yet apprehending that this attack of the mounted men was only intended to

throw the detachment into disorder, with a view to facilitate a more serious attack by the foot, the right column moved forward in marching order to guard against an attack upon the right flank. Before this column had scarcely regained their position, information was received that the Indians were crossing the river in considerable numbers; upon which the left column were directed to resume their marching order, and General Tupper advanced to the head of the right column, where he perceived that a body of the mounted Indians had crossed the river—that others were then crossing; and that about 200 were on the opposite shore. A battalion was immediately ordered to advance, and charge those which had crossed. The charge was made with spirit and success. The Indians were forced to retire, and several of them were shot from their horses whilst crossing the river. The horses possessed by the Indians on this occasion, were probably furnished by the British, being much superior to those usually used by them. They were also provided with holsters and pistols. Several of the charges were led on by Split Log, who was mounted on a well trained white horse. He sometimes fired mounted, and at others leaped from his horse and fired from behind a tree. He was supposed to have been wounded, as his horse was rode by another Indian in some of the last charges. When a warrior was shot from his horse, he was thrown on again

with an extraordinary dexterity, and carried off the field, it being customary with the Indians to carry off their dead. Their provisions being exhausted, and no other means of obtaining a supply, the detachment was under the necessity of returning immediately to fort M'Auther, a distance of 40 miles, through a pathless wilderness. On the 13th of December, another expedition, under the command of General Tupper, was fitted out for the Rapids. It consisted of from 1,500 to 2000 men. On the arrival of this detachment, they discovered, on the east side of the river, a few miles above the Rapids, a body of the enemy, of nearly 1000, of which 300 were British regulars, and 6 or 700 Indians. General Tupper resolved to try the success of stratagem. He accordingly, having acquainted himself with the position of the enemy, ordered a small detachment to advance, commence an attack, and then retreat. This artifice was attended with the expected success. The detachment was pursued by the British and Indians, with the greatest impetuosity, until they found themselves nearly surrounded, when the Americans making a vigorous charge, they were repulsed and put to flight, in the utmost disorder and confusion, and with serious loss, nearly one hundred of British and Indians, principally the latter, having been left upon the field, and many who plunged into the river as the only means of escape, were killed in attempting to swim across it.

Early in January, General Winchester proceeded, with the force under his command, from fort Defiance, down the river to the Rapids. Frenchtown, which is situated upon the river Raisin, having since the surrender of General Hull, been entirely defenceless, and exposed to the outrages of the hordes of savages which surrounded the place, a number of the inhabitants applied to General Winchester, on his arrival, and begged of him very earnestly, to afford protection to that settlement. As motives of humanity often prevail against the dictates of discretion, Winchester, with the unanimous advice of his officers, agreed to comply with this request; and accordingly, on the 17th day, a detachment of about 750 men, under Colonel Lewis, set out from the Rapids for Frenchtown. Having the following day arrived within about three miles of the settlement, the detachment was informed that a body of Indians were encamped there, and that they were apprised of the arrival of the Americans. This determined Col. Lewis to form the detachment in order of battle, and to cross the river on the ice. Having reached the opposite shore, the left wing and centre were ordered to dislodge the enemy from the houses and picketing where they were collected with their cannon. This order was successfully executed; the two battalions, forming the left wing and centre, advanced amidst a tremendous shower of musketry, surmounting the obstacles of the picketing, and fen-

cing, and charged and dislodged the enemy, who as they retreated, were pursued by the right wing, to the woods, a mile or more. Here they made a stand, covered by a chain of enclosed lots, a group of houses, with a thick woods, full of fallen timber in their rear. In addition to their small arms, they were provided with a howitzer. The left and centre, in the woods, advanced towards the main body of the enemy, and commenced firing upon them, when their attention being thus occupied, the right advanced and drove them from the fences and houses, into the woods. Here the action became very warm and severe, between the right wing and the enemy, who had concentrated their forces on that side, with a view to break the line. They were, however compelled to retreat, but only before the point of the bayonet; and although the Americans were greatly fatigued, they were driven in the whole more than two miles under a continual charge. The action, which commenced at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, continued until dark, when the detachment returned and encamped at the place which the enemy, previously to the engagement, had occupied. The force of the enemy on this occasion could not be ascertained with certainty, but it was supposed to have consisted of about 80, or 100 British, and 400 Indians. Their loss, as they were enabled to carry most of their killed and wounded off, was equally uncertain; but from the blood, the trails of bodies

dragged off, and the representation of the inhabitants living near the scene of action, it was thought to have been very great. Two of the Canadian militia, and one Indian were made prisoners, and a considerable quantity of public stores was taken. The detachment had twelve killed and fifty wounded.

On the 20th, the detachment was reinforced by 250 men, accompanied by General Winchester, who assumed the command. Intelligence of these events at the river Raisin, soon reached General Proctor at Detroit, who immediately advanced with a force of 1500 British and Indians, of whom 300 were regulars, to attack the Americans. He arrived on the evening of the 21st, and having reconnoitred the American detachment, commenced an attack upon their lines the next morning, at 6 o'clock, by a heavy fire of musketry, and of six pieces of field ordnance. The main body of the Americans were stationed within the pickets, on the right of which was a small body unprotected. The fire of the enemy was very severe, to which the body of troops forming the right were imminently exposed ; they, however, with great firmness and gallantry, sustained the shock, for a quarter of an hour, when they began to give way, for the purpose of taking a position more favourable to their own fire, and less exposed to that of the enemy. At this juncture, General Winchester, whose quarters were three or four hundred yards from the camp, arrived, who, observing the

right giving way, exerted himself to rally them, and again to form the line. His exertions, however, were unavailing; the enemy observing the right giving way, concentrated their whole Indian force, and most of their militia, to that quarter, and bore down with redoubled violence. From the vast superiority of their numbers, and the severity of their fire, the Americans were unable to form, but maintained a destructive, but unequal conflict, for some time, when, having suffered severely, all that survived were made prisoners. The main body stationed within the pickets, maintained their position; kept up a severe contest for several hours, and repulsed the British regulars, with great loss, in three successive charges. The conflict was continued until about 10 o'clock, when General Winchester, who had previously been made a prisoner, was induced to accede to a capitulation, and sent a flag to the Americans, who were still gallantly defending themselves, informing them that they were prisoners. Winchester had been brought by the enemy as a prisoner, into the part of the field where the conflict was raging, and threatened that if the Americans did not instantly surrender, they should receive no quarters, but be abandoned to the fury and outrage of the savages. This consideration, together with the apprehension that further resistance would be unavailing, induced him to agree to a capitulation. This threat, barbarous as it was, contained an implied

promise, that if the Americans surrendered at that time, they should be protected from violence and outrage from the savages. But, instead of this, the most shocking and tragical scenes ensued, the record of which, attaches an indelible stain on the British arms, and the honour of British officers. Humanity recoils on contemplating these acts of horror, and would willingly, did not truth and justice forbid it, throw the veil of oblivion over them. But the tragical events of this disastrous day, and the massacres of the river Raisin, will long be remembered in western America, and still longer disgrace the page of history.

After the battle, the prisoners, except 50 or 60, who were wounded, were carried by the British to Malden. The morning after the action, the Indians who remained behind, together with about 50 that had returned from Malden, commenced a massacre of the wounded Americans, accompanied with circumstances of the greatest ferocity and horror; and to complete the work of devastation and murder, the houses in which they were left were set fire to, and consumed, together with the remains of the unfortunate prisoners. But the massacre did not end here. The same day, a number of the prisoners who had not been wounded fell victims to the savage fury of the Indians, whose ferocity was so great that they would not suffer their remains to be interred, but left them above ground, where they were torn to pieces, and

devoured by hogs. A few days after the action, a surgeon, with two assistants, was dispatched by General Harrison, with a flag of truce, to the scene of action, to attend to the wounded, one of whom was killed, and the others treated with the greatest rudeness and violence. The money which they had been furnished with by General Harrison, for the relief of the most pressing wants of the wounded, was forcibly taken from them, and they themselves made prisoners, and carried to Montreal and confined.

These horrid outrages, committed by Indians in the employ, and subject to the officers of a civilized nation, can only find an example in the massacre at fort William Henry, on lake George, during the French war, in 1757. As their character admits of no palliation, so the truth of them admits of no doubt. They were attested by the inhabitants of Frenchtown, and by some of the officers who were afterwards purchased of the Indians.

Intelligence of Lewis' having penetrated to the river Raisin, reached General Harrison at Lower Sandusky, from whence, supposing that he might be overpowered, he immediately proceeded for the rapids of the Miami, where he learned that Winchester had gone on with a reinforcement to Lewis' detachment. Here, intelligence of Winchester soon reached him, upon which he immediately ordered the force under his command, consisting of 360, to prepare to march for the river Raisin, and in the mean time, pro-

ceeded on himself, with his staff, to overtake and hasten the march of a detachment of 300, then on their march to that place. He soon overtook them ; but it being ascertained that Winchester's defeat was irretrievable, it was a unanimous opinion of the officers, that the detachment should return. It was, however, determined to dispatch a body of men, and 120 of the most active were selected for the purpose, with directions to proceed as far as they could with safety, to assist those who might be so fortunate as to escape. But there were few fugitives from Winchester's army. Not scarcely enough escaped to convey the sad tidings of the unhappy fate of their countrymen. The snow was so deep that not more than 40 or 50 got a mile from the seat of the action, nearly all of whom were overtaken by the enemy. A few escaped by proceeding down the lake and secreting themselves.

On the 23d of January, the day following Winchester's defeat, General Harrison left the rapids of the Miami, and retreated to Carrying River, located about an equal distance between that place and Sandusky. The disaster upon the river Raisin, frustrated the contemplated operations of General Harrison, and rendered it necessary to raise an additional force, which, with other necessary preparations, occasioned considerable delay. In the month of February, however, he advanced again to the Rapids, and immediately commenced the construction

of a fort, which, in honour of the patriotic Governour of Ohio, he called *Fort Meigs*. This was a well constructed, strong, and large fort, enclosing about nine acres of ground. It was in the form of an octagon, at each corner of which was a strong block-house, with cannon mounted, so as to rake each line, and which commanded every elevation near the fort. The lines between the block-houses, consisted of strong picketings, fifteen feet in height, supported by an embankment, or breast-work of clay, on each side. Several log batteries were also erected, and well supplied with cannon. Harrison's force consisting principally of militia, and the term of service of a large proportion of which, having expired, the Governour of Kentucky, the venerable and patriotic Shelby, being apprised of his situation, ordered 1200 of the militia of that state, into service, under General Green Clay, destined to reinforce Harrison's army.

They rendezvoused at Cincinnati; from whence early in April, they commenced their march, and arrived near fort Meigs, on the 4th of May, having ascertained that the fort was besieged by a large force of British and Indians, under General Proctor.—Proctor's force consisted of about 1000 British, and 1200 Indians, with which he left Detroit, for fort Meigs, about the middle of April, with the expectation of capturing the fort, before the garrison could be reinforced; but heavy and incessant rains retard-

ing his operations, he did not open his batteries until the first of May. The cannonading from the enemy's batteries was returned from the fort, and a brisk fire maintained on both sides from the first until the fifth of May, when a small party from General Clay's detachment reached the fort, and communicated the pleasing intelligence that the main body were at a short distance. On receiving this information, General Harrison dispatched orders to Clay, to proceed with the force under his command down the river in his boats; to land 800 men upon the left bank of the river, to charge the enemy's batteries and spike their cannon. The remainder of his force was to be landed on the right bank, and to be aided by a sortie from the garrison. The detachment on the left succeeded in the attack; the enemy's batteries were taken and their cannon spiked, yet these advantages were dearly purchased; for, instead of crossing the river and returning to the fort, their ardour was so great, that they furiously pursued the enemy, who retreated into the woods, where they were surrounded and the principal part of them made prisoners. The Indians succeeded also in possessing themselves of a considerable part of the baggage, which was in the boats; but the disasters of this affair were not without their accompanying advantages. The Indians, in spite of the exertions of the British officers and of their chiefs, retired to their villages with their plunder, which is their usual custom after any signal

success. This circumstance, together with that of the reinforcements which the garrison had received from the residue of Clay's detachment, materially changed the aspect of affairs, and General Proctor, instead of continuing his offensive operations, became alarmed for his own security, and having disposed of his ordnance on board of a sloop, on the 9th of May, made a precipitate retreat.

The command of the lake, which the British possessed at this period, gave great facility to their operations; and subsequently to their retreat from fort Meigs, they made a number of movements indicating hostile designs upon that fort, and the forts at Lower Sandusky, Cleveland and Erie. But no attack was made upon any of these forts, except that at Lower Sandusky, the result of which was so highly honourable to the gallant, youthful hero who commanded it.

The first of August, Proctor, with a force of 500 regulars, and 7 or 800 Indians, appeared before that place, and having so disposed of his troops as to cut off the retreat of the garrison, he dispatched Colonel Elliot and Major Chambers, with a flag of truce, to demand the surrender of the fort; which was urged by a suggestion of the anxiety which he felt to spare the effusion of blood, and that, considering the character of his forces, it would not probably be in his power to do this, if he was driven to the necessity of taking the place by storm. To this demand, ac-

accompanied with an implied threat of the garrison's being abandoned to the fury of the savages, in case of the capture of the fort by assault, its commander Major Croghan, a youth of 21 years of age, returned for answer, that he was determined to defend the place to the last extremity, and prepared to meet any force which they might have at their disposal.— On the return of the flag, a brisk fire was commenced upon the fort, and kept up with little intermission, from the gun boats in the river, and a howitzer on shore. During the night, three sixes were placed within 250 yards of the pickets, from which a heavy cannonade upon the fort was begun early in the morning, but with little effect. In the afternoon, Major Croghan, perceiving that the enemy's fire was concentrated against the north-west angle of the fort, was induced to believe that it was their intention to make a breach at that point, and then to attempt there to storm the works. To defeat the purposes of the enemy, he immediately employed what men could be spared, in strengthening that part of the fort, which was so effectually secured with bags of flour, sand, and other articles, that the picketing sustained little or no injury from the enemy's fire. Yet this did not deter the enemy from their intended assault. Accordingly, about 500 men formed in close column, advanced to storm the works at the expected point, making at the same time, two feints on other parts of the fort. Of the 500 men, about

350 advanced against the north-west angle, which were not discovered until they had approached within eighteen or twenty paces of the lines, being enveloped in a cloud of smoke; but they were no sooner observed, the men being all at their posts, than a well directed and galling fire was opened upon them, which threw the column into considerable confusion; but being soon rallied, it advanced to the outer works and began to leap into the ditch. At this moment a raking and destructive fire of grape, from a six pounder, which had previously been so mounted and prepared, as to admit of such a direction, was opened upon the assailants, and also a brisk fire of musketry, which cut them down in every direction, and threw them into such disorder and confusion, that they soon fled precipitately into the woods, leaving most of their killed and wounded, in and about the ditch.—The assault lasted nearly half an hour, during which the enemy's artillery, consisting of five sixes, and a howitzer, kept up an incessant fire upon the works, but with little effect.

An instance of humanity occurred on this occasion too honourable to be omitted. During the assault, the enemy's wounded being observed in the ditch, writhing with pain, and burning with thirst, the soldiers in the fort supplied them with water, by throwing down to them full canteens. The whole loss of the enemy, in this attack, in killed, wounded and prisoners, was supposed to have exceeded one hun-

dred and fifty. There were found in and about the trench, either killed or wounded, one Lieutenant Colonel, one Lieutenant, and fifty rank and file. Those of the wounded, who were able, made their escape, and many, both of killed and wounded, were carried off by the Indians, during the night. The gallant garrison which made this brave and almost unexampled defence, did not exceed 160 men. Their loss was one killed, and seven slightly wounded. The enemy, leaving behind a boat containing a considerable quantity of military stores and clothing, proceeded down the river, about three in the morning. Subsequently, several stand of arms, and several brace of pistols, were found near the works.

General Proctor, a few days after this repulse, dispatched a surgeon, with a flag, to assist in taking care of the wounded, and also to request, that such of the prisoners as were in a situation to be removed, might be allowed to return to Malden, on his (Proctor's) parole of honour, that they should not serve, unless regularly exchanged. In reply, General Harrison stated that Major Croghan, under the influence of those humane principles which are held sacred in the American army, had caused all the care to be bestowed, and assistance to be rendered to the wounded prisoners, of which his situation would admit—that his hospital surgeon had, agreeably to directions, bestowed upon them particular attention, and he felt authorised to say, that all the assistance that could

be expected from surgical skill, would be afforded them; and that they had been liberally furnished with every article required by their situation, which the hospital stores could supply. As to the return of the prisoners to Malden, he observed, that having applied to his government for orders relative to the disposal of the prisoners, he could not with propriety comply with his request of an immediate exchange; but added, that so far as it depended upon him, the course of treatment which had been begun towards the prisoners, would be continued while they might remain in his possession.

Such was the conduct of the Americans towards the prisoners, which the fortune of war had placed in their power. War in its mildest aspect, and conducted upon the most liberal principles, is a sufficient evil; and it is due to civilization, and the light which science and philosophy have shed upon society, to smooth its harsh features, to soften its ferocious spirit, and to observe such belligerent principles as, whilst they give the greatest developement to the national energies, occasion the least violation of the rights of individuals. It was from these principles, held sacred by the Americans, that the wounded prisoners at Sandusky experienced the greatest humanity. How different from the treatment which the American prisoners experienced at Frenchtown.— There, the surgeon, commissioned to aid suffering humanity, was treated with the greatest rudeness,

made a prisoner himself, and scarcely escaped with his life, one of his companions being actually killed. Here, the surgeon, in the same sacred cause, was treated with the utmost politeness, and only dismissed because his services were not wanted, the prisoners having already received every attention. Here, the prisoners were supplied with water during the attack, and afterwards sacredly protected. There, the unfortunate American prisoners, comprising many of the noblest sons of Kentucky, were abandoned to the fury of the savages, and, to the "British boast of victory, was added the frightful yell of the savage war whoop."

CHAPTER IV.

Remarks on the vicissitudes of war—Perry arrives with his squadron off the mouth of Sandusky river—sails and reconnoitres the enemy at Malden, and returns to Put-in-Bay—remarks on the repose which preceded the action, and its importance—particular account of the action of the 10th September—some incidents and anecdotes—force of the two fleets—their loss—remarks on the victory—the fleet concentrates the troops at Put-in-Bay—lands them below Malden—the enemy evacuates that place—is pursued to Sandwich—thence to the Moravian town on the Thames—the decisive victory at that place, and capture of Proctor's army—humanity of the Americans—the troops return to Detroit—Indians sue for peace—provisional government established in the conquered district of Upper Canada—Harrison and Perry proceed down the lake to Buffalo.

THE vicissitudes of human affairs are perhaps no where so conspicuous as in the events of war.—Authentic history, which must ever remain an unimpeachable and faithful witness of human transactions, affords ample proof of this proposition. However great the combination of physical means, and the skill and experience in the direction of them, there can be no assurance of an uninterrupted course of success. When the means are vastly disproportionate, the scales of power are often ballanced by ine-

quality of skill, or of ardour. Climate, also, forms a permanent barrier to the extension of power, and frequently even the elements themselves seem to interpose to protect the weak from the strong.

The dominion of casualty is no where so firmly established, as in war; and often a mere accident, which no experience could have pointed out, and no sagacity have foreseen, may give a turn to its events and decide the fate of battles, and of empires. But if we were to throw out of the scale all adventitious causes, and allow to superior means and superior skill, all that their greatest advocates claim for them, still the uncertainty of belligerent operations, is sufficiently conspicuous. What security, for the shortest period, is there, of the maintenace of superiority of means, or even of superior skill? The former is itself subject to a thousand vicissitudes, and the latter suddenly acquired, if it is not suddenly lost; and indeed, in a war of any continuance, the skill employed in it, tends to a common standard—the party that is without skill and experience, constantly profiting from the one that possesses them. Upon this principle, *success* is not only the precursor, but often the cause of *defeat*. Had it not been for the battle of Narva, in which Charles the XII, with 8000 Swedes conquered 80,000 Russians, this same hero would not probably have been defeated at Pultowa. From the uncertainty of the events of war, we are admonished of the instability of human power, and of the folly

as well as criminality of using it for the purposes of tyranny, oppression and inhumanity. An abuse of power, which arises only from the fortune of war, evinces a weakness of head, as well as depravity of heart; and it is usually the case that it is speedily visited by retributive justice.

From the commencement of hostilities, down to the gallant and successful defence of fort Sandusky, a period of nearly fourteen months, the events of the war upon the north-western frontier, had, with few exceptions, been peculiarly unfortunate and disastrous. These disasters were all directly, or indirectly attributable to the extraordinary capitulation of General Hull; which not only surrendered to the enemy an entire army, an important military post, and the territory of Michigan, but, what was infinitely more important, laid open a frontier of nearly a thousand miles in extent, being too a new country, without improvements, and but thinly settled, and contributed, with the exertions of the British, to call forth the "northern hive of Indians," whose savage ferocity was rendered more dreadful, as the destructive implements and means of warfare, which have proceeded from civilization, were put into their hands.

Until the severe repulse which the enemy sustained at Sandusky, the "tide of war" had set strongly in their favour; but from that period, the complexion of things was changed, and they in their turn,

were destined to experience the sad and distressing vicissitudes, inseparable from a state of warfare.

After the affair at Sandusky, General Harrison was engaged in making arrangements for an attack upon Malden, in which he expected the co-operation of Commodore Perry; and to make the necessary arrangements for which, Perry appeared with his squadron off the mouth of Sandusky river, as has already been stated. Here the General and the Commodore determined upon the course of future operations. It seems to have been resolved, that, instead of attempting the reduction of Malden by a conjoint attack of the land and naval forces, it was expedient, first to attempt to obtain the command of the Lake; and so far as it respected offensive operations, to risque the whole objects of the campaign upon the issue of a naval action. Without deciding from the result, which is too often a fallacious mode of testing the propriety of a measure, there can be no doubt as to the wisdom of the policy adopted on this occasion. It was evident that a naval victory, which should give us the command of the lake, would be likely to induce the enemy to evacuate Malden, and afford the most important facilities to the operations of the troops; and, on the other hand, it was scarcely less evident that if our troops had been landed at Malden, for the reduction of that place, and the enemy should afterwards have acquired the mastery of the lake, they would not only have been checked in

their offensive operation, but placed in a critical situation.

Having determined, before attempting any operations of the troops, to decide who should be masters of the lake, Perry sailed from Sandusky with his fleet to Malden, as previously stated, where the enemy's squadron lay, and attempted to draw them out to engage them; but, being unable to do it, he retired to Put-in-Bay. We had proceeded with the Commodore thus far, previously to entering upon a detail of the events of war upon this frontier. The distance between Put-in-Bay and Malden is only 35 miles; so that the two squadrons and the two commanders remained within this short distance of each other, for several days previous to the action, in a state of inactivity and suspense. What must have been their reflections during this interval, we will not undertake to conjecture. There are few spectacles more sublime and none more impressive, than that of two hostile armies, or two hostile fleets, situated in the neighbourhood of each other, reposing only as preparatory to commencing the awful work of death. It is an awful pause, and a calm which appears most profound from the mind's associating it with what is to follow, just as the stillness is the greatest, which precedes the tempest.

This scene is more sublime and impressive than that of the same hostile parties, when engaged in battle; then other sensations are produced—those

of horror and sympathy—of hope and fear; all the passions being greatly agitated. But during the repose which precedes an engagement, the mind is cool, unagitated and susceptible of deep impressions from the impending storm, upon which the fate of thousands of our fellow-men, and sometimes the destiny of nations may depend. If such would be the impressions of an observer, what must be the feelings of those who are about to engage themselves in the “bloody strife?” And what must be the reflections of the commanders, who are in some measure responsible for the result, and who have a personal stake greater than that of life—their reputation? This contest, in every point of view, must have been considered as of the greatest importance. The dominion of the lake was depending upon it; the result of the campaign, and the security of an extensive frontier. But in addition to these objects, there was one which must have more deeply impressed the mind of Perry, and of the British commander. They knew that this would be the first trial of skill between the British and Americans, in an engagement between two squadrons. Upon the ocean, several actions between single frigates and ships had taken place, in all of which, the skill and bravery of American seamen had appeared conspicuous. The capture of the *Guerriere*, the *Macedonian*, the *Frolic*, &c., had broken the charm of British invincibility, as it respected engagements between single ships; but it yet remained to

be determined whether in an action between two fleets, the relative skill, seamanship and bravery of the two parties, would be the same as in actions of single vessels of war. The British commander had his own, and his country's reputation to maintain; and the American hero had his own, and, in some measure, his country's reputation to acquire, as it respected a naval action of this description. Such were the circumstances under which the two commanders reposed, previously to the action of the 10th of September—an action almost unexampled in the annals of naval warfare.

We extract the following circumstantial and minute account of this action, which was drawn up by an eye-witness,* as being preferable to any thing which we could write upon the subject :

“ On the morning of the 10th of September, at sunrise, the enemy were discovered bearing down from Malden, for the evident purpose of attacking our squadron, then at anchor in Put-in-Bay. Not a moment was to be lost. Perry's squadron immediately got under way, and stood out to meet the British fleet, which at this time had the weather gage. At 10 A. M. the wind shifted from S. W. to S. E. which brought our squadron to windward. The wind was light—the day beautiful. Not a cloud obscured the horizon. The line was formed at 11, and

*The editor of the Museum.

Commodore Perry caused an elegant flag, which he had privately prepared, to be hoisted at the mast head of the *Lawrence*. On this flag was painted, in characters legible to the whole fleet, the dying words of the immortal *Lawrence*:—"DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP." Its effect is not to be described—every heart was electrified. The crews cheered—the exhilarating can was passed. Both fleets appeared eager for the conflict, on the result of which so much depended. At 15 minutes before 12, the *Detroit*, the headmost ship of the enemy, opened upon the *Lawrence*, which for ten minutes, was obliged to sustain a well directed and heavy fire from the enemy's two large ships, without being able to return it with carronades; at 5 minutes before 12, the *Lawrence* opened upon the enemy. The other vessels were ordered to support her, but the wind at this time was too light to enable them to come up. Every brace and bowline of the *Lawrence* being soon shot away, she became unmanageable, and in this situation, sustained the action upwards of two hours, within canister distance, until every gun was rendered useless, and but a small part of her crew left unhurt upon deck.

"At half past two the wind increased, and enabled the *Niagara* to come into close action—the gun-boats took a nearer position. Commodore Perry left his ship in charge of Lieutenant *Yarnel*. and

went on board the Niagara.* Just as he reached that vessel, the flag of the Lawrence came down. The crisis had arrived. Captain Elliot at this moment anticipated the wishes of the Commodore, by volunteering his services to bring the schooners into close action.

“ At forty-five minutes past two, the signal was made for close action. The Niagara being very little injured, and her crew fresh, the Commodore determined to pass through the enemy’s line. He accordingly bore up and passed ahead of the Detroit, Queen Charlotte, and Lady Prevost, pouring a terrible raking fire into them from the starboard guns, and on the Chippewa and Little Belt, from the larboard side, at half pistol shot distance. The small

*This circumstance is an extraordinary evidence of presence of mind, and of cool intrepidity ; and probably decided the fate of the action. A crisis had arrived, and the scale which at that time was made to preponderate, could hardly fail of bearing down its opposite. The uninjured condition of the Niagara and the small vessels, and their crews being fresh, when brought into close action, gave them in some measure, the character of a reinforcement, and that, at the very point of time which was to decide the result of the action. Perry entered the boat in the most intrepid and gallant manner ; and although imminently exposed, several broadsides being leveled at the boat, and showers of musketry from three of the enemy’s vessels, which were within musket shot, poured upon it, he remained standing in the boat’s stern, until absolutely pulled down by the crew. Those of the crew of the Lawrence, who remained behind, eyed him

vessels at this time having got within grape and canister distance, kept up a well directed and destructive fire. The action now raged with the greatest fury. The Queen Charlotte, having lost her commander, and several of her principal officers, in a moment of confusion, got foul of the Detroit. In this situation, the enemy in their turn had to sustain a tremendous fire, without the power of returning it with much effect. The carnage was horrible. The flags of the Detroit, Queen Charlottee, and Lady Prevost, were struck in rapid succession. The brig Hunter, and schooner Chippewa, were soon compelled to follow the example. The Little Belt attempted to escape to Malden, but she was pursued by two of the gun-boats, and surrendered, about three miles distant from the scene of action.

with a breathless solicitude, in this critical scene of peril, the balls striking around him in every direction, and beheld, with a transport of joy, his flag hoisted at the mast head of the Niagara.

This circumstance of Pery's leaving his ship, which had become disabled, in a boat, during the rage and confusion of the action, and hoisting his flag on board of another ship, has, we believe, few examples. There is, however, one very distinguished one. In the action off the mouth of the Texel, during the second Dutch war, in 1673, between the famous Dutch Admirals De Ruyter and Tromp, and the English Admirals Prince Rupert and Sprague; the latter left his ship twice during the action, and the last time was drowned, a shot having struck his boat as he was passing to hoist his flag on board of a third ship, the two first in which he had fought, having been cut to pieces.

“ The writer of this account, in company with five others, arrived at the head of Put-in-Bay island, on the evening of the 9th, and had a view of the action at the distance of only ten miles. The spectacle was truly grand and awful. The firing was incessant, for the space of three hours, and continued at short intervals, forty-five minutes longer. In less than one hour after the battle began, most of the vessels of both fleets were enveloped in a cloud of smoke, which rendered the issue of the action uncertain, till the next morning, when we visited the fleet in the harbour, on the opposite side of the island. The reader will easily judge of our solicitude to learn the result. There is no sentiment more painful than suspense, when it is excited by the uncertain issue of an event like this.

“ If the wind had continued at S. W. it was the intention of Admiral Barclay to have boarded our squadron. For this purpose he had taken on board of his fleet about 200 of the famous 41st regiment. They acted as marines, and fought bravely ; but nearly two thirds of them were either killed or wounded.

“ The carnage on board the prizes was prodigious. They must have lost 200 in killed, besides wounded. The sides of the Detroit and Queen Charlotte, were shattered from bow to stern. There was scarcely room to place one's hand on their larboard sides, without touching the impression of a shot. A great

many balls, canister and grape, were found lodged in their bulwarks, which were too thick to be penetrated by our carronades, unless within pistol shot distance. Their masts were so much shattered that they fell overboard soon after they got into the bay.

“The loss of the Americans was severe, particularly on board the *Lawrence*. When her flag was struck, she had but nine men fit for duty, remaining on deck. Her sides were completely riddled by the shot from the long guns of the British ships. Her deck, the morning after the conflict, when I first went on board, exhibited a scene that defies description—for it was literally covered with blood, which still adhered to the plank in clots—brains, hair, and fragments of bones were still sticking to the rigging and sides. The surgeons were still busy with the wounded. Enough! horror appalled my senses.

“Among the wounded were several brave fellows, each of whom had lost a leg or an arm. They appeared cheerful, and expressed a hope that they had done their duty. Rome and Sparta would have been proud of these heroes.

“It would be invidious to particularize instances of individual merit, where every one so nobly performed his part. Of the nine seamen remaining unhurt at the time the *Lawrence* struck her flag, five were immediately promoted, for their unshaken firmness, in such a trying situation. The most of these

had been in the actions with the *Guerriere* and *Java*.

“Every officer of the *Lawrence*, except the Commodore and his little brother, a promising youth, 13 years old, were either killed or wounded.

“The efficacy of the gun-boats was fully proved in this action, and the sterns of all the prizes bear ample testimony of the fact. They took raking positions, and galled the enemy severely. The *Lady Prevost* lost twelve men before either of the brigs fired on her. Their fire was quick and precise. Let us hear the enemy. The general order of Adjutant General Baynes, contains the following words: “His (Perry’s) numerous gun boats, (four) which had proved the greatest annoyance during the action, were all uninjured.”

“The undaunted bravery of Admiral Barclay, entitled him to a better fate. To the loss of the day, was superadded grievous and dangerous wounds.—He had before lost an arm; it was now his hard fortune to lose the other, by a shot which carried away the blade of the right shoulder; a canister shot made a violent contusion in his hip. His wounds were for some days considered mortal. Every possible attention was paid to his situation. When Commodore Perry sailed for Buffalo, he was so far recovered, that he took passage on board our fleet. The fleet touched at Erie. The citizens saw the affecting spectacle of Harrison and Perry, leading the

wounded British hero, still unable to walk without help, from the beach to their lodgings.

“ On board the *Detroit*, twenty-four hours after her surrender, were found, snugly stowed away in the hold, two Indian Chiefs, who had the courage to go on board at Malden, for the purpose of acting as sharp shooters, to kill our officers. One had the courage to ascend into the round top, and discharge his piece, but the whizzing of shot, splinters, and bits of rigging, soon made the place too warm for him— He descended faster than he went up. At the moment he reached the deck, the fragments of a seaman’s head struck his comrade’s face, and covered it with blood and brains. He vociferated the savage interjection “ *quoh*” and both sought safety below.

“ The British officers had domesticated a *bear* at Malden. *Bruin* accompanied his *comrades* to battle—was on the deck of the *Detroit* during the engagement, and escaped unhurt.

“ The killed of both fleets were thrown overboard as fast as they fell. Several were washed ashore upon the island and the main, during the gales that succeeded the action.

“ Commodore Perry treated the prisoners with humanity and indulgence. Several Canadians, having wives at Malden, were permitted to visit their families on parole.

“ The British were superior in the *length* and *number* of their guns, as well as in the number of men.

The American fleet was manned with a motley set of beings, Europeans, Africans, Americans, from every part of the United States. Full one fourth were blacks. I saw one *Russian*, who could not speak a word of English. They were brave—and who could be otherwise under the command of Perry?

“ The day after the battle, the funeral obsequies of the American and British officers, who had fallen in the action, were performed in an appropriate and affecting manner. An opening on the margin of the bay, was selected for the interment of the bodies.—The crews of both fleets attended. The weather was fine. The elements seemed to participate in the solemnities of the day, for every breeze was hushed, and not a wave ruffled the surface of the water. The procession of boats—the neat appearance of the officers and men—the music—the slow and regular motion of the oars, striking in exact time with the notes of the solemn dirge—the mournful waving of the flags—the sound of the minute guns from the different ships in the harbour—the wild and solitary aspect of the place—the stillness of nature, gave to the scene an air of melancholy grandeur, better felt than described. All acknowledged its influence—all were sensibly affected. What a contrast did it exhibit to the terrible conflict of the preceding day! Then the people of two squadrons were engaged in the deadly strife of arms. Now they associated, like brothers,

to pay the last sad tribute of respect to the dead of both nations.

“ Five officers were interred, two American and three British. Lieutenant Brooks and Midshipman Laub, of the *Lawrence*; Captain Finnis, and Lieutenant Stoke, of the *Queen Charlotte*, and Lieutenant Garland, of the *Detroit*. The graves are but a few paces from the beach, and the future traveller of either nation, will find no memento whereby he may distinguish the American from the British hero.

“ The *marines* of our fleet were highly complimented by the Commodore, for their good conduct; although it was the first time most of them had seen a square rigged vessel.”

From the general description of an engagement, we can form but an imperfect idea of the particular merit or services of individuals; nor does such a description present any distinct images to the mind.— All general ideas are more or less vague and indistinct, and consequently are incapable of deeply interesting the feelings. We read the account of an army's being annihilated, and of a ship's being sunk, with comparatively little emotion; but who can peruse the minute detail of the sufferings and perils of an individual, without the most lively sympathy and concern. In contemplating action, or suffering, our ideas must be faint and indistinct, where we have not a clear, precise, and definite notion of the agent who acts or suffers.—Hence, in speaking of

the achievements or the sufferings of an army or of a fleet, our views can be distinct only so far as they are *particular*. The general and complex idea of an army, or any other body of men, cannot be entirely abstracted from the particular ideas of the individuals composing it; and the mind, when contemplating their acts or sufferings, constantly exerts itself to render its general and confused ideas, more particular and distinct, or in other words, to ascertain what *individuals* performed and suffered. This gives us distinct perceptions, and interests our feelings. The exploits of an army cannot excite emulation, nor their sufferings sympathy; but those of their commander, or any other individual may.—From these considerations, we shall detail some distinct and insulated facts, connected with this memorable action, which may give a more lively and perspicuous idea of the character and spirit of it—of the services and merit of Perry, and other individuals, and of the general scene of desperate fighting, peril and distress.

The carnage on board the *Lawrence* being dreadful, many men were swept away from the side of the Commodore. An incident of this kind evinced the coolness and presence of mind which prevailed among the officers. The second Lieutenant of the *Lawrence*, standing close by Perry, was struck in the breast by a chain shot, which, having passed through the bulwark, was so far spent as to have no

other effect than to knock him down. The shot lodged in the bosom of his waistcoat. He fell, stunned by the violence of the blow. Perry approaching him, and perceiving no blood, nor marks of a wound, observed that he thought he could not be hurt. Upon this the Lieutenant, having revived, pulled the shot out of his bosom, and exclaiming "no sir, but this is my shot," thrust it with great *sang froid*, into his pocket.

Lieutenant Yarnell, of the *Lawrence*, was distinguished throughout the action, for his cool intrepidity. He was dressed like a common seaman, and had a red bandanna handkerchief tied round his neck, and another round his head, having been applied to staunch two wounds which he had received. He had also been wounded by a splinter in the nose, which was terribly swollen. From these several wounds the blood was trickling down his face, and dropping on his garments, giving him a peculiarly hideous and frightful appearance. In this plight, looking like the very genius of carnage, when the action raged with the greatest fury, he approached the Commodore, and informed him that all the officers of his division were killed. Perry ordered others in their place. Soon after, the valiant Lieutenant returned with the same sad tidings that all his officers were killed or wounded. "Then sir," said Perry, "you must endeavour to make out yourself—I have no more to furnish you."

During the action, Perry observed that a brave and favourite sailor, then captain of a gun, found great difficulty in managing it, the forelock having been broken. Perry approaching him in his usual affable and encouraging manner, enquired what was the matter. The honest tar exhibiting signs of just vexation, turned round and exclaimed, "Sir, my gun behaves shamefully—shamefully." Then he leveled his piece, and having taken aim, raised himself up in a fine martial style, as if wishing to appear to the best advantage in the presence of the Commodore, when he was suddenly struck in the breast by a cannon ball, which passed through him, and he fell dead without a groan.

Soon after Perry had entered on board the *Niagara*, whilst standing on the quarter deck, a sailor who commanded one of the guns having had all of his men shot down, approached Perry, and laying his hands on his shoulders, exclaimed, "for God's sake, sir, give me some more men." This fact is a striking illustration of the spirit and animation which prevailed among all ranks, and that both body and mind were so engaged in the conflict, and intent on victory, as to have lost all sense of personal danger. This valiant tar, although all his men had been killed or wounded before his eyes, and by his very side, does not appear to have a thought about his own danger—He only thought of more men to man his gun, that he might continue to annoy the enemy.

At the time Perry, with the Niagara, passed the enemy's line, giving a broadside to the Lady Prevost, Lieutenant Buchan, who commanded that vessel, was shot through the face by a musket ball. The two vessels being within half pistol shot distance, every thing which occurred on board either, could be distinctly seen from the other. The Lady Prevost being terribly cut to pieces, and unable to withstand the desperate fire of the Niagara, the men all ran below, excepting her commander, who was observed on deck, leaning on the companion way, with his face on his hand, gazing with fixed stare, and apparent amazement, at his enemies. Perry immediately ordered the firing to cease. It was afterwards ascertained that this strange conduct of Lieutenant Buchan, who was a brave officer, and distinguished in the battle of the Nile, was occasioned by sudden derangement, which his wound had produced.

“While Perry was engaged at close quarters, in the Niagara, Lieutenant Turner, a fine, bold, young sailor, who commanded the brig Caledonia of three guns, spreading every sail, endeavoured to get into action. His fore sail interfered between him and the enemy; but rather than take in an inch of canvass, he ordered his men to fire through it. Seeing the Commodore engaged in the thickest of the fight, he proposed to the commander of another small vessel, to board the Detroit; the other, however, prudently declined the rash, but gallant proposal.”

“ The affecting fate of Lieutenant Brooks, of the marines, presents an awful picture of the scenes which the warrior witnesses in battle—his favourite companions suddenly cut down before his eyes—those dreadful transitions from the flush of health and the vivacity of youth, to the ghastliness of agonized death—from the cheering and the smile, to the shriek and the convulsion. Brooks was a gay, animated young officer, remarkable for his personal beauty. In the midst of the engagement, he accosted Perry in a spirited tone, with a smile on his countenance, and was making some observations about the enemy, when a cannon ball struck him in the thigh and dashed him to the opposite side of the deck.—The blow shattered him dreadfully, and the sudden anguish forced from him the most thrilling exclamations. He implored Perry to shoot him, and put an end to his torture; the latter directed some of the marines to carry him below, and consign him to the surgeon. The scene was rendered more affecting by the conduct of a little mulatto boy, of twelve years of age, a favourite of Brooks. He was carrying cartridges to one of the guns, but seeing his master fall, he threw himself on the deck with the most frantic gesticulations, and piercing cries, exclaiming that his master was killed; nor could he be appeased, until orders were given to carry him below, when he immediately returned to carrying cartridges. Mr. Hamilton, the purser, who had worked at a gun like

a common sailor, being wounded, was carried below and laid on the same mattress with Brooks. The wound of the latter was staunched, and he lay composed, calmly awaiting his approaching death. Hamilton observes that he never looked so perfectly beautiful as at this moment, when the anguish of his wound had imparted a feverish flush and lustre to his usually blooming countenance. He asked with great solicitude, after Perry, and how the battle went. He gave a few directions respecting his own affairs, and while his voice was growing weaker and weaker, recommended his little mulatto to kindness and protection, directing into whose hands he should be placed. While he was yet talking, Hamilton's attention was attracted by some circumstances which occasioned him to look another way for a moment—the voice of his companion died upon his ear, and when he turned his face again, poor Brooks had expired.”*

There is one circumstance which was related by Perry, that deserves particular mention. It has something in it which does not belong to common life, and which has the appearance of inspiration.

“When in the sweeping havoc which was sometimes made, a number of men were shot away from around a gun, the survivors *looked silently around to Perry*—and then stepped into their places. When

*Analectic Magazine.

he looked at the poor fellows that lay wounded and weltering on the deck, he always found *their faces turned towards him, and their eyes fixed on his countenance*. It is impossible for words to heighten the simple and affecting eloquence of this anecdote. It speaks volumes in praise of the heroism of the commander, and the confidence and affection of his men."

During this dreadful conflict, which thickened with perils, and was characterised by a carnage unexampled, there was but a single moment when the cool intrepidity and the self command of Perry, experienced any thing like a shock. This was on seeing his brother, a youth of but thirteen, who served on board as a midshipman, knocked down by a hammock, which was driven in by a cannon ball. The first impression of the Commodore was, that he was killed, which gave him a momentary agony, that disconcerted the calmness of his mind. But the sprightly youth immediately rising up unhurt and undismayed, relieved the mind of the Commodore, which, being occupied with the engagement, and intent on victory, no more thought of the danger to which the youth was exposed.

This splendid victory, so complete and honourable in its character, and so important in its consequences, was announced by Commodore Perry, in a spirit of humility and moderation, which always accompany real merit and true greatness. In his first let-

ter* to the Secretary of the navy, he keeps himself, and, in a measure, the squadron under his command, out of view; his language being, that "it has pleased the Almighty to give to *the arms of the United States*, a signal victory over their enemies on this lake." But his laconic letter† to General Harrison, on the occasion, is perhaps, a more striking evidence of a mind capable of great and heroic achievements.

The emphatic language, "WE HAVE MET THE ENEMY AND THEY ARE OUR'S," could only have proceeded from the hero of Erie. It reminds us of the cele-

*The following is a transcript of this letter :

*U. S. brig Niagara, off the western Lister, head of }
Lake Erie, Sept. 10th, 1813, 4 o'clock, P. M. }*

Sir—It has pleased the Almighty to give to the arms of the United States a signal victory over their enemies on this lake. The British squadron, consisting of two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop, have this moment surrendered to the force under my command, after a sharp conflict.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

O. H. PERRY.

*The Hon. William Jones, }
Secretary of the Navy. }*

†The following is a copy of this letter :

*U. S. brig Niagara, off the western Lister, head of }
Lake Erie, Sept. 10th, 1813, 4 o'clock, P. M. }*

Dear General—We have met the enemy, and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop.

Yours, with great respect and esteem,

O. H. PERRY.

brated words of Cæsar, *veni, vidi, vici.*† These letters have a similitude to Nelson's, after the victory of the Nile, which, it has been said, was adopted as a model; but if so, it was a noble one, and the occasion amply justified the use of it.

On the 13th, Perry addressed two letters to the Secretary of the navy; one containing a detailed account of the action, in which he spoke in the highest terms, of his gallant officers and men, both sailors and marines; and the other containing some particulars as to the vessels captured, and the prisoners taken, and requesting instructions as to the disposition of the same. Accompanying these letters was a statement of the force of the two squadrons, and of the killed and wounded, on board of Perry's squadron.

The British squadron consisted of the following vessels and number of guns:

Ship Detroit,	19 guns, 1 on a pivot, and [2 howitzers.
Queen Charlotte,	17 do., 1 on a pivot.
Schooner Lady Prevost,	13 do., 1 do.
Brig Hunter,	10 do.
Sloop Little Belt,	3 do.
Schooner Chipewa,	1 do., and 2 swivels.
	<hr/> 63 guns.

The Detroit was a new ship, very strongly built, and mounted long 24's, 18's and 12's. The Queen

†I came—I saw—I conquered.

Charlotte was a much superior vessel to what had been represented, and the Lady Prevost a large and fine schooner.

Perry's squadron consisted of the following vessels, and number of guns :

Brig Lawrence,	20 guns.
Niagara,	20 do.
Caledonia,	3 do.
Schooner Ariel,	4 do., one burst early in [the action.
Scorpion,	2 do.
Somers,	2 do. and 2 swivels.
Tigress,	1 do.
Porcupine,	1 do.
Sloop Trip,	1 do.

54 guns.

The exact number of the men, which the enemy had on board of the squadron, could not be ascertained ; but it was thought by Commodore Perry, to exceed his number, by nearly one hundred. Neither was the loss of the enemy known with certainty, but it was evidently very great, both in killed and wounded. Captain Barclay, senior officer and commander of the squadron, was severely wounded, and the Captain and first Lieutenant of the Detroit, and the first Lieutenant of the Queen Charlotte, were killed.

The following is a statement of the killed and wounded on board of Perry's squadron :

Lawrence,	22 killed	61 wounded	—total	83
Niagara,	2 do.	25 do.		27
Caledonia,		3 do.		3
Somers,		2 do.		2
Trip,		2 do.		2
Scorpion,		2 do.		2
Ariel,	1 do.	3 do.		4
	27	98	Total	123

The prisoners were landed at Sandusky, and Perry requested General Harrison to have them marched to Chilicothe, where they were to remain until the pleasure of the Secretary of the Navy, respecting them, could be known. The wounded of the fleet were taken to Erie, on board the *Lawrence*, which had been so cut up in the action, that it became necessary she should go into a safe harbour; and Lieutenant Yarnell, who was dispatched with her, was ordered to dismantle and get her over the bar at Erie, as soon as possible. The two ships captured, the *Detroit* and *Queen Charlotte* were so much injured in the action, that on the 13th, whilst at anchor at Put-in-Bay, they lost their masts, and it was found necessary to haul them into the inner bay, and moor them for their security.

It would be useless to make any remarks upon this victory. A simple narration of the facts is a suffi-

cient commentary, and the best eulogium upon the gallant and illustrious Commodore, and the brave officers and men, by whose valour it was achieved.— From the statement of facts which has been made, it appears that in almost every point of view, the enemy had the advantage. Their numerical force exceeded ours by nearly one hundred ; and a greater proportion of them were experienced seamen and marines. The American fleet was built, equipped and manned in about three months, and consequently the crews of the vessels hastily collected. They were a mixed, and apparently, an incongruous set of beings, comprising Americans from every part of the Union, Europeans, and blacks.* They had not been together long enough to become acquainted

*This fact is deserving of consideration. It has been stated that one fourth part of Perry's men were *blacks* ; but supposing that a much less proportion consisted of blacks, it is evident from the result of the action, that they must have been an efficient force, for to believe the contrary, would be to suppose that the fleet was but *partially manned*, as, including all, there was no excess, but on the contrary, a less number of men, by near one hundred, than there was on board the British fleet. It will not be contended that there was any thing peculiar in this service, and if the blacks were active and brave on this occasion, it is pretty good evidence that they can be usefully employed in naval service. Indeed, we believe it has generally been found that the blacks make good seamen. If this is correct, the free blacks in the United States, would constitute a most extensive resource for manning a navy, and maintaining a maritime power.

with each other, or the service. When the fleet was first got over the bar at Erie, there was not more than *half sailors enough* to man it, and it could not have sailed, had not a number of Pennsylvania militia volunteered their services.

Although such was the character and condition of the sailors, the *marines* were still less qualified for their situation, so far as that depends upon experience and discipline, most of them having never before seen a square rigged vessel. Nearly all of them were volunteers from the Pennsylvania militia, on service at Erie, commanded by Colonel Rees Hill, and Kentuckians, of which about seventy entered on board the fleet as volunteers, at Sandusky. The former were raised in the counties of Centre, Huntingdon, and Mifflin. Such were the men who, under Perry, conquered the self-styled "lords of the ocean," on the element which they have claimed as their own, and broke, in the first action of the kind which ever occurred between the two nations, the charm of British invincibility. What they wanted in experience, they made up in bravery. Yet brave as they were, it required, under the disadvantageous circumstances attending them, the cool intrepidity, the consummate skill, and the exalted genius of Perry, to lead them to victory and glory.

But not only did the enemy have the advantage as to the number and condition of the men by whom their fleet was manned, but likewise as to the fleet

itself. As appears by the statement, they had the greatest *number* of guns, and they also had an advantage from their being of greater length. At the commencement of the action, the wind was in favour of the enemy, enabling them to choose their own position, which, from the great length of their guns, gave them great advantage. But notwithstanding all these superior advantages possessed by the British—in the language of the immortal Perry, “it pleased the Almighty to give to the arms of the United States, a signal victory over its enemies on this lake.”

The naval force of the enemy having become “*ours*,” and having obtained the complete command of the Lake, General Harrison and Commodore Perry lost no time in pursuing the ulterior objects of the campaign. The contemplated attack upon Malden was now greatly facilitated, and arrangements were immediately made for carrying it into effect.—As soon as the vessels were at liberty, having landed the prisoners and wounded, they were employed in concentrating the troops at Put-in-Bay, by transporting them from fort Meigs and Portage river, to that place. This was accomplished about the 20th of September, and on the 22d Commodore Perry landed about 1200 of the troops on a small island about twelve miles from Malden, which the next day were embarked and landed upon the Canada shore, a little below Malden. In one hour after the troops had

disembarked, General Harrison, perceiving that the enemy had evacuated it, took possession of the town of Amherstburgh. General Proctor had fled with his forces, to Sandwich, having previously burnt fort Malden, the navy-yard, barracks, and public store-houses. He was immediately pursued by General Harrison, to Sandwich, but before he arrived, Proctor had retreated, pursuing the rout to the Moravian town, on the Thames, which is about eighty miles from Detroit, leaving the Michigan territory to revert to its rightful possessors. On the 2d of October, Harrison, accompanied by Perry, who had volunteered as his Aid-de-Camp, left Sandwich, in pursuit of Proctor, with a force of nearly 3,500 men, consisting of 140 regulars, Colonel Johnson's mounted regiment and the Kentucky volunteers, under the venerable Governor Shelby. On the evening of the same day, the army reached the river Thames, and the next morning crossed upon a bridge which Proctor had neglected to destroy.

The Thames discharges its waters into Lake St. Clair, about twenty-five miles above Detroit. It being supposed that the enemy would be likely to leave behind detachments to destroy the bridges over the three branches of the Thames, which they had crossed, General Harrison, with a view to save these bridges, if possible, put himself at the head of the mounted regiment, and pushed forward with all possible speed. At the first bridge, he found and

captured a Lieutenant of dragoons, and eleven privates, who had been left by the enemy to destroy it. The second bridge having been but partially demolished, was soon repaired, and the army crossed upon it on the evening of the 3d. The baggage which had thus far been brought by boats, under the protection of gun boats, it was found necessary to leave at this place under a strong guard, the river above being narrow, and having high and woody banks. One more unfordable branch of the Thames remained to be passed, at which the army arrived on the 4th, and discovered that the bridge near its mouth, and also one about a mile above, had been taken up by the Indians. The Indians, to the number of several hundred, had collected, and attempted to dispute the passage of the troops, and obstruct the repair of the bridge; but a well directed fire from two six pounders, soon obliged them to retire, and in two hours, the bridge was repaired and the troops crossed, just in time to save a house to which the enemy had set fire, and a considerable quantity of muskets stored in it. One of the British vessels was also found on fire above the bridge; and here it was ascertained that the enemy were but a few miles ahead.

The enemy seemed determined to destroy what they could not keep. About four miles above the bridge, two more vessels were found in flames, and also a large distillery, containing ordnance and milita-

ry stores to an immense amount. The fire had progressed so far, that it was impossible to extinguish it; and of the public property, two mounted twenty-four pounders, and a considerable quantity of balls and shells, only, were saved. At this place the army staid on the night of the 4th, and early the next morning, the troops were again put in motion, and advanced with all possible speed, it being known that the enemy were but a short distance ahead.—In the afternoon, the advance guard having come up with the enemy, the officer commanding, sent to inform General Harrison that his progress was stopped by the enemy, who were formed in a strong position, across the line of march.—To understand the position of the enemy, it is necessary to be acquainted with the topography of the country. Upon the border of the Thames, there was a lofty beech forest having very little underbrush. This forest extended back from the river, two or three hundred yards, to a large and impervious swamp, which ranged for several miles, parallel with the river. The road run through the forest, near the bank of the river. The line of the enemy was formed across this strip of land, their left resting on the river, supported by artillery, and their right on the swamp, covered by the Indians.

“The American troops were now formed in order of battle. General Trotter’s brigade formed the front line, his right upon the road, and his left upon

the swamp, with General Desha's division, consisting of two brigades, formed *en potence*,* upon his left. General King's brigade formed a second line, 150 yards in the rear of Trotter's, and Chile's brigade, a corps of reserve in the rear. Trotter's, King's and Chile's brigades, formed the command of Major General Harrison. Each brigade averaged nearly 500 men. The crotchet formed by Desha's division, was occupied by Shelby, the Governour of Kentucky, a veteran of sixty-six years of age, who had distinguished himself in the revolutionary war, at King's mountain. The regular troops, who now amounted to only 120 men, occupied in columns of sections of four, the small space between the road and the river, for the purpose of seizing the enemy's artillery, and ten or twelve friendly Indians, were directed to move under the bank. Harrison had directed Johnson's mounted infantry to form in two lines, opposite to the enemy, and when the infantry advanced to take ground to the left, and, forming upon that flank, to endeavour to turn the right of the Indians. It was perceived, however, that it would be impracticable for them to do any thing on horseback in that quarter, owing to the thickness of the woods, and the swampiness of the ground. A measure altogether

*The troops are formed *en potence*, by breaking a straight line and throwing a certain proportion of it either forward or backward, from the right or left, according to circumstances, for the purpose of securing that line. *Duane's Military Dictionary*.

novel, was determined on, which was crowned with the most signal success. The American backwoodsmen, ride better in the woods than any other people. A musket, or rifle is no impediment to them, being accustomed to carry them on horseback from their earliest youth. A charge was determined on, and accordingly the regiment was drawn up in close column, with its right at the distance of fifty yards from the road, that it might, in some measure, be protected by the trees from the artillery, and the left upon the swamp.

“The army in this order, had moved on but a short distance, when the mounted men received the fire of the British line, and were instantly ordered to charge. The horses in front of the column, recoiled from the fire; but on receiving a second fire, the column got into motion, and immediately, at full speed, broke through the enemy with irresistible force. In one minute the contest was over in front. The British officers seeing no hope of reducing their disordered ranks to order, the mounted infantry wheeling upon them, and pouring in a destructive fire, immediately surrendered. Only three of the Americans were wounded in this charge.

“Upon the American left, however, the contest with the Indians was more severe. Colonel Johnson, who commanded on that flank of his regiment, received a most galling fire from them, which was returned with great effect. The Indians still further

to the left, advanced and fell in with the front line of the infantry, near its junction with the division *en potence*, and for a moment, made an impression upon it. Governor Shelby, however, who, as already stated, was stationed near this point, brought up a regiment to its support. The enemy now received a severe fire in front, and a part of the mounted men having gained their rear, they immediately retreated with precipitation.”*

General Harrison, with his Aids, and the gallant Perry, who served as a volunteer Aid-de-Camp, and Brigadier General Cass, who, having no command, tendered his services to the commanding General, placed himself at the head of the front line of Infantry, to direct the movements of the cavalry, and give them the necessary support.

Those British officers and soldiers, with the exception of Proctor, and the few that escaped with him, who, for fifteen months, had harrassed the north-western frontier, and allied themselves with the savages, and who, if they had not instigated, had witnessed the massacres upon the river Raisin, and upon the Miami, after the defeat of Colonel Dudley, and the numerous and horrible outrages upon the peaceable and defenceless inhabitants of the frontiers, had now, from the fortune of war, fallen into the hands of that enemy upon whom they had inflicted so many deep wounds, and offered so many indignities. The

*History of the War.

period had now arrived that was to decide, whether the reproach which Brock had thrown upon the Kentuckians, of their being a “ferocious and mortal foe, using the same mode of warfare as the savages,” and that the employment of them, in the American service, would justify the British in employing the Indians, was founded in truth; or, whether it was a base aspersion of a brave, a generous, and a magnanimous people. The men under whose eyes the murders upon the river Raisin and the Miami, had been committed, were now completely in the hands of an army, composed almost entirely of Kentuckians, many of whom had lost brothers, relatives or friends in those shocking scenes. Nor were the instruments of vengeance wanting. The savages who had sued to the Americans for mercy, would gladly have shewn their claims to it, by reacting upon the Thames, the bloody drama of the river Raisin. A single sign of approbation, would have poured forth their fury upon the inhabitants of an extensive and flourishing province, which the fortune of war had opened to our arms. But how did the Kentuckians act on this occasion. Did they follow the example which had been set them? Did they attempt to avenge the innocent blood of their brethren, which had been shed, if not by the prisoners in their hands, under their eyes, and by the Indians with whom they were associated? Did they extend unto their enemies when in their power, that measure of justice, or

rather of outrage, which their countrymen, in a similar situation, had experienced from them? No: a sense of retributive justice, was lost in the nobler feelings of humanity. Those, who a moment before, had, associated with savages, been engaged in warfare, and who were known to have been the abettors of those horrid barbarities, which had deluged our borders with innocent blood, the instant they ceased resistance, ceased to be regarded as enemies. From an exalted spirit of magnanimity, all injuries were forgotten. The only character in which they were now viewed, was that of *prisoners of war*. Not only were their persons and property sacredly protected, but they experienced the most honourable and kind treatment—Not a word, nor a look escaped from their captors, calculated to wound or insult their feelings.

The result of this victory, was six hundred and one prisoners, of the British regulars, twelve killed and twenty-two wounded. General Proctor, with about forty dragoons, and a number of mounted Indians, made his escape by the fleetness of their horses. The Indians sustained the severest loss. Thirty-three were found dead upon the field of action; besides which many were killed whilst on the retreat.—Six pieces of brass ordnance were taken, of which three were trophies of the revolutionary war, being the same that were surrendered by General Hull at Detroit, and were originally taken from

the British at Saratoga and Yorktown. Besides these, two twenty-four pounders were taken the day before the action, and several others were discovered in the river in a situation to be saved. Small arms, to the number of more than 5000, were either taken or destroyed by the enemy, nearly all of which had originally belonged to the Americans, and were captured by the British at Detroit, Frenchtown, and at Colonel Dudley's defeat, on the Miami.

The number of Indians engaged in this action could not be ascertained, but it was thought to have been considerably more than one thousand. A British officer of high rank, informed one of Harrison's Aids, that at the time the American army landed near Amherstburgh, Proctor had more than 3000 Indian warriors at his disposal, but asserted that the greater part of them had left him previous to the action.

Among the Indians who fell, was the celebrated warrior and Chief, TECUMSEH. He was a distinguished and influential Chief, possessing, in an eminent degree, all the attributes of a natural greatness, both physical and intellectual. His independent and unsubdued spirit, spurned the advantages and the restraints of civilization, and led him to view the Americans with suspicion and hostility. Though as uncultivated as his native forests, he disclosed a mind vigorous, energetic, and determined—fixed in its purposes—ample in resources, and steady and persevering in the pursuit of them. Conscious of his

superiority, he caused it to be felt by others, and his deportment was rudely dignified and commanding. Holding in the highest veneration the customs and traditions of his countrymen—having a high sense of their independence and rights; and considering them as jeopardized by the rapid inroads of civilization, he became implacable in his hostility to the United States.—At the commencement of the war, he exerted himself to arouse the spirit of war and hostility among the different tribes, and to induce them to take hold of the tomahawk, and strike the Americans; and unfortunately his exertions were but too successful. He infused his own soul into the young men and warriors, and the pipe of peace, soon yielded to the ferocious war-yell. How far he was stimulated to exert himself, by the British, may be conjectured, from the fact that, at the time of his fall, he held from the British government a Brigadier General's commission. But he was not like some great men in civilized nations, who have had sufficient influence to induce their country to engage in war, and then are the first to shrink from its responsibilities, and to flee from its dangers. His spirit of hostility was not greater than his undaunted bravery. In a speech which he made to "his Father,*" at Amherstburgh, previously to the enemy's evacuating that place, he shewed that he scorned "to seek safety by flight,"

*General Proctor.

and explicitly charged proctor with cowardice—of not daring to stay and meet the enemy himself, and of depriving his “red children” of the means of defending themselves. He concludes his speech as follows :

“Father!—You have got the arms and ammunition which our great father sent for his red children ; if you have an idea of going away, give them to us, and you may go and welcome, for us. Our lives are in the hands of the great spirit. We are determined to defend our lands, and if it be his will, we wish to leave our bones upon them.”

But destiny ordered that the bones of this gallant chieftain should be left upon the Thames.

We cannot forbear to subjoin the following lines upon this distinguished warrior. They are extracted from a western paper :

TECUMSEH.

ALOFT on his courser, his plumes waving high,
 Rage brightning each feature, fury lighting his eye,
 Tecumseh came dashing o'er the blood crimson'd field,
 Determin'd to conquer—with life but to yield !
 When the voice of a foeman thus rung on his ear :
 “ Tecumseh ! Tecumseh ! thy hour draweth near ;
 “ Yon high rolling planet, mild beaming so bright,
 “ To you will no more shew the rays of his light ;
 “ In Fates dreaded balance, your crimes have been weigh'd,
 “ And to day you're consign'd to futurity's shade.
 “ Columbia's war horses, shall prance, and shall neigh,
 “ O'er the plains where your bones will sun-bleachen lay.

“ Stern warrior ! no more shall the war-whooping sound ;
 “ Make your chieftains and warriors encircle you round ;
 “ No more will your yelling, your countrymen rouse,
 “ On the ranks of your foemen courageous to charge ;
 “ No more will your hand cause the infant to bleed,
 “ No more to the charge will you spur your train’d steed ;
 “ No more on the blasts will be wasted your yell ;
 “ No more to our foes, our scalps will you sell ;
 “ At midnight, no more you’ll your war hatchet steep,
 “ In the blood of the brave, as unconscious they sleep !
 “ The star of your glory is now near its fall ;
 “ Your race is run out, “ Death hath woven your pall !”
 “ Hark ! now you are summon’d—you fall,—yes, ’tis o’er !”
 The voice instant ceas’d, and Tecumseh’s no more.

It is admitted that the American forces considerably exceeded those of the enemy ; but when it is considered that the latter had chosen their own position—that they had taken one peculiarly favourable for defence, effectually securing their flanks, it being impossible to turn them, and that the Americans could present a line no more extended than that of the enemy, which was too limited to admit of the active employment of all their troops ; and when it is further considered, that the troops were almost entirely militia, it must be conceded that this victory reflected great honour upon the national arms, and upon the troops by whom it was achieved.

The action, and the movements which preceded it, afford ample testimony of the judgment, and cool intrepidity of General Harrison ;—and indeed, all the events of his campaign, support these characteristics ;

the disasters attending it, having in no instance been imputable to him.

There are, perhaps, on record, few instances of such cool and steady intrepidity, on the part of militia, or a force of this description, as was displayed on this occasion. General Harrison speaks in the highest terms of praise, of the officers and troops. The gallant Colonel Johnson was engaged where the contest raged with the greatest severity, and the numerous wounds which he received, bore ample testimony of his valour.

In speaking of the conduct of the officers, Harrison says, "I am at a loss how to mention that of Governour Shelby, being convinced that no eulogium of mine, can reach his merit. The Governour of an independent state, greatly my superior in years, in experience, and in military character, he placed himself under my command, and was not more remarkable for his zeal and activity, than for the promptitude and cheerfulness with which he obeyed my orders." If every state had had a Shelby for its Chief Magistrate, it would have given a different spirit to the war, and a different character to its operations; Canada would have been conquered, and the American eagle waved triumphant upon the ramparts of Quebec.

Harrison did not forget the hero of Erie. "I have already stated" he observes, "that Commodore Perry and General Cass, assisted me in forming the troops for action: the former is an officer of the

highest merit, and the appearance of the brave Commodore cheered and animated every breast."

The victory of the Thames was not more honourable in its character, than important in its consequences. It terminated the war on the north-western frontier, which, during fifteen months, had been drenched in blood, and stained with crimes; thousands of the most patriotic sons of the west, having fallen victims to its ravages and disasters. The savage war-yell was heard no more; and the frightful tomahawk no longer reeked with the blood of innocence, infancy and age. The British found their Indian allies faithful only in prosperity.

After the fall of their power upon the Lake, which was followed by the American troops taking possession of Amherstburgh and Sandwich, and reoccupying the territory of Michigan, a number of the hostile tribes sued for peace, and brought in hostages for their good behaviour; and whilst Harrison was in pursuit of the British army, other tribes followed their example, and brought hostages to Detroit.— Their pledges and proposals for peace, were accepted by General M'Auther, who commanded at that place on condition that "they should take hold of the same tomahawk with the Americans, and strike all who are or may be enemies of the United States, whether British or Indians."

The army, after the action, returned to Detroit, where, on the 16th of October, Gen. Harrison issu-

ed a proclamation, giving publicity to the armistice which had been concluded with the Indian tribes ; stating that they had been permitted to retire to their hunting grounds, and to remain unmolested as long as they behaved themselves peaceably. The inhabitants of the frontier settlements were required to abstain from all acts of hostility, or engaging in any expedition against the persons and property of these misguided people. The next day, a proclamation was issued by Harrison and Perry, dated at Sandwich, stating that the combined operations of the land and naval forces under their command, having captured or destroyed those of the enemy, in the district of Upper Canada ; and the said district being in quiet possession of the American troops, it became necessary to provide for the government thereof, which could only be done under authority of the United States. The laws of the province, and the rights and privileges of the inhabitants, were recognized, and all magistrates, and other civil officers, were admitted to resume the exercise of their functions, on taking an oath to be faithful to the government of the United States, as long as they might continue in possession of this section of the province. The authority of militia commissions was suspended, and all officers required to give their parole to the officer appointed to administer the government.

Harrison and Perry left Detroit in the *Ariel*, and arrived at Erie on the 22d of October. Here they

were received with every demonstration of joy and admiration; the discharge of cannon, illuminations, &c. They were hailed as the "delivers of the frontiers." From Erie, with a part of the squadron, consisting of the Niagara, Caledonia, Hunter, Ariel, Lady Prevost, Trip and Little Belt, having about 2000 troops on board, they sailed for Buffalo, where they arrived on the 24th. Agreeably to the orders of the Secretary of war, Harrison proceeded with the troops from Buffalo to Sackett's Harbour.

The prisoners taken on the Thames, were marched to Chilicothe, where they arrived on the 9th of November, under the care of Major Croghan, the hero of Sandusky, and joined their countrymen captured by Perry, with the British fleet.

CHAPTER V.

Remarks on the consequences of the victory of Lake Erie—condition of the north-western frontier at the time Perry arrived there—its situation when he left it—the scene of the victory—is calculated to swell its importance, and perpetuate its fame—the great valley of the St. Lawrence—importance of the acquisition of the Canadas—ample general view of the vast chain of water communication which drains this great valley—particular description of Lake Erie and its borders, which were the scenes of the war—the Indian country in the state of Ohio—general view of the territory of Michigan, and that vast region west of lake Michigan, and south of lake Superior—general view of the north-western districts in Upper Canada, the scene of the war in that province.

WE have now completed a succinct account of the events of the war on the north-western frontier, from which the importance of the victory upon lake Erie, appears more distinct and conspicuous. If there is any one individual to whom this country is more indebted than any other, for the success of its arms during the late war; for the security of its inhabitants; the protection of the frontiers; for preserving the integrity of its soil, and for shedding a lustre upon its reputation—it is OLIVER HAZARD PERRY. When he arrived at Erie, the aspect of affairs, in that quarter, was inauspicious and gloomy. Owing to numerous disasters, General Harrison's

army had been only able to act upon the defensive, and was but just relieved from a critical situation at fort Meigs, where it had been besieged by General Proctor. Instead of any thing having been done to check or weaken the spirit of hostility, of the numerous hordes of savages, which were spread over the frontier, the repeated disasters that had occurred, had served to stimulate their thirst for blood, to increase their propensities for depredation, and to embolden them in violence and outrage. Whilst this ferocious foe, whose mode of warfare regards neither age, nor sex, stimulated by success, and rendered more dreadful from the implements and munitions of war, with which the British had supplied them, hung, like a portentous cloud, threatening to discharge its electric fire, over the frontier, there could be no security for the inhabitants. Knowing the ferocious character of the enemy, and having been harrassed for nearly twelve months, apprehension and alarm pervaded the whole north-western border.

Those who were enjoying the blessings of peace and security, and who felt no apprehension of the sanctuary of their homes being invaded by the hand of violence, had little idea of the condition, and little sympathy for the sufferings of the inhabitants of this devoted frontier. To the dreariness of a wilderness, was added the gloom of the desolation of war—to the darkness of night, the horrors of apprehended invasion—to the crashing of the forest, the clangour of

arms—and to the howlings of the blasts, the frightful yell of the savage war-whoop.

A state of conscious insecurity, is, of all others, the most afflicting. It darkens the face of day, and thickens the gloom of night. Night, which brings to others repose, and soothes the cares and anxieties of the day, is to them a season of increased anxiety and watchfulness. It was so upon this devoted frontier. The hardy settler, whose own hands, after years of toil, had erected a cottage for the comfort of his family, dreaded the approach of night, as only affording a cover to Indian depredations, and the inroads of rapine and murder. He trembled every moment, lest the humble sanctuary of his home should be invaded, by the hand of savage violence, and his cottage laid in ruins by the fire brand and the scalping knife. Every movement he imagined the hostile tread of the invader—and every noise the ferocious yell of the savage. His wife startled at every breeze, and, shrieking aghast, clasped her infant to her breast.

In the territory of Michigan, the condition of the inhabitants was, if possible, more calamitous and distressing. This was a dismembered limb of the Union, in which the authority of the United States had ceased. Its capital was occupied by the British, and its borders were infested with savages. Detroit was the general rendezvous of the hostile Indians, and the depot of their trophies of war. Here their

schemes of rapine and murder were planned, and here the scalps of our countrymen were brought. Here the Indian war dance was exhibited, and the war song sung, which reverberated through the surrounding wilderness. Here the savage seized the tomahawk, and sallied forth to steep it in the blood of the peaceable and defenceless inhabitants; of helpless infancy and age. This was a grand mart of crimes, where bargains for scalps, and for rapine and massacre, were made—the source of those streams of blood which crimsoned the banks of the river Raisin, and deluged the frontier. The inhabitants, necessarily abandoned by their own country, were entirely at the mercy of the British and Indians, and exposed to every outrage, both upon their persons and property, which a savage and ferocious foe, flushed with victory, and thirsting for blood, were disposed to perpetrate. In the mean time, the enemy had the absolute dominion of the lake, which afforded great facility, and gave great celerity to their predatory incursions.

Such was the condition of the north-western frontier, when it was first visited by Perry. How striking the contrast at the time he left it. His genius had illumined the horizon of war, so long overcast with clouds and darkness, and the splendour of his achievements had spread a radiance through the gloom which once beclouded the northwestern border. The enemy who, for fifteen months, had har-

passed the frontier, was not then to be found. Perry had met them, and "they were ours." The yell of the savage was heard no more, and no more were the blood-trails of his victims discovered. No more the hardy settler was disturbed in his repose, from an apprehension that his humble cottage might be desolated by the savage hand of the midnight invader; and no more the affrighted mother, with distracted looks, and an agonizing heart, clasped her infant to her breast.

These scenes were past. Peace, so long exiled, had revisited the frontier, and spread its mantle of security over the inhabitants. Michigan was reinstated, and its government restored; the hostile Indian tribes had sued for peace; delivered up hostages for their fidelity, and offered to take hold of the same tomahawk, with the Americans, and strike *their* enemies, whether British or Indians. The land forces of the British had been captured, and an entire district of the Upper Province, was in the quiet possession of the Americans, and under a provisional government, established by the conquerors; and fort Malden, which had long been a nursery of Indian hostility and outrage, had been demolished by the hand of those by whom it had been garrisoned and maintained, for purposes so revolting to humanity. The roar of cannon, and the discharge of arms, had ceased. The lake, no longer agitated by hostile fleets, had resumed its stillness—and the wilder-

ness its solitude. Such were the auspicious results of the memorable victory of the 10th of September. Well might this victory give to the head that planned, and the hand that achieved it, the appellations of "*the hero of Erie,*" and the "*deliverer of the frontier;*" and to these might have been added that of "*peace-maker,*" for Perry made peace for an extensive section of the country, which wanted it more than any other, having suffered most from the existence of hostilities, and which was then bleeding with the wounds of war.

But there are other circumstances which combined to swell the importance of this victory, and to extend its fame to the latest record of time. These circumstances, it is true, have no merit in themselves, yet their effect will not be the less lasting and conspicuous. The immense sheet of water, which was the scene of this action, is situated in the heart of an extensive interior country, and is a central link in a vast chain of water communication, consisting of immense lakes or inland seas, outlets and rivers, which have no example upon this globe. These lakes, during a succession of ages, had been embosomed by impenetrable forests, and their shores were only visited by wild beasts, and the ferocious savage. A dead silence had long reigned over them, and their surface was never ploughed by the barks of human invention, or freighted by the products of civilization. Upon lake Erie, this silence had recently been bro-

ken in upon ; its shores were becoming the abodes of civilization, and its waters beginning to be navigated. But until the late war, no hostile armaments had appeared upon its surface, nor the roar of cannon disturbed its peaceful waves. Perry's victory was not only the first ever obtained by the Americans over the British, in an engagement between squadrons, but it was the first naval action ever fought upon Lake Erie.

“Were any thing wanting to perpetuate the fame of this victory, it would be sufficiently memorable from the scene where it was fought. The late war was distinguished by new and peculiar characteristics. Naval warfare has been carried into the interior of a continent, and navies, as if by magic, launched from the forest. The bosoms of peaceful lakes, which but a short time since, were scarcely navigated by man, except to be skimmed by the light canoe of the savage, have all at once been ploughed by hostile ships. The vast silence that had reigned for ages on those mighty waters, was broken by the thunder of artillery, and the affrighted savage stared with amazement from his covert, at the sudden apparition of a sea-fight, amid the solitude of the wilderness. In future times, when the shores of Erie shall hum with busy population ; when towns and cities shall brighten, where now extend the dark and tangled forests ; when ports shall spread their arms, and lofty barks shall ride, where now the canoe is fasten-

ed to the stake ; when the present age shall have grown into venerable antiquity, and the mists of fable begin to gather round its history ; then will the inhabitants of the borders of Erie look back to this battle we record, as one of the romantic achievements of the days of yore. It will stand first on the page of their local legends, and in the marvelous tales of the borders. The fisherman, as he loiters along the beach, will point to some half buried cannon, corroded with the rust of time, and will speak of ocean warriors, that came from the shores of the Atlantic ; while the boatman, as he trims his sail to the breeze, will chant, in rude ditties, the name of Perry—the early hero of Erie.”*

As the perpetuity of the fame of this victory depends, in a great measure, upon the scene where it was achieved, and the importance of it, upon the consequences which ensued, upon the American frontier, and in a district of Upper Canada, bordering upon lake Erie, it is deemed proper to give some account of a country with which the name of our hero is identified. It is also proper that the history of Perry should comprise a description of that section of his country which was the scene of his glory, and which has derived such celebrity from the splendour of his achievements. And as a topographical description, confined to the district forming the borders

*Analectic Magazine.

of lake Erie, would be too insulated to afford much interest, we shall precede that, by a *general view* of the vast extent of country, which has been called the great valley of the St. Lawrence.

The valley of St. Lawrence, comprises that portion of the interior of North America, which is watered by the river St. Lawrence, its numerous tributary streams, and the great interior lakes, and their various contributory waters. This vast region, embraces the extensive provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, the north-western section of the state of Vermont, a large portion of the fertile and populous country, comprised within the western district of the state of New-York, a small part of the north-western section of Pennsylvania, nearly one third part of the state of Ohio, embracing that extensive district commonly called New-Connecticut, and the beautiful and fertile country bordering on the Maumee, and its borders, the Indian title to which has recently been acquired, some part of the state of Indiana, the extensive peninsula of Michigan, and the vast region west of lake Michigan and south of lake Superior.—The immense territory embraced within these limits, and which comprises an area, exclusive of its waters, of more than 400,000 square miles, is undoubtedly one of the most magnificent regions of this globe. It presents features, which, for their vastness and sublimity, stand alone. No other portion of the

earth affords any parallel, or even similitude.* A chain of interior water communication of between two and three thousand miles in extent, affording, with few obstructions, navigable waters for the entire distance, and comprising, in the whole, an area of eighty-seven thousand, two hundred square miles. The greater proportion of this extensive chain of

*The following table exhibits the area of the different sections of country, drained by the St. Lawrence.

TABLE

Of the superficies, drained by the valley of the St. Lawrence river.

	Medial length.	Medial breadth	Area square miles.
Region lying N. W. of Lake Superior,	300	80	24,000
do. N. E. of do.	400	80	32,000
North of Lake Huron, and west of the sources of the Ottawas river, - - - -	200	200	40,000
Peninsula between Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario, - - - - -	200	80	16,000
North-west of St. Lawrence, below the sources of the Ottawas river, - - - -	700	220	154,000
Total area N. W. of St. Lawrence,			266,000
Region N. E. of the St. Lawrence, from its mouth to that of the Richelieu, -	500	50	25,000
Triangle included between Black, St. Lawrence, and Richelieu rivers, - - -	230	50	16,500
South of Lake Ontario, west of Black river,	200	80	16,000
South-east and south of Lake Erie, and east of Maumee river, - - -	300	30	9,000
Peninsula of Michigan, - - -	250	150	37,500
West of Lake Michigan, and south of Lake Superior, - - - -	400	120	48,000
Total south-east and south-west. -			152,000
			418,000

water, consists of immense lakes, which might, with propriety, be denominated inland seas; some of them having a coast of nearly 1200 miles, and the whole united, about 4000 miles.

In contemplating these vast lakes, it is to be remembered that they consist of *fresh water*. By what process, or unknown laws of nature, the Almighty preserves these immense bodies of fresh water* in a state of purity, is one of the many phenomena, which defy the researches of man, and humble the pride of philosophy. These lakes, their outlets, and the river St. Lawrence, which rolls their vast aggregate waters to the ocean, are the reservoirs of the waters of the immense territory forming what is called the great valley of the St. Lawrence. Innumerable fine streams, which intersect and fertilize this beautiful country, some of which are navigable for vessels for considerable distance, and many of them extensively for boats, mingle their own, with the limpid waters of the great lakes. It can hardly be necessary to add, that these immense waters unite the most extensive advantages for internal commercial intercourse, and, with some improvements, for external trade; and that they afford unrivalled facilities for manufactures.

This country, which, as to its waters, stands alone

*It has been thought by some, that the waters of these lakes were originally salt.

and unrivalled, is not behind any other, as to its climate, its soil, and the beauty of its landscapes. This, instead of being a "region of frost," as many suppose, is, with the exception of the lower regions of the St. Lawrence, remarkably temperate and mild, for a country of its latitude. In many parts, spring is ushered in with surprising suddenness, and is very short, being soon followed by the heat of summer.* As it respects a salubrious atmosphere, and healthfulness, no country, in so unimproved a state, is superior to this. Its surface is generally level, or moderately uneven, with a prevailing inclination towards the great channel of water communication; and it presents some of the most charming and interesting landscapes in the world—the most picturesque and beautiful scenery. The soil of this great valley of the St. Lawrence, is generally strong and fertile, with some sections peculiarly fat and luxuriant; and possesses ample resources for all the great interests of agriculture. That a country, possessing such superior advantages, is capable of sustaining a dense population, is most apparent.

Were we to indulge the imagination, in drawing aside the veil of futurity, and carrying us forward but a single century, what a chain of cities, towns, hamlets and villages, should we behold brightening the shores of the lakes, the St. Lawrence, and their tributary waters, where now stand dreary and entan-

*Daiby's Tour.

gled forests. What a multitude of vessels, freighted with the products of civilization, and contributing to the wants and conveniences of a vast population, enlivening the bosom of those vast lakes, which a few years since, were only skimmed by the rude canoe of the savage—What extensive cultivated fields, clothed in rich and varied verdure, the offspring of the arts and agriculture, where now the gloomy wilderness holds its dominion—What swarms of human beings, all busily engaged in the various pursuits of civilization, and enjoying the rich fruition of their industry and wealth, where now the solitary Indian roams; and what animating notes of human voices, modulated by art, and softened by education, will have succeeded to the frightful howling of wild beasts, and the ferocious yell of the savage. This is fiction, but it will soon become fact. What is here prophecy, will at no distant day be history; and when that period arrives, how many voices will repeat the praises of the “hero of Erie,” who, when their country was in its infancy, and its inhabitants few and feeble, delivered them from the hands of their enemies.

The population of the great valley of the St. Lawrence, is already considerable, although most of it is an entire wilderness. It may be safely estimated at nearly a million of souls, considerably more than half of which, are within the United States; and from the preferable location, and superior advantages which the country, upon the American side possess-

es, and from the superior political privileges which the free institutions of this country present to the emigrant, there can be no doubt but that the increase of population will be immensely greater upon the American border, than upon the British.

Notwithstanding all that may be done by internal improvements, to direct the course of trade, still it is scarcely to be doubted but that, ultimately, the great natural channel of water communication, will give a direction to the intercourse between this country and the Atlantic sea board; and that its immense products will be borne upon the waters of the St. Lawrence, to their destined markets. The lower regions of the St. Lawrence, including the flourishing cities of Quebec and Montreal, and the islands in the vicinity, will always possess superior advantages for commerce and the fisheries; which interests will occupy a great proportion of industry, thereby diverting it from agriculture; and the soil on the lower borders of the St. Lawrence, being rather uninviting, this region will be likely to be dependant for provisions upon the upper country, and consequently will afford a good market for their immense supplies, which will be exchanged for the products of the commerce and fisheries of the lower country.

From these considerations, as well as from those of a political nature, the annexation of the Canadas to the United States, which would give us the whole of the great valley of the St. Lawrence, and the en-

tire controul of the extensive water communication which forms its natural outlet to the ocean, must always be an object of primary importance ; and ought never for a moment to be lost sight of by the councils of the Republic.

Our extended and extending Republic can never be considered as complete and consolidated, until this object is accomplished. Was there nothing else to awake our solicitude, to arouse our fears, and provoke our pride, with relation to this subject, the great angle, or peninsula of Upper Canada, which projects nearly six degrees into the very heart of the United States, ought to be sufficient. It remains a standing monument, admonishing us of our duty to ourselves, our country, and posterity.

The annexation of the territory of the Canadas to the United States, would open to the future millions that will inhabit the American borders of the vast interior waters, a free and natural channel of commerce down the St. Lawrence ; give us a north-western frontier, guarded by impenetrable barriers of frost which would save millions, that will be required to defend the present extended and exposed frontier ; and remove a permanent cause of differences and wars between the two countries.

But there is another reason, perhaps, more important than any which has been noticed. The acquisition of the Canadas is necessary to preserve the political balance of the Union, and to countervail the

immense territory which has been acquired to the south and west, by the cession of Louisiana. In addition to these considerations, it is an object worthy of a free, an enlightened, and magnanimous nation, which boasts of its liberty, its laws, and civil institutions, to extend, by all just and proper means, the inestimable blessings of a free press, free suffrage, and the principles of republican government, to all who are in a condition to receive and enjoy them; and especially to a brave and hospitable people, whose contiguity to our Republic renders them special objects of our sympathy, and whose destiny seems to have been identified with our own, by the common Parent of the human family.

From these, and other considerations which this subject presents, but which would be exceeding our prescribed limits to examine, it is believed that the union of the Canadas with the United States, would form an *ÆRA* in the annals of our Republic, second to none except the declaration of its independence, and the acquisition of Louisiana, which opened to us the vast resources of the Mississippi, and its tributary waters.

The following extract from Bouchette's topographical description of Canada, contains the most accurate description of the St. Lawrence, the lakes, and their tributary waters, and the country immediately bordering upon them, which has been published; and we cannot resist the desire which we feel to em-

body it in this work ; although the extensive range which it takes, and its full and minute descriptions, give it a copiousness which somewhat exceeds the limits that we had prescribed to ourselves upon this subject.

“ The river St. Lawrence (which from its first discovery in 1565, has been called by the inhabitants of the country, to mark its pre-eminence, the Great river,) receives nearly all the rivers, which have their sources in the extensive range of mountains to the northward, called the Land’s Height, that separates the waters falling into Hudson’s Bay still further to the north, from those that descend into the Atlantic ; and all those that rise in the ridge which commences on its southern bank, and runs nearly south-westerly, until it falls upon Lake Champlain. Of these, the principal ones are the Ottawa, Musquinonge, St. Maurice, St. Ann, Jacques Cartier, Saguenay, Betsiamites, and Manicouagan on the north ; and the Salmon river, Chateaugay, Chambly or Richelieu, Yamaska, St. Francis, Becancour, Du Chene, Chaudiere, and Du Loup, on the south. In different parts of its course, it is known under different appellations ; thus, as high up from the sea as Montreal, it is called St. Lawrence ; from Montreal to Kingston in Upper Canada, it is called the Cataraqui, or Iroquois ; (Cataraqui was the Indian name for the river Iroquois, the name given by the French to the six nations) between lake Ontario and lake Eric, it is called Niaga-

ra river; between lake Erie and lake St. Clair, the Detroit; between lake St. Clair and lake Huron, the river St. Clair; and between lake Huron and lake Superior, the distance is called the Narrows, or the falls of St. Mary, forming thus an uninterrupted connexion of 2000 miles. Lake Superior, without the aid of any great effort of imagination, may be considered as the inexhaustible spring from whence through unnumbered ages, the St. Lawrence has continued to derive its ample stream. I am not aware that the source of this river has thus been defined before; but examining the usual mode of tracing large rivers from their heads to the estuaries, I venture to believe that I am warranted in adopting the hypothesis. This immense lake, unequalled in magnitude by any collection of fresh water on the globe, is almost of a triangular form; its greatest length is 381, its breadth 161, and its circumference little less than 1152 miles; and as remarkable for the unrivalled transparency of its waters, as for its extraordinary depth. Its northern coast, indented with many extensive bays, is high and rocky; but on the southern shore the land is generally low and level; a sea almost of itself, it is subject to many vicissitudes of that element, for here the storm rages, and the billows break with a violence scarcely surpassed by the tempests of the ocean. In the distant range of mountains that forms the Land's Height, beyond its northern and western shores, several considerable rivers, and numerous small ones

have their rise, which being increased in their course by many small lakes, finally discharge themselves into lake Superior. To the southward, also, there is another lofty range, dividing the waters that find their way to the Gulf of Mexico, through the channel of the Mississippi, from those that take a northern course into the great lake; so that its vastness is increased by the tributary streams of more than thirty rivers. On its north and north-east sides, there are several islands, of which one, called Isle Royale, is the largest, being one hundred miles long, and forty broad.— Out of lake Superior a very rapid current is interrupted and broken by several small islands, or rather huge masses of rock, through a channel of twenty-seven miles in length, at the end of which, it flows into lake Huron. The Falls of St. Mary are nearly midway between the two lakes; this denomination though generally given, but little accords with the usual appellation of Falls, as applied to the descent of large bodies of water precipitated from great heights, that so frequently occur on the rivers of America; for in this place, it is only the impetuous stream of the enormous discharge from lake Superior, forcing its way through a confined channel, and breaking, with proportionate violence, among the impediments that nature has thrown in its way; yet this scene of tumultuous and unceasing agitation of the waters, combined with the noise and daz-

zling whiteness of the surge, is not deficient either in grandeur or magnificence.”

“Lake Huron, in point of extent, yields but little to lake Superior, its greatest length from west to east is 218 statute miles; at its western extremity it is less than one hundred, and at about one hundred miles from its eastern shore, barely sixty miles broad; but near the centre it suddenly bends away southward, to the breadth of one hundred and eighty miles; measuring the circumference through all its curvatures, will give a distance of little less than 812 miles; in shape it is exceedingly irregular, yet, with little assistance from fancy, may be fashioned into something like a triangular. From its western side an extensive series, called the Manatoulin Islands, stretches in an easterly direction for one hundred and sixty miles; many of them measuring from twenty to thirty miles in length, by ten, twelve, and fifteen in breadth, on some of which the land rises into elevations of considerable height. Besides this great chain, there are many others of inferior dimensions, numerously grouped in various parts, rendering the navigation intricate, and in some places, and particularly towards the west end, dangerous. On this lake also, the navigation is often assailed by violent storms, attended with thunder and lightning, more terrific than in any other part of North America. At the western angle of lake Huron is lake Michigan, which, altho’ distinguished by a separate name, can only be con-

sidered as a part of the former, deepening into a bay of 262 miles in length, by sixty-five in breadth, and whose entire circumference, is 731 miles. Between it and lake Huron there is a peninsula that, at the widest part, is 150 miles, along which, and round the bottom of Michigan, runs part of the chain forming the Land's Height, to the southward; from whence descend many large, and numerous inferior streams, that discharge into it. On the north side of lake Huron, many rivers of considerable size, run from the Land's Height down to it. One of them, called French river, communicates with lake Nipissing, from whence a succession of smaller ones, connected by short portages, opens an intercourse with the Ottawa river, that joins the St. Lawrence near Montreal. On the eastern extremity of the lake is the Machedash river, which, through another succession of lakes, separated only by one short portage, establishes a communication by lake Simcoe, Holland river, and Yonge-street, with the town of York, now called the capital of Upper Canada; this route would most materially shorten the distance between the upper and lower lakes, and is capable of such improvement, as would render it highly beneficial to Upper Canada, a subject that will be hereafter adverted to. From the extremity of lake Huron to the southward, the course of the waters are contracted into a river, (called St. Clair's) that flow between moderately high banks, adorned by many natural

beauties, for a distance of sixty miles, nearly due south, when it again expands into the small lake St. Clair, almost circular in form, its diameter about 30 miles, and about 90 in circuit, too diminutive, when compared with the preceding ones, (and not being otherwise remarkable) to demand a further description. Out of this lake the waters again assume the form of a river, (called Detroit) continuing the same southerly course for 40 miles, into lake Erie; its stream is divided into two channels from space to space, by islands of various sizes, the largest being about ten miles long. On the east side of this river the prospect is diversified and agreeable, displaying some of the beauties of an exuberant soil, aided by a very respectable state of cultivation, and enlivened by the cheerful appearance of settlements and villages, gradually rising into consequence by the industry of an increasing population. The Detroit opens into the south-west end of lake Erie. This lake extends from south-west to north-east two hundred and thirty-one miles, in its broadest part is 63 1-2, and in circumference 658. Near the Detroit, it is adorned by many pleasing and picturesque islands, whilst its shores on both sides, have many indications of settlement and cultivation. Gales of wind frequently occur, and bring with them a heavy swell, with every characteristic of a gale of wind at sea; but there are many good harbours, particularly on the

northern side,* that afford protection to the numerous vessels that navigate it. Its greatest depth of water is between 40 and 45 fathoms, its bottom generally rocky, which renders the anchorage precarious, particularly in blowing weather. From the north-east end of lake Erie, the communication to lake Ontario, is by the Niagara river, 36 miles in length, and varying from half a mile to a league in breadth, its course nearly north. The stream in some places is divided into two channels by islands, the largest of which is seven miles in length. The current is impetuous, and being broken in many places by the uneven rocky bottom, is very much agitated. The banks on each side of the river are almost perpendicular, and considerably more than one hundred yards high. On the western side the road pas-

*Here the partiality of the Canadian appears. Lake Erie is unfortunately deficient in good harbours on both shores, but if no other circumstance except the confluent rivers existed, that alone would give a decided preference to the southern shore. It is a singular fact that the Onse or Grand River, is the only stream of any consequence which enters lake Erie from the Canada shore; whilst on the opposite side enter the Cataraugus, Ashtabula, Cayahoga, Black river, Vermillion, Huron of the state of Ohio, Sandusky, Maumee, Raisin and the southern Huron of the Michigan Territory; and besides these, many of which afford good shelter for vessels, are the harbours of Dunkirk and Erie, into which no rivers are disembogued. Put-in-Bay, in the southern Bass island, is an excellent harbour, perhaps, except Detroit river itself, the best in lake Erie.

[*Darby's Tour.*]

ses along its summit, and delights the traveller with many interesting views both of the river and the country, which is thickly inhabited, and under excellent culture. Here also his mind will be lost in wonder, at viewing the stupendous falls of Niagara, unquestionably one of the most extraordinary spectacles in nature, that presents to the imagination as powerful a combination of sublimity and grandeur, magnificence and terror, as it can well experience. Any description, however animated, whether pourtrayed by the glowing pencil of art, guided by the liveliest fancy, or flowing from the most eloquent pen that embellishes the page of narrative, would, most probably, fall short of doing adequate justice to the reality. The attempt, however, has been so frequently made, and in some few instances with tolerable success, as to convey an idea of its immensity, that, "a description of the Fall's of Niagara" has become familiar to almost every general reader. For this reason, and also because in any new endeavour, I should certainly feel but little confident of either reaching the merit of the subject, or contributing to the stock of knowledge already obtained thereon, I will excuse myself from repeating what has been so often related before, and proceed in describing with my best means, the general outlines of this majestic river.

"Five miles from the great Falls is another, and scarcely less tremendous natural curiosity, called the

whirlpool. It is occasioned by the stream as it passes from the cataract, sweeping with impetuous violence round a natural basin enclosed between some rocky promontories, wherein it forms a vortex, that ensures inevitable destruction to whatever comes within its attraction. By thus diverging from its forward direction, and being as it were embayed for a time, the velocity of the current is checked, and subdued to a more tranquil course towards Lake Ontario. Four miles from hence is Queenstown, a neat, well built place, deserving of notice, as being the depot for all merchandize and stores, brought from Montreal and Quebec, for the use of the upper province; but not less so for the romantic beauty and local grandeur of its situation. For seven miles further on, to the town of Newark or Niagara, the river forms an excellent capacious harbour for vessels of any size, exceedingly well sheltered by high and bold banks on each side, with good anchorage in every part. The river of Niagara communicates with the west end of Lake Ontario, rendered memorable by events recently passed, and most probably destined to become the scene of contests, that will be pregnant with momentous import to North America, in future ages. In length it is 171 miles, at its greatest breadth 59 1-2, and 467 in circumference. The depth of water varies very much, but is seldom less than three, or more than fifty fathoms, except in the middle, where attempts have been made with 300

fathoms without striking soundings. Its position is nearly east and west. The appearance of the shores exhibits great diversity; towards the north-east part they are low, with many marshy places; to the north and north-west, they assume a lofty character, but subside again to very moderate height on the south. Bordering the lake the country is every where covered with woods, through whose numerous openings frequent patches of settlements are seen that give it a pleasing effect, which is greatly heightened by the white cliffs of Toronto, and the remarkable high land over Presque Isle, called the Devil's Nose, on the north; the view on the south is well relieved with a back ground produced by the ridge of hills that, after forming the precipice for the cataract, stretches away to the eastward; the finishing object of the prospect in this direction is a conical eminence towering above the chain of heights, called Fifty Mile Hill, as denoting its distance from the town of Niagara. Of the many rivers flowing into Lake Ontario, if the Genesee and Oswego rivers be excepted, there are none that lay claim to particular notice, unless it be for the peculiarity of them having a sandy bar across the entrance. There are some fine bays and inlets, wherein vessels of every description may find protection against bad weather. Burlington bay is both spacious and secure; but these advantages are rendered of little importance by its narrow entrance being so shallow as to admit nothing larger than boats. Hun-

gry bay, on the contrary, is conspicuous, as affording good anchorage, and safe shelter among the islands, to ships of the largest size, at all seasons. York and Kingston harbours, belonging to the English, and Sackett's Harbour to the Americans, are unquestionably the best upon the lake, as they possess every natural requisite; the two latter are strongly fortified, being the arsenals where ships of war, even of the first rate, have been constructed by both powers, and from whence have been fitted out those powerful hostile squadrons, that have conferred so much consequence upon the naval operations in this quarter. Very heavy squalls of wind frequently occur, but they are unattended with either difficulty or danger, if met by the usual precautions every seaman is acquainted with.

“Of the many islands at the east end of Ontario, the Grand Isle, lying abreast of Kingston, is the most extensive, and by being placed at the commencement of the Cataraqui river, forms two channels, leading into it, that bear the name of the North, or Kingston Channel, and the South, or Charlton Island Channel. Cataraqui, from its entrance to the place called Petit Detroit, about 39 miles, is almost filled with one continued cluster of small islands, so numerous as to have occasioned the general denomination of Milles Isles. The distance between Kingston and Montreal is about 190 miles; the banks of the river display a scene that cannot fail to excite

surprize, when the years that have elapsed since the first settlement of this part of the country (in 1783,) are considered. They embrace all the embellishments of a numerous population, fertility, and good cultivation. Well constructed high roads leading close to each side, with others branching from them into the interior, render communication both easy and expeditious, whilst the numerous loaded batteaux and rafts incessantly passing up and down from the beginning of spring, until the latter end of autumn, demonstrate, unequivocally, a very extensive commercial intercourse. The islands, the shoals, the rapids, with contrivances for passing them, form, altogether, a succession of novelties that gives pleasure, while it creates astonishment.

“ Before reaching Montreal, the lakes St. Francis, St. Louis, and des Montagnes, present themselves: they do not admit of comparison with those already noticed, and can indeed, only be considered as so many widenings of the river. They are of no great depth, but form an agreeable variety, by having many pretty islands scattered about them. St. Francis is 25 miles long, by 5 1-2 miles broad; the shores in some places are marshy, as they do not rise much above the level of the water. St. Louis and Deux Montagnes, are formed at the junction of the Ottawa with the St. Lawrence; the first is 12 miles long by 6 broad; the latter is very irregular, and in its

whole length 24 miles, but varying in breadth from 1 to 6 miles.

“ At the confluence of the two rivers are the islands of Montreal, isle Jesus, Bizarre, and Perrot ; the first is probably the most beautiful spot of all Lower Canada. On the north side of this island is the city of the same name, and its convenient port, 580 miles from the gulph of St. Lawrence, to which ships of six hundred tons can ascend with very little difficulty. On the north-west lies isle Jesus, that, by its position, forms two other channels of a moderate breadth, one called la Riviere des Prairies, and the other la Riviere de St. Jean, or Jesus. They are both navigable for boats or rafts, and unite again with the main river at *Boat de l' Isle*, or east end of Montreal island. From this city, the navigation assumes a character of more consequence than what it does above, being carried on in ships and decked vessels of all classes. In the distance from hence to Quebec, 180 miles, the impediments to vessels of large tonnage sailing either up or down are not many, and may be overcome with much ease, if it be judged expedient that their cargoes should be so conveyed, in preference to transporting them in small craft. On either side, the prospect is worthy of admiration. The different seigniorities, all in the highest state of improvement that the agriculture of the country will admit of, denote both affluence and industry. The views are always pleasing and often beautiful, although the component

parts of them do not possess that degree of grandeur which is perceivable below Quebec. Numerous villages built around a handsome stone church, seem to invite the traveller's attention, while single houses and farms at agreeable distance, appear to keep up a regular chain of communication. In fact, whoever passes from one city to the other, whether by water or by land, will not fail to have his senses highly gratified, and to meet with many subjects worthy both of observation and reflection. About 45 miles below Montreal, on the south side, is the town of William Henry, or Sorrel, built at the entrance of the river Richelieu into the St. Lawrence, not far from which the latter spreads into another lake, the last in its progress towards the sea; it is called St. Peters, is 25 miles long and 9 broad; like most of the others, this has a group of islands covering about 9 miles of the western part; between them two distinct channels are formed, the one to the south being the deepest and clearest, is consequently the best for ships. The banks on each side are very low, with shoals stretching from them to a considerable distance, so that only a narrow passage, whose general depth is from 12 to 18 feet, is left unobstructed. About 45 miles from William Henry on the north side, at the mouth of the river St. Maurice, stands the town of Three Rivers, the third in rank within the province. At this place the tide ceases entirely, and, indeed, is not much felt at several miles below: from hence

there is scarce any variation in the general aspect of the St. Lawrence, until arriving at the Richelieu rapid (about 52 miles,) where its bed is so much contracted or obstructed by huge masses of rock, as to leave but a very narrow channel, wherein at ebb tide there is so great a descent, that much caution, and a proper time of the ebb is necessary to pass through it; at the end of the rapid, there is a good anchorage, where vessels can wait their convenient opportunity. From Montreal, thus far, the banks are of a very moderate elevation, and uniformly level, but hereabout they are much higher, and gradually increase in their approach to Quebec, until they attain the height of Cape Diamond, upon which the city is built. At this capital of the province and seat of government, there is a most excellent port and a capacious basin, wherein the greatest depth of water is 28 fathoms, with a tide rising from 17 to 18, and at the springs, from 23 to 24 feet. From whence, and from Point Levi on the south shore, one of the most striking panoramie views, perhaps, in the whole world, offers itself to notice; the assemblage of objects is so grand, and though naturally, yet appear so artificially contrasted with each other, that they mingle surprize with the gratification of every beholder. The capital upon the summit of the cape, the river St. Charles, flowing for a great distance, through a valley, abounding in natural beauties, the falls of Montmorency, the island of Orleans, and the well cultivated settlements on all

sides, form together a coup d' eil, that might enter into competition with the most romantic. At the basin, the St. Lawrence is two miles across, and continues increasing in breadth until it enters the gulf of the same name, where, from Cape Rosier to the Mingan settlement on the Labrador shore, it is very near 105 miles wide. A little below the city is the Isle of Orleans, placed in the midway, consequently forming two channels; the one to the south is always used by ships, the shore on that side is high, and on the opposite, in some places, it is even mountainous, but in both, extremely well settled, and the lands in such a high state of improvement, that a large tract in the vicinity of Riviere du Sud, is familiarly called the granary of the province. Beyond the island of Orleans, are several others, as Goose Island, Crane island, and many smaller ones; these two are tolerably well cultivated, but the rest are neglected. At Riviere du Sud, the great river is increased to eleven miles in width, and the country that adjoins it, cannot be easily rivalled in its general appearance. The great number of churches, telegraph stations, and villages, whose houses are almost always whitened, are so well exhibited by the dark contrast of the thick woods, covering the rising grounds behind them up to their summits, and the termination so completely defined by the distant range of lofty mountains forming the boundary before noticed, that very few landscapes will be found actually superior to it. Be-

yond Riviere du Sud, is a channel named the Traverse, which deserves mention from the circumstance of the river being here thirteen miles across; yet the Isle aux Coudres, the shoal of St. Roche, and another called the English Bank, interrupt the fair way so much, that this passage, which is the usual one the pilots choose, is not more than from 1700 to 1800 yards, between the two buoys that mark the edge of the shoals; it is the most intricate part of the river below Quebec, the currents are numerous, irregular and very strong, on which large ships must consult the proper time of the tide to pass it without accident. On the north shore between the Isle aux Coudres, and the main, there is another channel, but the current is so rapid, the depth of the water so great, and the holding ground so bad in case of being obliged to anchor within it, that pilots give the preference to running through the Traverse. Not the smallest difficulty will ever be found in making this passage good, if the bearings and directions laid down upon my topographical map be duly attended to. Passing the Traverse, a very agreeable view of the settlements of the bay of St. Paul, enclosed within an amphitheatre of very high hills, and the well cultivated Isle aux Coudres at its entrance, presents itself. Continuing down the river, the next in succession are the islands of Kamourasca, the Pilgrims, Hare Island, and the cluster of small ones near it, named the Brandy Pots, these are reckoned 103

miles from Quebec, and well known as the rendezvous, where the merchant ships collect to sail with convoy. From hence, at no great distance, is Green island, on which is a light-house, where a light is shewn from sun-set to sun-rise, from the 15th of April to the 10th of December. Near Green island is Red island, and abreast of it, on the northern shore, is the mouth of the river Saguenay, remarkable even in America, for the immense volume of water it pours into the St. Lawrence. Proceeding onwards is Bic island, 153 miles from Quebec, a point that ships always endeavour to make on account of its good anchorage, as well as being the place where men of war usually wait the coming down of the merchantmen; next to Bic island, is the Isle St. Barnabe, and a little farther on the Point aux Peres.—From this point the river is perfectly clear to the gulf, and the pilots being unnecessary any longer, here give up their charge of such as are bound outwards, and receive those destined upwards. Below Point aux Peres, are two very extraordinary mountains, close to each other, called the Paps of Matane, and nearly opposite them the bold and lofty promontory of Mount Pelee, where the river is little more than 25 miles wide, but the coast suddenly stretches almost northerly, so much, that at the seven islands, it is increased to 73 miles. The settlements on the south side reach down thus far, but hereabouts, they may be considered to terminate, as to the eastward

of cape Chat, the progress of industry is no longer visible ; on the north side, the cultivated lands extend only to Malbay. In the river itself, nothing (farther,) claims our attention, except the separation of its shores to the distance already mentioned, from cape Rosier to the Mingan settlement.

“ I must still trespass upon the patience of my readers long enough to mention, that the observations hither made, apply only to one part of the year; and also, to notice, that from the beginning of December, until the middle of April, the water communication is totally suspended by the frost. During this period, the river from Quebec to Kingston, and between the great lakes, except the Niagara and the rapids, is wholly frozen over. The lakes themselves are never entirely covered with ice, but it usually shuts up all the bays and inlets, and extends many miles towards their centres. Below Quebec it is not frozen over, but the force of the tides incessantly detaches the ice from the shores, and such immense masses are kept in continual agitation by the flux and reflux, that navigation is totally impracticable in these months. But though for this length of winter, the land and water are so nearly identified, the utility of the river, if it be diminished, is far from being wholly destroyed, for its surface still offers the best route for land carriage, (if the metaphor can be excused;) and tracks are soon marked out by which a more expeditious intercourse is maintained by vehi-

cles of transport of all descriptions, than it would be possible to do on the established roads, at this season so deeply covered with snow, and which are available until the approach of spring makes the ice porous, and warm springs occasioning large flaws, render it unsafe. When this alteration takes place, it soon breaks up, and by the beginning of May, is either dissolved or carried off by the current.

“The gulf of St. Lawrence, that receives the waters of this gigantic river, is formed between the western part of Newfoundland, the eastern shores of Labrador, the eastern extremity of the province of New-Brunswick, part of the province of Nova Scotia, and the island of Cape Breton. It communicates with the Atlantic ocean by three different passages, viz. : on the north by the straits of Belleisle, between Labrador and Newfoundland ; on the south-east by the passage from cape Ray ; the south-west extremity of the latter island, and the north cape of Breton Island ; and lastly by the narrow channel named the gut of Canso, that divides cape Breton from Nova Scotia. The distance from cape Breton to cape Ray is 79 leagues, and from Nova Scotia to Labrador one hundred and six.”

Although the character of this work calls our attention more particularly to lake Erie, and its borders, which were the scenes of the naval and military operations upon the north western frontier, yet as this lake is an intermedial and connecting link in the

great chain of water communication which drains the valley of the St. Lawrence, and as these immense waters have, in some measure, an identity of character, we have given a connected view of the whole. We will return to Lake Erie, and close our topographical descriptions, by a concise view of that portion of the country upon its borders, and upon those of the Detroit river and lake Michigan, which have become historic ground.

The navigation of Lake Erie is less safe than might be supposed; the wind frequently blows upon it with great violence, and it is visited by gales almost as severe and dangerous as those which occur upon the Atlantic coast. And what renders these gales more appalling is, that there are no good and safe harbours in the north-eastern extremity of the lake. A tremendous gale occurred on this lake in November, 1819, which did extensive damage.* The best

*The following account of the damage occasioned by this gale, appeared in the Cleveland Register, of November 24th.

“The schooner Independence, of Sandusky, John Brooks master and owner, cleared from the mouth of Black river, on Saturday, the 11th inst., for Detroit, loaded with corn. The vessel was capsized in the gale, the cargo lost, and every soul on board drowned. The wreck drifted on shore near the mouth of Grand river. A wreck of a vessel, bottom upwards, was seen off the mouth of Grand river. Schooner Pauline was driven on shore near the mouth of Grand river, and bilged; her crew saved, but her cargo, consisting of salt, lost. Schooner Boxer,

and the principal part of the harbours upon lake Erie are upon the American side ; of which Put-in-Bay, famous for having been the place where Perry's squadron lay previously to the action of the 10th of September, is, perhaps, the safest and most valuable ; the harbour of Detroit, upon the Detroit river, not being considered as belonging to lake Erie.

Of the country bordering upon lake Erie, there is none that has equal claims upon our attention with the tract, which during the war, was called the Indian country in the state of Ohio, comprising the north-western section of that state. This tract, which was the scene of so many disasters of our troops, and whose soil had been stained with the blood of our defenceless inhabitants, the victims of Indian outrage and massacre, was rescued from the dominion of the tomahawk and scalping-knife, by the victory upon lake Erie. Here the effects of that victory were the most immediately and conspicuously felt.

lying in the mouth of Grand river, dismantled, bilged, and a complete wreck, crew saved : schooner Wasp dismantled and driven on shore at the mouth of Cunningham's creek, and bilged ; her crew saved, but cargo lost : schooner General Brown was driven on shore, near the mouth of Black river, her crew all safe, but the vessel considerably damaged : schooner General Jackson, left Green Bay, on Lake Michigau, for Mackinaw, some time since, and has not been since heard of : fears are entertained for her safety. British brig Lord Wellington, of Canada, was driven on shore at point Abino, and went to pieces : crew saved, but cargo lost.

This interesting portion of the western country, is situated between the 40th and 42d degree of north latitude. Its average length, from north to south, is about 100 miles, with a medial breadth of about the same, comprising nearly 7,000,000 acres of excellent land. The face of the country is either perfectly level, or pleasingly diversified with gentle eminences, and moderate vales. Contrary to what usually occurs, the most hilly parts are not situated in that section which is the source of the rivers, but contiguous to the lake. The southern part of this territory stretching along the late Indian boundary line, and which embraces the source of a number of rivers, some running south into the Ohio, others north into lake Erie, is very flat, and contains numerous small lakes, from whence many of the rivers originate. Near the lake in some parts, the country abounds with beautiful plains or prairies, some of which are many miles in extent, and apparently as level as the surface of the lake. These plains, in the seasons of vegetation, are covered with a natural grass, that often grows six or eight feet high, with which is interspersed a rich variety of fragrant flowers. The traveller, after traversing for miles, a thick and gloomy forest, presenting a painful uniformity of objects, suddenly emerging from the dreariness of the wilderness, enters upon these virgin plains, decked with the richest verdure, with the most delightful and enlivening sensations. So sud-

den and so great is the change of scenery, that he almost doubts the evidence of his senses—He hesitates whether the scene before him is a reality, or the illusions of a vision.

The soil throughout this whole tract, is of the first quality, and not surpassed by any in the western country. Its waters are abundant and valuable. It is intersected by a number of beautiful rivers, of which the Maumee, rendered famous by the events of the war, is the most important. The Au Glaize, the St. Joseph's, and the St. Mary's, are the principal branches of the Maumee. Besides these are Portage and Sandusky rivers, and other inconsiderable streams, which discharge their waters into Lake Erie.

Such is the country which was infested with Indians during the war, and which was the scene of so many outrages. Such the unequalled soil, and the unrivalled waters, which for a succession of ages have been occupied for hunting grounds and fishing ponds; but the barrier to civilization having been removed, the one will now shortly become cultivated fields, and the other ports of entry. Upon lake Erie, within this territory, there are several harbours at the mouths of the rivers, and elsewhere. That of Put-in-Bay, already noticed, situated at the cluster of islands called Bass islands, near the western extremity of the lake, has become distinguished, from having been the station of Perry's squadron, both before and subsequent

to the action. It was evidently the intention of the enemy to have attacked our squadron, whilst at anchor in this bay ; but the vigilance of Perry, and the activity of his officers and men, deprived the enemy of this intended advantage ; the moment they were discovered, Perry's squadron was got under way, and stood out to meet them.

Upon the beautiful river Maumee, stood fort Meigs, which for a considerable time, formed the great barrier to the north-western frontier, and was the scene of many of the distressing vicissitudes of the war. Here the unfortunate defeat of Colonel Dudley occurred, which involved the fate of many of the brave sons of Kentucky, and swelled the disastrous notes of the war upon this devoted frontier ; and here, in many of the sorties from the fort, the Americans displayed their characteristic bravery and ardour, and finally had the satisfaction to witness the precipitate retreat of the enemy.

Off the coast of this territory, the great naval action upon lake Erie was fought ; when, for the first time, the cannonry of contending fleets, resounded through its forests, and, for the first time, the trophies of victory were brought within its waters.

As this portion of the western country was exposed to all the horrors of Indian hostility, and was destined to experience a large portion of the evils of war ; so on the other hand, there was perhaps no other section which, in the sequel, derived equal ad-

vantages from it. The Indians belonging to the tribes within this tract, who took a part in the war against the United States, retired and left their lands. From this, and other causes growing out of the war, the Indians were induced to dispose of their lands ; and accordingly, in 1818, they ceded their title to the whole of this tract, with the exception of some reservations, to the United States. The lands are now about to be surveyed, and brought into market ; and the country opened for settlement.

The events of the war also led the Americans to traverse this territory, and to become acquainted with its advantages, as to surface, soil, waters, and location, which before were but imperfectly known.— Considering all the advantages which it unites, and the population which the settled parts of the state already possess, there can be no doubt but that it will settle with a rapidity not surpassed in any other section of the western country. This tract, as it does not contain scarcely an acre of land which is not susceptible of cultivation, is capable of sustaining a dense population, and when settled, will swell nearly one fourth, the population of the state.

In noticing these sections of the north-western frontier, which were relieved from the evils of war, and the horrors of Indian outrage, by the victory upon lake Erie, the territory of Michigan, and that vast district west of lake Michigan, and south of lake Superior, which fell into the hands of the British from

the inglorious surrender of General Hull, and the capture of fort Mackinaw, claim a conspicuous attention. Scarcely had the enemy possessed themselves of the fort and town of Detroit, before the articles of capitulation were violated, in the most perfidious and shameless manner. The faith of British officers had been pledged for the protection of the persons and property of the inhabitants of the territory; yet they were immediately exposed to every species of violence, and depredation which a barbarian foe, flushed with victory, could perpetrate. Many of these acts of violence and outrage, were committed under the eye of Colonel Proctor, who commanded at Detroit. The territory had remained in this situation for more than twelve months, when the victory upon lake Erie occurred, which dispelled the gloom with which it was overcast, and restored to the afflicted inhabitants, the blessings of peace, and the protection of the laws and government of their country.

The beautiful Peninsula which constitutes the Michigan territory, is delightfully situated between lakes Erie, St. Clair, Huron and Michigan, and is nearly 250 miles in length, from north to south, and from 150 to 200 in breadth, from east to west, comprising about 37,000 square miles. This territory being nearly encircled by water, has an extensive lake border, which is indented by numerous bays and inlets, affording many good harbours, and great facilities for navigation and the fisheries. Its interi-

or is watered by numerous convenient and navigable rivers, which intersect and fertilize it, in every direction. Of these rivers, the most considerable are the Raisin, the Huron of lake Erie, the Huron of Lake St. Clair, and the St. Joseph, which falls into lake Michigan. Upon the banks of the river Raisin, is situated Frenchtown, rendered famous by the defeat of General Winchester, and the shocking massacre of the American prisoners. This was originally a French settlement, as were most of the others within this territory. Those parts of the territory which have been explored, are said to possess a strong and rich soil, and to be well calculated for agricultural purposes.

Most of the settlements are on the eastern border of the territory, about Detroit, and upon the river Raisin. Detroit is the principal settlement, and is an incorporated city. It possesses one of the best harbours upon the interior waters; has a very advantageous location, and promises to become a large interior commercial town. Next to Detroit in importance, are the new town of Munroe, on the river Raisin, and the village of Mackinaw, situated on the island of the same name, in Lake Huron. The whole population of Michigan territory, at the present time, may be estimated at about 12,000, and it is rapidly increasing.

The Indian country, which we have already noticed, in the north-western part of the state of Ohio,

interposing between that state and the Michigan territory, when in the possession of the Indians, formed an almost insuperable barrier to the settlement of this territory. But this barrier is now removed, and exertions are making to promote the settlement of the territory. The Indian title to a considerable proportion of the land, has been extinguished, and large tracts are about to be brought into market.— From these considerations, and the known advantages of the territory, it promises to receive an accession to its population, which at no distant period, will render it a respectable member of the confederacy.

The extensive country west of lake Michigan, and south of lake Superior, extending to the Mississippi, comprises that part of the immense region which originally constituted the north-western territory, which is not comprised in the states that have been formed within the limits of that territory. It lies north of the state of Illinois, extending north to lake Superior, and is now attached to the territorial government of Michigan. This extensive region, comprises nearly 150,000 square miles. It has an extensive lake border on the north and east, is washed by the Mississippi on the west, and its interior is watered by numerous rivers, some of which are large and afford important navigable advantages. Of these the Ouiconsin, which communicates with the Mississippi, and the Fox river, which discharges its waters into

Green Bay, upon the western border of lake Michigan, are the most considerable. Both of these rivers are distinguished for the extensive and unequalled advantages which they afford for navigation, having more the character of inland canals, than that of rivers, and from the circumstances of their courses being such as to nearly open a communication between lake Michigan and the Mississippi. The borders of these rivers present a beautiful and interesting country.

This extensive territory unites the advantages of a healthy climate, abundant waters, and in general, an excellent soil; and although its location is not such as to promote an immediate and rapid settlement, yet from its numerous advantages, and the enterprise and perseverance of our citizens, in the formation of new settlements, not many years can elapse before it will become an important member of the American Union.

Having taken a view of the country upon the American side of lake Erie, which was either the seat of the operations of the war, or relieved from its evils and the horrors of Indian hostility, by the naval victory of the 10th September, we will close our topographical descriptions, with a succinct account of the western districts in Upper Canada, bordering upon lake Erie, and which comprise the scenes of the closing events of the war upon the north-western frontier.

Within this district, although belonging to the enemy, the inhabitants were indebted to Perry for the restoration of the blessings of peace and security.—Yes, as strange as it may seem, the *conquest* of the country relieved the inhabitants from the evils of war, and restored tranquility to their borders. But it is to be remembered that this conquest was made by Harrison and Perry. This is a sufficient explanation of this enigma.—What a contrast between the situation of this district, when in the occupation of the Americans, and that of the territory of Michigan, when occupied by the British. The inhabitants of the former having long been harrassed with the evils of war, and exposed to Indian violence and depredation, were by the termination of the war upon that frontier, and the pacification or dispersion of the Indians, relieved from these embarrassments, and their persons and property, perhaps, more effectually protected, than what they were before the occupation of the country by the American troops.

The victories of lake Erie and the Thames brought peace to the British north-western border, as well as to the American. And by the inhabitants of the British side of lake Erie, as well as by those of the American, Perry and Harrison might have been hailed as the “deliverers of the frontier.”—Their conquest was not of the inhabitants, but of the British troops, and the hostile Indians; the latter of which, are scarcely less troublesome to the inhabit-

ants of the country employing them, than to those upon the territory of the enemy. Their spirit of hostility, which the war, aided by the exertions of the British had elicited, subsided, with the expiring note of British cannon upon the Thames. After this event, they were disposed to bury the tomahawk, and retire to their hunting grounds.

The Canadians upon this frontier, as well as the Americans on the other side of the lake, were no longer harrassed by Indian depredation and outrage. They had no claims to protection from the express provisions of articles of capitulation, as had the inhabitants of Detroit. But they did not want this. They had a much better guarantee in the integrity, the honour, and the humanity of their conquerors. They fell into the hands of Harrison and Perry. It is not necessary to contrast this picture, with that of the territory of Michigan, whilst occupied by the British. We have already enlarged sufficiently upon the shocking scenes which occurred within that territory, and we have no disposition to repeat the horrid detail—It is too revolting to the feelings of humanity. But did we wish to present the one in contrast with the other, we could not do it more strikingly than by saying, that the one fell into the hands of Harrison and Perry, and the other into those of *Proctor*.

We extract from the same author from whom we have copied the description of the waters of the St.

Lawrence, and the interior lakes, the following elegant, yet concise sketch of the western district of Upper Canada.

“ Along the northern part of the Niagara district runs a ridge called the Queenstown heights, stretching across the river Niagara, and away eastward into the state of New-York ; the altitude of this range in any part of it, does not exceed 160 yards above the surface of the lake, (Ontario.) This space, containing the Newcastle, the Home, and the Niagara districts, is watered by a great number of streams, both large and small, that greatly contribute to its fertility. In the latter district is the Welland, formerly called the Chippewa, a beautiful river, flowing thro’ a remarkable fertile country, for about forty miles, and wholly unobstructed by falls ; also the Ouse, or Grand river, a stream of much greater magnitude, rising in the interior of the country, towards lake Huron, and after winding a long and picturesque course, falls into lake Erie : across its mouth there is a bar, but always with eight feet water upon it. It is navigable for small vessels from the lake many miles upwards, and for boats to a much greater distance.

“ The land through the whole of the last mentioned district, is uncommonly rich and fertile, with a considerable portion of very flourishing settlements upon it. From the river Ouse, proceeding along the shore of lake Erie, up to the lake and river St. Clair,

the whole space is remarkably even, with scarcely a league of it but what displays excellent situations for settlements, and in spots where the land is already under tillage. Finer crops, or more thriving farms are not to be met with in any part of either province.

“ The portion of the western district, lying between lake Erie and lake St. Clair, is perhaps the most delightful of all the province. The fertility of the soil, the richly diversified and luxuriant beauties that every where court the view, the abundant variety of excellent fish that teem in the rivers, and the profusion of game of different species that enliven the woods, the thickets and the meadows, combine to insure a preference to this highly favoured tract for the establishment of new settlements.

“ From the Ouse to lake St. Clair, the space is occupied by the London and Western districts; it is watered by many small streams falling into lake Erie, besides the river Chenal Ecarte, and the exquisitely picturesque river Thames, formerly called the riviere a la Franche. The latter rises far in the interior, about the township of Blandford, and after pursuing a serpentine course in a direction nearly south-west, discharges itself into lake St. Clair. It is navigable for vessels full twenty miles from its mouth, and for boats and canoes, nearly up to its source, but little less than one hundred miles. The river Chenal Ecarte runs almost parallel to the Thames, at about

ten miles from it, and also falls into lake St. Clair. The portions now described, are those only that are more or less settled upon. In the rear of the townships are large tracts of land stretching far to the northward, covered with immense forests, and little known except to the Indians; but it has been ascertained that there are many wide spreading extents of rich and fertile soil, particularly bordering upon the south-west bank of the Ottawa river. Through these regions, as yet unexplored by civilized man, there are many streams, and some of great size that flow both into lake Huron and into the Ottawa river, but none of them have been sufficiently traced to admit of being delineated on any map. Timber in almost every variety, is found in the greatest profusion; the oak, beech, walnut, (hickory) ash, maple, elm, pine, sycamore, birch, and many other sorts, are of peculiar excellence, and of capital dimensions.—The climate is so peculiarly salubrious, that epidemic diseases, either amongst men or cattle, are almost unknown; its influence upon the fertility of the soil is more generally perceptible than it is in Lower Canada, and supposed to be congenial to vegetation in a much superior degree. The winters are shorter, and not always marked with such rigour as in the latter; the duration of the frost is always accompanied with a fine clear sky, and a dry atmosphere; the spring opens, and the resumption of agricultural labour takes place from six weeks to two months earli-

er than what it does in the neighbourhood of Quebec. The summer heats rarely prevail to excess, and the autumns are usually very friendly to the harvests, and favourable for securing all the late crops. In fact, upon so good a soil, and under such a climate, industry and an increase of population are only wanting to render this colony flourishing and happy."

CHAPTER VI.

The victory of the 10th September, occasions a general rejoicing throughout the Union—the illumination at Philadelphia—Perry promoted to the rank of Captain in the navy—He proceeds from Buffalo to Albany—tribute of respect shewn to him at that place—proceeds thence to Newport, where he is received with admiration—a gold medal presented to him by order of Congress—Perry leaves Newport for Washington—public dinner given him in New-York—also at the seat of government—a most splendid entertainment given in honour of him on his return, at Baltimore—is assigned to command on the Newport station—public dinner given in honour of him at Boston—assists a Swedish brig at Newport—visits the eastern coast—after the capture of Washington, Perry repaired thither—commanded a battery to annoy the enemy in going down the river—is at Baltimore at the attack upon that place—is appointed to superintend the equipment of the Java.

WE have now done with the north-western frontier, having reviewed the events of the war in that quarter, which preceded and followed the memorable victory upon lake Erie; given an ample and minute account of that victory; noticed its consequences upon the north-western border, and concluded with a topographical view of the interior waters which were the scene of the glory of our hero, and such portions of the country bordering upon them, as

were in a more eminent degree, relieved from the evils of war, and the horrors of Indian outrage. We have examined, and, perhaps, with an amplitude which some may consider unnecessary, the consequences of the victory of the 10th September, and the effect which it had upon the public mind, in that section of the country; but before resuming the narration of the remaining events in the life of Perry, it may perhaps, be proper to allude to the national effect of this victory.

We shall not be thought extravagant, it is believed, in saying, that no national event since the capture of Cornwallis, in 1781, diffused such universal joy throughout the country, as the victory upon lake Erie. This was not more owing to the importance of the event, than to the state of the public mind at the time it occurred. A strange fatality seemed to have attended the operation of our arms upon that frontier, which baffled all the exertions of the government; and for a period of fifteen months, the public had witnessed a series of disappointments and disasters, almost unexampled in the history of our country. And these adverse occurrences were the more afflicting, from their not having been foreseen, or scarcely thought within the compass of events, which fairly belong to the vicissitudes of war.

Canada was first invaded from the north-western frontier, and from the limited means of the enemy, it was then supposed that all the north-western dis-

tricts, if not the whole of the Upper Province, would have fallen an easy conquest to our arms. But instead of this, the public had the mortification to witness the surrender, without an effort, of this invading army, followed by a long train of disasters, and to behold a large section of our own territory wrested from the Republic, and exposed to the insolence and barbarity of a savage foe.

These disastrous events, which cast a gloom over the north-western border, excited a deep solicitude throughout the Union. Nothing but the demon of faction, could have benumbed the sympathies of our citizens in any part of the Union, for their brethren on this devoted frontier. The British openly declared their designs of severing, forever, from the Republic, that interesting portion of our territory which had fallen into their hands; and many of our enlightened citizens who anticipated with pleasure, the progress and extension of new settlements, in the national domains of the west, beheld with deep concern, a state of things calculated to arrest, if not permanently to destroy these cheering prospects. Not only the sentiments of patriotism, but the bonds of friendship, and the ties of consanguinity, were calculated to awaken the national sensibility and solicitude. From the diffusive spirit of emigration which has long prevailed among us, almost every town in the Atlantic states, has contributed towards the rapidly increasing population of the western sec-

tion of the United States, and consequently the inhabitants of that portion of our country, have numerous friends and relatives in the Atlantic states.

From these, and other circumstances, the disasters upon the north-western frontier, which spread a gloom through the western country, produced a serious effect throughout the Union. They awakened the sympathies, aroused the patriotism, and alarmed the apprehensions of all good citizens. The patriot, who had anticipated with satisfaction, the success of our arms, could not cast his eyes to the west and behold the long succession of disasters which had visited that border, and the consequences attendant upon them, without mortification and affliction, and scarcely without despondency. Under such circumstances as these, some great national event was wanted to revive the public spirit, to restore the national confidence, encourage patriotism, confirm the wavering, dispel the fears of the despondent, support the national credit, and strengthen the arm of the government. It was at this critical conjuncture, that the victory upon lake Erie occurred. No wonder it electrified the country with joy, and enlivened the countenance of every patriotic citizen. No wonder the hero of this victory was hailed as the deliverer of the frontier—the “conqueror of the conquerors of Europe,” and as the brightest star in the resplendent galaxy of the American naval heroes. No wonder this victory communicated a ray of joy to every

American bosom; and occasioned throughout the country, every visible testimonial of public rejoicing. In all our principal cities, illuminations took place, accompanied with other demonstrations of joy, admiration and gratitude. All felt the animating influence of a victory, so splendid in its character, and so important in its consequences. All participated in the general joy.—The merchant laid aside his ledger, the mechanic the implements of his trade, the man of business suspended his exertions, the labourer his toil, and the speculator forgot, for a moment, his golden dreams; all uniting in one common testimony of joy and gratitude. And the fair, justly appreciating the occasion, and forgetting the allurements of other objects, and the blandishments of personal admiration, contributed to enliven the general scene of rejoicing.

The illumination in Philadelphia, is deserving of particular notice. It took place on the evening of the 24th September. On no previous occasion, have the citizens of this populous and patriotic city, displayed so much zeal, unanimity and spirit, in the manifestation of their joy and gratitude, for any national event. As the victory was considered as unexampled in the annals of our country, so the splendour of the celebration was unequalled. The admiration of the splendid achievement, and of the hero of it, was universal. All classes was anxious to participate in the general joy, and to unite in an expression of the sense they felt of the honour, which

this unequalled victory over a superior force, had conferred on the national character. All were eager to applaud the pre-eminent skill and valour by which it had been won. The name of PERRY, appropriately emblazoned in letters of fire, was conspicuously displayed, reminding the beholder of that cool intrepidity and heroic decision, which, after having fought the Lawrence to a wreck and slaughter-house, carried him on board the Niagara; when, seizing as if by inspiration, the moment which was to decide the fate of the action, he pierced the hostile line; and, wrapped in a destructive blaze, compelled the British hero to surrender the entire squadron under his command, to superior skill and valour; affording the most striking evidence of the justness of the prediction of the great Nelson, who, when speaking of the exploits of our squadron in the Mediterranean, observed that in these achievements of the infant navy of the United States, he beheld the future decline of the maritime ascendancy of England.

Among other exhibitions of taste and style, were two transparent portraits of Washington, the father of his country, and the founder of her naval power; which gave additional interest and lustre to the scene.

Soon after the victory of the 10th of September, Perry was promoted to the rank of Captain in the navy of the United States.

After the termination of the operations of the war

on the north-western frontier, Perry, in company with General Harrison, arrived at Buffalo, on the 24th October, from whence he proceeded to Albany, where he arrived on the 8th November. Here he was received with every demonstration of respect and admiration. The Corporation and citizens united in paying a tribute of respect to the hero of Erie, for his ardent patriotism, and distinguished services. At 10 o'clock, A. M. the Common Council, and a large concourse of citizens, assembled, and proceeded on horseback, to Dow's tavern, on the Schenectady road, where they received and escorted Commodore Perry into the city. On arriving in the western precincts of the city, a federal salute was fired, and the military, which had assembled for the purpose, formed in front, and proceeded with the escort to the capital, when, the military opening, the procession entered the hall, where the freedom of the city, in a gold case, and a sword which had been voted him by the Common Council, were presented to the gallant Commodore. The procession was then formed again, and proceeded to the Commodore's quarters, during which time the bells were rung, and another salute fired.

From Albany, Perry proceeded to his residence in Newport, Rhode-Island, where he was received with great respect, and the most cordial and friendly welcome. His friends and fellow-citizens, who had been acquainted with the *man*, were filled with rap-

ture, on beholding the *hero*. All were anxious to behold their fellow-citizen, who, like the hero of Rome, in the proudest days of her history, had returned from the toils of war, and the vanquishing of the foes of his country, surrounded with a blaze of glory, and crowned with the laurels of immortality. He was accompanied on his arrival here, by his brother, and the four valiant tars who rowed the boat which conveyed him from the Lawrence to the Niagara, and who, as their brave Commodore was standing up in the open boat, (at which two broadsides had been directed,) exposed to a shower of musketry, pulled him down by the skirt of his coat.

In noticing the testimonials of respect and admiration which Perry received, we must not pass over that which came directly and officially from the representatives of the people. Soon after the commencement of the session which followed the victory upon lake Erie, Congress adopted resolutions, tendering their thanks to Captain Perry, and through him, to the officers, seamen and marines, attached to the squadron under his command, for the decisive and glorious victory on lake Erie, over a British squadron of superior force; and requesting the President to cause a gold medal to be struck, emblematical of the action between the two squadrons, and presented to Captain Perry in such manner as might be most honourable to him. In the same res-

olutions, the President was requested to present a gold medal to Captain Jesse D. Elliot, and a silver one, with suitable emblems and devices, to each of the commissioned officers, either of the navy or army, serving on board, and a sword to each of the midshipmen and sailing masters who so nobly distinguished themselves on that memorable day.

Early in January, (1814,) Perry left Newport for the seat of government, and arrived in New-York, where, on the 11th, a splendid entertainment was given to him in Tammany Hall. On this occasion Perry gave a toast, which, considering the alarming spirit of faction, which unfortunately existed in one section of the country, is an honourable evidence of his principles and patriotism—It was “*The Union of the States.*”—Perry arrived at Washington previously to the 25th, on which day a splendid entertainment in honour of him, was provided in that city. Several of the high officers of the government, and many of the members of Congress, with a great number of the most distinguished citizens, were present on the occasion.

Perry having remained a few days in the capital, left there to return to Newport. He arrived in Baltimore on the 31st of January, and continued there the two succeeding days. The attentions and honours which were bestowed upon him in this patriotic city, are deserving of a particular detail.

On the evening of the 31st, he visited the circus, and that spacious building could not contain the vast crowd which collected to behold the hero of the lakes. The house was filled before the entertainment began, and when Perry entered, he was received with deep, loud, and continued acclamation. On the following day, he was honoured with an entertainment, which, for bounteous profusion, elegance of style, judicious arrangements, and brilliancy and appropriateness of decorations, surpassed, it is believed, any thing which has occurred in this country. The committee of arrangements consisted of some of the most distinguished citizens, whose united zeal and perseverance, aided by the taste and exertions of their fellow-citizens, produced a result which surprised and gratified all. The great room at Barney's "Fountain Inn," was selected for the occasion. At the head of the room was a large transparent painting, reaching almost across the hall, representing the naval action upon lake Erie. The accomplished artist had happily seized that moment when Commodore Perry, "at forty-five minutes past two, having thrown out the signal for *close action*, bore up in the Niagara and passed ahead of their two ships and a brig, giving a raking fire to them from the starboard guns, and to a large schooner and sloop from the larboard side, at half pistol shot distance," decided the fate of the action. The painting was executed in fine style, and produced the most interesting and en-

livening effect. At the head of the table was the representation of the stern of a ship, labelled "NIAGARA," on which, as on the quarter deck, were placed the President of the day, Edward Johnson, Esq., with the hero of Erie, and Commodores Barney and Lewis, and other officers of the navy, with several citizens. In front of them was raised, having the appearance of a great column, a bundle of eighteen arrows, representing the states of the Union, braced together by massive bands, on which were inscribed the names of Hull, Jones, Decatur, Bainbridge, Lawrence, Ludlow, Burrows, Allen, and Perry, in large letters of gold. A flag was suspended from a top-gallant mast and yard, which rose from the centre of the bundle of arrows, with an inscription, "*we have met the enemy and they are ours.*" The pedestal was ornamented with naval emblems and wreaths, and the American Eagle was suspended over the whole, bearing in his beak a scroll, with the motto, "*a nation's gratitude is the hero's best reward,*" which was so contrived and managed that, with outstretched wings, it occasionally passed over the company.—The American "striped bunting," bespangled with stars, was suspended as curtains at the windows, and in whatever direction the eye turned, it fell on some object calculated to delight the sense, to awaken national pride, and gratify the patriotic enthusiasm which the occasion had excited. Among the toasts was the following: "The 10th of Septembr, 1813—

rendered memorable in the annals of our country by the decisive and glorious victory on lake Erie." When this was announced, the music which usually followed, was silent, and a pause ensued that was broken by the beat of a drum from behind the transparency, which directed the eyes of all to that quarter, when suddenly, down came the *British flag* from the enemy's ship in the fore ground of the picture, and instantly the full band struck up the national salute of Yankee Doodle, and immediately the British flag was hoisted *under* the American ensign. This, not having been understood but by few of the company, excited a surprise and interest truly indescribable.*

From Baltimore Perry returned to Newport, having at that time a command on that station. He continued in this command during the spring and summer following; but the situation was not calculated to add to the reputation of the hero of the lakes; and there being little occasion for the employment of his personal services, this was in a great measure a period of repose.

The brave, the active, and the enterprising are not always to be employed. And when the service with which a man is entrusted, is finished, then is the proper season for him to cease from his labours. If ever an individual perfectly finished the work confided to his care, it was Perry in his command upon lake

* Niles' Register, 5th vol. page 398.

Erie. Having filled the continent with the glory of his achievements, and rendered his fame co-extensive with the knowledge of his country, it was just that these events should be followed by a period of repose, and that he should be permitted to enjoy in tranquility the fruits of his services and valour—the admiration and gratitude of his country. These, “the hero’s best reward,” few individuals have deserved or enjoyed to a greater extent than Perry.

Among the public testimonials of esteem and gratitude which he received during this interval, an entertainment given in honour of him at Boston, on the 10th of May, is deserving of particular notice.

This celebrated town which, during the American revolution, acted so distinguished and honourable a part, was, during the late war, distinguished for a very different course of conduct. At the former period, it was the focus and the original source of the *national spirit*—that spirit which is roused into action by a sense of wrongs, and the love of liberty—which gave birth to our Independence, converted citizens into soldiers, sustained the country during an arduous and unequalled contest of eight years, and finally crowned its efforts with success. But during the latter period, this spirit seems to have fled from this metropolis of New-England; and Boston, instead of being the focus of patriotism, to have unfortunately become the centre of faction. Where the voice of Adams and Hancock was once heard in defence of the rights

of their injured country, and to awaken a spirit of resistance to lawless power, had succeeded the language, "that it was unbecoming a moral and religious people to rejoice at the success of the national arms, in an unjust and ruinous war.* But these sentiments, so derogatory to the high character which this town had long sustained, were, it is believed, confined to a few, and even with these, they ought, perhaps, to be regarded as the effusions of that momentary infatuation which the violence of party spirit often produces. That this was the case, and that the citizens of this town generally, felt a deep solicitude for the prosperity of the country, and for the success and honour of the national arms, is evinced by the fact which is here noticed—the splendid entertainment given in honour of Com. Perry, and as a testimony of admiration and gratitude for the brilliant victory upon lake Erie. Yet, considering the infatuation of certain influential individuals, and the spirit of opposition to the war, which they had excited and maintained, the honour conferred upon Commodore Perry at Boston, cannot but be regarded as a striking evidence of the universal admiration, joy and gratitude, which the victory of the 10th of September occasioned. Those who regarded the war as unjust as well as inexpedient, could not with-

*These sentiments, if not precisely the language, were contained in a resolution introduced into the Senate of Massachusetts.

hold their admiration of the distinguished bravery and skill displayed in its prosecution. At any rate they could not withhold it from Perry.

Among the toasts drank on this occasion was the following:—"The 10th of September, 1813—the day on which a splendid column was added in the naval temple of our country—on its entablature is inscribed, "*we have met the enemy and they are ours.*"

Subsequently to this, Perry received several pieces of plate voted him by the people of Boston. The large pieces were inscribed, on one side: "September 10th, 1813, signalized our first triumph in squadron: a very superior British force on lake Erie was entirely subdued by Commodore O. H. Perry; whose gallantry in action is equalled only by his humanity in victory." On the other side, "Presented in honour of the victor, by the citizens of Boston." The small pieces were inscribed on one side, "Commodore O. H. Perry conquered the enemy on lake Erie, September 10th, 1813;" and on the other, "Presented by the citizens of Boston." These testimonials of respect and admiration of the achievements of Perry, were not more honourable to him, than to the citizens who bestowed them, as they were calculated to do away the injurious imputations to which the intemperate zeal of a few partizans, had exposed their fellow citizens.

On the 30th of May, a Swedish brig was chased into the east passage at Newport, and run ashore, by

the boats of a British vessel of war. Perry, on receiving this information, immediately ordered a detachment of seamen, with a six pounder, to the assistance of the brig. They were also accompanied by a company of militia. The next morning, the British brig Nimrod stood close in shore, drove the people out of the Swedish vessel, under the cover of her guns, and succeeded in boarding and setting her on fire. The militia, a considerable number of which had collected, with two 12 pounders, advancing, and two gun boats at the same time making their appearance, the enemy precipitately left their anchorage and stood out to sea. Fortunately the arrival of the militia and the gun boats, was in season to save the brig, which, the fire having been extinguished, was got off, and most of her cargo saved.

During this summer, (1814,) the eastern coast of the United States was greatly harrassed by the enemy. They destroyed a considerable proportion of the coasting craft which ventured to sea, and entered some of the out ports, and committed depredations and outrages upon the maritime villages. In consequence of this predatory warfare of the enemy, Perry proceeded to the eastward. He was at Wiscasset, the latter part of June, when the enemy made an attempt upon that place, and by his active exertions and the alacrity with which the inhabitants collected on the occasion, he succeeded in repelling them. The

enemy made several unsuccessful attacks upon other places.

Under date of the 21st of June, Commodore Perry received a communication signed by sundry respectable inhabitants of the town of Wareham, Massachusetts, containing a statement of the landing and depredations of the British at that place. It appears from this statement, that six barges, one of them having a white flag hoisted, were seen approaching the village, upon which a flag of truce was also hoisted upon the wharf. When the barges arrived, the commanding officer agreed that if he was not fired on by the inhabitants, all private property should be held inviolable, but that he should destroy what public property could be found. But instead of this, although there was no pretence that they were attacked or fired upon by the inhabitants, having landed a part of their men, they immediately proceeded to destroy private property. They set fire to a vessel on the stocks, to five others at anchor, and to a cotton factory. On being reminded of their engagements, that they had landed under the sacred character of a flag of truce, and deceived the inhabitants by false promises, the only answer they returned was a threat to set fire to the village, and put the inhabitants to the sword, if they made any resistance, or even attempted to extinguish the fires. On returning to their barges, they seized twelve of the citizens, and took them on board, declaring, that if they

were fired upon by the inhabitants, they would put them to death. Having made the necessary arrangements for leaving the harbour, the flag of truce was again hoisted, and the perpetrators of these disgraceful outrages, returned under the same cover and protection they entered. The men were landed about three miles below the village.

The communication of these transactions was made to Commodore Perry, for the purpose of being transmitted to the Secretary of the Navy, which he accordingly did.

The sudden incursion of the enemy, and capture of the city of Washington, on the 24th of August, induced Commodore Perry, who always stood in readiness to "meet the enemy," wherever they might appear, to repair thither. The action at Bladensburg, which took place at about 1 o'clock, P. M. on the 24th, having resulted in the retreat of the American troops, the enemy advanced to the capital, without experiencing further opposition. In this unfortunate action, the American force consisted of about five thousand men, all of whom, with the exception of three hundred and fifty regulars, and Commodore Barney's command, were militia, hastily collected, many of them having arrived on the ground after the enemy were in sight. The enemy's force was estimated at more than 5,000, consisting of regulars, marines and seamen. That a contest under such circumstances as these, should have resulted unfa-

avourably to the Americans, cannot be a matter of surprise; yet it was to have been expected that they would have made a more firm resistance than they did, and that they would have continued to annoy and harrass the enemy, who, with so inconsiderable a force, had penetrated so far into the country, and from the intense heat, and the distance they had marched, must have been greatly fatigued and exhausted.

The brave Commodore Barney, the hero of two wars, with his patriotic band of volunteers, made a gallant stand, and for some time resisted with the most destructive effect, the march of the enemy. The Commodore was wounded and taken prisoner. History will record, that on this day, (the 24th August 1814,) a body of British troops, under the command of General Ross, having possessed themselves of the city of Washington, with the true spirit of Vandalism, set fire to, and destroyed the Capital, the President's house, and the public offices; edifices, no way connected with the means of war, but which were monuments of the arts, and which have been respected by all civilized nations, when the fortune of war hath placed them in the power of an enemy. Several private buildings were also destroyed, and many of the citizens mal-treated. The navy yard was destroyed by our own officers, after learning that the enemy was in possession of the city. On the evening of the 25th, the enemy retreated precipi-

tately from the city, leaving most of their killed and wounded behind.

Soon after these events, several of our most distinguished naval officers, among whom were Rogers, Porter and Perry, arrived in Washington. After the retreat from Washington, a part of the naval force of the enemy went up the Potomac, as far as Alexandria, and threatened the destruction of that town, the abandonment and destruction of fort Warburton, having removed all obstructions to their passage up the river. Considering the town as defenceless, and to preserve it from destruction, the inhabitants were induced to agree to the most disgraceful capitulation. All naval and ordnance stores, both public and private, were to be delivered to the enemy, together with all the shipping in the harbour, including the vessels which had been sunk, which the inhabitants were to raise, and all merchandize, of every description, including what had been removed since the 19th of August, when the squadron passed the Kettle Bottoms. Refreshments of every description were to be supplied the ships, and paid for at the market price, by bills on the British government.

These extraordinary articles, remind us very much of the treaty of peace, which was concluded between Charles the XII. of Sweden, and Augustus, King of Poland, and Elector of Saxony. Charles having dispossessed Augustus of his Kingdom, and caused Stanislaus, to be elected, crowned and acknowledged,

Augustus, betrayed and abandoned by his own subjects, fearing the loss of his hereditary dominions, and apprehending greater evils from his powerful and dangerous ally, Peter of Muscovy, than from his implacable enemy and conqueror, was induced to sue for peace. The terms of the conqueror were, that Augustus should renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Poland, acknowledge Stanislaus, deliver up Patkul, the Czar's ambassador, &c. But in addition to these severe and humiliating terms, he insisted that Augustus should write a letter with his own hand, to his rival, *congratulating* him on his accession to the throne, which he himself had just been *compelled* to abandon.

After the inhabitants of Alexandria had been forced to agree to permit the enemy to *take*, or rather plunder every thing they had, but their houses and furniture, it must have been not a little humiliating, that they should have been compelled to furnish supplies, and feed this enemy.

Whilst the enemy were employed at Alexandria, in securing their plunder, preparations were made to annoy them on their going down the river. Commodore Rogers proceeded down the Potomac, on the 3d September, with three small fire vessels, under the protection of four barges or cutters, manned with about sixty seamen, armed with muskets, destined against two of the enemy's frigates, and a bomb ship, which lay about two and a half miles below Al-

exandria. From the failure of the wind, this enterprize did not succeed. On the next day, Commodore Rogers had another fire vessel prepared, with a view to destroy a bomb ship of the enemy, but this attempt proved equally unsuccessful. Captain Porter erected a temporary battery at the White House, on the west bank of the Potomac, to attempt the annoyance and destruction of the enemy's vessels as they proceeded down the river. Porter was aided by a considerable body of militia, and several officers, as volunteers. On the 4th and 5th, the enemy kept up a constant fire upon the battery, and at night landed, with the intention of spiking the guns, but were repulsed. On the 6th, as the enemy's force moved down the river, a severe and well directed fire of hot shot was kept up by the battery, which was warmly returned by the enemy. After sustaining the contest for more than one hour, and the whole force of the enemy being concentrated to bear upon him, the gallant Porter, with his brave volunteers, retired, not being willing to make a useless sacrifice. Porter's battery annoyed the enemy considerably, but could not prevent their getting off with their plunder. The gallant party sustained a loss of several killed and wounded. Commodore Perry commanded a battery at Indian-Head, below that at the White House.—The cannon were of too small a calibre to make much impression on the enemy as they descended the river.

One eighteen pounder, which arrived only thirty minutes before the firing commenced, and was badly supplied with ammunition, was the only gun that could be used with much effect. In addition to the battery, several field pieces kept up a very spirited fire ; but they were also of too small a calibre to produce a very important effect. The ammunition of the eighteen pounder, and several of the sixes, being expended, and the fire of the enemy from two frigates, two sloops, and a number of other small vessels, having become very heavy, it was thought advisable to leave the battery, and retire a short distance in the rear, which was done in good order, after having sustained the enemy's fire for more than an hour. The advantageous position occupied by Perry, prevented the enemy from doing his party much injury ; none were killed, and only one man wounded.

The enemy having gone down the river, and being out of the reach of all annoyance, Rogers and Perry immediately repaired to Baltimore, it being expected that the enemy would shortly visit that place.

On the morning of the 11th of September, the enemy's fleet, consisting of forty or fifty vessels, appeared off the mouth of the Patapsco river. Some of the vessels entered the river, and others proceeded to North-Point, and the following night commenced the debarkation of their troops, which was completed early the next morning. In the mean time,

the frigates which had been previously lightened, the bomb-ketches and small vessels approached, and arranged themselves in line of battle, to cannonade the fort and town. The ships of the line lay off North-Point to cover and protect the whole force. The enemy landed about 9,000 men, consisting of 5,000 soldiers, under Major General Ross, and about 4,000 marines and seamen, commanded by the famous Admiral Cockburn. They advanced about four miles without any opposition, where they were met by a force of 3,200 men, consisting of General Stricker's brigade, and several companies of volunteers, most of which were from Pennsylvania. The rest of the troops which had been collected for the defence of the place, were stationed in the rear, and at the various defences. As the enemy advanced, about two o'clock, P. M. the artillery opened a destructive fire upon them, which was returned from two nine pounders, and the action soon became general along the front line, consisting of the 5th and 27th regiments. A warm and destructive fire was kept up by these two regiments and the artillery, for about an hour, when, on the enemy's attempting to turn their flank, they reluctantly retired, falling back towards the city. Not more than 1,700 of the American troops, were actually engaged in this action; but they behaved with great gallantry, and fired with remarkable steadiness and effect, taking deliberate aim, which mowed down the ranks of the

enemy with great carnage. The British advanced slowly, and the next day approached within two miles of the American entrenchments. Measures were taken to intercept them, and punish their temerity, but before the plans could be put in execution, the British suspecting what was going on, decamped suddenly in the night, and embarked with such precipitation, that although they were closely pursued, a few prisoners only were taken.

The attack upon fort M'Henry was terribly grand and magnificent. Fort M'Henry is situated about two miles from the city. On the 12th, the enemy's vessels were stationed in front of the works, in form of a great semi-circle, but at a respectful distance, being out of the reach of the guns. The next morning, six bombs and several rocket vessels, commenced an attack upon the fort, (keeping, however, at a respectful distance,) which was continued until 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when the enemy approached near the works, which gave the garrison an opportunity of trying the efficacy of their batteries. A most tremendous fire was opened upon them, which, in a few moments, occasioned them to slip their cables and wear off. The following night, several bomb and rocket vessels, and a number of barges, manned with 1,200 picked men, under cover of the darkness, passed fort M'Henry, and proceeded up the Patapsco, to assail the fort and town in the rear. They gave three cheers, and began to throw their missiles,

bombs, shells, &c. But their cheering was quickly turned to groaning, and cries of distress from the wounded and the drowning. The forts M'Henry, Covington, the the Lazaretto, the city battery, and the barges, opened the most tremendous and destructive fire upon them. The scene was awfully grand and sublime. Such a sheet of fire, and such a tremendous cannonading, had never before been witnessed. The heavens appeared to be lighted with flame, and all to be one continued explosion, for half an hour. Rogers' crew at fort Covington, and Barney's flotilla-men at the city battery, maintained the high reputation which they had previously acquired. Amidst this scene of destruction, the enemy, battered and crippled, retired with precipitation, the darkness of the night and their ceasing to fire, which was the only guide our people had, prevented their annihilation. The enemy paid dearly for his temerity in this affair. Their loss must have been very severe. Two of their barges were found sunk, with a number of dead in them. The loss sustained by the garrisons was trifling, only four killed and twenty wounded.

Never were an expedition and the hopes of military achievement and fame, more completely defeated. The British Admiral had calculated on taking the fort in two hours, and spoke of its surrender as a matter of course. When that was done, and the shipping destroyed, he observed, "he would talk

about terms for the city." General Ross, who had just returned from the spoils of Washington, who had declared his intention of destroying every town upon our sea board, and of fixing his winter quarters at Baltimore; who "did not care if it rained militia"—the redoubtable General Ross, who commenced his career of vandal warfare so successfully; who had such confidence in his own strength, and such contempt for his enemies, fell early in the action. His fall was probably the immediate cause of the retreat of the enemy.* The sun of his military glory, which at Washington he supposed, shone with full meridian splendour, at Baltimore, and after the lapse of a few days only, set in darkness.

The disastrous result of this attack upon Baltimore by a formidable land and naval force, flushed with victory, and confident of success, adds another to the many evidences which the history of human affairs has furnished, that it does not belong to man to boast of his strength or achievements, and much less to indulge in sentiments of *contempt* for others. The total loss of the enemy was supposed to have been 7 or 800 men—that of the Americans was only 20 killed, and about 140 wounded, prisoners and missing.

Among the objects which the enemy calculated would signalize their success at Baltimore, was the destruction of the *Java*, which was then building at that place. It had been launched in August, prece-

*Niles' Register, vol. 7, page 24.

ding. It is supposed that the *name* of this frigate was not very agreeable to the British, as some how or other, it reminded them of a British frigate of the same name, which was captured and sunk by Commodore Bainbridge.

The Java was equipped and fitted for service under the direction and superintendance of Commodore Perry, who was designated for that purpose. He, however, still continued to command on the Newport station, and remained a considerable proportion of his time, with his family and friends in that interesting town. In January following, he received an honourable and gratifying testimony of the respect and admiration of his fellow-citizens of Newport. It was the presentation of an elegant silver vase, of the largest size, surmounted by an Eagle, and embellished with appropriate emblematic figures and inscriptions.

CHAPTER VII.

The Java is brought to Newport—Perry assists in rescuing shipwrecked seamen—sails in the Java for the Mediterranean—difference between the United States and the Regency of Algiers—hostile proceedings of the latter in 1812—United States declare war in 1815—Decatur's squadron arrived at Gibraltar in May, same year—capture of an Algerine frigate and brig—a negociation follows—a treaty concluded—the squadron proceeds to Tunis—thence to Tripoli—the ratified copy of the treaty carried out by the Java—was at first rejected by the Dey, who became greatly enraged—dispute between Commodore Perry and Captain Heath—another treaty concluded with the Dey by Commodore Chauncey—Perry in the Java returns to the United States—duel between Perry and Heath—in 1819, Perry sails for the Orinoco—incidents of that voyage—remarks on the country, government, &c.—proceeds to Port Spain—his death and burial.

COMMODORE PERRY continued to command on the Newport station, and to superintend the equipping of the Java, and fitting her for service, during the year 1815. The Java, under the command of Perry, was destined to sail for the Mediterranean, as a part of the naval force ordered there by the American government, to be commanded by Commodore Chauncey. As preparatory to commencing this cruise, the Java proceeded to Newport, and remain-

ed in the harbour of that place for some time previously to sailing.

Whilst Perry was employed in preparing to sail for the Mediterranean, an event occurred which is no way important, but as affording an evidence of the benevolence of his heart—of his affectionate regard for American seamen, and of the promptitude and readiness with which his services were offered, to assist the distressed.

On the 10th January, (1816) an express arrived at Newport from Brenton's Neck, with information that a vessel had been stranded on the reefs, and that several men were seen on part of the wreck, driving at the mercy of the wind and waves. Arrangements were immediately adopted to rescue them, if possible, from their perilous situation. Among others called upon to aid in the effort, was Commodore Perry, then at his house; who, on being informed of the facts, immediately engaged in the melancholy enterprise, in the most feeling and impressive manner. His humane heart, rendered more susceptible from his experience of the perils to which seamen are exposed, enabled him to realize the critical situation of those unfortunate men, whose lives were at the mercy of elements. The severity of the weather, and the raging of the wind, did not weaken his sympathies, or occasion him to pause a moment, in his exertions to attempt to save the unfortunate seamen. He immediately proceeded to his barge,

and without the least hesitation, stepped on board ; when turning to his men, he observed, in the most affecting and impressive manner, “ Come my boys, we are going to the relief of shipwrecked seamen.” These words had the desired effect.—The animated and sympathising countenances of the men, evinced the lively sense which they felt for the perils and suffering of their unfortunate brethren, and of their readiness to encounter every danger, to attempt to rescue them from destruction. Having entered on board the barge, they rowed with great rapidity to the reef, which was about five miles. The vessel proved to be the schooner *Eliza*, Captain Charles Gorton, from Havana, owned in Newport. She was dashed into a thousand pieces. Eleven of her crew, on the quarter deck, which had separated from the wreck, were rescued from their awful situation, and their lives almost miraculously preserved. This simple occurrence speaks more forcibly, than the most elaborate panegyric, in proof of the humane and benevolent heart of Perry. We here behold the same man, who, upon lake Erie, clothed with all the terrors of war, was himself a host to the enemy, engaging with spirit and alacrity in an enterprise—not to meet and conquer the enemy ; not to acquire glory and renown, and swell the expansive note of his own fame ; not to defend the rights of his country, but to aid suffering humanity ; or, to use his own appropriate words, “ *to relieve shipwrecked seamen.*”

Early in the spring of this year, (1816) Perry sailed in the *Java* for the Mediterranean, being the third time he had visited that sea. The principal object of the force, of which the *Java* formed a part, sent to the Mediterranean at this period, seems to have been to keep alive those favourable impressions which had been produced by the appearance of the first squadron under Commodore Decatur. On the 20th of April, 1815, Decatur sailed from New-York, for the Mediterranean, with a force consisting of the *Guerriere*, *Constellation* and *Macedonian* frigates; the *Ontario* and *Epervier* sloops of war, and the schooners *Spark*, *Spitfire*, *Torch*, and *Flambeau*.— This squadron was expected shortly to have been followed by another, under Commodore Bainbridge, who, on his arrival, it was understood was to take the command of the whole force, and Decatur, in a single vessel, to return to the United States. This expedition was destined against the Dey of Algiers, Congress having, immediately after the ratification of the treaty of peace with Great-Britain, declared war against that Regency. The causes which led to this measure had most of them existed for several years, but in consequence of the war between the United States and Great-Britain, the subject had been neglected by Congress. In the treaty concluded between the United States and the Regency of Algiers, in 1795, the former being placed upon the same footing as other nations, was to pay to the Dey

the yearly tribute of twelve thousand Algerine Sequins, to be invested in naval stores. No difficulties arose under this treaty, nor any infringements of its provisions on the part of the Algerines, until sometime in July, 1812, when the Dey violated its most important articles.

Whether the infraction of the treaty, and the hostile conduct of the Dey at this time, was the result of that capricious spirit of tyranny and injustice which usually governs the councils of that Regency, or whether it was occasioned, as some have supposed, by the near prospect of a war between the United States and Great-Britain, which the Dey was encouraged in the belief, would annihilate the naval force of the former, and thereby prevent them from taking satisfaction upon him, is uncertain. Perhaps the latter cause might have come in aid of the former; and the peace which he about that time concluded with Portugal, which left no employment for his cruisers, nor field for the gratification of his rapacity, might have had some effect in stimulating him to measures of hostility against the United States. But whatever might have influenced the conduct of the Dey, when the *Allegany* arrived at Algiers, in July, 1812, with a cargo of naval stores for the payment of the annual tribute, agreeably to the treaty of 1795, his highness pretended that the assortment of articles was not such as he was entitled to; fell into a violent passion, and declared that the cargo

should not be received, and that the vessel should immediately leave Algiers. And in the paroxysm of his rage, he insisted that Col. Lear, the American consul at Algiers, should leave there with the vessel, as he would not have a consul in his dominions who did not cause every article to be brought which he had ordered. All attempts at explanation, on the part of the consul, were without any effect.

A few days after, the Dey, who affected to be extremely angry, presented a novel and very extraordinary demand, calculated to increase the difficulties. It was a claim of twenty-seven thousand dollars, as the arrearages of tribute, founded on the difference between the solar and lunar years; one consisting of three hundred and sixty-five, and the other of three hundred and fifty-four days, making in the seventeen years which had elapsed since the adoption of the treaty, a period of six months. This distinction between the christian and Mahometan year having never been urged before, it is certain that it was insisted upon at this time merely as a pretext for exacting money from the United States, or to create additional pretences for hostilities.

The explanations and remonstrances of the Consul, only served to exasperate the Dey, who finally declared that if the money was not immediately paid he should be sent to the marine in chains, the Allegany and her cargo confiscated, and every citizen of the United States at Algiers, condemned to perpetu-

al slavery. These demands were attempted to be mitigated, which induced the Dey to give to the consul his definitive answer, which was, "that he should the next morning, pay the twenty-seven thousand dollars and then depart with his family, and all the citizens of the United States, from the Regency of Algiers." This communication being considered as conclusive, Col. Lear, anxious to avert the calamities which threatened himself and family, and likewise a number of his countrymen, then in Algiers, made every exertion to raise the money, which was finally obtained of a merchant at that place, in whose favour bills for the amount were drawn on the American consul at Gibraltar. The money was paid into the treasury before the time specified by the Dey. Col. Lear, having entrusted his property to the agent-general of his Swedish Majesty at Algiers, with his family, and about twenty other Americans, immediately embarked on board the *Allegany*, for America. His departure was followed by the immediate commencement of hostilities upon the commerce of the United States.

These and subsequent outrages of the Regency of Algiers, upon the commerce and citizens of the United States, remained, without the government's having adopted any measures to obtain redress, or to chastise these piratical freebooters, until 1815, when Congress, as we have already noticed, declared war against the Regency of Algiers.

Decatur's squadron arrived at Gibraltar about the 15th of May; and being informed there that the Algerine squadron which had been out into the Atlantic, had passed up the straits, and that the news of his arrival had been received at Algiers, he determined to proceed immediately up the Mediterranean, in the hope of intercepting the enemy's squadron before it could return to Algiers, or gain a neutral port. This expectation was realised, at least in part. The Algerine frigate *Mazouda*, was fell in with by the *Guerriere*, on the 17th of June, off Cape de Gatt, and captured after a running action of twenty-five minutes. The crew of the Algerine frigate, after receiving two broadsides, all ran below. There was about thirty of them killed, among whom was the famous Algerine Admiral Hammida, who had long been the terror of the Mediterranean; and the prisoners taken amounted to four hundred and six. Of the crew of the *Guerriere* four were wounded by musketry. Two days after, off cape Palos, the squadron fell in with an Algerine brig of twenty-two guns, which was chased close along shore by the *Epervier*, *Spark*, *Torch* and *Spitfire*, to which she surrendered, after the loss of 23 men. This brig, with most of the prisoners on board, was sent into Carthagená, where she was afterwards claimed by the Spanish government, on the plea that she was captured within the jurisdiction of the Spanish territory. After this event the squadron proceeded to

Algiers, where it arrived on the 28th of June. Having captured a frigate and a brig of the enemy's squadron, and supposing that the remainder of it had probably put into some neutral port, Commodore Decatur thought it a favourable time to take advantage of the alarm which his sudden and unwelcome arrival had occasioned, to open a negociation; and he accordingly dispatched to the Dey a letter from the President of the United States. On the receipt of this letter, the Captain of the port, accompanied by Mr. Norderling, the Swedish consul, was immediately dispatched to the *Guerriere*, to further the negociation. Decatur and Mr. Shaler, who had been authorised to negotiate a treaty, proposed the only basis upon which an adjustment could be made, which was, *the absolute and unqualified relinquishment of any demand of tribute on the part of the Regency, on any pretence whatsoever.*

To this basis the agent of the Dey demurred. It being supposed that he was not apprised of the capture of the frigate and brig, he was asked if he knew what had become of the Algerine squadron; to which he answered—"By this time it is safe in some neutral port." "Not the whole of it," was the reply. He was then informed of the capture of the frigate and brig, and of the death of Hammida. At this he shook his head, smiling, with a look of incredulity, considering it a mere attempt to operate on his fears, to induce him to accede to the proposed basis. The

Lieutenant of Hammida was then called in, who confirming the truth of these facts, the negociator was completely unnerved, and at once agreed to the basis proposed, premising, however, that he was not then authorised to conclude a treaty, but requested the American commissioners to state the terms upon which they were willing to negotiate. This being done, he requested a cessation of hostilities, and that the negociation should be conducted on shore; the Minister of Marine pledging himself for their safety whilst there, and their safe return whenever they might desire to. A compliance with both these propositions was refused, and the Captain of the port expressly informed, that the negociation would be carried on no where else, but on board of the *Guerriere*, and that hostilities would still be prosecuted against the vessels belonging to the Algerines until the treaty was signed by the Dey.

The Algerine negociator and the Swedish consul then went ashore, but returned the next day with information that they were authorised to conclude a treaty, upon the proposed basis. The American commissioners then produced a treaty, premising that the same could not be materially varied in any of its provisions, which rendered all discussion useless, and inasmuch as it would occasion delay, dangerous on the part of the Dey, for if, in the interim, his squadron was to appear, it would certainly be attacked.

The Captain of the port, on examining the treaty, manifested no particular opposition except to the article which provided for the restoration of property taken by the Algerines during the war. He was extremely anxious to have this dispensed with, urging that as the property could not be reclaimed, having gone into many hands, and as it was not the present Dey who commenced hostilities against the United States, it would be extremely hard to make him answerable for the consequences.

After various fruitless attempts to get rid of this article, to obtain a truce, and gain time, the American commissioners being inflexible, the Dey's negociator was obliged to yield the point. A few hours afterwards the treaty was signed by the Dey, and returned, together with the American prisoners at Algiers, whose liberation formed one of the articles of the treaty. In addition to the fundamental article, the relinquishment on the part of the Regency of Algiers, to all claims of tribute of the United States, under any pretence whatsoever, the treaty provided for the liberation of American prisoners, without ransom; for compensation to the United States for vessels and property seized or detained; for the security of the persons and property of Americans, found on board the vessels of an enemy; that the vessels of either party, in the ports of the other, should be supplied with provisions at the market price, and, if repairs were required, should be permitted to land

their cargo without paying duty; that if a vessel of either party should be cast on shore within the territory of the other, she should not be given up to plunder, or if attacked by an enemy, within cannon shot of a fort, should be protected, and on her going to sea again, the enemy not permitted to follow her within twenty-four hours. The treaty also contained another important principle, in the observance of which the whole civilized world is interested; but being one, which essentially interferes with the policy of all the Barbary powers, and with an important branch of their revenue, it is hardly to be expected that it will be regarded any longer than *fear* may operate to produce such a result. The principle alluded to is, that the citizens of the United States which may be taken during war, should be considered and treated as prisoners of war are by other nations, and not made slaves of; and that they should be exchanged without ransom. If the states of Barbary could be compelled to recognize and respect this principle, it would *ipso facto*, change their political character.

On the part of the American commissioners, they agreed to deliver up the frigate and the brig which had been captured, to the Algerines. This engagement, however, it is believed, went no farther than to a relinquishment, on the part of the United States, of their claim to these vessels, leaving the Dey to settle the controversey with the Spanish government, as to

the brig, who claimed it on the ground that it was captured within the limits of their jurisdiction.

Our differences with Algiers being thus promptly and satisfactorily adjusted, Commodore Decatur, having dispatched Captain Lewis, in the *Epervier*, with the treaty, to the United States, and two schooners to Carthage, to convoy home the two Algerine vessels, sailed with the rest of the squadron for Tunis. Mr. Shaler was left at Algiers as consul general to the Barbary states. The existence of a misunderstanding between the American consul, and the Bashaw of Tunis, was the cause of Decatur's visiting that place.

On his arrival, he was informed by the American consul that the Bashaw had violated the treaty, in having, during the war between the United States and Great-Britain, permitted two prizes, captured by a privateer of the former, to be taken out of the harbour by a cruiser of the latter; and also in permitting a company of merchants, his own subjects, to take the property of an American citizen at their own price, subjecting him to a great sacrifice. The facts being officially substantiated, Decatur demanded immediate satisfaction. The prime minister admitted the truth of the facts, and the justice of the claim, but solicited twelve months to pay the money. This was refused; whereupon assurances were given that it would be paid immediately. The Commodore then went on shore and received the visits of

the different consuls. The money was paid by the brother of the prime minister, who, observing Commodore Decatur in conversation with the British consul, he approached them, and throwing down the bags containing the money, with great indignation, addressed himself to the latter, in English, as follows :
“ You see, sir, what Tunis is obliged to pay for your insolence. You must feel ashamed of the disgrace you have brought upon us. You are very good friends now, but I ask you whether you think it just, first to violate our neutrality, and then to leave us to be destroyed, or pay for your aggressions.”

We do not know what effect this reproach had upon the British consul, but it was certainly founded in truth and justice. The Bashaw, however, was not satisfied with complaints against the party who was the principal aggressor ; he intended to have the money refunded, and immediately proposed to dispatch a minister to England, to demand it.

After this adjustment with Tunis, Decatur proceeded to Tripoli, which had also violated its treaty with the United States, in having permitted two American vessels to be taken by a British sloop of war, from under the guns of the castle, and in refusing protection to an American cruiser lying within its jurisdiction. Satisfaction for these vessels, which were estimated at twenty-five thousand dollars, was promptly demanded, which the Bashaw, remembering the former war with the Americans, and not dar-

ing to provoke their hostility, ordered to be immediately paid to the American consul.

After this adjustment, the American consular flag, which had been struck in consequence of these violations of neutrality, and infractions of the subsisting treaty, was hoisted, and saluted with thirty-one guns, from the castle.—Previously to leaving Algiers, Decatur performed a service which was highly honourable to his character, as it could have proceeded from no other motive than those of humanity and benevolence. He procured the release of ten captives, two Danes, and eight Neapolitans, the latter of whom he landed at Messina. The last of August the squadron sailed for Carthage, and not meeting there the reinforcement, or second division of the squadron, under Commodore Bainbridge, proceeded to Gibraltar.

The two divisions of the squadron having united, Decatur relinquished the command to Bainbridge, and returned to the United States in the *Guerriere*, where he arrived on the 12th of November.

All differences with the several states of Barbary having been adjusted, before the arrival of Bainbridge, that gallant officer had no opportunity of distinguishing himself, nor any efficient service to perform; but, pursuant to instructions, he proceeded with the squadron, thus reinforced, and exhibited it before Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, which occasioned

great surprise, particularly the Independence 74, as they had always supposed that the United States, by their treaties with England, were restricted from building vessels of this class. Colonel Lear, when consul at Algiers, frequently attempted to undeceive the ministers of the Dey upon this subject ; but they always replied, " If you are permitted to build 74's let us see one of them and we shall be satisfied."—Commodore Bainbridge arrived at Boston the 15th of November, 1815, being three days before the arrival of the Guerrier.*

This expedition, although it was characterised by no splendid or desperate achievements, and afforded no opportunities for the display of the consummate skill and undaunted bravery of our seamen, was however productive of as important and honourable results, perhaps, as any other ever destined by any nation, against the Barbary powers. It effected what Louis XIV., and Lord Nelson, with the most ample means, failed of attaining, a prompt and satisfactory adjustment of all differences, and the establishment of commercial relations, founded upon principles, which the Barbary states have seldom, if ever before recognised. Not a demand was made which was not acceded to. The expedition also had the effect of chastising and humbling these lawless pirates, who respect neither the laws of nations

*Analectic Magazine.

nor their own treaties, (unless compelled to from the fear of chastisement,) and who for ages have most seriously annoyed the commerce of the Mediterranean, and been the scourge of the civilized world.— The chastisement which they received, and the considerable force which was displayed, was calculated to impress them with high ideas of our rising naval power, and the prowess of our seamen, and give them a sense of their own naval inferiority. This last object was rendered more important, and was calculated to have a more salutary effect, in consequence of these events following so close upon the war between the United States and Great-Britain. These barbarians were perfectly astonished at the sudden appearance, in the Mediterranean, of so large a squadron from the United States, almost immediately after she had closed a war, which, from their knowledge of the maritime resources of the English, they supposed, would annihilate every American ship of war. It is pretty certain that the British encouraged them in this idea; and they were afterwards reproached by the Algerines with having deceived them and led them into a war with the United States. One of the Dey's officers is said to have addressed the British consul at Algiers, as follows: " You told us that the American navy would be destroyed in six months, by you, and now they make war upon us with two of *your own vessels* they have taken from you."

From these and other circumstances, the appearance of so respectable a force in the Mediterranean at that time, must have had a most important effect, and was one of the principal objects of the government.

It was principally with a view to this object, and to confirm and strengthen the impressions which the two first squadrons had produced, that the *Java*, and the force under Com. Chauncey was sent out the following year.—The treaty concluded by Commodore Decatur, after being ratified by the American government, was carried out in the *Java*, to be exchanged for the unratified treaty. The *Java* arrived at Port Mahon, where that portion of the first squadron which had not returned to the United States had made their winter quarters. Afterwards, on the 5th of April, the *Java*, *Constellation*, *Erie*, and *John Adams*, left this place and proceeded to Algiers, where they found an English fleet, consisting of six line of battle ships, two frigates, three sloops, a bomb ship, and a number of transports, under the command of Lord Exmouth, anchored in the bay in order of battle, abreast of the batteries. The English Admiral first made a demand of an unconditional liberation of all christian slaves; which being refused, a demand was made, accompanied with an offer of a sum of money which was acceded to. The demand, it is believed, was confined to the Neapolitans and Sardinians, of which there were more than twelve hun-

dred at Algiers, a striking evidence of the mischievous effects of the barbarous policy of these desperate pirates. The sum of one thousand dollars a head was agreed to be paid for the former, and five hundred for the latter, from which it is inferrable that his Lordship's fleet, formidable as it was, did not make a very serious impression.

Commodore Shaw, who commanded the American squadron, and Mr. Shaler, our Consul at Algiers, had an audience with the Dey, and presented to him the ratified treaty; but he either did not, or affected not to, understand the nature of the ratification, and enquired why *another treaty* should be offered to him. This being explained, he requested that the two treaties should be read, and although it appeared that they were word for word the same, he intimated, notwithstanding, that several of the articles had undergone some change, and said that neither he nor his council could understand them. He complained that the captured brig, (which was carried into Carthage, and was claimed by the Spanish authorities,) had not been restored to him, agreeably to the stipulation in the treaty, and that presents had been promised him, which he had not received, and concluded by observing, that the Americans were unworthy of his confidence.—The negotiation was here ended; but the next day Mr. Shaler requested another audience with the Dey, which was refused; he had, however, an interview with the prime minis-

ter, whose conduct and language were very insulting, and by whom the treaty was returned. Under these circumstances, it was thought most advisable for the consul to withdraw, and he accordingly took up his residence on board the frigate *United States*.

After four days negotiation, under the protection of a white flag, the dispute was so far arranged, that the Dey re-acknowledged the treaty, and promised to wait until instructions could be received from the President of the United States, relative to the points in dispute. The attitude assumed by our squadron, although small, and the exalted opinion which the Dey entertained of the desperate bravery of our seamen, induced him to agree to this measure. The fears of the Dey were not removed by the fair words of the British, who, whilst at Algiers, told him that "the Americans had neither ships nor money."— This expression was afterwards made use of by the prime minister, to Mr. Shaler; but the Dey knew too well from past events, the consequences of hostilities with the United States, to believe it.

Soon after these events, the Spanish returned the brig and crew in dispute, representing to the Dey, however, that she was *given to him as a present from their Sovereign*, and that the circumstance would not at all effect his claim upon the United States. The squadron left Algiers, and sailed for Barcelona, excepting the *John Adams*, which returned to the United States.

Whilst in the Mediterranean, in the month of September, an unhappy controversy arose between Commodore Perry and John Heath, Captain of Marines on board the Java. It is not our intention to go into a very particular detail of the circumstances of this unfortunate dispute ; much less to attempt to give the transaction any colouring which truth and justice would not warrant. This work is not intended to be an eulogy upon Commodore Perry, but a faithful history of the events of his life, so far as they are deemed of any interest to the public, or of any importance in appreciating his character. In doing this, it is but just to acknowledge that we have formed sentiments of respect for the character, and veneration for the memory of Perry, which we did not entertain at the time we engaged in the undertaking. But to suppose that in the course of his life he never, in a single instance, acted indiscreetly, intemperately, or mistakenly, would be to suppose him to have been perfect ; or that he was something more than *man*. For we are almost every day convinced, either from experience or observation, that "*to err is human.*" This is the nature of man ; it results from the constitution and structure of his faculties, and the limited means of his knowledge.

The following letter, addressed by Perry to Commodore Chauncey, senior officer and commander of the squadron, requesting an enquiry into his conduct, contains a history of the quarrel, as well as Perry's

explanations, and suggestions tending to justify his conduct.

United States' Ship Java, Tunis Bay, Oct. 8th, 1816.

SIR—I am under the painful necessity of informing you of a circumstance, and of detailing to you the causes which led to an event of a very unpleasant nature.

The apparent violation of the laws of my country, which may be imputed to me in my having offered personal violence to the Captain of the Marine guard of this ship, I trust will be in a great measure extenuated by the consideration that, although I do not absolutely defend this mode of redress, yet I insist the consequences were produced by a sufficient provocation.

The general deportment of Captain Heath towards me, so contrary to the usual address of my officers, and moreover, his marked insolence to me in many instances, induced me to believe, that his conduct proceeded from a premeditated determination to insult me on every occasion.

His palpable neglect of duty on several important emergencies, together with the usual indolence and inattention to the calls of his office, made it a desirable object with me to solicit his removal the first convenient opportunity, not only to obtain a more active and vigilant officer, but to save him the rigorous severity of a court martial.

I now, sir, narrate to you, the circumstances which have thus compelled me to address you.

On the evening of the 16th of September last, while this ship lay at anchor in the harbour of Messina, two of her marines deserted, by jumping overboard and swimming on shore. Informed of the fact, Captain Heath, as their commanding officer, was immediately sent for and acquainted therewith, but he refused to go on deck, alledging as a reason therefor, the subterfuge of indisposition. I then repeated the order for him to come on deck, and muster the marines. This duty he executed in so careless and indifferent a manner, and at the same time neglected to report to me until called by me, and requested so to do, that (conscious that such an occasion ought to animate the most careless and inattentive officer, to decision and promptitude,) I was induced from such a manifest neglect of duty, to say to him, "that he might go below, and should do no more duty on board the Java."

On the evening of the 18th September, he addressed to me a letter, written by himself, which he caused to be laid on the table in the cabin, and which I received at a very late hour. This letter being couched in language which I deemed indecorous and disrespectful, I sent for him and demanded why he thus addressed me, and particularly why he had selected a time so obviously improper. He immediately assumed a manner so highly irritating and contemptu-

ous, that I believed it my duty to arrest him, (after having expressed to him my indignation at such conduct) and for this purpose sent for the 2d marine officer, at the same time ordering him to be silent. In utter disregard of this order, though repeatedly warned of the consequences of his disobedience, he persevered in the same irritating tone and manner, until at length, after reiterating attempts to effect his silence, I gave him a blow. Frequent outrage added to frequent insult, provoked this disagreeable consequence.

Mortified, that I should so far *forget myself*, as to raise my arm against any officer holding a commission in the service of the United States, however improper his conduct might have been, and however just the cause, I immediately, in conformity to this principle, offered to make such an apology as should be proper for both: this proposal was refused, which precluded the necessity of any further overtures.—The offer was consonant to the views of some of the most distinguished officers of the squadron, after their being made fully acquainted with every particular.

From my having been educated in the strictest discipline of the navy, in which, respect and obedience to a superior was instilled into my mind as a fundamental and leading principle, and from a natural disposition to chastise insolence and impertinence, immediately when offered me, even in private life, must be inferred the burst of indignant feeling, which

prompted me to inflict personal satisfaction on an officer who thus daringly outraged the vital interests of the service in my own person.

I have thus gone through this unpleasant recital with as much candor and conciseness as possible.— I might indeed detail to you other acts of delinquency in this officer, but I will not further weary you with the circumstances of this unfortunate affair, but confine myself to the request, that you will be pleased to order a court of inquiry or court martial, as you may see fit, to examine into the causes which led to this seeming infraction of the laws of the navy.

After eighteen years of important and arduous services in the cause of my country, it can hardly be imagined that I have any disposition to infringe that discipline, which is the pride and ornament of the navy; and to prevent any intention being falsely ascribed to me, I beg you will give immediate attention to this request, that the navy, as well as my country, shall be satisfied of the integrity of my motives.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

O. H. PERRY.

To Isaac Chauncey, Esq. Commodore, &c.

After a careful examination of all the facts and circumstances of this affair, so far as they can be ascertained from the minutes of the proceedings of the court martial which tried the two officers, we are led to believe that, as is the case in most other personal quarrels, both parties were somewhat to blame, and that *the conduct of each proceeded in a great measure, from mistaken and erroneous impressions, as to the motives and behaviour of the other.*

That Perry's conduct on the 18th September, when on receiving Captain Heath's letter, he ordered him into his cabin, was intemperate, and particularly, that, in offering personal violence to Captain Heath, it was unjustifiable, all will perhaps admit. But on the other hand, he either had, or supposed he had, a very great provocation, which produced such a "burst of indignant feeling," as to deprive reason of its dominion.—Whether Captain Heath *intended* to insult his superior officer, is, we are induced to believe, uncertain, and whether his demeanour was such as would have produced this impression upon the mind of every person, is perhaps equally questionable; but that it produced this impression upon the mind of Perry, we think there can be no reasonable doubt. To believe the contrary of this, would be to suppose that this act of violence and tyranny, was committed from mere wantonness; a supposition which the general character of Perry, and the conduct of his whole life, forbids.

His situation, therefore, was extremely critical, and peculiarly calculated to awaken every latent feeling of indignation. However the fact might have been, *he considered* that a *direct and intentional* personal insult, was offered him by an inferior officer, under his immediate command. That this should have produced a burst of indignant feeling, and even that it should have induced an officer, especially one who had "been educated in the strictest discipline of the navy, in which respect and obedience to a superior, was instilled into his mind as a leading and fundamental principle," to repel the daring outrage upon the spot, cannot, we think, be a matter of surprise.

Although we have placed this affair in the light we have, it is perhaps proper to remark, that the court martial which examined into the conduct of Captain Heath, found him guilty of "disrespectful, insolent, and contemptuous conduct, towards Captain Perry, his superior officer;" and also of disobedience of his orders. Perry was found guilty of having used improper language, and of striking Captain Heath.

In these remarks, intended to extenuate, not to say justify, the conduct of Commodore Perry, we have considered the conduct of Captain Heath in a less culpable light than it was exhibited by the decision of the court martial; not deeming it material, as it respects Perry's vindication, whether Capt. Heath did *intentionally* insult him, or whether from what

had previously occurred, and his demeanor at the time, Perry *supposed* that he intended to insult him, and viewed his conduct in that light. Was it necessary to say more upon this subject, it might be observed that the *general character* of Perry, was such as to effectually shield it from any imputation of unprovoked violence, tyranny, and arbitrary conduct.— He was, during his whole life, remarkable for his modest deportment, for the affability of his manners, and for his mild and unassuming conduct. And although we would not entirely justify his conduct, on this occasion, yet there is something in it not only free from blame, but highly meritorious. 'The man of real worth and virtue, often appears lovely even in his faults. These frequently appear like a veil thrown over his virtues, which, although it may obscure their brilliancy, gives them a novel, and often a more interesting character, from their being seen through a different medium. Not only do the different colours appear the most brilliant when contrasted with each other, but the richest lustre is usually produced by a proper admixture of "light and shade."

If to "err is human," it is equally true, that to "forgive is divine." In the transaction of which we have been speaking, if Perry, from a combination of extraordinary circumstances, was betrayed into an intemperate and improper act, he was prompt and ready to offer satisfaction for it. Whatever may

be thought of the merits of the controversy, in other respects, it must, we believe, be admitted that in this particular, Perry had an evident advantage over his opponent. His conduct after the occurrence, was conciliatory and honourable. Although conscious of having been grossly provoked, he promptly offered to make an honourable apology to Captain Heath for the aggression on his part. This, although repeated and submitted in writing, was peremptorily refused.

The Dey of Algiers having again evinced a disposition to disregard some of the provisions of the treaty concluded by Commodore Decatur, it was thought advisable to compel him to recognise, more distinctly, the principles of that treaty. Accordingly, on the 25th December, (1816,) Commodore Chauncey concluded another treaty with the Dey, which was not only formed upon the same basis, but comprised all the principal features of the former treaty, differing from that only in some unimportant particulars. Information of this event was immediately communicated by Commodore Chauncey, to the several American consuls in the Mediterranean, and also that our relations with the other Barbary powers remained undisturbed, so that the American commerce had nothing to apprehend from the cruisers of any of those powers.

After these events, the *Java*, and the *Ontario* sloop of war, sailed for the United States, leaving

the rest of the squadron at Port Mahon. The *Java* arrived at Newport, early in March, (1817,) bearing dispatches from Commodore Chauncey. The *Ontario*, commanded by Captain Downes, arrived at Annapolis.

After his return, Commodore Perry remained at Newport, and in June following, in conjunction with Commodore Bainbridge and Captain Evans, he was appointed by the President of the United States to survey and examine the harbour of Newport, with the view to ascertain the advantages of the place for a naval depot, dock yard, &c. which the government contemplated to establish, several other harbours having been examined for the same purpose.

In the month of July, Perry retired from the command of the *Java*, on which occasion the officers of that ship presented him an address, containing the most flattering testimony of the affection and respect which they felt for their commander. Was any wanted, this would be conclusive evidence that Perry, during the voyage to the Mediterranean, had not, in the exercise of his authority, been guilty of tyrannical and arbitrary conduct. On leaving the *Java*, he resumed the command on the Newport station, in which he continued during this, and a part of the following year.

We have now to notice an occurrence which grew out of, and which terminated the misunderstanding between Commodore Perry and Captain Heath.—

Early in October, 1813, Captain Heath visited Rhode-Island, from whence he forwarded to Commodore Perry a communication, demanding what is called *honourable* satisfaction for the injury he claimed to have received in the Mediterranean. The object of Captain Heath's visit, and communication, being ascertained, the authorities of the state interfered, and prevented a meeting. In consequence of this, Commodore Perry agreed to go on to Washington on the 10th of October, for the purpose of giving Captain Heath the satisfaction which he demanded. The following note, which was endorsed on the preliminary arrangement relative to the meeting, explains Perry's views upon the subject :—

“ Captain Perry desires it to be explicitly understood, that in according to Captain Heath the personal satisfaction he has demanded, he has been influenced entirely by a sense of what he considers due from him, as an atonement to the violated rules of the service, and not by any considerations of the claims which Captain Heath may have for making such a demand, which he totally denies, as such claims have been forfeited by the measures of a public character, which Captain Heath has adopted towards him. If, therefore, the civil authority should produce an impossibility of meeting at the time and place designated, which he will take every precaution to prevent, he will consider himself absolutely

exonerated from any responsibility to Captain Heath, touching their present cause of difference.”

This was signed by the seconds of the two parties. Previously to this time, in January, 1813, Perry addressed a letter to Commodore Decatur, in which he expresses the same sentiments contained in the preceding note; that although he considered from the course Captain Heath had thought proper to pursue, he was absolved from all accountability to him; yet inasmuch as in a moment of irritation, produced by strong provocation, he had raised his hand against a person honoured with a commission, he had determined, upon mature reflection, that in case he should be called on by Captain Heath, to give him a meeting, declaring at the same time, that he could not consent to return his fire, as the meeting would, on his part, be entirely as an atonement for the violated rules of the service—And at the same time he requested Commodore Decatur to serve as his friend, in case he should be called out. Such were the circumstances, on the part of Perry, under which this meeting took place.

Having made the necessary arrangements, the parties and their friends, proceeded to Philadelphia, and from thence to New-York, or its vicinity. The meeting took place on the 19th of October, on the Jersey shore of the Hudson, where captain Perry received the fire of Captain Heath, *without returning it*, when Commodore Decatur immediately stepped forward

and declared that Commodore Perry came to the ground with a determination not to return the fire of Captain Heath ; in proof of which he read the letter from Commodore Perry, of which we have already spoken, and concluded by observing, that he presumed the party claiming to be aggrieved, was satisfied. Captain Heath acquiesced in this opinion, and acknowledged that the injury he had received from Captain Perry was atoned for. The parties then returned to the city of New-York.

In this affair, which terminated the unfortunate dispute between Commodore Perry and Captain Heath, it must be admitted that the conduct of Perry was honourable and magnanimous, and, was it not for the objection which is justly felt to the practice of duelling, in all and every shape, it could hardly fail to excite the highest admiration.

In my opinion, however, the view taken of this subject by Com. Perry, was incorrect, as I cannot persuade myself that, because a valuable officer, in a moment of irritation, has violated the rules of the service in which he was employed, this circumstance can justify him in jeopardising his own life, thus disregarding the principles of self-preservation, which the God of nature has implanted in man, for the wisest of purposes ; and much less can I perceive why his thus jeopardising his life, which might forever deprive his country of his services, should be considered as an atonement for the offence. The abhor-

rence with which I view this barbarous practice, which seems to have been transmitted to the present day as a precious relic of the manners and customs of former times, growing out of the feudal institutions of Europe, is such, that it is impossible for me to consider it as justifiable under any circumstances. Yet all perhaps, will admit, that with those who make *arms their profession*, the practice of duelling is more excusable than with any others; as with them their professional character must be maintained, not only free from dishonour, but free from suspicion.

Although the soundness of this principle will not be disputed, yet this does not *justify* the practice of duelling among military men; as to do this, it is necessary to demonstrate, that their honour, or professional character, cannot be preserved in any other way; a proposition, which we apprehend, cannot be supported. Yet the difference between the case of an officer of the army or navy, who resorts to this honourable mode of obtaining satisfaction for a real or supposed injury, and that of any other person, who attempts to redress his wrongs in the same barbarous way, is certainly very great, and the former much less criminal. But this case of Perry's is no ordinary meeting between two military men; but presents entirely different features.

Perry was not only free from blame, as it respects the challenge, but he consented to the meeting, only upon the principle that he should not return

the fire of his antagonist. The meeting therefore wanted one of the essential features of a duel, in which the parties mutually jeopardise each other's lives ; and not only expose their own, but are liable to stain their hands with the blood of a fellow mortal.

This is not the place to examine the consequences of this barbarous practice, or the practicability of suppressing it, in the army and navy ; yet we cannot forbear to remark, that it is devoutly to be hoped that Congress will *make an effort* to accomplish this important object. The last victim to this practice, the gallant Decatur, the bravest and the noblest of Columbia's sons, whose life was an uninterrupted career of glory, produced a strong sensation throughout the United States, which it is hoped, may in some measure compensate for the loss the country sustained, by occasioning the adoption of such regulations in the army and navy, as may prevent the occurrence of like evils.

In the summer of 1819, Commodore Perry was ordered on an expedition to South America ; and in the month of June, he sailed from Norfolk, Virginia, with the John Adams ship of war, and the schooner *Non-such*, for Angostura, on the river Orinoco, the capital of the Venezuelean republic. He arrived at the river Orinoco on the 13th of July, having experienced some difficulty in finding its mouth, which is laid down differently in different charts, and not correctly in any in the United States, it being little known in this coun-

try; like most of the great rivers in South America, the Orinoco has a bar at its mouth, over which vessels drawing more than 16 feet of water, cannot pass. Here a pilot was procured, who was brought on board by the native Indians in their canoes, who were entirely naked, and appeared to be a miserable but inoffensive race of beings, greatly inferior to the North American Indians. The Nonsuch only, proceeded up the river, the John Adams being left behind.

The country bordering upon the Orinoco, for 200 miles from its mouth is uninhabited, owing to the serious inundations to which it is subjected; its banks however, are covered with live oak, mahogany, cocoa-nut, and various other tropical trees. The country further up is covered with forests, the soil very rich, and well adapted to Indian corn, tobacco, and the various tropical productions. The depth of the river was so great, and extending so nearly to the shore, that the Nonsuch was sometimes tied to a tree, when the men could jump ashore on dry land. Before you come to the Spanish settlements, is an Indian village, called Sanchopan, on the left bank of the river, which is represented to be a place of considerable size, and a handsome town, its streets being regularly laid out. Its buildings are constructed of clay and palmetto leaves. The Indians, particularly those in the interior, are harmless and inoffensive, fond of rum and tobacco—They have great simplicity of character, and in the interior, are

completely in a state of nature. About thirty miles above the Indian town of Sanchopan, is the village of Baranchas, comprising a dozen houses, and was then the rendezvous for the patriot forces on the river, which consisted of four gun boats, each manned with fifty men, and carrying one gun. Here the Nonsuch was boarded by Commodore Padisez, the commander of the station. Farther up the river is Guyana, being one hundred miles below Angostura; it contains more than fifty houses, which are thatched and painted red. Here there are some fortifications; a fort erected at the foot of the hill, mounting 5 guns, and a castle on its summit, with four. Their position is good, and if properly manned and kept in repair, might effectually command the river: but at this time, their situation was such that they might have been taken by an inconsiderable force. The next town up the river, and which is the first below Angostura, is St. Michael, containing about twenty houses, built on a site one mile back from the river. On arriving at Angostura, the Nonsuch fired a salute of 18 guns, to which the town returned twenty-one. Commodore Perry and his suit went ashore, and paid a visit to the Vice-President, who received them with great politeness and attention.

As this country is rising into importance in a political point of view, and we trust will shortly in a commercial one, every information with respect to it, whether political, geographical or commercial,

cannot but be interesting ; more especially as there is, in general, in the United States, both as to the geography of the country, and its political affairs, a great deficiency of knowledge. This is owing to various causes, but principally to the want of intercourse, which, where it exists, not only serves to furnish information, but to excite and maintain in the public mind, an interest in the affairs of the country with which it subsists.

Such has been and still is the state of commercial and social intercourse between the United States and the countries in Europe, particularly those of England, France, and some others, that, as it respects foreign affairs, the attention of our citizens has been almost entirely confined to those nations. Most of us take a lively interest, not only in their politics, but in all their concerns. This cannot be a matter of surprise with those who are in the habit of tracing effects to their causes, and who consider that circumstances form the character not only of individuals, but of communities.

As long as a large proportion of our clothing, and of the implements used in the common arts of society, are the products of European industry, and numerous classes of our citizens are employed in importing, storing, transporting, vending, and distributing the same, many of whom make fortunes thereby, (but of late it is believed more have lost them,) so long it may be calculated that the affairs of Europe

will, as it respects foreign countries, almost exclusively occupy the attention of our citizens. To these causes may be added another equally, if not more important, than any one which has been noticed; the importation of literature, or books, which, however, applies more particularly to England.

From these considerations it cannot be a matter of surprise that many of our citizens are constantly casting their eyes across the Atlantic—And it cannot be a matter of surprise that, with foreign manufactures and foreign literature, we have imported many ideas, *foreign* to our republican institutions, and hostile to that happy simplicity of manners and of life upon which the preservation of these institutions essentially depend. But at the present time the spirit of the country seems to be awaked, and its true interests to be better understood. The want of a foreign market for our bread stuffs, provisions, and other agricultural staples, together with the general distress and impoverishment of the country, from the excessive importation of foreign fabrics cannot, it is believed, fail of giving a strong impulse to home manufactures and industry.

Among the numerous advantages which will result from this, will be the influence which it cannot fail of having upon the commercial interests of the country. Whatever effects the amount and description of the exports or imports of a country, in the same ratio effects its commercial relations. New exports

require new markets. The extension of manufacturing industry in the United States, will greatly vary the character of its exports and imports, and consequently essentially effect its commercial relations; and the independence of the several provinces of South America, which, as it respects the commercial world, is like the creation of a new continent, will contribute largely to the same result. If the newly established governments in South America maintain their independence, of which now we have no apprehensions, there can be no doubt but that our commercial relations with that country will become important. But it is not merely commercial relations which we ought to contemplate to maintain with South America. These two continents of the new world, being alike remote from, and no way concerned in, the politics of Europe, from whence proceed their numerous wars; enjoying the blessings of a free government, and being alike interested in defending the fundamental principles of civil liberty and the rights of man, ought to cultivate and maintain the most cordial and friendly political relations. Both commercial and political considerations, therefore, render it important for the citizens of the United States to acquaint themselves with the country and the political affairs of South America. But the nature of this work, if we possessed the materials, would not admit of our going into this subject. We will, however, give a concise view of the river Ori-

noco, and the country bordering upon it, and a brief notice of some of the leading political events of the Republic of Venezeula.

The Orinoco is a river of great extent and magnitude, being, as it respects the rivers of South America, inferior in point of size only to the majestic rivers Amazon and La Plate. It has its sources in the neighbourhood of the Andes, and after running about 1200 miles in a north-easterly direction, discharges its waters into the Atlantic, at about nine degrees north latitude, forming one of the most extensive and fertile vallies in the world. This interesting vale, comprises immense tracts of alluvial, affording extensive resources for agricultural and commercial opulence, which, however, in a great measure remain to be developed. The Orinoco possesses almost unrivalled navigable advantages, sloops ascending as far up as Angostura, more than 300 miles from its mouth, and smaller vessels and boats several hundred miles farther. The most extraordinary characteristic of this river, is its astonishing inundations, which almost stagger belief. These inundations extend 600 miles from the mouth of the river, and are said to cover a district of country from sixty to ninety miles in width. For 200 miles from the mouth of the river, the country is so generally level, that the inundations render it uninhabitable; but further up there are elevated sections which avoid the inundations. These astonishing freshets, during which the

river becomes a vast inland sea, usually commence in April, and continue to August. They are most extensive above Angostura. The borders of the river, like those of the Nile, being inundated for this lengthy period, acquire an inexhaustible fertility.—The country lying on the south of the Orinoco, has heretofore been denominated Spanish Guyana, and is of great extent, being nearly 1200 miles in length, and between two and three hundred miles in breadth, and although extremely fertile, and possessing an admirable climate, it has a population of only about 34,000 souls. This fertile and interesting country was a Spanish Province, attached to the Captain Generalship of Carraccas, until 1817, when it was conquered and emancipated by the patriotic Boliver, the Washington of South America. It has since been annexed to the Republic of Venezula, which for nine years, has maintained a desperate and apparently unequal contest, with the most despotic and sanguinary government that ever disgraced the page of history, for the defence of its rights and independence. Since the emancipation of Guyana, its capital, Angostura has been the seat of government of the Venezeulean Republic, and seems destined to become the cradle of the Independence of Venezula and New-Granada, as at this place the indefatigable Boliver has concentrated, and thence led forth his hardy bands, consisting of natives and foreigners, who, from a spirit of adventure or patriot-

ism, embarked in the cause of the South American patriots, to the relief of his distressed brethren, and to put down the authority of Spain; and hath finally, by a perseverance almost unexampled, and the smiles of Providence, succeeded in rescuing a large portion of the country from the tyrannical colonial dominion of Spain, and from the capricious and arbitrary power of that sanguinary monster, the ruthless and blood-stained Morillo.

Angostura is situated on the left bank of the river, more than 300 miles from the sea, and at the head of sloop navigation, having for its site the declivity of a hill. It is built of brick, the houses being one story high, with tiled roofs and wooden gratings, instead of paned windows, the mildness of the climate rendering it unnecessary to make any provision for the cold. The town contains about 10,000 inhabitants, a considerable proportion of which are creoles, and the residue Spaniards and Europeans. Since the place has been in the possession of the Patriots, in consequence of the war in which the country is engaged, its commerce has considerably declined. What there is, is carried on chiefly with the West-Indias. The exports consist of mules, cattle, hides, tallow, jerked beef, &c., and the imports, of dry goods and groceries of every description.

From the extensive and fertile country which communicates with Angostura, and from the facility

of its intercourse with the West-Indies and the Atlantic, it cannot fail, with the blessings of peace and a good government, of becoming a great and flourishing commercial town. There is a great want of enterprising merchants, and of commercial capital. At the time the Nonsuch was there, goods of every description were extremely high; flour commanded twenty dollars per barrel. The vast regions of alluvial, serve as pastures after the freshets subside, for the immense droves of wild cattle with which the country abounds. The hunting and catching wild cattle and mules, is a trade, and those engaged in it become astonishingly expert horsemen. The cattle of the country are very large and the horses beautiful animals.

In 1811, a considerable proportion of the country which is now called Venezeula, threw off the Spanish yoke and declared itself independent, which, with considerable difficulty, it maintained until 1815, previously to which a spirit of revolution and resistance to Spanish colonial despotism, had extended to the adjoining Province of New-Granada. In 1815 and 1816, a considerable part, both of Venezeula and New-Granada, was reconquered by the Spanish General Morillo. In 1817 the spirit of independence disclosed itself again, with a more extensive impulse and effect, and the following year a systematic republican government was established at Angostura, with Boliver at its head, being President and Com-

mander in Chief of the armies of the Republic.— Since that period, a regular government has been maintained and duly administered, to which the government of the United States have sent several missions, one in 1818, and that of Commodore Perry in 1819, here noticed.

Perry, as we have already suggested, was received with great attention at Angostura. On the 14th August, a few days after his arrival, he, with all the officers of the *Nonsuch*, received an invitation to dine with the Vice-President. The following day, being Sunday, the new Constitution of the Republic was adopted and signed, amidst the discharge of cannon. Its principles are more energetic, and its provisions more aristocratical than those of the Constitution of the United States, although not more so, perhaps, than the condition of the country required.— The naval force of the Republic at that time was about twenty vessels, consisting of brigs, schooners and gun boats.

Commodore Perry adjusted his business with the Venezeulean government to his entire satisfaction, when he proceeded down the river in a tender, the schooner *Nonsuch* having previously gone down. He was in good health when he left Angostura, but received a slight attack of a fever at the bar of the river. Here he embarked on board the schooner *Nonsuch*, which proceeded for Port Spain, in the island of Trinidad, whither the *John Adams* had pre-

viously gone. After Commodore Perry entered on board the *Nonsuch*, his fever rapidly increased, and notwithstanding the greatest exertions were made to shorten the voyage and hasten his arrival at Port Spain, where every assistance could have been procured, and every convenience enjoyed, they were upwards of five days on the passage. As soon as the *Nonsuch* anchored in the gulf, at which time the fever had arrived to an alarming crisis, Perry was removed to the *John Adams*, and in a quarter of an hour he expired, on the evening of the 23d of August, 1819, aged 34 years.—Thus fell the gallant Perry, a victim to the relentless hand of disease, ere the meridian of his age, and before his well earned laurels had scarcely bloomed upon his brows—leaving his country in tears, and a reputation which shall transmit his name to the latest posterity. Although he fell in a foreign land, and among the inhabitants of a country with which his own had recently been engaged in war, and by the defeat and capture of whose naval forces on lake Erie, he had acquired his exalted reputation, his death made a serious impression, and his remains received the honour due to his rank and character.—It was the intention of the officers to have conveyed the body to the United States, but the surgeon informed them that it was impracticable. Accordingly on the following day it was committed to the grave with every mark of attention and respect on the part of the civil and military authori-

ties, and the inhabitants of the town. At 4 o'clock, P. M. the 3d West-India regiment was marched to the King's wharf to receive the corps, and about 5 o'clock the boat with the body left the John Adams, that ship firing minute guns until it arrived at the wharf, when the firing of minute guns was commenced by fort St. Andrews, which were continued until the procession reached the place of interment. The following was the order of procession :

Chief of Police and his Deputy.

The 3d West-India regiment, with arms reversed, the officers with white scarfs and hat-bands.

The band of the regiment, playing the dead march in Saul.

The Commandant of the garrison and his staff, with scarfs and hat-bands.

Alcaids of Barios.

Three officers
on horseback
as Bearers.

| **The Body** |

Alcaids of Barios.

Three officers
on horseback.
as Bearers.

Chief Mourners.

The Officers of the John Adams and Nonsuch, two and two.

A great number of respectable inhabitants, as Mourners, two and two.

One hundred and twenty men of the crews of the John Adams and Nonsuch, two and two.

On arriving at the entrance of the burying ground, the troops filed off and formed a line for the procession to pass through. The funeral service was performed by the Rev. Mr. Clapham, in a solemn and impressive manner ; and after the remains were com-

mitted to their final repository, the troops fired three volleys of musketry in the usual manner. The occasion was solemn and impressive—All were sensibly affected, and retired with every mark of sympathetic grief, for the premature death of a distinguished and excellent officer, and a brave and victorious man.

Commodore Perry retained his faculties to the last, was composed and resigned, and submitted to his fate with great resolution and fortitude, dying as he had lived—as became a great and good man.—He left a widow and four young children, three sons and an infant daughter, to lament the sudden and early death of the best of husbands and parents. His widow was Miss Elizabeth Mason, daughter of Dr. Mason of Newport, to whom he was married in 1810.

CHAPTER VIII.

General remarks on the human character—the character of Perry—his public career—his personal services in the action upon lake Erie—his humanity after the victory—his patriotism and devotion to the service—his death regarded as a public calamity—public demonstrations of sorrow—the immortality of his fame.

WE have now completed the history of Perry, having, and it is hoped with some degree of accuracy, traced his public course, from his first entering into the service of his country, to the summit of his glory, and from thence to that scene where “human greatness ends.” It only remains to make some remarks upon his character, and to notice the effect which his death occasioned.

There is, perhaps, no subject involving more difficulty than that of a delineation of individual character. This is owing to various considerations, but principally to the want of fixed and permanent characteristics; to the nice and indistinct discriminations as to the faculties of the mind, and qualities of the heart; to the strange union of intellectual and moral qualities, essentially different and often diametrically opposite, and to the influence of circumstances, which

in their nature are unstable and varying, upon the moral, social, and intellectual character of man.— Not only the nice and delicate, but often the most prominent features of the human character, from their relations to others, and the neutralizing influence of opposing characteristics, are confused and indistinct in their identity, and equivocal in their character. The field of intellect is unlike that of nature. There, the indications of a rich or a sterile soil are far from being conspicuous or uniform; and instead of a regular connection of blossom and fruit, it is most frequently the case that where we behold the richest verdure and the most interesting variety of flowers, the soil is least capable of sustaining vegetation, and of bringing its rich fruits to maturity. There, the vigorous germs, disclosed by the spring, and which promise an abundant harvest, are often blighted without frost or drought, and languish and decline, apparently for the want of that strength of soil, the existence of which their premature growth seemed to indicate. Where the understanding appears the most sound and discriminating, we are often constrained to witness the most striking indiscretions and the most palpable aberrations of judgment. Where the passions appear to be most happily attempered, and when undisturbed produce the most harmonious results, it sometimes happens that these “elements of our life” are most easily agitated, and when they are, disclose a peculiar violence. Where we find a

heart the most humane and benevolent, it frequently occurs that its sympathies are excited by the most unworthy objects ; and where there are the strongest moral feelings, and the greatest abhorrence of vice, we too often find a spirit of illiberality, and the most odious and unworthy prejudices.

Where there are no *extraordinary* qualities of the head or heart, it is a common idea, that a man cannot be considered as great, or as having any claims to admiration. Nothing can be more incorrect than this. To excel greatly in any one thing, is generally to be deficient in many others. A good poet is seldom a good mathematician, and vice versa ; eccentricities are often mistaken for genius. The possession of an extraordinary talent, or virtue, frequently seems to impair all others, and to destroy that balance of faculties, and that harmony of feeling and of sentiment, which are so essential to the human character. But what is a greater obstacle with those who attach great importance to *extraordinary* qualities, is the characteristic limits which are prescribed to all human powers and virtues. The boundaries between different qualities of mind, and between the moral virtues, become indistinct in the same ratio in which you approximate to the extremes, and finally disappear—their characteristic qualities being entirely lost. Great courage is nearly allied to temerity ; generosity to profusion ; firmness to obstinacy ; excess of zeal, degenerates to intolerance and persecution ; of

friendship to favouritism ; of caution to timidity ; of benevolence to weakness ; avarice often arises from indulging a little too far, a just regard to one's own interests, and ambition frequently proceeds from patriotism, the purest of all virtues. It is true, that a character, possessed of extraordinary qualities, and marked by striking eccentricities, may excite our admiration, but cannot claim our profound respect. We may admire those we cannot esteem, and whom we would much less wish to imitate. The most "perfect character," is that which excites the most lively and striking ideas of *utility*. In such a character, we are not to look for a single prominent feature, which destroys the proper ballance of intellect ; we are not surprised by those meteor-like qualities, which shine with a portentous brilliancy. No single characteristic forcibly attracts our attention, but the entire character excites our admiration and esteem. On contemplating such a character, the mind is imperceptibly lost in respect and admiration. The view presents no striking features ; no intellectual promontories, nor deepening glens, which surprise at first, and then cease to attract attention ; but it is more like a regular landscape, having sufficient variety to please, with that richness of verdure, and luxuriancy of soil which excites our esteem, without occasioning surprise, and which, the more it is contemplated, the more it is admired. It takes time to develope the resources and virtues of a character of

this description ; like the precious metals, the more it is used the brighter it appears, and the more highly it is appreciated. Such was the character of *Oliver Hazard Perry* ; distinguished by no prominent features, by no pre-eminant characteristics, he challenged the admiration and esteem of all who knew him. He possessed an excellent understanding, an uncommon share of prudence, and a mind alike capable of reflection and of activity, rendering him peculiarly qualified for great and heroic achievements. From his comprehensive views, his acute sagacity, and the justness of his combinations, his decisions were always prompt and judicious. His deportment, both in his public and private relations, was peculiarly amiable and unassuming. Conscious of his abilities and worth, he was apparently unconcerned about his own reputation, and only anxious that justice should be done to the merits of others. He was one of the few with whom the character of the man was not lost in that of the hero. " The rays of glory which were collected on his brow, shot no envious gleams to dazzle and subdue, but diffused a moonlight serenity, mild and tender, which led to confidence and ended in affection. He wore his laurels with a modesty so sincere and unaffected, that of all men, he appeared the most ignorant of their existence, or of the mighty and unanswerable claim he had put in for immortality." But however we may respect the virtues of the man, it is the public officer and hero, which chal-

lenge our admiration. The public career of Commodore Perry was one of peculiar merit and brilliancy, and will long remain an illustrious example, which, whilst it will receive the admiration of all, will impart the breath of inspiration to the future naval heroes of his country. His course was not like the irregular orbit, nor his brilliancy like the ominous flashes of the meteor, which appears as a stranger in our system; but more resembled the regular revolution, and the steady blaze of a star of the first magnitude. Whether in a humble or an exalted station, in prosperity or adversity, whether encountering the elements, and his barque wrecked upon the tempestuous surge, or riding triumphant, after victory and the conquest of the enemies of his country, whether in the "fury of the fight," or in the calm which ensues, consecrated to humanity, the admirable qualities of his character appear conspicuous; he is equally cool, resolute, brave and humane.

We do not wish in this place to advert to the battle of lake Erie, but as we have not done it elsewhere justice requires that we should make a few remarks which intimately concern the individual services and merit of Perry on that memorable occasion. From the general character and result of that action, it cannot fail of being ranked among the most splendid achievements of the age; but there are some circumstances attending it which are without any example, and which tend greatly to swell the fame of

the hero of it, and to brighten the lustre of his reputation. There have been victories of greater magnitude, where a larger aggregate of forces have been engaged, where the means of destruction have been on a larger scale, and where there has been an ampler flow of blood; but neither the pages of ancient or modern history, record a victory which depended in so eminent a degree, upon the valour and exertions of the successful commander; where the wisdom of his designs, and the valour, skill, and importance of his personal services appear so conspicuous, and are so intimately connected with the issue of the contest; where, in fine, all attendant circumstances combined to give him so prominent and commanding a station, and to stamp upon him the character of a hero. It is a circumstance that ought never to be forgotten, as shewing the high estimation in which Perry was then held by the government, and the critical situation in which he was placed, that the Navy Department confided to him the vast responsibility of determining *when* the contest for supremacy upon the lake, upon which not only the honour of our flag but the whole operations of the war upon that frontier, and the security of an extensive border depended, should be brought to a decision. But not only did the period of time as to when the action was to be fought, depend upon his judgment, but likewise that "critical moment" when by a measure equally novel and bold, he decided the issue of the contest. It

was at this momentous crisis, that it might be more emphatically said, he "*met the enemy and they were ours.*" But his bravery, skill, activity and prompt decision in action, were not more conspicuous than his humanity and magnanimity in victory. With the expiring note of the enemy's cannon, every act of hostility ceased, and the grim visage of war was succeeded by the mild aspect of a benignant philanthropy. Perry, forgetful that he was a conqueror, and that the British were enemies, animated by the noblest sentiments of humanity, approached the couch of agony and despair, and by the most kind and sympathetic treatment, attempted to staunch the wounds and solace the feelings of the sufferers whom the fortune of war had placed in his hands. The wounded and bleeding Barclay, from defeat and despair, more agonized in his feelings, than from his wounds, was astonished at the magnanimity of the American hero; and at being saluted, not by the voice of a conqueror, with a countenance irradiated by the blaze of victory, but by the mild and consoling accents of kindness and condolence.

In noticing the public character of Commore Perry, we should do injustice to his memory not to advert to his extraordinary devotion to the service in which he was engaged, and of which he was the brightest ornament, and to that distinguished patriotism which characterised his whole public career, and which gave an impulse to those astonishing efforts

of bravery and skill, to which we are indebted for one of the most splendid achievements in the annals of our country.

Although the victory to which we have alluded, depended less upon accidental and fortuitous circumstances, than almost any other recorded in history, yet it may be said, and perhaps with justice, that Perry was in some measure indebted to fortune for his distinguished reputation. He was fortunate in having an opportunity to display his great abilities, which no difficulties could discourage, and his cool intrepidity, which no dangers could appal. But who ever acquired immortal fame, that was not in some measure indebted to fortune; and how many are there who now live in the page of history, whose reputation, and whose immortality, was almost entirely the result of fortune, and of circumstances foreign to their own merits, talents or services. How many are borne upon the tide of time, whose fame a "breath could ruin as a breath had made."

The reputation of Perry was the result of his own merit and achievements. How unlike those, falsely styled great, who bask in the sunshine of Princes' favours, and live upon their smiles. The laurels which bloomed upon his brows, were won by his own valour, and the magnificent column of his fame, which will endure for ages after the monumental marble shall have crumbled into dust, was raised by his consummate prowess and skill. As his services were de-

voted to his country, he left her an inheritance in his reputation and example. His fame has become the property of his country; his achievements interwoven in the tissue of her history; his renown her greatest glory—his example her undying instruction. His death, which was equally glorious with his life, his characteristic firmness, resolution and presence of mind having remained to the last, was justly regarded as a national calamity. Considering him only in the light of a hero, there is one circumstance which might have added to the glory of his character—his having, like Nelson, died in battle, and his pure spirit taking its flight in the moment of victory. But if we contemplate him as a man and a philosopher, we shall see more to admire in his death in the manner in which it happened. The hero, who is accustomed to view the approach of the ‘king of terrors,’ clothed in the gorgeous trappings of war, and surrounded with its grand, but terrific pomp and splendour, frequently wants that patient resignation, and that cool philosophy, which are requisite to meet this last enemy, when, in the odious character of disease, with listless stillness and unseen, he makes his slow approaches, unattended with any circumstances calculated to give a buoyancy to the spirit, or sustain the soul.—But although such was the “closing scene” of our hero, his great abilities and his steady bravery did not forsake him: he died as he had lived—as became a great and good man.—That the fall of a man so

pre-eminently distinguished and useful, in the spring-tide of life, which promised a long career of usefulness and glory, of fresh honours and distinctions, of new acts of bravery and patriotism, and laurels of a more brilliant and unfading lustre, should have been considered as a national calamity, cannot be a subject of surprise. All felt it such; all participated in the general sorrow, and a nation's tears bedewed the hallowed urn of her favourite son. It is believed that in the records of mortality, no other event since the demise of General Washington, in 1799, occasioned such general sensations of sorrow and regret—such universal and lively sympathy. In addition to the usual demonstrations of respect to the memory of distinguished public officers, proceeding from the national authorities, in most of the large cities and towns throughout the country, the public feeling disclosed itself by corresponding testimonials of sorrow. It was not merely the external drapery of mourning, but the expression of a lively sentiment of grief and regret, for the illustrious dead—a gallant and youthful hero, who was scarcely more distinguished by his heroic achievements, than by the manly graces and virtues that adorned his character. In several of the states, the constituted authorities adopted resolutions expressive of their high estimation of his important services and distinguished reputation, and of the sense which they entertained of the irreparable loss the country had sustained in his death, and of its ob-

ligations to perpetuate its gratitude to his memory.— Among the states whose legislatures adopted resolutions in honour of the memory of Perry, were Rhode-Island, his native state, and South-Carolina.

Neither were the national authorities wanting, in the expression of their respect. At the opening of the session of Congress, which followed his death, the President of the United States noticed that event in his message to Congress, as a public loss, and a calamity to the country; and during the session, a resolution was introduced relating to this subject, which was followed by a bill, providing for the support of his bereaved widow, and the education of his children at the public expense; which, it is presumed, will become a law, in its present shape, or with some modifications. In this country, the maxim, that "*a nation's gratitude is the hero's best reward,*" is more emphatically true, and more happily exemplified, than in most others. Here, no titles, dignities and estates are conferred, and no honours, but the spontaneous expressions of public and private admiration and gratitude. Here, public opinion is the only standard of merit, and the sole arbitress of public honours. This is a tribunal which corruption cannot reach, favouritism assail, nor power control; and which, if at times it is influenced by passion and prejudice, in the end never fails to award the meed of praise, where it is due. When slanderous tongues, and malevolent hearts assail the hero's "*fair fame,*"

and the viperous stings of envy poison the life-blood of his reputation; when from a spirit of faction, or of prejudice, his achievements or renown are imputed to him as crimes, and when unprincipled demagogues conspire to immolate the great and the good, at the shrine of their ambition, then, indeed, is public opinion no longer a standard of merit, or a tribunal of justice. But the storms of passion, like those of the elements, do not last long, and when the clouds which darken the reputation of the hero or the patriot, disappear, it shines with a brighter lustre—And when this event does not take place before, it follows the setting sun of his earthly glory. There is a consecrating influence in the grave which gives a consummation to the character of the great. Their virtues then shine with a more steady lustre. No speck nor cloud obscures the azure space sacred to memories. Although Perry was universally admired and beloved during his life, he was adored at his death; and his country appeared never until then, to have duly appreciated his worth, or to have been sensible of the vast debt of gratitude which she owed him. His illustrious name, which

“ Long shall blaze an unextinguish'd ray,
A mighty beacon lighting glory's way,”

will never cease to be revered by his country; and in future times, when an enlightened population, commensurate with the extent of its territory, shall enliven its bosom, overspreading the vast regions of

the west, where now the solitary savage roams, and carrying the blessings of civilization to the shores of the Pacific ; when its vast resources shall be developed by the hand of industry and the arts ; when its free institutions, free press, and free suffrage, shall have raised it to that exalted destiny which awaits it ; when its power shall be limited only by its justice, and when its navy, having “grown with its growth and strengthened with its strength,” shall provoke a contest for the dominion of the ocean, then will the laurels of Perry, instead of having faded by the waste of time, assume a brighter lustre—then shall his name be canonized, his memory adored, and his example inspire thousands of the future naval heroes of his country to deeds of patriotic heroism and immortal renown.—Such being the gratitude of our country, and the immortality of her heroes, they need not the moulding marble’s aid, nor the sculptor’s art :

“ How vain the mere inscription
Debauch’d on any tomb ; on every grave
A lying trophy ; and as oft is dumb,
Where dust and dark oblivion is the tomb
Of honour’d bones indeed.”

SHAKESPEARE.

שְׁמוֹנֵה עָרָב

הַשְּׁמֵרָה

הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמְרֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרֵם

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APPENDIX.

BIOGRAPHY

OF

BRIG. GEN. ZEBULON M. PIKE.

ZEBULON MONTGOMERY PIKE was born at Lambertton, in the state of New-Jersey, January 5th, 1779. His father was a respectable officer in the army of the United States. His family had for several generations resided in New-Jersey, and were descended from a Captain John Pike, whose name is preserved by tradition as having been a gallant and distinguished soldier in the early Indian wars of the colony. He entered the army while yet a boy, and served for some time as a cadet in his father's company, which was then stationed on the western frontiers of the United States. At an early age he obtained the commission of ensign, and some time after, that of lieutenant in the 1st regiment of infantry. He was thus almost from his cradle, trained to the habits of a military life; but he did not, like most of the peaceful veterans of the barracks and the parade, while away his days in inactivity, contented with the mechanical routine of military duty. By a life of

constant activity and exposure, he invigorated his constitution, and prepared himself for deeds of hardihood and adventure. At the same time he endeavoured to supply the deficiency of his early education by most ardent, though, probably, often desultory and ill-regulated application to every branch of useful knowledge. He had entered the army with no other education than such is afforded by the most ordinary village school—reading, writing, and a little arithmetic. By his own solitary exertions he acquired, almost without the aid of a master, the French and Latin languages, the former of which, it appears from his journal, he was able to write and speak with sufficient accuracy for all the purposes of business ; to these he afterwards added a competent knowledge of the Spanish. He also studied the elementary branches of mathematics, and became very conversant and even skilful in all the ordinary practical applications of that science. He seems, besides to have had a general curiosity, to which no kind of knowledge was without interest. He read with avidity every book which fell in his way, and thus, without any regular plan of study, acquired a considerable stock of various information, and some tincture of popular English literature. In most of these literary acquirements, Pike scarcely attained to the accuracy of the scholar, but they were such as became the gentleman, and elevated and adorned the character of the soldier. Nor were these studies directed solely to the improvement of the mind ; he endeavoured to make them subservient to a much higher end. From his youth he sedulously cultivated in himself a generous spirit of chivalry ; not that punctilious and barren honour which cheaply satisfies itself with the reputation of personal courage and freedom from disreputable vice, but the chivalry of the

ancient school of European honour—that habit of manly and virtuous sentiment, that spirit of patriotism and self-devotion, which, while it roots out from the heart every other weakness of nature, spares and cherishes “that last infirmity of noble minds,” the love of glory, and in every great emergency in which man may be called upon to act, sends him forth into the service of his country or his kind, at once obeying the commands of duty, and elevated and animated by the warm impulse of enthusiastic feeling.

Among other habits of mental discipline by which Pike was accustomed to cherish these principles and feelings, was a constant practice of inserting upon the blank pages of some favourite volume, such striking maxims of morality, or sentiments of honour, as occurred in his reading, or were suggested by his own reflections. He had been in the practice of making use of a small edition of Dodsley’s “Economy of Human Life,” for this purpose. Soon after his marriage, he presented this volume to his wife, who still preserves it as one of the most precious memorials of her husband’s virtues. An extract from one of the manuscript pages of this volume was published in a periodical work soon after his death. It was written as a continuation of the article “Sincerity,” and is strongly characteristic of the author.

“Should my country call for the sacrifice of that life which has been devoted to her service from early youth, most willingly shall she receive it. The sod which covers the brave shall be moistened by the tears of love and friendship; but if I fall far from my friends and from you, my Clara, remember that ‘the choicest tears which are ever shed, are those which bedew the unburied head of the soldier,’ and when these lines shall meet the eyes of our young *****; let the pages of this little book be impressed on his

mind as the gift of a father who had nothing to bequeath but his honour, and let these maxims be ever present to his mind as he rises from youth to manhood :

“ 1. Preserve your honour free from blemish.

“ 2. Be always ready to die for your country.

Z. M. Pike.

“Kaskasias, Indiana Territory.”

Thus gifted with a lofty spirit of honour, and an iron constitution, Pike presents to the imagination no imperfect resemblance of one of the cavaliers of the sixteenth century, the hardy, steel-clad companions of Bayard and Sidney.

In March 1801, he married Miss Clarissa Brown, of Cincinnati, in the state of Kentucky. By this marriage he had several children, only one of whom, a daughter survives him.

On the old peace establishment of our army, then composed only of a few regiments, and employed altogether in garrisoning a few frontier posts, promotion was slow, and the field of action limited and obscure. For several years Lieutenant Pike, panted in vain for an opportunity of gratifying that “all-ruling passion” which, to use his own words, “swayed him irresistibly to the profession of arms, and the pursuits of military glory.”

At length, in 1805, a new career of honourable distinction was opened to this active and aspiring youth. Soon after the purchase of Louisiana, the government of the United States determined upon taking measures to explore their new territory, and that immense tract of wilderness, included within its limits. Besides ascertaining its geographical boundaries, it was wished to acquire some knowledge of its soil and natural productions, of the course of its rivers, and their fitness for the purposes of navigation

and other uses of civilized life, and also to gain particular information of the numbers, character, and power of the tribes of Indians who inhabited this territory, and their several dispositions towards the United States. With these views, while Captains Lewis and Clarke were sent to explore the unknown sources of the Missouri, Pike was despatched on a similar expedition for the purpose of tracing the Mississippi to its head.

On the 9th of August, 1805, Pike accordingly embarked at St. Louis, and proceeded up the Mississippi, with twenty men, in a stout boat, provisioned for four months, but they were soon obliged to leave their boat and proceed on their journey by land, or in canoes, which they built after leaving their boat, and carried with them on their march. Pike's own journal has been for some time before the public, and affords a much more satisfactory narrative of the expedition than the narrow limits of a magazine article will allow. For eight months and twenty days this adventurous soldier and his faithful band were almost continually exposed to hardship and peril, depending for provisions upon the precarious fortunes of the chase, enduring the most piercing cold, and cheerfully submitting to the most constant and harassing toils. They were sometimes for days together without food, and they frequently slept without cover on the bare earth, or the snow, during the bitterest inclemency of a northern winter. During this voyage, Pike had no intelligent companion upon whom he could rely for any sort of advice or aid, and he literally performed the duties of astronomer, surveyor, commanding officer, clerk, spy, guide, and hunter, frequently preceding the party for many miles, in order to reconnoitre, or rambling for whole days in search of deer or other game for provision,

and then returning to his men in the evening, hungry and fatigued, he would sit down in the open air, to copy by the light of a fire the notes of his journey, and to plot out the courses of the next day.

His conduct towards the Indians was marked with equal good sense, firmness, and humanity; he every where, without violence or fraud, induced them to submit to the government of the United States, and he made use of the authority of his country to put an end to a savage warfare, which had for many years been carried on with the utmost cruelty and rancour between the Sioux and the Chippeways, two of the most powerful nations of Aborigines remaining on the North American continent. He also every where enforced with effect the laws of the United States against supplying the savages with spiritous liquors. Thus, while he wrested their tomahawks from their hands, and compelled them to bury the hatchet, he defended them from their own vices, and in the true spirit of humanity and honour, rejected with disdain that cruel and dastardly policy which seeks the security of the civilized man in the debasement of the savage.

In addition to the other objects of Pike's mission, as specifically detailed in his instructions, he conceived that his duty as a soldier required of him an investigation of the views and conduct of the British traders, within the limits of our jurisdiction, and an enquiry into the exact limits of the territories of the United States and Great-Britain. This duty he performed, says the author of a former sketch of his biography, with the boldness of a soldier, and the politeness of a gentleman; he might have justly added, with the disinterestedness of a man of honour, and the ability and discretion of an enlightened politician. He found that the North-west company, by extend-

ing their establishments and commerce far within the bounds of the United States, and even into the very centre of Louisiana, were thus enabled to introduce their goods without duty or licence into our territories, to the very great injury of the revenue, as well as to the complete exclusion of our own countrymen from all competition in this trade. He perceived, besides, that these establishments were made subservient to the purposes of obtaining an influence over the savages dangerous to the peace, and injurious to the honour and character of our government; and he thought it evident, that in case of a rupture between the two powers, all these posts would be used as rallying points for the enemy, and as places of deposit for arms to be distributed to the Indians, to the infinite annoyance, if not total ruin, of all the adjoining territories.

An opportunity was now presented to him of enriching himself for life, by merely using the power vested in him by law, and seizing upon the immense property of the company which he found illegally introduced within our territory. But having been hospitably received at one of their principal posts, his high sense of honour would not permit him to requite their hospitality by a rigorous execution of the laws. It is probable, too, that he thought so violent a measure might lead to collisions between the two governments, without tending to produce any permanent beneficial effect, and he cheerfully sacrificed all views of personal interest to what he conceived to be the true interest and honour of his country. By means of reprimands and threats to the inferior traders, and a frank and spirited remonstrance to the director of the Fond du Lac department, he succeeded in procuring a stipulation, that in future no attempts should be made to influence any Indian on political affairs,

or any subjects foreign to trade, and that measures should be immediately taken to prevent the display of the British flag, or any other mark of power, within our dominion; together with a promise that such representations should be immediately made to the company, and such an arrangement effected with regard to duties, as would hereafter set that question at rest.

His conduct with regard to this subject was, at the time, viewed with cold approbation, but the events of the present war have borne ample testimony to his sagacity and foresight.

Within two months after his return from this expedition, Pike was selected by General Wilkinson for a second perilous journey of hardship and adventure. The principal purpose of this expedition was, like that of the former, to explore the interior of Louisiana. He was directed to embark at St. Louis with the Osage captives, (about forty in number,) who had been rescued from their enemies, the Potowatomies, by the interference of our government, and to transport them to the principal village of their nation; and he was instructed to take this opportunity to bring about interviews between the different savage nations, and to endeavour to assuage animosities, and establish a permanent peace among them. He was, after accomplishing these objects, to continue his route into the interior, and to explore the Mississippi and its tributary streams, especially the Arkansaw and the Red River, and thus to acquire such geographical information as might enable government to enter into definitive arrangements for a boundary line between our newly acquired territory and North Mexico.

In the course of this second journey, our adventurous soldier, after leaving the Osage village, en-

countered hardships, in comparison of which the severities of his former journey seemed to him ease and luxury.

Winter overtook the party unprovided with any clothing fit to protect them from cold and storms. Their horses died, and for weeks they were obliged to explore their way on foot through the wilderness, carrying packs of sixty or seventy pounds weight, beside their arms, exposed to the bitterest severity of the cold, relying solely on the produce of the chase for subsistence, and often for two or three days altogether without food. This part of his journal contains a narrative of a series of sufferings sufficient to make the "superfluous and lust-dieted" son of luxury shudder at the bare recital. Several of the men had their feet frozen, and all, except Pike, and one other, were in some degree injured by the intensity of the cold. He thus relates the history of two of these dreary days :

"18th January, Sunday.—The doctor and myself, who fortunately were untouched by the frost, went out to hunt something to preserve existence; near evening we wounded a buffalo with three balls, but had the mortification to see him run off notwithstanding. We concluded that it was useless to go home to add to the general gloom, and went among some rocks, where we encamped, and sat up all night; from the intense cold it was impossible to sleep. Hungry and without cover.

19th January, Monday.—We again took the field, and after crawling about one mile in the snow, got near enough to shoot eight times at a gang of buffaloes, and could plainly perceive two or three of them to be badly wounded, but by accident they took the wind of us, and, to our great mortification, all were able to run off. By this time I had become extreme-

ly weak and faint, it being the fourth day since we had received sustenance, all of which we were marching hard, and the last night had scarcely closed our eyes to sleep. We were inclining our course to a point of woods; determined to remain absent and die by ourselves, rather than return to our camp and behold the misery of our poor lads, when we discovered a gang of buffaloes coming along at some distance. With great exertions I made out to run and place myself behind some cedars, and by the greatest good luck the first shot stopped one, which we killed in three more shots, and by the dusk had cut each of us a heavy load, with which we determined immediately to proceed to the camp, in order to relieve the anxiety of our men, and carry the poor fellows some food. We arrived there about twelve o'clock, and when I threw my load down, it was with difficulty I prevented myself from falling; I was attacked with a giddiness of the head, which lasted for some minutes. On the countenances of the men was not a frown, nor a desponding eye, but all seemed happy to hail their officer and companions, yet not a mouthful had they eat for four days. On demanding what were their thoughts, the sergeant replied, the most robust had determined to set out in search of us on the morrow, and not return unless they found us, or had killed something to preserve the lives of their starving companions."

In the course of this long, toilsome, and perilous march, Pike displayed a degree of personal heroism and hardihood, united with a prudence and sagacity which, had they been exerted on some wide theatre of action, would have done honour to the most renowned general. The reader may, perhaps smile at this remark, as one of the wild exaggerations of a biographer anxious to dignify the character of his hero,

but the truth is, that great men owe much of their splendour to external circumstances, and if Hannibal had made his famous march across the Alps at the head of a company of foot, instead of an army, his name, if it had reached us, would have come down to posterity with much less dignity than that of our hardy countryman. There are passages in Pike's journal of his second expedition which, had they been found, with proper alterations of place and circumstance, related by Plutarch or Livy of one of their heroes, would have been cited by every schoolboy as examples of military and heroic virtue. Take, for instance, the account of Pike's firm and prudent conduct in repressing the first symptoms of discontent in his little band, and his address upon this occasion to the mutineer, and they will be found to need but little of the usual embellishments of an eloquent historian, to be made worthy of Hannibal himself.

“24th January, Saturday.—We sallied out in the morning, and shortly after perceived our little band, marching through the snow, (about two and a half feet deep,) silent, and with downcast countenances. We joined them, and learnt that they, finding the snow to fall so thickly that it was impossible to proceed, had encamped about one o'clock the preceding day. As I found all the buffaloes had quitted the plains, I determined to attempt the traverse of the mountains, in which we persevered until the snow became so deep it was impossible to proceed, when I again turned my face to the plain, and for the first time in the voyage found myself discouraged, and for the first time I heard a man express himself in a seditious manner; he exclaimed, “that it was more than human nature could bear, to march three days without sustenance, through snows three feet deep and carry burdens only fit for horses,” &c.

“As I knew very well the fidelity and attachment of the majority of the men, and even of this poor fellow, and that it was in my power to chastise him when I thought proper, I passed it by for the moment, determined to notice it at a more auspicious time. We dragged our weary and emaciated limbs along until about 10 o'clock. The doctor and myself, who were in advance, discovered some buffaloes on the plain, when we left our loads and orders written on the snow, to proceed to the nearest woods to encamp. We went in pursuit of the buffaloes which were on the move.

“The doctor, who was then less reduced than myself, ran and got behind a hill, and shot one down, which stopped the remainder. We crawled up to the dead one, and shot from him as many as twelve or fourteen times among the gang, when they removed out of sight. We then proceeded to cut up the one we had shot, and after procuring each of us a load of the meat, we marched for the camp, the smoke of which was in view. We arrived at the camp to the great joy of our brave lads, who immediately feasted sumptuously. After our repast, I sent for the lad who had presumed to speak discontentedly in the course of the day, and addressed him to the following effect; “Brown, you this day presumed to make use of language which was seditious and mutinous; I then passed it over, pitying your situation, and attributing it to your distress, rather than to your own inclination to sow discontent amongst the party. Had I reserved provisions for ourselves, whilst you were starving; had we been marching along light and at our ease, whilst you were weighed down with your burden, then you would have had some pretext for your observations; but when we were equally hungry, weary, emaciated, and charged with burden,

which I believe my natural strength is less able to bear than any man's in the party; when we were always foremost in breaking the road, reconnoitering, and the fatigues of the chase, it was the height of ingratitude in you, to let an expression escape which was indicative of discontent, your ready compliance and firm perseverance I had reason to expect, as the leader of men, and my companions in miseries and dangers. But your duty as a soldier demanded your obedience to your officer, and a prohibition of such language, which for this time, I will pardon, but assure you, should it ever be repeated, I will revenge your ingratitude and punish your disobedience by instant *death*. I take this opportunity, likewise, to assure you, soldiers, of my thanks for the obedience, perseverance, and ready contempt of every danger which you have generally evinced; I assure you, nothing shall be wanting on my part to procure you the rewards of our government, and gratitude of your countrymen."

"They all appeared very much affected, and retired with assurances of perseverance in duty."

Amidst these distresses, after a three months' winter's march, they explored their way to what they supposed to be the Red River. Here they were met by a party of Spanish cavalry, by whom Pike was informed, to his great astonishment, that they were not on the Red River, but on the Rio del Norte, and in the Spanish territory. All opposition to this force would have been idle, and he reluctantly submitted to accompany the Spaniards to Santa Fe, to appear before the governor. Though, to his great mortification, his expedition was thus broken off, all hardship was now at an end. He was treated on the road with great respect and hospitality, though watched and guarded with much jealousy; but he still insisted

on wearing his sword, and that his men should retain their arms. Indeed, it was his resolution, had he or any of his people been ill used, to surprise the guard, carry off their horses, and make the best of their way to Apaches.

When he arrived at Santa Fe, his whole dress was a blanket-coat, blue trowsers, mockasons, and a scarlet cloth cap lined with a fox skin; his men were in leather coats with leggings, &c., and not a hat in the whole party. But he appeared before the governor with his usual spirit, and insisted on being treated with the respect due to an American officer. From Santa Fe he was sent to the capital of the province of Biscay, to be examined by the commandant general, where he was well received and entertained for some time, after which he was sent on his way home, under the escort of a strong party of horse. He arrived with his little band at Natchitoches on the 1st of July, 1807.

The most vexatious circumstance attending this unexpected sequel to his expedition, was the seizure of all his papers, except his private journal, by the Spanish government. He had been fitted out with a complete set of mathematical and astronomical instruments, and had made frequent and accurate observations. He had thus ascertained the geographical situation of the most important points, with much precision, and had collected materials for an accurate map of a great part of the country he traversed. The seizure of these papers is a real loss to the cause of science. It is, however, in perfect conformity to that narrow and purblind policy which the old Spanish government uniformly manifested in the administration of its colonies.

Pike, upon his return, received the thanks of the government; a committee of the house of represen-

ratives expressed their high sense of his "zeal, perseverance, and intelligence," and the administration, much to its honour, bestowed upon him a more solid testimony of approbation, by a rapid promotion in the army. He was immediately appointed captain, shortly after a major, and upon the further enlargement of the army in 1810, a colonel of infantry.

During the interval of his military duties, he prepared for the press a narrative of his two expeditions, accompanied by several valuable original maps and charts. This was published in 8vo. in 1810. The work is rather overloaded with unnecessary detail, and the language is careless and often inaccurate; the last fault is, however, in a great measure to be attributed to several disadvantageous circumstances under which the work went to press, while the author was at a distance, engaged in public service. Still it is sufficiently evident that the volume is not the composition of a scholar. But it bears the strongest marks of an acute, active, busy mind, unaccustomed to scientific arrangement or speculation, but filled with a variety of knowledge, all of a useful, practical kind. Though entirely unacquainted with botany, zoology, and mineralogy, as sciences, Pike had a liberal curiosity, which taught him to look upon every object with the eye of an observer, and to despise no sort of knowledge, though he might not himself perceive its immediate utility. Above all, the narrative has that unstudied air of truth which is so apt to evaporate away in the processes of the book-making traveller; it retains all the clearness and freshness of first impressions, and we are never for a moment left in doubt whether or no the writer and the traveller are the same person.

Immediately after the declaration of war, Pike was stationed with his regiment upon the northern

frontier, and upon the commencement of the campaign of 1813, was appointed a brigadier general.

There was a tincture of enthusiasm in Pike's character which communicated itself to his whole conduct: in whatsoever pursuit he engaged, he entered upon it with his whole soul. But the profession of arms had been always his favourite study—his 'life's employment, and his leisure's charms.' Having served through every gradation of rank, almost from a private, up to a general, and very often employed in separate and independent commands, he was intimately acquainted with all the minutiae of discipline. The veteran of a peace establishment is too apt, from the want of greater objects, to narrow his mind down to the little details of a military life, until, at length, every trifle swells up into ideal importance, and the cut of a coat or the tying of a neckcloth, seems big with the fate of nations. Pike was extremely attentive to all the particulars, even to the most minute points of discipline and dress, yet he gave them their due importance, and no more. He did not degrade the soldier into a mere living machine, and while he kept up the strictest discipline, he laboured to make his men feel that this severity arose not from caprice or ill temper, but from principle, and that it had for its sole object their own glory, their ease, their health, and safety. Careless of popularity, and negligent of the arts by which good will is often conciliated, where there is no real esteem, by the unassuming simplicity and frankness of his manners, and the undeviating honour of his conduct, he bound to himself the hearts of all around him with the strong ties of respect and affection.

Thus self-formed, and thus situated, the eyes of the army were anxiously cast towards him as the chosen champion who was to redeem their reputa-

tion from that disgrace with which it had been stained by a long series of disasters. The day for which his heart had long panted at length arrived—a bright day of glory for the hero, of gloom and sorrow to his country. He was selected for the command of the land forces in an expedition against York, the capital of Upper Canada, and on the 25th of April, sailed from Sackett's Harbour in the squadron commanded by Commodore Chauncey. The day before the expedition sailed, he wrote a letter to his father, which contained these prophetic words :

“ I embark to-morrow in the fleet at Sackett's Harbour, at the head of a column of 1,500 choice troops, on a secret expedition. If success attend my steps, honour and glory await my name ; if defeat, still shall it be said that we died like brave men, and conferred honour, even in death, on the American name.

“ Should I be the happy mortal destined to turn the scale of war, will you not rejoice, O my father ? May Heaven be propitious, and smile on the cause of my country ! But if we are destined to fall, may my fall be like Wolfe's—to sleep in the arms of victory.”

On the 27th of April, Gen. Pike arrived at York, with about seventeen hundred chosen men, and immediately prepared to land. The spot which was selected for landing, was the site of an old French fort called Toronto, of which scarcely any vestiges now remain. The plan of attack was formed by General Pike himself, and clearly and minutely detailed in his general orders, which were directed to be read at the head of every corps ; every field officer was also directed to carry a copy of them in order that he might at any moment refer to them, and give explanations to his subordinates. Every thing was arranged, and every probable exigency provided for, with admirable method and precision.

There is one paragraph of these orders which breathes so much of his own spirit, that I cannot forbear extracting it. It is deeply stamped with that unity of character which was visible throughout all his actions, and which is, in truth, one of the strongest marks of a powerful and original mind.

“No man will load until ordered, except the light troops in front, until within a short distance of the enemy, and then charge bayonets; thus letting the enemy see that we can meet them with their own weapons. Any man firing or quitting his post without orders must be put to instant death, as an example may be necessary. Platoon officers will pay the greatest attention to the coolness and aim of their men in the fire; their regularity and dressing in the charge. The field officer will watch over the conduct of the whole. Courage and bravery in the field, do not more distinguish the soldier than humanity after victory; and whatever examples the savage allies of our enemies may have given us, the general confidently hopes that the blood of an unresisting or yielding enemy will never stain the weapons of the soldiers of his column. Property must be held sacred; and any soldier who shall so far neglect the honour of his profession as to be guilty of plundering the inhabitants shall, if convicted, be punished with death. But the commanding general assures the troops, that should they capture a large quantity of public stores, he will use his best endeavours to procure them a reward from his government.”

As soon as the debarkation commenced, a body of British grenadiers was paraded on the shore, and the Glengary Fencibles, which had been disciplined with great care, and has repeatedly proved itself fully equal to any regular force, appeared at another point. Large bodies of Indians were also seen in different

directions, while others filled the woods which skirted the shore. General Sheaffe commanded in person.

Forsythe's riflemen were first to land, which they effected under a heavy fire of musketry and rifles from the Indians and British. As soon as the fire from the shore commenced, Major Forsythe had ordered his men to rest a few moments upon their oars, and return the fire. At this moment Pike was standing upon the deck of his ship. He saw the pause of his first division, and, impatient at the delay, exclaimed, "I can stay here no longer, come, jump into the boat;" and, springing into it, followed by his staff, was immediately rowed into the thickest of the fire.

The infantry had followed the riflemen, and formed in platoons as soon as they reached the shore. General Pike took the command of the first platoon which he reached, and ordered the whole to prepare for a charge. They mounted the bank, and the enemy, after a short conflict, broke at once, and fled in disorder towards the works. At that moment the sound of Forsythe's bugle was heard, announcing his success at another point. Its effect upon the Indians was almost electrical; they gave a horrible yell, and fled in every direction.

The whole force, being now landed and collected, was again formed and led on by General Pike in person, to attack the enemy's works. They advanced through the woods, and after carrying one battery by assault, in the most gallant manner, moved on in columns towards the main work. The fire of the enemy was soon silenced by our artillery, and a flag of surrender was expected, when a terrible explosion suddenly took place from the British magazine, which had been previously prepared for this

purpose. Pike, after aiding in removing a wounded man with his own hands, had sat down on the stump of a tree with a British serjeant, who had been taken, and was employed with Captain Nicholson and one of his aids, in examining the prisoner. The explosion was tremendous; an immense quantity of large stones were thrown in every direction with incredible force, and scattered destruction and confusion around among our troops. The general, his aid, captain Nicholson, and the prisoner fell together, all except the aid, mortally wounded. General Pike had been struck on the breast by a heavy stone. Shortly after he received the blow, he said to his wounded aid, "I am mortally wounded—write to my friend D——, and tell him what you know of the battle, and to comfort my ——." In the same broken manner, he afterwards added several other requests relating to his private affairs.

The troops were instantly formed again; as a body of them passed by their wounded general, he said, "Push on, brave fellows, and avenge your general." While the surgeons were carrying him out of the field, a tumultuous huzza was heard from our troops; Pike turned his head with an anxious look of enquiry; he was told by a serjeant, "The British union jack is coming down, general—the stars are going up." He heaved a heavy sigh, and smiled. He was then carried on board the commodore's ship, where he lingered for a few hours. Just before he breathed his last the British standard was brought to him; he made a sign to have it placed under his head, and expired without a groan.

The death of General Pike, at such a period, was a great public misfortune; his countrymen did not know half the extent of their loss. Pike was plain and unimposing in his appearance and manners, and

to the world seemed little more than an active and intelligent soldier; but it is not easy to say what height of military excellence may not have been reached by a mind like his, stimulated by high-soaring ambition, braced up by principle to habitual dignity of thought, and constantly expanding its views, enlarging its resources, and unfolding its powers, by its own native and unwearied energy.

Gallant spirit! It was thine to wash out with thy life blood the foul remembrance of our country's shame—of those disgraces which had blasted her honour, and tarnished the ancient glories of her arms. It was thine, in life, in death, to give to your companions in arms a great example of chivalrous honour and heroic courage;—it was thine to lead them to the threshold of the temple of fame, and bid them enter on a long career of glory.

Gallant spirit! Thy country will not forget thee; thou shalt have a noble memory. When a grateful nation confers upon the heroes of Niagara and Erie the laurels they have so nobly earned, she will bid them remember that those laurels were first gathered on the shores of York, and were watered by the blood of a hero; and hereafter, when our children and children's children shall read the story of patriots and heroes who have gallantly fallen in the arms of victory; when their eyes glisten, and their young hearts throb wildly at the kindling theme, they will close the volume which tells of Epaminondas, of Sydney, or of Wolfe, and proudly exclaim, "And we too, had our Montgomery and our Pike."

[Analectic Magazine.]

BIOGRAPHY OF

CAPTAIN JAMES LAWRENCE.

To speak feelingly, yet temperately, of the merits of those who have bravely fought and gloriously fallen in the service of their country, is one of the most difficult tasks of the biographer. Filled with admiration of their valour, and sorrow for their fate, we feel the impotency of our gratitude, in being able to reward such great sacrifices with nothing but empty applause. We are apt, therefore, to be hurried into a degree of eulogium, which, however sincere and acknowledged at the time, may be regarded as extravagant by the dispassionate eye of after years.

We feel more particularly this difficulty, in undertaking to give the memoirs of one, whose excellent qualities and gallant deeds are still vivid in our recollection, and whose untimely end has excited, in an extraordinary degree, the sympathies of his countrymen. Indeed, the popular career of this youthful hero has been so transient, yet dazzling, as almost to prevent sober investigation. Scarce had we ceased to rejoice in his victory, before we were called on to deplore his loss. He passed before the public eye like a star, just beaming on it for a moment, and falling in the midst of his brightness.

Captain James Lawrence was born on the 1st of Oct. 1781, at Burlington, in the state of New-Jersey. He was the youngest son of John Lawrence, Esq. an eminent counsellor at law of that place. Within a

few weeks after his birth his mother died, and the charge of him devolved on his sisters, to whom he ever showed the warmest gratitude for the tender care they took of his infant years. He early evinced that excellence of heart by which he was characterised through life; he was a dutiful and affectionate child, mild in his disposition, and of the most gentle and engaging manners. He was scarce twelve years of age, when he expressed a decided partiality for a seafaring life; but his father disapproving of it, and wishing him to prepare for the profession of the law, his strong sense of duty induced him to acquiesce. He went through the common branches of education at a grammar school at Burlington, with much credit to himself, and satisfaction to his tutors. The pecuniary misfortunes of his father prevented his receiving a finished education, and between the age of thirteen and fourteen he commenced the study of the law with his brother, the late John Lawrence, Esq. who then resided at Woodbury. He remained for two years in this situation, vainly striving to accommodate himself to pursuits wholly repugnant to his taste and inclinations. The dry studies of statutes and reporters, the technical rubbish and dull routine of a lawyer's office, were little calculated to please an imagination teeming with the adventures, the wonders, and variety of the seas. At length, his father being dead, and his strong predilection for the roving life of a sailor being increased by every attempt to curb it, his brother yielded to his solicitations, and placed him under the care of Mr. Griscomb, at Burlington, to acquire the principles of navigation and naval tacticks. He remained with him for three months, when, his intention of applying for a situation in the navy being generally known, several of the most distinguished gentlemen of the

state interested themselves in his behalf, and wrote to the navy department. The succeeding mail brought him a midshipman's warrant; and between the age of sixteen and seventeen he entered the service of his country.

His first cruise was to the West Indies, in the ship *Ganges*, commanded by Captain Thomas Tingey. In this and several subsequent cruises, no opportunity occurred to call forth particular services; but the attention and intelligence which he uniformly displayed in the discharge of his duties, the correctness of his deportment, and the suavity of his manners, gained him the approbation of his commanders, and rendered him a favourite with his associates and inferiors.

When the war was declared against Tripoli, he was promoted to a lieutenancy, and appointed to the command of the schooner *Enterprize*. While in this command, he volunteered his services in the hazardous exploit of destroying the frigate *Philadelphia*, and accompanied Decatur as his first lieutenant. The brilliant success of that enterprise is well known; and for the gallantry and skill displayed on the occasion, Decatur was made post captain, while Lawrence, in common with the other officers and crew, were voted by congress two months' extra pay—a sordid and paltry reward, which he immediately declined.

The harbour of Tripoli appears to have been the school of our naval heroes. In tracing the histories of those who have lately distinguished themselves, we are always led to the coast of Barbary as the field of their first experience and young achievement.—The concentration of our little navy at this point, soon after its formation, has had a happy effect upon its character and fortunes. The officers were most

of them young in years, and young in arms, full of life and spirits, and enthusiasm. Such is the time to form generous impressions and strong attachments. It was there they grew together in habits of mutual confidence and friendship; and to the noble emulation of so many young minds newly entering upon an adventurous profession, may be attributed that enterprising spirit and defiance of danger that has ever since distinguished our navy.

After continuing in the Mediterranean about three years and a half, Lawrence returned to the United States with commodore Preble, and was again sent out on that station, as commander of gun boat No. 6, in which he remained for sixteen months. Since that time he has acted as first lieutenant of the Constitution, and as commander of the Vixen, Wasp, Argus and Hornet. In 1808, he was married to a daughter of Mr. Montauvert, a respectable merchant of New-York, to whom he made one of the kindest and most affectionate of husbands.

At the commencement of the recent war he sailed in the Hornet sloop of war, as part of the squadron that cruised under commodore Rodgers. While absent on this cruise, lieutenant Morris was promoted to the rank of post captain, for his bravery and skill as first lieutenant of the Constitution in her action with the Guerriere. This appointment, as it raised him two grades, and placed him over the heads of older officers, gave great offence to many of the navy, who could not brook that the regular rules of the service should be infringed. It was thought particularly unjust, as giving him rank above Lawrence, who had equally distinguished himself as first lieutenant of Decatur, in the destruction of the frigate Philadelphia, and who, at present, was but master and commander.

On returning from his cruise, captain Lawrence, after consulting with commodores Rodgers and Bainbridge, and with other experienced gentlemen of the navy, addressed a memorial to the senate, and a letter to the secretary of the navy, wherein, after the fullest acknowledgments of the great merits and services of captain Morris, he remonstrated in the most temperate and respectful, but firm and manly language, on the impropriety of his promotion, as being contrary to the rules of naval precedence, and particularly hard as respected himself. At the same time, he frankly mentioned that he should be compelled, however reluctant, to leave the service, if thus improperly outranked.

The reply of the secretary was singularly brief; barely observing, that if he thought proper to leave the service without a cause, there would still remain heroes and patriots to support the honour of the flag. There was a laconic severity in this reply calculated to cut a man of feeling to the heart, and which ought not to have been provoked by the fair and candid remonstrance of Lawrence.

Where men are fighting for honour rather than profit, the utmost delicacy should be observed towards their high-toned feelings. Those complaints which spring from wounded pride, and the jealousy of station, should never be regarded lightly. The best soldiers are ever most tenacious of their rank; for it cannot be expected that he who hazards every thing for distinction, will be careless of it after it is attained. Fortunately, Lawrence had again departed on a cruise before this letter arrived, which otherwise might have driven from the service one of our most meritorious officers.

This second cruise was in company with commodore Bainbridge, who commanded the Constitu-

tion. While cruising off the Brazils, they fell in with the *Bonne Citoyenne*, a British ship of war, having on board a large amount of specie, and chased her into St. Salvador. Notwithstanding that she was a larger vessel, and of a greater force in guns and men than the *Hornet*, yet captain Lawrence sent a challenge to her commander, captain Green, pledging his honour that neither the *Constitution* nor any other American vessel should interfere. Commodore Bainbridge made a similar pledge on his own part; but the British commander declined the combat, alleging that though perfectly satisfied that the event of such a rencounter would be favourable to his ship, "yet he was equally convinced that commodore Bainbridge could not swerve so much from the paramount duty he owed his country, as to become an inactive spectator, and see a ship belonging to the very squadron under his orders, fall into the hands of the enemy."

To make him easy on this point, commodore Bainbridge left the *Hornet* four days together off the harbour in which the *Bonne Citoyenne* laid, and from which she could discover that he was not within forty miles of it. He afterwards went into the harbour and remained there three days, where he might at any time have been detained twenty-four hours, at the request of captain Green, if disposed to combat the *Hornet*. At length the *Constitution* went off altogether, leaving Lawrence to blockade the *Bonne Citoyenne*, which he did for nearly a month, captain Green not thinking proper to risk an encounter. It is possible, that having an important public trust in charge, and sailing under particular orders, he did not think himself authorised to depart from the purpose of his voyage, and risk his vessel in a contest for mere individual reputation. But if such were his

reasons, he should have stated them when he refused to accept the challenge.

On the 24th of January, captain Lawrence was obliged to shift his cruising ground, by the arrival of the *Montague* 74, which had sailed from Rio Janeiro, for the express purpose of relieving the *Bonne Citoyenne* and a British packet of 12 guns, which likewise lay at St. Salvador. At length, on the morning of the 24th of February, when cruising off Demerara, the *Hornet* fell in with the British brig *Peacock*, a vessel of about equal force. The contest commenced within half pistol shot, and so tremendous was the fire of the Americans, that in less than fifteen minutes the enemy surrendered, and made signal of distress, being in a sinking condition. Her mainmast shortly went by the board, and she was left such an absolute wreck, that, notwithstanding every exertion was made to keep her afloat until the prisoners could be removed, she sunk with thirteen of her crew, and three brave American tars, who thus nobly perished in relieving a conquered foe. The slaughter on board of the *Peacock* was very severe; among the slain was found the body of her commander, captain Peake. He was twice wounded in the course of the action; the last wound proved fatal. His body was wrapped in the flag of his vessel, and laid in the cabin to sink with her, a shroud and sepulchre worthy so brave a sailor.

During the battle, the British brig *L'Espegle*, mounting 15 two and thirty pound carronades and two long nines, lay at anchor about six miles in shore. Being apprehensive that she would beat out to the assistance of her consort, the utmost exertions were made to put the *Hornet* in a situation for action, and in about three hours she was in complete preparation, but the enemy did not think proper to make an attack.

The conduct of Lawrence towards his prisoners was such as, we are proud to say, has uniformly characterised the officers of our navy. They have ever displayed the liberality and scrupulous delicacy of generous minds towards those whom the fortune of war has thrown in their power; and thus have won by their magnanimity, those whom they had conquered by their valour. The officers of the *Peacock* were so affected by the treatment they received from captain Lawrence, that on their arrival at New-York, they made a grateful acknowledgment in the public papers. To use their own expressive phrase "they ceased to consider themselves prisoners." Nor must we omit to mention a circumstance highly to the honour of the brave tars of the *Hornet*. Finding that the crew of the *Peacock* had lost all their clothing, by the sudden sinking of the vessel, they made a subscription, and from their own wardrobes supplied each man with two shirts, and a blue jacket and trowsers. Such may rough sailors be made, when they have before them the example of high-minded men. They are beings of but little reflection, open to the impulse and excitement of the moment; and it depends in a great measure upon their officers, whether, under a Lawrence, they shall ennoble themselves by generous actions, or, under a Cockburn, be hurried away into scenes of unpremeditated atrocity.

On returning to this country, captain Lawrence was received with great distinction and applause, and various public bodies conferred on him peculiar tokens of approbation. While absent, the rank of post captain had been conferred on him, and shortly after his return he received a letter from the secretary of the navy, offering him the command of the frigate *Constitution*, provided neither captains Por-

ter or Evens applied for it, they being older officers. Captain Lawrence respectfully declined this conditional appointment, for satisfactory reasons which he stated to the secretary. He then received an unconditional appointment to that frigate, and directions to superintend the navy-yard at New-York, in the absence of captain Ludlow. The next day, to his great surprise and chagrin, he received counter orders, with instructions to take command of the frigate Chesapeake, then lying at Boston, nearly ready for sea. This appointment was particularly disagreeable to him. He was prejudiced against the Chesapeake, both from her being considered the worst ship in our navy, and from having been in a manner disgraced in the affair with the Leopard. This last circumstance had acquired her the character of an unlucky ship—the worst of stigmas among sailors, who are devout believers in good and bad luck; and so detrimental was it to this vessel, that it has been found difficult to recruit crews for her.

The extreme repugnance that captain Lawrence felt to this appointment, induced him to write to the secretary of the navy, requesting to be continued in the command of the Hornet. Besides, it was his wish to remain some short time in port, and enjoy a little repose in the bosom of his family: particularly as his wife was in that delicate situation, that most calls forth the tenderness and solicitude of an affectionate husband. But though he wrote four letters successively to the secretary, he never received an answer, and was obliged reluctantly to acquiesce.

While laying in Boston roads, nearly ready for sea, the British frigate Shannon appeared off the harbour, and made signals expressive of a challenge. The brave Lawrence immediately determined on accepting it, though conscious at the time of the great dis-

parity between the two ships. The Shannon was a prime vessel, equipped in an extraordinary manner, for the express purpose of combatting advantageously, one of our largest frigates. She had an unusually numerous crew of picked men, thoroughly disciplined and well officered. She was commanded by captain Broke, one of the bravest and ablest officers in the service, who fought merely for reputation.

On the other hand, the Chesapeake was an indifferent ship ; with a crew, a great part of whom were newly recruited, and not brought into a proper discipline. They were strangers to their commander, who had not had time to produce that perfect subordination, yet strong personal attachment, which he had the talent of creating wherever he commanded. His first lieutenant was sick on shore ; the other officers, though meritorious, were young men ; two of them mere acting lieutenants ; most of them recently appointed to the ship, and unacquainted with the men. Those who are in the least informed in nautical affairs, must perceive the greatness of these disadvantages.

The most earnest endeavours were used, by commodore Bainbridge and other gentlemen of nice honour and sound experience, to dissuade captain Lawrence from what was considered a rash and unnecessary exposure. He felt and acknowledged the force of their reasons, but persisted in his determination. He was peculiarly situated : he had formerly challenged the *Bonne Citoyenne*, and should he decline a similar challenge, it might subject him to sneers and misrepresentations. Among the other unfortunate circumstances that attended this ill-starred battle, was the delay of a written challenge from captain Broke, which did not arrive until after captain

Lawrence had sailed. It is stated to have been couched in the most frank and courteous language; minutely detailing the force of his ship, and offering, if the Chesapeake should not be completely prepared, to cruise off and on until such time as she made a specified signal of being ready for the conflict. It is to be deeply regretted that captain Lawrence did not receive this gallant challenge, as it would have given him time to put his ship in proper order, and spared him the necessity of hurrying out in his unprepared condition, to so formal and momentous an encounter.

After getting the ship under way, he called the crew together, and having ordered the white flag to be hoisted, bearing the motto, "Free trade and sailors' rights," he, according to custom, made them a short harangue. While he was speaking several murmurs were heard, and strong symptoms of dissatisfaction appeared in the manners and countenances of the crew. After he had finished, a scoundrel Portuguese, who was boatswain's mate, and acted as spokesman to the murmurers, replied to captain Lawrence in an insolent manner, complaining, among other things, that they had not been paid their prize-money, which had been due for some time past.

The critical nature of the moment, and his ignorance of the dispositions and characters of his crew, would not allow captain Lawrence to notice such dastardly and mutinous conduct in the manner it deserved. He dared not thwart the humours of men, over whose affections he had not had time to acquire any influence, and therefore ordered the purser to take them below and give them checks for their prize money, which was accordingly done.

We dwell on these particulars to show the disastrous and disheartening circumstances under which

captain Lawrence went forth to this battle—circumstances which shook even his calm and manly breast, and filled him with a despondency unusual to his nature. Justice to the memory of this invaluable officer, requires that the disadvantages under which he fought should be made public.

It was on the morning of the first of June, that the Chesapeake put to sea. The Shannon, on seeing her come out, bore away, and the other followed. At 4 P. M. the Chesapeake hauled up and fired a gun; the Shannon then hove to. The vessels manœvered in awful silence, until within pistol shot, when the Shannon opened her fire, and both vessels, almost at the same moment poured forth tremendous broadsides. The execution in both ships was terrible, but the fire of the Shannon was peculiarly fatal, not only making great slaughter among the men, but cutting down some of the most valuable officers. The very first shot killed Mr. White, sailing master of the Chesapeake, an excellent officer, whose loss at such a moment was disastrous in the extreme. The fourth lieutenant, Mr. Ballard, received also a mortal wound in this broadside, and at the same moment captain Lawrence was shot through the leg with a musket ball; he however supported himself on the companion way, and continued to give his orders with his usual coolness. About three broadsides were exchanged, which, from the closeness of the ships, were dreadfully destructive. The Chesapeake had three men shot from her helm successively, each taking it as the other fell; this of course produced irregularity in the steering, and the consequence was, that her anchor caught in one of the Shannon's after ports. She was thus in a position where her guns could not be brought to bear upon the enemy, while the latter was enabled to fire raking shots from her foremost

guns, which swept the upper decks of the Chesapeake, killing or wounding the greater portion of the men. A hand grenade was thrown on the quarter deck, which set fire to some musket cartridges, but did no other damage.

In this state of carnage and exposure, about twenty of the Shannon's men, seeing a favourable opportunity for boarding, without waiting for orders, jumped on the deck of the Chesapeake. Captain Lawrence had scarce time to call his boarders, when he received a second and mortal wound from a musket ball, which lodged in his intestines. Lieutenant Cox, who commanded the second division, rushed up at the call for the boarders, but came just in time to receive his falling commander. He was in the act of carrying him below, when captain Broke, accompanied by his first lieutenant, and followed by his regular boarders, sprang on board the Chesapeake. The brave Lawrence saw the overwhelming danger; his last words, as he was borne bleeding from the deck, were, "don't surrender the ship!"

Samuel Livermore, Esq. of Boston, who, from personal attachment to captain Lawrence, had accompanied him in this cruise as chaplain, attempted to revenge his fall. He shot at captain Broke, but missed him: the latter made a cut at his head, which Livermore warded off, but in so doing, received a severe wound in the arm. The only officer that now remained on the upper deck was lieutenant Ludlow, who was so entirely weakened and disabled by repeated wounds received early in the action, as to be incapable of personal resistance. The comparatively small number of men, therefore, that survived on the upper decks, having no officer to head them, the British succeeded in securing complete possession, before those from below could get up. Lieutenant Budd,

who had commanded the first division below, being informed of the danger, hastened up with some men, but was overpowered by superior numbers, and cut down immediately. Great embarrassment took place, in consequence of the officers being unacquainted with the crew. In one instance in particular, lieutenant Cox, on mounting the deck, joined a party of the enemy through mistake, and was made sensible of his error, by their cutting at him with their sabres.

While this scene of havoc and confusion was going on above, captain Lawrence, who was lying in the wardroom in excruciating pain, hearing the firing cease, forgot the anguish of his wounds: having no officer near him, he ordered the surgeon to hasten on deck and tell the officers to fight on to the last, and never to strike the colours; adding, "they shall wave while I live." The fate of the battle, however, was decided. Finding all further resistance vain, and a mere waste of life, lieutenant Ludlow gave up the ship; after which, he received a sabre wound in the head from one of the Shannon's crew, which fractured his skull, and ultimately proved mortal. He was one of the most promising officers of his age in the service, highly esteemed for his professional talents, and beloved for the generous qualities that adorned his private character.

Thus terminated one of the most remarkable combats on naval record. From the peculiar accidents that attended it, the battle was short, desperate and bloody. So long as the cannonading continued, the Chesapeake is said to have clearly had the advantage; and had the ships not run foul, it is probable she would have captured the Shannon. Though considerably damaged in her upper works, and pierced with some shot holes in her hull, yet she had sustained no injury to affect her safety; whereas the Shannon had received

several shots between wind and water, and, consequently, could not have sustained the action long. The havoc on both sides was dreadful; but to the singular circumstance of having every officer on the upper deck either killed or wounded early in the action, may chiefly be attributed the loss of the Chesapeake.

There have been various vague complaints circulated of the excesses of the victors, and of their treatment to our crew after the surrender. These have been, as usual, dwelt on and magnified, and made subjects of national aspersion. Nothing can be more illiberal than this. Where the scene of conflict is tumultuous and sanguinary, and the struggle desperate, as in the boarding of a ship, excesses will take place among the men, which it is impossible to prevent. They are the inevitable incidents of war, and should never be held up to provoke national abhorrence or retaliation. Indeed, they are so liable to be misrepresented by partial and distorted accounts, that very little faith is ever to be placed in them. Such, for instance, is the report, that the enemy discharged several muskets into the cockpit after the ship had been given up. This, in fact, was provoked by the wanton act of a boy below, who shot down the sentinel stationed at the gangway, and thus produced a momentary exasperation, and an alarm that our men were rising. It should be recollected, likewise, that our flag was not struck, but was hauled down by the enemy; consequently, the surrender of the ship was not immediately known throughout, & the struggle continued in various places, before the proper orders could be communicated. It is wearisome and disgusting to observe the war of slander kept up by the little minds of both countries, wherein every paltry misdeed of a paltry individual, is insidiously trump-

eted forth as a stigma on the respective nations. By these means are engendered lasting roots of bitterness, that give an implacable spirit to the actual hostility of the times, and will remain after the present strife shall have passed away. As the nations must inevitably, and at no very distant period, come once more together in the relations of amity and commerce, it is to be wished that as little private animosity may be encouraged as possible; so that we may contend for rights and interests, we may never cease to esteem and respect each other.

The two ships presented dismal spectacles after the battle. Crowded with the wounded and the dying, they resembled floating hospitals sending forth groans at every roll. The brave Broke lay delirious from a wound in the head, which he is said to have received while endeavouring to prevent the slaughter of some of our men who had surrendered. In his rational intervals, he always spoke in the highest terms of the courage and skill of Lawrence, and of the "gallant and masterly style" in which he brought the Chesapeake into action.

The wounds of captain Lawrence rendered it impossible to remove him after the battle, and his cabin being very much shattered, he remained in the wardroom. Here he lay, attended by his own surgeon, and surrounded by his brave and suffering officers. He made no comment on the battle, nor indeed was heard to utter a word, except to make such simple requests as his necessities required. In this way he lingered through four days, in extreme bodily pain, and the silent melancholy of a proud and noble heart, and then expired. His body was wrapped in the colours of his ship and laid on the quarter deck of the Chesapeake, to be conveyed to Halifax for interment.

At the time of his death he was but thirty-two years of age, nearly sixteen of which had been honourably expended in the service of his country. He was a disciplinarian of the highest order, producing perfect obedience and subordination without severity. His men became zealously devoted to him, and ready to do through affection what severity would never have compelled. He was scrupulously correct in his principles, delicate in his sense of honour; and to his extreme jealousy of reputation he fell a victim, in daring an ill-matched encounter, which prudence would have justified him in declining. In battle, where his lofty and commanding person made him conspicuous, the calm collected courage, and elevated tranquility which he maintained in the midst of of peril, imparted a confidence to every bosom. In the hour of victory he was moderate and unassuming; towards the vanquished he was gentle, generous and humane. But it is on the amiable qualities that adorned the private character, that his friends will hang with the fondest remembrance—that bland philanthropy that emanated from every look, that breathed forth in every accent, that gave a grace to every action. His was a general benevolence, that like a lambent flame, shed its cheering rays throughout the sphere of his influence, warming and gladdening every heart, and lighting up every countenance into smiles. But there is one little circle on whose sacred sorrows even the eye of sympathy dares not intrude. His brother being dead, he was the last male branch of a family, who looked up to him as its ornament and pride. His fraternal tenderness was the prop and consolation of two widowed sisters, and in him their helpless offspring found a father. He left also a wife and two young children, to whom he was fervently attached. The critical situation of

the former, was one of those cares which preyed upon his mind at the time he went forth to battle. The utmost precautions were taken by his relatives to keep from her the knowledge of her husband's fate; their anxiety was soon relieved by the birth of a son, who, we trust, will inherit the virtues, and emulate the actions of his father. The unfortunate mother has at length recovered from a long and dangerous confinement; but has now learned the heart-rending intelligence, that the infant in her arms is fatherless.

There is a touching pathos about the death of this estimable officer, that endears him more to us than if he had been successful. The prosperous conqueror is an object of admiration, but in some measure of envy: whatever gratitude we feel for his services, we are apt to think them repaid by the plaudits he enjoys. But he who falls a martyr to his country's cause, excites the fulness of public sympathy; envy cannot repine at laurels so dearly purchased, and gratitude feels that he is beyond the reach of its rewards. The last sad scene of his life hallows his memory; it remains sacred by misfortune, and honoured, not by the acclamations, but the tears of his countrymen. The idea of Lawrence, cut down in the prime of his days, stretched upon his deck, wrapped in the flag of his country—that flag which he had contributed to ennoble, and had died to defend—is a picture that will remain treasured up in the dearest recollections of every American. His will form one of those talismanic names which every nation preserves as watchwords for patriotism and valour.

Deeply, therefore, as every bosom must lament the fall of so gallant and amiable an officer, there are some reflections consoling to the pride of friendship, and which sooth, though they cannot prevent, the bitter tear of affection. He fell before his flag

was struck. His fall was the cause, not the consequence of defeat. He fell covered with glory, in the flower of his days, in the perfection of mental and personal endowment, and the freshness of reputation; thus leaving in every mind the full and perfect image of a hero. However we may deplore the stroke of death, his visits are occasionally well timed for his victim: he sets a seal upon the fame of the illustrious, fixing it beyond the reach of accident or change. And where is the son of honour, panting for distinction, who would not rather, like Lawrence, be snatched away in the brightness of youth and glory, than dwindle down to what is termed a good old age, wear his reputation to the shreds, and leave behind him nothing but the remembrance of decrepitude and imbecility.

With feelings that swell our hearts do we notice the honours paid to the remains of the brave Lawrence at Halifax. When the ships arrived in port, a generous concern was expressed for his fate. The recollection of his humanity towards the crew of the Peacock was still fresh in every mind. His funeral obsequies were celebrated with appropriate ceremonies, and an affecting solemnity. His pall was supported by the oldest captains in the British service that were in Halifax; and the naval officers crowded to yield the last sad honours to a man who was late their foe, but now their foe no longer. There is a sympathy between gallant souls that know no distinction of clime or nation. They honour in each other what they feel proud of in themselves. The group that gathered round the grave of Lawrence presented a scene worthy of the heroic days of chivalry. It was a complete triumph of the nobler feelings over the savage passions of war. We know not where most to bestow our admiration—on the living, who

showed such generous sensibility to departed virtue, or on the dead, in being worthy of such obseques from such spirits. It is by deeds like these that we really feel ourselves subdued. The conflict of arms is ferocious, and triumph does but engender more deadly hostility; but the contest of magnanimity calls forth the better feelings, and the conquest is over the affections. We hope in such a contest we may never be outdone.

As to the event of this battle, deeply as we mourn the loss of so many valuable lives, we feel no further cause of lamentation. Brilliant as the victory undoubtedly was to the conquerors, our nation lost nothing of honour in the conflict. The ship was gallantly and bloodily defended to the last, and was lost not through want of good conduct or determined bravery, but from the unavoidable chances of battle. It was a victory "over which the conqueror mourned—so many suffered." We will not enter into any mechanical measurement of feet and inches, or any nice calculation of force; whether she had a dozen men more or less, or were able to throw a few pounds more or less of ball, than her adversary, by way of accounting for her defeat; we leave to nicer calculators to balance skill and courage against timber and old iron, and mete out victories by the square and the steelyard. The question of naval superiority, about which so much useless anxiety has been manifested of late, and which we fear will cause a vast deal of strife and ill blood before it is put to rest, was in our opinion settled long since, in the course of the five preceding battles. From a general examination of these battles, it appears clearly to us, that under equal circumstances of force and preparation, the nations are equal on the ocean; and the result of any contest, between well-matched ships, would de-

pend entirely on accident. This, without any charge of vanity, we may certainly claim.

Our officers have hitherto been fighting under superior excitement to the British. They have been eager to establish a name, and from their limited number, each has felt as if individually responsible for the reputation of the navy. Besides, the haughty superiority with which they have at various times been treated by the enemy, had stung the feelings of the officers, and even touch the rough pride of the common sailor. They have spared no pains, therefore, to prepare for contest with so formidable a foe, and have fought with the united advantages of discipline and enthusiasm.

An equal excitement is now felt by the British. Galled by our successes, they begin to find that we are an enemy that calls for all their skill and circumspection. They have therefore resorted to a strictness of discipline, and to excessive precautions and preparations that had been neglected in their navy, and which no other modern foe has been able to compel. Thus circumstanced, every future contest must be bloody and precarious.

For our part we conceive that the great purpose of our navy is accomplished. It was not to be expected that with so inconsiderable a force, we should make any impression on British power, or materially affect British commerce. We fought not to take their ships and plunder their wealth, but to pluck some of their laurels wherewith to grace our own brows. In this we have succeeded; and thus the great mischief that our little navy was capable of doing to Great-Britain, in showing that her maritime power was vulnerable, has been effected, and is irretrievable.

The British may in future wars swarm on our

coasts—they may infest our rivers and our bays—they may destroy our ships—they may burn our docks and our ports—they may annihilate every gallant tar that fights beneath our flag—they may wreak every vengeance on our marine that their overwhelming force enables them to accomplish—and after all what have they effected? redeemed the pre-eminence of their flag? destroyed the naval power of this country?—no such thing. They must first obliterate from the tablets of our memories, that deep-traced recollection, that we have repeatedly met them with equal force and conquered. In that inspiring idea, which is beyond the reach of mortal hand, exists the germ of future navies, future power, and future conquest.

[*Analectic Magazine,*



A VIEW

OF THE PRESENT NAVAL FORCE OF THE UNITED STATES;
ITS INCREASE, AND FUTURE PROSPECTS.



The following is an accurate list of the vessels of war of the United States :—

Ships of the line.

Columbus	74	Independence	74
Chippewa	74	New-Orleans	74
Franklin	74	Washington	74
Ohio	74		

Frigates.

Constitution	44	Java	44
Congress	36	Macedonian	36
Constellation	36	Mohawk	32
Fulton (steam frigate)	30	Superior	44
Guerriere	44	United States	44

Ships.

Alert	18	Louisiana receiving	
Confiance	32	ship	18
Cyane	24	Ontario	18
Erie	18	Peacock	18
General Pike	24	Queen Charlotte	14
Hornet	18	Saratoga	22
John Adams	24	Block-ship	22

Brigs.

Detroit	18	Niagara	18
Enterprize	12	Oneida	14
Etna	none	Ranger	14
Jefferson	18	Raven	14
Jones	18	Sylph	14
Lawrence	20	Spark	12
Madison	18	Spitfire, (bomb)	

Schooners.

Asp	2	Linnet	16
Corporation	none	Lynx	6
Despatch	2	Nonsuch	6
Eagle	12	Porcupine	1
Fox	4	Surprize	6
Ghent	1	Ticonderoga	14
Hornet	6	Vengeance, (bomb)	

Sloop.

Lady of the Lake	1
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Besides these, there are numerous gun-boats, barges, gallies, &c. The Chippewa and New-Orleans ships of the line, the Mohawk and Superior frigates, four ships, ten brigs, and six schooners, are on the lakes.

For some years past, and particularly since the late war, which afforded so many brilliant examples of the skill and bravery of American seamen, and of the efficiency of naval means of warfare, sentiments favourable to a maritime power, have prevailed throughout the United States. From the influence of these sentiments, Congress, which, being constituted upon the fair representative principle, is the depository of the

intelligence, the will, and the interests of the nation, has enacted several laws providing for the increase of the navy, and the more efficient direction of its affairs.

The law passed in 1815, establishing the board of "commissioners of the navy," formed a new and important æra in our naval history. This board consists of three commissioners, and is attached to the office of the secretary of the navy, and under his superintendence discharges all the ministerial duties of that office; the procurement of naval stores and materials; the construction, armament, equipment and employment of vessels of war, and all other ministerial duties connected with the navy establishment. By the act constituting the board of navy commissioners, they were empowered and directed to prepare, with the consent of the secretary of the navy, such rules and regulations as might be deemed necessary for securing an uniformity in the several classes of vessels, and their equipments, and for repairing and fitting them, and for securing responsibility in the subordinate officers and agents; which regulations, when approved by the President, were to be respected and obeyed, until altered or revoked by the same authority. By virtue of this authority, the commissioners have prepared a system of rules and regulations for the administration of the naval service. It being apprehended that some additional legislative provisions might be necessary to give effect to the regu-

lations which had been adopted, during the last session of Congress a resolution was passed by the Senate, requesting information upon this subject from the naval department, which produced a report from the secretary of the navy, who, after suggesting that some of the existing regulations required further legislative provision, recommended that they be revised, and reported to Congress, and when adopted, expressly made *by law*, "rules and regulations for the government of the navy of the United States." The establishment of a board of commissioners, which has brought into the naval department great practical knowledge and experience, cannot fail of being productive of the most important results, and of giving promptitude and energy to the administration of the naval service. The commissioners must be officers of the navy, whose rank shall not be below a post captain; they have a salary of \$3,500 each per annum, in lieu of wages, rations, and all other emoluments, and are authorized to appoint a secretary, who has a salary which must not exceed \$2,000 per annum.

In 1813, an act was passed by Congress providing for the increase of the navy, which authorized the President to cause to be built four seventy-four gun ships, and six forty-four gun frigates, and the sum of two millions five hundred thousand dollars was appropriated for that object. In 1816, an act was passed, entitled "an act for the gradual increase of the

navy of the United States," which appropriated the sum of one million of dollars per annum, for the period of eight years, including three hundred thousand dollars, or the unexpended balance thereof which had been appropriated the preceding year.— By this act the President was authorized to cause to be built nine ships, to rate not less than seventy-four guns each, and twelve ships, to rate not less than forty-four guns each, including one seventy-four and three forty-four gun ships authorized to be built by the act of 1813, above referred to; one of the seventy-fours and three of the forty-fours, authorized by that act not having been built when the act of 1816 was adopted. The President was also authorized by this act to cause to be procured the steam engines and all the imperishable materials necessary for building three steam batteries on the most approved plan; such materials to be secured in the best manner to insure the completing such batteries in the shortest time practicable, when they, or either of them in the opinion of the President may be required for the public service. Since the passing of this act and under its authority, the Columbus and Ohio seventy-fours included in the foregoing list, have been built, and there is one seventy-four building at Boston, which is soon to be introduced into its destined element. After the completion of that, our navy will comprise eight seventy-four gun ships, or six, exclusive of the New-Orleans and Chippewa, on

the lake. By the act of 1816, providing for the gradual increase of the navy of the United States, so far as the same is unexecuted, there is authority for building six additional seventy-fours, and nine forty-four gun frigates, which is all the addition that can be made to the present navy of the United States, by the existing laws. The building of nearly all of the six seventy-fours, is already commenced, and two, one at Philadelphia and one at Norfolk, are in such a state of forwardness as to authorize the belief that they will be launched this season.

The naval force of the United States, when increased to the extent authorized by the existing laws, will consist of 12 seventy-four gun ships, exclusive of two of this class on the lake; 20 frigates, nearly all of forty-four guns, exclusive of two on the lakes; 13 ships, rating from thirty-two to fourteen guns; 14 brigs, from twenty to twelve guns, and 14 schooners; a part of the ships, brigs and schooners being on the lakes. In addition to which are numerous gun-boats, barges, gallies, &c. This will be a very respectable marine, and capable of affording very extensive protection to our sea-board.

The expense of maintaining such a navy, that is, twelve seventy-fours and 20 forty-four gun frigates, in actual service, may be estimated as follows :

According to the report of the secretary of the navy, made in 1811, the expense of a single ship of the

line in actual service, is \$202,110 per annum, inclusive of repairs, and consists of the following items :

92 officers and petty officers	}	\$94,965
280 able seamen,		
233 ordinary seamen and boys,		
Pay and clothing of marines,		8,175
Provisions,		53,970
Medicine and hospital stores,		5,000
Repairs and contingencies,		40,000
		<hr/>
		\$202,110

This estimate would probably rather fall short than exceed the actual expenses.

Twelve ships at \$202,110 each, per annum, is \$2,425,320. The annual expenses of a forty-four gun frigate, in actual service, have been estimated at \$134,210, exclusive of \$14,200 for repairs, making in all \$148,410. Twenty frigates, at \$148,410 each, is \$3,148,200.—The whole expense of supporting in actual service 12 seventy fours and 20 frigates, is \$5,393,520. But, without stopping to inquire whether this estimate is sufficiently ample, or whether it covers all the contingencies of the service, it is to be remembered that, in calculating the expenses of a naval or military establishment, not only the *direct*, but the *incidental* expenses are to be taken into consideration; and frequently the latter bear a very considerable proportion to the former. Among the more important incidental expenses, may be noticed

those arising from pensions, which at the present time, in the military department, have become great and almost alarming.

The true policy of the United States, with relation to a navy, has long been a subject of discussion, and about which very different opinions have been entertained. At one period there was a very strong opposition to a navy throughout the union, but this gradually subsided, and, as one extreme usually follows another, there is, perhaps, at the present time, some reason to apprehend that the public opinion is too strongly inclined to the opposite course of policy. The brilliant and almost unexampled exploits of our infant navy during the late war, excited the admiration of all. It not only "fought its way" to public favour, and conquered the prejudices which remained, but excited universal enthusiasm in its favour. The brilliancy of its achievements, probably had the more effect, from their being contrasted with the disasters which for a long time characterised the operations of the army. From a very natural association of ideas, the admiration of the brilliant achievements of our navy, produced very generally a "love of naval glory." This is an admirable spirit for our naval officers, and all concerned in the service, but when it becomes a *national spirit*, it is very dangerous. Whatever may be thought to be the true policy of this country as to a navy, it must never be forgotten that its general policy, and that

which is alone consistent with its institutions, and upon which its unexampled prosperity has depended, is the maintenance of a *pacific character*. This must ever be the leading policy of the United States, and to which all interests must be conducive or subordinate. If it is ever departed from, no human sagacity can foresee what consequences will ensue. A spirit of conquest, or the love of military or naval glory, if it becomes *national*, is incompatible with that *pacific policy* which ought always to characterise the government of this country. The love of glory is, to a nation, what the love of 'style' is to an individual, both involving the sacrifice of real enjoyments, for those which are altogether imaginary—both destructive of repose and happiness, and tend, if persisted in, the one to bankruptcy and ruin, and the other to enormous debts, and intolerable taxation, which in the end must either so far impoverish and degrade the population, as to render them fit subjects of despotism, or produce revolutions and internal commotions. It is one of the most difficult subjects in the administration of a government, whose general policy is to maintain a pacific character, to encourage and preserve a *military spirit*, so far as may be necessary for defensive purposes, and to sustain the honour of the national arms, yet to guard against its being so diffused as to effect the peaceful habits and pursuits of the inhabitants, and the pacific views and character of the nation. It being consid-

ered as a political axiom that this country is to be characterised by a general pacific policy, there can be little difficulty in deciding the question as to the *maritime power* which it ought to maintain. Its military marine ought to be calculated only for defensive objects, and *ultimately*, should be such as to be fully *adequate* to these objects. It is not necessary to inquire here how extensive a naval force is required to defend the sea coast of the United States, inasmuch as such a marine can, consistent with the public interest, be acquired only gradually, as the resources of the country are developed, and its pecuniary and physical ability extended. That its resources will ultimately, (and at no distant period neither,) be fully adequate to the maintenance of such a navy, and that the commercial interests of the country, the maritime pursuits of our citizens, and the high character which our seamen have already acquired, afford the most satisfactory assurances that such a marine can be manned with brave and skillful seamen; is most apparent, and what few, probably, will be disposed to deny.

That a naval force is the best, the most effectual, and the most economical, both as it respects men and money, for the defence of the sea-board, seems now to be universally admitted. From the local situation of the United States, being separated by an ocean of three thousand miles from the powers of Europe, having an extensive sea coast, presenting

numerous assailable points, and being assailable in no other quarter, having no independent nation as neighbours, and from the vast resources of the country for supplying all the important materials for a marine, nature itself seems to have pointed out a navy as the natural, proper, and the most effectual means of defence. In the absence of naval means, we must rely principally upon the militia for the defence of the sea board, inasmuch as it is assailable at so many different points, and for such great extent, that, if a sufficient body of regular troops could be maintained, they could not be so stationed as to meet the sudden attacks and inroads of an enemy, hovering upon a coast of fifteen hundred miles in extent.

From these considerations, and the prevailing sentiments of the people, there can be no doubt but that the United States is destined to become a powerful maritime nation. That it should aim to become such, so far as may be necessary, for all defensive and useful purposes, is undoubtedly its true policy—a policy founded in wisdom, and sanctioned by experience. But this does not require, as some have supposed, that we should have a navy equal to that of Great-Britain, and which would enable us to dispute with her the dominion of the ocean. From geographical and local considerations, we must always have great advantages over the British or any other power, in maintaining a maritime war upon our own coast. From the great distance, and the difficulty

of obtaining supplies, it is impossible for any European nation to maintain a large naval force upon our coast for any length of time, not to take into consideration the perils and vicissitudes to which such an armament is exposed, upon a distant and dangerous coast, deprived of the benefit and security of ports and harbours, and of its utter inability to remain on the coast during certain seasons. From these and other considerations, a navy comparatively small would be adequate to the purposes of defence; more especially if, as during the late war, our officers and seamen maintain a decided naval superiority.

Those who feel friendly to the maritime power of the United States, ought to be cautious about urging unseasonably, its enlargement, as nothing can so much endanger its prosperity as its premature extension.

It is not to be disguised that a respectable naval establishment is attended with a very heavy expense, and should such a one be acquired before the nation was able to sustain it, whereby it might embarrass the treasury, or occasion unusual burdens upon the people, it would certainly produce a reaction in the public mind; and considering the nature of our institutions, and how immediately every thing depends upon popular opinion, it could not be a matter of surprise if the navy should fall a sacrifice to it.— Such a case has already once occurred in our history. The existing laws have, probably, provided

for the more rapid increase of the navy than was advisable ; more especially considering the embarrassed state of the treasury, and the probable diminution of the imposts, which may render it necessary to have recourse to other sources of revenue. With a nation, as with an individual, it is infinitely easier to increase than to diminish expenses ; and with either, when a system of expenditure has been adopted, although it was entirely unnecessary at the time, it is extremely difficult to abandon it, or even retrench upon it afterwards. It is scarcely possible to observe too much caution in guarding against the extension of the public expenditure. If there is any one axiom in politics, established by universal history, it is, that all governments, whatever may be their form or spirit, *tend to a constant increase of expenditure.* We need not add that the United States forms no exception to this principle, inasmuch as that for the first years after the organization of the federal government, its revenue was but between three and four millions, and the present year, (1820) an estimated revenue of twenty-two millions leaves a deficit of more than the whole revenue at the period referred to.

These observations are not made from any views unfriendly to a navy, but to shew the necessity of proceeding gradually, and of observing due caution in its extension. The friends of a navy have no occasion to be over solicitous. The spirit of the nation

is in their favour, and it would be more conducive to the objects they have in view, that it should be repressed rather than excited.

Whoever considers the vast extent of our country, its rapid advancement in population, wealth and resources; the industry and enterprize of our citizens; the undefined and almost unknown regions of public lands, which, whilst they constitute a national domain, that, under a proper system of management, would ultimately afford a revenue adequate to the whole public expenditure, present every variety of surface and of soil, which invite the residence of man, and promise a rich reward to agricultural industry, and an immense increase of population, must be sensible of the ultimate capacity of the United States to sustain a large maritime power. They will likewise, we believe, be sensible that it is neither necessary nor expedient to increase our navy any faster than may correspond with the development of the resources of the country. It is also most devoutly to be hoped, that the public mind will never become so perverted upon this subject as to sanction the opinion that the greatness and glory of the United States will depend upon her maritime power. We want a navy for a shield, not for a scourge. Those who are fascinated with naval glory, we would recommend to cast their eyes across the Atlantic, and view the present condition of Great-Britain, the mistress of the ocean. Her naval su-

premacny is now undisputed ; she has maintained a long and successful career of naval warfare and glory ; she has vanquished and nearly annihilated the maritime power of every nation in Europe ; she has had her Drakes, her Collingwoods, her Vincents and her Nelsons, and what has been the result ? What has the nation acquired by the toil and exertions of two centuries ; by the sacrifice of a hundred millions of lives, and ten hundred millions of treasure ? If any have any doubts as to these enquiries, we would refer them to the *people* of that country to remove them. Let them ask the widow, whose husband was killed in the battle of the Nile, the mother whose sons fell at Trafalgar, or the farmer whose stock has been sold by the tax-gatherer. Let them listen to the sighs of two millions of paupers—to the indignant voice of a once brave and magnanimous, but now degraded, oppressed and starving population, groaning under the weight of an intolerable system of taxation, and struggling, as the last effort of despair, to throw off the chains which bind them, or break them over the heads of their oppressors.

Such are the fruits of a spirit of dominion and glory. A far nobler destiny we trust awaits our country. The temple of her naval glory can never be raised at the expense of her prosperity and happiness. Her greatest glory, it is to be hoped, will ever consist in her republican institutions, in a free

press, and free suffrage; in the equality, liberty, independence and intelligence of her citizens; in that exemption from external wars and internal violence, resulting from representative authority, and a pacific policy; in the justice of her government, the magnitude of her power, and the extent of her territory, population and resources.

ERRATA.

Page 148, line 13th from the bottom, for *Hamton* read *Hamilton*.

Page 150. Perry's letters—after *Western*, for *Lister* read *Sister*.

Page 314, last line in the text, for *molding* read *mouldering*.







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