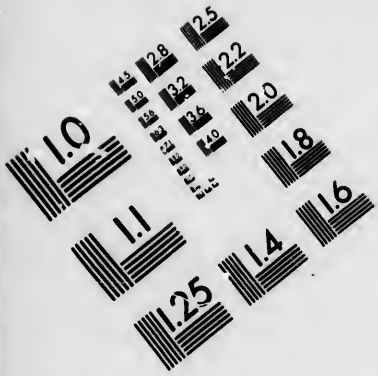



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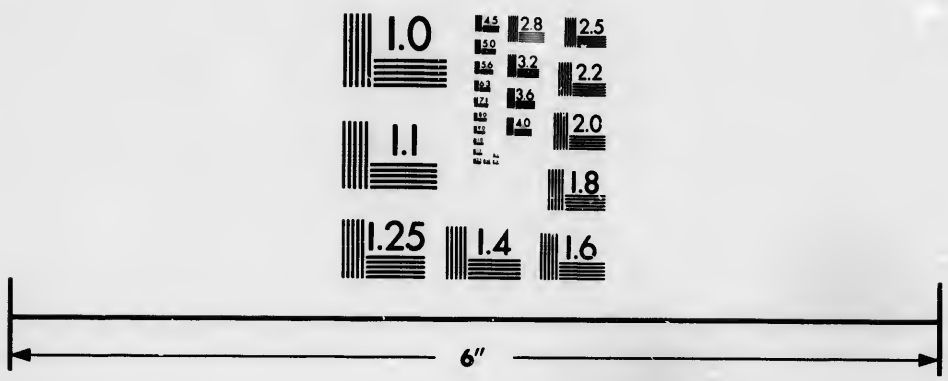



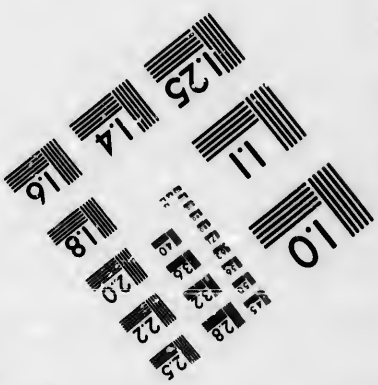


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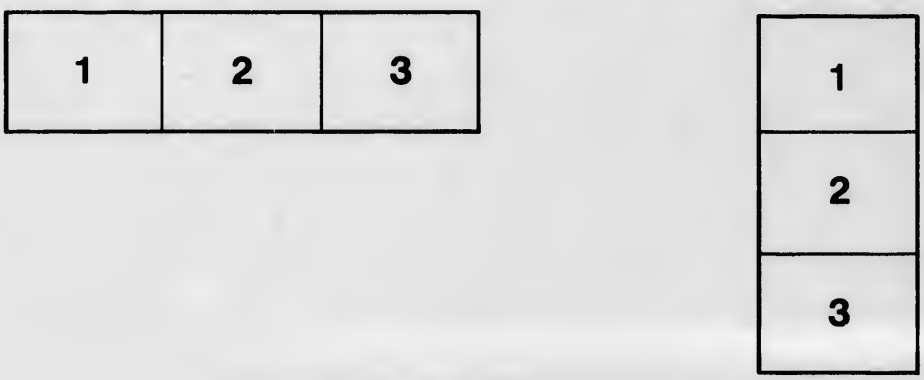

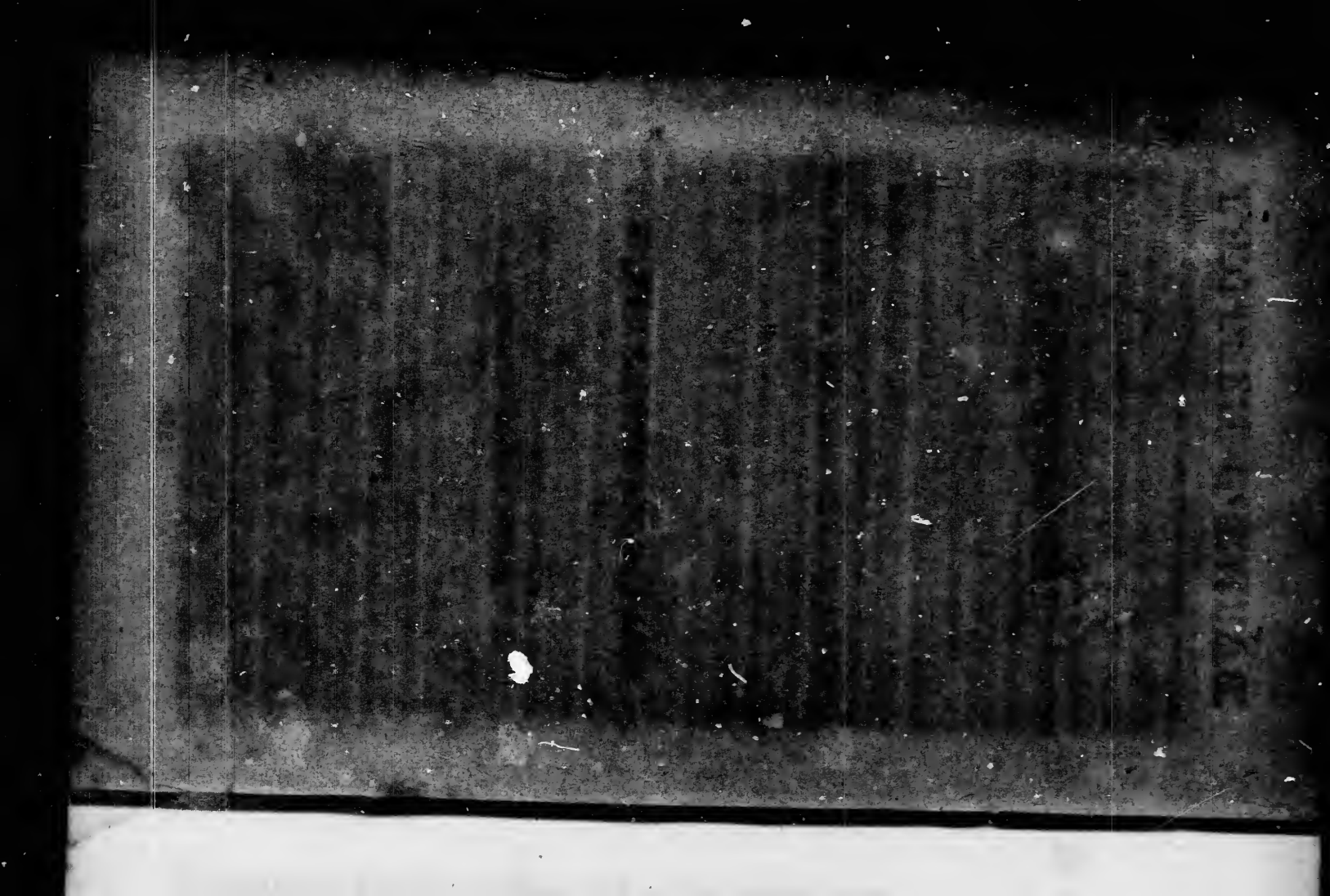

# BAINE'S HISTORY

OF

# THE LATE WAR,

BETWEEN THE

## UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN:

WITH A

## CRITICAL APPENDIX, &c.

BY EBENEZER HARLOW CUMMINS, A. M.

*BALTIMORE:*

Printed by Benja. Edes, corner of Second and Gay-streets.

1820.

# ADVERTISEMENT.

Since the late hostilities with Great Britain, several books have been published in the United States purporting to be histories of the war. No one of them, it is believed, can be received as generally authentic: the whole adding little to the literary character of the country. Of those most generally circulated, we can speak the least favourably, as specimens of history, which means something more than compilations from newspapers, or a *tirade* of epithets stigmatising our adversaries. Two or three stipendiaries occupied the fore ground in the race of the booksellers for the market of the United States, producing interesting though coarse compilations; which, while the feelings created by the war were still in lively existence, were read with sensations of pleasure. But no one now will ascribe to their works, the name, much less the character of history. Weems' life of Marion, in which the author has collated and embellished many interesting events, with the view to a popular book, has greatly superiour pretensions to either. With enough of fact to challenge, at this late day, the credence of most readers, it excels in all kinds of jest and fancy; and administers abundantly of the finest entertainment to the lovers of fun. Not so the works we have noticed. Eaton, Latour, and McAffee have furnished books of a different character. They are useful; containing a great mass of important information, necessary to the historian who shall come after them. We do not design to bring up for criticism, or any thing else, the many other histories, sketches, and biographical memoirs, published in different parts of the country. They appear to have been sheltered from animadversion, by their own demits, and naturally reposed in oblivion.

Great Britain, too, has had her histories of the war. We have seen three: Nicholson's, Clarke's, and Baines'. In addition to the English histories there has been one published in Canada, by a Mr. James, cooked and seasoned exactly for the palate of John Bull. The first and second are echoes of the reports of British commanders, and British ministerial newspapers and magazines. The third, which is contained in this volume, differs from

them as much in composition as in character. It is, as a specimen of history, very superiour to any thing we have, on the same subject, in the United States; and on the whole a liberal and magnanimous production. It was not expected that the dominions of his late majesty, George III. contained a British subject, who, in writing a history of the war with the United States, would dare tell John Bull to his teeth, that brother Jonathan had broken his nose and spilled his claret: but the reader will find in the history of Mr. Baines many instances of this daring. We have derived infinite satisfaction from the contents of many chapters in this book; because they were writen by a British subject; and because the compliments and concessions of a rival are greatly more valuable than the plaudits we bestow on ourselves.

The American reader must excuse the historian for many things which we would call errors, when he reflects upon his relation to the parties, and the sources from which he has most naturally drawn his information. In the end, he has fully compensated the pain his mistatements excite, by the honorable admissions to the American character, of gallantry, intelligence, and virtue.

Where we have supposed the historian in error, from the want of just information, or from the bias of his feelings in favour of his countrymen, we have corrected him by a series of notes appended to this volume; and where he has indulged too freely in praise of British commanders, at the expense of the American character, we have extended our criticisms to a just retaliation. We have left untouched the original, and have not interfered at all with the notes and references; except to correct typographical mistakes and the occasional misnomer of American officers. The numerical figures, to be found interpersed throughout the history, refer to the Appendix, where all our animadversions are inserted. It is not pretended that all occasions for criticims have been fully improved. This would have swelled our commentary to an unreasonable size. We have seized only on the most important, leaving those merely venial to be occupied by the reader; in doing which he will have a full share of amusement. On the capture of Washington, and several other topics, we have not enlarged, because we have been unwilling to revive discussions and renew animadversions, which now sleep in the calm that has so happily succeeded the tempest of war. We feel now as much disposed to forgive and forget the blunders and misfortunes of the unsuccessful, as we are qualified more justly to appreciate the achievements and exploits of those on whom victory was pleased to bestow laurels. To the former we would not give a new pang; and from the latter we have not removed a wreath, though accorded by the people transported with joy in the moments of triumph, when honours were distributed without discrimination, and too frequently without regard to merit.

BALTIMORE, 1820.

# INTRODUCTION.

THE relations subsisting between Great Britain and the United States of America had for many years exhibited a singular aspect. The nations were not indeed in a state of open war, but the conflict of opposite pretensions, the angry discussion of many intricate questions of international law, the charges and recriminations which had for a number of years formed the only subject of their diplomatic intercourse, had diffused over both countries a spirit of distrust and animosity, which seemed likely to find in war alone its natural gratification. In Great Britain an idea prevailed, and seemed in a considerable degree to influence the ministry, that America had displayed a very unjustifiable spirit of hostility towards this country, while she had manifested a decided leaning and partiality towards the interests and views of France. This opinion appeared to justify those who were decidedly for war with the United States, in giving currency to their hostile feelings. But another circumstance also operated towards the same end. A

war with America, it was argued, would be not only just but of short continuance, and would exhibit a scene of uninterrupted and splendid successes on our part, and of defeat and disgrace on theirs. The Americans, on the other hand, were galled and irritated by the attacks made on their commerce; by the right of search, as claimed and exercised by England, not always on the best grounds, or in the least offensive manner; and by the impressment and detention of their seamen; and to these motives for war was probably added the hope of conquering Canada, and of enriching themselves by the capture of our merchant ships.

As no doubt could be entertained, that in the event of a war between the two countries, Canada would be attacked, Sir James Craig, the governor of that province, very judiciously took every measure which he thought could be effectual or conducive to its protection and defence. Had he confined himself to this line of conduct alone, no blame could have been imputed to him; but he thought himself justified in sending a person, of the name of Henry, into the United States on a very ambiguous and reprehensible errand. This man was seized (1) by the American government, who obtained possession of his instructions, as well as copies of the communications which he had made to Sir James Craig; and according to the statements submitted to congress, the object of captain Henry was to ingratiate himself with the federal party; to ascertain its strength, its wishes, and its views, in the different states; and more particularly to en-

courage, with the promise of British assistance, any design they might be disposed to form for a separation of the states. This conduct on the part of Great Britain, originating in one of her highest authorities in North America, the president, in a message to congress, represented as a flagrant breach of public faith, committed at a time when Great Britain and America were employed in discussions of amity and reconciliation. When the subject of the mission of Capt. Henry was brought before the British parliament, ministers refused to produce the correspondence and papers connected with these mysterious transactions, nor did they give a very clear and satisfactory account of the business. They denied, however, that captain Henry was accredited by them, or that they were acquainted with the intention of Sir James Craig to employ him. Notwithstanding this disavowal, the British government had all the disgrace of having acted contrary to the law of nations, and at the same time, the mortification to perceive that the American people were more closely united by this most injudicious and unjustifiable attempt to divide them.

Before the intelligence of the assassination of Mr. Percival (2) reached America, that government had determined on war with Great Britain; and early in the month of June, a message was sent to the senate and house of representatives, containing a recommendation to that effect. In this state paper, the president complains of the violation which the American flag has so repeated-

ly suffered from British vessels "on the great highway of nations;" of the practice of impressing American seamen;* of the violation of the American waters, and of the infraction of the fundamental principles of the law of nations, by the pretended 'blockades.' But all these causes of war are in the message held as subordinate to the orders in council, both in the injustice which they display, and in the injury which they inflict. These orders were, it is said, evidently framed so as best to suit the political views and the commercial jealousies of the British government. The consequences which would result from them to neutral nations were never taken into the account, or if contemplated or foreseen as highly prejudicial, that consideration had no weight in the minds of those by whom they were imposed. It was, indeed, attempted to justify them, by an appeal to similar measures adopted and carried into execution by France; as if America could be satisfied with the unjust and injurious conduct of one belligerent, by that belig-

* In a publication, issued by the authority of the American government, entitled, "An Exposition of the Causes and Character of the War with Great Britain," it is stated, that up to March, 1811, Great Britain had impressed from the crews of American vessels peaceably navigating the high seas, not less than six thousand mariners, who claimed to be citizens of the United States, and who were denied all opportunity of verifying their claims. And in the same publication it is added, that when war was declared, the orders in council had been maintained with inexorable hostility, until a thousand American vessels, with their cargoes, had been seized and confiscated under the operation of these edicts.

erent proving that she had been treated in an equally unjust and injurious manner by the other. But, what was the fact? France, indeed, by her Berlin and Milan decrees, manifested her willingness and disposition to impede and injure neutral commerce, in order that she might thus cripple the trade of Great Britain; but these decrees were almost a dead letter; British superiority at sea prevented them from being acted upon in any effective or permanent manner; it was therefore absurd to attempt to justify the mischief which actually flowed to America from the orders in council, by appealing to decrees which, while Britain remained mistress of the sea, were utterly without effect. The British government were surprised and indignant that America viewed the conduct of France more coolly than the conduct of England; not recollecting that edicts executed against millions of American property, could not be a retaliation on edicts comparatively impossible to be executed. Besides, this plea of retaliation was untenable, when viewed in another light. To be just, retaliation should fall on the party setting the guilty example, and not on the innocent party; which, moreover, could not be charged with an acquiescence in the injustice practised by France.

This message, which was dated the 1st of June, was, on the 18th of the same month, succeeded by an act of congress, containing a formal declaration of war against Great Britain. Five days after this declaration of war, the orders in council were rescinded by the British government; but the ar-

rival of this intelligence in America did not appear in the slightest degree to restore a pacific disposition on the part of that government. The orders in council, she said, had not been repealed because they were unjust in their principle and highly detrimental in their effects on neutral commerce. On the contrary, the motive of their repeal was obviously selfish, and had no reference to the rights of neutral nations. America, to protect herself, and to avenge her wrongs, had prohibited all commercial intercourse with Great Britain. The latter power, thus deprived of her best customer, had no longer a sufficient and regular market for her manufactures and colonial produce; her merchants and her manufacturers were nearly ruined; distress, discontent, and poverty, spread over her territory; complaints and petitions poured in from all quarters; and the orders in council were repealed, not to render justice to America, but to rescue a large portion of the British people from absolute starvation. It was, however, stated, that if the revocation of the orders in council had taken place sufficiently early to have been communicated to the United States before they had actually declared war, the repeal of these decrees against neutral commerce would have arrested the resort to arms; and that one cause of the war being removed, the other essential cause—the practice of impressment, would have been the subject of renewed negociation. But the declaration of war having announced the practice of impressment as one of the prin-

cipal causes, peace could only be the result of an express abandonment of that practice.*

Such are the causes of war, as stated in the official papers put forth by the government of America; but, in a declaration promulgated by the Prince Regent of England, some months after letters of marque and reprisals against America had been issued, it was stated, "that the real origin of the contest was to be found in that spirit which had long unhappily actuated the councils of the United States—their marked partiality in palliating and assisting the aggressive tyranny of France; their systematic endeavour to inflame the people against the defensive measures of Great Britain; their injurious conduct towards Spain, the immediate ally of Great Britain; and their unworthy desertion of the cause of other neutral nations." "It is through the prevalence of such councils," says the declaration, "that America has been associated in policy with France, and committed in war against Great Britain. And under what conduct on the part of France has the government of the United States thus lent itself to the enemy? The contemptuous violation of the commercial treaty of the year 1800, between France and the United States; the treacherous seizure of all American vessels and cargoes, in every harbour subject to the control of the French arms; the tyrannical principles of the Berlin and Milan decrees, and the confiscations under them; the subsequent condemnation under the Ram-

* Exposition of the Causes and Character of the War with Great Britain.

bouillet decree, antedated or concealed to render it more effectual; the French commercial regulations, which rendered the trafic of the United States with France almost illusory; the burning of their merchant ships at sea, long after the alleged repeal of the French decrees—all these acts of violence on the part of France produced from the government of the United States only such complaints as end in acquiescence and submission; or are accompanied by suggestions for enabling France to give the semblance of legal form to her usurpations, by converting them into municipal regulations. This disposition of the government of the United States—this complete subserviency to the ruler of France—this hostile temper towards Great Britain, are evident in almost every page of the official correspondence of the American with the French government, and form the real causes of the present war between America and Great Britain."*

* Declaration of the Prince Regent, dated January 9th, 1813.

# CHAPTER I.

At a period when hostilities raged in Europe to an extent almost unexampled, in the year 1812, the demon of war extended his dominions to the western hemisphere; and his sceptre, after an interval of nearly thirty years, was again swayed over the flourishing regions of North America. Disputes, coeval with the wars of the French revolution, had terminated in a formal declaration of war against Great Britain by the congress of the United States, passed on the 18th of June, and carried in the senate by a majority of nineteen to thirteen voices, and in the house of representatives by a majority of seventy-nine to forty-nine voices. The causes of this decision, it has been already seen, resolved themselves into four. The search of American ships—the impressment of American seamen—the unlimited extension of the system of blockade—and the rigours exercised on neutral commerce under the British orders in council. The last of these grievances was removed a few days after the appearance of the president's proclamation announcing the decision of congress, but the other causes of complaint remained unredressed, and the intelligence of the revocation of the orders in council did not reach America till hostilities had actually commenced.

At the moment when America ventured to declare war against the most powerful maritime state in the world, her own navy, if navy it could be called, did not include one single line of battle ship,* and the utter annihilation of her frigates and smaller vessels was predicted in this country with a vaunting confidence, that gave increased poignancy to the disappointment and disasters which Great Britain was doomed in the prosecution of her naval campaigns to endure. The military force of the United States, though numerically for-

* NAVAL FORCE

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES IN 1812.

| | | *Rated.* | *Mounting.* | *Commanders.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Constitution | 44 guns. | 56 guns. | Capt. Hull. |
| | United States | 44 | 56 | Decatur. |
| | President | 44 | 56 | Com. Rodgers |
| | Chesapeake | 36 | 44 | Ordinary. |
| | New-York | 36 | 44 | —— |
| | Constellation | 36 | 44 | —— |
| | Congress | 36 | 44 | —— |
| | Boston | 32 | — | —— |
| | Essex | 32 | — | —— |
| | Adams | 32 | — | —— |
| *Corvette,* | John Adams | — | 26 | Capt. Ludlow. |
| *Ships of war.* | Wasp | — | 18 | Capt. Jones. |
| | Hornet | — | 18 | Lawrence. |
| *Brigs* | Siren | — | 16 | Lieut. Carroll. |
| | Argus | — | 16 | Crane. |
| | Oneida | — | 16 | Com. Woolsey. |
| *Sch'rs.* | Vixen | — | 12 | Lieut. Gadsden. |
| | Nautilus | — | 12 | Sinclair. |
| | Enterprize | — | 12 | Blakeley. |
| | Viper | — | 12 | Bainbridge. |

*Bombs*—Vengeance, Spitfire, Etna, Vesuvius.

midable,* was principally of an irregular kind, without discipline, unaccustomed to the hardships of war, and destitute of that patient endurance and subordinate spirit, without which armies, however strong, are always liable to become the mutinous depositories of panic.

The United States of America have always had their full share of party spirit—the inseparable

* MILITARY FORCE.

Nearly the whole of the session of congress preceding the declaration of war by America, was occupied in preparations for hostilities: on the 11th of January, 1812, an act was passed for raising ten regiments of infantry, two regiments of artillery, and one regiment of light dragoons; to be enlisted for five years; the infantry to amount to 20,000, the artillery to 4,000, and the cavalry to 1,000 men. On the 6th of the following month, an act, authorizing the president of the United States to accept the service of certain volunteer corps, not exceeding 50,000, passed into a law; and by an act of congress, passed the 10th of April, detachments from the militia to the amount of 100,000 were voted in the following proportions:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Newhampshire | 3,500 | Virginia | 12,000 |
| Massachusetts | 10,000 | North Carolina | 7,000 |
| Connecticut | 3,000 | South Carolina | 5,000 |
| Rhode Island | 500 | Georgia | 3,500 |
| Vermont | 3,000 | Kentucky | 5,500 |
| New York | 13,000 | Ohio | 5,000 |
| New Jersey | 5,000 | Tennessee | 2,500 |
| Pennsylvania | 14,000 | | |
| Delaware | 1,000 | Total | 100,000 |
| Maryland | 6,000 | | |

The regular army of the United States, upon the declaration of war, consisted of eleven regiments of the old peace establishment, estimated at five hundred men each.

In the naval department, acts were passed for repairing and building frigates, and for making the necessary appropriations

concomitant of a free government; and a war so differently affecting the different parts of the union, could not fail to call forth those violent political contentions for which that republic is so much distinguished. At Boston, the declaration of war was made the signal of a general mourning; all the ships in the harbour displayed flags half mast high; and in that, as in other cities of the northern states, public meetings of the inhabitants were held, at which a number of resolutions were passed, stigmatizing the approaching contest as unnecessary and ruinous, and as tending to a connection with France destructive to American liberty and independence. Immediately after the declaration of war a party was formed, called the "peace party," which combined nearly the whole of the federalists throughout the United States, and by whom a steady, systematic, and energetic opposition, principally directed against the national finances, was maintained to the latest period of the war. The demands of this party for the restoration of peace were as loud and imperious as had been their cry for war in the years 1806–7, and their conduct at the two periods appears totally irreconcilable to any principle of patriotism and consistency.

for the defence of the maritime frontier; other acts, apportioning the sums to be applied to the support of the army, the navy, and the irregular troops, all passed in succession; to meet which demands, Mr. Gallatin, the minister of finance, in submitting the budget to congress on the 12th of January, recommended a loan of ten millions of dollars for the current year.

With the democratic party, and in the southern states, in particular, where swarms of privateers were preparing to reap a rich harvest among the West India islands, the popular sentiment was decidedly in favour of war; (3) and of all the cities of America in this interest, Baltimore perhaps stood in the first rank in zeal and in violence. A journal, published in that place, entitled the "Federal Republican," had rendered itself obnoxious by its opposition to the measures of government, and menaces had been repeatedly thrown out against its conductors. On the night of the 27th of July a mob assembled before the house of the editor, which was defended by his friends with so much gallantry that the assailants from without were several times repulsed. At length, towards midnight, a party of military, attended by the mayor, were brought to the spot, under the command of general Stricker, to whom generals Lee and Lingan, who had both assisted in defending the editor's house, surrendered themselves, along with four and twenty other persons, and were conducted to the town gaol as a place of security. The mob now dispersed, and this ebullition of popular phrenzy would probably have subsided, had not a journal, opposed in principle to the Federal Republican, had the baseness to fan the dying embers, by calling upon the insurgents not to let their victims escape without executing vengeance upon them.—Roused again to action by this incendiary publication, the mob re-assembled, broke open the gaol, and attacked the objects of their fury. In the

midst of the commotion several of the prisoners succeeded in escaping from the hands of their persecutors; but others, less fortunate, were assailed with clubs and knives, and left without signs of life at the outside of the prison. General Lingan, a veteran, upwards of seventy years of age, who had fought the battles of his country by the side of his friend general Washington, was dragged to the door of the prison, and inhumanly butchered on the spot. General Lee, a distinguished partisan officer in the revolutionary war, was dangerously wounded; and several others of his federal companions shared a similar fate. It is due to the Americans to add, that this outrage, which in atrocity exceeded the horrors perpetrated by the mobs of Birmingham and Manchester about the period of the breaking out of the war between Great Britain and France, was regarded with indignation in every other part of the United States. (4)

# CHAPTER II.

THE first military effort made by America was directed against the British province of Upper Canada. Early in the year a body of militia, amounting to two thousand five hundred men, had been placed under the command of general Hull; and on the 12th of July the American army crossed the river Detroit, and erected the standard of the United States in Upper Canada. The general of the invading army, on his arrival at Sandwich, issued a proclamation to the British colonists, inviting the militia to return to their homes, and promising to the peaceable inhabitants the "blessing of peace, liberty, and security."

## PROCLAMATION.

"*Head-quarters, Sandwich, July* 12, 1812.

"INHABITANTS OF CANADA!

"After thirty years of peace and prosperity, the United States have been driven to arms. The injuries and aggressions, the insults and indignities of Great Britain, have once more left them no alternative but manly resistance or unconditional submission. The army under my command has invaded your country. The standard of the union now waves over the territory of Canada. To the peaceable, unoffending inhabitants it brings neither

danger nor difficulty. I come to find enemies, not to make them. I come to protect, not to injure you.

"Separated by an immense ocean and an extensive wilderness from Great Britain, you have no participation in her councils, no interest in her conduct. You have felt her tyranny; you have seen her injustice; but I do not ask you to avenge the one, or to redress the other. The United States are sufficiently powerful to afford every security, consistent with their rights and your expectations. I tender you the invaluable blessing of civil, political, and religious liberty, and their necessary result, individual and general prosperity; that liberty which gave decision to our councils, and energy to our conduct, in a struggle for independence, which conducted us safely and triumphantly through the stormy period of the revolution—the liberty which has raised us to an elevated rank among the nations of the world; and which afforded us a greater measure of peace and security, of wealth and improvement, than ever fell to the lot of any people. In the name of my country, and the authority of government, I promise you protection to your persons, property, and rights. Remain at your homes; pursue your peaceful and customary avocations; raise not your hands against your brethren. Many of your fathers fought for the freedom and independence we now enjoy.—Being children therefore of the same family with us, and heirs to the same heritage, the arrival of an army of friends must be hailed by you with a

cordial welcome. You will be emancipated from tyranny and oppression, and restored to the dignified station of freedom. Had I any doubt of eventual success, I might ask your assistance: but I do not. I come prepared for every contingency—I have a force which will break down all opposition, and that force is but the van-guard of a much greater. If, contrary to your own interest, and the just expectations of my country, you should take part in the approaching contest, you will be considered and treated as enemies, and the horrors and calamities of war will stalk before you. If the barbarous and savage policy of Great Britain be pursued, and the savages are let loose to murder our citizens, and butcher our women and children, this war will be a war of extermination. The first stroke of the tomahawk—the first attempt with the scalping-knife, will be the signal of one indiscriminate scene of desolation. No white man found fighting by the side of an Indian will be taken prisoner—instant death will be his lot. If the dictates of reason, duty, justice, and humanity, cannot prevent the employment of a force which respects no rights, and knows no wrong, it will be prevented by a severe and relentless system of retaliation. I doubt not your courage and firmness—I will not doubt your attachment to liberty. If you tender your services voluntarily, they will be accepted readily. The United States offer you peace, liberty, and security. Your choice lies between these, and war, slavery, and destruction. Choose then; but choose wisely; and may he who

knows the justice of our cause, and who holds in his hand the fate of nations, guide you to a result the most compatible with your rights and interests, your peace and happiness. By the general,

"A. P. HULL."

This proclamation, which expressed the utmost confidence of success, threatened a war of extermination in case of the employment of the Indian tribes, which appear to have been the objects of general Hull's peculiar dread and apprehension. The Indians were however already engaged in hostilities with the subjects (5) of the United States; and on the 17th of July intelligence was received of the capture of Fort Michilimachinack, the most northern military post in the United States, by a combined operation of the British, the Canadians, and the savages.

After passing the line of demarkation, by which the British settlements in North America are separated from the territory of the United States, general Hull advanced against Fort Amherstburg, or Malden, the garrison of which consisted of about six hundred men, under the command of Lieut. Col. St. George. Here the American general received his first check, and was three times repulsed in his attempt to cross the Canard river. (6) General Sir George Prevost, the British governor in chief, with a laudable display of promptitude and skill, had made all the arrangements in his power for the defence of Upper Canada, and the command of the force destined for this purpose,

consisting of thirty royal artillery men, two hundred and fifty regular troops of the 41st regiment, four hundred Canadian militia, and six hundred Indians, was conferred on major-general Brock. It might have been supposed that such a force would have proved totally inadequate to meet the American army; but the defective composition of the enemy's troops, and the want of energy and skill in their commander, soon displayed themselves in a manner that portended their final overthrow. The talents of general Hull were totally unequal to the enterprise he had undertaken. Ignorant of the situation and movements of the British force, which were coming to relieve the fort to which he had laid siege, and continually harassed and bewildered with various and contradictory reports concerning the different tribes of the hostile Indians, indecision and distrust began to prevail in the camp. The plan of attacking Amherstburg was abandoned, and on the 8th of August the Americans retreated to Detroit, the capital of the Michigan territory, without even the appearance of an enemy to pursue them.*

On the arrival of major-general Brock at Amherstburg, on the 13th, he found that colonel Proctor had begun to erect batteries opposite Fort Detroit, and although opposed by a well directed fire from seven twenty-four pounders, the works were continued without intermission. The force at the disposal of the British general being all collected

* Dispatch from colonel Cass to the Hon. William Eustice, the American Secretary at War.

in the neighbourhood of Sandwich, they passed the river in the course of the 15th without molestation, and advanced on the following morning to Spring Well, an advantageous position three miles west of Detroit. The Indians, who had in the mean time effected their landing two miles below, moved forwards and occupied the woods, about a mile and a half to the west of the British position. Having learned that general Hull had dispatched colonel M'Arthur, one of his best officers, with a detachment of five hundred men, to escort a supply of provisions from the river Raisin, general Brock decided on an immediate attack, and advanced with a resolution to carry Detroit on the land side, while the Indians penetrated the camp. When the head of the British column had arrived within about five hundred yards of the American lines, orders were given by general Hull for the whole of his troops to retreat to the fort, and for the artillery not to open on the assailants. A white flag, hung from the walls, indicated the wish of the American general to capitulate; and the terms were soon agreed upon. By this capitulation, so glorious to the arms of Great Britain, but so disgraceful to the American army, not less than two thousand five hundred men became prisoners of war, and thirty-three pieces of brass and iron ordnance fell into the hands of the victors.

In endeavouring to appreciate the motives, and to investigate the causes, which led to this decisive but bloodless victory, it is impossible to find any solution of the mysterious surrender of general

Hull in the relative strength of the contending armies. In numbers, the Americans were far superior to their enemies; and their supply of ammunition, and provisions, was by no means exhausted.* General Hull, the commander-in-chief, in following the course he pursued, acted entirely upon his own responsibility; and when his conduct came to be investigated before a court-martial, he was found guilty of neglect of duty, unofficer-like conduct, and cowardice, and adjudged to be shot; but in consideration of "his revolutionary services, and his advanced age," the court recommended him to mercy; and the president, while he expressed his approbation of the sentence, thought proper to remit its execution.

The British arms were destined to attain yet higher honors in the defence of Canada. The season was far advanced before the Americans could collect a sufficient force upon the Niagara frontier to attempt offensive operations; but in the month of October, general Van Rensselaer, of the New-York militia, fixed his head-quarters at Lewistown, between the Lakes Ontario and Erie, with a force under his command amounting to about four thousand men, of which fifteen hundred were regular troops, and the remainder the militia contingents of the neighbouring states. Early on the morning of the 13th, a division of the enemy's troops, under general Wadsworth, embarked near the falls of Niagara, and made an attack upon the

* Report of colonel Cass to the Secretary at War.

British position of Queenstown. Although the day had not yet dawned, this post was defended with undaunted gallantry by the two flank companies of the 49th regiment, animated by the presence of their gallant chief, major-general Brock, whose valuable life was on this occasion devoted to his country's service. The British position fell with their ever-to-be-lamented general; but reinforcements of regular troops, militia, and Indians, having been sent up from Fort George, under the direction of major-general Sheaffe, who now assumed the command of the army, a movement was made on the enemy's left, while a body of artillery, under the able direction of captain Holcroft, supported by a body of infantry, engaged him in front. This operation was further aided by the judicious position which Norton, the Indian chief, had taken on the woody high ground above Queenstown. A communication being thus opened with Chippaway, a junction was formed with farther succours which had been ordered from that station. The crisis of the battle was now approaching, and a powerful reinforcement dispatched to the aid of general Wadsworth, from the American side of the river, might have secured the victory; but to the utter astonishment of the commander-in-chief, he found that the ardour of the "unengaged troops" had entirely subsided, and all his solicitations, though seconded by the efforts of lieutenant-colonel Bloom, and Mr. Justice Peck, could not prevail upon his insubordinate levies to embark to the assistance of

their companions in arms.* Finding that no reinforcements would pass the river, and being well aware that the brave men on the heights were exhausted, and nearly out of ammunition, boats were sent (7) by general Van Rensselaer to cover the retreat of the troops under general Wadsworth, but the boats were dispersed, and so many of the boat-men had fled panic-struck, that only few of the vessels quitted the shore.* At three o'clock in the afternoon a vigorous attack was made upon the enemy's lines, and after a short, but animated conflict, victory again ranged herself under the British banners. The surrender of general Wadsworth, with a force of nine hundred men, to an army inferior in numbers, is the best eulogium that can be pronounced upon the plan of attack adopted by major-general Sheaffe, and upon the zeal and undaunted gallantry that animated every officer and soldier in his army. The loss of the British army in the battle of Queenstown, although continued for upwards of eight hours, did not exceed one hundred men in killed, wounded and missing; while the loss of the Americans, including deserters, may, without exaggeration, be estimated at two thousand. (8)

The other operations on the Canadian frontier, and upon the lakes of North America, during the present year, were attended by no decisive results, nor are they of sufficient importance to claim a place in general history. During the campaign of

* Letter from general Van Rensselaer to general Dearborn, dated Lewistown, October 14, 1812.

1812, the American armies of the north-west and the centre, under Gens. Hull and Van Rensselaer, had sustained signal defeats, while the army of the north, under general Dearborn, had suffered the season to pass in comparative inactivity. The avocations of a peaceful industry, continued without intermission for nearly thirty years, are little suited to the sanguinary pursuits of war, and it soon became perfectly manifest, that whatever might be the native courage of the Americans, their generals were destitute of experience, and the officers and soldiers required discipline and subordination.* As might have been expected, all the efforts of such armies to conquer the dominions of his Britannic majesty in Canada, and the tendency of al the belligerent operations which had hitherto taken place on the frontier, served only to inspire the British with increased confidence, and to involve the enemy in disaster and disappointment.

* At the crisis of the battle of Queenstown a large proportion of the militia force answered the orders of their general by claiming the privileges of the constitution; and peremptorily refused to cross the imaginary line which separated the United States from the British dominions, alleging that by the laws of their country they were required only to serve within the limits of the Union!

# CHAPTER III.

The loss and disgrace incurred by the surrender of the American generals, and the defeat of their armies, were considered only as the harbingers of their further humiliation on that element which had long been the theatre of their adversary's triumphs. In the vaunting language of the day, the government and the people of the United States were to be humbled and brought to a sense of their own insignificance by the blockade of their coasts, the bombardment of their cities, and the destruction of their commerce. The commanders of their 'pigmy navy,' it was triumphantly and tauntingly said, would instantly fly from a force equal to their own; and the day was anxiously, but confidently anticipated, when an American and a British frigate should meet on the ocean.

At length the British and American seamen had an opportunity of displaying their skill and bravery. The ships which met on the 19th of August, off the coast of Labrador, were the Guerriere, captain Dacres; and the Constitution, captain Hull; the former rated at thirty-eight guns, but mounted forty-nine; and the latter rated at forty-four guns, but mounted fifty-six. At two o'clock in the afternoon, the Constitution bore down upon the Guerriere, and at five the frigates come to close

action. After an exchange of broadsides, the Constitution placed herself within pistol shot of her antagonist, when captain Hull ordered a brisk fire to commence from all her guns, which were double-shotted, and so well directed, that in fifteen minutes the mizen-mast of the Guerriere went by the board. The enemy then placed herself in a situation to rake the British frigate, and his grape shot and riflemen swept the deck. Captain Dacres, perceiving his perilous situation, endeavoured to clear himself of his opponent, and with this view the marines and boarders were ordered from the main-deck, but no sooner were these orders given, than the captain received a violent contusion in his back, and Mr. Grant, who commanded the forecastle, was carried below severely wounded. The battle had now raged for nearly two hours, (9) and the fore and main-masts of the Guerriere were shot away, and the vessel, thus dismantled, was reduced to a mere unmanageable hulk. The wreck was no sooner cleared than the sprit-sail gave way; and the ship rolled so deep in the sea that her main-deck guns were under water. It now became obvious that all further resistance must prove unavailing; and captain Dacres, after a short consultation with his few remaining officers, determined to spare the lives of his valuable crew by hauling down his colours, which necessity had obliged him to lash to the stump of the mizen-mast. The hull of the Guerriere was so much shattered that a few more broadsides would have sent her to the bottom. Fifteen of her crew were killed, and

sixty-three wounded, among the former of whom was lieutenant Read, and among the latter all the principal officers in the ship. The loss of the Constitution amounted only to seven killed, and seven wounded.* Not the least imputation rested on the British commander or his ship's company. They fought with a heroism deserving of a better fate; and yielded only to unavoidable casualties, and to the irresistible superiority of physical strength. It was soon discovered that the Guerriere was so much injured that all attempts to tow her into port would be unavailing; and captain Hull, having previously ordered all the prisoners to be brought on board his own ship, consigned his prize to the flames. The conduct of the Americans towards their prisoners was that of the brave towards the brave. The wounded were treated with every mark of care and attention; and the lacerated feelings of the British sailors were soothed by the sympathy of their generous adversaries, who now considered them rather as their guests than as their enemies.

It is impossible, adequately, to describe the triumph of the Americans on the occasion of this their first naval victory—a victory achieved over the lords of the ocean—over those who till now had claimed that element as their own, and had driven from it all who dared to dispute their maritime rights and dominion. The captain and the crew of the Constitution, when they landed at Boston, were received by their grateful fellow-citizens with every

* American account.—Captain Dacres states the loss of the enemy at nine killed, and twelve wounded.

mark of honour and distinction. A splendid entertainment was given to captain Hull and his officers; and in all the principal towns through which he passed, after his return, the war became more popular, and the spirit of marine enterprise more animated and enthusiastic. The legislature of New-York, the council of the cities of Albany and Savannah, the house of representatives of Massachusetts, and the congress of the United States, voted their unanimous thanks (10) to the captain of the Constitution and his officers and crew; and as a further testimony of the estimation in which their services were held, congress voted the sum of fifty thousand dollars to Capt. Hull and his crew, as an indemnification for the loss they had sustained by the destruction of their prize after the battle. In England the capture of the Guerriere created astonishment not unmixed with dismay. By many captain Dacres was censured for not having gone to the bottom with his ship instead of striking his colours, as if the humiliation of the country would have been lessened by such a prodigal and unavailing expenditure of the lives of the most gallant of her sons. Others, though they deeply lamented the occurrence, did not regard it as a disgrace to British valour, when the relative force of the conflicting frigates was fairly taken into consideration. The Constitution was the superior of the Guerriere in every respect; she was a larger vessel; better prepared both for sailing and for action; her guns, as has been already seen, were more numerous in the proportion of fifty-six to forty-nine; her weight

of metal gave her a still further advantage; and while her number of men amounted to four hundred and seventy-six, the Guerriere, on coming into action, could only muster at quarters two hundred and forty-four men, and nineteen boys. Still, with all these advantages, had she been a French frigate, she probably would have been captured, and assuredly she would not have captured her antagonist. Of this both nations were sensible; so that the result of the action decisively proved, not that the Americans were our masters, but that they were more nearly on a level with us on our own element than any European enemy.

The balance of success in the naval war continued to preponderate on the side of the Americans; and the fate of the Guerriere proved, unfortunately, not a solitary case. Besides the numerous captures made by their privateers, actions took place between ships of war, which tended to establish their claims to rank with the British, and to augment the confidence already inspired by the success of their maritime tactics. On the 18th of October, his majesty's armed brig the Frolic, captain Thomas Whinyates, convoying six valuable merchantships from Honduras to England, while in the act of repairing damages to her masts and sails, received in a violent gale on the preceding night, descried an American brig, which gave chase to the convoy. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon this vessel, which proved to be the Wasp, captain Jacob Jones, bore down upon the Frolick, and the two brigs came to close action, off the island of Bermu-

da. The superior fire of the British guns gave every reason to suppose that the contest would speedily terminate in their favour. This expectation was favoured by the main-top-mast of the Wasp being shot away in a few minutes after the battle commenced, and falling with the main-top-sail-yard across the fore-top-sail-braces, her head became unmanageable during the rest of the action. To counteract the effects of this disaster, the Americans shot ahead of the Frolic, raked her, and then resumed her position on the larboard bow. The fire of the Wasp was now obviously attended with great success, and the braces of the Frolic being shot away, she became unmanageable. After laying sometime exposed to a most destructive fire, which she was unable to return, the enemy boarded, and hauled down the British ensign, in forty-three minutes after the discharge of the first shot. On passing from the bowsprit to the forecastle, the Americans were surprised to see not a single man alive on the deck of the Frolic, except the seaman at the wheel, and three officers; and of the whole crew, consisting originally of one hundred and ten men, all, except twenty, were numbered among either the killed or the wounded. The Frolic, it appears, mounted sixteen thirty-two pounders, four twelve pounders on the main-deck, and two twelve pound carronades; while the Wasp mounted only sixteen thirty-two pounders, and two twelve pound carronades; the superiority in number of cannon was therefore on the side of the British, and the number of men was nearly equal; but the violent

storm of the preceding day had crippled the Frolic, and it is to this cause that captain Whinyates, in his official letter to sir John Borlase Warren, the admiral of the station, attributes the disastrous result.

On the afternoon of the same day, his majesty's ship Poictiers, of seventy-four guns, commanded by captain sir John Beresford, hove in sight, and after re-capturing the Frolic, and making a prize of the Wasp, carried both the rival brigs into Bermuda. On the return of captain Jones to the United States, he was every where received with demonstrations of gratitude and admiration. The legislature of Delaware appointed a committee to wait upon him with their thanks, and to express the pride and pleasure they felt in recognizing him as a native of their state; the congress of the United States passed an unanimous vote of thanks (11) to the captain, his officers, and his crew, for their distinguished gallantry and success, accompanying their vote by twenty-five thousand dollars, as a compensation for the loss they had sustained by the recapture of the Frolic; and as a still more substantial testimony of approbation, the captain was immediately appointed to the command of the Macedonian frigate.

Other naval triumphs yet awaited the Americans; and the complaints of the British nation respecting the mode in which this war was conducted were augmented by the intelligence of the capture of another frigate, under circumstances very similar to those which took place on the capture of the Guer-

riere. Early in the morning of the 25th of October, the Macedonian frigate, captain John Surman Carden, being in latitude 29 N. 29 deg. 30 min. W. descried a ship, which proved to be a frigate of the first class, under American colours, commanded by captain Decatur. At nine o'clock in the morning the vessels were brought into action, and the Macedonian being to windward, had the advantage of engaging at her own distance. After the battle had raged about half an hour, captain Carden came to close quarters. In this situation it was soon discovered that the superior force of the enemy was, if possible, more advantageous to him than it had been before, and the only hopes of the British commander rested upon some fortunate occurrence, which might turn the engagement in his favour, or at least afford him an opportunity of escape. With this hope, the battle was continued for upwards of two hours, and until the British frigate became a "perfect wreck—an unmanageable log." The mizen-mast was shot away by the board, the top-mast carried off by the caps, the main-yard shivered in pieces, and the rigging completely destroyed; all the guns on the quarter deck, and forecastle were disabled and filled with wreck except two; several shot had struck the vessel between wind and water; a large proportion of the crew were killed or wounded; and the enemy, who was comparatively in good order, was preparing to place herself in a raking position. In this disastrous situation captain Carden was reduced to the painful extremity of surrendering his majesty's ship. Eve-

ry effort that gallantry and skill could effect had been put forth, and no other alternative remained. To have continued the action longer would have been a wanton sacrifice of the lives of his brave crew; the Macedonian could no longer fight, and had become a mere target to receive the enemy's fire.

The noble and animating conduct of the brave crew of the Macedonian rendered them dear to their country even in misfortune. The first lieutenant, Hope, was severely wounded in the head towards the close of the action, and carried below, but no persuasion of his fellow-sufferers, nor any representation of the dangerous nature of the wound, could keep him from his post; after a slight dressing had been applied to his wound, he again rushed upon deck, and displayed, says his captain, that greatness of mind, and those persevering exertions, which may be equalled, but never can be excelled. The loss of the British was very severe; thirty-six men were killed, and the same number severely wounded, many of them without hopes of recovery, in addition to which thirty-two were slightly wounded, constituting an aggregate number exceeding one-third part of the whole crew. The masts, hull, and rigging of the American frigate had suffered considerably, but not at all in comparison with the Macedonian, and her loss in killed and wounded amounted to only five of the former, and seven of the latter.

The Macedonian was one of the finest frigates in the British navy; inferior, indeed, in size and weight of metal, to the Endymion, and the Cam-

brian, but superior to them in every other particular. Though rated at only thirty-eight, she mounted forty-nine guns, and had not been more than two years off the stocks. Her adversary, the United States, like the President and Constitution frigates, was built with the scantling of a seventy-four gun ship, mounted thirty-two long twenty-four pounders, and twenty-two forty-two pound carronades, with howitzer guns on her tops, and a travelling carronade in her under deck. The seamen of their frigates form the *elite* of the American navy, and such is the combined power of space and air between the decks, that those of the first class can accommodate five hundred men, and the United States had on board at the time of the action four hundred and seventy-eight. These details are drawn principally from Captain Carden's dispatches; but it is proper to state that the Americans assert that their carronades are not forty-two but thirty-two pounders; and the following comparison between the United States and the Macedonian frigate is drawn from their naval records:—

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|---|---|---|
| *United States*—Length of deck–176 feet; | | |
| " " Breadth of beam– 48 " | Burthen, 1,405 tons. | |
| *Macedonian* Length of deck–166 " | | |
| " Breadth of beam– 48½ " | Burthen, 1,325 tons. | |

"Each vessel," they add, "has fifteen ports on each side on the main deck; the United States carries twenty-four, and the Macedonian eighteen pounders thereon; the carronades of each on the quarter-deck and fore-castle are of the like calibre; and the only further difference is, that the United States had five more of them."

The mere superiority of force on the part of the Americans will not fully account for all the circumstances of the capture of the Macedonian.—The United States frigate seems to have been manœuvred and fought with a high degree of skill, as well as bravery; in all engagements between English and French ships, where the latter were superior in force to the former, the success of the English depended as much upon the display and exercise of skill and seamanship as on superior bravery, and these advantages generally decided the contest in a short time after its commencement. But in the action now under consideration, as well as in that between the Guerriere and Constitution, the seamanship displayed by the Americans was at least equal to that exhibited by the British; and when to this is added the disparity of force between the two frigates, the result of the battle may be satisfactorily accounted for. With France, Spain, or any of the European powers, the superiority of force on the part of the enemy has seldom stood in the way of victory, but in engagements with American vessels it was found that nothing short of an equality of force could secure and maintain the renown of the British navy. The reception of captain Carden on board the United States was truly characteristic—on presenting his sword to captain Decatur, the gallant American observed, that he could not think of receiving the sword of an officer who had that day proved that he knew so well how to use it; but instead of taking his sword he should be happy to take him by the hand. The congress

of the United States, and other public bodies, emulated each other in awarding manifestations of public esteem to captain Decatur and his crew, and the spirit of naval enterprise was cherished and inflamed by the honours and distinctions showered down by a grateful country on the heads of her heroic defenders.

The naval campaign of the present year was closed by another American victory. On the 29th of December, the Java frigate, captain Lambert, being off the coast of Brazil, on her passage to the East Indies, perceived a strange sail, which was soon found to be the American frigate the Constitution, now under the command of commodore William Bainbridge. After some time spent in nautical manœuvres, for the purpose of obtaining advantageous positions, the two frigates came into action about two o'clock in the afternoon, and the fire of the Americans was directed with so much skill and precision against the masts and rigging of the Java, as to carry away the bow-sprit and the jib-boom, and to disable her from preserving the weather gage. The contest having raged for upwards of an hour much to the disadvantage of the British, captain Lambert endeavoured to extricate himself from the raking fire of the enemy by ordering his ship to be laid on board; but at this critical moment, when the disasters of the day might have been retrieved, his foremast was shot away, and the main-top-mast went over board, leaving the ship totally unmanageable, and the principal part of her starboard guns rendered use-

less by the wreck under which they were buried. To aggravate the misfortunes of the Java, her gallant captain, who had hitherto directed and animated the crew by his skill and valour, received a dangerous wound in his breast, and was obliged to quit his station. The command, in consequence of this event, devolved on lieutenant Chads, who discharged his arduous duty in a manner worthy of his commander. But it was too clear that all the efforts made to prevent the British frigate from falling into the hands of the Americans would be unavailing. Her guns were so much covered that not more than two or three of them could be fired; while the enemy, comparatively little disabled either for manœuvring or fighting, and fully sensible of the crippled state of the Java, continued to pour into her hull a destructive and well-directed fire. At five minutes past four o'clock, the Java's fire being completely silenced, and her colours no longer visible, commodore Bainbridge concluded that she had struck, and shot a-head to repair his rigging; but while engaged in this service, it was discovered that the British colours still waved from the stump of the mizen-mast. This discovery was no sooner made than the Constitution bore down again upon her; and, having got close under her bows, was preparing to rake her with a broadside; when lieutenant Chads, feeling that he could not be justified in squandering the blood of his crew in a resistance now become so utterly hopeless, surrendered his frigate with extreme reluctance into the hands of the enemy.

It was soon perceived that the crew of the Java had fought their ship with so much gallantry, that she was not in a condition to be preserved as a trophy of American victory; and commodore Bainbridge, having removed her crew and stores with all the expedition that his slender means would afford, ordered her to be destroyed. The loss on both sides was very great; but that of the Java, from the circumstances of the engagement, was the most severe. Captain Lambert survived the loss of his ship only six days; and by the returns made to the admiralty by lieutenant Chads, it appeared that twenty-two of his crew were killed, and one hundred and two wounded. On the same authority it is stated, that the Constitution had ten men killed, and forty-six wounded; but the American accounts reduce their own loss to nine killed, and twenty-five wounded, among the latter of whom was the commodore himself. The disparity of force between the Java and the Constitution was nearly the same as between the Constitution and the Guerriere; and it is to this cause, no doubt, that the success of the Americans is principally to be attributed.

Those who regarded these repeated naval triumphs of the enemy with the most gloomy and desponding apprehensions, predicted from them the utter annihilation, in the breasts of our seamen, of that proud confidence which had hitherto been so eminently serviceable in leading them on to victory: but more sanguine politicians drew an opposite inference, and maintained that British seamen, in-

stead of being discouraged by disaster, would be stimulated to fresh exertion, and would anxiously await the moment that should present the opportunity to wipe off the stain cast upon their laurels; that in future they would go into battle with American ships, certainly with a more just and better regulated estimate of the skill and bravery to which they were opposed, and at the same time, with a more fixed and glowing determination that the sceptre of the ocean should not be wrested from their grasp—and happily for the country such was the fact.

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# CHAPTER IV.

During the interval between the breaking out of the war and the close of the year 1812, the elections took place, and the federal party, in common with the people of Great Britain, cherished the expectation that the power and influence of Mr. Madison, and the war party in America, were nearly at an end. It was supposed that the disgraceful and disastrous issue of the campaign in Canada, which was imputed to the ignorance and neglect of government, would shake the stability of his power; but this expectation, like many of the other conjectures formed in this country, without adequate local knowledge, and without a clear view of the character of the people of the United States, proved altogether fallacious. The disasters in Canada, instead of rendering the war more generally and decidedly unpopular, changed the dislike which had been entertained for it in the northern states into a determination to prosecute the contest with increased vigour. The honour of the country, it was conceived, was now interested; and it was held to be the incumbent duty of all not to sue for peace in the moment of defeat. Even those who condemned the war at its commencement, and who passed resolutions foretelling the disasters that would follow in its train, now that those dis-

asters, or others equally severe, had occurred, became eager for the prosecution of hostilities. From this wayward disposition on the part of some, from the exultation of others in the triumphs which America had obtained at sea, and from other causes not so easily ascertainable, the democratic interest was strengthened, and on the 2d of December, the re-election of Mr. Madison was secured.

No sooner had the American government declared war against Great Britain, than Mr. Monroe, the secretary of state, addressing a letter to Mr. Russell, the charge des affaires at the court of St. James, dated the 20th of June, stating that the war had been resorted to from necessity, and of course with reluctance, and commissioning him to apprise the British government, that the government of America looked forward to the restoration of peace with much interest, and a sincere desire to promote that blessing on conditions just, equal, and honourable to both parties; that it was in the power of Great Britain to terminate the war upon such conditions; and that it would be highly satisfactory to the president of the United States to concur in any arrangement to that effect. The causes of complaint against the British government were represented as numerous and weighty; but the orders in council, and other blockades, were considered of the highest importance; and Mr. Russell was authorized to negotiate an armistice by sea and land, on the conditions that the orders in council should be repealed—the impressment of American seamen discontinued—and those

already impressed restored; and as an inducement to the British government to discontinue their practice of impressment, Mr. Russell was further instructed, to give a positive assurance that a law would be passed, to be reciprocal, to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the public or commercial service of the United States. On the arrival of these instructions, Mr. Russell hastened to execute the important duties which now devolved upon him; and on the 21st of August, he addressed a letter to lord Castlereagh, proposing an armistice, upon the terms specified in the above instructions; assuring his lordship at the same time, that the proposed arrangement for prohibiting the employment of British seamen, would prove more efficacious in securing to Great Britain her subjects than the practice of impressment, so derogatory to the sovereign attributes of the United States, and so incompatible with the personal rights of her citizens.

Lord Castlereagh, in his answer to this dispatch, bearing date the 29th of the same month, informed the American ambassador, that the prince regent felt himself under the necessity of declining to accede to the propositions contained in his letter of the 24th instant, as being on various grounds absolutely inadmissable. In making this communication, his lordship announced that measures had already been taken to authorize the British admiral on the American station to propose to the United States an immediate and reciprocal revocation of all hostile orders, with the tender of giving

full effect, in the event of hostilities being discontinued, to the provisions of the edict for repealing the orders in council, upon conditions therein specified. On the proposition submitted by Mr. Russell, relating to impressment, his lordship observed; that he could not refrain from expressing his surprise, that the government of the United States should have thought fit to demand that the British government should desist from its ancient and accustomed practice of impressing British seamen from the merchant ships of a foreign state, preliminary even to the suspension of hostilities, and simply on the assurance that a law should hereafter be passed to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the public or commercial service of that state. His lordship further remarked, that the "British government now, as heretofore, was ready to receive from the government of the United States, and amicably to discuss any proposition which professed to have in view, either to check abuse in the practice of impressment, or to accomplish, by means less liable to vexation, the object for which impressment had hitherto been found necessary; but they could not consent to suspend the exercise of a right, upon which the naval strength of the empire mainly depends, until they were fully convinced that means could be devised, and would be adopted, by which the object to be attained by the exercise of that right could be effectually secured."

On the receipt of lord Castlereagh's letter announcing the determination of the prince regent

not to accede to the proposition for a suspension of hostilities on the conditions proposed in Mr. Russell's note of the 21st of August, the American ambassador signified to the British government his intention to embark immediately, in the shi, Lark, for the United States; and on the following day an admiralty order for the protection of that vessel, as a cartel on her way to America, with the requisite passports for his free embarkation, were transmitted to Mr. Russell from the office of the secretary of state.

While this diplomatic correspondence was passing in England, a negotiation contemplating a similar object was commenced in America. On the 30th of September, Sir John Borlase Warren, the British admiral on the Halifax station, addressed a letter to Mr. Monroe, apprising him of the revocation of the orders in council, and informing the American secretary that he had the commands of the prince regent to propose, on the one hand, "that the government of the United States should instantly recall their letters of marque and reprisal against British ships, together with all orders and instructions for any act of hostility whatever against the territory of his majesty, or the persons or property of his subjects;" and to promise, on the other, if the American government acquiesced in the preceding proposition; "that instructions should be issued to all the officers under his command to desist from corresponding measures of war against the ships and property of the United States, and that he would transmit without delay

corresponding instructions to the several parts of the world where hostilities might have been commenced." This overture was subject to the qualification, that should the American government accede to the proposal for terminating hostilities, the British admiral was authorized to enter into an arrangement with the United States, for the revocation of the laws interdicting the commerce and ships of war of Great Britain from the harbours and waters of the United States; and was accompanied by an intimation that, in defau!t of such revocation within a reasonable period to be agreed upon, the British orders in council, repealed conditionally by an edict of the 23d of June last, would be revived.

In reply to this dispatch, Mr. Monroe, in a letter dated from Washington, the seat of government, on the 23d of October, after adverting to the failure of Mr. Russell's negotiations, states that, "experience had sufficiently evinced that no peace between the two countries could be durable unless the question regarding the important interest of impressment were settled." "The claim of the British government," says the American secretary, "is to take from the merchant vessels of other countries British subjects. In the practice, the commanders of British ships of war often take from the merchant vessels of the United States, American citizens. If the United States prohibit the employment of British subjects in their service, and inforce the prohibition by suitable regulations and penalties, the motive for the practice is taken

away. It is in this mode that the president is willing to accommodate this important controversy with the British government, and it cannot be conceived on what ground the arrangement can be refused." "He is willing that Great Britain shall be secured against the evils of which she complains; but he seeks, on the other hand, that the citizens of the United States should be protected against a practice, which, while it degrades the nation, deprives them of their rights as freemen, takes them by force from their families and their country into a foreign service, to fight the battles of a foreign power, perhaps against their own kindred and country." A suspension of the practice of impressment Mr. Monroe considered as the necessary consequence of an armistice; but it was by no means intended that Great Britain should suspend immediately the exercise of a right on the mere assurance of the American government, that a law would be afterwards passed to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the service of the United States. All that was meant, as the supplementary instructions sent to Mr. Russell on the 27th of July, distinctly explained; was, that a clear and distinct understanding with the British government on the subject of impressment, comprising in it the discharge of men already impressed, should take place, but it was not held necessary that the several points should be specially provided for in the convention stipulating the armistice. The American secretary, in conclusion, intimated, that if the suspension of the British claim to impressment during the

armistice, interposed any difficulty in the way of an accommodation of the existing differences, there could be no objection to proceed without the armistice to an immediate discussion and arrangement of an article on that subject.

The powers invested in Sir J. B. Warren were not sufficiently extensive to allow him to enter on the question of impressment; and thus, by the punctilious tenacity of the rival states, the sword was prevented from being returned to the scabbard.

In the annual exposition submitted by the president of the United States to the senate and house of representatives assembled in congress on the 4th of November, the message adverted to the negotiations undertaken for the purpose of arresting the progress of war without waiting the delays of a formal and final pacification; but while a faint expectation was held out that they might result favorably, Mr. Madison held it to be unwise to relax any of the measures of government on that presumption. The expedition into the Michigan territory, confided to the command of general Hull, was represented as a measure of precaution and forecast, with a view, in the first instance, to its security, and in the event of a war, to such operations in Upper Canada as would intercept the hostile influence of Great Britain over the savages; obtain the command of the lake on which that part of Canada borders; and maintain co-operating relations with such forces as might be most conveniently employed against other parts. This expedition, though favoured with the prospect of an easy

and victorious progress, terminated unfortunately, and the cause of these painful reverses was under the investigation of a military tribunal. A distinguishing feature of the operations which preceded and followed the surrender of general Hull and his army, was the use made by the British of the merciless savages under their influence, in violation of the laws of honourable warfare—contrary to the benevolent policy of the United States—and against the feelings sacred to humanity. The misfortune at Detroit was not without consoling effects; the loss of an important post, and of the brave men surrendered with it, inspired every where new ardour and devotion; every citizen was eager to fly to arms to protect his brethren against the blood-thirsty savages let loose by the British on an extensive frontier; and brigadier-general Harrison, with an ample force under his command, was proceeding on his destination towards the Michigan territory. On the Niagara frontier, a detachment of the regular and other forces, under the command of major-general Van Rensselaer, impelled by their military ardour, made an attack upon a British post, and were for a time victorious; but not receiving the expected support, they were compelled to yield to reinforcements of British regulars and savages. On the lakes, preparations were making to secure a naval ascendency, so essential to a permanent peace with, and a controul over the savages. Among the incidents of the measures of war, the president was constrained to advert to the refusal of the governors of Massa-

chusetts and Connecticut, to furnish the requisite detachments of militia towards the defence of the maritime frontier; and to intimate, that if the authority of the United States to call into service, and command the militia for the public defence, could thus be frustrated, the public safety might have no other resource than those of large and permanent military establishments, which are forbidden by the principles of a free government. On the coasts and on the ocean, the war had been as successful as the circumstances, from its early stage, could promise: Great Britain had become sensible of the difference between a reciprocity of captures, and the long confinement of them to their own side. Commerce had been much protected by a squadron of frigates under commodore Rodgers; and in the instance of the frigate Constitution, under the command of captain Hull, in which skill and bravery were more particularly measured with the British, the American flag enjoyed an auspicious triumph.

Between France and America, affairs retained the posture which they held at the period of the last communication to the congress. Notwithstanding the authorized expectation of an early and favourable issue of the discussions on the *tapis*, they had been procrastinated to the latest period; and the only intervening occurrence meriting attention was the promulgation of a French decree, purporting to be a definitive repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees. The proceeding, although made the ground of the repeal of the British orders in

council, was rendered by its time and manner liable to many objections. The president, in continuation, then shortly adverted to the relations between the United States and the other governments of Europe and Africa; and represented the Indian tribes, not under foreign instigation, as remaining at peace, and receiving the civilizing attentions which had proved so beneficial to them.

Recurring to the measures to be taken for the vigorous prosecution of the war, the president recommended an arrangement, on the subject of the pay and term of enlistment, more favourable to the private soldier. The revision of the militia laws was also suggested; and while it was announced, that of the additional ships authorized to be fitted for the public service, two would be shortly ready to sail, a further enlargement of the naval force of the United States was recommended. On the subject of finance, the receipts into the treasury during the year ending on the 30th of September last, were stated to exceed sixteen millions of dollars, which had been found sufficient to defray all the demands on the treasury to that day, including a necessary reimbursement of nearly three millions of the principal of the public debt; but in the receipts into the treasury, a sum of nearly eight million eight hundred and fifty thousand dollars, received on account of loans, was included. It was not to be concealed that the country had difficulties to encounter, but at the same time it abounded with animating considerations, and the spirit and strength of the nation were considered

by the president as equal to the support of all its rights; consoled as the people were by the reflection, that the war in which they were engaged was, on their part, a war of neither ambition nor vain glory; waged not in violation of the rights of others, but for the maintenance of their own.

Such was the view of the contest between the United States of America and Great Britain, taken by the president, in the month of November, 1812. On the 30th of the same month, the parliament of Great Britain assembled, and the prince regent, in addressing the lords and commons on the same subject, said:—

"The declaration of war by the government of the United States of America, was made under circumstances which might have afforded a reasonable expectation that the amicable relations between the two nations would not be long interrupted. It is with sincere regret that I am obliged to acquaint you, that the conduct and pretensions of that government have hitherto prevented the conclusion of any pacific arrangement. Their measures of hostility have been directed against the adjoining provinces, and every effort has been made to seduce the inhabitants of them from their allegiance to his majesty. The proofs, however, which I have received of loyalty and attachment from his majesty's subjects in North America are highly satisfactory. The attempts of the enemy to invade Upper Canada have not only proved abortive, but by the judicious arrangements of the governor-general, and by the skill and decision with which the military

operations have been conducted, the forces of the enemy assembled for that purpose in one quarter have been compelled to capitulate, and in another have been completely defeated. My best efforts are not wanting for the restoration of peace and amity between the two countries; but until this object can be obtained without sacrificing the maritime rights of Great Britain, I shall rely upon your cordial support in a vigorous prosecution of the war."

From these documents, both emanating from the first magistrates in the states, it appears, that in each of the hostile countries, the original cause of the war, and the responsibility of its continuance, was imputed to the enemy. But when the angry passions in which this contest was engendered have subsided, an impartial posterity will probably adjudge—that although the existence of the British orders in council, and the impressment of American seamen, justified the United States in declaring war against Great Britain, in the first instance; yet, when the former of these evils was removed, and when an offer to suspend hostilities by sea and land was made through the medium of the British authorities in America, in order to adjust the still existing differences, it was the duty of the American government to have accepted the pacific overture. Since the revocation of the orders in council there was in reality no principle at issue between the two countries. The limits of the right of blockade stand fixed by the law of nations upon grounds that admit of no serious dispute. With

regard to the impressment of seamen, America did not deny that Great Britain had a right to reclaim her own subjects: and the English government did not pretend to have any right to impress any who were really and truly American citizens. The whole quarrel then was about the means of asserting these rights; and had the ministers of both countries, as Mr. Burke expresses it, sought for peace in the spirit of peace, there is no reason to suppose that two nations, of the same kindred, speaking the same tongue, and bound to each other by a common interest, would have remained for a single month in a state of open hostility.

# CHAPTER V.

THE war between Great Britain and the United States of America, though affording none of those scenes of imposing grandeur, which in some measure, compensate to the mind the contemplation of human misery, was, nevertheless, full of interest; and the novelty of some of its principles, with the political considerations it involved, fixed the attention more forcibly perhaps than the perpetual recurrence of similar events in the conflicts between long established governments.

The widely extended scene of military operations in America lay principally upon the Canadian frontier, extending from the state of Vermont, on the southern confines of Lower Canada, to the Michigan territory, at the western extremity of Upper Canada. At the opening of the campaign of 1813, the American army of the west was placed at the front of Lake Erie, under general Harrison; the army of the centre, under generals Wilkinson and Dearborn, in the vicinity of the falls of Niagara, between Lakes Erie and Ontario, and the army of the north, under general Hampton, on the banks of Lake Champlain.* The object of these

* The lakes of America, to which reference must so often be made in the history of the present war, form in extent a species of inland ocean, and are navigable for ships of large burthen. Lake Superior is esteemed the largest body of fresh water in the

forces was to invade the two Canadas; and the duty which devolved upon sir George Prevost, the governor-general, or British viceroy, and the armies under his command, was to resist their incursions, and to preserve the integrity of his majesty's North American dominions. For this purpose, the defence of the Detroit frontier was confided to colonels Proctor and Vincent, while general Sheaffe, acting under the more immediate direction of the governor-general, was charged with the defence of Lower Canada.

After the surrender of general Hull, no operations of importance took place on the Detroit frontier till the month of January, 1813, when the American general Winchester, commanding the

world, being four hundred miles long, and one thousand five hundred and twenty miles in circumference. Forty rivers pour forth their contributions into its vast expanse, and the waters are again discharged into Lake Huron, through the straits of St. Mary. Next to Superior, Lake Huron claims the pre-eminence. It is two hundred and fifty miles long, and one thousand one hundred miles in circumference, studded to the north with islands, and abounding with commodious harbours. Lake Michigan extends from the straits of Milchilemackinac to about forty-two degrees north latitude, being nearly three hundred miles in length, and at the broadest part seventy-five miles in width. Detroit river forms the southern part of the communication between Huron and Erie, and was the scene of several important military operations during the war. Lake Erie is about two hundred and sixty miles long, and in some parts, seventy miles wide; it is the shallowest of the great lakes, and the navigation is the most difficult. The communication between Erie and Ontario is formed by the river Niagara, down which the water flows out of Erie with a fine majestic current, about a mile in width. About a mile below Chippaway the bank appears to recede from the river, and the

right wing of general Harrison's army, marched to the attack of Detroit, and concentrated his troops at the village of Frenchtown, on the river Raisin. On the 22d, the Americans, amounting to about one thousand men, were attacked by a combined British and Indian force, consisting of about five hundred regulars and militia, and six hundred Indians, under the command of colonel Proctor. The attack commenced early in the morning, on the right wing of the American army, and was made with so much vigour and effect, that after a contest of about a quarter of an hour, they were driven across the river, where their retreat was cut off by a large body of Indians stationed in their rear. The left wing, being fortified behind a picket fence, sustain-

current is increased to an awful velocity. The fall continues for about half a mile, and when arrived at the crisis, called the table rock, it sinks one hundred and seventy-six feet below the surface of the earth. In a deep channel, the work of ages, it continues to run with increased vehemence for upwards of nine miles, during which it falls about one hundred and fifty feet, when the current, bursting from beneath the rocks, opens to the breadth of half a mile, and holds a placid course between Queenstown and Lewistown, till the congregated discharges of all the Upper Lakes are received by Lake Ontario. The Niagara is thirty feet deep; and the water flows at the rate of three miles an hour, discharging about 128,000,000 of gallons every minute! a quantity that might seem incredible, were it not a well ascertained fact, that the river Mississippi discharges 96,000,000 of gallons every second! Lake Champlain, which has no communication with the great lakes, is only, in comparison of them, a narrow slip of water; it is about one hundred miles long, situated between the states of New-York and Vermont, having its outlet by the Sorrel, and like the Ontario, finds in the river St. Lawrence an ample receptacle for its redundant streams.

ed three separate charges, but finding themselves at length exposed to a concentric fire, their general, who had been taken prisoner by a Wyandot chief early in the day, agreed to capitulate, and his whole corps was surrendered prisoners of war. In this short, but sanguinary engagement, the number of killed and wounded on the part of the Americans amounted to about five hundred, and their loss in prisoners to an equal number. Of the British troops, twenty-four only were killed, but one hundred and fifty-eight were wounded. The slaughter made by the Indians on the retreating division of the enemy was terrible; scarcely one of them survived the battle.* (12)

After the defeat of the right wing of the American army, under general Winchester, general Harrison retreated to fort Meigs, and occupied himself unceasingly in strengthening that position, while the brigade under general Cooks was actively employed during the remainder of the winter in fortifying Upper Sandusky.

The frequent predatory incursions of the Americans on the Canadian border, near the river St. Lawrence, induced sir George Prevost, who arrived at Prescot on the 21st of February, to direct an attack to be made upon the enemy's position at Ogdensburgh. On the 22d, major Macdonnel, of the Glengary light infantry fencibles, at the head of about five hundred regulars and militia, crossed

* Colonel Proctor's Dispatches, dated Sandwich, January 25, 1813.

the river, upon the ice, about seven o'clock in the morning. The right, commanded by captain Jenkins, of the Glengary regiment, was directed to hold the enemy's left in check, and to interrupt his retreat, while major Macdonnel moved on with the left column towards his position in the town, where he had posted his heavy field artillery. The depth of snow, in some degree, retarded the advance of both columns, and exposed them, particularly the right, to a heavy cross fire from the batteries of the enemy; but pushing on rapidly, the left column soon gained the right bank of the river, and after encountering a few discharges of artillery, obliged the enemy's infantry to seek refuge in the houses or in the woods. During these transactions, captain Jenkins gallantly led on his column, exposed to the heavy fire of seven guns, which he bravely attempted to take by the bayonet, though covered by two hundred of the enemy's best troops. On advancing to the charge, his left arm was broken to pieces by a grape shot; still undauntedly running on with his men, he almost immediately afterwards was deprived of the use of his right arm by a discharge of case shot; disregarding all personal considerations, he continued nobly to advance, cheering his men to the assault, till, exhausted by pain and loss of blood, he became unable to move; his company, however, continued gallantly to advance, under lieutenant M'Auley; but the reserve of militia not being able to keep up with the regulars, they were compelled to give way, nearly about the time that major Macdonnel gained the height. The enemy

hesitating to surrender at the summons of the major, his eastern battery was carried, and a detachment, under captain Eustace, gallantly rushed into the fort, while the Americans, retreating to the opposite entrance, abandoned their works, and escaped into the woods. The gallantry and self-devotion of captain Jenkins was the theme of universal admiration, and sir George Prevost, in transmitting the report of this brilliant achievement to his government, earnestly recommended the mutilated hero to the favour and protection of his prince. In the battle of Ogdenburgh, which lasted little more than an hour, the enemy lost eleven pieces of cannon, all his ordnance, marine commissariat, and quarter-master-general's stores; four officers and seventy privates were taken prisoners; and two schooners and two gun-boats, together with the barracks of Ogdenburgh, were consigned to the flames. (13)

The American army of the centre, at the commencement of the campaign, consisted of about seven thousand men; four thousand of whom were stationed in the vicinity of Sackett's Harbour, and the remaining three thousand at the head of the Niagara river, near Cape Buffalo. On the 22d of April, a corps of their best troops, amounting to sixteen hundred, under general Dearborn, embarked on board the flotilla, commaded by commodore Chauncey, at Sackett's Harbour, and in the morning of the 27th, arrived off York, on the northern bank of Lake Ontario. The debarkation of the invaders was vigorously opposed by major-general

Sheaffe, at the head of seven hundred British, and one hundred Indian troops; but the superior numbers of the enemy enabled him to surmount every difficulty, and to make good his landing without any material loss. No sooner had the whole of their troops gained the banks of the lake, than they advanced through an intervening wood to the open ground, and after carrying one of the British batteries by assault, moved in columns towards the main works. At this moment their progress was arrested by the accidental* explosion of a large magazine; an immense quantity of stones flew in every direction, and general Pike, to whom the command of the advancing column was confided, became one of the numerous victims of this dreadful casualty. Nor were the British troops wholly exempt from its effects; forty at least of their number fell before a force which neither skill nor bravery could resist. General Sheaffe finding all further resistance unavailing, withdrew from the city with his regular troops towards Kingston, and left the commanding officer of the militia to treat with general Dearborn for the surrender of the capital of Upper Canada. The loss of the American army in the battle of York, amounted to three hundred and twenty, including thirty-eight killed,

* This explosion is represented in general Dearborn's despatches to the American Secretary at War, as a preconcerted measure; no evidence, however, is given in support of the charge; and in the absence of all proof, we are bound to consider this imputation on the character of the British army as calumnious and unfounded.

and two hundred and twenty-two wounded, by the explosion. The British loss may be estimated at four hundred, of which number three hundred, at least, became prisoners. (14)

The next object of general Dearborn's expedition, was the capture of forts George and Erie, and on the 8th of May, the American troops evacuated the capital of Upper Canada, and proceeded to the Niagara frontier. At nine o'clock in the morning of the 27th, the American flotilla appeared off fort George, and the debarkation of the light troops immediately commenced. The landing of the troops was vigorously resisted by colonel Vincent, the British commander; but the numerical superiority of the assailants, combined with that coolness and intrepidity which experience imparts, and of which the Americans had already begun to show several examples, overcame all opposition. It now became obvious that the place would soon become untenable; and colonel Vincent, having spiked his guns, and destroyed his magazines, abandoned fort George to the enemy, but not till he had sustained a loss of upwards of three hundred men. The capture of fort Erie speedily succeeded the fall of fort George; but these conquests were only transient, for before the end of the month of June, the superiority of the British fleet, under sir James Yeo, became so decided, that the Americans in their turn were obliged to relinquish all the posts they had acquired on the left bank of the Niagara. (15)

An action greatly to the credit of the British troops, occurred on the 6th of June, at Burlington

Heights, near the head of Lake Ontario, where colonel Vincent was posted with his division. The fall of forts George and Erie, had left the Americans at liberty to pursue their successes, and generals Chandler and Winder, at the head of three thousand five hundred infantry, and two hundred and fifty cavalry,* advanced from Forty Mile Creek for the purpose of attacking the British position. Colonel Vincent, aware of the vast superiority of force with which he was menaced, dispatched lieutenant-colonel Harvey, with two light companies, to reconnoitre the enemy's position, and from his report, was led to determine upon a nocturnal attack on the American camp. A force not exceeding seven hundred men was destined to this enterprize. About two o'clock in the morning, the picket was forced, and the attack commenced.—The scene was truly appalling; the yells of the Indians, mingled with the roar of the cannon and musketry, were calculated to shake the iron nerves even of veteran troops. The British, having preconcerted their measures, charged repeatedly, and with considerable effect; while the Americans, surprised at the dead of night, and incapable of distinguishing friend from foe, fought to great disadvantage. The result was, that the enemy was driven from his camp, and generals Chandler and Winder, with more than one hundred officers and privates, were made prisoners. The British after-

* Colonel Vincent's despatches.—Colonel Burn, of the American service, states, that their number in the field did not exceed one thousand.

wards marched back to their cantonments, carrying with them three guns and a brass howitzer, captured in the battle; and the Americans, still greatly superiour in number, after re-occupying their camp, in order to destroy their incumbrances, commenced a precipitate retreat. (16)

The last operation on this scene of hostility, previous to the final retreat of the Americans, was undertaken by lieutenant-colonel Bœrstler, having under his command a force amounting to about six hundred men. The object of this enterprise was to cut off the supplies of the British, and to break up their small encampments. But on the 24th of June, the Americans themselves were attacked about nine miles west of Queenstown by a body of five hundred Indians, supported by one hundred regular British troops. The attack commenced on the rear, and was made with so much decision and perseverance, that colonel Bœrstler, and the whole of his corps, surrendered themselves prisoners into the hands of lieutenant-colonel Bishopp.

While the American army, under general Dearborn, and the flotilla, under commodore Chauncey, were employed in the expedition against York and fort George, a plan of combined operations was arranged by Sir George Prevost with commodore Sir James Yeo, for the purpose of reducing the garrison of Sackett's Harbour, and taking possession of that place. In pursuance of this object, a fleet of between thirty and forty boats assembled in Kingston harbour; and at ten o'clock on the night of the 28th of May, the expedition, headed

by the commodore's ship, sailed for Sackett's Harbour. It was the intention of colonel Baynes, to whom the military command of the expedition was confided, to have landed in the cove formed by Horse Island; but on approaching to that place, it was discovered that the enemy had lined the neighbouring woods with infantry, and that a field-piece was planted on the shore to give effect to their resistance. The boats were now directed to pull round to the opposite side of the island, where a landing was effected in good order, and with little loss, though in the face of a corps of the enemy. The advance was led by the grenadiers of the 100th regiment, with a spirit of gallantry which no obstacle could arrest. A narrow causeway, in many places under water, and about four hundred paces in length, which connected the island with the main land, was forced and carried, and a six-pounder, by which it was defended, taken. The gun-boats, which had covered the landing, afforded material aid by firing into the woods; but the American soldiers, secure behind their trees, were only to be dislodged by the point of the bayonet. A vigorous charge now took place, and the enemy fled with precipitation from their block-house and fort. But here the energies of the troops became unavailing. The enemy having turned the heavy ordnance of his battery to the interior defence of his post; the British force first paused, and then re-embarked; having failed in the principal object of the enterprise, and sustained a loss in killed, wounded and

missing, amounting to two hundred and fifty-nine men.*

One of the distinguishing characteristics of a popular form of government, consists in the necessity under which the executive power is placed to account to the country for the burthens and sufferings to which they become subject in a state of war; and to shew that no measure, compatible with the national honour and safety, is left unattempted to procure the restoration of peace. This policy was steadily pursued by the president of the United States; and when the negotiations for an armistice between the belligerents had failed, he availed himself with avidity of the offer made by a neutral power—the common friend of both Great Britain and America, to mediate the existing differences. His decision on this point was communicated to congress at the opening of their extra session on the 25th of May; on which occasion, the president's message informed them, that at an early day after the close of the last session of congress, an offer was formally communicated from the emperor of Russia, of his mediation, as the common friend of the United States and Great Britain, for the purpose of facilitating a peace between them. "The high character of the emperor Alexander," continued the president, "being a satisfactory pledge for the sincerity and impartiality of his offers, the proffered mediation was immediately accepted; and

* Despatch addressed by colonel Baynes to Sir George Prevost, dated Kingston, May 30, 1813.

as a further proof of the disposition of the United States to meet their adversary in honourable experiments for terminating the war, it was determined to avoid intermediate delay, incident to the distance of the parties, by a definitive provision for the contemplated negotiation." For this purpose, three citizens, of the first consideration in the United States, were provided with the requisite powers to conclude a treaty of peace, and dispatched to the Russian capital, to negotiate with persons clothed with like powers on the part of Great Britain. The issue of this pacific manifestation on the part of the United States, time alone could decide; but it was deemed highly probable that the sentiments of Great Britain towards the imperial mediator would produce a ready acceptance of his pacific services. In the subsequent parts of the president's message, the subject of the impressment of American seamen is again discussed, and a vigorous prosecution of the war strenuously recommended.

The extra congress, which concluded its sittings in August, conducted the public business with unaccustomed dispatch, and with a degree of unanimity strongly illustrative of the truth, that however reluctant a nation may be to involve itself in the burthens and embarrassments of war, the government, when the contest is actually commenced, and continued under an impression that the honour and safety of the state are involved in its issue, will always be able to command the national resources. The establishment of a system of war taxes capa-

ble of defraying the interest of the existing debt, and of providing for the interest of future loans, was the principal business of the assembly; and though considerable difference of opinion existed as to the fittest objects of taxation, the majority of the representatives of the people gave their support to the measures proposed by the committee of ways and means. A further loan was authorized of seven millions five hundred thousand dollars, for the service of the present, and for the first quarter in the ensuing year; and a variety of acts were passed relative to the prosecution and conduct of the war. All these measures served to mark the progress of a new state towards the condition of an old belligerent, and to shew that the inhabitants of the new world were not beyond the sphere of that perpetual hostility in which the greater portion of Europe had been so long involved.

As the season advanced, the operations of the campaign on the margin of the lakes became more active and important. On the Detroit frontier, where, till now, success had almost invariably attended the British arms, a striking reverse of fortune took place, and the Americans, in their turn, became the victors. After the defeat and capture of general Winchester, the British troops, under colonel, now general Proctor, advanced at the head of a force of about one thousand regulars and militia, and twelve hundred Indians, to the river Miama, in expectation of reaching the army under general Harrison, which had taken post in fort Meigs, near the foot of the Rapids. From the in-

cessant and heavy rains, during which the British batteries were erected opposite the fort, it was not till the morning of the 1st of May, that the siege of Meigs could be commenced. The enemy, who occupied several acres of commanding ground, strongly defended by blockhouses, well furnished with ordnance, had so completely intrenched himself, as to render unavailing every effort to carry his position. On the morning of the 5th, while the fate of the fortress yet hung in suspense, an American officer arrived at Meigs with a detachment of men from general Clay's division, bringing to the garrison the welcome intelligence, that that general, with his whole force, amounting to thirteen hundred men, was descending the river, and was at that moment but a few miles distant. Conceiving that the British army was now in his power, general Harrison dispatched orders to land one half of the advancing force on the side of the river opposite to the fort, and to co-operate with him in an attempt to force the British batteries, and to spike their cannon. Colonel Dudley, the officer charged with the execution of this movement, advanced with so much vigour, that in a few minutes he was in possession of the batteries of the besiegers, and had taken some prisoners; but his troops, elevated unduly with their success, continued the pursuit till they were finally drawn into an ambush; and their whole number, with very few exceptions, was either killed or taken. Colonel Dudley, who was among the slain, displayed the most heroic firmness, and killed one of the Indian war-

riors after he had received his mortal wound.—The officers and men of the 41st regiment, who, led on by captain Muir, charged and routed the enemy, after they had seized the batteries, maintained the long-established reputation of the corps; and the courage and activity displayed throughout the whole scene of action by the Indian chiefs and warriors, contributed essentially to the successful issue of the engagement. The loss of the Americans, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was estimated at between one thousand and twelve hundred men, a principal part of whom were not volunteers, but consisted of the Kentucky quota.* (17)

Brilliant as had been the success of the British army on this occasion, it soon became evident that their position of the Miami must be speedily abandoned. One half of the Canadian militia quitted their standard soon after the battle of the 5th; and the Indian warriors, following the custom of their country, after any battle of consequence, returned to their villages, with their wounded, their prisoners, and their plunder, to revel in the spoils of war, and to gratify their savage thirst for blood by immolating a portion of their captives. Before the ordnance could be withdrawn from the batteries, general Proctor found his twelve hundred Indian auxiliaries reduced to less than twenty, and his army so much weakened, that on the morning of the 9th he was obliged to raise the siege, and to retreat to his former station at Sandwich.

* Dispatch from general Proctor to Sir George Prevost, dated Sandwich, May 14, 1813.

On the 20th of July, general Proctor, having given way to the clamour of his Indian allies, again advanced towards the head of Lake Erie; and on the 2d of August, made an attack on fort Stephenson, near the mouth of the river Sandusky, where the Americans had collected a small force, under major George Croghan. Finding the enemy determined to defend the fort, general Proctor resolved to carry the place by assault; the Indians, however, not relishing this species of warfare, withdrew themselves out of the reach of the enemy's fire; and although his majesty's troops displayed the greatest bravery, they were repulsed after a short but animated struggle, with the loss of about one hundred men, and obliged once more to return to Sandwich. The failure of the British troops at fort Stephenson, and the indication of disaffection exhibited by the Indians on that occasion, had encouraged an attempt on the part of the Americans to detach from the British army their native allies; and with this view, a deputation of chiefs in the interest of the enemy were dispatched to hold a *talk* with their brethren; but the contempt with which their proposal was received, and the determination expressed by the Indians in the British interest, to adhere to the cause of their great father in England, extinguished these hopes, and put an end to the negotiation.*

In the autumn of the present year, the tide of victory set in with a strong current in favour of

* Dispatch from Sir George Prevost to Earl Bathurst, dated St. David's, August 25, 1813.

the American arms. Whatever might be the numerical superiority of the Americans on land, it seemed reasonable to expect that on another element Great Britain would always retain the ascendency, and that the ample resources of her naval power would enable her at all times to contend successfully with the enemy on the frontier lakes of Canada. The importance of this preponderance had become so manifest to the governor-general, that he had made repeated applications for reinforcements, but it was not till the month of October, that shipping suitable for this service arrived at Montreal. In the meantime, the British, or rather the Canadian fleet, commanded by captain Barclay, and the American fleet, under the command of captain Perry, met near the head of Lake Erie.* In the morning of the 10th of September, the American squadron, while lying at anchor in Put-in-Bay, discovered the British fleet, and immediately got under way to give them battle. At ten o'clock in the forenoon, both fleets formed in line, and cleared for action. The lightness of the

* According to the American accounts, the British fleet consisted of the brig Detroit, of twenty guns; the Queen Charlotte, of eighteen; the Lady Prevost, of fourteen; the Hornet, of ten; and one sloop and a schooner, of three guns each. On the same authority it is stated, that the American fleet consisted of the Lawrence and the Niagara, of twenty guns each; and several smaller vessels, carrying an average of two guns each. Captain Barclay, without entering into the detail, represents the American squadron as greatly superior in strength to his own, and says, that there were not more than fifty British seamen on board his vessels.

wind occasioned them to approach slowly, and prolonged the awful interval of suspense till mid-day. On the approach of captain Perry's ship, the Lawrence, a heavy fire was opened upon her from the Detroit, which, from the shortness of her guns, she was at first unable to return. The American captain, without waiting for his lighter vessels, kept steadily on his course, and approached so near that it seemed to be his intention to board. For some time the battle was decidedly in favour of the British. Their shot pierced the side of the Lawrence in all directions, and her decks were strewed with the dead, while the wounded, in considerable numbers, were carried below. Perceiving the hazard of his situation, the American commodore advanced still further, and ordered the other vessels to follow, for the purpose of closing with the British fleet. For two hours the contest was continued with unabated vigour, and captain Perry at length, finding the Lawrence incapable of further service, determined to transfer his flag to the Niagara, which was at that moment warmly engaged. Soon after the commodore's flag began to wave on the Niagara, the Lawrence being rendered totally incapable of further defence, struck her flag. No sooner had captain Perry taken his station on board the Niagara, than a signal was made for close action; and passing ahead of the British ships, in order to break their line, he gave them a raking fire with his starboard guns, and laid his ship alongside of the Detroit. The smaller American vessels having, in the meantime, advanced within grape and can-

nister shot distance, and kept up a well-directed fire, the Queen Charlotte struck, and all the other British vessels were obliged to submit to the same fate.

The engagement, which was gallantly contested, lasted three hours, and the victory on the part of the enemy was decisive. The loss on both sides was severe; and of the crew of the Lawrence, scarcely any individual, except the captain, escaped the shower of shot with which she was for upwards of two hours assailed. The return made by captain Perry, of the killed and wounded on board his fleet, amounted to one hundred and twenty-three; the British loss, as stated by captain Barclay, was forty-one killed, and ninety-four wounded, among the former of whom was captain Finnis, of the Queen Charlotte, and his first lieutenant; and among the latter, captain Barclay himself. This gallant veteran—veteran in service, though not in years, had already lost an arm while fighting the battles of his country. During the present engagement he was twice carried below to receive dressings for his wounds, one of which deprived him of his other hand. While under the hands of the surgeon the second time, an officer came down, and told him that they must strike, as the ships were cut to pieces, and the men could no longer be kept to their guns; but captain Barclay, unwilling to listen to counsel to which his ears were so little accustomed, demanded to be conveyed on deck, and after taking a survey of his fleet, and finding that all hopes of success had vanished, consented, with extreme re-

luctance, to strike to the enemy. The American commodore, no way inferior to his rival in valour, fought with a degree of gallantry that acquired for him the admiration and gratitude of his country; and consummated his bravery by so much kindness and humanity towards his prisoners, that captain Barclay, in the generous frankness of his soul, declared that the conduct of Perry, towards the captive officers and men, was sufficient, of itself, to immortalize him. This victory, which, it must be confessed, was of high importance to the American cause, was extolled throughout the United States in language the most hyperbolical; and their public writers, under the influence of a glowing imagination, did not hesitate to remark that, "the peal of war, which has once sounded on Erie, will, probably, never again be heard on that lake. The last roar of cannonry, that died along her shores, was the expiring note of British domination. These vast internal seas will, perhaps, never again be the separating space between contending nations; but will be embosomed within a mighty empire; and this victory, which decided their fate, will stand unrivalled and alone, deriving lustre and perpetuity from its singleness." (18)

The capture of the British squadron on Lake Erie was the precursor, and in some degree, the cause of the relinquishment of the Michigan territory, and the abandonment of all the posts in Upper Canada, beyond the Great River. Early in September, general Harrison began to concentrate his force near the mouth of the Miami, and once more

to prepare for a descent on Canada. On the 17th of that month, governor Shelby, with a reinforcement of four thousand volunteers, arrived at the American head-quarters; and on the 20th, general M'Arthur's brigade joined the main army. Colonel Johnson's regiment of cavalry remained at fort Meigs, but had orders to approach Detroit by land, and to advance *pari passu* with the commander-in-chief, who was to move in boats to Malden. Commodore Perry was actively engaged in transporting the troops and baggage to their destination; and on the 27th, general Harrison's army debarked three miles from Malden. On advancing to that place, instead of the regimentals of the British, and the war hoop of the Indians, a group of well-dressed females presented themselves, and on behalf of themselves and the inhabitants, implored mercy and protection. It was now discovered that Malden had been abandoned by general Proctor, who had determined to fall back for the purpose of taking a station on the river Thames. Sandwich and Detroit, thus abandoned to their fate, fell successively into the hands of the invaders; but before general Proctor quitted these places, he had taken the precaution to dismantle the ports, and to destroy the public buildings and stores of every description.

On the 2d of October general Harrison had completed his arrangements for advancing in pursuit of the retreating British troops, and on the morning of the 5th, the hostile armies came in contact at the Moravian village, situated on the right bank of the Thames, about forty miles from its entrance

into Lake Clair. The British force, which was advantageously drawn up in line of battle, on the banks of the river, was estimated at five hundred men, supported by about twelve hundred Indians. (19) The numerical strength of the American army was nearly double this amount, including one thousand irregular cavalry. The right division of the American army, consisting principally of horse, advanced to the charge with great impetuosity, and in an instant the British lines were broken, and the enemy formed in their rear. This sudden and unexpected manœuvre was decisive of the fate of the day. On the left of the enemy's position the contest was more serious, but not less successful. Colonel Johnson, who commanded the Americans on that flank, encountered a steady resistance on the part of the Indians, who, by their gallant conduct, rescued themselves from the disgrace at fort Stephenson. Tecumseh, one of the most distinguished of their chiefs, and the brother of the prophet, was personally opposed to colonel Johnson, and was advancing upon him with an uplifted tomahawk, when the colonel, observing his approach, drew a pistol from his holster, and laid his brave adversary dead at his feet.* At the moment of the fall of Tecum-

* This celebrated aboriginal warrior fell in the forty-fourth year of his age. He was of the Shawannoe tribe. In stature, he was above the middle size; extremely active; and capable of sustaining fatigue in a very extraordinary degree. His carriage was erect and lofty—his motions quick—his eye penetrating—his visage stern, with an air of *hauteur* in his countenance, arising from an elevated pride of soul. His rule of war was neither to give nor to accept quarter. He had been in almost every battle

seh, the Indians, who till now had maintained their ground with great bravery, gave way; and general Proctor, perceiving that all was lost, ordered his troops to disperse, and sought his own safety in flight. Among the trophies taken by the Americans in the battle of the Thames, were six brass field-pieces, which had been surrendered by general Hull, and on two of which were inscribed, "Surrendered by Burgoyne at Saratoga." (19)

The American army, having effected the object of their expedition, returned to Detroit, but before they departed they destroyed Moravian village, attempting to palliate this enormity on the ground, that the Indian inhabitants had been among the foremost in massacreing the Americans at the river Raisin; and on the further plea, that the town, if spared, would have afforded a convenient shelter for their British allies during the winter. While general Harrison was advancing to the Thames, the Ottawas, and the other Indian tribes, proposed to general M'Arthur to suspend hostilities, and to agree to "take hold of the same tomahawk with the Americans, and to strike all the enemies of the United States, whether British or Indian." These

with the Americans, since the breaking out of the war; had received several wounds, and always sought the hottest of the fire. His ruling passion was glory—wealth was beneath his ambition—and although his plunderings and subsidies must have amounted to a large sum, he died poor. The Americans had a kind of ferocious pleasure (19) in contemplating the contour of his features, which was majestic even in death; but some of the Kentuckians disgraced themselves by committing indignities on his dead body.

proposals were of course agreed to, and the Indians were left at liberty, according to the American accounts, either to take up arms in behalf of the United States, or to remain neutral.

General Proctor, after his retreat from Moravian village, repaired to Ancaster, on the Grand River, where he collected the shattered remains of his army, amounting to about two hundred men, and from thence marched to Burlington Heights, the head-quarters of general Vincent.

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# CHAPTER VI.

SIGNAL as the success of the enemy had been on the Detroit frontier, all his efforts to establish himself in Lower Canada proved unavailing, and served only to involve him in loss and disaster. On the 31st of July, the Ontario fleet, under commodore Chauncey, consisting at that period of twelve sail, and carrying a military force, under lieutenant-colonel Scott, made its appearance off York; but, after throwing open the public jail, and destroying the store-houses of some of the private inhabitants, they again evacuated the town, and took to their vessels. The attention of the enemy was soon drawn from these predatory excursions to the defence of their own settlements; and a number of naval officers and seamen were dispatched from Quebec, on board a flotilla of gun-boats, for the purpose of co-operating with a small, but chosen body of troops, under lieutenant-colonel Murray, in various demonstrations on Lake Champlain. On the 29th of July, the objects of this service were fully accomplished by the total destruction of all the enemy's arsenals, blockhouses, and stores of every description, at Plattsburgh, Swanton, and Champlaintown; and the conflagration of the extensive barracks at Saranac, capable of containing four thousand troops. This important service was per-

formed with a degree of promptitude and regularity highly honourable to the officers directing the expedition, and without the loss of a single man. (20)

The success of the Americans, on the shores and on the waters of Lake Erie, had created that excess of exultation which often finds in defeat and disappointment its appropriate punishment. Upper Canada, it was said, had fallen, and the same fate awaited the other parts of the dominions of his Britannic majesty in North America. The preparations, by which these magnificent projects were to be realized, appeared not altogether inadequate to their fulfilment; and it was publicly announced, that the two armies under generals Wilkinson and Hampton, consisting of from eight to ten thousand men each, would take up their winter quarters at Montreal. These troops, however, were formidable only in numbers, and possessed no qualities which could enable them to stand the shock of armies under British discipline.

The attack on Lower Canada was to be made by a combined operation of the armies of the north and of the centre; and while the former, under general Hampton, marched on Montreal from Lake Champlain, taking the route of the Chateaugay; the latter, under general Wilkinson, was directed to sail down the St. Lawrence for the same destination. On the morning of the 21st of October, general Hampton crossed the line of separation between the British dominions and the United States, and commenced his movements along the

banks of the river. After some days spent in completing his arrangements and bringing up his stores and artillery, he advanced on the 25th in front of the British position, which he found supported by a wood of some miles in extent, formed into an entire abatis, and filled by a succession of breast-works, well supplied with ordnance.* Early in the forenoon of the 26th, the American light troops and cavalry were discovered advancing on both banks of the Chateaugay. Lieutenant-colonel De Salaberry, who had the command of the advanced picquets of the British army, composed of the light infantry company of the Canadian fencibles, and two companies of voltigeurs, stationed on the north side of the river, made so excellent a disposition of his little band, as to check the advance of the enemy's principal column, led by general Hampton in person, and accompanied by brigadier-general Izard; while the American light brigade, under colonel M'Carty, was in like manner arrested in its progress on the south side of the river, by the spirited advance of the right flank company of the third battalion of the embodied militia, under captain Daly, supported by captain Bruyer's company of Chateaugay chasseurs. In the course of the day the enemy rallied repeatedly, and returned to the attack: but all their efforts proved unavailing; and on the approach of evening they were obliged finally to retire, being foiled on all points by a handful of men, who, by their determined bravery,

* Despatch from general Hampton to the Secretary at War, dated Four Corners, November 1, 1813.

maintained their position in the face of an enemy twenty times their number.

The governor-general, having fortunately arrived on the scene of action shortly after the appearance of the enemy, witnessed the gallant conduct of the troops on this glorious occasion, and had the satisfaction to award, on the spot, that praise which had become so justly their due. From the report of prisoners taken from the enemy in the affair of Chateaugay, it appeared that the American force consisted of seven thousand infantry, and two hundred cavalry, with ten field pieces; while the British advanced force, actually engaged, did not exceed three hundred!* The entire loss of both armies, in killed, wounded, and missing, according to the official dispatches transmitted to their governments by the hostile generals, was estimated at seventy-five men, of which the British lost only twenty-five; and the Americans not more than double that number. After this memorable repulse, the American commander called a council of war, at which it was determined, with more calculating prudence than military enterprize, that under existing circumstances, it was not prudent to renew the attack; but that on the contrary, the army should "immediately return, by orderly marches, to such a position as would secure their communication with the United States, either to retire into winter quarters, or to be ready to strike below." (21)

* Despatch from Sir George Prevost to Earl Bathurst, dated Montreal, October 30, 1813.

The American troops, engaged in the expedition under general Wilkinson, were not more fortunate in the enterprize upon which they had now entered than their compatriots of the northern army. Early in the month of October, general Wilkinson, at the head of an army of ten thousand men, embarked at Fort George, on board the Ontario flotilla, consisting of upwards of three hundred vessels, and having entered the St. Lawrence, on the 2d of November, arrived on the 6th within a few miles of the port of Prescot. The powder and stores were here landed on the Canadian side of the river, to be transported by land, under cover of the night, beyond the British batteries; and all the troops were debarked to march at the same hour to a bay two miles below Prescot. The vigilance of the British troops, to which the enemy bears repeated testimony, was not to be surprised; and in this attempt to pass the fortress of Prescot, the American armada was doomed to sustain a heavy and destructive cannonade;* while the army on shore, under the command of brigadier-general Boyd, was briskly assailed by the garrison with shot and shells. The advance of the enemy, subsequent to the passage of Prescot, was retarded by the menacing position of the British army, which hung upon his rear, and by the difficulties of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, which exposed his flotilla to continually increasing dangers. Having anticipated the probability of the American gov-

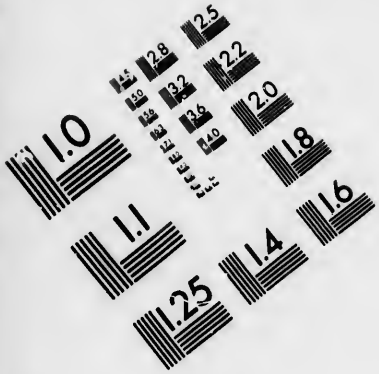
* Despatches from Sir George Prevost.

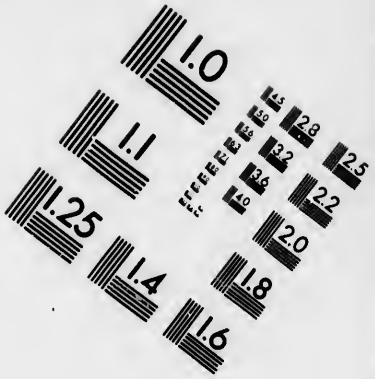
ernment sending its whole force from Lake Ontario towards Montreal, the British governor-general had ordered a corps of observation, consisting of the remains of the 49th regiment, the second battalion of the 89th, and three companies of voltigeurs, with a division of gun-boats, the whole under the command of lieutenant-colonel Morrison, of the 89th regiment, to advance from Kingston, and to follow the movements of general Wilkinson's army. On the 11th, this corps of observation was attacked at Williamsberg by a part of the American force, under general Boyd, consisting of two brigades of infantry, and a regiment of cavalry. About half past two the action became general, when the enemy endeavoured, by moving forward a brigade from the right, to turn the British left, but was repulsed by the 89th forming in potence with the 49th, and both corps moving forward, occasionally firing by platoons. Finding himself unsuccessful on the left, the next efforts of the enemy were directed against the right, but he was received in so gallant a manner by the companies of the 89th, under captain Barnes, and by a well directed fire from the artillery, that he quickly retreated, leaving one of his guns in the hands of the British. Colonel Morrison, in his turn, now became the assailant, and the enemy concentrated his force to prevent his advance; but such was the steady countenance, and well directed fire of the troops, and the artillery, that about half past four, the Americans gave way on all sides, and abandoned their strong position. By a judicious move-

ment made at this moment by lieutenant-colonel Pearson, their light infantry, which had been lef to cover their retreat, was dislodged, and the British detachment for the night occupied the ground from which the enemy had ignobly suffered themselves to be driven. Colonel Morrison, in his report of the battle of Williamsberg, very justly remarks, that every man did his duty; and that no stronger evidence can be given of their merits than that which is found in the fact, that the army of the victors did not exceed eight hundred men; while that of the vanquished amounted to from three to four thousand.* The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded, amounted to three hundred and thirty-nine,† including upwards of one hundred prisoners. On the side of the British, the loss, in relation to the number engaged, was heavy, and amounted to one hundred and eighty, including twelve missing.‡ Sir George Prevost, in his despatches relating to the repeated attempts of the Americans to invade his majesty's Canadian dominions, dwells with exultation on the loyalty and active zeal displayed by all classes of the inhabitants; and general Wilkinson bears ample testimony to the same important fact, by asserting, that the hos-

* General Wilkinson, in his despatch to the Secretary at War, dated French Mills, November 16, 1813, states, rather loosely, that the American force engaged, did not exceed one thousand eight hundred men; while the strength of the British is estimated at one thousand five hundred, or one thousand six hundred, exclusive of the militia.

† General Wilkinson's despatches. ‡ Colonel Morrison's official report.

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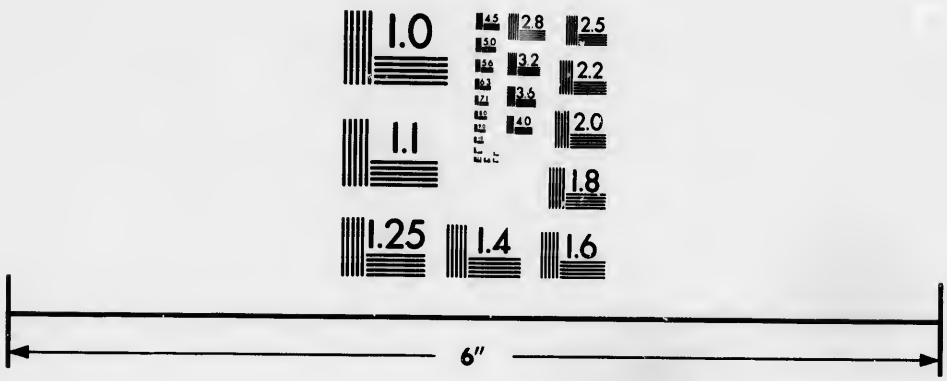



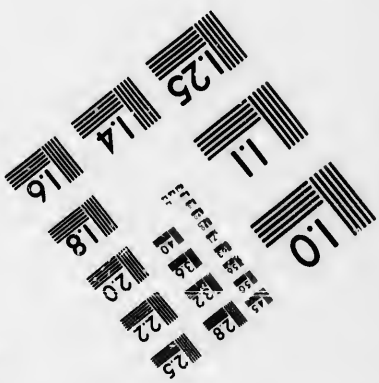


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tility of the male inhabitants of the country was active and universal. (22)

The American army, depressed by their disasters, re-embarked the whole of their forces on the 13th, and crossed the St. Lawrence to St. Regis and Salmon River, on their own shores, not leaving a man on the Canadian territory, except such as were prisoners. On the preceding day, general Wilkinson, who had been confined to his bed during the principal part of the voyage down the St. Lawrence, received a despatch from general Hampton, in which that officer declined to join his troops to the army of the centre, on account of the limited supply of provisions, intimating, however, that he should retire to Plattsburg, with the intention of opening a communication between the two armies lower down the river. This letter general Wilkinson considered as a refusal on the part of general Hampton to co-operate; and at a council of war, consisting of the principal officers of his army, it was determined, "that the attack on Montreal should be abandoned for the present season," and that the army should go into winter quarters. It would be an useless expenditure of time to enter into the controversy between these two generals; but it was strongly surmised in the United States, that the battles of Chateaugay and Williamsberg had abated their military ardour, and that in reality their dissensions might be traced to this cause. (22)

The signal defeats, experienced by the American armies in Canada, having relieved both provinces from the pressure of the invaders, the attention of

the British army, under major-general Vincent, and lieutenant-general Drummond, was directed to the Niagara frontier; and on the 10th of December, colonel Murray was ordered to advance, for the purpose of checking a system of plunder organized by the enemy against the loyal inhabitants of that district. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, the British force arrived in the neighbourhood of fort George, in time to compel the enemy, under general M'Clure, to abandon the whole of the British side of the Niagara frontier; but not till that general had stained the character of his country, by the wanton conflagration of the town of Newark, which, under the pretence of securing the American frontier, but in violation of the laws of nations, he reduced to a heap of ashes.

The enemy, no longer secure within his own dominions, abandoned Lewistown on the advance of major-general Riall, leaving in the place a considerable supply of small arms and ammunition, with about two hundred barrels of flour.

Early in the morning of the 19th of December, colonel Murray, at the head of a detachment of the 100th regiment, the grenadier company of the royals, and the flank companies of the 41st regiment, advanced to fort Niagara, where, having surprised the centries on the glacis of the fortress, the watch-word was obtained, and the place carried in a few minutes, with the trifling loss of six men killed, and five wounded. The loss of the garrison was much more considerable. Sixty-five of their

number were killed, fourteen wounded, and three hundred and forty-four made prisoners.* By this gallant achievement, twenty-seven pieces of cannon, three thousand stand of arms, a number of rifles, and the store-houses, well stocked with clothing, and camp equipage of every description, fell into the hands of the victors. Captain Leonard, of the artillery service, to whom the command of the garrison had been intrusted by general M'Clure, had, on the evening before the assault, retired to his country residence, at a distance of two miles, and a royal salute, announcing the surrender of the fortress, gave this officer the first intimation of the surrender of the garrison committed to his charge.

On the same day that the fortress of Niagara was carried by colonel Murray, Lewistown surrendered without resistance to the forces under major-general Riall. During the night of the 30th, that general crossed the Niagara, for the purpose of attacking the enemy at Black Rock and Buffalo, at the head of a detachment, consisting of four companies of the king's regiment, the light company of the 89th, two hundred and fifty of the 41st regiment, and the grenadiers of the 100th regiment; with a small body of militia volunteers, and a number of Indian warriors. At day-break on the following morning, the king's regiment, and light company of the 89th, moved forward; the grenadiers of the 41st and the 100th regiments being in reserve. On the approach of the British troops,

* Colonel Murray's report to general Drummond, dated fort Niagara, December 19, 1819.

the enemy opened a very heavy fire of cannon and musketry on the royal Scots, under lieutenant-colonel Gordon, who was directed to land above Black Rock, for the purpose of turning his position, but who, owing to the boats in which the troops were embarked having grounded, was not able to land in sufficient time to accomplish that object. The king's and the 89th, having, in the mean time, gained the town, commenced a spirited attack upon the Americans, under general Hall. The position, which was strong, was for some time supported with much bravery; but such was the gallant and determined advance of the British troops, that he was at length driven from his batteries, and pursued to the town of Buffalo, about two miles distant. General Hall, finding his force now swelled to upwards of two thousand men, again attempted to arrest the progress of the advancing columns; but finding all his efforts ineffectual, his troops fled in disorder, and betook themselves to the woods. Eight pieces of ordnance, and one hundred and thirty prisoners, fell into the hands of the British, and the enemy's loss in killed and wounded, was estimated at from three to four hundred.

General Riall now proceeded to execute the ulterior objects of the expedition; and colonel Robinson was detached to destroy a sloop and two schooners, part of the Ontario flotilla, which lay a little below the town. The town itself, the inhabitants having previously abandoned it, and the whole of the public stores, consisting of a considerable quantity of clothing, spirits, and flour, which

the British army had not the means of conveying away, were then set on fire, and totally consumed. A similar fate awaited Black Rock; and on the evening of the same day that village was consigned to the flames.

These terrible inflictions were not deemed sufficient to retaliate the destruction of the town of Newark; and in obedience to the further instructions of general Drummond, Lieut. colonel Gordon, with a detachment of the 19th and 89th regiments, moved down the river to fort Niagara, and destroyed the remaining cover of the enemy upon this frontier.* A dreadful scene of desolation now presented itself. All the towns and villages on the American side of the communicating river between lakes Erie and Ontario were destroyed, and the concluding scenes of the campaign, of the present year, assumed the character of a war of extermination—a species of contest abhorrent to every civilized mind, and fit only for the savage auxiliaries of the two exasperated belligerents. (23)

* Report made by general Riall to general Drummond, dated near fort Erie, January 1, 1814.

# CHAPTER VII.

AMIDST partial reverses, the campaign of the present year had proved glorious by land to Great Britain. On the ocean, the skill and bravery of the hostile nations were more equally balanced, but the ascendancy inclined, unquestionably, to that power who had so long reigned the unrivalled mistress of the waves. Her successes were, however, by no means unchequered, even on this element; and the first action on the ocean between British and American vessels, in the year 1813, terminated decidedly in favour of the latter power. On the 24th of March, the American brig Hornet, captain Lawrence, and the English brig Peacock, captain William Peake, met at sea off Demarara, and at half past five o'clock in the afternoon they passed within range of each other's guns, and exchanged broadsides. Observing the British captain in the act of wearing, captain Lawrence bore up and received his starboard broadside, after which he approached close on the starboard quarter, and in that position kept up such a heavy and well-directed fire, that in less than fifteen minutes, the Peacock, being rendered unmanageable, was obliged to strike her flag. With much difficulty, the Americans succeeded in bringing their prize to anchor; but before the prisoners could be removed, she went down, carrying with her thir-

teen of her own crew, and three of the American sailors. Captain Peake, and four of his crew were found dead on board the sinking vessel, and thirty-three others were wounded. The loss of the Americans was trifling in comparison; and in the return made by captain Lawrence to the Secretary of the Navy, it is stated, that the number of killed and wounded did not exceed five men, of whom one only was killed. The Peacock is represented as one of the finest vessels of her class in the British navy; and in size, guns, and crew, the combatants were nearly equal. On the return of captain Lawrence to America, he was received with every possible mark of distinction; and as a testimony of the estimation in which his talents and bravery were held by his government, he was appointed to the command of the Chesapeake frigate, then lying in the port of Boston.

The time now approached in which the British flag was to recover a large share of its accustomed honours from that foe with whom its glories had suffered a temporary eclipse. Ever since the month of February, captain Broke, of the Shannon, had been cruising in the bay of Boston, in company with the Tenedos, in hopes that the Chesapeake would come out of the harbour; but the enemy not choosing to encounter two British frigates, captain Broke directed the Tenedos to cruise at a distance from the coast, and not to rejoin him till after the the expiration of a month. In order that captain Lawrence might be informed of the separation of the vessels, and be induced, in consequence, to

put to sea, the Shannon stood close into Boston light-house, and hoisted the British colours. The challenge, conveyed by this posture of defence, captain Lawrence was not slow to accept; and at midday, on the 1st of June, the Chesapeake weighed anchor, and stood out of the harbour, to decide, as it were, by single combat, the contest between the two nations in maritime prowess.

About twenty-five minutes after five o'clock, the two frigates were within musket shot of each other; and it is scarcely possible to conceive a more interesting and awful moment. The engagement, which was about to commence, had few features in common with the usual routine of sea fights; there was, on the contrary, something chivalrous in the situation of the combatants; each commander, as well as the respective crews, had offered themselves as the champions of their country's glory and honour; and by this feeling, it may be supposed, that the Americans were more particularly influenced, as the engagement was about to commence within sight of their own shores, which were lined by the inhabitants, who could observe, with ease, all the vicissitudes of a combat so interesting. Captain Broke and his crew, on their part, must have experienced feelings little less stimulating to heroic enterprise; they had sought an opportunity of proving to the world, that the sun of England's naval glory was not yet set. They had not merely to sustain, they had, in some measure, to retrieve and win back the glory and honour of their country. They had to prove themselves worthy of that coun-

try which had given birth to Nelson; and they did prove themselves worthy of this high distinction. The Chesapeake frigate, on her advance, was manœuvred with so much skill as to call for the admiration of the British captain; and three American ensigns waved from her masts, on one of which was inscribed, "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights." At half past five, the enemy placed himself on the starboard side of the Shannon, and the battle began. After the exchange of two or three broadsides, the enemy's frigate fell on board the Shannon, and they became locked in each other's rigging. Captain Broke, observing that the enemy were flinching from their guns, determined to bring the battle to an immediate and glorious issue, and gave orders to prepare for boarding. Placing himself at the head of his gallant bands, appointed to that service, they instantly rushed upon the enemy's decks, impelling every thing before them with irresistible fury. The enemy made a desperate, but disorderly resistance; and the firing was continued at all the gangways, and between the tops; but in two minutes they were driven, sword in hand, from every post. The American flag was hauled down, and the proud old British union floated triumphantly over it. In another minute the enemy ceased firing from below, and called for quarter; and the whole service was achieved in fifteen minutes from the commencement of the action.

No terms can adequately express the merits of the valiant officers and crew of the Shannon; the calm courage they displayed during the cannonade,

and the tremendous precision of their fire, could only be equalled by the ardour with which they rushed to the assault. Nor was the courage of the Americans much less conspicuous; their brave captain, who received a musket ball through his body, in the heat of the action, exclaimed, as he was carried below, "Don't give up the ship;" and his principal solace, while suffering the most excruciating pain from his wounds, was derived from the hope that his colours should never be struck. But at the moment when these orders were sent up by the surgeon, every officer on the upper deck was either killed or wounded, and the struggle had ceased. In the very moment of victory, Captain Broke was severely wounded in his head by a sabre, while exerting himself to save two Americans from the fury of his men. Of his gallant seamen and marines, he had twenty-three slain, and fifty-six wounded; while the loss of the enemy amounted to forty-seven killed, and ninety-three wounded. From a comparative view of the strength of the two frigates, it appears that the Shannon mounted fifty-three guns, while the Chesapeake had only forty-nine; but if the superiority in guns was on the side of the English, the Americans enjoyed a still higher advantage in her number of men; and the Chesapeake had to oppose her full compliment of four hundred and forty seamen against the three hundred and thirty with which the Shannon entered the action.

The wounds of captain Lawrence proved mortal four days after the battle; when his body was shrouded in the colours of his ship, and conveyed

to Halifax for interment. His funeral obsequies were celebrated with appropriate ceremonials. His pall was supported by the oldest captains in the British service then at Halifax, and the naval officers crowded to yield the last honors to a man whom they considered now no longer in the light of a foe, but as an honour to his profession. There is a generous sympathy in the brave that knows no distinction of clime or nation. They honour in each other that of which they feel proud in themselves. The group, that congregated round the grave of Capt. 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. The conflict of arms is ferocious; and triumph frequently does but engender more deadly hostilities; but the contest of magnanimity calls forth the nobler feelings of the soul, and the contest is over the affections.

The capture of the Chesapeake, under such animating and glorious circumstances, could not fail, in some degree, to re-establish in the minds even of the desponding their confidence in British naval valour and skill; and an engagement which took place in the month of August, though not of so brilliant a nature, nor brought to so speedy an issue, contributed to the same effect. On the morning of the 14th of August, captain Maples, of his majesty's sloop Pelican, while cruising in St. George's Channel, for the protection of the trade, observed an American vessel in full sail, which slackened on her approach, and prepared for ac-

tion. As soon as the Pelican came alongside of her antagonist, the seamen gave three cheers, and the action commenced. For forty-three minutes the engagement was kept up with great spirit on both sides; and though during this time the Pelican evidently had the advantage, it was by no means of a decisive nature. Captain Maples, finding his crew anxious to come to close quarters, laid the Pelican alongside of his adversary, and gave orders to board her; but when the crew were in the act of executing the commands of their captain, the American struck her colours. The vessel proved to be the Argus sloop of war, captain Allen, of twenty guns, and a complement of one hundred and twenty-seven men. Her commander fought his ship nobly, and was wounded early in the action so severely, that he was obliged to suffer amputation of his left thigh, and died the day after the battle. In point of force, the two sloops were nearly equal, and perhaps the circumstance which most strongly indicated the relative skill with which the battle was fought, was the loss on each side: on board the Pelican there were only two men killed, and six wounded; while on board the Argus, the killed and wounded amounted to about forty.*

* Despatch from Capt. Maples to vice-admiral Thornborough. In a letter from John Hawker, esq. many years American vice-consul in England, dated from Plymouth, August 19, 1813, and addressed to general Allen, the father of the captain, it is stated, that the loss on board the Argus, amounted only to six killed, and twelve wounded.

But the absolute superiority of the British by sea was not yet placed on so firm a footing as not to be liable, in their engagements with the Americans, to vicissitudes; and those who, from the result of the action between the Shannon and the Chesapeake, looked for victory as a matter of course, whenever the vessels were of equal force, were doomed to be disappointed. On the 5th of September, the American brig Enterprize, lieutenant Burrows, and his Britannic majesty's brig Boxer, captain Blythe, met at the entrance of Portsmouth bay, off the coast of the United States.—The English captain, when he observed the American vessel standing towards him, fired a shot as a challenge, and hoisted three British ensigns, which he ordered to be nailed to the mast. About two o'clock, the American captain, having obtained the weather-gage, hoisted, in his turn, three ensigns, and fired a shot at the Boxer; this she did not deign to return till she came within half pistol shot, when her crew gave three cheers, and commenced the action by firing her starboard broadside. The action now became most obstinate; and at twenty minutes past three, the American captain received a ball in his body, and fell. He refused to be carried below, but raising his head, requested, even in the agonies of death, that his flag might never be struck. Nor was his adversary less distinguished for his heroic bravery. About ten minutes after the American commandant received his mortal wound, lieutenant M'Call, on whom the command of the vessel devolved, ordered his ship

to be laid on board the Boxer, for the purpose of raking her with a starboard broadside. Captain Blythe had now fallen; and the situation of the vessels was such, that the Enterprize could command any situation which it might be deemed advisable to take; while the Boxer could neither be manœuvred with skill, nor fought with advantage. The raking fire to which she was exposed, continued to be poured into her till forty-five minutes past three, when her crew, finding further resistance unavailing, called for quarter; as their colours, being nailed to the mast, could not be hauled down. The loss of the Boxer was much more considerable than that of the American brig; and the hull, sails, and rigging of the former were nearly cut to pieces; while the latter, though injured in her spars and rigging, was left in a condition to have commenced another action of the same kind immediately.—Soon after the arrival of the Enterprize and Boxer at Portland, the bodies of the two commanding officers, captain Blythe, and lieutenant Burrows, were brought on shore in barges, rowed at minute strokes by the masters of ships, accompanied by most of the boats and barges in the harbour, while minute guns were fired from the two vessels. A grand procession was then formed on shore, and the interment took place with all the honours that the civil and military authorities of the place, and the great body of people, could bestow.

# CHAPTER VIII.

In the early part of the year 1813, the Chesapeake and Delaware bays were declared by the British government to be in a state of blockade, and a squadron, under the command of admiral Warren, was stationed off the American coast, to seal up these great inlets of the United States. In the month of May, rear-admiral Cockburn, with a light squadron under his command, was sent up the Chesapeake, to carry on a coasting warfare, and to render the government and the inhabitants of America sensible of the danger of rousing the indignation of the British nation. The villages of Frenchtown, Havre-de-grace, Georgetown, and Fredericktown, situated near the head of the Chesapeake, were seized upon and destroyed, and considerable injury was done to the enemy by these operations; but no vital point was reached, nor were any of the great objects of the war materially promoted. This desultory and piratical species of warfare, though always a favourite topic of British declamation, seldom leads to any important result. Its successes are superficial and transient; and though the suffering and alarm it inflicts may in some measure dispose the minds of the people of a district to peace, even this effect must be greatly counteracted by the hatred and irritation which it is always sure to excite.

The Indian tribes in the Mississippi territory availed themselves of the rupture between Great Britain and America to indulge once more their strong propensity for war, and endeavour to regain those territories which the events of former contests had wrested from them. Deaf to the warning voice of their most experienced chiefs, the Creek Indians procured supplies of arms and ammunition from the Spaniards in West Florida, and declared war against the United States. The first operations of the war took place near the Georgia frontier, and on the 30th of August fort Mims was surprised by a large body of the savages, and the garrison, with about two hundred and sixty of the inhabitants, fell a sacrifice to their merciless hostility. Of the whole number of persons in the place, not more than thirty* escaped the scalping knife, the flames, and the tomahawk.

To revenge this massacre, and to strike terror into the savages, a brigade of the Georgia militia was detached, under the command of brigadier-general Floyd; and the militia and volunteers of Tennessee, under the command of general Jackson, were employed in the same service. In the month of November, battles were fought at Tallushatches, Talledega, Hillibeetowns, and Autossee, in all of which, according to the accounts of their enemies, the Indians were defeated; numbers of their chiefs and warriors were killed; and their villages consigned to the flames. In all these engagements

* Letter from judge Toulmin, dated September 7, 1813.

they fought with a fury peculiar to savages, and met and inflicted death without giving or receiving quarter.*

The sanguinary details of this war of extermination, present little but a repitition of successes on the part of the Americans, and of misery and desolation in the devoted country of their adversaries. A contest so unequal could not be of long duration, and the battle of Tallapoosa, fought on the 27th of March, 1814, brought the war to a close, by the destruction of almost all the warriors of the nation against which it was waged. On the morning of this decisive engagement, general Jackson reached the crescent of the Tallapoosa, on the southern extremity of New Yonka, where the Indians had formed a kind of fortress, covering about a hundred acres of ground, and rendered, as they conceived, impregnable, by the benedictions of their prophets, and the skill of their warriors. The breast-work, of this fortified peninsula, was from five to eight feet in height; and the congregated warriors of Oakfuska, Oakehagu, New Yonka, Hillabeea, the Fish Ponds, and Eufatua, formed its garrison. Having despatched general Coffee to place himself in the rear of the enemy by securing the opposite banks of the river, the commander of the American army determined to take possession of the breast-work by storm. The regular troops, led on by colonel Williams and major Montgomery, were soon in possession of the advanced part of the

* See the official reports of the American generals.

works, when an obstinate contest, through the port holes, musket to musket, took place, and in which many of the Indian bullets became transfixed upon the bayonets of their adversaries. At length the assailants succeeded in scaling the works, and the event was now no longer doubtful. The Indians, although they fought to the last moment of their existence, and displayed that kind of bravery which desperation inspires, were entirely routed and cut to pieces. The margin of the river was strewed with their slain. Five hundred and fifty dead bodies laid upon the field, and from two to three hundred others were buried in the water. Not more than twenty escaped; and among the dead was found their famous prophet, Monahell, with two other prophets of less celebrity. The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded, amounted to about two hundred, among the former of whom was major Montgomery, and lieutenants Sommerville and Moulton.

This action, which was continued for five hours, and till the exterminating sword could find no more victims, terminated the Creek war. The Tallapoosa king was made prisoner. Tostahatchee, king of Hickory, afterwards surrendered himself; and Wetherford, their speaker, seeing that all further resistance was vain, ranked himself voluntarily among the captives.* In the month of April, a

* In a private interview with general Jackson, after the battle, the intrepid Wetherford thus addressed his conqueror.——"I fought at fort Mims—I fought the Georgian army—I did you all the injury I could.—Had I been supported, I would have done

peace was concluded, and general Jackson withdrew his forces. The terms of the treaty were dictated by the United States, and proceeded upon the principle of indemnity for the past, and security for the future. The victors were to retain as much of the Creek country as would by its sale defray the expenses of the war; and to guard against future incursions from the tribes, the right of establishing military posts along the line of the whole frontier was conceded to them. It does not appear by any means clear, notwithstanding the confident assertions to the contrary, that this war, so disastrous to the Creeks, was instigated by the British government, and it is certain that not a single British officer or soldier was found in the Indian ranks.

The message of the American president, at the opening of the congress, on the 7th of November, 1813, announced, that Great Britain had declined the offer made by the emperor Alexander, to mediate the existing differences between that power and the United States; and under such circumstances, the president conceived, that a nation proud of its rights, and conscious of its strength, had no choice but in exertion of the one in support of the other. The door of negotiation was not, however, finally closed; for while Great Britain was disinclined to commit the decision of the question at issue, to the mediation of a power that, in common with Ameri-

you more. But my warriors are all killed—I can fight no longer. I am sorry for the destruction of my nation—I am now in your power—do with me what you please—I am a soldier."

ca, might be disposed to circumscribe her maritime claims, she professed a readiness to nominate plenipotentiaries to treat directly with the plenipotentiaries of the American government, and expressed an earnest wish that their conferences might result in establishing, between the two nations, the blessings and reciprocal advantages of peace.* This proposal, which was communicated by lord Castlereagh to the American secretary of state, on the 4th of November, was accepted by the government of the United States without hesitation, and Gottenburg, being neutral territory, was fixed upon as the place at which the plenipotentiaries should assemble.

* Despatch from lord Cathcart to the count Nesselrode, dated Toplitz, September 1, 1813.

# CHAPTER IX.

The slow operations of diplomacy, combined with the great crisis in Europe, which had now arrived, and which absorbed the principal attention of the British government, doomed the United States of America to suffer, for another year, all the horrors of war. After the fall of Napoleon, it was held in this country, with a lamentable ignorance of the real state of the feelings and energies of the United States, that Britain, so long the undisputed mistress of the ocean, would soon be able to sweep from the seas, the ships of America; and that those troops which had acquired so much glory when contending with the veteran armies of Europe, would no sooner show themselves on the western side of the Atlantic, than the panic-struck soldiers of the United States, would be driven far within their own frontiers. These pleasing illusions were heightened by the hope that England would soon be able to dictate peace in the capital of the republic; or at least, that the splendour of British triumphs, and the pressure of American embarrassments, would induce and encourage the inhabitants of the northern states to form a separate government, under the protection of the crown of Great Britain, if not actually under the sway of her sceptre.

During the early part of the year 1814, the war with America, was suffered to [illegible]guish; but no

sooner was Europe restored to peace, by the dethronement of Bonaparte, than the British government resolved to prosecute the contest with increased vigour, and to obtain in the field, a recognition of those maritime rights, which had hitherto been so strenuously resisted in the cabinet. Two distinct modes of prosecuting the war seem to have been determined upon by the British ministry; first, an invasion of the coasts of the United States; and, second, after the protection of Canada had been secured, the conquest of so much of the adjoining territory, as might, in the event of a future war, effectually guard that province from all danger. The peace of Paris was scarcely ratified, before fourteen thousand of those troops, which had gained so much renown under the duke of Wellington, were embarked at Bordeaux, for Canada; and about the same time, a strong naval force, with an adequate number of troops, was collected, and despatched for the purpose of invading different parts of the coast of the United States.

So early as the month of March, some movements had taken place in the American army of the north, under general Wilkinson, indicative of an intention to try once more the fortune of war on the Canadian territory; and on the 30th of that month, the position of Odell-town, under the command of major Hancock, was attacked with considerable vigour; but the resistance made by the British commander was so spirited and judicious, that the assailants were repulsed with considerable

loss, and obliged again to retreat to their position at Plattsburg.

Before the reinforcements from Europe arrived in America, an expedition was undertaken, under the command of general Drummond and commodore sir James Yeo, against the fort of Oswego, on Lake Ontario. On the 6th of May, preparations were made for commencing the attack, but it was soon discovered that the garrison had made their escape, and general Drummond took possession of the town and fort without opposition. After the barracks had been destroyed, and all the damage inflicted upon the works that was found practicable, the troops re-embarked, bringing away seven heavy guns, and a quantity of stores. Another attempt, on a small scale, made on Sandy Creek, by captain Popham of the navy, in concert with captain Spilsbury, proved unfortunate, and was attended with a loss of eighteen men killed, and fifty dangerously wounded, exclusive of prisoners.

A large American force, under major-general Brown, crossed the Niagara river, on the 3d of July, and advancing against fort Erie, demanded the surrender of the garrison. Major Buck, to whom the command of the fort was confided, appears to have been very ill-informed of the hostile movement by which he was assailed; and, instead of his atoning for his want of vigilance, by a gallant defence, surrendered the fort at the first summons, himself, and one hundred and forty men, being made prisoners of war. After the fall of fort Erie, general Brown advanced towards the British lines of Chip-

paway; but no sooner was major-general Riall, who commanded the British troops in the neighbourhood, made acquainted with this movement, than he ordered the immediate advance of five companies of royal Scots to reinforce the garrison, while a detachment of the 100th regiment, with a body of militia, and a few Indians, moved forward for the purpose of reconnoitring the position, and ascertaining the number of the enemy. Early in the morning of the 5th, several affairs of posts took place, and at four o'clock in the afternoon, both armies were drawn up in battle array on a plain, about a mile to the west of Chippaway. The enemy, in expectation of being attacked, had taken up a position, with his right, under general Scott, resting on an orchard, close to the river Niagara, and strongly supported by artillery; his left, under general Porter, rested on a wood, with a body of riflemen and Indians in front; and general Ripley's brigade placed in reserve. In a few minutes the British line advanced in three columns, the light companies of the royal Scots, and the 100th regiment, with the 2d Lincoln, forming the advance, under lieutenant-colonel Pearson, while the Indian warriors, posted on the right flank, occupied the woods. About half past four, the Canadian militia and the Indians, were sharply engaged with the enemy's riflemen and Indians, who at first checked their advance; but the light troops being brought to their support, the division under general Porter, consisting principally of the New-York and Pennsylvania volunteers, gave way, and

fled in every direction. After this success, general Riall ordered the king's regiment to move to the right, while the royal Scots, and the 100th regiment, were directed to charge the enemy in front. The steady bravery with which this charge was received by general Scott's brigade, gave the first intimation, that the Americans had found, in the increased gallantry of their armies, a counterpoise against the veteran troops which Great Britain was at this moment pouring upon their shores. Two battalions of general Scott's brigade, with an enlarged interval between them, received the assailants in open plain, and prepared to take them in front and flank at the same time, while captain Towson, advanced to the front of the British left with three pieces of artillery, and took post on the river. The fire of the enemy's corps, accompanied by their artillery, produced a visible impression upon the British ranks, and the explosion of an ammunition wagon, silenced the most efficient of their batteries. A heavy discharge of canister shot was now poured on the British infantry, and general Riall, being no longer able to sustain this accumulated fire, ordered the attack to be abandoned, and the troops to retire behind their works at Chippaway. In this engagement, which closed only with the day, lieutenant-colonel Gordon, of the royal Scots, and lieutenant-colonel the Marquis of Tweedale, late aid-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington, were both wounded, as were most of the officers belonging to their respective regiments. The loss on both sides was nearly equal, and may

be estimated, in round numbers, at five hundred each. The number of British regulars engaged in the battle of Chippaway, is stated by their general, at fifteen hundred, exclusive of militia and Indians; and on the same authority, it is said, that the enemy's force amounted to about six thousand men. (25)

Emboldened by the success which had attended their first operations, the enemy looked forward to still greater advantages. After the action of the 5th, general Riall retreated to a position near fort Niagara; and the American army took post at Chippaway. On the arrival of general Drummond at Niagara, on the morning of the 25th of July, he advanced at the head of a considerable force towards the Falls; and scarcely had he formed a junction with general Riall, when intelligence arrived that the American army, under Gen. Brown, was again advancing. The British general immediately proceeded to meet the enemy, whom he found strongly posted on a rising ground at Bridgewater, near the Falls of Niagara, and within the sound of the thunders of that stupendous cataract. Without a moment's delay, the 89th regiment, the royal Scots detachments, and the light companies of the 41st, formed in the rear of the hill, their left resting on the great road to Queenstown; and two twenty-four pounder brass field guns were placed a little advanced in front of the centre, on the summit of the rising ground; while the Glengary light infantry, the battalion of incorporated militia, and a detachment of the king's regiment,

occupied the left of the road, supported in the rear, by a squadron of the 19th light dragoons, under the command of major Lisle. This disposition of the British forces was no sooner completed, than they were attacked by brigadier-general Scott, and before the remainder of the American army had crossed the Chippaway, the action became close and general between the advanced corps. On the arrival of general Brown upon the field, he found that the first brigade had passed the wood, near the Falls, and that the 9th, 11th, and 22d regiments, with Towson's artillery, were engaged on the Queenstown road, directing their principal efforts against the left and centre of the British.—The eminence occupied by the British artillery, supported by the 2d battalion of the 89th regiment, under lieutenant-colonel Morrison, was conceived by general Brown, to be the key of the whole position, and colonel Miller was ordered to advance and carry the height at the point of the bayonet. The struggle at this point was arduous in the extreme; and the British troops, finding themselves severely pressed, formed round the colours of the 89th, and fought with invincible bravery. About the same time, major Jessup succeeded in turning the British left flank; and general Riall, having received a severe wound in his arm, was intercepted by captain Ketchum's detachment as he was passing to the rear, and made prisoner. In the centre, the repeated and determined attacks of the Americans were met with the most perfect steadiness and intrepid gallantry, and they were con-

stantly repulsed with very heavy loss. These attacks were directed against the guns of the British with so much vigour and determination, that the artillerymen were bayoneted in the act of loading their cannon, and the muzzles of the enemy's guns were advanced within a few yards of those by which they were opposed. The night, which had now closed in upon the combatants, failed to put an end to the battle, and during this extraordinary conflict, the two armies, mistaking each other's guns, actually made an exchange, by which the enemy obtained one, and the British two pieces.—The battle, having raged three hours, was suspended about nine o'clock, by mutual consent; during which time the enemy was employed in bringing up his reserves. In a short time the action was renewed; and general Porter, at the head of his New York and Pennsylvania volunteers, made a gallant charge, which retrieved the character of the corps, and called forth the praises of the commander of the American army. About this period, general Drummond received a reinforcement of troops, under colonel Scott, consisting of the 103d regiment, the head quarter divisions of the royal Scots, and king's, and the flank companies of the 104th regiment. This seasonable supply of troops seems to have decided the fortune of the day; and at midnight, the enemy, finding all his efforts to obtain possession of the hill unavailing, gave up the contest, and retreated to his camp beyond Chippaway, carrying with him the wounded and artillery. On the day following, he abandon-

ed his camp, throwing the greater part of his baggage, camp equipage, and provisions, into the rapids; and having destroyed the bridge at Chippaway, continued his retreat towards fort Erie. "The loss sustained by the enemy in this severe action, cannot," says general Drummond in his despatches, "be estimated at less than fifteen hundred men, including several hundred prisoners; his two commanding generals, Brown and Scott, were both wounded; his whole force, which has never been rated at less than five thousand, having been engaged. The number of troops under my command, did not, for the first three hours, exceed sixteen hundred men; and the addition of troops under colonel Scott, did not increase it to more than two thousand eight hundred, of every description."* The battle of Bridgewater, was without exception, the most sanguinary, and decidedly the best fought action, which had taken place on the American continent. The repeated charges, and the actual contest with the bayonet, are alone sufficient to render this engagement remarkable; and the charge made by colonel Miller, on the crest of the British position, is said to have exhibited traits of heroism, inferior only to those displayed at the storming of St. Sebastian. (26)

A resolution was now formed to attempt the re-

* According to the American accounts, the whole amount of their force engaged on the 25th July, did not not exceed 2800, of which their loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted but to 860; while the loss of the British is stated by general Drummond, at 878.

capture of fort Erie; and for this purpose, general Drummond, who had advanced to that place, opened the fire of his batteries against it on the 13th of August. Owing to the severe wounds received by the American generals Brown and Scott, in the battle of Bridgewater, the command of the left wing of the second division of the northern army had devolved upon brigadier-general Gaines, who had exerted his utmost efforts to strengthen his position within the fort. During the 13th and 14th, a brisk cannonade was kept up against the works, when general Drummond, having reason to believe that a sufficient impression had been produced, resolved to carry the place by a nocturnal assault. Two attacks were accordingly ordered to be made; the one by a heavy column under lieutenant-colonel Fischer, directed against the intrenchments on the side of Snakehill; and the other, under colonel Scott, and lieutenant-colonel Drummond, on the fort and intrenchments leading to the lake. At half past two o'clock in the morning of the 15th, two hours before day-light, the British columns advanced to the attack, when lieutenant-colonel Fischer, emerging from a thick wood, found himself suddenly checked, within ten yards of the intrenchment, by a kind of abbatis, defenced by the enemy's musketry under major Wood, and by their cannon under captain Towson. The attention of the American general was soon after called to the right, where the approach of the centre and left of the British columns, under colonels Drummond and Scott, was announced by a fire of cannon and mus-

ketry. A vigorous attack, made by the left column, under colonel Scott, was successfully resisted by the New-York and Pennsylvania volunteers, aided by a six-pounder, under major M'Ree; but the centre, led on by colonel Drummond, was not long kept in check; it approached, at once, every assailable point of the fort, and with scaling ladders ascended the parapet. The assault at this point was twice repeated, and as often checked; but the British troops, having moved round the ditch unobserved, re-ascended their ladders, and after carrying the bastion at the point of the bayonet, actually turned the guns of the fortress against its defenders. According to the American accounts, colonel Drummond performed prodigies of valour, but on the same authority, a stigma is cast upon the memory of this gallant officer, by the assertion that he frequently reiterated a sanguinary order to "give the damned yankees no quarter."* The battle now raged with increased fury, and several attempts were made by the garrison to dislodge the assailants; but in a moment every operation was arrested by the accidental explosion of a quantity of ammunition which had been placed under the platform, and by which almost all the troops that had entered the place were dreadfully mangled. A panic instantly communicated itself to the British troops; and so fixed was their persuasion, that the explosion was not accidental, that the utmost exertion of the few surviving officers to restore order

* Despatches from general Gaines, to the American Secretary at War, dated Fort Erie, August 23d, 1814.

proved ineffectual. The enemy, availing himself of this advantage, pressed forward upon the disordered columns, and before day appeared, the besiegers were obliged to abandon the bastion, and to seek shelter behind their own batteries. The loss of the British, in this disastrous enterprise, amounted, in killed, wounded, and missing, to upwards of nine hundred men; and both colonel Scott and lieutenant-colonel Drummond were numbered among the slain. The American loss was comparatively small, and is stated, in their own accounts, not to have exceeded eighty-four men, of whom seventeen were killed, fifty-six wounded, and eleven missing.

The loss of the British army was greatly aggravated by a sortie made upon their works before fort Erie, on the 17th of September, and from the details of which, as stated in the American official reports, it should appear, that a due degree of vigilance did not prevail in the camp. Early in the morning of that day, the infantry and riflemen, both of the regulars and militia, were ordered by general Brown, who had now resumed the command, to hold themselves in a state of readiness to march against the English batteries. At twelve o'clock, general Porter was ordered to move, at the head of his detachment, by a passage previously opened through the woods, for the purpose of attacking the right of the besieging army. General Miller was, at the same time, directed to occupy the ravine between fort Erie and the batteries, while general Ripley was posted with a corps of

reserve between the two bastions of the fort. Soon after three o'clock in the afternoon, general Porter's column, which was destined to penetrate to the rear of the British batteries, and to turn their right, carried a strong block-house by storm, while general Miller, advancing from the ravine, pierced the intrenchments; and within half an hour from the time that the first gun was fired, two of the batteries out of the three were in possession of the enemy. The fate of the remaining battery was soon after decided, and the assailants, having spiked the British guns, and destroyed one of the magazines, withdrew within their own lines. Thus, in the short space of one hour, the fruits of fifty day's labour were destroyed, and the efficient force of the British army diminished at least one thousand men, of whom three hundred and eighty-five were made prisoners. The aggregate loss of the Americans amounted to five hundred and eleven, of whom forty-five were officers, and the remainder non-commissioned officers and privates. After the destruction of his works before fort Erie, general Drummond broke up his camp, and returned on the night of the 21st, to his intrenchments behind Chippaway. (27)

# CHAPTER X.

It now had become abundantly evident that the Americans had been taught to fight on the land as well as upon the ocean, and that they were indebted to Great Britain for their instruction: but the hope was cherished, that, as soon as sir George Prevost had received all the reinforcements which were despatched to him immediately after the peace of Paris, a splendid and decisive victory over the enemy would be obtained. Upon the arrival of these reinforcements, no time was lost in assembling three brigades on the frontier of Lower Canada, and in forming them into a division, under the command of major-general de Rottenburgh, for the purpose of transferring the seat of war into the enemy's territory. The invading army, under the governor-general, was now swelled to fourteen thousand men; and on his approach to the line of separation between Lower Canada and the United States, the American army abandoned their intrenched camp at Champlain, which was occupied on the 3d of September, by the British forces. The following day the whole of the left division advanced to the village of Chazy, and on the 5th, halted within eight miles of Plattsburgh, having surmounted all the difficulties created by the obstructions in the road, from the felling of trees, and the removal of

bridges. On the 6th, the whole division moved upon Plattsburgh, in two columns, the right led by major-general Power's brigade, and the left by the brigade under major-general Brisbane. The New-York militia, commanded by general Moores, supported by a detachment of regular troops, under major Wood, attempted to impede the advance of the right column of the British army; but the militia could not be prevailed upon to stand, notwithstanding the exertions of their general and staff officers; and general Power's column entered Plattsburgh without ever having deployed in their whole line of march. By this rapid movement, the enemy's strong position at Dead Creek was reversed, and leaving his gun-boats to defend the ford, he retreated to an elevated ridge of land on the south side of the river Saranac. This position, rendered strong by nature, was crowned with three redoubts, and other field works, and defended by fifteen hundred effective troops, under the command of general Macomb. On the advance of the British army to Plattsburgh, the southern part of which city is washed by the waters of the Saranac, at their junction with Cumberland Bay, the American general ordered the planks to be taken off the bridges, and piled up in the form of breast-works, to cover the parties intended to dispute the passage of the river. From the 7th to the 11th, sir George Prevost was employed in bringing up his battering train; and captain Downie, who had recently been appointed to command the British fleet on lake Champlain, was urged to advance into the bay of

Plattsburgh, in order to co-operate with the land forces. The British army now only waited the arrival of the flotilla, and at seven o'clock in the morning of the 11th, the vessels were seen over the isthmus which joins Cumberland-Head with the main land, steering for the bay, with the determination to engage the American flotilla under commodore Macdonough. At the same instant the batteries were opened upon the enemy's position on the Saranac, and the brigades under major-general Robinson and major-general Power, were ordered to force the ford, and to escalade the enemy's works upon the heights.

The enemy's fleet, which consisted of a ship, a brig, and two schooners, was moored in line abreast of their intrenched camp, with a division of five gun-boats on each flank. Captain Downie, in the Confiance, having determined on laying his ship close to the American commodore's ship, the Saratoga, directed lieutenant M'Ghee, of the Chub, to support captain Pring, in the Linnet, in engaging the brig to the right, and lieutenant Hicks, of the Finch, with the flotilla of gun-boats, to attack the schooner and sloop on the left of the enemy's line. At eight o'clock, the American gun-boats and smaller vessels commenced a heavy and galling fire on the British line, and at ten minutes after eight, the Confiance, having two anchors shot away from her larboard bow, was obliged to anchor, though within two cables length of her adversary. The Linnet and Chub soon afterwards took their allotted stations, at about the same distance, when the

crews on both sides cheered, and commenced a spirited and close action. A short time, however, deprived the service of the Chub, which, from having her cables, bowsprit, and main-boom shot away, drifted into the enemy's line, and was obliged to surrender. From the light airs, and the unruffled surface of the lake, the fire on both sides proved very destructive; and after two hours of severe conflict, during which captain Downie was slain, the Confiance struck her colours. The whole of the enemy's fleet then directed their destructive cannonade against the Linnet, and captain Pring, having ascertained that his brave commander had already fallen, and that all hope of relief had vanished, conceived that the situation of his gallant comrades, who had so nobly fought, and were every moment falling by his side, demanded the surrender of his vessel, gave the painful orders for the colours to be struck. The same fate awaited the Chub and the Finch, and the gun-boats were indebted, for their escape, to the shattered condition of the enemy's vessels. In this disastrous action, the loss on both sides was severe, and when the comparative strength of the two squadrons, as stated by the Americans, is considered, the result would be most humiliating, were it not known that captain Downie was urged into the action before his ship, which had only been ten days off the stocks, was in a fit condition to meet the enemy.*

* Despatches from sir James Lucas Yeo to J. W. Croker, Esq. dated September 24, 1814.

*Comparative view of the force and loss of the hostile Fleets.*

**BRITISH.**

| | *Guns.* | *Men.* | *Killed.* | *Wounded.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Confiance, - - | 39 | 300 | 50 | 60 |
| Linnet, - - - - | 16 | 120 | 20 | 30 |
| Chub, - - - - | 11 | 40 | 6 | 10 |
| Finch, - - - - | 11 | 40 | 8 | 10 |
| Thirteen gun-boats, | 18 | 550 | 0 | 00 |
| Total, - - - - | 95 | 1,050 | 84 | 110 |

**AMERICAN.**

| | *Guns.* | *Men.* | *Killed.* | *Wounded.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Saratoga, - - - | 26 | 210 | 28 | 29 |
| Eagle, - - - - | 20 | 120 | 13 | 20 |
| Ticonderoga, - - | 17 | 110 | 6 | 6 |
| Preble, - - - - | 7 | 30 | 2 | 0 |
| Ten gun-boats, - | 16 | 350 | 3 | 3 |
| Total, - - - - | 86 | 820 | 52 | 58 |

While the vessels were engaged upon the lake, the land forces, under general Robinson and general Power, had succeeded in effecting a passage across the Saranac; but no sooner were the shouts of victory heard from the enemy's works, in consequence of the success of their squadron, than sir George Prevost arrested the course of his troops, and ordered them to retreat. In the evening of the same day the British batteries were dismantled; and at two o'clock the next morning the army retreated, leaving a large proportion of the sick, wounded, and stores, in the hands of the enemy. The estimate of the loss of every kind sustained by the British in their expedition against the United

States, as made by the Americans, is enormous; but the return transmitted by sir George Prevost, to his government, of the loss in action between the 6th and the 14th of September, does not amount to two hundred and fifty men. The desertions however, swelled this number to a large amount, and every idea of penetrating into the enemy's country, from the side of Lower Canada, was abandoned.

It is scarcely possible to conceive the degree of mortification and disappointment created in Great Britain, by the arrival of this disastrous intelligence. Troops, which had been victorious in Spain, and France; which had not only fought and conquered under the Duke of Wellington, but which had received his particular commendation for their steadiness and bravery; had now been baffled and defeated by an American army, less than one-third their number; by men, to whom veteran troops would scarcely award the name of soldiers; and who, but a few months before, had fled before the Canadian militia. In Canada, the complaints were loud and general against Sir George Prevost. The flotilla, it was said, had been sacrificed by his precipitancy; and the officers of his army were of opinion, that even without naval co-operation, Plattsburgh might have been carried, had not the peremptory orders of the governor-general obliged them reluctantly to retreat within their own frontier. (28)

# CHAPTER XI.

The operations on the banks of lake Champlain terminated the principal events of the war on the Canadian frontier. Neither of the belligerent states had, in the course of the contest, gained any extension of territory in this quarter; and of the numerous attempts made by the contending armies to alter the line of demarkation, not one of them had been attended with permanent success. The well-balanced skill and prowess of the maritime subjects of the two countries continued to vibrate; and alternate success and disaster left the question of naval ascendency to be decided probably by future wars. In the autumn of the year 1812, the United States' frigate Essex, captain Porter, had proceeded to sea from the Delaware, and, after making several valuable prizes on the coast of Brazil, shaped her course for the Pacific ocean, where she inflicted great injuries on British commerce, particularly upon the shipping employed in the spermaceti whale fishery. The numerous captures made by the Essex, having at length attracted the attention of the British board of admiralty, captain Hillyar was despatched in the Phœbe frigate, accompanied by Capt. Tucker, in the Cherub sloop of war, for the purpose of protecting the trade, and putting an end to the depredations to

which it had become exposed. After a quest of nearly five months, the American frigate was discovered, along with a corvette, of twenty guns, riding at anchor on the coast of Chili, in the Spanish port of Valparaiso. The great inferiority of the American vessels deterred them for some time from venturing to sea in the face of the Phœbe and her consort, but after suffering a blockade of six weeks, captain Porter slipped his cable in the morning of the 28th of March, 1814, and attempted to escape out of the bay. On rounding the point of the harbour, the main-top mast of the Essex was carried away by a squall, and not being able to regain the limits of the neutral port, she bore up, and anchored to the leeward of the shore. After some distant firing, the Phœbe closed with the Essex, at thirty-five minutes past five o'clock in the afternoon, when a sanguinary but unequal contest ensued, during which the Cherub, having placed herself under the enemy's stern, contributed materially to her annoyance. The decks of the Essex soon became strewed with her dead, and her cock-pit filled with the wounded. Many of her guns were rendered useless, and several of them had the whole complement of their men destroyed. Still her commander, with an obstinacy bordering on desperation, persisted in the unequal conflict, and every expedient that a fertile mind and a determined spirit could suggest, was resorted to, in the hope that some of the fortunate changes incident to naval warfare might rescue him from the hands of his antagonists. Several times dur-

ing the engagement his ship had taken fire; and towards its close, the flames burst out at the hatchways both fore and aft. Thus surrounded by horrors, captain Porter advised such of his crew as could swim, to jump overboard and make for the shore; while those that remained in the ship, were employed in extinguishing the flames. All this time, the smoothness of the water, and the secure distance of the Phœbe and the Cherub, enabled them to keep up a deliberate and constant fire at the enemy; and captain Porter, finding his crew extremely weakened, determined to summon a consultation of his officers; but to his surprise he found that only one, lieutenant M'Knight, remained, all the others having been either killed or disabled.—At length, after one of the most obstinately contested actions on naval record, "humanity tore down the colours which valour had nailed to the mast," and the American captain was compelled, at twenty minutes past six o'clock, to give the painful order to strike.* The loss of the Essex is a sufficient testimony of the desperate bravery with which she was defended. Out of two hundred and fifty-five men who composed her crew, fifty-eight were killed, thirty-nine wounded severely, twenty-seven slighty, and thirty-one were missing; constituting an aggregate of one hundred and fifty-four. The British ships, on the contrary, had only five killed, and ten wounded, among the for-

* Captain Porter's letter to the Secretary of the American Navy.

mer of whom was lieutenant Ingham, of the Phœbe; and among the latter, Capt. Tucker, of the Cherub. In the official account of this engagement, transmitted to his government, captain Hillyar, with the spirit of a brave man, bestowed a liberal share of praise on the gallantry of the enemy; and on the return of captain Porter to America, he was hailed as one of the most distinguished naval heroes of his country.

A severe action, issuing unfortunately to the British flag, took place on the 28th of June, near the entrance to St. George's Channel, between the English brig Reindeer, Captain Manners, and the American sloop of war Wasp, Captain Blakeley. Perceiving an enemy to leeward, on the morning of that day, captain Manners gave chase, and about three o'clock in the afternoon, the two hostile vessels were yard-arm to yard-arm. For five and twenty minutes the engagement was maintained with the most determined bravery, when the Reindeer, having lost her gallant commander, her purser, and twenty-seven men killed, besides forty wounded, and having been repulsed in two attempts to board, was under the necessity of striking her colours. The proportion between the two ships, in size, weight of metal, and complement of men, was greatly in favour of the Wasp, and so completely was her adversary dismantled, that she could not be kept afloat, but was, on the following day, set on fire and destroyed. (29)

On the 8th of July, the Wasp, after making a number of other captures, put into L'Orient, which

port she left on the 27th of August, and resumes her cruise. Four days after her departure from the French port, she was met at sea by the British sloop of war Avon, of twenty guns, commanded by captain Arbuthnot. An obstinate action immediately commenced, which continued for forty-five minutes, and which terminated in the surrender of the British sloop; but before the boats of the Wasp could be lowered for the purpose of taking possession of her prize, three other sail of British ships hove in sight, and captain Blakeley was not only obliged to abandon his prize, but to seek his own safety in flight. The Wasp afterwards continued her cruise, making great havoc among the merchant vessels, of which she captured and destroyed no fewer than fifteen. Nor was the success of the enemy on the ocean confined to their national vessels, their privateers made many rich captures, not merely on their own coats, and among the West India Islands, but on the coast of England and Ireland; and thus, with a navy of nearly one thousand ships, and without any other enemy than the American states, Great Britain had the mortification to see her commerce interrupted, and the property of her merchants captured even in their own seas. It is true indeed that the balance of captures was in favour of England; but the proportion of prizes made by this country was far below the proportional superiority of her navy; nor did it seem too much to expect, from the means placed at the disposal of the board of admiralty, that every American vessel that put to sea should be made to swell the number of British captures. (29)

# CHAPTER XII.

The operations of the British armaments on the coast of the United States, had hitherto been on a small scale, and calculated rather to alarm and irritate than to promote any permanent effect; but during the present year the resolution was taken to "destroy and lay waste such towns and districts upon the coast as might be found assailable,"* and for this purpose, a large naval armament was employed, under the command of vice-admiral sir Alexander Cochrane, having on board a powerful land force, commanded by major general Robert Ross. On the 17th of August, admiral Cochrane entered the Patuxent, with the intention to co-operate with rear-admiral Cockburn; in an attack upon a flotilla of the enemy's gun boats, under the command of commodore Barney, and with the ulterior object of striking a decisive blow against the capital of the United States. On the 19th, the army landed at Benedict, on the right bank of the Patuxent, without opposition; and on the 22d the expedition reached Pig Point, where admiral Cockburn descried the broad pendant of the American flotilla. No time was lost in the British boats in advancing to the attack; but on their near approach, it was discovered that all the

* Admiral Cochrane's Letter to Mr. Monroe, dated on board the Tonnant, August 18th, 1820.

enemy's vessels were abandoned, and before they could be taken possession of, sixteen out of the seventeen, of which the flotilla consisted, were blown into the air. The British commanders now resolved to proceed against Washington, from which they were distant only sixteen miles. Late in the evening of the 22d, the American general Winder, to whose command the army appointed to cover the capital was confided, was joined by the president of the United States, the secretary at war, the secretary of the navy, and the attorney-general; and in the morning of the 23d, the troops were drawn up at Battalion-Old-Fields, within five five miles of the capital, and passed in review before the president. On the 24th, the British troops, resumed their march, and about twelve o'clock, the enemy was discovered formed in two lines, strongly posted on commanding heights, on the opposite side of the eastern branch of the Potowmac, his advance occupying a fortified house, which, with artillery, covered the bridge over which general Ross had to pass; while a broad and direct road, leading from the bridge to Washington, ran through the enemy's position, which was carefully defended by artillery and riflemen.

The proper dispositions being made, the attack was commenced with so much impetuosity by the light brigade, consisting of the 85th light infantry, and the light infantry companies, under the command of colonel Thornton, that the fortified house was shortly carried, and the enemy obliged to re-

tire to the heights. In support of the light brigade, general Ross ordered up a brigade under colonel Brooke, who, with the 44th regiment, attacked the enemy's left, under general Smith; the 4th regiment pressing his right, under general Stansbury with such effect, as to cause him to abandon his guns. The first line having given way, was driven upon the second, which, yielding to the irresistible attack of the bayonet, and the well-directed discharge of rockets, was thrown into confusion, and fled, leaving the British masters of the field. The rapid flight of the enemy, and his perfect knowledge of the country, precluded the possibility of making many prisoners; and the fatigue to which the troops had been exposed by a march of eleven miles before the battle commenced, on a sultry day, prevented the pursuit from being followed up with vigour. The enemy's army amounted to from eight to nine thousand men, with three or four hundred cavalry;* his artillery, ten pieces of which fell into the hands of the victors, was commanded by commodore Barney, who was wounded, and taken prisoner. The retreating army being ordered to move upon Washington, general Winder repaired to that city, where a council was hastily called, at which Mr. Monroe, the secretary of

* General Ross's despatches. According to the American official accounts, their force did not exceed 6,053 infantry and cavalry. The British force, on the same authority, is stated at 4,500. See "*Report of the Committee of Investigation on the Capture of Washington*," dated November 23, 1814.

state, and general Armstrong, the secretary at war, assisted, and at which it was the prevailing opinion, that from the dispersion of a large proportion of the American force, and the disorganized state of the remainder of the army, the defence of the city was impracticable. Under this desponding impression, the troops were ordered to retreat to George Town, and to take up a position upon the heights in the vicinity of that place.

General Ross, after having halted his army for a few hours, determined to march upon Washington, and at eight o'clock in the evening the army under his command reached that city. Judging it of consequence to complete the destruction of the public buildings with the least possible delay, the capital, including the senate house, and house of representatives, was consigned to the flames; and the arsenal, the dock-yard, the treasury, the war-office, and the president's palace, with a rope walk, and the great bridge across the Potowmac, shared the same fate. In the dock-yard, a frigate nearly ready to be launched, and a sloop of war, were consumed. The object of the expedition being thus accomplished, general Ross determined to withdraw the troops before any great force of the enemy could be assembled. On the evening of the 25th, the army left Washington; and having reached Benedict on the 29th, the whole force, estimated at five thousand men, was embarked on the following day without molestation. The total loss of the British in the battle of Bladensburg amounted only to sixty-four killed, and one hun-

dred and eighty-five wounded;* and the loss of the American army, as stated in their own accounts, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounting only to one hundred and eighty. Two hundred and sixty pieces of cannon, five hundred and forty barrels of gun-powder, and one hundred thousand ball-cartridges, swelled the trophies of the victorious army; and the repeated explosions which took place in the city of Washington and its neighbourhood during the night of the 24th, sufficiently proved, that the injury suffered by the enemy was still more considerable.†

The capture of Washington made a deep impression, not only in England and America, but also in France, and other parts of Europe. In England, the intelligence was at first received with great exultation, and it was confidently expected that Mr. Madison, who had witnessed the destruction of his capital, and had been made personally sensible of the superiority of British troops, would now sue for peace; or at least, that he would become so decidedly unpopular, that the general voice of his country would hurl him from that elevation which he had so unworthily attained. Such were the first impressions which the intelligence of this event created in England; but these expectations

* Despatches from general Ross to Earl Bathurst, dated on board the Tonnant, August 30th, 1814.

† The destruction of public property at Washington, exclusive of the public library, is estimated at the sum of 969,171 dollars.—*Report of the Committee of Investigation, on the Capture of Washington.*

soon gave way to more sober views. It was considered that Washington, though nominally the capital of the United States, could not boast a population exceeding some of our manufacturing villages; that its number of houses scarcely amounted to nine hundred; and that the inhabitants in the city and its suburbs were stated in the last census of the United States at only eight thousand two hundred and eight souls. Such a capital was not then to be considered in the light of an European metropolis; and the question naturally arose, whether the feelings to which its destruction would give rise would increase or diminish the popularity of the war party in America. Nor could it be concealed that the extent of devastation inflicted by the victors brought a heavy censure upon the British character, and lowered her rank in the scale of nations. It was indeed acknowledged that strict discipline was observed while the troops were in possession of Washington, and that private property was scrupulously protected; but the destruction, not only of etablishments connected with war, but of edifices consecrated to the purpose of civil government, and affording specimens of the advance of the fine arts among a rising people, was thought an indulgence of animosity, more suitable to the times of barbarism, than to an age and nation in which hostility is softened by sentiments of generosity, and civilized policy. History presents many instances of the hostile conflagration of palaces, but these excesses have seldom failed to be reprobated as

acts of unmanly vengeance. Retaliation, it is true, has usually been the pretext for hostilities exceeding the prescribed measure; and in the present case, the excesses committed by the Americans in their invasion of Canada, have been made the apology for the devastations at Washington; but it has been seen that ample retribution had already been taken for these enormities, and the governor-general had, on the 10th of February, in the present year, explicitly declared, that the measure of retaliation for the misconduct of the American troops was full and complete.* These reflections fix themselves upon the mind with irresistible force; and will be duly appreciated by every one who has at heart the honour and moral reputation of his country, as well as her character for military prowess.

At the time that admiral Cochrane advanced up the Patuxent, captain Gordon, of the Seahorse, proceeded with several vessels, up the Potowmac; but owing to the difficulty of the navigation, it was not till the 27th of August that he reached fort Washington. On the evening of the same day, the bombardment of the place was commenced, and the effect was so irresistible, that the garrison, after spiking their cannon, blew up the works, and abandoned the fortress. The small commercial town of Alexandria, being now left without defence, was obliged to capitulate, and the municipal authority stipulated for the preservation

* Letter from sir George Prevost to general Wilkinson.

of the place by the surrender of all the stores, merchandise, and shipping. This capitulation was signed on the 29th, and the whole of the captured vessels, being twenty-one in number, were brought off, richly freighted with tobacco, flour, and cotton, as well as with public stores.

A small expedition against the town of Bellair, on the banks of the Chesapeake, undertaken by captain sir Peter Parker, of his majesty's ship Menelaus, terminated less favourably. On the night of the 30th of August, about one hundred and twenty men were landed, and marched against the enemy, who were found drawn up in line before their camp, in the midst of woods, and in much greater force than had been anticipated. The gallant captain, unintimidated by the superior numbers to which he was opposed, did not hesitate to commence the attack; but at the moment when he was animating his men to the assault, he received a mortal wound, and his troops, after forcing the enemy to retreat, fell back to the beach, and abandoned the enterprise.

The approach of the autumnal equinox rendering it unsafe for the British fleet to quit the Chesapeake, it was determined by admiral Cochrane, and general Ross, to employ the intermediate time in an attempt upon the important maritime city of Baltimore, which had been thrown into the utmost alarm by the fate of the neighbouring capital. The admiral accordingly sailed up the bay on the 11th of September, and anchored off the mouth of the Patapsco river, on the north side of which, round

a kind of basin, Baltimore is situated. On the following day, the troops, to the amount of from seven to eight thousand,* were debarked at North Point, about thirteen miles from the town, the approach to which is through a peninsula, formed by the Patapsco and Back rivers. Across this neck of land an intrenchment extended, which the Americans were diligently employed in completing; but on the approach of the British forces these works were precipitately abandoned, and the American general, Stricker, took up a position at the junction of two roads, leading from Baltimore to the bay. At this point, the advance of the two armies became engaged, and general Ross, "in the dangers of the field ever active and foremost, and in his devotion to the honour of his country, and to the reputation of his troops, unfortunately too heedless of his personal safety, exposed himself to the aim of the enemy's riflemen, and fell gloriously and lamented." Perceiving his wound to be mortal, he sent for colonel Brooke; to this officer, the dying general confided his instructions; and having discharged his last duty to his country, he breathed out his gallant spirit, exclaiming, affectionately — "My dear wife!"

The British army, now placed under the command of colonel Brooke, continued to press forward, till they arrived within five miles of Baltimore, where a corps of about six thousand men, under general Stricker, supported by six pieces of

* General Smith's Despatches.

artillery, and augmented by several hundred cavalry, were discovered, posted under cover of a wood, drawn up in close order, and lining a strong paling, which crossed the main road nearly at right angles. The signal being given, the whole of the British troops advanced rapidly to the charge, and in less than fifteen minutes, the enemy's force, being utterly broken and dispersed, fled in every direction over the country, leaving on the field two pieces of cannon, with a considerable number of killed, wounded, and prisoners. During the night of the 12th, the British army bivouacked on the ground of which the enemy had been dispossessed; and at ten o'clock on the following morning the troops had advanced to a favourable position, within a mile and a half of the city. On reconnoitring the enemy's works, it was found that the detached hills, by which Baltimore is surrounded, were covered by a chain of pallisadoed redoubts, connected by a small breast work, and defended by an army of about fifteen thousand men, with a large train of artillery. Notwithstanding these formidable preparations, colonel Brooke, relying upon the description of force under his command, determined upon a nocturnal attack, and had made his arrangements accordingly, but in the course of the evening a communication was received from the commander-in-chief of the naval forces, by which he was informed, that an attack on Fort M'Henry had failed; and that, in consequence of the entrance to the harbour of Baltimore, being closed by vessels sunk for that purpose by

the enemy, a naval co-operation against the town and camp was found impracticable. Under these circumstances, it was resolved not to hazard an attack upon the heights; and at half past one o'clock in the morning of the 15th, the British army commenced its retreat, with perfect order and regularity, towards the mouth of the Patapsco. Having ascertained, at a late hour in the morning of the 16th, that the enemy had no disposition to quit his intrenchments, the army was moved down to North Point, and there re-embarked, along with about two hundred prisoners, being persons of the best families in Baltimore, without leaving a single British soldier behind.* The expedition against Baltimore, though unsuccessful as to its primary and ulterior objects, appears to have been attended with considerable success. The victory of the 13th, was most honorable to our arms, and was obtained at an expense of not more than two hundred and ninety men killed and wounded; while the enemy, though strongly intrenched, had a thousand men put *hors de combat.** He was besides compelled to sink upwards of twenty vessels in various parts of the harbour; to remove almost the whole of the private property out of the town; to concentrate his military force from the neighbouring states; and to burn several public buildings, for the purpose of clearing the glacis in front of the redoubts.* The American commander, however, took a very different view of the result of this enterprise. Ac-

* Colonel Brooke's Despatches, dated on board the Tonnant, in the Chesapeake, September 17, 1814.

cording to his statement, made to the secretary at war, the loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, on the 13th, did not exceed one hundred and fifty men; among the former of whom was James Lowry Donaldson, Esq. a representative in the state legislature; while, on the same authority, the loss of the British is estimated, "as near as could be ascertained," at between six and seven hundred, including the commander-in-chief.*

* General Smith's Despatches, dated Baltimore, September 19, 1814.

# CHAPTER XIII.

An expedition to the Penobscot, under lieutenant-general sir J. C. Sherbrooke, and rear-admiral Griffith, undertaken in the month of August, was attended with complete success. The British troops, after obliging the Americans to destroy the John Adams frigate, which had taken refuge in the river at Hamden, took permanent possession of the northern part of the district of Maine, in the name of his Britannic majesty, and opened a direct communication between Canada and New Brunswick.

It has already been observed, that the species of warfare announced by admiral Cochrane on the 18th of August, and the devastations made on the capital, and on the coast, of the United States, produced a deep sensation in America; and on the 1st of September, a proclamation was issued by the president, exhorting the people to unite their hearts and hands to give effect to the ample means they possessed, to chastise and expel the invaders. On the 20th of the same month, the representatives of the American people assembled in congress, when the same subject was resumed, and dilated upon in the presidential message:—

The result of the negotiations at Ghent, it was said, could not be yet known; and if, on the one hand, the repeal of the orders in council, and the

general pacification of Europe, which withdrew the occasion on which impressments from American vessels were practised, suggested the expectation that peace and amity might be re-established; yet on the other, the refusal of the British government to accept the offered mediation of the emperor of Russia; the delays in giving effect to her own proposal for a direct negotiation; and above all, the principles and manner in which the war was now avowedly carried on, led to the inference, that a spirit of hostility was indulged, more violent than ever, against the rights and prosperity of the United States. This increased violence was best explained by two important circumstances: in the first place, the great contest in Europe had terminated without any check being given to the overbearing power of Great Britain on the ocean; and in the second, immense armaments were now at her disposal, with which, with the example of a great victim before her eyes, she cherished the hope of still further aggrandizing a power already formidable in its abuses to the tranquillity of the civilized and commercial world. But whatever might inspire the enemy of the United States with these more violent purposes, the public councils of a nation, more able to maintain than it was to acquire its independence, could never deliberate but on the most effectual means for defeating the extravagant views or unwarrantable passions with which alone the war could now be pursued against her. Adverting to the events of the present campaign, Mr. Madison says, "the enemy, with all his

augmented means and wanton use of them, has little ground for exultation; unless he can feel it in the success of his recent enterprize against this metropolis, and the neighbouring town of Alexandria; from both of which his retreats were as precipitate as his attempts were bold and fortunate.—In his other incursions on our Atlantic frontier, his progress, often checked and chastised by the martial spirit of the neighbouring citizens, has had more effect in distressing individuals, and in dishonouring his arms, than in promoting any object of legitimate warfare. And in the two instances mentioned, however deeply to be regretted on our part, in his transient success, which interrupted for a moment only the ordinary public business at the seat of government, no compensation can accrue for the loss of character with the world, by this violation of private property, and by this destruction of public edifices, protected as monuments of the arts by the laws of civilized warfare." The president then proceeds to take a retrospect of the events of the campaign naval and military; and passing from that topic to the financial affairs of the republic, states, that the money received into the treasury during the nine months, ending on the 13th of June, 1814, amounted to thirty-two millions of dollars, of which eleven millions were the proceeds of the public revenue, and the remainder derived from loans. The disbursements for public expenditures during the same period, exceeded thirty-four millions of dollars, and left in the trea-

sury on the 1st of July, nearly five millions. The necessity of providing for the wants of the state, both in men and money, is next brought under consideration, and the message concludes with the frequently repeated declaration, that America was forced into the war by the violence and injustice of her enemy, and that she still retains an undiminished disposition towards peace on honourable terms.

That part of the president's message which relates to finances, was referred to a committee of ways and means, who made their report in the course of the same month. In this report, it was stated, that the resources for carrying on the war, must consist in taxes, loans, and treasury notes.—The first, it was said, could not be collected in time to meet the immediate exigencies of the state. As to loans, they could only be obtained on exorbitant terms. The treasury notes therefore, must be had recourse to; and from this source, a considerable sum might be raised, and a general circulating medium created for every part of the union. With regard to new taxes, the committee remarked, that several manufactures, which had grown up in the United States in consequence of the war having shut them out from foreign markets, were in such a flourishing condition, that they would bear to be taxed; and the amount of the proposed increase on the existing taxes, and of the new duties, was estimated at eleven millions six hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars; while the whole revenue, under the old system, was only

ten millions eight hundred thousand; thus, at one step, more than doubling the taxation.

Next to the financial arrangements, the attention of the American government was directed to the army; and a bill, formed under the direction of a military committee, and grounded on the suggestions of the secretary at war, was brought into congress, to provide for filling the ranks of the army. The object of this measure, was to preserve and render complete the present military establishment of the country, amounting to sixty-two thousand four hundred and forty-eight men; and to create an additional permanent force of, at least, forty thousand, to be raised for the defence of the cities and frontiers, under an engagement that such corps should be employed within certain specific limits. It was further proposed, that the whole of the white male population of the United States, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, should be distributed into classes of twenty-five each; every class to furnish one able bodied man, to serve during the war; that assessors should determine the territorial precincts of each class, so that the property in each division should be as nearly equal as possible; that in case of failure, a penalty should be levied on each class, to be paid among them in proportion to the property of each individual; and that every five male inhabitants, liable to military duty, who should join to furnish one soldier during the war, should be exempt from service.

This bill was discussed in the United States with great freedom; and the adversaries of the

measure had no difficulty in discovering, in its provisions, a rapid approximation towards the French code of conscription. But events were taking place at Ghent, which rendered it highly probable that there would be no necessity for carrying into effect its more obnoxious regulations.

# CHAPTER XIV.

During the progress of the negotiations at Ghent; the hostile operations of the belligerents extended to the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. On the 15th of September fort Bowyer, at the eastern entrance of the bay of Mobile, was attacked by a British naval and military force, under the command of commodore the honorable captain William Henry Percy, and colonel Nicholls; but the resistance made by major William Lawrence, the commander of the fort, was so determined and successful, that the assailants were obliged to withdraw, with the loss of the British commodore's ship, the Hermes; which took fire and exploded.

In the months of December and January, a series of operations, important from their magnitude, and disastrous in their result, took place in the neighbourhood of New Orleans, the capital of Louisiana. When the winter season had closed the movements of the armies in the northern regions of the United States, a strong military force, commanded by major-general Keane, was despatched to the south, on board of the fleet under vice-admiral the honourable sir Alexander Cochrane. On the arrival of this armament in the vicinity of Lac Borogne, it was found necessary to attack the enemy's flottilla on that lake; and this service was performed with so much skill and bravery by cap-

tain Lockyer, that, on the 12th of December, all the American vessels were, after a spirited engagement, either taken or destroyed. This important operation had removed the only obstacle to the debarkation of the troops, and, on the morning of the 23d, the army landed at the head of Lac Borogne, with no other opposition than that presented by the rugged and swampy nature of the shore. The arrival of the British army was no sooner made known to general Jackson, the American commander in Louisiana, than, placing himself at the head of the 7th and 44th regiments, with a body of the New Orleans and Tennessee militia, he advanced to meet the invaders. At eight o'clock in the evening, a heavy flanking fire was opened upon colonel Thornton's brigade; but the temerity of the American general was speedily checked by the use of the bayonet; and, in the morning of the following day, he retreated to a position about two miles nearer the city. On the 25th, major-general the Hon. sir Edward Pakenham, accompanied by major-general Gibbs, arrived and took the command of the army. On the morning of the 27th, the troops moved forward in two columns, and drove in the enemy's picquets, to a situation within three miles of the town, where their main body was discovered strongly posted behind a canal, with a breast work in front, extending from the Cypress Swamp to the banks of the Mississippi, their right resting on the river, and their left touching the wood. On the 1st of January, 1815, major-general sir John Lambert, in the Vengeur, with a

convoy of transports, reached the outer anchorage of the lake; and, five days afterwards, his reinforcements were brought up to the advance of the English position. The whole of the 7th was occupied in active preparations for the aproaching battle. Before day-light on the 8th, the British army was formed for a general assault upon the enemy's lines, to be preceded by an attempt, with a detached force, under colonel Thornton, to cross the Mississippi, and to carry the flanking battery erected by the enemy on the right side of that river; but various unforeseen difficulties retarded the execution of this part of the plan, till the co-operation had lost its effect. The morning was ushered in by a shower of bombs and Congreve rockets, the army advancing at the same time to storm the right and left of the enemy's intrenchments. Sir Edward Pakenham, the commander of the forces, "who," says general Lambert, "never in his life could refrain from being at the post of honour, and sharing the danger to which the troops were exposed, as soon as from his station he had made the signal for the troops to advance, galloped on to the front to animate them by his presence, and was seen with his hat off, encouraging them to the crest of the glacis. It was there, almost at the same time, he received two wounds, one in the knee, and another, which was almost instantly fatal, in the body. He fell in the arms of major M'Dougell, his aid-de-camp, and breathed his last. The fall of their commander, in the sight of the troops, together with major-general Gibbs and major-general Keane

being both borne off wounded at the same time, with many other commanding officers; and further, the preparations to aid in crossing the ditch not being so forward as they ought to have been; caused a wavering in the column, which, in such a situation, became irreparable; "and as I advanced with the reserve," adds general Lambert, "at about two hundred and fifty yards from the line, I had the mortification to observe the whole falling back upon me in the greatest confusion." The repulse was so decisive, that every attempt to restore order in the ranks proved ineffectual, and after some deliberation it was judged proper to draw off the troops, and to abandon the attack. Simultaneously with this advance upon general Jackson's lines, was the attempt made by colonel Thornton to carry the flanking battery of the enemy, the defence of which had been confided to general Morgan. At first, the Americans, confident in their own security, shewed a good countenance, and kept up a heavy fire; but the determination of the British troops, at this point, overcame all difficulties; and the Kentucky levies ingloriously fled, drawing after them by their example the remainder of the forces, and leaving the redoubts, and batteries, with sixteen pieces of ordnance, and the colours of the New Orleans regiment, in the possession of colonel Thornton. On learning the success of this division of the army, general Lambert despatched colonel Dickson, an artillery officer, over the river, to examine whether the post was tenable; but finding, from the report of the colonel, that it could

not be held with security by a smaller force than two thousand men, he ordered the troops to retire, and join the main army.

The battle of New Orleans was distinguished by several striking characteristics. The troops engaged on each side may be estimated, at a moderate computation, at ten thousand; and since the breaking out of the war, no engagement had perhaps been fought with so much bravery, and none certainly with so disastrous a result. The loss of the British, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to two thousand and forty, including in that number the commander-in-chief, and two other general officers, one of whom, general Gibbs, only survived his wounds till the following day. The loss of the enemy, according to the official statement of their general, was incredibly small, and did not exceed six killed, and seven wounded, exclusive of the casualties on the right bank of the river, and by the addition of which the whole number was only swelled to seventy-one!* (29)

This heavy loss on the part of the British army extinguished all hopes of success, and general Lambert, after holding a consultation with admiral Cochrane, came to the decision to re-embark the troops, and to abandon the enterprise.

The concluding operation of the war in the Gulph of Mexico was the capture of fort Bowyer on Mobile Point. On the 7th of February the fort was invested by captain Ricketts, of the Vengeur, and

* Despatches from the American adjutant-general to the Secretary at War, dated New Orleans, Jan. 16, 1815.

in the course of a few days the trenches were pushed within pistol-shot of the works. Lieutenant-colonel Lawrence, the American commander, finding it impossible much longer to resist the overwhelming force by which he was assailed, consented to capitulate, and on the 11th, the garrison, consisting of three hundred and sixty-six men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

The last naval engagement during the war added the President frigate, under the command of commodore Decatur, to the British navy. On the 15th of January, a squadron, consisting of the Majestic, captain Hayes; the Tenedos, captain Hyde Parker; the Endymion, captain Hope; and the Pomone, captain Lumley; while stationed off the Sandy Hook, for the purpose of blockading the port of New York, discovered the President quitting the harbour, and commenced a general chase. After an anxious pursuit, continued for eighteen hours, the Endymion frigate placed herself alongside the enemy, and a warm action ensued, which was maintained with great bravery on both sides for two hours and a half, and which, on the arrival of the Pomone, issued in the surrender of the American frigate.

# CHAPTER XV.

BEFORE the events which have just passed under review took place, the labors of the plenipotentiaries, assembled at Ghent, were brought to a close; and the sanguinary operations on the shores of the Mexican Gulph, like the last naval engagement off the American coast, may be ranked among the posthumous offspring of an unnatural contest between two countries, whose true interest it is, at all times, to cherish the relations of peace, and to administer to each other's prosperity by a free interchange of commercial communication.

On the 8th of August, the day on which the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and the United States held their first conference at Ghent, the English ministers submitted to the American commissioners the following *projet;* explanatory of the subjects to be brought under discussion:—*

1. The forcible seizure of mariners on board of merchant vessels, and, in connection with it, the claims of his Britannic majesty to the allegiance of all his native subjects.

2. The Indian allies of Great Britain to be included in the pacification, and a definite boundary to be settled for their territory.

* Draft of the original Protocol, made by the American ministers at the two first conferences held with the British commissioners.

The British commissioners stated that an arrangement upon this point was a *sine qua non*.

3. A revision of the boundary line between the United States and the adjacent British colonies.

With respect to this point, the British commissioners disclaimed any intention on the part of their government to acquire any increase of territory.

4. The fisheries; respecting which the British government will not allow the people of the United States the privilege of landing and drying fish, within the territorial jurisdiction of Great Britain, without an equivalent.

The American ministers, at the second meeting, which was held the following day, stated, that upon the first and third points proposed by the British commissioners, they were prepared with no instructions from their government; but that on the second fourth of these points, there not having existed hitherto any difference between the two governments, they had not been anticipated by the United States, and were therefore not provided for in their instructions. That in relation to an Indian pacification, they knew that the government of the United States had appointed commissioners to treat for peace with the Indians, and that it was not improbable that peace had already been made with them. At the same time, the American commissioners presented, as further subjects, considered by the government of the United States as suitable for discussion, the following:—

1. A definition of blockade, and, as far as may be agreed, of other neutral and belligerent rights.

2. Certain claims of indemnity to individuals, for captures and seizures preceding and subsequent to the war.

3. They further stated, that there were various other points to which their instructions extend, which might with propriety be the subjects of discussion, either in the negotiation of the peace, or in that of a treaty of commerce; which, in case of a propitious termination of the conferences, they were likewise authorized to conclude. That for the purpose of facilitating the first and most essential object of peace, they had discarded every subject which was not considered as peculiarly connected with that, and presented only those points which appeared to be immediately relevant to the negotiation.

At a subsequent meeting, held on the 10th, the British commissioners endeavored to impress the American ministers with the propriety of giving up certain places, ceded to the United States by the memorable treaty of 1783, for the purpose of rendering the limits of Canada more precise and secure; but upon this point the Americans were immoveable.

The most important, as well as the most difficult subjects in dispute between the two countries were, undoubtedly, those relating to the impressment of seamen from American ships, and the limits of blockade. The peace in Europe had, however, reduced these questions to mere abstract principles, regarding the future rather than the present; and both parties, aware of the difficulty, agreed to wave

discussions upon which it seemed impossible to arrive at any amicable conclusion. The other subjects of importance were the admission of the Indians to the treaty, and the establishment of a new Canadian frontier. On the former of these points it was agreed, that the Indian allies of both parties should be left in the same situation in which they were found in 1812; and on the latter, that any ambiguity regarding the territorial limits between Canada and the United States should be removed by commissioners appointed on both sides for that purpose, but that the line of demarkation, as drawn by the treaty of 1783, should form the standard of their decisions.

This amicable termination of the differences between the two countries, which took place by the signature of the treaty of peace at Ghent, on the 24th of December, 1814, was probably, in some measure, owing, on the side of Great Britain, to the want of success which had attended her armies, even after reinforcements had been sent out from the peninsula; to the enormous expense of sending troops to Canada, and keeping them there; to the critical state of the public finance; and to the apprehension, that if the war were not speedily terminated, some of the European powers might make common cause with America on the point of maritime rights. On the side of the United States, the government was disposed to peace from the deranged situation of their commerce; from the alarming augmentation of their national expenditure, and the consequent embarrassment of their finances; from the imper-

fect organization of their military system; and above all, from the devastations to which their coasts and frontiers had become exposed.

In both countries the termination of the war was hailed with unfeigned satisfaction; but the force of this feeling was considerably diminished by the reflection that all the blood and treasure expended in the prosecution of the contest had been lavished in vain, and that the questions in dispute remained altogether unadjusted.

# APPENDIX.

## (No. 1.)

### *HENRY'S DISCLOSURES.*

THE author here has fallen into a great error. Henry returned into Canada, and afterwards proceeded to London, and there preferred a claim on the British government for compensation of his services, which he proposed to cancel for an appointment, with a suitable emolument, either in Canada or the United States; intimating that he would accept the place of judge advocate general in the British provinces, or a sinecure consulship in the United States, with a salary annexed. Having been duped and disappointed by the British ministry, he voluntarily repaired to the city of Washington, and by letter to the Secretary of State, Mr. Monroe, proffered to disclose his services to, and connection with the British government. He was paid the sum demanded;* and made a communication, accompanied with documents, which amply shewed that Henry had been engaged

* Fifty thousand dollars.

as a spy, and the fomentor of discord among the American people. The British ministry have not been able to deny the employment of Henry, and have justly incurred, at home and abroad, all the odium of the transaction.

(No. 2.)

*MR. PERCEVAL'S AGENCY IN THE WAR.*

'The decease of the minister, the Right Honourable Spencer Perceval, is mentioned here, not superfluously, according to the author's views of the bearing of his measures and disposition on the relations of the two countries. In a biographical sketch of the deceased minister, by Mr. Baines, our author, there are the following remarks:—

"The decision of his mind sometimes assumed the character of obstinacy; and he seemed to have imbibed a principle which a prime minister should never admit into his thoughts, *that a measure once openly avowed, ought, on no account, ever to be abandoned.* To his unyielding temper, the American war, in which the country was plunged soon after his death, has been imputed."

No one can doubt, for a moment, that had the ministry, then led by Perceval, yielded their opinions to the universal clamour of the mercantile community against the orders in council, seconded with uncommon eloquence and zeal by Mr. Brougham in the British Parliament, and repealed them even one month earlier, the war would not have been declared by the American government. Hence

our author has, with reason, laid some stress upon the incident of Mr. Perceval's death.

(No. 3.)

*MOTIVES OF THE WAR PARTY IN THE SOUTH.*

The author has here, erroneously, attributed unworthy motives to the advocates and supporters of the war in the southern states. In that section of the United States, the people were governed in their sentiments and conduct by a love of their own country, indignation for the multifarious wrongs inflicted on it by the government of Great Britain, and a spirited determination, by all lawful and honourable means, to punish the aggressor, and redress their injuries. Few of the American privateers were owned or fitted out in the southern ports. They generally belonged to the middle and eastern states. And if the historian had been scrupulously faithful to the truth, he would have recorded the fact, that the American privateers during the war, with few exceptions, were far more animated by the spirit of the regular navy, than by the sordid motives of buccaneers; seeking the glory of victory, by honourable battle, over the enemies of their country. Many instances occurred of the gallant privateers passing, without notice, the merchantmen, and pursuing to the most desperate results British armed vessels.

(No. 4.)

*BALTIMORE MOB.*

The respectable historian has here adopted the exparte representation of the Federal Republican.

It is true, this outrage was "regarded with indignation in every other part of the United States," but not more so than in the city of Baltimore. And it ought to be understood, that the indignation of all sober-minded men was not confined to the murderers of Lingan, but was justly extended to the conduct of those, who, it is believed, deliberately planned, from motives of personal and political aggrandizement, the wanton excitement of the mob. The partial representations of this affair have brought upon the city a load of unmerited calumny; but while we unequivocally condemn all disorderly and riotous assemblies, we feel authorized in asserting that no city in the United States has a more sober and orderly population than Baltimore.

(No. 5.)

*SUBJECTS OF THE UNITED STATES.*

It is not a little amusing to see, even in the liberal and vigorous composition of Mr. Baines, the phraseology of a monarchist. Who, we would ask him, are the *subjects* of the United States? The people of the United States are *fellow-citizens*, not subjects of any prince or potentate.

(No. 6.)

*HULL'S SURRENDER.*

The historian here is inaccurate in his geography and facts. Malden is not on the Canard, nor did general Hull advance at all against that post. He halted at Sandwich, and sent out exploring parties on several days, one of which encountered a Bri-

tish party at the bridge on the Canard; but the army never attempted to cross it. The historian, as may be seen, proceeds with a very well drawn picture of general Hull's military catastrophe, but concludes with this strange solecism:—"By this capitulation, so *glorious* to the *arms* of Great Britain, but so disgraceful to the American army, not less than two thousand five hundred men became prisoners, &c." We leave it to British philologists to reconcile this phraseology, and to divine the measure of glory won by the conqueror in a bloodless victory, when the vanquished are disgraced. This forcibly brings to recollection a specimen of the profoundest bathos we ever met in military story. In a British panegyrick on general Ross and his army, for defeating the Americans at Bladensburgh, and capturing the city of Washington, the encomiast, straining his eulogium to the highest key, says, "On our forces taking the field, the president, with his cabinet, and the whole American army ran away like a flock of terrified sheep!" The reader, to acquire a full view of the glory of the achievement, according to this metaphor, has only to imagine the British army, commanded by general Ross, entering the field on the one side, while on the other a flock of frightened sheep are escaping at full speed.

We would recommend the attention of the historian to the result of the court-martial on general Hull, for a true estimate of the glory acquired by the British army in the capture of Detroit. He was found guilty of neglect of duty, unofficer-like conduct, and

*cowardice*, the true sources of all the glory acquired on the occasion by the British arms.

(No. 7.)

We apprehend the author, to be intelligible, should have written *ordered* for "*sent.*"

(No. 8.)

*BATTLE OF QUEENSTOWN.*

This, on the whole, is a most extravagant and absurd statement. General Wadsworth's force has just been computed at nine hundred; by the killing, wounding, *deserting* and surrendering of whom, the Americans are made to sustain a loss of two thousand! The truth is, that not more than one thousand Americans crossed during the day; about four hundred of whom were militia and volunteers, who were paroled on the field, and permitted to return immediately to the United States. Besides there were mutual exchanges of prisoners, which further reduced the loss of the Americans. Of killed, wounded, and prisoners retained, we suppose, from an impartial examination of all the accounts, the American loss was about six hundred.

(No. 9.)

*CAPTURE OF THE GUERRIERE.*

The historian, in giving what may be said to be a pretty fair statement for an Englishman, does every thing in his power to sooth the mortification of John Bull. Hence he says; "The battle had now

raged for nearly two hours." Captain Hull, in his very modest account of the affair, says by letter to the Secretary of the Navy; "After informing that so fine a ship as the Guerriere, commanded by an able and experienced officer, had been totally dismasted and otherwise cut to pieces, so as to make her not worth towing into port, in the short space of *thirty* minutes, you can have no doubt of the gallantry and good conduct of the officers and ship's company I have the honour to command."

(No. 10.)

*THANKS OF CONGRESS.*

The historian is in error when he states that the congress of the United States, like city corporations and the legislatures of New York and Massachusetts, voted "*thanks*" to the captain, officers, and crew of the Constitution. Compliments of high character were voted by congress, as well as the sum of fifty thousand dollars in lieu of prize money. The *thanks* of congress were first during the war voted to commodore Perry, and afterwards to commodore M'Donough, their officers and crews, on the occurrence of their glorious victories; but, as far as memory serves at present, to no other naval commander for a naval victory. Commodore Patterson, and the officers and men under him, received the thanks of congress for their auxiliary services in the defence of New-Orleans.

(No. 11.)

*THANKS OF CONGRESS AGAIN.*

The historian commits a similar error with that above stated, in saying that the *thanks* of congress

were voted to captain Jones, &c. See the resolutions of congress, which, as in the case of captain Hull, express the high sense entertained of the gallantry, good conduct, &c. of the commander, his officers and crew, with the presentation of medals, swords, &c.

## (No. 12.)

### *MASSACRE AT THE RAISIN.*

The historian, to save the honour of the British name, has chosen to suppress the sequel of this affair; but it is due to posterity, that the tale should be fully told, wherever the British arms claim a victory in the battle of the Raisin. The whole account here given is defective. The right wing of the Americans, which is represented to have been driven across the river, after a contest of a quarter of an hour, and there cut off by a large body of Indians stationed in the rear, was so unfortunate as to receive without any shelter the violence of the first attack; and, in attempting to change its line, was thrown into confusion, and could never again be formed. In this deplorable state it was overwhelmed by the fury of the savage storm. Those who betook themselves to flight across the river, were pursued, overtaken, and generally massacred by the Indians. The left wing of the Americans, covered by a light picket, kept up a successful defence, until the general, who, as has been stated, was captured in the disaster of the right wing, deeming their circumstances desperate, agreed to surrender them on condition of being protected from the sav-

ages, allowed to retain private property, and having their side arms returned. How faithfully the British commander observed the terms of capitulation, the result will testify. Scarcely had the surrender taken place, before the Indians commenced a course of violence and barbarity on the prisoners, especially the wounded. Against this conduct the American general remonstrating, insisted on the performance of the conditions, which had placed the prisoners in the power of their enemies. The pledge of protection was reiterated, and the British commander promised that the wounded should be removed to a place of security and comfort on the following day. Notwithstanding this engagement, he marched off for Malden; taking with him the able bodied prisoners, and leaving the wounded at the mercy of his savage allies! They were soon stripped, murdered, and cast naked over the snow for the food of beasts. Captain Hart, brother-in-law of senator Brown and speaker Clay in congress, having received a wound in the knee, had the supposed good fortune to meet in captain Elliot, a British officer, an old acquaintance and class-mate at Princeton, from whom he received a promise of protection, and conveyance the next day to the comfort and hospitality of his own quarters at Malden. This monster, leaving captain Hart in all the consolations of his engagements, abandoned him to a cruel fate. Suffering the most offensive barbarities at the hands of the Indians, he at length bargained with one of them to carry him to Malden, paying him the price stipulated. He set off with his guide on horseback:

but before they had gone five miles, the captain was beset by a fresh band of savages, who shot, tomahawked, and scalped him. In addition to these flagrant outrages, the officers and men, conducted to Malden under the immediate eye of the British commander, were robbed of their money and clothing; and their arms given to the Indians. Could it be credited, that the British authorities, with the full knowledge of these enormities, did compliment Proctor, promoting him to the rank of brigadier general for his services on this occasion; acknowledging in the same general orders, the essential services, bravery, and good conduct of the Indian chief Round Head, with his band of warriors!!! These are the distinctive features of the honours which accrued to the British arms in the battle of the Raisin, which the historian has suppressed; but that the affair might redound greatly to the glory of general Proctor, the number of the Indian allies are stated at six hundred; the fact being notorious, on the authority of the late governor Madison and other respectable citizens who were present, that in the course of the day the Indians appeared in French Town to the number of two thousand at least.

(No. 13.)

*CAPTURE OF OGDENSBURGH.*

The affair of Ogdensburgh, recorded here with so much parade of detail, was in the United States never deemed of sufficient consequence to be communicated publicly from the war-department, al-

though it seems to have commanded not only the compliments, in general orders, of Sir George Provost, the governor of the British provinces, but the particular attention of the British historian. A small garrison of riflemen, not exceeding two hundred and fifty, under the command of the memorable and much lamented captain Forsyth, had been kept up at Ogdensburgh. A British force, in two columns of five or six hundred each, attacked the place in the morning. A good defence was made by captain Forsyth, but the superior numbers of the enemy forced him out of the town, with the loss of twenty men killed and wounded. The barracks were burnt; and the public stores, trifling in amount, carried off. The cannon, stated to be captured, were not in service. According to the British official report, they had seven killed and forty-eight wounded. The capture of four officers and seventy privates, by the enemy, has not the shadow of truth.

(No. 14.)

*CAPTURE OF YORK.*

As to the explosion of the magazine, which killed general Pike and so many of the Americans, there is a complete issue between the American and British reports. In the United States, the opinion of general Dearborn, that it was premeditated by the enemy, seems generally to have been received, while in the British accounts, it has been uniformly attributed to accident. For ourselves we have never been able satisfactorily to decide the question; and we must admit that all which appears from the

recital of general Dearborn, leaves the conclusion rather against his own opinion. It appears that forty of the enemy were killed by the explosion; a pretty strong argument, that they had not premeditated the horrible catastrophe. Nevertheless, if it were clearly established that general Sheaffe was wholly innocent of design in the matter; there was not wanting in York, the capital of Upper Canada, proof of the demi-savage character of Britons, in their hostilities to the people of the United States. General Dearborn found in the Parliament House a human scalp, suspended near the speaker's chair, in company with the mace. What could have been intended by this horrible symbol, we are wholly at a loss to imagine, without recurring to the repeated instances in which the British commanders permitted, in their presence, the wounded and dead Americans to be scalped and otherwise shockingly mutilated. With such proofs of their participation in acts of this kind, as the events of the war furnished, there cannot be a doubt left, that the British officers and troops adopted the savage custom of reckoning the scalp of their enemy a trophy; and, as an emblem of victory, was suspended the scalp found near the speaker's chair, in the Parliament House at York.

(No. 15.)

*EVACUATION OF FORT GEORGE.*

This declaration is in the teeth of several subsequent statements of Mr. Baines, in the course of his narrative; and it is well known that the Ameri-

cans did not abandon Fort George until sometime after general Wilkinson set out on his famous expedition against Montreal. The place was finally abandoned on the 10th of December, 1813, by general M'Clure, of the New York Militia, to whom it had been committed; and at whose departure, Newark, a village adjacent was nearly all consigned to flames.

(No. 16.)

*BATTLE OF STONEY CREEK.*

Of all the accounts published of the battle of Stoney Creek, no two agree; but of all we have seen, this is the most laconic, and the most arrogant on the British side. That general Vincent, in making a night attack, did for a time produce great confusion in the American camp is true; and that the strange incidents of the scene put the American generals, with other officers, and troops, into the possession of the enemy cannot be denied; but it is not true that the Americans were driven from their camp. A force of five hundred was counted and at day light reported by captain Francis D. Cummins, then adjutant of the 16th U. S. Infantry, to Col. Milton the senior officer present. This force had occupied the field without intermission the whole night. And in addition to the possession of the field, the Americans retained one hundred and fifty-four prisoners. About eight o'clock, A. M. the enemy sent into the American lines a flag of truce, requesting permission to bury their dead, and asking information of general Vincent, who was supposed

to have been killed or captured. His horse was found killed; and Col. Milton had the good fortune to capture his saddle, housing, &c. It appeared in the end, that the British general had been in as great a dilemma as his opposing generals; except that he was not finally held a prisoner. He lost his horse, sword, saddle, housing and chapeau-debras; and was found himself in an insensible state, lying on the ground, in the woods, a short distance from the American camp.

(No. 17.)

*REPULSE OF THE ENEMY AT FORT MEIGS.*

In detailing the events of this day, the historian has entirely omitted to notice the very spirited sallies from fort Meigs, upon the Indian and British batteries on the south-west side of the river, simultaneously with the attack on the north-west side. Detachments of the regular infantry, volunteers and militia, in all about three hundred and fifty, conducted by lieutenant colonel Miller, rushed upon and destroyed the enemy's works, captured several officers, made fifty prisoners, and drove from the field two hundred regulars, one hundred and fifty militia, and four or five hundred Indians. This was a chequered day in its events; the loss of the gallant Kentuckians being no less deplorable, than the success of lieutenant colonel Miller and his comrades was brilliant. The result was decidedly in favour of the American cause; and general Proctor being of that conviction, precipitately quit his ground, and sought safety at Sandwich.

## (No. 18.)

### *NAVAL BATTLE ON ERIE.*

This account is in all respects so fair, that we shall not take up one moment to insert a great many small omissions, but to do homage to the manly spirit and candour of captain Barclay, to which we presume the historian is indebted for his candid representation. And here we might observe, that many, if not most of the errors, bordering on falsehood, to be found in the British history, are due to the notorious misrepresentations and arrogance of British officers in foreign service. From Barclay's honest story there was no room for equivocation; and hence the round admission that *"the victory was decisive."* In the note appended by the author, is a covert attempt to lessen the glory acquired by the American arms, by representing the squadron of commodore Perry greatly superior in strength. The following table will shew the truth in this respect; the swivels on both sides enumerated as guns:—

| *American.* | *Guns.* | *British.* | *Guns.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Niagara, | 20 | Detroit, | 22 |
| Lawrence, | 20 | Queen Charlotte, | 18 |
| Ariel, | 4 | Lady Prevost, | 14 |
| Caledonia, | 3 | Hunter, | 10 |
| Scorpion, | 2 | Little Belt, | 3 |
| Somers, | 4 | Chippeway, | 3 |
| Tigress, | 1 | | |
| Porcupine, | 1 | | 70 |
| Trippe, | 1 | | |
| | 56 | | |

The killed on board the American squadron were 27, wounded 96, total 123.

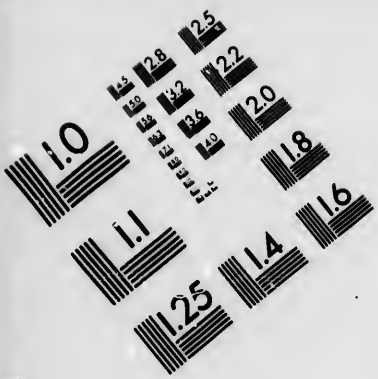
The killed on board the British squadron were 41, wounded 94, total 135. After the action the prisoners exceeded in numbers their captors. On what pretence then can it be represented that the advantage was on the side of the Americans? The result proved that commodore Perry, with inferior numbers in men and guns, had the address, courage, and seamanship, to beat his antagonist.

(No. 19.)

*BATTLE OF THE THAMES.*

The estimate of the British troops is notoriously too small. General Harrison killed twelve, wounded twenty-two, and captured on the field six hundred and one regulars; and the author himself a little subsequently admits that general Proctor collected at Ancaster, of the "shattered remains of his army," about two hundred men. So that it does appear from indubitable authority, that the British force at the Moravian village was at least eight hundred and thirty-four regulars. The Indian forces are more fairly recorded; but we do not give our faith in any degree to the story of the personal rencontre of colonel Johnson with Tecumseh. That the colonel was in the hottest of the fire, distinguished by his gallantry and prowess, is known; but so far as our information extends he has never countenanced the romance of the story. On what authority it is stated, that the "Americans had a kind of ferocious pleasure in contemplating the con-

tour of the features" of Tecumseh we know not. It is without any hesitation we pronounce the reflection false. Had such a pleasure animated the hearts of the brave and generous Kentuckians, they did not want occasion to indulge it to satiety by retaliating the injuries of their countrymen upon the very perpetrators of their wrongs, now in their power, and of whom they could but cherish contempt and indignation. Other sentiments were entertained towards Tecumseh. True he was a savage and relentless enemy; but he was brave, and for his bravery respected by the Kentuckians. If, indeed, they had been able to designate the person of Tecumseh among the fallen, they would have contemplated his feature and form with the same curiosity that every generous man, especially a soldier, would contemplate the scull of Hannibal, Cæsar, or Alexander; the person of Wellington, or the face of the great prisoner at St. Helena. It was believed, at the termination of the battle, that the great Shawanee warrior had fallen; and a fine corpse, with a noble front, was supposed to be his remains; but no one offered it, or any other on the ground, any indignity. Such were not the deeds of the Kentuckians. Our feelings in repelling these insinuations are awakened a little in retaliation; and therefore we shall not allow to general Proctor, or his fame, the benefit of the apology offered for him by the historian. *"General Proctor perceiving that all was lost, ordered his troops to disperse, and sought his own safety in flight."* What! general Proctor, the cold-hearted murderer of pris-





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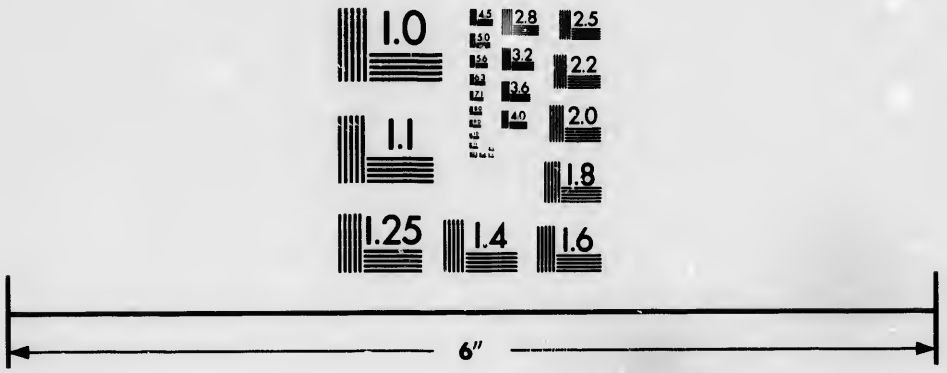



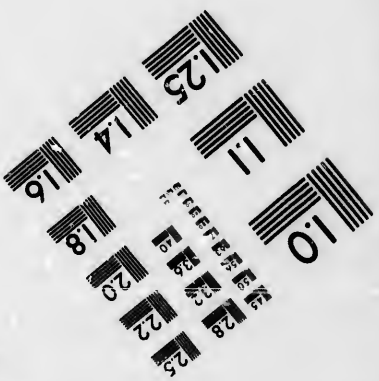


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oners, remain to witness the result of a battle on equal terms! He fled at the moment of the first charge upon the British regulars, without one attempt to succour or support them by his reserve of cavalry, which he carried off with him for his better protection in the event of a pursuit. He did not wait the result of the contest with the Indians, whose bravery in their own defence merited a better protection from him whose fortunes they had followed. If the dastardly hero of the Raisin had fallen under the inspection of the conquerors, the memory of his cruelties and barbarities might justly have excited their execration; but even his loathsome carcass could not have provoked a brave Kentuckian to forget what was due to his species.

## (No. 20.)

### *EVENTS ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN.*

The expedition of colonel Murray, deemed of sufficient importance to be inserted by the historian, was set off by several embellishments which seem to have been forgotten; and this is somewhat unaccountable too, as the author has certified in the most decided terms, that "this important service was performed with a degree of promptitude and *regularity* highly honourable to the officers." Now, until this unqualified testimony of Mr. Baines, we had been accustomed to look upon this excursion of colonel Murray as quite equal to some of the most celebrated achievements of admiral Cockburn in the Chesapeake. At Plattsburgh, at the time wholly defenceless, there was a most wanton destruc-

tion of private property. Tables, bureaux, clocks, desks, &c. were cut and broken into pieces, and the fragments thrown over the apartments they had furnished. Books, private papers, and feathers discharged from beds ripped open, were scattered through the streets. At Point-au-Roche, where the party stopped a few hours, the wife of a respectable citizen, of the name of Williams, was assaulted by three ruffians, with direct menaces of her chastity, and escaped disgrace alone by the heroic conduct of her husband, who, with her aid, beat off two, and actually captured and secured one of the party. At Swanton nothing ferocious or barbarous was omitted. By the depositions of several persons it was proved, beyond a question, that a young lady, not exceeding the age of fifteen, was seized by a number of soldiers, and by force carried into a room. Having shut out all chance of rescue, they doomed her to the most diabolical violence, regarding neither her entreaties nor screams. After this well established case, it would be *creeping* indeed, to recount the mean and pilfering depredations that were practised in every part of the village. These were the "important services performed with a degree of promptitude and *regularity* highly honourable to the officers directing the expedition!"

(No. 21.)

*HAMPTON'S EXPEDITION ON THE CHATEAUGAY.*

With this account the historian commences a series of rodomontade, worthy of Munchausen. In the first place, the united forces under Wilkinson and Hampton are greatly over-rated; those under

the former being about six thousand five hundred, while those under the latter amounted to three thousand five hundred effective men. With these, had the commanders been good and true, Montreal ought easily to have been captured. This declaration is hazarded without any regard to the opinion of the historian, that the "troops were formidable only in numbers, and possessed no qualities which could enable them to stand the shock of armies under British discipline." The troops under Wilkinson had seen a good deal of service in the campaign, having captured York, forts George and Erie, and defended Sackett's Harbour; and the historian, relating the capture of fort George, spoke of them as follows:—"But the numerical superiority of the assailants, combined with that coolness and intrepidity which experience imparts, and of which the Americans had already begun to shew several examples, overcome all opposition." On that occasion it appears they did possess some "qualities which could enable them to stand the shock of armies under British discipline." A[illegible], if allowed to anticipate the story, for an example of their qualities, we would remind Mr. Baines that sixteen hundred of these very men, under general M'Comb, co-operating with commodore M'Donough's squadron, and supported by two brigades of militia, successfully defended Plattsburgh, in 1814, against the British squadron and twelve thousand troops under "British discipline," headed by sir George Prevost in person, accompanied by adjutant general Baines, the brother of the historian.

The sequel of the narrative, embracing the movements of general Hampton on the Chateaugay, which were intended only as a division in favour of Wilkinson on the St. Lawrence, until his descent should enable him to come within communication with Hampton's division, is monstrously vain-glorious; insomuch that it could not procure the faith of a single reader out of the British dominions, and we doubt much whether it would command that of John Bull himself. The forces under general Hampton, which have just been estimated from eight to ten thousand, and now at seven thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry, &c. are here represented as defeated by a British force not exceeding three hundred! The whole of this story is just as true as that part of it which makes colonel M'Carty command the Americans, on the south-east side of the river. The detachment on that service was commanded by colonel Purdy, there being no such officer as colonel M'Carty present.

This affair must be set right. The division under general Hampton, three thousand five hundred effectives, moved from Chateaugay on the 21st of October, 1813, and arrived next day at Sears. Between this position and the lines of the enemy, lay a heavy forest, much obstructed by fallen trees and other impediments, and defended by five hundred troops. In order to ascertain the whole force of the enemy posted on this route, for the defence of Montreal, general Hampton opposed to the front of the forest a battalion of two hundred and twenty-five men, who occasionally skirmished with the

enemy in his covering; while colonel Purdy, with his regiment, proceeded down the south-east side of the river to examine the position of the enemy in the rear of the forest, with instructions, if circumstances favoured, to cross the river and attack, on the flank and in the rear, the forces posted in the wood. The night being dark, and the guide losing his way, colonel Purdy did not accomplish the object of his destination. At three o'clock P. M. on the 26th, while the battalion in front was waiting the attack of colonel Purdy in the rear, the enemy came out and made an attack on it. A smart engagement ensued; but the enemy being charged, were entirely dispersed, and the forest cleared. The American loss here was one killed and four wounded. Colonel Purdy's command having had a good deal of bush fighting, lost, in the whole, killed, wounded, and missing, about thirty men. The results of these experiments ascertained to general Hampton the position of the enemy behind the woods; but the crisis of the campaign having not arrived, he was not authorized to attack further the enemy in his position. This service had been reserved for the united forces of Wilkinson and Hampton, and from the plan of the War Department, the latter was not to depart on his own responsibility. General Hampton remained unmolested in the neighbourhood for several days, without hearing any thing of general Wilkinson, and then, on the recommendation of a council of his officers, returned within the territory of the United States. This is the mighty affair which has been

magnified into a defeat of seven to eight thousand Americans by three hundred British regulars and Canada militia.

## (No. 22.)

### *DESCENT OF THE ST. LAWRENCE.*

In the relation of general Wilkinson's descent of the St. Lawrence, the historian has not been more accurate than in his account of general Hampton's campaign. In passing Prescot, says he, on the authority of sir George Prevost, "the American armada was doomed to sustain a heavy and destructive cannonade." On arriving near the place, general Wilkinson seems to have been sagacious enough to elude the enemy completely. He sent forward some old boats, on which, it being dark, the garrison exhausted their long shot, and afterwards the flotilla passed without harm, excepting from one shot, which killed two and wounded three men, arriving in good order next morning at Hamilton, twenty miles below Prescot. Here the cavalry, which had been marched previously on the American side, was crossed over and landed near Williamsberg on the enemy's side. At the same time, and not before, general Boyd, with a brigade of fifteen hundred men, was landed to cover the boats in their passage through the rapids. These particulars are stated to apprize the reader of the wonderful artillery at Prescot, which the historian asserts "briskly assailed, *at the distance*," *mind*, "*of twenty miles*, the army on the shore under the command of brigadier general Boyd, with shot and shells."

Near Williamsberg general Boyd had a rencontre, in which, by the fall of lieutenant Smith, the enemy got possession of one gun, and afterwards boasted a splendid victory. From the accounts on both sides, it may fairly be supposed that neither party gained much on the field. Many lives were lost, and many valuable officers wounded; of the Americans, general Covington mortally. Between the notorious misrepresentations of colonel Morrison, who commanded the enemy, and the windy report of general Wilkinson, very great uncertainty has ever hung on the events of the 11th of November, 1813.

The historian very ignorantly, or disingenuously, ascribes to the disasters of the day the abandonment of the expedition against Montreal. The American army was not at all depressed by the result of the battle of Williamsberg. Nor did it return to the territories of the United States from any consciousness of defeat; but on the contrary, the flotilla proceeded, on the next day, through the rapids, while the cavalry, with the ordnance, marched along the Canada shore, without further molestation by the enemy. The whole force re-united at Barnhart's, near Cornwall, where general Brown had arrived the day before, having successfully combatted all the obstructions of his march by the enemy. The result, then, of the battle of Williamsberg was entirely favourable to the destination of the American army. It was at Barnhart's that general Wilkinson took upon himself to decide that general Hampton had declined a junction with him,

and on that pretext, to violate what he had before admitted to be the orders of the government, and the most solemn obligations of duty, "to precipitate his descent of the St. Lawrence by every practicable means." He having remained on the Canada shore until the 13th, without seeing or hearing of an enemy in his neighbourhood, gave up the service for which he had been especially selected, and with it the hopes of the country, the expectations of the government, his own military reputation, and the honour of the army; and, interposing the responsibility of a council of officers to exculpate himself, malignantly and fretfully inculpated general Hampton, who, to say the most against him, was not more guilty than Wilkinson. Had Wilkinson adhered to his instuctions, and steadily pressed his way to Montreal, it was more than Hampton dared to absent his army when the crisis had arrived; and there is no one capable of forming a correct opinion, who will not see, on inspection of the map, that to ensure the greatest facility to the junction of the two armies, Wilkinson, by descending the St. Lawrence, and menacing the forces of the enemy opposed to Hampton on the 20th of October, would have brought himself into easy communication with the expected reinforcement, and the promised supplies. His determination to the contrary, however, subjected himself and Hampton to this sarcasm of the historian:—"It was strongly surmised in the United States that the battles of Chateaugay and Williamsberg had abated their military ardour,

and that in reality their dissensions might be traced to this cause."

On the whole, we have no disposition to attempt to defend the conduct of general Wilkinson in the closing scene of the expedition; believing, as we do, that no military service ever furnished, *with impunity*, a parallel in neglect of duty and disobedience of orders; but we would desire to rescue the faithful troops that followed him from the odium of defeat, and the taunts of the late enemy, and therefore, all we have written on this particular head is intended for their benefit.

(No. 23.)

*CONFLAGRATION OF NEWARK, &c.*

The historian proceeds to the account of the burning of Newark by general M'Clure; and the events on the Niagara, which he has been pleased to consider in the nature of retaliation. We should permit his narrative to pass without a remark, but for the imputation to the Americans, "of a system of plunder organized" by them "against the loyal inhabitants of that district." This we have quoted for the sole purpose of contradiction. The government and people heard of the conflagration of Newark with the most painful sensations, and, without explanation, condemned it. After the explanations between the commanding officer and the secretary of war, the moral character of the transaction received little apology in the feelings and sentiments of the American people. We, ourselves, have no hesitation in denouncing the act unneces-

sary, so far as the good of the service was concerned, and therefore, in its character, wanton and vandalic. But wanton and barbarous as it may have been, its measure was far transcended by the enemy, in laying waste the whole country bordering on the Niagara, the inhabitants of which, being at the time, retired from military occupations. If any thing can be said in extenuation of the conduct of the enemy, there would not be wanting enough to justify general M'Clure for the destruction of Newark, and all the settlements round about it; for he was actually in the military occupation of fort George, the security of which was not a little to be affected by the proximity of the town. We are entirely at a loss to understand how the historian could emblazon the conduct of general Riall and colonel Murray in the terms he has employed, and afterwards denounce the service in which they had been engaged as "abhorrent to every civilized mind, and fit only for the savage auxiliaries of the two exasperated belligerents." Wanton and barbarous as he may have deemed the conduct of general M'Clure, it did not, in any degree, abate the horrid immorality of the conduct of the British officers.

In this narrative, one allegation occurs which we could wish had no foundation in truth. The historian speaks of the "*auxiliaries* of the two exasperated belligerents." We regret exceedingly that government, or its agents, ever tarnished the service of the country by receiving into the army the auxiliaries here mentioned. It is not unknown to

us, that the government declined, in the beginning of the war, the proffered services of the Indians; nor is it unknown to us that the enemy had taken advantage of their bloody propensities, and arrayed them against us; and that it was not until sometime in the campaign of 1813, that a few of them were received into the American service, with such restraints as forbid the cruel practices to which, in war, they are accustomed. Nevertheless, we deny the policy, or moral propriety of associating savages with the troops of a Christian people; and our experience proves that they cannot be used with profit, unless they be permitted to wage war in their own style. Such a permission, an American officer or the American government can never grant, and retain the countenance and support of the American people. We need them not in any emergency. Perry and Harrison defeated them and their employers; and all the benefits derived from their services on the Niagara did not compensate the imputation, that our army was sustained by such auxiliaries.

(No. 24.)

*CAPTURE OF THE CHESAPEAKE, &c.*

The slender grounds, on which the historian claims ascendency for the British navy, are, of themselves, the highest compliment to that of the Americans. Of the incidents of the naval campaign of 1813, he has here enumerated four; the Hornet and Peacock, Chesapeake and Shannon, Wasp and Pelican, and Enterprize and Boxer. A short

review of these will shew how well the historian was authorized to say to the world, that *"the ascendency inclined, unquestionably, to that power which had so long reigned the unrivalled mistress of the waves,"* meaning the navy of Great Britain.

The Hornet carries eighteen carronades; and the Peacock, of equal tonnage, had on board, at the time of her capture, sixteen four-and-twenty pound carronades, two long nines, one twelve pound carronade, one six pounder, and two swivels; in all, twenty-two. The difference in men was more in favour of the Peacock than that of guns; but, notwithstanding, the Peacock was torn to pieces in fifteen minutes, and sunk before all her crew could be removed. The Hornet was somewhat injured in her rigging, but received little or no damage in her hull.

The superiority of the Americans, over their enemies, was not greater in professional than in moral qualities. Captain Peake, the commander of the Peacock, obliged three impressed American sailors, notwithstanding their expostulations and entreaties to be excused, to fight against their country and countrymen. The crew of the Hornet, the day after the battle, made up a subscription, and supplied their prisoners each with a suit of comfortable clothing, of which they were deprived by the sudden destruction and sinking of their vessel. This god-like occurrence sets out too brilliantly the claims of the generous victors, to be recorded by the British historian; but is is deemed, by us, of sufficient consideration to be commemorated in this note.

More we shall not add on this affair, seeing it has been admitted to have *terminated decidedly in favour* of the United States.

Now comes the case of the Chesapeake and Shannon, the result of which, when compared with that of the rencontre of the Hornet and Peacock, was not of a decisive character; but the historian has extolled it with all his powers, as an event proving that the sun of the British navy had again risen to illumine the world. In stating the case, he has said several handsome things of captain Lawrence, and presented, in his general picture, many ornamental shades. Nevertheless, it is a British story, in which are blended general facts, with a great deal of romance. In speaking of the result, we do not intend to be understood to deny, that the Chesapeake was captured; but we deny that, under all the circumstances, the British nation have any just reason to set up her capture as a decided proof of their superiority. On the contrary, so long as captain Lawrence was able to direct the battle, he had the advantage; and it is not at all improbable, if the two ships had not fallen foul one on the other, and afforded captain Broke the opportunity of boarding, the Shannon would have become the prize. This hypothesis is founded on the declaration of captain Lawrence himself; and no one could be better able to form a correct opinion. He had remained on the deck for sometime after carrying the Chesapeake most elegantly into action, witnessed all the incidents which had occurred on either side, and carried with him to the sur-

geon's department a cool and unshaken spirit, giving positive orders to the officers about him to press the fight with continued energy. On hearing of the success of the enemy, he replied to the officer who bore the intelligence, "then, sir, you have not done your duty, for the Shannon was whipped when I left the deck." This was not the assertion of an enthusiast. It was a sober fact. The Shannon was cut up in her hull, and was nearly in a sinking state at the moment when the fall of Lawrence took from the Chesapeake a directing spirit and judgment. The want of a mind to order and command, produced first unsteadiness, and then confusion and insubordination throughout the ship. Ludlow, the only officer who could, in any degree, have supplied the loss of the commander, fell early in the action; and the victory was due only to the unfortunate accidents which befel the Chesapeake, and not to any superiority of conduct or courage on board the Shannon.

It has been repeatedly confessed by British officers, that of the ships, the Shannon was far the most crippled, when they arrived together at Halifax; the Americans, even in their misfortunes, having given proofs of their superior gunnery. Will any impartial person, or community, after this view of the affair, contend that the victory was, in itself, so very decisive, as to put down forever the claims of the United States? If more were wanting, we could super-add the very important fact, the inferiority of the Chesapeake, not only in guns, but also in tonnage, and the more important fact, the green, not to say mutinous, state of her crew.

On this case, to our minds, very indecisive, compared with that of the Hornet and Peacock, principally reposes the historian for the establishment of British superiority. The case of the Pelican and Wasp, next stated, is confessed not to have been of a nature so brilliant; a large sloop of twenty-six guns, with a full complement of men, being occupied nearly an hour in subduing her adversary, a light sloop of eighteen guns, and a reduced crew. Little honour is claimed for this victory; yet, together with the capture of the Chesapeake, it is deemed sufficient to preponderate the capture of the Peacock and Boxer. It will be recollected that this is a question, not about the value of the prizes, but on the superiority of the antagonists, with reference to their respective forces, and professional prowess. So hard has the *unrivalled mistress* of the waves been pressed, by the stripling navy of the United States, that she is forced to come to judgment with testimony on which she herself scarcely dares to rely, and opposed by that which she has not the affrontery to discredit. According to the logic of the historian, two decided victories on the part of the Americans, are preponderated by two on the part of the British, which we have shewn to be questionable. But if the historian had chosen to put the case in candour, he could have found a fifth victory in the naval events of 1813, which, if credited on the right side, would have so decisively settled the issue, as to leave the most sceptical without a plea; we mean the great victory of Perry on Lake Erie. In the order of time, it

was achieved after all those abovementioned; and surely, unless Mr. Baines be an Irishman, and claim the privilege of his countrymen, it should have been classed with the *naval* victories. In character, and in its results, it stands high in the annals of the two nations.

(No. 25.)

*BATTLE OF CHIPPAWAY.*

Every American citizen will read, with emotions of pride and pleasure, this account of the battle of Chippaway. We could ask of a partisan no more than is here granted, so far as the result of the contest is concerned. It is allowed by the author, that the steady bravery of general Scott's brigade gave an intimation, that the Americans had acquired qualities to counterpoise the prowess of the veteran troops of Great Britain. This is the apology for the admission, that general Riall, being no longer able to sustain the accumulated fire of the American corps, accompanied by Towson's artillery, ordered the attack to be abandoned, and the troops to retire behind their works at Chippaway. But the historian has endeavoured to qualify his praise, by diminishing the British, and exaggerating the American forces engaged; fortifying his statement by an appeal to the report of the British commander. The truth is, the advantage of numbers was on the side of the enemy. Exclusive of Canada militia and Indians, Gen. Riall led into the action, fifteen hundred regulars; which were met and vanquished by three battalions of general Scott's brigade, and

the Pennsylvania and N. York volunteers, amounting in the whole, to about seventeen hundred effective men. The action gave a good opportunity of testing the qualities of the troops on both sides. Every species of weapon was employed; the bayonet most liberally. In every trial, the veterans of Wellington flinched. In the use of fire arms, as usual, the Americans had decidedly the advantage; killing and wounding nearly one third of the enemy in less than one hour. Such was the effect of the steadiness, bravery, and dexterity of the Americans, that general Riall imagined a force of six thousand opposed to him, when in fact he contended with little more than one fourth of that number. The following returns of the casualities on both sides may be trusted; being taken respectively from the official reports of the rival commanders:—

| | *Killed.* | *Wounded.* | *Missing.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| British, | 138 | 320 | 55 | 513 |
| Americans, | 60 | 249 | 19 | 328 |
| Difference, | 78 | 71 | 36 | 185 |

(No. 26.)

*BATTLE OF BRIDGEWATER.*

This battle, more generally called in the United States, the battle of Niagara, has been considered on all hands, the most sanguinary field engagement that has ever taken place in America; in which the combatants contended for victory by long and various exertions. Taking together the official reports of both the generals in command, al-

though very contradictory in many particulars, it would seem, that the two armies were, numerically about equal; each being about three thousand strong; and that the aggregate loss on either side was very nearly balanced; the American being eight hundred and sixty seven, the British, eight hundred and eighty eight. It is not our present purpose to correct the many inaccuracies, which occur in the details of the historian; but to rectify his misrepresentations of the most important incidents of the battle, which he has so strangely wrought into a victory for the British arms. We claim the palm for general Brown and his associates, upon the usual evidences of victory, the repulse of the enemy; capture of general Riall, twenty officers, one hundred and fifty rank and file, and all their artillery; besides the actual possession of the field some time after the battle had closed. In other casualities, there was little preponderance on either side. The carnage, not confined to one spot, strewed the whole ground; the wounded, dying, and dead indiscriminately piled in horrid and mournful heaps.

The unvarnished tale runs thus:—The American army had been posted at Chippaway. Gen. Brown informed of the reinforcement of the enemy, and of his march on Queenstown, at the same time menacing the American post at Lewistown on the opposite bank, in the afternoon of the 25th July, 1813, advanced general Scott's brigade, Towson's artillery, and all the dragoons and mounted men, with orders to report if the enemy appeared, and when necessary call for assistance. On arriving at the

Falls, general Scott descried the enemy posted directly in front; a narrow wood intervening. Despatching intelligence of his circumstances to general Brown, Scott precipitated his troops upon the enemy's line, and maintained singly a desperate fight of one hour; when general Ripley, with his brigade, major Hineman with his corps of artillery, and general Porter at the head of his command, having all pressed forward with the greatest ardor, arrived on the field. General Brown immediately interposed the fresh troops, and disengaged the first brigade, which he converted into the reserve. The enemy's artillery, posted on an eminence, the key of the position, had given and was now affording him great advantages; and to secure the victory to the Americans, it became necessary at any sacrifice to seize it. On the suggestion, by general Ripley, of this necessity, the commander in chief ordered the proper dispositions; and colonel Miller, at the head of his regiment, advancing steadily and gallantly to his object, carried the height and seized the enemy's cannon. About this juncture, major Jessup, of the 15th, who had been ordered to the right, to be governed by circumstances, having turned and engaged the left wing of the enemy, shewed himself again to his own army in a blaze of fire; having captured general Riall and sundry other officers, among whom was the aid-de-camp of lieutenant general Drummond, and made prisoners one hundred and fifty rank and file. These glorious and concurrent achievements gave general Brown undisputed possession of the field,

and all the trophies of victory which the ambition of a soldier could covet. Not an enemy appeared to contest his claims.

The American lines were all reformed, and in readiness to receive the enemy, who, having been greatly reinforced by the arrival of lieutenant colonel Scott with twelve hundred fresh troops, again advanced, and with a determined charge, endeavoured to force general Brown from his position, and recover the lost artillery. But the American lines, not to be shaken, in turn pressed upon their antagonists, and a second time drove them at the point of the bayonet down the hill. Two other attempts of the enemy had the same issue. In the first, general Scott's brigade participated; and in the last, general Porter's corps was distinguished, precipitating themselves on the right of the enemy with great effect, and making a number of prisoners.

Generals Brown and Scott being wounded, the command devolved upon the steady and gallant Ripley. After remaining sole possessors of the ground for some time, the American army returned to camp to seek refreshment; no enemy appearing to annoy it. On what pretext, then, has the historian claimed the victory for the arms of his Britannic majesty? Alone on the unblushing and false report of the vanquished general! One circumstance only favored his wilful deception. From the dreadful destruction of the horses, general Ripley was unable to bring off the cannon, being unwilling to submit his gallant comrades to the toil

of dragging them by hand. It was therefore left on the field, and was afterwards taken into the possession of those from whom it had been so gloriously wrested. For those who look to the list of killed, wounded, and captured, for the evidence of victory, we subjoin the following abstract, taken from the most authentic accounts that we have been able to consult.

| | *Killed.* | *Wounded.* | *Missing.* | *Total.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| British, | 160 | 559 | 169 | 888 |
| American, | 171 | 579 | 117 | 867 |
| Difference, | 11 | 20 | 52 | 21 |

In the beginning of our remarks on this memorable battle, we stated the contending parties to be nearly equal. Our calculations of the enemy's number are exclusive of a body of local militia, who from the best evidence were in the action; to what number, we have been wholly unable to ascertain. It would be fair, though, from the population of the peninsula to estimate them at four or five hundred. It seems they formed a lieutenant colonel's command. We find them mentioned in general Drummond's general orders, of the next day after the battle, when they were dismissed with his acknowledgments, in the following terms:—"The lieutenant general and president has great pleasure in dismissing to their homes the whole of the sedentary militia, who have so handsomely come forward on the occasion." In another place, they are spoken of as a party of incorporated militia, by whom the brunt of the action was for a considerable time sustained. And again, the party is mentioned as

composing a moiety of the advance, under lieutenant colonel Pearson. All the British accounts entirely omit the return of the strength of this body. It seems to have constituted no mean part of the British force, yet its muster roll has been carefully concealed from the world. Without it, it would seem, the enemy's numbers exceeded Gen. Brown's division by two hundred. This difference was early diminished by the capture of general Riall, twenty officers, and one hundred and fifty rank and file. But during the whole contest, the Americans were doomed to contend with an equal number of English veterans, and a concealed number of local militia, believed to amount as we have before stated, to four or five hundred.

(No. 27.)

*ATTACK ON FORT ERIE, &c.*

We have occasion to make only a few remarks upon the historian's accounts of the attack on fort Erie, and the sortie, of the 17th September, on the British works. In these the truth is presented with candor and force. The defeat of the enemy was complete in both instances; and his disasters so signal, that he was forced to relinquish all the objects proposed in the siege of the fort, and seek safety by retreat to his more permanent defences. All this has been fully admitted; and the author is found in the beginning of chapter tenth, to acknowledge, "that the Americans had been taught to fight on the land as well as upon the ocean, and that they were indebted to Great Britain for their

instruction." He might more truly have said, *that the Americans had learned to fight, and acquired their proficiency on British subjects.*

(No. 28.)

*EXPEDITION AGAINST PLATTSBURGH, &c.*

This whole chapter is exclusively occupied with the formidable expedition, of sir George Prevost, against Plattsburgh. We have it here stated on British authority, that his land forces amounted to fourteen thousand men. These effected none of the purposes of the expedition, having been "baffled and defeated by an American army less than one third their number." The account of the naval battle is most fairly given; but the author has entirely neglected the opportunity of indulging his fancy and moral feeling, which he exercised so successfully in presenting to the reader the engagement between the Chesapeake and Shannon frigates. It was considered in that case, that the presence of thousands of anxious spectators on the one side, and the hopes and expectations of the British nation animating her heroes on the other, increased the interest and splendor of the exploit; but in the present case, when fourteen thousand British troops were anxiously waiting the result, and many thousand American hearts beating with hope that their invaders would be arrested by the success of their defenders, Macdonough and his comrades, the imagination is confounded, and the pen refuses to trace one compliment to the victors. The wailings of John Bull, alone, close the story.

(29.)

*CAPTURE OF THE REINDEER, &c.*

We have ever felt a pleasant and mournful sensation, when the services of the gallant and ever to be lamented Blakely are recalled to memory.—There was something so interesting, so charming, and so commanding in his deportment; so amiable and honorable in his disposition, that made all who knew him, and enjoyed his society, take the deepest concern in his professional career after the breaking out of the war. It is not necessary, that we should now detain our readers to say, he fulfilled all the expectations of his friends; and shed glory upon his country. We acknowledge ourselves not a little wounded by the declaration of the historian, intending to disparage the victory, that "the proportion between the two ships, in size, weight of metal, and complement of men, was greatly in favour of the Wasp." It is not true. The ships were well matched in every respect. Besides other authorities which might be quoted, the Reindeer was rated in the British navy at twenty guns, affirmed in the British papers to carry twenty-one on the day of her capture, and, according to Capt. Blakely, had actually on board nineteen. The Wasp, carried twenty guns, and in other respects had little or no advantage over her antagonist, except in the moral qualities of her commander and crew. The Avon, of the same dimensions and equal number of guns and men, was reduced by the Wasp to a sinking state, after a cannonade of forty-five min-

utes; and did actually go to the bottom, in spite of the exertions of three consorts to save her.

## (No. 30.)

### *CAPTURE OF WASHINGTON, &c.*

The account here given of the battle of Bladensburgh, and its consequences, tallies nearly with that given by the British admirals and general, who were personally concerned in planning and executing it: but, it must be admitted, is very imperfect. We have corrected the original in some important details, yet it still affords not even a tolerably correct representation. It would appear from this account, that the line under general Smith, was attacked by colonel Broke, at the same time, that colonel Thornton engaged the Baltimore troops under general Stansbury. This was not the fact. The two lines were so distantly posted, that they could not partake at the same moment in the engagement. And it is no less true, that the enemy did at no time attack general Smith, his brigade having been ordered from the field, before they had arrived within musket shot of his position. All the serious resistance encountered by the enemy, after the rout of the Baltimore troops, was from the flotilla men and marines, who had been left nearly alone to contest their progress. We had intended, here, to offer to the public what we have considered a true statement of the events of the day; but after deliberation, have determined to leave the affair as it stands. We have regarded with much approbation, the reflections of the historian, upon the vandalic conduct of his countrymen,

in destroying the capitol, and other public edifices designed for the accommodation of the government, and the purposes of public legislation. They are just, and very ably expressed; harmonizing in all respects with the sentiments of the venerable Mr. Jefferson, conveyed to congress in the letter by which he proffered, to it, the substitution of his library in the place of that destroyed by the enemy.

## (No. 31.)

### *THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS.*

We have suffered the historian's account of the battle of New Orleans, to go to the reader, believing that every American is possessed of sufficient information to make all necessary corrections, excepting in the matter of the relative forces, in which there is great error. The whole American army, including the local militia, did not amount to ten thousand; and the troops engaged in the defence of the city, on the left bank, did not exceed three thousand five hundred, while those on the right bank may have amounted in the whole, including the Kentucky militia, to two thousand five hundred. The remainder of the American forces, embracing all descriptions, was posted variously to repel contingent movements of the enemy. The whole force of the enemy, including the naval and marine corps, was little short of twenty thousand. With this estimate of the forces contending, the result gives an increase of disaster to the enemy.—And for the truth of our statement, we refer to the reports of general Jackson, as well as to those of admiral Cochrane and general Lambert.

(No. 32.)

*CAPTURE OF THE PRESIDENT, &c.*

It seems the historian would like to claim, for the Endymion, the capture of the President; fainty ascribing it to the presence of the whole squadron. It is a fact, that the Endymion paid dearly for her temerity in engaging singly her antagonist; and, after ascertaining that she was over-matched, fell out of the battle, to give her consorts the opportunity of coming up to divide the glory of the victory, and the profits of the prize. As the historian has concluded, with this affair, his notice of the naval events of the war, we have subjoined the captures of the Cyane and Levant, by the Constitution, captain Stewart, and the Penguin, by the Hornet, captain Biddle. And here, closing our desultory remarks, we call the attention of the reader to the fact, that the historian, with all his candour, and all his endeavours to preserve truth in his story, has contrived to omit two remarkable naval engagements, in which his countrymen were signally defeated, to make John Bull come off conqueror *at last.*

## CYANE AND LEVANT.

On the 20th of February, 1815, about sixty leagues distant from the island of Madeira, the U. S. frigate Constitution, Capt. Stewart, mounting fifty-two guns, fell in with, and, after an action of forty minutes, captured his Britannic majesty's ships of war, Cyane, captain Falcon, mounting thirty-four guns and two brass swivels, and

Levant, Capt. Douglas, mounting twenty-one guns. The loss on board the Constitution, was three killed and twelve wounded; and that on board the British ships was thirty-five killed, and forty-two wounded. The British ships had the advantage in a divided and mere active force, and in the weight and number of guns, and entered into the action with the greatest spirit. But Capt. Stewart manœuvred his ship with so much judgment, as to avoid a raking fire from either; and his broadsides soon compelled them both to surrender.

## PENGUIN.

On the 23d of March, 1815, the U. S. sloop of war Hornet, capt. Biddle, near Tristan d'Acunha, descried the British brig Penguin, captain Dickenson, carrying nineteen guns. The Hornet hoved to, and the Penguin bore down, and, at forty minutes past one o'clock, commenced battle, which, after twenty-two minutes, terminated in the surrender of the British vessel. The Penguin was so much injured, that she was not worth preservation; and captain Biddle, having removed her crew, directed her to be scuttled. Of the British, fourteen were killed, and twenty-eight wounded; and of the Americans, one killed, and eleven wounded.

The captures of the Cyane and Levant, and Penguin, happened after the ratification of the treaty of peace; but before the expiration of the time fixed by the second article, for the cessation of hostilities in the latitudes where they took place. They, of course, ought to be classed with the naval events

of the war; and no one can doubt, that they would not have been omitted by the historian, had the result been in favour of the "unrivalled mistress of the waves." In the United States, they have been considered decisively honourable to the American flag, and will never be forgotten in the records of their navy. Should the historian ever be called on for new editions of his work, he will not have left an apology for again failing to state them to the credit of the United States, if our review shall have the fortune to fall into his hands. For his benefit, and that of our readers, we add, *pro and con*, the following memoir of the naval events of the war, viz:—

## AMERICAN SIDE.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Guerriere, | captured by the | | Constitution |
| Alert, | do. | do. | Essex |
| Macedonian, | do. | do. | United States |
| Frolic, | do. | do. | Wasp |
| Java, | do. | do. | Constitution |
| Peacock, | do. | do. | Hornet |
| Dominica, | do. | do. | Decatur privateer |
| Boxer, | do. | do. | Enterprise |
| British squadron, | on Erie, | | American squadron |
| Epervier, | captured by the | | Peacock |
| Reindeer, | do. | do. | Wasp |
| Avon, | do. | do. | Wasp |
| British squad. | on Champlain, | | American squadron |
| Cyane & Levant, | by the | | Constitution |
| Penguin | | do. | Hornet |

## BRITISH SIDE.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Nautilus, | captured by a | British squadron |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Vixen, captured by the | | | Southampton |
| Wasp and Frolick | do | | Poictiers |
| Chesapeake, captured by the | | | Shannon |
| Argus, | do. | do. | Pelican |
| Essex, | do. | do. | Phebe and Cherub |
| Rattlesnake | do. | do. | Leander |
| President, | do. | do. | British squadron |

Taking leave of Mr. Baines, we must make our acknowledgments to him, for the many handsome things he has said of the American people, in his very respectable "HISTORY OF THE WARS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION."