

# NOTES

ON THE

## *War in the South;*

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

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OF THE LIVES OF

MONTGOMERY, JACKSON,

SEVIER,

The late Gov. Claiborne,

AND OTHERS.

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*By Nathaniel Herbert Claiborne,*

OF FRANKLIN COUNTY, VA.

A Member of the Executive of Virginia during the late War.

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*W. L. S. S. S.*

## PREFACE.

THE following NOTES were written while the war was going on. They are now published without alteration. Had they been written after the war, the stile and manner of the remarks would have been different: as they are, they present the feelings of the day to the reader; and in that view, perhaps, are valuable. Some few of the numbers were published while the war continued; and were erroneously ascribed, in the upland country, to a writer with whom the author would blush to be compared; for he feels his inferiority: but such was then the fact, in the neighbourhood in which the author now resides.

The Life of WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE has been lately added; and is now published at the request of many of that gentleman's political friends.

The stile of this book will not stand the knife of criticism; but the feelings under the influence of which it was produced, are above the reach even of malice.

# NOTES ON THE

## *War in the South, &c.*

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### CHAPTER I.

**T**HE days of delusion have passed away: the objects of Great Britain are no longer veiled by shadows, clouds, and darkness: they are as plain to the understanding as a ray of light to the human eye. The schemes of ambition and conquest in which the court of St. James indulges, are now unmasked: and the alternative with the American people, is, by bravery and perseverance, to shew the world, they deserve the high rank bequeathed them by their fathers; or, by servility and meanness, to sink down, the scorn and contempt of all mankind. The British ministers frequently declared that Bonaparte was the only bar to a general peace; and some of our citizens put confidence in this delusory declaration. No sooner was it announced in America, that by dint of the sword, the divine right of kings to power was established in France, and the election of Bonaparte by the people set aside, than the miserable tribe of anglo-jacobites cried there is peace from this day between the United States and Great Britain. How woefully have they been disappointed! Disengaged from the European contest, it is evident, they indulge in plans of ambition and conquest as extensive as were ever yet

ascribed to the hero of Maringo: and to accomplish them, they resort to means both perfidious and cruel. They attempt to lull us into a state of false security, by avowing a disposition for peace, and inviting negotiations; while they are sending to our shores fleets and armies, instructed to lay waste every part of the country into which they may be able to penetrate. In conformity with those instructions, the notorious Cockburn having succeeded in gaining possession of the City of Washington, on the twenty-fourth of August last, destroyed all the public buildings and a printing office, at which was recorded from time to time the achievements of this hero. No event could have roused the people more effectually than the destruction of our infant Rome. Every genuine American will now feel, and not stoop to the meanness of reasoning. Invoking the assistance of God, the American people will rush like a mountain torrent on the enemy, wherever he shall shew himself: and I augur that his triumph will be of short duration. Our efforts must be redoubled to cripple him in Canada, the place where he is most vulnerable. We must make every necessary sacrifice, for offensive, as well as defensive war. Armies, yes, powerful armies, must be raised; taxes must be imposed, and loans effected. Our population will enable us to raise one hundred thousand men. Our country abounds with the necessaries of life. Such an army as is here recommended would have no effect on our agriculture. If taxes are laid, loans may easily be effected: but above all, if the banks are properly protected, money from them may be obtained, until the taxes are collected, sufficient to fortify the seaports, maintain the army, and enlarge the stock of arms and ammunition; and the troops being stationed in each state, and along the lines of Canada, would give such circulation of money, as to enable the people to pay the necessary taxes with ease. A little energy only is necessary: public credit will be re-

vived, the ranks of the army filled and organized. The lemonade system will do no longer. If arms cannot be had from abroad, we can make them at home. We have lead in abundance; iron all over the back country; the materials of gunpowder every where: our artisans equal to any in the world. The American musket is equal, if not superior, to the boasted tower gun, in the certainty and force with which it directs the ball: our cannon shoot nearly with the accuracy of the rifle: our people are habituated to the use of the gun from their infancy, and ride with a dexterity and grace to which Europeans have no claim. Hence our riflemen and cavalry are the best in the world. The national amusements, the pursuits of agriculture, make us healthy and strong; the education we receive at our schools, implants in our bosoms a high sense of honor, and makes us fit depositories of that liberty our fathers bought with treasure and blood. The bone and muscle of the nation lies in the country; and that mercantile spirit which worships money, and amalgamates honor and baseness, patriotism and cowardice, has raised its detestable front no where but among an insignificant few in the town of Alexandria. But to return from this digression, what effect will the momentary occupation of the capital have on the nation? None. That is to say, it will not further the views of the enemy at all. When compared to many of our towns, Philadelphia, New-York, Richmond and Boston, and others, it is but a village. Properly understood, he has paid dear for the advantage he has gained. Commodore BARNEY contended nobly with him. Had the commodore and his gallant seamen been properly seconded, the enemy would never have gained the city. Cockburn appeared to have been sensible of the danger that awaited him, and he retreated from Washington the day after he entered it. The severity with which he was handled by the gallant Barney and

his marines the day he entered Washington, may well be inferred, from the circumstance that Cockburn, in his flight, abandoned ninety-six of his wounded, and left near two hundred of his dead unburied. Had such an event, as the momentary occupation of Washington, in the days of the revolutionary war, produced despondency in a single individual, our gallant sires would have smiled at his weakness. During the revolution, the enemy in succession occupied New-York, Philadelphia, Boston, Richmond, Charleston and Savannah; with the least of which places Washington cannot be compared in wealth and population: and what effect did the occupation of these places have on our fathers? None. It only served to stimulate them to nobler efforts in the great cause of independence; but it went no further towards the conquest of America, than the occupation of a private gentleman's farm. It produced then, as it will do now, additional irritation. The people are roused; they have talked of peace, and sought to betray us with a kiss. Nothing is now heard but cries of vengeance. Military parade every where meets the eye. The children are learning the manual of a soldier. While penning these notes, I was interrupted by some patriotic boys, asking my influence, as a member of the Virginia executive, to arm them, that they might participate in the defence of their country. I need hardly tell the reader the pleasure it gave me, to see this honorable spirit, in the rising generation. These youth, said I to myself, are fired by the pride of valor, and the love of country; they will illustrate their birth, and do honor to their progenitors. America is safe; for we know the mischief intended us. Our independence shall not be destroyed: it is built on a rock firmer than adamant; the billows of British hostility cannot shake it. --

## CHAPTER II.

THE views taken of our political situation in the antecedent number of the *CRISIS* are now discovered to be almost universally considered as the only just and true ones.] For myself, I only claim the merit of having early and publicly stated, that, properly considered, the enemy had paid dear for his incursion into Washington; that his loss, amounting to a tenth of his army in killed, wounded and deserted, made us a most abundant compensation for his occupation of the capitol for a mere moment of time. In fact, when I first heard of the incursion of the enemy into Washington, knowing as I did, it was an inconsiderable place, without any commercial importance, I was really surprised at the despondency which, for a short time, seemed to have taken possession of the public mind. I had frequently heard, that the occupation of Boston, New-York and Philadelphia, by the enemy, in the time of the revolutionary war, had produced no effect, but to stimulate our gallant fathers to additional exertion to throw off the yoke of a stupid king, "the curse of his own country and of the world."

Since the publication of the first number of the *CRISIS*, I have learnt that our forefathers considered it more prudent in General Washington, to retreat from Philadelphia, and abandon that important city for a short time to the occupation of the enemy, than to risk the safety of his army by fortifying the place and attempting to hold it. A venerable officer, who contributed largely to the liberation of our beloved America from the galling yoke of Britain, and who still lives in



Montgomery county, Virginia, revered by all good men, has frequently declared, that at the time General Washington evacuated Philadelphia, he blamed him; but the old soldier now invariably adds, "I was mistaken; a little reflection has taught me, that the defences were not such as to enable the Americans to retain it; and I shall always regret, that I once thought and perhaps said hard things of the greatest and best of men. General Washington saw matters rightly, and in evacuating Philadelphia, he saved the army and perhaps his country." And what effect did the occupation of Philadelphia by the enemy in the days of the revolution have on our brave sires? It roused them to more formidable exertion, and served to fix our independence on a basis too strong to be overturned.

The incursion into Washington, has already had the same effect. To have succeeded partially, by a course of policy to have been expected only from cowardly barbarism, is not to be wondered at. They have talked of peace, and invited negotiations to make it; and at the same time they have sent their navy to our coast, and their veterans to invade and crush us; and they have selected for their commanders, men who would rob, murder and burn, to retain their places and please their employers: but the curtain withdrawn which concealed their objects, and their views exposed, they cease to be dangerous. The people roused, they retreat from Washington the day after they enter it. They are beaten at Baltimore, and disgraced at Plattsburg. Indeed their flight at Plattsburg is without a parallel in modern history; while we look back in vain for specimens of firmness and valor equal to that displayed by the Americans in defence of that fortress. Europe will behold with astonishment, thirty-five hundred men, principally militia, driving from the fords of the river Saranac fourteen thousand veterans, who had fought with success for ten years against French regulars.

The people of England, if their prince suffers them to hear the truth, will not be able to account for the dastardly retreat of the governor-general of the Canadas in the night time, abandoning his beef, his flour, his camp equipage, his ammunition, his sick and his wounded comrades. The governor-general of the Canadas, and the Americans, can explain it to them: they will ascribe it to our faithful rifles, our cannon, our bayonets; to the holy enthusiasm which animates Americans, but above all, to the interposition of a just God who smiles on a good and noble cause. I should not be surprised at the prince regent forbidding the London journalists publishing the truth, as respects the affairs of Baltimore and Plattsburg. It might bring John Bull to his senses, should the truth come out by accident. Mr. Canning, of punning memory, who wished the Americans to experience some dreadful calamity, to bring them to their senses, as he expressed it, and who with an eye to Ross and the governor-general of the Canadas, and their veterans, lately said in parliament, we were not now to expect such a peace as we might have had before Bonaparte was expelled the throne of France; to quiet the people whom he rides, and whips and spurs so unmercifully, without regard to the condition of the poor beast, may rise in his place, and professing to undeceive the people, declare on his corporal oath that the affairs of Baltimore and Plattsburg are mere fabrications; and that the battle of Lake Champlain was a rencounter between canoes upon a river of that name. Indeed I do solemnly believe that nothing is too barefaced for this miserable punster and unblushing advocate of corruption and tyranny.

But the truth, and the whole truth, will ultimately come out, notwithstanding the lying reports made by their commanders, written expressly for the Gazette. They will find in the short space of four months they

have lost in killed, wounded and prisoners, nearly twelve thousand troops—viz. two hundred captured at Erie, eight hundred killed and taken in the sortie from Erie; sixteen hundred in Drummond's repulse from Erie; eight hundred at Chippewa; one thousand at the classic heights of Niagara; one thousand at Washington; the like number at Baltimore; two thousand at Plattsburg; one thousand on Lake Champlain; besides many more at various other places: that while those losses have been sustained by them, ours have not amounted to a fourth, nay more, not to a sixth of their number. They will hear also that while our men are true to the core, their oppressed soldiers, invited by the fertility of our soil, the salubrity of our climates, the hospitality of our people, the mildness and respectability of our governments, and the prospect of rising from the dependent and slavish condition to which they have been reduced in England by the combined influence of fraud and the sword, are deserting from them by hundreds and incorporating themselves with us.

In fine, the people of England will soon discover, however the government may be disposed to conceal it, that if the war continues two years longer, *we* shall become one of the most powerful nations in the world. Already our sun has risen far above the political horizon, with a splendor, that has attracted the eyes of the universe. Our naval victories have been so signal, that in every sea where the American flag is unfurled, it excites admiration and respect, for it waves over the best and bravest seamen in the world. Our militia go into battle with something like the confidence of veterans, and on any thing like equal terms beat down opposition. Our regulars are the pride and boast of our country. Our Brown, Jackson and Scott are thought equal to the first European generals, while Porter, McComb, Stricker, Gaines, Ripley, and many more, have given promise

of distinguished military talents. Our manufactures, more especially of arms and ammunition, exhibit an elaboration which approximates to perfection. Our agriculture flourishes; the music of the loom and spinning-wheel every where delights the ear. The fairest of all God's fair creation, to whose powers we bow with all the emotions inspired by respect, whom we delight to honor, and for whose safety we should think it true glory to die, clothe us with the workmanship of their fair hands. We are rapidly improving in all sorts of manufactures, of which wool, cotton and iron are the staple articles. In a little time we shall want nothing that is made in England. And our wheat, cotton, hemp, tobacco, &c. which they will want, they must pay for in money.

I anticipate this state of things with pleasure. It is a consummation devoutly to be wished for. For myself, I candidly confess, that taking into consideration the crimes they have perpetrated at Hampton and elsewhere, I wish to have as little intercourse as possible with them. They oppressed our fathers, when the present United States were colonies. They put the filth of Europe in requisition for seven long years to fight our brave forefathers into submission to the chains they had forged for us. †Instigated by the devil, they have repeatedly set the Indians upon us, and paid in money for scalps taken from the murdered bodies of defenceless women and children. When professing to be at peace with us, they were exercising the press on our citizens, and murdering them at the mouths of our rivers. Before war was declared, they laid their felonious paws on a thousand of our ships and millions of our property, and sequestered it to their benefit. And now that they have driven us into war, they wage it against us in such a way, as to shew that they impiously discharge themselves from all the obligations imposed by the religion of Christ, the principles of honor or common

honesty. Every honest man speaks of their conduct with the bitterness of detestation. Every patriotic bosom throbs with a wish to punish them.

P. S. Since writing the foregoing number of the *CRISIS*, I have learned that it has pleased God to bless our arms with a signal victory in the south-west. Our young and aspiring eagles, are rapidly gaining the commanding heights to which nature and nature's God seem to beckon them; they cover with their protecting wings every part of our country, and in approaching the weaker members of the confederation, unite them more firmly to the vast foundations of the American commonwealth. The writer of these communications feeling the deepest interest in that quarter, and possessing means of information, (all his nearest connections being in arms in that section of the country) not enjoyed by many, will devote two of the succeeding numbers to a review of the most important events there; in which the fate of Fort Mims, and the defeat of the celebrated Weatherford, the key and corner stone of the Creek confederacy, will be particularly noticed; and facts made public, which have not been heretofore generally *known*.

## CHAPTER III.

IN this communication, and one or two numbers that will follow, I shall endeavor to exhibit the political portrait of our affairs in the south-west section of our country. In doing so, I am performing a social duty. Every man, who renders service to his country, is entitled to remuneration. And the highest and most estimable of all rewards, next to conscious approbation, is the applause of an enlightened public. Merit, it is true, in all governments, whether republican, aristocratical or kingly, is too frequently overlooked, and the mead of praise too often bestowed on the meanest subalterns, to the prejudice of men who make the noblest sacrifices to advance the general happiness. If all men did their duty, if all possessed that species of courage which is alone commendable, *the daring to do that which is right*; this accusation against all governments would cease to be heard, because it would cease to be true: but unfortunately, such are our prejudices and our passions, that we see persons and measures too frequently through perverted and deceiving mediums; and hence, men are oftentimes denounced and vilified by their contemporaries for deeds in themselves meritorious, and entitled alike to the praise of present and future generations.

The writer of the Crisis has examined his own heart; and while he acknowledges a due portion of infirmity, he feels much gratification in the reflection, that he has in various publications, since the commencement of the just and necessary war in which we are engaged, particularly in the essays signed a

Virginian, made an effort to transmit to posterity anecdotes of zeal, patriotism and courage, displayed both by officers and privates, in the service of their country: and the principal object in view in all the antecedent numbers of the Crisis has been invariably the same. The eye of the writer has frequently turned towards the south-west section of our extensive country: but lost in admiration of the blaze of military glory, which on that frontier has, without interruption, shone on the American character, he has hitherto refrained to animadvert on the events, which requires the pen of a Cæsar properly to pourtray: and even now, he with diffidence offers the information that follows, in the hope that it may be preserved in your columns for the use of the historian destined in future to write the history of the present times.

The conduct of the citizens of Tennessee, Mississippi Territory and Georgia, in this war, has been such, that when they visit the other states in the Union, they every where not only experience all the rights of hospitality, but the ardent patriot through the whole nation extends the right arm of fellowship, and in the language of the heart exclaims, "you too are my brethren." Scarcely was the war commenced against Great Britain, before the perfidious court of St. James determined on the annihilation of the American settlements on the Mississippi, by means so cruel, and perfidious as to be without a parallel in the history of any country but England. In the malignity of her hatred, she determined, that the numerous and fierce tribes of savages who inhabit the banks of the Alabama, should be stirred up to an exterminating war against us. But thank God! by valour, patriotism and firmness, we have been enabled to defeat the vilest excesses of human corruption, and dissolve a confederation, which at one time threatened to wipe from the map of our country, as with the bosom of oblivion, a rich, flourishing and respectable settlement.

At the time of which we are speaking, the numerous and warlike tribes of Indians, denominated the Creek nation, were at peace with the United States. The American government had long indulged a hope, that they could be reclaimed from their savage state, and induced to partake of the benefits of civilization. For this purpose, books of various sorts, more especially the bible, were distributed among them. Well informed men were sent to instruct them in reading, writing, &c.; implements of husbandry in abundance were furnished them, and artists hired to impart information to them respecting the arts and trades, which contribute most to advance the comfort of man. While the United States were thus honorably engaged, the British agents were busily employed in stirring up the Creek savages to war against us. Tecumseh, a Potawatamie chief, who had made himself famous by numerous murders and robberies on the north-western frontier, and who had, as a reward for his crimes, been made an officer in the king's army; and a trader by the name of Elliott, a kinsman of the notorious Elliott, passed through the nation and encouraged the savages to break with us. They furnished them with money to buy a stock of arms and ammunition in Pensacola, and encouraged them by the promise of assistance from powerful armies to be sent to their aid from beyond the great waters. They were told, that of right, the soil on which the Americans resided belonged to the savages; that it had been taken from them fraudulently; that the king felt indignant at the imposition put on his red children, and had determined to drive the white intruders from the beautiful country which lies between the Tombigbie and Mississippi; that this great object with the assistance of the Indians could be easily effected; and as a reward for the assistance which the Indians might render, the soil thus conquered,



and the moveable plunder, the fruits of joint exertion, should be guaranteed to the savages.

These proposals to a people, passionately fond of bloodshed and rapine, were too alluring to be resisted. The number in favor of war increased daily; and in a very short time, with few exceptions, the nation was preparing to make it.

Among the first who entered into the views of the British commissioners, was the since celebrated Weatherford; with whom it may not be amiss to make the reader better acquainted at this time. Weatherford was born in the Creek nation. His father was an itinerant pedlar, sordid, treacherous and revengeful; his mother a full-blooded savage, of the tribe of the Seminoles. He partook of all the bad qualities of both his parents, and engrafted on the stock he inherited from others, many that were peculiarly his own. With avarice, treachery, and a thirst for blood, he combines lust, gluttony, and a devotion to every species of criminal carousal. Fortune, in her freaks, sometimes gives to the most profligate an elevation of mind, which she denies to men whose propensities are the most virtuous. On Weatherford, she bestowed genius, eloquence and courage. The first of these qualities enabled him to conceive great designs, the last to execute them; while eloquence, bold, impressive and figurative, furnished him with a passport to the favor of his countrymen and followers. Silent and reserved, unless when excited by some great occasion, and superior to the weakness of rendering himself cheap by the frequency of his addresses, he delivered his opinions but seldom in council; but when he did so, he was listened to with delight and approbation. His judgment and eloquence had secured the respect of the old; his vices made him the idol of the young and the unprincipled. It is even doubted whether a civilized society could behold this monster without interest. In his person, tall, straight

and well-proportioned ; his eye black, lively and penetrating, and indicative of courage and enterprise ; his nose prominent, thin and elegant in its formation ; while all the features of his face harmoniously arranged, speak an active and disciplined mind. Passionately devoted to wealth, he had appropriated to himself a fine tract of land, improved and settled it ; and from the profits of his father's pack, had decorated and embellished it. To it he retired occasionally, and relaxing from the cares of state, he indulged in pleasures which are but rarely found to afford satisfaction to the devotees of ambition and fame. Such were the opposite and sometimes disgusting traits of character in the celebrated Weatherford, the key and corner stone of the Creek confederacy !

This extraordinary man having entered fully into the views of Tecumseh and Elliott, began to assemble his followers, and soon collected, at the town of Eccanachaca (which in the Creek language means *holy*) about fifteen hundred warriors. The news of this warlike spirit in the Creeks soon spread along the frontiers, and dismay for awhile "set on many a brow." The cloud was already visible above the horizon ; and from the elements which composed it, it was feared that its consequences would be dreadful. Had Weatherford proceeded directly to the execution of his plans, he might have overrun the whole Mississippi territory. At this time no troops were in the neighbourhood of the territory, except a regiment of six hundred volunteers, commanded by Gen. Claiborne, raised through the personal influence of the General himself, who had devoted the early part of his life to war, and had in the field of battle established a reputation for personal bravery and military skill, which placed him among the first of the profession. This regiment was stationed at Baton Rouge three hundred miles from the Tombigbie settlement. The remains of two old regiments were too far off,

being at New Orleans, to co-operate with the volunteers, in defence of the frontiers. In fine, the United States were but illy prepared to meet this new and unexpected blow.

Orders, however, were issued by Gen. Flournoy to Gen. Claiborne, on the 28th June, 1813, to march forthwith with the volunteers to the frontiers of the Mississippi territory. This order Gen. Claiborne executed with zeal, supplying from his own funds the transportation necessary for the troops, who arrived at Mount Vernon before any serious mischief was done by the savages. The General immediately adopted measures necessary for the defence of the country; one hundred and fifty men were directed to occupy Fort Mimms; other parts of the regiment were divided among two other forts; all intended to protect the Tombigbee settlements, which was the first part of the territory likely to suffer, from the inroads of the Indians. The scintillations of hostility on the part of the Choctaws to the United States had already begun to appear; and to guard against them, a fourth division repaired to their lines, while a few, aided by some of the neighboring settlers, remained at Mount Vernon.

The foregoing arrangements being made, with a view to the protection of the frontiers, the General came to a determination to adopt a more efficient system of operations on Weatherford, in the heart of the Creek nation. With this view, he wrote the Commanding General on the 2d of August, "that if you will authorize my entering the Creek nation, I will do so in ten days after the junction of the 7th regiment, and if I am not disappointed, will give to our frontiers peace, and to the government any portion of the Creek country they please. Some force ought to enter the nation before they systematise and are fully prepared for war. With one thousand men and your authority to march immediately, I pledge myself to

burn any town in the Cr ek nation. Three months hence it might be difficult for three thousand to effect what can be done with a third of the number at present. They gain strength, and their munitions of war enlarge every day."—Unluckily the Commanding General was not authorised to grant this leave, and the volunteers were left to act on the defensive.

About this time General Claiborne visited Fort Mimms, and finding the works defective, gave orders for two additional block-houses, and concluded the order, with these words: "To respect an enemy and prepare in the best possible way to meet him, is the certain means to ensure success." Having learned that Weatherford was about marching to attack the forts, the general repaired to Fort Early, and took command there in person. To this step the General was led by the consideration, that it was sixty miles more advanced in the nation than the other forts, and of course the first at which the enemy might strike. In addition, its garrison was weaker than any of the other posts. As soon as the General, in consequence of this information, went on to Fort Early, he wrote Major Beasley of the meditated attacks of the enemy, and again advised him of the necessity of being on his guard. The General's letter was delivered on the 29th August, and the next day Fort Mimms was attacked, and taken. Weatherford had approached it undiscovered with one thousand five hundred warriors, and before the garrison was apprised of its danger, full two hundred of the enemy occupied the gate, which from neglect had been left open and unguarded. So soon as Major Beasley discovered the enemy, he rushed forward to the gate, followed by the garrison. A bloody contest now ensued. The Indians struggled to maintain the possession of the gate; the Americans, animated by the example of the gallant but unfortunate Beasley, strove to drive them from it. The victory for fifteen

minutes appeared doubtful. The weapons used by the combatants were knives, tomahawks, swords and bayonets. The besieged, and the assailant, who could not gain the gate in consequence of the crowd who were contending for it, resorted to the rifle and musket. The scene to the eye of sensibility was the most melancholy that was ever yet exhibited on the theatre of America. The whole number of the garrison was two hundred and seventy-five—of this number one hundred and sixty were of the military; the others were old men, women and children, who had repaired to the fort to escape assassination from the roving savages. Beasley had been repeatedly wounded, yet he still continued to defend himself, till he fell pierced by many wounds. Even in death he preserved his reputation for heroic courage, and expired with his eye, that never winked at the fear of death, steadily fixed on the enemy. It is somewhat remarkable that every officer expired at the gate. A lieutenant, who was wounded early in the action, was carried into a block-house by two women, but when he had recovered a little from the wound, he insisted on being taken back to the gate. This being done by the same heroic matrons, it is said of him that he reposed himself by the side of a dead comrade, and while in this situation, another ball terminated his existence. All the American officers, and most of their soldiers, being now killed, the savages, after losing at the gate two hundred killed and twice that number wounded, finally entered the fort. The women and children now took possession of the block houses, and seizing on the guns therein, for some time defended themselves with undaunted bravery; but the houses were finally fired by the enemy, and all those unfortunate females and their children who had escaped the rifle perished in the flames. Of the whole number in the fort, at the commencement of the attack, only seventeen escaped, of them two thirds were badly wounded.

The fall of Fort Mimms resounded through the Union. The conduct of the miscreant Weatherford, who was under so many obligations to the United States, was every where reprobated. The gallant Jackson, whose campaigns will hereafter be reviewed, was ordered to take the field with six thousand Tennesseans; and four thousand Georgians led by Gen. Floyd, also entered the Creek nation; and in the southern quarter Gen. Flournoy assumed the command of the regulars and volunteers on the frontiers of the Mississippi territory. The savages; on the other hand, emboldened by their success at Mimms, every where took up arms, and the exposed settlements, not only in the territory, but in Georgia, suffered all those extremities of distress which are the accompaniments of Indian war. Gen. Flournoy marched the army to the Tombigbee settlements to clear the forks of the enemy, who after the destruction of the fort were foraging among the deserted plantations. The army was so lucky as to fall in with them, and killed several; but could not bring them to a general action, though every effort was made to do so. The Americans succeeded, however, in driving them from the frontier, which for a month they had pillaged with impunity. This, considering the superior force of the enemy, was all that at this time could be effected. The success of the enemy at Mimms had so elated the savages, that those who before were cold and neutral, were now the open advocates of war, and a nation capable of raising ten thousand warriors, were in every direction in arms against us. We reserve for future numbers a review of the memorable operations of Jackson, Floyd, and others. The movements of the troops on the Mississippi frontier is the sole subject of this number.

For some time Gen. Flournoy commanded the southern army with distinguished ability. With the

aid of the Mississippi volunteers, he had succeeded in driving Weatherford from the Tombigbie. In that quarter, the people enjoyed a security after the fall of Fort Mimms beyond what was to have been expected, considering the smallness of his army. In the fall of the year 1813, Gen. Flournoy, in consequence of some arrangements made by the Secretary of War, repaired to New Orleans; by which step the command devolved on Gen. Claiborne. Gen. C. no sooner took command of the army than he determined to carry the war into the heart of the Creek nation, as soon as he should be joined by Col. Russell's regiment of regulars. This junction being effected about the 13th of November, the General took up his line of march to Eccanachaca, (or holy town,) which is on the banks of the Alabama, and considered from its topography the most secure spot in the nation; being defended on one side by the river, and on every other by swamps, almost impervious to human footsteps. At this place, which is distanced one hundred and ten miles from Weatherford's Bluff, and at which Gen. Claiborne concentrated his army, the enemy had collected most of their military stores, impressed as they were that it could not be approached and destroyed. On the march, the enemy frequently attempted to check the Americans; but without success. Gen. Claiborne reached the swamps which environ Eccanachaca on the 22d of December, and on the morning of the 23d, he came in sight of the town. The army had marched in order of battle, formed in three lines, having the flanks protected by light companies. The front line was led by Major Smoot; the centre the General headed in person. Weatherford on the other hand, had formed his men in fine order, on a rise, skirted by a forest of brush wood. As soon as Smoot's line was exposed to their view, they fired on them, which was briskly returned. The action being commenced, the centre now

advanced with a quick step, and soon came to the ground which the front had occupied, and from which they had debouched to the right to turn the enemy's left flank, and give an opportunity to the centre to make a free use of the bayonet.

The regiment of regulars under Col. Russell, and the volunteers under their respective officers, vied with each other; and indeed it would be impossible to discriminate between them. The enemy, on their part, defended themselves with courage, nor did they fly until they were charged. Cut off from the points to which they no doubt intended to retreat, by the movements of the front line, and precipitated by the impetuosity of the charge, from the centre, they retreated through the town to the river, and independently of those lost on the field of battle, many must have perished in the river. The loss of the enemy was upwards of one hundred; the Americans lost ten in all. The town, containing two hundred houses, the best built in the nation, was forthwith destroyed, as was the magazine of provisions, and the water transportation the enemy had collected at this place. The next day, another town ten miles higher up, was burnt, and the plantation of Weatherford was destroyed; a just punishment for the unprovoked and savage war he had waged against the United States at the instance of Great Britain.



## CHAPTER IV.

IT has been demonstrated that the conduct of the United States to the Creek Indians was both just and honorable. Without any consideration, save that which arises from the consciousness of doing a good act, the government of the United States had, for more than twenty years, endeavoured to reclaim them from a savage to a civilized state. By the exertions of government, bent only on augmenting the stock of human happiness, it was evident ; that the situation of the Creeks was greatly ameliorated. Many of them spoke and wrote our language. Pious men were sent at the expense of government, to instruct them in the religion of Christ. The rising generation were instructed in numerous schools. The fruitful soil, with which the country abounds, "groaned beneath the hand of honest industry." Forests were cleared which shaded a hemisphere filled with riches ; and each revolving year gave to the industrious Indian, a liberal increase to his stores. A sentiment of pity (a fit cement for lasting friendship) had taken possession of the American breast towards the Indians ; and our citizens and government vied with each other in acts of benevolence and charity towards them. They were instructed in the fabrication of the implements of husbandry. The loom and the spinning wheel were in full operation through the whole nation ; while the art of house-building, so essential to the accommodation of man, and his protection from the winds and waters of heaven, was rapidly approximating to perfection. If any of our citizens injured them, a punishment was provided by law, and

the temper of the nation, in unison with the temper of the government, rendered its infliction certain. And such was the progress of the Creeks in civilization, and the obligations they were under to the United States, that no one believed they could be cajoled into a confederacy against us.

That the perfidious court of St. James, seeking for aggrandisement, in the misfortunes of all people, would attempt it, could not be doubted. The British history is a history of the most disgusting enormities. In every quarter of the globe where her councils have prevailed, bloodshed and rapine have followed in their most hideous and cruel forms. What precept of the christian decalogue has that perfidious court observed? None; no, not one. She has rewarded her generals, who, in cold blood, have given up to the hatchet of the savage, prisoners made in battle. She has decorated her hall of legislation with human scalps. She has alternately fought under the banners of the crescent and the cross. She has associated with the followers of Mahomet, in a war against christians. She has oppressed the catholic of Ireland, and at the same, time at Rome, licked the dust from the foot of St. Peter. She has subsidized, as the occasion required, the wandering Arab, and the robbers of Algiers, and sought an alliance with the pirates of Baratania, to make war on the worshippers of the living God.

No one acquainted with the British history will be surprised at the efforts of the British court to bring the Creeks into the league she had formed with other savages, against us; nor will any one thus informed, suppose she would hesitate, from the consideration that the Creeks had no cause of complaint against us, and nearly surrounded as the Creeks are by the American settlements, a rupture with the United States would end in the ruin of the Indians. The disposition of the British court is too base and

bloody for such mild and philosophical calculations. Already red with blood, and alike regardless of the cries of the innocent women and children, who might perish by the scalping knife of the savage, and the ultimate ruin of the Indians; she was prepared for any act, however atrocious, which would give an advantage over her enemy. With this temper, we have seen her agents mixing with the savages and stirring them up to an unjust and unnecessary war; supplying them with arms and ammunition to destroy their benefactors and friends, and stimulating them to the commission of numerous murders, by promising to add to their already ample territory, the beautiful country that lies between the Tombigbee and the Mississippi. But fortunately, no blind fatality rules the destinies of man. On the contrary, it is the eye of a just God that overlooks the transactions of the world; and hence it is that the Creek confederacy, though directed by the genius of a Weatherford, has been dissolved by the brave and patriotic men, whose deeds we are recording, with the ease that a Hercules disengages himself from the cobwebs of a spider.

But it is time to turn from this digression, and exhibit a view of the operations of Gen. Jackson; who, after the attack by Weatherford on Fort Mimms, was ordered with a strong force, to enter the Creek nation. General Jackson soon collected a respectable force at the Ten Islands, where he was delayed for some time from active operations by the want of provisions. The government of the United States, not expecting a war with the Creeks, were unprepared for such an event; and we all know how difficult it is to put the commissariat in proper order; yet the appearance of the troops at the Ten Islands was not without advantage, as it served to keep embodied in his vicinity, a strong force of the enemy, collected from the upper Creek towns, while General Flournoy was operating against Weatherford in the forks

of the Tombigbee. By the indefatigable exertions of Gen. Jackson, provisions in abundance were at last procured, and the General found himself in a situation to commence active operations. About the first of November, 1813, he detached Gen. Coffee, an officer of great merit, with nine hundred mounted riflemen and cavalry, with directions to cross the Coosey river, and attack the Tallushatches Towns, at which place the Upper Creeks were beginning to assemble. These orders were executed by General Coffee with promptitude. On the morning of the third of November, Gen. Coffee's detachment reached the town. While they were yet distant a mile, the yells of the savages were heard, a proof that they were aware of Coffee's approach and were preparing for battle. From the great superiority of the Americans, the action lasted but a short time. The town was built in wood-lands, a circumstance favorable to the savages. Each tree served as a breastwork, and from behind them the Indians defended themselves with desperation. Driven at last from their shelter by a charge, they retreated to the houses, which they defended till every warrior was killed. Not a man of them would accept quarters. Posterity may be disposed to doubt this fact. It is nevertheless true.

In more instances than one, a humane attempt to save the life of a wounded Indian was near proving fatal to him who made it. Every Indian acted, as if the safety of the Creek nation depended on himself only: not one would turn on his heel to save his life; and when the Americans, satisfied with victory, made demonstrations of quarters, it was met by the brow of supercilious and haughty contempt. The loss of the enemy was two hundred killed, that of the Americans was five killed and forty-six wounded. Gen. Coffee, Col. Cannon, and Col. Allcorn distinguished themselves in this affair, and were all in the front when this charge was made. During the action,

an occurrence took place, which I am the more inclined to relate never having seen it in print that I recollect, and which from its importance it would be inconsistent with the fidelity of history not to record, more especially as it serves to shew the dreadful fanaticism, with which the British agents had contrived to inspire a large portion of the Creek nation.

An Indian of great consequence, as soon as the battle commenced, vaulted on the roof of one of the houses, and while his countrymen were fighting, he was busily engaged in haranguing them. His address has since been understood to have been, that the Great Spirit was in favor of the Indians and their allies the British; and that innumerable spirits of inferior order, at that moment occupied the surrounding atmosphere, commissioned by heaven to catch the bullets shot by the Americans; and to demonstrate to his countrymen the truth of what he said, he declared, that he had exposed himself on the top of the house in full view of the enemy safe from all harm. His exposed situation and the vehemence of his expressions, however, attracted notice, and a shot soon convinced him of his delusion, and put an end to his existence.

On the return of Coffee to the Ten Islands, Gen. Jackson passed over the Coosey river, with the main army, and pushed on to Tallidoga, where the upper Creeks, one thousand one hundred strong, were besieging a handful of friendly Indians. On the seventh of November, he arrived, and a memorable battle was fought, which eventuated in the defeat of the British allies, who lost two hundred and seventy-eight killed, besides many wounded: the loss of the Americans was fifteen killed and eighty-four wounded. Gen. Jackson had formed his army in parallelograms. The contest was, as may well be imagined, unequal. On the side of the savages, fanatical fury: on the part of the Americans, bravery supported by

*x As this Indian as well as  
all the others were killed with  
the same spirit. The in formation*

a profound system of tactics. Nothing could equal the surprise of those barbarians at finding themselves beaten through a line of more than a mile long, while they retreated and were cut to pieces.

On the morning of the eighteenth of November an action was fought by a body of militia from East Tennessee, commanded by Gen. White, and the Creeks at Hillabee town. The loss on both sides was trifling in killed or wounded. The enemy, early in the action, threw down their arms and demanded quarters, which was given without hesitation. The prisoners were marched into the settlements and treated with kindness.

The resentment which the barbarous murders at Fort Mimms had excited, had in part subsided. The Indians had been punished severely for their cruel conduct at that place, and for their murders on the frontiers of Georgia and Mississippi territory. And the government and people of the United States were alike disposed to bury the tomahawk and be at peace: but unfortunately a powerful party still existed among the Creeks bent on war. In our next we shall finish our review of Gen. Jackson's and Gen. Floyd's campaigns, which produced peace, and we trust a lasting one.

In closing this number a train of melancholy reflections rush upon the mind. Man, it would seem is destined to be unhappy: he cannot be reclaimed to a state of primitive peace. And shall one barbarous and unfeeling court, forever be permitted by their ambition and their crimes, to keep the remotest regions of the earth exposed to the flames of war? No. The insular situation of Britain shall not always protect her; her crimes, recorded on the imperishable pages of faithful history, shall excite the notice of all nations. Though her prince regent may be drunk "like Festus," with ambition and undeserved success; the hand of retributive justice must

good question!

at last overtake him. His iron bosom may yet shake on a throne which he disgraces; and his courteous satellites be convinced that heaven never intended that the triumphs of despotism and vice should be eternal. The cup of British abominations is full to overflowing. The billows of blood, which by British intrigues have successively stained the sands of Asia, the forests of America and the fairest provinces of continental Europe, may yet be rolled back upon England herself.

## CHAPTER V.

THE two antecedent numbers of the Crisis present the reader with a detail of numerous battles fought between the Americans and the Creek Savages. At the recital, a good man is inclined to ask, whence arises this contention between natives of the same soil, and capable of rendering to each other so many acts of benevolence and kindness? A man at all acquainted with the history of the court of St. James, for the last fifty years, will not be surprised at being told, it has arisen from the cruel and perfidious policy of *that* court. Did not the first American war spring out of the tyranny of that court, and did Great Britain cease to wage it until she had expended one hundred millions of money, and sacrificed one hundred thousand lives? What enlightened man who is ignorant of the fact, that every war which has since disturbed the repose of the world, both civilized and savage, has originated from the same corrupt court? Alas! how deeply is it to be regretted, that the success which has attended her ambitious projects in Europe, has rendered her bolder, and given to her soldiery propensities and habits, which must make it the wish and the interest of all good governments and all brave men to set limits to a power which she so villainously abuses.

Not content with the advantages which the commercial habits of her people would alone ensure her, for a century to come, over all other nations, she seeks to make all who venture on the ocean tributary to her; and should all nations knuckle to the



pretensions which the British court sets up to the sovereignty of the seas, all will in reality become her colonies. The efforts she makes to bring the world to this state of degradation, are indeed gigantic. She oppresses her own people, and scatters among unprincipled chieftains of all countries and all colors, black, red and white, bribes and favors, to enlist them in her interest. Were all the citizens of the different countries which she has oppressed, what they should be, her piratical courses would be abandoned; the band of cut-throats and ravishers denominated the British army, would be dispersed; the pine, which grows on the craggy mountain, would be cut down, not to ride on the liquid wave to oppress man, but to give a wider spread to civilization and commerce. War would cease; man would look on his species as his brethren. The innocent infant would repose in the cradle, exempt from the terrors inspired by the savage in British pay. The virtuous matron would no longer be in fear of an outrage more terrible than death. And the mansions of the dead would no more be broken into, and the mementos of affection for departed worth stolen away. In looking over the pages of British history, which groan while they record British crimes, I have sometimes been tempted to exclaim, "A blind fatality governs the destinies of man! How else has it happened, that the monsters, who, at Hampton, at St. Sebastian's and at Tappanannock, gave vent to vices which have not heretofore been ascribed to the fabled fugitives from the flames of hell, have been suffered to remain unexpunged from the face of the earth?" But I am wrong. It is the decrees of a just God which are fulfilling. All people will ultimately be raised against "*the robbers of the world—the common enemy of mankind.*" A drunken idiot, under the influence of unprincipled ambition, will not for-

ever be permitted to destine to the flames of war the remotest regions of the world.

I will venture to augur, if Great Britain persists in the war against the United States, and continues to tyrannize over all countries, as she has done for the last fifty years, that the present generation will yet witness her total overthrow. What cause has she for carrying on the war against the United States? None. At peace with all Europe, the grounds of this war are removed. She would be without a pretext for those robberies and impressments, which drove us in self-defence to take up arms. Why, then, does she continue to wage it? Her object is visible to all mankind. She wishes to gain advantages by which she may oppress us in future, and prevent our growth in population and commerce. Maine and New Orleans are the objects of her ambition. Possessed of these, the *north*, and the *south*, and the *west* of this great country must be tributary to her. Our trade must pass in review before her, while, with the tomahawk of her Indian allies, she would circumscribe our limits. Fortunately for us, the viper bites against a file. The campaigns we are reviewing will shew the folly and madness of her plans. She may collect her troops and scatter her satellites along our coast; but the brave yeomanry who oppose her, cannot and will not be enslaved. Her most powerful ally in this war, the Creek Indians, have been beaten into peace. And we now resume our review of the occurrences which led to this happy event.

It may be observed, that the Creeks who were at war with us, like ancient Gaul, may be divided into three parts. One part inhabited the Alabama, another the Coosey, and the third the Tallapoosa. Of these, it may be said, that those who occupied the Coosey and Tallapoosa were the most numerous and perhaps the most warlike; those on the Alabama the most savage; and led on by a chief, (Weatherford,) who

has appeared on the theatre of the world with unusual lustre. Against all three, at the time of which we are speaking, a simultaneous movement was made, by troops from the west under Gen. Jackson; from the north under Gen. Floyd; and from the south under Gen. Claiborne. Of the operations of these generals we shall speak separately.

On the twenty-third of December, 1813, General Claiborne gained the banks of the Alabama river, and defeated Weatherford in a pitched battle, and succeeded in destroying the principal towns on that river; after which, the Alabamians, who had so far survived the war, transferred themselves to the Tallapoosa and Coosey country; and the frontier of the Mississippi territory no longer witnessed the horrors of savage warfare.

On the 29th of November, 1813, Gen. Floyd, with the Georgian troops, occupied a post on the southern bank of the Tallapoosa river, and had a severe action with the savages. At dawn of day, Gen. Floyd having previously formed for battle, saw the Indians present themselves at every point; and the battle soon became general. The Indians fought with the desperation of fanatics. At nine o'clock they were charged by the Americans and completely routed. The loss of the enemy was estimated at three hundred killed and wounded; among the former were two of their kings. The loss of the Americans was stated in killed and wounded, to amount to seventy. among the wounded was Gen. Floyd, who on this occasion discovered all the traits which denote an able general; and Col. Newman, who has since, for his services on this day, been made adjutant-general of the Georgia militia. All the troops acquitted themselves handsomely in battle, and discovered that subordination, which is the sure presage of victory and glory. On the twenty-seventh of January, 1814, a large body of Indians made an attack at five o'clock

on Gen. Floyd's army. They stole upon and shot the centinels, and rushed with great impetuosity on the American lines. The right, left and front were closely pressed; but the good conduct of the officers and the men, at last triumphed, and the savages, notwithstanding the advantages under which they came into action, were repulsed at every point. At day-light the cavalry charged and sabred all whom they could overtake.

The loss of the enemy had been variously represented; it is admitted on all hands to have been considerable. They had an opportunity, from the darkness, to remove many of their killed and wounded, and of it they availed themselves. The loss on the part of the Americans was indeed severe, and amounted to one hundred and fifty killed and wounded. The brave Col. Newman in the commencement of the action received three balls, and the Adjutant-General Hardin had his horse shot from under him. Majors Watson's, Booth's, Cleveland's and Freeman's battalions, all signalized themselves, as did Captain Duke Hamilton's cavalry. Soon after this last action, Floyd's army was disbanded, and afterwards, no expedition of moment was carried on against the Creeks from Georgia.

We shall now finish our reviews of Gen. Jackson's campaigns; beginning where our last number closed: Gen. Jackson being informed of the movements of Floyd, and that it was the intention of that general to advance on Tucaboche, which is in the centre of the upper Creeks, resolved on making a diversion in his favor. With this view he took up his line of march on the fourteenth of January, 1814. On the twenty-first he encamped in the vicinity of the bend of Tallapoosa. Knowing that he was in the neighborhood of a large Indian force, his order of encampment was that of battle. It was fortunate. In the morning, at six o'clock, the enemy, in great force

attacked his left flank ; the action continued to rage on the left flank and on the left of the rear line for some time. As soon as it was light, the attacked lines were ordered to charge the enemy, which was done accordingly. The slaughter was prodigious ; the savages were driven by the bayonet full two miles. About eight o'clock, the enemy again appeared on the right flank, and renewed their attack ; but they were quickly repulsed by the troops under the command of Cols. Carrol and Higgins, who greatly distinguished themselves. Col. Carrol has since been advanced to the rank of brigadier-general. No man better deserved promotion. To an excellent understanding he unites experience. His patriotism is ardent ; his constitution strong ; his devotion to the military profession appears to have been born with him ; and being in the bloom of life, he may have an opportunity to render his country much service. In this last rencontre, the gallant General Coffee was wounded. And his aid-de-camp A. Donaldson, Esq. was killed. Having succeeded in making a diversion in favor of Floyd, Gen. Jackson determined to fall back on his resources, rendered necessary from the want of provisions, which will always be a serious inconvenience to any army who have to open a road as they advance into an enemy's country. In conformity with this determination, Gen. Jackson took up his return march the next day. On the twenty-fourth, the army had to pass a defile, at which the general anticipating an attack, gave orders to the different officers relative to the mode of defence. The front columns had already passed, and the centre had entered it, when the alarm-gun was fired. We have seen the heroic firmness which those troops had heretofore displayed ; we are at a loss how to account for the panic which they now discovered. Notwithstanding the best efforts of the general, Col. Carrol and many others, the rear precipitately fled ; falling back

on the centre, they spread dismay there also. About twenty-five of the rear guard were rallied. Russel's company of spies stood firm, as did Armstrong's artillery. These troops acquitted themselves beyond all expectation. They advanced to the top of a hill, to which they were ordered, through a most galling fire, and dragged up the artillery, from which they poured on the enemy a shower of grape shot; then charged and repulsed them. Craven Jackson and Constantine Perkins, two privates of the artillery, greatly distinguished themselves. The reader may well see the perilous situation the army was in, when told that this body of brave men had scarce gained the hill, when Capt. Armstrong, Captains Magavock, Bradford and Hamilton all fell.

The honorable William Cooke, who had entered the army as a volunteer, at the age of sixty-five, ascended the hill, and was among the very first who came into action. To the honor of the troops generally, it must be remembered, that the panic soon subsided, and being rallied, was advancing to the support of their comrades, whom we have seen so gallantly dispersing the enemy. This last defeat was decisive. The yell of the savages was heard no more during the return march of the army. The loss of Gen. Jackson in those several actions with the enemy was considerable. It is some consolation to reflect that that of the enemy was greater by four-fold. From this time to the twenty-eighth of March, nothing occurred worthy of notice. On this day a battle was fought at the bend of the Tallapoosa, which put an end to the war with the Creeks. It was to the savages bloody and disastrous, and put them completely within the power of the United States. It appears from the official letters of Gen. Jackson, that the enemy's loss could not have fallen short of eight hundred killed, and it was believed by some to have exceeded a thousand. The enemy now acknow-

ledged themselves conquered. The Americans lost nearly two hundred killed and wounded. The American government forgave their perfidy and made peace with them. Major Montgomery, Lieut. Somerville and Lieut. Moulton were the officers killed in this memorable battle. "No men ever acted more bravely or fell more gloriously."

Of all the slain on the part of the Americans, the gallant young Montgomery appears to have been most deeply regretted. The present generation has done justice to his merits. Posterity will consider the ground on which he fell as holy; for there is deposited all that was perishable of a gentleman, a scholar, a patriot and a hero. The man who loves his country and venerates the name of the hero who would die to defend it, will feel a wish to become more intimately acquainted with this illustrious vindicator of his country's rights. To gratify this laudable curiosity, I subjoin a brief sketch of the life and character of Major Montgomery. I am the more inclined to do so, because I have never seen any thing of the kind in print, that I recollect.

Major Montgomery was born in Wythe county, Virginia, of parents who partook of the perils and shared the glories of the American Revolution. His family at an early day, emigrated from Ireland, and in this their adopted country, transmitted to their children those traits of character for which the Irish people have been celebrated throughout the civilized world. The major inherited from them genius, wit, liberality and courage. Having received a liberal education at an academy in North Carolina, he qualified himself for the profession of the law. I am told he was an able lawyer, and an eloquent pleader of causes.

On the war breaking out between the United States and Great Britain, he laid aside his profession and entered into the army. In this new situation he soon

developed those qualities which have rendered his memory so dear to the good and virtuous part of the community. Attentive to the health and wants of his men, he was esteemed by them as a father; exact in his discipline, strictly obedient to the orders of his superiors, and punctilious in the performance of his promises, younger officers looked on him as a model for imitation—for in him Nature had implanted sentiments of honor without a shade. In his person, he was tall, being upwards of six feet high, slender and delicate; his complexion pale, and his appearance indicative of observation and thought. In the company of the opposite sex, he was polite, reserved and modest; for he felt that the dependence of the one imposed the obligation of protection on the other. Anticipating the Indian war in which he fell, he visited his relations for the last time. To one of them, he is said to have expressed himself as follows:—"I grieve not at my departure: should it be my lot to fall in battle, I hope I shall die gloriously; and then you will tell of my fate with pleasure." Yes, generous, noble youth, at the age of twenty-four years you have verified your own expectations: you have done honor to your progenitors and illustrated your country's annals. The turf that covers your ashes, like the fields of your early ancestors, will be forever green; for it is watered by the tears of science, patriotism and courage.





## CHAPTER VI.

ALL good men unite in deploring the dreadful scenes of carnage which we have in the preceding pages recorded. An American must rejoice in the reflection, that the Creeks provoked the war, by the most wanton aggression. The government of the United States, with paternal tenderness, had for a series of years labored to reclaim them from the savage to the civilized state; the money charitably expended to obtain this desirable object met with general approbation, though it must be admitted, that a few had always maintained the opinion that the idea of civilizing the savages was wild and chimerical; and from experiments made on individuals of different tribes, we are constrained reluctantly to acknowledge, that facts seem to countenance this opinion. The Creek Indians are surrounded by our settlements, and thereby have enjoyed opportunities of mixing with, and (if Nature's God had not placed obstacles in the way) acquiring a fondness for civilized life. The American government had invariably punished all aggression on their territory, and the security of their persons and property was thought an object of the first magnitude. From the commencement of General Washington's administration, down to the attack on Fort Mimms, these aborigines could complain with truth of no injuries unredressed. The prospects of civilizing them, are now, alas! obscured, perhaps annihilated, by an act the most wanton and barbarous that it has fallen to the lot of history to record.

It is true, the hand of retributive desolation has passed over their country; but all join in expressing the same opinion, that it was inevitable. Instead of new expenditures, with a vain hope of ameliorating the situation of the Creeks, and extending to them the comforts, the information and improvements of polished life, these questions are every where in all the political circles of this great empire discussed—what is to be their destiny? what must be done with them to guard more effectually against future eruptions?

Our reflections on this subject, will exclusively occupy this chapter. At the commencement of hostilities by the Creeks, they possessed a territory of great extent, fertile and salubrious, watered by many bold and navigable rivers, well covered with the best of timber for architectural purposes, and occasionally exhibiting symptoms of banks of iron ore. Indeed, the country occupied by the Creeks, is represented as so fertile, and at the same time so extensive, as to be capable of sustaining a population of full two millions. On this great tract, the American government, with a humanity that cannot be too much extolled, had invariably prevented their citizens from trespassing. To the Creeks the greater part of it was useless. It is believed by many, that its possession by them was a principal reason why the efforts of thirty years to civilize them had failed. Before their rupture with the United States, their whole population was estimated at twenty-four thousand. The most powerful agent in civilizing man is a necessity to labor. When a man is thoroughly convinced that he must exert all his powers, corporeal and mental, to live, then he will acquire, if he did not previously possess it, a just idea of his own rights, and a due respect for the rights of others. Ease and indolence is the goal to which the most persevering efforts of many in polished life are principally direct-

ed. The mariner who exposes himself to the storms of a troubled sea, consoles himself with the reflection, that the voyage he is engaged in will be prosperous, and that when it is finished, the profits of the trip will make his situation easy for life. Rare indeed is the man who is born to affluence seen exerting his faculties for the improvement of his own situation in life, or benefiting the condition of his countrymen; so rare, that we may lay down the foregoing observation as generally true, although honorable exceptions have always existed, and will, beyond a doubt, always continue to exist. If then we reason on the ground that the minds of the white man and the Indian in a state of nature is precisely the same, having the like propensities and passions, and capable of the like excesses, and when placed in a civilized state susceptible of the same noble and generous emotions, all which is an hypothesis the truth of which has never been demonstrated, it follows as a necessary consequence, that as long as the Creeks remain in their present situation, having immense uncultivated deserts around their habitations, abounding with games, and inviting and alluring them to the vagrant life of hunters, all the favors and donations of government, having in view their civilization, will be thrown away. For the government to withdraw their protection from them altogether, would certainly be cruel. They are without social knowledge; and they remain to this day, strangers to the precepts of the gospels of peace. Thus situated, they are objects worthy of commiseration; and in adopting measures for our future security, we should have an eye to their happiness. Fortunately, the one is not at all incompatible with the other. It seems to us that both are objects, as respects the Creeks, easy of attainment.

Matters should be so contrived, that the various tribes of which the Creek confederacy consists, should

be completely separated from each other, and at the same time, make them farmers from necessity. Lay off districts thirty and fifty miles wide alternately, extending through the territory they possess; the smaller ones to be settled by the savages, the larger ones to be disposed of to the whites, as the United States' waste and unappropriated lands are at this day. The districts retained by the United States would speedily be settled. The strength of the savages, by being divided, would cease to be formidable, and the means which foreign nations now possess of arming them, and inciting them to murder and rapine, would be destroyed. After paying all expenses incident to the foregoing arrangements, the funds arising from the sales of the retained districts, it is humane and just should be laid out for the benefit of the aborigines. It would supply them with the useful domestic animals, the implements of husbandry, and still leave enough for further experiments to spread among them a knowledge of the gospels of peace. To pocket the profits arising from the sales of the retained districts, we shall always protest against as cruel and disgraceful. We view as equally cruel and disgraceful, the plan so often mentioned in political circles, of seizing on their country by force; on the ground that by their treachery they have forfeited it, and removing them beyond the Mississippi. What! remove them beyond the Mississippi to become extinct in the wars that will follow between them and their neighbors, and the tribes of savages by whom they will be environed! No, let them occupy the land of their fathers, but let them do it in peace. While we provide for our own safety, let us not overlook theirs. Our fathers bequeathed us a reputation clouded by no act of dishonor. The people of the present day, have demonstrated to the world, that they merited the legacy, and they will never stain it by an act of injustice.

## CHAPTER VII.

GENERAL Jackson had hitherto held a commission in the militia only. Gen. Hampton having resigned, he was in May, 1814, appointed a brigadier in the regular service, and by brevet a major-general. An unfortunate misunderstanding having arisen between Major-General Wm. H. Harrison and the secretary of war, Harrison resigned, which furnished the government with a fair opportunity to bestow on Jackson new evidence of the estimation in which they held the services of that excellent officer. He was now appointed major-general, and was commissioned along with Benjamin Hawkins, to conclude a treaty of peace with the Creek confederacy. The appointment of Hawkins excited great astonishment, and was denounced as impolitic. It gave great offence in Tennessee and the Mississippi territory. It was said, that the constant assurances of Col. Hawkins, that hostilities were not to be apprehended from the Creeks, and that the intrigues of the British and northern Indians to excite them would fail, lulled the gallant but unfortunate Major Beasley into that false security, from which his general endeavoured in vain to rouse him, and to which himself and his garrison subsequently fell a sacrifice. With respect to the merits of Hawkins, we are ignorant; but it must be considered, that in his diplomatic character with the Indians, he discovered no trait of extraordinary talents; on the contrary, it was evident, that after many years' residence among the Creeks, he was profoundly ignorant of the savage

character. Considering the prejudices against Hawkins, surely he would not have been appointed, but for the locographical knowledge he had of the Creek country, a species of information, it was perhaps necessary for the commissioners to possess. His association with Gen. Jackson caused the popular outcry speedily to subside, and a general confidence in the commissioners has succeeded. In recording the public feelings on the appointment of Col. Hawkins, it may not be amiss for us to express our own. We have the utmost confidence in the patriotism, firmness and integrity of that gentleman: further it is not necessary for us to go. The treaty executed in August, 1814, by the commissioners and by the head men of the Creek confederacy, has met with pretty general approbation, and has dissipated in a great measure, the prejudices which before hung over Hawkins's character.

Its provisions in many respects have answered our anticipations in the preceding chapter. In the circumscribed limits within which they are now confined, and the fine navigation of their rivers, we see very formidable barriers to the future intrigues of British and Spanish emissaries. No sooner was it known that the treaty was signed, than vast numbers of the disaffected savages retired to Pensacola, where they were received by the Spanish governor and encouraged in their hostile temper towards the United States. The interest which the Spanish functionaries felt in favor of the savages, was indeed manifested at the commencement of hostilities. Arms and ammunition in abundance, in every stage of the conflict, through which they had now passed, had been from time to time furnished them. A body of British troops, about two hundred in number, officers and men, having landed in Pensacola, the fugitive Creeks to the number of full three hundred, were permitted to be incorporated with them, armed with new

muskets and dressed in English uniform. The knowledge of this military preparation in Pensacola excited general alarm through the American settlements in its vicinity. And some great stroke on the part of the enemy and his allies, perhaps in conjunction with the Spaniards, was every where anticipated. An attack on New Orleans had long been expected. Wm. C. C. Claiborne, governor of the state of Louisiana, with an eye to that event, had urged the government of the United States to adopt measures for its security. Fortunately, this vigilant and able statesman did not content himself with simply calling on Hercules for help; he had put his shoulder to the wheel and had done every thing in his power to be prepared for the day of trial. It was known about this time, that an immense armament had been collecting in England and Ireland, destined for America, and that Lord Hill, an officer who had fought with distinguished reputation in the peninsula of Europe, was designated to command it.

The magnitude of the armament, the fall season of the year when they were expected to sail, the recent pacification in Europe, the nature of the population of New Orleans being mostly French or the descendants of French, the amazing wealth of this city, the effect its occupation would have on the western states, and comments which had frequently appeared in the London Courier pointing out the importance of this place, contributed to satisfy the public mind, that this great emporium of western and south-western wealth had become an object of British ambition. As soon as it was known that the enemy had appeared in Pensacola, the governor of Louisiana informed the government thereof, and admonished them that in it was seen, in the chrysalis state, the expedition against New Orleans. Gen. Jackson viewed matters in the same light, and hastened to Mobile, there to adopt such measures as



circumstances might require. He concentrated the forces at that time spread through the adjacent country, and dispatched an officer to Tennessee, to hasten on the march of new levies from that state. While these operations on the part of the Americans were going on, the propriety of them was evinced by the arrival of a British squadron, under the direction of an Irishman of the name of Nichols, a man of desolute morals, who was received with open arms by the governor of Pensacola. The first moment after his arrival was devoted to an effort to bring to the standard of his master all the traitors and scoundrels in the country. He issued a proclamation, in which he reviled the American government, denounced them as under the influence of France at the time they went to war with Great Britain, and in the name of his majesty and loving master, offered in high style the protection of his most potent arm to such state or states as choose to throw off the authority of the federal government. With the exception of a few negroes and Indians, no one was seduced by his proclamation. His surprise was visible to all who surrounded him, at finding that his proclamation was so totally disregarded; that no effort was made to suppress it. On the contrary, it was inserted in the American papers, but to be ridiculed, and himself to be despised.

On the twelfth of September, 1814, Nichols appeared before Fort Bowyer, with a considerable force of British, Indians and Spaniards; and a squadron of ships hove in sight on the morning of the same day. Until the fifteenth, the British commander was basied in preparatory steps. On that day, with the dawnsings of light, he opened his batteries, and the squadron moved up in front of the fort and commenced firing into it. The formidable force by which the fort was attacked, had no effect on the gallant Lawrence who commanded, or upon his

brave troops. The fire from the fort was so animated and so well directed, that it bore away the flag from the mast head of their largest ship, and set fire to the *Hermes*, which being abandoned by the crew, soon after exploded. On the land side, the enemy were handled with such severity, that the Spaniards and Indians soon fled, and the fleet retiring out of the reach of the guns from the fort, Nichols followed the example set him by his comrades and fled back to Pensacola. The loss sustained by the assailants, as may well be supposed, was heavy—its real amount was studiously concealed by them. In the number of their wounded was Nichols, who lost an eye. It is the policy of the American government neither to conceal their losses or to exaggerate their victories: the official report of their commanders are therefore invariably published without being garbled. There is one advantage that attends this course: the people every where read papers, stamped with the seal of public authority, and confide in them. The people in the large towns were in the habit from the commencement of the war, of collecting in large numbers at the post offices of post nights: if any important news was in the papers, a reader of good voice was selected, and being furnished with a candle, it was read to the crowd. I well remember when the news of the defeat of Nichols was read to the multitude, who that night thronged the street in front of the post office, in the city of Richmond: the air resounded with acclamations of joy. The enemy had an immense superiority of heavy guns, and at least four times the number of men. The fort too was but illy constructed, and a short time before almost in ruins; indeed, an order had been but lately given to repair it, which was not yet fully complied with. How wonderful then must appear the defeat of the enemy, and equally strange the inconsiderable loss with which it was achieved.

The defence of Fort Bowyer has given celebrity to the hero who commanded it, and will transmit with renown his name to posterity. The American commanders had heretofore repeatedly advised their government of the hostile acts of the Spaniards of Pensacola, and had even urged the necessity of seizing and holding it during the war. The American government not willing at this time to add to the number of their enemies, had declined to give permission to their officers to take any hostile step towards the Spaniards. Gen. Jackson, however, concluded, and very properly, that his country would not suffer the outrage they had now participated in, to wit: the attack on Fort Bowyer, and the shelter they afforded to the British with impunity. Gen. Coffee having arrived with the new levies from the upland country, without waiting for orders from Washington, Jackson, on his own responsibility, determined on attacking Pensacola, without delay: pushing forward with great celerity, he attacked and carried it with great ease, but not until he had previously advised the Spanish governor that his object was to protect the neutrality of the province of Pensacola, by the expulsion of the British, and to hold it only until the Spanish court would furnish a force sufficient to garrison it, and prevent its falling into the hands of a people who he considered as acting a part likely to involve his excellency in very serious difficulties. To all the propositions of the American commander, the Spanish governor finally acceded, but with jesuistical duplicity in his heart; at the same time, he subsequently allowed the principal fort, to wit: the Barancas, to be blown up, by which means the British escaped out of the bay; in which, otherwise, they would have been penned up, and in all human probability might have been captured or destroyed.

The principal fort being destroyed; the British having retreated; and the Indians, who had previously

rendezvoused at Pensacola, having fled back to their deserts. In fine, the great object of the expedition being attained, he parted with the Spanish governor, having previously interchanged promises of lasting friendship, and returned to Mobile. Brigadier-General Winchester having arrived at Mobile, Jackson devolved on him the command of that port and its dependencies, and repaired to New Orleans, at which place he arrived on the first day of December, 1814. On this new theatre we shall soon see him surrounded by brave, patriotic and intelligent counsellors, leading to battle and to victory a gallant and deserving army, and by deeds of generalship and valor transmitting his name decked with laurels to all future ages. Previous to his leaving Mobile he had opened a correspondence with the governor of Louisiana, who had given him a great deal of information with respect to the situation of New Orleans, the routes by which it might be approached, and the probable feelings of the local population, in the event of the threatened invasion taking place. The governor had earnestly entreated him to press on to New Orleans, to concert proper measures for defence, and explicitly stated, that a policy in the smallest degree temporising would not do; as for himself, the governor declared he was prepared to exert his authority, to save the city from falling into the hands of the enemy. On the arrival of Jackson at New Orleans, the dependency which had seized on many, was dissipated by the energetic course he pursued. The governor recommended an embargo to the legislature, which was enacted without delay, to prevent the enemy, who appeared off the coast in great force, about the sixth of December, 1814, from being fed by traitors who lurk in all large towns, regardless of every thing save personal aggrandisement.

The force Jackson now had to rely on for the defence of this great city, was about six hundred regu-

lars; Daquin's battalion of coloured people lately organized by the governor, the city volunteers and local militia. Gen. Coffee was in the neighborhood of Baton Rouge, with about one thousand of his far-famed riflemen, whither he had been directed to repair and await orders; and Col. Hinds, with the Mississippi dragoons was equally distant: orders had been given for assembling a considerable force in Kentucky and Tennessee, but where they were was not known. While things stood thus, an immense armament suddenly appeared off Cat Island, but a little way from the American lines; expresses were now sent off with orders to Coffee and Hinds, to push forward to New Orleans with all speed; and likewise up the river to hasten the advance of the new levies from Kentucky and Tennessee. The zeal with which these orders were complied with entitle the respective officers to the utmost praise. Coffee encamped four miles above the city, having advanced one hundred and fifty miles in two days. Hinds, with his dragoons was equally expeditious, in four days he marched two hundred and thirty miles. The new levies spoken of above, were yet a great way off, but on receiving the orders of Gen. Jackson, they advanced with renewed zeal, and luckily arrived in due time to participate in the great scenes which soon followed. The local government of Louisiana now called out the militia of the state en masse. Governor Claiborne had observed that a considerable number of seamen of various nations were strolling about the streets of New Orleans unemployed; these he determined to make useful; he conferred on Mr. Tompson, a young man of great learning, who spoke most of the languages of Europe, a captain's commission, and directed him to press into the service, all seamen, without regard to the country to which they belonged, and to place himself and them under the command of Gen. Jackson and Com. Patterson.

In a few days Tompson had collected and reduced to order a considerable number of seamen, Italians, Spaniards, French, Portuguese, &c. who subsequently behaved well and were of great service. While these energetic steps were going on, Gen. Jackson proclaimed martial law, a measure that had been previously advised by Gov. Claiborne.

That this last mentioned measure was taken with the approbation of the governor, I have heard frequently denied. That the measure, right or wrong, may be well understood, and if praise belongs to it, that that praise may be bestowed on all who participated in it, I will here insert an extract from one of the governor's letters to Gen. Jackson:—"Enemies," says the governor, "to the country, may blame your prompt and energetic measures, but in the person of every patriot you will find a supporter. I think, with you, our country is filled with traitors and spies." In the same communication, he states "that the police of our cities is too loose, and that strangers should not enter and depart at pleasure." Of the naval force under Com. Patterson, five gun boats were stationed on Lake Borgne, under Lieut. Jones, an officer of great merit. Jones had from time to time understood that the enemy were daily receiving additional reinforcements, and being satisfied in his own mind, that the position he then occupied was not a proper one, he resolved to retreat to the Regolets, at which place there was erected the fort of Petit Coquelle, commanded by Capt. Newman. Arrived at this spot, his determination was to resist, to the last extremity, any force that might come against him: with this object in view, he attempted in vain to reach the Regolets, the winds being adverse. The enemy anticipating his object, had pursued him with barges, and on the fourteenth he was compelled to come to action. The British force consisted of forty-three boats, mounting forty-three guns, and having on

board full fourteen hundred men. On the part of the Americans were five boats, one hundred and ninety men, and twenty-three guns. This disparity of force, of which the enemy were apprised, induced them to anticipate an easy conquest. The American line being formed to receive the enemy, now waited their approach; about twelve the action commenced, and in a short time every part of the American line was warmly engaged: the battle had lasted but a short time, before two of the enemy's boats being in advance of the others, attempted to board the boat commanded by Jones; one of them, having one hundred men on board at the time, was sunk, and the other beaten off, after sustaining great loss, particularly in officers. Jones being severely wounded, was constrained to leave the deck, whereupon the command devolved on Lieut. Parker, who displayed all that courage which is the uniform property of an American seaman, nor did he strike his flag until it was apparent that further resistance would be madness and folly. If additional evidence were requested to shew the superiority of the American to the British seamen, this action in the superior mischief done the enemy would surely prove it. The American loss was six killed and thirty-five wounded, the residue surrendered; that of the enemy was ascertained to be full three hundred in killed and wounded. Among the American wounded was Jones and Lieutenants Spedder and M'Ever: Lieutenants Ulrick and Defferes, who each commanded a boat, escaped unhurt, but were equally exposed to danger, and behaved with a gallantry that has secured to them the respect of their countrymen and a bright page in the naval annals of the United States. In this action the Americans sustained a great loss by the capture of the gun boats, and the British obtained the uncontroled command of Lake Borgne, whereby a variety of places were thrown open at which

they might land. In the American camp justice was done to the bravery of Jones and his comrades, at the same time, that the advantages the enemy had acquired were seen and acknowledged. Instead of being borne down by the *unauspicious* opening of the enemy's demonstrations on New Orleans, Jackson seemed to acquire daily additional confidence in the success of the defence he was soon to make, and he contrived to make the people at large believe that he himself was a host, and that the troops he commanded were not and could not be beaten. This impression was not confined to the men; it had taken a strong hold among the ladies of New Orleans, who saw in him and his gallant associates, a guarantee against the dreadful scenes which had been exhibited at Hampton and at other places in Virginia. The fortunate arrival at this time of Major-General Carroll, with the new levies from Tennessee, and the knowledge which soon became general, that the Kentucky troops might hourly be looked for, having in command among them Gen. John Adair, an officer of many of the like traits of character with Jackson: courage mounting, when occasion required, to desperation; yet allied with a coolness which could look at death without reflecting on the agonies which it brings along with it; and a mind so gigantic, and at the same time so minute, that while it sees the greatest and most desirable objects at an immense distance, coolly and with arithmetical certainty calculates the details by which they may be attained—dissipated the last doubt with respect to the success of the anticipated defence. Along with Gen. Carroll came a small supply of arms, which had been sent on by order of the general government. M. Girod, mayor of New Orleans, had been applied to by the governor, to procure for the use of the troops, all the arms and ammunition in the city, and by his activity large supplies had been procured. On the twenty-



third of December, the drums beat to arms: the enemy had landed about sixteen miles from the city, at Bien Venu, and were already in possession of Gen. Villere's plantation, where they had surprised and captured a company of militia. As soon as this information reached Gen Jackson, he resolved to attack them forthwith: but fears being entertained that possibly the enemy had landed at Bien Venu to draw the American force below, to give an opportunity to land elsewhere, and reach the city by another route, Governor Claiborne, with Labatsit's brigade of Louisiana militia and Maj. Gen. Carroll's division, were directed to take post on the Gentille road, to observe occurrences and act as events might justify. This position the governor occupied throughout the siege, from which the troops he commanded might easily be commanded to the suburb Marigne, and become a reserve corps; and had Jackson's lines been forced on the eighth of January, the division commanded by the governor must also have been routed before the enemy reached the city. The necessary precaution being taken, Jackson, with Coffee's brigade and Daquin's battalion, the regular troops, advanced on the enemy; at the same time the companies of Louisiana troops, under Capts. Roche, St. Geme, Huday, White, Guibert, and Beale, under Major Planche, at Bayou St. John, marched with the rapidity of lightning to the plains of Villere, to encounter the foe. Com. Patterson, by direction of Gen. Jackson, dropped down the river and opened the batteries of the Caroline upon the British lines. It was now dark, but the fires along the enemy's lines shewed clearly the position they occupied, and enabled the Americans to adopt their measures accordingly. Coffee, with his brigade, Hind's dragoons, and the New Orleans riflemen under Capt. Beale, advanced on the enemy's right wing: Major Planche with the New Orleans volun-

teers, Daquin's corps of coloured troops and the regulars, led on by Jackson in person, moved on the enemy's left. The enemy were thrown into confusion by the unexpectedness of the attack. It is well understood at this time they expected little or no opposition. Recovering from the surprise which the grape and cannister shot from the Caroline had engendered, they were directing an animated resistance to the Caroline, when Coffee's command having penetrated within the line of sentinels, opened a destructive fire along their right wing. The enemy admonished of the efficacy of the troops by whom they were assailed, by the number who were constantly falling from the fire, more particularly of our riflemen, fell back with some precipitation: they were already beaten, and but for the superiority of their discipline, must have been completely cut up. The right wing of the American army came into action about the time that the enemy were receding from the fire of Coffee's line; here the resistance was much more obstinate; Daquin's coloured troops were particularly pressed by a vast superiority of force, and returned the fire of the enemy with a vivacity that attracted the eye of the commanding general, and the admiration of their comrades. The regular troops and Planche's volunteers being brought into line, Daquin was in a measure relieved, and the contest becoming more equal, the enemy's left wing likewise receded. The darkness increasing, and the repulse of different parts of the enemy's lines taking place at different times, disorder was early introduced, and both armies now fought in considerable confusion. While the battle was going on, the enemy were constantly receiving reinforcements, which were formed in the rear as fast as they arrived, and pushed forward with all imaginable haste. Notwithstanding this, the American troops felt their way to every part of the British lines, and the enemy

after a brave resistance were again compelled to retreat. The tide was now running strongly in favor of the Americans, and hopes were indulged that the British would be constrained to surrender, when suddenly a dense fog arose which put a stop to the combat. The American commander now concentrated his lines, and falling back to the ground which the British occupied at the commencement of the battle, he determined on waiting the approach of day to enable him to renew the action: subsequently the general changed his mind and retired to M'Carty's, where he established himself.

In no action fought during the second war between Great Britain and the United States did the American troops behave more bravely than they did in this: in fine, few troops ever behaved as well; and none, however long dedicated to war, ever acted better. Every man seemed to act as if the fate of New Orleans depended on his conduct, and fired by the pride of valor and the love of country, exhibited prodigies of courage. When the action first commenced, Coffee is reported to have passed along the line exclaiming "You have said you could fight, now prove it." They did prove it to their enemies and to the world; if the glorious deeds of our revolutionary fathers were forgot; if the battles at Erie, at Plattsburg, Chippewa, at the classic heights of Niagara, and numberless other places, had never taken place; this on the plains of Villere, would of itself shew, that the United States can boast of a population possessing the faculty of fighting, to a degree beyond the lot of most nations: whether this arises from the nature of our climate, the ease and independence of circumstances which our people enjoy, or the freedom of our political institutions, which elevate our sentiments, is not material to determine. The fact is as we have stated it, and history will prove it. What was the prize for which the com-

batants contended on the plains of Villeré? It was the city of New Orleans, the capital of the state of Louisiana; and we might ask, what city in Europe was ever defended successfully by an undisciplined militia? None; no, not one. The battle of Jena opened the gates of Berlin to the French, and the regular force destroyed, the Prussian monarchy was at the mercy of the great Napoleon. Passing over the battles of Wagram and Austrelitz, and the consequences that followed them, we find that Paris, (their regular army being cut up) opened its gates without a blow to enemies the French had before frequently humbled. In England the regular force kept Charles on the throne in opposition to the wishes of the people, and when they deserted him his power passed away and himself was brought to the block. Cromwell overturned the liberties of his country the moment he secured the army; and Richard, the most amiable and the best of men, was by the help of the army, set aside, and Charles II. the most worthless of the worthless house of Stewart, raised to the throne. James kept the throne while the army was faithful, but the cunning Dutchman having secured the regular force, easily displaced him, although it was notorious, that his party was equally as numerous as that of his rival. Whence does this arise? The question is easy of solution. In Europe the soil is the property of the privileged classes; the government is principally for the benefit of those who govern. Not so in the United States: the soil here is pretty equally divided: it may be said emphatically to belong to the people: and the government is public property, for every man of virtue and talents may aspire to the highest offices. In America every man has a home and a government to defend. We venture to augur, that so long as our government is free, a well armed militia is our surest and our best defence. In the battle of Bien Venu the Ame-

rican general brought into the field two thousand troops : it was commenced on the part of the enemy with full three thousand, and before it terminated their force was doubled ; the action lasted an hour, and when it terminated, the foe had been driven to take shelter under the bank of the river, which served as a breastwork. The American loss was thirty in killed ; one hundred and fifteen wounded, and seventy-four made prisoners. The British admitted an equal loss in killed, wounded and prisoners : of course it is believed to have been much greater. When the result of this action was known in the city, which of course was the case in a few hours, a scene was exhibited which every patriot will remember with pleasure : all was bustle in hurrying off necessaries to the wounded, "that sex whose smiles soften the misfortunes of life, and whose charms heighten the enjoyments of freedom," took the lead in this honorable measure ; they had before clothed the soldiers ; they now furnished the hospital department with lint, linen, wines, &c. for the use of the sick and wounded. These acts of benevolence were not confined to the Louisiana troops, they were extended to all the defenders of the country, and in so polite and feeling a manner that a Tennessean, in telling me some time since, of the obligations he was under to the citizens of New Orleans, for clothing furnished him and others, had his generous heart so overpowered by the grateful recollection, that he could not refrain from tears.

In the action of the twenty-third, the Americans had to deplore the loss of Col. Lauderdale, of Coffee's brigade ; he had seen much service, was young, ardent and intelligent, and highly esteemed ; also Lieut. M'Lelland, of the regular troops : they fell where they fought, and are entitled to the gratitude of their country. From the twenty-third to the twenty-sixth of December, the enemy was engaged in getting can-

munitions, ammunition and other things necessary for an invading army from their shipping; in the interim, they had received reinforcements to a great amount. Sir Edward Pakenham having arrived, took the command in chief; their force was now estimated at fifteen thousand men; among the major-generals who commanded divisions, was Keene, who commanded on the twenty-third, Gibbs and Lambert: the two last had not yet arrived, but were expected in a short time. Pakenham was Lord Wellington's brother-in-law, and had served along with his assistants abovenamed, under that celebrated soldier. The greater part of the British troops were from Spain. After the twenty-third, Jackson was engaged without a moment's intermission, in fortifying the ground to which he had retired. This position is the most favorable that the country admits of. The swamp here approaches within three quarters or less of a mile of the river, the soil sandy and light, and descending from the river to the swamp, ditches might be facilitated by letting in the river water, which was then high. Already the works had become formidable. The *Caroline*, after the battle of the twenty-third, had been taken to the opposite side of the river, and had there remained ever since. On the twenty-seventh, at day-break, a battery which had been prepared in the night, with heavy cannon, threw on her a number of red-hot shot. Capt. Henley, who now commanded, returned the fire with spirit, but finding that to remain any longer in his present situation, would be destructive not only to the vessel but the crew also, attempted ineffectually to force her up the river opposite the American line. A shot had already fired her, and the flame was gaining ground rapidly: an effort to remove the shot had failed. Thus situated, Henley wisely determined on quitting her, which was no sooner done than the magazine exploded. One of the crew of the *Caroline*

was killed and six were wounded. On the twenty-eighth, Sir Edward attempted to carry the American works by storm. While their columns were advancing, their rocketeersmen threw an immense number of rocketts; this was an instrument of destruction which was but little understood in America; while flying it certainly has an awe inspiring effect: a few moments will shew, that there is little certainty in the direction of the rockets, and that it is the most harmless of missives. The American batteries checked their advance and soon compelled them to retire. The sloop Louisiana, which lay opposite the American line, did the enemy great injury; the crew of the sloop were the pressmen before spoken of; she was commanded by Tompson, and although orders were to be given in a half a dozen different languages, no confusion was visible during the battle. The enemy saw the mischief the Louisiana was doing, and discharged at her a number of hot shot and bomb shells, but with little effect. This action lasted but a short time, but long enough to prove to the American general the strength of his works and the skill of his engineers. The loss of the Americans was thirty or forty killed and wounded.

The enemy moved in the open field, hence we may infer that their loss was much more considerable; what it really was they have never stated. Among the killed on the part of the Americans was Col. Henderson of Carroll's division. From this time to the first of January Gen. Jackson and Sir Edward were mutually engaged in harrassing each other, and augmenting the means of annoyance and defence, which it would be unnecessary to detail at length. About this time a member of the legislature is said to have inquired of an officer belonging to Jackson's army, whether if the lines were forced and the general was compelled to retreat beyond the city, would he destroy it? Upon being asked, why he

made the enquiry, the member replied, "that if Jackson's lines were forced, some of the members of the legislature had been talking of the necessity in that event, of negotiating for the safety of the city." This conversation was soon reported to Gen. Jackson, who thought he saw in it something extremely criminal, and communicated it to Gov. Claiborne, with a request that he would watch their proceedings, and as soon as the subject should be openly discussed in their hall, to arrest the members and hold them in custody, subject to his (Jackson's) orders. Gov. Claiborne on the receipt of this unpleasant information, inquired into the facts, and resolved to act for himself. He had resolved that the country should be defended at every hazard; and he saw that the mere discussion of such a subject in the legislature, at such a period, might damp the zeal which was now displayed in the defence of the city, and might introduce into the ranks of the army, disaffection and even mutiny. To wait till the subject should be discussed in the legislature, he very properly concluded, would not do, for each member had his friends, and arresting them might excite popular commotion. Having weighed all the circumstances, he determined to act promptly and decisively: he forthwith placed an armed force at the door of the capitol with directions not to suffer a member to enter. This was certainly a bold step. I have understood it excited some dissatisfaction towards the governor, on the part of a few of the members, but it soon blew over, for the very members who had conversed on this subject, were themselves patriots of the first order, who, alas! were alive to the horrors which usually befalls a city taken by storm. Their wives and children too were in the city. What would be their situation in a winter's night, houseless, and buffeted by the winds and waters of heaven? It is not to be wondered at, that fathers and husbands; that moral and amiable men, should



reflect what was to be the destiny of their wives and daughters, should the foe enter New Orleans, exasperated as they would be by a struggle like which they had seen nothing in Europe. To polished minds Hampton in Virginia had exhibited a scene terrible beyond description. The governor has attested their patriotism to the world, although he condemned the weakness which in this particular case they exhibited. And the legislature, more just than some other people have been, so soon as they resumed their legislative labors, in a manifesto to the world, did justice to the governor, with an extract from which paper we shall close this chapter. It is a monument more durable than brass, recording alike the magnanimity of the legislature, and the patriotism and energy of a public officer, the spotless purity of whose character detracting can never tarnish. "The enumeration" says the legislature, "of the corps and individuals who have given so many proofs of patriotism and devotion to their country, ought not to be closed without mentioning the governor of this state, whose efforts have constantly been directed towards cherishing the happy dispositions of the inhabitants, and whose authority, to its utmost extent, has been employed in securing the success of the measures adopted for the defence of this country."

## CHAPTER VIII.

BETWEEN the twenty-eighth and thirtieth each army received considerable reinforcements ; Major-General Gibbs arrived at the British camp with four thousand troops detached from Wellington's army, and at the same time Major-General Villere entered Jackson's encampment with three hundred and sixty Louisiana militia. Apprehensive that another attempt might be made to carry our lines, the Americans laboured unremittingly to make them more formidable, and on the opposite side of the river, at this place eight hundred yards wide, began to erect batteries and other works, at which Gen. Morgan and a respectable force was stationed. It was anticipated, that seeing fewer obstacles in the way, the enemy might find the means of crossing the river, and in that direction reach the city ; hence these precautionary steps on the right bank. On the thirty-first the enemy fired on the left of Jackson's lines from a redoubt they had newly erected. A cannonading on both sides was kept up throughout the whole of the day, with, it is believed, little effect on either side. In the night of the thirty-first the enemy erected two additional batteries at the distance of six hundred and twenty yards from our lines.

On the first of January, as soon as it was light, the enemy opened on the American lines a heavy and incessant fire from all their new raised batteries, which was returned with great animation. The object was to silence our guns and make a breach in the breastwork ; but in this they did not succeed ; on the

contrary, several of their guns were quickly dismounted, and the fire from the American batteries was so well directed, that in the course of an hour theirs was nearly silenced. The superiority of the American gunnery was thus rendered more clear in the greater injury done the enemy. While the cannonading was going on, the British army was drawn up ready to storm the American lines, so soon as a breach could be effected. This day's experience however, convinced them, that if carried at all, the process must be quicker than that of first making a breach with cannon. In the course of this day the enemy in considerable force, under cover of the wood, penetrated to within a short distance of that part of the line which extended into the swamp where Coffee's riflemen were placed; they were no sooner discovered than they were attacked and driven back with considerable loss. From the first to the fourth nothing occurred worthy of notice; on the latter day the Kentucky troops arrived and encamped within the vicinity of New Orleans; they were commanded by Gen. Thomas. A part of them were the same day detached, and under Gen. John Adair, marched and took post a little in the rear of Jackson's lines. This position was admirably chosen, as will be seen in the brilliant battle of the eighth, which we are soon to record.

From the first landing of the enemy, deserters were occasionally coming over to the American camp, and it was evident that as their knowledge of the country improved, the disposition of the British soldiers to desert was enlarged and the number increased. From this source the American generals were daily apprised of the strength and designs of the enemy, and of the occurrences in their camp. All concurred in stating their force at over fifteen thousand, and that they were making, day and night, preparations for storming at an early period, the American lines.

The unoccupied space between the two armies was bare of trees and inconsiderable in distance. The noise of sledges and hammers, which were distinctly and almost unremittingly heard, sounded the note of preparation, and bespoke the approach of that storm which has since burst desolation and death on these boasted conquerors of Europe. With the help of glasses, the American officers could plainly discover the industry they devoted in making scaling ladders and fascines. It was seen that night did not put a stop to their labors: on the contrary, their hammers told an increased activity. The most obscure soldier in the American lines saw that the hour of peril was at hand, and instead of shrinking from the terrors of the approaching tempest, seemed by the cheerfulness of his countenance and the alacrity with which he obeyed the orders of his officers, to wait its coming with the composure and firmness that belong to cultivated minds. This is not to be wondered at; they were almost to a man freeholders, or the sons of freeholders; they were not taken from the streets of dissipated and corrupt cities, or enlisted into the army to prevent their becoming victims to the shivering pangs of want. With few exceptions they could read and write, and had paid more or less attention to acquiring information. Many who were in the ranks as privates were scholars of the first order. Beale's company were all men of fortune and education; and in Hind's corps were upwards of twenty youth whose landed estates were worth each twenty thousand dollars.

Such an army as this was, along with the characteristic bravery of Americans, has the coolness and deliberation in dangers which appertains to reason and reflection only. In the night the centinels reported that the enemy were establishing new batteries, and that the activity of the preceding day, so far from having slackened, was evidently increased.

On our side the officers passed through the lines and every where inspired that confidence which is a sure prelude to victory. The approach of day was looked for with impatience. Every officer and soldier belonging to the American lines was now at his post prepared to defend his country's rights. At last the looked for hour arrived; the great luminary of day, as if ashamed of the wickedness of man, shot forth a feeble ray; its beams were veiled in tears; in a little while the mist cleared away, and the sun in all its brilliancy shone on a scene to America the most glorious, and to Great Britain the most humiliating that had ever before been exhibited on the vast theatre of the world. The mist was not gone when the enemy were discovered in line and prepared to advance. A rocket of brilliancy discharged from one end of their line went off and proclaimed that the moment for action had arrived. One of our batteries fired from a twelve pounder a shot of defiance. The enemy now formed in column near one hundred deep, and advanced on Jackson's line. They had just began to move when their batteries threw showers of shot, and the air was filled with their Congreve rockets. The American batteries now opened their fire upon their advancing column. It had so happened that a day or two before this, Generals Jackson and Adair being in conversation about the strength of the works, Adair told him that such was the discipline of the enemy that the only way to defeat him was to shoot down their columns as fast as they appeared, and that to do this, it would be necessary to have a powerful reserve so located that they could throw themselves at any time in that part of the line on which the enemy should press. Fortunately, Jackson caught at the idea, and acted upon it. Gen. Adair with a brigade of Kentucky troops was posted a little in the rear, with orders to advance and throw himself into that part of the trenches against which the foe

might appear to be making their most formidable advances. It was soon apparent, that the part of the lines occupied by Carroll's division had been singled out as the principal point of attack; to that point therefore the gallant Adair repaired with his brigade: by the time he had united his troops with Carroll's division, the enemy, notwithstanding the terrible havoc made by the cannister and grape shot which was fired at them, had advanced within the reach of the musketry. The whole American line now opened a fire on them, which was utterly irresistible; it swept away all within its range: their officers endeavoured to push them on, but it was impossible. Almost at the same moment, Gen. Pakenham, who had advanced with his hat off to inspire his troops by his presence, was wounded by a musket ball in the knee, and nearly cut in two by a cannon shot. Generals Gibbs and Keene were also dreadfully wounded. The death of Pakenham, the fall of Keene and Gibbs all at the same moment, and the heaps of dying and dead which the field exhibited in every direction, struck a panic in the enemy, who now fled with precipitation until they had fairly got out of reach of the American cannon. They could not be rallied. While the foregoing scenes were passing on the left of the American line, Major-Gen. Lambert, who succeeded to the command in chief, pushed forward a column of fresh troops on our right: they moved between the river and levee. The style with which this column advanced was entirely different from that which was observed in the enemy on the left. Instead of a slow and sullen step, they were at the line before our cannon could fire more than two rounds. They came up in full trot; a part of the column even entered the redoubt through the embrasures. To keep possession of the redoubt was impossible, unless the entrenchment in the rear could be carried. This, Col. Renee, the British commanding officer, now at

tempted, but in vain; as fast as they shewed themselves they were shot down; not a man of those who entered the redoubt escaped death; Renee fell with five wounds through the body. The part of the column who had not yet got up to the redoubt had faltered; their officers tried to push them on, but to no purpose. To advance was certain death. They broke and fled with precipitation, leaving the banks of the river covered with their dead and wounded comrades. The defeat of the enemy was decisive. Major-Gen. Lambert acknowledged a loss of twenty-six hundred, in killed, wounded and missing. Gibbs died of his wounds the next day. It is ascertained that fully one hundred of their officers were killed, wounded or taken prisoners. On the left of the American line, where the greater part of the enemy's troops acted, an area of three acres was nearly covered with dead and wounded. All those who reached the ditch in front of the American lines lay there concealed till the battle was over, when five hundred, mostly wounded, were captured. Some might be disposed to doubt it, but it is nevertheless true, that the American loss was barely six killed and seven wounded, as can be attested by the oaths of thousands. If we consider the numbers engaged, the short time the battle raged, the little experience in war of the American troops, most of them having within the last two months left their farms, stores and work houses, to drive away the enemy, the animation and certainty with which these undisciplined men delivered their fire, we may well say that history furnishes no battle like this. Yes, on this day, our army put in the shade the achievements of all preceding ages. The battle on the eighth of January, 1814, on the left bank of the river Mississippi, forms a most memorable æra in the annals of the United States; it has resounded through Europe, and extorted respect for the American character from all the nations of the

earth. On this day was reflected back on the enemy a full share of misfortune. They had threatened to lay waste our towns and the whole country on the sea board. They had given notice of this determination in a letter addressed to the American government by Admiral Cochrane. The haughty islanders will no longer plume themselves on the injuries they do us. The battle of the eighth has proved to demonstration, that the just vengeance of an irritated people is terrible beyond description. That the enemy intended to act up to the threat their admiral had made, cannot be doubted; their word was on the morning of the eighth "*beauty and booty*," and it is clear that impunity to rapine and lust was promised to stimulate their troops to perseverance and conquest. When we reflect on the full measure of woe prepared for New Orleans, we must be excused in saying in our triumph, we rejoice that the foe was humbled in dust and ashes. The destruction of the enemy's army was now inevitable, but, for an occurrence the most unfortunate on the right bank of the river. At the moment of advancing on Jackson's line as already described, he had passed in boats to the opposite shore a strong detachment under Col. Thornton. These advanced against Gen. Morgan's lines, which they unfortunately forced after a short contest. Gen. Morgan, however, rallied the troops, and the enemy not pursuing his success further, reinforcements were thrown over the river, and directions given to Gen. Humbert to put himself at their head and repulse the foe, let the cost be what it might. Their disaster, however, on the left bank was so serious, that the enemy lost all confidence in themselves, and that night retreated, and recrossing the river united with the shattered remains of their main army. Gen. Humbert now moved forward and re-occupied the ground from which Morgan had the day before retreated. On the right bank but few troops



were engaged on either side. The British detachment was estimated at eight hundred, and the American force was about the same in number. Morgan's retreat has been ascribed to the misconduct of some Kentucky troops who occupied one extremity of his line. An ample apology has been made for them: their arms were utterly insufficient, being the greater part out of order: indeed the want of arms was so great that the fourth of the troops collected for the defence of New Orleans had none at all, and of those who were armed, one third was with guns that wanted repairs. It would be out of our object to inquire whose fault was this. On the left bank the Americans succeeded in taking one thousand stand from the enemy.

\* The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded, on the right bank of the river was one hundred and twenty; that of the Americans one killed and five wounded, and for this we have the returns of the proper officers. Certainly, we have reason to be grateful to Divine Providence, our very defeats are, if possible, triumphs. See the superiority of the mischiefs we do the foe. The menacing attitude of the enemy was now dropped. Having concentrated his force, apprehensive of attack, he fortified most diligently, and erected on the road by which he intended to retreat, numerous batteries, the better to protect him from his formidable opponents. It was apparent from his movements, that Lambert meditated a flight, for the situation he occupied was truly unpleasant, as Jackson occasionally bombarded him, and was daily taking toll for the temerity of his own demonstrations on New Orleans. On the night of the eighteenth Lambert moved, leaving eighty of his wounded who he recommended to Jackson's humanity, and fourteen cannon, a large supply of powder scattered on the ground to render it useless, and a number of heavy articles of value. So rapid was his flight that at

though pursued he could not be overtaken, and but few of his stragglers could be captured. About this time, the enemy, who had attempted with their shipping, to come up the river, retired from Fort St. Philip's, which they had bombarded for five days without silencing a single gun or doing other mischief than killing two of our men and wounding five. The injury their shipping sustained it is their policy to conceal. We confidently believe it was considerable.

While the enemy were attempting to ascend the Mississippi river, Gov. Claiborne, who heretofore had been stationed on Colson plantation, on the Gentille plain, three miles from the city, entrusted with the defence of the important pass of Chef Menteur, and the estuary or Bayou St. John of Lake Pontchartrain, was appointed to the command of the right bank of the Mississippi in the place of Gen. Morgan, who was given a command in the main army under Gen. Jackson.

The British having retreated to the water, their favorite element, and their fleet being foiled at St. Philips, and having sailed out of the river, Louisiana was now freed from invasion. The enemy's demonstrations as they termed it, cost them an immensity of treasure, and a great deal of blood. It is computed that their killed and wounded, amounted to four thousand, while they were operating against the city: a thousand prisoners were made at different times by the American forces. Numbers disheartened by the vigorous discipline to which they were subjected, and tired of the bloody scenes which had long been before their eyes in Europe, and now in America, or enamoured with our free institutions, deserted the standard of their master, and came over to the American camp. Add to this, the climate of New-Orleans, being uncongenial with the British constitution, disease in its most hideous form, entered the enemy's camp, and with giant strides thinned their

ranks. An intelligent gentleman who had the best opportunity of judging aright, put down their total loss in killed, wounded, taken captive, and deserted, at one half their numbers at their landing; nor can we think this too large, when we know that in the action of the 8th, on the left bank of the river, they lost in killed and wounded, upwards of eighty officers, and had as many captured as made the loss of officers alone on that day one hundred. Besides the battle of the 8th, they suffered severely in several other contests, and daily lost more or less of their men. The adventures of a private belonging to Coffee's brigade will shew how little the Americans regarded these boasted conquerors of the conquerors of Europe. This man having hung round his neck his powder horn and bullet pouch, and put his rifle in good order, gravely asked permission to attack the enemy; this being granted, he made a circuit through the swamp, and placing himself on the right of the enemy's lines, he waited till night to commence his attack; as soon as it was dark, he crept up to the edge of the swamp and discovered a centinel, whom he shot; then laying down his own gun, he advanced to the dead man and brought away his arms. In the course of the night he killed three centinels, and before day returned to camp, bringing with him his own gun and the three guns he had taken from the three centinels he had killed. The British forces having withdrawn, the New Orleans volunteers now returned to their homes, and Coffee's and Carroll's troops returned to their camp above the city. Nothing could equal the joy of the people on seeing these brave men: the Marseilles hymn, yankee doodle and other patriotic airs were played through the streets by the city bands, who escorted them through the town, and when any of the returning companies presented themselves in the street, white handkerchiefs were waved by the ladies in token of

the respect they had for brave men and patriots. It could not be otherwise, Louisiana was true and faithful to the core. The children seemed, while the invasion lasted, to have partaken of the general enthusiasm, chaunting national airs; and groups of boys were frequently seen in the streets going through the manual of a soldier. Gen. Jackson had repeatedly declared the enemy should never reach the city. He did not stand alone in his valour, his firmness was well seconded, and if the city had been doomed to fall, many noble and generous spirits had resolved to perish amid its ruins. Every inch of ground was to be disputed. If line Jackson, as it was called, had been forced on the eighth, line Dupree, three miles in the rear, was instantly to have been occupied; if unable to retain this, other works one mile from the suburbs of the city were provided; if driven from these also, the streets were to be seized by choice spirits; every house to become a citadel; and every mode of destroying the enemy resorted to that individual ingenuity could suggest. It is but justice to say, that the enthusiasm which pervaded all ranks, was kindled and kept alive during the invasion, in a great degree, by the genius of Gen. Jackson; nor will I be suspected of an improper partiality to a venerated brother now no more, when I say that Mr. Claiborne did all in his power to save the city. As chief magistrate of the state, his authority was pushed to its utmost limits to secure this object. But what next to the favor of heaven contributed more than any thing else to the glorious termination of the campaign, was the invincible attachment of all ranks and descriptions of people to their country, government and laws. We have already done justice to the ladies of New Orleans, most of whom worked incessantly on clothing, for such of the troops as stood in need thereof. It would be ingratitude when an enumeration is made of the principal agents, civil

and military, who contributed to the safety of this city, to omit to mention Nicholas Girod, the mayor of the place; he even paid domiciliary visits to the citizens to obtain arms, ammunition and necessaries for the army, and thereby contributed to the repulse of the foe.

The enemy having failed in their design on New Orleans, turned their attention to much less objects. On the eighth of February they attacked Fort Bowyer, with a fleet of twenty-five sail and five thousand land troops. The siege continued until the eleventh, during which time they threw shells and balls into the fort, and had finally advanced their works within a short distance of the fort. No relief being at hand, the American commanding officer surrendered, the garrison consisting of three hundred men.

The loss of the enemy was acknowledged to be about thirty or forty. That sustained by the Americans, was stated by the gallant Col. Lawrence, the commander of the fort, at one killed and ten wounded, of which number was Lawrence himself. Here was shed blood for the last time in the second war between Great Britain and the United States. On this day, the fifteenth of February, 1815, the glad tidings of peace reached the city of Richmond, the place where the foregoing Notes on the War in the South and south-western country were written, as the events themselves transpired. It gives me pleasure to say, it was hailed with every demonstration of joy; splendid illuminations, and balls, and amusements, which denote entire satisfaction, in this city and throughout the United States ensued in celebration of this happy event. The sword honorably drawn in defence of the nation was returned to its scabbard when no further necessity existed to stain it with blood. National prejudices instantly gave way, and the wish became universal that the peace might be lasting. In preserving these notes, I have but one object, it is

this : that my family may see the part their relations have taken in the contest through which we have just past. When I shall repose in the silent tomb, if my thinking faculties are there retained, I shall look back with fond delight on an offspring ever ready to defend their country, government and laws. Patriotism is the first of virtues, and the man who looks with indifference on his country's contests and struggles, is the meanest and lowest of animated beings: such a creature is without the gentle qualities which render a man most estimable as a member of society, at the same time that he is a stranger to the generous valour which guarantees security to virtue.



## CHAPTER IX.

*GENERAL JACKSON.*

THE victories of Gen. Jackson over the British in the vicinity of New Orleans, have spread joy through the United States, and will exalt to the highest pinnacle of glory this great country. There is nothing in history which equals them either in brilliancy of achievement or in the magnitude of the consequences likely to result thereupon. Gen. Jackson may well be styled the Hannibal of America; like Hannibal he is ardent, brave and abounding in stratagem. We call on the antiquarian and the man of modern reading to produce any thing in the campaigns of a Marlborough or a Wellington, that can with propriety be compared in rapidity of movement or extent of execution to the vast exploits of this unrivalled military genius. Marlborough and Wellington, with soldiers previously dedicated for years to shedding of human blood, commanded with reputation and were occasionally successful. The American general, on the other hand, inspires in a few days a mass of farmers, mechanics and tradesmen, hastily collected, with an invincible ardor, and while vastly inferior in number to their enemy, leads them to victory and glory. The contest on the plains of Bienvenue, on the twenty-third of December, was a fair fight, and it is admitted that but for a fog that unfor-



tunately arose, it would have terminated with the overthrow of the enemy's army. From the twenty-third of December to the memorable eighth of January, 1815, we find the American general constantly contending, and always with success, with the increasing numbers of an enemy rendered furious by the disgraceful defeats they had suffered in America, contrasted with the recollection of the victories they had obtained in Spain, and Portugal, and France. And finally, on the eighth of January, defeating them with a carnage seldom if ever before witnessed in any age or country. Some of the few British officers who survived this memorable battle, admitted, that the slaughter on their part was what they had never before witnessed in Spain and Portugal, where no more men were engaged, or the action lasted no longer than that did on the eighth of January. It is believed, says Mr. Miller, a former member of congress, and a man of first rate respectability, that nineteen-twentieths of the enemy who attempted to storm, were destroyed. From a journal found in the pocket of an officer who was slain, it appears that the enemy lost previously to the eighth, at least three thousand men; now add thereto the loss on the eighth, and the slain on the lake in the contest with the gun boats, and an aggregate number of six thousand is the result. Most men content themselves with a victory, and the glory it adds to the national character, and do not enquire into the consequences likely to attend it. Those that will attend the triumphs of the immortal Jackson, it is believed, will be of the most important kind: the way to peace, honorable and just peace, is paved by them. The enemy have failed in the first object of their ambition: New Orleans is safe. This key to the western states, and the possession of which would have instantly enabled the enemy to stir up all the savages who surround us, is secure. The American victories

at *New Orleans* will resound through the civilized world. In the great battle of Marengo, which settled at the time, the fate of half Europe, the loss sustained by the Austrians in killed and wounded, was little more than treble that which the enemy have sustained at New Orleans, its vicinity and on the lake. And let it be remembered, that in reference to the numbers of the two armies here referred to, that of the British was by far the most severe. In England they will in amazement ask, could it be possible, that Jackson could make veterans of militia in a few days, officered by men, many of whom had never before seen the fire of an enemy; and finally, in spite of the vast superiority of the enemy, nearly destroy an army of regulars ten thousand strong, who with their officers, had been previously led to victory by their boasted Lord Wellington? Most of their officers of distinction have been killed; but few of them will return home, and their privates are sharing the same fate. The British court tried to conceal the affairs of Lake Champlain and Plattsburg, as I foretold in the third number of the Crisis; but the whole came out, Canning and Co. to the contrary notwithstanding. And a full history of the British disasters in the north section of the United States, is now to be met with in all the languages of modern Europe. It had like to have run John Bull crazy. To relieve John, the British court fitted out the expedition to New Orleans, at an expense, I conjecture of forty millions of dollars. It started from Portsmouth the twenty-eighth of September. It was commanded by Pakenham, brother-in-law of Wellington, by Keene and others, and was said to be considerable. It touched at Jamaica, and took in a black regiment, and at Martinico and Guadaloupe, and took in the garrisons of the two latter places, supposed to be at least four thousand, and the whole subsequently formed a junction with the remnant of Ross's army. This

force was to sweep all before it. In a few days the greater part of them have been destroyed. Pakenham and many of their distinguished officers are said to have perished; while the loss on the part of the Americans is truly small, as to numbers. The events before New Orleans are not to be ranked among ordinary occurrences. They astonish the people who are in the early habit of performing the noblest feats, and producing the best prodigies of valor; and while they fill the hearts of good men with reverence to that God who knows the justice of our cause, and who carefully protects us from our enemies, they cover with shame the venal wretches who would have submitted to tyranny rather than run the hazard of death, in a manly effort to remain free and *independent*. The war both by sea and land is honorable to America, and it is believed when peace shall come (and our victories begin to show it to be near at hand) that it will be seen that we have risen in the estimation of the world. No nation ever was conquered, when a manly and united effort was made to resist oppression. When nations have been subjugated, it has been brought about by fraud; it has not been effected by dint of the sword. The people collectively are invulnerable to open force. Let the good and the virtuous of all parties determine to exterminate the British filth as it is poured on our soil, and peace, honorable and just peace, is inevitable. A few more such victories as those of the brave Jackson, and the tears of widows and orphans will cease to flow. The scriptures of our country tell us "to love our neighbors as ourselves," which is the injunction of patriotism; and to copy from the same book, which in robes of eloquence and in the language of inspiration commands and enjoins all the manly virtues, "Cursed is he who keepeth his sword from blood." Yes, methinks he who surrenders without an effort, our towns to pillage, our grave-yards to the polluting touch of

vandals, and our fair countrywomen to outrage, deserves to be expunged from the works of nature, cursed and abhorred by all good men.

☞ Since the above was written, a peace, an *honorable peace*, has descended to bless our country. Time can never obliterate the sense of gratitude to the gallant spirits who have won it for us. As to the proud and arrogant nation, with whom we have been contending, we shall be ready to lift the sword, when she repeats, if ever she dares repeat her aggressions. We may *forgive* the enormities which she has practised during the war: we can never *forget* them

☞ A letter of the seventh instant has been received from New Orleans. All our prisoners had been exchanged, except about one hundred seamen, who had been sent to Jamaica. The British ships were filled with wounded, and the troops were on two-thirds allowance, they expecting an easy prey and a copious *booty* in provisions at New Orleans.



## CHAPTER X.

*GENERAL JACKSON.*

WHEN a man has been eminently useful, some notice of his life and character becomes desirable. The post General Jackson occupies, the honorable manner in which he has brought the Creek war to a termination, the unexampled enthusiasm which he has instilled into his army in defence of the nation, the confidence which as a soldier and patriot he has every where obtained through this vast country, has excited a curiosity on the part of the public to become more intimately acquainted with him. His career marks an important epoch in the history of his country. Andrew Jackson was born in South Carolina, of Irish parents; he lost a brother in the revolutionary war, and himself was wounded and taken prisoner by the British, in the first contest between Great Britain and the United States. His attachment to free government and the country of his birth was early and ardent, and endeared by personal sufferings and the misfortunes of his family. He received a liberal education, and early in life commenced the practice of the law. He was esteemed eminent in his profession. His speeches at the bar, were considered nervous, and admired for the perspicuity of the style. If he did not stand at the head of his pro-

fession in range of thought and brilliancy of expression, he at least acquired the reputation of a good lawyer. In early life he was poor: his industry soon made him rich, generous, gay and sanguine in his temper: his influence became extensive; he was elected a member of the Tennessee convention, and had some share in the formation of the constitution of that state. On the admission of Tennessee into the Union as a sister state, he was elected to the house of representatives, from which he was transferred to the senate of the United States.

This station he occupied till he was appointed a judge of the superior court of law and equity of Tennessee, which last named office he held for several years. On giving up this appointment he turned his attention to the military art, and soon rose to the rank of major-general of militia. As an officer at the head of an army, comment is unnecessary; he has appeared covered with glory: the laurels with which he has decked his country's standards will bloom for ages. His person remains to be noticed. He is tall, thin and spare, but muscular and hardy, with an eye quick and penetrating. On beholding General Jackson, you feel disposed to say he is a man of iron. Adversity can make no impression on a frame braced by such decision and firmness as is visible in his face and person. Let not the reader conclude from this that the personal appearance of Gen. Jackson is disagreeable; on the contrary, a face will always be admired that might pass for the emblem of winter. A regard to truth will compel all who attempt to draw the character of this gentleman to say that he is communicative and pleasant in conversation. To the poor, liberal; to the unfortunate, charitable; to the humblest private in the ranks, mild and tender; at home and in retirement, hospitable and friendly. He is now at least sixty, but a quickness of step, an intrepidity of expression,

would denote that he was ten years younger. The general is married, but has no children.





## CHAPTER XI.

### *GOVERNOR CLAIBORNE.*

ON the twenty-third of November, 1817, William Charles Cole Claiborne, late governor of New Orleans, departed this life, of a liver complaint. Few men have ever occupied a larger space in public estimation than he did; the time of no man was ever more uniformly devoted to the service of his country, or rose to greater eminence, triumphing over more numerous difficulties. Though his earthly career was stopped by death when little turned of forty years old, he had already participated largely in giving to a state now flourishing, and respectable, and warlike, a republican constitution; he had by his firmness and perseverance contributed to achieve a republican administration to the United States, which still continues; and had occupied almost every office of high trust of which a man would be ambitious, who desired to be useful in his day, and had discharged his engagements to the public in such a way that he has secured the approbation of the good and virtuous part of the community and the applause of posterity.

The memory of his public course will never perish, for it is recorded on the imperishable pages of history. His private character and the means by which he

rose from a poor and almost friendless boy to a proud eminence among his country's benefactors, might be forgot after the present generation should have passed away, but for the friendship which has induced the author to write the following short history of his life. William Charles Cole Claiborne was born in Virginia, of a family who had been settled in that state for near two hundred years. When the revolution came on, it is believed, that without an exception, his family took the side of the people, against arbitrary government, and continued their efforts in common with their countrymen till the contest eventuated in the establishment of independence. The subject of this memoir was at the close of the revolutionary war a mere child: and hence is not supposed to have been able at the time to have duly appreciated the magnitude of the task our fathers had accomplished, or the perils through which it was achieved. It was the will of God that his father should be among the number that survived this glorious contest. It was the practice of my father to recount to his children of winter nights, the exploits of the American soldiers, the hardships they encountered, the dangers they faced, the battles they fought, and the victories they won. In passing along, he would paint in glowing colours, the horrors of the British prison ships, and the brutality of the British soldiery, who on numberless occasions stood convicted of atrocities horrible beyond endurance. My father had some learning, a fine imagination, and an eloquence bold, figurative and expressive. Unluckily, he was destitute of application, or he might easily have gained back that wealth which was given to him by his ancestors, which had been lost by early indiscretions, but principally by an honorable zeal in the service of his country. My father did not like Hamilcar, take his children to the altar to swear hatred to the early oppressors of his country:

but by the lectures he gave them, he impressed on their minds an invincible attachment to free government, a determination when necessary to lift their arms for its defence, and a detestation beyond description for the citizen who would raise his parricidal hand to destroy the fair fabric of American liberty. When William was as yet only eight years old, his political principles might be said to be fixed. They were then what they were at the day of his death, republican. I shall never forget the enthusiastic admiration of that excellent and amiable man Mr. Eldridge Harris, the president of the Richmond academy, when he saw for the first time, the motto which his scholar William had written in his Latin grammar; it was, "*cara patria, carior liberatas.—ubiist liberlas, ibi est mea patria;*" the English of which is, "Dear my country, dearer liberty—where liberty is, there is my country." In writing this motto William had made one or two mistakes, which Mr. Harris corrected, and as the good man never failed in his life to seize on every fit occasion to implant in the minds of his pupils correct, honorable and manly notions, he caught on this occurrence and made it the text from which he delivered a long lecture on the beauty of republican government, gave an interesting detail of the dangers the people of these states voluntarily encountered to establish it, and felicitated himself with a hope, that when the children he was now engaged in instructing, should take their stand among the men of the country, they would show how highly they prized the invaluable boon, and resolve not to part with it, but with their lives.

If the reader had known Mr. Harris, it would be unnecessary to state, that this lecture made a deep impression on all who heard it: though destitute of every thing like imagination and fancy; though his aspect was rough and his manner uncourtly, his voice

harsh and his style labored, his information was extensive, his learning great, his temper mild and philosophic beyond that of any other man I ever met with, while a spirit of universal benevolence glowed in his countenance which would have induced me to have taken him for my friend if I had met with him for the first time among the ruins of Palmyra. As an instructor of youth, in my estimation, he had no superiors and but few equals.

Mr. Harris has paid the debt of nature. About my earliest benefactor I could have said more,—less I could not without injustice. Under the direction of this amiable gentleman and his assistants, Mr. Claiborne acquired a thorough knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages and some of the most important branches of the mathematics. Before he entered with Mr. Harris he had been sent, along with his brother the late Gen. Claiborne, to William and Mary, but falling out with one of the ushers, who he thought had treated him generally amiss, he left that seminary the week he entered it, and never returned to it again. While at school he learned with great facility, and I hazard nothing by asserting that no boy was ever held in more universal estimation by the masters and scholars at any seminary of learning than was Mr. Claiborne. I have no recollection of his ever having any misunderstanding with any of his brother students, and if he ever came under the censure of any one of the professors, it has escaped my recollection. Having arrived at the age of fifteen, he was apprised that for his future establishment in life, he had to depend entirely on his own exertions; from his father he could expect no assistance: he determined therefore on his course, and carried it into immediate execution. Extraordinary as it may seem I vouch for its truth. I was several years younger than my brother William, but I have a distinct recollection of what I am about to relate: he told my

father with great frankness, that he knew very well that he could do nothing more for his children than educate them ; that he had determined on his course, and with his permission would take it forthwith "I" said he, "have some little acquaintance with Mr. Beckley, clerk to congress ; I will go on to New York and endeavor to get employment in his office ; if I succeed, my fortune is made ; if I fail of success with him, my education will recommend me else where ; in as commercial a town as New York I can surely get into business that will support me, and once in, I consider that I am established for life ; all I ask is a small addition to my stock of clothes and my passage paid to New York." "Congress," my brother added, "is about to move to Philadelphia, it is therefore desirable that I go on forthwith, that if I fail, I may have a chance of otherwise providing for myself, but with Mr. Beckley I will not fail." The manly firmness with which he addressed these words to my father, the confidence which the address expressed in his abilities, his virtues, and the character which he expected to establish by an honorable and moral course, excited the old man's admiration, and as he gazed with rapture on his enterprising son, the tear of sensibility softened his weatherbeaten cheek. The temper of my father was sanguine, and he caught with avidity at the most eventful speculations. The plan of my brother was acceded to, and every effort made to carry it into speedy execution. Being now fixed in his future course, he quitted school, having first delivered to the professors and students a valedictory address which he had prepared for the occasion. How well qualified he was to step forward on the theatre of life at this early age, may be judged of by a circumstance attending this address that is too important to be overlooked. Having prepared it he submitted it to the inspection of a learned Virginia judge, whose corrections he solicited. The next day it was

returned with one or two immaterial alterations, and a note from the judge which told his young friend to continue moral and industrious and he would become useful and celebrated; his path with the blessing of God would be strewed with roses and lighted by the sun of true glory. Before we proceed further, it may not be improper to state, that Mr. Claiborne had paid for twelve months preceding the time of which we have been speaking, great attention to the New Testament, he had devoted a portion of every Saturday to reading it, and had become rationally convinced of its divine authority. He attended church regularly every Sunday, and declared it made him better, and he avowed without the fear of ridicule from those whose morals were more loose, that his hopes for happiness here and hereafter were bottomed on the mercy of God: he was gay and pleasant in conversation; he would not swear, for he considered it rude as well as immoral, and far removed from the vindictive spirit of a monk; he looked with respect on all who, acknowledging the divinity of the christian system, professed a wish to square their conduct by its precepts, or regretted their aberrations from its injunctions. Thus fortified by a religious education, with a mind already richly embellished with stores of Grecian and Roman literature, with manners urbane, a form erect and manly, and a face so exquisitely beautiful that it might have been mistaken for the emblem of spring, this enterprising lad, not yet sixteen, with fifty dollars and the necessary addition to his clothing, took his departure from Richmond in a sloop bound to New York. The voyage was unusually tedious, but what made it peculiarly so to Mr. Claiborne, was, that before the vessel cleared the capes of Virginia, he was taken ill with the measles. The captain, who acted as physician to the crew, treated the complaint in the old fashioned way, keeping his patient in bed and

administering sudorifics with a lavish hand; a high fever supervening, the life of the patient was dis-  
paired of. These seamen are kind creatures: if their  
ranks are occasionally dishonored by a Cockburn,  
who would throw even Panclimoniam in the shade,  
under every flag reposes a Howard in benevolence  
and christian charity. The attention of this excellent  
captain was assiduous and friendly: by degrees the  
fever abated and the patient recovered, but so weak  
and so languid was the state in which it left Mr.  
Claiborne that the vessel remained at the wharf in  
New York two days before he could venture out.  
His strength somewhat regained, its first efforts were  
exerted to visit Mr. Beckley. I have passed over in  
silence the affecting farewell he took of his father's  
family, nor shall I attempt to describe his interview  
with Mr. Beckley; it is sufficient to say, it eventuated  
happily. A birth was vacant in Mr. Beckley's office,  
or was soon effected, he therefore gave Mr. Claiborne  
immediate employment. The business which de-  
volved on my brother consisted in copying bills and  
resolutions of congress, and drawing original bills  
for members and committees of congress. These du-  
ties gave occupation to the half of his time, and no  
more: a portion of each day was devoted to reading  
political works of merit, attending to the debates in  
congress, and learning the French language; his even-  
ings, almost invariably to the society of the ladies, to  
whose conversation and company through life he was  
most passionately devoted. The wages he received  
were sufficient to maintain him, and left a small  
unexpended residuum. To Mr. Beckley he gave en-  
tire satisfaction, and subsequently repaid him for  
every favor conferred on him. Congress soon re-  
moved to Philadelphia, and thither Mr. Claiborne  
went. Soon after his arrival in Philadelphia he be-  
came acquainted with vice-president Adams and Mr.  
Jefferson, then secretary of state. Mr. Adams con-



versed with him several times, gave him once or twice excellent advice, and Mr. Jefferson invited him to dine with him, and after dinner offered him the use of such books as he then had in Philadelphia. To both these gentlemen he has since shewn his gratitude. His veneration for Mr. Adams, does Mr. Claiborne, I humbly conceive, the highest credit. Although he disapproved of the tenor of Mr. Adams's administration, he invariably spoke of that gentleman with respect, and when the venerable patriarch had retired to private life, he visited him at Brain-tre. Hitherto Mr. Claiborne had not fixed on any profession on which to depend for future establishment in life; he had thought of the navy, the army; his dreams were sometimes golden, and had even thought that he might rise to the rank of secretary to some American embassy. The law had not yet entered his head. Inconsiderable circumstances sometimes have decisive influence on the destiny of man, and so it happened with Mr. Claiborne, he had for some time been a member of a polemic society, at which was discussed such questions as from time to time agitated the public mind. At last a question was proposed for discussion which Mr. C. had deeply reflected on; he determined therefore to enter the lists and try his hand at a public speech. He had now entered his eighteenth year: I have told the reader that his person was fine, his pronounciation distinct, accurate and well disciplined, and the tones of voice admirably adapted to public disputation: to these advantages he had superadded, without being himself conscious of it, that grace of gesture which always belongs to the devotion of beauty and innocence. The success of the effort he made on this occasion was surprising, it illicited from a crowded audience reiterated bursts of approbation, nor could it well be otherwise, for an enlightened member of congress who was present, declared it shivered to atoms the

arguments of his opponents and bore off the uncontested prize of superior eloquence. The success of this effort gave an additional elevation to his rising hopes and he determined to enter on the practice of the law. I ought to have mentioned before, that Mr. C. had become most intimately acquainted with Gen. John Sevier, a delegate in congress from the territory south-west the river Ohio, now state of Tennessee; that a friendship grew up between them which continued unimpaired during their lives, and that of all the benefactors Mr. Claiborne met with in his journey through life there was none like Gen. Sevier in the number and greatness of his favors, and what made them the more estimable was that they were totally disinterested. How deplorable is the state of literature in our country; in other words, how little pains are taken to preserve the memory of the lives of useful men. In no book is any further information of John Sevier to be met with, save that of his commanding one of the four regiments that defended Ferguson during the revolutionary war at King's Mountain. While our bookshops are inundated with the "Thinks I to myself," of that miserable punster George Canning, and descriptions without number of the dogs, and horses, and oxen of my lord, forgetting the element (a barber's shop) to which they should be confined, are occupying the shelves of the learned. When this is the case I shall be excused in a short digression, when the object is to make the reader the better acquainted with a noble of nature. John Sevier was born in the state of Virginia, he had little or no education, but nature had given him a mind of such astonishing powers, that he could analyze with ease the most complex subjects, and all who knew him, put confidence in his judgment. Most men, who (like John Sevier) have raised themselves to eminence by their personal exertions, without the aid of a liberal education, look with a prejudiced eye on learned

accomplishments; but not so with Sevier, he admired and patronized every enterprising, well informed and virtuous youth who sought his acquaintance, and contented with the share of public honors his country had bestowed on him, has frequently retired from political canvass to give a fairer chance of success to young men of merit. In private life he was to the last degree mild and forbearing; in the field of battle fertile and expedient, and rapid in execution. He had early in life moved to the frontiers of North Carolina, and in the wars with the Indians had become conspicuous for his valor and military genius. He commanded a regiment at the battle of King's Mountain, and I have heard it frequently asserted, that he was among the very first who gained the summit of the hill on that eventful day. He had filled many offices of honor and trust, and shortly after his acquaintance with Mr. C. commenced, the veteran was raised to the chief magistracy of the new state of Tennessee. General Sevier had frequently advised Mr. C. to settle in the territory southwest the river Ohio: he stated the great opening that existed there for a lawyer, and augured that his success would be great. He tendered his assistance and friendship, and he afterwards fulfilled his promises. These flattering assurances, and the eclat which attended the delivery of the speech in the polemic society, determined my brother to choose the profession of the law. He gave Mr. Beckley notice that he intended to leave him as soon as another clerk could be got, and in a short time thereafter, took an affectionate leave of his kind and truly good friend and repaired to Richmond, where he remained three months. During this stay in Richmond he was devoted almost entirely to the society of the ladies, and I have heard him repeatedly say he had in that time been enabled only to read through the revised code and a chapter or two in the first volume of

Blackstone's Commentaries With this dispreparation as he humourously called it, he was an applicant for a license, and strange as it may seem, he passed with great credit, as I have been assured by a gentleman who was examined and licensed at the same time. This Mr. C. ascribed to the Polemic society in Philadelphia, which he considered at the time one of the best law schools in the Union. Here he had acquired that general and enlarged view of natural, national and municipal law, without labour and without expense, which years of study could not have afforded. The object in getting a license in Virginia was to enable him the more readily to obtain admittance to the territorial bar; without license in another state, a probationary residence was required. And now, bidding adieu to the scenes of his youth and the charms of large cities, he directed his steps to Sullivan county in the now state of Tennessee, and entered on the practice of the law. Fate had decreed that he should continue at the bar but a short time, in all not more than two years. His success in this short period was equal to that of any lawyer who ever went before him. No cause of moment and expectation occurred in a court where he practised, while at the bar, in which he was not employed. He was frequently sent for to the neighboring court in Virginia, and at one time received five hundred dollars and had his expenses paid for coming to Virginia to defend a man charged with murder; at another time he went two hundred miles to argue a case of great magnitude, in the decision of which was involved property to an immense amount, on a promise of a fee so great that Mr. C. refused, although the cause was gained, to receive it, and took only an elegant horse estimated at two hundred and fifty dollars, in lieu thereof. Instead of devoting as heretofore, much of his time to gay amusements, he was now occupied with his books, and had already raised himself

to an equality with the first of the profession as a lawyer: as an advocate in a criminal case, I hazard nothing by saying that he stood unrivalled. Juries have frequently been dissolved in tears while listening to his pathetic descriptions of human woe; and enlightened tribunals of justice have wept under the influence of his touching eloquence. He now determined to move back to Richmond, and enter on the practice of the law there. My brother had a quickness of comprehension, a goodness of heart, and a laudable ambition to be distinguished to a degree we rarely meet with. But unfortunately he was constitutionally lazy; and when we see him marching with giant strides to eminence in his profession, we are constrained to acknowledge, that he was pushed on by the joint influence of virtuous ambition and hard necessity. Mr. Claiborne was attached to Virginia, and had left it with regret. The very trees that had shaded him from a summer's heat, were with him objects of veneration: there were the beautiful seats of his early ancestors: they have long since passed into other hands, but the everlasting marble records the names of the first proprietors. There he had received his earliest instruction, and enjoyed the society of friends who loved him. This determination of my brother was heard by the family with enthusiastic pleasure, and as the pressure on him for exertion would be greater, those who knew the astonishing powers of his mind were convinced that he must succeed. He had before he left Richmond, delivered an oration in the hall of the house of delegates, to a crowded assembly of citizens and public characters, which was considered among the luckiest efforts of genius, for it was calculated to extort approbation and to command respect.

An occurrence now took place which caused the resolution to remove to Richmond to be abandoned. The population of the territory having been ascertained to

amount to seventy-five thousand, they demanded admission as an independent state into the Union, and a convention was called to form a state constitution. Mr. Claiborne was proposed and elected one of the five members for Sullivan county.

In the convention which soon after assembled, he appeared to great advantage. Few more enlightened bodies could be met with than was this convention. The constitution that issued from their hands breathes and secures liberty; and in the formation of this constitution, William C. C. Claiborne had a principal agency. The education he had received, the books he had read, the political circles in which he had passed so much of his time, all conspired to give him an imposing stand. He now stood for the first time before a whole state; the goodness of his heart, the magnitude of the task, conspired to bring into action all the powers of mind. His merit was universally acknowledged. Governor Blount declared, that making the necessary allowance for his youth, he was the most extraordinary man he had ever met with, and that if he lived to attain the age of fifty, nothing but local prejudices could prevent his becoming one of the most distinguished political characters in America. In the convention of Tennessee he began his political career, and without intermission he was thereafter in public life. General Sevier was elected governor of the new state of Tennessee, and among his first acts was the appointment of Mr. Claiborne a judge of the supreme court of law and equity of the state. Mr. Claiborne was urged by his friends not to accept; but in vain. "My motto," said he, "is honor and not money; governor Sevier is my friend, and if I can, I am bound to aid his administration." At the time of his appointment to a judgeship, and that too in the highest tribunal in the state, he was not twenty-two years old. His appointment met with general approbation; he con-

continued but a short time in this office, when a vacancy occurring in the house of representatives of the United States, by the appointment of Gen. Jackson to the senate, at the solicitation of several gentlemen who had served with him in the convention, he resigned his seat on the bench and became a candidate for congress, and was elected by an immense majority over his opponent, who was a man of fine talents, of great wealth and extensive connexions. A few days after his election to congress, Mr. Claiborne entered his twenty-third year. This astonishing and rapid promotion becomes still more surprising when we are told that Mr. Claiborne had but recently come into the district, that he was poor and had not the advantage of any kindred blood even in the most remote degree in the state of Tennessee. While his opponent, on the contrary, along with the advantages before enumerated, had for ten years been a leading character in that country. During the first congress that Mr. Claiborne sat in, he participated but little in debate, but enough to show that he was an acquisition to the republican party, and in that light was universally considered. On the bill providing for the military establishment, however, the talents of the house was brought out and the strength of parties put to trial. On this occasion Mr. Claiborne delivered his sentiments; his speech (the skeleton of which has been preserved) was adorned with the most choice flowers of ancient as well as modern literature; it shewed a heart deeply convinced and earnestly engaged in convincing others, and if it discovered on the face of it less labour than other speeches bespoke, it was exempt from the venom which conflicting political prejudices had on this occasion developed, and the spirit of benevolence which it breathed, along with the classic purity of the style, recommended it to general attention. A listener thus described it: It seemed to be a spontaneous effort. The object was

to convince and persuade, not to surprise; it had passion and feeling in every sentence, but it was the passion of the heart; satisfied he was right, he was bent on the conviction of others. So earnest was Mr. C. that he forced himself on the affection of the most indifferent, and excited the enthusiastic admiration of his friends: though he was zealous, it was without bustle; he was ardent but not acrimonious, and if he fell short of some of the veterans who preceded him, you were loth to make the admission, while you reflected that he was the youngest man who had ever appeared on the floor of congress, and that his election was the result of his personal merit. Mr. Claiborne was re-elected to congress. The constitution had not required that the electors should designate in their tickets the person they voted for as president and the person voted for as vice-president, but simply that they should give their votes for two persons; that the one having the highest number of votes should be president, and the one having the next highest number should be vice-president. Now it had so happened that Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr had an equal number of votes, and it devolved on the house of representatives to say who should be president, the choice to be made by ballot, and each state in the union to have but one vote. The government of the United States had for some time been in federal hands: taxes unnecessarily imposed, a lavish expenditure of public money, the creation of a multitude of officers on whom was bestowed high salaries, all served to shew a fixed determination in the dominant party to give a pomp and pageantry to the administration, incompatible with the spirit of our political institutions, and to assimilate our government to the corrupt governments of Europe. The doctrine had been openly advanced that the worst enemy of the people was the people themselves: that to render the country tranquil and the inhabit-



auts happy, the government must be strong, and administered in such a way that it did not draw to it the love of the citizen: it must find a support in the awe and fear that it created. This abominable doctrine had many admirers, and from the nature of things, it will always have some. I say abominable, it has drenched some countries in blood, and where it has predominated, it has invited the chains of oppression and tyranny. The open declarations that the people was incompetent to self-government alarmed the republican party, and luckily excited the fears of many who had hitherto been ranged under federal leaders. The contest for the presidency was unusually animated; it eventuated in the election on the part of the people of the two gentlemen before named. It was clear that Jefferson was voted for as president, and Burr vice-president. They had been so nominated before the election commenced, and in every vote given for the two, Jefferson was first named; when therefore it was understood that they came presented to the house of representatives with an equal number of votes, it was supposed as a matter of course, that the public voice would be obeyed, that Jefferson would be made president; but not so, Burr was younger than Jefferson, he was to the last degree ambitious; at intrigue unrivalled; though small in body, he was a giant in understanding; of a military turn he possessed a courage no dangers could daunt, no difficulties could deter; he saw his object, and calculating on the means by which it was to be reached, he marched strait forward with the firm step of a soldier. He has been accused of combining with the federal party to secure his election to the presidency, but the fact has never been established. A Mr. Ogden was deputed by the federalists to sound him, but it is certain he declined with him every thing in the shape of arrangement. He had, it is true, dined with a federal party just before the

contest came on in the house of representatives, and given as a toast, "The union of all honest men." This was subject to various interpretations, and might be construed fairly as a satire on the company. The strongest and most forcible evidence that he had a longing eye to the presidency, is that he quarrelled with Gen. Hamilton, who was bitterly opposed to his promotion. What governed the federal party I cannot say: they however came to a determination to support him. They know very well the political sentiments of every member of the house of representatives, and as each state had but one vote, they early ascertained that the election depended on the vote of Mr. Claiborne, the sole representative from the state of Tennessee. Mr. Claiborne was young and aspiring. The federal party knew too that he was poor. They flattered themselves that his vote might be secured. It was insinuated that nature designed him for the army; to what command had he not a right to aspire? It has been stated that direct overtures were made; but it is not true: if they had, they would have been repelled properly. Mr. Claiborne, thank God, was too firm to be brought over: he knew the public voice, and thought it honorable and proper to obey it. The day was approaching when this great question of who was to be president was to be decided. It is believed that no subject ever more deeply agitated the public mind. The cloud was risen above the horizon, and from the elements that composed it, it seemed fraught with civil war. The day at last arrived, and the states were equally divided on the first ballot; several other ballots took place, and the result was the same, when the house adjourned: each party took the necessary precautions to prevent the other from entering into the house and juggling in the man who was not their choice. The commotion which was now brewing among the people was to the last degree alarming. The news that the

states were equally divided, spread through the union like wild fire, and every where produced the liveliest sensation. The importance of Mr. Claiborne's vote was so well understood, that he went armed to the house, and other members carried arms also; for what might occur from the extraordinary agitation that prevailed, no one could foresee: rumours were even afloat that the parties in the country were beginning to arm. General Hamilton, who on this occasion left the federal party and espoused the election of Mr. Jefferson, declared that Tennessee would abandon Mr. Jefferson and vote for Colonel Burr. This opinion General Hamilton afterwards found to be erroneous, and he honorably confessed that it was a mere speculative opinion and no more.

For several days congress and the country round about them was a scene of terrible confusion: thirty-six ballots had been had and the result was the same, an equality of votes both for Mr. Jefferson and Col. Burr. On every ballot Mr. Claiborne had voted for Jefferson, and declared that as he felt satisfied, that that gentleman was the choice of the people, he was bound to adhere to him, let the consequences be what they would. The thirty-seventh ballot, the state of Vermont, that hitherto voted for Col. Burr, threw in a blank ballot and Jefferson was elected. I shall not stop to eulogise the conduct of Mr. C. he did his duty; he deserved esteem for his firmness, and he got it. Mr. Claiborne remained but a short time after this in congress. A serious misunderstanding having arisen between the people of the Mississippi territory and their then governor, I state on the best authority that many distinguished individuals then signified a wish for the appointment of Mr. C. as their governor, and in conformity therewith he received and accepted that office. This was sometime in the year —, I have hitherto been careless of dates, not having the necessary public documents; I am constrained

in some particulars to rely altogether on memory. No man, it is believed, past his time more happily than Mr. C. did while governor of the Mississippi territory. He had lately married Miss Eliza W. Lewis, of Nashville: she was tall and graceful, and possessed a perfect symmetry of features: her indulgent parents had early procured for her the best instructors, and her mind was stored with those literary accomplishments which give lustre to the female character.

Blessed with the affections of an amiable wife, in possession of the confidence of the people, without (as he declared in his confidential letters to his relations) an enemy on earth, and possessed of a clear fortune to the value of twenty hundred pounds, with a salary that supported him most comfortably; penetrated with a belief that it was his duty to obey the public voice and contribute all in his power to advance the interest and honor of his country, he suffered himself to be withdrawn from a society he loved, an office in which he gave general satisfaction, to fill a station the most important in the gift of the general government, and to discharge which required an energy, prudence and a depth of understanding, beyond, far beyond, the lot of ordinary politicians. I have already told the reader, that though fond of ease, Mr. Claiborne possessed the faculty of labour and exertion to a most astonishing degree, when a necessity for exertion occurred. The office of governor of Louisiana, newly acquired by purchase from the French, without solicitation on his part, being offered him, he accepted the same, and repairing to New Orleans, he received from Monsier Lausat the necessary transfer, and proceeded to the administration of the government. A minute detail of events, in which he now had an agency, is unnecessary; they may be met with in a thousand volumes, and most men of information are familiarly acquainted

with them. The difficulty of introducing a republican government in a country for near two centuries accustomed only to the trappings of royalty; of introducing the common law and the trial by jury, in lieu of the civil law; of breaking the seal, which corruption had put on the administration of justice, which kept causes undecided for thirty and forty years, can easily be anticipated; yet the whole was effected in spite of the renegades from the Atlantic states, who repairing in shoals to New Orleans, more greedy than the locusts of Egypt, expecting and soliciting all the offices in the gift of the new government, and when disappointed, setting up and supporting venal and corrupt presses to vilify and abuse him, and to exhibit in an odious point of view every act of his public life that envy and malice could seize on as the subject of accusation. Mr. Claiborne was resolved, and uniformly acted up to the resolution, that the greater part of the offices should be filled by the natives of the country. To treat the people as a conquered province was in his view odious. By attaching the natives to him, the prejudices in favor of the ancient regimen were subverted, and the most necessary innovations were effected, and after a series of years, when the state of Louisiana formed a constitution, it was found to be throughout republican, recognising and establishing all the innovations the governor had introduced. If any additional evidence of the wisdom of Mr. C's administration was required, it is found in the gratitude of the people of Louisiana. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the renegado malcontents, the people at large, by an immense plurality of votes, elected him their first governor after the adoption of the constitution. I shall pass over without comment, his official conduct, after his election by the people; it is before the world in various publications, and has met with the approbation of every patriot. While history

exists, the energy of Governor Claiborne, and the bravery and patriotism of the people of Louisiana, will never be forgot; gliding down the current of time to the most remote ages, receiving the approbation as they pass of renewing generations, the governor and the brave Louisianians will never cease to be hailed as the benefactors of mankind.

With the commencement of the year 1817, his time as governor of Louisiana expired, and immediately thereupon he was elected to the senate of the United States; but fate had decreed that he should not be longer tossed on the tempestuous sea of public life. On the twenty-third of November, 1817, he breathed his last. All ranks attended his corpse to the grave: the municipal authorities on the day of his interment decreed a public mourning, and appropriated a large sum of money to erect a marble monument to his memory. Before closing this sketch of Mr. Claiborne's life, it may be necessary to state, his first wife, mentioned before, and his daughter, the only child by her, died at New Orleans of the yellow fever; that some time after, he married Mademoiselle Clarissa Duralde, a French lady of great beauty, who he had the misfortune to lose by the same fatal fever that deprived him of his first; and subsequently he married Miss Bosque, a Spanish lady of fortune, by whom he is survived. By his second wife he has a son still living, and by his widow two children, both sons. It is some consolation to know that his widow and children have the prospect of comfortable provision. I cannot conclude this biography of William C. C. Claiborne, late governor of Louisiana, without recommending it to the perusal of his sons, and expressing a hope, that they will, as far as is in their power, make the life of their father an example, by which to regulate their own conduct. He was moral from his cradle to his grave; if he ever swore an oath in my presence, I have forgot it; and to this I

especially call your attention. It is not my dear nephews in the power of all men to be learned, eloquent and great; but all with the blessing of God may be good. You are young, my dear nephews; your father died just after passing what is usually called a middle age, and when you stood in need of his advice and assistance. Perhaps it is for the best; his example may be more striking when endeared by the reflection of the bereavement you have sustained. To my sister and my nephews, I offer the affectionate regard of a brother and an uncle.

**F I N I S.**