
The Pennsylvania Volunteers in the War of 1812: An Anonymous Journal of Service for the Year 1814

by John C. Fredriksen

THE onset of war in 1812 revealed an alarming deficiency within the structure and operations of the United States armed forces. The problem was the formulation of strategic goals, their tactical achievement, and the logistical administration necessary to support such endeavors. Yet in groping for a solution, the young republic became embroiled in a profound dilemma which transcended purely military considerations. A fear of professional armies was very real to the Jeffersonians, and it prevented them from raising large bodies of regular troops for the assault on Canada. Republican ideology required that the government employ a variety of military formations, not all of which were under federal control. Thus, the United States Army looked formidable on paper; its authorized strength stood at no less than fifty-four regiments of all kinds, the highest number of component organizations possessed until the First World War. But in reality, the state militia comprised the most numerous and popular contingent of the national defense establishment. An estimated 719,449 men served in this capacity, while the regulars scarcely mustered one-fifth that total.¹ Given this numerical disparity, and the militia's notorious reluctance to be deployed beyond closely prescribed state boundaries, a third category of formation was used. These were the federal volunteers, small drafts of state militia temporarily enlisted under government jurisdiction. Once raised, they could be legally sent to augment the tiny pool of regular soldiers for operations in either Canada or other states. Because they are the least known of the three formations employed, this article will address the activities of one such federal volunteer unit.

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¹ *American State Papers. Military Affairs* (Washington, 1832), 1:332. In contrast, the highest number of regulars recruited for the army was 38,186. See Emory Upton, *The Military Policy of the United States* (Washington, 1917), 122-37.

Regardless of state or federal use, most War of 1812 levies were characterized by extreme ineptitude. The western militias are an important exception to this generalization, but on the whole, citizen soldiers were badly trained and poorly armed, and they compiled a war-time record appreciably less than satisfactory.² In comparison, the performance of the regulars improved dramatically with experience. By war's end they could, and did, successfully confront their professional European adversaries on the battlefield. Furthermore, during the three decades which elapsed between the treaties of Ghent and Guadalupe Hidalgo, official mistrust of standing armies subsided enough to allow promotion of regular soldiers as the first line of national defense. However, literature on the regular army of 1812, whose good conduct was so conducive to the rise of professional soldiery in America, is either cursory, laden with generalities, or non-existent.³ The Jeffersonian militia, by comparison, whose reputation is closely associated with disaster, continues to be the object of considerable attention.⁴

2 Discussion of these shortcomings are legion. See Robert L. Kerby, "The Militia System and the State's Militias in the War of 1812," *Indiana Magazine of History* 73 (June 1977): 104-24; John K. Mahon, "The Principal Causes For the Failure of the United States Militia System in the War of 1812," *Indiana Military History Journal* 4 (May 1979): 15-21.

3 Review of the combat activities of army regiments raised in Pennsylvania is in two articles by John C. Fredriksen, "Chronicle of Valor: The Journal of a Pennsylvania Officer in the War of 1812," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 67 (July 1984): 243-84; "A Poor But Honest Sodger: Colonel Cromwell Pearce, the 16th U.S. Infantry, and the War of 1812," *Pennsylvania History* 52 (July 1985): 131-61. At this writing, a number of new and valuable publications on the United States Army in this conflict have surfaced. For detailed application of new social history to personnel, consult J. C. A. Stagg, "Enlisted Men in the United States Army, 1812-1815: A Preliminary Survey," *William and Mary Quarterly* 43 (Oct. 1986): 615-45. An overview of political factors shaping military policy is Harry L. Coles, "From Peaceable Coercion to Balanced Forces, 1807-1815," in Kenneth J. Hagan and William R. Roberts, eds., *Against All Enemies: Interpretations of American Military History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Westport, Conn., 1986), 71-89. A new perspective on military preparation is Theodore J. Crackel, "The Battle of Queenston Heights, 13 October, 1812," in Charles E. Heller and William A. Sofft, *America's First Battles, 1776-1965* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1986), 33-56. Finally, a review of tactical considerations is in Donald E. Graves, "'Dry Books of Tactics': U.S. Infantry Manuals of the War of 1812 and After, Part 1," *Military Collector and Historian* 38 (Summer 1986): 50-61.

4 For example, consult two works by John K. Mahon, *The American Militia; Decade of Decision, 1789-1800* (Gainesville, 1960) and *History of the Militia and the National Guard* (New York, 1983). Insight on ideological pressures behind the reliance on militia is in Lawrence D. Cress, *Citizen in Arms: The Army and the Militia in American Society to the War of 1812* (Chapel Hill,

Like all states, Pennsylvania was obliged to recruit sizable militia forces to bolster the small national army. Governor Simon Snyder, a vocal proponent of the war, was particularly adept at enforcing compliance and by the fall of 1812 nearly 100,000 men had enlisted.⁵ These were organized into paper formations ranging from companies to divisions, but most were disbanded without having fired a shot. This is understandable; Pennsylvania was relatively remote from the main theaters of operation and, despite several scares, never had to defend itself. The militias of Kentucky and Tennessee, however, enjoyed a much closer proximity to the frontier, and hence a commensurate share of the fighting. Though smaller in number than their Pennsylvania counterparts, the western militias accrued a respectable reputation. Their exploits at such battles as the Thames, Horseshoe Bend, and New Orleans were celebrated, and did much to perpetuate the ideals of citizen-soldiery in American military tradition.⁶ But it is seldom appreciated by historians that Pennsylvania also contributed a number of volunteer militia units which rendered valuable service beyond its borders. Considering the preponderance of attention given to the western militias in the War of 1812, this remains a little understood facet of Pennsylvania history, and one yet to be sufficiently addressed.

Indisputably, the most familiar regiment of Pennsylvania volunteer militia in the War of 1812 was the Pittsburgh Blues. This formation was extensively employed throughout the Old Northwest, distinguished itself at such notable engagements as Mississinewa, Fort Meigs, and Fort Stephenson, and won official commendation from General William Henry Harrison.⁷ Less recognized but equally accomplished, however, was Fenton's Volunteer Infantry Regiment, more commonly known as the "Pennsylvania Volunteers." Pursuant to ac-

1982), and Richard H. Kohn, *Eagle and Sword: The Federalists and the Creation of the Military Establishment in America, 1783-1802* (New York, 1975).

5 *American State Papers*, 332. For information concerning the favorable political climate in Pennsylvania during this conflict, see Victor A. Sapio, *Pennsylvania and the War of 1812* (Lexington, 1970), and Martin Kaufman, "War Sentiment in Western Pennsylvania: 1812," *Pennsylvania History* 31 (Oct. 1964): 436-48.

6 The psychological reasons behind Kentucky's success are discussed at length in Thomas D. Clark, "Kentucky in the Northwest Campaign," in Philip Mason, ed., *After Tippecanoe* (East Lansing, Mich., 1963), 78-98.

7 A detailed history of this unit is John R. Niebaum, "The Pittsburgh Blues," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 4 (Apr.-Oct. 1921): 110-22, 175-85, 259-70; 5 (Jan. 1922): 244-50.

cepted practice, it was raised, trained, and equipped at state expense, and shared many of the recruitment and operational characteristics inherent in all militias. But unlike the Pittsburgh Blues, which was a long-standing, semi-professional formation, the Pennsylvania Volunteers had a most peculiar genesis and battle record.

During the winter of 1813-1814, British forces scored a strategic coup in western New York by burning Buffalo and sacking adjoining regions. Their depredations caused alarm for the safety of the American fleet, ice-bound at nearby Erie. As this fell within Pennsylvania's jurisdiction, Secretary of War, John Armstrong, informed Governor Snyder, "I have the Presidential orders to authorize a draft of 1,000 rank and file [militia] with a complete number of officers, to serve six months and rendezvous at Erie as soon as can be practicable."⁸ At Snyder's behest the State Assembly authorized creation of the Pennsylvania Volunteers on March 8, 1814. They were organized into two battalions of five companies each, all commanded by Col. James Fenton. Following a hasty muster at Carlisle of troops from Adams, Cumberland, and Franklin counties, the regiment was dispatched to Erie just as the British were contemplating an attack on the fleet.⁹

Fortunately for the Americans, a British assault failed to materialize, and the Pennsylvania Volunteers concluded their tour at Erie without incident. Shortly thereafter, they marched to Buffalo as part of a militia brigade assigned to the regular forces under Maj. Gen. Jacob J. Brown, the famous "Fighting Quaker." Commanded by ex-Congressman Peter B. Porter, the Volunteers accompanied Brown throughout his severe 1814 Niagara campaign and were closely engaged. This included such sanguine encounters as Chippewa, Lundy's Lane, and Fort Erie, all generally acknowledged as the most desperately fought of the war. It speaks well for the martial proclivities of

8 "A Statement of the Number of Militia Forces from each State during the War of 1812," in *Senate Document 100: 16th Congress, 2nd Session (1820-1821)*, 19. See also: *Pennsylvania Archives*, 9th Series, 5: 3449, 3451, 3465-66, 3470, 3472.

9 The expedition was being planned by the highly aggressive and competent Lt. Gen. Gordon Drummond, the destroyer of Buffalo. Drummond's chances for success were excellent, but his plans were postponed and later cancelled by the weather. He complained, "And I am so sanguine as to think they could have, by suitable energy and exertion, been surmounted, were it not for the peculiarly uncommon mildness of the season, which has been so unusually free from cold and frost that I could not form any hope at this late period the ice would attain a sufficient degree of strength and soundness for our purpose the remainder of the month." Quoted from Ernest A. Cruikshank, "The Contest for the Command of Lake Ontario in 1814," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records* 21 (1923): 107.

Pennsylvania troops that they emerged with a measure of official recognition and a military reputation which parallels or exceeds the Pittsburgh Blues and many Kentucky formations.¹⁰

The document reproduced below, entitled *Journal of the Military Tour by the Pennsylvania Volunteers and Militia, under the Command of Colonel James Fenton, to the Frontiers of Pennsylvania and New York, &c. &c. and from Thence to Greenbush Garrison. By a Volunteer in the Regiment*, is valuable to historians for several reasons. First, it is one of a handful of publications concerning the activities of a successful but obscure military unit. However, this journal differs from previously known tracts because it is less a combat narrative than the detailed recounting of day-to-day occurrences. From the standpoint of evaluating living conditions in the War of 1812, it is unique in proffering vicarious glimpses of camp life, marches, and related undertakings. The constant references to hardship, poor food, and the author's frequent lamentations are universal themes any soldier can understand. Furthermore, its depiction of the infamous Port Dover raid and similar water-borne operations sheds new light on the primitive state of amphibious warfare as practiced in the War of 1812. This remains a subject little understood by historians of the conflict, and the new information is welcome.

It is also significant that the route taken by the Volunteers on their march from Carlisle to Pittsburgh was essentially the same utilized by General Braddock in 1757. This trail, subsequently known as "Forbes Road," is perhaps the most celebrated in Pennsylvania history. In terms of description and detail, the journal compares favorably with earlier and contemporary travel accounts depicting life along Pennsylvania's western frontier.¹¹

Though it is informative, the document's origins and authenticity

10 Porter jealously guarded the reputation of his charge through this campaign. The Pennsylvania Volunteers, he wrote, "fought as bravely and in proportion to their numbers did double the execution of any other troops that day. . . . General Brown does not hesitate to acknowledge that on the night of the 25th [Lundy's Lane] the Volunteers fought at least as well as the regulars." Porter to Tompkins, July 29, 1814 in Ernest A. Cruikshank, *Documentary History of the Campaign Upon the Niagara Frontier*, 9 vols. (Welland, 1896-1908), 1:102-03.

11 Historical background on this famous route can be found in Niles Anderson, "The General Chooses a Road: The Forbes Campaign of 1758 to Capture Fort Duquesne," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 42 (June-Dec. 1959): 109-38, 241-58, 383-402; Edward G. Williams, "Samuel Vaughan's Journal," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 44 (Mar.-Sept. 1961): 51-66, 159-73, 261-86; and George E. Mapes, "Two Famous Military Roads of Pennsylvania," *Kittichtinny Historical Society Papers* 6 (1910): 93-104.

may be questioned. The original manuscript is lost and, therefore, cannot be examined by historians. The journal was printed around 1815 by George Kline, editor of the Republican *Carlisle Gazette*.¹² In its preface he stated that the item, "kept by one of the Volunteers from Cumberland County, altho' primary [sic] intended for his own satisfaction and use, was obtained for publication through numerous solicitations of members of the regiment; and is now presented to the public as it was written during the march, without embellishment, prepared dress, or enlargement." However, certain passages raise the possibility that the journal is in fact a composite account drawn from the experiences of several soldiers. For example, half-way through, the narrator states clearly that the Volunteers moved by water from Erie to Buffalo to join General Brown. He then contradicts himself by delineating an overland march to the same destination. Considering the writer's erstwhile attention to detail, it is difficult to account for such an inconsistency.

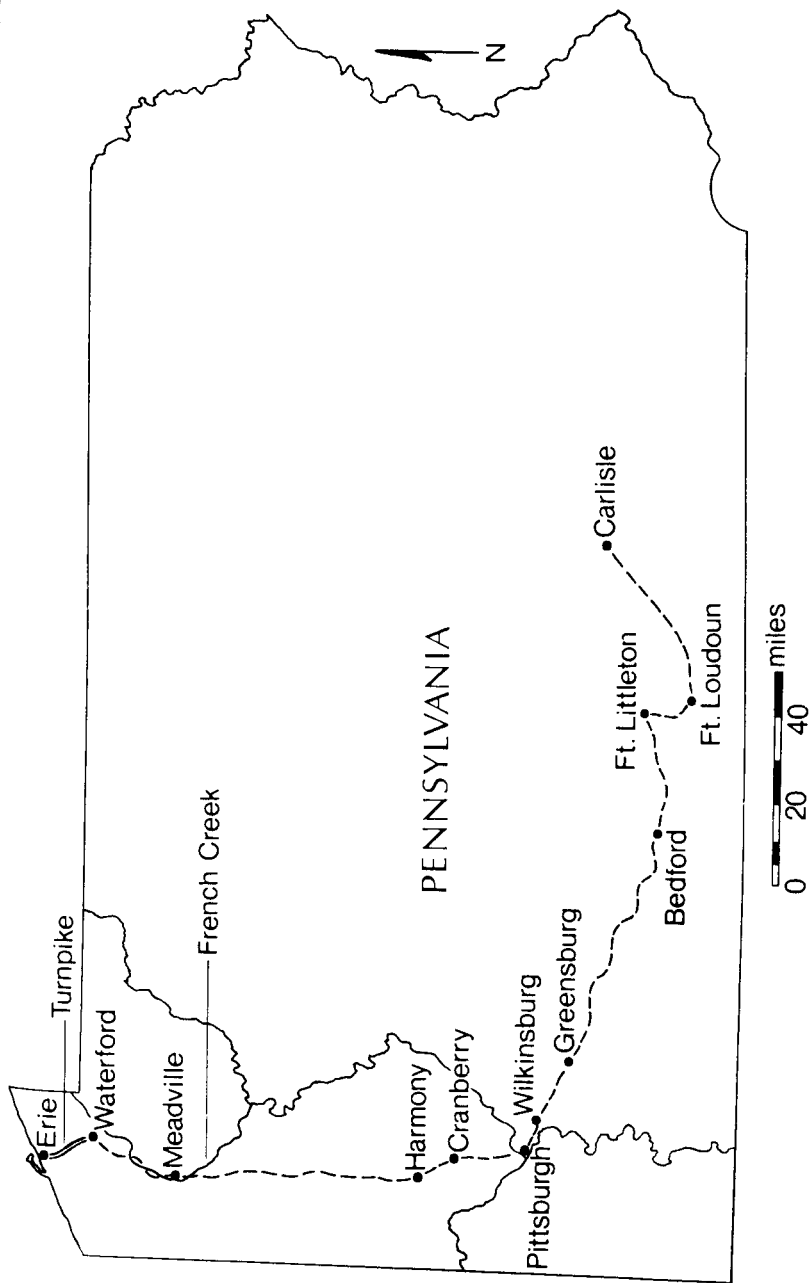
The above caveat is important, but it must be placed in proper perspective. The journal's greatest strength is the degree to which facts presented are corroborated by other, accepted narratives of the Pennsylvania Volunteers.¹³ On this basis we may regard the journal as reliable historical evidence. It is an engaging, lucid tour of attitudes and life-styles long departed, and paints in bold relief the incessant deprivation endured by citizen-soldiers of the war. And, beyond recounting the achievements of a successful Pennsylvania militia regiment, it provides another example of the uniquely American practice of federalizing state militia in wartime.

JOURNAL OF THE MILITARY TOUR . . .

Agreeably to a requisition of the President of the United States, to the Governor of Pennsylvania, for one thousand men for the protection of the Erie frontier. The Governor ordered the quota to be made up from the Counties of Cumberland, Franklin and Adams. The quota

12 Additional details concerning Kline are in David W. Thompson, *Early Publications of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1785-1835* (Carlisle, 1932), 2-9.

13 These are Samuel White, *History of the American Troops During the Late War Under the Command of Cols. Fenton and Campbell* (Baltimore, 1829); Joseph E. Walker, ed., "A Soldier's Diary for 1814," *Pennsylvania History* 12 (Oct. 1945): 292-304; and "The Narrative of Alexander McMullen, A Private Soldier in Colonel Fenton's Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers," in Cruikshank, *Documentary History*, 1:368-79.



1814 Pennsylvania tour of Volunteers

of Cumberland was upwards of five hundred—to the honor of this County it must be remarked, that the whole of its quota were Volunteers, and with the exception of about twenty, in complete uniform.

The Cumberland County Troops, began to assemble on the 22nd of February in the Borough of Carlisle, and on the 24th the whole met, on which day the different Companies drew tents and pitched them. The Carlisle and Mount Rock Infantry, of Capt's. Alexander and Piper, encamped in the College Yard on the West of the Borough, and the Companies of Riflemen under the command of Capt's. Hendel, Mitchell, Moreland and Roberts, encamped at the Breast works on the North of Carlisle.

The troops remained encamped until the 2nd of the month of March; about 10 o'clock of which day orders were issued to form Battalion, according to which orders the troops assembled in the Main Street opposite the Jail, about an hour after the troops took up the line of march for the Erie frontier.

Indeed it was an affecting scene to behold, wives weeping for their husbands, parents for their sons, sisters for their brothers, and *belles* for their *beaus*.

Wednesday March 2, 1814—warm, a very cold night—Marched half past one o'clock P.M. to Newville by way of Mount Rock, the road very good, encamped on the west bank of Big Spring, on a handsome ground.—This days march 11 miles.

Thursday 3—very cold—Marched at about 9 A.M. to Shippensburg at one in the afternoon, the road between Newville and Shippensburg was very hard frozen, and rough in places, but generally good—The place chosen for our encampment was a piece of level ground, very wet on the S.W. of the town, but so exposed to the cold wind that the greater part of the regiment quartered in houses in the town—the ground was so hard frozen that it was impossible to drive a tent pin—10 miles.

I cannot omit making mention of the generosity of the inhabitants of those two villages, every one striving who could perform the greatest kindness towards the men. In Newville most excellent public provision was made.

Friday 4—a fine clear day and warm, a cold night. Left Shippensburg at 10 o'clock, came to Strasburg (10 miles) crossed the mountain, encamped at Browster's in Horse Valley at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. This day we marched 14 miles.

Saturday 5—clear and warm, a very cold night. Marched at 8 A.M. crossed another mountain, passed thro' Fannettsburg, a small village

in Franklin county, crossed a third mountain, came to Fort Littleton at one o'clock P.M. and lay at Burd's—the troops being principally new and unaccustomed to much fatigue, they were considerably worn down with climbing those two mountains in this days march—13 miles.

Sunday 6—a fine day, cold night. Left Fort Littleton at 8 A.M. reached Kyle's place on the top of Sidling Hill, and encamped at 2 P.M. here we drew flour for the first time and baked bread, it displeased the men very much, it was really laughable to see so many unskilled bakers—13 miles.

Monday 7—clear and warm. Marched at 8 A.M. came to Bloody Run,¹⁴ a small stream where there is a village bearing the same name, which afforded us very good accommodations, encamped in a Meadow on the right side of the road, East of the village, the ground wet and disagreeable to lay on—15 miles.

Tuesday 8—cloudy, rain and wind in the night. Left Bloody Run at 9 A.M. came to Bedford at 12, encamped on the S. of the town on a high handsome ground covered with grass.—8 miles.

Wednesday 9—rain. Continued at Bedford.

*Thursday 10—*Marched at 9 in the morning came 13 miles—The detachment encamped at ———.

The Carlisle Infantry proceeded 4 miles further to Stoler's, where they arrived at 5 P.M. and lay in the Inn, roads muddy and covered with snow in places. Here the Carlisle and Mount Rock Infantry, procured a waggon to carry their knapsacks to Erie—17 miles.

Friday 11—cold. Marched at 10 A.M. crossed the Allegheny mountain and came to Bower's, the Carlisle and Mount Rock Infantry quartered in a large barn. This evening the whole camp was in confusion on account of rations said to be due, threats were made by some few of the men to return home, however rations were issued at a very late hour. Two of Capt. Hendles men did return home—15 miles.

Saturday 12—cloudy and very cold. Marched at 9 A.M. came to Somerset (10 miles) halted on a hill in the centre of the town, where we stood in the mud during a cold breeze, until some whiskey was

14 According to one source, "Some traditions state that the Indians had here murdered a party of whites and their cattle and the mingling of the blood with the water suggested the name." Sherman Day, *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1843), 125. This brook is not to be confused with the site near Detroit of a defeat of British forces during Pontiac's Rebellion in 1763. See Nelson R. Russell, "The Battle of Bloody Run," *Canadian Historical Review* 12 (June 1931): 183-88.

served along the line as a treat by some of the citizens—a small cannon was fired as a salute to the Volunteers, which was returned by three cheers, we then proceeded 4 miles further over bad road, and encamped at 3 P.M.—14 miles.

Sunday 13—snow showers, clear in the evening. Marched at 8 A.M. crossed the Laurel Hill where the snow was deep, supposed 9 inches, descended the hill and came into the narrows where there was no snow and the air was warm, came to Thompsons and encamped at 2 P.M.—13 miles.

Monday 14. Marched at half past 8 came to Hurst's at the forks of the road and encamped at half past 1 o'clock P.M.—14 miles.

Tuesday 15—rain. Marched at 8 A.M. through rain and mud came to Greenburgh [Greensburg] at 11, the troops quartered mostly in the Court House and private houses—indeed the inhabitants of this place generally treated the men kindly—and two much cannot be said in praise of John Morrison, Esq. by whose activity the Court House was obtained for the convenience of the men, and providing for and lodging as many as his house could possibly contain—8 miles.

Wednesday 16—a cold day, cloudy, a warm pleasant evening. Marched at 9 A.M. the roads during this days march were very, very bad, very high hills, and cut in through deep mud, the baggage wagons stalling and could hardly get along, proceeded 6 miles and halted in a small village 2 hours until the teams came up, proceeded 6 miles further, encamped at 5 P.M. in the woods on the left side of the road near Stewart's—12 miles.

Thursday 17—a fine day clear and warm. Marched at 9 A.M. came to Turtle Creek, crossed the creek and ascended a very steep hill called Turtle hill, a young volunteer in Capt. Hendel's company fell down and was very much injured by the fall, came to a small village called Wilkinsburg and encamped at 5 P.M.—12 miles.

Friday 18—clear and warm. Marched at half past 8 A.M. roads very muddy, reached Pittsburg at 11 o'clock, marched through the town, round to Grant's Hill where we encamped—7 miles.

Saturday 19—clear and windy. Continue on Grant's Hill.

Sunday 19—clear and windy. Continue on Grant's Hill.

Sunday 20—warm and pleasant. Remained on Grant's Hill.

Pittsburg is most beautifully situated in a low plain, and completely sheltered by the surrounding hills, it is abounded by the Allegheny river on the North and the Monogahela on the South, it contains between 6 and 700 houses, among which are some very elegant public buildings—it has a very extensive trade, and appears to rival all other

places in commerce and manufactures. The wealth of Pittsburg consists greatly in their abundant beds of stone coal so contiguous to the town, which is generally used in private dwellings as well as their manufactories. Two very elegant Steam Boats have been erected of late on the Monogahela river. Grant's Hill, the place of our encampment, is situated on the East of the town, deriving it's name on account of his army being there defeated by the Indians;¹⁵ from the hill we had a beautiful prospect of the town and adjacent country. During our stay in Pittsburg, the troops were principally engaged in viewing the borough and machineries worked by Mr. Evan's steam engine, which are very numerous.

Monday 21—cold with snow in the afternoon. Marched at 10 o'clock A.M. crossed the Allegheny River at 12 A.M. and proceeded a short distance when a fall of snow commenced, marched through the snow 7 miles and lay at Browns—encamped at 5 P.M.—7 miles.

Tuesday 22—cloudy with snow and disagreeable weather. Marched at 9 A.M. the road here was so slippery with the snow, paddled by so many men that the travelling was very difficult and fatiguing, came to the Cranberry plains and marched several miles without seeing any houses or inhabitants, the plains are entirely covered with small shrubs or twigs about 2 feet in height and so thick that a man can scarcely set his foot between them. The showers of snow almost darkened the horizon in the afternoon; this part of the country appeared a perfect wilderness, came to the Inn of Benjamin Germin at 3 o'clock P.M.—13 miles.

On this days march we were detained a short time on the road by some road makers who treated the men to whiskey.

Wednesday 23—clear and cold. Marched at 9 A.M. over ground covered with snow about 6 inches deep, encamped at a tavern within 5 miles of Harmony, about 30 men principally of Alexander's and Pipers companies proceeded to Harmony where they received excellent accommodations. This days march was 13 miles where the detachment lay.

Thursday 24—clear and warm. The remainder of the Infantry companies having started very early arrived at Harmony at 9. The detachment marched about 8 in the morning & arrived at Harmony at 11.

¹⁵ Major James Grant led an expedition against Fort Duquesne that was defeated on September 14, 1758, with the loss of nearly half his force. See S. K. Stevens and D. H. Kent, eds., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet* (Harrisburg, 1951), 2:499-505; and George T. Fleming, *History of Pittsburg and Environs* (New York, 1922), 1:385-403.

Remained at Harmony an hour or two, and proceeded through slop and wet snow; after crossing the creek at Harmony, over which there is a good wooden bridge, proceeded 16 miles and encamped at 4 P.M. where the snow was about a foot deep, here we procured buckwheat straw from among the snow, and had a small allowance of rye straw. The attention of the troops while they remained at Harmony was taken up in viewing the town and curiosities therein; there is but one tavern in the town, where the men were well accommodated, and at a very moderate price; there is in the place *one* mechanical shop of almost every description of business for the immediate benefit of their people, some of the workshops having upwards of eighty hands in employ. The inhabitants live as one common family; the profits arising from the commodities of the place, or work done in any of the shops are deposited in the hands of their Governor whom they have appointed, who is likewise their preacher. In this place they manufacture most elegant superfine broad cloths and other stuffs for wear. Boots, shoes and clothes they have ready finished for sale in abundance, which they sell for ten per cent lower than in any other places, the work was allowed by several of the volunteers of the same business to be equal to any executed in any place whatever. They possess between six and seven thousand acres of land whereon the village is erected. We were credibly informed by several of the inhabitants, that the Governor, who was always studying the interests of his people, considering that the place was populating too fast for the production of their farm, had decreed that no connection should be between husband and wife for the term of three years, the sentence of which decree they are now laboring under, the time had now nearly expired—16 miles.

Friday 25—warm. Marched about 8 A.M. found the snow about 14 inches deep for some miles distance, but it became lighter as we proceeded to Simcox, where we encamped at 4 P.M. on a high ground, we procured with some difficulty a little flax, some white oak bushes, and a small quantity of straw to lay on—17 miles.

Saturday 26—moderate weather. Marched at 8 A.M. the snow beginning to melt, made the roads very bad, the ground swampy and the baggage waggons sinking through the ice sometimes to the hobb; after a fatiguing days march the troops arrived at French creek at about 4 P.M. here the ground was nearly clear of snow, crossed French creek in a flat and lay at Evan's on the left bank. The roads were so bad that the teams did not arrive at the creek until dark and were not all the way across until 9 at night, our tents were pitched at 10, after which some cooked their supper—13 miles.

Sunday 27—clear and warm. A fine day, marched at 9 A.M. over very bad roads, encamped at 5 P.M. within a mile and a half of Meadville on a good ground at the road side—14 miles.

Monday 28—clear and warm, a fine evening. Marched at 9 A.M. came to Meadville, where we remained about two hours, the town contains about fifty dwelling houses, we proceeded six miles further, encamped at 5 P.M. near Aldens mill on the left bank of French creek, this place was very handsome, we lay on a green close to the creek, the current is very rapid here—7½ miles.

Tuesday 29—clear and warm. Marched at 8 A.M. This day we had miserable roads, scarcely to be travelled by the troops or the baggage waggons, crossed French creek in a flat, came to Fullerton's and overtook the Franklin County troops, they proceeded further on, we encamped on the right bank of the creek at 5 P.M. We had nearly lost one of our provision waggons, two only of the volunteers being in front of the flat with their poles set against the ground to keep her fast, when in pushing the waggon into the flat, the fore wheels alone being in, she went off, the persons being very indifferent watermen and the current extreme strong, it was with the greatest difficulty that they made the opposite bank of the creek. The baggage waggons did not all arrive this night on account of the badness of the roads, some had to lay on the earth for a bed, the canopy their covering—9 miles.

Wednesday 30—clear and warm, a storm of wind and rain in the evening with lightning and heavy thunder. This day we were detained until about two o'clock on account of the waggons not arriving until that time—marched through a country covered with very tall pine trees, the air here was very damp and cold, the ground covered with ice and snow, part of the road good being covered with hard ice, and other parts swampy, came through a piece of low ground called the pine swamp—came into Erie county and saw some white oak timber which is now extraordinary the pines being so abundant, came to Pollocks & encamped on the right bank of French creek. Our beds were now generally made of hemlock—6 miles.

Thursday 31—a fine day, clear and warm, rain in the night. Marched at 9 A.M. crossed French creek on a wooded bridge, the road good for several miles, came to the Moravian Flats, here the ground was overflowed with water in many places occasioned by the height of the creek, had to wade through ponds of water about 3 feet deep near the village of Waterford, the water was very cold occasioned by the melting of the snow, saw lake Le Boef to SW. of Waterford. We remained in Waterford about an hour, proceeded four miles fur-

ther and encamped in a field on the right side of the road at 4 P.M. lay on hemlock as no straw could be procured. There is a turnpike between Waterford and Erie, which is very straight, made of clay thrown up from both sides of the road which leaves trenches to carry off the water which was running prodigiously—9 miles.

Friday April—clear with cold breezes off the lake. Marched at 9 A.M. the turnpike was very muddy, saw lake Erie when within 5 or 6 miles of it, which had a most beautiful appearance, at that distance appearing to the view similar to our mountains from Carlisle. Came to Erie at 1 o'clock P.M. marched through Erie, and encamped about a mile east of the town on a beautiful string of rising ground near Fort Armstrong. The town of Erie is handsomely situated on the Southern bank of the lake, it is laid out to extend from west to east two miles along the lake, and from north to south one mile, the streets parallel and very level, affording a view of the most trifling objects that may be presented at a great distance. The centre square is large and handsome, here is a new Court house of brick, which is also used as a place of public worship by a congregation of Seceders. The town improves but slowly, the buildings about 150 in number are all of wood but three, ship building is carried on here tolerably extensively, there is a printing office in the town from which is issued a weekly paper; this town perhaps may be of distinction in future times—10 miles.

The prospect of the lake from the shipyard is beautiful, N.W. the peninsula (Presqueisle) and lake over it; then nearer, the Bason, N.; and N.E. the Bay, shipping and lake, with a faint view of Long Point to the N.E. East of Erie is high ground, our encampment, there is an old block house, where lived and died General Wayne,¹⁶ here is fort Armstrong,¹⁷ where is a large new block house built octagonal, commanding the bay and town, the strongest in the United States; opposite is another of similar form and strength situated at the junction of the bar with the peninsula.

Saturday 2—a fine day. Our arrival at Erie the place of general rendezvous, has completed a march of upwards of 330 miles—after

16 Anthony Wayne, 1745-1796. The most recent biography of this dashing figure is Paul D. Nelson, *Anthony Wayne: Soldier of the Republic* (Bloomington, 1985).

17 So named in honor of John Armstrong, 1725-1795, the hero of Kittanning. See William M. Darlington, "Major General John Armstrong," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 1 (1877): 183-97; and J. W. King, "Colonel John Armstrong and His Place in the History of Southwest Pennsylvania," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 10 (July 1927): 129-45. Details on this obscure fortification are in "Notes and Queries," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 15 (July 1891): 253-54.

this long and fatiguing march it is with much satisfaction we find ourselves at our place of destination. The ground on which we were encamped is in a healthy situation, there were huts prepared for us to lay in, but we chose rather to lay in tents, and were furnished with boards to floor them with. Our only anxiety was now with respect to provisions; as notice had not been given to the United States Contractor agreeably to law, previous to our arrival, our Colonel now made an agreement with the United States Contractor to supply us with provisions for 30 days.

The Cumberland and Franklin County troops amount to about 760, the Adams County troops not having arrived.

Sunday 3—clear and warm. Our employment now exclusive of guard was clearing the camp ground of trees, bushes, &c. Drew good salt beef and brown bread, somewhat musty.

Monday 4—rain wind and snow. The arrival of two schooners from Detroit and Malden furnished us with intelligence from the westward. Some apprehensions had been entertained that the British were in considerable force at Long Point, it also had been reported that the enemy was in the vicinity of Malden, but this is contradicted by the arrival of the schooners. Our provisions of beef today very bad, some stinking.

Tuesday 5—cloudy. The several companies of the detachment drew their arms. The provisions now drawn, were so bad that the men became discontented, the beef was thrown away, and buried by some with military honors.

Wednesday 6—cold and windy. A request was made by Capt. J. D. Elliot¹⁸ of the navy for 200 volunteers to sail to Put-in-Bay to guard and bring to Erie the *Detroit* and *Queen Charlotte* ships of war, gained by Perry's¹⁹ victory from the British, but were so shattered as not to admit of being brought to Erie without being repaired. A great part of the regiment volunteered, capt's Alexander's, Piper's, and Mitchell's companies, with some of the Franklin militia under Major Wood, were accepted.

Thursday 7—cloudy with cold wind. Two schooners arrived from Detroit.

¹⁸ Jesse D. Elliot, 1782-1845.

¹⁹ Oliver Hazard Perry, 1785-1819. Perry's decisive victory was the only one launched from Pennsylvania soil. For details on its preparation see Laura G. Sanford, *The History of Erie County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1862), 214-46; John Miller, *A History of Erie County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1909), 1:117-57; and Samuel P. Bates, *The History of Lake Erie County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1884), 293-320.

Friday 8—clear with cool breezes, a warm evening, sharp lightning. In the evening capt. Mitchell's company went on board the *Porcupine* and sailed with a fair wind for Put-in-bay.

Saturday 9—cloudy and warm, wind WSW, in the evening thunder and lightning. The Carlisle Infantry marched to the beach to embark for Put-in-bay, but the wind being unfavorable for sailing did not embark.

Wind being favorable, the Carlisle Infantry received orders to go on board the *Tigress*; embarked at 2 and sailed at 5 P.M. when the wind shifted and became unfavorable. The night being wet and disagreeable the men could not stay on deck, therefore the hold which was very small was crammed full, in addition to our company, were part of a company of regulars, who embarked before us, in the whole about 130, being principally new sailors we were continually kept in motion by those moving from the hold to the deck to ease their stomachs, such swearing and trampling over one another I never witnessed before, some of the men nearly suffocated by the confined air and had to be carried on deck.

Monday 11—A cold morning, snow, wind W. Sailed N. could not see land, tacked about S. had another disagreeable night, the hold crammed full of men, many of whom were sick. Drew good salt beef and biscuit, but many too sick to eat.

Tuesday 12—clear and calm, night cold and windy. The day being pleasant the men were mostly on deck, which afforded great relief to those that were sick; rowed with sweeps for about an hour, came in sight of Middle Island and Cunningham Island passing Sandusky to S.

Our provisions were good, fat pork and biscuit, but the operation of the sea-sickness prevented many from eating.

Wednesday 13—clear and cold, warm night. Passed many small islands covered with trees and appeared very handsome, the water close to those islands, viz. Middle, Cunningham, Rattlesnake, &c. is generally 5 and 6 fathoms. We entered Put-in-bay at day break, when within 2 or 3 miles of the island of Put-in-bay, two guns were fired by the troops stationed there. We anchored at daylight and went aboard of the *Detroit* about 8 A.M. Capt. Mitchell and company had arrived on the 10th inst. they are on board the *Queen Charlotte*. The harbour is deep and commodious, the vessels lay close to Put-in-bay island, Southward within a short distance is Great Bass island, where on Gen. Harrison's²⁰ army encamped in September 1813, a number of

²⁰ William Henry Harrison, 1773-1841.

implements of warfare still remaining on the island, this is a beautiful island said to contain about 1400 acres, the soil rich, timber oak, hickory, chesnut, beech, &c. some fields have been cleared and fenced by a Frenchman, but the marks of savage warfare are presented, large fields of Indian corn have been destroyed, the sheaves are seen spread over the ground, the grain rotting, our poor farmer who is no more to be found has probably been tomahawked; northward are many other islands, viz. Little Bass, and the Three Sisters, Western, Eastern and Middle. Put-in-bay a short distance from this island, contains about three acres of ground, with a rough block house on it, within gun shot of where the two vessels were anchored, on it were about 400 troops under the command of Col. Campbell,²¹ stationed there by Gen. Harrison for the protections of the vessels. It is well fortified, nearly square, the N. and E. sides being lined with limestone rocks 40 or 50 feet perpendicular.

Thursday 14—cold and windy with snow. Capt. Piper's company arrived this morning at 8 A.M. after a passage of 30 hours, they came on board the *Detroit*. Drew good provisions, fresh beef, flour and whiskey, it was the greatest difficulty bread could be baked and meat cooked for so many men at one stove (caboos or galley).

Friday 15—clear and cold with high wind. The schooners *Porcupine* and *Tigress* sailed. Drew fresh beef very fat, and biscuit, 2½ for each man.

Saturday 16—clear and cold, a fine warm evening. About 8 A.M. the schooner *Somers* arrived after a passage of five days from Erie. She had run aground on the Canada shore some distance above Long Point, 18 regulars, a company of the Franklin militia under Major Wood, and some ship carpenters were on board. Drew salt beef and biscuit, and half rations of whiskey, part being stopped.

Sunday 17—clear and warm. Drew salt beef tolerably good, and some flour 14 oz. per man.

Sunday 17—clear and warm.

Monday 18—cloudy warm and pleasant.

Tuesday 19—clear and cold.

Wednesday 20—clear and cold.

Nothing material transpiring. Those days were spent by our men in a variety of ways, some singing hymns and others prophane songs,

²¹ John B. Campbell, d. 1814, of Virginia. He was the son of Arthur Campbell, one of the heroes of King's Mountain, 1782. Previously, Campbell won the battle of Mississinewa on December 12, 1812, against the Indians with a force that included the Pittsburgh Blues. A brief sketch of his life is in *Nile's Weekly Register* 7 (1815), Supplement, 6-7.

&c. &c. Every opportunity that can be obtained our men go to Bass island which affords a fine walk, and some roots and vegetables are procured there, such as onions, leeks, &c. a great quantity of sassafras is made use for tea. Schooner *Tigress* arrived from Erie.

Friday 22—warm and clear. Drew stinking meat which could not be used, but as many of our men caught some fine fish at Bass island, we had a tolerable subsistence.

Saturday 23—warm and cloudy. Drew stinking meat, but it was returned by order of our officers—the naval officer then issued beef somewhat better.

Sunday 24—cold and stormy, calm in the evening. The *Detroit* was driven very near the shore in a storm, the small cables being torn loose from the shore of Put-in-bay Island. Drew flour and good salt beef to day which is the last on board.

Monday 23—clear and warm. The provisions on board the *Detroit* being done, we were under the necessity of bringing some beef from Put-in-bay Island, which had been nearly spoiled and then jerked or smoaked [sic] by the Ohio troops from Sandusky, who are stationed on the island. Our rations were rejected this day by the men therefore we did without.

Tuesday 26—warm and pleasant. Drew very bad provisions, spoiled meat and flour.

Wednesday 27—clear and warm, rain in the afternoon. Provisions very bad. Lieut. Packet proposed that our company should go aboard the *Ohio*, but this was objected to by officers and men of our company unanimously. Capt. Mitchell, who was in the *Queen Charlotte* then went on board with his company and sailed but with a contrary wind.

Thursday 28—pleasant. Provisions bad. *Detroit* and *Queen Charlotte* preparing to sail with the two companies, Carlisle and Mount Rock Infantry.

Friday 29—clear and pleasant, rain in the evening and cold, wind ESE. Ready to sail but wind contrary. Provisions bad. We were almost starved as the provisions were too bad to make use of, but the hopes of returning to Erie as soon as the wind was favorable kept up our spirits.

Saturday 30—Wind SW. clear and pleasant, cold and very high wind in the evening, a great storm in the night. This morning about 3 o'clock the wind having shifted and became more favorable, we were roused in order to make way for about 80 regular troops who were encamped on Put-in-bay island, and were to come on board the

Detroit. There had been above 200 regulars on the island and some militia. The remainder of the regulars were put on board the *Queen* and *Porcupine*, the militia remained on the Island and were to be taken to the river Raisin. Weighed anchor and sailed at 8 A.M. in co. with the *Queen* and *Porcupine*.

Sunday May 1—Wind SW. clear and cold. The night had been stormy but became more calm in the morning, the wind continued fair and we sailed very fast. We got very little to eat to day, our meal being so bad we could not use it, in the afternoon we came in sight of the Block House and Camp at Erie, we had a very handsome prospect of the shore on the Ohio and Pennsylvania side during the passage. We anchored in the Harbour about dark and remained on board all night.

Monday 2—clear and cold. The men being quite disgusted with our treatment on board the vessels during 22 days, and now much in need of provisions, were in expectation that the Naval officer would have us immediately put to shore, but in this we were disappointed; Lieut. P. did not give himself any trouble about us, but ordered four sailors into the boat which belonged to the vessel and went to shore himself, leaving us to fast on board until about 12 o'clock, when by the order of Com. St. Clair,²² at the request of some of our regimental officers, boats were procured and sent for us. We landed and were very kindly received by the remainder of the Regiment at Fort Armstrong.

Tuesday 3—clear and warm. Drew provisions tolerably good beef pork and flour mixed with Buckwheat meal. The night extremely hot, the men could scarcely lay in the tents, some lay snoring outside on the grass and weeds like the beasts of the field. We are now inured to hardship.

Wednesday 4—weather clear and warm. Trees & vegetables begin to appear green, and indicate the approach of spring.

Thursday 5—a cold eastwind. The provisions which we are supplied with at present are sufficient to support men in an encampment, but

22 Arthur Sinclair, 1780-1831. Returning a few weeks after the recently defeated expedition against Mackinac, Sinclair had these words to describe conditions on the lakes: "My task was a very arduous one — the very worst and most dangerous navigation perhaps in the world — squalls of thunder and lightning — bad sailing vessels — filled with raw Kentucky troops — numbers of transportation boats in tow — young, inexperienced officers — every island and shore covered with hostile savages — and to be cruising two months with all these curses — can you wonder if I have grown grey? I really think it an act of Providence that I ever got back." Sinclair to Scott, Oct. 31, 1814, Clements Library, University of Michigan.

far below what the law allows to soldiers. Flour is brought to Erie from Pittsburg and is now at \$20 per barrel.

Friday 6—cold and windy, thunder and lightning. Provisions to day a small quantity of pork, bread very good of Pittsburg flour.

Saturday 7—winter revived, cold breezes off the lake. Drew no beef but flour in lieu thereof.

Sunday 8—cold and windy. We begin to live on bread and salt, our bread moistened by a little bad whiskey.

Monday 9—white frost, clear cold and windy, wind E. This morning Col. Fenton received orders from the Secretary of War to march his regiment to the Niagara strait.

Tuesday 10—cloudy and windy, wind E. Live on bread and whiskey, salted if necessary.

Wednesday 11—wind S. warm and pleasant rain. A proposal was made to the regiment on parade by Col. Fenton, at the request of Col. Campbell and Major Marlin, for volunteers to go to Long Point, on an expedition for the purpose of destroying public stores & procuring provisions said to be deposited there.²³ Notwithstanding our bad treatment formerly in the fleet, to the honor of the regiment above 500 volunteered.

Thursday 12—wind S. wind N. Preparations were made for sailing to Long Point, the wind being fair, but shifted and remained unfair to day. Four days rations were issued to the volunteers and militia who were to sail for Long Point, the beef fresh, and so poor as to render the sight of it disagreeable, however there was a difference, some companies obtained better than others, some refused taking and did without bad bread, those who remained behind got none at all.

*Friday 13—*Embarked at about 2 P.M. the vessels to sail were the brig *Caledonia* and schooners *Somers*, *Porcupine*, *Tigress*, *Scorpion* and *Ohio*. Sailed in the night, the infantry under Capt. Alexander about 40 in number, were together with Capt. Gordon's company of Franklin militia and a company of regulars, total about 200 on board the *Somers*; the whole force on the expedition being about 7 or 800.

Saturday 14—rain, fog, cloudy and warm. In the morning, saw a very narrow stripe of land to westward, which was the extremity of

²³ Campbell communicated his intentions to Harrison in the following language: "What would you think of an expedition to Long Point for the purpose of destroying a considerable quantity of stores deposited there — burn some mills — break up a band of marauding villains and take a descent little fight?" Campbell to Harrison, Apr. 7, 1814. In Ross P. Wright, *The Burning of Dover* (Erie, 1948), 13.

Long Point, this we sailed round and entered a large bay or arm of the lake; the day was wet and disagreeable, with a thick fog near the shore, which deprived us of a view of it until we approached within about 4 miles. At 4 o'clock we anchored within about 3 miles of the shore.

From the manner in which the commander of the fleet conducted the landing of the troops, it is to be presumed that no opposition was expected. The boats proceeded from the vessels one after another without having formed a line or preserving any order whatever. The first boat having reached within a short distance of the shore, having on board a company of regulars and Capt. Hendels company of Volunteers, a troop of Light Dragoons which had been stationed at Dover, made their appearance on the beach, one of them exhibited a white flag. A white flag was immediately held up by the men in the boat nearest shore, on which the Dragoons dropped their flag and scampered off, they were fired on by one or two of the men in the boats. The schooners immediately weighed anchor and sailed about a mile and a half nearer, in order to bring their guns to bear on the shore, the third boat with Col. Fenton and eleven of the Carlisle Infantry approached shore, the two other boats had landed their men, upon which the Dragoons had fled towards Dover, a village about one and a half miles from the mouth of Patterson creek the place of our landing. Capt. Alexander and about ten others of the Carlisle Infantry were landed from a small boat, several other parts of companies arrived, and the whole were marched up a very steep bank on the left side of the creek, and so disposed in the woods as to be ready for an attack from Indians or other British troops on the right, where Capt. Alexander with about twenty-two of his company, were stationed forming a line and occupying a large space of ground, while the Regulars in the centre covered the high ground near the creek, the other Volunteers were on the left.

The ground on which we stood was swampy and bushes dropping with water, which made our cloaths wet and disagreeable; however the evening was warm and the rain did not injure us. By order of our commander, fires were made within the lines in different places making our encampment appear extensive. The Carlisle Infantry stood as Centinels until about 11 o'clock at night, when Capt. Moreland and company arrived and relieved us; our men then lay down and slept soundly until 3 o'clock, A.M. when we were aroused to arms.

Sunday 15—cloudy, rain, cloudy, cleared in the night. About sunrise an alarm was given by the discharge of small arms, by outposts of

our party and those of the enemy across the creek near a public store house. The troops were all marched down the bank and were taken across the creek in a canoe by a Canadian farmer who resided there. The remainder of the Volunteers and regulars, were now landed, together with two field pieces, under Lieutenant Packet of the Navy. The troops were then marched over a swamp or meadow into a piece of woods, where they were stationed for a few moments until the field pieces were brought over the swamps; they then proceeded through the woods towards Dover, along the side of a swampy piece of ground full of old logs and bushes.

We now came into some handsome open fields in view of Dover. We had marched by companies in files through the woods until now, here we formed line in single rank, which made our line extended over the lots, &c. the whole breadth of the village.²⁴ The houses here were mostly frame, handsomely painted and with balconies, they were thinly scattered over a large tract of ground, the village having a number of orchards with fruit trees then in full bloom interspersed through it. The country appeared to be thickly settled and able to furnish cattle and provisions in large supplies to the British troops at Fort Erie, Chippewa, &c. The militia of the village and country were said to be concealed in the woods, very few men could be seen in the village, every house almost exhibited a white flag, while at the same time a number of the owners of property were under arms. We then marched through the town and made a halt for a short time, when several companies were detached from the main party, and sent under Major Marlin about 6 or 7 miles from the town to burn public store houses and mills. The companies of Alexander, Mitchell, Moreland, and Hendel were in this party exclusive of some militia and regulars. We marched through woods and swamps until we came to a Farm where were mills and store houses on a creek emptying into the lake. The advance guard was composed of regular troops, proceeded with matches to the mills and store house. Some women came and talked with the Major and other officers, and begged that the property might be saved. Some houses not intended to be burnt were necessarily involved in the burning, but the dwelling house was spared. The Volunteers and their officers and the commander appeared to feel sensibly for the women and children here who were much affrighted at the

24 Despite previous alarms the inhabitants were caught by surprise. Amelia Harris was making breakfast when barking dogs induced her to step outside to investigate the cause: "When I looked up I saw the hillside and fields as far as the eye could reach covered with American soldiers." James L. Talman, ed., *Loyalist Narratives from Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1946), 147.

burning and distressed for their loss.²⁵ We now returned towards our landing place, we marched through woods on the high bank of the lake about a mile, when we climbed down a very steep bank of soft mud until we reached the beach, and here we had to wade in the lake about two or three feet deep of water in many places for 4 or 5 miles, the clay on the bank is so soft that large lumps are always falling into the lake, in some places half acres tumble away in at once. We now saw a smoke towards Dover, which we supposed to be occasioned by the burning of public property, but on our arrival at Pattersons creek we were informed that Col. Campbell had ordered the whole village to be burnt, which had been done accordingly, with the exception of one or two houses. Here we saw the sailors bringing away some plunder, but this consisted mostly of provisions. We now had a leisure moment to eat a small morsel, many of us had not eaten any thing since the preceding evening until now, and the provisions we had was but indifferent, nor did we here get a supply, for all that was obtained at Dover fell to the party then present. The whole of the troops now arrived at the beach and were re-embarked on board the schooners early in the evening, but our embarkation was tedious and afforded a good opportunity for a small force to have cut us off had they made the attempt. Late in the evening we set sail and proceeded in the night about nine or ten miles along the shore to the Southward.²⁶

Monday 16—wind south, clear and very cold. Early this morning the boats proceeded in a line to shore, and landed about 200 men for the purpose of destroying store houses and public property. They burnt a store house and mills on the beach, at the mouth of a creek, they ascended the bank and burnt several other houses and then returned, bringing with them several barrels of whiskey, which as well as most of the provisions before taken, fell to the sailors. We now set sail for Erie, had an unfavorable wind, the night was cold, we only cleared the bay in the night.

25 The scene of destruction made an indelible impression upon young Amelia Harris, who lamented "very soon we saw a column of dark smoke arise from every building and what at early noon had been a prosperous home-stead, at noon there remained only smoldering ruins." Talman, *Loyalist Narratives*, 148.

26 According to McMullen the majority of Americans were "generally disgusted with the conduct of Campbell." Cruikshank, *Documentary History* 1:371. Campbell's indiscretion was to cost the United States dearly. Governor-General Prevost of Canada authorized the Royal Navy to conduct retaliatory raids along the Atlantic seaboard, a policy culminating in the destruction of Washington, D.C. See Thomas H. Turnbull, "Retaliation for the Burning of Dover," *Erie County Annals* (1952), 12-26; and J. A. Bannister, "The Burning of Dover," *Western Ontario Historical Notes* 21 (Mar. 1965): 1-25.

Tuesday 17—wind south, clear and very cold. Saw the Pennsylvania shore near Buffalo, steered SSW. Sailed with an unfavorable wind blowing off the American shore, in the evening saw land near Erie, sailed S.W. until we came off the Block House at Fort Armstrong, but could not get in this evening, the night was cold and disagreeable, and for those who had to remain on deck very injurious, the lake water which we drank occasioned a shivering and great pains in the stomach. At the same time those who stood below deck were almost suffocated with heat, and obliged to lay on barrels, ropes, &c.

Wednesday 18—clear and cold, warm and pleasant. Had a view of our camp and the town of Erie, the wind unfavorable but a good breeze sprung up from S.W. we entered the bay about 9 A.M. and were soon landed. Our provisions were done, and the men who had remained ashore had been badly supplied, and were not prepared to give us a very good reception. Lieut. Col. Bull who was always anxious that the troops should be well provided for, invited us to his Marquee and gave us some bread and whiskey. Provisions are scarce, no beef has been drawn for several days. Many desertions take place.

Thursday 19—warm and pleasant. A supply of beef obtained.

Friday 20—warm with light showers, thunder and lightning with heavy rain. Drew good provisions. In the evening about dark, an alarm was given by the centinels on account of a gun being fired near the store house near the beach, this was accidental, but had a good effect, even false alarms appeared necessary; officers and men attentive to their duty, could on this occasion be distinguished from those who were not, and good order is necessary in camp whether there be danger or not.

Sunday 22—cool and windy. Seven deserters were brought in, they had been taken at French creek near Fullerton's.

Monday 23—clear and pleasant. This morning a member of the Carlisle Infantry died, only the second death in the regiment since our arrival here.²⁷ Seven deserters were fined \$2 each, and sentenced to ride on each others backs thro' camp, the latter part was remitted by our Colonel.

Tuesday 24—clear and warm. In the morning at about one o'clock the camp was alarmed by a discharge of guns by the centinels, several companies of the regiment were immediately formed, at length the

²⁷ According to one source, the first fatality occurred April 1: "Lying Encampment, this day the Cumberland troops arrived here & one of them died shortly after they Encampment, belonging to Captain Mitchell's company," Walker, "Soldier's Diary," 295.

whole line with the exception of a few; we remained under arms until day light. The cause of the alarm was some time after discovered; this trick was supposed to have been done by some of the citizens putting a bomb shell on a stump and setting it off with a match within 300 yards of the camp.

Wednesday 25—warm with light showers of rain.

Thursday 26—clear and warm.

Friday 28—clear. A proposal was made by Col. Fenton that part of the troops should go to Buffalo by water, he made a short address stating that those who were not provided with shoes, &c. for the march, would have an opportunity of going in one of the vessels—50 or 60 turned out to go by water.

Saturday 28—warm rain in the night. Those who are without shoes have resolved to go by water, in order to save the expense of travelling barefoot. Public harrangues have an admirable effect here. It is now the prevailing opinion that bare feet will not wear out in travelling a ship board.

Sunday 29—cloudy, light showers. About this time a law was enacted in camp against hog shooting, no muskets to be carried past the centinels, also to prevent desertion no hats are to be worn by any person going out of camp.

Monday 30—cloudy and cool. During this month half the time we were without beef, and what we had very indifferent, however our camp continued healthy, low diet preventing bad colds from injuring us, and if that should fail, glauber salts (which can here cure every thing) [sulfate of sodium] may be had on two or three days notice.

*Tuesday 5—*This day a settlement was made between the contractor and the regiment, for rations remaining due by the contractor; several companies received money and flour in lieu of beef, vinegar, soap, candles, &c. as far as accounts were produced, but some companies not being able to produce due billings for rations lacking, did not receive a sufficient compensation.

It is certainly a poor business to be a contractor at Erie, but this was considered by us, and when we can live and be healthy on less than the law allows, there is no necessity for being particular at settlement.

Wednesday June 1—clear. Received orders to be in readiness to march at 10 o'clock, a choice was given the troops whether to go by land or water, those to go by water to be under Lieut. Spottswood. The detachment did not march this day but ordered to be in readiness to march to-morrow at 10 A.M.

Thursday 2—clear and warm. The tents were struck at 11 A.M. and all but about 130 who remained to go by water marched at about 12. Regiment lay on a flat ground at Moorehead's Inn—road good, this days march 11 miles.

Friday 3—warm. Marched at 9 A.M. travelled over a good road, lay at Cooks—_____miles.

Saturday 4—warm. Marched at 9 A.M. lay at Widow Perry's—9 miles.

Sunday 5—clear and warm. Left Perry's early, travelled over a handsome road through bottom land and lay at Guy's—8 miles.

Monday 6—cloudy, heavy rain. Left Guy's, marched through the beach bottom and lay at Canadaway—9 miles.

Tuesday 7—rain. Travelled over very bad roads about 6 miles, proceeded 6 miles further, here saw a large walnut tree which is 9 feet in diameter, lay at Howards at Silver creek—12 miles.

*Wednesday 8—*Left Howards early, came to the Seneca land at Cataragus creek at 12 o'clock, here is an Indian village called Catagarus. The men were pleased with the activity and diversions of the Indians. 3 miles.

Thursday 9—clear and warm. Marched at 10 A.M. Marched 10 miles and encamped on the beach of the lake. 10 miles.

Friday 10—rain. Marched eight miles and encamped at Goodrich's Inn, in view of Fort Erie. 8 miles.

Saturday 11—clear and warm. Came to a new clearing within four miles of Buffalo, and encamped. 10 miles.

Sunday 12—clear and warm. Marched three miles and crossed Buffalo Creek, were met by the music of the army of General Brown,²⁸ marched to the N. side of the town and encamped, where the men had to clear away the trees and bushes for a parade ground. The troops had a very agreeable march on the road from Erie, though lately a wilderness, the country now has many farms, and houses of Entertainment. The beauty of the country girls has charmed the hearts of our poor soldiers. The woods on the bank of lake Erie contain a number of America's fair daughters.

After a detachment had marched for Buffalo, those who had chosen to go by water remained at Erie until the 20th June. During this time the detachment under Lieutenant Spottswood's command were well supplied with excellent provisions, the number of men being but small renders our situation better, as we are easier supplied. It must be

²⁸ Jacob Jennings Brown, 1775-1828, formerly of Bucks County, Pennsylvania. A detailed panegyric is "Jacob Brown," *Military and Naval Magazine of the United States* 6 (Feb. 1836): 397-410.

said that Lieut. Spottswood our present commander, and the Quarter Master Seargant (Baker) have done us justice in procuring all the law allows us, although we have received more and better provisions in the preceding twenty days, than ever in the same time during our station here, yet it is astonishing we now draw more money for rations lacking, than has been drawn by some companies for the rest of the whole tour.

It was much to the displeasure of the men that we were detained here until 20th June, as all were anxious to join their respective companies, and share in whatever might be done by Gen. Brown's army. We eagerly embarked in a large galley, to go on board the *Somers* at 3 P.M. on the 20th June, but the wind being strong from N.E. we had to return to shore and remain until 5 o'clock in the evening when it became calm and we went aboard the *Somers*, but did not sail until the next morning, (21st June) when we sailed at day light with a light S.E. wind, sailed about 40 miles and were becalmed from 11 A.M. until the morning of the 22nd June, when a strong breeze from the S. sprung up and brought us in sight of the Canada shore below Long Point; saw Fort Erie at sun rise, the wind then shifted to N.W. had a handsome view of Buffalo and the Niagara river.

We were landed on the bank of the Buffalo creek at 11 A.M. and marched through the town to the N. side where the regiment were encamped. We occupy part of a piece of woods which lies between Buffalo and Black Rock, being the same from which the Indians entered in the night on which Buffalo was burnt, in the beginning of the last winter, here there is an excellent spring of water, from which we are supplied, and is very convenient to our camp. Our provisions are excellent, salt beef very fat, and tolerably good bread, but heavy and dark.

Gen. Brown's army now about 5000 strong is now daily increasing by the arrival of detachments from the Eastward, the regular troops are the best in appearance ever in the service of the United States, greatly improving in discipline and very healthy.

Several hundred of the New York Indians were encamped in the woods near Buffalo, they were often in our camp, some times trading mocasins, trinkets, &c. and some times running races, shooting with the bow and arrow, throwing the tomahawk, and shewing the war dance, at all of which diversions they are very expert.²⁹

They are the most loyal body of people to this country, of any in the United States, and many of them are greatly civilized, they are gener-

²⁹ The British were also impressed with the hardiness of their Indian allies: "These Socs or Sacs were the only genuine, unadulterated Indians I ever

ally wealthy, some of them cultivate their lands and can drive their teams to market like our farmers, they are very hard dealers, will never make a bad bargain, and they despise lying and deception while dealing. Drunkenness is punished among them, and they scarcely ever curse or swear, except at the British, which they do heartily.

We live well here, but eat no idle bread, for drilling and parading occupies our attention nearly from revelee to 10 A.M. and in the afternoon we drill in regiment instructed by the Adjutant General Gardner³⁰ whose presence among us commands immediate attention and respect, and while under him we consider ourselves as having a commander, a friend and instructor. We are likewise occasionally visited by Generals Brown and Scott,³¹ to whom every mark of attention is paid by our Colonel, and for whom advice is often taken in intricate cases.

Saturday July 2—clear and warm. Gen. Brown's army now consisted of about 5000 effective men Regulars, and of Volunteers and Militia there were 800 Pennsylvanians; 140 Light Horse and 350 Infantry and Riflemen of the State of New York, and about 5 or 600 Indians, there was also a company of about 60 Light Dragoons, which had just arrived from Sackett's Harbor under the command of Capt. Harris.³² This day the regular troops received marching orders and were all day preparing for a movement. A great number of Boats and Scows were collected, several very large scows had been built for the transportation of Artillery, and the whole deposited in Buffalo creek, about three fourths of a mile from its mouth. 2 Schooners arrived from Erie and lay in to the shore above the mouth of Buffalo creek. In the evening about dark, near 4000 regulars, Infantry and Artillery marched to the beach at the mouth of Buffalo creek, and were embarked in the boats at about 11 o'clock P.M. The remainder of the regulars about 1500 marched from their encampment about midnight, and embarked in the schooners, this division was under Gen. Ripley.³³ The Division

saw. They were very fine men, few of them under six feet high, and their symmetry perfectly faultless." William Dunlop, *Recollections of the War of 1812* (Toronto, 1908), 78.

³⁰ Charles K. Gardner, 1786-1869. It was Gardner who introduced the military practice of numbering regimental companies by letter in 1816.

³¹ Winfield Scott, 1786-1866. Scott was the architect behind the extensive training regimen; it was to pay handsome dividends during the upcoming campaign. For additional details see David H. Schneider, "The Training and Organization of General Winfield Scott's Brigade" (M.A. thesis: University of Florida, 1976).

³² Samuel D. Harris, 1780-1855. He was subsequently Fire Marshal of Boston.

³³ Eleazar W. Ripley, 1787-1839. A controversial figure, he later became Congressman from Louisiana.

which had first embarked moved down the Niagara until they came to Black Rock, from whence they crossed without any opposition, until they came very near the opposite shore, when the British Picket Guards fired on them and wounded 2 or 3; our troops landed immediately, Gen. Scott being the first to reach the shore; it was with difficulty that the Pickett Guards of the enemy made their escape. The Division under Gen. Ripley landed from the Schooners about 3 miles above Fort Erie.

Sunday 3—clear and warm. About 400 Indians, a few Riflemen and Capt. Harris's troop, crossed over at 9 or 10 o'clock, and the boats were employed the remainder of the day in carrying over Gun Carriages and Ammunition Waggon. No opposition was made from Fort Erie except the discharge of 3 or 4 guns, and a bomb blast which fell near our artillery. At about 10 o'clock P.M. a white flag came out from the Fort, and it was agreed that the Fort should be surrendered at 6 o'clock in the evening, which was done accordingly, and the prisoners 137 in number exclusive of 1 major and six other officers, were taken to Buffalo.³⁴

Monday 4. The regular army under Gen. Brown were all across and encamped on the flat ground which is opposite Black Rock, except a small guard which had come over with the prisoners from Fort Erie. About day break the Division of the army under Gen. Scott moved on towards Chippewa. The Regiment of Volunteers and Militia from Pennsylvania under Col. Fenton, had not been called on to cross the Niagara, at the time the regular troops received marching orders.

This morning Col. Fenton was called on to furnish a company for the purpose of guarding the British prisoners taken in Fort Erie, and to relieve the regulars who now composed that guard. Col. Fenton proposed to the officers of the Carlisle Infantry, that their company should act as guard to the prisoners. The Carlisle Infantry accordingly took charge of the prisoners, and the regulars crossed over and joined the brigade of Gen. Ripley, when Ripley's brigade moved down to join Gen. Scott, leaving a small detachment in Fort Erie.

At about 8 or 9 o'clock the Regiment of Col. Fenton received orders to cross the strait, the tents were struck and they accordingly marched for Black Rock, (with the exception of the companies of Alexander and Piper, the former guarding the prisoners, and the latter the

³⁴ Although the British commander, Major Buck, prudently chose to surrender, his orders were met by derision by the soldiers who "called out to defend it to the last extremity." William H. Merrit, *Journal of Events Principally on the Detroit and Niagara Frontier During the War of 1812* (St. Catharines, Ontario, 1863), 77.

Provost Guard) the several companies cross over excepting about 50 or 60 men, some of whom were sick, some dissatisfied with their officers, and others cowards.

Tuesday 5.—About 120 New York Light Horse Volunteers having arrived & were laying at Millers Inn near Buffalo, they had been detained on account of their swords not having arrived, they marched to Buffalo and drew muskets, but did not cross over this day. At about 1 o'clock P.M. the discharge of heavy guns was heard in the direction of Chippewa, which ceased for a short time, but a tremendous cannonading commenced, which continued about 2 hours. The result of this battle was not known at Buffalo to day.³⁵

Wednesday 6.—Some of the men of Col. Fenton's detachment who had remained and had not been furnished with rations, but at their own expence, until now, began to cross over and follow the detachment, and others who remained were ordered to attach themselves to Capt. Piper's company, the Provost Guard at Buffalo. Some New York Volunteers arrived in Buffalo this day, and drew muskets; their number was 320, generally boys from 12 to 16 years of age, in the afternoon the New Yorkers consisting of the above mentioned 120 Light Horse and 320 footmen, crossed over at Black Rock and marched to join Gen. Brown. At 3 o'clock the Carlisle Infantry marched with prisoners for Greenbush, the company consisted of about 70 men fit for duty, 10 other volunteers who had not crossed over were excepted of to assist in guarding the prisoners who were above 130 in number. The day warm and the roads very dusty, we arrived at a village called Williamsville, on Eleven mile creek at sundown—11 miles.

Thursday 7.—There are Barracks or rather huts of wood in Williamsville in which we lay the preceding night, there are two heavy guns placed in the centre of the village for its defense. A company of Porter's Volunteers, about 60 in number, arrived here this morning on their way to Buffalo. We marched at 6 A.M. the day was very warm, but the road is level and the country handsome, as it is all the way from Buffalo to Batavia at 7 P.M. The prisoners began to grumble about our hard marching, or we should probably have reached Batavia to day—25 miles.

Friday 8.—Marched at 7 A.M. arrived at Batavia at about 8 or 9

³⁵ The Americans won this, the battle of Chippewa, and it is commemorated by the grey uniforms of West Point Cadets, whose attire is patterned after Winfield Scott's soldiers. Ironically, Col. Campbell, the destroyer of Port Dover, was mortally wounded here. See Jeffery Kimball, "The Battle of Chippewa: Infantry Tactics in the War of 1812," *Military Affairs* 32 (Winter 1968): 169-86.

A.M. The country is handsome, Batavia is a considerable village, there is an Arsenal here, 8 field pieces on a battery about a mile N.W. of the village on the road from Buffalo. The country affords several independent volunteer corps which can be called on in case of an emergency. We drew provisions and marched late in the afternoon, proceeded 3 miles and encamped at 7 P.M.—7 miles. This day was clear and very warm, roads dusty.

Saturday 9—Marched at half past 6 A.M. travelled through a handsome country thickly settled, along the road, indeed the greater part like many villages, & at each side of the road the fields of wheat, and other grain of almost every kind promise to yield abundantly. Passed through a Plain called the Indian Flats, came this evening to an Indian Village near Genessee River, crossed the river on a frame bridge, and lay in the square of the town of Avon, encamped at 7 P.M.—24 miles.

Sunday 10—*rain in the night.* Had some showers of rain which laid the dust, and made our march more agreeable. We marched at 6 this morning, passed through the villages of Lima, West and East Bloomfield; these villages are very handsome, situated in a beautiful country, the buildings are mostly frame, but built neatly and painted white. There are many churches with lofty spires which are seen at several miles distance. This country is distinguished for the beauty of the women every place along the road; today being Sunday, and great numbers of inhabitants passing from the churches, an opportunity was afforded us to observe the appearance of the inhabitants. The ladies of this country are much to be admired, not one in ten but is beautiful, whereas in Pennsylvania one in ten only is handsome. Came to Canandaigua at dark, passed through to the barracks and encamped—24 miles.

Monday 11—*the night had been wet, this morning was cool and windy, cleared off.* The distance from Buffalo to Canandaigua is reckoned at 90 miles. We remained here to day and obtained provisions. Canandaigua is a large handsome town above a mile in length, has elegant brick buildings, a bank, churches and court house, all large. S. of the village is the Canandaigua Lake, which is 25 miles in length and from 1 to 5 in breadth. Our prisoners were placed in a large frame building where there are some regular soldiers, this is called the barracks; our company were encamped in a lot near the prisoners, we were tormented with hogs here, which run at large, they came into our tents when we were asleep, and eat the greater part of our rations.

Tuesday 12—*a cold morning.* Left Canandaigua early, at 6 A.M.

proceeded on the turnpike road, and crossed the outlet of the Canandaigua Lake, here is the first Gate of the Turnpike; went 16 miles and passed through Geneva on the Seneca Lake; this is a smart village, and the lake is deep enough for sloops and schooners, it is one and a half miles in breadth and 35 in length, we went four miles further and lay on the road side within a few rods of the Seneca outlet, which is a deep river, but narrow, we drank of the water which tastes of the Seneca oil. The road here is handsome and level—20 miles.

Wednesday 13—the preceding night was cold, and this morning the ground was covered with white frost. Marched early, passed the falls of the Seneca river, Mino's mills, and the town of Junius, came to Cayuga bridge—9 miles. Crossed the Cayuga Lake on the bridge which is built of large timber, and about a mile in length. The lake is 40 miles in length and from 1 to 10 in breadth, passed through the village of Cayuga, came to Auburn, which is a lively village. Encamped at 5 P.M. In the evening at roll call, five of the British Prisoners were missing—18 miles.

Thursday 14—a fine morning, warm. Drew provisions at Auburn for our march to Utica, left Auburn at mid-day, marched to Sceniot-tatas Lake which is about 15 miles in length and 1 in breadth, passed through a village of the same name, passed on a mile further and encamped—8 miles.

Friday 15—warm and clear. Came to 9 mile creek, where there is a village called Marcellus, and is central between two lakes, which are 18 miles apart. The creek is the outlet of a small lake or rather pond, which runs into lake Onondoga. We proceeded through a hilly country, saw from the top of a hill on the road on our left to the eastward the Onondoga lake, and a village about five miles distant, on the south of the lake, where are situated the Onondoga salt works. Came to Onondoga court house, and a mile further to the Onondoga village 15 miles from Sceniot-tatas, came to Onondoga hollow, a narrow deep valley a mile in breadth, through which the village extends along the road, there is a church here with an elegant cupola. Some distance above this, in the falt is an Indian village, where there are about 100 warriors of the Oneida tribe, proceeded two miles further and encamped at Browns at 4 o'clock P.M.—18 miles.

*Saturday 16—*Marched at 6, came this day to a small village called Jamesville, 2 miles from Brown's proceeded 4 miles further and came to a village called Manlius, passed through Eagle village, came through a hilly country in Oneida county, saw Lake Oneida to eastward, it appeared very handsome, it is surrounded by high hills; marched several miles further, came to a deep hollow where there is a large stream, and

on it a village, the place is called Connacheraug Hollow and the village has the same name, 2 miles further came to another small creek, and on it a small village, which I was informed by an Indian is called Chitening, proceeded half a mile further and lay at Haye's Inn, encamped at 5 P.M.—17 miles.

Sunday 17—cloudy, rain. Marched at 7 A.M. proceeded 4 miles and came to Lenox Village, about a mile in length, the country here is generally hilly, and the quality of the land limestone, proceeded 5 miles further and came to an Indian village, there are 2 or 300 warriors of the Oneida tribe here, passed several villages viz. Union, Creek, &c. Town of Vernon, Oneida County, encamped at 4 P.M. within 14 miles of Utica. Our bread being done, we had to draw flour, and baked cakes with some difficulty, as a very heavy shower of rain fell this evening; in the night some messes had all their flour, bread, meat, and everything but their own noses eat up by the hogs, these animals had been treated with great moderation during the whole of our march, and we now had the greater mortification to find such impudence and ingratitude in them, but the want of our breakfast, turned mortification into rage and fury—17 miles.

Monday 18—very warm. Marched at 8 A.M. came through a very handsome, thickly settled but hilly, crops appearing abundant, 12 miles, passed through a very handsome village called New Hartford, 2 or 3 miles further passed through Utica, and crossed the Bridge of the Mohawk, passed on a mile further to a small village called Deerfield and encamped. Utica is the principal town of Oneida county, has several elegant brick buildings, and appears to be progressing rapidly in extent, wealth and industry—15 miles.

Tuesday 19—heavy fog, cleared off, warm. We remained at Deerfield and obtained provisions for our march to Greenbush.

Wednesday 20—clear and pleasant. Marched at 8 A.M. proceeded 13 miles on the left bank of the Mohawk, through a country thickly settled, with very high hills on each side of the river, came to Herkimer, a handsome village situated in a flat piece of country, in Herkimer county, called the German Flats, and containing 2000 acres, passed through the village and crossed the bridge of a large creek called West Canada creek, proceeded 6 miles further and lay on the bank of the Mohawk a mile above the falls—19 miles.

Thursday 21—cloudy, cool & pleasant. Came to the falls of the Mohawk, passed through a small village at the falls, among benches of large rocks where the children of the village, and domestic animals, such as sheep &c. appeared on the tops of the rocks as we passed, the rocks are in the form of tables, benches, &c. a high bank or hill on

our left, and the river to our right. This is the only village built of stone, on the road we have traveled, crossed a creek on a stone bridge, proceeded about 18 miles further on the river, through a narrow valley, the hills amazingly high and preventing us from having any view of the country on each side whatever, except the mere flats on the river.—20 miles.

Friday 22—clear. Marched at 8 A.M. came to Caughnewago village, 14 miles. The road here is becoming more pleasant; our march through the country since Utica has been somewhat gloomy, as the road is shut up by hills or mountains all the way on each side. From Buffalo to Geneva, the country is level and handsome, and from Geneva to Utica hilly, but affording extensive prospects. Proceeded 6 miles further through Montgomery County, and encamped at 6 P.M.—20 miles.

Saturday 23—clear. Marched at 6 P.M. proceeded to Amsterdam, 9 miles; proceeded to the city of Schenectady is a beautiful place, has a number of streets compactly built. Here is Union College, two large buildings for the accommodation of students. At the entrance of Schenectady we crossed a large bridge over the Mohawk, the river is wide, and apparently deep here. Encamped in a large year, at a tavern in Schenectady at 5 P.M.—12 miles.

*Saturday 24—*Commenced our march for Albany at 8 A.M. the day was amasing hot, and road dusty. The road from Schenectady to Albany is handsomely planted with Poplar trees on the left side, but the heat, dust and sand almost blinded us, and rendered our march disagreeable, passed through Albany to the river Hudson, 14 miles, crossed the river in Scows, and marched to Greenbush barracks.—18 miles.

Greenbush Barracks are several large buildings, in an elevated situation, above two miles east of Greenbush village; the village is on the Hudson River, opposite Albany, in the township of Greenbush, from which the Garrison is named. From the high ground at the Barracks, there is a view of the whole city of Albany, which is on a high ground, rising gradually from the river and exhibiting almost every house to view at a distance of four miles from the Garrison.

On our arrival at Greenbush we were relieved from guarding the prisoners, by the regulars, and they were shortly after taken to the Garrison of Pittsfield in Massachusetts, 30 miles distant from Greenbush, where there are kept several hundred prisoners.

Since our march from Carlisle, in five months we have travelled a distance of above 1200 miles including the lake expeditions, and are yet 400 miles from home, making a circuit of above 1600 miles, which

is probably equal to the services of any other Draft of Volunteers or militia during the present war.

Much fatigue, want of provisions, and change of climate were endured by our men, with fortitude and cheerfulness, almost all have continued healthy, and many are much benefitted in that respect; although soldiering is generally supposed to have a tendency to injure the morals of youth, yet the present most extraordinary campaign, has in many instances had a quite contrary effect, the ignorant have been informed, folly worn out, pride humbled, and curiosity satisfied; so much for the advantages of the tour.

Our march through the state of New York has been so agreeable, notwithstanding the difficulties of marching, guarding, &c. that we have been fully recompensed by a sight of the country. No single traveller ever has the same opportunity of seeing the inhabitants in every village, and every house, and knowing their manners, and political sentiments: the sound of the drum, and the sight of prisoners, drew all within our view; more or less anxiety manifested respecting the war operations, our own and the prisoners treatment, compared, enabled us to judge of the sentiments of the inhabitants. The beauty and hospitality of the females escaped not our admiration; these powerful influences could not but animate the British soldiers with a desire for liberty, and while some hoped for peace to release them from bondage (for they are enlisted for life) others were not scrupulous to desert the service of their country.

We were stationed at Greenbush, where we performed Garrison duty, until after the arrival of the companies of Capts. Moreland and Dunn, with the 200 prisoners captured at the battle of Bridgewater,³⁶ when an order was received from General Brown for our discharge. We were discharged on the 26th of August last, when the greater part of the men took passage in sloops down the Hudson to New York, and from thence proceeded through New Jersey to Philadelphia, and from thence to Carlisle, a town that which there is none more to be admired, adding to our marches another, as agreeable as any other of the former. ■

³⁶ This is better known as Lundy's Lane and generally acknowledged as the war's most hard-fought action. The Pennsylvania Volunteers were closely engaged and suffered thirty casualties out of three hundred present. According to General Porter the Volunteers, "... fought with the coolness and discipline of regular troops, and it gives me pride to add that on subsequent inquiries I could not learn that a single *fugitive* from this corps straggled from the field of battle into camp." Porter to Brown, July 28, 1814. Cruikshank, *Documentary History*, 1:417-18.

REACTIONS TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION, 1787

(From a Philadelphia correspondent to the *Pittsburgh Gazette* as printed October 13, 1787.)

I was walking the other day in Second street, and observed a child of five or six years old, with a paper in his hand, and lisping, with a smile, "here's what the convention have done." Last evening I was walking down Arch street, and was struck with the appearance of an old man, whose head was covered with hoary locks, and whose knees bent beneath the weight of his body, stepping to his feat [sic] by the door, with a crutch in one hand, and his spectacles and the *new federal convention* in the other. These incidents renewed in my mind the importance of the present era to one half the word! I was pleased to see all ages anxious to know the result of the deliberations of that illustrious council, whose *constitutions* are designed to govern a world of freedom! The unthinking youth who cannot realize the importance of government seems to be impressed with a sense of our want of union and system; and the venerable sire, who is tottering to the grave, feels new life at the prospect of having every thing valuable secured to posterity.