

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

MAJOR WILLIAM DARLINGTON'S DIARY OF SERVICE IN THE WAR OF 1812

THE WAR OF 1812 found the states of the Union not so completely united as they might have been. Examples of disaffection may be seen in the refusal of New York to permit her militia to be used outside the state and in the withdrawal by the New England states of troops from federal service in favor of local protection. The theory of states rights, including the right of secession, was actively discussed at the Hartford Convention of 1814, and among the resolutions adopted by the convention were those supporting state rather than federal control of military forces. Pennsylvania did not send representatives to the convention, for she was little inclined to secession, but she did at least contemplate withdrawing her militia from federal control in 1814. Such action would have been needless, for most of her troops were within her own boundaries, and extremely untimely, because the enemy appeared likely to attack her first city. But that she did contemplate withdrawal is evidenced in a letter written late in 1814 by the secretary of the commonwealth to William Darlington, a major in the militia. A copy of this letter is contained in Major Darlington's diary of his war service, the original of which, entered on the first fourteen pages of a small copybook containing other matter, was presented to the Sewickley Public Library some time ago by Mr. Alexander C. Robinson.¹

The diarist—a cousin of William McCullough Darlington, Pittsburgh lawyer, author, and bibliophile—was born in 1782 at Dilworthtown, Chester County, of good Quaker stock. Having studied medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, he became surgeon to a regiment of militia in his native county at the age of twenty-three, and for this he was dis-

¹ A brief biographical sketch of Major Darlington and selections from his diary were read by Mr. Robinson at a meeting of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on April 27, 1937.

owned by the Society of Friends. He continued the practice of medicine until the summer of 1814, when the governor called for additional troops to protect the commonwealth, and particularly the city of Philadelphia, from invasion by the enemy. A British fleet under Vice Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane and troops under General Ross had appeared in Chesapeake Bay and late in August had burned the Capitol and other buildings at Washington. William Darlington volunteered as a member of the "American Grays" of Chester County and continued in military service for three months. After the war he resumed his profession and dabbled in politics until he became a Congressman, but he is best known today for studies in his avocation, botany. He ultimately published several works on this science, and when he died at the age of eighty-one his tombstone was appropriately inscribed in Latin with the wish that the plants of Chester that he loved so well might blossom forever above his grave.²

The value of his diary of service in the War of 1812, which is published in full below, lies principally in the view it gives, as Mr. Robinson has well said, of "the relation between States and the Federal Government, and the fact that in 1814 we were still far from being a real nation."

Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania JOHN W. HARPSTER

² *Dictionary of American Biography*; Gilbert Cope, ed., *Genealogy of the Darlington Family*, 127-133 (West Chester, Pennsylvania, 1900); [Edward C. Darlington], *Gathering of the Clan Darlington at the Residence of Brinton Darlington, in East Bradford, Chester County, Pennsylvania, on the 20th of August, 1853, passim* (1853); J. S. Futhcy and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania, with Genealogical and Biographical Sketches*, 510-512 (Philadelphia, 1881).

CAMPAIGNING;

or

Notes made during the tour of Duty

of the

Second Regt. Penn. Volunteer Light Infantry.

By *W^m Darlington*, Major 1st. Battalion2nd Regt. Penn. Volunteer L. Infantry.

Multos Castra juvant, et lituo tuba
permistus sonitus, bellaque Matribus
Detestata.—Horace.

1814

CAMPAIGNING!

In conformity with an invitation from the Governor of Pennsylvania, for Volunteers to flock to the standard of the state, in order to defend the City of Philadelphia from the incendiary incursions of the Enemy, dated the 27th of August, 1814,³—the Volunteer Corps called the "*American Greys*" which was raised in the Borough of West Chester and its vicinity, immediately organized themselves, and on the 8th of September marched from West-Chester, completely equipped, for the Cantonment at Bush Hill, near the City.⁴ The officers of the Company were *Titus Taylor* Captain—*Isaac Darlington* First Lieutenant—*Joseph Pearce* Second Lieutenant—and *William Darlington* Ensign.—The Company consisted of Eight non Commissioned officers, and Forty one

³ On May 12, 1812, Governor Simon Snyder had called for fourteen thousand drafted and volunteer militia as the Pennsylvania quota for United States service, but that number of troops had never been assembled. On August 27, 1814, a second call for the militia ordered out troops of thirteen counties, including Chester. Most of the companies responding to this second call were volunteers, for by an unaccountable oversight of the legislature of 1814 the governor could not legally draft troops between August 1 and October 24 of that year. The principal reliance at that time, when the enemy threatened to attack, was placed on volunteers. *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 12: 531-533, 699-700, 705, 715-716.

⁴ The camp at Bush Hill in Philadelphia was named Camp Snyder in honor of the governor, and at this place troops for the defense of the city assembled.

privates; comprizing some of the most wealthy and respectable Citizens of Chester County. We have the satisfaction of believing that we carried with us the good wishes of all those of our acquaintances whose esteem was desirable.⁵

Our first days march was as far as M^r. Isaac Weaver's; where we halted for the night. Next day we proceeded to the City Hospital,⁶ at Bush hill, where were a number of Companies already quartered. Major Tryon, the Brigade Inspector of the Philadelphia County Brigade,⁷ very politely conducted us to our quarters, in the west wing of the Hospital; where we arrived in the Evening pretty well fatigued. After a day or two of rest, we commenced drilling in Companies, under the direction of Capt. Jno. G. Wersler,⁸ who was appointed Major Commandant, by the Governor, until we should be sufficiently numerous

⁵ Captain Titus Taylor's company of American Grays of Chester County served for a three-months period, September 5–December 5, 1814. The muster roll of the company on September 16 contains fifty-three names, but William Darlington's name is not included, as by this time he had been elected major. Lieutenant Isaac Darlington, a cousin of William Darlington, became adjutant of the Second Regiment. He was later president judge of the Chester and Delaware county courts. *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 12:482–483; sixth series, 7:757–758; 8:293, 797–798; Futhey and Cope, *History of Chester County*, 124–125.

⁶ The City Hospital was built in 1809 at the present 19th Street and Fairmont Avenue. Governor Snyder wrote to James Monroe, acting secretary of war, from Philadelphia on September 10, one day after the arrival of Captain Taylor's company, that six hundred volunteers had arrived there and others were on the way. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609–1884*, 1676 (Philadelphia, 1884); *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 12:741, 746.

⁷ Jacob G. Tryon was appointed brigade inspector of the First Division, Pennsylvania Militia, in 1814. According to the executive journal of September 13, 1814, Tryon was directed to provide medicine for the sick at the City Hospital, and a Dr. Darlington was appointed "to administer to the wants of the indisposed for the time being." This doctor was probably William Darlington, although it is curious that he does not mention the appointment in his diary. There is some evidence that the diary was written from rough notes, day-to-day entries beginning in October being copied from these notes, and earlier occurrences being supplied from memory. In this case William Darlington's neglect to mention his duties as physician early in his term of service is understandable. *Pennsylvania Archives*, sixth series, 7:5; ninth series, 6:4070.

⁸ John G. Wersler was captain of a company of volunteer light infantry mustered into service August 27, 1814. By general orders of the governor dated September 11 he was appointed temporary major commandant of the volunteers at or near the City Hospital. According to a return of September 16, this command included eight companies of light infantry and five of riflemen, totaling 769 militia. *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 12:502–503, 742; sixth series, 8:293, 805–806; ninth series, 6:4067.

to be organized into battalion & regiment. There were a number of Rifle Corps assembled at the same place, who were all placed under the direction of Major Com. Wersler for the time being. On Monday the 19th of September, an Election was held for the purpose of officering the Light Infantry, & Riflemen; which the Governor had arranged into battallions and Regiments.⁹ The Riflemen chose their own officers; and the Light Infantry, Elected for Colonel, *Isaac Wayne*,¹⁰ Lieutenant Colonel *Lewis Bache*¹¹—and Major *W^m. Darlington* and *John Pedan*. The first Battallion of Light Infantry consisted of the Companies commanded by Captains *Holdgate*, *M'Glatheery*, *Schwenk*, *Nungesser* and *Ruhe*—to the Command of which *W^m Darlington* was commissioned Major¹²—The second Battallion consisted of Captains *Wersler's*, *Vanartsdalen's*, *Taylor's*, and *Grosh's* Companies; to the command of whom Lieut. *Johns Pedan* of Capt. Grosh's Company, was Commissioned Major. *Isaac Wayne* declined accepting the appointment of Colonel, in consequence of his engage-

⁹ Under the Pennsylvania militia law of March 28, 1814, troops were to select their own officers. General orders of the governor dated September 17 directed the formation that day of a regiment consisting of two battalions, each battalion consisting of specified companies, and the election of officers for the regiment thus formed. By an after order of the same day this election was postponed until the nineteenth. *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 12:758-759.

¹⁰ Isaac Wayne (1770-1852) was a son of General Anthony Wayne, and was the unsuccessful Federalist candidate for governor of Pennsylvania in 1814. *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (revised edition, New York, 1900).

¹¹ Louis Bache (1779-1819) was a brother of Benjamin Franklin Bache, editor of the powerful Democratic *Aurora* of Philadelphia, and was a grandson of Benjamin Franklin. W. W. H. Davis, *History of Bucks County, Pennsylvania*, 1:115 (second edition, New York and Chicago, 1905); Bernard Fäy, *The Two Franklins, Father of American Democracy*, 68, 72, 223, 376 (Boston, 1933); William Duane, "The Descendants of Dr. Franklin," in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 8:374 (1854).

¹² The only reference to William Darlington in the various lists, reports, muster rolls, and pay rolls of the War of 1812-14 in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, sixth series, is in volume 7, page 724, where he has signed his name as "Wm. Darlington, Major 1st Battalion," to a report of the officers and privates of the Second Regiment as of September 22, 1814. Muster rolls of the companies of Captains William Holdgate, William McGlatheery, George Schwenk, Peter Nungesser, Jr., and John F. Ruhe list about 245 men, the number Major Darlington must have had under his command. Thereafter these troops were known as the First Battalion, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteer Light Infantry. *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 12:215-217, 301-302, 359-360, 422-423, 428-429; sixth series, 7:125-126, 109, 755-759, 946; 8:293, 733-734, 766-767; seventh series, 1:87, 697.

ments with his Troop of Cavalry. The Command, for the present, consequently, devolved upon Lieut. Colonel *Bache*.—This is the condition in which we are now, *September 25th 1814*, situated. Our future proceedings it is my intention to note in this Book.

Saturday, October 1st 1814—We still remain at Camp Snyder, under daily expectation of a march; having now received nearly all the Camp Equipage requisite for us previous to taking the field. The day before yesterday, the Governor ordered all the Volunteers in this place to assemble and march to Kensington in order to meet General *Scott*, and escort him into the City—About 1500 of us assembled, Riflemen & Infantry, and marched about a mile up the frankford road, when we were informed that Gen. Scott had eluded us, and was already at his Lodgings!—we therefore countermarched, and came down 4th Street by the Governor's quarters—saluted his Excellency—& then wheeled up Market Street—passed Gen. Scott's Lodgings at the Mansion house Hotel¹³—Saluted the General—and proceeded to the New Prison,¹⁴ where the Companies dispersed to their respective quarters—Today our Regiment mustered together for the first time—It looked and behaved tolerably well for a beginning—

Monday Octo. 3rd Our Regt. took up the Line of march for Marcus Hook, agreeably to the Governor's order of the day previous—His Excellency reviewed us prior to our march—when we got under way, & encamped at Darby that night—It was late when we reached our encamping ground, and we had to pitch our tents in a great hurry.—

Tuesday, October 4th 1814—The Regiment cooked their rations early this morning, & prepared for marching. Previous to moving, a Court Martial was held on a Private in Capt. Grosh's Company, for drawing his Bayonet on the Captain, & other misconduct. The court sentenced him to have his Coat turned inside out, his hat turned the hindpart before, the feather torn from his hat,

¹³ The Mansion House Hotel was at the corner of 11th and Market Streets in Philadelphia. Winfield Scott (1786–1866) was made brigadier general in March, 1814, and after his participation in battles in July near Buffalo and at Lundy's Lane he became a popular hero. Wounded at the latter battle, he was brevetted major general, and his journey southward was a series of tremendous ovations. Ellis P. Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia, a History of the City and Its People*, 2: 20 (Philadelphia); *Dictionary of American Biography*.

¹⁴ The New Prison, built in 1809, was located in Philadelphia on Arch Street, between Broad and 15th Streets. Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1832.

and he to be drummed out of Camp. The sentence was executed immediately in front of the Regiment, drawn up to witness the same—We then got under way, and proceeded on to Chester to dine. Here the Governor & suite met us, on their way to the Camp on Brandywine—We saluted as we passed him, & then continued our march to the Camp at Marcus Hook, which we reached towards evening—We pitched our tents in the Center of the encampment, & turned in very much fatigued—¹⁵ *Wednesday Oct. 5th* was very rainy and disagreeable—& to add to our troubles we obtained no rations until evening—& when they did come, were very indifferent. The Bread was most execrably bad. The men showed some uneasiness, but were pacified by Col. Bache.

Sunday, Octo. 9th 1814. On Friday I went home, and returned yesterday—Today we moved our quarters to the right of the encampment, conformably to orders. On Friday morning the Governor reviewed the Troops in this Camp—They were drawn up in two Lines across the field—he passed along each Line from the right—& then took his stand on the Left—The Lines were then wheeled into Column, & marched by him. Having accomplished this, the Companies separated to their respective quarters.

Tuesday, Octo. 11th 1814. Since last date we have been reviewed by Major General Isaac Worrell,¹⁶ who assumed the Command. This day the General Election was held—it was conducted very peaceably and quietly—

Wednesday, Octo. 12th This day Major General *Gaines*,¹⁷ who has been

¹⁵ Marcus Hook, Delaware County, is the southernmost town in Pennsylvania on the Delaware River, and is about twenty miles from Philadelphia. The camp was located just back of Marcus Hook and was called Camp Gaines in honor of Major General Gaines, commander of the Fourth Military District of the United States. Nearly ten thousand state militia were assembled at the camp. Henry G. Ashmead, *History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania*, 89 (Philadelphia, 1884); William P. Clarke, *Official History of the Militia and National Guard of the State of Pennsylvania*, 1:190 (1909); Futey and Cope, *History of Chester County*, 124; Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:275-276.

¹⁶ Isaac Worrell was commissioned major general by the governor in August, 1811, and when by the Pennsylvania militia act of March, 1814, the state was divided into sixteen divisions, he was placed in charge of the First, or Philadelphia, Division, consisting of two brigades of drafted and volunteer militia. Clarke, *Official History of the Militia*, 1:179; Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1:570; *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 12:iii; ninth series, 6:4091.

¹⁷ Edmund P. Gaines (1777-1849) had entered the United States Army in 1797, and for his successful defense of Fort Erie during the War of 1812 he had been promoted

appointed Commander of the 4th Military district, reviewed our Troops in this Camp. We were drawn up in three ranks, in order of Battle, the Artillery in the centre—It appears that a very large proportion of the troops in Camp are Democratic—Out of 574 votes from Chester County in service, there were 516 democratic votes, & 58 Federal votes, leaving a majority of 458! Although it was said by some, that it was Feds. only who turned out at the pinch!¹⁸

Friday, Octo. 14, 1814. This has been a momentous day with the officers of our Volunteer Regiment. Adj^t. Gen. Duane¹⁹ ordered our Regiment to parade without Arms, & when paraded, had them told off in Companies of 100 men each. He then directed Col. Bache to designate Company officers for the Companies thus consolidated. This, Col. Bache declined; alleging that the Regiment was already organized under the direction of the Governor of Penn^a.—at whose call we had turned out. The Governor had guaranteed our present organization, in a Letter to Gen. Bloomfield, Commander of the district—wherein he says—"It is however to be understood that no change in the organization of the Companies, Battalions, or Regiments can take place, and that they shall enjoy all the rights secured to them by the Laws of the State, under

to brigadier general and brevetted major general. On October 7, 1814, he succeeded Brigadier General Joseph Bloomfield in command of the Fourth Military District of the United States, comprising Pennsylvania, Delaware, and western New Jersey. *Dictionary of American Biography*; Ashmead, *History of Delaware County*, 89; *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 12: 787; *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, 1: 386.

¹⁸ In the gubernatorial election of 1814 Governor Simon Snyder, Democratic incumbent, defeated the Federalist candidate, Isaac Wayne.

¹⁹ William Duane (1760-1835) was associated with Benjamin Franklin Bache in publishing the Philadelphia *Aurora*, and after the death of Bache he married the widow of his associate. Duane, as adjutant general of the Fourth Military District of the United States, appeared as prosecutor at the court martial of Colonel Louis Bache, his wife's brother-in-law by her former marriage. Duane's had been a political appointment made by the inefficient secretary of war, John Armstrong, in return for the former's vociferous support as editor of the *Aurora*. Although the appointment disgusted others of the Jeffersonian party, including Albert Gallatin, Duane was well fitted for the position for he had some military knowledge. He was the author of several military treatises and texts, including *The American Military Library, or Compendium of Modern Tactics* (two volumes, 1807-1809); *A Military Dictionary* (1810); *A Hand Book for Infantry* (1813); and *A Handbook for Riflemen* (1813). See *Dictionary of American Biography*; Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America during the Administration of James Madison*, 4: 41 (New York, 1930); *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, 1: 386.

the faith of which they have volunteered their services"²⁰—Duane finding that Col. Bache would adhere to the original organization of the Regt. declared that he arrested him—& demanded his sword. Col. B. refused him his sword, but agreed to give it to Gen. Smith²¹ if required by the General. Duane then galloped off for the General—who sanctioned Duane's proceedings & the Brigade Major received the Colonel's sword—Duane then demanded who was next in Command—He was answered by the Adjutant of the Regt. that it was Major Darlington—Duane turned then to me, & directed me to take charge of the Reg^t. I replied that I did not conceive myself authorized to do so. My sword was then ordered to be delivered up—Major Pedan was arrested in the same way—as were also Captains Schwenck, Nungesser & Ruhe—for refusing to take command as thus newly organized—Duane then desisted; as he observed that all the officers of the Reg^t. were preparing to deliver up their swords. The men were ordered to their quarters under the charge of the remaining officers—& the arrested officers were ordered to their respective homes within one hour. In the Afternoon Gen. Worrell countermanded the order to retire to our homes; & directed us to remain at our tents, or in the vicinity of the Camp. The Colonel, Major Pedan, & myself then set off back to Camp, from Marcus Hook where we received Gen. Worrell's order, & stated the fact to Duane, who refused to receive us, as we had no written order. He said he received no orders from persons under arrest—Gen. Worrell however soon came, & confirmed the order for us to remain. That night we Lodged at the Hook, where Gen. Gaines arrived—& in the morning Gen. Gaines issued the following order—

²⁰ Governor Snyder wrote to Monroe, acting secretary of war, on September 10, 1814, that the troops to be sent to Marcus Hook would not readily submit to consolidation under United States Army organization, and suggested that they be permitted to remain as they were then organized under Pennsylvania law. He wrote from Philadelphia, September 14, 1814, to Brigadier General Bloomfield, then commanding the Fourth Military District of the United States, substantially as quoted above in the diary. *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 12: 741-742, 750.

²¹ Samuel Smith (1752-1839), a wealthy merchant of Baltimore and for forty years a Senator or Representative in Congress, was brigadier general of the First Brigade, Second Division, Pennsylvania Militia. Clarke, *Official History of the Militia*, 1: 180; *Dictionary of American Biography*; *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 12: iv; ninth series, 6: 4095.

HEAD QUARTERS 4th MILITARY DISTRICT

MARCUS HOOK, OCTO. 15. 1814

General Orders.

The Commanding General has been notified by his Excellency Governor Snyder, that the Pennsylvania volunteers called into service by his Excellency's order of the 27. August last were assembled under the Governor's special assurance that their organization should be conformable to the Laws of Penn^a. and it appearing that many of the Corps entered into service under this particular Condition, the General directs that the whole of the said volunteers be immediately organized under the Laws of the State of Penn^a. bearing date the 28th of March 1814.²²

By Order of Gen Gaines

WM DUANE Adj^t. Gen^l.

This Order appeared to confirm all our pretensions—though Duane's conduct had the unpleasant effect of throwing us out of Command for an uncertain length of time. On Sunday morning, the 16th Major Pedan & myself set off early for our homes—I should first state, that on Saturday afternoon, Duane struck his tent, & prepared to leave the ground—The Riflemen & Militia shewed a disposition to insult him—although our Regiment observed the greatest decorum. When he mounted, to leave the Camp I am told he was hooted & hissed out of the field—A *Calcutta pole* was mounted, & the dogs set after him.—This unsoldierly conduct was altogether exclusive of our Reg^t.—they had no hand in it—Yet he blamed us for the whole affair—which I believe is fairly attributable to his grossly brutal, ungentlemanly, & unofficerlike demeanor. On *Tuesday*, I returned to Camp—On *Wednesday*, a General Court Martial, of which Brig. Gen. *Spering*²³ was President, was convened at Chester, to try Col. Bache, & such other Prisoners as should be brought before

²² Under the United States Army regulations of 1813 an infantry company consisted of ninety privates, thirteen noncommissioned officers, and five commissioned officers, making a total of 108 men to a company. Under the Pennsylvania militia law of March 28, 1814, a light infantry company consisted of forty-five privates, ten noncommissioned officers and five commissioned officers, a total of 59 men to a company. Regular infantry company regulations were similar to those of the United States. The Second Regiment of volunteers, however, was designated light infantry. *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, 1:425; *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 12:741; *Pennsylvania, Laws*, 1813-14, 323-324.

²³ Henry Spering was designated brigadier general of the Second Brigade, Second Division, Pennsylvania Militia, by the governor. *Pennsylvania Archives*, ninth series, 6:4095.

them—On Friday the 21st. The trial of Colonel Bache Commenced²⁴—On Saturday, Octo. 22. I was furnished with a Copy of the following Charges against myself.—

CAMP MARCUS HOOK, OCTO. 15. 1814.

Charges exhibited against Major William Darlington of the Corps of detached Volunteers and Militia, commanded by Lt. Col. Louis Bache. Arrested by order of Brig. Gen. S. Smith on the 14th day of Octo. 1814.

Charge 1. Mutiny.

Specification 1. That being in a camp formed for the organization and discipline of troops to resist and repel the public Enemy and to defend the City of Philadelphia, and being attached to the Brigade of Brig. Gen. Sam^l. Smith, he with certain other of the officers of the said Corps did conspire in a mutinous manner, and by his conduct & example actually producing mutiny and obstructing discipline and good order in Camp, at sundry times on and before the 14th day of October, but especially on that day in the forenoon, in the presence of his superior officers did declare his determination not to obey the orders, or submit to the authority of the officers or Laws of the United States, contrary to the 7th 60th 83rd 97th and 99th Articles of War.

Specification 2. In knowing and being present where a disposition to mutiny and sedition was manifested by the soldiers under his immediate command on the 12th 13th & 14th of October, did not use his utmost endeavor to suppress the same, nor give information thereof to his superior officers, contrary to the 8th Article of the Rules & Regulations for the government of the Army of the U. States.

Specification 3. In suffering tumult, shouting, and other disorders in the Camp, & by the soldiers under his command on the said 12th 13th & 14th of October greatly to the Annoyance of the orderly troops contiguous to his detachment in Camp, and tending to encourage mutiny and insubordination.—

Charge 2. Disobedience of Orders.

Specification 1. In refusing to obey the authorized command of the Adjutant General of the District on the public parade, and in the presence of his superior officers, of the officers of his own detachment, and of the soldiers of his own and other Corps on the forenoon of the 14th October, contrary to the 60th 97th and 99th Articles of war.—

Specification 2. In refusing to obey the orders of his Brig. General, in defiance of the Militia Law of Penn^a. of the 28th March 1814, sections 7. & 18. on the same day and hour.

²⁴ For a full account of the trial, see *Proceedings of a General Court Martial for the Trial of Lieut. Col. Louis Bache*... (Philadelphia, printed by James Wilson, 1815).

Charge 3. Insubordination & violation
of the Established usages of the Army, and
the principles of Military discipline.

Specification. In refusing to submit to the organization of the Corps to which he is attached, contrary to the Laws of the U. States, and the 9. & 18. sections of the Militia Law of Pennsylvania of the 28. March 1814.—Signed

WM DUANE
Adj^t. General

A true copy of the original
charges & Specifications.

JOHN L. LEIB Judge Advocate.²⁵

The foregoing charges are solemnly made by Duane, to which I expect to answer—With the exception of a part of the Specification of the 3rd Charge, they are as false & malicious as the heart of Duane can possibly make them—There is not a syllable of truth in the whole statement—further than that I adhered to the Governor's Letter, & declined submitting to a new organization & taking the Command. I am this day, Tuesday Octo. 25th 1814, still in suspense—the Colonels' trial said to be going on in Philad^a where I am told the Court adjourned to on Saturday last—I am not admitted as a spectator, in consequence of being intended as a witness for Col. Bache. On Sunday last, Octo. 23, Major General Henry Scheetz²⁶ reviewed the troops of the three Brigades on our Parade ground—The Brigades have been separated for some days past with a view to promote & facilitate discipline—Spering's & Snyder's²⁷ Brigades are removed about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile to the Northward & Westward of us.—

Tuesday Novem. 1st 1814. This morning the very tedious trial of Col. Bache was concluded, and the Court broke up—The sentence of the Court will, of course, remain unknown until the General commanding makes it known—

²⁵ The first two charges and attendant specifications are the same as those exhibited against Lieutenant Colonel Bache; the third charge is also the same but the specification differs. *Proceedings of a General Court Martial for the Trial of Lieut. Col. Louis Bache*, 4-5.

²⁶ Henry Scheetz was designated major general commandant of the First and Second Brigades, Second Division, Pennsylvania Militia, by Governor Snyder, on October 12, 1814. *Pennsylvania Archives*, ninth series, 6:4095.

²⁷ Thomas Snyder was designated brigadier general of the Second Brigade, First Division, Pennsylvania Militia, by Governor Simon Snyder on October 8, 1814. *Pennsylvania Archives*, ninth series, 6:4091.

I have been attending the Court since Wednesday last, as a witness—but it was decided by the Court that those who were implicated could not be heard—and I therefore expended 10 or 12 dollars in the City to no purpose—The testimony on the Case gave a very honorable account of the good conduct of our Regiment, but it is very uncertain what the sentence of the Court may be. In consequence of the Court dissolving, it is impossible to guess when the rest of us will be tried—or how we shall be disposed of.—

Wednesday Novem. 9. 1814. We yet remain in ignorance of the sentence of the Court Martial on Col. Bache's case—& can form no idea when the rest of us will know our destinies. The Weather is getting cold, to live in these *Linen Houses*; ²⁸ & the last 5 or 6 days have been very rainy & dull—We however do not expect to be discharged yet awhile, as it is said the British are still hovering on our Coast.—

Sunday, Novem. 13th, 1814. On Friday morning we received the sentence of the Court Martial on L^t. Colonel Bache, approved & confirmed by Gen. Gaines, which to the astonishment of every one acquainted with the case, convicted him of *every charge*, and concluded in these words "They therefore sentence L^t. Colonel Louis Bache to be dismissed the service of the United States."—(see the orderly Book for the proceedings.) ²⁹—On the same day I went to the City in order to see the Sec^y. of the Commonwealth on the subject, & ascertain if possible what ought next to be done—M^r. Boileau ³⁰ was not in town, and of course I could learn nothing—I sat down that evening, and hastily wrote him the following Letter, which I left at his lodgings next morning; and today I returned to Camp—

²⁸ From this reference to life in army tents it is evident that Major Darlington had returned to the camp at Marcus Hook early in November.

²⁹ Although convicted of every charge, Lieutenant Colonel Bache was found guilty only of the first specification of charge 1, the second specification of charge 2, and the specification of charge 3. Because the court was "impressed with the purity of the motives that actuated him, resting as they did upon an honest misconception of his duties," the sentence was mitigated to dismissal. *Proceedings of a General Court Martial for the Trial of Lieut. Col. Louis Bache*, 65-66.

³⁰ Nathaniel B. Boileau was a close friend of Governor Snyder. Elected speaker of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives in 1811, he resigned the office upon his appointment as secretary of the commonwealth. He also served as military aid to Governor Snyder during the War of 1812. Howard M. Jenkins, ed., *Pennsylvania Colonial and Federal*, 2:188 (Philadelphia, 1903); *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, 12:iii.

PHILADELPHIA, NOVEM. 11th 1814.

Sir,

I came up to the City today on behalf of the officers of our unfortunate Regiment, in order to consult with you on the most eligible measures to be adopted in case the system of trampling on state rights should still be persisted in. Nothing but the actual publication of the astonishing sentence of the Court Martial could convince us that men who promptly and voluntarily stepped forward, at the prospect of danger, to assist in defending the Metropolis of the State, should be thus stigmatized as *mutinous*, *disorderly*, and *disobedient*, merely because they claimed the privilege of retaining the organization prescribed by the Laws, and sanctioned by the Governor—and that their Commander should be cashiered, as an act of mercy, while it is insinuated that justice called for his life!—Men of honorable sensibility may *for once* leave their homes in the interior, with a view to protect the distant shores, but in fact to experience an invasion of their own privileges—They may *for once* subject themselves to a violation of their rights as Pennsylvanians, and be formally disgraced for adhering to what they believed a solemn and legal contract with the constituted authorities:—A generous, unsuspecting patriotism may lead them into such a dilemma *for once*, but I am apt to believe that it will be difficult to find them in the same situation *a second time*. I am really apprehensive the treatment our Regiment has received, will give a death blow to volunteering, in this end of the state. Our fate, as *Individuals*, is of no moment to the Country; but I am doubtful others will be cautious how they suffer themselves to be caught in a similar situation.—

At what time the remaining officers who are under arrest are to be tried, we know not—We, however, consider the Colonel's trial as our own, and ask no better fate; as we are conscious we are not more deserving. For myself, I do not desire the State authorities to adopt any measures for our relief which are not strictly warranted by the Charter of our Liberties, and compatible with the utmost deference to the General Government: But if any representation to the War department could afford a prospect of redress, or have a tendency to wipe away the disgrace which has been, as we believe, so unmeritedly cast upon us, it would afford us a great gratification—Or if it should be in your power, on consulting with the governor, to give us any advice or instructions that would be useful to us, we should esteem it a signal favor.

As Pennsylvanians, we naturally look to the Governor as our Commander in Chief—to him we tendered our services—and to him we address ourselves as the proper authority to protect us in those few privileges which the rules of Camp leave to the soldier.—

I trust you will view with indulgence these hastily written observations, which are offered solely for the purpose of soliciting your attention to the very unpleasant situation in which we find ourselves—a situation of which few will

form so accurate a conception as those whose fortune it has been to experience it.

I must return to Camp in the morning,—and therefore beg leave to subscribe myself, with the highest respect, your most obedient

humble servant,
WM DARLINGTON

N. B. Boileau Esq.
Philad^a

Tuesday, Novem. 15th 1814. The Campaign is wearing away, and we arrested officers receive no intelligence of any disposition to try us or to re-instate us. It being upwards of a month since our arrest, we thought it advisable to address a note to Major General Worrell, (which we did yesterday,) requesting him to order a Court of enquiry upon our cases as speedily as may be—And I am informed that he has ordered one to sit tomorrow—Whether Duane will recognise a right in the General to do so, after he had preferred charges against us, I neither know nor care—I am anxious to have the business brought to a crisis; and perhaps this step may have that effect. It is particularly gratifying to us at this time to know that our Regiment, which has been stigmatized as "*Colonel Bache's Mob*," is Brigadier General Smith's principal dependence for preserving good order in the Camp. Last evening the Militia of Smith's Brigade behaved in a riotous & mutinous manner in consequence of the arrest of two company officers; and the General's staff were reduced to the necessity of calling upon our abused and insulted Regiment in order to quell the rioters. They turned out promptly, and a party of them patrolled the camp the whole night; for which good conduct they were excused from furnishing guard this day. Such is our Regiment!—

A Court of Enquiry was directed by Gen. Worrell to sit on the cases of the arrested officers of the second Regiment; but Gen. Gaines dissolved it, as irregular—I then addressed a Letter to Gen. Gaines stating our grievances, that we had been arrested so long, and saw no prospect of a speedy trial, and requesting him to interfere. A General Court Martial had been ordered; but the judge Advocate proceeded with the trial of others first, who had been arrested long after us—It was on this account also that I wrote to Gen. Gaines; as we thought we had a right to be tried first—Having received no answer from M^r. Boileau to my Letter of the 11th November, and not knowing what the Governor intended doing in our case, I wrote again to M^r. Boileau, on hearing

of the organization of the above Court Martial—My second Letter was as follows.

CAMP MARCUS HOOK,
NOVEM. 20. 1814.

Sir,

After more than five weeks of vexatious delay, the remaining officers of the 2nd Regt. of Volunteer Light Infantry, who were arrested with Col. Bache, have received information that a general Court Martial has been ordered for themselves, and others, to sit at Marcus Hook tomorrow—

At the suggestion of Major Fox,³¹ aid to Gen. Worrell, I have undertaken to inform you of the fact. Major Fox supposed that the State Authorities might possibly interpose in some way, in order to protect us from the disagreeable, and in fact, disgraceful sentence, which most probably awaits us from the decision of that Court. I informed that gentleman I would write to you; but at the same time I confess that I do not know in what manner the proceedings of the Court can be stayed. I do not see how we can expect more favor, or a better fate than was experienced by Col. Bache. It appears to me that we must content ourselves with being the victims of a want of proper foresight in making the requisite arrangements between the State and general governments. That we thought ourselves justifiable and correct in what we did, or rather *declined doing*, seems, from the Colonel's sentence, to be of no other account than merely to *save our lives*. The sacrifice of time, business, and reputation, is the least penalty we can reasonably expect. I am satisfied the Governor feels every disposition to afford us all the protection in his power; but I am at the same time not unapprized of the extraordinary indifference, not to say contempt, which has been manifested by the officers of the general Government towards the claims of a State which is undoubtedly one of the principal supporters of the attitude which that government has taken. Under this conviction, I beg leave to be understood as not importuning the Governor to adopt any measure in our behalf which may be considered even of doubtful propriety. I am so entirely ignorant of any thing which I believe he *can* do, that I do not *expect* him to do any thing. I shall await the decision of the Court in perfect tranquillity:—and the only satisfaction which I can possibly derive from this unpropitious campaign, will be a belief that our fate will serve as a beacon, for others to avoid the rock on which we have been shipwrecked.—

I wish you to consider this rather as the Letter of a friendly correspondent, than as an official communication; and beg leave to subscribe myself with the

³¹ John Fox was appointed aid-de-camp to Major General Worrell by the governor on November 10, 1814. He was called as a witness at the trial of Lieutenant Colonel Bache, but his testimony was not heard as he was liable to be implicated in the trial. *Pennsylvania Archives*, ninth series, 6:4173; *Proceedings of a General Court Martial for the Trial of Lieut. Col. Louis Bache*, 31.

highest respect & consideration, your most obedient humble servant

WM. DARLINGTON

N. B. Boileau, Esq.
Sec^y. Commonwealth

Shortly after sending the foregoing Letter I received the following, in answer to mine of the 11th inst.—

PHILAD^A Nov. 22^D 1814

D^r Sir,

I received yours of the 11th inst on my return to the City on the evening of Tuesday last. The result of the Court Martial astonished & mortified me more than any circumstance that has occurred for a long time—nor was the Governor less surprized and mortified. And nothing but the peculiar & critical situation of our Country, prevented him from immediately withdrawing the whole of the Volunteers from the service. Such a measure would no doubt been immediately communicated to the enemy, and encouraged their approach. The traitorous movements to the Eastward present another difficulty in the way of adopting the measure most congenial to the Governor's feelings. Should he withdraw the Volunteers, his conduct would be misconstrued—those traitors would avail themselves of the occasion to say—Lo! even the Governor of Penn^a. the most devoted to the General Government has become weary of its tyranny—he withdraws the Volunteer Militia of the State from their service—he will no longer support an Administration in the prosecution of their unjust & ruinous war even when the most wealthy & important section of the State is menaced by the Enemy—he refuses to aid in its defense—he will no longer suffer the most efficient Militia to be under the direction of the General Government. Thus torture and misrepresent his conduct so as to twist it into a precedent to justify their own abominable doings.—I am consoled in some degree by the unanimous election of M^r. Bache to the Colonelcy—And the Court which I learn has been called to sit for the examination of your conduct will I confidently trust give you an honorable acquittal.

It appears to me an indispensable duty you owe to yourselves, the service and your Country, to bring the Father of all the mischief to trial for his misdeeds. If suffered to escape with impunity, his tyranny and arrogance will be destructive to the service. I can not avoid attributing much of the evil that has occurred to the inattention of Gaines himself—he certainly did say on the evening of the 10th October, that he not only approved of the arrangement the Governor told him he had made with Bloomfield, with regard to the Volunteers; but that he would, the next morning issue a General Order recognizing it—Had he done so probably that mischief would have been avoided. With much esteem & respect

I am your fr^d. & h^{ble} s^{vt}.

N. B. BOILEAU, Scy

Major W^m Darlington

P.S. I forwarded to the Governor the representation of the officers which you enclosed to me.

I had been from Camp a few days, & on my return found the above Letter—I also found that the arrested Captains had received their Swords on parade that morning—& that my Sword had been returned into my tent—The following Letter from the Judge Advocate was also awaiting my return—

MARCUS HOOK NOV. 28th 1814

Sir,

As the Regiment to which you belong will be shortly dismissed; and the term for which it engaged to serve being so near expiring as not to allow time enough for your trial, and the trial of the other officers of the Regiment under arrest, I have therefore, in obedience to the directions of the Commanding General, entered a nolle prosequi on the charges exhibited against you.

Your Obed^t. Serv^t.

Major Darlington

JOHN L. LEIB Judge
Advocate

Thus lamely & impotently concluded this villainous business—It is evidently dismissed in such manner as to hold out an idea of existing guilt which there was not time to punish. The next morning after I received it, the Regt. marched through a dreadful rain storm to Philad^a & was disbanded the next day but one: viz. Friday the [2nd] of Dec^r. 1814 and we all returned to our homes; myself partially disgraced, & wholly disgusted.