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Notes of Doct^r Thomas G. Holmes
of Baldwin County Ala.

in relation to the "Bevont Corn expedition"
"the massacre of 553 Men Women & Children
at Fort Mims" and other things which
happened in the trying times of 1813. 1814.

13 - again as ~~written~~ to the females in the
fort, to show that they all if not equally
with Mr. Bayly were constantly so for ~~the~~
was not a murmur or scream during the ~~the~~
~~the~~ ~~the~~ the period of five hours for the ar-
gument. lasted that long.

The blood was shoe deep in Boston.

about 3 o'clock it was thought the Indians were
whipped. they took a great deal baggage out
of the fort, ^{additional part of the fort} and suddenly retreated and
went to the house of Mr. Oneal ^{about 300 yards}
~~of the fort~~ ^{about 300 yards} and for a short time
appeared to be packing up with a despo-
sition to be off - suddenly a conspicuous
Indian warrior supposed to be Mellem
Muttupud doxed up, ^{in a hour} and appeared
to be haranguing them for about 30 minutes
when their baggage was laid down and they
returned with a rush yelling and scree-
aming like perfect demons, when
they charged the bastion such was their
horrible appearance that it required
all the nerve of the soldiers to meet them
but they were met with such dis-
tinction that they had to pass the bastion with in-
dian velocity - again they charged and
again ^{with} about 4 o'clock they quit all further
assaults upon the Bastion.

Every Indian was provided with a gun, a
war club and a bow with several arrows.
with a dart in each arrow. They were
generally naked with a cows tail tied
up to a belt around them and passing down
their asses - some were painted half red

Milligan

- soon after which Weatherford a half breed took
 command of a large party of hostiles and was in-
 vited by the Spanish authorities to Pensacola -
 on the promise of giving him a large supply of
 arms, ammunition &c to carry on a war with
 the American settlers - When he arrived at
 Pensacola with his party, said arms & supplies
 were given him ^{by} Ambreter, Woodburn under the
 command of Col McCall. The arms and am-
 munition were publicly displayed upon the pub-
 lic square & ⁱⁿ the presence of the Governor were
 distributed to the respective Indian towns in
 due proportion to fill the wants of the different
 hostile towns - In consequence of which the whites
 in the counties of Baldwin Washington & Clarke
 collected a body of 170 men for the purpose
 of intercepting said Weatherford & his hostile party
 on their return march - They were commanded
 by Col James Calhoun who lived in the St Stephens
 neighborhood, Commissioner of the Territorial
 Government. Lieut Col McGreer was second
 in command ^{Major Wood} Major McFarlan, Major Jordan
 Maj Philips, Capt Saml Seale, Capt Smoot, Capt
 Dixon Bayley a half breed, & this force encam-
 pted at the Escombias, all mounted riflemen
 from thence they proceeded to the Wolf trail running
 three miles East of Buwnt Coon. & there encamped
 for the night hourly expecting the arrival of the hostile
 party - In the morning they continued the route of
 the Wolf trail towards Pensacola (~~in July 1815~~)
 after pursuing 10 miles they met the advanced
 party of the hostiles and a fierce running fight
 commenced, the Indians retreating - it is supposed
 some got killed, none of the whites - ten miles further

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On, the main body of the hostiles, were discovered ^{camp}
encamped in the bend of Burnt Corn Creek - and
immediately Col Callier ordered his troops to dis-
mount & charge which was promptly discharged
- Indian driven from their position - powder & pack
horses, enclosing their arms & supplies, were captured
- they precipitately fled in the creek ^{swamp}
The Americans, unfortunately after charging ^{nearly} through
the swamp, were ordered by Col Callier to fall back
and form in the open ground adjacent, which
gave the Indians the opportunity of reoccupying
said swamp, which gave them a covering & pro-
tection, while the Americans were exposed to a
murderous fire without a tree to shield them.
They however, maintained their position for two
hours. after fighting some time ^{Col} Dale was severely wounded
in the shoulder. Private Robert Lewis was badly wounded
James Jenkins and several others. The Indians must
have shot badly. ~~It led McGrew with~~
100 men had kept in the rear in disobedience
of the order & to charge & remained 1/2 mile in
rear of the engagement all the time of the fight
Towards the close of the fight ^{Col} Callier dispatched
Capt Bailey to order the Col McGrew to come
to their relief & him & his men refused to comply
Finding it useless to command longer when the larger
portion of his army refused to fight, he ordered a
retreat. While the fight was going on, McGrew
& his party had the captured baggage in their possession
in, and ^{was} "squabbly" about a division of the spoils
which they had no hand in taking. When Callier
ordered his men to dismount & fight, it was promptly
obeyed & the horses, not being tied fled some twenty
feet to the creek for water & were captured by the
hostiles - so when a retreat was ordered about twenty
of Callier's own men, were on without horses & retreated
some on foot & others riding double. The Indians
pursuing or killed two privates - Glops and
Ballard - The retreat was conducted with

great disaster and confusion every man for him-
self - The Greys & his cowardly party, keeping for
a head during on the captured horse & plunder
The command of this expedition being separated never
got together & went on to their homes with dismay
& terror - Col Collier has been the blamed for
this battle, but he acted bravely and deserves great
credit for he was long exposed to the fire from the
swamp for a long time on a conspicuous ~~object~~
horse ^{and was a very brave man} - "The Greys & his party were to blame -
Col Collier committed a fatal error in
not-permitting ^{Capt} Bryan Bailey to charge the
swamp as he wished to do several times - The
battle commenced on at 12 o'clock, in the latter
part June 1813. and was most disastrous in its
results for it inspired the hostile with great
confidence - Many of the expedition suffered
greatly on their retreat - Col Collier himself was
lost in the swamp on the Alabama river for 15 days
& suffered great privations and had almost
lost his reason when found. also Major Woods.
Soon after their troops under Collier returned & the
news of the battle had produced much alarm, the
Citizens White settlers in So Ala determined to go
into Fort - and that its pale Fort Mims was
commenced & completed by the Citizens &
Completed after the plan of Gen Claiborne
& under the supervision of Maj Beasley - B.
was from North Carolina - about 30 years old - he joined
the army in the neighbourhood of Baton Rouge and
came to So Ala under Claiborne about 5 feet ten
inches high. dark eyes & hair with a very fine
looking & determined countenance - ~~Indubly~~
The ground upon which the fort was erected
belonged to Samuel Mims - After the fort
was completed Gen Claiborne ~~recess~~ inspected
it & pronounced it capable of repelling
the six nations of Indians - Beasley came off
& took command of the fort with 150 men - With

in ten days hereafter, Captain Lowery with his
 Company of 40 men was dispatched to Garrison
 Fort Early about in Clarke County on the east side
 of the Bigbee. Lieut Bowen with fifty men was
 sent a few days after to Garrison Fort Madison
 in Clarke County. Another detachment of
 20 men under Lieut Montgomery was sent
 to Fort Pierce within two miles of Fort Mims.
 Again Lt Davis was sent with 18 men to
 defend Joshua Kennedy's saw mill. In
 the mean time there was an addition put up to
 the Fort for the accommodation of the regular
 soldiers of 50 feet wide running the entire length
 of the fort enclosure - presenting in all about
 500 post-holes, which were about three feet from the
 ground and about 3ft apart. To defend this large
 slaughter pen there was only 65 effective men.
 In deciding the troops dispatched to defend the above
 named neighboring forts, it was found that only
 42 of Maj Beards' troops remained and
 that the balance of his command making
 only 85 in all was made up by neighboring
 citizens in the Fort. Being in the month of
 August & the Fort situated near the Alabama
 Swamp, the Fort garrison & inmates had
 experienced great ^{deal} sickness - day after day
 signs that would be sent - out would come in hastily
 and give information of approaching hordes
 of indians. Maj B with little doubt already
 would send off command after command
 in search of them. They would as often return
 with great disappointment & report to
 the Major no indians, no signs. These often
 disappointments, produced ⁱⁿ the Major &
 his command into a state of false se

Curity - all got to believe, that no indians would
 approach them - on the 29th august - two negro
 Boys were out minding beef cattle that were
 belonging to John Random & the other to Josiah
 Fletcher - about 5 o'clock in the evening said
 Boys rapidly approached the fort and
 reported that they had deliberately counted
 24 indian warriors two routes distant
 May B. further sent a command
 of some 20 men under Capt Middleton
 with the negro Boys as pilots in search
 of the indians - the Capt returned about
 sun down & reported no indians nor signs
 May B. further demanded of Random
 that his Boy should be punished for hav-
 ing given this false report - He consented
 and under the eye of the adjutant this
 Boy was severely punished - a similar
 demand was made upon Fletcher for
 his Boy who replied that he would not
 suffer his Boy to be whiped for reason that
 he would believe him sooner than he
 would Capt Middleton. Mr F's refusal
 brought down the vengeance of May B.
 & the adjutant Capt Middleton, after
 a consultation of the Officers, they ordered
 Fletcher with his family to depart from
 the fort by 10 o'clock next morning. Mr
 F having many friends among the citizens
 in mass went to May B and petitioned
 that his address should be countermanded.
 He consented that upon condition that F
 would consent for his Boy to be sold
 to the state & then receive 100 lashes. Mr
 F by the persuasion of his friends did so

The unfortunate Boy though he had told the
truth & nothing but the truth was tied up - but
alas to the shame of B & Middleton the hour of
12 o'clock came and the yell of the Indian
was announced at the eastern gate and
to the great astonishment of the officers sol-
diers & citizens - The unerring rifles of murderous
Indians almost destroyed the inmates of the
unfortunate fort, at the first fire. The
Indians came within 400 yds of the fort - where
there was a thick ravine that in which they
secreted themselves by lying flat on the
ground until the 12 o'clock drum beat - how-
ever received information by a very intel-
ligent negro named Joe, belonging to Capt
Buchanan Mc Gist - that if they would await
until that hour, that the officers soldiers
& citizens would all be engaged at
dinner, which was the fact, and
at that awful moment, they made
made a general rush and undiscer-
ered until they surrounded the fort,
and were in possession of three fourths of the
port hole before the men assigned to de-
fend them could get to them. The work
of death now commenced with all its horror.
The brave Capt. Devin Bailey got with his
Command to the Bastion on the North
side of the fort as will appear by reference
to the plan of the fort. Scarcely arrived
before the Bastion was charged, by 150 of these
inhuman monsters using all the exertions
that their fatalistic could demonstrate them
to little expecting to meet the fate they received
from the unerring rifle of the whites - Capt Bailey
very judiciously had supplied himself with
rifles an extra guns most of them double barrels, soon
soon on the first discharge from Bailey's troops

was made, the guns were withdrawn from the post holes⁸
and the explosives put in their place which inflicted
such a deadly fire that they part-around with-
out being able to occupy the post-holes of which
Dezenc B had command - But a little time
elapsed before with an increased number and
with horrible contortions & painted faces, these
hell hounds came as though certain of their
prey but again they met the same disappoint-
ment - for the inmates of the Bastion instead
of relaxing they seemed to be moved with a
spirit of defense never to yield - about this
time, Mr James Bailey Mr David Bailey and some
several others got up into the roof of Mennis large
house placed in the center, knocked off some
shingles which they used as post-holes, where
by the by they from time to time kept up a deadly
fire upon the Indians on the outside of the
fort shooting over the pickets - after several
rounds from this position, they ^{Indians} again made
a violent attack upon the Bastion com-
manded by Capt Bailey and were again
repulsed with much loss - from time to
time they kept up attack after attack
upon this Bastion each time with equal
loss until about 2 o'clock when they seemed
to have abandoned the attempt to take the
Bastion - in the early part one solitary
man of Capt Jack's Company of Regulars
that got up into the hole finished black
horse with his rangers charges, ~~with~~ ^{and} twenty
Cartridges in his Cartridge Box, this man
and worthy soldier some several days after
the fall of the fort was found laying on his back
with one hand gripped to the run rod the
other to the rangers, his head perforated with
a Ball and the brain running therefrom - with
the lost load from his Box about half rained

down ~~with~~ in his yanges, with 23 dead indians,
laying on their backs killed by said yanges for
reason that they were in reach of the buck
horn & no possibility for those indians to
have been killed by any other than by this
brave man, who had sold his life with so
much honor to himself now to his Country and
so very dearly to the enemy - after his death, the
indians succeeded in cutting the pickets on
the south side of the Fort - Covered by two large
Houses represented in the drawing as a Ketchikan
and smoke House, & succeeded in firing
Communicating fire to both of these houses
when the conflagration raged in the houses
the wind sprang up and communicated the
fire to the low building of Saml Munnings
in the center - thus it was that horror and
dis may was to be seen in every face within
the fort - even that brave & worthy soldier Capt
Leopold Bailey was head to give up - that his large
family were all to be butchered by the savages
there was no alternative left - then it was
that Doct Thomas G. Holmes a surgeon in the
garrison determined to cut ^{two of the} pickets
as soon as the conflagration became general and
the brave fellows who and citizens who were protected
by the house in the center had to flee therefrom
the Barricade commanded by Bailey was the
only place that they could flee to with
any prospect of safety. There was little
to be found there, for such was the fact
when they all crowded together, there was no
chance of defence - escape was the only
alternative - those pickets previously cut
by Dr Holmes were thrown down, when the
brave Dr in Bailey ordered his negro man
Tom to take up his favorite son ^{14 years old} Ralph
Bailey and carry him on his back - The negro

in obedience to the order of his master forthwith
 went out of the fort through the pickets, followed
 by his master with his unerring rifle in hand, and
 followed by his intimate friend Dr Holmes, & the
 most rapid flight took place - soon after
 passing the north west corner of the fort - 150
 Indians attempted to cut off their retreat
 when by the by as they ran Capt B gave them
 a fire from his rifle and Dr Holmes from
 both barrels of his gun. Baily had boiled his bullets
 in oil with the buck skin patch sewed over them to
 make they go down easy - so far the informant
 Dr Holmes knows not how the others escaped
 after he left - but presumes by the same beach
 in the walls X X - There were 1200 Warriors
 when they were discovered & the discovery was known
 to the Commandant, he rushed sword in
 hand to the gate and attempted to shut
 it, but owing its being made of very heavy
 materials it had much swayed again
 the gate was planted on the declivity of
 the slope & from several heavy rains the
 earth had washed considerably against
 said gate and rendered it impossible
 for Major Beary with all his physical power
 to shut it - fire of the principal profites
 rushed into all their infuriated fanaticism
 to the center of the fort over the body of Beary
 who had been disarmed with a war club -
 after reaching the center of the fort, they
 got to dancing in defiance of the Citizen
 Soldiers, for they had assured their delu-
 sioned followers, that they could dance in de-
 fiance of American powder or ball for so long
 if they attempted to shoot them, that their
 balls would split, but to their great disap-
 pointment they met their fate and that

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very suddenly for they were all fire shot down
which it was said dampened the feelings of
the whole Indian army - for much confidence
had been placed in whatever they represented
again, those deluded followers had evidence
that they could not split the balls, for before
five o'clock 500 had been pierced by amer-
ican lead. The destruction of the Fort is
horrible to tell. There were 553 ~~soldiers~~ citizens
and soldiers and among the number about 453
women & children and only 13 escaped. The
way that many of the unfortunate women were
mangled and cut to pieces is shocking
to humanity. for very many of the women
who were pregnant had their unborn infants
cut from the womb and lay by their bleeding
mothers. They were stripped of every article
of apparel, not satisfied with this, they in-
humanly scalped every solitary one - not
satisfied with scalping in the ordinary manner
but took from from the skin of the whole head
so as to make many scalps - for the Spaniards
with more barbarous feeling than the inhuman
Indian had promised them \$5 for every scalp
they would bring them, thus they took the whole
skin to make many scalps. again Amherst
& Woodbine claiming as they did all the
advantages of a religion education had the
barbarity to offer a like reward to the
Indians. Col Skelton an officer of high
grade, from England, assumed the Indian.
that he was authorized by his government - to pay
the same price for scalps - The Indians had
the cunning to make many scalps from each
killed white that they murdered. They carried
them on poles each town has a pole many with scalps
and danced and sang & shouted in horrid yells

on their way to Penacola after the fall of fort ¹²
Merris - when they went to tell of their victories to
sell their scalps and receive more supplies - after
the Battle was over they encamped that night outside
of the remains of the fort. when they treed and
buried their scalps - There were many acts of
cruelty on the part of the females - Mrs ^{Daniel} Bailey
loaded guns by ~~thru~~ during the whole engagement for
the defenders of the Boston - There was a
Sargent - Matthews taken with violent chills, &
shook like a man with a third day fever & ague
and from his sweating the water ran from him
as freely as from a mouth he had been deluged
with water from a river - his teeth chat-
tering together as though he was freezing
This hour Mrs Bailey urged him from time
to time to get up & fight like a man
and defend the women children that
were in the fort - he refused to do so;
she earnestly assured him if he did
not fight that she would certainly bayonet
him which by the Bay she done some some 15 or
or 20 times in his neck, all to no purpose for he
lay like an ox - afterwards he made his escape and
fled & reached the white settlements Mount
Solomon when Chabon was in command
and then reported to the Genl that he had killed
20 odd Indians - it so raised him in the es-
timation of the Genl & the Officers that they were
and all recommended him to a Commission
in the army which it was probably he would
have gotten if Dr Holmes had not have
prevented this unworthy man from ascending
by his false statements to the Genral - when
Dr H charged him with lying, he persisted
in it until the Dr proved by the marks
on his person that Mrs Bailey had bay-
oneted him -

Again, all the females acted with great heroism & bravery and if they were not remarkable in feats as Mrs Bayly, they nevertheless displayed the greatest coolness. From 12 o'clock until 5 not a scream was heard.

The blood was shoe deep in the Bastion about 3 o'clock it was thought the indians were whipped. The took a great deal of the baggage out of the additional part of the fort were were encamped. The officers and suddenly retreated and went to the House of Mrs Oneal about 300 yds distant and for a short time appeared to be picking up with a disposition to be off. Suddenly a conspicuous chief indian warrior supposed to be William Weatherford dashed up on a horse and appeared to be haranguing them for about 30 minutes, when their baggage was suddenly laid down, and they returned with a rush yelling & screaming like perfect demons. When they again charged the Bastion such was their horrible appearance that it required all the nerve of the soldiers to meet them, but the inmates of the bastion fired upon them a deadly fire - again & again they charged until about 4 o'clock they quit all further assaults upon the Bastion.

Every ^{Indian} ~~man~~ was provided with a gun, war club a bow and arrows pointed with iron spikes. With few exceptions they were naked. around the waist was drawn a girdle from ~~the~~ which was tied a cows tail running down the ^{back} ~~down~~ and almost dragging the ground. It is impossible to imagine people so horribly painted. some were painted half red & half black.

and half black - some were adorned ¹⁴
with feathers - their faces were painted
so as to show their horrible contortions
Reikburg a soldier died from pure fear
after the fall of the fort, the Indians burnt
and destroyed every house in the neigh-
bourhood -

Within 8 or 10 days after the fall of Fort
Minn Genl Claiborne sent over a Command
of 300 soldiers, to bury the dead that had
been massacred at Fort Minn, which they
done by digging two two large vaults about
20 feet square, one in front of the Bastion
on the North Side where most of bodies lay
they were rolled in & covered up -

The Major Joseph P. Kennedy who commanded
the expedition saw many ravens devouring the
Bodies - they were never seen before & have
not been seen since - over four hundred persons
were deposited in the vaults - shockingly
mangled - there were many women in the
family way & all such the infants were
cut out of their bellies, and faces & tails
run up their privates - some families had
12 or 14 children - all butchered.

A negro woman named Hester belused to
Benjamin Steadham was assisted by Dr. Holmes
to make her escape about 8 o'clock, but
as she went off she received a wound in
the arm - she made to the river, swam
the river Alabama River and kept the road
to the Tombigbee river and swam that and
on the next morning by 8 o'clock she was the
first to tell the news at Mt Vernon to Genl
Claiborne.

Tom carried his young master out of

danger for in the woods, but afterwards
 carried the Boy back when by the order
 of Secum she's half brother he was dispatch
 ed with a war Club - Tom is now a driver
 on Mr Sisemore's plantation - & it is suppos
 he went back to the Fort to get his freedom
 which the Indians had promised all negroes
 but had no idea they would kill the Boy -
 which Tom regrets afterwards -

Notes in
 relation to the
 Battle of Burt-
 Corn & fall of
 Fort Mifflin

[Faint, mostly illegible handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]

Notes Of Doctor Thomas G. Holmes
of Baldwin County Ala.

in relation to the "Burnt Corn expedition"
"the massacre of 553 men, women & children
at Fort Mims" and other things which
happened in the trying times of 1813 . 1814

The following is a rough sketch of a conversation had with Dr Thomas G. Holmes of Baldwin county Alabama written down while he was talking upon the subject of the destruction of Fort Mims – Dr Holmes was one of those who escaped at the Fort & was familiar with the affair – This conversation was had at his home 3rd June 1847 – He is a good looking intelligent very dark skined [*sic*] old gentleman with a remarkable memory.¹

Gen Hampton caused a road to be cut from Fort Stoddert to Mr Carson's ferry on the Bigbee & ~~from there to~~ [^]through Nannyhubbar Eisland to Samuel Mimms Ferry on the Alabama river – from them [*sic*] to the Chattahoochee river by the Escambia then by Burnt Corn. Road established in 1811 by Lieut Lucket was employed in cutting it out with a full company of Regulars. As soon as said road was cut there was a general dissatisfaction in all of the Creek nation of indians [*sic*], resulting in the prediction of a fall of their nation The first commencement of hostilities was their stoping [*sic*] [^]Brig Gen^l Flournoy in 1812 on his way through the Creek to command the army at N. O. The chiefs of the nation had the stopage of Gen^l F. made. He was detained two days – Flournoy proceeded to N. O. and relieved Gen^l Wilkinson, who ~~coming~~ came through the same route, stoping at Fort Mims. A volunteer company of some 70, commanded by ~~Lieut~~ Captain Lerter & Lieut Rodgers ~~and~~ conducted him to Georgia. Flournoy went to N. O. in 1812 & Wilkersons ~~returned~~ [^]went in May 1813 to Georgia. This party was strongly threatened on their route with being cut to pieces – In June 1813, between Burnt Corn & Escambia, the mail rider was arrested & nearly burnt to death & the mail carried to Pensacola & plundered there under the full observance of the Spanish authorites [*sic*]. A set of half breeds among others Sam Manac a

¹ This first paragraph was written on a small strip of paper and affixed with wax to the top of the first page.

AJP's handwriting is sometimes difficult to read. The editor gave him benefit of the doubt concerning the correct spelling of some words. Misspellings were transcribed in instances where incorrect letters or omission of letters was obvious. Discerning between dashes and periods was also difficult.

respectable man of wealth settled on this new Road to accommodate travelers, and drove and plundered by the hostiles. Also a number of half breeds for being friendly with the whites ~~were~~ who were settled upon the Alabama, David Tate Capt Dixon [^] Baily & others, were driven from their homes and took protection from the whites – soon after which [^] William Weatherford a half breed took command of a large party of hostiles and was invited by the Spanish authorities to Pensacola – on the promise of giving him a large supply of arms, ammunition &c to carry on a war with the American settlers – When he arrived at Pensacola with his party, said arms & supplies were given him [^] by Ambrister [^] & Woodbine under the command of Col Nicoll. The arms and ammunition were publicly displayed upon the public square & [^] in the presence of the Governor even distributed to the respective indian towns in due proportion to fill the wants of the different hostile towns. In consequence of which the whites in the counties of Baldwin, Washington & Clarke [*sic*] collected a body of 170 men for the purpose of intercepting said Weatherford & his hostile party on their return march. They were commanded by Col James Callier who lived in St Stephens neighborhood [*sic*], commissioned by the Territorial Government. Lieut Col McGrew was second in command, [^] Major Wood, Major McFarlan, Major Jourdan, Maj Philips, Capt Sam^l Dale, Capt Smoot, Capt Dixon Bayley a half breed. This force concentrated at the Escambia [*sic*], all mounted rifleman from there they proceeded to the Wolf Trail running three miles East of Burnt Corn. & there encamped for the night hourly expecting the arrival of the hostile party. In the morning they continued the route of the Wolf Trail towards Pensacola (~~in July~~ 1813) after proceeding 10 miles they met the advanced party of the hostiles and a ~~fight~~ running fight commenced, the Indians retreating – it is supposed some got killed, none of the whites – ten miles further on, the main party of the hostiles were discovered ~~camped~~ encamped in the bend of Burnt Corn Creek – and immediately Col Callier ordered his troops to dismount & charge which was promptly discharged – Indians driven from their position – packs & pack horses containing their arms and supplies were captured – they precipitately fled in the

Creek swamp. The Americans unfortunately after charging [^] ^{nearly} through the swamp, were ordered by Col Callier to fall back and form in the open ground adjacent, which gave the indians the opportunity of reoccupying the said swamp, which gave them covering & protection, while the Americans were exposed to a murderous fire without a tree to shield them. They however, maintained their position for two hours. after fighting some time [^] ^{Capt} Dale was severely wounded in the shoulder. Private Robert Lewis was badly wounded James Jenkins and several others. The indians must have shot badly. ~~Finding the~~ Lt Col McGrew with 100 men had kept in the rear in disobedience of the order to charge & remained ½ mile in rear of the engagement all thro the time of the fight Towards the Close of the fight Col Callier dispatched Capt Baily to order ~~the~~ Col McGrew to come to their relief & him & his men refused to comply Finding it useless to contend longer when the larger portion of his army refused to fight, he ordered a retreat. While the fight was going on, McGrew & his aprty had the captured baggage in their possession, and [^] ^{were} squabbling about a division of the spoils which they had no hand in taking. When Callier ordered his men to dismount & fight, it was promptly obeyed & the horses not being tied ~~fled~~ some twenty fled to the Creek for water & were captured by the hostiles – so when a retreat was ordered about twenty of Calliers brave men, were without horses & retreated some on foot & others riding double. The indians perusing on killed killed [*sic*] two privates Glass and² The retreat was conducted with great disorder and confusion every man for himself – McGrew and his cowardly party keeping far a head driving on the captured horses & plunder The command of this expedition being separated men got together & went on to their homes with dismay & terror – Col Callier has been blamed for this battle, but he acted bravely and deserves great credit for he was long exposed to fire from the swamp for a long time on a conspicuous ~~white~~ horse [^] ^{and} was a very large man – McGrew & his party were to blame – Col Callier committed one fatal error in not

² AJP left a blank space, and someone has pencilled in the name “Ballard,” but it does not appear to be AJP’s handwriting.

permitting ^ Capt Dixon Baily to charge the swamp as he wished to do several times – The battle commenced ~~on~~ at 12 o'clock, in the latter part June 1813. and was most disastrous [*sic*] in its results for it inspired the hostiles with great confidence – Many of the expedition suffered greatly on their retreat – Col Callier himself was lost in the Swamp on the Alabama river for 15 days & suffered great privations and had almost lost his reason when found. also Major Woods. Soon after then troops under Callier returned & the news of the Battle had produced much alarm, the citizens white settlers in S° Ala determined to go into fort and that ill fated fort Mims was commenced & ~~completed~~ by the citizens & completed after the plan of Brg Gen^l Claiborne & under the supervision of Maj Beasley – B. was from North Carolina – about 30 years old – he joined the army in the neighborhood of Baton Rouge and came to S° Ala under Claiborne about 5 feet ten inches high, dark eyes & hair with a very fine looking & determined countenance – ~~In July~~ The ground upon which the fort was erected [*sic*] belonged to Samuel Mimms – After the fort was completed Gen^l Claiborne ~~review~~ inspected it & pronounced it capable of repelling the six nation of indians – Beasley came over & took command of the fort with 160 men – Within ten days thereafter, Captain Lowery with his company of 40 men was dispatched to Garrison Fort Easley in Clarke [*sic*] county on the east side of the Bigbee – Lieut Bowen with forty men was sent a few days after to Garrison Fort Madison in Clarke county. Another detachment of 20 men under Lieut Montgomery was sent to Fort Pierce within two miles of Fort Mims. Again Lt Davis was sent with 18 men to defend Joshua Kennedy's saw mills – In the mean time there was an addition put up to the Fort for the accommodation of the regular soldiers of 60 feet wide running the entire length of the fort enclosure – presenting in all about 500 port holes, which were about three feet from the ground and about 3 ft apart – To defend this large slaughter pen there was only 65 effective men, – deducting the troops dispatched to defend the above named neighboring forts, it was found that only 42 of Maj Beasley's troops remained and that the balance of his command making only 65 in all was made up by neighboring citizens in the Fort. Being in

the month of August & the Fort situated near the alabama [*sic*] swamp; the Fort garrison & inmates had experienced a great ^{deal} sickness [*sic*] – day after day spies that would be sent out would come in hastily and give information of approaching hordes of Indians – Maj B with ~~with~~ much alacrity would send off command after command in search of them - they would as often return with great disappointment & report to the Major no indians, nor signs – These often disappointments, ~~produced~~ [brought?] the Major & his command into a state of false security – all got to believe, that no indians would approach them – on the 29th August two negro Boys were out minding beef [*sic*] cattle ~~that~~ one belonging to John Randan & the other to Josiah Fletcher – about 5 o clock in the evening said Boys rapidly approached the fort and reported that they had deliberately counted 24 indian Warriors two miles distant. Maj B. forthwith sent a command of some 20 men under Capt Middleton with the negro Boys as pilots in search of the indians – The Capt returned about sun down & reported no indians nor signs. Maj B. forthwith demanded of Randan that his Boy should be punished for having given this false report – He consented and under the eye of adutant [*sic*] the boy was severely punished – a similar demand was upon Fletcher for his Boy who replied that he would not suffer his Boy to be whiped [*sic*] for reason that he would believe him sooner than he would Capt Middleton. M^r F's refusal brought down the vengeance of Maj B. & the insulted Capt Middleton, after a consultation of the officers, they ordered Fletcher with his family to depart from the fort by 10 o clock next morning – Mr F having many friends among the citizens en masse went to Maj B and petitioned that his orders should be countermanded He consented ~~that~~ upon the condition that F would consent for his Boy to be tied & then receive 100 lashes – Mr F by the persuasion of his friends did so the unfortunate boy though he had told the truth & nothing but the truth was tied up – but alas to the shame of B & Middleton the hour of 12 o clock came and the yell of the indian was announced at the eastern gate and to the greats astonishment of the officers soldiers & citizens – The unerring rifle of the murderous inidan almost destroyed the inmates of the unfortunate fort, at the first fire. The indians

came within 400 yds of the fort where there was a thick ravine ~~that~~ in which they secreted themselves by laying flat on the ground, until the 12 o c drum beat – having received information by a very intelligent negro named Joe, belonging to Capt Zacharia McGirt that if they would await until that hour, that the officers soldiers & citizens would all be engaged at dinner, which was the fact, and at that awful moment, they made a general rush and undiscovered until they surrounded the fort, and were in possession of three fourths of the port holes before the men assigned to defend them could get to them. The work of death now commenced with all its horror. The brave Capt Dixon Baily got with his Command to the Bastion on the North side of the fort as will appear by reference to the plan of the fort. Scarcely arrived before the Bastion was charged, by 150 of these inhuman monsters using all the contorsions [*sic*] that their fanatitism [*sic*] could stimulate them to, little expecting to meet the fate they received from the unerring rifles of the whites – Capt Baily very judiciously had supplied with rifles and extra guns most of them double barrels, soon soon [*sic*] as the first discharge from Baily's troops was made, the guns were withdrawn from the port holes and the extras put in their place which inflicted such a deadly fire that they past [*sic*] around with out being able to occupy the port holes of which Dixon B had command – But a little time elapsed before an [undivided?] number and with horrible contorsions [*sic*] & painted faces, those hell hounds came as though certain of their prey but again they met the same disappointment, for the inmates of the Bastion instead of relaxing they seemed to be nerved with a spirit of defense never to yield – about this time, Mr James Baily, Mr Danil Baily and some several other got up into the roof of Mimms large house placed in the center, knocked off some shingles which they used as port holes, where by the by from time to time kept at a deadly fire upon the indians on the outside of the fort shooting over the pickets – after several rounds from this position, the ^ indians again made a violent attack upon the Bastion commanded by Capt Baily and were again repulsed with much loss – from time to time they kept up attack after attack upon this Bastion each time with equal loss until about 4 o clock when they seemed to have abandoned the attempt

to take the Bastion – in the early part one solitary man of Capt Jack’s company of regulars that got up into the half finished block house with his yauger charged ^ and ~~with~~ twenty carterages in his carterighe [*sic*] box, this brave and worthy soldier some days after the fall of the fort was found laying on his back with one hand griped [*sic*] to the ram rod the other to the yauger, his head perforated with a Ball and the brains running theirfrom [*sic*] – with the last load from his Box about half ramed [*sic*] down ~~with~~ in his yauger, with 23 dead indians laying on their backs killed by said yauger for reason that they were in reach of the bok [house?] & no possibility for those indians to have been killed by any other than by this brave man, who had sold his life with so much honor to himself nay to his country and so very dearly to the enemy – after his death, the Indians succeeded in cutting [*sic*] the pickets on the south side of the Fort covered by two large Houses represented in the drawing as a kitchen and smoke House, & succeeded in communicating fire to both of these houses where the conflagration raged in the houses the wind sprang up and communicated the fire to the large building of Sam^l Mimms in the centre – then it was that horror and dismay was to be seen in every face within the fort – even that brave and worthy soldier Capt Dixon Baily was head to give up – that his large family were all to be butchered by the savages there was no alternative left. then it was that Doct Thomas G. Holmes a surgeon in the garrison determined to cut ~~the~~ ^ two of the pickets as soon as the conflagration became general and the brave fellows ~~wh~~ and citizens who were protected by the house in the center had to flee therefrom the Bastion commanded by Baily was the only place that they could flee to with any prospect of safety. There was little to be found there, for such was the fact when they all crowded together, there was no chanced [*sic*] of defense – escape was the only alternative – those pickets previously cut by D^r Holmes were thrown down, when the brave Dixon Baily ordered his negro man Tom to take up his favorite son ^ 14 year old Ralph, ^ who had long been sick and carry him on his back – The negro in obedience to the order of his master forthwith went out of the fort through the pickets, followed by his master with his unering [*sic*] rifle in hand, and followed

by his intimate friend D^r Holmes & the most rapid flight took place – soon after passing the north west corner of the fort 150 indians attempted to cut off their retreat when by the by as they ran Capt B gave them a fire from his rifle and D^r Holmes from both barrels of his gun. Baily had boiled his bullets in oil with the buck skin patch sowed over them to make them go down easy – So far the informant D^r Holmes knows not how the others escaped after he left but presumes by the same breach in the walls X X X There were 1200 warriors when they were discovered & the discovery was known to the commandant, he rushed sword in hand to the gate and attempted to shut it, but owing to its being made of very heavy materials it mad much swagged again the gate was planted on the declivity of the slope & from several heavy rains the earth had washed considerably against said gate and rendered it impossible for Major Beasy with all his phisical [*sic*] powers to shut it – five of the principle profits [*sic*] rushed with all their infurated [*sic*] fanaticism to the centre of the fort over the body of Beasley who had been dispatched with a war club – after reaching the centre of the fort, they got to dancing in defiance of the citizen soldiers, for they had assured their deluded followers, that they could dance in defiance of American powder or ball for reason if they attempted to shoot them, that their Balls would split, but to their great disappointment they met their fate and that very suddenly for they were all five shot down which it was said dampened the feelings of the whole indian army – for much confidence had been placed in whatever they represented again, those deluded followers had evidence that they could not split the balls, for before five o clock 500 of them had been pierced by american lead – The destruction of the Fort is horrible to tell – There were 553 ~~soldiers~~ citizens and soldiers and among the number about 453 women & children and only 13 escaped. The way that many of the unfortunate women were mangled and cut to pieces is shocking to humanity, for very many of the women who were pregnant had their unborn infants cut from the woomb [*sic*] and lay by their bleeding mothers – They were striped [*sic*] of every article of apparel, not satisfied with this, they in humanly scalped every solitary one – not satisfied with scalping in the ordinary manner but

took from the skin of the whole head so as to make many scalps for the Spaniards with more barbarous feeling than the inhuman indian had promised them \$5 for every scalp they would bring them, thus they took the whole skin to make many scalps. again Armbruster & Woodbine claiming as they did all the advantages of a religious education had the barbarity to offer a like reward to the indians – Col Nicols an officer of high grade, from England, assured the indians that he was authorized by his government to pay the same price for scalps – The indians had the cunning [*sic*] to make many scalps from each killed white that they murdered – They carried them on poles each town had a pole heavy with scalps and danced and sang & shouted in horrid yells on their way to Pensacola after the fall of fort Mims – where they went to tell of their victories to sell their scalps and receive more supplies – after the Battle was over they encamped that night outside of the remains of the fort where they trimmed [*sic*] and [fixed?] the scalps. There were many acts of bravery on the part of the females – Mrs ^{Daniel} Baily loaded guns by during the whole engagement for the defenders of the Bastion – There was a Sargent Mathews taken with violent chill, & struck like a man with a third day fever & ague and from his sweating the water ran from him as freely as though he had been deluged with water from a river – his teeth chattering together as though he was freezing This brave Mrs Baily urged him from time to time to get up & fight like a man and defend the women children [*sic*] that were in the fort – he refused to do so, she earnestly assured him that if he did not fight that she would certainly bayonett [*sic*] him which by the By she done some 15 or 20 times in his rump, all to no purpose for he lay like an ox – afterwards he made his escape and fled & reached ~~the white settlement~~ Mount Vernon where Claiborne was in command and then reported to the gen^l & the officers that he had killed 20 odd indians – it so raised him in the estimation of the gen^l & the officers that they one and all recommended him to a commission in the army which it was probably [*sic*] he would have gotten of D^r Holmes had not have prevented this unworthy man from succeeding by his false statements to the general – when D^r H charged him with lying, he persisted in it until the D^r proved by the marks on his posterior

that Mrs Baily had bayoneted him –

Again, all the females acted with great heroism & bravery and if they were not remarkable in feats as Mrs Bayly, they nevertheless displayed the greatest coolness From 12 o clock untill 5 not a scream was heard

The Blood was shoe deep in the Bastion about 3 o clock it was thought the indians were whiped The [*sic*] took a great deal of the baggage out of the additional part of the fort were were encamped the officers and suddenly retreated and went to the House of Mrs O’neal [*sic*] about 300 yds distant and for a short time appeared to be packing up with a disposition to be off. Suddenly a conspicuous chief indian Warrior supposed to be William Weatherford dashed up on a horse and appeared to be harranging [*sic*] them for about 30 minutes, when their baggage was suddenly laid down, and they returned with a rush yelling & screaming like perfect Demons – when they again charged the Bastion such was their horrible appearance that it required all the nerve of the soldier to meet them, but the inmates of the bastion pored [*sic*] them a deadly fire – again & again they charged until about 4 o clock they quit all further assaults upon the Bastion.

Every warrior ^{^ Indian} was provided with a gun, war club a bow and arrows pointed with iron spikes – With few exceptions they were naked – around the waist was drawn a girdle from ~~the~~ which was tied a cows tail running down the [...] ^{^ back} and almost dragging the ground – It is impossible to imagine people so horribly painted. Some were painted half red & half black¹ and half black Some were adorned with feathers – their faces were painted so as to show their terrible [*sic*] contortions Rishbury a soldier died from pure fear after the fall of the fort; the indians burnt and destroyed every house in the neighborhood –

Within 8 or 10 days after the fall of Fort Mims Gen^l Claiborne sent over a Command of 300 soldiers, to bury the dead that had been massacred at Fort Mims,

¹ From the line “Again, all the females acted with great heroism & bravery...” two paragraphs above, until “Some were painted half red & half black...” is written on page thirteen of the original. Page thirteen was rewritten by AJP. The original page thirteen is written on the back of page one and is crossed out.

which they done by diging [*sic*] too two large vaults about 20 feet square, one in front of the Bastion on the North Side where most of the bodies lay they were rooled [*sic*] in and covered up – The Major Joseph P. Kenedy [*sic*] who commanded the expedition saw many ravens devouring the Bodies – they were never seen before & have not been seen since – over four hundred persons were deposited in the vaults – shockingly mangled – There were many women in the family way & all the infants were cut from their bellies, and fence rails run up their privates – Some families had 12 or 14 children – all butchered.

A negro woman named Hester belonged to Benjamin Stedham was assisted by D^r Holmes to make her escape about 4 o clock, but as she went off she received a wound in the arm – she made to the river, wan the river Alabama River and kept the road to the Tombigbee river and swam that and on the next morning by 8 o clock she was the first to tell the news at Mt Vernon to Gen^l Claiborne –

Tom carried his young master out of danger far in the woods, but afterwards carried the Boy back where by the order of Tecumshe's half brother he was dispatched with a war club – Tom is now a driver on Mr Sisemore's plantation & it is supposed he went back to the Fort to get his freedom which the Indians had promised all negroes but had no idea they would kill the Boy which Tom regreted [*sic*] afterwards –

[*Endorsement*]

Papers in / relation to the / Battle of Burnt / Corn & fall of / Fort Mims

[*Original page thirteen written on the back of page one*]

again, [as?] justice to the females in the fort, to shew that they all if not equally [brave?] with Mrs Bayley were consistently so for [...] ² was not a murmur or scream during the ~~time the upon~~ the period of five hours for the engagement

² There is a tear in the page rendering illegible this word and the word that is perhaps "brave."

lasted that long.

The blood was shoe deep in the Bastion about 3 o'clock it was thought the indians were whiped [*sic*]. They took a great deal baggage out of the fort, ^ additional part of the fort and suddenly retreated and went to the home of Mrs O'neal [*sic*] ^ about 300 yds distant of the fort and for a short time appeared to be packing up with a disposition to be off – Suddenly a conspicuous indian Warrior supposed to be William Weatherford dashed up ^ on a horse and appeared to be harranging [*sic*] them for about 30 minutes when their baggage was laid down and they returned with a rush yelling & screaming like perfect demonds [*sic*], when they charged the bastion such was their horrible appearance that it required all the nerve of the soldier to meet them, but they were met with such distruction [*sic*] that they had to [pass?] the bastion with indian velocity – again they charged, & again untill about 4 ock they quit all further assaults upon the Bastion –

Every Indian was provided with a gun, a war club and a bow with several arrows with a dart in each arrow – They were generally naked – with a cows tail tied with a belt around them and passing down their arses – Some were painted half red