



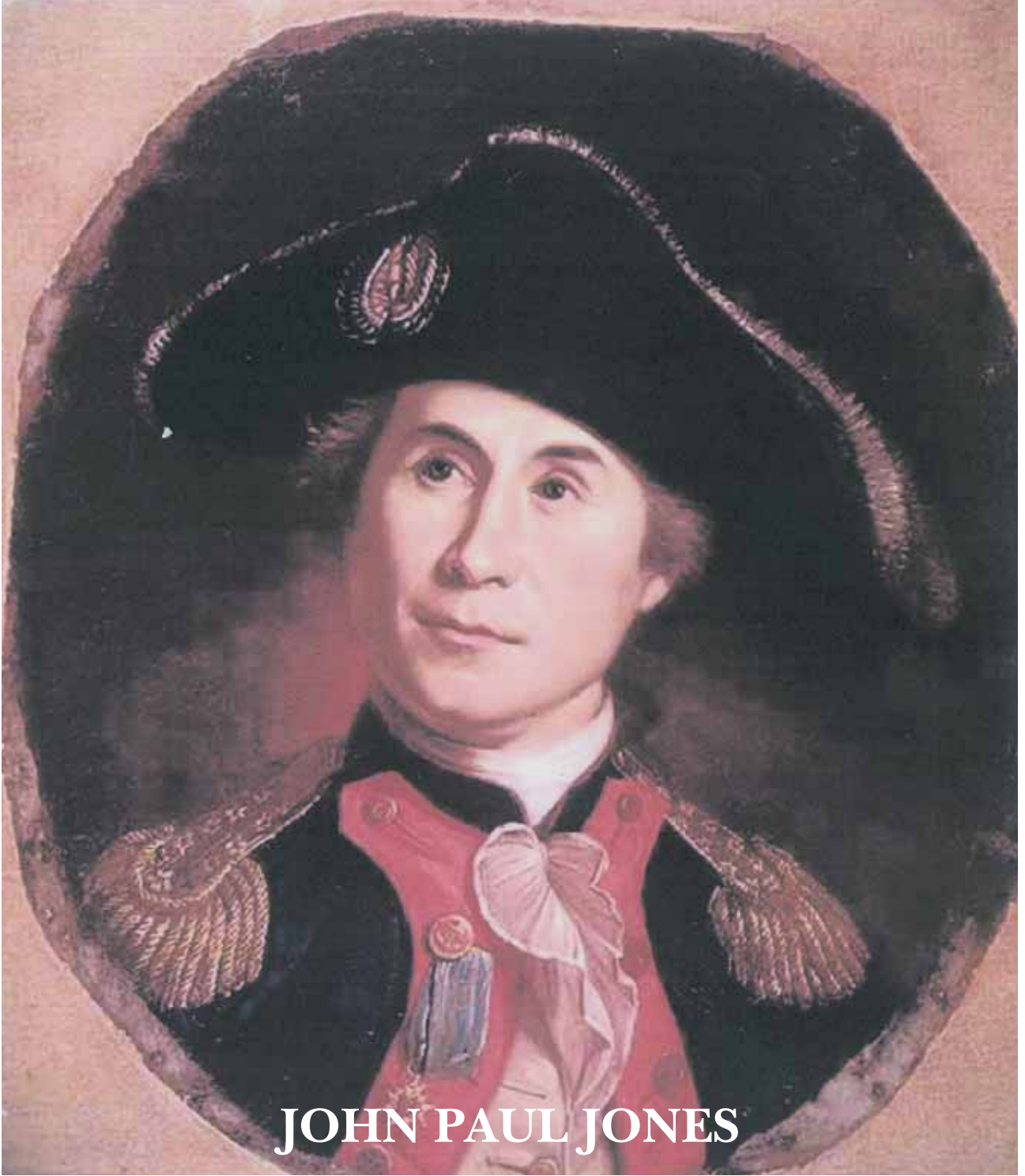
JOHN PAUL JONES

THE FATHER OF AMERICAN NAVY

AGAINST ALGERIAN GAZI HASAN PASHA

FIRST ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES
AND THE MUSLIM WORLD





JOHN PAUL JONES





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Tina Türkiye.....

JOHN PAUL JONES: THE FATHER OF AMERICAN NAVY

John Paul Jones (July 6, 1747 - July 18, 1792 (aged 45)) was America's first well-known naval hero in the American Revolutionary War.

John Paul Jones was born 'John Paul' in 1747, on the estate of Arbigland in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright on the southern coast of Scotland. John Paul's father was a gardener at Arbigland, and his mother was a member of Clan MacDuff.

John Paul **adopted** the alias 'John Jones' when he fled to his brother's home in Fredericksburg, Virginia in 1773 to avoid the hangman's noose in Tobago after an incident when he was accused of murdering a sailor under his command. He began using the name 'John Paul Jones', at the suggestion of his brother.

Although his naval career never saw him above the rank of Captain in the Continental Navy after his victory over the *Serapis* with the frigate *Bonhomme Richard*, John Paul Jones remains the first genuine American Naval hero, as well as a highly regarded battle commander. His later service in the Russian Navy as an admiral showed the mark of genius that enabled him to defeat the *Serapis*.

Jones simply was not as good a politician as he was a naval commander, in an era where politics determined promotion, both in America and abroad. Although he was originally buried in Paris, after spending his last years abroad, he was ultimately reinterred at the United States Naval Academy, a fitting homecoming for the "Father of the American Navy".

During his engagement with *Serapis*, Jones uttered, according to the later recollection of his First Lieutenant, the legendary reply to a quip about surrender from the British captain: "I have not yet begun to fight!"

Maritime Career

John Paul started his maritime career at the age of 13, sailing out of Whitehaven in the northern English county of Cumberland, as apprentice aboard the *Friendship*. During his numerous journeys to Fredericksburg, Virginia aboard this ship, Jones was likely able to visit his brother who had settled in the area. For the next several years he sailed aboard a number of different British merchant and slaver ships, including the *King George* in 1764 as third mate, and the *Two Friends* as first mate in 1766.

After a short time in this business, Jones became disgusted with the cruelty in the slave trade; during the voyage, Paul abandoned his prestigious position on the profitable *Two Friends* in 1768 while docked at Jamaica. Jones found passage back to Scotland, and eventually he obtained another position. During his next voyage aboard the brig *John*, which sailed from port in 1768, young John Paul's career was quickly and unexpectedly advanced. When both the captain and a ranking mate suddenly died of yellow fever, John Paul managed to successfully navigate the ship back to a safe port. In reward of this

impressive feat, the vessel's grateful Scottish owners made him master of the ship and its crew, giving him 10 percent of the cargo. John Paul Jones then led two voyages to the West Indies before running into difficulty. During his voyage in 1770, John Paul viciously flogged one of his sailors, leading to accusations of his discipline being "unnecessarily cruel". While these claims were initially dismissed, John Paul's favorable reputation was destroyed when the disciplined sailor died a few weeks later. Sources disagree on whether he was arrested for his involvement in the man's death, but the devastating effect on his reputation is indisputable.

Leaving Scotland, John Paul commanded a London-registered vessel, the *Betsy*, for a period of about 18 months, engaging in commercial speculation in Tobago. This came to an end, however, when Jones killed a member of his crew with a sword in a dispute over wages. Years later, in a letter to Benjamin Franklin describing this incident, Jones claimed it was in self-defense, but because he was not to be tried in an Admiral's Court, he felt compelled to flee to Fredericksburg, Province of Virginia, leaving his fortune behind. In Fredericksburg, he took charge of his recently-deceased brother's estate. At some point during this time, he appended Jones to his name, probably in an attempt to escape his troubled reputation.

In America

Sources struggle with this period of Jones' life, especially the specifics of his family situation, making it difficult to pinpoint historically accurate motivations. Whether his plans for the plantation were not developing, or else he was inspired by a revolutionary spirit, is unknown.

What is clearly known is that Jones left for Philadelphia shortly after settling in America to volunteer his services to the newly-founded Continental Navy, which later became the United States Navy. During this time, around 1775, the Navy and Marines were being formally established, and suitable ship's officers and captains were in great demand. Were it not for the endorsement of Richard Henry Lee who knew of his abilities, Jones' potential would likely have gone unrecognized. With help from influential members of the Continental Congress, however, Jones was the first man to be assigned to the rank of 1st Lieutenant in the Continental Navy on December 22, 1775, on board the *Colbert*.

Revolutionary War Command

Early Command

Jones' first assignment was aboard the frigate USS *Alfred* (30 guns, 300 men) sailing from the Delaware River in February 1776 to attack British merchant vessels in New Providence. The *Alfred* was one of six vessels, the frigate herself commanded by Commodore Esek Hopkins, the Navy's Commander-in-Chief. It was aboard this vessel that Jones took the honor of hoisting the first U.S. ensign over a naval vessel. (Note that Jones actually raised the Grand Union Flag, not the later and more familiar Stars and Stripes design.)

After returning from this successful voyage in April 1776 aboard the *Alfred*, Jones was assigned command on the sloop *Providence* (12 guns, 70 men). Congress had recently ordered the construction of 13

frigates for the American Navy, one of which was to be commanded by Jones. In exchange for this prestigious command, Jones accepted his commission aboard the smaller *Providence*. During this six week voyage, Jones captured sixteen prizes and created significant damage along the coast of Nova Scotia. Jones' next command came as a result of his proposed plan to the Marine Committee to destroy the British coal fleet at Isle Royale, and liberate the American prisoners being held there. On November 2, 1776, Jones set sail in command of *Alfred* to carry out this mission. This northern mission was successful, highlighted by his capture of the British *Mellish*, a vessel carrying a vital supply of winter clothing intended for Burgoyne's troops in Canada. In his autobiography, Jones claims: "This unexpected relief contributed not insignificantly to the success of the army at the Battle of Trenton (against the Hessians) that occurred immediately after my arrival in Boston."

Command of USS *Ranger*

Despite his successes at sea, upon arrival in Boston on December 16, 1776, Jones' disagreements with those in authority reached a new level. While in port, the accomplished commander began feuding with Commodore Hopkins, whom Jones believed was hindering his advancement and talking down his campaign plans. As a result of this and other frustrations, Jones was assigned the smaller command, the newly constructed *Ranger* (18 gun frigate), on June 14, 1777 (the same day the new Stars and Stripes flag was adopted).

After making the necessary preparations, Jones sailed for France on November 1, 1777, with orders to assist the American cause however possible. The American commissioners in France (Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Arthur Lee) listened to Jones' strategic recommendations. They assured him the command of *L'Indien*, a new vessel being constructed for America in Amsterdam. Britain, however, was able to divert the *L'Indien* away from American hands, by exerting pressure to ensure its sale to France instead (who had not yet allied with America). Jones was again left without a command, an unpleasant reminder of his stagnation in Boston from late 1776 until early 1777. It is thought that it was during this time Jones developed his close friendship with Benjamin Franklin, whom he greatly admired. In 1778, he was accepted, together with Benjamin Franklin, into the Masonic Lodge "Les Neuf Sœurs".



John Paul Jones meets with the American Commissioners in France

On February 6, 1778, France signed their Treaty of Alliance with America, formally recognizing the independence of the new American republic. Eight days later, Captain Jones' *Ranger* became the first American Navy vessel to be saluted by the French, with a nine gun salvo fired from Admiral Piquet's flagship. Jones wrote of the event: "I accepted his offer all the more for after all it was a recognition of our independence."

Ranger Attacks Britain

After some early successes against British merchant shipping in the Irish Sea, on April 17, 1778, Jones convinced his crew to participate in an assault on Whitehaven, the same town where his maritime career began. Jones was scathing in his memoirs about the reluctance of his senior officers (having tactfully avoided such matters in his official report): "Their aim, they said, was gain not honor. They were poor: instead of encouraging the morale of the crew, they excited them to disobedience; they persuaded them that they had the right to judge whether a measure that was proposed to them was good or not." As it happened, contrary winds forced the abandonment of the attempt, and drove *Ranger* towards Ireland, causing more trouble for British shipping on the way.

On April 20, 1778, Jones learned from captured sailors that the Royal Navy sloop-of-war *Drake* was anchored off Carrickfergus, Ireland. According to the diary of *Ranger's* surgeon, Jones' first intention was to attack the vessel in broad daylight, but his sailors were "unwilling to undertake it" (another incident omitted from the official report). Therefore, the attack took place just after midnight, but in the dark (or perhaps because, as Jones claimed in his memoirs. The man was drunk) the mate responsible for dropping the anchor to halt *Ranger* right alongside *Drake* misjudged the timing, so Jones had to cut his anchor cable and run.

The wind having shifted, *Ranger* recrossed the Irish Sea to make another attempt at raiding Whitehaven. Jones led the assault with two boats of fifteen men on April 23, 1778, just after midnight, hoping to set fire to and sink all Whitehaven's ships anchored in harbor (numbering between 200 to 44 wooden vessels), which consisted of a full merchant fleet and many coal transporters. They also hoped to terrorize the townspeople by lighting further fires. As it happened, the journey to shore was slowed by the still-shifting wind, as well as a strong ebb tide. The spiking of the town's big defensive guns to prevent them being fired was accomplished successfully, but lighting fires proved difficult, as the lanterns in both boats had run out of fuel. To remedy this, some of the party were therefore sent to raid a public house on the quayside, but the temptation to stop for a quick drink led to a further delay. By the time they returned, and the arson attacks began, dawn was fast approaching, so efforts were concentrated on a single ship, the coal ship *Thompson*, in the hope that the flames would spread to adjacent vessels, all grounded by the low tide. Unfortunately, in the twilight, one of the crew slipped away and alerted residents on a harbourside street. A fire alert was sounded, and large numbers of people came running to the quay, forcing the Americans to retreat, and extinguishing the flames with the town's two fire-engines. However, hopes of sinking Jones's boats with cannon fire were dashed by the prudent spiking.

Crossing the Solway Firth from Whitehaven to Scotland, Jones hoped to hold for ransom the Earl of Selkirk, who lived on St Mary's Isle near Kirkcudbright. The Earl, Jones reasoned, could be exchanged for American sailors impressed into the Royal Navy. When the Earl was discovered to be absent from his estate, Jones claims he intended to return directly to his ship and continue seeking prizes elsewhere, but his crew wished to "pillage, burn, and plunder all they could". Ultimately, Jones allowed the crew to seize a silver plate set adorned with the family's emblem to placate their desires, but nothing else. Jones bought the plate himself when it was later sold off in France, and returned it to the Earl of Selkirk after the War.

Although their effect on British morale and allocation of defense resources was massive, the attacks on St. Mary's Isle and Whitehaven resulted in no prizes or profits which under normal circumstances would be shared with the crew. Throughout the mission, the crew, led by Jones's second-in-command Lieutenant Thomas Simpson, acted as if they were aboard a privateer, not a warship.

Return to France

Nevertheless, Jones now led *Ranger* back across the Irish Sea, hoping to make another attempt at the *Drake*, still anchored off Carrickfergus. This time, late in the afternoon of April 24, 1778, the ships, roughly equal in firepower, engaged in combat. Earlier in the day, the Americans had captured the crew of a reconnaissance boat, and learned that *Drake* had taken on dozens of soldiers, with the intention of grappling and boarding *Ranger*, so Jones made sure that did not happen, capturing the *Drake* after an hour-long gun battle which cost the British captain his life. Lieutenant Simpson was given command of *Drake* for the return journey to Brest. The ships separated during the return journey as *Ranger* chased another prize, leading to a conflict between Simpson and Jones. Both ships arrived at port safely, but Jones filed for a court-martial of Simpson, keeping him detained on the ship.

Partly through the influence of John Adams, who was still serving as a commissioner in France, Simpson was released from Jones' accusation. Adams implies in his memoirs that the overwhelming majority of the evidence supported Simpson's claims. Adams seemed to believe Jones was hoping to monopolize the mission's glory, especially by detaining Simpson on board while he celebrated the capture with numerous important European dignitaries.

Even with the wealth of perspectives, including the commander's, it is difficult if not impossible to tell exactly what occurred. It is clear, however, that the crew felt alienated by their commander, who might well have been motivated by his pride. Jones believed his intentions were honorable, and his actions were strategically essential to the Revolution. Regardless of any controversy surrounding the mission, *Ranger's* capture of *Drake* was one of the American Navy's few significant military victories during the Revolution, and was of immense symbolic importance, demonstrating as it did that the Royal Navy was far from invincible. By overcoming such odds, *Ranger's* victory became an important symbol of the American spirit and served as an inspiration for the permanent establishment of the American Navy after the Revolution.

Bonhomme Richard

In 1779, Captain Jones took command of the 42 gun *Bonhomme Richard* (or as he preferred it, *Bon Homme Richard*), a merchant ship rebuilt and given to America by the French shipping magnate, Jacques-Donatien Le Ray. On 14 August, as a vast French and Spanish invasion fleet approached England, he provided a diversion by heading for Ireland at the head of a five ship squadron including the 36 gun *Alliance*, 32 gun *Pallas*, 12 gun *Vengeance*, and *Le Cerf*, also accompanied by two privateers. Several Royal Navy warships were sent towards Ireland in pursuit, but on this occasion, he continued right around the north of Scotland into the North Sea, creating near-panic all along Britain's east coast as far south as the Humber estuary. Jones's main problems, as on his previous voyage, resulted from insubordination, particularly by Pierre Landais, captain of the *Alliance*. On September 23, 1779, the



None of these romantic paintings of the engagement is entirely accurate. Jones and his flotilla, which included the American frigate Alliance under the mad Captain Landais and the French frigate Pallas, spotted the British Baltic fleet carrying shipbuilding supplies to England and convoyed by the Serapis and the smaller sloop Countess of Scarborough, on the morning of September 23. When Jones made the signal to "Form Line of Battle," the other captains in his flotilla ignored him. The Pallas eventually engaged and defeated the Countess of Scarborough; their battle is pictured in the background of most of the paintings. The duel between the Bonhomme Richard and the Serapis began at dusk, on a flat calm sea under a rising harvest moon, and con-



tinued into darkness. Both ships caught fire from flying sparks and flame; during a lull in the battle, the crews of both ships scrambled to extinguish the flames lest the ships blow up. To spectators gathered on the bluff at Flamborough Head several miles away, the scene was eerie and ghostly: two warships locked inside a yellowish cloud that pulsed with flashes of orange and white light. The main mast of the Serapis did not topple until after the engagement was over. The two ships were side-by-side, not at angles, when the Alliance opened fire, striking the Bonhomme Richard as well as the Serapis. "For God's sake," the men of the Bonhomme Richard called out, "Wrong ship! Stop firing!" Jones believed that Landais intentionally had tried to sink his ship.

squadron met a large merchant convoy off the coast of Flamborough Head, east Yorkshire. The 44 gun British frigate HMS *Serapis* and the 20 gun hired escort *Countess of Scarborough* placed themselves between the convoy and Jones's squadron, allowing the merchants to escape.

Shortly after 7 pm began the Battle of Flamborough Head. The *Serapis* engaged the *Bonhomme Richard*, and soon afterwards, the *Alliance* fired, from a considerable distance, at the *Countess*. Quickly recognizing that he could not win a battle of big guns, Jones made every effort to lock *Richard* and *Serapis* together (his famous quotation was uttered in reply to a cheerful British taunt during an odd stalemate in this phase of the battle), finally succeeding after about an hour, following which his deck guns and marksmen in the rigging began clearing the British decks. *Alliance* sailed past and fired a broadside, doing at least as much damage to the *Richard* as to the *Serapis*. Meanwhile, the *Countess of Scarborough* had enticed the *Pallas* downwind of the main battle, beginning a separate engagement. When *Alliance* approached this contest, about an hour after it had begun, the badly damaged *Countess* surrendered.

With *Bonhomme Richard* burning and sinking, it seems that her ensign was shot away; when one of the officers, apparently believing his captain to be dead, shouted a surrender, the British commander asked, seriously this time, if they had struck their colors. Jones later remembered saying something like "I am determined to make you strike", but the words allegedly heard by crew-members and reported in newspapers a few days later were more like: "I may sink, but I'll be d—d if I strike!".

An attempt by the British to board *Bonhomme Richard* was thwarted and a grenade caused the explosion of a large quantity of gunpowder on *Serapis*' lower gun-deck. *Alliance* then returned to the main battle, firing two broadsides. Again, these did at least as much damage to *Richard* as to *Serapis*, but the tactic worked to the extent that, unable to move, and with *Alliance* keeping well out of the line of his own great guns, Captain Pearson of *Serapis* accepted that prolonging the battle could achieve nothing, so he surrendered. Most of *Bonhomme Richard*'s crew immediately transferred to other vessels, and after a day and a half of frantic repair efforts, it was decided that the ship could not be saved, so it was allowed to sink, and Jones took command of *Serapis* for the trip to neutral (but American-sympathizing) Holland.

Franklin took great pride in Jones's success, and they became even closer friends. "Scarce anything was talked of at Paris and Versailles but your cool conduct and persevering bravery during that terrible conflict," he replied. He helped to get Jones, who was desperately eager to gain social respect, initiated into the Nine Sisters Masonic Lodge, and he accompanied him on a triumphal visit to the king at Versailles. Franklin even got embroiled in Jones's lengthy and bitter disputes with the insubordinate Pierre Landais, captain of the *Alliance*, which was supposed to be part of Jones's fleet. Landais had failed to come to the rescue during the battle with the *Serapis*, and in fact had actually fired on the *Bonhomme Richard*. For the next two years, Franklin and Jones fought with Landais, who was supported by Arthur Lee, over who should be the captain of the *Alliance*. When Landais finally commandeered the vessel and sailed away, a beleaguered Franklin decided it was best to let others sort it all out. He had other things in France to deal with.

In the following year, the King of France honored him with the title "Chevalier". Jones accepted the honor, and desired the title to be used thereafter: when the Continental Congress in 1787 resolved



King Louis XVI played an indispensable role in supporting the American rebels, but soon found himself unable to control the revolutionary tide that swept France and stunned the world. It would cost him his throne and his life.



Charles Willson Peale made this sketch after walking in on Franklin kissing a girl, perhaps Polly Stevenson, on Craven Street.



Franklin and the ladies of Paris.

that a medal of gold be struck in commemoration of his "valor and brilliant services" it was to be presented to "Chevalier John Paul Jones". He also received from Louis a decoration of "Ordre du Mérite militaire" and a sword. By contrast, in Britain at this time, he was usually referred to as a pirate.

Russian Service

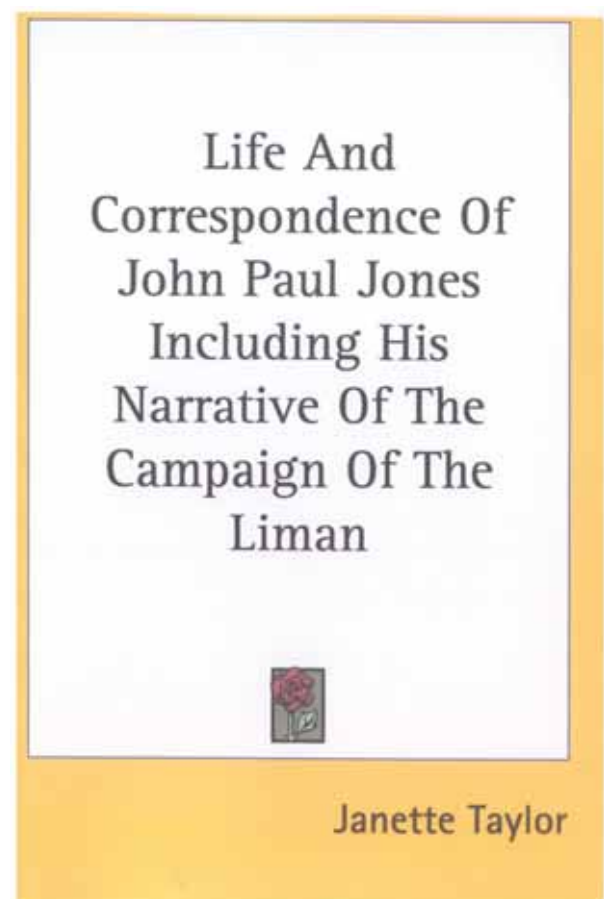
In June 1782, Jones was appointed to command the 74-gun *America*, but his command fell through when Congress decided to give the *America* to the French as replacement for the wrecked *Le Magnifique*. As a result, he was given assignment in Europe in 1783 to collect prize money due his former hands. At length, this too expired and Jones was left without prospects for active employment, leading him in 1788 to enter into the service of the Empress Catherine II of Russia, who placed great confidence in Jones, saying: "He will get to Constantinople." He took the name Pavel Dzhones.

Jones avowed his intention, however, to preserve the condition of an American citizen and officer. As a rear admiral aboard the 24-gun flagship *Vladimir*, he took part in the naval campaign in the Liman (an arm of the Black Sea, into which flow the Southern Bug and Dnieper Rivers) against the Turks. Jones successfully repulsed Ottoman forces from the area, but the jealous intrigues of Russian officer Prince Grigory Alexandrovich Potemkin and his cohort Prince of Nassau-Siegen caused him to be recalled to St. Petersburg for the pretended purpose of being transferred to a command in the North Sea. Here he was compelled to remain in idleness, while rival officers plotted against him and even maliciously assailed his private character through accusations of sexual misconduct. Even so, in that period he was able to author his *Narrative of the Campaign of the Liman*.

On June 8, 1788, Jones was awarded the Order of St. Anne, but he left the following month, an embittered man.

The canals were still frozen when Jones reached St. Petersburg in the first week of May. Russia's magnificent gateway to the west, built out of a bog by Peter the Great at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was designed to rival the grandeur of London and Paris. With its classical columns and graceful arches and bridges, St. Petersburg offered a splendid facade. Court life was a glittery succession of dinners and balls "enhanced," noted a diarist, "by Asiatic luxury." Veneers were misleading in this strange land suspended between East and West. Jones, who prided himself on speaking plainly, was entering the bazaar.

Russia imported Western ideas, manners, inventions; the court language was French, but the underlying ethos was universal suspicion and Oriental



despotism. Under Catherine "le Grand," St. Petersburg was permeated by a feel of decadence, if not wickedness, that smacked more of late Byzantium than late European Enlightenment. Mannish and predatory, Catherine held transvestite balls, at which the men dressed as women and the women dressed as men. Catherine appeared to many courtiers to be not quite man nor woman, but somehow more than both. Intelligent and curious, she had, in her youth, befriended philosophers like Voltaire and affected liberal attitudes.



With their transforming ideas on government and liberty, the eminent philosophes Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau helped pave the way for a new age, inspiring not just the American and French revolutionaries, but even Russia's Catherine the Great.



She had talked about, someday, freeing the serfs and abolishing torture. She welcomed the Masons for their liberalism-and then banished them as potential rivals. Her real interest was in power.



Desperate for action, Jones joined the Russian Navy of Catherine the great in 1788. He fought well in several battles and clashed with Catherine's favorite lover and generalissimo, Prince Potemkin. In St. Petersburg, Jones was disgraced in a sex scandal, accused of raping a ten-year- old girl. His enemies probably set him up.

As a young woman, she had arranged to have her aging husband strangled and her eldest son confined and watched. She intrigued abroad as well as at home, bribing Swedish nobles to conspire against their crown and installing a former lover as King of Poland. Her territorial ambitions to the south were signaled by the name she chose for her youngest son, Constantine. He would become the ruler of Constantinople and extend Eastern Christendom all the way to Greece. But first Catherine had to liberate Constantinople from the Muslim Ottoman Turks who had occupied it for the past 33 years.

In 1786, Catherine had made her famous progression down the Dnieper, Russia's Mississippi, accompanied by fawning foreign ministers who marveled at the flower-bedecked villages and grottos along the way (some of them fake, erected by Catherine's great lover and still friend, the Prince Potemkin).



The procession of gilded carriages (the Empress's was drawn by thirty horses) and imperial barges passed signs, written in Greek, that read, "the road to Constantinople." At the end of the mighty river on the north coast of the Black Sea stood, inconveniently, a Turkish fort and a Turkish fleet. Catherine needed a navy to liberate the Black Sea from the Sublime Porte, as Westerners called the government of the crumbling but still vast Ottoman Empire. Unfortunately, Russia's navy was slack and feeble. A much celebrated Black Sea victory over the Turks in 1770, at Tchesme, had really been the work of British officers imported as mercenaries. A Scotsman, ex-Royal Navy, had been imported to run Catherine's Baltic Fleet. The Tsarina needed an able foreigner to command her Black Sea Fleet, such as it was, a collection of galleys and a few battleships of doubtful seaworthiness.

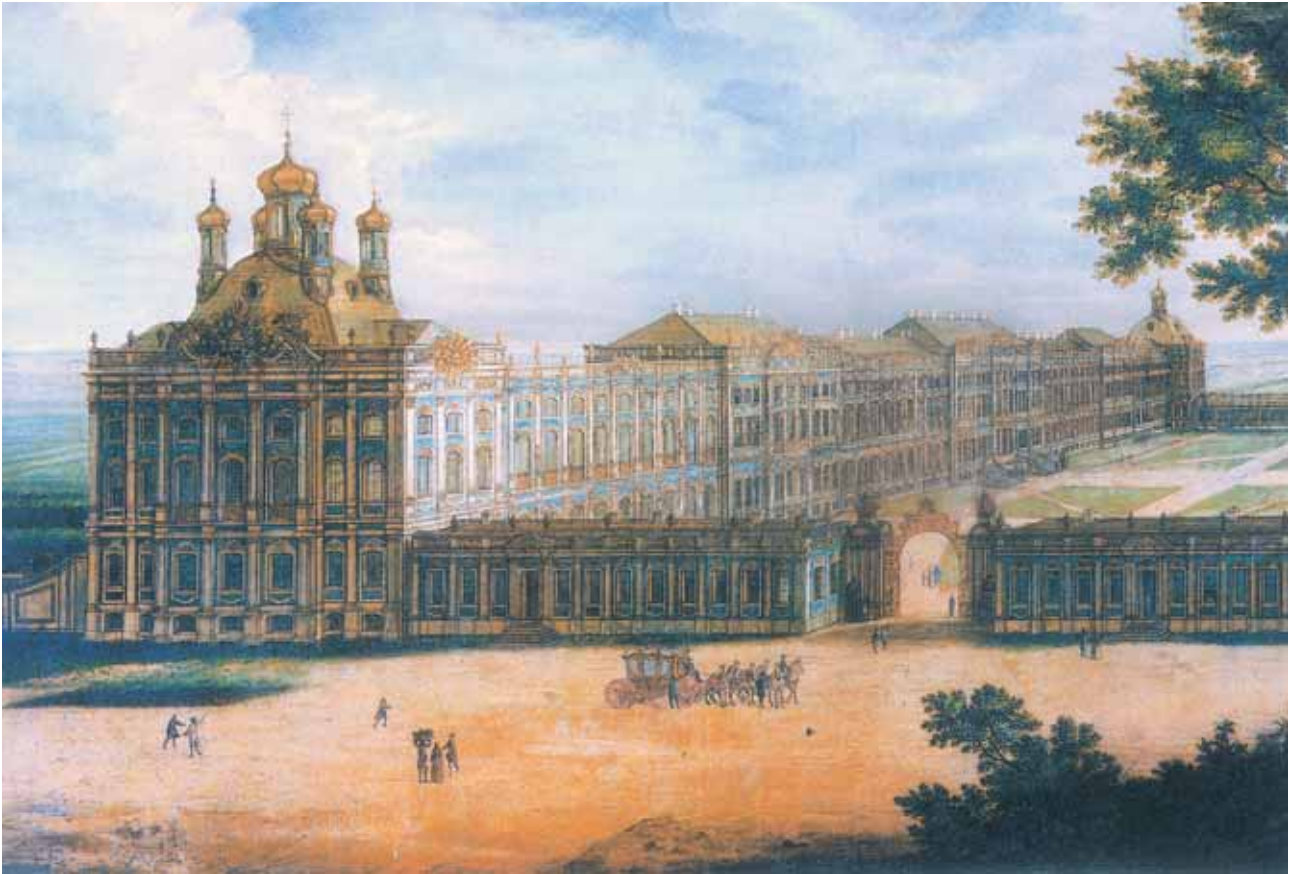


John Elphinstone

Catherine had first heard about Jones from her ambassador to France. "He is, in the opinion of everyone, one of the greatest sailors of the time," Simolin had written one of Catherine's ministers on February 3, 1788. "To rare boldness, valour, and intelligence, he adds a great deal of prudence, circumspection, and disinterestedness, and seeks nothing but glory... In the Black Sea, the officer will make the Seraglio [the Ottoman Palace] tremble." Catherine excitedly exclaimed, "He will get to Constantinople!"

At the age of fifty-nine, Catherine was fat and thick-browed, with swollen legs and false teeth, but she exuded an undeniable charm, certainly over Jones. "I shall never be able to express how much greater I find her than fame reports. With the character of a very great man, she will always be adored as the most amiable and captivating of the fair sex," Jones wrote the French minister to Russia, Count de Segur. To Lafayette, Jones recounted: "I presented the Empress with a copy of the new American Constitution. Her majesty spoke to me often about the United States, and is persuaded that the *American Revolution cannot fail to bring about other and to influence every other government.*"

Catherine was shrewd about the contagiousness of revolution. What she did not tell Jones was that she was determined to keep it from spreading to her empire. Jones was such a romantic patriot that he seemed naïve about his new employer. "I can never renounce the glorious title of a *citizen of the United States!*" he had written Thomas Jefferson, seeking formal permission to join the Tsarina's navy. He wanted to believe that Russia and America, flanking the Old World, enjoyed some kind of New World kinship. Jones was to be bitterly disillusioned by the Empress. But, as he admitted, he was seduced by Catherine. "Her Majesty gave me such a flattering reception, and up to the period of my departure, treated with me so much distinction, that I was overcome with her courtesies (*je me laissai séduire*)."
Jones later recounted, with chagrin, that he put himself "into her hands without making any stipulation for my personal advantage. I demanded but one favor, that I should never be condemned unheard." Even that favor was too much to ask.



Friedrich Hartmann Bariisien. View of the Great Palace at Tsarskoye Selo. 1760

The Empress invited Jones to her magnificent Baroque palace at Tsarskoe Selo ("Tsar's Village"), on a hill overlooking the broad Neva plain, twelve miles from St. Petersburg. The English gardens were filled with towering columns to her military triumphs. "If this war continues," she told Voltaire during the first Russo-Turkish war, "my garden... will resemble a game of skittles." (Catherine was a memorializer: she had also erected imposing monuments to her tree deceased English greyhounds.) Jones was eager to head for the sound of the guns, "but I was detained against my will a fortnight," he wrote Lafayette, "and continually feasted at court and in the highest society." "Pavel Dzhones," as he was known in St. Petersburg, was now a kontradmiral, a rear admiral. Catherine gave him a generous allowance, 2,000 ducats (about \$1,000), to buy uniforms, and Jones looked dashing in the white coat with gold braid and blue stripes and facings. "He was made a good impression on the Empress," wrote a diarist of the time, and was "welcomed everywhere, except among the English, who cannot bear him." Out-of-work English naval officers had flocked to Catherine's employ after peace reduced the size of the Royal Navy. They remembered the upstart Jones for his defeat of the *Drake* and the *Serapis* and chose to describe him as a pirate. Jones was delighted to see British scowls as he was feted by the Russian nobility. "This was cruel grief to the English," Jones wrote Lafayette, "and I own that their vexation... gives me no pain."

Catherine was well pleased with her new acquisition. "I saw him today," she wrote her adviser Baron Grimm. "I think he will suit our purposes admirably." She understood the power of Jones's reputation for bold strokes. "This man is extremely capable of multiplying fear and trembling in his foe," she wrote Prince Potemkin, informing him that she was sending "one more bulldog for the Black Sea."

Therein lay the seeds of misfortune: Jones was not the only bulldog, nor was he the top one. He did not have the unified command he had requested or the *carte blanche* he had been promised. When, in late May, he arrived at Russian military headquarters near the mouth of the Dnieper on the north coast of the Black Sea, after a twelve-day journey of a thousand miles, he reported to the ornately decorated tent of Prince Potemkin. The Prince in turn had three other rear admirals on the scene, none in a mood to defer to Jones.



Prince Potemkin

Potemkin was a monster to be remembered among the many who ill-served the tsardom through the centuries. The favorite of Catherine's official line of lovers (at least thirteen of them), His Most Serene Highness Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, Grigory Alexandrovich Potemkin, Prince of Taurida, Field Marshal, Grand Hetman of the Black Sea and Ekaterinoslav Cossacks, Grand Admiral of the Black Sea and Caspian Fleets, President of the College of War, Viceroy of the South, was the Tsarina's supreme military commander in the new war against the Turks. He was a joke of a soldier. In military deportment and just about every other way, he stood in stark contrast to Jones. A sensualist and a glutton, he was flabby with indulgence and slovenly in dress and manner. He sometimes startled foreign ambassadors by greeting them wearing nothing but an open dressing gown. He was deceitful and corrupt on an

epic scale. Yet, like Catherine, he exuded a kind of cunning magnetism, and Jones, after one meeting, persuaded himself that Potemkin was not a bad sort. "You would be charmed with the Prince de Potemkin," Jones wrote Lafayette. "He is a most amiable man, and none can be more noble-minded."

Jones would revise this estimate, along with most of his first impressions of the Russian elite. He was, to an unfortunate degree, susceptible to flattery by the great and too easily impressed by the decorations and ribbons of nobility. Too often, he had been blinded by rank and status and then, after the inevitable letdown, left feeling betrayed and bitter. True, he had been matured by his stormy and frustrating relations with the French navy, the court at Versailles, and the U.S. Congress. Jolted by Ben Franklin's letter criticizing his self-absorption, he vowed to show some of the "cheerful ardor" he knew to be essential to command. As ever, he was determined to try to rise above instinct. Older, wiser, and chastened by experience, he vowed to be on his best behavior, to follow the advice of his "philosopher" Franklin and show forbearance. Yet he was, at heart, a walking refutation of the Enlightenment ideal that passions could be tamed by reason and order. He could forbear only so long.

His patience was tested right away. Rear Admiral Mordwinoff, commander of the Russian naval arsenal at Kherson, near the mouth of the Dnieper, "did not affect to disguise his displeasure at my arrival," wrote Jones. The reception was worse aboard Jones's new flagship, the *Vladimir*, the next morning. Jones was used to sullen quarterdecks, but the one he mounted aboard the Russian ship of the line was openly defiant. The *Vladimir's* captain, Brigadier Panaiotti Alexiano, was on deck conducting a meeting with the other ship captains in the fleet "to draw them into a cabal against my authority," Jones wrote. Jones suspected that Alexiano, a Greek, had begun his career as a Mediterranean pirate who cut the throats of his prisoners. Wisely, Jones made no attempt to confront Alexiano or the others, but instead departed for a few days to reconnoiter the battlefield, "to give time to those angry spirits to become calm, and to be able to decide on the part I should take."





Determining what part to take in the coming military campaign was a delicate and vexing question. He would be operating in waters hardly suited to fleet actions by a deep-water navy. Sailing in a small boat along the muddy estuary in the rising heat of early summer, waving away the clouds of mosquitoes, Jones could quickly see the obstacles. The Liman is a thirty-mile-long enclosed estuary, created by the merger of the Dnieper and Bug Rivers as they reach the Black Sea. On the south side is the Kinburn Peninsula, a long sandspit. On the north side is the mouth of the Bug and the southern rim of Russia. At the mouth of Liman, at Ochakov on the north side, the Turks had built a powerful fort. The Russians controlled the tip of the Kinburn Peninsula, directly opposite, two miles across the water. A Turkish fleet was amassing in the Black Sea, just outside the Liman. Jones's job was to defeat that fleet and clear the way for Russian forces to lay siege to the Turkish fort at Ochakov.



*Turkish Fort
at Ochakov*

The Liman is never more than eight miles wide, and in many places less than twenty feet deep. Since a frigate draws at least fifteen feet, full-size warships were in constant danger of running aground on the shifting mud banks. The winds in the river were fluky and erratic. Jones had under his command eight frigates and four other armed ships. They were built with green wood and armed with cannons that were as much a threat to their own gunners as the enemy. Cast too small for the gun barrels, the cannonballs had been thickened by a coat of tar. The *Vladimir* was pierced for sixty-six guns but carried only twenty-four, to reduce the ship's weight and allow it to float higher in the shallow water. The flagship's rotten beams probably could not have withstood the recoil of a full broadside. Spit and polish was not even a concept to the peasant crews and their polyglot officers, many of whom had been corsairs in an earlier career.

Jones was informed that he was up against a larger and more powerful Turkish fleet. The Russians did have one advantage: a flotilla of some twenty-five galleys and assorted other small craft, some bearing only one large gun. Maneuvered by oars, the galleys (many of them leftover gilded barges from Catherine's pleasure cruise down the Dnieper in 1786) could go straight into the wind, unlike the square-rigged frigates, and skim across shoals and sandbars because of their shallow draft. Jones could instantly see they were the keys to victory. Jones began to mold a strategy born of necessity. He needed to draw the more heavily armed but more ponderous Turkish fleet inside the Liman and then destroy it with a combined force of frigates and swift galleys.

A sound plan, but there was a catch: Jones did not command the galleys. That honor belonged to Charles, Prince of Nassau-Siegen. Handsome, in a rakish, indolent sort of way, Nassau-Siegen was a junior-grade version of Potemkin. The illegitimate heir to a penniless principality in Germany, the so-called Prince was a showy adventurer, oily, rash, untrustworthy, incompetent, except as a courtier. Jones knew him slightly from Paris. Nassau-Siegen had been commissioned by the French government to procure the frigate *Indien* for Jones, but the Prince had failed at that, like most of his undertakings. As a military commander, he had been a blundering amateur. His two combat missions for the French, a raid on the isle of Jersey and an attack on Gibraltar with fireships, had been fiascos, in part because of the prince's sloppy preparation. His résumé was exotic: he had sailed around the world with the French explorer Bougainville and boasted that he had seduced the Queen of Tahiti. But he didn't know enough seamanship, Jones quickly discovered, to identify the points of a compass. He married a Polish noblewoman, who seems to have encouraged his adventuring and philandering from afar. In 1786, he washed up on Catherine's shore and shrewdly befriended Potemkin. "Strange that you have taken a fancy to Nassau," the Empress wrote her Prince. "He had everywhere the reputation as a crazy fellow (*un cerveau brulé*)."



Prince Nassau-Siegen

Potemkin had a job for Nassau-Siegen. "Almost a sailor, is he?" he inquired as he was preparing for against the Turks in the winter of 1788. Potemkin gave Nassau-Siegen almost a fleet—the galleys and gunboats in the Liman. Nassau-Siegen regarded his new command as a larksome opportunity for self-promotion. "Although my undertaking may not be very dangerous, yet I will make enough noise to get the attention of the world," he wrote his wife. He planned, he told her, to "stand up to... this 'sieur Jones.'"

When Nassau-Siegen greeted his co-commander and fellow rear admiral Paul Jones at the end of May, he oozed, "You know my esteem and friendship. It will end only with my life." Then he offered some practical advice for the acquisition of glory, titles, land, etc., in the court of Catherine le Grand. He explained to Jones, "that if we gained any advantage over the Turks, it was necessary to exaggerate it to the utmost." Jones icily replied that he had "never adopted this method of heightening my personal importance," Jones meant to get along, but his sense of honor, prickly and stiff, stood in the way.



The Turks had their own imported naval hero. Known as the Capitan Pasha, the Algerine Renagado, and the Crocodile of Sea Battles, Ghazi Hassan-Pasha was a Barbary pirate who had become commander of the Sultan's navy in the Ottoman Empire. For his defense of Istanbul and his ruthless suppression of Egyptian rebellions, he had been favored with a palace and showered with diamonds. As a pet, the Capitan Pasha kept a lion, who lay down at his command. He terrorized his enemies and his own crews. He thought nothing of firing on his own ships if they retreated prematurely, and he once made an example to timid firefighters by ordering four of them thrown into the fire. Jones respected his adversary, whom he described as "brave." Jones would come close enough to the Capitan Pasha in battle to admire his great white mustache.

Jones did not wish to encounter the Capitan Pasha's fleet, not in open water. The Turkish fleet hovering outside the Liman consisted of over 100 vessels, including eighteen ships of the line and forty frigates. Marshaling his far smaller forces inside the estuary, Jones was careful to advocate a shrewd, defensive strategy, to play the odds and the angles and not put his entire fleet at risk. After many hours studying French fleet evolutions, Jones wanted to employ a measured, scientific approach to war. Nassau-Siegen, on the other hand, was interested only in flashy lunges.

Jones had no regard for Nassau-Siegen as a strategist. "The Prince... talked a great deal of projects of descents, surprises, and attacks, but without any rational plan," Jones later recalled.

Still, Jones dutifully tried to work with Nassau-Siegen. On Jun 4, invoking the custom of Peter the Great, Admiral Jones summoned his captains to a council of war. Pacing the great cabin of the *Vladimir* resplendent in his white coat despite the oppressive damp heat, he made an urgent appeal for selflessness

and unity. "We must be determined to win! Let us therefore join our hands and hearts! Let us show our noble sentiments, and throw away from ourselves any personal consideration," Jones declared, according to notes taken by his Russian secretary. Seeking to be collegial, Jones posed a series of nine questions to be considered by his fellow captains. The council of war had disposed of only three of them when Nassau-Siegen and the surly Alexiano broke up the meeting. They had apparently heard enough.

Before the meeting collapsed, the captains did agree to a rudimentary plan: to draw up Jones's heavy ships ("the Squadron") and Nassau-Siegen's galleys and lighter craft ("the Flotilla") in a line across the Liman, just beyond the mouth of the Bug River but short of the Turkish fort at Ochakov, a citadel bristling with heavy guns that could fire red-hot shot. Jones wanted to protect the mouth of the Bug because Potemkin and his army were supposed to ford the river before marching on Ochakov. Jones repeatedly asked Potemkin for orders and guidance, but he received only silence in return. The commander-in-chief was at once meddlesome and a hedger. He wanted to see how Jones would perform before he attached his own reputation to the American mercenary's.

On June 5, the first two of the Capitan Pasha's ships were seen entering the Liman. The next day, a small number of Turkish galleys crept up the north shore, toward the mouth of the Bug. It was agreed that Nassau-Siegen and part of the Flotilla would slip down the estuary in the dead of night and try to cut off the enemy from behind. The Prince set out shortly after 1 A.M., but the mission was a botch; the Turks opened fire and Nassau-Siegen retreated in disarray.

On the morning of June 7, Jones could see scores of the Capitan Pasha's ships sweeping down the estuary. The Turkish fleet was a kaleidoscope of sails, Western-style square-riggers and Mediterranean lateens and galleys. Nassau-Siegen, who saw battle as costume drama, wrote his wife that the spectacle of the enemy fleet was "better than a ball at Warsaw." Aboard the *Vladimir*, Jones strapped on his sword, put a brace of pistols in his belt, and readied himself for action. He had heard that the Turks did not take prisoners.

At 8 A.M., the admiral climbed into his barge and ordered his men to row along the line of Russian ships. The sight was not quite what he may have dreamed about as he had pored over naval texts on snowy nights in Portsmouth. Jones's two ships of the line were only half-armed, and his poorly built frigates were manned by impressed serfs. Jones could barely communicate his commands. He knew no Russian and had no signaling system. Accompanied by a translator, he had to shout his orders, ship by ship. From his barge, he stared up at swarthy Slavic faces, which stared dumbly back.

Jones returned to witness a pathetic spectacle. As the morning brightened and the two fleets drew close, Brigadier Alexiano, the *Vladimir's* captain, suddenly appeared on deck in his night clothes. For some time, he had been "indisposed" below. Now he cried out, "like a frantic man," recalled Jones, "in French and Russian, that the Turks were going to attack and board us, and that we would be blown to pieces for having been so foolish as to leave our former position." Jones told him to get dressed and put him to work shoring up Nassau-Siegen's flank.

Jones wanted to catch the Turks in a vise by creating a large V out of his line of battle. But the wind

was against Jones, forcing him to commandeer galleys to tow the left flank of the Squadron to windward, a ponderous maneuver. As slow-footed peasant crewmen fumbled with tow ropes and their officers shouted confused commands, the Turks opened up a brisk fire on Nassau-Siegen's Flotilla on the right flank. The galleys were easily galled by shot, and, rather than stand and fight, their captains began to row for safety. Jones could see the Capitan Pasha's ship, a very sleek, fast fourteen-gun galley called a *kirlangitch*, leading the enemy thrust. To Jones's disgust, Nassau-Siegen, whose flagship was a large yacht, fled the heat of battle to take cover under the guns of the *Vladimir*.

A wind shift allowed Jones to spring his trap. The breeze, which had been blowing out of the west, favoring the Turks, swung around to the east. With his square-rigged ships able to run before the wind, Jones was able to create his V-shaped nutcracker, forming a wedge of two lines of ships to catch the Turks in an enfilade, a cross fire. The Russian gunnery was neither efficient nor accurate, but the Russians had cruder and more devastating weapons for close-in action. The Russian gunboats began lobbing brandcougles, incendiary bombs that were lethal to vessels made of wood, tar, and canvas. Two Turkish warships caught fire and burned. Seeing that his position was untenable, the Capitan Pasha ordered his ships to withdraw.

Jones watched from his quarterdeck as the smoke cleared to show Turkish warships and galleys flying before the wind to escape the cross fire. Russian casualties were not severe: about fifty men, including one officer. Jones permitted himself a tiny gloat. "I do not think Capitan Pasha who commanded in person will dine with pleasure. He had 57 boats with him," Jones wrote the Prince Potemkin that night from his cabin aboard the *Vladimir*.

The victory was not smashing, but it was a victory nonetheless. A *Te Deum*, the traditional Russian Orthodox thanksgiving, was sung aboard the *Vladimir* the next day. Jones was in a magnanimous mood. Determined to follow Franklin's advice to bestow more credit on his subordinates, Jones decided to play up the role of Nassau-Siegen in his official dispatches to Potemkin. Jones was feeling brotherly toward the Flotilla's commander. As the last Turkish galley had fled down the estuary, the Prince embraced Jones and declared, "We should always make but one!" Heartened (and deceived) by this show of comradeship, Jones wrote Potemkin, generously if a trifle condescendingly:

The Prince conducted himself with a great deal of composure and intelligence. I had the honor of serving him as aide-de-camp and he took all of my advice in the best of spirits. Monsieur Alexiano came in another cutter and helped us to maintain good order.

Nassau-Siegen rewarded Jones's graciousness by maligning him. He convinced Potemkin that the glory was all his and that Jones had timidly hung back from the battle. Potemkin, who had favored Nassau-Siegen to begin with, was not hard to convince. "It is to you alone," Potemkin wrote his fellow prince, "I attribute this victory." Potemkin repeated this misjudgment to Catherine: "Nassau was the real hero and to him belongs the victory." Nassau-Siegen made sure that all the courts in Europe heard his version of the battle. With feigned sorrow, he put down his rival. "Paul Jones has changed very much. Fortune has taken from him that intrepidity which people said that he possessed." Nassau-Siegen wrote his wife. "I am greatly dissatisfied. You see what three-quarters of a reputation is!" To a fellow courtier, he wrote, "The corsair Paul Jones was very famous, but I fear greatly that at the head of a squadron is

not his place."

Jones heard or sensed Nassau-Siegen's calumnies and labored to stay on the high road. "He is too jealous to be content with my self-denial," Jones lamented to Littlepage, the Virginia cavalier who had helped recruit him to Catherine's navy and now served in his fleet. "Perhaps he is ill-advised, without knowing it. There is nothing, consistent with my honor, that I would not do to make him easy... If he now becomes my enemy, I will not imitate his example."

But the whispering was getting to Jones. He knew he was being watched at all times by his subordinates, Russian and British officers who were just waiting for him to misstep. "My situation here is very delicate and critical," he had confided to Don José de Ribas, his liaison officer to Potemkin, on May 31. "I have people around me who appear to be on their guard, and if I make the slightest mistake, even when following their advice, I was given to understand today that they would consider themselves only as passengers."

By June 11, Jones was sick in bed, exhausted and depressed. His usual post-battle letdown was deepened by suspicions about his fellow commander. Nassau-Siegen "seems to wish me to go to the devil," Jones wrote Ribas, the only officer he really trusted, "for no other reason, as far as I know, except that I faithfully extricated him from his confusion and danger during the affair of the 7th, for which he assumed so much credit." Jones gritted his teeth and vowed to swallow his bile. "I will do my best to go along with his temper," he wrote Ribas.

Jones wore graciousness like a hairshirt. In his stiffly self-abnegating dispatches to Potemkin, Jones couldn't resist little digs at Nassau-Siegen that were none too subtly intended to show that Jones had rescued his comrade from peril. Jones had heard of Nassau-Siegen's boasting, and he wrote Potemkin in a left-handed attempt to set the record straight. "I can assure you that I had no intentions whatsoever of putting myself forward personally during the engagement; my only object was the welfare of Russia; inasmuch as I saw the first division of her Majesty's flotilla in disorder and in a critical situation." The first division of her Majesty's flotilla, of course, was Nassau-Siegen's; the "disorder" was all his. Jones stopped short of taking credit for rescuing Nassau-Siegen and remembered to praise his subordinates instead. "Monsieur Alexiano helped to establish good order, during the last phase of the engagement so that, if there are any favors to be given. I solicit them for him; as for me, I do not as yet have any claims to them." Later, as he was reading over his correspondence on the Liman campaign, Jones attached a bitter footnote at the bottom of the page: "I always, but vainly, hoped to be able to attach this man [Alexiano] to my service by giving him more credit than he deserved, but he from the beginning has indignantly allied himself against me with all Prince de Nassau's cabal."

One can see, in Jones tortured correspondence with Potemkin and in his angry marginalia, his desire for glory clashing with his self-image as a noble-minded man who is above interest and pettiness. Jones kept tripping over his pride. His honor would not permit him to allow Nassau-Siegen to trample on his good name. His old self-defeating habits reasserted themselves. Unable to conceal his true feelings, he let his pridefulness corrode his already strained ties with Nassau-Siegen and Potemkin. The two courtiers were no match for Jones at war, but they were far superior at the back-stabbing politics of the Tsarina's entourage.

By sniping at Nassau-Siegen in his letters to Potemkin, Jones was just digging himself in deeper, because Potemkin showed the correspondence to Nassau-Siegen or told his protégé of Jones's condescending tone. Jones wrote one more conciliatory letter. "We will gain more honor and give him [Potemkin] more pleasure if we live together in harmony," he wrote Nassau-Siegen on June 14. But the split was irrevocable. In the letter, Jones reminded Nassau-Siegen that he had declared, "We should always be one!" But then, in another angry asterisk to himself, he wrote on a copy for his files, "I have been well duped by it."

The only remedy for Jones's anguish was battle. He nursed his fever in the rising heat of the Liman, a miasma in summer, and imagined stratagems that could be used to leverage the less powerful Russian fleet against the fearsome, but crude, Turk. He consoled himself with the certainty that the Capitan Pasha would return for a second round. Constantinople wanted the Russians driven back from the Black Sea, and the Capitan Pasha did not wish to return home having to explain how he was defeated by an American pirate.

The attack came on the morning of June 16, and it looked monstrous from the quarterdeck of the *Vladimir*. The Capitan Pasha had decided to go all-out. He had sailed into the Liman with his entire fleet, ships of the line as well as galleys. Henry Fanshawe, a young British adventurer who had joined the Russian navy, watched in awe as the Turkish fleet surged down the estuary, line abreast, their white sails gleaming in the brutal noonday sun. Fanshawe counted ninety-six craft, stretched from shore to shore: square-riggers, lateen-rigged gunboats, fast galleys. They were making a fierce commotion, banging on drums, clashing cymbals, blowing bugles. Across the water, the Russian crews could hear the Turks, who jammed the galleys gunwale-to-gunwale, crying to Allah, vowing death to the infidel, shouting, "No prisoners!"

The Capitan Pasha meant to use terror and overwhelming force to shock the Russians into submission. He did not intend to stand off and bombard the Russian fleet. The Turkish ships were ordered to drive right at the Russian ships and take them by boarding. Some of the Turkish ships were to be sacrificed on suicide missions, turned into burning hulks to set the Russian ships ablaze and strike fear in the hearts of the swine-eaters.

But Jones had been wise to position his ships well inside the estuary. A severe drought had lowered the water level in the Liman. The Capitan Pasha was forced to maneuver his fleet through the sandbanks in the narrowed channel. His flagship was aimed straight for the *Vladimir* when it suddenly lurched, slewed, and stuck. The too heavy man-of-war had run aground. Without the Capitan Pasha leading the charge, the other Turkish captains hesitated, bore up in confusion, and began anchoring their ships.

Jones had at least a brief reprieve. At about 3 P.M., he summoned his captains to a council of war. Standing before his sulky charges, Jones was full of melodrama. "I see in your eyes the souls of heroes!" he exclaimed. This could be the battle that decided the war, he said. It was time to "conquer or die." Jones proposed taking the offensive. He suggested the tactic that had paid off in the last engagement against the Capitan Pasha. Jones wanted to swing the Russian fleet's left flank around to create a V. If the Turks regrouped and advanced, they would be sailing into a cross fire, a nutcracker of shot and shell. The procedure, he acknowledged, would be difficult. The wind was against the Russian fleet, so

the ships would have to be towed or kedged, laboriously pulled to windward by advancing their anchors, a few yards at a time. Careful to play the democratic commander, Jones put his plan to a vote. The captains, who had no better idea, went along.

While the Turks struggled to pull the Capitan Pasha's flagship off the mud bank, about a mile away, the Russian ships on Jones's left flank slowly crept forward through the night. After midnight, the wind, which had been strong in the Russians' face from the west, swung around to the northeast. Now Jones had the advantage. Meeting with his captains again before dawn, Jones proposed to seize the initiative and launch an all-out attack at daybreak.

As the sun came up over the marshy waters of the Liman on the morning of June 17, Jones gave the signal and along the Russian line anchors weighed and sails billowed in the fresh morning breeze. The Turks, so fearsome just the day before, panicked. Capitan Pasha's flagship had been floated off the mud bank, but his captains fled in disarray, pulling up anchors or "cutting cables with the greatest precipitation," recorded Jones. "Not a shred of discipline remained" in the Turkish fleet. The *Vladimir* plunged ahead. Jones ordered the helmsman to make for the Capitan Pasha's flagship.

The *Vladimir* was "within pistol shot" when she suddenly swung up short. Jones looked, aghast, to see a flurry of activity on the flagship's forecastle. The *Vladimir's* crew had dropped anchor. Captain Alexiano, speaking in Russian, so that Jones would not understand him, had given the order. Alexiano claimed that he was saving the *Vladimir* from running onto a sandbar, but Jones did not believe him. The Greek ex-pirate had tried to undermine Jones's authority each step of the way. Jones suspected that Alexiano had halted the ship because he feared close action or boarding the Capitan Pasha's ship.

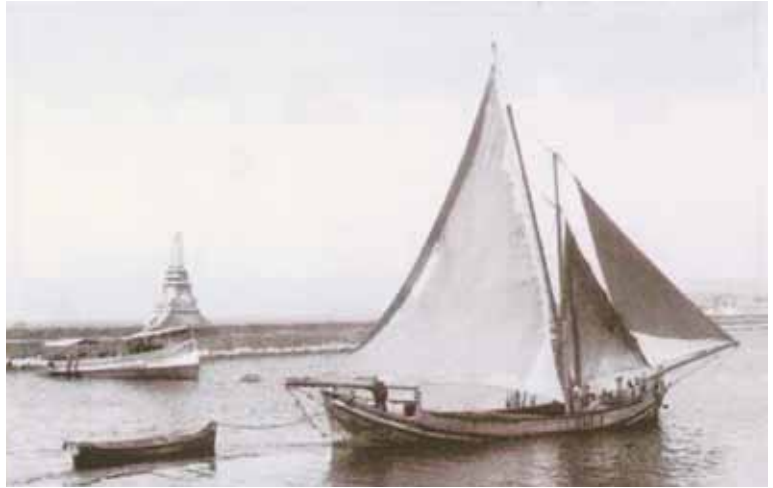
Alexiano was not wrong to worry about sandbars. The ship of the Capitan Pasha's deputy commander ran aground, then the flagship of the Capitan Pasha himself, for the second time in two days. Two fat prizes lay exposed in the mud before Jones—but the Prince of Nassau-Siegen suddenly appeared with his Flotilla of galleys to claim them. According to Jones's account of the battle, Nassau-Siegen had dawdled at the beginning of the attack. Twice, Jones wrote, he had been compelled to slow his Squadron by heaving to in order to wait for Nassau-Siegen's lagging Flotilla. But now that the Turkish command vessels were helplessly aground, Nassau-Siegen swept in to grab the glory. His galleys "swarmed... like a hive of bees," pouring in shot and firebombs on the stranded Turkish warships, which were heeled over and unable to bring their guns to bear. The Turkish deputy commander's ship blew up, "a magnificent spectacle," recorded Fanshawe. Some seaman, Russian Cossacks, had recovered the Capitan Pasha's flag, which had been shot away from its halyard and fallen into the water. They were presenting the flag to Jones when Nassau-Siegen, who had come aboard the *Vladimir* from his yacht, reached over and plucked it out of their hands. The opportunistic prince wished to be the one to present the spoils of war to Catherine. Jones swallowed his anger, for the time being.

The Turks were not done. The Capitan Pasha had escaped the grounded flagship in his *kirlangitch*, his fast galley. He had formed a line of gunboats in the shallows of the north shore of the Liman, and they began to pepper Jones's squadron. The *Aleksandr Mal'yi*, a small frigate floating right next to the *Vladimir*, was battered and holed, caught fire, and sank. The quarterdeck of the *Vladimir* grew warm. Jones's friend, the liaison officer Ribas, was badly wounded in the hand, probably by a splinter or shell

fragment, as he stood beside Jones. With men falling around him, the admiral needed reinforcements.

He set out in a skiff to persuade Nassau-Siegen to send some of his galleys and gunboats after the Turks lined up along the shore. Jones's frigates were too deep-draft to venture into the shallows. Nassau-Siegen coldly rebuffed Jones. He was too busy piling shot into the grounded Turkish flagship. Disgusted, Jones was finally able to persuade a

Russian officer, Captain Korsakov, to counterattack. Jones had respect for the Russians under his command. They were not great seamen, but they were not timid about combat. Korsakov was "a brave and intelligent man," Jones wrote.



Kirlangitch

The counterattack succeeded. The Russians had lost scores of men killed or wounded as well as a small frigate, but the Turks were in retreat. By dusk, the Turkish gunboats were driven back all the way down the coast to Ochakov, where they took shelter under the great guns mounted on the Turkish ramparts. Jones was surprised at the alacrity of the Turkish flight. What had happened to the fearsome, take-no-prisoners holy warrior of the Ottoman horde? "How imbecile does the human mind become under the influence of sudden panic!" he wrote in his memoir of the Liman campaign. The Turks seemed dazed and confused, stupid with fear.

One strongly feels in Jones's account of the Liman campaign his disappointment in the unworthiness of his foe. Jones wanted to win against the odds, or in a fair fight. He took no satisfaction in one-sided slaughter. His responsibility as a fleet commander dictated strategic prudence, a caution not to overcommit against superior force. But his personal pride demanded boldness. He longed for an opportunity to show his gallantry. As the battle wound down in the late afternoon, Jones was still surging with the exuberance of action, the euphoria that filled him in combat. Jones decided, in his old way, to taunt the enemy by sailing right under their noses.

An hour after the fighting ended, as darkness settled over the Liman, Jones set out on an expedition so bold that it verged on the foolhardy. "The Rear Admiral," Jones wrote about himself in the third person, "advanced in his boat, took soundings all along the Turkish line, opposite the walls of Ochakov, and within reach of case shot, and not a single gun was fired upon him."

An old Russian sailor named Ivak later gave a colorful rendition of this daring reconnaissance mission. His version was probably exaggerated but, given Jones's past exploits, not implausible. Climbing aboard a Cossack gunboat, Jones introduced himself simply as "Pavel." The admiral was dressed as an ordinary seaman, but his "weapons were better." He had "some grey hair," but appeared strong and confident. Characteristically, as soon as he stepped aboard, Jones began to inspect and fiddle, arranging and rearranging the arms and sails to his liking. He had a small boat pulled aboard for his reconnaissance

and the oars muffled.

It had grown dark, and Jones sat down to share a meal with the men. He ordered a double round of spirits for the sailors, and the Cossacks began to sing, at first gaily, then a sad song. "Our Pavel listened very attentively as though he were trying to understand the meaning of the song; yet it seemed that clouds of sadness passed over his face, though he tried very hard to conceal his mood," recalled the sailor.

Suddenly, Jones jumped to his feet. "It is time," he said. After peering intently into his face, Jones chose the sailor Ivak as his oarsman. They descended into the small boat with muffled oars and pulled for the Turkish fleet, about a mile off.

The moon was full. The battlements of Ochakov loomed, a ghostly castle on the far shore. The Turkish fleet "looked like an entire town as it lay at anchor, a whole forest of masts" recalled Ivak. Silently, stealthily, the boat rowed in amongst the galleys and larger men-of-war. Jones ordered Ivak to pull under the stern of a large warship. Ivak called up to the sentry on the quarterdeck: did the Turks wish to buy some salt? Apparently, a Russian speaker was found (the Turkish crews were a mix of Turks, Greeks, and impressed Russians), and Ivak and the Turks palavered for a while. Meanwhile, Jones had an inspiration, a bit of cocky impishness not unlike his saucy single-gun salutes to British men-of-war aboard the *Providence*. As Ivak distracted the sentry with chatter, Jones took a piece of chalk from his cloak, reached up to the stern, and wrote, in French:

TO BE BURNED. PAUL JONES.

Jones was gleeful, drunk with daring, when Ivak rowed him back to Nassau-Siegen's yacht to report on the size, strength, and disposition of the Turkish fleet. (Jones later gave the sailor a dagger inscribed with his name, "From Pavel Jones to his friend the Zaporzhye Ivak, 1788.")

The scene aboard the Prince's yacht, as the commanders gathered sometime after midnight, was deflating to Jones. In the distance, cannon fire rumbled along the shore. The Capitan Pasha had tried to remove some of his larger ships from the Liman under cover of night, but they had sailed within range of a Russian battery on the Kinburn Peninsula (presciently placed there by Jones). Veering out of range, the Turkish ships—all nine of them—ran aground on a sandbar. Standing on the deck of Nassau-Siegen's yacht, Jones and the other officers of the Flotilla and Squadron could see, in the moonlight, the Turkish ships at sixes and sevens in the mud on the distant shore.

Impulsive for glory, Nassau-Siegen wanted to rouse the Flotilla and head for the beached ships, to burn them where they lay. Jones tried to restrain him. The shallow-draft and swift Turkish galleys were still gathered close by under the guns of Ochakov. What if they attacked Jones's Squadron while Nassau-Siegen's Flotilla was downriver enjoying a bonfire? Nassau-Siegen swelled up and denounced Jones for timidity. The Prince complained that he was always having to protect Jones's ships. He boasted that it was he who had taken the two Turkish ships the day before. Fatigued, coming down from his high, Jones allowed his sarcasm to get the better of him. It is not hard, he told Nassau-Siegen, "to capture a ship that is aground." Now it was the Prince's turn to bristle. Like a teacher's pet threatening to tattle, he told Jones that he would write Prince Potemkin to tell him of Jones's insolence. Fully worked up,

he insisted to Jones that he knew how to take ships better than Jones. Jones retorted, contemptuously, that he had proved his ability to "take ships which *were not Turks*."

"This ridiculous dispute," as Jones later described it, continued to go downhill, with Nassau-Siegen threatening to write the Empress Catherine herself. As dawn broke, the Prince did as he pleased. Leaving Jones with just a few small craft as a screen against the Turkish galleys, Nassau-Siegen set off with almost the entire Flotilla to wreak carnage on the grounded Turkish men-of-war. The Flotilla had no order or plan, aside from slaughter. "We had about as much discipline as a London mob," recalled one of Nassau-Siegen's mercenary captains, the British scientist and shipbuilder Samuel Bentham.

His cheeky "To be burned" message notwithstanding, Jones was in favor, whenever possible, of boarding and capturing, not burning and destroying. He had suggested that Nassau-Siegen close in and take the Turkish ships, which would be useful prizes. Instead, Nassau-Siegen stood off and lobbed brandcougles, incendiary devices, onto the decks of the helpless ships. Flames quickly shot up the sails and riggings. Screams of fear and pain could be heard across the water. The spectacle was "beautiful" to Nassau-Siegen, horrifying to Jones. Many of the Turkish sailors were slaves, kept in chains. "Vainly the wretched Turks made the sign of the cross and begged for quarter on their knees," Jones wrote. Some were Christians, captured by pirates and sold as slaves, others were just begging for Christian mercy. Nassau-Siegen gave none. More than 2,000 men burned to death. For days afterward, reported Bentham, their blackened corpses were seen floating by.

The second battle of the Liman was a lopsided victory for Russia. The Turks lost ten warships, five galleys, and more than 1,500 prisoners, in addition to the thousands burned to death. The Russians lost only a single frigate and eighteen dead and sixty-seven wounded. At Ochakov, the Capitan Pasha was reportedly hanging his captains. As usual, Nassau-Siegen claimed all the credit. "Our victory is complete—my flotilla did it!" he declared to his wife: "I am, in short, content with myself." He sneered at Jones as a mere straggler on the march to victory. "Oh! What a poor man is Paul Jones! He has surely made a mistake to come here on such a day. I am master of the Liman." Jones, by contrast, swallowed his ego in his official reports, praising his subordinates though he could not refrain from a dig or two at Nassau-Siegen: "It is well known not to be difficult to take ships when they are aground."



Order of St. Anne

Potemkin was thrilled with the news of victory. "I've gone mad with joy!" he exulted. "Isn't it amazing? I am the spoilt child of God!" He gave Nassau-Siegen the glory and the Prince and his cronies the rewards. Nassau-Siegen was awarded a gold sword encrusted with diamonds, a large estate served by thousands of peasants, and the promise of a vice admiral's flag as soon as Ochakov fell. His henchman Alexiano also received an estate, serfs, and a promotion to rear admiral. The officers of the Flotilla were all given extra pay and promotions. In an obvious snub, Catherine and Potemkin bestowed on Jones only a minor medal, the Order of St. Anne. His officers received nothing, and Jones burned with their humiliation.

Catherine had not given up on Jones. But she was exasperated by his inability to get along with his colleagues. "I regret that Paul Jones drove everyone crazy," she wrote Potemkin. "Pray god they stop acting crazy, we need him."

The Capitan Pasha had withdrawn his larger ships outside the Liman, but his galleys and gunboats still remained anchored under the guns of the fortress at Ochakov. At the end of June, Potemkin ordered Nassau-Siegen to attack with his Flotilla. Jones's Squadron was essentially cut out of the operation, since the square-rigged men-of-war were too heavy to take into the shallows near the fort. Nonetheless, Jones wanted to be in the thick of battle. He observed that Nassau-Siegen and Alexiano always kept swift galleys nearby for a quick escape, should the Turks suddenly gain the upper hand and counterattack. Jones was much too proud to hedge his personal fortunes in war. For him, he recorded in his journal, it was "conquer or die." For the attack on the Capitan Pasha's galleys, Jones took command of a chaloupe, a small, fast-sailing vessel that was easy to maneuver, and loaded it with Russian sailors whose courage he did not doubt.

At 1 A.M. on July 1, the Flotilla began to move toward the Turkish fleet, very slowly. By dawn it was still too far from the enemy to open fire. Jones brought his chaloupe alongside Nassau-Siegen's luxurious yacht. Wasn't it time to begin the assault? Jones asked. Nassau stared haughtily at him. "Is it of me you thus inquire?" he sniffed. "I have nothing to say to you on the subject."

Heavy rain clouds gathered over the muddy, dull Liman. While the Flotilla dawdled in the oppressive heat, Jones's chaloupe made for the nearest Turkish galley. The Russian crew did not ready brandcougles or stand to their cannon. Jones meant to attack and board. With a grinding crash, the two vessels collided; with shouts and yells, the Russians clambered over the side, Jones in the midst of the rush. Muskets popped, steel clanged. Eyes wild, pistol and cutlass in hand, Jones probably looked a little like the cartoon of the Pirate Paul Jones in British chapbooks.

The Turks, shocked by the attack, quickly surrendered. Jones towed the captured galley to safety and set out again, this time after a bigger prey, the galley of the Capitan Pasha. By now Jones was caught in a cross fire between the slowly advancing Russian Flotilla and the guns of the Turkish ships and battlements. Men were falling around Jones when he clambered over the side and onto the deck of the Turkish galley. The Crocodile of Sea Battles was nowhere to be seen. His galley crew, terrified of the Cossacks and their ferocious commander, surrendered, apparently without much of struggle. Most of the Turkish sailors were slaves, kept in chains.

Jones wanted to tow his captured prize back to the *Vladimir*. But a junior officer cut the anchor cable before Jones was ready, and the galley began to drift into shore. Jones and his men scrambled to find some ropes to try to anchor the galley to the hulk of a burnt-out frigate, but no cable was long enough. Jones dispatched another officer in a small boat to return to the *Vladimir* for rope and anchor. Meanwhile, he cast off in his chaloupe to look for another target. A few minutes later, he was "mortified" to see smoke and flames shooting up from the Capitan Pasha's galley. He thought at first that the slaves chained on board had somehow escaped and set fire to the vessel. He later learned, to his greater consternation, that the perfidious Alexiano had sent a small boat to burn the captured galley, lest Jones receive credit for taking such a valuable prize. As Jones watched helplessly, the Capitan Pasha's galley went up in flames. He could hear the screams of the Turkish slaves as they burned to death.

Aside from Jones's foray, which captured fifty men and burned three galleys, the July 1 attack on the Turkish fleet was a failure. Nassau-Siegen withdrew without taking any ships. "Our flotilla never came up within the range of grape shot." Jones wrote contemptuously in his journal. Jones and Nassau-Siegen were compelled by Prince Potemkin and his retinue to embrace and make up a few days later, but by then Nassau-Siegen was no longer Jones's biggest problem. Potemkin had arrived on the scene.

Catherine's commander-in-chief, after marching his army at a leisurely pace toward Ochakov for the final siege, had at last crossed the Bug River and encamped near the Russian fleet's anchorage on the Liman's north shore, a few miles from the Turkish citadel. The "Serenissimus," as His Serene Highness Prince Potemkin preferred to be called, had brought his harem, including two nieces who were his "favorites." To avoid the heat of day, he stayed up all night playing billiards in his dressing gown and eating sorbet. For the rest of the summer and into the fall, Potemkin ran Jones ragged with nonsensical missions. After the Turks captured a Russian ship loaded with watermelon, Potemkin flew into a rage and ordered Jones to attack the Turkish fleet under the guns at Hassan Pacha, a fort at the end of the Kinburn Peninsula. Jones's nighttime surprise attack fizzled when a Greek lieutenant prematurely opened fire. Potemkin's headquarters were situated on a bluff overlooking the Turkish fleet, and it somehow irked the Prince to see a large cannon on the bow of a large Turkish galley anchored near the shore. Jones was ordered to throw the offending cannon into the sea. He dutifully launched a raid against the well-defended position on a dark and rainy night against a strong current, but that mission, too, failed when the Russian boats were unable to reach their target by daybreak. Without the element of surprise, Jones withdrew rather than have his men uselessly slaughtered.

Potemkin wrote Jones that if he did not fight "*courageously*" he risk standing accused of "*negligence*." This was too much for Jones. His attempt to heed Benjamin Franklin's advice and play the "philosopher," already wobbly, collapsed altogether. Jones wrote the Prince an intemperate letter, objecting to the insinuation that he was shy in battle. With a sideswipe at Nassau-Siegen, Jones angrily declared, "Since I did not come here as an adventurer, or as a charlatan to mend a broken fortune, I hope in the future to suffer no further humiliation."

That did it. For all practical purposes, Jones was finished in the Russian navy. Prince Potemkin allowed only sycophants to serve under him. Jones was permitted one last audience, and, with nothing to lose, told His Serenissimus exactly what he thought. "I spoke very freely," Jones recalled. "I told him he had played a very unfair game at the opening of the campaign by dividing the command in the Liman." Maybe so, Potemkin wearily allowed, but "it was too late to think of this now." Jones pressed on, telling him that he had been deceived by Nassau-Siegen. Potemkin protested that he had never been deceived, that he had known Nassau for what he was. "Don't think that I am being manipulated," he told Jones. "No one manipulates me." Potemkin rose to his full height and stamped his foot. "Not even the Empress!"

As a fig leaf, Jones was given a command with the Northern Fleet, but no one was fooled. It was winter in the Baltic. No ships were sailing. In a private letter to Catherine, Potemkin described Jones as "sleepy" and claimed, falsely, that no one wanted to serve under the American "pirate." (To the contrary, Jones's Russian men and officers remained notably loyal.)

Traveling in an open galley up the Dnieper River in November, Jones became very sick on the passage

north to St. Petersburg. He was still suffering from pneumonia when he was granted a private audience with the Empress shortly after Christmas. Catherine was bland and noncommittal about Jones's future, but any good that Jones did with her was quickly undone by Nassau-Siegen, who had his own private audience two days later with the Tsarina. (Characteristically, the Prince boasted to his wife that Catherine received him in her bedroom.) Jones was not likely to be rehabilitated. Still, he hung on. Taking an apartment in the First Admiralty District with his retinue (a translator, a seaman, and a German manservant), he churned out plans and ideas, including a proposal that Russia and America join forces against the Algerian pirates in the Mediterranean. He wrote Thomas Jefferson, sending the letter privately with the Virginian adventurer Littlepage. By Jefferson's return post, Jones discovered that, since his arrival in Russia, all of his letters abroad had been intercepted and not delivered. His mail had all been confiscated by Catherine's secret police, presumably so that only Potemkin's version of the Turkish war would reach foreign capitals. Forlornly, Jones wrote Jefferson for any news of Madame T—. He had not heard from her for a year.

Jones was isolated and lonely. He did not speak more than a few words of Russian, and the Englishmen in St. Petersburg, mostly former Royal Navy officers, would not speak to him. His only reliable friend was the French ambassador to Russia, the Comte de Segur, who had fought with the Americans in the Revolution and was Jones's brother officer in the Society of Cincinnati. Jones would need Segur's friendship. Before the end of the long Russian winter, the Kontradmiral Pavel Dzhones was swept up in a scandal.

In early April, St. Petersburg society was shocked, which is to say delighted, by a police report detailing a sordid episode. A ten-year-old German girl claimed that she had been raped by Jones. As the little girl described the incident, she had been selling butter in the Admiralty District when she was summoned to an apartment to see a man wearing a white uniform with gold braid and a red ribbon. The man punched her in the jaw, bloodying her mouth. He locked the door, threw off his uniform, and while holding the girl with one hand, threw a mattress on the floor. He pinned her down and penetrated her. Unable to call for help with a handkerchief across her mouth, the girl fainted, woke up, and ran crying into the street.

The police had witnesses. Jones's manservant or "lackey" described peering through the keyhole to Jones's bedroom and seeing Jones, dressed in a gown, not his uniform. Later, the servant said, he had found blood on the floor. A midwife testified that her "child bearing parts were swollen," her lip was cut, and her jaw bruised.



France's envoy to St. Petersburg, the Comte de Ségur, presciently warned Catherine that the "winds of freedom" were now blowing everywhere.

Under Russian law, anyone convicted of rape was "to have his head cut off or be sent to the galleys for the rest of his days." Jones had some idea what it might be like chained to an oar as a galley slave. He hired a lawyer—only to have the lawyer quit his case, feebly informing Jones that he had been ordered by the Russian government not to "meddle." Jones seemed defenseless and desperate. The Comte de Segur called on his friend and found him in a suicidal state. Jones's pistols were on the table in

front of him. "I would have faced death a thousand times," he declared, "but today I desire it." Segur pleaded with him not to despair, and began pulling diplomatic strings.

Before long, the girl's story began to fray. She was twelve years old, not ten, and she had been "selling butter" for quite a while. Her customers included Jones's manservant. The girl's mother admitted that she had been given money by "a man with decorations" in return for telling a damaging story about Jones.

What really happened? Jones himself probably told the truth in his statement, written in French, to the chief of police three days after the incident. He called the girl depraved (*une fille perdue*). Jones admitted that he had often *badine* (sporting, teased, played) with her and given her money, but that he had "positively" not taken her virginity. Rather, each time she came to see Jones, she lent herself *de la meilleur grace* (very amiably) "to do all that a man would want of her." She had left Jones that day appearing *contente et tranquille*. Jones delivered much the same message to Potemkin: "I love women, I confess, and the pleasures that one only obtains from that sex; but to get such things by force is horrible to me."

While not as sordid as the crime originally charged, Jones's account is tawdry. The kontradmiral's taste for twelve-year-old girls left him vulnerable to scandal. The Tsarina's courtiers were adept at exploiting the weaknesses of rivals through innuendo and stronger means, such as blackmail. It is more than likely that Jones was set up by his political enemies, with Nassau-Siegen the most obvious suspect. Jones was never obliged to stand trial, but he was ostracized by society, including the Empress. Though she deferred to no one in the intensity and, if legend is to be believed, the originality of her sexual appetites, Catherine referred to Jones's episode as "nasty." Hoping against hope, Jones continued to write the Empress fawning letters and proposing new schemes, like taking a squadron into the Mediterranean to attack shipping between Egypt and Constantinople. But Catherine was finished with him. The Turkish war was over for the time being (Ochakov had been captured by Potemkin, its 10,000 occupants put to the sword), and in the Baltic, all the English officers in Catherine's employ refused to serve under the Pirate Jones. The kontradmiral was put "on leave" for two years, allowed to keep his pay and emoluments so that he wouldn't turn right around and join the Swedish navy. In July, Jones was permitted to see Catherine long enough to kiss her hand. She bestowed upon him a curt and no doubt chilly "bon voyage." In late summer of 1789, Jones left Russia, still resplendent in his beribboned white uniform, but shunned and disgraced.

His ambition rendered him both gullible and self-absorbed. His sarcastic asides and demanding perfectionism often defeated his efforts to show "cheerful ardor" and reach out to colleagues. And yet, his pride masked sensitivity and a longing to be loved and forgiven. Jones's gentler side showed in some touching letters to his sister Janet Taylor, with whom he had stayed in touch over the years. Jones took an interest in the careers of his nephews, desiring that they should have what he had sorely missed on his upward climb: a university education. (His nieces, he said with his era's sensibility, "require an education suited to the delicacy of character that is becoming in their sex.") He wrote his sister, "I wish I had a fortune to offer to each of them; but though this is not the case, I may yet be useful to them." It pained Jones that his two sisters had fallen out. He had learned, by his own trying experience that nursing a prideful grudge brought only more bitterness. He urged his sisters to read Pope's Universal

Prayer:

*Teach me to feel another's woe,
To hide the fault I see;
That mercy I to others show,
Such mercy show to me!*

If only Jones had been able to take his own advice and hide his contempt toward others, they might have forgiven him. But he could not, and they did not.

Jones was sick. He was worn by care and the exposure of too many years, staying awake for days at a time, standing alert on the quarterdeck of troubled ships in troubled seas. His lungs were weakened by "dropsy," frequent bouts of pneumonia, and his kidneys were failing. In the brutally hot summer of 1792, as the French Revolution rushed toward chaos and terror on the cobblestones outside, Jones withered and shrank in his apartment at 52 rue de Tournon. He began to lose his appetite and his skin yellowed. Jaundice swelled his legs, then his belly, until he could no longer button his waistcoat. He could breathe only with difficulty.

On July 18, 1792, less than two weeks after Jones's forty-fifth birthday, Gouverneur Morris laconically noted in his diary, "A Message from Paul Jones that he is dying. I go thither and make his will." He found Jones sitting up, gasping for breath but able to give instructions to leave his estate—some shares in the Bank of North America, worth about \$6,000, some land in Vermont and shares in the Ohio and Indiana Companies, some uncollected debts and unpaid back wages—to his two sisters. Morris finished with this lugubrious business, came home to "dine *en famille*," went to an official meeting at the Louvre, and stopped in to visit his mistress. When he returned to Jones's apartment later that evening, he found a corpse. Jones was facedown on the bed, with his feet on the floor. Had he been kneeling? This disciple of Mars and Neptune had never gone to church, or, despite the occasional plea to the Almighty, showed much interest in faith or religion, but, judging from the position of his body, he may have been praying at the end.

A few days after he died, a packet arrived in Paris bestowing the kind of recognition that Jones so craved during his life. For years, Jones had been corresponding with Thomas Jefferson about the fate of "our poor countrymen" imprisoned by the Dey of Algiers. Jones had been all for raising a fleet to put down the Barbary Coast pirates (hearing of Jones's agitation and employment with the Russian infidels, the Dey had put a price on Jones's head). Lacking the will or funds, Congress had dawdled. But now some thirteen American prisoners, sailors seized from merchantmen and thrown in the grim cells of Algiers, were writing pleading letters, saying they would have to convert to Islam if help did not come soon. In the late spring of 1792 Congress was at last moved to create a delegation to negotiate with the Dey. Remembering Jones and his deep concern for the fate of prisoners, Jefferson, the first American Secretary of State, appointed Jones to lead the American delegation. But Jones was dead by the time his commission and instructions reached Paris at the end of July.

The American minister, Gouverneur Morris, did not wish to waste public funds on a grand or even decent burial for the tiresome Jones. But the French National Assembly rescued the Chevalier from a pauper's grave. The French government placed Jones's body, pickled in alcohol, in a lead-lined coffin,

should more enlightened American governments seek to reclaim and properly honor their hero's remains. On the sultry evening of July 20, 1792, a motley funeral cortege formed outside Jones's apartment near the Palais du Luxembourg. There were delegates from the National Assembly in their Republican finery, some gendarmes shouldering muskets, a smattering of Masons from the Nine Sisters, and a small gaggle of friends and common folk. Minister Morris could not attend. He had a dinner engagement.

Through the steamy, fretful streets of Paris they trudged, to a Protestant cemetery at the outskirts of the city. The gendarmes' drums beat a slow, mournful cadence; thunder rumbled in the distance; lightning flashed. (Morris, a bit guilty perhaps, reported that a bolt struck nearby as he went to dinner.) An official made a windy political speech about popular will and religious tolerance. Jones's plain coffin was lowered into a grave. Not a month later, the bodies of Swiss Guards who had been slaughtered trying to protect Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, after they were wrested from their palace in the Tuileries by the mob, would be tossed into graves nearby.



More reactionary than her husband, Marie Antoinette once confessed, "My fate is to bring bad luck." But this onetime queen of pleasure would suffer immeasurable indignity and loss on her own often poignant journey to the scaffold.

Europe's royalists sneered at Jones's demise. "This Paul Jones was a wrongheaded fellow; very worthy to be celebrated by a rabble of detestable creatures," wrote the Empress Catherine. The *London Times* dismissed the annoying corsair: "The man possessed the mind of a modern French Jacobin. He rebelled against his lawful King, and raised his arm against the nation that gave him birth, and nursed him to his years of maturity... He was a man of mean birth, and without education; naturally ferocious in mind, and when possessed of power, savage and cruel."

Morris was amused that Jones had been honored by the ever more radical National Assembly, since, Morris wrote, Jones had "detested the French Revolution" and had been "much vexed by its democracy." It is true that Jones had no great love of democracy. He remembered too well the surly officers and hands of the *Ranger*, insisting of taking a vote before going into battle. Jones loved hierarchies, as long as he could climb them. But Jones did cherish freedom. He did not much philosophize about it, save for his ritual devotions to "the universal rights of mankind." But he was willing to fight to the death for freedom from despotism. He had seen enough of tyranny, in the fate of American seaman left to die in British prison hulks, and in his own surreally twisted treatment by Catherine and her henchmen. Russia under the Tsars made Jones appreciate America all the more. Before coming to Russia, Jones wrote, he had spent the past "fifteen years among an enlightened people, where the press is free, and where the conduct of every man is open to discussion, and subjected to the judgment of his fellow citizens."

Jones cherished above all the freedom that had allowed him to create himself as he pleased. Though he had many models, from philosophers like Franklin to stoic soldiers like Washington to dashing nobles like Lafayette, Jones was essentially self-made. From the name he chose to the style of uniform he wore, he was a product of his own creation. While he often felt wronged or badly used, and tiresomely complained about it, he also knew the exhilaration of making his own destiny, of standing on a ship he alone commanded, for a cause that perfectly squared with his own ambition. His War of Independence was personal. He came of age at a time when the old social structures were beginning to slip, when the Great Chain of Being was showing cracks, and he broke free of his place as a servant's son to be his own master. He used his wit, his sword, his Masonic connections, any tool of advancement he could grasp, but he was also bound by honor.

Friend of the Court

The absence of John Adams from Paris, so pleasing both to Franklin and the French court, was too good to last. He had left, in a mood even more sour than usual, after Franklin was made the sole minister to France, but he had been home only a few months when the Congress decided to send him back to Paris. His new official mission was to negotiate a peace accord with British, if and when the time even became ripe. As the time was not, in fact, ripe for such talks, Adam contented himself by meddling in Franklin's duties.



John Adams

This thoroughly annoyed the French foreign minister Vergennes. When Adams proposed, on his arrival

in February 1780, to make public his authority to negotiate with the British, Vergennes invoked the American promise not to act independently of France. He should say and do nothing. "Above all," Vergennes sternly instructed him, "take the necessary precautions that the object of your commission remains unknown to the Court of London."

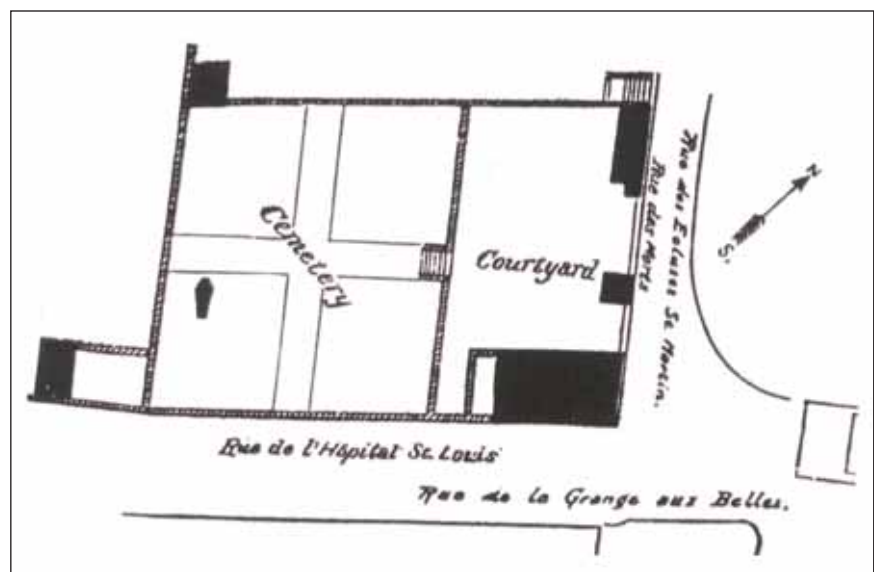
Franklin was also annoyed. Adam's return threatened to disrupt his careful cultivation of the French court, and it reminded him of the attacks on his reputation that had long been waged by the Adams and Lee family factions in the Congress. In a ruminative mood, he wrote Washington a letter that ostensibly offered reassurance about the general's reputation but clearly reflected his worries about his own. "I must soon quit the scene," Franklin wrote, in an unusually introspective way, referring not to his post in France but his life in this world. Washington's own great reputation in France, he said, was "free from those little shades that the jealousy and envy of a man's countrymen and contemporaries are ever endeavoring to cast over living merit." It was clear that he was trying to reassure not only Washington but also himself that history would ignore "the feeble voice of those groveling passions."

More specifically, Franklin sought to explain, to himself and his friends (and also to history), why Adams rather than he had been chosen to negotiate any potential peace with Britain. Just as Adams was arriving, Franklin wrote a letter to his old friend David Hartley, a member of Parliament with whom he had previously discussed prisoner exchanges and peace feelers. Hartley had proposed a ten-year truce between Britain and America. Franklin replied that it was his "private opinion" that a truce might make sense, but he noted that "neither you nor I are at present authorized" to negotiate such matters.

Final Years

In May 1790, Jones arrived in Paris, where he remained in retirement during the rest of his life, although he made a number of attempts to re-enter the Russian service.

In June 1792, Jones was appointed U.S. Consul to treat with the Bey of Algiers for the release of American captives. Before Jones was able to fulfill his appointment, however, he died facedown on his bed in his third-floor Paris apartment, No. 42 Rue de Tournon, on July 18, 1792. A small procession of servants, friends, and loyal soldiers walked his body the four miles (6 km) for burial. He was buried in Paris



at the Saint Louis Cemetery, which belonged to the French royal family. Four years later, France's revolutionary government sold the property and the cemetery was forgotten. The area was later used as a garden, a place to dispose of dead animals, and a place where gamblers bet on animal fights.

In 1905, Jones' remains were optimistically identified by US Ambassador to France Gen. Horace Porter (Goodheart 2006). He had searched for six years to track down Jones' body despite using faulty copies of Jones' burial record. Thanks to the kind donation of a French admirer, Pierrot Francois Simmoneau, who donated over 460 francs for an alcohol lead coffin for Jones, Porter knew what to look for in his search. Porter's team, which included anthropologist Louis Capitan, identified an abandoned site in northeastern Paris as the former St. Louis Cemetery for Alien Protestants. Sounding probes were used to search for lead coffins, and 5 coffins were ultimately exhumed. The third, unearthed on April 7, 1905, was later identified by a meticulous post-mortem examination by Doctors Capitan and Georges Papillault as being that of Jones, and the face was later compared to a bust by Jean-Antoine Houdon.

Jones' body was ceremonially removed from his interment in a Parisian charnel house and brought to the United States aboard the *USS Brooklyn*, escorted by three other cruisers. On approaching the US coast, seven US battleships joined the procession escorting Jones' body back to the US.

In 1913, Jones' remains were finally re-interred in a magnificent bronze and marble sarcophagus at The United States Naval Academy Chapel in Annapolis, Maryland. The ceremony was presided over by President Theodore Roosevelt who gave a lengthy tributary speech.



John Paul Jones crypt under the chapel at the Naval Academy at Annapolis. If you look just above John in his name which is carved in the floor, you can see RANGER, all of the ships he commanded are around his tomb.



RUSSIAN - OTTOMAN NAVAL WARS ON THE BLACK SEA

Battle of Kinburn (1787)

The **Battle of Kinburn** was fought on 1 October 1787 as part of the Russo-Turkish War, 1787-1792.

A weak fortress, Kinburn was located opposite Ochakov on a sand bank forming a part of the Dnieper river delta. It covered approaches to the Kherson fleet base. Reason for attack on Kinburn was to deprive the Ottoman Turks of a base for the siege of Ochakov and Kherson fleet base.

Suvorov commanding the Russian garrison had 19 bronze and 300 iron artillery pieces in the fortress, weak in power and range, 1,500 infantry in Kinburne and 2,500 infantry, 28 regimental and 10 field guns, and Cossack cavalry within 30 versts from the fortress.

The Ottomans had three 60 gun ships of the line, four 34 gun frigates, four bomb vessels (floating batteries), and 14 gunboats with 4 guns each. Altogether, about 400 guns. The Ottoman troops were carried by 23 transport vessels.

During September, the Ottoman fleet twice carried out ranging fire of the fleet against the coast, trying to locate position of the Russian gun emplacements. During one bombardment, a Russian galley "Desna" which was part of a force of two frigates and four galleys (themselves a part of Admiral Mordvinov's flotilla), intervened on the initiative of its Maltese captain, and drove off the Ottoman gunboats. On the 29 and 30 September bombardment of Kinburn was conducted from the Ottoman ships again. On 1 October 1787 at 9 in the morning an amphibious landing of 6,000 troops was conducted on two separate sites (5,300 on the bank's 'tongue' itself, and the rest 10-15 versts away at a village of Bienka), with the fleet supporting the landing with fire. The pasha of Ochakov ordered the ships to leave after the landing so that the amphibious landing force would not contemplate withdrawal. The landing force begun to dig a total of 15 trenches, in the attempt to move closer to Kinburn.



Alexander Vasilievich Suvorov (1730 - 1800)

Suvorov called for reinforcement (2,500 infantry and Cossacks) and waited, while being occupied with public prayer in the church (Celebration of the Covering), receiving dispatches and messages in the church.

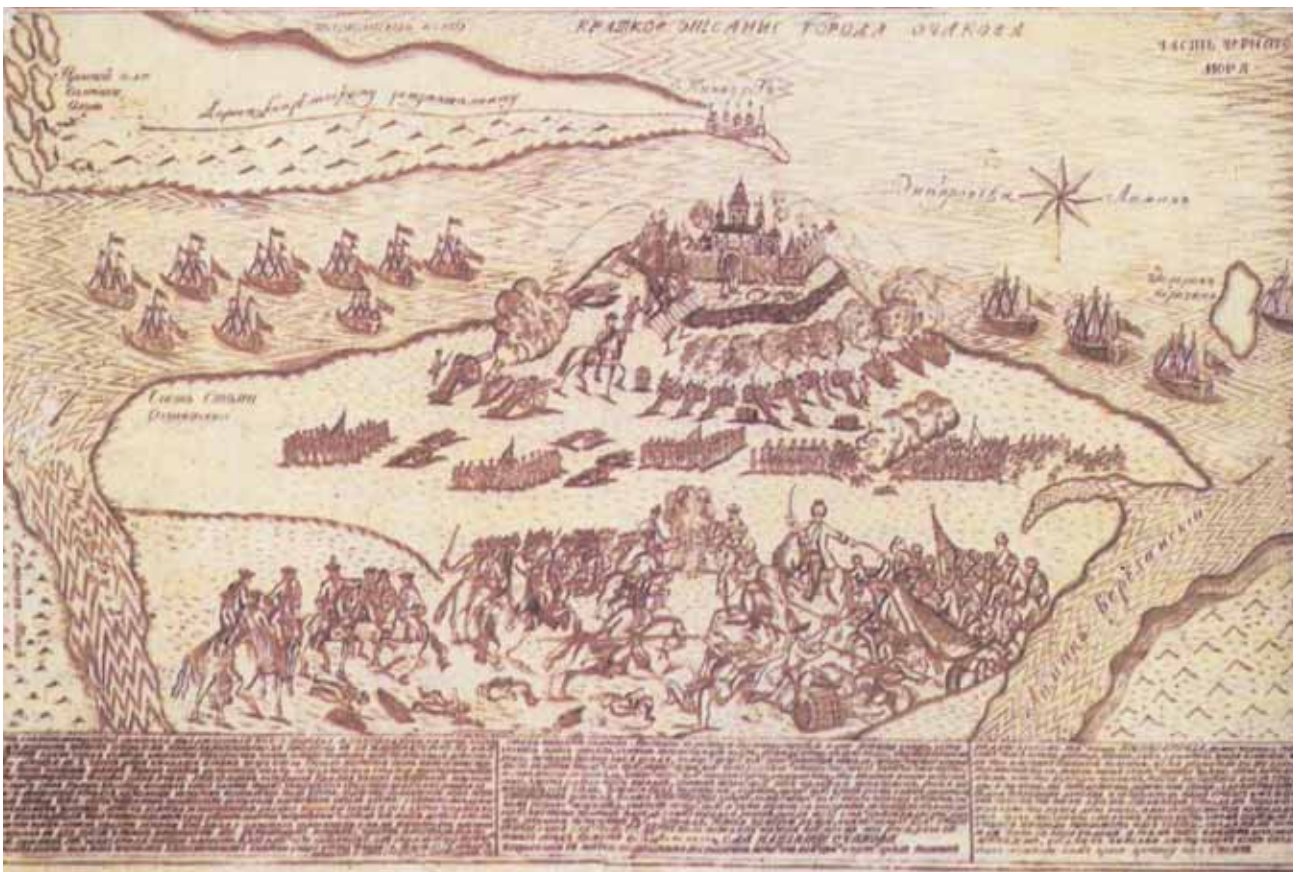
At midday the Turks approached to within 200 paces of the fortress. Suvorov began the first counterattack with 1,500 soldiers of the Orlov and Schlisselburg infantry regiments. Those attacking troops took 10 of the 15 trenches, but under flank fire of the Ottoman fleet they were forced to retreat to the fortress. Suvorov himself was wounded in the side and left hand.

At 16.00 hours Russian reinforcements approached and Suvorov repeated his attack, after releasing Cossacks to attack around the left flank of the enemy over the shoals and into their rear. This attack was successful, and Turks were forced out from the trenches and forced against the coast, forcing the fleet to cease fire in order not to hit its own troops. Suvorov had two horses shot under him. The regimental guns were able to fire canister at point blank range causing fearful carnage among the Turks.

At night 600 Turk survivors of the landing returned onboard the ships by rowed boats. Several hundred hid in the reeds, and were attacked by Cossacks on the following morning. Russian losses were 2 officers and 136 others killed and 17 officers and 300 others wounded, and those of the Turk - about 4000, including two French officers dressed as Turks which were sent to Siberia.

In Suvorov's report the Schlisselburg regiment is particularly noted for bravery. For the Kinburn victory Catherine the Great awarded Suvorov with the Order of St. Andrew and the highest praise, where she wrote: "You deserved it by faith and by faithfulness".

Action of 17 June 1788



Ochakov (17 - 18 June 1788)

This was a series of mainly small-ship actions which occurred along the coast of what is now Ukraine during the Russo-Turkish War (1787-92) as Russian and Turkish ships and boats supported their land armies in the struggle for control of Ochakov, a strategic position. The main actions at sea happened on 17, 18, 28 and 29 June and 9 July 1788. On 9 July also, the larger Turkish ships left and on 14 July they fought the Russian Sevastopol fleet about 100 miles to the south.

The Parties

The Russians had a small sailing ship fleet, commanded by Alexiano, but finally taken command of by John Paul Jones on 6 June, and a gunboat flotilla (the makeup of which changed over the course of the fighting), commanded by Prince Charles of Nassau-Siegen. Both of these men had been made Russian Rear-Admirals, and were themselves commanded by the ineffectual Prince Potemkin. The Russian land armies were commanded by Suvorov.

The Turks had a large mixed fleet, commanded by Kapudan Pasha (admiral in chief) Hassan el Ghazi (Cezayirli Gazi Hasan Pasa), part of which came in close to support the fighting, and part of which stayed out. It is hard to determine the makeup of this force accurately. Most of its ships were probably armed merchantmen, carrying around 40 guns, a few were probably larger. Different accounts give different numbers, but according to an 8 April list from Istanbul, the fleet consisted of 12 battleships, 13 frigates, 2 bombs, 2 galleys, 10 gunboats and 6 fireships. There were some xebecs (oared vessels of 30 or more guns) as well, but perhaps these were counted as frigates.

Ships involved:

Russia

Sailing ship fleet (Jones): (Only the first 3 were built as warships)

Vladimir 48 (reduced from 66 due to shallow water)

Aleksandr Nevskii 40 (reduced from 50 due to shallow water)

Skoryi 40

Cherson 32

Sv. Nikolai 26

Malyi Aleksandr 34 - Sunk 28 June

Boristen 24

Taganrog 34

Ptchela 24

Bogomater Turlenu

Sv. Anna

Grigorii Potemkin

Melent

Bityug (bomb)

Flotilla (Nassau-Siegen): ?

Turkey (Hassan el Ghazi / Cezayirli Gazi Hasan Pasa)

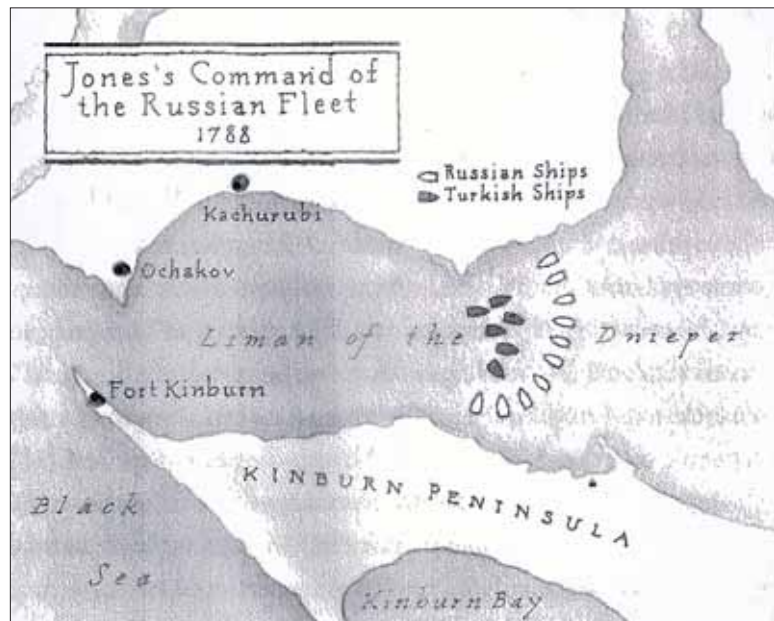
12 battleships, mostly small
 13 frigates or xebecs
 2 bombs
 2 galleys
 10 gunboats
 6 fireships

Chronology

On 19 March 1788, the Russian sailing fleet moved from its position near Cherson to Cape Stanislav.

On 21 April, Nassau-Siegen reached Cherson with his flotilla and on 24 April moved into the Liman.

On 27 May, the Russian Sevastopol' fleet under Count Voinovitch attempted to leave port but was forced back almost immediately by adverse conditions. If it had sailed, it might have met the Turkish fleet earlier than it did.



On 30 May Jones arrived, but left to confer with Suvorov about the building of a new battery at Kinburn (on the south coast, facing Ochakov) before returning on 6 June.

Meanwhile, on 31 May the Turkish fleet had arrived. The Russian flotilla waited too long before retreating, and one of its vessels, the double-sloop *No. 2*, was overtaken by small craft and its commander, Saken, blew himself up.

After a minor action on 17 June, on 18 June at about 7.30 am 5 Turkish galleys and 36 small craft attacked the inshore end of the Russian line, which was perpendicular to the coast. At first the Russians had only 6 galleys, 4 barges and 4 double-sloops to oppose them. At about 10 a.m. el Ghazi arrived with 12 more vessels, but Nassau-Siegen and Jones had advanced the offshore ends to bring their whole forces into action and at 10.30 the Turks withdrew with the loss of 2 or 3 vessels burnt and blown up. At about 11 a.m. firing stopped and by 12 p.m. the Russian flotilla had rejoined the sailing ships.

On 27 June at 12 p.m., the Turkish fleet steered for the left (windward) end of the Russian line but at 2 p.m. their flagship ran aground and the other ships anchored in disarray. Adverse winds prevented the Russians from attacking until about 2 a.m. on 28 June when it shifted to the NNE, but the Turkish ship had been refloated and the Turks tried to form a line. At about 4 a.m. all the Russians advanced and at 5.15 a.m. they were in action. The Turkish second flagship ran aground and Nassau-Siegen sent

in the left wing of his flotilla to attack her. This left his right wing weak, and *Malyi Aleksandr* was sunk by Turkish bombs. However, the Turkish battleship was burnt, this fate also falling to her flagship later. At 9.30 p.m., the Turks withdrew under the Ochakov guns; el Ghazi decided to withdraw his sailing ships completely, but the new battery at Kinburn forced him so far to the north that 9 of his ships ran aground, and the next morning the Russian flotilla surrounded these and several small craft and destroyed them all except for one 54-gun battleship, which they refloated.

The Turks had lost 2 battleships and 885 captured on 28 June, and perhaps 8 battleships, 2 frigates, 2 xebecs, 1 bomb, 1 galley and 1 transport and 788 captured on 29 June. Russian casualties were 18 killed and 67 wounded in the flotilla, and probably slight losses in the sailing ships.

The Turkish fleet appeared near Berezan Island, west of Ochakov, on 1 July, to try to rescue the small craft, but decided not to pass the batteries again and on 9 July it put to sea to meet the Russian Sevastopol' fleet, which it fought in the Battle of Fidonisi to the south on 14 July.

On 9 July also the Russian army began to assault Ochakov and the Russian flotilla attacked the Turkish vessels there. Forces involved in this were as follows: Russian: 7 galleys, 7 double-sloops, 7 floating batteries, 7 "decked boats" and 22 gunboats. Turkish: 2 20-gun xebecs/frigates, 5 galleys, 1 kirlangitch (very similar to a galley), 1 16-gun brigantine, 1 bomb and 2 gunboats.

At 3.15 a.m. firing started. The 2 Turkish gunboats and 1 galley were captured by the Russians and the rest were burnt. Firing ceased at 9.30. Russian casualties were 24 killed and 80 wounded.

Battle of Fidonisi

The naval **Battle of Fidonisi** took place on 14 July 1788 (OS) during the Russo-Turkish War (1787-92) near Ochakov. It was a Russian victory over the Sultan's fleet.

Events

On 10 July the Turkish fleet, under Kapudan Pasha (Ottoman chief admiral) Hassan el Ghazi (Cezayirli Gazi Hasan Pasa), was seen to the NW by the Russian fleet, which had finally left Sevastopol under Rear-Admiral Count Voynovitch on 29 June and had reached Tendra that 10 July.

After three days of manoeuvring or lying becalmed in sight of one another, the fleets found themselves near the island of Fidonisi, about 100 miles south of Kinburn.

Voynovitch formed a line on the port tack (NE), and then SE as the wind veered. The Turks bore up and attacked from windward just after 3pm. The leading Russian ships, the frigates *Berislav* and *Stryela*, forced the leading Turks out of line, but were in danger of being cut off until the Russian second-in-command, Feodor Ushakov, in Sv. *Pavel*, closed the gap.

El Ghazi then attacked the leading Russian ships, while his Vice- and Rear- Admirals attacked Voynovitch, but el Ghazi himself had to leave the line, his ship being damaged, and just before 5pm the Turks

withdrew. They had lost 1 xebec sunk.

Between 15 and 17 July, the Russian and Turkish fleets maneuvered to the west of the Crimea; on July 18 the Turks had disappeared. They sailed back to Ochakov but made no attack.

Ships involved:

Russia (Count Voynovitch)

Preobrazhenie Gospodne 66

Sv. Pavel 66

Sv. Andrei 50

Sv. Georgii 50

Legkii 44

Perun 44

Pobyeda 44

Stryela 44

Berislav 40

Fanagoria 40

Kinburn 40

Taganrog 34

24 small craft

Turkey (Hassan el Ghazi / Cezayirli Gazi Hasan Pasa)

5 80-gun battleships

12 other battleships

8 frigates

21 xebecs - 1 sunk

3 bombs

some small craft

Battle of Focșani

The **Battle of Focșani**, **Battle of Fokschani**, or **Battle of Focsani** was a battle in the Russo-Turkish War of 1787-1792 fought on July 21, 1789, between the Ottoman Empire and the alliance of the Russian Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy. The Russians were led by Alexander Suvorov, the Austrians were led by Prince Josias of Coburg, and the Ottomans were led by Grand Vizier Koca Yusuf Pasha. The allies stormed the Ottoman entrenched camp with a huge army, and drove out the Ottomans with a loss of 2,000 soldiers.

Part of Russo-Turkish War of 1787-1792	
Date	July 21, 1789
Location	Focșani, Romania
Result	Austro-Russian victory with heavy Ottoman losses.
Combatants	
Russian Empire/Habsburg Monarchy	
Ottoman Empire	
Commanders	
Alexander Suvorov/Prince Josias of Coburg	
Koca Yusuf Pasha	
Strength	
25,000 (Russian Empire)	
30,000 (Ottoman Empire)	
Casualties	
300 killed and wounded (Russian)	
1,500 killed, 12 guns (Ottoman)	

Focșani



Country	 Romania
County	Vrancea County
Status	County capital

Battle of Rymnik

In the **Battle of Rymnik** (September 22, 1789) took place in Moldavia, near Râmnicu Sărat, during the Russo-Turkish War. The Russian general Alexander Suvorov, acting together with the Habsburg general Prince Josias of Coburg, attacked the main Ottoman army under Grand Vizier Koca Yusuf Pasha, following a grueling night march.

In a pitched battle lasting only a few hours, the Russian and Habsburg forces, numbering only about 25,000, drove back the 60,000 Ottoman soldiers, inflicting heavy casualties. For this victory, Suvorov was awarded the title of "Count of Rymnik". The victory also resulted in the retreat of Ottoman forces from the Danubian Principalities, leading to the occupation of Wallachia by Habsburg troops.

Part of Russo-Turkish War of 1787-1792

Date	September 22, 1789
Location	near Râmnicu Sărat
Result	Russian victory

Combatants

Russian Empire/Habsburg Monarchy
Ottoman Empire

Commanders

Alexander Suvorov/Prince Josias of Coburg
Koca Yusuf Pasha

Strength

25,000 (Russian Empire)
60,000 (Ottoman Empire)

Battle of the Gulf of Yenikale

The **Battle of the Gulf of Yenikale** was a naval battle fought between the Russian Empire and the Austrian Empire during the Russo-Turkish War of 1787-1792. The Russian navy was led by Admiral Fyodor Ushakov. The battle ended in the withdrawal of both fleets without any decisive result.

Part of Russo-Turkish War of 1787-1792

Date	July 1790
Location	Yenikale, Ukraine
Result	Stalemate

Combatants

Russian Empire/Ottoman Empire

Commanders

Admiral Fyodor Ushakov (Russian Empire)
Unknown (Ottoman Empire)



Ushakov



Yenikale - Kerch, Iwan Konstantinowitsch Aivazovskyy



Yenikale - Castle of Kerch, Crimea

Battle of Kerch Strait

The naval **Battle of Kerch Strait** took place on July 19, 1790 near Kerch, Crimea, and was a slight victory for Imperial Russia over the Ottoman Empire during the Russo-Turkish War, 1787-1792.

The Russian fleet, under Ushakov, sailed from Sevastopol on 13 July 1790 for the southern Crimea, after hearing a report that the Turkish fleet had been sighted there. On 19 July it anchored at the mouth of the Kerch Strait and sent privateers out in search of the Turks. At 10 am they reported a sighting and 30 minutes later the Turkish fleet came into view from the east. With the wind from the ENE, Ushakov formed a line on the port tack (i.e. south-east). The Turks turned from their group formation and formed a parallel line to the east of the Russian line. Seeing that the Turks' battle-line contained just their battleships, Ushakov sent 6 frigates to form a second line to leeward of the main line, and between about 12pm and 3pm, 3 hours of indecisive longish-range fighting followed, but then the wind changed direction to NNE and the Russians luffed, turning toward the Turkish line. The Turks reversed course, 2 of their ships colliding as they did so, because some ships turned left and others turned right. As the Russians steered toward the tail-end of the Turks line, and with the wind from the north, the Turkish admiral steered away, to the SW. At about 7pm firing ceased. The Russians followed all night, but by morning, the faster ships of the Turks were out of sight. Russian casualties were 29 killed and 68 wounded, with very little damage to ships. The Russian victory prevented Turkey from achieving its goal in landing an army in Crimea.

Date	July 19, 1790
Location	Kerch, Crimea
Result	Minor Russian victory
Combatants	
Russia, Ottoman Empire	
Commanders	
Fyodor Fyodorovich Ushakov	
Casualties	
29 killed, 68 wounded	

Ships involved:

Russia (Ushakov)

Rozhdestvo Christovo 84 (flag)

Maria Magdalina 66

Slava Ekateriny 66

Sv. Pavel 66

Sv. Vladimir 66

Sv. Aleksandr Nevskii 50

Sv. Andrei Pervozvannyi 50

Sv. Georgii Pobyonosets 50

Ioann Bogoslov 46

Sv. Petr Apostol 46

Fanagoria 40

Kinburn 40

Legkii 40

Perun 40

Stryela 40

Taganrog 40

Sv. Ieronim (bomb)

2 fireships

13 privateers

Polotsk

Turkey

? (2nd flag) 74

Melike Bahri 66

8 other battleships

8 frigates

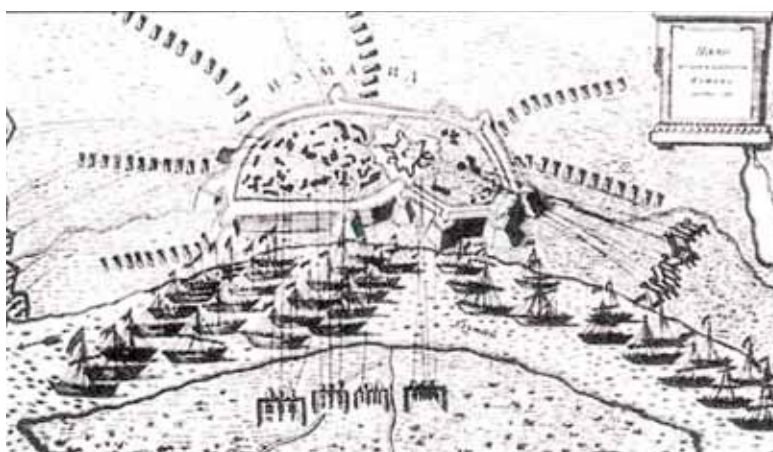
36 small craft

Battle of Tendra

The naval **Battle of Tendra**, fought on 8 and 9 September 1790 in the Black Sea as part of the Russo-Turkish War, 1787-1792, was a victory for Russia over the Ottoman Empire.

The Russian fleet of 10 battleships, 6 frigates and small craft sailed from Sevastopol on 5 September under Fyodor Ushakov for Kherson to pick up some frigates. At 6 a.m. on 8 September it encountered the Turkish fleet of 14 battleships, 8 frigates and small craft at anchor near Tendra. As the Turks formed into a battle line, the Russian fleet sailed toward the tail end of the Turkish line in 3 parallel lines, forming into one line as they did so.

The Turkish admiral, Hussein Pasha, seeing his tail threatened, turned north and came back parallel to the Russians, who followed suit so the two fleets ended up on paralleled tracks, heading north-east. This was completed by about 2 p.m. Ushakov ordered 3 frigates to the off-battle side of the van to guard against a Turkish doubling of the Russian line (Turkish ships of the period were usually coppered and therefore several knots faster than



The Ismail Fortress scheme

The next day, 2 damaged Turkish ships, the "kapitana" (Vice Admiral's ship) and *Melike Bahri* were seen close by, and the Russians attacked. *Melike Bahri* surrendered to *Maria Magdalina* without resistance, but the "kapitana" put up a stout resistance. At 10 a.m. she was attacked by *Sv. Andrei Pervozvannyi*, which brought down her fore topsail, then by *Sv. Georgii Pobiyedonosets*, *Preobrazhenie Gospodne* and others. By noon she was completely surrounded, but fought on. At 2 p.m. Ushakov in *Rozhdestvo Christovo* shot away all her masts and placed his ship across her bows, and at 3 p.m. she surrendered. Unfortunately she was seen to be on fire, and blew up after only 20 men, including Said Bey and her captain, had been taken off. Only 101 men were saved out of 800 on board.

Some Russian ships had been chasing the rest of the Turkish fleet but they were losing ground and at about 4:30 p.m. Ushakov recalled them. Russian privateers later brought in 3 small craft. Russian casualties were 25 killed and 25 wounded, and 733 Turks were captured. Several ships had minor damage in their masts and rigging. Russian victory in the Battle of Tendra allowed them to control the Black Sea.

Izmayil

13 Маїл



Coat of arms

Location



Government

Country	Ukraine
Oblast	Odessa Oblast
Raion	Izmailsky Raion

Geographical characteristics



Turkish janizaries

One of the most famous Suvorov's victories became the storm of the very strong Tur' fortress Ismail. This stronghold of the Otk Porte on the river Danube banks build by French and German fortificators was considered unassailable. In Turkish it was called "Ordu Kalesi" because this fortress could accomodate a whole army. It had the shape of an irregular triangle adjacent to the river bank. The length of the earthen rampart was more than 6 kilometers and the height was 6-8 meters with t earthen and stone bastions. The width of the fortress moat was about 12 meters with the depth of 6 -10 meters. In many places

the moat was filled with water. There were many stone buildings inside the fortress adapted to defensive actions.

The Ismail garrison was 35 thousand men and 256 guns. The commandant of Ismail was one of the most skilled Turkish commanders Aydos Mekhmet Pasha. The numerous Turkish Danube flotilla was based near the fortress walls. Russian troops (31 thousand men and more than 500 field guns) blocked Ismail and tried to capture it twice but without any success.

When General Suvorov came to Ismail on December, 2, 1790 after scouting he decided to take this strong fortress by a swift attack. For the special training of soldiers Suvorov ordered to make in steppe the earthen rampart that was like the Ismail one. The troops were trained in secret at nights. In a very short time 70 big storm ladders and about 3 thousand fascines were made.

Under Suvorov's plan Ismail was stormed by 9 assault columns, three of that were based on the island Chatal and landed to the city from boats of the rowing flotilla. From dry land two groups of troops under Lieutenant-Generals P.S. Potemkin and A.N. Samoylov and Major-General M.I. Kutuzov attacked the fortress. Each column had its own reserves.

To avoid bloodshed Russian commander sent a letter to Aydos Mekhmet Pasha with the demand to surrender the fortress, but he refused decidedly.

On December, 10, 1790 Russian field and ship artillery bombarded the fortress. Next day (December, 11) at 3 a.m. the assault columns began moving to their initial positions and at 5.30 a.m. the storm began. The Russians could not begin storm in surprise and the attacking troops were met with strong artillery and rifle fire from the rampart. The Turks made a sortie. This fighting was especially hard for Don Cossacks armed with shortened lances. After Russian troops had taken the fortress wall a heated hand-to-hand fight developed on the streets of Ismail. All the city was enveloped in flames. And at last after very hard and bloody battle Ismail was captured at about 4 p.m.

The Turkish losses were 26 thousand killed and 9 thousand wounded men, the Russian losses were 1815 killed and 2445 wounded men and the biggest losses were among officers because commanders went in front of the assault columns. The winners captured 265 guns (large-caliber in main), 42 river boats, 345 colours and bunchuks (Turkish standards).

The capture of Ismail brought Suvorov the glory of a great Russian commander, but he did not get the Field-Marshal baton, he got only the rank of colonel of the Leib-Guards Preobrazhensky regiment (in Russia it was a very high rank, Empress Catherine II herself had the rank of colonel of this Guards regiment too). The reason of this was Suvorov's terms with Prince Potemkin-Tavrichesky were very complicated.

Ships involved:

Russia (Fyodor Ushakov)

Rozhdestvo Christovo 84 (flag)

Maria Magdalina 66

Preobrazhenie Gospodne 66
Sv. Pavel 66
Sv. Vladimir 66
Sv. Aleksandr Nevskii 50
Sv. Andrei Pervozvannyi 50
Sv. Georgii Pobiyedonosets 50
Ioann Bogoslov 46
Sv. Petr Apostol 46
Fanagoria 40
Kinburn 40
Legkii 40
Perun 40
Stryela 40
Taganrog 40
Rozhdestvo Christovo (bomb)
Polotsk
 2 fireships
 17 privateer

Turkey (Hussein Pasha)

"kapitana" 74 (2nd flag of Said Bey) - Blew up 9 September
Melike Bahri 66 - Captured 9 September
 12 other battleships
 8 frigates
 3 small craft - Captured 9 September
 other small craft

Battle of Macin

The **Battle of Macin**, **Battle of Maçin** or **Battle of Matchin** was a battle in the Russo-Turkish War of 1787-1792 fought on July 10, 1791, between the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire. The Russians were led by Nicholas Repnin and the Turks were led by Yusuf Pasha. At first, the victory was in doubt, but then the Turkish army was vanquished by a charge of the Russian left, under Mikhail Illarionovich Kutuzov.

Part of the Russo-Turkish War of 1787-1792	
Date	July 10, 1791
Location	Maçin, Romania
Result	Russian victory with heavy Turkish losses
Combatants	
Russian Empire, Ottoman Empire	
Commanders	
Nicholas Repnin, Mikhail Kutuzov	
Yusuf Pasha	

Battle of Cape Kaliakra

The Battle of Cape Kaliakra was the last naval battle of the Russo-Turkish War of 1787-1792. It took place on 11 August 1791 off the coast of northern Bulgaria in the Black Sea. Neither side lost a ship,

but the Ottomans retreated to Istanbul afterwards.

The Russian fleet under Fyodor Ushakov of 15 battleships and 2 frigates (990 guns) and some small craft sailed from Sevastopol on 8 August, and at midday on August 11 encountered the Ottoman-Algerian fleet under Hussein Pasha of 18 battleships and 17 frigates (1,500-1,600 guns) and some smaller craft at anchor just south of Cape Kaliakra. Ushakov sailed, in 3 columns, from the north-east, between the Ottomans and the cape, despite the presence on the cape of several guns. Said Ali, the commander of the Algerian ships, weighed anchor and sailed east, followed by Hussein Pasha with the 18 battleships. The Russians then turned around south to a parallel east-south-east course and formed up mostly into 1 line, with Ushakov in 3rd position and one ship out of line on the off-battle

side. Said Ali, leading the line, turned north to try to double the Russian van, but Ushakov sailed out of the line and attacked him, as the rest of the Russian fleet approached. This was at 4.45 p.m.. Gradually the Turks turned to the south and when darkness put an end to fighting at 8.30 p.m. they were in full retreat to Istanbul. Russian casualties were 17 killed and 28 wounded, and Sv. Aleksandr Nevskii was damaged.

Part of the Russo-Turkish War of 1787-1792

Date August 11, 1791
Location Maçin, Romania
Result Cape Kaliakra off the coast of northern Bulgaria in the Black Sea

Combatants

Russian Empire
Ottoman Empire/Algeria

Commanders

Admiral Fyodor Ushakov
Hussein Pasha/Said Ali

Strength

15 battleships, 2 frigates
18 battleships, 17 frigates

Casualties

17 killed and 28 wounded, and 1 ship damaged
Unknown

Ships involved:

Russia (Ushakov)

Rozhdestvo Christovo 84 (flag)

Ioann Predtech 74

Maria Magdalina 66

Preobrazhenie Gospodne 66

Sv. Pavel 66

Sv. Vladimir 66

Leontii Mutch 62

Sv. Aleksandr Nevskii 50

Sv. Andrei Pervozvannyi 50

Sv. Nikolai 50

Feodor Stratilat 46

Ioann Bogoslov 46

Navarchia Vosnesenie Gospodne 46

Sv. Petr Apostol 46

Tsar Konstantin 46

Fanagoria 40

Makropolea Sv. Mark Evangelist 36

Rozhdestvo Christovo (bomb)

Sv. Ieronim (bomb)

? (fireship)

? (repeater ship)

Panagia Apotumengana (privateer) 14

16 privateers

Ottoman Turkey/Algeria/Tripoli (Hussein Pasha)

18 battleships

10 large frigates

7 smaller frigates

43 small

Captain John Paul Jones

6 July 1747 - 18 July 1792

Chronology of Service

1747

6 July - Born at Arbigland, Kirkcudbrightshire, Scotland, on the shore of Solway Firth.

1759

Apprenticed. Went to sea on the *Friendship*. Visited his brother, William Paul, in Virginia. Made voyage as third mate of slaver *King George*.

1766

Chief mate of the *Two Friends*, of Kingston, Jamaica.

1768

Returned to Scotland in the *John*; sailed for the West Indies. Made supercargo of the *John*.

1770

5 Aug. - Wrote from St. George, Granada, to Mr. Craik regarding his private business, his ship, and the care of his mother.

27 Nov. - Made a freemason (entered apprentice) St. Bernard's Lodge, Kilwinning No. 122, Kirkcudbright, Scotland.

1771

1 Apr. - Date of certificate of high approval from owners of the *John*. Same year visited family in Scotland for the last time.

1772

30 June - Date of affidavit sworn to before Governor Young, of Tobago, exonerating Jones from charges made against him.

24 Sep. - In London. Wrote to his mother and sisters; enclosed copy of affidavits establishing his innocence in the case of Mungo Maxwell.

- Commanded the *Betsey*. (Day and month not given)

1773

30 Jan. - Evidence in Jones' behalf given before Mayor of London.

- In Virginia. (Day and month not given)

- Assumed the name of Jones in North Carolina. (Day and month not given)

1774

Jones' brother, William Paul, died. Date taken from tombstone in St. George's Churchyard, Fredericksburg, Va. William Paul's will dated 1772. (Day and month not given)

1775

25 Apr. - Wrote to Joseph Hewes, Robert Morris, and Thomas Jefferson desiring a naval appointment.

May - Visited French ship *Terpischore*, Commander Kersaint, in Hampton Roads. Met Louis Philippe Egalite. (Day of month not given)

24 Jun. - Marine Committee desired Jones' view on naval affairs.

18 Jul. - Appeared before Committee at Philadelphia.

25 Aug. - Requested by Marine Committee to fit out the *Alfred*.

14 Sep. or 3 Oct. - Sent, through Hon. Joseph Hewes, replies to inquiries on naval affairs from Congress.

3 Dec. - "B.P." wrote to Earl Dartmouth that the "Continental flag was this day hoisted on the *Black Prince*" (later called the *Alfred*). At Philadelphia.

7 Dec. - Jones appointed first of the first lieutenants in the Continental Navy by Congress. Ordered to the *Alfred*.

22 Dec. - Appointments of 7 Dec. confirmed by Congress.

Dec. - Offered command of the *Providence* or *Fly*. Preferred remain on the *Alfred*. (Day of month not given)

Dec. - Hoisted American Flag on the *Alfred*, flagship of Commander-in-Chief Esek Hopkins. (Earl Dartmouth letter indicates 3 Dec. as date)

1776

9 Feb. - Commodore Hopkins' fleet sailed from Philadelphia under the "Union Flag" as used by General Washington at Cambridge. Jones First Lieutenant of flagship, *Alfred*.

17 Feb. - Fleet left the Delaware on expedition.

1 Mar. - Fleet anchored off Abaco. Jones piloted the *Alfred* into New Providence.

17 Mar. - Fleet sailed from New Providence with captured military stores and the governor and other important prisoners.

4-5 Apr. - Schooner Hawk and bomb brig *Bolton* captured.

6 Apr. - *Alfred* and *Cabot* engaged the Glasgow. She escaped. Hopkins' squadron put into New London.

14 Apr. - Jones wrote Honorable Mr. Hewes account of the expedition.

1 May - Ordered to attend the court-martial of Captain Whipple, Captain of the *Alfred*.

10 May - Jones ordered by Hopkins to command the *Providence*.

18 May - *Providence* arrived in New York.

19 May - Jones explained to Honorable Mr. Hewes reasons for declining the command of the *Fly*; said new commission had not been sent him.

6 June - Desired command of one of the new ships being constructed by order of Congress.

10 June - In obedience to Commodore Hopkins' order, pursued an armed sloop in sight of New London. She escaped.

13 June - Ordered to convoy the *Fly* and other vessels carrying government supplies.

18 June - Ordered to Boston by Commodore Hopkins.

20 June - Colonel Tillinghast requested by Jones to get his private log of the *Alfred* from that ship and send it to him.

1 Aug. - Arrived in the Delaware with convoy from Boston.

8 Aug. - Received a Captain's commission from the President of Congress. "The first naval commission under the United States" or "since the Declaration of Independence." Marine Committee proposed to Jones to command the *Hampden*; he chose to remain on the *Providence*.

16 Aug. - Ordered to watch for French vessel with supplies.

21 Aug. - Sailed from the Delaware with orders to "cruise against the enemy for six weeks or more."

1 Sep. - After a sharp action, escaped from the British frigate *Solebay* near Bermuda. Later encountered and escaped from the *Milford* off Cape Sable.

3 Sep. to 28 Sep. - Captured off northeast coast of America 16 vessels, destroyed fishery at Canso and shipping at Isle Madame. Sent in 8 prizes, burned 8.

7 Oct. - Arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, in the *Providence*.

10 Oct. - Commissioned Captain in the Continental Navy.

17 Oct. - Wrote Robert Morris account of cruise. Made suggestions for improvement of the navy, plans for expedition against enemy's African trade.

22 Oct. - Took command of expedition to Cape Breton.

27 Oct. - The *Hampden* disabled, had to put back.

2 Nov. - Jones sailed with the *Alfred* and the *Providence*.

10 Nov. - Captured brig *Active* off Louisburg.

13 Nov. - Captured transport *Mellish*, with 10,000 suits of uniform; 150 prisoners.

16 Nov. - Captured brig *Hetty*.

24 Nov. to 30 Nov. - Captured 5 vessels, one a privateer of 16 guns. Destroyed a transport, ashore at Canso Straits. Burned buildings at Isle Royale.

7 Dec. - Chased by frigate *Milford*; escaped, lost one prize.

10 Dec. or 15 Dec. - Arrived in Boston.

1777

12 Jan. - Explained to Honorable Mr. Hewes failure to release Americans at Cape Breton coal mines.

14 Jan. - Superseded by Hinman in command of *Alfred*, by order of Commodore Hopkins.

21 Jan. - Protested to Marine Committee against this injustice.

5 Feb. - Marine Committee ordered Jones to command fleet of six vessels for expedition to Pensacola.

17 Mar. - Appointed by Congress to command one of the three ships purchased "until a better can be had."

25 Mar. - Ordered to Boston to select and fit out a ship.

7 Apr. - At request of President of Congress submitted plans for organization and government of the Navy.

19 Apr. - Met Lafayette in Alexandria, Virginia.

4 May - Letter to Mr. Mawley concerning the money due him and care of his mother. Letter written from Boston.

9 May - Ordered to proceed to France in the *Amphitrite*. To take the officers and men to man a fine ship to be purchased for him in Europe. Letter to Commissioners in Paris.

23 May - In Boston shipped men for *Amphitrite*.

26 May - Wrote to the "Secret Committee."

14 June - Ordered to command the *Ranger*, first called the *Hampshire*, building at Portsmouth, New Hampshire; and Stars and Stripes adopted as National Ensign by Act of Congress.

18 June - Appointed to the *Ranger*, appointment sent by Marine Committee.

1-2 July - Orders received by Jones at Boston.

4 July - Stars and Stripes hoisted on a United States man-of-war for first time, the *Ranger* or the *Raleigh*.

29 July - Directions to Lieutenant Elijah Hall regarding men's pay.

2 Aug. - Advertised for crew of *Ranger*.

6 Sep. - Ordered by Marine Committee to proceed to France to report to the Commissioners. The *Indien*, at Amsterdam, promised him.

29 or 30 Oct. - Reported to Marine Committee the many hindrances in fitting the *Ranger* for the sea. Will sail "with first favorable wind."

1 Nov. - *Ranger* sailed from Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

26 Nov. - Captured two brigs (Green says 23d and 25th).

2 Dec. - Anchored off Nantes. Forwarded papers to Paris.

5 Dec. - Jones visited the Commissioners at Paris.

11 Dec. - Gave a detailed account of voyage in letter to Jacob Wendell.

1778

10 Jan. - Commissioners directed an advance of 500 louis d'or to be paid Jones for expenses of ship.

16 Jan. - Commissioners gave Jones "unlimited orders".

1 Feb. - Fired 13 guns in honor of Mr. Tomas Morris, Continental agent at Nantes, recently deceased.

12 Feb. - *Ranger* sailed from Nantes for Quiberon Bay.

13 Feb. - Anchor in Quiberon Bay at 7 p.m. (or 6 p.m.).

14 Feb. - Received from Admiral La Motte Piquet, commanding French squadron, first salute to the Stars and Stripes from a foreign power. Gave 13 and received 9 guns.

15 Feb. - Sailed through the French fleet in the American brig *Independence*, Captain John Young; saluted the French squadron with 13 guns and received 9 in return.

22 Feb. - Informed the Marine Committee of exchanging salutes.

3 Mar. - Sailed from Quiberon Bay.

8 Mar. - Anchored in Camaret Bay.

23 Mar. - Sailed up to Brest. Exchanged salutes with French Admiral.

25 Mar. - Wrote Silas Dean and John Ross that he was to receive salute of gun for gun leaving Brest.

2 Apr. - Count d'Ovilliers saluted *Ranger* with 10 or 11 guns when she left Brest, about 5 p.m.

5 Apr. - Ships forced by bad weather to return to Brest.

10 or 11 Apr. - *Ranger* sailed from Brest in company with French frigate *Fortuna*.

14 or 15 Apr. - Captured brig *Dolphin* off Cape Clear.

17 Apr. - Captured ship Lord *Chatham*; sent her to Brest.

19 or 20 Apr. - Sunk schooner and sloop taken off coast of Ireland.

21 Apr. - Captured a fishing boat. Bad weather prevented surprising and boarding the *Drake*, 20 guns.

22 Apr. - Captain Jones and 31 volunteers landed at Whitehaven, spiked guns, burnt shipping, including ship *Thompsom*.

23 Apr. - Jones and 12 men landed at St. Mary's Isle to capture Earl of Selkirk. Selkirk being absent, men took 160 pounds weight of silver.

24 Apr. - After fight of one hour and five minutes, H.B.M.S. *Drake* surrendered to the *Ranger*.

25 Apr. - Captured brig *Patience*. Let fishing boat go. Buried Captain Burden of the *Drake*, and Lieutenant Wallingsford of the *Ranger*, with military honors.

26 Apr. - Lieutenant Simpson given command of the *Drake*. Relieved of command by Jones because of disobedience of orders. A brig captured by the *Ranger*.

6 May - Lieutenant Elijah Hall sent on board the *Drake* to supersede Lieutenant Simpson.

7 May - Lieutenant Hall ordered to follow the *Ranger* and take the *Drake* into Brest. Letter to Lady Selkirk. Will return silver.

8 May - The *Ranger* reentered Brest with the *Drake*.

9 May - Reported the result of expedition to American plenipotentiaries at Paris.

10 May - Hoisted Continental colors on the prize *Patience*.

11 May - Prisoners sent on board the *Patience*.

27 May - Reported to Marine Committee action from 10 April to 27 May.

27 May - Informed Doctor Bancroft of need of funds for crew and surprise at the dishonoring of his draft.

28 May - Reported death of Lieutenant Dobbs, R.N., of the *Drake*.

1 June - Thanked Doctor Franklin for his expressed approval.

3 June - Explained his financial embarrassment; had advanced 1,500 pounds of his own money; received no wages.

5 June - Submitted plans for combined operations against the British to American plenipotentiaries and French Minister of Marine.

6 June - Sailing in company with the *Boston*, Captain S. Tucker, off Isle Dieu; visited the ship.

10 June - Informed by Doctor Franklin that he is to have the *Indien*, building at Amsterdam.

4 July - Proposed to plenipotentiaries that Lieutenant Simpson return to America in command of the *Ranger*. Celebrated anniversary of independence of the *Ranger*.

12 July - Letter to Mr. Grand regarding qualifications requisite in a Protestant chaplain for his ship.

27 July - Lieutenant Simpson took command of *Ranger*.

6 Aug. - Informed General Washington that, at the request of French Minister of Marine, he would remain in France. Begged the General's acceptance of a pair of epaulettes he sent. Men of Whitehaven expedition recommended to the plenipotentiaries.

10 Aug. - Informed that the plenipotentiaries will recommend to Congress those who took part in the landing at Whitehaven.

15 Aug. - Requested to the plenipotentiaries to order a court-martial.

18 Aug. - Captain Abr. Whipple of the *Providence* requested by Jones to summon a court-martial to try Lieutenant Simpson. Recommended to Congress all who landed Whitehaven.

21 Aug. - *Ranger* ran out with a fine breeze.

22 Aug. - Commissioners order court to try Simpson.

6 Sep. - Charges against Simpson withdrawn.

13 Sep. - Having been informed that he cannot get the *Indien* and prevented from going on expedition with Count d'Orvilliers, asks Sartine's permission to return to America.

21 Sep. - Requested the Duc de Chartres aid him in his effort to get a ship on some active duty.

16 Oct. - *Ranger* arrived at Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

19 Oct. - Implored King Louis XVI to aid him to get a ship. The Duchess de Chartres presented the letter.

21 Nov. - Explanatory letter replying to Mr. Arthur Lee.

17 Dec. - Jones summoned to audience with the King.

1779

4 Feb. - The King gave Jones the Duras; to be fitted out and named by him. Permission given to change name to *Bonhomme Richard*, in compliment to Doctor Franklin.

6 Feb. - Jones thanked M. de Sartine for his interest.

10 Feb. - Doctor Franklin and Honorable J. Adams to Jones regarding his giving up the *Ranger*.

6 Mar. - Jones explained to Benjamin Franklin cause of his trouble before coming to America.

27 Apr. - Informed that La Fayette is to command Jones' expedition. *Bonhomme Richard* to be ready 7 May.

30 Apr. - Jones wrote to "Father John" (John Mehegan), chaplain to Count d'Orvilliers, that he would require a chaplain for the French on his crew.

1 May - Replied to La Fayette that it would be a great pleasure to serve under his command. Thanked Sartine, La Fayette, and Benjamin Franklin.

1 to 3 May - Jones in command of *Bonhomme Richard* at L'Orient.

9 May - Informed by Franklin of affairs on the *Alliance*.

11 May - Captain Landais brings the *Alliance* from Nantes to L'Orient.

13 May - Ordered Landais to prepare the *Alliance* for sea.

22 May - La Fayette ordered by King to command a regiment ashore instead of the fleet.

1 June - Jones wrote and sent money to his sister Elizabeth.

10 June - Informed by M. de Chaumont regarding the preparation of the *Bonhomme Richard*, her officers and crew.

14 June - M. de Chaumont sent Jones the "Concordat."

19 June - *Bonhomme Richard*, *Alliance*, *Pallas*, *Cerf*, and *Vengeance* sailed from L'Orient, under command of Captain John Paul Jones. Convoyed French merchant ships and transports with troops.

20 June - At midnight the *Alliance* "rank afoul" of the *Bonhomme Richard*; carried away the latter's jib boom.

21 June - The *Alliance* made prize of a Dutch ship. A privateer captured but abandoned; superior force in sight.

23 June - Jones issued standing orders to the fleet.

29 June - Chased two frigates. Prepared for action; they stood away.

30 June - Consulted with his officers as to chasing.

30 June - Thanked officers and men for effort on 29th. Entered Croix to refit. Ordered to cruise on coast of Ireland.

1 July - Reported to Franklin, cruise from 19 to 30 June.

4 July - Celebrated on board the *Bonhomme Richard*. Fired two salutes each of 13 guns.

12 July - Franklin informed that the *Bonhomme Richard* was too old to admit of proposed alterations.

26 July - Would like to have the *Monsieur* added to fleet. Jamaica fleet, conveyed by a 50-gun ship and two frigates, may be encountered.

28 July - Sent Mr. Lunt and gunner to recruit crew from exchanged prisoners.

30 July - Reported sinking at anchor of prize *Three Friends*.

3 Aug. - *Bonhomme Richard* spoken of as having three decks.

7 Aug. - Mr. Lunt returned with 29 men.

10 Aug. - Special orders issued to the fleet.

13 Aug. - Signed the "Concordat" on eve of departure.

14 Aug. - The fleet, under Jones' command, sailed from Croix. Consisted of *Bonhomme Richard*, *Alliance*, *Pallas*, *Cerf*, *Vengeance*, *Granville*, and *Monsieur*.

16 Aug. - Application made by Jones for affiliation with the lodge of Les Neuf Soeurs, Paris.

18 Aug. - Captured the *Verwagting*. The *Monsieur* left the fleet.

22 Aug. to 22 Sep. - Captured *Mayflower*, *Fortune*, *Betsey*, *Union*, and one ship, five brigs and five sloops.

25 Aug. - The *Cerf* and *Granville* left the fleet.

17 Sep. - Letter written to the chief magistrates of Leith. Released captured fisherman; gave him a passport.

Sep. - Liverpool put in state of siege. (Day of month not given)

23 Sep. - Captured H.B.M.S. *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough* off Flamborough Head, England. After an engagement of nearly four hours, the *Serapis*, 44 guns, Captain Richard Pearson, R.N., surrendered to the *Bonhomme Richard*, Captain John Paul Jones. The *Countess of Scarborough* surrendered to the *Pallas* and *Alliance*. When asked by Captain Pearson if he had struck, Jones replied "in a most decided negative;" or, "I've not yet begun to fight."

24 Sep. - Log of the *Bonhomme Richard* states that the *Alliance* raked the *Bonhomme Richard* fore and aft during the latter part of engagement of 23d. Jones transferred his crew to and hoisted his flag of *Commodore* on the captured *Serapis*. Note to log of *Serapis* says: "at half past 12 at night (23d) the *Serapis* colors were halled down and some of the *Bonhomme Richard's* officers and men boarded her."

25 Sep. - The *Bonhomme Richard* sank between 10 and 11 a.m., her flag flying as she went down. Nothing saved but the original flags. Jones's loss "50,000 livres."

26 Sep. - Master-at-arms of the *Bonhomme Richard* put in irons for liberating prisoners during the fight, 23 September.

3 Oct. - Jones anchored his squadron and prizes in the Texel.

5 Oct. - Reported his arrival to French ambassador at The Hague.

6 Oct. - Captain Pearson, R.N., reported the engagement and his surrender on 23 Sep. to the British Admiralty Office.

7 Oct. - Jones left ship and went to Amsterdam.

9 Oct. - Sir Joseph Yorke, British ambassador, requested the Dutch Government to hold Jones' prizes as English property.

11 Oct. - Franklin informed by Jones that he will hold Captain Pearson as hostage for Captain Conyngham's release.

15 Oct. - Franklin acknowledged receipt of letter of 8th instant. "All Paris and Versailles praising Jones' victory." Directions giving regarding Landais. Anxiety regarding prisoners Jones has taken. The prizes sent into Norway arrived safely.

19 Oct. - Captain Pearson complained to Jones of his not having visited him and wished to know what had been done towards exchange of prisoners.

20 Oct. - Jones replied to Pearson and referred to treatment of Captain Conyngham in England. Sick and wounded British to have all the care given to American.

24 Oct. - Jones wrote to M. de Chaumont regarding the unaccountable conduct of Landais, 23d Sep. Thanked M. de Chaumont for his kindness.

25 Oct. - Holland refused to agree to Sir J. Yorke's demands regarding Jones' prizes; "will observe a strict neutrality."

30 Oct. - Charges preferred against Landais, signed by "officers of the American of the squadron in the Texel." Sent to plenipotentiaries at Paris.

4 Nov. - Jones informed the French minister at The Hague of need of water and squadron supplies. Wrote to French ambassador explaining position. Loss of French commission and intention to leave the Texel. British squadron watching for him.

15 Nov. - Directed by Franklin to turn over to French ambassador at The Hague all prizes and ships of his fleet except the *Alliance*.

21 Nov. - All American officers and men transferred to the *Alliance*. Command of the Serapis turned over to the Captain Cottineau by Jones. Captain Pearson exchanged for Captain Conyngham, who was taken on the *Alliance*.

1 Dec. - The *Alliance* ready, waiting favorable weather to sail.

5 Dec. - Informed Robert Morris of desire to return to America. Number on 10 October 1776, unsatisfactory.

13 Dec. - Indignantly declined "letter of marque" commission from the French ambassador at The Hague.

16 Dec - Declined to visit Dutch admiral on his ship.

17 Dec. - Refused to hoist other than American colors on the *Alliance*. Waiting for pilot.

27 Dec. - The *Alliance* sailed from the Texel. Escaped the British fleet outside.

28 Dec. - Sailed past British fleets in the Downs and off Spithead, showing American colors.

1780

1 Jan. - Got clear of British Channel. Jones wrote some "Lines" in reply to Miss Dumas.

8-12 Jan. - Took two prizes; sunk one and sent one to America.

16 Jan. - Put into Corunna, Spain, for anchor.

28 Jan. - Sailed from Corruna, French frigate, *La Sensible*, bound for Brest, in company. Before sailing visited by governor; saluted him with 13 guns.

5 Feb. - Recaptured a French bark from a Guernsey privateer.

10 Feb. - *Alliance* arrived at Croix. Conveyed the American merchant ship *Livingston* into port. Notified Franklin of his arrival and repairs needed to the *Alliance*.

13 Feb. - Reported to Franklin from L'Orient.

19 Feb. - Great economy ordered to be observed in refitting the *Alliance*. Four gentlemen have permission to return to the United States on her. She is to carry arms and ammunition for the United States government.

25 Feb. - Jones replied to Franklin that his wishes shall be complied with as far as possible.

12 Mar. - Franklin informed Landais that he would not give him a ship if he had twenty.

11 Apr. - *Alliance* ready to sail for America. Arms and supplies for the American Army all on board. Jones visited Paris.

1 May - Festival in Jones' honor given by the Masonic Lodge of Les Neuf Soeurs, Paris. This lodge ordered Jones' bust to be made by Jean Houdon.

May - Informed that King Louis had awarded him the Order of Military Merit and a gold sword. (Day of month not given)

30 May - The King, through M. de Sartine, commended Jones to the Continental Congress.

1 June - Letter received by Franklin from the American Board of Admiralty dated 28 March 1780, desiring the immediate return of the *Alliance*. Franklin recommended Jones to Congress.

13 June - Jones read his orders to command the *Alliance* to the crew. Left for Paris. Landais assumed command of the *Alliance* against Franklin's orders. Arthur Lee supported Landais' action.

16 June - Officers and men desiring to remain with Jones went from the *Alliance* to the *Ariel*, loaned to America by France.

20 June - Jones returned from Versailles. *Alliance* dropped down to Port Louis.

21 June - Jones informed Franklin of Landais' refusal to obey orders. Stated that he had prevented the French forts from firing on the *Alliance*, and that she had been towed out. Rouel, Parisian artist, desired Jones to sit to him for his portrait.

22 June - The *Serapis* sold at L'Orient for 240,000 livres to the King of France.

24 June - The *Alliance* sailed for Croix.

25 June - Commodore Gillen, of South Carolina, visited Jones in regard to men from South Carolina who had been on the *Bonhomme Richard*.

28 June - M. de Sartine notified Jones that the King would present him a gold sword, and the French decoration of the Order of Military Merit. A packet for Chevalier de Luzerne intrusted to Jones' care for transportation to America. Landais ordered not to sail for America without instructions. Requested to send 80 men to assist in equipping the *Ariel*. He sent 22.

29 June - An officer sent the *Alliance* for more men contemptuously treated by Landais.

3 July - Jones wrote to crew of *Alliance*.

8 July - *Alliance* sailed for America.

21 July - The gold sword presented to Jones. He is received by the French King at Versailles. Asked Countess de la Vendahl to be custodian of sword while he was at sea.

24 July - Wrote to Madame de T. explaining affair between him and Landais at L'Orient.

2 Aug. - The *Ariel* nearly ready for sea. Jones solicited the interest of the Count de Maurepas and the Count de Vergennes in his plans for active operations.

13 Aug. - The *Alliance* made Cape Ann, 38 days from land to land.

15 Aug. - Jones informed that Count de Maurepas would endeavor to secure vessels and aid for an expedition.

25 Aug. - Birthday of Louis XVI celebrated on board the *Ariel* at L'Orient. Two royal salutes fired.

2 Sep. - Jones gave a grand entertainment on the *Ariel*.

5 Sep. - *Ariel* move to outer harbor of Croix.

8 Sep. - Jones wrote M. Dumas that at next meeting with Captain Pearson he would make "him a count." (Most biographers say "make a lord of him.")

21 Sep. - Replied to letter (5 July) in which the Countess de la Vendahl declined to be custodian of his sword.

7 Oct. - The *Ariel* put to sea.

12 Oct. - The *Ariel* returned, disabled by storm.

13 Oct - Statement of *Ariel's* officers of disasters caused by storm of the 8th and 9th.

26 Oct. - Franklin notified that all haste will be used to refit *Ariel*, and of correspondence with Captain Thomas Truxtun, of US privateer *Independence*, regarding his right to fly a broad pennant, contrary to act of Congress 29 Oct. 1776.

Dec. - Superb entertainment given on the *Ariel*. Fight between the *Bonhomme Richard* and the *Serapis* represented. (Day of month not given)

Dec. - In latitude of 26 degrees, longitude of Barbados (60 degrees), the *Ariel* engaged and received the surrender of the British frigate *Triumph*, Captain John Pindar. She escaped after striking her colors. (Day of month not given)

4 Dec. - Ordered by Franklin to proceed to America with dispatches for Congress. Franklin will use best endeavours to secure a prompt payment of prize money.

18 Dec. - The *Ariel* sailed for Philadelphia.

1781

4 Feb. - *Ariel* reached Delaware Bay. Colonel Henry Fisher, Continental Army, loaned money to Jones for his officers and crew.

18 Feb. - *Ariel* arrived at Philadelphia.

19 Feb. - Jones ordered to attend Congress on 26 February.

20 Feb. - Required by the Board of Admiralty to reply to 47 questions.

27 Feb. - Congress passed resolutions commending Jones. Praised for his brilliant victory. Authorized his acceptance of decoration of Order of Military Merit from Louis XVI.

1 Mar. - *Ariel* took part in celebration of ratification of confederation of the States, held at Philadelphia.

17 Mar. - Franklin replied to Board of Admiralty, explaining the "Concordat."

21 Mar. - Jones sent replies to the 47 questions from the Board of Admiralty. About the time he was invested with the Order of Military Merit, became a "Chevalier" and was permitted to wear the decoration. The Chevalier de la Luzerne gave, at Philadelphia, a grand entertainment in honor the event. Board of Admiralty desired Jones' opinion regarding exchange of prisoners on prison ship at New York.

28 Mar. - Board of Admiralty satisfied with Jones' replies; commended him to Congress.

14 Apr. - Thanks of Congress given to Captain John Paul Jones, his officers and men.

15 May - Letter of congratulation from General George Washington.

28 May - Jones sent memorial to Congress requesting he be given his right number on list of Captains.

26 June - Made statement to Board of Admiralty of amount due him as pay from 7 Dec. 1775 (1,400 pound 5 shillings). Jones unanimously elected by Congress to command the US ship-of-the-line *America*, building at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Rank of Admiral proposed.

28 June - Petitioned Congress for an advance on pay due him, to enable him to pay his debts and proceed to Portsmouth in obedience to orders.

18 July - Wrote certificate of merit for Lieutenant Richard Dale.

25 July - Congress approved accounts; referred him to the Treasury Board for payment.

Aug. - Left Philadelphia. Visited General Washington at White Plains. Reached Portsmouth late in August. (Day of month not given)

29 Nov. - Jones addressed a public meeting in the town hall, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

13 Dec. - Appointed by Congress Day of Thanksgiving.

22 Dec. - Farewell letter from La Fayette to Jones.

25 Dec. - Jones wrote to "Delia" from Philadelphia.

1782

13 May - Birth of the Dauphin announced (France). All commanding officers ordered by Congress to celebrate it.

June - Jones celebrated the birth of the French Dauphin on board the USS *America*. Supplied guns and powder at own expense. (Day of month not given)

4 July - Celebrated the Declaration of Independence on board the *America*.

29 July - Highly praised and commended by Chevalier de la Luzerne.

4 Sep. - Robert Morris enclosed resolution of Congress 3 September, presenting the *America* to France.

22 Sep. - Memorial from Jones to Congress regarding his position. Made suggestions for the betterment of the Navy. Through Robert Morris asked permission to join French expedition to West Indies with the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

9 Oct. - Robert Morris commended his sentiments.

5 Nov. - The *America* launched and delivered to Chevalier de Martigne for France. Jones ordered to superintend her fitting out. Jones about this time made another effort to get the *Indien*, then at Philadelphia.

29 Nov. - Jones' request to join the French squadron presented to Congress.

4 Dec. - Request granted. Congress commended his zeal and recommended him to the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

24 Dec. - French fleet sailed for the West Indies. Jones on the *Triomphante*.

1783

18 Feb. - French fleet at Port Cabello, waiting for Spanish.

8 Apr. - Notice of the declaration of peace received by French fleet.

20 Apr. - Jones ill. He sailed from Cape Francois for Philadelphia. Highly praised by French officers.

18 May - Jones arrived at Philadelphia.

17 Aug. - Attended religious services of *Moravians* at Bethlehem, PA. Quieted a disturbance.

21 Aug. - At Bernam, Pennsylvania. Wrote to Major J.S. Sherburne at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, that his health was restored and he might visit that city.

10 Oct. - Letter to Robert Morris reviewing his naval career and injustice done him.

13 Oct. - Applied for position as United States prize agent in Europe.

1 Nov. - Appointed United States prize agent by Congress; to act under minister plenipotentiary at Paris.

10 Nov. - Sailed from Philadelphia for Havre on the packet *Washington*.

30 Nov. - Bad weather forced the packet to put into Plymouth, England. Jones went to London with despatches.

6 Dec. - Arrived at Paris.

17 Dec. - Franklin authorized Jones to receive all prize money due to officers and men of squadron lately under his command in European waters.

20 Dec. - In Paris. Presented to Louis XVI by the Marechal de Castries.

1784

- "Life of Louis XVI" by John Paul Jones published in London. (Day and month not given)

1 Feb. - Jones transmitted his credential to Marechal de Castries; hoped for immediate settlement of prize cases.

10 Feb. - Informed that amount of prize money due, after all expense are paid, will be "283,631 l. 13s."

25 Mar. - Letter from Franklin regarding prisoners.

June - Prepared to return to America with La Fayette. Delayed by settlement of prizes; papers not ready. (Day of month not given)

23 Oct. - Marechal de Castries signed prize case papers. Payment delayed.

8 Nov. - Lady Selkirk informed by Jones that her silver, taken 23 Apr. 1778, had been shipped to London.

1785

23 June - De Castries urged to settle prize cases. Jones referred to royal auditor at L'Orient.

15 July - Order for payment of prize money issued.

29 July - Thomas Jefferson, minister to France, informed of difficulties in settling prize cases.

31 July - Jones informed Jefferson of actions of Algerines against the United States.

1 Aug. - *Alliance* sold at Philadelphia for \$9,750.

4 Aug. - Lord Selkirk acknowledged receipt of silver taken 23 Apr. 1778.

Sep. - Prize money amounting to "181,039 livres 1 sou 10 deniers" paid to Jones for the United States. (Day of month not given.)

8 Oct. - Proposed to Jefferson that Doctor Bancroft take his place as prize agent to Denmark.

18 Dec. - Letter from Count d'Estaing praising Jones' "Journal." Refers to his joining the Society of the Cincinnati. One of the original members of the Society of Cincinnati.

1786

1 Jan. - Jones presented his "Journal" to King Louis XVI. Thanked his Majesty for honors conferred upon him.

28 Feb. - Jefferson acknowledged receipt of Jones' bust by Houdon.

12 Aug. - Balance of prize money after deducting Jones' share, "112,172 l. 2-4," placed with Jefferson.

29 Aug. - Jones sent his miniature done in wax to Mrs. Belches, Edinburgh, Scotland.

3 Sep. - Informed Jefferson that "bad health" has prevented his setting out for Denmark.

1787

Spring - Left Paris for Copenhagen to settle prize claims in Denmark. Turned back from Brussels and sailed for the United States. (Day and month not given)

18 July - In New York. Wrote John Jay that he would soon return to Copenhagen. Spent summer in Pennsylvania. Urged Congress to do something for relief of Americans in Algiers.

4 Sep. - Wrote to Madame de T. Sent letter through Thomas Jefferson, 24 Oct. 1787.

11 Oct. - Settlement of prize claims in France approved by Congress. Treasury to pay money "as soon as may be among the captors."

16 Oct. - Gold Medal ordered by Congress for Jones. To be made in Paris under Jefferson's supervision. King of France to be informed. Jones to be bearer of a letter to King of France. To proceed to Denmark as prize agent.

26 Oct. - Notified by Congress that Jefferson is to manage Danish prize cases, but can appoint Jones or other agent.

11 Nov. - Sailed from New York; vessel bound for Holland; captain of vessel promised to land him in France. Landed him at Dover. Passed some days in London.

12 Dec. - Jefferson informed of his being in Paris. Jones desired this may not be made known until after an interview with him.

20 Dec. - Announced his arrival at Paris. Was informed that Russia would like to have him command Black Sea Fleet. Would not deliver his letters for King until return from Denmark.

1788

24 Jan. - Received from Jefferson credentials as agent to Denmark.

1 Feb. - Interview by M. Simolin, minister from Russia to France, at house of Chevalier Littlepage.

4 Mar. - Cordially welcomed upon arrival at Copenhagen.

11 Mar. - Reported to Jefferson his arrival and illness.

18 Mar. - Informed Jefferson of presentation at Danish court.

24 Mar. - Count Bernstorff informed of his mission to Denmark.

25 Mar. - Informed Jefferson regarding Russian offer.

30 Mar. - Prompt reply asked from Denmark as to payment of prize money due United States.

4 Apr. - Informed by Count Bernstorff that he has not full powers needful for a full agreement. Jones awarded a pension of 1500 crowns a year by Denmark in recognition of respect shown Danish flag when in the North Sea.

5 Apr. - Count Bernstorff informed that prize claims will be negotiated and settled by Baron de Blome with Jefferson in Paris.

18 Apr. - Jefferson informed of termination of the Danish mission and that Jones has decided to enter the Russian service.

Mar. or Apr. - Grade of captain commandant with rank of major-general offered Jones by Empress of Russia through Baron Krudner. (Confusion as to actual dates)

23 Apr. - Arrived at St. Petersburg after dangerous journey.

25 Apr. - First meeting with Empress Catherine II of Russia.

2 May - Jefferson informed General Washington of the invitation to Jones to enter the Russian service.

7 May - Jones left Catherine's palace with a letter from her to Prince Potemkin at St. Elizabeth.

19 May - Arrived at St. Elizabeth; was ordered to command of Russian fleet of Liman.

20 May - Left St. Elizabeth to take command of the naval force at the mouth of Dnieper River. Set out for Cherson.

26 May - Hoisted his flag as Rear Admiral on the *Wolodimir*.

28 May - Reenforced the fleet of the Prince of Nassau with one of his ships.

29 May - The Russian squadron commanded the passage of the Liman.

6-7 June - Successful engagement with the Turkish fleet. Turks driven back. Jones commanded in person the flotilla of the Prince of Nassau and his own ships.

8 June - Potemkin thanked Jones for his victory of 7 June over the Turks. The Order of St. Anne presented him in recognition of his service to Russia in this instance.

10 June - Thanked Prince Potemkin for his recommendation.

16 June - Turks reenforced; advanced to the attack.

17 June - Jones engaged Turks. Captain Pacha driven back.

18 June - Renewed attack by the Turks; their vessels driven ashore and burned.

20 June - Potemkin thanked for letter of 19 June. Referred to engagement of the 16th.

28 June - Jones cut off communication between Oczakow and Beresane. Captured two chaloupes and one batteau laden with powder and shot.

29 June - Jones received a warning letter from Prince Potemkin.

1 July - Jones withdrew frigates by order of Prince Potemkin.

10 July - Ordered by Potemkin to establish blockade between Oczakow and Beresane.

14 July - Jones inspected entrance to the Liman.

17 July - Flotilla to be added to Jones' command.

18 July - Jones to send five frigates to be refitted at Glouboca.

19 July - Vessels sent off at daybreak. Thanked by Potemkin.

21-31 July - Operated against Turkish gunboats. Ran close in under Fort Hassan under heavy fire from Turks. Secured one of their gunboats with aid from Lieutenant Edwards.

28 July - Jefferson informed Mr. Cutting of Jones' brilliant victory over the Turks.

1 Aug. - Jones neglected to salute flag of Vice-Admiral Prince of Nassau-Siegen.

19 Aug. - Potemkin proposed by letter that Jones take command of the Sebastapol fleet.

29 Aug. - Requested Jefferson to attend to some private affairs in Paris. Busts to be sent to General St. Clair, Mr. Ross, of Philadelphia, John Jay, General Irvine, Secretary Thompson, Colonel Wadsworth, of New York, Mr. Madison, and Colonel Carrington, of Virginia.

30 Aug. - Unsuccessful attack upon Turkish flotilla.

18 Sep. - Potemkin gave secret order to attack Turks. Preparations made. Jones ordered to defer operations.

10 Oct. - Jones to relinquish command of the fleet. Lieutenant Edwards, one of his officers, failed in attempt to dislodge a gun from one of enemy's ships.

13 Oct. - Ordered by Potemkin to drive back Captain Pachia. Insinuations in wording of letter resented by Jones.

18 Oct. - Informed that Admiral Mordwinoff had been ordered to supersede him in command of squadron. Ordered by Empress Catherine to proceed to St. Petersburg for service in the North Sea. Order addressed to Jones as vice-admiral.

31 Oct. - Recommended by Potemkin to Empress Catherine for zeal in her service.

9 Nov. - Embarked in open galley for Cherson. Suffered greatly on the journey.

12 Nov. - Arrived at Cherson; detained there by illness.

6 Dec. - Proceeded to St. Elizabeth.

28 Dec. - Arrived at St. Petersburg. Ordered to appear at court.

31 Dec. - Audience with Empress Catherine II of Russia.

1789

15 Jan. - Informed Jefferson of return to St. Petersburg.

20 Jan. - Proposed alliance between Russia and America against Algerines and for defense of Mediterranean. Would like command of the combined fleet.

1 Feb. - Further propositions of alliance between America and Russia in the Mediterranean.

23 Mar. - Informed by Jefferson that his letter of 31 January is the only information received from him since he left Copenhagen (about March 1788).

13 Apr. - Forwarded to Prince Potemkin proof of his innocence of slander against him.

17 May - Requested permission of Catherine to return to France or America.

6 June - Requested an interview with Count Besborodko.

27 June - Informed that he has been granted leave for two years, with all appointments belonging to his military rank, by Her Majesty.

7 July - Took leave of Catherine II.

14 July - Made a third application for interview with Besborodko.

29 July - Finished the "Journal of the Liman Campaign," written for the Empress of Russia by Jones.

30 July - Informed of his appointments and arrearages by Count Besborodko.

Sep. - Left St. Petersburg for Warsaw. (Day of month not given)

25 Sep. - Wrote from Warsaw to Empress Catherine. (See letter 25 February-8 March 1791)

2 Nov. - Informed General Kosciuszko that he would leave Warsaw "this day for Vienna."

20 Dec. - Wrote to General Washington from Amsterdam.

27 Dec. - Letters to John Ross expressing desire to return to America and purchase a farm, and to Benjamin Franklin enclosing documents from Count de Segur, and recalling the tenth anniversary of sailing of the *Alliance* from the Texel.

29 Dec. - Justified his conduct in Russia to Baron Krudner.

1790

9 Feb. - All calumny removed by Count de Segur.

26 Mar. - Wrote to sister, Mrs. Taylor.

Apr.-May - In England attending to private business. Received with distinction. Returned to Paris. (Days of months not given)

24 July - Congratulated Potemkin upon Russian success.

1791

1 Feb. - Proposed to Gouveneur Morris a plan for attack upon India should Russian and England engage in war.

25 Feb. - Asked Empress Catherine to cancel his leave if she does not require his service. Sent her his "Journal of the Liman Campaign."

20 Mar. - Asked Jefferson to obtain for him from Congress permission to wear the Russian Order of St. Anne, as it will be on a bust ordered for North Carolina.

23 Mar. - Jefferson informed by Chevalier Littlepage of Jones' brilliant work in Russia.

20 Apr. - Met Lord Daer, son of Lord Selkirk, at dinner.

4 July - Called on Gouverneur Morris.

9 July - Sent copy of his bust to Baron Grimm. Referred to inventions and styles of war vessels.

31 Aug. - Informed by Jefferson that his good conduct required no proof in America. Congress could take no action regarding the wearing of the order.

Nov. - Published "Treatise on the Existing State of the French Navy." (Day of month not given)

7 Dec. - Wrote to La Fayette that he is to be presented to Louis XVI as a Russian admiral. Will later present to his Majesty letters from Congress, given him when last in the United States (Nov. 1787).

1792

14 Mar. - Urged upon the French Minister of Marine the payment of money he advanced for salaries of the *Bonhomme Richard's* crew.

1 June - "Admiral John Paul Jones"'s appointment as United States Commissioner to treat with the Bey of Algiers for the release of captive Americans, confirmed by Congress. In conformity with act of Congress 8 May 1792.

11 July - Jones attended the meeting of the National Assembly, Paris. Dined at the Café Timon. Toasted as the "coming admiral of France."

18 July - Admiral John Paul Jones died in Paris at his residence, No. 42 Rue de Tournon. Gouverneur Morris had drawn up his will a few hours previous to his death.

19 July - M. Le Brun announced Jones' death to the National Assembly of France. It ordered a deputation of 12 members attend his funeral. Some of the members proposed to "put him in the Pantheon." Members of the National Assembly wore mourning in his honor. Beaupoil, French officer, notified Jones' sisters of his death, told them of his will, and sent a schedule of his property.

20 July - Body put in a leaden coffin to be convenient for removal to the United States when desired. Prominent Americans and French attended funeral. Swiss Protestant "Pasteur" Jules Marron pronounced oration. Gouverneur Morris "desired that he (Jones) might be buried in a private and economical manner." Thomas Waters Griffith, of Baltimore, Maryland, was among those present at Jones' funeral; he stated that there was "no priest, no service." "A volley of muskets was fired by soldiers over his grave," which was in "one of the common cemeteries of Paris." "No priest," probably refers to there being no Roman Catholic Priest. Jones' body deposited in Cemetery for Foreign Protestants at instance of Gouverneur Morris.

Historical Chronology (After Death)

1792

9 Aug. - Colonel Blackden wrote to Mrs. Taylor, John Paul Jones' sister, a full account of his last illness, death, and burial.

1796

20 May - Information published concerning Jones' share in the Ohio Company.

1798

- "Citoyen" [Jean Francois] Andre published in Paris by Chez Louis in French, "Memoires de Paul Jones." (This is the "Journal for the King" so often mentioned.) (Day and month not given)

1809

- A brief, unreliable sketch of the life of Paul Jones, published in New York by [Evert] "Duyckinck." [This publication is possibly: *National Portrait Gallery of Eminent Americans Including Orators, Statesmen, Naval and Military Heroes, Jurists, etc, etc, From Original Full Length Paintings by Alonzo Chappel, with Biographical and Historical Narratives by Evert A. Duyckinck, Editor of "Cyclopedia of American Literature," etc. vol. 1.* (New York: Johnson, Fry & Company, 1802): pp. 157-165.]

1812

June - *Niles' Register* published first installment of an English translation of Andre's "Memoirs." ["[Paul Jones](#)." *The Weekly Register* 40 (6 June 1812): pp. 230-231; 41 (13 June 1812): pp. 249-251; 43 (27 June 1812): pp. 277-278; 44 (4 July 1812): pp. 296-298; 45 (11 July 1812): pp. 317-318; 46 (18 July 1812): pp. 330-331.]

1820

1 July - *Niles' Register* published a notice that the New York Historical Society will be furnished, by Jones' neice, with original papers from which to prepare a biography. About the same date Colonel J.H. Sherburne advertised for data for same purpose. ["[Paul Jones](#)." *Niles' Weekly Register* 460 (1 July 1820): pp. 320-321.]

1824

7 Aug. - *Niles' Register* tells of the finding of 414 of Jones' original letters and documents in a "huckster's shop" in New York. ["[Paul Jones](#)." *Niles' Weekly Register* 673 (7 Aug. 1824): p. 1.] They were placed in the hands of Mr. Wiley; later, through a Mr. Ward, they came into the possession of Colonel J.H. Sherburne.

1825

- Colonel John Henry Sherburne published in Washington and New York by Wilder & Campbell the first edition of the "Life and Character of the Chevalier John Paul Jones." (Day and month not given)

1827

28 Apr. - *Niles' Register* stated that the journal of John Paul Jones would be published in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. ["[Journal of Paul Jones](#)." *Niles' Weekly Register* 32, no. 815 (28 Apr. 1827): p. 151.]

1830

- "Memoirs of Rear Admiral Paul Jones," published by Oliver and Boyd in Edinburgh, from papers in the possession of Jones' family. (Known as the Janet Taylor edition). "Life and Correspondence of John Paul Jones," by Robert Charles Sands published in New York by D. Fanshaw Printer. (Days and months not given)

1831

- Lieutenant A.B. Pinkam, US Navy, while traveling in Scotland, visited the birthplace of Jones, and had the house in which Jones was born restored at his own expense. Miss Janet Taylor, niece of Jones, gave Lieutenant Pinkham the miniature now at the United States Naval Academy, in recognition of his kindness. (Days and months not given)

13 June - William P. Taylor, nephew of John Paul Jones, appointed midshipman United States Navy, died 14 Dec 1836.

1834

30 June - Congress authorized that a frigate be named *John Paul Jones*. Not carried out.

1837

28 Feb. - Colonel J.H. Sherburne discovered an unpaid balance of \$50,000 in the United States Treasury due to Jones, his officers, and men for prizes captured.

1841

- Captain Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, US Navy, published a "Life of John Paul Jones" in Boston by Hilliard, Gray and Company. (Day and month not given)

1844_31 Jan. - Heirs of Jones petitioned Congress for land in Virginia that had belonged to him.

1845

- Honorable George Bancroft, Secretary of the Navy, asked by Colonel Sherburne to grant permission

for the remain of Jones to be brought to the United States in a man-of-war returning from the Mediterranean. No reply given to the request. (Day and month not given)

1846

- James Fenimore Cooper published a brief life of Jones in volume 2 of his *Lives of Distinguished American Naval Officers* (Auburn, NY: Derby, 1846, pp. 5-112). This was followed by sketches of the naval hero by many authors.

1847

28 Dec. - Colonel Sherburne wrote to Honorable R. Rush, minister to France, with regard to removal of Jones' remains.

1848

3 Jan. - Mr. Rush replied that he would give Colonel Sherburne any aid in his power in the removal, from Paris for interment in Congressional Cemetery, Washington, DC, of Jones' body.

21 Mar. - Congress authorized the payment of arrears of pay and prize money to John Paul Jones' heirs.

6 July - Appropriation for payment of balance of \$50,000 to heirs of Jones, his officers and men, and the Danish claim, \$150,000, finally made.

1851

27 Jan. - Secretary of the Navy informed that the revolution in France had prevented Colonel Sherburne from bringing back remains. Asked to be allowed to bring them on the US frigate *St. Lawrence* when she returned to the United States. Americans in Liverpool subscribed \$300 toward a fund for reinterment.

30 Jan. - Captain Joshua R. Sands ordered to transport Jones' remains on the *St. Lawrence* when he returned from Southampton to New York.

20-21 Feb. - Colonel Sherburne to accompany remains on board the *St. Lawrence* upon her return voyage.

6 May - Captain Sands notified Colonel Sherburne from Southampton that he was ready to receive the remains and to sail. Mr. N. Billings, attorney for F.E. Lowden, legal representative for Jones' heirs in Scotland, notified Colonel Sherburne that he had taken steps to prevent removal of remains.

16 May - Mr. Billings apologized to Colonel Sherburne. Wrote "will be glad to aid in search for remains."

19-27 May - Correspondence between Colonel Sherburne at Paris, and Captain Sands at Lisbon, regarding Mr. Billings' interference. Sands regretted that he could not have the honor of conveying the body of Jones to the United States.

14 Jul. - The Secretary of the Navy, Honorable William A. Graham, informed that Colonel Sherburne's search of the records of Paris and the files of the Moniteur showed that the Protestant Cemetery in the rear of the Hotel Dieu, where John Paul Jones was supposed to have been buried, had been sold and all bones removed to catacombs. Mr. Billings assisted in the search.

Aug. - Colonel John Henry Sherburne in New York, sent to Hon Wm. A. Graham a copy of the second edition of his "Life and Character of Jones Paul Jones, a Captain in the United States Navy, during the Revolutionary War" recently published by Adriance, Sherman and Company of New York. (Day of month not given)

1852

5 June - Colonel Sherburne died.

1859

- M. Charles Read, discovered an entry in old burial register, of interment of Jones in (Dutch) Foreign Cemetery in north-east part of Paris. Made copy from register 89, 1799. (Day and month not given)

1861

29 July - Congress requested a statement of proportion of fund due heirs of John Paul Jones.

6 Aug. - Secretary of Treasury submitted to Congress statement of prize money due to officers and seamen of the *Bonhomme Richard* and the *Alliance*. To *Bonhomme Richard*, \$91,024.34; to the *Alliance*, \$74,574.03.

1862

3 Jan. - Above statements presented to Congress.

- USS *John Paul Jones* built and put into service. (Day and month not given)

1869

Dec - Charles Dickens made the erroneous statement that the remains of John Paul Jones had been brought to the United States on the St. *Lawrence* in 1851 for interment in the Congressional Cemetery at Washington, DC. (Day of month not given)

1899

31 July - Honorable John Jay, Secretary of State, informed that Mr. Charles Read (antiquary) had made a copy of the burial register destroyed in 1871.

1905

9 Feb. - General Horace Porter, United States ambassador to France, announced that he had located the burial place John Paul Jones.

14 Feb. - President Roosevelt transmitted General Porter's report to Congress. Recommended appropriation of \$35,000 to defray expense of search in cemetery St. Louis (no such appropriation was made). Also recommended appropriation for monuments to John Paul Jones and John Barry.

22 Feb. - At banquet in Paris General Porter stated that after a search of five years he had found the long-sought burial site.

15 June - A silk flag presented to Rear-Admiral Sigsbee by the Daughters of the American Revolution Society to be used in connection with the return of Jones' remains. Afterwards to be hung in Continental Hall, Washington, DC.

18 June - Squadron under command of Rear-Admiral S.D. Sigsbee, sailed for France to bring John Paul Jones' body to the United States.

Source: Document produced by Yeoman Whicher, Serial Pers-327-hww of 4 Nov. 1942, "Captain John Paul Jones, United States Navy, Deceased, RE: Service of," box 121, ZB Files, Navy Department Library, Naval Historical Center, Washington, DC. [The text of this type-script manuscript appears to have been taken directly from: *John Paul Jones: Commemoration at Annapolis, April 24, 1906*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1907): pp. 165-184.]

Note: See James C. Bradford's *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Papers of John Paul Jones, 1747-1792*. Alexandria, VA: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986, for an excellent chronology of Jones' life (pp. 23-33).

First Encounters between the United States and the Muslim World

Robert Allison

Captain Bainbridge set a unique table. Each quarter of the globe, America, Asia, Africa, and Europe, was represented by a decanter of fresh water drawn from it. He had samples of foods from each continent brought to the table simultaneously, to the great delight of his guests, who also came from the four corners of the world.

This multicultural banquet was made possible by its location. Bainbridge entertained his guests just outside İstanbul, on board the USS George Washington, the first American warship to visit Turkey. Could there have been a more appropriate place for this multi-national gathering, drawing together people from all over the world, than on board an American ship named for the hero of the American revolution and first President of the United States, at the precise point where Europe meets Asia?

Bainbridge had made a strong impression some weeks earlier (9 November 1800) when he first arrived in Turkey, despite the fact that no one in the government recognized the American flag, nor had anyone heard of the United States. Bainbridge finally was asked if his country was not also called the “New World.” When he said indeed it was, the messenger left for the shore, returning in a few hours with a lamb, a symbol of peace, and flowers, as a mark of welcome. Sultan Selim III permitted the ship to enter the inner harbor, and as the George Washington passed his palace the Sultan paid particular attention to its flag. He noted a heavenly convergence: stars on the American flag, and the crescent on Turkey’s flag, that suggested “analogy between the people and the laws, religion, habits and manners of the Americans and Mussulmen [sic.]” ([Dearborn](#) 20; see also [Harris](#)).

A trading relationship had already opened. In July 1800 the merchant ship *Martha* had arrived in İzmir, where it spent a month discharging one cargo and taking on another. To have *George Washington* follow *Martha* so closely, to have the Sultan note the similarities between the flags of his empire and the United States, boded well for future relations between İstanbul and Washington ([Ship Martha Log](#)).

Bainbridge arrived in Turkey after a long series of false starts in this relationship. In May 1784, Congress had authorized its agents in Europe, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson, to meet with representatives of the Ottoman Sultan. But France’s minister of foreign affairs, the Comte de Vergennes, a former French minister to İstanbul, had told Adams that such a treaty would benefit Americans little (and presumably benefit France less) ([Paullin](#) 126-127). Though Franklin did meet with at least one Turkish official (in 1800, the then Capudan Pacha’s secretary would ask Bainbridge about his old friend Franklin), Adams dropped the idea. In 1786, after Algiers had captured two

American merchant ships, Adams and Jefferson again considered a Turkish negotiation, but again did nothing. William Carmichael, American agent in Madrid, wanted the Americans to act, and not heed the counsel of France: “We shall never be respected until we respect ourselves,” he wrote Jefferson on 15 July 1786 (*Papers of Thomas Jefferson* 10:137-138). The latter proposed a multi-national alliance of non-aligned states with a naval force led by John Paul Jones, the American naval hero who had written to him on 31 July 1785 that military action against Algiers would show that the Americans were a “great people who deserved to be Free” (*Papers of Thomas Jefferson* 8:334). Jefferson proposed this idea to diplomats from Portugal, Russia, and Naples, but abandoned the idea when Vergennes again stepped in, telling Jefferson’s chief French ally, Lafayette, that France would not permit such a plan to be developed on French soil. Jones served Catherine the Great’s navy in Russia’s war against Turkey. Writing to Jefferson (from Saint Petersburg) on 31 January 1789, he said that “if the new government of America determines to chastise the Algerines [sic]” they should make “a common cause with Russia in the Mediterranean,” with American sailors serving on Russian ships under his command (*Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States of America* 7:395). Nothing came of this intriguing idea. Ten years later, the US made a completely different move on the Turkish front, this time to join Turkey in an alliance against France, with whom both were at war. John Pickering, son of the American secretary of state, was dispatched on a mission to Turkey, but the project was cancelled because the Mediterranean was deemed too dangerous to travel (see Timothy Pickering’s letter of 5 May 1799 from Philadelphia to John Pickering; and John Pickering’s letter of 3 June 1799 from Lisbon to Timothy Pickering in *Pickering Family Manuscripts*). Bainbridge arrived in Turkey not as an official emissary of the US, but as a courier for the Dey of Algiers, who had commanded Bainbridge, bringing the US tribute to his regency, to carry the Dey’s gifts to the Sultan. Not an auspicious beginning, but a beginning of which Bainbridge made the most. Would his dinner party symbolize a growing friendship between these two distant nations, each estranged from the politics of Europe? Did it portend future gatherings hosted by the United States, a place where all people of the world could find welcome?

Positive answers to these questions lay far in the future, beyond the lifetimes of Bainbridge and his guests. Americans had a profound ignorance of the Muslim world, seeing Muslim societies in general, and the Ottoman state in particular, as powerful symbols of the wrong way to build political and social organizations. Americans, in fact, had inherited a particular European idea on the nature of Muslim societies, and as they built their own political society they used this image of Islam as a model for what to avoid. For Americans the Ottoman state and other Muslim societies were as much symbols as they were countries. Americans had an image of these nations rooted in ideology and history, and this image shaped the American reaction to the real Muslims they encountered.

Encounter them they did, as over a hundred American sailors were captured by Algiers in the 1790s. The US followed the policy of other European powers in paying tribute to Algiers and the other Barbary states, though Jefferson, Bainbridge, Jones, and Carmichael all believed the US should set a different example. The Americans were creating a new kind of political society which would not succumb to the corruption and avarice of the old world. For the US to follow the corrupt practices of the Old World would inevitably corrupt the society Americans were trying to create. They would then share the same fate of every other nation in the world, and ultimately degenerate into a political system like the Ottoman empire, about which they had read in *John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon’s Cato’s Letters* (1724) and *Montesquieu’s Spirit of the Laws* (1749) and other political tracts.

Americans believed that all people of the world were of equal endowment and capabilities. Why, then, would the people of Turkey submit to this kind of despotic power? The answer, Americans came to believe, lay in their religion. Islam, according to writers who knew very little about Islam, encouraged a kind of listless acceptance of fate and a blind submission to authority.

This is brought home in an 1802 book, *The Life of Mahomet; or, the History of that Imposture which was Begun, Carried on, and Finally Established by Him in Arabia; and Which has Subjugated a Larger portion of the Globe, than the Religion of Jesus has Yet Set at Liberty. To which is added, an Account of Egypt*. The story of Muhammed's establishment of Islam, the anonymous author wrote, was "deeply affecting to a philanthropic heart," as it showed how "the consummate artifice and wickedness of a single individual" could degrade "millions of rational beings" to the "rank of brutes." This kind of intellectual tyranny permitted a political tyranny, and the author saw no recourse but for Christian nations to invade Muslim countries in order to free the "sentiments of men" from the fetters of Islam, to permit a "mental revolution" aided by "the formidable attacks of reason and judgment." Military intervention was necessary to allow this intellectual liberation (125, 85, 83-84).

Islam permitted, the Americans believed, the kind of tyranny they were convinced existed throughout the Muslim world. This tyranny, in turn, bred, they reasoned, the social stagnation European observers believed they saw in Islamic countries. French philosopher Volney, who traveled through Egypt and Syria in the 1780s, and was awarded a medal by Catherine the Great for his pro-Russian pamphlet on the Turkish war (1788-1790) pondered the ruins of the great empires of Mesopotamia and Egypt, concluding their decline had been brought on by Islamic intolerance and political decadence. Volney's meditation on this history, *The Ruins, or a Survey of the Revolutions of Empires*, proved so influential that even though it had been twice translated into English, President Jefferson busied himself preparing a new translation during his presidential administration.

Works such as *Life of Mahomet* or *The Ruins* were not curiosities about different worlds, but warnings about what might happen if Americans failed to create the proper kind of political society. Not all American observers were confident that they had avoided the snares of intolerance or tyranny. At about the same time Bainbridge hosted his multi-national dinner party, an American writer pondered similarities and differences between American and Islamic societies. In *Humanity in Algiers, or the Story of Azem*, the author found the most alarming contradiction between American professions of liberty and American practice. The captures by Algiers, the author (who called himself simply "An American") wrote, should not have been a surprise as the Algerians,

only retaliate on us for similar barbarities. . . . Unconscious of our own crimes, or unwilling the world should know them, we frequently condemn in others the very practices we applaud in ourselves, and wishing to pass for patterns of uprightness, or blinded by interest, pass sentence upon the conduct of others less culpable than ourselves. (3-4)

The captivity of Americans in Algiers was a retribution for American enslavement of Africans.

Others made this same point. Franklin's last published essay was a satire of a Georgia congressman's pro-slavery speech, which Franklin simply rewrote, changing the Georgian's references to "Africans"

to “Christians,” and claiming the speech had been made a century earlier by an Algerian official. The same arguments which justified enslaving Africans, Franklin knew, would justify enslaving Christians, and if it was brutal and immoral to enslave one group of people, why not another (“[On the Slave Trade](#)” 517-521). [Royall Tyler](#)’s 1797 novel *The Algerine Captive* has its protagonist, Updike Underhill, taken by Algiers after a slaving voyage to West Africa. The “slavery” of Americans in Algiers was a punishment for the slavery of Africans in America. A poem of 1797, *The American in Algiers; or the Patriot of Seventy-Six in Captivity*, by an anonymous poet, has a white veteran of Bunker Hill, held captive in Algiers, narrate the first canto, while a black veteran of Bunker Hill enslaved in America narrates the second (see also [Allison](#)).

Humanity in Algiers, purporting to be a true story, was not the first notice of the contradiction between American professions and practices, but may have been one of the first American anti-slavery novels. Azem, the title character, was a Senegalese slave in Algiers. He earned his freedom by saving his master’s daughter from an Arab rapist, and went into business trading between Algiers and Senegal. In the course of his trading journeys he finds his mother, and learns that Alzina, a Senegalese slave in Algiers, whom he has been trying to free from her rich and lustful owner Valachus, is actually his sister. Valachus’s

youth and independence of fortune render him callous to the feelings of pity, and deaf to the voice of reason. He has but just entered upon his large paternal inheritance; and flushed with that self-importance which generally attends wealth newly acquired, will, I know, be obstinate against any argument that may be employed to alter him from what his passions may seem to dictate, or his will determine. (71-72)

This comment critique seems aimed as much at newly independent Americans as it is at the fictional Valachus. What would restrain this young, newly-independent nation, flushed with self-importance, from listening more to the call of passion than of compassion?

Valachus fails to succumb to moral reason, but does succumb to the plague, and he frees Alzina on his deathbed. On the reunion of Azem and Alzina, Omri delivers a sermon:

And may every master, in whatever part of the inhabited globe he may reside, with cheerfulness practice that important precept of the Alcoran - “Masters, treat your servants with kindness.” So may the light of Islamism shine forth, in its full splendor, to the utmost ends of the universe! For thus saith the God of all men: Of one blood have I created all nations of men that dwell upon the face of the earth. (98-99; see also Letter to the Ephesians 6:9)

This is all good Christian as well as Islamic doctrine, and the author used this Muslim sermon to shame Americans into seeing their own hypocrisy. But for every author like this one, who saw the enslavement of Americans in Algiers as an indictment of American enslavement of Africans, many others saw the American wars against Algiers and Tripoli as attempts to enlarge the sphere of liberty. Bostonian [James Ellison](#)’s 1811 play *The American Captive, or the Siege of Tripoli* celebrated the American victory, neatly dispatching the problem of slavery. In this play, Jack Binnacle, an American sailor held captive in Tripoli, waxes poetic about his country, telling the overseer El Hassan that America was “a charming

place . . . no slavery there! All freeborn sons!" El Hassan asks, "No slavery, hey? Go where the Senegal winds its course, and ask the wretched mothers for their husbands and their sons! What will be their answer? Doom'd to slavery, and in thy boasted country, too!" Binnacle's embarrassment is temporary, as at this moment his ship's cook, a black man named Juba, appears and is able to tell Hassan that in New England, presumably Jack Binnacle's home, and the place where this play was performed, slavery has been abolished. "O Massa, no no; we brack gentlemen be all free!" Juba reports (37-38). Juba exonerates the New England audience from their own possible complicity in the sin of slavery, but his exaggerated black dialect, and his addressing Binnacle and Hassan as "Massa," also reinforces the fact that people of color were free, but not equal, in Massachusetts.

Though irony crept in, the celebratory mode dominated the political rhetoric of the day. Joseph [Hanson](#)'s epic poem *The Musselmen Humbled, or, a Heroic Poem in Celebration of the Bravery Displayed by the American Tars, in the Contest with Tripoli* is fairly typical of the way this war was remembered. According to this poem, the "audacious Tripolitans," a "cruel and unprincipled enemy," a "rude race of Barbarians," and a "despicable foe," had "expected to see American citizens submit to their insults and impositions." But the "valorous conduct of your brave Tars," inspired by "justice and freedom," had taught the "plundering vassals of the tyrannical Bashaw [sic]" of Tripoli "that on this side of the Atlantic, dwells a race of beings! of equal spirit to the first of nations" (4-5). This epic poem does not question American moral purpose.

Perhaps the most influential book coming out of the encounter between the US and the Muslim world, *An Authentic Narrative of the Loss of the American Brig Commerce*, conveyed both the idea of national purpose and the moral limitations of American society. Its author James [Riley](#) was an American captain, whose ship *Commerce* wrecked off the coast of Mauritania in 1815. Riley and his crew barely survived the wreck and their captivity in a desert tribe. Distributed among several bands of desert people, all were put to work as slaves. With little food (though no less than anyone else in the nomadic band) and no protection from the sun (their clothing had all been taken by their captors), Riley and his men withered and burned, and then were mocked by the other captives, particularly a black African slave, Boireck, who entertained the other slaves and Berber women in nightly imitations of Riley and his American crewmen, "who could not even bear the rays of the sun (the image of God, as they termed it)." Boireck mockingly called Riley "Rais," or captain. When one of Riley's men complains of this abuse, Riley silences him: "[L]et the negro laugh if he can take any pleasure in it. . . . he is a poor slave himself, naked and destitute, far from his family and friends, and is only trying to gain the favour of his masters and mistresses, by making sport of us, whom he considers to be as much inferior to him as he is to them." (91-92; for more on Riley, see [Allison](#) 223-225). Riley understood that Boireck had found a survival mechanism, and did not begrudge him. Riley knew that his men must learn to survive, and do all they can to get a message to Mogadore, where he hoped they could be ransomed by a European ship or consul.

Relief came from two desert traders, Sidi Hamet and his brother Said, returning to Morocco from a trading venture into the Sahara. Sidi Hamet decides to buy Riley, having experienced the shock of recognition on seeing the emaciated and sunburned American—a merchant trader like himself, having left his home and family in a distant land, now faced death and disaster in a strange and hostile world. Sidi Hamet and Riley seem to have lived parallel lives. Sidi Hamet had ventured south from Morocco

to Timbuktu, with a caravan of 4000 camels and one thousand men. They had gone down the Niger to buy slaves and gold, but disasters struck, killing the camels and all but four of the men. Sidi Hamet, ruined as a trader but lucky to have escaped with his life, spent a long time wondering why he had been spared. When he saw Riley he understood: God had preserved his life so that he could preserve Riley's, he could redeem his own humanity by devoting the rest of his life to ransoming captives. Sidi Hamet took Riley and the rest of his shipmates still in the Arab camp to the British consul at Mogadore, and then returned to the desert in search of the others.

Sidi Hamet inspired Riley, who pledged in his book to devote his own life to ending the scourge of American slavery. His book, still a compelling story of survival, was one of the best-sellers in nineteenth-century America. More than a million copies sold before the Civil War, and Riley was given a tract of land in Ohio and other honors by his homeland when he returned to it, a leaner and wiser man. His book continued to speak for him even after his death in 1840. In 1860, Presidential candidate Abraham Lincoln listed the books that had most influenced his life: the Bible, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Franklin's *Autobiography*, Aesop's *Fables*, Parson Weems's *Life of Washington*, and Riley's *Narrative*. Riley's book is the only one on the list with a clear anti-slavery message (McMurtry 134).

This encounter with the Muslim world provoked two very different responses in Americans. On the one hand, Americans looked to the fundamental differences between their society and those of Turkey or North Africa, and saw in the American wars against Algiers and Tripoli a sign that their nation was different from the corrupt old states of Europe. On the other hand, some Americans questioned how people who owned as many slaves as they did could question the moral values of others. Abolitionists, particularly after 1830, returned to the theme of Islam as a counterpoint to American slaveholding.

The celebratory mode has had a more lasting impact. The war with Tripoli demonstrated American purpose. The naval battle between the *Enterprize* and the *Tripolitan*, less than a year after Bainbridge's reception in Istanbul, cost no American lives. President Jefferson said the victory proved the bravery of Americans; thus it was not want of courage which made Americans seek peace, but "a conscientious desire to direct the energies of our nation to the multiplication of the human race, and not to its destruction" (327).

Perhaps the most striking relic of the war is a song, written to celebrate the return of the American heroes and captives (among them Captain Bainbridge, who spent eighteen months as a prisoner of war) from Tripoli. Bainbridge, Stephen Decatur, and others were honored by a banquet in Georgetown, Maryland. Part of the entertainment was a song written for the occasion by lawyer Francis Scott Key. Key set his song to a well-known British drinking song, though the tune is today familiar to every American. This song brings us a long way from the heavenly convergence the Sultan saw in the two flags. In the third verse the "light of the star-spangled flag of our nation" obscures the splendor of the crescent, and the turbaned heads bow in submission, not to Allah, but to the power of the American republic.

Captain Bainbridge's banquet was an episode, not a beginning. Bainbridge himself would return to Turkey in 1821, this time on the US ship *Columbus*, but would not be permitted to pass through the Dardanelles. The United States and Turkey would not make a treaty until 1832, though American

merchants still traded in İzmir (Harris 231). The promise of harmony and friendship had proven elusive. Americans, fed by seventeenth and eighteenth century European political writers, could not see in the Muslim world anything but a symbol of what to avoid in creating political societies, or a distorted mirror image of what could happen to Americans if they failed to create the perfect society. The fear of what they saw in this mirror forced the wiser Americans to struggle against the sins of their own society. For many others, it would be enough to struggle against the phantom they believed threatened them through the glass.

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The Avalon Project at Yale Law School

The Barbary Treaties : Treaty of Peace and Amity, Signed at Algiers September 5, 1795

Art 1	Art 2	Art 3	Art 4	Art 5	Art 6	Art 7	Art 8	Art 9	Art 10	Art 11
Art 12	Art 13	Art 14	Art 15	Art 16	Art 17	Art 18	Art 19	Art 20	Art 21	Art 22

Treaty of Peace and Amity, signed at Algiers September 5, 1795 (21 Safar, A. H. 1210). Original in Turkish. Submitted to the Senate February 15, 1796. Resolution of advice and consent March 2, 1796. Ratified by the United States March 7, 1796. As to the ratification generally, see the notes. Proclaimed March 7, 1796.

ARTICLE 1st

From the date of the Present Treaty there shall subsist a firm and Sincere Peace and Amity between the President and Citizens of the United States of North America and Hassan Bashaw Dey of Algiers his Divan and Subjects the Vessels and Subjects of both Nations reciprocally treating each other with Civility Honor and Respect

ARTICLE YE 2^d

All Vessels belonging to the Citizens of the United States of North America Shall be permitted to enter the Different ports of the Regency to trade with our Subjects or any other Persons residing within our Jurisdiction on paying the usual duties at our Custom-House that is paid by all nations at Peace with this Regency observing that all Goods disembarked and not Sold here shall be permitted to be reimarked without paying any duty whatever either for disembarking or embarking all naval & Military Stores Such as Gun-Powder Lead Iron Plank Sulphur Timber for building far pitch Rosin Turpentine and any other Goods denominated Naval and Military Stores Shall be permitted to be Sold in this Regency without paying any duties whatever at the Custom House of this Regency.

ARTICLE 3^d

The Vessels of both Nations shall pass each other without any impediment or Molestation and all Goods monies or Passengers of whatsoever Nation that may be on board of the Vessels belonging to either Party Shall be considered as inviolable and shall be allowed to pass unmolested.

ARTICLE 4th

All Ships of War belonging to this regency on meeting with Merchant Vessels belonging to Citizens of the United States shall be allowed to Visit them with two persons only beside the rowers these two only permitted to go on board said vessel without obtaining express leave from the commander of said Vessel who shall compare the Pass-port and immediately permit said Vessel to proceed on her Voyage

unmolested All Ships of War belonging to the United States of North America on meeting with an Algerine Cruiser and Shall have seen her pass port and Certificate from the Consul of the United States of North America resident in this Regency shall be permitted to proceed on her cruise unmolested no Pass-port to be Issued to any Ships but such as are Absolutely the Property of Citizens of the United States and Eighteen Months Shall be the term allowed for furnishing the Ships of the United States with Pass-ports.

ARTICLE 5th

No Commander of any Cruiser belonging to this Regency shall be allowed to take any person of whatever Nation or denomination out of any Vessel belonging to the United States of North America in order to Examine them or under presence of making them confess any thing desired neither shall they inflict any corporal punishment or any way else molest them.

ARTICLE 6th

If any Vessel belonging to the United States of North America shall be Stranded on the Coast of this Regency they shall receive every possible Assistance from the Subjects of this Regency all goods saved from the wreck shall be Permitted to be Reimbarked on board of any other Vessel without Paying any Duties at the Custom House.

ARTICLE 7th

The Algerines are not on any presence whatever to give or Sell any Vessel of War to any Nation at War with the United States of North America or any Vessel capable of cruising to the detriment of the Commerce of the United States.

ARTICLE YE 8th

Any Citizen of the United States of North America having bought any Prize condemned by the Algerines shall not be again captured by the Cruisers of the Regency then at Sea altho they have not a Pass-Port a Certificate from the Consul resident being deemed Sufficient untill such time they can procure such Pass-Port.

ARTICLE YE 9th

If any of the Barbary States at War with the United States of North America shall capture any American Vessel & bring her into any of the Ports of this Regency they shall not be Permitted to sell her but Shall depart the Port on Procuring the Requisite Supplies of Provision.

ARTICLE YE 10th

Any Vessel belonging to the United States of North America, when at War with any other Nation shall be permitted to send their Prizes into the Ports of the Regency have leave to Dispose of them with out Paying any duties on Sale thereof All Vessels wanting Provisions or refreshments Shall be permitted to buy them at Market Price.

ARTICLE YE 11th

All Ships of War belonging to the United States of North America on Anchoring in the Ports of ye Regency shall receive the Usual presents of Provisions & Refreshments Gratis should any of the Slaves

of this Regency make their Escape on board said Vessels they shall be immediately returned no excuse shall be made that they have hid themselves amongst the People and cannot be found or any other Equivocation.

ARTICLE YE 12th

No Citizen of ye United States of North America shall be Oblidged to Redeem any Slave against his Will even Should he be his Brother neither shall the owner of A Slave be forced to Sell him against his Will but All Such agreements must be made by Consent of Parties. Should Any American Citizen be taken on board an Enemy-Ship by the Cruisers of this Regency having a Regular pass-port Specifying they are Citizens of the United States they shall be immediately Sett at Liberty. on the Contrary they having no Passport they and their Property shall be considered lawfull Prize as this Regency Know their friends by their Passports.

ARTICLE YE 13th

Should any of the Citizens of the United States of North America Die within the Limits of this Regency the Dey & his Subjects shall not Interfere with the Property of the Deceased but it Shall be under the immediate Direction of the Consul unless otherwise disposed of by will Should their be no Consul, the Effects Shall be deposited in the hands of Some Person worthy of trust untill the Party Shall Appear who has a Right to demand them, when they Shall Render an Account of the Property neither Shall the Dey or Divan Give hinderence in the Execution of any Will that may Appear.

ARTICLE 14th

No Citizen of the United States of North America Shall be oblidged to purchase any Goods against his will but on the contrary shall be allowed to purchase whatever it Pleaseth him. the Consul of the United States of North America or any other Citizen shall not be answerable for debts contracted by any one of their own Nation unless previously they have Given a written Obligation so to do. Shou'd the Dey want to freight any American Vessel that may be in the Regency or Turkey said Vessel not being engaged, in consequence of the friendship subsisting between the two Nations he expects to have the preference given him on his paying the Same freight offered by any other Nation.

ARTICLE YE 15th

Any disputes or Suits at Law that may take Place between the Subjects of the Regency and the Citizens of the United States of North America Shall be decided by the Dey in person and no other, any disputes that may arise between the Citizens of the United States, Shall be decided by the Consul as they are in Such Cases not Subject to the Laws of this Regency.

ARTICLE YE 16th

Should any Citizen of the United States of North America Kill, wound or Strike a Subject of this Regency he Shall be punished in the Same manner as a Turk and not with more Severity should any Citizen of the United States of North America in the above predicament escape Prison the Consul Shall not become answerable for him.

ARTICLE YE 17th

The Consul of the United States of North America Shall have every personal Security given him and

his household he Shall have Liberty to Exercise his Religion in his own House all Slaves of the Same Religion shall not be impeded in going to Said Consul's House at hours of Prayer the Consul shall have liberty & Personal Security given him to Travil where ever he pleases within the Regency. he Shall have free licence to go on board any Vessel Lying in our Roads when ever he Shall think fitt. the Consul Shall have leave to Appoint his own Drogaman & Broker.

ARTICLE YE 18th

Should a War break out between the two Nations the Consul of the United States of North America and all Citizens of Said States Shall have leave to Embark themselves and property unmolested on board of what Vessel or Vessels they Shall think Proper.

ARTICLE YE 19th

Should the Cruisers of Algiers capture any Vessel having Citizens of the United States of North America on board they having papers to Prove they are Really so they and their property Shall be immediately discharged and Shou'd the Vessels of the United States capture any Vessels of Nations at War with them having Subjects of this Regency on board they shall be treated in like Manner.

ARTICLE YE 20th

On a Vessel of War belonging to the United States of North America Anchoring in our Ports the Consul is to inform the Dey of her arrival and She shall be Saluted with twenty one Guns which she is to return in the Same Quanty or Number and the Dey will Send fresh Provisions on board as is Customary, Gratis.

ARTICLE YE 21st

The Consul of ye United States of North America shall not be required to Pay duty for any thing he brings from a foreign Country for the Use of his House & family.

ARTICLE YE 22d

Should any disturbance take place between the Citizens of ye United States & the Subjects of this Regency or break any Article of this Treaty War shall not be Declared immediately but every thing shall be Searched into regularly. the Party Injured shall be made Reparation. On the 21st of ye Luna of Safer 1210 corrsponding with the 5th September 1795 Joseph Donaldson Junr on the Part of the United States of North America agreed with Hassan Bashaw Dey of Algiers to keep the Articles Contained in this Treaty Sacred and inviolable which we the Dey & Divan Promise to Observe on Consideration of the United States Paying annually the Value of twelve thousand Algerine Sequins (1) in Maritime Stores Should the United States forward a Larger Quantity the Over-Plus Shall be Paid for in Money by the Dey & Regency any Vessel that may be Captured from the Date of this Treaty of Peace & Amity shall immediately be deliver'd up on her Arrival in Algiers.

Sign'd VIZIR HASSAN BASHAW
JOSEPH DONALDSON Jun

To all to whom these Presents shall come or be made known.

Whereas the Underwritten David Humphreys hath been duly appointed Commissioner Plenipotentiary, by Letters Patent under the Signature of the President and Seal of the United States of America, dated the 30th of March 1795, for negotiating & concluding a Treaty of Peace with the Dey and Governors of Algiers; Whereas by Instructions given to him on the part of the Executive, dated the 28th of March & 4th of April 1795, he hath been farther authorized to employ Joseph Donaldson Junior on an Agency in the said business; whereas by a Writing under his hand and seal, dated the 21st of May 1795' he did constitute & appoint Joseph Donaldson Junior Agent in the business aforesaid; and the said Joseph Donaldson Junior did, on the 5th of September 1795, agree with Hassan Bashaw Dey of Algiers, to keep the Articles of the preceding Treaty sacred and inviolable.

Now Know ye, that I David Humphreys, Commissioner Plenipotentiary aforesaid, do approve & conclude the said Treaty, and every article and clause therein contained, reserving the same nevertheless for the final Ratification of the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the said United States.

In testimony whereof I have signed the same with my hand and seal, at the City of Lisbon this 28th of November 1795.

[Seal] DAVID HUMPHREYS.

(1) Or \$21,600. [Back](#)

Source:

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IMPORTANT EVENTS
IN THE LIFE OF
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* THE IMPERIAL RUSSIAN
 * FLEET UNDER ADMIRAL
 * JOHN PAUL JONES
 * FOUNDER OF THE AM-
 * ERICAN NAVY DECISIVE-
 * LY DEFEATED THE
 * TURKISH NAVY AT THE
 * BATTLE OF LIMANS
 * JUNE 17, 1788 * JOHN
 * PAUL JONES CHAPTER
 * NO. 2 U. S. C. S. *

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