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from Henry T. Tuckerman's Life of John Pendleton Kennedy,
N.Y., 1871, p. 71 et seq.

We marched on Sunday, the twenty-first---our regiment, the Fifth---accompanied by a battalion of riflemen, commanded by William Pinkney, then recently returned from England, where he had been our minister for several years, and now, at the date of this campaign, Attorney General of the United States. We had also with us a company of artillery, commanded by Richard Magruder, another member of the bar, and a small corps of cavalry from the Baltimore Light Dragoons*---Harry Thompson's company---the detachment being under the command of Lieutenant Jacob Hollingsworth.

A portion of Sterett Ridgeley's Hussars were also in the detachment. These were all volunteers of the city. My father was a member of Hollingsworth's command, and, with John Brown, an old schoolmate of mine, and three or four privates of the corps, served as videttes to our brigade.

It was a day of glorious anticipation, that Sunday morning; when, with all the glitter of a dress parade, we set forth on our march. As we moved through the streets, the pavements were crowded with anxious spectators; the windows were filled with women; friends were rushing to the ranks to bid us good-bye---many exhorting us to be of good cheer and do our duty; handkerchiefs were waving from the fair hands at the windows---some few of the softer sex weeping as they waved adieux to husbands and brothers; the populace were cheering and huzzahing at every corner, as we hurried along in brisk step to familiar music, with banners fluttering in the wind and bayonets flashing in the sun. What a scene it was, and what a proud actor I was in it! I was in the ecstasy

of a vision of glory, stuffed with any quantity of romance. This was a real army marching to a real war. The enemy, we knew, was in full career, and we had the certainty of meeting him in a few days. Unlike our customary parades, our march now had all the equipments of a campaign. Our wagon-train was on the road; our cartridge-boxes were filled; we had our crowd of camp servants and followers. Officers rode backward and forward along the flanks of the column, with a peculiar air of urgent business, as if it required everything to be done in a gallop---the invariable form in which military conceit shows itself in the first movements towards a campaign. The young officers wish to attract attention, and so seem to be always on the most important messages. As for me---not yet nineteen---I was too full of the exultation of the time to think of myself---all my fervor was spent in admiration of this glittering army.

'It were worth ten years of peaceful life
One glance at their array.'

I thought of these verses, and they spoke of my delight. It was not long before we were outside of the town, in full career on the Washington road. It was afternoon in warm August weather when we started. By sundown we reached Elk Ridge Landing, and there turned in upon the flat meadow ground that lies under the hills upon the further bank of the Patapsco, to pitch our tents for the night. Camp-kettles were served out to us and our rations of pork and hard bread. We formed our messes that evening, and mine, consisting of six members, who were consigned to one tent, was made up of pleasant companions. This was all new to us, and very amusing. The company consisted of gentlemen of good condition and accustomed to luxurious life, and the idea of a supper of fat pork and hard biscuit was a pleasant absurdity which

we treated as a matter of laughter. We had our own stores in the wagon to rely upon when we could get at them, and a short, active negro man as a servant for the mess, whom we took into service that evening from the crowd of stragglers who followed the column of march. The first care after getting our tent up was to hold a consultation about our domestic affairs, and it was then resolved that two of us should in turn serve as house-keeper, successively from week to week. The choice to-day fell upon Ned Schroeder and myself. We were to attend at the giving out of the rations and then to cook them. The mess was not likely to grow fat under our administration. Upon repairing to the quartermaster for our supplies, we were given a piece of pork of five or six pounds, a new camp-kettle, and a quantity of hard biscuit. Ned and I had a consultation upon the process of the cooking, the result of which was that we determined to put our pork in the kettle, to fill this with water to the brim, and then to set it over a brisk fire for two hours; so we set about it. To make the fire we resolved to signalize our service by that soldierly act which is looked upon as a prescriptive right---the robbing of the nearest fence of as many rails as suited our purpose---which we did like veterans, satisfying our conscience with the reflection that some time or other, perhaps, Congress would pay for the damage. We got up a magnificent flame, and by placing our kettle on a support of stones in its midst, we made sure that the cooking would soon become a happy success. This being done, we sauntered off to look at the evening parade, from which our culinary labors gave us exemption. In less than an hour we lounged back to take a view of the kettle. There it was, buried in a little mound of hot coals, the water all boiled out, and the iron red hot. In the bottom of this lurid pot we discovered a black mess which seemed to be reduced to a stratum of something resembling a compound of black soap in a semi-

liquid state, and on drawing the kettle out of the fire, and cooling it as quickly as we could, by setting it in water, we came to the perception that our supper, or at least as much of it as we had cooked, was a compost of charred bones, and a deposit of black fat, the whole plated over with the scales of iron which the heat had brought off in flakes from the kettle. Our comrades of the mess gathered around this ruin with amused interest, and we were voted a diploma for our admirable experiment in the art of dressing pork. We had found our company's wagon by the time this experiment was so finely concluded, and, with the help of Elijah, or Lige--- as our servant was called---found a very good resource for supper without the aid of the pork. We had coffee and chocolate, good bread and ham in abundance. The night was chilly, and I had come away without a blanket, trusting to a great coat which I thought would be sufficient for a summer campaign. Luckily, my father came along by our quarters, and perceiving my condition, went out and supplied my need by a contribution from a friend in the neighborhood. At the regulation hour, the members of the mess who were not detailed for guard duty---some four of us---crept into our tent, and arranging our blankets into a soft bed, laid down and fell into a hearty sleep which was only broken by the reveille the next morning. This was my first night of a regular campaign. The next day we marched from the Landing to Vansville, about twenty miles---halting an hour or so at Waterloo, then McCoy's Tavern, where we got our dinner---I mean my comrades and myself, having no need and not very willing to try another experiment in cooking for ourselves. The day was hot and portions of the road in deep sand. It was a great trial. We were in winter cloth uniform, with a most absurd helmet of thick jacked leather and covered with plumes. We carried, besides, a knapsack, in which---in my own case---I had packed a great coat, my newly acquired blanket, two or three shirts,

stockings, etc. Among these articles I had also put a pair of pumps, which I had provided with the idea, that, after we had beaten the British army and saved Washington, Mr. Madison would very likely invite us to a ball at the White House, and I wanted to be ready for it. The knapsacks must have weighed at least ten pounds. Then there was a Harper's Ferry musket of fourteen pounds. Take our burden altogether, and we could not have been tramping over those sandy roads, under the broiling sun of August, with less than thirty pounds of weight upon us. But we bore it splendidly, toiling and sweating in a dense cloud of dust, drinking the muddy water of the little brooks which our passage over them disturbed, and taking all the discomforts of this rough experience with a cheerful heart and a stout resolve. We joked with our afflictions, laughed at each other, and sang in the worst of time. The United Volunteers was the finest company in the regiment, about one hundred strong when in full array, but now counting eighty effective men. These were the elite of the city---several of them gentlemen of large fortunes. William Gilmor was one of them---a merchant of high standing; Meredith, who had so long been among the most distinguished at the bar, was another. It was what is called the crack company of the city, and composed of a class of men who are not generally supposed to be the best to endure fatigue, and yet there was no body of men in all the troops of Baltimore who were more ready for all service, more persistent in meeting and accomplishing the severest duty. To me personally labor and fatigue were nothing. I was inured to both by self-discipline, and I had come to a philosophic conviction that both were essential to all enjoyments of life, and beside this bit of philosophy, I was lured by the romance of our enterprise into an oblivion of its hardships.

The second day brought us to Vansville, by the way, a town consisting of one house, on the top of a hill, where stage-passengers stopped for a change of horses on the road to Washington; and at early dawn the next day---Tuesday morning, the 22d of August---we resumed the road, and reached Bladensburg about five in the afternoon, having marched very slowly, with many halts during the day, waiting for orders from the commander-in-chief. Reports were coming to us every moment of the movements of the enemy. They had passed Marlborough, and were marching on Washington, but whether they were on the direct road to the city, or were coming by Bladensburg, was uncertain. Our movements depended somewhat upon them. General Winder, who commanded the army immediately in front of the enemy, and was retiring slowly before him, was advised of our march, and was sending frequent instructions to our commander. Of course we in the ranks knew nothing of these high matters. All that we could hear were the flying rumors of the hour, which were stirring enough. One of Winder's videttes had come to us. He had a great story to tell. He was carrying orders to Stansbury, who was ahead of us, and fell in with a party of British dragoons, from whom he fled at speed for his life. The country in Prince George is full of gates; the highroads often lie through cultivated field, without side fences to guard them, and every field is entered through a gate which is always old and rickety, and swings to after your horse with a rapid sweep and a bang that threatens to take off his tail. One vidette, a Mr. Floyd, known to us in Baltimore, told us he had been pursued several miles by four of these dragoons. He reported that the British army had a corps of cavalry with them, and that being splendidly mounted, as we saw he was, and having General Winder's servant with him also mounted on a fleet horse, to open and hold open the gates for him, he had escaped and had

got up to us. This was all true as he told it, except that he was mistaken, as we found out the next day when we joined Winder, in one important particular, and that was, that his pursuers were not British dragoons, but four members of the Georgetown cavalry who fell into the same mistake. They supposed him a British dragoon, straggling from his corps, and gave him chase, feeling very sure from the direction they had pressed him to take, that they must soon drive him into our hands. It was only because they could not keep up with him that they failed to witness that happy denouement. This report of cavalry in the enemy's army, of course, furnished us, as green soldiers, with much occasion for remark and reflection. We had a pleasant evening in camp near Bladensburg. Our tents were pitched on the slope of the hill above the town on the eastern side of the river. Stansbury's brigade of drafted militia were there, and Winder, with the rest of the army, which altogether perhaps counted nine thousand men, was not far off. He was falling back before the march of the enemy, who could not have been more than ten or twelve miles off.

The afternoon towards sunset was mild and pleasant, and we had leisure to refresh ourselves by a bath in the Eastern Branch. Our camp was supplied with every comfort, and we did not depend upon the United States for our supper, for Lige was sent out to forage, with money to purchase what we wanted. He returned about dark with a pair of chickens and a handful of tallow candles, which seemed to be an odd combination; and upon being interrogated by me what it meant, he said he found them under the flap of a tent in Stansbury's brigade, and being perfectly sure they were stolen, he thought he would restore them to their proper owners. The stealing was probable enough, and we therefore had little scruple in consigning the fowls to Lige's attentions in the kitchen, and

finding ourselves with an extra supply of candles, we indulged the luxury of lighting some three or four, which, being fitted into the band of a bayonet with the point stuck in the ground, gave an unusual splendor to the interior of our tent. The keg in which we kept our biscuit---Jamison's best crackers---made the support of our table---a board picked from some neighboring house, and here we enjoyed our ease, and ham, chicken and coffee.

My feet were swollen and sore from my day's march in boots, such as none but a green soldier would ever have put on; so for my comfort, I had taken them off, and substituted my neat pair of pumps from the pocket of my knapsack, and in this easy enjoyment of rest and good fellowship, we smoked our cigars and talked about the battle of to-morrow until the hour when the order of the camp obliged us to extinguish our lights and 'turn in.'

I was too much excited by the novelty and attraction of my position and by the talk of my comrades in the tent, to get asleep much before midnight. About an hour after this---one o'clock---we were aroused by the scattered shots of our pickets, some four or five in succession, in the direction of the Marlborough road, and by the rapid beating of the long roll from every drum in the camp. Every one believed that the enemy was upon us, and there was consequently an immense bustle in getting ready to meet him. We struck a light to be able to find our coats, accoutrements, etc., but in a moment it was stolen away by some neighbor who came to borrow it only for a moment to light his own candle, and in the confusion forgot to return it. This gave rise to some ludicrous distresses. Some got the wrong boots, others a coat that didn't fit, some could not find their cross-belts. There

was no time allowed to rectify these mistakes. I, luckily was all right, except that I sallied out in my pumps. We were formed in line and marched off towards the front, perhaps a mile, and when we came to a halt, we were soon ordered to march back again to camp.

What was the cause of this sudden excursion and quick abandonment of it I never learned. But it was evident that there was a false alarm. On our return march our attention was called to the sudden reddening of the sky in the direction of the lower bridge of the Eastern Branch, by which the river road from Marlborough crossed to Washington. The sky became more lurid every moment, and at last we could discern the flames. A despatch which reached us when we got back to camp, and had just laid down again to sleep, brought us information that Winder had crossed the bridge and then burnt it to impede the march of the enemy, who, in consequence, was forced to direct his march upon the Bladensburg road. Winder himself was en route to join us, and we were ordered forthwith to break up our camp and march towards Washington. Here was new excitement---everything was gathered up in a few moments. All our baggage was tossed into our regimental wagon---knapsacks, provisions, blankets, everything but our arms. Among them went my boots. The tents were struck and packed away with the speed of the shifting of a scene upon the stage, and in half an hour from the time of receiving the order we were in full column of march upon the road. Descending into the village we crossed the bridge and moved toward Washington; but after making about two miles at a very slow pace, we found ourselves brought to a halt, and after this we loitered, as slow as foot could fall, along the road, manifestly expecting some order that should turn us back towards the village we had left. What a march that was! I never was so sleepy in my life. We had been too much

exhilarated in the early part of the night to feel the fatigue of our day's march, but now that fatigue returned upon me with double force. It was but an hour or two before day--- that hour when the want of sleep presses most heavily upon all animals that go abroad by day. Nothing could keep us awake. I slept as I walked. At every halt of a moment whole platoons laid down in the dusty road and slept till the officers gave the word to move on. How very weary I felt! The burning of the bridge lighted up the whole southern sky, but it had no power to attract our gaze. At length when we had reached a hill some three miles on our route, we were marched into a stubble field and told we might rest until daylight. Here we threw ourselves upon the ground without any covering, exposed to the heavy dew which moistened the earth and hung upon the stubble, and slept. Mine was the sleep of Endymion. When I awoke I was lying on my back with the hot sun of a summer morning beaming upon my face. Our orders were to march back to Bladensburg. Soon we had the famous 'trial of souls'---the battle of Bladensburg. The drafted militia ran away at the first fire, and the 5th regiment was driven off the field with the bayonet. We made a fine scamper of it. I lost my musket in the melee while bearing off a comrade, James W. McCulloch, afterwards the cashier of the Branch Bank of the United States in Baltimore, whose leg was broken by a bullet. The day was very hot, and the weight of my wounded companion great, and not being able to carry both, I gave my musket to a friend who accompanied me, and he, afterwards being wounded himself, dropped his own weapon as well as mine."

Unpublished correspondence of Henry Fulford* dated Baltimore,
Aug. 26, 1814.

* Henry Fulford, Baltimore volunteer and member of the Independent
Company.

"On Wednesday last at twelve o'clock the British attacked our army in a large field at Bladensburg where we had been drawn up in line for a considerable time to receive them. A stream of water passes through the town where the enemy entered on the opposite side from where we were posted. We had two companies of Baltimore artillery, commanded by Captains Magruder and Myers, placed a long way in front of our line of infantry, so as to rake the enemy as they passed over the bridge. The fire I think, must have been dreadfully galling, but they took no notice of it; their men moved like clock-work; the instant a part of a platoon was cut down it was filled up by the men in the rear without the least noise and confusion whatever, so as to present always a solid column to the mouths of our cannon; they advanced so fast that our artillery had to give way and fall back upon our line, where they commenced again and fired for a short time, when the 5th regiment was ordered to advance on the enemy and fire, which was obeyed and kept up for a considerable time. The British force was greatly superior in numbers to ours. It is my opinion that not one third of their army came into action at all, any further than by amusing themselves by throwing Congreve rockets at us. They were so strong that we had to give way. I think if we had remained ten minutes longer they would have either killed or taken the whole of us.

When the retreat was ordered, I shaped my course for a woods in the rear, where I intended to lay down and rest, being almost fatigued to death, but the bullets and grape

shot flew like hailstones about me and I was compelled to make headway for a swamp where I remained until I had strength sufficient to get to a little farm house where I was hospitably received and got refreshed. I started from this house about nine o'clock at night with a guide through woods and by-paths about five miles to Ross's Tavern, where I spent the remainder of the night. A part of the British force proceeded directly to Washington, which place they took possession of, destroyed everything in the Navy Yard, the Capitol and all other public buildings. They will be here in a few days and we have no force that can face them. I think the only way to save the town and state will be to capitulate."

Document marked "Enclosure" and
dated August 31, 1814; on file in
the executive department of State of Md.

"The bearer hereof. Mr. Richard West. has permission
to pass to the enemy's camp for the purpose of carrying
a despatch to General Ross and some necessaries to
Doctor Beans, Doct Hill and Phillip Weems,* a prisoner
with the enemy."

LEV WINDER.

* The names of Doct Hill and Phillip Weems were interlined.

Annapolis, August 31, 1814.

General Ross.

Sir: I am informed that a party from your army a few nights ago, took Dr. Beanes, a respectable and aged old man, out of his house, treated him with great rudeness and indignity, carried him to your camp, and that he is now on ship board.

The bearer of this, Mr. _____, goes to your camp for the purpose of conveying some necessaries to the doctor for his accommodation, and to ascertain what has occasioned this procedure, so unusual, in warfare amongst civilized nations.

I am persuaded it will only be necessary to enquire into this case, to cause the doctor to be released. I am informed he is an honorable man, and would not have been guilty of any act intentionally and knowingly, contrary to the usages of war, or derogatory to the character of a man of honor.

I hope sir, on enquiry, justice and humanity will induce you to permit the doctor to return to his family and friends as speedily as may be.

I am with great respect yours,

LEV WINDER.

General Ross,
Commander of His Britannic
Majesty's forces on the Patuxent.

List of the killed and wounded of the third brigade, at the late engagement at Long Log Lane, September 12, 1814.-----Communicated to the editor of the Register by Major Frailey.

Captain Montgomery's Artillery.

Wounded---Jos. R. Brookes, 2d Lieutenant, 1 Sergeant and 12 privates, one since dead.

5th regiment infantry.

Killed---6 privates.

Wounded---Captain Stewart, Lieutenant Reese, 1 Sergeant, 2 Corporals and 40 privates.

27th regiment infantry.

Killed---Adjutant Jas. L. Donaldson and 8 privates.

Wounded---Major Moore, 2 Sergeants, 2 Corporals and 41 privates.

39th regiment infantry.

Killed---3 privates.

Wounded---Captain Quantril, 2 Corporals and 20 privates.

51st regiment infantry.

Killed---3 privates.

Wounded---Ensign Kirby and 3 privates.

Rifle Battallion.

Killed---Lieutenant Andre and 2 privates.

Wounded---2 Sergeants and 5 privates.

RECAPITULATION.

Killed---1 Adjutant, 1 subaltern and 22 privates.

Wounded---1 Major, 2 Captains, 3 subalterns, 12 non.com. officers and privates.---Total 213.

The recapitulation contains the aggregate of prisoners taken by the enemy, excepting those paroled at the meeting house, included in the wounded. I am unable at present to state to what regiment they were attached. As the honorable Colonel Brook has vied with his companions in falsifying an official report, I beg you will favor the public with this account in any form you please. I pledge myself for its correctness.

Yours respectfully,

L. FRALLEY, late Brig. Maj.
3d Brigade M.M.

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Killed---3 privates.

Wounded---Captain Quantril, 2 Corporals and 20 privates.

51st regiment infantry.

Killed---3 privates.

wounded---Ensign Kirby and 3 privates.

Rifle battalion.

Killed---Lieutenant Andre and 2 privates.

Wounded---2 Sergeants and 5 privates.

Recapitulation.

Killed--1 Adjutant, 1 subaltern and 22 privates.

Wounded---1 Major, 2 Captains, 3 subalterns, 12 non. com. officers and 121 privates.

Made prisoners---1 subaltern, 49 non. com. officers and privates.

---Total 213.

The recapitulation contains the aggregate of prisoners taken by the enemy, excepting those paroled at the meeting house, included in the wounded. I am unable at present to state to what regiments they were attached. As the honorable Colonel Brook has vied with his compatriots in falsifying an official report, I beg you will favor the public with this account in any form you please. I pledge myself for its correctness. Yours respectfully,

L. FRAILEY, late Brig. Maj.
3d Brigade M.M.

Memorandum Made by John Pendleton Kennedy from the Company
Book of the Baltimore United Volunteers:

"In the action at North Point, September 12, 1814,
Ensign John Wilmot commanding, there were in the battle
78 members of this company and nine volunteers---Thomas
Bond and Benedict I. Heard, Richard Dorsey, Hammond Dugan,
Gover, Leonard Matthews, James Purse, ----Randolph and
John Walsh.

Killed and Wounded

William McClellan, killed on the field,
John C. Byrd, killed on the field,
Jacob Haubert, died on the 14th.

Wounded

Henry Brice
Elie Clagett,
James Gibson,
Reverdy Hays,
Horatio Hollingsworth,
Dennis Marsh,
Walter Muschett,
Chas. O'Rourke,
John E. Swann,
Stedman Van Wyck.

Prisoners

Henry W. Gray,
George T. Hearsey,
John G. Pogue.

"Names of the killed and wounded officers, non-com-
missioned officers and privates, belonging to the 1st
regiment of artillery under the command of Lieutenant-
Colonel David Harris, on detachment at Fort McHenry, Sept-
ember 13, 1814:

IN CAPTAIN JOSEPH H. NICHOLSON'S COMPANY

Killed---		Levi Claggett, 3d Lieutenant,	
		John Clemm, 2d Sergeant,	
Slightly wounded---		Samuel Harris, 3d Sergeant,	
Severely	"	Abraham Lerew, Private,	
	"	James Granger,	"
Slightly	"	James L. Hawkins,	"
	"	Henry Bond,	"
	"	Samuel Etting	"

IN CAPTAIN JOHN BERRY'S COMPANY

Killed---		Thomas V. Beeson, Private,	
Severely wounded---		Samuel Foy,	"
	"	Emery Lowman	"
Slightly	"	John Cretzer,	"
	"	Cornelius Collins,	"
	"	Samuel Gray,	"
	"	Jacob Resser,	"
	"	Derrick Fahnestock,	"

IN CAPTAIN HUGHES' COMPANY (BALTIMORE INDEPENDENT
ARTILLERISTS) COMMANDED BY LIEUT. PENNINGTON

Slightly wounded---		Thomas Russell, 3d Lieutenant,	
	"	Marmaduke Wyvill, Private,	
	"	James Lambie,	"
Severely	"	George Greer,	"
	"	Emanuel Kent, Jr.,	"
	"	James McNeil, Jr.,	"

IN THE MARINE BATTERY UNDER THE COMMAND OF SAILING-
MASTER RODMAN

Killed---	Charles Messenger, Private,	
Wounded---	William Jenkins,	"
"	Joseph Bailey,	"
"	Joseph Hardy,	"

IN THE COMPANY OF SEA FENCIBLES COMMANDED BY M. S.
BUNBURY

Dangerously wounded---	Charles Bhare,
Slightly	" Robert Green.

(Letter from Robert Gilmor, Jr. to
Fielding Lucas, Jr. Sept. 14, 1816)

My Dear Fielding:

It has come to my attention that members of the committee have not publicly thanked or shown any consideration to Genl. Smith for his gallant defence of this city two years ago. It is the consensus of opinion that he did not exercise correct judgment in not taking the offensive and he has been accused publicly of urging Col. Armistead to surrender Fort Mchenry at the height of the bombardment.

If the committee will not give lively sentiments of gratitude to Genl. Smith at this time, I feel that the few members of the committee who feel in his debt, consisting of John Eager Howard, William Lorman, Thomas Tennat, Isaac McKim, yourself, and this writer, should contribute funds so that an appropriate sword, as a presentation to the General, ought to be purchased. I will await your decision on this matter.

I remain your obedient and humble
servant,

Robert Gilmor

A WHOPPER.

Baltimore.-- The following, from "his majesty's printing office at Bermuda" as the article is headed, is the queerest and most lying account of the late attack upon Baltimore that we have yet seen, some "domestic manufactures" excepted:

"Sept. 23.-- It appears from report, that after destroying Washington and taking possession of Alexandria, the small body of brave men under General Ross made an attack on Baltimore; the enemy had sunk the vessels, and but two or three small craft with bombs could approach: they succeeded, however, in driving the Americans from the fort; having to contend with a very superior force, eventually retired, as the occupation of the town, which might have been gained, would be a poor compensation for the sacrifice of many valuable lives."

Notice in the Federal Gazette for October
15, 1814:

Office of Commissary of Prisoners, October 13, 1814.

The officers and privates hereinafter named, belonging to the United States service, having been finally exchanged by an agreement made on the 7th instant, with the proper authorities of the enemy, are hereby declared discharged from parole and are as free to act in all respects as they and either of them may have been before they were made prisoners.

Captured at Bladensburg

Joshua Barney, Captain U. S. Flotilla,
John Reagan, Lieutenant-Colonel Militia,
Samuel Miller, Captain Marine Corps,
Dominic Bader, Captain Militia (Union Yagers),
G. von Hasten, Lieutenant,
Robert M. Hamilton, Master U. S. Navy,
Thomas Dukehart, Acting Master,
Jesse Huffington, Sailing Master,
David Robinson, Acting Midshipman U. S. Flotilla,
John M. Howland, 4th Sergeant (Washington Blues),
J. B. Martin, Surgeon.

Privates

Ammick, George,	Gorsuch, William,
Bell, Brooks,	Goswick, Thomas,
Bennett, Joseph,	Grizel, Joseph,
Bradley, Daniel,	Joffman, Henry,
Chase, Joseph,	Holbrooks, Thomas,

Claude, Abraham,
Cook, John,
De Grot, John,
De Krafft, Edward,
Diser, Samuel,
Dorse, Patrick,
Edwards, Jesse,
Fable, Joseph,
Folks, James,
Gaylor, William

Holiday, Thomas,
Iler, Jacob,
Johnson, Christopher,
Johnson, Isaac,
Lambert, Lewis,
Leith, John,
McCall, Robert,
Mawe, Michael,
Montgomery, John,
Morgan, Jeremiah,
Richardson, David K.,
Rynehart, Daniel,
Smith, Charles,
Smith, Nathaniel,
Thompson, Barnard,
Tall, Walter,
Vinemiller, Michael,
Wise, Jacob,
Wysham, William
Young, Jacob,
Zimmerman, Henry.

Captured at North Point.

(Here follows the list of twenty-six names of those wounded and paroled by Surgeon James H. McCulloh.)

Note.---By the agreement referred to all the prisoners captured in the actions of Bladensburg and Baltimore and now held by either party, are to be released without delay to be exchanged against each other, and the balance against the British government to be carried to the general account of releases."

Resolution and preamble read in the Maryland House of Delegates, on the motion of Mr. Hamilton, on Saturday, December 31, 1814.

"WHEREAS, It has always been considered, not only a generous, but wise policy in all free governments, to evince in the most pointed manner, their high sense of the gallantry and good conduct of such of their citizens as have devoted their time and talents to the public good; and whereas, Col. Philip Reed, did on the thirtieth day of August last, in a masterly and heroic manner, with an inferior force, composed of militia, defeat and repel a marauding party of the enemy in Kent County, killing their leader, Sir Peter Parker, and fourteen of his men, and wounding a number of others, thereby evincing to the enemy and the world, that the arms of freemen, when used in defense of their liberties, their wives, their children, and their firesides, are invincible; and also thereby evincing to his countrymen, that the same statesmen who, in his legislative capacity, of Senator from Maryland, voted against the declaration of war, was the patriot and hero who was amongst the foremost in his military capacity, to step forward and repel an invading foe, when polluting the sovereignty of our soil by their unhallowed tread; therefore,

RESOLVED, That the governor of this state be, and he is hereby requested, to address, in the name of the State of Maryland, a letter to Colonel Philip Reed, of Kent County, expressive of the very high sense entertained of the intrepidity, gallantry, and good conduct of him, and his brave associates, in repelling the enemy in his attack on the militia of Kent County, on the 30th day of August last, and driving him with confusion and loss to his shipping."

John S. Williams,*History of the Invasion and Capture of Washington.
Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square, New York, 1857.

* John S. Williams, brigade major and inspector, Columbian
brigade, in the War of 1812.

"The cavalry was sent back as far as Marlborough to discover whether there were any American forces in pursuit; and it was well for the few stragglers we had left behind that this recognizance was made. Though there appeared to be no disposition on the part of the American general to follow our steps and to harass our retreat, the inhabitants of that village, at the instigation of a medical practitioner called Bain, had risen in arms as soon as we departed; and falling upon such individuals as strayed from the column, put some to death, and made others prisoners. A soldier whom they had taken, and who escaped, gave information of these proceedings to the troopers, just as they were about to return to headquarters; upon which they immediately wheeled about, and galloping into the village, pulled the doctor out of his bed (for it was early morning), compelled him by threat of instant death, to liberate his prisoners; and mounting him before one of the party, brought him in triumph to the camp."

From a letter by Mr. Thomas J.
Wilson to General James M. Anderson:

"My brother Henry was in England in 1846, and at Ulls-
Water, in the lake district, he met a gentleman at the dinner
table. In the course of conversation he asked my brother
where he was from. When he told him Baltimore, in America,
he said 'I was once near there but did not get in as your
soldiers killed our General Ross and we retired to our ships.
I was aide-de-camp to the General and he fell into my arms.'
On being asked the nature of his wound, he said that it was
caused by a musket ball and a buck-shot. The Independent
Blues' guns were loaded that way.

This company belonged to the then 5th regiment, and
was commanded by Captain Aaron R. Levering. My two uncles,
Thomas and William were members, the latter ensign. The
company was in the front and Captain L. saw an officer ride
up to the head of the British line, and said 'take good aim,
there's an officer,' and he saw him fall from his horse.
From the description of his dress, it must have been Ross."

Passage from the life of John
H. W. Hawkins, by William George Hawkins.
(John Hawkins, member of Capt. Aisquith's
company of sharp shooters)

"This company had been sent in advance of the volunteers, to ascertain the position of the enemy and to report the condition of their forces. It was soon ascertained that they had deployed in the form of the letter V, and before they were aware of the danger, they found themselves nearly surrounded. Most of them effected a safe retreat; Dr. Martin's horse was shot under him.

Early in the day the word had passed along the lines, 'Remember boys, General Ross rides a white horse to-day.' The two young men had declared, that morning, their intention of selling their lives dearly. Instead of retreating with their comrades, they penetrated the British advance forces, and discovering General Ross, mounted on his white charger, they aimed the fatal shots. The enemy was thrown in confusion, and some moments were consumed in preparing a litter for the removal of their general weltering in his blood.

Dr. Martin, a few days after the battle, rode down to North Point, to the residence of Mr. Gorsuch, at whose house General Ross and his officers had breakfasted on the morning of the twelfth, and learned from him the following facts: On their departure for the field of battle, Mr. Gorsuch asked the general if he should prepare supper for them upon their return. 'No,' said he; 'I shall sup in Baltimore to-night, or in hell.' It is believed that this account bears upon its face much stronger evidence of authenticity than any of the other numerous versions that have hitherto been published."

In the general distribution of the forces employed in the defence of Baltimore, with the concurrence of the commanding general, I stationed Lieutenant Gamble, first of the Guerriere, with about one hundred seamen, in command of a seven-gun battery, on the line between the roads leading from Philadelphia and Sparrows Point.

Sailing Master De La Zouch, of the Erie, and Midshipman Field, of the Guerriere, with twenty seamen, in command of a two-gun battery, fronting the road leading from Sparrow's Point.

Sailing Master Ramage, of the Guerriere, with twenty seamen, in command of a five-gun battery, to the right of the Sparrow's Point road.

And Midshipman Salter, with twelve seamen, in command of a one-gun battery, a little to the right of Mr. Ramage.

Lieutenant Kuhn, with the detachment of marines belonging to the Guerriere, was posted in the entrenchment between the batteries occupied by Lieutenant Gamble and Sailing Master Ramage.

Lieutenant Newcomb, third of the Guerriere, with eighty seamen, occupied Fort Covington, on the Ferry Branch, a little below Spring Gardens.

Sailing Master Webster, of the flotilla, with fifty seamen of that corps, occupied a six-gun battery on the Ferry Branch known by the name of Babcock.

Lieutenant Frazier, of the flotilla, with forty-five seamen of the same corps, occupied a three-gun battery near the Lazaretto.

And Lieutenant Rutter, the senior officer of the flotilla, in command of all the barges, which were moored at the entrance of the passage between the Lazaretto and Fort McHenry, in the left wing of the water battery, at which was stationed Sailing Master Rodman, and fifty-four seamen of the flotilla."

From:

John Pendleton Kennedy's posthumous papers, "Memoranda taken from the company book of the Baltimore United Volunteers in reference to the campaign in 1814."

"Keener has lent me the company book of the United Volunteers. I entered this corps, I think, in the fall of 1812, just after I graduated. I find my name attached to resolutions volunteering to march to any part of the state, but not to perform guard duty out of Baltimore County. These resolutions are dated March 16th, 1813. By this record, there were at Bladensburg in the action of the 24th August, 1814, including a few who joined as volunteers:

66 members of the company in action,
10 absent on guard duty with the wagons,
3 volunteers---Frank Davidge, Dick Dorsey and Ed.
Hollingsworth in the action.

The wounded were:

Lieutenant Cooke, Commanding,
Sergeant W.H. Murray,
Corporal J. W. McCulloch,
Privates George Clarke,
George Golder,
William Williams,
Dennis F. Magruder,
Francis H. Davidge."

Intelligence of the capture of Washington created intense excitement in Baltimore. It was believed that the victorious Ross would fall upon it immediately, either by land or water; and the veteran soldier of the Revolution, General Samuel Smith, renewed his exertions for the defense of the city, and Annapolis, the political capital of Maryland. That vigilant officer had been active ever since the first appearance of danger in the spring of 1813, when a British squadron appeared in the Chesapeake. It was well known that the enemy felt great exasperation toward the Baltimoreans because they had sent out so many swift "clipper-built" vessels and expert seamen to smite terribly the commerce of Great Britain on the high seas. "It is a doomed town," declared Vice-admiral Warren. "The American navy must be annihilated," said a London paper; his arsenals and dock-yards must be consumed, and the truculent inhabitants of Baltimore must be tamed with the weapons which shook the wooden turrets of Copenhagen."

So early as the 13th of April, 1813, the City Councils of Baltimore appropriated twenty thousand dollars to be used for the defense of the city, under the direction of the mayor, Edward Johnson, and seven other citizens, who were named as a Committee of Supply.¹ The governor of the State (Levin Winder) also called an extraordinary session of the Legislature, to meet at Annapolis on the third Monday in May. Meanwhile a rumor reached the city that the enemy were approach, and within a few hours at least five thousand armed men were found in their proper places, and several companies of militia from the country came pouring into Baltimore. Several persons were arrested as traitors and spies. These demonstrations of preparation and power undoubtedly saved the city from assault at that time. Very soon afterward, Stricker's brigade, and other military bodies in the city,

1. These were James Mosher, Luke Tiernan, Henry Payson, Dr. J. C. White, James A. Buchannan, Samuel Sterett, and Thorndike Chase.

full five thousand strong, with forty pieces of artillery, were reviewed. At the beginning of June a battery was erected at Fort M'Henry for the marine artillery of Baltimore one hundred and sixty in number, under Captain George Stiles, and composed of masters and master's-mates of vessels there. It was armed with 42-pounders.²

In September (1813) the British fleet went to sea, and Baltimore enjoyed a season of repose. The blockaders, as we have observed, reappeared in the Chesapeake in the spring of 1814, and all the summer and early autumn infested its waters, during which time occurred the destructive invasion recorded in the preceding chapter, when every thing that could be done by vigilant men for the safety of Baltimore was accomplished. A Committee of Vigilance and Safety, of which Mayor Johnson was Chairman, and Theodore Bland was secretary, co-operated unceasingly with General Smith and the military. On the 27th of August, three days after the capture of Washington, that committee called upon the citizens to organize into working parties, and to contribute implements of labor for the purpose of increasing the strength of the city defenses. The city was divided into four sections, and the people of each labored alternately on the fortifications. The exempts from military service and free colored men were required to assemble for labor, with provisions for a day, at Hempstead Hill (equally well known as Loudenslager's Hill), on Sunday, the 28th of September; at Myer Garden on Monday; at Washington Square on Tuesday; and at the intersection of Eutaw and Market Streets on Wednesday. Each portion, comprising a section, was under the command of appointed superintendents. The response of the citizens in men and money

2. This corps was celebrated for its gallantry. Dr. Martin says, in his MS. Reminiscences before me, that when he was at Bladensburg, the British officers, who were expecting re-enforcements for Winder from Baltimore, "were particularly anxious about the marine artillery---the material of which it was composed, the weight of metal, number of men, etc. I exaggerated the condition of its ability to do effective service," he said, "and I confidently believe that, had they been part of our force at Bladensburg, we would have succeeded in driving back the enemy, if not in capturing the whole force, for I never saw men so completely exhausted as were the foe."

was quick, cordial, and ample; and volunteers to work on the fortifications came from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. By the 10th of September General Winder was in Baltimore, with all the forces of the Tenth Military District at his command.

The principal fortifications constructed by the people consisted of a long line on Hempstead, or Loudenslager's Hill, now on the site of Patterson Park. At proper distances several semicircular batteries were constructed, well mounted with cannon and ably manned, some of them by volunteer artillery companies of Baltimore, but chiefly by men-or-war's men, about twelve hundred in number, under the general command of Commodore Rodgers. The spaces between these batteries were filled with militia. One of the larger of these bastions, known as Rodger's Bastion, may now (1867) be seen, well preserved, on the harbor side of Patterson Park, and overlooking Fort M'Henry and the region about it. Four of the smaller batteries on this line were in charge of officers of the Guerriere and Erie, the former then lying in Baltimore Harbor.²

A brigade of Virginia Volunteers and of regular troops, including a corps of cavalry under Captain Bird, were placed under the command of General Winder; the City Brigade of Baltimore was commanded by General Stricker; and the general management of the entire military force destined for the defense of the city was intrusted to General Smith. Fort M'Henry was garrisoned by about one thousand men, volunteers and regulars, commanded by Major George Armistead. To the right of it, guarding the shores of the Patapsco, on the Ferry Branch, from the landing of troops who might endeavor to assail the city in the rear, were two redoubts, named respectively Fort Covington, and City,

2. These were Lieutenant Gamble, the first of the Guerriere, Midshipman Field, Sailing-master Ramage, and Midshipman Salter, of the same vessel, and Sailing-master De la Roche, of the Erie.

or Babcock Battery. The former was manned by a detachment of seamen under Lieutenant Newcomb, and the latter---a 6-gun battery---by another detachment from Barney's Flotilla under Sailing-master John A. Webster. In the rear of these, upon high ground, at the end of Light Street, near the present Fort Avenue, was an unfinished circular redoubt for seven guns, in charge of Lieutenant George Budd. On Lazaretto Point, across the entrance channel to Baltimore Harbor, opposite Fort M'Henry, was also a small battery, in charge of Lieutenant Rutter, of the flotilla. To these several batteries, and to Fort M'Henry, the citizens of Baltimore looked most confidently for defense.³

Such were the most important preparations for the reception of the enemy, when, on Sunday evening, the 11th of September, they were seen at the mouth of the Patapsco, in strong force, preparing to land at North Point, twelve miles from Baltimore by water, and fifteen miles by land. Off that point the fleet anchored that evening. The night was a delightful one. The air was balmy, and the full moon shone brightly in a cloudless sky. The earth was refreshed by the fall of a heavy dew. The fleet lay two miles from the shore. Brief repose was given to its people, for, at two o'clock in the morning, (September 12, 1814) the boats of every ship were lowered, and then the land troops and seamen went to the shore, under cover of several gun-brigs anchored within a cable's length of the beach. The boats went in divisions, and the leading one of each was armed with a carronade ready for action.

At about seven o'clock in the morning, General Ross and Admiral Cockburn were on shore, with a force nine thousand strong, composed of five thousand land troops, two thousand marines, and two thousand seamen, led by Captain E. Crofton. They were furnished with cooked provisions sufficient for three days. Each combatant bore eighty rounds of ammunition, and carried as little baggage

3. Letter of Commodore Rodgers to the Secretary of the Navy, September 28, 1814; Letter of Sailing-master (now Captain) John A. Webster to Brantz Mayer, Esq., July 22, 1853.

as possible, for they were to march rapidly and take Baltimore by surprise, where Ross had boasted that he should eat his Sunday dinner. At the same time, a frigate was sent to try the depth and take the soundings of the channel leading to Baltimore, as the navy, under the immediate command of Captain Nourse, of Cockburn's flag-ship Severn, was to co-operate with the army. Intelligence of these movements produced great alarm in Baltimore. A large number of families, with portable articles of value, were sent into the interior of the country, and every inn, for almost a hundred miles northward of the city, was crowded with the refugees.

When it was known that the British fleet was anchored off North Point, General Smith, who had about nine thousand troops under his command, sent General Stricker with three thousand two hundred in that direction to watch the movements of the enemy and act as circumstances might warrant. He left the city toward evening, and just before sunset reached a meeting-house (yet standing) almost seven miles from the town, near the junction of the roads leading respectively to North Point and Bear Creek. Meanwhile Major Randall, of the Maryland militia, had been sent with a light corps from General Stansbury's brigade, and the Pennsylvania Volunteers, to the mouth of Bear Creek, to co-operate with Stricker, and to check the debarkation of the enemy, should it be attempted at that point.

Stricker's little army rested until morning at the meeting-house, not far from what was then called Long Log Lane (now the road to North Point), with the exception of a detachment of one hundred and forty horsemen under Lieutenant Colonel Biays, who were ordered forward, three miles, to Gorsuch's farm, and one hundred and fifty riflemen under Captain Dyer, who were directed to take position at a blacksmith's shop one mile in the rear of the cavalry. So they remained until the morning of the 12th, when information was received

from the vedettes that the enemy had landed at North Point, when Stricker immediately sent back his baggage under a strong guard, and disposed his troops for battle in three lines, stretching from a branch of Bear Creek on his right, to a swamp on the margin of a branch of Back River on his left. The several corps were posted as follows: the Fifth Baltimore Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Sterett, five hundred and fifty strong, were placed on the right, extending from Long Log Lane to a branch of Bear Creek; the Twenty-seventh Maryland Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Long, numbering the same, were on the left of the Fifth, extending from the Lane to the swamp; and the Union Artillerymen of Baltimore, seventy-five in number, with six 4-pounders, under Captain Montgomery, then Attorney General of the State, were in the Lane. The Thirty-ninth Regiment, four hundred and fifty men, under Lieutenant Colonel Fowler, were posted three hundred yards in the rear of the Twenty-seventh and parallel with it; and on the right of the Thirty-ninth, at the same distance in the rear of the Fifth, were the Fifty-first Regiment, under Lieutenant Colonel Amey. These formed the second line. About half a mile in the rear of this line, near the site of the present (1867) Battle-ground House, was a reserve corps, consisting of the Sixth Regiment (six hundred and twenty men), under Lieutenant Colonel M'Donald. Thus judiciously posted, Stricker awaited the approach of Ross.

The British general disposed his troops as at Bladensburg. A corps composed of the light companies of the Fourth, Twenty-first, and Forty-fourth Regiments, the entire Eighty-fifth, a battalion of "disciplined negroes," and a company of marines, numbering in the aggregate about eleven hundred men, under Major Jones, were sent in advance. These were followed by six field-pieces and two howitzers drawn by horses; and the whole formed the first brigade. The second brigade, under Colonel Brooke, was composed of the Fourth and Forty-fourth Regiments, about fourteen hundred strong, and was followed by

more than a thousand sailors led by Captain Crofton. The rear, or third brigade, consisted of the Twenty-first Regiment, and a battalion of marines, numbering in all about fourteen hundred and fifty men, under Colonel Patterson. At the same time, the fleet moved toward Baltimore to attack Fort M'Henry.

Feeling confident of success, Ross and Cockburn rode gayly forward at the head of the troops for about an hour, when they halted at Gorsuch's farm, and spent another hour in resting and careless carousing. The American riflemen in the advance had fallen back in the mean time, with the impression that the British were landing on Back River or Bear Creek to cut them off, and they were placed on the right of Stricker's front line. When the general was informed of the exact position of the invaders, he sent forward to attack them the companies of Captains Levering and Howard from Sterrett's Fifth, one hundred and fifty in number, under Major Richard K. Heath, and Asquith's and a few other riflemen, numbering about seventy, with a small piece of artillery and some cavalry under Lieutenant Stiles. They met the British advancing, and a skirmish ensued near the house occupied, when the writing visited the spot in 1861, by Samuel C. Cole as a store and dwelling, seven and a half miles from Baltimore, and about seven from the landing-place of the British. Ross was mortally wounded by one of two young men, natives of Maryland, belonging to Asquith's rifle corps, and who had both fought in the battle at Bladensburg. Their names were Daniel Wells and Henry C. M'Comas. They were concealed in a hollow, and fired the fatal shot when Ross appeared upon a little knoll near them. That commander died in the arms of his favorite aid, the now (1867) venerable Sir Duncan M'Dougall, of London, before his bearers reached the boats at North Point. "He lived only long enough," says Gleig, "to name his wife, and to commend his family to the protection of his country." In this skirmish Heath's horse was shot under him, and several Americans were killed or wounded. Among the slain were the two young men whose bullets brought Ross to the earth. The ad-

vancing British far outnumbered Heath's detachment, and he ordered them to fall back. Finding the companies of Levering and Howard too fatigued to engage efficiently in the impending battle, Stricker ordered them to the rear to attach themselves to the reserve.

On the fall of Ross the command of the British troops devolved on Colonel A. Brooke, of the Forty-fourth Regiment, and under his direction the entire invading force pressed vigorously forward. At about two o'clock in the afternoon they came within cannon-shot of the American line, and were immediately formed in battle order. Their first brigade, supported by the Forty-fourth Regiment, the seamen and marines, menaced the entire front of the Americans, and commenced the action by opening a brisk discharge of cannon and rockets upon them. The British Twenty-first remained in column as a reserve; and the Fourth made a circuitous march to turn the left flank of the Americans, against which also artillerists and rocketeers directed their missiles, and were replied to by Captain Montgomery's cannon. General Stricker instantly comprehended the meaning of the flank movement and artillery attack, and brought up the Thirty-ninth Regiment, with two field-pieces, to its support in a line with the Twenty-seventh, which was behaving most gallantly. He also ordered the Fifty-first, under Colonel Amey, to form in line at right angles with the first line, with its right resting on the left of the Thirty-ninth. This movement was productive of some confusion, but Stricker's sides, in the mean time, with Victory coquetting first with one and then with the other, and the armies swaying backward and forward with mutual pressure.

When the contest had been carried on for about two hours the enemy's right column fell upon and endeavored to turn the American left. The Fifty-first were suddenly struck with dismay, and, after firing a volley at random

broke, and fled in wild disorder, producing a like effect in the second batallion of the Thirty-ninth. All efforts to rally the fugitives were vain. But the remainder of the Thirty-ninth and the gallant Twenty-seventh (whose tattered battle-flag, now in the possession of its bearer in the fight, Captain Lester, of Baltimore, attests the severity of their conflict) bravely maintained their position. Finally, at about four o'clock, when the superior force of the enemy could no longer be kept in check, General Stricker ordered a retreat upon his reserved corps. This movement was performed in good order. Some of the wounded and two field-pieces were abandoned, Stricker reformed his brigade, and then fell back toward the city as far as Worthington's Mill, about half a mile in advance of the intrenchments cast up by the citizens. There he was joined by General Winder, with General Douglass's Virginia Brigade and Captain Bird's United States Dragoons, who took post on his left. The British bivouacked on the battle-field that night, after calling in some pursuers and collecting the stragglers.

While these movements were in operation on the land, the British fleet was preparing to perform a conspicuous part of the drama. Frigates, schooners, sloops, and bomb-ketches had entered the Patapsco early in the morning of the 12th, while Ross was moving from North Point, and anchored off Fort M'Henry (then about one half its present dimensions), beyond the reach of its guns, near the present Fort Carroll. During the day and evening the bomb and rocket vessels were so posted as to act upon the fortifications on the hill, commanded by Rodgers, as well as on Fort M'Henry, while the frigates were stationed farther outward, the water being so shallow that they could not approach nearer the city than four or five miles, nor the fort within two and a half miles. The Americans had already sunk some vessels, as we have observed, in the narrow channel at Fort M'Henry, which prevented any passage by the ships of

the enemy.² During the night of the 12th the fleet made full preparations for an attack on the fort and hill intrenchments on the morning of the 13th, when Brooke was to move on Baltimore with the British land force from the battlefield of the day before. The fleet prepared for action consisted of sixteen heavy vessels, five of them bomb-ships.

Fort M^hHenry was commanded by a brave soldier, and defended by gallant companions. The latter were composed of one company of United States Artillery, under Captain Evans; two companies of Sea-fencibles, under Captains Bunbury and Addison; two companies of volunteers from the city, named respectively the "Washington Artillery" and the "Baltimore Independent Artillerists," the former commanded by Captain John Berry, and the latter by Lieutenant Commanding Charles Pennington; the "Baltimore Fencibles," a fine company of volunteer artillerists led by Judge Joseph H. Nicholson; a detachment of Barney's flotillamen, commanded by Lieutenant Redman; and detachments of regulars, in all six hundred men, furnished by General Winder from the Twelfth, Fourteenth, Thirty-sixth, and Thirty-eighth Regiments, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Stewart and Major Lane. The regular artillerists under Captain Evans, and the volunteers under Captain Nicholson, manned the bastions in the Star Fort. The commands of Bunbury, Addison, Redman, Berry, and Pennington were stationed in the lower works; and the infantry, under, under Stewart and Lane, were placed in the outer ditch, to meet the enemy at his landing, if he should attempt it.

The bomb-vessels opened a heavy fire upon the American works at sunrise on Tuesday morning, the 13th, at about seven o'clock, at a distance of two miles, and kept up a well-directed bombardment until three o'clock in the afternoon.

2. General Smith, on the recommendation of Commodore Rodgers, caused twenty-four vessels then lying in the harbor to be sunk in the narrow channel between Fort M^hHenry and Lazaretto Point. These were afterward raised at the expense of the United States. The aggregate amount of money paid to the owners afterward was about \$100,000.

...The government was aroused to a sense of danger and responsibility by intelligence that a number of the largest class of transports had been fitted out at Portsmouth, England, "as well as all troop-ships in that port," for the purpose, it was believed, of going to Bordeaux and taking on board there the most effective of Wellington's regiments and conveying them to the United States. This was confirmed at near the close of June by the arrival at New York of a cartel from Bermuda, which brought intelligence that she left at that port "a fleet of transports, with a large force, bound to some port in the United States, probably the Potomac." Official intelligence of this fact reached the government on the 26th, and on the 1st of July the President called a cabinet council and laid before them a well-considered plan of defense against threatened invasion, which had been suggested, if not actually prepared, by General William H. Winder, who had lately been exchanged, and had returned from Canada.² It contemplated the establishment of a camp of regular troops, two or three thousand strong, somewhere between the Eastern Branch of the Potomac and the Patuxent Rivers, in Maryland, and the concentration of ten thousand militia in the vicinity of Washington City.

The Cabinet approved the President's plan.¹ A new military

2. Letter to the Secretary of War, June 30, 1814, in Winder's Letter-Book.

1. The Secretary of War could not be made to believe, even as late as August, when the enemy was almost at the door of the capital, that Washington City was his object. "What the devil will they do here?" was his question to one who expressed a belief that the capital was in danger. "No, no; Baltimore is the place, sir; that is of so much more consequence."---Statement of General Van Ness before a Committee of Inquiry. In his Notices of the War of 1812, the Secretary says that the attack on Washington was an after-thought of Admiral Cochrane when he had caused the destruction of Barney's flotilla. Cochrane, in a letter to the Board of Admiralty in September, says that the presence of a flotilla at the head of the Patuxent gave him a "pretext for ascending that river," while "the ultimate destination of the

district, entitled the Tenth, was formed, comprising Maryland, the District of Columbia, and the portions of Eastern Virginia lying between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers. Brigadier General Winder was appointed to the command of it, and the government made a requisition upon the several States for militia to the aggregate of ninety-three thousand men, who were to be organized at home and held in readiness.³ The District of Columbia and the State of Maryland were called upon to furnish their respective quotas immediately, the former being two thousand men and the latter six thousand. Pennsylvania was directed to send five thousand and Virginia two thousand to the militia rendezvous at once. The naval defenses were intrusted to Commodore Barney, a veteran commander, who was in the Patuxent with a small flotilla of gun-boats.

In official orders there appeared an army of fifteen thousand militia for the defense of Washington, and General Winder was envied as the fortunate commander of a larger force than had yet

combined force was Washington, should it be found that the attempt might be made with any prospect of success." And at the beginning of August, a letter, written by some one on compulsory duty in the British fleet in the Chesapeake, dated July 27th, was placed in Winder's hands, and submitted to the Secretary of War, in which the intentions of the enemy to rush to the capital were fully revealed. "The manner in which they intend doing it is," said the writer, "to take advantage of a fair wind in ascending the Patuxent, and, after having ascended it a certain distance, to land their men at once and to make all possible dispatch to the capital, batter it down, and then return to their vessels immediately. In doing this there is calculated to be employed upward of seven thousand men."----Winder Papers.

3. The requisition upon the several States was as follows: New Hampshire, 3500; Massachusetts, 10,000; Rhode Island, 500; Connecticut, 3000; New York, 13,500; New Jersey, 5000; Pennsylvania, 14,000; Delaware, 1000; Maryland 6000; Virginia, 12,000; North Carolina, 7000; South Carolina, 5000; Georgia, 3500; Kentucky, 5500; Tennessee, 2500; Louisiana, 1000; Mississippi Territory, 500. Of this force 8400 were to be artillery, and the remainder infantry.

appeared in the field. But that army remained hidden in official paragraphs, and only a small portion of it confronted the invader, for he came before the States on whom the government had made a requisition for militia had moved in the matter. There was extraordinary tardiness every where, and indications of the most fatal official apathy or weakness. The Governor of Maryland, residing within an easy day's ride of the War Office, did not receive a copy of that requisition until six days after it was ordered; and the Governor of Pennsylvania did not receive his until ten days afterward. And it was not until the day when the British appeared in heavy force in Chesapeake Bay (July 12, 1814) that the Secretary of War placed a copy of it in the hands of General Winder, and then it was accompanied by a cautious order directing him, in the event of an invasion, to call for a part or the whole quota required of Maryland, but to "be careful to avoid unnecessary calls, and to apportion the call to the exigency."¹ Five days afterward another order from the War Department reached him, which gave him authority to draw, in addition to the Maryland quota, two thousand men from Virginia and five thousand from Pennsylvania, and assuring him that the whole of the militia of the District of Columbia, amounting to about two thousand, were kept in a disposable state, and subject to his orders.

General Winder had comprehended the difficulties of the situation from the beginning. As early as the 9th of July, before he had received notice of his appointment of the command, he wrote a letter to the Secretary of War, full of sound advice, wholesome warning, and sagacious predictions, but that functionary never deigned to reply to it.²

1. The Secretary of War, as we have seen, did not believe that the British would attempt to penetrate to Washington; and on the day when he gave this cautious order, the National Intelligencer (the government organ) said, "It is not probable they will be required to be embodied unless the enemy should attempt to execute his threats of invasion."

2. Autograph Letter, Winder Papers: Report of an Investigating Committee of Congress.

He issued orders in accordance with his own judgment alone, and with an apparent obliviousness to stern facts---orders which implied the organization and readiness of the troops mentioned when there was not a shadow of such force in existence. The Governor of Maryland (Levin Winder), after issuing drafts for three thousand men, found that scarcely so many hundreds could be collected; and the Governor of Pennsylvania informed the Secretary of War that, in consequence of the defect of the militia laws of that commonwealth, the executive had no power to enforce the draft.

General Winder entered upon his duties with alacrity, under the inspiration of seductive promises by the government; and, notwithstanding he was soon made to feel that he was the victim of official incompetency, he was untiring in his exertions to make the defense of the District a certainty. He visited every part of the region to be defended, inspecting every fortification under his command, and reconnoitring every position thought to be favorable for the defense of the capital. He was in daily communication with the government, giving information, sounding notes of alarm, and making wise suggestions. "The door of Washington" (meaning Annapolis), he wrote on the 16th of July, "is wide open, and can not be shut with the few troops under my command." Fort Madison there was utterly defenseless, and too unhealthy for a garrison to occupy it. He warned the government that its heavy armament might be easily seized by the invaders, and turned upon the town and Fort Severn with fatal effect.⁴ He begged in vain for efforts to save that post, and made stirring appeals to the people to come forward for the defense of the state. Yet, notwithstanding the danger that threatened, and his great personal popularity, heightened by good deeds on the Northern frontier, Winder was compelled to report on the 1st of August that he had actually in camp only one thousand regulars, and about four thousand militia enrolled, a larger proportion of them yet to be collected. The government had neglected to call for cavalry and riflemen, very important branches of the service.

While these feeble efforts were in operation the enemy appeared in strong force. On the 16th of August the small British squadron in the Chesapeake was re-enforced by a fleet of twenty-one vessels under Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, the senior commander on the American station. These were soon joined by another under Commodore Sir Charles Malcolm. These vessels bore several thousand land troops commanded by General Ross, and Irish officer, and one of Wellington's most active leaders. Washington and Baltimore appear to have been chosen objects of attack simultaneously. A part of the British naval force, under Captain Gordon, went up the Potomac, and another portion, under Sir Peter Parker, went up the Chesapeake toward Baltimore.

At that time Commodore Barney, with a flotilla of thirteen armed barges and the schooner Scorpion, with an aggregate of about five hundred men, was in the Patuxent River. His vessels had been chased out of the Chesapeake, and blockaded in St. Leonard's Bay. Of this confinement they were relieved by some artillery under Colonel Henry Carbery,¹ with which he drove away the Loire, the blockading frigate, when the released flotilla went up the Patuxent, first to Benedict, and then to Nottingham, that it might be within co-operating distance of both Washington and Baltimore. Seeing this, the British determined to capture or destroy it, and on the 18th of August a force of a little more than five thousand men, composed of regulars, marines, and negroes,² went up the Patuxent, and landed at Benedict with three cannon under cover of an armed brig. Most of the other large British vessels were below, some of them aground, and all too heavy to ascend the comparatively shallow stream.

Barney, then at Nottingham,³ promptly informed the Navy Depart-

2. These "disciplined negroes" had been forced by threats, and bribed by promises of freedom, to enter the British service.

3. Barney had been very active with his flotilla in opposing the marauding expeditions of the British. On the 9th of July he wrote from Nottingham to a friend, saying, "Six times in one month I have beat the enemy, always increasing in their force, so that I believe they are tired of me. They now lie at the mouth of the Patuxent."--- Autograph Letter.

ment of this movement, and of a boast of the British admiral that he would destroy the American flotilla, and dine in Washington the following Sunday. General Winder, by direction of the War Department, immediately ordered General Samuel Smith's division (the Third) of the Maryland militia into actual service. He also called upon General John P. Van Ness, (August 18, 1814) commander of the militia of the District of Columbia, for two brigades, to be encamped near Alexandria; and he sent a circular letter (August 19) to all the brigadiers of the Maryland militia, asking for volunteers to the amount of one half of their respective commands. By his orders, his adjutant general, Hite, issued a stirring appeal to the citizens to come forward, "without regard to sacrifices and privations," in defense of the national capital. Winder also asked General Stricker, of Baltimore, to send to Washington his volunteer regiments of infantry and his rifle batallion. These calls for volunteers were approved by the Secretary of War, who enjoined Winder so to word the requisition as "to guard against interfering with the legal draft."⁴

The veteran patriot, General Smith, promptly responded to the call of the government. He at once issued a division order, (August 19, 1814) in which he gave notice of the invasion, and directed the whole of General Stansbury's brigade (the Third) to be held in readiness for active service, adding, "The third brigade is now under the pay of the United States, in its service, and subject to the Articles of War."¹ That corps General Smith declared to be "the finest set of men he ever saw."² They paraded at four o'clock the same day, and on the following morning General Stansbury³ left Baltimore for Washington with thirteen hundred of

4. Autograph Letter, Winder Papers.

1. General Smith's MS. Order-book. I am indebted to the kind courtesy of General John Spear Smith, of Baltimore, son of General Samuel Smith, and his aid-de-camp in 1814, for the use of his father's military papers of this period.

2. Autograph Letter to General Winder.

3. Tobias E. Stansbury lived to the great age of ninety-three

his corps. Another force, under Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Sterett, consisting of the Fifth Regiment of Baltimore Volunteers, Major Pinkney's rifle battalion, and the artillery companies of Captains Myers and Magruder, left Baltimore on the evening of the 20th, and joined Stansbury on the evening of the 23d. With wise precaution, General Smith ordered (August 20) the eleventh brigade and Colonel Moore's cavalry to hold themselves in readiness to march to Baltimore at a moment's warning, for it seemed probable that the enemy would strike at both cities simultaneously. They were ordered to Baltimore on the 23d.

The British in the mean time had moved up the Patuxent from Benedict, the land troops being accompanied by a flotilla of launches and barges that kept abreast of them. The naval forces were under the command of the notorious marauder, Cockburn. They reached Lower Marlborough on the 21st, when Barney's flotilla, then in charge of Lieutenant Frazier and a sufficient number of men to destroy it if necessary, moved up to Pig Point, where some of the vessels grounded in the shallow water. Barney had landed with four hundred seamen and pushed on toward Winder's head-quarters, then at the Wood Yard, on the road between Upper Marlborough and Washington, and twelve miles from the latter, where he had established a slightly-intrenched camp. Frazier was instructed to destroy the flotilla at Pig Point rather than allow it to fall into the hands of the foe. This order was obeyed, and the flotilla was blown up on the morning of the 22d, when the enemy moved up from Nottingham in forty barges, and commenced firing upon it with cannon and rockets.⁵ They found only the ruins of Barney's vessels at Pig Point. Their land force pressed forward to Upper Marlborough, whence a road led directly to Washington City, and there encamped, leaving Cockburn and the British flo-

years. He was an active public man from the commencement of the Revolution almost to the time of his death, which occurred in Baltimore County, Maryland, on the 25th of October, 1849. He was repeated a member of the Maryland Legislature, and was Speaker of its House of Delegates. He always enjoyed the perfect confidence of his fellow-citizens.

5. Barney's autograph Letter to the Investigating Committee, October 30, 1814.

tilla at Pig Point.

Now let us see what forces were at the disposal of General Winder for the defense of Washington. There were two small brigades of District troops. One of these comprised the militia and volunteers of Washington and Georgetown, arranged in two regiments under Colonels Magruder and Brent, and was commanded by General Walter Smith, of Georgetown. Attached to the brigade were two companies of light artillery, commanded respectively by Major George Peter, of the regular army, and Captain Benjamin Burch, a soldier of the Revolution. There were also two rifle companies under Captains Doughty and Stull. This brigade numbered, on the morning of the 21st of August, one thousand and seventy men. The second brigade was commanded by General Robert Young, and numbered five hundred men. It comprised a company of artillery led by Captain Marsteller. It was chiefly employed in defending the approaches to Fort Washington, about twelve miles below the capital. Brigadier General West, of Prince George's County, had troops on the look-out toward the Potomac.

The troops from Baltimore comprised a greater portion of the brigade of General Stansbury, formed in two regiments under Lieutenant Colonels Ragan and Schutz, thirteen hundred and fifty in number; and the Fifth Regiment, under Colonel Sterett, with artillery and riflemen already mentioned, the latter under the celebrated William Pinkney. The whole force from Baltimore was about two thousand two hundred, commanded by General Stansbury as chief. Besides these there were various detachments of Maryland militia, under the respective command of Colonels W.D. Beall (of the Revolution) and Hood, Lieutenant Colonel Kramer, and Majors Waring and Maynard---in all less than twelve hundred. There was also a regiment of Virginia militia under Colonel George Minor, six hundred strong, with one hundred cavalry. The regular army contributed three hundred men from the Twelfth, Thirty-sixth and Thirty-eighth Regiments, under Lieutenant Colonel William Scott. To these must be added the sailors of Barney's flotilla,

four hundred, and one hundred and twenty marines from the navy yard at Washington, furnished with two 18-pounders and three 12-pounders. There were also various small companies of volunteer cavalry from the District, Maryland, and Virginia, under Lieutenant Colonel Tilghman, and Majors O.H. Williams and Charles Sterett, three hundred in number, and a squadron of United States dragoons commanded by Major Laval. The whole force was about seven thousand strong, of whom nine hundred were enlisted men. The cavalry did not exceed four hundred in number. The little army had twenty-six pieces of cannon, of which twenty were only 6-pounders. This force, if concentrated, would have been competent to roll back the invasion had the commanding officer been untrammelled by the interference of the President and his Cabinet.

Winder's vigilance was sleepless after the appearance of the invaders in the Patuxent. He was actively employed with the cavalry in reconnoitring; and on the morning of the 22d he ordered Lieutenant Colonel Scott's command, Laval's cavalry, Major Peter's artillery, and the rifle company of Stull, and another under Captain Davidson, acting as riflemen, with several field-pieces, numbering about eight hundred men, to proceed immediately to Nottingham, where the enemy had encamped during the night just passed, and reconnoitre and harass them. The remainder of Winder's force in hand was directed to follow in their support. The general himself, accompanied by his limited staff, proceeded in advance of the troops, and soon discovered the enemy moving up the river. He was convinced that an encounter with that overwhelming force would be perilous, and he ordered Scott and Peter to fall back to the Wood Yard and wait for him. The main body of the troops, under General W. Smith, had arrived in the mean time within two miles of the advance; and the whole American force, then within five miles of the invaders, including Barney's men and marines from the Washington Navy Yard, numbered about twenty-five hundred, fairly armed with muskets and rifles, and five pieces of heavy artillery.

On arriving at the junction of the roads leading respectively

to Marlborough and the Wood Yard, General Ross, who led the British column in person, turned into the latter with the seeming intention of pushing on toward Washington. He was induced to do so by Cockburn, who thirsted for plunder, and who argued that the prestige which the British would acquire by the capture of the metropolis of the republic would be of immense advantage to the cause, and that no doubt the government, to save the city, would make a liberal offer of money, a circumstance that would greatly increase the marauder's amount of prize-money. After proceeding a short distance, Ross changed his course and proceeded toward Marlborough. Winder deemed it prudent to avoid an encounter, and in the afternoon he retreated toward the capital, and encamped at a place called Long Old Battalion Fields, about eight miles from the city, where he might be within easy striking distance of Bladensburg, the bridges over the East Branch of the Potomac, and the road leading to Fort Washington.

Colonel James Monroe, the Secretary of State, who had been several days with Winder reconnoitring the enemy, and watching all military movements, believed that Washington was in great peril, for he well knew the weakness of the American forces. While Ross was yet advancing, and before he retraced his steps and went toward Marlborough, Monroe sent the following dispatch to the President:

"The enemy are advanced six miles on the road to the Wood Yard, and our troops are retiring. Our troops were on the march to meet them, but in too small a body to engage. General Winder proposes to retire till he can collect them in a body. The enemy are in full march to Washington. Have the materials prepared to destroy the bridges.---

J. Monroe.

P.S.---You had better remove the records."

2. Mr. S. Pleasanton, then employed in the office of the Secretary of State, made immediate arrangements for the removal of the books and papers of the State Department. He had linen bags made in which they were placed, and then conveyed in carts across the Chain Bridge, over the Potomac, two miles above Georgetown, to the grist-mill of Edgar Patterson, in Virginia. Considering them unsafe there, Mr. Pleasanton had them conveyed to Leesburg,

This message produced the wildest excitement in the national capital, then a straggling town of between eight and nine thousand inhabitants, and caused a sudden and confused exodus of all the timid and helpless ones who were able to leave.

Winder's situation was an unenviable one. With a comparatively strong foe on his front, ready to fall upon him or the capital he was expected to defend, he had only about twenty-five hundred armed and effective men in camp, and many of these had been from their homes only three or four days. They were undisciplined and untried, and surrounded and influenced by a crowd of excited civilians, to whose "officious but well-intended information and advice" the general was compelled to listen. In addition to this intrusion and interference of common men, he was embarrassed by the presence and suggestions of the President and his Cabinet

thirty-five miles from Washington, where they were locked up in an unoccupied house, and the keys given to the Rev. Mr. Littlejohn, who had been one of the collectors of the internal revenue. Thus the precious documents of the Revolutionary period and other valuable papers now in the Office of the Rolls at Washington City were saved from destruction. ----Autograph Letter of S. Pleasanton to General Winder, August 7, 1848. Mr. Pleasanton, in his account of this transaction, says: "While engaged in the passage-way of the buildings with the papers, the Department of State being on one side, and the War Department on the other side of the passage, General Armstrong, then Secretary of War, on his way to his own room, stopped a short time, and observed to me that he thought we were under unnecessary alarm, as he did not think the British were serious in their intentions of coming to Washington." To this belief the Secretary adhered until they were in full march upon the capital.

ministers, the most of them utterly ignorant of military affairs. Better would it have been for Winder and the country if these civilians, from the President down, had kept away from the camp and the field, and prudently preserved silence.

The fatigued little army at Long Old Fields had reposed but a short time when, at two o'clock in the morning (August 23), a timid sentinel gave a false alarm, and they were summoned to their feet in battle order. They were soon dismissed, and slept on their arms until dawn. At sunrise they were ordered to strike their tents, load the baggage wagons, and have every thing in readiness to move within an hour. When every thing was prepared for marching they were reviewed by President Madison. In the mean time Winder had ascertained from scouts that the British were resting quietly in their camp at Upper Marlborough, and he resolved to concentrate all the troops within his reach at some point between his present camp and that of the enemy. He accordingly sent orders to General Stansbury, at Bladensburg, to march with his own and Lieutenant Colonel Sterett's troops, and take position in the road within seven miles of Marlborough. The same order was sent to Lieutenant Colonel Beall, supposed to be then approaching with his corps from Annapolis. A detachment from General Walter Smith's brigade, under Major Peter, composed of the same companies as the detachment sent forward the day before, was ordered to move from camp in the same direction and for the same purpose---to approach as near the enemy as possible without incurring too much risk, and annoy him whether in motion or at rest. General Winder himself, accompanied by a troop of Laval's cavalry, started for Bladensburg at noon for the purpose of holding a conference with General Stansbury. When within four or five miles of that place, he was overtaken by Major M'Kenney with intelligence that Major Peter had met and skirmished with the vanguard of the advancing enemy, two or three miles from Marlborough, on the road toward the Wood Yard, had been driven back toward the Old Fields, and that General Smith had sent off the baggage toward Washington across the Eastern Branch, and had drawn up his own troops

and Barney's seamen in battle order to await an attack from the foe. Winder immediately sent orders to Stansbury, now moving forward, to fall back toward Bladensburg, take the best position possible with his own and Sterett's troops in front of that village, and resist the enemy if attacked. If driven, he was to retreat toward the capital. He then hastened back to the Old Fields, where he found Smith and Barney well posted. Stansbury's force took position in an orchard (near a mill yet standing near Bladensburg) on a gentle eminence, and there, behind a slight breastwork, he placed six heavy guns in position to command the pass into the town and the bridge southwestward of it. About one hundred yards in the rear of this position, in the small dwelling on Tournecliffe's farm, the surgeons of the command were placed, to receive and take care of the wounded soldiers.

General Ross rested at Upper Marlborough until after noon of the 23d, when, being joined by Cockburn and his seamen and marines, he moved forward at two o'clock, and, as we have observed, encountered and drove back Major Peter and his command. He then pressed steadily on unmolested to the junction of the roads leading respectively to Washington City and the Alexandria Ferry, on the Potomac River, not far above Fort Washington. There they halted. The Americans were puzzled. Some believed that an attack on Fort Washington in the rear, simultaneously with an assault by the British fleet in front, was contemplated; but more, and among these General Winder and Colonel Monroe, believed the national capital to be the prize sought to be won. Impressed with this conviction, Winder issued orders toward the borders of the city, where greater facility would be afforded for assisting General Young, who was covering Fort Washington with a small force, and for drawing to himself Stansbury and Sterett if the enemy should advance rapidly upon the capital. Late at night the troops, greatly wearied and dispirited, encamped within the limits of the city. "Thus," said General Smith, "terminated the four days of service of the whole of the time, both night and day; had traveled, during their different marches in advance and retreat, a considerable

tract of country, exposed to the burning heat of a sultry sun by day, and many of them to the cold dews of the night, uncovered. They had in this period drawn but two rations, the requisition therefor in the first instance being but partially complied with, and it being afterward almost impossible to procure the means of transportation, the wagons employed by our quartermaster for that purpose being constantly impressed by the government agents for the purpose of removing the public records when the enemy's approach was known, and some of them thus seized while proceeding to take in provisions for the army."

The night of the 23d of August was marked by great excitement in the National capital. The President and his Cabinet indulged in no slumbers, for Ross, the invader, was bivouacked at Melwood, near the Long Old Fields, about ten miles from the city, and Winder's troops, worn down and dispirited, were fugitives before him. Laval's horsemen were exhausted, and Stansbury's troops at Bladensburg were too wearied with long marching to do much fighting without some repose. What the morning would reveal no one could tell, and the dark hours were passed in great anxiety by the troops and people. The Secretary of State was in his saddle half the night; and at midnight he had visited the headquarters of Stansbury, acquainted him with the relative positions of Winder and Ross, and advised him to fall in the rear of the latter. Fortunately the military leader did not follow the advice of the civilian.

Winder's head-quarters were at Combs's, near the Eastern Branch Bridge, and at dawn the President and several of his Cabinet ministers were there.² Before their arrival, General Winder (who was greatly fatigued in body and mind, and had received a severe injury from a fall during the night) had sent a note to the Secretary of War, expressing a desire to have the counsel of that officer and the government. This was a mistake. He had had too much of that bane to success already, and it

2. Secretaries of War, Navy, and Treasury, and the Attorney General.

was now administered too liberally for the good reputation of himself, and his country. These government officers were so officious as well as fickle---fickle, because impulse, and not judgment, guided them---that the general's thoughts and plans were interfered with at a moment when one mind should control all movements, and that mind be free to act untrammelled and unbiased.¹

While Winder and the government were in council, Ross moved toward Bladensburg. Laval's scouts first brought intelligence of the fact to head-quarters. They were soon followed by an express from Stansbury, giving positive information that the British were marching in that direction, with the view, no doubt, of crushing the little force of Baltimoreans near the Bladensburg Mill. Up to that moment the council believed that Ross would move on Fort Washington, or on the city by the very bridge near which they were in consultation. This delusive idea now vanished, and government, general, and troops all moved off toward the point of danger. Winder had now under his command at Washington and Bladensburg five thousand one hundred effective men. The force of the enemy was about the same.

1. It appears from contemporaneous testimony that, at the interview at Winder's head-quarters that morning, it was resolved by the President to give the supreme control of military affairs to the Secretary of War, but that in a short time the President changed his mind, who told the Secretary that "the military functionaries should be left to the discharge of their own duties on their own responsibilities."---see General Armstrong's account of the matter in his Notices of the War of 1812. The now (1867) venerable Jacob Barker, of New Orleans, who was at the seat of government at this time, in an interesting narrative of these events, says: "The President left Washington at about 9 A.M. (August 24), in great haste, to recall General Armstrong, who had preceded him about an hour with the President's order to supersede General Winder in the defense of the capital, and reaching the ground a few minutes before the fight began, said to General Armstrong, 'It is too late to make any change. Come with me, and leave the defense with the military authorities, where it belongs.'" ---Letter to Mr. Carroll, February 8, 1848, in reply to one from that gentleman in the New York Herald, December 1, 1847. General Armstrong was offended, and, as he says in his narrative, "now became, of course, a mere spectator of the combat."

It was ten o'clock in the morning when Winder ordered General W. Smith, with the whole of his troops, to hasten toward Bladensburg. Barney was soon afterward ordered to move with his five hundred men, and the Secretary of State, who had seen some military service in the Revolution, was requested by the President and General Winder to hasten to Stansbury and assist him in properly posting his troops. Mr. Monroe was immediately followed by General Winder and his staff. The Secretary of War then followed; and lastly the President and Attorney General, accompanied by some friends, all on horseback, rode on toward the expected theatre of battle.² Stansbury seems not to have been well pleased with the aid of the Secretary of State, for he afterward intimated that "somebody," without consulting him, changed and deranged his order of battle. That "somebody" was Colonel Monroe, as we shall presently observe.

Let us for a moment take a glance at the theatre on which the opposing forces were soon to meet face to face. It was the slopes and plain around Bladensburg, then a little straggling village at the head of small-craft navigation on the Eastern Branch of the Potomac, up which for four miles vessels of largest class might ride. The village is about six miles from Washington by the old post-road from that city to Baltimore. Another road from Georgetown joined the Washington Road at an acute angle a few yards from the bridge less than a hundred feet long, that spanned the stream at Bladensburg. Above the bridge the creek was every where fordable.

In the triangular field formed by the two roads just mentioned, and near the mill, General Stansbury's command was posted on the morning of the 24th. On the brow of a little eminence in that field, three hundred and fifty yards from the Bladensburg Bridge, between a large barn and the Washington Road, a barbette earth-work had been thrown up for the use of heavy cannon. Behind

2. Richard Rush, then Attorney General, says that the President informed him, when they were riding out toward Bladensburg, that one motive that caused his going to the field was to be on hand to give the requisite sanction to the claims to superior command of General Armstrong.

TYPE 5 - BRASS

this work were the artillery companies from Baltimore, under Captains Myers and Magruder, one hundred and fifty strong, with six 6-pounders. These were too small for the high embankment, and embrasures were cut so that they might command the bridge and both roads. Major Pinkney's riflemen were on the right of the battery, near the junction of the roads, and concealed by the shrubbery on the low ground near the river. Two companies of militia, under Captains Ducker and Gorsuch, acting as riflemen, were stationed in the rear of the left of the battery, near the barn and the Georgetown Road. About fifty yards in the rear of Pinkney's riflemen was Sterett's Fifth Regiment of Baltimore Volunteers, while the regiments of Ragan and Schutz were drawn up en echelon, their right resting on the left of Ducker's and Gorsuch's companies, and commanding the Georgetown Road. The cavalry, about three hundred and eighty in all, were placed somewhat in the rear, on the extreme left, and seem not to have taken any part in the battle that ensued.

This, all things considered, seems to have been a judicious arrangement; but Colonel Monroe, without consulting General Stansbury, and in the face of the enemy, then on the other side of the Eastern Branch, proceeded to change it, by moving the Baltimore regiments of Sterett, Ragan, and Schutz a quarter of a mile in the rear of the artillery and riflemen, their right resting on the Washington Road. This formed a second line in full view of the enemy, within reach of his Congreve rockets, entirely uncovered, and so far from the first line as not to be able to give it immediate support in case of an attack. This was a blunder that proved disastrous, but it was made too late to be corrected, the enemy was so near.

General Winder in the mean time had arrived on the field, and posted a third and rear line on the crown of the hills, near the residence of the late John C. Rives, proprietor of the Washington Globe, about a mile from the Bladensburg Bridge. This line embraced a regiment of Maryland militia, under Colonel Beall, which had just arrived from Annapolis, and was posted on the

EAGLE-A

extreme right; Barney's flotilla-men, who formed the centre on the Washington Road, with two 18-pounders planted in the highway a few yards from the site of Rives's barn, a portion of the seamen acting as artillerists; and Colonel Magruder's District militia, regulars under Lieutenant Colonel Scott, and Peter's battery, who formed the left. About five hundred yards in front of this position the road descends into a gentle ravine, which was then, as now, crossed by a small bridge (Tournecliffe's), on the north of which it widens into a little grassy level, and formed the dueling-ground where Decatur and others lost their lives. Overlooking it, about one hundred and fifty yards from the road, is an abrupt bluff, on which the companies of Captains Stull and Davidson were posted in position to command that highway. Lieutenant Colonel Scott, with his regulars, Colonel Brent, with the Second Regiment of General Smith's brigade, and Major Waring, with the battalion of Maryland militia, were posted on the rear of Major Peter's battery. Magruder was immediately on the left of Barney's men, his right resting on the Washington Road; and Colonel Kramer, with a small detachment, was thrown forward of Colonel Beall.

Such was the disposition of Winder's little army when, at noon, the enemy were seen descending the hills beyond Bladensburg, and pressing on toward the bridge. At half past twelve they were in the town, and came within range of the heavy guns of the first American line. The British commenced hurling rockets at the exposed Americans, and attempted to throw a heavy force across the bridge, but were driven back by their antagonists' cannon, and forced to take shelter in the village and behind Lowndes's Hill, in the rear of it. Again, after due preparation, they advanced in double-quick time; and, when the bridge was crowded with them, the artillery of Winder's first and second lines opened upon them with terrible effect, sweeping down a whole company. The concealed riflemen, under Pinkney, also poured deadly volumes into their exposed ranks; but the British, continually re-enforced, pushed gallantly forward, some over the bridge,

2. Ross made the house of Mr. Lowndes his head-quarters on that day.

and some fording the stream above it, and fell so heavily upon the first and unsupported line of the Americans that it was compelled to fall back upon the second. A company, whose commander is unnamed in the reports of the battle, were so panic-stricken that they fled after the first fire, leaving their guns to fall into the hands of the enemy.

The first British brigade were now over the stream, and, elated by their success, did not wait for the second. They threw away their knapsacks and haversacks, and pushed up the hill to attack the American second line in the face of an annoying fire from Captain Burch's artillery. They weakened their force by stretching out so as to form a front equal to that of their antagonists. It was a blunder which Winder quickly perceived and took advantage of. He was then at the head of Sterett's regiment. With this and some of Stansbury's militia, who behaved gallantly, he not only checked the enemy's advance, but, at the point of the bayonet, pressed their attenuated line so strongly that it fell back to the thickets on the brink of the river, near the bridge, where it maintained its position most obstinately until re-enforced by the second brigade. Thus strengthened, it again pressed forward, and soon turned the left flank of the Americans, and at the same time sent a flight of hissing rockets over and very near the centre and right of Stansbury's line. The frightened regiments of Schutz and Ragan broke, and fled in wildest confusion. Winder tried to rally them, but in vain. Sterett's corps maintained their ground gallantly until the enemy had gained both their flanks, when Winder ordered them and the supporting artillery to retire up the hill. They, too, became alarmed, and the retreat, covered by riflemen, was soon a disorderly flight.

The first and second line of the Americans having been dispersed, the British, flushed with success, pushed forward to attack the third. Peter's artillery annoyed, but did not check them; and the left, under the gallant Colonel Thornton, soon confronted Barney, in the centre, who maintained his position like a genuine hero, as he was. His 18-pounders enfiladed the Washington

Road, and with them he swept the highway with such terrible effect that the enemy filed off into a field, and attempted to turn Barney's right flank. There they were met by three 12-pounders and marines, under Captains Miller and Sevier, and were badly cut up. They were driven back to the ravine already mentioned as the dueling-ground, leaving several of their wounded officers in the hands of the Americans. Colonel Thornton, who bravely led the attacking column, was severely wounded, and General Ross had his horse shot under him.

The flight of Stansbury's troops left Barney unsupported in that direction, while a heavy column was hurled against Beall and his militia, on the right, with such force as to disperse them. The British light troops soon gained position on each flank, and Barney himself was severely wounded near a living fountain of water on the estate of the late Mr. Rives, which is still known as Barney's Spring. When it became evident that Minor's Virginia troops could not arrive in time to aid the gallant flotilla-men, who were obstinately maintaining their position against fearful odds, and that farther resistance would be useless, Winder ordered a general retreat. The commodore, too severely hurt to be moved, became a prisoner of war, but was immediately paroled by General Ross, and sent to Bladensburg after his wound was dressed by a British surgeon. There he was joined by his wife and son, and his own surgeon, and on the 27th was conveyed to his farm at Elkridge, in Maryland. The great body of the Americans who were not dispersed retreated toward Montgomery Court-house, in Maryland, leaving the battlefield in full possession of the enemy, and their way to the national capital unobstructed except by the burning of the two bridges over the Eastern Branch of the Potomac.¹ The Americans lost twenty-six killed and fifty-one wounded. The British loss was manifold greater. According to one of their officers who was in the battle, and yet living (Mr. Gleig, Chaplain General of the British Army), it was

6

1. The lower bridge, near the navy yard, had been left in charge of Captain Creighton, with orders to destroy it on the approach of the enemy. It was fired at four o'clock in the afternoon.