

## COPYRIGHT / USAGE

Material on this site may be quoted or reproduced for **personal and educational purposes** without prior permission, provided appropriate credit is given. Any commercial use of this material is prohibited without prior permission from The Special Collections Department - Langsdale Library, University of Baltimore. Commercial requests for use of the transcript or related documentation must be submitted in writing to the address below.

When crediting the use of portions from this site or materials within that are copyrighted by us please use the citation: *Used with permission of the University of Baltimore.*

If you have any requests or questions regarding the use of the transcript or supporting documents, please contact us:

Langsdale Library  
Special Collections Department  
1420 Maryland Avenue  
Baltimore, MD 21201-5779  
<http://archives.ubalt.edu>

62D CONGRESS,  
2D SESSION.

# H. R. 25912.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

JULY 23, 1912.

Mr. LINTHICUM introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on the Library and ordered to be printed.

## A BILL

Providing for the erection of a monument to Francis Scott Key and to the defenders of Fort McHenry at the time of the British attack on that fortification.

1        *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2        *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*  
3        That there shall be erected at Fort McHenry, under the  
4        direction of the Secretary of War, a suitable monument in  
5        honor of Francis Scott Key, author of "The Star Spangled  
6        Banner," and to those men who repelled the attack of the  
7        British fleet on that fort.

8        SEC. 2. That for the purpose of erection of said monu-  
9        ment the sum of fifty thousand dollars, or so much thereof  
10       as may be necessary therefor, is hereby appropriated, from

1 any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to  
 2 be expended by direction of the Secretary of War, or such  
 3 officer as he shall designate: *Provided*, That the money  
 4 hereby appropriated shall be drawn from time to time as  
 5 may be required in the progress of the work and upon requi-  
 6 sition of the Secretary of War.

62<sup>nd</sup> CONGRESS,  
 2<sup>d</sup> Session.

H. R. 25912.

## A BILL

Providing for the erection of a monument to Francis Scott Key and to the defenders of Fort McHenry at the time of the British attack on that fortification.

By Mr. LINTHICUM.

JUNE 23, 1912.—Referred to the Committee on the Library and ordered to be printed.

THE PART PLAYED BY FORT McHENRY AND "THE  
STAR-SPANGLED BANNER" IN OUR SECOND  
WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN

---

---

SPEECH

OF

HON. J. CHAS. LINTHICUM

OF MARYLAND

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

AUGUST 5, 1912



WASHINGTON

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

1912

56957-11389

SPEECH  
OF  
HON. J. CHAS. LINTHICUM.

On the bill (S. 6354) to perpetuate and preserve Fort McHenry and the grounds connected therewith as a Government reservation under the control of the Secretary of War, and to authorize its partial use as a museum of historical relics.

Mr. LINTHICUM said:

Mr. SPEAKER: When Francis Scott Key, pacing the deck of a British vessel, peered through the mists of morning and saw in the distance his country's flag proudly and defiantly waving from the little fort which had been the center of the British attack, he was inspired with patriotic fervor to write those stirring lines:

'Tis the Star-Spangled Banner! oh, long may it wave  
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Of the millions who sing that song which has made Key's name immortal there are many who do not know that the crushing repulse of the British at Fort McHenry was a victory of the utmost strategic value to our Nation at a critical period in its history when encouragement was sorely needed.

The battle at Baltimore, in which Fort McHenry played a pivotal part, was not only the most spectacular engagement of our War of 1812, but the spirit of Americanism, aroused and awakened by that battle and the song which it produced, stirred the patriot blood in every State of our Union. It furnished the most dramatic chapter of an intensely bitter war with Great Britain.

Our second war with Great Britain was the culmination of a long series of indefensible aggressions on our national rights by the British Government. Those aggressions sprung from the efforts of England to resist Napoleon and his continental system. Though by the treaty with England of 1783 we were solemnly recognized by that Government as a sovereign and independent people, the British ministry, with a presumptuousness and haughtiness as intolerable as it was odious, endeavored to treat us with as peremptory inconsideration as that accorded a subject race. Again the chains of tyranny were fastened 'round our necks. And when the American Government, after five years of repeated and respectful protest, and after resort to every expedient of peace suggested by the ingenuity of that day, was reluctantly driven to the sword in defense of its rights, England waged a war of pillage and destruction, of bitterness and vindictiveness, of arson and rapine, beside which the iniquities of the Goths were mild.

The War of 1812 was virtually our second war of independence. The history of that struggle undeniably proves that the British ministry resorted to every device within its power in a fruitless effort to disgust the American people with the incompetence of their Government and to induce our Northern States to set up a separate union for themselves in connection with, or under the protection of, England.

In the prosecution of that war the American Navy laid the foundation of a reputation for skill and bravery which has been

maintained to this day. In construction, in personnel, in maneuvering, in feats of daring and hardihood, it outclassed and excelled its opponent. Although our people were successful on the sea, the trained British regulars, veterans of European campaigns against Napoleon, were, until the battle of North Point, generally successful on land.

At a psychological moment in the progress of that war, at a time when our Government, crippled by a fierce and unreasoning partisanship, was on the verge of utter exhaustion, the British inaugurated a scheme of military conquest well designed to accomplish the division of our Union. All the energies of war were to be directed against the seat of government and the brunt of the conflict brought to bear on those Southern States which supported the party in official power. Meanwhile the Northern States, in which the cry for separation from the Union was growing constantly stronger, was to be given an example of the punishment in store for them unless they should quickly set up a confederation of their own and arrive at terms of peace with the enemy. To accomplish these objects one British army was to push down Lake Champlain, while another, consisting of a joint land and sea force, was to harass the Atlantic coast adjacent to Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, making incursions to inflict what damage and pillage and create what terror it could. Later both forces were to effect a junction.

The British naval and military force entered the Chesapeake; almost simultaneously the descent was made on Lake Champlain. Washington was attacked, its defenders routed, the city entered, and all public and some private buildings wantonly burned or destroyed. Alexandria was laid under tribute. Madison and his Cabinet were forced to flee into the Virginia woods for security. This success of the British plan was a staggering blow to our Government, more disastrous in its moral influence than in its physical effect, for Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and all other Atlantic coast towns were filled with apprehensions of a similar fate, against which were the alternatives of secession or contributing liberally to England's war chest. Such a state of affairs placed a powerful weapon in the hands of the Federalists of the North. It also gave to those New Englanders favoring withdrawal from the Union the strongest possible motive for prompt action—that of self-preservation.

A government disorganized, disheartened, and discouraged, smarting under the severity of its punishment, tottering on the brink of exhaustion, was that of the United States when the British entered upon their expedition against Baltimore. So dejected were our people that successful resistance was thought impossible, and it was despairingly believed that the attempted defense of Baltimore would prove of as little avail as that offered at the capital. The whole land waited with bated breath the issue of the impending assault, fearful of what new calamity was yet to startle our country.

News traveled slowly in those days, but none the less joyously. Tidings of the battle at North Point were followed rapidly by details telling of the death of Gen. Ross, the commander of the British forces. Tales of the fierce and dramatic attack on Fort Mchenry and the complete repulse of the

British were soon corroborated by Key's inspiring anthem, which met with instantaneous popularity. As by magic, our people were aroused and our Government infused with the vigor and vitality of an awakened national life. Other cities were anxious to meet the enemy and emulate the valor of the men of Baltimore. The victory at Fort McHenry, of which Key's song so eloquently testified, was a stimulus to the patriotic impulse of the Nation which worked a wonder little short of miraculous in rejuvenating our national spirit.

It was such conditions that gave to the victory at Fort McHenry a more than double significance. To fully appreciate the situation and realize the importance of the successful resistance which that little fort made against the assaults of the British invader, it is necessary to consider for a moment the causes of that war and the military operations that preceded and led up to that attack.

#### CAUSES OF THE WAR.

The events which culminated in June, 1812, in a declaration of war by the United States against Great Britain were but the reflection over 3,000 miles of sea of those hostile fires which cast their lurid glare over the blood-drenched plains of continental Europe. In that unfortunate land the curtains had been drawn upon the most desperate struggle ever witnessed in the history of humankind, and destiny seems to have decreed that the echoes of that struggle should reverberate even to the distant shores and forest wilds of America. Napoleon was engaged in his terrific fight for European domination. His invincible legions marched almost whither they would, hurling back with ferocious, lightninglike rapidity the ever-appearing columns of the allies. On land he was supreme, but where the waves of ocean dashed upon the shores of continental Europe there his power ceased, for "Britannia ruled the wave."

To strike a vital blow at English commerce induced Napoleon on November 21, 1806, to promulgate his Berlin decree forbidding continental Europe to purchase or traffic in English goods, and "which turned away or confiscated every American vessel voluntarily entering a British port after that date."

England retaliated through her "orders in council," the first of which dated January 7, 1807. These denounced as subject to capture all ships trading at ports under Napoleon's jurisdiction, unless they should have first submitted to inspection by some English vessel of war and obtained a certificate as to their neutral character.

Of the practical effect of these "orders" on American commerce, I cite an example widely quoted in this country at the time:

Let us suppose an American ship sails from Virginia for Holland, France, Spain, Portugal, or Germany with, say, 400 hogsheads of tobacco. She must go first to a British port and there ask leave to continue the voyage, and not only ask but pay for it at the rate of 13d. for each pound of the tobacco and 12s. for each ton of the ship. Now, as a hogshead contains 1,000 pounds of tobacco the cargo will weigh 400,000 pounds, which, taxed at a penny and a half, will yield \$11,000. The ship will probably be of 400 tons, which, at 12s. the ton, will add \$1,065. This paid, and a royal license secured at a cost of \$100, the captain may go on to, say, Amsterdam, where he may sell his tobacco and take on a cargo of gin. But on the way home, if the French do not seize him for having a British license, he must again touch at an English port and pay duty on the gin. The duty is 1s. 3d. per gallon. If he has 600 pipes, 60,000 gallons, the tax will be \$16,650. Tonnage

and light money added to this will make the duty \$18,515. Thus every American ship that went out with tobacco and came back with gin would pay Great Britain \$31,000 for leave to do so.

Napoleon replied promptly, for within less than a month he answered the British orders in council by a promulgation from Milan declaring every ship visited by a British cruiser or sent into a British port or which paid a tax to the British Government thereby denationalized and converted into English property and that it would be regarded as contraband of war.

Notwithstanding the Berlin decree, the British orders in council, the Milan decree, and the nonintercourse acts of the United States, hereafter referred to, American vessels still continued to enter French ports. But by the Bayonne decree of April 5, 1808, the French Emperor sequestered all American vessels arriving in France subsequent to the embargo, as being presumably British property.

The British orders in council of April 26, 1809, established a blockade of the whole coast of France.

The secret decree of Vienna of August, 1809, enforced in principle, sequestered every American vessel arriving within the Emperor's military control, in reprisal for the nonintercourse act of the United States which threatened French ships with confiscation.

#### DESTRUCTION OF AMERICAN COMMERCE.

All legitimate commerce of the American States with Europe was thus annihilated. We have seen by the illustration quoted the ruinous tariff exacted of any vessel attempting bona fide compliance with the English orders in council. Through the orders of the French Emperor our trade with France was equally demoralized, and in the files of the Federal Republican and Commercial Gazette, of Baltimore, of January 17, 1812—a rabid Federalist paper of that day—I read from its time-stained pages, under the caption "A free trade to France," a communication graphically portraying the effect of some of the French restrictions upon the tobacco industry of my native county of Anne Arundel:

A planter of Anne Arundel County having 42 hogsheads of tobacco of his own crop shipped it on the 14th of April, 1810, in the ship *Virgin*, Capt. Auld, bound to the island of Sylt, consigned to a house in the Hamburg. The ship arrived and delivered her cargo in June and July following. On or about the 20th day of April, 1811, a decree was issued by the Emperor of France subjecting the property to confiscation unless it was carried within certain lines mentioned in the decree and before a given time. The consignee was therefore compelled to incur the heavy charges mentioned below to carry the above tobacco into Hamburg. Upon its arrival there, the Emperor of France took 25 hogsheads for his share and left the planter 17 hogsheads burthened with all the charges and sale of 17 hogshead remaining.

July 15, 1811:		£	s.	d.			
12 hogsheads of tobacco weighing							
14,430, at 13½	-----	11,949	13	6			
		2,533	5	6			
					9,416	08	0
Deduct the following charges:							
Freight of the 42 hogsheads	-----	2,820	11	0			
Expenses at Husum	-----	1,088	00	0			
Carriage to Altona and expenses there	-----	3,613	04	0			
Insurance against fire, portorage, receiving, and delivering, warehouse rest, etc	-----	1,405	06	0			
					9,143	08	0
					(M. B. 273 or \$91)		

Estimating the 25 hogsheads of tobacco taken by the Emperor of France at the same price the rest sold for, it would produce upward of \$5,000. Thus it appears that the Emperor of France receives \$5,000 and the planter only \$91—a contrast that ought to prove to every person that our trade with him is ruinous. Is this the trade for which our Government are about commencing a war.

The above can be proved by original letters and accurate sales, if the statement is controverted.

The combined effect of these decrees was naturally the destruction of all security to neutral commerce. The historian, Sparks, says:

The two great belligerent powers thus mutually rivaled each other in the work of destroying the commerce of the only remaining neutral State their indiscriminate violence had left out of the circle of hostility.

#### EFFORTS TO AVOID WAR.

When contemplating the contemptuous disregard of their rights and the repeated indignities to which the United States was subjected by England and France during the Napoleonic wars, no American of the present day with red blood in his veins can conceive how our forefathers were able to so long persist in that pacific policy to which they resorted. Whether this attitude was influenced by the desire to avoid conflict until our youthful Republic should be able to withstand the shock of war, or whether it was inspired by a hope for redress of these grievances through diplomatic representations of their palpable injustice, we can not help but marvel at the fortitude of our people and Government, for no nation prizing the respect of mankind was ever given stronger reasons to appeal to the arbitrament of the sword. Although English men-of-war and French sequestrations were fast extinguishing our struggling commerce, Congress, dominated by Jefferson, tenaciously clung to a policy of commercial retaliation, or "peaceful coercion," the avowed intent of which was to put an end to that trade which still heroically survived the dangers by which it was beset. Assuming that England's need of our market was imperative to her industrial welfare, and to deprive her of this market would force her to a recognition of American rights, was the basis of that reasoning which produced the nonimportation and the embargo.

Abroad Napoleon had shut the whole Continent of Europe to English trade, which was henceforward limited to countries beyond the seas. If ever England could be coerced by peaceable means, this was the time.

Prior to the passage of the embargo Congress was told that any measure of this character would fall with unabated severity upon the Atlantic Coast States, and it was prophetically pointed out that it would prove more destructive to the United States than any nation against whom it might be aimed. Such protests, however, were unavailing with Congress against the recommendations of Jefferson. In a letter to John Mason immediately preceding the enactment of the embargo, Jefferson justified it as follows:

\* \* \* The sum of these mutual enterprises on our national rights is that France and her allies, reserving for further consideration the prohibiting our carrying anything to the British territories, have virtually done it by restraining our bringing a return cargo from them; and Great Britain, after prohibiting a great proportion of our commerce with France and her allies, is now believed to have prohibited the whole. The whole world is thus laid under interdict by these two nations, and our vessels, their cargoes, and crews are to be taken by the one or the other for whatever place they may be destined out of

our own limits. If, therefore, on leaving our harbors we are certainly to lose them, is it not better, as to vessels, cargoes, and seamen, to keep them at home?

Despite the absolute lack of faith in its efficacy as a measure of retaliation against those nations which had repeatedly, flagrantly, and insolently wronged us, the embargo act was adopted by Congress as the only alternative of war. To Levi Lincoln, Jefferson wrote:

The alternative was between that and war, and, in fact, it is the last card we have to play short of war.

EFFECT OF THE EMBARGO.

Henry Adams in his splendid "History of the United States," in treating of Jefferson's administration, thus narrates the effect of the embargo:

In New England, where the struggle of existence was keenest, the embargo struck like a thunderbolt, and society for a moment thought itself at an end. Foreign commerce and shipping were the life of the people—the ocean, as Pickering said, was their farm. The outcry of suffering interests became every day more violent as the public learned that this paralysis was not a matter of weeks, but of months or years. New Englanders as a class were a law-abiding people, but from the earliest moments of their history they had largely qualified their obedience to the law by the violence with which they abused and the ingenuity with which they evaded it. Against the embargo and Jefferson they concentrated the clamor and passion of their keen and earnest nature.

Immense losses, sweeping away their savings and spreading bankruptcy through every village, gave ample cause for their complaints. Yet in truth, New England was better able to defy the embargo than she was willing to suppose. She lost nothing except profits which the belligerents had in any case confiscated; her timber would not harm for keeping, and her fish were safe in the ocean. The embargo gave her almost a monopoly of the American market for domestic manufactures; no part of the country was so well situated or so well equipped for smuggling. Above all, she could easily economize. The New Englander knew better than any other American how to cut down his expenses to the uttermost point of parsimony, and even when he became bankrupt he had but to begin anew. His energy, shrewdness, and education were a capital which the embargo could not destroy but rather helped to improve.

The growers of wheat and live stock in the Middle States were more hardly treated. Their wheat, reduced in value from \$2 to 75 cents a bushel, became practically unsalable. Debarred a market for their produce at a moment when every article of common use tended to rise in cost, they were reduced to the necessity of living on the produce of their farms, but the task was not then so difficult as in later times, and the cities still furnished local markets not to be despised. The manufacturers of Pennsylvania could not but feel the stimulus of the new demand; so violent a system of protection was never applied to them before or since. Probably for that reason the embargo was not so unpopular in Pennsylvania as elsewhere, and Jefferson had nothing to fear from political revolution in this calm and plodding community.

The true burden of the embargo fell on the Southern States, but most severely upon the great State of Virginia. Slowly decaying, but still half patriarchal, Virginia society could neither economize nor liquidate. Tobacco was worthless, but 400,000 negro slaves must be clothed and fed, great establishments must be kept up, the social scale of living could not be reduced, and even bankruptcy could not clear a large landed estate without creating new encumbrances in a country where land and negroes were the only forms of property on which money could be raised. Stay laws were tried, but served only to prolong the agony. With astonishing rapidity Virginia succumbed to ruin while continuing to support the system that was draining her strength. No episode in American history was more touching than the generous devotion with which Virginia clung to the embargo and drained the poison which her own President held obstinately to her lips. The cotton and rice States had less to lose, and could more easily bear bankruptcy; ruin was to them—except in Charleston—a word of little meaning; but the old society of Virginia could never be restored. Amid the harsh warnings of John Randolph it saw its agonies approach, and its last representative, heir to all its honors and dignities, President Jefferson

himself woke from his long dream of power only to find his own fortunes buried in the ruin he had made.

The Federal newspapers in which the law was published—

Says McMaster—

appeared with inverted column rules. There were long obituary notices on liberty, on the Constitution, on the Union. The people of Bath, in Maine, assembled in town meeting and took the first steps toward civil war. \* \* \* The men of Newburyport voted \* \* \* that the whole system was unequal, oppressive, unconstitutional, and unjust. \* \* \* From Augusta, from Belfast, from Castine, from Alfred, from Bath, from Portland, from Wells, from Hallowell, from Beverly and Salem, Newburyport and Gloucester, from Boston and Cambridge, Hadley, Brewster, Sanford, Northampton, North Yarmouth, Amesbury, Oxford, New Bedford, Provincetown, Plymouth, from Marblehead, Duxbury, Somerset, Taunton, Lynn, Bolton, and Sterling resolutions came pouring in \* \* \*. Each deprecated a dissolution of the Union, but none expressed horror at the idea; \* \* \*. The men of Alfred told \* \* \* that despotism had broken the bonds that once bound the Colonies to Great Britain, and that what a like course of conduct might do in the United States God only knew. Hadley expressed the belief that a perseverance in that deadly hostility to commerce which arose from jealousy of New England would soon break up the Union—nay, that self-preservation would soon force a separation of the States. \* \* \* So hateful was the law that, rather than execute it, the collector and the deputy collector of the port of Boston resigned.

In the large shipping towns business of every kind fell off, and soon utterly ceased. The rope walks were deserted, the sailmakers were idle, the shipwrights and the draymen had scarcely anything to do. Pitch and tar, hemp and flour, bacon, salt fish, and flaxseed became drugs upon the shippers' hands. But the greatest sufferers of all were the sailors. In Boston 100 of them, bearing a flag, went in procession to the Government house demanding work or bread. \* \* \* In New York the common council thought for a time of employing the sailors to grade the streets, cut down hills, and fill up swamps and deep lots. In Philadelphia a band of seamen with a flag paraded the streets, and finally were put to work "making canvas, rope, coarse mats, oakum, gaskets, and points."

#### BRITISH IMPRESSMENTS.

A condition of affairs so deplorable as to force a nation in its extremity to pen up its commerce was indeed bad enough; but, unfortunately, that was not all. One of the most prolific sources of irritation of our relations with England was the denial by the British Government of the right of her citizens to transfer, without her consent, their allegiance to any other Government.

Asserting the principle, once a subject always a subject, she claimed the services of every British sailor wherever and whenever found. Nothing could release him. If he produced naturalization papers from the country under whose flag he sailed, he was told that England did not admit the right of expatriation. If he claimed to have voluntarily enlisted in the service of a neutral, and to be under contract for the voyage, he was told that such agreements must give way at the call of his King. Every British officer, therefore, who came over the side of an American merchantman to search for an enemy's goods mustered the crew and searched for British subjects. At first an honest attempt seems to have been made to distinguish between the men of the two countries \* \* \*

but as the exigencies of a protracted war made more pressing the need for men to man England's vessels of war—

impressment grew more and more rigorous, till at last the officer who searched an American ship laughed at protections and naturalization papers, differences of language and differences of race, and took off with him such men as pleased his fancy, and cared not a rush where they were born.

Such a policy naturally resulted in inflaming public sentiment in the United States until American hatred of the British Government became intense.

## INDIGNITIES OF BRITISH COMMANDERS.

As illustrative of the extent to which British naval commanders went in conducting these impressments and their defiance of the laws of our country, I cite a few examples:

One evening in April, when the coasting sloop *Richard*, from Brandywine, was approaching New York, and when scarcely 2 miles from the Sandy Hook Light and not a quarter of a mile from the beach, two shots came screaming toward her. \* \* \* The *Richard* was quickly rounded, but just at that moment a third ball \* \* \* carried off the head of John Pierce, the helmsman. The shots came from the *Leander*, a British warship, that had long lain in the cffing, stopping coasters, searching merchantmen, seizing ships, and impressing citizens of the United States. \* \* \* But the *Richard* made her escape, and toward morning reached New York. \* \* \* The body of the murdered man was taken from the ship, and \* \* \* thousands viewed it, and of these scarce one but went away cursing England. \* \* \* Meanwhile the common council met, denounced the murder and the daring aggression on national right, voted a public funeral, and asked the captains of ships in the harbor to lower their flags to half mast and the sextons of the churches to toll the bells. \* \* \* On the day of the funeral the body, surrounded by the clergy, the captains and crews of all the ships in the harbor, the mayor, the common council, and the citizens, was borne along Wall Street, Pearl Street, Whitehall Street, to Broadway, and deposited in the graveyard of St. Paul's Church. Outside of New York the feeling produced by the murder of Pierce was not so intense, although the whole country was deeply stirred.

Jefferson put forth a proclamation calling for the arrest of Whitby and commanding the *Leander*, the *Cambrian*, and the *Driver* to leave the ports of the United States, and forbidding the offending officers, Henry Whitby, John Nairne, and Slingsby Simpson, ever again to enter the waters under the jurisdiction of this Government.

About a year later the Nation was convulsed with indignation by the affair of the *Chesapeake* and the *Leopard*. The former, a frigate of the American navy, while bound for the Mediterranean to join the American squadron in those waters, had hardly passed out the capes of the Chesapeake when she was ordered by the *Leopard*, of the British Navy, to stop and be searched for deserting seamen. Upon refusing to comply the *Chesapeake* was riddled with shot until she had struck her flag. This almost produced war at the time between the two countries, and would have certainly done so had Congress been in session while the excitement was at its height. A cry arose on all sides demanding instant reparation from Great Britain, and the justice of this clamor was accentuated when it became known that never heretofore had Great Britain claimed the right to search a Nation's vessels of war for deserting seamen.

The utter disregard which British officers entertained for the United States was soon strikingly manifested. Although by President Jefferson's proclamation of July 2, 1807, our ports were declared shut to the armed ships of England and our citizens told that they should not "supply them with food or water or hold any communication with their officers or crews," British frigates "came and went as it pleased them." Contempt for Jefferson's proclamation was emphasized when two English vessels of war entered the harbor of New York, and upon being refused a pilot by a pilot boat "sent an armed boat in pursuit." Not content with this, they fired on an American "gunboat that was sailing about, brought it to, and ordered a midshipman to come on board," who did so. The collector

of the port sent a revenue cutter to bid them depart. The cutter—

was ordered off, and when she did not go, was boarded and searched. For three years English vessels kept our seacoast in a state of blockade. Some cruised along the coast from Eastport to Cape Ann. Some lay off the Long Island shore. Some searched vessels and impressed men within a league of Sandy Hook. One squadron passed within the capes of Chesapeake Bay and anchored in Hampton Roads. Such indeed was the impudence of the English commanders that the *Driver*, which in the proclamation of the year before had been commanded never again to enter any port or harbor of the United States, sailed boldly into Rebellion Roads and dropped anchor off Fort Johnson. The commandant of the fort was dumfounded. He could hardly trust his eyes, and, not knowing what to do, sent to ask the governor how the intruder should be driven out. \* \* \* A correspondence which was long remembered opened with Capt. William Love of the *Driver*. He was reminded of the proclamation; he was asked to leave port within 24 hours. \* \* \* The reply of the captain was long and insolent. He declared that Mr. Jefferson's proclamation would have disgraced the sanguinary pen of Robespierre or the most miserable and petty State of Barbary; intimated that he would sail when ready; asserted his readiness to punish any insult offered to his master's flag; and threatened that if water was not furnished him he would take it by force. Nor was he worse than his word. A plentiful supply of water was secured, and the *Driver*, to the shame of our Government, sailed unmolested away.

Worse yet was the behavior of Lieut. John Flintoph, of His Majesty's armed schooner *Pogge*. Early in the evening of a June day he entered the bay of Passamaquoddy, boarded and searched the shipping, fired on the town of Passamaquoddy, and sent a shot rolling between children at play. A month later he was again in port. This time he fired on a revenue boat, searched half a dozen American vessels, impressed some American sailors, and with round shot cut to pieces the sails and rigging of a schooner.

Is it any wonder that, in view of repeated indignities of similar character, the American people became furious?

#### ON THE FRONTIER.

Nor was this all. Commanders of British military posts in the interior of the country exhibited the same contempt for our Government as that so openly displayed by English naval officers, and charges were repeatedly made by the pioneers that Indian attacks on outlying settlements, accompanied by all the inhuman atrocities incident to such excursions, frequently had their inspiration and received sympathetic assistance from forts from which hung the flag of St. George. The savages were led to understand that the authority of "the great English father" was not extinguished, but only lay dormant, and that he would soon return to assert the same, to punish those who offended him, and to reward with his love and bountiful presents those of his red children who had followed his good advice. Secretly urged to take up the hatchet against the frontier settlers who sometimes trespassed on the Indian huntings grounds, inflamed by exaggerated recitations of wrongs to which they had been subjected, taught to regard all Americans with suspicion and their Government with ridicule, it is not to be wondered that the untutored red man indulged his primeval passions and that the rude log cabin in some isolated forest clearing was often the scene of blood-curdling tragedies of demoniacal conception.

The settlers soon learned the inspiration of their troubles, and their complaints were carried to the authorities at Washington; and if any doubted the accuracy of these accusations, such doubts were soon dispelled by the eagerness with which, at the eventual outbreak of hostilities, the savage hordes of the

forest were openly employed in conjunction with British soldiers and Canadian militiamen in barbaric forays on our border settlements.

EFFORTS OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY.

The story of American diplomatic negotiations preceding the War of 1812 constitutes a most interesting chapter of our national history.

It should be remembered that up to 1812 the Government of the United States was a trembling and doubtful experiment. Already the people of the United States had once changed their fundamental Constitution, and in the eyes of many European statesmen our Government was a venture foredoomed to destruction, the belief being widely entertained that our domestic partisanship would culminate in a spasm of fratricidal strife resulting in a monarchy maintained through alliance with some European power, or that we should return to the political espionage of Great Britain. Apparently confirming these suspicions of its instability was the confessed inability of our Government to insure respect for its rights during a period of the world's history when such consideration could be commanded only by the proper exhibition of strength.

Even during the enlightened present difficult are the negotiations of the diplomat not backed by the moral suasion of an effective army and navy—the unfortunate situation of the American diplomatist of that day. And it may be readily supposed conditions were far worse a century ago, when human nature had not ascended that moral height which it has since attained. Then, too, the European crisis had discovered the most able diplomatic talent of the old continent, and furnished a wealth of practical experience in which to school and develop it. Talleyrand, Champagny, and Decrès; Canning, Perceval, and Lord Wellesley were not of the class of ministerial agents who scoffed at the maxim "might makes right," nor did the character of the principals they served render their demeanor the more gracious and conciliatory.

In 1803 James Monroe, afterwards fifth President of the United States and author of the well-known doctrine which bears his name, was appointed to represent the United States at the British court. In 1806 and 1807 Monroe and William Pinkney, an illustrious son of Maryland, were joint ministers to Great Britain; and upon the return of Monroe, Pinkney remained as minister plenipotentiary from 1807 to 1811.

That Pinkney's designation to St. James strengthened our Government at that court is evident, for Lord Holland, in his memoirs of the Whig Party, in comparing him with Monroe, pronounces that Pinkney "had more of the forms and readiness of business and greater knowledge and cultivation of mind."

WILLIAM PINKNEY.

Of the parentage and early life of Pinkney, Esmeralda Boyle, in her Sketches of Distinguished Marylanders, tells as follows:

William Pinkney was born at Annapolis, on the Severn River, in the State of Maryland, the 17th day of March, 1764. His father was an Englishman named Jonathan Pinkney. He was of Norman descent, his ancestors having gone to England with William the Conqueror. His mother was a woman of strong intellectual powers and great tenderness of heart. To her he owed the first part of his education. Jonathan Pinkney was a Royalist, espousing that cause with great

warmth during the struggle for independence. The boy, however, chose to be a patriot of a more decided order. Sparks, in his biographical sketch of Pinkney, says that "one of the freaks of his patriotism was to escape from the vigilance of his parents and mount night guard with the soldiers in the fort at Annapolis."

Having imbibed in these early years a hatred of oppression and oppressors, it inspired at a later period some of his noblest efforts. Owing to the poverty forced upon him by the confiscation of his father's property, his classical education was rather limited. His teacher, Mr. Brehard, who was the principal of the King William School, took a profound interest in the embryo statesman, at that time just 13 years of age. (In the college register for 1794 the name of William Pinkney is entered on the board of visitors chosen for that year.) Struggling against the inflictions of pride and poverty, he endeavored to earn his livelihood by labor. It is said that he entered an apothecary store in the city of Baltimore, and while there began the study of medicine under Dr. Dorsey. From this rather obscure position he was drawn by the learned Samuel Chase, under whose direction and encouragement Pinkney began the study of the law at the age of 19.

He appeared as a practitioner before the bar in the year 1786. Leaving Annapolis, he went to Harford County, on the Susquehanna River, where his first professional efforts saw the light. From this district he was sent as a delegate to the State convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States of America in 1788. In October of the same year he was chosen and sent as a member of the house of delegates.

The eloquent utterances of this wonderful son of genius is counted among the proudest memorials of historical Maryland. His nephew, the Rev. William Pinkney, thus writes of his gifted kinsman: "With a voice of uncommon melody and power, an elocution beautifully accurate, and action graceful and impressive, he held the listening crowds upon his tongue in rapt astonishment and wonder. The tradition is still alive in Maryland, which echoes the widespread rumor of his fame."

In 1790 he was elected Member of Congress, but he declined the office.

In 1792 he was elected a member of the executive council of Maryland, which position he held for about three years. He was for a time president of that body. He was appointed by President Washington as commissioner from the United States to England in 1796. He remained in that country engaged in important Government affairs until 1804. While in London, and not engaged in official or social duties, he occupied the time in study. Under the direction of a tutor he pursued the study of the Latin language, and cultivated in other ways the talents so generously bestowed upon him. While in Europe he enjoyed the society and friendship of many of the most eminent statesmen of that period; amongst his appreciative friends Mr. Pitt was the most prominent.

#### PINKNEY AT ST. JAMES.

Pinkney, at the British court, presented a heroic figure. Of all American ministers sent to England he was probably the best equipped of any to cope with the problems presented. He brought to his labors a profound knowledge of the law and keenness of penetration, and was "powerful and eloquent" in argument. Chief Justice Marshall said that he "never knew his equal as a reasoner," so clear and luminous was his method of argumentation; and Judge Story adds that Pinkney's language was "most elegant, correct, select, and impressive; his delivery fluent and continuous; his precision the most exact." Pinkney was "wonderfully endowed with graces best suited to places of trust and dignity. His manner was gracious and winning; his eloquence was a more powerful charm through the musical depths of his voice." In dress, also, he well was calculated to favorably impress those Europeans with whom he was brought in contact, for his toilet was invariably faultless, and the fit of his gloves so perfect as to induce frequent comment, even to the extent of being pointed to by some as a mark of effeminacy.

Recitation in detail of the diplomatic intercourse occasioned by the wrongs which our country suffered from Great Britain and France is too long to here admit of discussion in its manifold ramifications. During the five years preceding the declaration of our second war with Great Britain the United States was given ample cause to justify resort to open hostilities against both England and France, and that it did not so result is due alone to that remarkable forbearance to which I have adverted.

Adams says:

The British Government never attempted to defend its sweeping orders of 1807 and 1809 on the ground of legality; these were admittedly illegal and a proper *casus belli* if America chose to make war on their account. England claimed only that the United States were bound to make war on France for the Berlin decree of November 21, 1806, before making war on England for her retaliatory orders of 1807. In order to evade this difficulty France declared that her decree of November, 1806, was retaliatory on Fox's blockade of May, 1806.

To give apparent credit to pretexts so penetrable, both England and France professed a ready willingness to withdraw the decrees so offensive to the United States, provided the other, as a condition precedent to its action, would do so. Under such conditions, to unravel a tangled and endless skein of yarn would have proven by far an easier task than the duty assigned to our ministers to England and France.

Pinkney plunged energetically into the task before him at the British court. According to the accounts of the time, his communications to the English foreign office were "all sweetness"; but when he fully realized that England would not disavow its self-claimed right to impressment nor abandon its unjust policy toward our commerce, his attitude changed, and, according to the reports of that day, he "exhibited in his communications with Lord Wellesley an ample measure of republican insolence." He saw that his efforts were useless, and that if a reversal in the British policy toward the United States was ever to come, it must be through a resort to hostilities by our Government in unequivocal resentment of British pretensions, for by this time Pinkney had discovered that "many members of the British Government and nearly the whole British Navy were growing rich on the plunder of American commerce."

In his official report of his leave-taking, Pinkney says:

I stated to the prince regent the grounds upon which it had become my duty to take my leave, \* \* \* and I concluded by expressing my regret that my humble efforts in the execution of the instructions of my Government to set to rights the embarrassed and disjointed relations of the two countries had wholly failed, and that I saw no reason to expect that the great work of their reconciliation was likely to be accomplished through any other agency.

Of the impression which Pinkney left in London, the historian Adams says:

So closed Pinkney's residence in London. He had passed there nearly five years of such violent national hostility as no other American minister ever faced during an equal length of time, or defied at last with equal sternness; but his extraordinary abilities and character made him greatly respected and admired while he stayed and silenced remonstrance when he left. For many years afterwards his successors were mortified by comparisons between his table oratory and theirs. As a writer he was not less distinguished. Canning's impenetrable self-confidence met in him powers that did not yield, even in self-confidence, to his own; and Lord Wellesley's oriental dignity was not a little ruffled by Pinkney's handling. As occasion required, he was patient under irritation that seemed intolerable, as aggressive as Can-

ning himself, or as stately and urbane as Wellesley; and even when he lost his temper, he did so in cold blood, because he saw no other way to break through the obstacles put in his path. America never sent an abler representative to the court of London.

THE ELEVENTH CONGRESS.

Added to the vexations of diplomacy was the vacillating course of Congress. Although the Nation was obviously being drawn into the vortex of European hostilities, no systematic policy was adopted either for aggressive or defensive warfare.

President Washington, with a gross income of \$58,000,000 in eight years, spent eleven millions and a quarter on the Army and Navy. John Adams in four years spent \$18,000,000, and was supposed to have been driven from office for extravagance. President Jefferson in his first four years cut down these expenses to \$8,600,000; in his second term he raised them again to \$16,000,000, or nearly to the point reached by John Adams at a time of actual hostilities with France, although President Jefferson relied not on armaments, but on peaceable coercion, which cost very large sums besides.

Despite the critical condition of our foreign relations, to the mortification of every thinking American, the Eleventh Congress not only failed to initiate any measures that would assure the much-desired peace but actually proposed to further reduce the Army and Navy, because the administration had been averse to a war policy, "in order to punish the men who had made them useless."

Of the work of the Eleventh Congress, McMaster says:

The fruit of that stormy session was 37 public acts. Compared with the work now done by a Congress, this showing seems small indeed, for it is no uncommon occurrence for either House to have on its calendar 10,000 bills and for a Congress to put on the statute book 400 public acts.

Little wonder, then, there is that Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, should have passionately declared:

The annals of human nature have not given to the world the sad example of a nation so powerful, so free, so intelligent, so jealous of their rights, and at the same time so grossly insulted, so materially injured, under such extraordinary forbearance.

And, almost prophetically, he added:

We may disgrace ourselves, but the people will rise in the majesty of their strength, and the world will be interested in the spectacle.

Roger Nelson, of Maryland, cried out in warning. He told Congress "they were behaving like schoolboys."

It is a perfect child's game—

Said he—

At one session we pass a law for raising an Army and go to expense; in another year, instead of raising money to pay the expense by the means in our power, we are to disband the Army we have been at so much pains to raise. We shall well deserve the name of children instead of men if we pursue a policy of this kind.

As indicating the height to which popular feeling against England had by this time mounted:

New Jersey had forbidden her bar to cite or read in her courts any decisions, any opinion, any treatise, any compilation or exposition of common law made or written in Great Britain since the 1st of July, 1776, and prescribed a heavy punishment for any counselor, solicitor, or attorney who did.

Kentucky supported a reform more sweeping still. A motion was made in the assembly that henceforth no decision of a British tribunal and no treatise on law by a British writer should be cited as an authority in any court of the State.

The Legislature of Pennsylvania passed a bill forbidding the citation of any English decision made since July 4, 1776.

## Says McMaster:

The older Republicans—the men trained in the school of Jefferson—still had faith in peaceful measures, and expected much from the Eleventh Congress. But when that body closed its term amid the execrations of men of both parties, all hope was gone, and one great cry for war went up in every Republican district. The constituency of the party, as well as the political creed of the party, had changed. Twenty-two years had passed since the day in January, 1789, when presidential electors were chosen for the first time. Striplings then were men of middle age now. Men of middle age then had since found a resting place in some quiet cemetery, or had reached that time of life when they were more disposed to lament the evils of the present than to seek to remove them, more disposed to look back with tender regret into the past than forward with hope into the future. They were the men who had taken a part in founding the Government. They had lived under the Articles of Confederation. They had framed the constitutions of the States, and debated and discussed the Constitution of the United States. They were, as Henry Clay called them, "the fathers." Their work had been to set up governments, and their heads were full of theories of government. The work of the sons was to administer government. To them it seemed the height of folly that commerce should be ruined, that agriculture should languish, that bankruptcy should spread far and wide, because it was not good Democratic doctrine to have standing armies, standing navies, taxes, and war. In many of the States the young men were already in control. In the election for the Twelfth Congress they swept the country. Of the 142 men who were in the Eleventh Congress, 61 were not returned to the Twelfth.

A political revolution of the utmost importance had taken place.

## YOUNG MEN AND WAR.

The elections of 1810 cleared the way for war, and the Twelfth Congress, which met in Washington November 4, 1811, had as its active leaders young men. They were in solid control of the House and elected as Speaker, Henry Clay, a new Member, then barely 34 years of age. "He was the boldest and most active leader of the war Republicans." "The youthful energy of the Nation, which had at last come to its strength under the shelter of Jefferson's peaceful rule, cried out against the cowardice of further submission and insisted on fighting if only to restore its own self-respect."

Upon the floor of the House, John C. Calhoun, "who had lately taken his seat as a Member from North Carolina," exclaimed:

I know of but one principle to make a nation great, to produce in this country not the form but the real spirit of union, and that is to protect every citizen in the lawful pursuit of his business. \* \* \* Protection and patriotism are reciprocal. This is the road that all great nations have trod.

The War of 1812, says Adams—

was chiefly remarkable for the vehemence with which, from beginning to end, it was resisted and thwarted by a very large number of citizens who were commonly considered, and who considered themselves, by no means the least respectable, intelligent, or patriotic part of the Nation. That the war was as just and necessary as any war ever waged seemed so evident to Americans of another generation that only with an effort could modern readers grasp the reasons for the bitter opposition of large and respectable communities, which left the Government bankrupt and nearly severed the Union.

The attitude of the Federalists of the North, headed by Timothy Pickering, in opposition to the administrations of Jefferson and Madison, had for many months caused those Presidents much worry and anxiety. British ministers who had become persona non grata to the American Government were received with open arms in the North, and a cordial welcome given them by those opposed to the party in power.

Throughout the North the people had been taught that Jefferson was the tool of Napoleon and that Madison had followed meekly in his footsteps. The press of the North boldly denounced the longer continuance in the Union of the New England States, and ministers of the gospel scattered seeds of sedition from their pulpits. It was known to the Government that despite the utmost secrecy its policies were often communicated to the British Government in advance. It was also known to our governmental authorities that not infrequently the Federalists of the North were in receipt of authoritative communications from the British Government. By its implacable attitude in resisting every reasonable demand the British Government had forced the United States to the belief that the British ministry was endeavoring by every secret means in its power to provoke civil war in the United States, and though this suspicion was strong it lacked only authentic confirmation to create in the United States that sentiment of revulsion it was bound to produce. The suspicions of the American Government were at last fully corroborated by copies of certain papers which came into its possession.

THE HENRY PAPERS.

On Monday, March 9, 1812, the United States was aroused by the communication to Congress by President Madison of a message transmitting copies of certain documents which the Chief Executive had purchased from John Henry, a British spy. In his letter of transmittal the President told Congress that these documents proved that—

at a recent period, whilst the United States, notwithstanding the wrongs sustained by them, ceased not to observe the laws of peace and neutrality toward Great Britain, and in the midst of amicable professions and negotiations on the part of the British Government, through its public minister here, a secret agent of that Government was employed in certain States, more especially at the seat of government in Massachusetts, in fomenting disaffection to the constituted authorities of the Nation, and in intrigues with the disaffected, for the purpose of bringing about resistance to the laws, and eventually, in concert with a British force, of destroying the Union and forming the eastern part thereof into a political connection with Great Britain.

The country seemed stupefied at this latest revelation, proving the suspicion which had been long entertained against the British Government, and at the same time revealing the audacity with which that Government had set to the accomplishment of its designs.

A most interesting account of John Henry and the part he played in the events preceding our second war with Great Britain is given in Harper's Encyclopedia of United States History. It appears from that account that Henry attracted the attention of Sir J. H. Craig, governor of Canada, who sent him on a mission to Boston early in 1809.

It was thought that the United States might declare war against England, and Henry was instructed to ascertain whether rumors that in such an event the New England States would be disposed to separate from the rest of the Union had any solid foundation. He was to make diligent inquiries at the proper sources of information, and should any such disposition appear, and with it an inclination to form a connection with great Britain, Henry was to intimate to the leaders that the British Government might be communicated with through Gov. Craig; and should the prospect seem promising, he was to exhibit these instructions as his credentials. Henry was given to understand that he would be well rewarded for his pains. He reached Boston March 9, 1809, where he remained three months. \* \* \* During that time

he had written many encouraging letters to Craig's secretary. He spoke of the extreme discontent in New England, and expressed an opinion that, if war against England should be declared, the Legislature of Massachusetts would take the lead in setting up a separate northern confederation, which might result perhaps in some connection with Great Britain. He finally reported that a withdrawal from the Union was an unpopular idea there, but that there were leaders in favor of it. He did not mention any names. \* \* \*

Mr. Foster, the British minister at Washington, declared publicly that he had no knowledge of the affair. Lord Holland called upon the British Government (May 5) for an explanation, and gave notice that he should call for an investigation. Every pretext was brought to bear to defeat such a measure; but when it could no longer be resisted the ministry cast the odium of the transaction on Sir James Craig. Lord Holland declared that, until such investigation could be had, the fact that Great Britain had entered into a "dishonorable and atrocious intrigue against a friendly power would stand unretracted." And so it stands to this day.

#### WAR.

War against England was declared June 18, 1812. The press heralded the news broadcast. McMaster tells that—

the people were reminded how, in a time of profound peace, when no disputes over territory aroused her avarice, when no army and no navy awakened her jealousy, when every merchant seemed intent on feeding her subjects and filling her coffers till they overflowed, Great Britain had wantonly heaped untold injuries on the citizens of the United States. How our merchants were hunted from the sea; how their property was taken; how their ships were boarded; how their seamen were dragged into bondage of the most cruel kind. How, eager for peace, the people of America had sought it with every sacrifice. How they had borne without murmuring injuries that were slight and had remonstrated only against those that were great; how they forbore till forbearance became shameful, and then quit the ocean in the hope that a spirit of moderation would follow the spirit of violence and rapine. How they were chased to their very shores of their country and outrages done them in the waters of their harbors and bays. How spies were sent into their cities to plot with the malcontents for the overthrow of the Government. How the savages were incited to take up the tomahawk and fall upon the frontier towns. How, driven to it, the constituted authorities of the United States had at last declared war for the protection of commerce, for the defense of the citizens, for the preservation of our republican form of government.

#### BALTIMORE RIOTS.

The people of Maryland were earnestly for the war. They willingly and enthusiastically supported our Government and strengthened the arm of the Nation. Maryland furnished some of the most able statesmen in Congress, with one of the most brilliant ministers ever commissioned to the English court, and with many of the best soldiers and most successful officers to be found in the American Army. Privateers from Baltimore scoured the ocean, harried English commerce to a point of maddening exasperation, and took thousands of prizes of war. Notwithstanding this overwhelming sentiment in favor of the war, there was a band of Federalists, with headquarters in Baltimore, who were bitterly opposed to the war and bold in their denunciation of Madison and all other Republicans. A sentiment as deeply rooted as that held by Baltimoreans and Marylanders in general with respect to the justice of our war with England was not to be trifled with, and a riot ensued, which claimed as its victims two venerable and well-known generals of the Revolutionary War. Describing this riot, McMaster says:

There was at that time published at Baltimore a newspaper called the Federal Republican. The editor in chief was Jacob Wagner, who had as his assistant a young man named Alexander C. Hanson. Wagner had served as chief clerk in the State Department from the time of Pickering to the time of Madison, and was a Federalist of the black cockade school. As such he had denounced the administration and the

war with a savage bitterness which roused the deadly hatred of the Democrats. Long before the war was declared this conduct had called forth fierce replies in the newspapers, and had led numbers of distinguished characters to say that if it were continued after war was declared the Federal Republican should be silenced. The denunciation was continued, and on the evening of June 20 a well-organized mob destroyed the type, smashed the presses, and pulled down the building in which the Federal Republican was printed. Made bold by success, the mob rose again the next night, scoured the city in search of men whom they hated, sacked another private house, hurried to the docks, stripped two vessels ready for sea, burned the house of a free negro, and were about to fire the African Church when they were scattered by a troop of horse.

On the night the mob pulled down the printing house Hanson was not in Baltimore. But he was quickly informed of the fact by John Howard Payne, known to every English-speaking people as the author of "Home, Sweet Home." He urged Hanson not to be downed by the mob, but to go on with his paper, assert that liberty of the press of which every Republican from Jefferson down to the lowest demagogue had prated so persistently, and, if need be, defend it with arms. After many consultations with their friends the editors decided to print the Federal Republican at Georgetown, where the press and types would be safe, and issue it from the house lately occupied by Wagner in Baltimore. Knowing that trouble would follow, the building was at once turned into a small fort. Arms were gathered. Food was laid in. Barricades were made ready for the windows and doors, and a garrison of some 20 friends collected. In command were two old soldiers of Revolutionary fame, Gen. James Macculbin Lingan and "Light Horse Harry" Lee. On July 27 copies of the paper arrived and were distributed. That night the mob rose in force, pelted the house with stones, beat in the door, brought up a cannon, and were about to blow the building to pieces when the mayor and the commander of the militia effected a compromise. The garrison were to surrender. The mob were to do no further harm to life or property. The terms were accepted. The prisoners were marched to jail and the house instantly gutted. During the following night the jail was stormed. Eight of the prisoners mingled with the mob and escaped in the darkness. Nine were taken and severely beaten, after which it was found that Lingan was dead and Lee a cripple for life. Some of the others were hidden in hay carts and sent to friends out of town. Others, too badly hurt to be moved, were cared for at the jail hospital.

Concerning this shameful riot at Baltimore the Republican newspapers had little to say, and that little was generally praise. But the Federal newspapers had much to say. They reminded their readers of the days of the sedition law, of the violence with which the Republicans then cried out for free speech and a free press, how it was then declared to be the duty of every patriot to watch the acts of the servants of the people and condemn in unmeasured terms such as were bad, and asked why, in the face of such a record, Republicans could rejoice in the destruction of a press at Baltimore. They filled their columns with all the details of the riot, they nicknamed Baltimore Mobtown, and foolishly and unjustly laid all the blame on the administration.

PINKNEY—"PUBLIUS."

Pinkney, returned from his European mission, entertained no doubts regarding the justice of the war upon which the United States was launched. His brilliant talents were employed in support of the war policy of the administration, and with his gifted pen he urged his fellow men to support the National Government. As an example of his rich and charming style, I cite extracts from a pamphlet which he issued over the name of "Publius":

Maryland is at all times an interesting and conspicuous member of the Union; but her relative position is infinitely more important now than in ordinary seasons. The war is in her waters, and it is waged there with a wantonness of brutality which will not suffer the energies of her gallant population to slumber, or the watchfulness of her appointed guardians to be intermitted. The rights for which the Nation is in arms are of high import to her as a commercial section of the continent. They can not be surrendered or compromised without affecting every vein and artery of her system; and if the towering honor of universal America should be made to bow before the sword,

or should be betrayed by an inglorious peace, where will the blow be felt with a sensibility more exquisite than here in Maryland?

It is perfectly true that our State government has not the prerogative of peace and war; but it is just as true that it can do much to invigorate or enfeeble the National arm for attack or defense; that it may conspire with the legislatures of other States to blast the best hopes of peace, by embarrassing or resisting the efforts by which alone a durable peace can be achieved; as it may forward pacific negotiation by contributing to teach the enemy that we who, when our means were small and our numbers few, rose as one man and maintained ourselves victorious against the mere theories of England, with all the terrors of English power before us, are not now prepared to crouch to less than the same power, however insolently displayed, and to receive from it in perpetuity an infamous yoke of pernicious principles which had already galled us until we could bear it no longer.

"Nothing is more to be esteemed than peace" (I quote the wisdom of Polybius) "when it leaves us in possession of our honor and rights; but when it is joined with loss of freedom, or with infamy, nothing can be more detestable and fatal." I speak with just confidence when I say that no Federalist can be found who desires with more sincerity the return of peace than the Republican by which the war was declared. But it desires such a peace as the companion and instructor of Scipio has praised—a peace consistent with our rights and honor and not the deadly tranquility which may be purchased by disgrace or taken in barter for the dearest and most essential claims of our trade and sovereignty. I appeal to you boldly. Are you prepared to purchase a mere cessation of arms by unqualified submission to the pretensions of England? Are you prepared to sanction them by treaty and entail them upon your posterity, with the inglorious and timid hope of escaping the wrath of those whom your fathers discomfited and vanquished? Are you prepared, for the sake of present profit, which the circumstances of Europe must render paltry and precarious, to cripple the strong wing of American commerce for years to come, to take from our flag its national effect and character, and to subject our vessels on the high seas and the brave men who navigate them to the municipal jurisdiction of Great Britain? I know very well that there are those amongst us (I hope they are few) who are prepared for all this and more; who pule over every scratch occasioned by the war as if it were an overwhelming calamity, and are only sorry that it is not worse; who would skulk out of a contest for the best interests of their country to save a shilling or gain a cent; who, having inherited the wealth of their ancestors without their spirit would receive laws from London with as much facility as woollens from Yorkshire or hardware from Sheffield. But I write to the great body of the people, who are sound and virtuous and worthy of the legacy which the heroes of the Revolution have bequeathed them. For them I undertake to answer that the only peace which they can be made to endure is that which may twine itself round the honor of the people, and with its healthy and abundant foliage give shade and shelter to the prosperity of the empire.

The approach of a British cruiser in the bosom of peace struck a terror in our seamen which it can not now inspire, and almost every vessel returning from a foreign voyage brought affliction to an American family by reporting the impressment of a husband, a brother, or a son. The Government of the United States, by whomsoever administered, has invariably protested against this monstrous practice as cruel to the gallant men whom it oppressed, as it was injurious to the navigation, the commerce, and the sovereignty of the Union. Under the administration of Washington, of Adams, of Jefferson, of Madison, it was reprobated and resisted as a grievance which could not be borne; and Mr. King, who was instructed upon it, supposed at one time that the British Government were ready to abandon it by a convention which he had arranged with Lord St. Vincent, but which finally miscarried. You have witnessed the generous anxiety of the late and present Chief Magistrates to put an end to a usage so pestilent and debasing.

You have seen them propose to a succession of English ministers as inducements to its relinquishment expedients and equivalents of infinitely greater value to England than the usage, whilst they were innocent in themselves and respectful to us. You have seen these temperate overtures haughtily repelled, until the other noxious pretensions of Great Britain, grown in the interim to a gigantic size, ranged themselves by the side of this, and left no alternative but war or infamy.

We are at war accordingly, and the single question is whether you will fly like cowards from the sacred ground which the Government has been compelled to take or whether you will prove by your actions that you are descended from the loins of men who reared the edifice of American liberty in the midst of such a storm as you have never felt.

As the war was forced upon us by a long series of unexampled aggressions, it would be absolute madness to doubt that peace will receive a cordial welcome, if she returns without ignominy in her train and with security in her hand. The destinies of America are commercial, and her true policy is peace; but the substance of peace had, long before we were roused to a tardy resistance, been denied to us by the ministry of England; and the shadow which had been left to mock our hopes and to delude our imaginations resembled too much the frowning specter of war to deceive anybody. Every sea had witnessed, and continued to witness, the systematic persecution of our trade and the unrelenting oppression of our people. The ocean had ceased to be the safe highway of the neutral world, and our citizens traversed it with all the fears of a benighted traveler, who trembles along a road beset with banditti or infested by the beasts of the forest. The Government, thus urged and goaded, drew the sword with a visible reluctance, and true to the pacific policy which kept it so long in the scabbard, will sheathe it again when Great Britain shall consult her own interest by consenting to forbear in future the wrongs of the past.

The disposition of the Government upon that point has been decidedly pronounced by facts which need no commentary. From the moment when war was declared peace has been sought by it with a steady and unwearied assiduity, at the same time that every practicable preparation has been made and every nerve exerted to prosecute the war with vigor if the enemy should persist in his injustice. The law respecting seamen, the Russian mission, the instructions sent to our chargé d'affaires in London, the prompt and explicit disavowal of every unreasonable pretension falsely ascribed to us, and the solemn declaration of the Government in the face of the world that it wishes for nothing more than a fair and honorable accommodation would be conclusive proofs of this, if any proofs were necessary. But it does not require to be proved, because it is self-evident.

#### CONDITIONS OF NATIONAL DEFENSE.

To defend the country, to assail the enemy, to maintain our national honor, our Army and Navy were notoriously unprepared.

#### Our Army, says Adams—

was not well organized or equipped. Its civil administration was more imperfect than its military, and its military conditions could hardly have been worse. The 10 old regiments, with half-filled ranks, were scattered over an enormous country on garrison service, from which they could not be safely withdrawn. They had no experience and no organization for a campaign, while 13 new regiments not yet raised were expected to conquer Canada.

#### Gen. Winfield Scott declared—

that of the old officers many were sunk in sloth and many ruined by intemperate drinking; that of the new appointments some were positively bad and others indifferent; and that as a class the officers were swaggers, political dependents, poor gentlemen who, as the phrase went, were fit for nothing else.

#### Our Navy, Adams tells us—

consisted, besides gunboats, of three heavy frigates rated as carrying 44 guns, three lighter frigates rated at 38 guns, one of 32, and one at 28, besides two ships of 18 guns, two brigs of 16, and four brigs of 14 and 12; in all, sixteen seagoing vessels, twelve of which were probably equal to any vessels afloat of the same class. The eight frigates were all built by Federalist Congresses before President Jefferson's time. The smaller craft, except one, were built under the influence of the War with Tripoli. The administration which declared war against England did nothing to increase the force. Few of the ships were in first-rate condition. The officers complained that the practice of laying up the frigates in port hastened their decay, and declared that hardly a frigate in the service was as sound as she should be. For this negligence Congress was alone responsible, but the department perhaps shared the blame for want of readiness when war was declared.

It was to a service in such condition upon which the United States was to depend in a war marked upon the part of its opponent with a ruthlessness, bitterness, and vindictiveness such as has no counterpart in modern history.

## PRIVATEERS.

In this deplorable condition of national unpreparedness, however, the American citizen came quickly to the rescue of his Government. Privateers, equipped at the expense of individual Americans, authorized by the American Government, carrying skilled crews of fighters and sailors, issued forth to harry the enemy's commerce. In that admirable work entitled "The Chronicles of Baltimore," by Col. J. Thomas Scharf, he gives the following figures relating to the number of privateers which sailed from the various American ports:

From Baltimore, 58; from New York, 55; from Salem, 40; from Boston, 32; from Philadelphia, 14; from Portsmouth, N. H., 11; from Charleston, 10; from Marblehead, 4; from Bristol, R. I., 4; from Portland, 3; from Newburyport, 2; from Norfolk, 2; from Newbern, N. C., 2; from New Orleans, 2; from New London, 1; from Newport, R. I., 1; from Providence, R. I., 1; from Barnstable, Mass., 1; from Fairhaven, Mass., 1; from Gloucester, Mass., 1; from Washington City, 1; from Wilmington, N. C., 1; from other places belonging to eastern ports, 2, total, 250.

Says Scharf:

The war continued about three years, and the result, as near as we have been able to ascertain, was a loss to Great Britain of about 2,000 ships and vessels of every description, including men-of-war and merchantmen. A northern writer, speaking of this period, says:

"When I call to mind the spirit and acts of the Baltimoreans during our last war with England, I am inspired with a feeling of esteem and veneration for them as a brave and patriotic people that will endure with me to the end of my existence. During the whole struggle against an inveterate foe they did all they could to aid and strengthen the hands of the General Government, and generally took the lead in fitting out efficient privateers and letters of marque to annoy and distress the enemy, and even to 'beard the old lion in his den,' for it is well known that their privateers captured many English vessels at the very mouths of their own ports in the British Channel. When their own beautiful city was attacked by a powerful fleet and army, how nobly did they defend themselves against the hand of the spoiler. The whole venom of the modern Goths seemed concentrated against the Baltimoreans, for no other reason but that they had too much spirit to submit to insult and tyrannical oppression. Many of the eastern people made a grand mistake in counting on the magnanimity of the British nation to do them justice by mild and persuasive arguments. In making these remarks in praise of Baltimore I do not mean to disparage the noble patriotism of many other cities of our glorious Union; but I do mean to say that if the same spirit that fired the hearts and souls of the Baltimoreans had evinced itself throughout our entire country it would have saved every American heart much pain and mortification, and would, in my opinion, have shortened the war."

The American naval war of 1812 was fought to a great extent by privateers, and as has been shown, more privateers issued from Baltimore than any other American port. Bearing such saucy names as the *Orders in Council*, or *Right of Search*, the *Revenge*, the *Yorktown*, the *Saratoga*, the *Fair Trader*, or *Paul Jones*, they even infested the entrances of the ports of old England itself.

They fought and captured ships and vessels off the North Cape, in the British and Irish Channels, on the coasts of Spain and Portugal, in the East and West Indies, off the Capes of Good Hope and Horn, and in the Pacific Ocean.

## ENGLAND'S NAVAL DISTRESS.

The English admiralty was forced to confess its inability to protect English commerce. Says Adams:

These reports, better than any other evidence, showed the feelings of the British naval service in admitting discomfiture in the last resort of its pride. Successively obliged to plead inferiority at the guns, inferiority in sailing qualities, inferiority in equipment, the British service saw itself compelled by these repeated and bloody repulses to admit

that its supposed preeminence in hand-to-hand fighting was a delusion. Within a single fortnight two petty privateers, with crews whose united force did not amount to 150 men, succeeded in repulsing attacks made by twice their number of the best British seamen, inflicting a loss, in killed and wounded, officially reported at 185.

"Such mortifying and bloody experiences made even the British navy weary of the war. Valuable prizes were few, and the service, especially in winter, was severe. Undoubtedly the British cruisers caught privateers by dozens and were as successful in the performance of their duties as ever they had been in any war in Europe. Their blockade of American ports was real and ruinous, and nothing pretended to resist them. Yet after catching scores of swift cruisers, they saw scores of faster and better vessels issue from the blockaded ports and harry British commerce in every sea. Scolded by the press, worried by the admiralty, and mortified by their own want of success, the British navy was obliged to hear language altogether strange to its experience."

The American cruisers daily enter in among our convoys—

Said the Times of February 11, 1815—

seize prizes in sight of those that should afford protection, and if pursued "put on their sea wings" and laugh at the clumsy English pursuers. To what is this owing? Can not we build ships? \* \* \* It must indeed be encouraging to Mr. Madison to read the logs of his cruisers. If they fight they are sure to conquer; if they fly they are sure to escape.

#### BRITISH PLANS.

The military activities of both England and America prior to 1814 were not of a character to reflect superior credit upon either of the belligerents. In fact, prior to the summer of 1814 the forces engaged in the mutual efforts of conquest were inconsiderable and directed with no great definiteness of purpose. In the summer of 1814 the British plan took form and the revelation of that plan brought terror to the American Government. Plattsburg was to be attacked and the way opened for British progress down Lake Champlain.

Great Britain "had never sent to America so formidable an armament" as that which was commanded by Sir George Prevost, and with which, on September 5, 1814, he advanced to within 8 miles of Plattsburg. The four brigades which crossed the border numbered 11,000 men, not including the Canadian militia. "Amplly provided with artillery and horses, every brigade well equipped, they came fresh from a long service in which the troops had learned to regard themselves as invincible." They were commanded by "officers of the first distinction in the service."

In the south a British land and naval force mobilized at Bermuda, and on August 3, 1814, set sail for the Chesapeake Bay. The troops were under the command of Maj. Gen. Robert Ross, and were veterans of European campaigns. The navy was under Admiral Cochrane.

Whatever may have been the immediate object of the two expeditions that were entered upon almost simultaneously, the belief created was that they would endeavor to effect a junction at some point in the interior of the United States, and that it was the purpose of the southern expedition to occupy an Atlantic coast port as a base of operations. While such a junction was a most formidable undertaking with the forces then available, the aid of additional troops, released by the termina-

tion of the Napoleonic campaigns, had been requisitioned and large reinforcements were expected.

The success of these operations, or advances by either expedition indicating the ultimate accomplishment of the same, were fraught with consequences of the utmost importance to the United States, for even though their execution might require a force several times as numerous as that in the field, it would be readily forthcoming. Could a junction be effected and the United States divided with the pro-war States to the south, it would leave the anti-war States completely segregated to the north with every inducement to establish an independent confederation of their own and thus escape the disastrous punishment the American Government had invited through engaging in war with an energetic and efficient enemy.

The southern force, under Ross and Cochrane, was the first to inaugurate offensive operations. It sailed for the Chesapeake, joined the force under Rear Admiral Cockburn, then in those waters, continued up that bay, and on August 19, 1814, the troops disembarked at Benedict for a demonstration against Washington. Henry Adams gives a splendid account of that expedition:

#### EXPOSURE OF WASHINGTON.

For two years Washington stood unprotected, not a battery or a breastwork was to be found on the river bank except the old and untenable Fort Washington, or Warburton. A thousand determined men might reach the town in 36 hours and destroy it before any general alarm could be given. Yet no city was more easily protected than Washington at that day from attack on its eastern side; any good engineer could have thrown up works in a week that would have made approach by a small force impossible. Armstrong neglected to fortify. \* \* \* The President and Monroe fretted at his indifference, the people of the District were impatient under it, and everyone, except Armstrong, was in constant terror of attack; but, according to their account, the Secretary only replied: "No! No! Baltimore is the place, sir; that is of so much more consequence." Probably he was right, and the British would have gone first to Baltimore had his negligence not invited them to Washington.

In May the President began to press Armstrong for precautionary measures. In June letters arrived from Gallatin and Bayard, in London, which caused the President to call a Cabinet meeting. June 23 and 24 the Cabinet met and considered the diplomatic situation. The Cabinet then took the defenses of Washington in hand, and July 1 decided to organize a corps of defense from the militia of the District and the neighboring States. July 2 the first step toward efficient defense was taken by creating a new military district on the Potomac, with a military head of its own. Armstrong wished to transfer Brig. Gen. Moses Porter from Norfolk to command the new Potomac district, but the President selected Brig. Gen. Winder, because his relationship to the Federalist governor of Maryland was likely to make cooperation more effective.

Political appointments were not necessarily bad; but in appointing Winder to please the governor of Maryland Madison assumed the responsibility, in Armstrong's eyes, for the defense of Washington. The Secretary of War seemed to think that Madison and Monroe were acting together to take the defense of Washington out of his hands and to put it in hands in which they felt confidence. Armstrong placed Winder instantly in command and promptly issued the orders arranged in Cabinet; but he left further measures to Winder, Monroe, and Madison. His conduct irritated the President, but no one charged that the Secretary refused to carry out the orders or to satisfy the requisitions of the President or of Gen. Winder. He was merely passive.

Winder received his appointment July 5 and went to Washington for instructions. He passed the next month riding between Washington, Baltimore, and points on the lower Potomac and Patuxent, obtaining with great fatigue a personal knowledge of the country. August 1 he established his permanent headquarters at Washington, and the entire result of his labors till that time was the presence of one company of Maryland Militia at Bladensburg. No line of defense was selected, no obstructions to the roads were prepared, and not so much as a ditch

or a breastwork was marked out or suggested between Annapolis and Washington. Another fortnight passed, and still Winder was not further advanced. He had no more men, arms, fortifications, and no more ideas on the 18th of August than on the 5th day of July. "The call for 3,000 militia under the requisition of July 4 had produced only 250 men at the moment the enemy landed at Benedict." Winder had then been six weeks in command of the Washington defenses.

VICE ADMIRAL COCHRANE'S ORDERS.

Meanwhile a British expedition, under command of Maj. Gen. Robert Ross, a distinguished officer of the Peninsula Army, sailed from the Gironde June 27 to Bermuda. Ross was instructed to effect a diversion on the coasts of the United States of America in favor of the army employed in the defense of Upper and Lower Canada. The point of attack was to be decided by Vice Admiral Cochrane, subject to the general's approval, but the force was not intended for "any extended operation at a distance from the coast," nor was Ross to hold permanent possession of any captured district.

"When the object of the descent which you may make on the coast is to take possession of any naval or military stores, you will not delay the destruction of them in preference to the taking them away, if there is reasonable ground of apprehension that the enemy is advancing with superior force to effect their recovery. If in any descent you shall be enabled to take such a position as to threaten the inhabitants with the destruction of their property, you are hereby authorized to levy upon them contributions in return for your forbearance; but you will not by this understand that the magazines belonging to the Government or their harbors or their shipping are to be included in such an arrangement. These, together with their contents, are in all cases to be taken away or destroyed."

Nothing in these orders warranted the destruction of private or public property except such as might be capable of military uses. Ross was not authorized and did not intend to enter on a mere marauding expedition; but Cochrane was independent of Ross, and at about the time when Ross reached Bermuda Cochrane received a letter from Sir George Prevost which gave an unexpected character to the Chesapeake expedition.

A small body of American troops had crossed Lake Erie to Long Point, May 15, and destroyed the flour mills, distilleries, and some private houses there. The raid was not authorized by the United States Government, and the officer commanding it was afterwards court-martialed and censured; but Sir George Prevost, without waiting for explanations, wrote to Vice Admiral Cochrane, June 2, suggesting that he should "assist in inflicting that measure of retaliation which shall deter the enemy from a repetition of similar outrages."

When Cochrane received this letter he issued at Bermuda, July 18, orders to the ships under his command, from the St. Croix River to the St. Marys, directing general retaliation. The orders were interesting as an illustration of the temper the war had taken.

"You are hereby required and directed," wrote the Vice Admiral to the British blockading squadrons, "to destroy and lay waste such towns and districts upon the coast as you may find assailable. You will hold strictly in view the conduct of the American Army toward his Majesty's unoffending Canadian subjects, and you will spare merely the lives of the unarmed inhabitants of the United States. For only by carrying this retributory justice into the country of our enemy can we hope to make him sensible of the impropriety as well as of the inhumanity of the system he has adopted. You will take every opportunity of explaining to the people how much I lament the necessity of following the rigorous example of the commander of the American forces. And as these commanders must obviously have acted under instructions from the Executive Government of the United States, whose intimate and unnatural connection with the last Government of France has led them to adopt the same system of plunder and devastation, it is therefore to their own Government the unfortunate sufferers must look for indemnification for their loss of property."

This ill-advised order was to remain in force until Sir George Prevost should send information "that the United States Government have come under an obligation to make full remuneration to the injured and unoffending inhabitants of the Canadas for all the outrages their troops have committed." Cochrane further wrote to Prevost that "as soon as these orders have been acted upon" a copy would be sent to Washington for the information of the Executive Government.

Cochrane's retaliatory order was dated July 18, and Ross's transports arrived at Bermuda July 24. As soon as the troops were collected and stores put on board Cochrane and Ross sailed, August 3, for

Chesapeake Bay. They arrived a few days in advance of the transports, and passing up the bay to the mouth of the Potomac, landed, August 15, with Rear Admiral Cockburn, to decide on a plan for using to best effect the forces under their command.

Three objects were within reach. The first and immediate aim was a flotilla of gunboats commanded by Capt. Joshua Barney, which had taken refuge in the Patuxent River, and was there blockaded. The next natural object of desire was Baltimore, on account of its shipping and prize money. The third was Washington and Alexandria, on account of the navy yard and the vessels in the Potomac. Baltimore was the natural point of attack after destroying Barney's flotilla; but Cockburn, with a sailor's recklessness, urged a dash at Washington. Ross hesitated and postponed a decision till Barney's flotilla should be disposed of.

Two days afterwards, August 17, the troops arrived, and the squadron, commanded by Vice Admiral Cochrane, moved 20 miles up the bay to the mouth of the Patuxent—a point about 50 miles distant from Annapolis on the north and from Washington on the northwest. Having arrived there August 18, Cochrane wrote, or afterwards antedated, an official letter to Secretary Monroe:

"Having been called on by the Governor General of the Canadas to aid him in carrying into effect measures of retaliation against the inhabitants of the United States for the wanton destruction committed by their army in upper Canada, it has become imperiously my duty, conformably with the nature of the Governor General's application, to issue to the naval forces under my command an order to destroy and lay waste such towns and districts upon the coast as may be found assailable." The notice was the more remarkable because Cochrane's order was issued only to the naval force. The Army paid no attention to it.

#### BRITISH AT BENEDICT.

Ross's troops were landed at Benedict the next day, August 19; but neither there nor elsewhere did they destroy or lay waste towns or districts. They rather showed unusual respect for private property.

At Benedict, August 19, the British forces were organized in three brigades, numbering, according to different British accounts, 4,500, or 4,000 rank and file. Cockburn, with the boats of the fleet, the next day, August 20, started up the river in search of Barney's flotilla, while the land force began its march at 4 o'clock in the afternoon abreast of the boats and camped 4 miles above Benedict without seeing an enemy or suffering from a worse annoyance than one of the evening thunderstorms common in hot weather.

The next day at dawn the British Army started again and marched to the village of Nottingham, where it camped. The weather was hot, and the march resembled a midsummer picnic. Through a thickly wooded region, where a hundred militiamen with axes and spades could have delayed their progress for days, the British Army moved in a solitude apparently untenanted by human beings, till they reached Nottingham on the Patuxent—a deserted town, rich in growing crops and full barns.

At Nottingham the army passed a quiet night, and the next morning, Monday, August 22, lingered till 8 o'clock, when it again advanced. Among the officers in the Eighty-fifth Regiment was a lieutenant named Gleig, who wrote afterwards a charming narrative of the campaign under the title, "A Subaltern in America." He described the road as remarkably good, running for the most part through the heart of thick forests, which sheltered it from the rays of the sun. During the march the army was startled by the distant sound of several heavy explosions. Barney had blown up his gunboats to prevent their capture. The British naval force had thus performed its part in the enterprise, and the army was next to take the lead. Ross halted at Marlboro after a march of only 7 miles, and there, too, he camped, undisturbed by sight or sound of an armed enemy, although the city of Washington was but 16 miles on his left and Baltimore 30 miles in his front. Ross had then marched 20 or 21 miles into Maryland without seeing an enemy, although an American Army had been close on his left flank, watching him all day.

At Marlboro Ross was obliged to decide what he should next do. He was slow in forming a conclusion. Instead of marching at day-break of August 23 and moving rapidly on Baltimore or Washington, the army passed nearly the whole day at Marlboro in idleness, as though it were willing to let the Americans do their utmost for defense. "Having advanced within 16 miles of Washington," Ross officially reported, "and ascertained the force of the enemy to be such as might authorize an attempt to carry his capital, I determined to make it, and accordingly put the troops in movement on the evening of the

23d." More exactly, the troops moved at 2 o'clock in the afternoon and marched about 6 miles on the road to Washington, when they struck American outposts at about 5 o'clock and saw a force posted on high ground about a mile in their front. As the British formed to attack, the American force disappeared, and the British Army camped about 9 miles from Washington by way of the navy-yard bridge over the Eastern Branch.

Thus, for five days, from August 18 to August 23, a British army, which, though small, was larger than any single body of American Regulars then in the field marched in a leisurely manner through a long-settled country, and met no show of resistance before coming within sight of the Capitol. Such an adventure resembled the stories of Cortez and De Soto; and the conduct of the United States Government offered no contradiction to the resemblance.

#### EXCITEMENT IN WASHINGTON.

News of the great fleet that appeared in the Patuxent August 17 reached Washington on the morning of Thursday, August 18, and set the town in commotion. In haste the President sent fresh militia requisitions to the neighboring States and ordered out the militia and all the regular troops in Washington and its neighborhood. Monroe started again as a scout, arriving in the neighborhood of Benedict at 10 o'clock on the morning of August 20, and remaining there all day and night without learning more than he knew before starting. Winder was excessively busy, but did, according to his own account, nothing. "The innumerable multiplied orders, letters, consultations, and demands, which crowded upon me at the moment of such an alarm can more easily be conceived than described, and occupied me nearly day and night, from Thursday, the 18th of August, till Sunday, the 21st, and had nearly broken down myself and assistants in preparing, dispensing, and attending to them." Armstrong, at last alive to the situation, made excellent suggestions, but could furnish neither troops, means, nor military intelligence to carry them out; and the President could only call for help. The single step taken for defense was taken by the citizens, who held a meeting Saturday evening, and offered at their own expense to erect works at Bladensburg. Winder accepted their offer. Armstrong detailed Col. Wadsworth, the only engineer officer near the department, to lay out the lines, and the citizens did such work as was possible in the time that remained.

#### WINDER'S DILATORY MANEUVERS.

After three days of confusion, a force was at last evolved, probably by Winder's order, although no such order was preserved. A corps of observation was marched across the navy-yard bridge toward the Patuxent, or drawn from Bladensburg, to a place called the Wood-yard, 12 miles beyond the Eastern Branch. The force was not to be despised. Three hundred Infantry Regulars of different regiments, with 120 light dragoons, formed the nucleus; 250 Maryland Militia and about 1,200 District Volunteers or Militia, with twelve 6-pound fieldpieces, composed a body of near 2,000 men, from whom Gen. Brown or Andrew Jackson would have got good service. Winder came out and took command Sunday evening, and Monroe, much exhausted, joined them that night.

There the men stood Monday, August 22, while the British army marched by them, within sight of their outposts, from Nottingham to Marlboro. Winder rode forward with his cavalry and watched all day the enemy's leisurely movements close in his front, but the idea of attack did not appear to enter his mind. "A doubt at that time," he said, "was not entertained by anybody of the intention of the enemy to proceed direct to Washington." At 9 o'clock that evening Monroe sent a note to the President, saying that the enemy was in full march for Washington; that Winder proposed to retire till he could collect his troops; that preparations should be made to destroy the bridges; and that the papers in the Government offices should be removed. At the same time Monroe notified Serurier, the only foreign minister then in Washington, that the single hope of saving the capital depended on the very doubtful result of an engagement which would probably take place the next day or the day after at Bladensburg.

At Bladensburg, of necessity, the engagement must take place, unless Winder made an attack or waited for attack on the road. One of two courses was to be taken—Washington must be either defended or evacuated. Perhaps Winder would have done better to evacuate it, and let the British take the undefended village; but no suggestion of the sort was made, nor did Winder retreat to Bladensburg, as was necessary if he meant to unite his troops and make preparations for a battle. Instead of retreating to Bladensburg as soon as he was satisfied—at noon of Monday, August 22—that the British were going there, he ordered his troops to fall back and took position at the Old Fields,

about 5 miles in the rear of the Woodyard, and about 7 miles by road from the navy-yard. Another road led from the Old Fields to Bladensburg, about 8 miles away. The American force might have been united at Bladensburg Monday evening, but Winder camped at the Old Fields and passed the night.

That evening the President and the members of the Cabinet rode out to camp, and the next morning the President reviewed the Army, which had been reinforced by Commodore Barney with 400 sailors, the crews of the burned gunboats. Winder then had 2,500 men, of whom near 1,000 were Regulars, or sailors, even better fighting troops than ordinary Regulars. Such a force vigorously led was sufficient to give Ross's army a sharp check, and at that moment Ross was still hesitating whether to attack Washington. The loss of a few hundred men might have turned the scale at any moment during Tuesday, August 23; but Winder neither fought nor retreated, but once more passed the day on scout. At noon he rode with a troop of cavalry toward Marlboro. Satisfied that the enemy was not in motion and would not move that day, he started at 1 o'clock for Bladensburg, leaving his army to itself. He wished to bring up a brigade of militia from Bladensburg.

Winder had ridden about 5 miles when the British, at 2 o'clock, suddenly broke up their camp and marched directly on the Old Fields. The American Army hastily formed in line and sent off its baggage to Washington. Winder was summoned back in haste and arrived on the field at 5 o'clock as the British appeared. He ordered a retreat. Every military reason required a retreat to Bladensburg. Winder directed a retreat on Washington by the navy-yard bridge.

The reasons which actuated him to prefer the navy yard to Bladensburg, as explained by him, consisted in anxiety for the safety of that "direct and important pass," which could not without hazard be left unguarded. In order to guard a bridge a quarter of a mile long over an impassable river, covered by the guns of war vessels and the navy yard, he left unguarded the open high road which led through Bladensburg directly to the Capitol and the White House. After a very rapid retreat, that "literally became a run of 8 miles," Winder encamped in Washington near the bridge head at the navy yard at 8 o'clock that night, and then rode 3 miles to the White House to report to the President. On returning to camp he passed the night until 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning making in person arrangements to destroy the bridge "when necessary," assuring his officers that he expected the enemy to attempt a passage there that night. Toward dawn he lay down, exhausted by performing a subaltern's duty all day, and snatched an hour or two of sleep.

The British in their camp that evening were about 8 miles from Bladensburg battlefield. Winder was about 5 miles distant from the same point. By a quick march at dawn he might still have arrived there, with six hours to spare for arranging his defense. He preferred to wait till he should know with certainty that the British were on their way there. On the morning of Wednesday, August 24, he wrote to Armstrong:

"I have found it necessary to establish my headquarters here, the most advanced position convenient to the troops and nearest information. I shall remain stationary as much as possible, that I may be the more readily found, to issue orders and collect together the various detachments of militia and give them as rapid a consolidation and organization as possible. \* \* \* The news up the river is very threatening. Barney's or some other force should occupy the batteries at Greenleaf's Point and the navy yard. I should be glad of the assistance of counsel from yourself and the Government. If more convenient, I should make an exertion to go to you the first opportunity."

This singular note was carried first to the President, who, having opened and read it, immediately rode to headquarters. Monroe, Jones, and Rush followed. Armstrong and Campbell arrived last. Before Armstrong appeared a scout arrived at 10 o'clock with information that the British Army had broken up its camp at daylight and was probably more than half way to Bladensburg.

Winder's persistence in remaining at the navy yard was explained as due to the idea that the enemy might move toward the Potomac, seize Fort Washington or Warburton, secure the passage of his ships, and approach the city by the river. The general never explained how his presence at the navy yard was to prevent such a movement if it was made.

#### BLADENSBURG.

The whole eastern side of Washington was covered by a broad estuary called the Eastern Branch of the Potomac, bridged only at two points, and impassable, even by pontoons, without ample warning. From the Potomac River to Bladensburg, a distance of about 7 miles,

the city was effectually protected. Bladensburg made the point of a right angle. There the Baltimore road entered the city as by a pass; for beyond, to the west, no general would venture to enter, leaving an enemy at Bladensburg in his rear. Roads were wanting, and the country was difficult. Through Bladensburg the attacking army must come; to Bladensburg Winder must go, unless he meant to retreat to Georgetown or to recross the Eastern Branch in the enemy's rear. Monroe notified Serurier Monday evening that the battle would be fought at Bladensburg. Secretary Jones wrote to Commodore Rodgers Tuesday morning that the British would probably "advance to-day toward Bladensburg." Everyone looked instinctively to that spot, yet Winder to the last instant persisted in watching the navy-yard bridge, using the hours of Wednesday morning to post Barney's sailors with 24-pound guns to cover an approach where no enemy could cross.

No sooner did Winder receive intelligence at 10 o'clock Wednesday morning that the British were in march to Bladensburg than in the utmost haste he started for the same point, preceded by Monroe and followed by the President and the rest of the Cabinet and the troops. Barney's sailors and their guns would have been left behind to guard the navy-yard bridge had Secretary Jones not yielded to Barney's vigorous though disrespectful remonstrances and allowed him to follow.

In a long line the various corps, with their military and civil commanders, streamed toward Bladensburg, racing with the British, 10 miles away, to arrive first on the field of battle. Monroe was earliest on the ground. Between 11 and 12 o'clock he reached the spot where hills slope gently toward the Eastern Branch, a mile or more in broad incline, the little straggling town of Bladensburg opposite, beyond a shallow stream, and hills and woods in the distance. Several militia corps were already camped on the ground, which had been from the first designated as the point of concentration. A Baltimore brigade, more than 2,000 strong, had arrived there 36 hours before. Some Maryland regiments arrived at the same time with Monroe. About 3,000 men were then on the field, and their officers were endeavoring to form them in line of battle. Gen. Stansbury, of the Baltimore brigade, made such arrangement as he thought best. Monroe, who had no military rank, altered it without Stansbury's knowledge. Gen. Winder arrived at noon and rode about the field. At the same time the British light brigade made its appearance and wound down the opposite road, a mile away, a long column of red-coats, six abreast, moving with the quick regularity of old soldiers, and striking directly at the American center. They reached the village on one side of the stream as Winder's troops poured down the hill on the other, and the President, with two or three of his Cabinet officers, considerably in advance of all their own troops, nearly rode across the bridge into the British line, when a volunteer scout warned them of their danger.

#### BATTLE OF BLADENSBURG.

Much the larger portion of the American force arrived on the ground when the enemy was in sight, and were hastily drawn up in line wherever they could be placed. They had no cover. Col. Wadsworth's intrenchments were not used, except in the case of one fieldwork which enfiladed the bridge at close range, where fieldpieces were placed. Although some 7,000 men were present, nothing deserving the name of an army existed. "A few companies only," said the subaltern, "perhaps two or, at the most, three battalions, wearing the blue jacket which the Americans have borrowed from the French, presented some appearance of regular troops. The rest seemed country people who would have been much more appropriately employed in attending to their agricultural occupations than in standing with muskets in their hands on the brow of a bare, green hill." Heterogeneous as the force was, it would have been sufficient had it enjoyed the advantages of a commander.

The British Light Brigade, some 1,200 or 1,500 men, under Col. Thornton of the Eighty-fifth Regiment, without waiting for the rear division, dashed across the bridge and were met by a discharge of artillery and musketry directly in their faces. Checked for an instant, they pressed on, crossed the bridge or waded the stream, and spread to the right and left, while their rockets flew into the American lines. Almost instantly a portion of the American line gave way, but the rest stood firm and drove the British skirmishers back, under a heavy fire, to the cover of the bank, with its trees and shrubs. Not until a fresh British regiment, moving well to the right, forded the stream and threatened to turn the American left, did the rout begin. Even then several strong corps stood steady, and in good order retired by the road that led to the Capitol; but the mass, struck by panic, streamed westward toward Georgetown and Rockville.

## COMMODORE BARNEY.

Meanwhile Barney's sailors, though on the run, could not reach the field in time for the attack, and halted on the hillside, about a mile from Bladensburg, at a spot just outside the District line. The rout had then begun, but Barney put his five pieces in position and waited for the enemy. The American Infantry and Cavalry, that had not fled westward, moved confusedly past the field where the sailors stood at their guns. Winder sent Barney no orders, and Barney, who was not acting under Winder, but was commander in chief of his own forces, under authority of the Navy Department, had no idea of running away. Four hundred men against 4,000 were odds too great even for sailors, but a battle was not wholly disgraceful that produced such a commander and such men. Barney's account of the combat was as excellent as his courage:

"At length the enemy made his appearance on the main road in force and in front of my battery, and, on seeing us, made a halt. I reserved our fire. In a few minutes the enemy again advanced, when I ordered an 18-pounder to be fired, which completely cleared the road; shortly after, a second and a third attempt was made by the enemy to come forward, but all were destroyed. They then crossed over into an open field, and attempted to flank our right. He was met there by three 12-pounders, the Marines, under Capt. Miller, and my men acting as infantry, and again was totally cut up. By this time not a vestige of the American Army remained except a body of 500 or 600 posted on a height on my right, from which I expected much support from their fine situation."

Such a battle could not long continue. The British turned Barney's right, the corps on the height broke and fled, and the British, getting into the rear, fired down upon the sailors. The British themselves were most outspoken in praise of Barney's men. "Not only did they serve their guns with a wickedness and precision that astonished their assailants," said the subaltern, "but they stood till some of them were actually bayoneted, with fuses in their hands; nor was it till their leader was wounded and taken and they saw themselves deserted on all sides by the soldiers that they left the field." Barney held his position nearly half an hour, and then, being severely wounded, ordered his officers to leave him where he lay. There he was taken by the British advance and carried to their hospital at Bladensburg. The British officers, admiring his gallantry, treated him, he said, "with the most marked attention, respect, and politeness, as if I were a brother," as though to show their opinion that Barney instead of Winder should have led the American Army.

After the sailors retired at about 4 o'clock the British stopped two hours to rest. Their victory, easy as it seemed, was not cheaply bought. Gen. Ross officially reported 64 killed and 185 wounded. A loss of 250 men among 1,500 said to be engaged was not small; but Gleig, an officer of the light brigade, himself wounded, made twice at long intervals an assertion which he must have intended as a contradiction of the official report. "The loss on the part of the English was severe," he said, "since out of two-thirds of the Army which were engaged upward of 500 men were killed and wounded." According to this assertion Ross lost 500 men among 3,000 engaged, or one in six. Had Winder inflicted that loss while the British were still on the Patuxent Ross would have thought long before risking more, especially as Col. Thornton was among the severely injured. The Americans reported only 26 killed and 51 wounded.

## DESTRUCTION OF WASHINGTON.

At 6 o'clock, after a rest of two hours, the British troops resumed their march, but night fell before they reached the first houses of the town. As Ross and Cockburn, with a few officers, advanced before the troops, some men, supposed to have been Barney's sailors, fired on the party from the house, formerly occupied by Gallatin, at the northeast corner of Capitol Square. Ross's horse was killed, and the general ordered the house to be burned, which was done. The Army did not enter the town, but camped at 8 o'clock a quarter of a mile east of the Capitol. Troops were then detailed to burn the Capitol, and, as the great building burst into flames, Ross and Cockburn, with about 200 men, marched silently in the darkness to the White House and set fire to it. At the same time Commodore Tingey, by order of Secretary Jones, set fire to the navy yard and the vessels in the Eastern Branch. Before midnight the flames of three great conflagrations made the whole country light, and from the distant hills of Maryland and Virginia the flying President and Cabinet caught glimpses of the ruin their incompetence had caused.

Scurrier lived then in the house built by John Tayloe in 1800, called the Octagon, a few hundred yards from the War and Navy Depart-

ments and the White House. He was almost the only civil official left in Washington, and hastened to report the event to Talleyrand:

"I never saw a scene at once more terrible and more magnificent. Your Highness, knowing the picturesque nature and the grandeur of the surroundings, can form an idea of it. A profound darkness reigned in the part of the city that I occupy, and we were left to conjectures and to the lying reports of negroes as to what was passing in the quarter illuminated by these frightful flames. At 11 o'clock a colonel, preceded by torches, was seen to take the direction of the White House, which is situated quite near mine. The negroes reported that it was to be burned, as well as all those pertaining to Government offices. I thought best, on the moment, to send one of my people to the general with a letter in which I begged him to send a guard to the house of the Ambassador of France to protect it. \* \* \* My messenger found Gen. Ross in the White House, where he was collecting in the drawing-room all the furniture to be found, and was preparing to set fire to it. The general made answer that the King's Hotel should be respected as much as though His Majesty were there in person; that he would give orders to that effect; and that if he was still in Washington the next day he would have the pleasure to call on me."

Ross and Cockburn alone among military officers, during more than 20 years of war, considered their duty to involve personal incendiarism. At the time and subsequently various motives were attributed—such as the duty of retaliation—none of which was alleged by either of them to their warranty. They burned the Capitol, the White House, and the department buildings because they thought it proper, as they would have burned a negro kraal or a den of pirates. Apparently they assumed as a matter of course that the American Government stood beyond the pale of civilization; and, in truth, a government which showed so little capacity to defend its capital could hardly wonder at whatever treatment it received.

A violent thunderstorm checked the flames; but the next morning, Thursday, August 25, fresh detachments of troops were sent to complete the destruction of public property. Without orders from his Government, Ross converted his campaign, which till then had been creditable to himself and flattering to British pride, into a marauding raid, of which no sensible Englishman spoke without mortification. Cockburn amused himself by revenging his personal grievances on the press, which had abused him. Mounted on a brood mare, white, uncurried, with a black foal trotting by her side, the admiral attacked the office of the National Intelligencer and superintended the destruction of the types. "Be sure that all the C's are destroyed," he ordered, "so that the rascals can not any longer abuse my name." Ross was anxious to complete the destruction of the public buildings with the least possible delay, that the army might retire without loss of time; and the work was pressed with extreme haste. A few private buildings were burned, but as a rule private property was respected, and no troops, except small detachments, were allowed to leave the camp.

Soon after noon, while the work was still incomplete, a tornado burst on the city and put an end to the effort. An accidental explosion at the navy yard helped to check destruction. Ross could do no more, and was in haste to get away. No sooner had the hurricane, which lasted nearly two hours and seemed especially violent at the camp, passed over than Ross began preparations to retire. With precautions wholly unnecessary, leaving its camp fires burning, the British column, in extreme silence, after 9 o'clock at night, began its march. Passing Bladensburg, where the dead were still unburied, Ross left his wounded in the hospital to American care, and marched all night till 7 o'clock Friday morning, when the troops, exhausted with fatigue, were allowed a rest. At noon they were again in motion, and at night-fall, after marching 25 miles within 24 hours, they arrived at Marlboro. Had the advance from Benedict been equally rapid Ross would have entered Washington without a skirmish.

#### EXPEDITION AGAINST BALTIMORE.

After reembarking in their vessels at Benedict the British sailed down the Chesapeake and entered the Potomac. They proceeded up the Potomac to "assist Gordon in his operations against Fort Washington and Alexandria," but, hearing of his success, returned to the Chesapeake and made for the mouth of the Patapsco, on their way spreading terror along the coasts of the bay. As examples of the brutal and inhuman treatment accorded the unoffending and defenseless inhabitants of those

beautiful shores I take the following from Lossing, which presents but two of many instances of like character:

A British officer who served with Cockburn and Parker published some spicy sketches of his experience in marauding expeditions along the shores of the Chesapeake. He relates one, commanded by Cockburn in person, with Parker and Gen. Ross as "amateurs," as he expresses it. "The object was," he says, "to destroy a factory village which was not only the abode of innocent labor but likewise the resort of some few militiamen guilty of the unnatural sin of defending their own country." Their approach being known, all but women and children had fled from the town. "We therefore," he says, "most valiantly set fire to the unprotected property, notwithstanding the tears of the women, and, like a parcel of savages, as we were, we danced around the wreck of ruin." The excuse was the necessity of retaliation for the destruction of Newark, in Canada. "Every house," he continues, "which we could by ingenuity vote into the residence of a military man was burned." He then gives an account of scenes at a dwelling house near the beach which they surrounded. "Like midnight murderers," he says, "we cautiously approached the house. The door was open, and we unceremoniously intruded ourselves upon three young ladies sitting quietly at tea. Sir George Cockburn, Sir Peter Young, and myself entered the room rather suddenly, and a simultaneous scream was our welcome." Sir George, he said, was austere, but Sir Peter "was the handsomest man in the navy," and to the latter the ladies appealed. Cockburn told them that he knew their father to be an American officer—a colonel of militia—and that his duty being to burn their house, he gave them 10 minutes for removing what they most desired to save. The young women, on their knees, begged the admiral to spare their house. "The youngest, a girl of 16, and lovely beyond the general beauty of those parts, threw herself at Sir Peter's feet and prayed him to interfere. The tears started from his eyes in a moment, and I was so bewildered at the afflicting scene that I appeared to see through a thick mist." Cockburn was unmoved, with his watch on the table, measuring the fleeting minutes. The other girls were in tears, and asking for mercy. Sir Peter had opened his lips to plead for them when the brutal Cockburn stopped him and ordered men to bring the fireballs. "Never shall I forget the despair of that moment. Poor Sir Peter wept like a child, while the girl clung to his knees and impeded his retreat. The admiral walked out with his usual haughty stride, followed by the two elder girls, who vainly implored him to countermand the order. In a moment the house was in flames. "We retreated from the scene of ruin, leaving the three daughters gazing at the work of destruction which made the innocent houseless and the affluent beggars. \* \* \* By the light of that house we embarked and returned on board. It was a scene which impressed itself upon my heart, and which my memory and my hand unwillingly recall and publish."

So far the British expedition had been highly but ingloriously successful. Inspired by this success, Ross boasted that he would make "his winter quarters" in the town commonly designated by the British as a "nest of pirates." "It is a doomed town," declared Vice Admiral Warren. "The American Navy must be annihilated," said a London paper; "his arsenals and dockyards must be consumed and the truculent inhabitants of Baltimore must be tamed with the weapons which shook the wooden turrets of Copenhagen." It was with this spirit of revenge that the British troops advanced on Baltimore.

#### PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENSE.

Baltimore had made ample preparations for defense, and in describing these preparations I can not do better than quote from that valuable work of Lossing to which I have heretofore referred:

A committee of vigilance and safety, of which Mayor Johnson was chairman and Theodore Bland was secretary, cooperated unceasingly with Gen. 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 citizens in men and money was quick, cordial, and ample; and volunteers to work on the fortifications came from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. By the 10th of September Gen. 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 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-of-war's men, about 1,200 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 Rodgers Bastion, may now (1867) be seen, well preserved, on the harbor side of Patterson Park and overlooking Fort McHenry and the region about it. Four of the smaller batteries on this line were in charge of the officers of the *Guerriere* and *Eric*, the former then lying in Baltimore Harbor.

A brigade of Virginia Volunteers and of Regular troops, including a corps of Cavalry under Capt. Bird, were placed under the command of Gen. Winder; the city brigade, of Baltimore, was commanded by Gen. Stricker; and the general management of the entire military force destined for the defense of the city was intrusted to Gen. Smith. Fort McHenry was garrisoned by about 1,000 men, Volunteers and Regulars, commanded by Maj. 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, or Babcock, Battery. The former was manned by a detachment of seamen under Lieut. Newcomb, and the latter—a 6-gun battery—by another detachment from Barney's flotilla and 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 Lieut. George Budd. On Lazaretto Point, across the entrance channel to Baltimore Harbor, opposite Fort McHenry, was also a small battery, in charge of Lieut. Rutter, of the flotilla. To these several batteries and to Fort McHenry the citizens of Baltimore looked most confidently for defense.

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, 12 miles from Baltimore by water and 15 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 falling of a heavy dew. The fleet lay 2 miles from the shore. Brief repose was given to its people, for at 2 o'clock in the morning 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 7 o'clock in the morning Gen. Ross and Admiral Cockburn were on shore with a force 9,000 strong, composed of 5,000 land troops, 2,000 marines, and 2,000 seamen, led by Capt. E. Crofton. They were furnished with cooked provisions sufficient for three days. Each combatant bore 80 rounds of ammunition and carried as little baggage 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 Capt. Nourse, of Cockburn's flagship *Severn*, was to cooperate 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 refugees.

#### BATTLE OF NORTH POINT.

Lossing, in his Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812, ascribes to an old song a little medley which throws some light

upon the confidence with which Baltimoreans prepared to resist the British invasion:

The general gave orders for the troops to march down  
To meet the proud Ross and to check his ambition;  
To inform him we have decreed in our town  
That here he can't enter without our permission.

And if life he regards he will not press too hard,  
For Baltimore freemen are ever prepared  
To check the presumptuous, whoever they be,  
That may rashly attempt to evade our decree.

The following account of the Battle of North Point is extracted from Niles's Register:

Having triumphantly despoiled the Capital of the Union, Gen. Ross turned his eyes upon this flourishing and wealthy city, which he had fixed upon for his winter quarters, and boasted that with the force he had he would go where he pleased through Maryland. Thus forewarned, considerable additions were made to the defenses of the place. Some of the troops of Gen. Winder's command were collected, Rodgers and Perry were here, and a good many noble volunteers flocked in from the adjacent parts of our own State and from Virginia and Pennsylvania. The Baltimore brigade was taken en masse into the service of the United States, and the whole submitted to the direction of Maj. Gen. Smith, of the Maryland Militia.

On Saturday, the 10th of September, we had information that the enemy was ascending the bay, and on Saturday morning his ships were seen at the mouth of our river, the Patapsco, in number from 40 to 50. Some of his vessels entered the river, while others proceeded to North Point (at the mouth of the Patapsco), distant 12 miles from the city, and commenced the debarkation of their troops in the night, which was finished early next morning. In the meantime the frigates, bomb ketches, and small vessels approached and ranged themselves in a formidable line to cannonade the fort and the town. The frigates were lightened before they entered the river, and the ships of the line lay off North Point to overawe us and protect the whole force.

The force that landed consisted of about 9,000 men, viz, 5,000 soldiers, 2,000 marines, and 2,000 sailors—the first under Maj. Gen. Ross, the latter commanded by the famous Admiral Cockburn. The troops were a part of Wellington's "invincibles." Some works were erected not far from North Point to arrest their progress; but their incipient state forbade a stand being made at them, and the enemy marched 4 miles toward us uninterrupted, except by a few flying shots from the cavalry. Here they were met by Gen. Stricker with his entire Baltimore brigade (except that he had only one company of the regiment of artillery), consisting of Col. Blays's cavalry, the Rifle Corps, and the Fifth, Sixth, Twenty-seventh, Thirty-ninth, and Fifty-first Regiments of Infantry, commanded, respectively, by Lieut. Col. Sterett, McDonald, Long, Fowler, and Amey. In the Fifth was incorporated an elegant uniformed company of volunteers from York, Pa., under Capt. Spangler, and in the Thirty-ninth Capt. Metzger's fine company of volunteers from Hanover, Pa., and Capt. Quantrill's from Hagerstown, Md., and in the Sixth Capt. Dixon's volunteers from Marietta, Pa. All the rest were city troops; and the whole, including Capt. Montgomery's company of artillery (with six 4-pounders), amounting to about 3,200 men.

The rest of our forces were judiciously stationed in or near the various defenses, etc. About 1 o'clock a party of 150 or 200 men, consisting of Capt. Levering's and Capt. Howard's companies of the Fifth, and Capt. Aisquith's rifle corps, were detached from the line to feel the enemy and bring on the battle; they were accompanied by a few artillerists, with one of their pieces. Before they expected it they were attacked by the British in very superior numbers and driven in with some loss, after a few fires, to the main body. As the enemy advanced the artillery opened a destructive fire upon them, which was returned from two 9-pounders, and the action became general along the line of the Fifth and Twenty-seventh, which were in front. The Thirty-ninth and Fifty-first were in the rear of these and the Sixth advantageously posted still nearer the city to protect and cover the whole. The fire from the two first-named regiments, as well as from the artillery, was very active and uncommonly certain for about an hour. Of the Fifth much was expected, but the Twenty-seventh behaved at least as gallantly. The men took deliberate aim, and the carnage was great—the "invincibles" dodging to the ground and crawling in a bending posture

to avoid the militia, the "yeomen" they were taught so much to despise. When the Fifth and Twenty-seventh (between which was placed the artillery) were outflanked by the much greater force of the enemy, they retired in better order than could have been expected under a galling fire, and they retired reluctantly at the repeated command of their officers; the artillery had been drawn off a little while before. The right of the Thirty-ninth was gallantly engaged, but the Fifty-first took no part in the action, and it was not at that time and place expected that the Sixth would share in it, else (under its veteran colonel, a soldier of the Revolution and one who met the same foe under Pulaski) it would no doubt have distinguished itself.

The cavalry, though they performed very severe and important duties, had but little to do in the battle. The whole number of our men actually engaged did not exceed 1,700. Nearly as much, perhaps, being done at this point as was expected, our force retreated toward the city. The enemy followed slowly, and on Tuesday night approached within about 2 miles of our intrenchments. Measures were taken to cut them off and punish their temerity, but before Gen. Winder, with the Virginia Militia and a squadron of United States Cavalry, could bring his plans fully to bear the British, suspecting the design or not liking the appearance of our works, decamped suddenly in the night and embarked with such precipitation that, though closely pursued, a few prisoners only were taken; but the pursuing force merited and have received the thanks of their general, and the whole body collected is entitled to the gratitude of Baltimore and their country for the sufferings they so patiently and patriotically endured, being compelled to sleep, if sleep was allowed, in the open air, with the heavens for their canopy, for four nights, during the chief part of which it rained pretty constantly and sometimes heavily. They also received their refreshments irregularly, the whole being packed up in prudent preparation of events that might have happened.

#### DEATH OF ROSS.

It was in the first conflict of the opposing forces in this battle that Gen. Ross, the accessory of Admiral Cockburn in the destruction of Washington, met his fate. He and Cockburn were with the advance guard of the British army, "and after the firing ceased, Ross turned back alone to order up the light companies in anticipation of more serious resistance. On the way he was shot through the breast from the wood, and fell in the road, where he lay till he was found by the light companies hurrying forward to the scene of the killing." Ross was shot by two young Marylanders—Daniel Wells and Henry McComas—members of Asquith's rifle corps. These young men, who were of a party of American skirmishers that had been driven in by the British advance, had lingered behind. When Gen. Ross appeared upon a knoll near them they fired the fatal shot. George Robert Gleig, a British officer connected with Ross's army, afterwards wrote an account of his experiences in which, referring to the events at Baltimore, he tells as follows the incidents surrounding the death of Ross:

We were now drawing near the scene of action, when another officer came at full speed toward us, with horror and dismay in his countenance, and calling aloud for a surgeon. \* \* \* In a few moments we reached the ground where the skirmishing had taken place, and beheld poor Ross laid, by the side of the road, under a canopy of blankets, and apparently in the agonies of death. As soon as the firing had begun, he had ridden to the front, that he might ascertain from whence it originated, and, mingling with the skirmishers, was shot in the side by a rifleman. The wound was mortal; he fell into the arms of his aid-de-camp, and lived only long enough to name his wife, and to commend his family to the protection of his country. He was removed toward the fleet, but expired before his bearers could reach the boats.

The death of Ross was destined to prove of the utmost significance. Under Col. Brook, upon whom the command devolved, the expedition was neither so ably nor persistently conducted.

## ATTACK ON FORT M'HENRY.

Describing the attack on Fort McHenry, Niles's Register says:

But the attack on Fort McHenry was terribly grand and magnificent. The enemy's vessels formed a great half circle in front of the works on the 12th, but out of reach of our guns, and also those of the battery of the Lazaretto, on the opposite side of the great cove or basin around the head of which the city of Baltimore is built. Fort McHenry is about 2 miles from the city, a light little place, with some finely planned batteries, mounted with heavy cannon, as the British very well know. At 6 o'clock on Tuesday morning six bomb and some rocket vessels commenced the attack, keeping such a respectful distance as to make the fort rather a target than an opponent; though Maj. Armistead, the gallant commander, and his brave garrison fired occasionally to let the enemy know the place was not given up. Four or five bombs were frequently in the air at a time and making a double explosion, with the noise of the foolish rockets and the firings of the fort, Lazaretto, and our barges created a horrible clatter. (Many of these bombs have since been found entire; they weigh, when full of their combustibles, about 210 or 220 pounds, and they threw them much farther than our long 42-pounders would reach.) Thus it lasted until about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when the enemy, growing more courageous, dropped nearer the fort and gave the garrison and batteries a little of the chance they wanted.

The balls now flew like hallstones, and the Britons slipped their cables, hoisted their sails, and were off in a moment, but not without damage. When they got out of harm's way they renewed the magnanimous attack, throwing their bombs with an activity excited by their mortification. So they went on until about 1 o'clock in the morning, our batteries now and then firing a single gun. At this time, aided by the darkness of the night and screened by a flame they had kindled, one or two rocket or bomb vessels and many barges, manned with 1,200 chosen men, passed Fort McHenry and proceeded up the Patapsco, to assail the town and fort in the rear, and perhaps effect a landing. The weak-sighted mortals now thought the great deed was done—they gave three cheers and began to throw their missive weapons. But alas! their cheering was quickly turned to groaning, and the cries and screams of their wounded and drowning people soon reached the shore, for Forts McHenry and Covington, with the city battery and the Lazaretto and barges, vomited an iron flame upon them in heated balls and a storm of heavy bullets flew upon them from the great semicircle of large guns and gallant hearts.

The houses in the city were shaken to their foundations, for never, perhaps, from the time of the invention of cannon to the present day, were the same number of pieces fired with so rapid succession; particularly from Fort Covington, where a party of Rogers's really invincible crew was posted. Barney's flotilla men, at the city battery, maintained the high reputation they had before earned. The other vessels also began to fire, and the heavens were lighted with flame and all was continued explosion for about half an hour. Having got this taste of what was prepared for them (and it was a mere taste) the enemy precipitately retired with his remaining force, battered and crippled, to his respectful distance; the darkness of the night and his ceasing to fire (which was the only guide our people had) preventing his annihilation. All was for sometime still, and the silence was awful; but being beyond danger, some of his vessels resumed the bombardment, which continued until morning—in all about 24 hours, during which there were thrown not less than 1,500 of these great bombs, besides many rockets, and some round shot. They must have suffered excessively in this affair. Two of their large barges have been found sunk and in them were yet some dead men. But what the loss really was it is probable we never shall know. They also were at other times injured by Fort McHenry, the Lazaretto, and the barges. I, myself, believe I saw several shots take effect during Tuesday afternoon.

The preservation of our people in the fort is calculated to excite in a wonderful manner our gratitude to that Great Being without whose knowledge a sparrow does not fall to the ground. Only 4 were killed and about 20 wounded, and \$200 or \$300 will repair all the damages the fortresses sustained. Lieut. Clagett, of Capt. Nicholson's company of artillery, was the only officer killed in the fort. His friend, Sergt. Clemm, of the same corps, received his death at the same time. They were respectable merchants.

The admiral fully calculated on taking the fort in two hours. Its surrender was spoken of as a matter of course. He said that when it was taken and the shipping destroyed he "would think about terms for the city." All about and in the fort is such ample evidence of his zeal to perform his promise, that it seems impossible to believe that

greater damage was not done than that really sustained. The gallant and accomplished Armstead, through watching and excessive fatigue—for he had other great duties to do besides defending his post—flagged as soon as the fight was done, and now lies very ill, but not dangerously, we trust, though severely afflicted. Many of his gallant companions were also exhausted, but have generally recruited their strength.

To return to the field engagement; the force of the enemy in the battle may have amounted to 4,000 men. They were fine-looking fellows, but seemed very unwilling to meet the "Yankee" bullets—their dodging from the cannon and stooping before the musketry has already been noticed. The prisoners and deserters say that for the time the affair lasted and the men engaged they never received so destructive a fire; and this may well be, for our men fired not by word of command only, but also at an object. Of the Twenty-first British Regiment, about 5,000 were landed; on the morning of the 13th they found 171 killed, wounded, and missing. Their whole loss may be safely estimated at from 500 to 700 men. Maj. Gen. Ross, who did "not care if it rained militia," the incendiary of the Capitol, paid the forfeit of that act by his death. \* \* \* His death was probably the immediate cause why an attack upon our works was not made. Gen. Brooks, on whom the command devolved, would not risk the enterprise.

Our whole loss in the affair was about 20 killed, 90 wounded, and 47 prisoners and missing. Twenty-two of the wounded were paroled on the field, 47 are on board of the fleet—many of them gentlemen of the first respectability—and it is believed will be sent to Halifax, though all possible means to effect their release was used. (By a flag they were all liberally supplied.) The officers killed were James Lowry Donaldson, Esq., adjutant of the brave Twenty-seventh Regiment, and one of the representatives encouraging his brethren in arms, and Lieut. Andre, of the "Gray Yagers," a valuable young man. Maj. Moore, of the Twenty-seventh, was severely but not dangerously wounded; Maj. Heath, of the Fifth, had two horses shot under him, and Maj. Barry, of the same regiment, was also killed. The cavalry lost several horses and some of them on the lookout were taken prisoners. For the present we shall only add that Brig. Gen. Stricker, whose urbanity has long endeared him to the citizens under his command and the people at large, behaved as became the high charge intrusted to him as a soldier. He has the entire confidence of his brigade. Robert G. Harper, Esq., who volunteered his services as an aid-de-camp, also greatly exerted himself in the hottest part of the fire to encourage and give steadiness to our troops.

The enemy's bomb vessels, we are told, are much wrecked by their own fire. This may well be supposed when the fact is stated that at every discharge they were forced 2 feet into the water by the force of it, thus straining every part from stem to stern.

Never was the mortification of an invader more complete than that of our enemy. Beaten by the militia and defeated by the fort, he went away in the worst possible humor and a total loss that may mount to not less than 800 men.

From the official report of Commodore Rodgers, who commanded the naval force stationed in Baltimore on the 12th and 13th of September, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated the 23d of September, we find the following distribution of the force under his command:

I stationed Lieut. Gamble, first of *Guerriere*, with about 100 seamen, in command of 7-gun battery, on the line between the roads leading from Philadelphia and Sparrows Point; Sailing Master De La Rouch, of the *Eric*, and Midshipman Field, of the *Guerriere*, with 20 seamen, in command of a 2-gun battery, fronting the road leading from Sparrows Point; Sailing Master Ramage, of the *Guerriere*, with 20 seamen, in command of a 5-gun battery, to the right of the Sparrows Point Road; and Midshipman Salter, with 12 seamen, in command of a 1-gun battery, a little to the right of Mr. Ramage. Lieut. Kuhn, with the detachment of marines belonging to the *Guerriere*, was posted in the entrenchment between the batteries occupied by Lieut. Gamble and Sailing Master Ramage. Lieut. Newcomb, third of the *Guerriere*, with 80 seamen, occupied Fort Covington, on the Ferry Branch, a little below Spring Gardens. Sailing Master Webster, of the flotilla, with 50 seamen of that corps, occupied a 6-gun battery on the Ferry Branch, known by the name of Babcock. Lieut. Frazier, of the flotilla, with 45 seamen of the same corps, occupied a 3-gun battery near the Lazaretto, and Lieut. 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 54

seamen of the flotilla. Sailing Master Rodman was stationed in the water battery of Fort McHenry with 60 seamen of the flotilla.

Commodore Rodgers says:

The enemy's repulsion from the Ferry Branch on the night of the 13th instant, after he had passed Fort McHenry with his barges and some light vessels, was owing to the warm reception he met from the Forts Covington and Babcock, commanded by Lieut. Newcomb and Sailing Master Webster, who, with all under their command, performed the duty assigned to them to admiration. \* \* \* It becomes a duty to notice the services of that gallant and meritorious officer Capt. Spence, of the Navy, by whose exertions, assisted by Lieut. Rutter with the barges, the entrance into the basin was so obstructed in the enemy's presence, and that, too, in a very short time, as to bid defiance to his ships had he attempted to force that passage."

THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER.

"During the fearful night of the bombardment Francis S. Key, a distinguished son of Maryland, was a prisoner in the British fleet. Having gone on board in the cartel ship *Minden* in the company of Col. John S. Skinner under the protection of a flag of truce to effect the release of some captive friends (Dr. Beanes, a highly esteemed physician of Upper Marlboro, in Maryland), he was himself detained during the expedition. They were placed on board the *Surprise*, where they were courteously treated. Finally they were transferred to their own vessel, the *Minden*, which was anchored in sight of the fort. Of vivid and poetic temperament, he felt deeply the danger which their preparations foreboded and the long and terrible hours which passed in sight of that conflict whose issue he could not know. It was under these circumstances that he composed "The Star Spangled Banner," descriptive of the scenes of that doubtful night and of his own excited feelings. As the struggle ceases upon the coming morn, uncertain of its result, his eye seeks for the flag of his country, and he asks in doubt:"

O say! can you see by the dawn's early light  
What so proudly we hail'd at the twilight's last gleaming  
Whose broad stripes and bright stars through the perilous fight,  
O'er the ramparts we watch'd, were so gallantly streaming?  
And the rocket's red glare—the bombs bursting in air  
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there?  
O say, does that star-spangled banner yet wave  
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

"And then, as through 'the mists of the deep' dimly loomed that gorgeous banner fluttering in the first rays of the morning sun, he exclaims triumphantly—

'Tis the star spangled banner! oh, long may it wave  
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

"This outburst of the patriot and poet's heart thrilled through the souls of his brethren. They took it up; it swelled from millions of voices; and "The Star Spangled Banner," written by a son of Maryland within sight of the battle fields won by the citizen soldiers of Maryland, with the sound of their victorious cannon still ringing in her ears, became the proud national anthem of the whole Union."

"The crude substance of this song was written on the back of a letter which the author happened to have in his pocket. On the night after his arrival in Baltimore he wrote it out in full, and the next morning read it to his uncle, Judge Nicholson, who was one of the gallant defenders of the fort, and asked his opinion of it. The judge was so pleased with it that he took it to the printing office of Capt. Benjamin Edes, on North Street, near Baltimore. Mr. Edes was then on duty with the gallant Twenty-seventh Regiment, of which Capt. Lester was a member. The judge then took it to the office of the Balti-

more American, and directed copies to be struck off in small handbill form. Mr. Samuel Sands, who was then an apprentice boy in the office, but now editor of the American Farmer, set up the song in type, printed it, and distributed it among the citizens. It was first sung in a restaurant in this city, next to the Holliday Street Theater, by Charles Durang, to an assemblage of patriotic defenders of the city, and after that nightly in the theater. It created intense enthusiasm, and was everywhere sung in public and in private."

FRANCIS SCOTT KEY.

To Esmeralda Boyle I am also indebted for the following account of Francis Scott Key:

Francis Scott Key was born in the year 1779, in Frederick County, Md. His father, John Ross Key, was a lieutenant in the Second Rifle Company of Maryland, under Capt. Thomas Price, in the War of Independence. The family mansion, built of brick, covered a large area of ground. From a center building extended wings on either side, while around the whole were broad piazzas according to the southern fashion. On every side stretched a beautiful lawn, which sloped almost imperceptibly into a terraced garden of flower and shrub. Many trees shaded the lawn, and not far distant in somber grandeur stood a wood through which flowed, with happy murmurs, Pipe Creek.

At the foot of the hill upon which stood the Key mansion was a spring of limpid water, about whose brink gathered the gay-hearted youths and maidens of the neighborhood.

The meadow that stretched out from the foot of the hill was, in the genial months of spring and summer, very green. Seeming to rest against the sky rose the Catoctin Mountain, now merged in shadows, now seen below a curtain of purple or crimson clouds, or else with its clear background of summer blue, its dusky foreshadows extending along the base while peak and crag glowed with the sun gold of morning or evening. Such was the birthplace of Francis Scott Key. His sister, Anne Phebe Charlton, was the friend and companion of his boyhood days. This girl and boy were the only children of John Ross Key. They were remarkable for physical beauty, as well as for those rarer beauties of heart and mind that leave in some shape a lasting impression for those who follow.

Key was educated at St. John's College at Annapolis. The class to which he belonged was known as the "Tenth Legion," because of its brilliant successes. The president of the college at that time was Dr. John McDowell. Many years after, on the 22d of February, 1827, Mr. Key, by invitation, delivered an address before the alumni of St. John's, the subject being "Education." After leaving college he read law in the office of Jeremiah Townley Chase, who was one of the judges of the general court of Maryland at that time. One of his fellow students was Roger Brooke Taney, afterwards chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The high polish and perfect culture of Annapolis society rendered it an attractive place to the distinguished men and women of the day. Did a student wish for eminence in the profession of the law he was sure to seek for its attainment in the good old city of Annapolis. Mr. Taney has told us of the scarlet-cloaked judges sitting solemnly in chairs placed upon an elevated platform, and of the assembly of Maryland's famous lawyers gathered at the bar. Judge Chase required of his students a strict attendance at the court that they might learn by observation the manner in which important cases were conducted. Mr. Key was thereby enabled in early manhood to attain to much knowledge through the experience of others, a precious legacy not always handed down through books. After his admission to the bar Mr. Key returned to his native county. In the year 1801 he began the practice of the law at Frederick City, Md. In a short time, however, he removed to Georgetown, in the District of Columbia. Here he rose to eminence as a lawyer in the Supreme Court of the United States as well as the courts of Maryland and the District.

EFFECT OF VICTORY.

Every town on the Atlantic seaboard looked forward with the keenest interest to the outcome of the British attack on Baltimore. A state of general panic prevailed in nearly every city on the coast induced by the seeming belief that it would be the next object of attack of the invincible British invaders.

We are told by McMaster that the appearance of Ross and Cochrane—

in the Chesapeake, and the boldness with which they sailed into the very heart of two States and sacked the National Capitol, spread terror through every city and town that lay near a navigable river. New York City, which had long been blockaded, was greatly excited. The deeds and the success of Cochrane, it was feared, would arouse every British naval commander to emulate him and would bring down on the city all the horrors of a bombardment.

But when the news came that the British had actually sailed up the Chesapeake Bay, had marched overland to Washington, had burned the public buildings and were bombarding Baltimore, the feeling became general. New York would be the next place attacked, and the work of defence grew serious. \* \* \* Fully aware that the General Government was now powerless the common council called on the people to loan \$1,000,000 to the city. The money was to bear 7 per cent interest, was to be paid back in one year, and be used solely for the defense of New York. Some croakers asserted that the city had no authority to make such a loan, but they were quickly silenced and the money raised. The defeat at Baltimore and victory of MacDonough did much to quiet the public anxiety. \* \* \*

The example thus set by New York was closely followed in Philadelphia. There, when it was known that Washington had been captured, the people met in the State yard, chose a committee, organized for defense, formed a military association, and, under such names as the Philadelphia Volunteers, the Hamilton Guards, the Washington Guards, the Yankee Guards, the Rifle Corps, began active drilling. Calls were made for shipwrights and boatbuilders to make gun carriages; for draymen to form a company of artillery; for guns, blankets, clothing, and stores; and for volunteers to aid in throwing up works of defense on the hills bordering the west bank of the Schuylkill. There, too, the response was prompt, and in a few days the artists, the cordwainers, the cabinetmakers, the brickmakers, the printers, and the patriotic young men under 20 were applying to the committee to assign them a day. The people of color were reminded of what Pennsylvania had done to promote the abolition of slavery and were summoned to defend her. The physicians were asked to be ready, in the event of a battle, to hurry to the field. "Pious men whose conscientious views would deter them from joining other corps" made up of irreligious men were urged to form one of their own kind.

Lest even these defenses should prove insufficient, the committee called on the governor to take measures of an extreme kind. He was asked the moment the enemy landed to dispatch men to see that, in the region through which the British would pass, all horses, cattle, and wagons were sent inland; that every animal that could serve as food was killed or carried away; that the lower box and the spear of every pump were removed; that all roads and passes were impeded with fallen trees; and that at least one indispensable wheel taken from every mill. The community was terror stricken.

In view of this state of general alarm, it may be imagined with what joy the news of the American victory at Baltimore was received, as the glad tidings were passed from farmhouse to farmhouse or carried from village to village by the post rider or the stagecoach. The confidence of the American people in their ability to protect themselves was restored, and British military prestige received a shock destined to be the precursor of the defeat before Plattsburg, and later of overwhelming disaster at New Orleans.

#### NATIONAL INSPIRATION.

Any plan looking to the division of our Nation was irretrievably shattered, for following close behind the stinging repulse at Baltimore came the news of MacDonough's victory on Lake Champlain and the rapid retreat back to Canada of the British troops under Sir George Prevost. Cockburn, with the British fleet, stole rapidly down the bay, defeated and discomfited, bearing with him that infamous reputation which will ever disgrace his memory.

Contemporaneous with the victory at Baltimore was the appearance of Key's song, "The Star Spangled Banner," the inspiring strains and popular melody of which brought it at once

into unanimous favor. The country needed a national song to give expression to its patriotism. It wanted only the event to produce it, and that event was furnished in the attack on Baltimore. This song of Key's aroused the dormant patriotism of the Nation, for human nature could not withstand its irresistible appeal to the love of country. It lifted the national spirit from the vale of gloom and despair in which it had been floundering to the sunlit heights of confidence and victory. It heralded the dawn of a new day to our Federal Government. In moral value it was worth ten thousand bayonets.

## CONCLUSION.

This, Mr. Speaker, is the story of Fort McHenry.

And now the environs of a great and populous city embrace the little fort which once so heroically defied the King's Navy and the royal forces of war. No longer is its position the outpost of the sentinel. It has become a place of sheltered security, nestling close in the bosom of that city with which its past is so intimately associated. Its walls, once a bulwark of defense, and its guns, once a guaranty of protection, have lost their power. Up to within a few weeks ago it still maintained with pathetic chivalry that position it could fill in name only. Time has ruthlessly robbed it of everything except its golden memories. But as long as our Nation lives, as long as noble deeds beget admiration, or the love of country moves mankind, "The Star Spangled Banner" will be sung; and few who sing

"Oh! say, can you see by the dawn's early light"

will be able to refrain from going back in mental contemplation to the actual scene at Fort McHenry and dwelling upon that brilliant and stirring chapter which the little fort on the Patapsee contributed to the history of our second war with Great Britain.

The Committee on Military Affairs in favorably reporting the bill now before this House said:

It appears that in the present plan of national defense Fort McHenry no longer occupies a position of strategic military value, and that several proposals have been heretofore offered that it be converted to uses foreign to its present character as a military post. After considering this bill and hearing the statements of those representing patriotic organizations interested in the subject, this committee is of the opinion that Fort McHenry is so intimately associated with historical events of vital moment in the early history of our country as to endear it in the affections of all Americans, that its use for purposes not germane to its present character would do violence to the sentiment which now attaches to it, and that its preservation as a Government reservation under the control of the Secretary of War, and its partial use as a museum of historic relics, would be obviously appropriate with respect to this sentiment. The War Department states that the enactment of the measure will not conflict with the interests of that department and that there is no objection to its passage.

I trust this House will pass this bill. I hope that the little fort which has played such an important part in our history may be preserved to us and to the generations that follow, its ground the shrine of patriotic admiration. I believe that in the near future Congress will see fit to do something even better than protecting from base use this historic spot. I want to see erected near the ramparts of the old fort, plainly discernible to the ships that now pass in peaceful and endless array, a beautiful monument to Francis Scott Key and to the defenders of Fort McHenry at the time of the British attack on that fortification.

# TOWSON

## Linthicum portrait reaches its subject's alma mater

by Carol L. Bowers

It took 13 years for John Charles Linthicum to persuade his fellow Congressmen to declare "The Star-Spangled Banner" the national anthem.

But it took 97 years and a quirk of fate to get his portrait hung at his alma mater — Towson State University, where a hall housing the University's College of Liberal Arts already had been named for him.

[On April 8,] the late Mr. Linthicum and his descendants, including 86-year-old nephew Sweetser Linthicum, were honored at a reception at TSU's alumni house, where the portrait now rests.

"It was a lovely reception and all the relatives showed up," Sweetser Linthicum said. "I know the portrait's going to be in good hands now. I really feel good about that."

The portrait had hung in Washington, along with portraits of other members of the House of Representatives, where Mr. Linthicum, a Democrat, served from 1911 until his death in 1932.

What happened to the portrait after it was displayed in the House of Representatives is still a mystery, although the Linthicums note that portraits are routinely rotated and sometimes sold.

"About three years ago, I got a call in Tucson from Dorr Tippers (a family friend) out on Gibson Island, and he said a Baltimore auction house was going to auction off a portrait of Congressman Linthicum and he thought I should know," recalled Seth H. Linthicum Jr., 73, another nephew of the late Mr. Linthicum and a resident of Tucson.

Seth Linthicum immediately called his cousin Sweetser, who had always been interested in genealogy. Sweetser Linthicum gathered his two sisters and assorted family members and went to the auction.

"Sure enough, they had the portrait on the wall, but no frame," he said, noting other long-lost

Linthicum relatives came to the auction "in case no one else did, to keep the portrait in the family."

The auctioneer would not say who was putting the painting up for sale.

Seth Linthicum's brother-in-law, Paul Wildman, was put in charge of the bidding and fended off a minor challenge from a nonfamily member. An artist, Mr. Wildman also was put in charge of repairing the painting.

Seth and Sweetser Linthicum paid "a substantial amount" for the portrait, and for two years it hung in the latter's home in Linthicum, the suburb named for his forebears. But last year, the cousins began wondering what would become of the portrait in the future.

"We had several other places under consideration, but I said, well, J. Charles loved Towson State because it was the first college he graduated from," Sweetser Linthicum said.

J. Charles Linthicum, TSU Class of 1886, served in the General Assembly from 1903 until 1911. He also earned degrees from the Johns Hopkins University and the University of Maryland law school.

"But of all the schools he loved Towson best," Sweetser said. "He and Helen [his second wife] gave quite a bit of money to the old school, and he was instrumental in moving it out to Towson, where it is today."

J. Charles had no children. Of all the nephews, Sweetser perhaps felt closest to his uncle.

"I got out of college in the Depression years, and he told me about a job as a guide

in the [U.S.] Capitol building. We gave tours at 25 cents apiece, and at the end of the day the guides would divide up the money," Sweetser Linthicum recalled.

"Then I talked to him about going to law school at Georgetown University, and he financed me. I paid him back, but he was that kind that made loans to people and never expected to be paid back."

Reprinted with permission from *The Sun*. This article originally appeared in the April 9, 1993 edition of *The Sun*.

The portrait of J. Charles Linthicum, presented to the Towson State University Foundation as a gift from his nephews, Sweetser and Seth Linthicum, is on permanent display in the Alumni House.

"The University is very pleased to have this painting," TSU President Hoke Smith noted. "Towson State College honored J. Charles Linthicum's many contributions by naming a new classroom building for him in 1967. It's fitting that his portrait should be at the school he loved best."

J. Charles Linthicum played an important role in Towson's history. As president of the State Normal School's Building Commission from 1910 to 1915, he participated in selecting the present site for the institution, voted in the architect competition, and dealt with problems that arose during construction.

At a ceremony dedicating the three new buildings on the Towson campus of the State Normal School, Linthicum described Stephens Hall Auditorium with pride as "a great assembly hall, second alone in college halls in this country to that of the University of the City of New York."

Linthicum was also interested in providing student scholarships at Towson. As president of the Alumni Association from 1925 to 1927, he organized a campaign and raised \$3,000 for a fund to lend money to students who otherwise could not have completed the course of education at the State Normal School.

The University is always interested in obtaining items of historical significance to the institution. For more information about making a gift to the University, contact Kathryn Walsh, Development Office, (410) 830-3375.

At a reception at the Alumni House in April, Sweetser Linthicum, left, and Seth Linthicum, right, presented the Towson State University Foundation with a portrait of their uncle, Congressman J. Charles Linthicum, Class of 1886, that had hung in the U. S. Capitol.

