

HISTORIC FURNISHINGS REPORT

HISTORICAL DATA

FORT MCHENRY NATIONAL MONUMENT AND

HISTORIC SHRINE

by

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PREFACE

This study was undertaken to establish the feasibility of upgrading the furnished rooms located in the Star Fort of Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine. Begun in 1981, it builds upon a 1964 Furnishings Plan and assembles new information about the rooms' appearance in August and September of 1814.

A great deal of research has been undertaken in the last twenty years which facilitated this project. The Historic Structure Report (Thompson and Newcomb, 1974), Historic American Buildings Survey (Nelson, 1961), and the final reports of a vast array of archeological projects were consulted.

Of primary importance to any Fort McHenry research is the Historic and Archeological Report (HARP), which includes over 200 volumes of primary source material arranged chronologically. This collection, housed at the park, saved considerable travel time and expense. Future researchers should be warned, however, that the HARP files are far from complete.

This project led to extensive searches in the National Archives, The Maryland Hall of Records, and the collections and archives of The Maryland Historical Society. Furthermore the museum collections at Fort Meigs, Fort Niagra, Fort York, and the archeological specimens unearthed at Fort Independence were examined. Unfortunately a detailed description of the Fort McHenry room interiors was not discovered. It is hoped that such a description may one day surface.

A project of this type is never the work of a single individual. I would like to acknowledge the assistance and cooperation of the Superintendent and staff of the park. Special mention must be made of the help provided by Rangers Scott Sheads and Michael Morgan who produced many important pieces of the puzzle.

I would also like to express appreciation for the wide variety of services provided by the Maryland Historical Society, Curators Gregory Wideman, Judy Gorham, and Laurie Baty of the archives section provided answers to hundreds of questions and cheerfully produced box after box of material.

Finally I must express my gratitude to the staff of the Historic Furnishings Branch. The support, assistance, comments, and critiques provided by William Brown and Sarah Olson allowed me to bring this work to completion. I am in their debt for the opportunity of tackling this project.

John H. McGarry III

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ANALYSIS OF HISTORIC OCCUPANCY

Because of the number and variety of structures included in this report historic occupancy will be analysed for each building individually. The 1814 Guard House will be documented separately from the Commanding Officer's Quarters, as it was a separate building in 1814.

Guard House

This structure, built sometime after the initial construction of the Fort, does not appear on the 1803 plan.¹ It was built and used as a Guard House prior to the bombardments.² Its use as a guardhouse would be short lived however, being converted to a kitchen by 1824.³ In 1829 this structure was joined to the Commanding Officer's Quarters.⁴

As a Guard House, this building was the focal point for the guard mount of the post. It will be shown in a latter portion of this report that, in the weeks prior to the battle, the Fort was occupied by one company of regular artillery and three companies of Maryland Militia Artillery. These men would mount the Main Guard (or Interior Guard) of the Star Fort. The water battery and outer works of the post were guarded by detachments from the Sea Fencibles and Maryland Militia Infantry.

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1. Fort McHenry Historic and Archeological Project, map file (HARP).
 2. National Park Service, Division of Design and Construction, Eastern Office, "Historic American Buildings Survey, An Architectural Study of Fort McHenry," prepared by Lee H. Nelson (Philadelphia, 1961), p. 31.
 3. National Park Service, Denver Service Center, "A Preliminary Report of the Archeological Investigations of Fort McHenry," by Bryan L. Aivazian (Denver, 1979), p. 13.
 4. National Park Service, Denver Service Center, "Historic Structure Report," Fort McHenry, prepared by Erwin N. Thompson and Robert D. Newcomb (Denver, 1974), p. 89

According to Duane's American Military Library, the main guard was changed every morning at drum beating, generally eight or nine o'clock.⁵ The guard detachment received instructions from the prior guard, and then proceeded to mount sentinels at their respective posts. The remainder of the guard detachment, after posting the sentinels, retired to the Guard House. Here they were required to stay under leather (fully dressed and equipped), but given the option of sleeping, eating, or relaxing. In two hours the occupants of the Guard House were called out, marched about, and posted as relief for the former sentinels. This process continued during the entire twenty-four hour guard duty, two hours on and four hours in the Guard House. The minimum number of guard posts for the interior guard would have been four, one at the Sally Port, one at Major Armistead's door, and two walking the walls. Thus, the guard detail consisted minimally of one officer, one sergeant, one corporal, one drummer (called duty drummer), and twelve privates.

5. William Duane, American Military Library (Philadelphia, 1809), p. 190-200. William Duane was a well-respected author of military manuals used during the War of 1812. That his ideas were followed widely is shown by the receipt of four copies of his work in Baltimore in 1813, HARP, Records of the War Department, QMG receipted invoices, Military Storekeeper at Philadelphia, 3 July 1813, Items issued for transport to Col. Peter Littel, Baltimore.

Guard duty was always a serious task, especially with the expectation of an imminent attack. The atmosphere of a Guard House was somber as: 'No drinking, gaming, swearing or indecent noise be suffered in the guard room, and the non-commissioned officers should be made answerable for the good behavior of the men in those particulars."⁶

This room was, no doubt, the least elegant of any inside the Fort owing to its transient occupants. The complement of men in this room changed every morning, removing their possessions with them. Thus, the room must have appeared somewhat empty of any personal touches.

The Guard House was occupied by another less fortunate group of men. One duty of the officer in command of the guard was preparing a daily report of prisoners confined to the Guard House. One such return dated May 6, 1815, named seven men confined in the Provo Guard House at Fort McHenry: Mashae Page, John McGraw, William Smithsan, David Austin, Samuel Bower, John Keyser, and Patrick Holiday.

The report states these men had been confined since August 2, 1814.⁷ These must be the same men that Armistead described when he wrote on August 2, 1814, "I have several men in confinement for desertion. I wish you would order a court martial."⁸

6. Ibid.

7. National Archives, Record Group 94, Adjutant General's Office, Provost returns from Fort McHenry, 1812-51. A copy of this document may be found in HARP.

8. HARP, 1814, Armistead to Winder, July 2, 1814. William Winder Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

It is unknown when the court martial was convened, but it is certain that during the bombardment the seven men were confined to the building. They were eventually sentenced to hard labor.⁹

The prisoners may have been confined to the attic-garret, but certainly the first-floor room would have shown signs of their confinement.

The Guard House was then a busy and crowded place. The duty of the guards, the paperwork of the officer and sergeants, and the confinement of the prisoners indicate a room of various activities, but barren of any pleasantries.

9. HARP, 1815, National Archives, Record Group 94, Adjutant General's Office, Provost Returns from Fort McHenry, 1812-61, Report of Prisoners confined in the Provo Guard at Fort McHenry.

Commanding Officer's Quarters

The 1803 map of Fort McHenry shows a brick structure identified as the "Commanding Officer's House." It was not joined with the Guard House until 1829, when the present-day hallway and staircase were added. Unfortunately, neither the 1803 or 1819 maps show interior room arrangements. Room configurations first appear on historic maps in 1834.¹⁰ The 1834 arrangement approximates the present day arrangement.

Major Armistead took command of Fort McHenry in the summer of 1813. He remained in command of the garrison until his death on April 25, 1818. The rules and regulations for the Army state clearly that: "the eldest officer to have the choice of quarters."¹¹ There is no question that he would have chosen these quarters for his own.

George Armistead, born in New Market, Virginia, on April 10, 1780, received his commission as a second lieutenant in 1799 and proceeded to move up through the ranks. In 1802 he was transferred to the 2nd Regiment Artillery and remained in that service until his death.¹² Armistead first served at Fort McHenry in 1809 through 1811, as second in command.

10. HARP map files, N.A., R.G. 77, O.C.E. Map file, Ground Plan of the Buildings within the Fort, Lee, November 13, 1834.

11. "Rules and Regulations for the Army of the United States," Niles Weekly Register, May 15, 1813, p. 176.

12. Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), II, 169.

His wartime career took him north, and he distinguished himself at the capture of Fort George, Upper Canada, May 18, 1813.¹³ Following this engagement, he was ordered back to Baltimore and assumed command of the Fort sometime before July, 1813.

Armistead married Louisa Hughes, a Baltimore girl, on October 26, 1810. Her father was the prominent Baltimore silver merchant, Christopher Hughes. Louisa's brother, Christopher, was well-known in diplomatic circles, and became the American Secretary to the Peace Commission at Ghent. Christopher (the son) married Laura Sophia, the daughter of Maj. General Sam Smith who commanded all the Maryland Militia during the battle.¹⁴ Thus, Armistead was a prominent and influential gentleman of thirty-four years, with a direct connection to the commander of the Maryland Militia. After fifteen continuous years of service, he was well suited to army life. His social position may have placed great stress on his personal fortune. Certainly he was under pressure to maintain a life style equal to that of his wife's family standing, and this may have been difficult on army pay. This is evidenced by the debts left to his wife and the problems in settling his accounts upon his death.¹⁵

Mention must be made at this point of the complex command structure governing the area at the time. In the months before the battle, Brigadier General William Winder was given command of all regular troops in the Tenth Military District, which included Maryland and Fort McHenry.

13. Virginia Armistead Garber, The Armistead Family, 1635-1910 (Richmond: Whittlet and Shepperson, 1910), p. 63.

14. Maryland Historical Society (hereinafter cited as M.H.S.): Hayward Diehlman Vertical File.

15. Maryland Hall of Records, Baltimore City Probate Records, 1818-23.

Following the battle of Bladensburg, the government and army officers in the vicinity lost confidence in Winder. There arose a severe disagreement over who was to command the forces in Baltimore, Winder or Smith. This argument severely hampered preparations for defense. Technically, Armistead would come under Winder, but his relationship with Smith by marriage would open up crucial, if not completely official, lines of communication. This informal chain of command allowed preparations to move forward at the Fort.¹⁶

An examination of his correspondence with Louisa shows Armistead to be a dedicated family man. His wife had "felt compelled" to leave the city for Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, as she was pregnant.¹⁷ Beyond all of his other responsibilities, he was serving under the strain of an expectant father. The week before the battle, he expressed in a letter his deep concern for his wife, stating "I dreamt last nite you presented me with a fine son."¹⁸

The strain of preparing the garrison for the attack was immense. Immediately following the battle he was found "in a high state of delirium."¹⁹ An infantry major assumed temporary command, and by September 20, Captain Frederick Evans of the Corps of Artillery was given command of the post.²⁰ The rest of the year Armistead spent recovering from his illness. In 1815 he returned to his duties, but would only live another three years, dying on April 25, 1818.

16. Ralph Robinson, "Controversy Over Command at Baltimore in Command at the War of 1812," Maryland Historical Magazine 39 (1944), 177-198.

17. M.H.S., 1812 MS, George Armistead, September 10, 1814, to Louisa.

18. Ibid.

19. M.H.S., M.S. #919, Winder Papers, Nicholson, September 15, 1814, to Winder.

20. M.H.S., M.S. #919, Winder Papers, C. Winchester General Order, September 20, 1814.

No documentation exists outlining room usage in the Commanding Officer's Quarters, but some assumptions can be made. The 1803 map of Fort McHenry shows a walkway leading to the left side of the Commanding Officer's Quarters.²¹ It can be inferred that the historic doorway was in the same place as at present (far left side facing the building from the parade ground). Entering the building would place the visitor in a foyer hallway. Armistead would have needed a reception room. He wrote after the battle, "I am pestered with visitors, few I see."²² He must have had the same problem before the battle considering the frantic activity going on. Of the two ground floor rooms, it is likely that one was a reception/dining area and the other an office. This configuration would accommodate items listed on Armistead's estate inventory.

The kitchen was in the cellar of the building.²³ It is unlikely that cooking was done on the main floor, but the continual problem at Fort McHenry of groundwater may have forced some domestic duties upstairs.²⁴

Sleeping accommodations would have been in the attic rooms. Since Armistead was living in the building alone during the battle, it is likely that his servant slept in this large upper room as well.

21. HARP, Map File, N.A., R677, Cartography, Drawer 51, Sheet 1, Fort McHenry, November 9, 1803.

22. M.H.S., 1812 M.S., George Armistead, September 22. 1814, to Louisa.

23. Preliminary Report of the Archeological Investigations at Fort McHenry, p. 13.

24. National Park Service, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, "The Kitchen of Building E--No. 2 Soldiers Barracks, " prepared by Frank B. Sarles, Jr. (1968), p. 7.

Garrison Force

The determination of historic occupancy for the remainder of the Fort is more complex than for the previous structures. Preparations for defense were completed in a hectic manner, the size of the garrison growing by more than 200 percent over the previous year. As a result, identifying particular occupants of a specific room is difficult.

In 1811 the American State Papers declared Fort McHenry to be, "a regular pentagon of masonry, with brick barracks for two companies of men and officers, without the fort a wooden barrack for one company."²⁵ It appears the ideal strength of the post would be two companies, one per barracks. The peacetime force would never attain this size before the war.

The defensive preparations for the port of Baltimore began on March 13, 1813, when Revolutionary War hero Sam Smith was placed in command of the militia.²⁶ Smith eventually extended his command unofficially to the point of controlling the regular forces of Fort McHenry. The day of his appointment he inspected Baltimore's defense and reported to Secretary of War Armstrong that "for the defense of Fort McHenry Major Beall (commanding in 1813) has only a total (officers and musick included) of 52 men, a number scarcely sufficient for a common guard for the fortifications."²⁷ The Secretary of War

25. HARP, Personnel, American State Papers, XVI, Military Affairs, Report on Fortifications.

26. HARP, 1813, L. C. Sam Smith Papers, L. Winder General Orders, March 13, 1813, to Sam Smith.

27. HARP, 1813, L. C. Sam Smith Papers, Smith, March 13, 1813, to Armstrong.

sadly replied that he could offer no help, forcing Smith and the city to realize the need for self sufficiency.²⁸ Two days later Smith ordered out a force of Maryland Militia to assist the regular garrison. For the remainder of 1813 and all of 1814 various infantry and artillery units of the Third Brigade of Maryland Militia served a week's duty at the Fort on a rotating schedule.²⁹ The court-martial testimony of an unruly Maryland Militia lieutenant shows that infantry units were stationed outside the Fort in tents.³⁰ Infantry officers were quartered in one of the buildings outlined in brick near the present-day visitor center. The fear of an impending attack forced Smith to implore the post commander to remove the women (and children) from the Fort.³¹ The women and children must have been moved, as from this point to the end of the war there is no mention of them. Smith also ordered that "the officers of the garrison will occupy no more rooms than are absolutely necessary. The barracks near the battery will also be cleared."³² There was some reluctance on the part of the commanding officer to allow Maryland Militia inside the Fort. That it was done is shown when Smith once again writes to the Secretary of War, "Major Beall still retains one half of the barracks for his fifty men. He ought to have nightly at least 350 men in the fort."³³

28. HARP, 1813, L.C. Sam Smith Papers, Armstrong, March 15, 1813, to Smith.

29. HARP, 1813, L.C. Sam Smith Papers, Division Orders, 3rd Division, March 15, 1813.

30. HARP, 1813, N.A., AG Papers, Box 10, F74, Court-martial of Lieutenant Hill.

31. HARP, 1813, L.C. Sam Smith Papers, Smith, April 8, 1813, to Nichols (temporary commanding officer of Fort McHenry).

32. HARP, 1813, L.C. Sam Smith Papers, Headquarters Orders, Third Division, April 14, 1813.

33. HARP, 1813, N.A., RG107, RWD, SW, LR, Smith, May 3, 1813, to Armstrong.

A study of recruitment notices and regimental advertisements in the Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser indicates a continual stream of men filing into the ranks of the units at the Fort. This activity culminated in September 1814.

On August 3 of that year, Armistead requested of Smith "In addition to Captain Nicholson's Company, the defense of this post will require two other companies and five hundred infantry."³⁴

On August 18, realizing the time was at hand, General Winder (regular army) commanding the 10th Military District (including Maryland) ordered Samuel Smith "to request that the whole of the 3rd Brigade Maryland Militia be called immediately into service."³⁵ This was the official notice that Smith had hoped for, and he wrote back the next day "General Stricker (commanding the 3rd Brigade) will, on the requisition of Major Armistead, detach three companies of artillery to the fort . . .".³⁶

The requisition was made, for when Mendes Cohen (an artillerist in Nicholson's Company Maryland Militia) arrived just before the battle he found: "in the fort were several houses, in one of which were quartered two companies of militia, in another Nicholson's Artillery, in another Major Armistead, and there were also a small number of regular troops in the fort."³⁷

34. HARP, 1814, L. C., Sam Smith Papers, Armistead, August 3, 1814, to Smith.

35. HARP, 1814, L. C., Sam Smith Papers, Winder, August 18, 1814, to Smith

36. HARP, 1814, L. C., Sam Smith Papers, Smith, August 19, 1814, to Winder.(?) . . .

37. "The Cohens of Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine (1923), p.372.

Thus, the Cohen letter indicates that each of the two enlisted men's barracks housed two companies. One building would house two companies of militia (Berry's and Pennington's), and the other Nicholson's unit and the company of regular artillerists. Not mentioned by Cohen, but certainly in use were the Junior Officers' Quarters, housing the officers of the four companies.

It should be noted that during this time there were no regular infantry troops stationed at the Fort as previously thought. Research has shown that detachments of the 12th, 14th, 36th, and 38th Regiments mentioned in the official reports of the battle did not arrive until the battle began, and left to encamp near Fort Covington as soon as it was over.³⁸ The remaining units mentioned in reports of the battle, Sea Fencibles, Marine Artillery, and sailors of Barney's Flotilla, were quartered in the barracks "without the fort," near the ravelin, in tents, in privately owned buildings, or in the barracks at Lazaretto Point.

38. HARP, 1814, N.A., RG94, AGO, General Information Index, Capt. Thomas Sangster, February 22, 1814 (15?), Report of Fort McHenry, September 13-14, 1814, in the bombardment.

Junior Officers' Quarters

The Junior Officers' Quarters contained three first-floor rooms and a half-story loft overhead. The building was occupied by four groups of company officers. No document, indicating the use of a particular room has been found. Typical of the officer's quarters here were the Baltimore Fencibles.

The Commanding Officer of the Baltimore Fencibles, Joseph Nicholson, was a well-known man about Baltimore. Born in Kent County, Maryland, he spent a lifetime in service to the state. In 1806 he was appointed Judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals. Growing in prestige, his income also increased when, in 1810, he became president of the Commercial and Farmer's Bank of Baltimore.³⁹

He delivered one of the first speeches in Baltimore demanding war with Great Britain. He wrote many resolutions, which were sent by angry citizens to President James Madison. It is believed that these resolutions played a part in swinging the crucial congressional vote on the declaration of war.⁴⁰

Being true to his convictions, he attempted to raise a company of infantry in 1813. In April it was decided to change over to artillery. Being a Judge of the Court: "he could not accept a command under the U. S. Government, he was therefore made a Captain without a commission, and his company. . .consisted entirely of volunteers. They never enlisted individually but offered their services to the Government in a body".⁴¹

39. "Joseph Hopper Nicholson," Dictionary of American Biography, ed. by Dumas Malone, XIII, (1934), p. 506.

40. M.H.S., Hayward Dielman Vertical File, "Judge Nicholson."

41. "The Cohens of Maryland," op. cit., p. 371.

In July of 1813, the Secretary of War authorized Major Armistead: "To accept Nicholson and his volunteers as a part of defense if the enemy approaches." 42

It should be noted that Joseph Nicholson married Mary Tayloe Lloyd. Mrs. Nicholson's sister married a Georgetown lawyer named Francis Scott Key. After writing his poem and being freed by the British, Key went to see Nicholson. The Judge was so impressed with the poem he "caused it to be published" days after the battle.⁴³

Nicholson's men were brigaded with the artillery units under General John Stricker (3rd Brigade Maryland Militia), and was the first unit requested by Armistead in August of 1814.⁴⁴

The men volunteering for the Baltimore Fencibles were the elite of the city. Wealthy merchants and bankers, they were none the less dedicated and well-trained in the art and science of early nineteenth-century artillery. The company had three officers in addition to Nicholson. They were First Lieutenant Jesse Eichelberger born in York, Pennsylvania. Moving to Baltimore, he became a wealthy flour and hardware merchant, owning a store at the corner of Baltimore and Howard Streets.⁴⁵ He owned the business in partnership with John Clemm, who served as a sergeant in the unit. Clemm was killed on the afternoon of the 13th, and Eichelberger named executor of the will. This type of friendship shows the close-knit relationships among the men of the unit.

42. HARP, 1813, N.A., RG107, RWD, OSW, SPLS 1812-20, Armstrong, July 27, 1813, to Armistead.

43. Dictionary of American Biography, p. 506.

44. HARP, 1814, L.C., Sam Smith Papers, Armistead, August 3, 1814, to Smith.

45. Enoch Pratt Library, Microfilm room, Baltimore Directory and Register, 1814-15, compiled by James Lakin.

Second Lieutenant Andrew Clopper was another wealthy Baltimore merchant. He was forty-three years old at the time. Certainly he was concerned over the safety of his wife and daughter (both named Ann) still in the city.⁴⁶

Third Lieutenant Levi Claggett is the best remembered of Nicholson's company. He was killed on the afternoon of the 13th when a British bomb made a direct hit on Bastion Three. A wealthy and respected young man about town, he worked in the family importing business at 272 Baltimore Street.⁴⁷

The three junior officers had invested in Baltimore's profitable privateers. All of the men in Nicholson's Company stood a great deal to lose should the British take Baltimore. British intentions to destroy the city were well-known. These men prepared the defense and fought the battle with full knowledge that defeat signalled the end to their families, their homes, and their fortunes. For Nicholson's company, patriotism was seasoned with desperation.

46. M.H.S., Hayward Dielman Vertical File.

47. Enoch Pratt Library, loc. cit.

Enlisted Men's Barracks

After the battle Major Armistead reported to the Secretary of War, "My own force consisted of one company of U.S. Artillery under Captain Frederick Evans."⁴⁸ That company was made up of men from the Third Regiment of Artillery, which was reorganized as the Corps of Artillery in May, 1814. The company stationed at Fort McHenry had, by the time of the battle, grown to 110 men.⁴⁹ Between August and September the company consisted of four sergeants, six corporals, four musicians, eight artificers, seventy-seven privates, and eight servants.⁵⁰ Captain Evans' Company, because of crowded conditions, was forced to share a barracks building with Nicholson's Baltimore Fencibles. It is impossible to document individual room occupancy in either of the two enlisted men's barracks. Certain conclusions can, however, be drawn based on knowledge of military etiquette, the physical size of the room, and archeological evidence.

It is unlikely that Major Armistead would have placed regular troops in the same room as militia. Tension between the two groups was severe.

The 1958 archeological investigation of the cellar kitchen below the end room at E. Building uncovered a button of the Third Regiment of Artillery.⁵¹ The end room would have accommodated eight double-tiered bunks or thirty-two men (four men per bunk). This figure is in line with the 1811 report of one company per barracks. Thirty-two men in three rooms constitutes a company-size group with any excess billeted in the loft.

48. William M. Marine, The British Invasion of Maryland, 1812-15 (Baltimore: Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland, 1913), p. 167.

49. The Citizen Soldiers at North Point and Fort McHenry (Baltimore: James Young, 1889), p. 67.

50. Ibid.

51. "The Kitchen of Building E--No. 2 Soldiers Barracks", p.8.

Regulations printed in 1813 stated that each eight non-commissioned officers were to be allowed one room.⁵² The crowded conditions of the post would have made this impossible. It is probable, though, and in keeping with military tradition, that the sergeants separated themselves from the enlisted men. This could have been done by commandeering a corner and a private bunk.

Duane's A Handbook for Infantry recommended the sergeants "should be selected from among the most orderly and best qualified men."⁵³ These four men--Sergeants John Lockett, Joseph Lyon, Thomas Morgan, and Isaac Gorham--had a variety of duties. They were responsible for a morning report on their individual squads, as well as a weekly report on the company men and arms. They stood a weekly orderly duty and had to oversee the guard mount.

Duane suggested that each barracks room contain at least one orderly corporal to maintain discipline. This man was responsible for the order of the room.⁵⁴

Artificers were a special breed in the army. These men were trained craftsmen, and held such skills as required for mechanics, masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, armorers; and saddle and harness makers. Because of their duty and training, they were an elite group.

In 1814, there was an underground cellar-kitchen at the northeast end of Building E. Archeological evidence has shown such a severe ground water problem and such little evidence of burning that it is obvious the cooking operation was frequently forced into the upstairs rooms.⁵⁵ It is also known

52. Niles Weeekly Register, loc. cit.

53. William Duane, A Handbook for Infantry. (Philadelphia: 1813), p. 112.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

55. "The Kitchen of Building E--No. 2 Soldiers Barracks," loc. cit, p.2.

that as a result of the ground water problem, the wooden floors of the barracks were sagging badly by the time of the battle.⁵⁶

It is clear that the barracks rooms were overcrowded, in a decaying condition, and generally poor quarters for the men responsible for the defense of the Fort.

56. Ibid, p. 4

EVIDENCE OF ORIGINAL FURNISHINGS

The object of this section will be to examine what evidence is extant of items that were a part of the furnishings of these rooms during the time of the battle. Unfortunately, few of the items survive.

There remains, however, a vast body of knowledge to draw upon. Invoices and receipts of the Commissary General show those items which were shipped to Fort McHenry during 1813 and 1814. An examination of estate inventories in the Maryland Hall of Records has yielded lists of belongings of some of the occupants. Furthermore, research completed in the past thirty years has given the modern-day historian a substantial body of information dealing with military personnel of this period.

Guard House

Watch Coats

A watch coat was a heavy wool overcoat to be worn when a man stood watch in inclement weather. They were considered company property and kept in the Guard House. Three watch coats were shipped to Fort McHenry in November 1809, and two more in November 1811.¹ The last shipment before the battle was six watch coats in May 1813.²

Garrison Flag

In September 1811, a garrison flag was issued to Fort McHenry.³ Before the war there were frequent shipments of flags to the post, no doubt owing to the winds shredding them. At present, the National Park Service is forced to keep a supply of flags on hand. This was evidently the case in 1814.

The flags were made of wool bunting, and most likely 36 x 20 feet in size. (Note: This was the size garrison flag issued during the first half of the nineteenth century.)⁴

1. HARP, Microfilm 50-5, National Archives, R.W.D, Officer of the QMG, Military Store Keeper at Philadelphia Journal, 1801-1817, articles received at Fort McHenry.

2. HARP, Microfilm 50-6, National Archives, R.W.D., Office of the QMG, Military Store Keeper at Philadelphia "Blotter," goods received and delivered, March 15, 1805-September 1813.

3. HARP, Microfilm 50-5, R.W.D., Office of the QMG. Military Store Keeper at Philadelphia, Journal (Record of Articles Received and Issued) 1801-1817.

4. Unpublished research by author.

30 x 42 Garrison Flag and 17 x 25 Storm Flag

A receipt issued by the Deputy Commissary of Baltimore to Mary Pickersgill, local flagmaker, shows payment for a 30 x 42 foot Ensign and a small 17 x 25 foot Storm Flag.⁵ The larger of the two, the original "star spangled banner," is on display in the Smithsonian Institution. The colors of a post were stored by the main guard.⁶

Drums and Fifes

The use of music was instrumental to the operation of the guard, particularly the drum. A musician, designated as a duty drummer, would sound assembly and other military calls. He was the equivalent of a modern-day P.A. system, making announcements for the garrison by different drum beats.

Fifes would also have been a part of the Fort's music and thus a portion of the guard. A receipt of items transported to Fort McHenry in 1812 shows "15 drums complete, 20 fifes complete."⁷ The description "complete" indicates tin fife cases were included. The following year an additional "8 drums complete with linencases" were shipped to the Department Commissary in Baltimore.⁸ The drums were wooden, rope tension type, often painted with a regimental marking.

5. Star Spangled Banner Flag House and Museum, M.S. Collection, James Calhoun, October 19, 1813, to Mary Pickersgill.

6. Duane, American Military Library, p. 196.

7. HARP, Microfilm, 50-2, National Archives, R.W.D., OQG. Military Store Keeper at Philadelphia, Receipted Invoices, 1795-1815.

8. HARP, RG 107, S.W., L.R., C-229(7). Abstract of Expenditures on Department Commissary in Baltimore, October 8, 1813.

Bugles

In May of 1814 the Commissary General wrote, "The bugles forwarded to Baltimore are for Major Armistead."⁹

Firewood

In May of 1814, the district Quartermaster, Paul Bentalou, wrote the Secretary of War:" and further the late movements of the enemy up the bay having produced a sudden scarcity of firewood, and such high prices, as to have induced me to decline making the contemplated purchase article, until a more favourable opportunity offers to do it more economically."¹⁰ It appears the Fort was suffering, like the rest of the district, an energy crisis.

Benches

John P. Kennedy describes in his memoirs his service as a militiaman at Fort McHenry: "but I have never had since anything in that way that might be compared with the nights in the guardroom. . .To sleep between guard hours on a bench, to eat and drink in the intervals, and to tell stories and laugh as healthy as light-hearted boys. . ." ¹¹ Thus, benches were one of the few furnishings of the room.

9. HARP, Microfilm 59-3, National Archives, R.W.D., Office of the QMG, Commissary General of Purchases, Letter Book Volume 383, October 1813 to July 1814, Irvine, May 20, 1814, to Calhoun.

10. HARP, 1814, National Archives, RG 107, S.W., L.R., Bentalou, May 11, 1814, to Armstrong.

11. Henry T. Tuckerman, The Life of John Pendleton Kennedy (New York: G.P. Putnam & Sons, 1871),p. 66.

Commanding Officer's Quarters

Major Amistead's estate inventory survives in the Maryland Hall of Records.

An inventory of the goods, chattles, and personal estate of George Armistead, late of Baltimore County, deceased . . .

41 acres more or less paying \$200 per annum land \$1,000.00
near the fort leased for thirty-one years

one sow & 2 pigs	25.00
two horses and carriage	1,000.00
1 saddle horse	100.00
1 cow	25.00
1 plow	10.00
1 st. dining china	25.00
1 tea do	20.00
plate spoons coffee pot teapot	2.50
4 beds and three bedsteads pillows	150.00
2 doz. chairs	24.00
1 toilet glass	3.00
1 wardrobe & closet	60.00
1 secretary	20.00
small desk	3.00
2 caskets & rug (worn)	8.00
3 washstands	9.50
cradle,--and crib	10.00
2 setts fire irons	25.00
1 set knives and forks	5.00
4 candle sticks	4.00
6 loafes sugar	9.00
1 cannister brown sugar	4.00
1 cannister coffee	5.00
part of a pipe Maderia wine	3.00
10 gallons rum	10.00
empty casks	.50
2 demijohn brandy	24.00

1 rifle and 2 guns	75.00
2 boxes candles	15.00
table matts	.50
1 set curtains	10.00
4 doz. towels	12.00
1 piano forte	40.00
1 wooden closet	5.00
some peach brandy	18.00
4 trunks	18.00
1 clothes bag	3.00
4 tables 50 1 ditto 12	62.00
3 benches	1.50
c pots & hangers	5.00
tubs and kettles	3.00
skillet pans and cleavers and tinware	8.62
1 side board	20.00
1 mattress	20.00
2 pr. blankets	10.00
1 gold watch	40.00
cloathes horse	50.00
ammunition at Carrols Island	3.00

May 1818.¹²

The inventory fails to list many items that were known to have been in the possession of Armistead at his death (example: a silver bowl presented to him by the city of Baltimore). The inventory, completed four years after the battle, may contain additions purchased since 1814, or omissions of things thrown out since then. Still the inventory is the best description of the furnishings of the Commanding Officer's Quarters that we have.

12. Maryland Hall of Records, Microfilm number 1069, Baltimore County Inventories, 1817-1819, p. 256.

1 Set Artillerists Companion with Vol. of Plates

These books by Louis DeToussard were shipped to Captain Armistead on June 22, 1810. They were considered such valuable military advice that he certainly kept them close at hand throughout his career.¹³

Cut-out Silhouette of Louisa Armistead

The Park's collection contains the original silhouette. The silhouette was a popular period item, being cut out by Baltimore artists throughout the early Nineteenth Century.¹⁴

Leather Wallet

The Park's collection contained at one time a simple leather folding wallet belonging to George Armistead.¹⁵ Unfortunately, the item was stolen in 1979.

Blue Wool Coat, Gold Bullion Epaulets, White Vest and Shirt, Silk Neck Stock, and Red Sash

The Peale Museum of Baltimore has in its collection a portrait of George Armistead painted just after the battle. He is shown wearing a dark blue wool coat, with ten brass buttons, false braided button holes, and a standing collar. On the shoulders are two gold bullion epaulets. He is wearing what appears to be a silk neck stock on a white linen shirt. Beneath the coat there is visible a short white vest with a standing collar. He is wearing around his waist a red sash.

13. HARP, Microfilm, 50-2, National Archives, R.W.D., Office of the QMG, Military Store Keeper at Philadelphia, Receipted Invoices, 1795-1815.

14. Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Museum Collection, Catalogue Number 1289.

15. Ibid., Catalogue Number 656.

Junior Officers' Quarters

It is important to review the situation of the occupants of the Junior Officers' Quarters. Like the enlisted men's barracks the arrival of the militia created an incredibly crowded situation.

The officers and men of Nicholson's Baltimore Fencibles came to the Fort on a regular weekly basis during the year prior to the battle. Thus, they were well prepared to be called out and would have had their baggage prepared.

Since they were volunteers and not federalized as were the other militia companies, the Baltimore Fencibles were responsible for their own rations. Their provisions had to be brought from the city daily.

Because there are so few remaining items or references to original officers' furnishings, research presented here is not limited to the officers. The average wealth of the enlisted men of this unit indicates little difference in life style between the officers and privates.

The following items are associated with the men of the Fencibles or militia of the period.

1 Writing Box-Mahogany

Trunks

These items were found on the estate inventory of Judge Nicholson and represent the type of necessity items he would have brought to the Fort.¹⁶

16. Maryland Hall of Records, Baltimore County Records, Estate Inventories, 1817, p. 410-414.

Sword and Belt, Knapsack

The estate inventory of Levi Claggett lists a sword and belt, and a knapsack.¹⁷ These items would have been required in his duties as an officer.

Food and Stone Jug

In his account of the battle, Mendes Cohen tells of a cart that left the city each morning, bringing food to the Baltimore Fencibles.

He also writes of a stone jug, covered in carpet, which arrived each morning full of hot coffee.¹⁸

Tin Cup

The Maryland Historical Society has in its collection a tin cup carried by Samuel Etting of the Baltimore Fencibles.¹⁹ The cup is in the style of a tankard, and is painted black (japanned). It has a flared base and a semi-circular handle.

Food

John P. Kennedy discussed in his memoirs those provisions brought to the Fort: "There I was, eighteen years of age, knapsacked, with blanket, canteen and haversack (generally a cold fowl, biscuit, fried tongue and bottle of wine in it) and detailed for a week's duty at the fort."²⁰ Fowl biscuit, tongue, and certainly wine were examples of the provisions brought out to the Fort by the militia.

17. Maryland Hall of Records, Baltimore County Records, Estate Inventories, 1814, pp. 368-370.

18. HARP, Cohen letter.

19. Maryland Historical Society, Museum Collection, Catalogue Number 1895., 1.1.

20. Tuckerman, p. 65.

Tumbler

The court-martial testimony discussing the case of Lt. Hill describes an altercation that arose over the breaking of a glass tumbler.²¹ The tumbler was used in the Maryland Militia Officers' Quarters outside the Fort, but is indicative of the type item a militia officer would bring on duty with him.

Coat

The Maryland Historical Society has in its collection a coat worn by Captain William Rooney of the 39th Regiment, Maryland Militia.²² The coat conforms to the uniform regulations of the Maryland Militia, and is a blue coat with red facings and a standing collar. The universal use of this style coat by the Maryland Militia is shown in period paintings. (Maryland Historical Society collection, Ruckle, "Battle at Loundon Schlager Hill", Main Gallery).

Shaving Soap

Facial hair was frowned upon by society in 1814, forcing a gentleman and an officer to shave daily. Shaving soap was the common method in conjunction with a straight razor. The park's collection contains a circular wooden shaving soap container, similar to a tiny cheese box, carried by John Dutton of the 6th Regiment, Maryland Militia.²³ It represents a universal item of the period.

21. 1813, AG Papers, Box 10, F74, April 22, 1813, Baltimore Court-Martial of Lieutenant Hill.

22. Maryland Historical Society collection, Catalogue Number 62.90.1.

23. Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine collection. Catalogue Number 787.

Enlisted Men's Barracks

The reader is reminded of the situation of the occupants of this room. The enlisted man of the regular army in 1814 was, in general, an uneducated and unsophisticated person. Living on the meager pay of eight dollars a month, and one food ration a day did not afford many additional comforts. The Army was extremely conservative in its issue of items to a private. The annual issue of clothing to a soldier was:

Coat

Cap

Vest

Overalls, linen, two pair

Overalls, woolen, two pair

Frock

Trousers

Gaiters

Shirts, four

Stockings, two

Socks, two

Shoes, four

Blanket

Stock and Clasps

Cockade and eagle

Feather.²⁴

As can be seen, these are the bare essentials to cover and clothe the man.

Sergeants and artificers, with slightly higher pay and more years of service, may have developed a personal collection of items promoting comfort. An example is the estate inventory of Sergeant William Overstreet who died at Fort McHenry in 1811:

24. HARP, Uniforms, American State Papers, XVI, July 1813.

1 silver French watch
1 portable writing desk
1 large mahogany dining table
1 small pine table
1 bureau
1 gin case
9 Windsor chairs
1 large trunk
3 small do
2 feather beds with furniture
1 uniform coat (private propy)
1 do hat and ploom (private propy)
2 citizens hats
4 citizens coats
9 waistcoats
6 pair of pantaloons
6 shirts, linen and muslin
2 do flannels
4 pairs cotton stockings
2 do boots
2 do shoes
1 milch cow
1 dutchoven, tea kettles, and skillets.²⁵

Most of these additional and non-military items would have been removed with the women and children in 1813. The arrival of the militia and the forced constriction of the regular army's quarters would have necessitated the removal of any major non-military items.

25. HARP, Uniforms, National Archives, RG 107, S.W., L.R. Inventory of the property of Sergeant William Overstreet.

Evidence suggests that the following items were found in the Enlisted Men's Barracks.

Double Tiered Bunk beds

a. The statement showing quartermaster stores at Fort McHenry for June, 1797, lists a return of 24 bunks. This is before the completion of the barracks inside the Star Fort, but shows a precedent for their use in this area.²⁶

b. It is known that artificers were part of the Fort's complement for most of its early history. These men were trained in the skills necessary to produce bunks. Keeping in mind the damp condition and sagging of the floors in the barracks, it is unlikely that an officer would allow his men to sleep on the floor. The garrison in these early years was so small that the number of bunks required would have been minimal. Furthermore, the use of artificers to produce furniture is documented, as Lieutenant Heman A. Fay discussed making furniture for officers in 1811.²⁷

c. In a letter dated November 15, 1820, to Captain James Hook, Lieutenant Ripley writes:

I have requested Lieutenant Brooke to make out a requisition for two wall tents, one to be occupied by the guard and the other a kitchen for the officers which will enable us to convert the room at present occupied by them into a hospital and the Guard House into officers' quarters. . .it's absolutely and indispensibly necessary for the health, cleanliness, comfort, and convenience of those five gallant detachments that the barracks should be replete with bunks, tables, benches, and the windows with glass.²⁸

26. HARP, Microfilm 57, National Archives, R.W.D., Office QMG, Superintendent of Military Stores Statement showing Quartermaster Stores, 1707-1799.

27. National Archives, RG 107, O. S.W., S.L.R., Heman A. Fay, October 4, 1811, to Secretary of War.

28. HARP, Furnishings, National Archives, RG 92, Qrtn, General, Consolidated file, Jim Ripley, November 12, 1820, to Captain Hook.

This letter indicates there was a precedent of bunks in the Fort, and the relocation of the hospital and officers in 1820 presented a need for additional bunks.

d. An inspection report by Major Francis Belton in the early 1820s states, "the bunks and bedding neat, and in good order, knapsacks, arms and in proper place."²⁹

e. Those bunks must have rotted out by 1826 as indicated by the following: "a special requisition . . . , for lime and lumber. The lumber is for the construction of new bunks for the use of the company stationed at that post" ³⁰

Early nineteenth-century bunks surviving at Fort Mifflin show a sturdiness which would outlast a decade. It, therefore, is unlikely that the bunks inspected by Major Belton in the early 1820s were new at that time, if they had worn out by 1826. They must have been installed much earlier than 1820.

f. These new bunks were made at the post, but were criticized in an 1828 inspection:

Bunks neatly made, and of handsome materials, and thus the greater the misfortunate that no attention was paid to the prescribed form, they are too small by a foot, and much too low for a proper arrangement of shelves and with all perhaps of insufficient length, arms rack, circular and moveable upon a pivot, a worse arrangement could not have been imagined.³¹

29. HARP, Microfilm 14-2, National Archives, R.W.D., RG 159, 016, Selected pages from Inspection Reports, 1814-1842.

30. HARP, National Archives, R.W.D., RG 92, Q.M.G., S.L.R., F.W. Fitzhugh, March 27, 1826, to Jessup.

31. HARP, Microfilm, 14-3, National Archives, RG 159, R.W.D., 016. Selected pages from inspection Reports, 1814-1842.

Measurements taken from a surviving bunk from Fort Mifflin show a length of 6 feet, 6 inches. A study by Gordon Chappell on Barracks Furnishings of the United States Army shows this length to be the standard size up through the Civil War.³² The lack of criticism of the early 1820s bunks, "neat and in good order," and the detailed criticism of their replacements, indicate the earlier bunks were well-made and probably conformed to regulation.

In 1813 the garrison averaged only fifty men; thus only ten to twelve bunks were needed. It is unlikely that more bunks were built in the year prior to the attack as Armistead writes, "I have not sufficient men or artificers beyond the temporary repairs of what is done."³³

The supposition is that as the militia entered the Fort, the enlisted men of the Corps of Artillery were crowded into the end of the barracks building, with their ten to twelve bunks. It is physically impossible to place more than eight bunks into one of these rooms. There is little doubt that the militia force was sleeping on the floor, in much more crowded conditions. The militia realized, however, that theirs was a temporary condition.

Bedsacks, Sheets, Pillow Cases

Military practice of the period provided some form of bedsack to use as a mattress. These bedsacks were filled with straw, and the straw was to be replaced frequently to ease the problem of bug infestation. The bedsacks were sometimes supplied with sheets and pillow cases. These

32. National Park Service, Barracks Furnishings of the United States Army, by Gordon Chappell (San Francisco, 1976).

33. HARP, 1814, National Archives, RG 156, O.C.O., S.L.R., 1801-20. Armistead, February 15, 1814, to Wadsworth.

items were transported to Fort McHenry as follows:

Issued for transportaiton to George Armistead--Fort McHenry

4 bedsacks

4 sheets September 12, 1809³⁴

Transported to Fort McHenry

4 bedsacks June, 1811³⁵

Statement of items provided to James Calhoun, Baltimore

10 bedsacks

10 sheets

10 pillow cases May 24, 1814³⁶

Duane recommended that all beds be fitted with linens, but the limited number shipped to this region may indicate limited issue to NCO's only.

Candles

The most common form of lighting in an army barracks was candle-light. Rations for the Baltimore County Militia in 1814 included: "1 pound and 1/2 of candles to every 100 rations."³⁷

This was not a generous amount, and created a need to conserve candles as much as possible.

34. HARP, Microfilm 30-2, National Archives, R.W.D., Office of Q.M.G., Military Store Keeper at Philadelphia, Invoice Book, 1805-1818.

35. HARP, Microfilm 50-2, National Archives, R.W.D., Office of Q.M.G., Military Store Keeper at Philadelphia, Receipted Invoices, 1795-1815.

36. HARP, Microfilm, 59-7, Commissary General of Purchaser, Orders Issued, 1813-1815, Volume 466.

37. HARP, 1814, Executive Papers, Contract of Taylor, Wells, and Watkins to supply rations, April 14, 1814.

Clothing

The following is a list of items issued for transportation to Major Lloyd Beall in May 1813. This is the last issue of clothing documented before the battle. As can be seen, it follows the regulation issue for ninety-nine men, the approximate size of the company just before the battle:

- 99 hats
- 90 priv. coats
- 95 vests
- 4 Sergt. coats
- 4 Sergt. vests
- 5 music coats
- 99 stocks
- 99 cockades and eagles
- 99 feathers
- 12 epaulets
- 8 Sergt. linen overalls
- 16 Sergt. shirts
- 380 priv. shirts
- 198 priv. wool overalls
- 198 linen priv. overalls
- 396 pr. shoes
- 198 frocks
- 15 doz. large buttons
- 15 doz. small buttons
- 99 3 pt. blankets
- 1/4 binding
- 10 thread³⁸

38. HARP, Microfilm 50-6, National Archives, R.W.D., Office of the Q.M.G., Military Store Keeper of Philadelphia, Goods received and delivered, 1805-1813.

The uniform regulations for the Army were revised and simplified on May 1, 1813. Bearing in mind the Army contracting system, and the time necessary for implementation, it's unlikely that this issue followed the new design.

Weapons

The following is a list of ordnance supplies issued for transportation to Major Armistead in April 1814:

- 250 American Muskets complete
- 250 cartouch boxes
- 250 do belt
- 250 bayonet scabards
- 250 do sling
- 250 brushes and wires
- 250 wipers
- 25 ball screws
- 25 screw driver.³⁹

This provided enough material to re-equip Armistead's Corps of Artillery and the Sea Fencibles of his command.

Brooms

There is no evidence of floor coverings in addition to the wood floors. It is certain that the wood floors were swept daily. Brooms were shipped to Fort McHenry in 1807 and in 1812.⁴⁰

39. HARP, Microfilm 50-5, National Archives, Office of the Q.M.G., Military Store Keeper of Philadelphia, Journal of Articles Received, 1801-1817.

40. HARP, 1808, National Archives, G.A.O., Journal N, January 1, 1807, to January 23, 1808, for articles purchased for use of troops at Fort McHenry, April 10, 1807; and HARP, 1812, National Archives, Accountant Office, G.A.O., Journal #2, March 16, 1812 to March 31, 1813, for disbursement made by Capt. Lloyd Beall at Fort McHenry, October 6, 1812.

Buckets

Buckets were a common utilitarian item used for a variety of purposes by the garrison. An example of their receipt at the Fort is documented by an 1812 invoice.⁴¹

Food

Cooking presumably occurred in the cellar kitchens, but owing to the ground water problem was certainly done on the ground floor rooms occasionally. Therefore, these foodstuffs, transported to Fort McHenry in June of 1814, may have been in evidence in the barracks room:

Medicines

25 lb. chocolate
25 lb. rice
25 gal M. wine
75 lb. sugar
50 lb. barley
4 casks.⁴²

41. HARP, 1812, National Archives, Accountants Office, G.A.O., Journal #2, March 15, 1812, to March 31, 1813, for disbursement made by Capt. Lloyd Beall at Fort McHenry, October 6, 1812.

42. HARP, Microfilm, 50-5, National Archives, R.W.D., Office of the Q.M.G., Military Store Keeper of Philadelphia Journal, 1801-1817, June 1814, articles received at Fort McHenry.

APPENDIX A

An Inventory of the Goods Chattles and Personal Estates of George Armistead
late of Baltimore County deceased eighth Day of May Eighteen hundred
and Eighteen (Maryland Hall of Records).

... of the bank left by Andrew Blomberg was a list of the
 ... due to him at the time of his decease which had
 ... to the knowledge of his administrator
 ... in the House & records of the Capital Bank 1816 61
 ... since note 90 days from 28th Feb 1817 500 -
 ... of ... 7th May 1818 33 19
 ... receipt - 20th Oct 1816 200 -
 ... receipt - 20th May 1816 100 -
 ... 6th May 1817 300
 ... Administration \$ 7069 80
 ... On the 2nd day of May 1818 came
 ... Administrator of Andrew Blomberg deceased
 ... in the Holy Congregation of St. Nicholas
 ... list of debts due to
 ... that he will well and truly charge
 ... all and every such debt as shall come to
 ... to ... Board
 ... Buchanan Reg.

Inventory of the Goods, Chattels and Personal Estates
 of George Simons late of Baltimore County deceased
 as appraised by the Subscribers in Baltimore and County there
 the 1st Day of May Eighteen hundred and Eighteen
 ... of ... Land
 ... for thirty one years \$ 1000 -
 ... 25 -
 ... 1000 -
 ... 100 -
 ... 25 -
 ... 10 -
 ... 25 -
 ... 25 -
 ... 250 -
 ... 250 -
 ... 150 -
 ... 24 -
 ... 5 -
 ... 60 -
 ... 40 -
 ... 3 -

- 2 caskets drug worn,
- 3 wash stands
- bundle, iron, & lead
- 2 sets fine iron
- 1 set knives forks
- 4 boards-sticks
- 6 soap tapers
- 1 Bonnet Brown Sugar
- 1 .. Coffee
- pad of apiece Madeira wine
- 10 Gallons Rum
- Empty barrels
- 2 Demijohns Brandy
- 1 Pipe & 2 Guns
- 2 Boxes Candles
- Salt malle
- 1 set buttons
- 4 Pig Tails
- 1 Piece Felt
- 1 wooden block
- some French Brandy
- 3 Trunks
- 1 Leather Bag
- 4 Tables 38 1 Side 12
- 3 Bunches
- 6 Hats & kangas
- Tube & Kettle
- Knitch Case & Blauwe of Tin
- 1 Side Board
- 1 Mahag
- 2 pr Blankets
- 1 Gold Watch
- Blankets Horse
- Amintion of at handles of
 fusi man on hand of horse
 gone fast above written
 Baltimore County for to 19th
 day 1818. came Louisa Ann
 George Simons deceased and
 Congly of St. Nicholas for the
 mid respect Inventory of the Goods
 said Deceased that have come
 a Commission at the time of
 what has since on hand &

APPENDIX B

"The Cohens of Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine (1923), 371-373.

10. COL. MENDES I. COHEN.

Born May 25, 1796, at Richmond. Died May 7, 1879, at Baltimore. Fifth son and sixth child of Israel L. and Judith Cohen. Unmarried.

Mendes I. Cohen was eighteen years of age when, in 1814, he joined the Twenty-Seventh Regiment because he was under the impression that that regiment would be sent to defend Washington. Discovering that he was mistaken, he left the regiment, and joined Captain Nicholson's Fencibles, and was in Fort McHenry during the bombardment.⁵⁰ Many years later he narrated to Benjamin I. Cohen (53) his experiences in connection with the battle. Benjamin I. Cohen's record of them reads:

"REMINISCENCES OF THE BOMBARDMENT OF FORT MCHENRY
'THE STAR FORT' IN SEPT., 1814. NARRATED BY COL.
M. I. COHEN.

"Capt. Nicholson being a Judge of the Balto. Co. Ct. could not accept a command under the U. S. Govt. he was not therefore made a Captain without a commission & his Company, known as Nicholson's Artillery Fencibles, consisted entirely of volunteers. They never enlisted individually but offered their services to the Govt. in a body. They were accepted & stationed in the Star Fort. (now Ft. McHenry). On account of the peculiar nature of their service they drew no rations, but were paid in money by the Govt. each man furnishing his own provisions. In this Co. were Jacob I. Cohen, Jr., Mendes I. Cohen, Philip I. Cohen, George Williams, Cumberland Williams & Nathaniel Williams. Every morning at about 6 o'clock, a small covered cart left the N. W. cor. of Howard & Market Sts. for the fort with food sent by the families for the members of this Co. The Cohens had a large stone jug around which was tightly sewn a cover of carpet, this was filled with coffee each morning & sent by the cart, always arriving there

⁵⁰ *The Baltimorean*, May 20, 1876; *Marine*, op. cit., p. 249; *The Sun*, Baltimore, May 8, 1879.

good & hot. In the Fort were several Houses, in one of which were quartered two Companies of militia, in another Major Armistead, in another Nicholson's Artillery & there were also a small number of regular troops in the Fort. / Some time previous to the Bombardment J. I. Cohen, Jr. procured special permission to visit Philadelphia for the purpose of nursing a dying relative, he had been a member of the Co. from its inception; but this circumstance prevented his participation in the defense at the time of the attack of the Star Ft.

"The Bombardment was on Tuesday. A few days previously the British had evacuated Washington, the Americans had posted videttes [bidettes] along the shores of the Bay & they reported that on coming out of the mouth of the Potomac, the British Fleet had gone down the bay & it was supposed has [sic] passed out at the Capes. This movement turned out to be a feint & after proceeding a short distance down, the Fleet turned & came up to Baltimore. On the Saturday afternoon before the attack the fake Information was rec'd [sic], that the British Fleet had gone down the Bay & the Artillery Co. & the two Co.'s of militia determined to march [sic] up to the City. They were however unable to agree who should command the entire body on the march up & therefore Capt. Nicholson's Artillery came up alone and the two Militia Co's remained at the Fort. During Saturday night information was received that the British were nearing the City & the non-commissioned officers went around to the houses of the different members of the Co. telling them to meet *at once* at the Cor. of Howard & Market Sts. & to proceed to the Fort with all possible speed. Col. Cohen then a youth of 18 shared a room with his Brother Philip in the House now No. 142 W. Balto. St. Worn out by the events of the day he slept soundly & his Brother was awakened & went to the Fort leaving him still asleep.

"At daylight he awoke & missing Philip enquired where he was. On being told he dressed as quickly as possible & snatching a hasty breakfast he walked walked [sic] down to the Fort. On reaching Federal Hill where there were then no Houses he saw the whole British Fleet off North Point.

" This was Sunday morning the attack took place of [sic] Tuesday. During the firing of Bombs &c. at the Flag in the center of the Fort which afforded a fair mark for the enemy's gunners, in order to protect our men they were ordered to march outside of the Star Fort & stand under the walls where they were safe from shot & shell. While there a shell struck the powder magazine where there were many barrels of this explosive. It was Col. Cohen's duty to go there & get out the cartridges.

" When the shell struck it was deemed necessary to roll out the barrels of powder as the magazine was not bomb-proof. They were rolled under the walls among the men & Col. Cohen recollects sitting on one which had no head [sic]; but was merely covered by a piece of woolen stuff. While in this interesting position Mr. Williams [sic] serving man brought down a large basket of provisions which were divided among the members of the Command & eagerly eaten by them.

" Philip I. Cohen was standing by the side of Lieutenant Clagett when the latter was killed & Col. Cohen was next to Sergeant Clemm when he was struck down & assisted to place him upon a litter.

" During the firing Col. Cohen could see the ship upon which was Francis S. Key distinguishable by its flag of truce. After the British retired Mr. Key landed at the Fort & produced a copy of the 'Star Spangled Banner' which was copied first by one of the men then by another, and they all amused themselves trying to find a tune for it.

" Col. Cohen's recollections of the night attack & many other incidents of that eventful period are quite vivid & afford a refreshing example of patriotism to the descendants of those who so gallantly defended the old 'Star Fort.'

" Balto. 10/2 1878.

BENJN. I. COHEN."

" This period of peril and excitements seems to have put an end to attendance in school, and shortly thereafter he [Mendes I. Cohen] became engaged in business. Somewhat later he

APPENDIX C

HARP, 1814, N.A., RG 94, AGO, General Information Index, Capt. Thomas Sangster, February 22, 1814 (15?), Report to Fort McHenry, September 13-14, 1814, in the bombardment.

1
Office of the Secretary of the Navy

Very Respectfully,
Secretary of the Navy

Office of the Secretary of the Navy

Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

1. Capt. Joseph Smith 180

2. Lt. ... 180

3. Capt. ... 180

4. ... 180

The following is a list of the names of the officers of the

United States Navy who have been promoted to the rank of

lieutenant commander during the year 1861.

Very Respectfully,
Secretary of the Navy

1. ... 180

2. ... 180

3. ... 180

The following is a list of the names of the officers of the

United States Navy who have been promoted to the rank of

lieutenant commander during the year 1861.

Very Respectfully,
Secretary of the Navy

1. ... 180

2. ... 180

3. ... 180

The following is a list of the names of the officers of the United States Navy who have been promoted to the rank of lieutenant commander during the year 1861. The names are listed in alphabetical order. The names are: 1. ... 2. ... 3. ... 4. ... 5. ... 6. ... 7. ... 8. ... 9. ... 10. ... 11. ... 12. ... 13. ... 14. ... 15. ... 16. ... 17. ... 18. ... 19. ... 20. ... 21. ... 22. ... 23. ... 24. ... 25. ... 26. ... 27. ... 28. ... 29. ... 30. ... 31. ... 32. ... 33. ... 34. ... 35. ... 36. ... 37. ... 38. ... 39. ... 40. ... 41. ... 42. ... 43. ... 44. ... 45. ... 46. ... 47. ... 48. ... 49. ... 50. ... 51. ... 52. ... 53. ... 54. ... 55. ... 56. ... 57. ... 58. ... 59. ... 60. ... 61. ... 62. ... 63. ... 64. ... 65. ... 66. ... 67. ... 68. ... 69. ... 70. ... 71. ... 72. ... 73. ... 74. ... 75. ... 76. ... 77. ... 78. ... 79. ... 80. ... 81. ... 82. ... 83. ... 84. ... 85. ... 86. ... 87. ... 88. ... 89. ... 90. ... 91. ... 92. ... 93. ... 94. ... 95. ... 96. ... 97. ... 98. ... 99. ... 100. ...

APPENDIX D

Henry T. Tuckerman, The Life of John Pendleton Kennedy (New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons, 1871), pp. 64-79.

THE

L I F E

OF

JOHN PENDLETON KENNEDY.

BY

HENRY T. TUOKERMAN.



NEW YORK:

G. P. PUTNAM & SONS,

ASSOCIATION BUILDING,

1871.



years past has been displaced by a part of Barnum's hotel. My uncle's library consisted, in great part, of the books that once belonged to the celebrated Judge Samuel Chase of revolutionary memory, and I found some additional stimulant to the ambition of my profession in getting my first lessons in it out of volumes which bore the autograph of the distinguished judge. Many of these books were, in after years, given to me by my uncle, by me at a later period given to my nephew Andrew. Among these I read Rutherford, Blackstone and Justinian, and worked with a vigor of application and perseverance which, if it had been seconded by any thing like a proportionate capacity to understand, would have made me the wonder of the street. This law—what an intricate, inscrutable, dreary mystification it is to the young student in his first endeavors to get into and out of the fog—the dense fog—that fills its whole atmosphere! While I worked at this! like a novice who conscientiously acts up to the maxim that we should do our duty, whether pleasant or not, I had another calling where all was true sunlight and captivating glitter. I straightway—I mean in a few months after my coming upon what I regarded as *the world*, entered the military service as a volunteer private of Captain Warfield's company, the United Volunteers of the Fifth Regiment Maryland Militia, under the command of Colonel Joseph Sterrett, and belonging to the Third Brigade. I think I did this in the winter of 1812-13, when the whole country was measuring its paces to a universal rub-a-dub, and marking time to the order of the drill-sergeant. It was a time of great stir, excitement, anxiety, effort and hope. We have had nothing like it since. It is the glory of my life, its vivid point, that I lived in the day that was filled with the exultation of the first naval victories of our government. When the Constitution brought in the *Guerriere*—what a day was that!

The enemy took possession of Chesapeake Bay and occupied it during both summers of 1813 and 1814. There was a squadron under the command of Admiral Sir John Borlase

Warren, assisted by Admiral Sir George Cockburn and Sir Peter Parker, who was an army officer. These names became very familiar to us in Baltimore during this period. The squadron consisted of several men-of-war, and one or other was always in sight at the mouth of the Patapsco—sometimes the whole—with any quantity of small craft captured in the bay. To me it was a delightful stimulus to live in the midst of so many excitements. There was, first, the constantly coming news of the war and its disasters, especially in 1813, for things were shockingly managed in that year. Then the naval victories which were coming in thick—as often as an American ship met a British—and which brought such a phrensy of exultation; then an alarm of the enemy landing somewhere near us, and this followed up by such a stir on our side! No one can adequately imagine the vividness and the pleasure of these excitements who has not experienced them. Baltimore, as in fact the whole country, became a camp. We had some five thousand volunteers and militia always on foot, and as the regular resources of the Federal Government were sadly deficient, the militia was called into service, or at least the volunteers offered themselves and were received to do garrison and other duties in the forts around us. This arrangement brought certain portions of the Fifth Regiment into periodical service for a week at a time at Fort McHenry.

What a glorification this afforded to me! Here I was, just out of college, in a very dashy uniform of blue and red, with a jacket and leather helmet, crested with a huge black feather, and surmounted by a particularly limber and, as I thought, graceful red one, with my white cross-belts, pure as pipe-clay could make them, my cartridge-box and bayonet, and a Harper's Ferry musket of fourteen pounds, white drill pantaloons (blue in winter), with black gaiters. There I was, eighteen years of age; knapsacked, with blanket, canteen and haversack (generally a cold fowl, biscuit, fried tongue and bottle of wine in it), and detailed for a week's duty at the fort. Talk about hours! I have had a good share of what goes by that

name in my lifetime, but I have never had since any thing in that way that might be compared with the nights in the guard-room, and the routine of the sentinel's duty in weather wet or dry, and in moonlit and moonless midnights, to which I have been detailed at Fort McHenry. To sleep between guard-hours on a bench, to eat and drink in the intervals, and to tell stories and laugh as healthy and light-hearted boys only can laugh in such scenes, were to me enjoyments that never waned in interest and never lost their zest in repetition. Our military service was thus but a pastime, recurring sometimes every day for weeks, and then intermitted for a week at a time, when the occasion was not pressing. I had abundance of time on my hands, therefore, for study, and being conscientious on that point, I worked very diligently. I had my law course prescribed, and with it I associated a considerable amount of miscellaneous reading; *too* miscellaneous, I must say now, when I reflect on the dissipation of mind which it produced. In the diary of my studies, which I regret having destroyed some years ago, I can remember what a variety of minutes I had to make of a rambling course of reading which embraced almost every recognized department of literature. I know that I toiled wearily through many ungenial subjects, and ran to others of more attraction with an avidity I found it hard to satisfy. And, like a great foundation, labor-ponderous, unsatisfactory and terrible, there was always before me, predominant and exacting above the rest, *the Law*—the crabbed, unamiable and indigestible Law.

I had an excellent memory, which I rather think was an impediment to me. I once wrote off on a bravado in which my veracity was called in question, a page from the eighth edition of "Conise's Digest," the page being chosen for me, and the volume taken away after I had been permitted to read it—I think—five minutes,—some very short study. I could do this more readily with subjects to which I had a fancy,—and particularly in poetical works. My admiration of good speaking enabled me to report speeches very well from memory.

I have written out a considerable part of a sermon heard but ~~once~~, and, on one occasion, I made an almost verbal transcript of a speech of Mr. Pinkney's, in a case in court that attracted my attention by its felicity of expression, and which was recognized for the unusual accuracy of the report, by all who had an opportunity to compare it with their own recollections.

In the summer of 1813 the mouth of the Patapsco was kept under an almost constant blockade by Admiral Warren's squadron. The enemy occasionally landed on the Chesapeake Bay, making short incursions into the country. Our troops were therefore kept in active service. We had a parade every morning at six—two or three hours' drill;—were dismissed during the middle of the day and allowed to pursue our ordinary avocations, and re-assembled for a second drill towards evening. In addition to this we were regularly, in turn, detailed for garrison duty. We were, in fact, growing to be excellent soldiers. In my intervals of release from duty, I sometimes wrote what I thought spirited appeals to the country to stimulate our people. These were published in the newspaper. I was very shy of my authorship, and anxious to know how my exhortations took with the public. I, of course, believed every-body read them with delight and wondered who could write them. As our regiment was one day returning from drill on Londerslager's Hill, where our parade-ground was, I ventured to say to a comrade marching next to me, that there was an address to "The Volunteers of Baltimore" in the paper of that morning. Yes, he had seen it. "Who do you suppose writes these things." He didn't know. From his manner, it was evident it did not much interest him to know. I was set all aback. It hadn't created the enthusiasm I expected. No one ever said what I imagined I would hear many saying: "Who can be writing those stirring papers?" I have learned since that fine writing falls on the business world like water on a duck's back. At this period I was eighteen years old. Eighteen has always a susceptible heart.

The war was the nurse of romance and kindled the conceit that drives youth into chivalric ideas of love. The young girls of Baltimore were very beautiful, and I was a passionate admirer with some violent preferences. Nothing is more natural than this association of youth, military ardor and susceptibility to the charms of female society. My own life at this period found a delightful engrossment in the varying influences produced by the public exigencies and these attractions of society. For the first time I began to conceit I had some poetical faculty, and I accordingly wrote verses,—poor enough they were, but to my imagination or vanity they presented seeds of promise—seeds that never afterwards came to fruit.

Meantime the war rolled on. The papers were full of stirring events. We suffered no *ennui*. Every day had its excitements. There was a wonderful amount of personal activity developed in all classes. The fears and hopes of war are full of delights.

We had, in the winter of 1813-14, a little affair on the Eastern Shore which went by the name of "The Battle of the Ice Mound." A small schooner of ours taken by the British and manned by a few men under the command of a lieutenant and a midshipman, got frozen up in the ice near Kent Island. Within two hundred yards of her position was a mound of ice, heaped up by the flow of the tide. A number of the country militia got out to this mound, and using it as a point of attack, protected from the enemy's fire, made a brisk assault from it upon the schooner, which was soon obliged to strike her colors. The lieutenant and midshipman, with their party, were made prisoners, and were sent to Baltimore, where the two officers spent the winter,—quite distinguished objects in society,—and I doubt not, much gratified at the exchange of their wintry guard on the bay for the comforts of a pleasant captivity.

In the Spring, the war began to assume a new aspect. The year 1813 was one of defeats on land. This year, 1814, our armies had more success. Our soldiers were growing more confident. A little skirmish occurred on the Eastern

Shore nearly opposite to the mouth of the Patapsco. Sir Peter Parker had been ravaging that neighborhood in small forays, and was at last encountered by some of our militia under Colonel Philip Reid, and was killed. There was also a little affair on West River, where our militia cavalry defeated a party of British. The war was coming near to our own doors, and events every day grew more exciting. Our military ardor was on the rise. I was in a state of constant exhilaration. Our drills and occasional detached service became more frequent and severe. In fact, Baltimore assumed more and more the character of an extensive garrison. Still, in the intervals of duty I pursued my studies, and I am conscious of a little tendency at that time, to the swagger and *insouciance* which boys are apt to consider as one of the elegancies of military character. I visited a great deal among the younger belles of the city, and rather piqued myself upon the importance of belonging to the army which was entrusted with the defense of the state. Very natural, this egotism, at such a time, when everybody looked upon our regiment as an *élite corps*!

We began to long now for more active service. Several victories on the Canada border had raised the national ardor. Some of my companions had taken commissions and gone off to "the lines" in that quarter. Strother, Hunter and Mackay had gone from Virginia the year before—friends of mine. Hunter,—David Hunter,—a half brother of my uncle Stephen Dandridge, was killed at Williamsburg in Canada. Strother and Mackay served through the war. Strother is yet (1860) alive, living at Berkeley Springs, the father of the artist, David Strother. He married Elizabeth Hunter, my first cousin. I don't know what became of Mackay.

This departure of associates of my own age for the field of war in the regular service, fired me with a fresh zeal for the same enterprise, but my father's advice was against it, and so I remained with the Fifth Regiment on duty at home, which, very much to my content, was now beginning to give promise of more busy work.

In the month of June we had rumors from England of a large expedition being fitted out for an attack on the States. The war was to be transferred from Canada to the Atlantic coast. This army of six or eight thousand men was said to be composed of the regiments which had just returned from Spain, where they had distinguished themselves under the Duke of Wellington. They were to be commanded by Lord Hill.

We were left in great uncertainty as to the point at which they were first to strike. It was generally believed, however, that they were to come either to the Chesapeake or the Delaware, to attack Philadelphia, Baltimore or Washington, or perhaps all three.

What a splendid commotion this intelligence made! We were all entirely convinced that, at whatsoever of these points the attack might be made, our brigade would certainly be present. We volunteered our services to march to any point where we might be required. All kinds of preparation were set on foot, forts strengthened, discipline increased and supplies accumulated. Troops in Virginia and Pennsylvania were ordered to be in readiness to march at the first summons. General officers were appointed by the government to command these districts. There was every sign of imminent war.

Commodore Dale had a few ships at Philadelphia which were kept ready to defend the Delaware Bay. There were also small vessels for the service of the Chesapeake. Commodore Barney was entrusted with a flotilla of these, which was kept afloat in the bay to watch and report the progress of the enemy.

There was a joke of Dale's current at that day. Some one said to him, "Well, commodore, there is news that Hill will soon be in the Delaware." "I shall be glad to see him," said the commodore, "and the moment I hear that he is coming up, we shall have a brisk time—up Hill and down Dale."

At length the enemy showed himself in force in the Chesapeake. Barney's flotilla was in the Patuxent, and in the

month of August the British fleet, under Admiral Warren, appeared at the mouth of that river. Their smaller vessels pursued Barney up the river, and compelled him to burn his flotilla. Immediately afterwards we had information that a land force had disembarked on the shores of the Patuxent, and that the fleet had sailed up the Potomac. It was evident that an attack upon Washington was the object of these movements.

This, of course, increased the stir of busy life. As we expected, our regiment, with a brigade of drafted militia under General Stansbury, were ordered to march towards the capital. This order came on the nineteenth of August. Stansbury was instantly in motion. We marched on Sunday, the twenty-first—our regiment, the Fifth, accompanied by a battalion of fifteen men, commanded by William Pinkney, then recently returned from England, where he had been our minister for several years, and now, at the date of this campaign, Attorney-General of the U. S. We had also with us a company of artillery, commanded by Richard Magruder, another member of the bar, and a small corps of cavalry from the Baltimore Light Dragoons—Harry Thompson's company—the detachment being under the command of Lieutenant Jacob Hollingsworth.

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

It was a day of glorious anticipation, that Sunday morning; when, with all the glitter of a dress parade, we set forth on the march. As we moved through the streets, the pavements were crowded with anxious spectators; the windows were filled with women; friends were rushing to the ranks to bid us good-bye—many exhorting us to be of good cheer and do our duty; handkerchiefs were waving from the fair hands at the windows—some few of the softer sex weeping as they waived adieu to husbands and brothers; the populace were cheering

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

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

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

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

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

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

The second day brought us to Vansville, by the way, a *hau* consisting of *one* house, on the top of a hill, where stage-passengers stopped for a change of horses on the road to Washington; and at early dawn the next day—Tuesday morning, the twenty-second of August—we resumed the road, and reached Bladensburg about five in the afternoon, having marched very slowly, with many halts during the day, waiting for orders from the commander-in-chief. Reports were coming to us

every moment of the movements of the enemy. They had passed Marlborough, and were marching on Washington, but whether they were on the direct road to the city, or were coming by Bladensburg, was uncertain. Our movements depended somewhat upon them. General Winder, who commanded the army immediately in front of the enemy, and was retiring slowly before him, was advised of our march, and was sending frequent instructions to our commander. Of course we in the ranks knew nothing about these high matters. All that we could hear were the flying rumors of the hour, which were stirring enough. One of Winder's videttes had come to us. He had a great story to tell. He was carrying orders to Stansbury, who was ahead of us, and fell in with a party of British dragoons, from whom he fled at speed for his life. The country in Prince George is full of gates; the highroads often lie through cultivated fields, without side fences to guard them, and every field is entered through a gate which is always old and ricketty, and swings to after your horse with a rapid sweep and a bang that threatens to take off his tail. One vidette, a Mr. Floyd, known to us in Baltimore, told us he had been pursued several miles by four of these dragoons. He reported that the British army had a corps of cavalry with them, and that being splendidly mounted, as we saw he was, and having General Winder's servant with him also mounted on a fleet horse, to open and *hold open* the gates for him, he had escaped and had got up to us. This was all true as he told it, except that he was mistaken, as we found out the next day when we joined Winder, in one important particular, and that was, that his pursuers were not British dragoons, but four members of the Georgetown cavalry, who fell into the same mistake. They supposed him a British dragoon, straggling from his corps, and gave him chase, feeling very sure, from the direction they had pressed him to take, that they must soon drive him into our hands. It was only because they could not keep up with him that they failed to witness that happy denouement. This report of cavalry in the enemy's army, of course,

furnished us, as green soldiers, with much occasion for remark and reflection. We had a pleasant evening in camp near Bladensburg. Our tents were pitched on the slope of the hill above the town on the eastern side of the river. Stansbury's brigade of drafted militia were there, and Winder, with the rest of the army, which altogether perhaps counted nine thousand men, was not far off. He was falling back before the march of the enemy, who could not then have been more than ten or twelve miles off.

The afternoon towards sunset was mild and pleasant, and we had leisure to refresh ourselves by a bath in the Eastern Branch. Our camp was supplied with every comfort, and we did not depend upon the United States for our supper, for Lige was sent out to forage, with money to purchase what we wanted. He returned about dark with a pair of chickens and a handful of tallow candles, which seemed to be an odd combination; and upon being interrogated by me what it meant, he said he found them under the flap of a tent in Stansbury's brigade, and being perfectly sure that they were stolen, he thought he would restore them to their proper owners. The stealing was probable enough, and we therefore had little scruple in consigning the fowls to Lige's attentions in the kitchen, and finding ourselves with an extra supply of candles, we indulged the luxury of lighting some three or four, which, being fitted into the band of a bayonet with the point stuck into the ground, gave an unusual splendor to the interior of our tent. The keg in which we kept our biscuit—Jamison's best crackers—made the support of our table—a board picked from some neighboring house, and here we enjoyed our case, and ham, chicken and coffee.

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

hour when the order of the camp obliged us to extinguish our lights and "turn in."

I was too much excited by the novelty and attraction of my position and by the talk of my comrades in the tent, to get asleep much before midnight. About an hour after this—one o'clock—we were aroused by the scattered shots of our pickets, some four or five in succession, in the direction of the Marlborough road, and by the rapid beating of the long roll from every drum in the camp. Every one believed that the enemy was upon us, and there was consequently an immense bustle in getting ready to meet him. We struck a light to be able to find our coats, accoutrements, etc., but in a moment it was stolen away by some neighbor who came to borrow it only for a moment to light his own candle, and in the confusion forgot to return it. This gave rise to some ludicrous distresses. Some got the wrong boots, others a coat that didn't fit, and some could not find their cross-belts. There was no time allowed to rectify these mistakes. I, luckily, was all right, except that I sallied out in my pumps. We were formed in line and marched off towards the front, perhaps a mile, and when we came to a halt, we were soon ordered to march back again to camp.

What was the cause of this sudden excursion and quick abandonment of it I never learned. But it was evident there was a false alarm. On our return march our attention was called to the sudden reddening of the sky in the direction of the lower bridge of the eastern branch, by which the river road from Marlborough crossed to Washington. The sky became more lurid every moment, and at last we could discern the flames. A despatch which reached us when we got back to camp, and had just laid down again to sleep, brought us information that Winder had crossed the bridge and then burnt it to impede the march of the enemy, who, in consequence, was forced to direct his march upon the Bladensburg road. Winder himself was *en route* to join us, and we were ordered forthwith to break up our camp and march towards Washing-

ton. Here was new excitement—every thing was gathered up in a few moments. All our baggage was tossed into our regimental wagon—knapsacks, provisions, blankets, every thing but our arms. Among them went my boots. The tents were struck and packed away with the speed of the shifting of a scene upon the stage, and in half an hour from the time of receiving the order we were in full column of march upon the road. Descending into the village we crossed the bridge and moved toward Washington; but after making about two miles at a very slow pace, we found ourselves brought to a halt, and after this we loitered, as slow as foot could fall, along the road, manifestly expecting some order that should turn us back towards the village we had left. What a march that was! I never was so sleepy in my life. We had been too much exhilarated in the early part of the night to feel the fatigue of our day's march, but now that fatigue returned upon me with double force. It was but an hour or two before day—that hour when the want of sleep presses most heavily upon all animals that go abroad by day. Nothing could keep us awake. I slept as I walked. At every halt of a moment whole platoons laid down in the dusty road and slept till the officers gave the word to move on. How very weary I felt! The burning of the bridge lighted up the whole southern sky, but it had no power to attract our gaze. At length when we had reached a hill some three miles on our route, we were marched into a stubble field and told we might rest till daylight. Here we threw ourselves upon the ground without any covering, exposed to the heavy dew which moistened the earth and hung upon the stubble, and slept. Mine was the sleep of Endymion. When I awoke I was lying on my back with the hot sun of a summer morning beaming upon my face. Our orders then were to march back to Bladensburg. Soon we had the famous "trial of souls"—the battle of Bladensburg. The drafted militia ran away at the first fire, and the Fifth Regiment was driven off the field with the bayonet. We made a fine scamper of it. I lost my musket in the meloé while bearing off a comrade, James W.

