

# **The Naval War of 1812: A Documentary History**

**Volume III  
1814–1815  
Chesapeake Bay, Northern Lakes,  
and Pacific Ocean  
Part 2 of 7**

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## Chapter One

### The Chesapeake Bay Theater: January 1814–May 1815

*News from the Elbe River Valley in the autumn of 1813 boded both good and ill for the United States in its war with the United Kingdom. The allied victory at Leipzig in October 1813 meant the end of Napoleon's Continental System and presaged the collapse of the French Empire. Napoleon retreated into France and, on 6 April 1814, abdicated unconditionally. The end of the Continental System removed the principal justification for British interference with the United States' commerce with Europe, and the coming of peace to Europe removed the Royal Navy's incentive for pressing seamen from American merchantmen. The way to a peace settlement between the United States and the United Kingdom seemed open. Yet, victory in Europe also seemed to provide the British the means to secure a victory in America that would exact retribution on the United States for its declaration of war.*

*Up until Napoleon's abdication, British policymakers considered America a minor theater of operations. As of August 1813, they maintained 75,000 soldiers in Europe, outside the British Isles and Ireland: 60,000 on the Iberian Peninsula, and 15,700 on Sicily and the Mediterranean and Ionian Islands. As of the same date, the British maintained fewer than 20,000 soldiers in North America: 732 in Bermuda, 12,935 in Canada, 708 in Newfoundland, and 4,189 in Nova Scotia. The increase over the 7,625 British soldiers in North America before the American declaration of war resulted from reinforcements sent from the Caribbean, not from Europe. The coming of peace to Europe freed British veterans of Wellington's Spanish campaigns for service in America. Between the end of 1813 and the end of 1814, the number of British soldiers in North America doubled to nearly 40,000. Reinforcements sent to the Chesapeake Bay changed the nature of British operations in that theater from one of swift raids to one of campaigns with more substantial objectives.<sup>1</sup>*

*Through the winter of 1813–1814, Captain Robert Barrie, R.N., remained in the Chesapeake with a small naval force to keep the capes blockaded. Rear Admiral George Cockburn returned to the bay on 23 February 1814 and resumed the pattern of shore raids he had pursued so assiduously during the previous year's operations, with the purpose of diverting American military resources from the Canadian theater southward. Cockburn would have to restrict offensive actions to small incursions until the looked-for arrival of significant reinforcements. Then, he anticipated grander actions under a new, more aggressive commander in chief.*

Late in 1813, the Admiralty separated the North American Station from the Jamaica and Leeward Islands Stations and relieved Admiral Sir John B. Warren of his now reduced responsibilities. In his place, they appointed Vice Admiral Sir Alexander F. I. Cochrane (1752–1832). A veteran of the American Revolution, Cochrane made post captain in 1782. In the wars against France, he distinguished himself in expeditions in Quiberon Bay, against El Ferrol, and to Egypt. He was made commander in chief of the Leeward Islands Station in 1805 and was knighted for his share in the Battle of St. Domingue (6 February 1806). Attaining the rank of vice admiral in 1809, he served as governor of Guadeloupe from 1810 to 1814. Cochrane arrived at Bermuda in March 1814, and on 1 April Warren formally turned over to him command of the North American Station. During his first month in command, Cochrane implemented his instructions to pursue the war vigorously. He extended the blockade of the United States to all of New England and offered runaway slaves asylum and the opportunity to serve in the British army.

Tangier Island, selected as a Royal Navy supply depot and rendezvous point for British prizes, soon became a training ground for a corps of Colonial Marines composed of runaway slaves eager to fight against their former masters and a camp for their families. When word of the Treaty of Ghent reached the Chesapeake, British officers balked at considering such persons as property and returning them to their former owners as the treaty required. Some three hundred runaway slaves enlisted as Colonial Marines. Approximately two thousand left with the departing British to make new lives in British territory, primarily in the maritime provinces.<sup>2</sup>

The United States government did little to protect the people living along the Chesapeake from the Royal Navy's blockade and coastal raids. During its December 1813–April 1814 session, Congress increased the authorized strength of the army to 62,500, and recruitment brought the actual strength to 40,000 by early 1814, and to nearly 45,000 a year later. Yet, federal troops continued to march north to the Canadian frontier, leaving communities along the shores and tributaries of the bay to look to their own resources for defense.<sup>3</sup>

U.S. naval forces were inadequate to break the blockade or challenge the enemy's frigates and ships of the line operating in the bay. The sloop of war *Adams*, Charles Morris, managed to slip into the Atlantic, but the frigate *Constellation*, Charles Gordon, was able to do no more than help the gunboats of the Gosport Navy Yard defend Norfolk. The Baltimore flotilla was severely reduced when the leased ships that constituted its greatest strength were returned to their owners. The most credible threat to British domination of Chesapeake waters was the flotilla service, a new independent command, answerable directly to the secretary of the navy, under Joshua Barney, who had proposed the unit in the summer of 1813.<sup>4</sup>

Barney reasoned that a fleet of armed barges could defend the bayside communities by opposing the boats and small vessels that carried British landing parties between Royal Navy warships and land through shallow waters. After the U.S. Navy purchased the row galley *Vigilant* in September 1813 for the fledgling flotilla, Barney, during the winter of 1813–1814, acquired or had constructed a number of barges. To these he added a few gunboats of the Potomac flotilla. He was never able to put his idea to the test. In late May he set out from Baltimore

with a fleet of eighteen vessels; on 1 June they made contact with a superior enemy fleet and were chased into a tributary of the Patuxent River. For weeks, the flotilla held the enemy at bay, until, on 26 June, forcing the British to retreat, it escaped into the Patuxent. There, the flotilla remained bottled up, a potential threat to British operations, neutralized, but at the same time occupying the British forces required to maintain guard over it.

On 25 July a British squadron, under Rear Admiral Pulteney Malcolm, sailed into Bermuda. The ships came directly from the Gironde River in France, carrying 3,000 British soldiers under the command of Major General Robert Ross, a veteran of the Peninsular campaigns. Ross's instructions were to effect a diversion on the coasts of the United States in favor of the army in Canada. Just a week before, Vice Admiral Cochrane had received Sir George Prevost's call for retaliation on the Americans for depredations against the civilian population of Canada. The day following the arrival of the fleet, Cochrane read Cockburn's dispatches recommending action in the Potomac and Patuxent. On 29 July, a squadron from the Mediterranean brought several transports carrying additional reinforcements into Bermuda. The stage was now set for some of the most dramatic events of the war in the Chesapeake.

The texts selected for this chapter document the preparations on both sides as well as the British landing at Benedict, Maryland, the destruction of Barney's flotilla, the Battle of Bladensburg, the occupation and burning of Washington, the capitulation of Alexandria, Virginia, and the British withdrawal down the Patuxent and Potomac. While many elements of this story are familiar, several aspects of the actions of naval personnel, both British and American, are less so and merit attention. Similarly, the texts printed here give the immediacy of the eyewitness to the oft-told tale of the British assault on Baltimore and that city's gallant defense.

British operations in the Chesapeake during the War of 1812 succeeded in bringing hardship and deprivation to the civilian population of the bay, but failed to achieve strategic goals. The Madison administration remained steadfast in its determination to make the Canadian frontier its principal theater of operations. British activities in the Chesapeake diverted no American soldiers or sailors from the north. British depredations failed in the end to strengthen the political hand of bay region Federalists, for the burning of Washington and the attack on Baltimore awoke the general populace to the need to support the administration for the sake of patriotic self-defense. The capture and burning of Washington had no strategic effects. Washington was neither an economic nor a logistical center. The temporary interruption of the operations of federal offices in the capital failed to disrupt the decentralized American war effort. News that the Americans had defeated British naval forces at Lake Champlain (11 September 1814) and had successfully rebuffed a British expeditionary force at Baltimore (13–14 September 1814) reached Europe by October and spurred the British peace commissioners at Ghent to relax their negotiating terms.

1. Hall, *British Strategy*, pp. 196–98, 213; Hickey, *War of 1812*, 183.

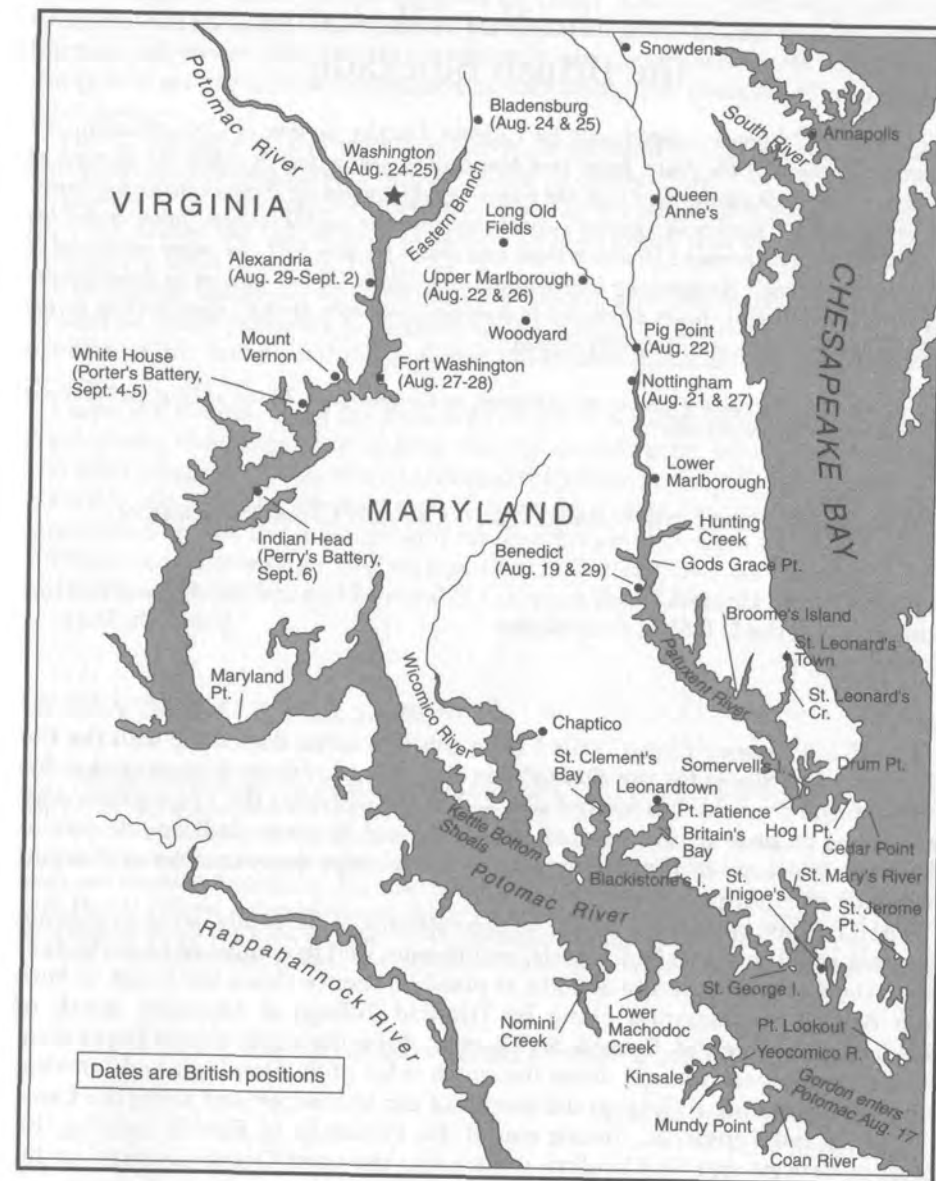
2. Hickey, *War of 1812*, p. 204.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 165, 183.

4. Dudley, *Naval War of 1812*, Vol. 2, pp. 373–81.



Map 1. Chesapeake Bay



Map 2. Potomac and Patuxent Rivers



## *Constellation*, the Norfolk Station, and the British Blockade

The year 1814 began auspiciously for Captain Charles Gordon of *Constellation*. In January Secretary of the Navy Jones sent him sailing orders, but by April the strength of the British blockade guaranteed that the frigate would remain off Norfolk instead of cruising to the south. Faced with Gordon's continued presence on the station, Jones ended his vacillation on the command structure there and vested Gordon with the entire command of the force at Norfolk.<sup>1</sup> Recognizing that maintaining underutilized seamen in defensive positions was inefficient, Jones proceeded to transfer some men from *Constellation* to the *Lakes* where they were more urgently needed.

1. For an earlier discussion of these command problems, see Gordon to Jones, 13 Dec. 1813, in Dudley, *Naval War of 1812*, Vol. 2, pp. 397-98.

### SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO CAPTAIN CHARLES GORDON

Captain Charles Gordon  
Commanding the U S Ship *Constellation*  
Norfolk.

Navy Department  
Jany. 5th. 1814.

Sir

The U S Schooner *Hornet*<sup>1</sup> sailed from this City some days since with the Cables and other Stores for the *Constellation* and with provisions & ammunition for the Station. I trust she has arrived safe.— It is my wish that the *Constellation* shall put to Sea as soon as the state of the winds and weather shall enable you to elude the vigilance of the enemy and in the attempt great caution and sound discretion are indispensable.

When out you will take a circuit to the eastward of Bermuda, so as to oblique the track of all the West India fleets, and passing well to windward of Barbadoes reach the Coast of Cayenne as soon as possible, thence down the Coast of Surinam Berbice & Demarara along by Trinidad Tobago & Grenada, South of Guadaloup, between St. Croix & St. Thomas, down the south side of Porto Rico, through the Mona passage, down the north sides of St. Domingo and Jamaica, round the west end of Cuba to the mouth of the Mississippi and along the Coast to Mobile and Pensacola, thence round the Peninsula of Florida ranging the Coast of Georgia and So. Carolina, thence into the open Ocean performing the same circuit again, burning or destroying all the Vessels you may Capture, except such as may be near our Coast with a moral certainty of getting them safe into Port; and continuing your Cruise as long as your Stores and casual supplies may enable you to keep the Sea. In this route you will regulate your time at any particular point according to the probability of success, and the danger to be apprehended from a superior force.—

You will be able to obtain some supplies and refreshments from New Orleans, and it will be proper to have a communication with Commodore Campbell at St. Mary's, in order to obtain information and receive such instructions from this Department as may await your arrival there.—

You can also obtain partial supplies of Water Rice &c. from Savannah and Charleston.— Unforeseen events or particular information such as in your deliberate judgement shall render a deviation from these instructions beneficial to the public service will be considered as warranting the exercise of your Sound discretion.—

The Commerce of the enemy is the most vulnerable interest we can assail, and your main efforts should be directed to its destruction.

The ports of Georgia and North Carolina are the safest and easiest of access, for your prizes, but the chance of recapture is so great, that no attempt should be made to send in a distant prize.—

The Enemy disregard all Cartels on the Ocean, and it is extremely important to land as many prisoners as possible in the United States.— Ransoms are also prohibited by British Statute, and the obligations founded thereon declared void.—

I have the Command of the President of the U S, to prohibit the giving or accepting of a challenge Ship to Ship directly or indirectly. When the chance of War shall bring you along side of an equal foe I have no fears for the result.—

Direct your Purser on the eve of your departure, to transmit a correct Muster Roll to this Department, and on no account to neglect this duty.<sup>2</sup>

Please to acknowledge the receipt of this Letter,<sup>3</sup> and accept of the best wishes for a prosperous and honorable Cruise of Your Obedt. Servt.

W Jones.

LB, DNA, RG45, CLS, 1814, pp. 86-87.

1. The schooner *Hornet* was purchased at Georgetown, D.C., in 1813. She served as a dispatch ship under the command of Sailing Master Joseph Middleton.

2. Isaac Garretson held a warrant as a purser dating from 1798. Before 30 March 1812, pursers held their ranks by warrant; after that date pursers were commissioned officers. (See McKee, *Gentlemanly and Honorable Profession*, p. 33.) The Senate confirmed Garretson's commission on 25 April 1812. He was ordered to *Constellation* on 19 May 1812 and served as her purser throughout the war. For *Constellation*'s muster rolls, see DNA, RG45, *Constellation* muster and pay rolls, 1812-1838.

3. See Gordon to Jones, 11 Jan. 1814, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 25 (M125, Roll No. 34)

### CAPTAIN CHARLES GORDON TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

*Constellation* Crany Island  
11th. Feby. 1814

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you of my having been compell'd (very reluctantly & with extreme mortification) to return to my moorings after a most flattering prospect of getting to Sea— Yesterday with the wind at S.S.W. thick weather, & only one Frigate at the Capes, we at 1 P.M. slipp'd our moorings & stood down under easy sail to pass Sowels point flats at high water & Anchor'd in Hampton roads at 3 to waite the return of our reconnoitering Tender & to prepare for a final move so soon as the wind (which had then veer'd to South) should become settled & sufficiently fresh to give us an offing— At 5 P.M. The Tender return'd & the weather still very thick with squalls of rain & the wind unsettled

& veering from South to S.E. I was restrain'd from proceeding immediately (as the course down from Willoughby is S.E. by E. & the Southerly winds always inclining to draw in— The appearance of the weather however was so flattering, & the whole night before me that I felt most sanguine either of a settled S.W. Gale or, a sudden shift to the N.W. either of which (from the roads would be equally favorable to us) tho. the latter would have produced clear weather, & after the moon roase at 11. might enable the ships up the Bay to follow us; whereas the Southwester would prevent those up the Bay from moving & leave us the one Frigate to dispose of— So baffling was the wind & So extremely thick with squalls & Calms from the Southd. (that we were kept in this state of anxiety & uncertainty untill the morning, when it broak away with the wind at West, & exposed us to the full view of the Enemy) one Frigate in Lynhaven bay, And a ship of the Line, a Frigate & a large Brig off Back river— As I could not then proceede without being persued by the whole of their force, I remain'd in the roads to notice their movements & see what force would attempt to advance on me (as the one Ship shew no disposition to move when she might have fetch'd into the roads in a very few stretches— At 10. A.M. The Force off Back river & a Ship off the Capes apparently from Sea, made sail for the one Ship that still lay at Anchor in Lynhaven— At noon (it being high water & the Enemy collecting) I was reluctantly compell'd to weigh for the purpose of re-crossing Sowels point shoals & return'd to my moorings at 3 P.M. to day, leaving leaving the Ship of the Line, Frigate & Brig beating up for Willoughby's or the roads; The other two Ships remain in Lynhaven bay— This has been the more mortifying to me as it has exposed my real intentions & anxiety to get to Sea, when I believe even our own Citizens did not apprehend an attempt of the kind untill we were discover'd standing down— I also apprehend a more rigid blockade— I have the honor to be with high respect Sir, yr. obt. servt.

Cha<sup>s</sup> Gordon

ALS, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 106 (M125, Roll No. 34).

# CAPTAIN JOSEPH TARBELL TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Navy Yard Gosport Feby: 15th. 1814

Sir

I beg I may not be considered attempting anything to the prejudice of a Brother Officer, but really Capt. Gordons demands on the Flotilla has been so great, and so severe, that I have been compel'd to refuse him, and which I am sure you would sanction me in, I am persuaded every thing has been done to aid him in his departure, but as attempts has been made to injure me in your estimation respecting that ship hetherto; I have taken the liberty of stating a few facts in order to do away any impression that may be attempted against me by Capt. Gordon in this case, the two Tenders has been constantly employd. on the ship, with fifteen men each, and their crews so beat out that I have directed fresh crews from the Flotilla, also the *Centipede*, and two Masters have been on the bay shore as Telagraphs for these two weeks, and every kind of duty performed out of the Ship has been done by the crews of the Flotilla, and not assisted by one of his men, on the 9th. Capt. Gordon contemplated going to

sea, and directed the commanding Officer then on board of the Flotilla, Mr. Page,<sup>1</sup> to get under weigh, to man the *Centipede*, double man the Tenders and for what purpose I am at a loss. I was immediately informed, and asked Commd. Cassin, how I should act in such a case,<sup>2</sup> he replied not to stir with the Flotilla or to weaken my Command, but to be in readiness to act, and knowing Capt. Gordons intentions should he succeed, to send the Tenders to North Carolina, by his conversation to the officers, they being all sufficient to take off his Pilots, my haveing refused him in these demands, and he being compeled to return to his moorings at Craney Island, he might aim at some thing, as I was the cause of his not succeeding, the whole of the enemy having preceived his movements, got under weigh and proceeded from above and below towards Old Point, and on Saturday the 12th one Frigate, two Brigs, and one schooner came into the roads and stood out again. But I do assure you, nothing has been wanting on our part, to afford him that assistance and justification to myself, and nothing would afford me more satisfaction that to see that Ship go to sea, but I must confess not at the sacrifice of the Flotilla, your instructions in this case shall be punctually attended to, yet I think the crew of the *Constellation* should be a part of the fatigue and not to let the burthen fall on the crew of the Flotilla, whose services may be called into action ere long, the commanding General<sup>3</sup> sent an officer to me yesterday requesting one of the Tenders to proceed as a flag to the enemy, I refered him to Capt. Gordon they being under his direction I have Honor to be Sir very respectfully your Obdt. & Huml. Servt.

Jos. Tarbell

LS, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 116 (M125, Roll No. 34).

1. Originally warranted 9 March 1809, Sailing Master Lewis B. Page was dismissed on 8 March 1813 but was reinstated the following month on 6 April. Page was the flotilla's acting commander afloat in Tarbell's absence.

2. Both Captain Joseph Tarbell, who had commanded the Gosport flotilla since May 1813, and Captain John Cassin, who had superintended the Gosport Navy Yard since August 1812, resented Captain Charles Gordon, who had come to the Norfolk Station in the fall of 1813 to relieve Captain Charles Stewart of the command of *Constellation*.

3. Brigadier General Robert B. Taylor, Virginia militia, commanded the defenses at Norfolk until February 1814. He returned to active service in August 1814.

# CAPTAIN JOSEPH TARBELL TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Navy Yard Gosport Feby. 24th. 1814

Sir

Enclosed I send you a correct copy of a communication from Captn. Gordon, to me, I feel every disposition on my part to act in conjunction, on the defensive in case of any attack, Captn. Gordon has signified to me previous to the enclosed communication, that it is his wish, I should follow him down to the enemy, and attack them, whilst he makes a running fire, in order that he may make his escape.

I can assure you Sir, nothing shall be wanting on my part to render every aid to Capt. Gordon consistant with prudence, I do not feel myself Justifiable to follow the Ship down to the Enemy in Lynhaven Bay without an order from the department, your orders Sir shall be strictly attended to.



Yesterday the enemys force in Lynhaven, was Two Frigates, one Seventy four & Several Tenders I have the Honor to be Sir your Obd. Sert.

J<sup>os</sup>. Tarbell

LS, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 137 (M125, Roll No. 34).

[Enclosure]

*Constellation* off Craney Island  
22nd. February 1814

Sir

The time is now fast approaching, in which our respective force must necessarily expect active service, that will undoubtly require our co-operation— Therefore to prevent difficultys, it is highly important for the good of the service, that we should perfectly understand each other on the subject of our command, and comparative Rank— Being the senior Officer, my situation is peculiarly delicate, as it leaves me liable to be held responsible or not at pleasure for all the operations of both our forces on this station—

It may not be amiss therefore to inform you, that as respects your force, I assure you I never have contemplated interfering with it, neither shall I in any degree, except in case of our actual operations against the Enemy, when but one can command, and that command from the nature of our rank & service must devolve on me—

This Sir, I hope will convince you, that there is no disposition on my part, to presume on my rank, and deprive you of any privilege whatever in your command, consistant with the service which from the strange impressions, apparently throughout your Flotilla, and the Navy Yard, and I regret to say, from your distance to me since my leaving the yard, I have been induced to believe you apprehended, was my wish or intention. I have never given an order of any discrepancy to your Flotilla, and have not contemplated doing so, but in the event of such service, as I should conceive my duty as senior officer, would compel me to do, I view you as I should any other Captain Junior to myself commanding a Ship in company with me, you are responsible for your force in the performance of its duty or the execution of all general orders, I am responsible for my ship, and as the senior officer, also responsible for the disposition & general movements of both forces in action, or in all general hostile operations against the Enemy—

Without having any thing official from the Deptmt. on this subject (as it was not expected I should have been so long here) I may venture to say, I have received the sentiments of the Honbl. The Secretary of the Navy, on this subject— But should those ideas not exactly correspond with yours, I would recommend (for the good of the service) that you would communicate with the Department, and enclose a copy of my communication on the subject without delay, as I repeat to you that there is not the most trifling disposition on my part, to interfere with your command, and shall never do it but from the purest motives of duty & my ideas of the Service—

If however this should meet your ideas of service, you will be pleased to signify it to me, in your answer to my communication—<sup>1</sup> Very Respectfully Sir  
Your Obd. Servt.—

signed Charles Gordon

Captn. Joseph Tarbell Commdg.  
Flotilla Navy Yard Gosport

N.B. In mentioning the Navy Yard (I wish my expression to be understood, as not intended in any degree for the Commander<sup>2</sup>—

Copy, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 137, enclosure (M125, Roll No. 34).

1. No response from Tarbell was found.

2. John Cassin, commandant of the Gosport Navy Yard. Gordon knew that Cassin outranked him because the latter's commission dated from 3 July 1812 and his from 2 March 1813.

# CAPTAIN CHARLES GORDON TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

*Constellation* off Crany Island  
26th. February 1814

Sir

I have this moment received a communication from the commander of the Flotilla on this Station, in answer to one from me of the 21st. Inst—<sup>1</sup> As he has agreeable to my request forwarded a copy of my communication, it may not be amiss, to acquaint you with the causes which induced me to address him— The day of my Departure from here for Hampton roads with a view & fair prospects of proceeding immediately to sea, I was desirous of making some certain arrangements for landing my Pilot on my way down to the Capes, as he is a married man, with a wife and six or seven Children dependant on him— And as this Ship has in use a very superior Barge of Admiral Warrens rowing twenty four oars, which was taken by the Officers & crew of this Ship in the attack on Crany Island,<sup>2</sup> I had determined to land the Pilot with her and sent to the Commanding officer of the Flotilla<sup>3</sup> to request he would man the Barge from his force, for that purpose, as I should of course be obliged to leave any men I might put in her— He first had to row up to the Navy Yard Gosport to ask his Commanders<sup>4</sup> permission, And before he returned I was under way standing down and did not get an answer untill I returned to my moorings the next day— The commanding Officer (pro tem)<sup>5</sup> then came on board to inform me, he was forbid furnishing any men from the Flotilla, And received written instructions, not by any means to make any disposition or movement of the Flotilla under the then existing circumstances which existing circumstances was my ship standing down to pass a shoal which she had struck on, this time last year,<sup>6</sup> and which caused her to lighten very much, before she could make good her retreat— This however, I did not apprehend, as I had buoyed the Channel very effectually but I took this occasion to ask the commanding Officer (pro tem) what construction he had put upon the expression of existing circumstances in his written orders or to be more explicite, "As I was at a distance, & of course could not have solicited your assistance (as a favour in person) in case of getting aground, or having superior force to contend with (in sight of you) had I made a Signal, could you have assisted me, under your Orders," He replied that he conceived his orders would not have justified his moving on any consideration even had he seen me aground, until he could receive further orders

from Capt. Tarbell—his commander. Still he had no hesitation in saying, that had I made any Signal for assistance, he most undoubtedly should have rendered it, immediately and “at all hazard,” was his expression—stating that he should have expected to have lost his Warrant, had he assisted me without his commanders orders

Duty alone has urged me to trouble you again on this subject, as I conceive there are situations in which misunderstandings of this kind might tend to injure the service very materially. And I most undoubtedly should feel myself bound to enforce my orders, when I conceive it my duty to command a junior, while I view Capt. T- as an officer in the regular Navy were he of the Sea fencibles or any other corps, I should not conceive any responsibility attached to me, in whatever Situation he might place himself, & of course should be perfectly indifferent in every respect, but the interest I feel in the conduct of our forces in general, and the success of the Arms of my Country I am gratified at the course taken by the com[mander] of the Flotilla, as your reply will decide the only action in which I feel myself most interested (that is the extent of responsibility attached to me as Senior Officer—Particularly as my ambition does not extend to the immediate command of the Norfolk Flotilla, further than to comply with your wishes on the Subject and my duty as an Officer— I have the Honor to be Sir with great respect Your Obt. Servt.

Chas Gordon

LS, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 139 (M125, Roll No. 34).

1. Gordon probably meant his letter of 22 February to Tarbell; see pp. 10–11.
2. Formerly H.M. barge *Centipede*; see Dudley, *Naval War of 1812*, Vol. 2, pp. 359–61.
3. Sailing Master Lewis B. Page.
4. Captain Joseph Tarbell.
5. *Pro tempore* is Latin for *for the time being*; Gordon is referring to Sailing Master Page here.
6. For *Constellation*'s grounding in February 1813, see Dudley, *Naval War of 1812*, Vol. 2, pp. 311–13, 393, 394.

#### SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO CAPTAIN CHARLES GORDON

Captain Charles Gordon  
Comg. U.S. Frigate *Constellation*  
Norfolk.

Navy Department  
March 4th. 1814—

Sir,

Captain Tarbell has forwarded a Copy of your letter to him of the 22d. ulto.—to which you will consider the following exposition as the decision of this Department, until otherwise ordered. The distinct command of the Flotilla is vested in Captain Tarbell, for which he is directly responsible to, and subject to, the direct orders of this Department.— That its immediate object is the defence of Norfolk and the adjacent Waters, from which it cannot be diverted or jeopardized for any other object.— Hence no order to the Commander of the Flotilla incompatible with these views can be valid; and although his Co-operation in order to facilitate the Escape of the *Constellation*, will be proper, and accord with the wishes of this Department, yet he must be

the judge of the extent and nature of that cooperation in order to insure the safety of the Flotilla and the defence of Norfolk, particularly in the event of the escape of the *Constellation*.— Whenever the forces shall act in conjunction either for defence or offence, the senior officer will of course command, and the Department cannot admit the idea of the least hesitation on the part of the junior officer, to act in conjunction, whenever an opportunity may offer to act with effect. When an officer is acting under the special and immediate command of this Department, it supersedes the general authority of a senior officer.

This is the case with Capt. Tarbell's command.— I am respectfully Your obdt. Servt.

W Jones

LB, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, pp. 230–31 (M149, Roll No. 11). Jones also sent a copy of this 4 March letter to Joseph Tarbell, to whom Jones reiterated the importance of promoting “harmony and concert with the commander of the *Constellation*.” Jones to Tarbell, 4 Mar. 1814, *ibid.*, p. 231.

#### SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO CAPTAIN CHARLES GORDON

Capt: Charles Gordon  
U.S. Ship *Constellation* Norfolk.

Navy Department  
April 15th: 1814

Sir,

In the present state and probable continuance of the Blockade, the prospect of your getting to sea is not only hopeless but it would be temerity to make the attempt, and therefore your attention will be exclusively directed to the efficient employment of the whole of the Naval force on the Norfolk station, for which purpose you are invested with the entire command of that force, and Captain Tarbell will report himself to you accordingly.—<sup>1</sup>

Your character, & zeal for the service, and the honor and interest of our Country, afford a satisfactory pledge for the judicious, active and energetic use of the force committed to your direction.— The object of that force is twofold.— 1st: the protection of Norfolk and the adjacent Waters & 2d: the persevering annoyance of the Enemys force in every situation on which circumstances may enable you to attack with a prospect of success.—

If by mounting a heavy Gun amidships with such other armament as you may deem proper, you can render the U. States Schooner *Hornet* serviceable, you may employ her on the station instead of dispatching her for this place as had been intended.— I am respectfully &c.

W Jones.

LB, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 278 (M149, Roll No. 11).

1. For Jones's orders to Joseph Tarbell confirming the change in the command structure at Norfolk, see Jones to Tarbell, 15 Apr. 1814, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 278 (M149, Roll No. 11).



## CAPTAIN CHARLES GORDON TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

*Constellation* 22nd April 1814

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 15th. & 16th. Inst. And expect to get Lt. Kennedy off tomorrow agreeable to your instructions: But shall inform you more certainly of the probable time of his arrival at Potomac creek in my next. And shall also direct him to dispatch a letter to you, immediately, on his arrival at Richmond—<sup>1</sup>

The term of service of my crew, expiring in all of this year, except what few have entered since I joined the Ship, makes the selection of the sixty men you have order'd somewhat difficult And by the ensuing fall I shall expect to be quite destitute— I have therefore selected from those whose time will expire in one or two months as many as would reenter for the Lakes for twelve months and have made up the ballance with such as have the whole summer to serve. And I assure you Sir, my sending them away appears like separating man and wife for never were men more devoted to their Ship & Officers, than our present crew, we have laboured to organize & train them and we have been recompenced for our trouble, so far as their unequal'd good conduct could go— I would pledge myself, for the *Constellation*, with such a crew, against any Frigate, even the celebrated *Acasta* now in the Bay—

The inhabitants of Norfolk, honor us highly in looking to us for their defence, notwithstanding the large number of troops at this place— And I shall hope to prove to them their confidence is not misplaced—

The draught of sixty men, I am of Opinion will take considerable amount of property and some of the inhabitants from this place; for the Ship appears their constant theme, so little confidence have they in the Militia, and I believe less in the present commanding officer of the Regulars— If Genl. Porter<sup>2</sup> is to command, his presence is now all important in my Opinion, as upwards of one thousand Militia have just gone home, and others coming daily, who require organizing— Major Smith<sup>3</sup> commanding at the Island informs me, he has about five Hundred effective men, which I hope will stand a charge, otherwise the Island will fall and Fort Nelson must then be in danger, as its rear is not sufficiently protected And my Ship is within twice her length of all its front Batteries, on which many Columbiads are mounted, Still I cannot but flatter myself that even with the surrender of that Fort She would prove the greatest barrier to their entering the town of Norfolk, For if they have not an overwhelming force to weaken us too much below, in the first attack, and we are driven to the last extremity of defending ourselves afloat, with my own crew reduced as it may be at such a period, and the Gun Boats to support me, I am of Opinion I can take a position to annoy fort Nelson, as well as to defend the town from that side of the water—

I am daily occupied in organizing the Flotilla & fitting the *Hornet* with one long 18 on a pivot & four 18 pound Carronades. But the great number of discharges from that force, & some from this Ship every day, I fear will produce a deficiency of men, all of which immediately enter the Army in consequence of the high bounty—<sup>4</sup>

As their officers consider them unmanageable on Shore and as we have ever been ready to assist & serve the land forces in any situation—I think on the present occasion, an order from the war Department for a temporary draught of

the seamen from the land forces here to the Flotilla would be advisable— There are now seventeen Gun Boats, many of which, are only half manned, and Six others not fitted for want of men—<sup>5</sup> I am preparing the whole, so far as my crew will go to compleat them But I regret to say, that many of their commanders [are] such as I have not sufficient confidence it [in] to entrust any part of my reputation with, if I could so far obtain your indulgence as to be permitted to make two or three temporary acting appointments for the season only And let their confirmation or dismissal in the fall, rest with the Department & their own conduct<sup>6</sup> have the Honor to be Sir very Respectfully your Obt. Servt.

Chas. Gordon

LS, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 2, No. 163 (M125, Roll No. 35).

1. Jones ordered Gordon to send Lieutenant Edmund P. Kennedy, two experienced midshipmen, forty able seamen, and twenty ordinary seamen to assist Captain Arthur Sinclair on Lake Erie. Jones to Gordon, 16 Apr. 1814, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, pp. 281–82 (M149, Roll No. 11). Kennedy left Washington for Erie in mid-May. Jones to Sinclair, 19 May 1814, pp. 462–63.

2. Brevet Brigadier General Moses Porter, Light Artillery, U.S.A., did not return to command at Norfolk until the fall of 1814.

3. Probably Major Harry Smith, Seventy-second Regiment (Russell County), Virginia militia; this regiment served in Norfolk.

4. The bounty the army offered at this time was quite attractive. In return for a pledge to serve five years or during the course of the war, new recruits were paid \$124 and 160 acres of land. Recruits received \$50 on their enlistment and another \$50 on mustering in. The remaining \$24 plus the land grant were awarded on discharge from the army. *Statutes at Large*, Vol. 3, pp. 94–95, 96. Bounties in the navy were not set by statute but at the discretion of the secretary of the navy. Typically, the secretary authorized bounties of between ten and twenty dollars for skilled seamen.

5. Gordon's assessment of the strength of the flotilla differed from Tarbell's, its commanding officer. In March Tarbell wrote Jones: "I have seventeen Gun Boats, in the most efficient order, at any moment for operation, the remaining Six is in want of Officers and men, the recruiting Service is going on for the Flotilla." Tarbell to Jones, 10 Mar. 1814, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 2, No. 29 (M125, Roll No. 35).

6. Jones had no objections to Gordon's making two or three acting appointments. Jones to Gordon, 27 Apr. 1814, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 303 (M149, Roll No. 11).

## British Blockade Duty

*From 6 September to 25 December 1813 Captain Robert Barrie's squadron had captured or destroyed seventy-two merchant vessels attempting to elude the British blockade.<sup>1</sup> Despite this impressive figure, Admiral Warren was still concerned with the numbers that were escaping the Capes and so in January reinforced Barrie with the schooner St. Lawrence<sup>2</sup> and the frigate Lacedaemonian. The sixty-year-old Warren was showing his age in 1814; he had no bold initiatives. Meanwhile, Barrie's letters to relatives disclose the tedium of wintertime blockade duty and his pessimism that even Admiral Cockburn's arrival would not spur changes.*

1. For Barrie's list, see UKLPR, Adm. 1/505, fols. 139–43.

2. The British captured the American letter of marque schooner *Atlas* in July 1813 at Ocracoke, North Carolina. Renamed *St. Lawrence*, she served prominently in the British Chesapeake squadron in 1814. For the 1813 capture, see Dudley, *Naval War of 1812*, Vol. 2, pp. 184–86.

ADMIRAL SIR JOHN B. WARREN, R.N., TO CAPTAIN ROBERT BARRIE, R.N.

Private

Bermuda Janry: 19th 1814

Dear Sir

I most earnestly hope that before this reaches you that Captain Jackson with his Two Victuallers will have arrived safe in the Chesapeake

your South Sea Ship came in here very well & the Officers & men will be conveyed to you by Leuit Croke who is ordered to continue the Blockade of Ocracoke; I learn that the *Narcissus* has left the Delaware to obtain provisions & water: & should the *Lacedemonian* be with you: pray send Capt Lumley back to his Station so soon as he has received his supplies

with respect to the *Brambles* Dispatches I beleive they merely relate to the prisoner Department and the System of Retaliation threatened by King Madison: a Taste of which in consequence of Genl. Armstrongs order to burn Newark in Upper Canada & executed by Gen McClure: has been Repaid in Kind by our Troops under Genl Vincent at Niagara, Lewistown Manchester & probably Buffaloe:<sup>1</sup> I should hope that with the *St Lawrence* & *Lacedemonion* you will now be enabled to cut off or stop the Sortie of the Clippers; & also Capture some of the Vessels from France. all your Convoy of Flour Vessels arrived here: & I should expect that as you have kept our Friends within the Capes alive, now the weather may become more moderate that you will not forget the Virginians who are so hostile to us.

The Marylanders seem rather more moderate & have behaved in a much greater proportion than their Neighbours: you will no doubt hear that the *president* is out & also the *Constitution*: the latter pushed out in a strong Gale at N:W accompanied with Snow: Whilst *Majestic* *Tenedos* & *Junon* were at anchor under Cape Cod: the first of these ships has followed in search of the *Constitution*: as well as the *Goliath* after Rogers: but they are such small & Difficult Objects to hit—that our chances are few indeed & the good Fortune of these Rascally privateer Frigates makes me almost Despair of ever seeing them: I wish you may have it in your power to cut off the *J. Adams*<sup>2</sup> or one of their sloops: or a Schooner of the Baltimore Flotilla: but as to the *Constellation* I suppose She will not easily trust herself out of Hampton Road if she should Creep there; I think if you have something off Cape Charles with the *St. Lawrence* you must obstruct that passage: & so soon as you have cleared the Two Transports I wish them to be sent here under Convoy; as the *Lady Delaval* is employed in Conveying Bullocks to & fro to this Island; I suppose whatever supplies you now procure as the Embargo<sup>3</sup> is so severe must be by Force; the Sheep you mention from Smiths Island for the Board of Agriculture should be sent in a ship of war to go home from hence: I shall be very glad if they can see England in good Health & Condition: The news from home as late as the 9 or 10th of Novr. are glorious & gratifying to all who wish well to the Grand Cause: & I think Europe will now be Free & Independant & our old Friends & Allies the Spaniards are behaving Nobly & that Country will be saved: Lord Wellington is going to Catalonia with two Divisions of the Army to expell Suchet<sup>4</sup>: with respect to the prize war here there are about 6 South Seamen in the Harbour valuable ships, a National Schooner the *Vixen*<sup>5</sup> & about 45 other prizes. With every kind wish for your health & welfare as well as my best compts. to all the Squadron with you. I have the Honor to be with much esteem Dear Sir very sincerely yours

John Borlase Warren

p.s. I have not heard from your Friend Pechell since he sailed or any prize R. Admiral Cockburne will visit you soon. I enclose a Late Halifax paper

ALS, NcD, Sir Robert Barrie Papers.

1. For more information on the destruction along the Niagara frontier in late 1813, see Dudley, *Naval War of 1812*, Vol. 2, pp. 622–28.

2. Warren has confused the sloop of war *Adams*, which sailed from Lynnhaven Bay on the night of 18 January 1814, with the frigate *John Adams*, which on 26 February departed New York on a diplomatic mission to Europe.

3. On 17 December 1813, Congress placed an embargo on American merchant shipping and exports.

4. Nicolas Jean de Dieu Soult, French general in the Peninsular War.

5. For an account of the capture of U.S. schooner *Vixen* by H.M.S. *Belvidera* on 25 December 1813, see Sailing Master Thomas Hall to Jones, 20 Jan. 1814, DNA, RG45, BC, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 30 (M148, Roll No. 13).

CAPTAIN ROBERT BARRIE, R.N., TO DOLLY GARDNER CLAYTON

[Extract]

Feby. 4th. 1814

HMS *Dragon* off Mockjack<sup>1</sup> Bay in the Chesapeak

.... My Letter by the *Bramble* would acquaint you that at the time of her sailing we were all well though nearly frozen to death, it still is so severely cold that I can scarce hold my pen— Three of my most valuable prizes are either lost or retaken by the Enemy— those that have arrived will not be profitable—however I have the satisfaction of knowing that if we have not enriched ourselves we have greatly distressed the Enemy, for since I was left in command of the Chesapeak Squadron we have destroyed & taken upwards of eighty nine of the Enemies Vessels, besides frequently annoying them on shore— I have now been seven months from Halifax or any friendly port, so you may suppose it is hard times with us—& we are likely to continue out for at least three or four months longer, having receivd six months provision by some transports— The Americans generally expect Peace will immediately result from the negotiations at Gottenburg<sup>2</sup>—I am not so sanguine—indeed I hope we shall never make any peace with Nathan that does not reduce him to his proper insignificance as a maritime power & I observe the American secretary of state in his reply to Lord Castlereaghs proposals dwells more on “reciprocity”—than “maritime rights”—& to arrange & agree to the extent of these will be very difficult—however Nathan has sufferd in his tender place cash & as my friend the great Napoleon seems going to leeward Brother Jonathan may find himself in a scrape that he will be glad to get out of on any terms—...

I have no news to send & am sorry our Naval affairs have not been to brilliant on this coast as they might & should have been—but alas! we are all growing old—

Rear Ad. Cockburn is expected here in a short time but I do not expect he will do much I fear he is cramped in his orders— remember me affectionately to all at Lostock & its neighbourhood I am glad you have all been so gay &



hope you will long continue so— I am ever my dear Mother your truly affectionate and dutiful Son

Robt: Barrie

ALS, MiU-C, Robert Barrie Papers. Dolly Gardner Clayton was Barrie's mother. Her second husband was George Clayton. The unprinted portions of this letter relate to family matters.

1. Spelled *Mobjack* today.

2. Göteborg or Gothenburg, in neutral Sweden, was the original site chosen for the Anglo-American peace negotiations, but the commissioners never met there, going to Ghent, Belgium, instead.

CAPTAIN ROBERT BARRIE, R.N., TO ELIZA CLAYTON

[Extract]

*Dragon*—Hampton Roads March 14th

My Dear Pious

A signal has just been made from the *Marlbrough* to signify that there will be an opportunity to send Letters to Bermuda to be forwarded to England I therefore take up my Pen to acquaint the Lstockonians that I am alive & well and am quite pleased with my ship which out sails all the squadron—but the crew are a rum set—at least they are very fond of setting to at the Rum & give me a deal of trouble—we are here three sail of the line viz. *Marlbrough* *Victorious* & *Dragon*—literally doing nothing but blocking up a Yankee Frigate<sup>1</sup> and almost twenty gunboats— I do not think we can get at her & feel as if we were idling away our time below in Lynnhaven bay we have a squadron of Frigates & there is another squadron cruising within the Capes so that the Chesapeake is completely blockaded— I hope soon to be ordered on a Cruise off New York unless some troops be sent out to enable us to attack Norfolk— I long to have a dash at Nathans towns for though I do not think we can hold any of them I am sure we can very soon make them not worth holding— News I have not a word of for we never get hold of a Paper and as yet we have done very little in the Prize way— *Dragon* has captured three very fast sailing schooners—but they are not of any value— she has also picked up at sea a fine Yankee brig the *Industry* of Savannah—without a person on board her—the Brig is loaded with Cotton about 75,000 Lbs—Burr stones & hardware— she had been captured by some of our Frigates but bad weather coming on she was abandoned & found by *Dragon* in a sinking state— I expect we shall have a little law—or at least Lawyers work about this Vessel as I will not allow either the admiral<sup>2</sup> or any of the ships to share for her—for as she was never condemned to the original captors I regard her as a god send to the *Dragon*— I know nothing of the fate of my Yankeys at Gibraltar but fear they are given up—which is a clear ten thousand out of my pocket—occasioned by the ignorance of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty—as they have now given orders for all Vessels under similar circumstance to be condemned— since we have anchored within the capes we have turned back at least fifty vessels so the trade within the Chesapeake is done up while we remain here—but without more force to enable us to land we can do nothing against Norfolk—and I am tired of blockading & long to be sent to the Eastward to cruise—. . . here we are very cold & entres nous very dissatisfied at doing nothing I am sorry to say that the Frigate ordered to Bermuda has just struck on shore—and she will not be got off without loss— it is the *Acasta* one of the finest

frigates we have, fortunately the weather is not very bad— Farewell my dearest Pious ever believe me your faithful friend & affectionate

Robt: Barrie

ALS, MiU-C, Robert Barrie Papers. Eliza Clayton was Barrie's half sister. The unprinted portions of this letter relate to family matters.

1. *Constellation*.

2. Admiral Sir John B. Warren, R.N.

## Recruiting and the Blockade Stymie Ontario

*The construction of the six sloops of war authorized under the 3 March 1813 legislation continued apace in 1814. Washington Navy Yard naval constructor William Doughty prepared the design for three of these vessels, Argus, Ontario, and Erie. Doughty oversaw the building of Argus at the capital, while Thomas Kemp built the latter two sloops at Baltimore.<sup>1</sup> Master Commandant Robert T. Spence superintended Ontario's construction throughout the summer and fall of 1813 and constantly importuned Secretary Jones with requests to open a rendezvous.<sup>2</sup> Jones, constrained by a small budget, refused Spence's entreaties to authorize a rendezvous outside of Baltimore until construction of the sloop was near completion. Ontario was launched on 28 November 1813, but Spence's inability to recruit seamen throughout the winter of 1813–14 and the onset of a stronger British blockade by April dashed all chances of getting to sea that season.*

1. Chappelle, *American Sailing Navy*, pp. 256, 258.

2. Robert T. Spence belonged to a wealthy Portsmouth, New Hampshire, family. Secretary Jones, considering Spence a "Gentleman of affluence" who would not stay in the navy, did not include Spence in the 1813 promotion list until the latter complained. Jones to Spence, 26 July 1813, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, pp. 24–26 (M149, Roll No. 11). Spence was promoted to the rank of master commandant on 24 July 1813 and captain on 28 February 1815. As a prosperous property holder in Baltimore, Spence preferred duty at home if he could not have the glory of duty at sea.

### MASTER COMMANDANT ROBERT T. SPENCE TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Baltimore Jany. 9th 1815 [1814]

Sir,

In reporting to you the advancement of my ship I have the honor to state, that we got our topmasts on end to day—that our lower rigging is rattled down, and catharping'd<sup>1</sup> in.

The Hold is nearly stowed.— and I intend our yards shall be across next week. I then shall stand in need of my sails from Washington.—

Had I my compliment of men, I could be ready for sea in three weeks.—

My residing within a hundred yards of my ship since appointed to her, and giving personal attention to every little thing will account to you for my rapid progress.— The "*Erie*" has more men, but in other respects the "*Ontario*" is equally advanced. Indeed we have little the start!— With great respect your very Obt. Servant

R. T. Spence

ALS, DNA, RG45, MC, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 7 (M147, Roll No. 5).

1. Catharpins are short ropes used to bind in the rigging in the wake of the topsail yards, so that the yard may be braced sharp up.

MASTER COMMANDANT ROBERT T. SPENCE TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Baltimore January 18. 1814

Sir,

I beg leave to trespass on your time a moment, to request permission, to have the sails of the *Ontario*, made at this place; as I understand they have not yet commenced at Washington.

I have also to ask leave, to open a Rendezvous at New York, as Captain Ridgely<sup>1</sup> having nearly completed his compliment, is about to close at that place. Seamen are easily obtained there tho' they are scarce, both here, and at Philadelphia.—<sup>2</sup>I have the honor to be, with great respect your Obt. Servt.

R. T. Spence.

LS, DNA, RG45, MC, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 16 (M147, Roll No. 5).

1. Charles G. Ridgely was promoted to master commandant on 24 July 1813 and captain on 28 February 1815. He superintended the construction of sloop of war *Erie* at Baltimore during the same time that Spence oversaw the building of *Ontario*.

2. Spence reiterated this request in his letter of 24 January 1814 to Jones. DNA, RG45, MC, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 27½ (M147, Roll No. 5).

MASTER COMMANDANT ROBERT T. SPENCE TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

private

Baltimore January 25th 1814

Sir.—

The kindness you have manifested; while it lays me under obligation to you, divests me of the reluctance I otherwise should feel, in asking any additional favour to those already conferred.—

I have understood that Captain Warrington with all his officers are ordered to the *J. Adams*.—<sup>1</sup> The *Peacock* can be made ready for sea in a few days—and, as my great desire is to obtain honor you can place me in the very field of glory, by appointing me, and my Officers immediately to her.— If I have any thing to urge in support of this request, it is the professional Zeal I feel—my disposition to give up every private consideration for opportunity to act well my part; together with the indefatigable industry I have evinced in getting ready the *Ontario*.

I can take my Officers, and a few of my best men, open rendezvous at N. York for the residue, and be at sea in a few days.— I ask for my Officers, because they are attached to me.— With great respect, & Esteem, your Obt. St.

R T Spence

ALS, DNA, RG45, MC, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 30 (M147, Roll No. 5).

1. Spence was mistaken. The next day Jones ordered Samuel Angus to command *John Adams*. Jones to Angus, 26 Jan. 1814, DNA, RG45, CNA, Vol. 1, p. 554 (M441, Roll No. 1). Lewis Warrington, who was promoted to captain on 22 November 1814, remained in command of *Peacock*.

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO MASTER COMMANDANT ROBERT T. SPENCE

Robert T. Spence Esquire  
U.S. Navy Baltimore.

Navy Department  
Feby. 7th. 1814

Sir

I have received your letter of yesterday. The reiteration of your request to recruit in New York is superfluous, you were explicitly informed, that it was inadmissible. The recruiting for the Lake service at New York, will require all that can be obtained there.<sup>1</sup> a surgeon will be ordered to the *Ontario* in a few days.— I am respectfully your Obedt. Srvt.

W. Jones

LB, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 212 (M149, Roll No. 11).

1. Less than two weeks before, Jones had ordered Spence not to open a rendezvous in New York. Jones to Spence, 28 Jan. 1814, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 203 (M149, Roll No. 11). But Spence resented Ridgely's recruiting success in New York. He warned Jones that if *Ontario* did not sail by the end of February her chances of getting out that year were slim. Spence to Jones, 6 Feb. 1814, DNA, RG45, MC, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 47 (M147, Roll No. 5).

MASTER COMMANDANT ROBERT T. SPENCE TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Baltimore February 9. 1814

Sir,

I have been honor'd with your letter of the 7th— The anxiety I felt to get out, must plead my excuse, for having so repeatedly troubled you with a reiteration of my request to open a Rendezvous at N York

My ship waits for nothing but men;— and the remainder of my equipments from Washington, to be ready for Sea.

I am inform'd,— there are about 20 Seamen at the Navy Yard, Washington: they will be a great acquisition to me; and can be replaced by others, before the ice breaks up;— will you be pleased in consideration of my readiness, to order, that they shall be turned over to my Ship.

I have been from day-break, 'till dark, watching and superintending her advancement, to get ready with the *Erie*.— and it will be peculiarly hard, to be detain'd for a few men: I hope to receive permission to send on for them.—

The Galley you refered to, in conversation with Mr. Smith will not answer;— I could therefore wish mine, at Washington; sent on by land immediately. With Sentiments of high esteem, I am respectfully yr. hmb. st.

R. T. Spence

LS, DNA, RG45, MC, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 49 (M147, Roll No. 5).



SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO MASTER COMMANDANT ROBERT T. SPENCE

Captain<sup>1</sup> R. T. Spence  
Commanding U.S. Ship *Ontario* Baltimore

Navy Department  
March 3d. 1814

Sir,

If you cannot get men in two of the principal Cities of the Union, how are we to replace those which you propose to draught from the Flotilla.—<sup>2</sup> Whatever importance you may attach to the manning of your own Ship, that of the flotilla is deemed equally so to the public safety, and may soon even deserve a preference should the enemy advance.—

Each commander confines his views to his distinct command, but those of this Department embrace the whole.— This question had been distinctly and I had thought sufficiently answered before.— Captain Bainbridge I apprehend, informed you that when the nominations of Pursers took place, the merits and claims of your Brother would be duely considered along with those of other candidates and that his recommendations were satisfactory, which has I presume been construed into a promise to appoint him.— I make no promises of the kind.—<sup>3</sup> I have no doubt of his merits and fitness for the station, but there are several Candidates who appear to have equal claims

An acting Purser can only be appointed in some extreme cases, when the public interest will not admit of delay.—

The law is very particular in regard to the appointment of Pursers. I am respectfully Your ob<sup>d</sup>t. Serv<sup>t</sup>.

W. Jones.

LB, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, pp. 229–30 (M149, Roll No. 11).

1. Spence did not become a captain until 28 February 1815.

2. Spence persisted in asking Jones for seamen from *Scorpion*, *Ontario*, and any in Washington. Spence to Jones, 21 Feb. 1814, DNA, RG45, MC, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 61 (M147, Roll No. 5).

3. In anticipation of getting his brother, Groome K. Spence, a position as purser in *Ontario*, Spence had allowed him on board in January. Spence to Jones, 30 Jan. 1814, *ibid.*, No. 34. On 1 March, Spence reiterated his request for a pursership for his brother. Spence to Jones, 1 Mar. 1814, *ibid.*, No. 68. Groome K. Spence's commission dated from 8 April 1814.

MASTER COMMANDANT ROBERT T. SPENCE TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Baltimore March 31, 1814

Sir,

I have yet hopes of getting to sea as soon as I shall obtain a crew:— but should it be found that I cannot, I beg that I may be permitted to make my ship a Battery of 24 pounders to anchor off the Harbour. I am induced to make this request not only from the wishes of the Citizens, who apprehend an attack this summer; but from a strong interest I feel in the safety of the City having a large property depending on its security.—

My Ship could be rendered a very formidable Battery, being sufficiently strong and ample for 24 pounders: thus she could be rendered serviceable untill

Septb.—, when I think I could easily get to Sea With high consideration I have the honor to remain, your Obt. St.

R. T. Spence.

ALS, DNA, RG45, MC, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 96 (M147, Roll No. 5).

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO MASTER COMMANDANT ROBERT T. SPENCE

Navy Department April 4th. 1814

Sir

The clemency of the season and rigour of the blockade forbid the hope of your escape, and duly appreciating the value of your services in a fruitful field of enterprise and honor, you will forthwith proceed with all your commissioned and warrant officers to Sacketts Harbour on Lake Ontario and report yourself to the officer commanding on that station.<sup>1</sup> The *Ontario* shall be retained for your command until the Service on the Lake shall permit your return.

Your petty officers and crew indiscriminately and without exception you will transfer to the commandant of the flotilla at Baltimore<sup>2</sup> and on your return they shall be retransferred to the *Ontario*. You will lay the ship up in a secure and safe manner with her entire equipment and stores in the best state of preservation and suffer not a single article now attached to her to be removed, except the slops which you will deliver to the agent<sup>3</sup> and every article of cabin and ward room furniture also,\* which he will preserve and return to the ship. The dry provisions onboard will be held subject to his order for other branches of the service. Complete Inventories of all the stores of every Department in detail will be prepared for which the officer left in charge will receipt and be held accountable. You may designate a careful and trust worthy officer to remain in charge of the Ship. These orders in all respects you will see duly executed before your departure I am respectfully Your Obdt. Servt.

W Jones

\*including cabin and hospital Stores, and liquors of every kind

P S. The Inventories of the Stores and articles remaining will be compared with those charged to the Ship and it is expected that with the actual expenditure excepted they will be found to agree

ALS, DNA, RG217, Auditor for the Navy Department (Fourth Auditor), Accounts and Claims (Numerical Series), Settled Miscellaneous Accounts and Claims, 1817–1911, Box 33, No. 3302.

1. Commodore Isaac Chauncey.

2. Commodore Joshua Barney.

3. James Beatty.

MASTER COMMANDANT ROBERT T. SPENCE TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Baltimore April 9, 1814

Sir,

Your letter of the 4th., I had the honour to receive to day. I cannot but express the pleasure I feel in being designated by you for so honorable a service:

this pleasure however, is mingled with pain and mortification, at the idea of not being able to avail myself of the opportunity it holds out, of rendering myself more active and useful. From having exposed myself a vast deal this Winter in fitting out my Ship, I have been attacked with a complaint in my breast;— and a severe spitting of blood:— a complaint which the climate of the Lakes would prevent my getting rid of. Desirous as I am of participating the honour which awaits those in that quarter, nothing but the advice of my Physician would induce me to ask to be continued here, untill the season will allow of the *Ontario's* going to sea

The mortification I feel in being compelled to forego a service I otherwise should delight in, can be better conceived by one of your feelings, than expressed by me.

The Men shall be transferred as soon as possible, and your orders in other respects punctually executed. It will be necessary for the preservation and cleanliness of the Ship, that a few men should remain by her:— I shall accordingly continue a few, best calculated for this purpose.

I cannot conclude, without repeating how deeply chagrined I feel, in being coerced to this step: I derive some consolation however from the thought, that it is caused, by the zeal, which has led me to great exposure in fitting the Ship for sea.

Apprehensive of my not being much known to you it might impair my standing in your estimation, I have requested my friend Mr. Forrest, to whom I have written on the subject, to present you this; and to explain to you my feelings on the occasion. With high consideration I have honor to remain

AL, DNA, RG45, MC, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 102 (M147, Roll No. 5).

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO MASTER COMMANDANT ROBERT T. SPENCE

Capt: R. T. Spence.  
U.S. Navy. Baltimore

Navy Department  
April 18th: 1814

Sir,

Your letter of the 9th: is received.— I regret that the state of your health should have prevented your participating in the enterprize on the Lakes, but it is evidently, too much impaired for that service.— You will, therefore, remain on the Baltimore station until your health is restored; and you will Keep an Eye to the *Erie* and *Ontario*, and Keep them in order with as few men as possible. Indeed, one very small gang will answer for both vessels. The Officers in charge must be Vigilant and must not sleep out of their ships.—

Every man that can possibly be spared must be transferred to the Flotilla.— That object in the present state of things is all important.— I am respectfully &c.

W Jones.

P.S. Be pleased to return by some safe conveyance to this Department your private signals until they shall hereafter be required.

LB, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 284 (M149, Roll No. 11).

## Blockade Stymies Ridgely and *Erie*

*Sloop of war Erie under the superintendence of Charles G. Ridgely, a native Baltimorean, was built in tandem with Ontario. The construction of Erie progressed faster than that of her sister sloop, and she was launched on 3 November 1813—more than three weeks earlier than Ontario. Ridgely took advantage of his lead over Spence to ship a crew for Erie, leaving few skilled seamen for Ontario's recruiters to entice into naval service. At the beginning of 1814, Ridgely despaired he would get to sea and asked the secretary of the navy to consider him for duty on Lake Ontario. His optimism returned and by March he had received orders for a commerce-raiding cruise extending from the North Atlantic to South America and the Gulf of Mexico. Jones's admonitions to avoid sending prizes into port, to be constantly moving, and not to give or accept challenges reflected the secretary's views on naval strategy. The British blockade of the Chesapeake Bay, however, frustrated Ridgely's attempt to attain glory at sea.*

MASTER COMMANDANT CHARLES G. RIDGELY TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Baltimore Jany. 18th. 1814

Sir

I had yesterday some conversation with Commodore Chauncy respecting the force that would be on Lake Ontario in the Spring, and the probability of active Service, he is extremely anxious I should join him, and requested I would write you on the Subject, as he also promised me he would do. I told him my great anxiety to get to Sea, and my determination to do so, if practicable sometime in March, but if should not Succeed and be blocked up here during the Summer, I certainly would join him, if it met with your approbation, I address you this letter to request that you will be so good as to hold a Situation on the Lakes in case I should be unsuccessful in the Chesapeake, I hope it is not asking too much and assure you that my anxiety for Service must plead my apology.— I am happy to inform you that the Ship is progressing fast and am in hopes of having her in the Stream in two or three weeks if the weather continues good, I have nearly completed my compliment of Officers and Men, I have not yet received a Surgeon, Mate, or Purser, I now want them. My Carpenter, Sailmaker, and Boatswain have each asked me to procure for them warrants, shall I enclose you their names and receive warrants for them, I have the honor to be Sir your Ob St

Ch, G, Ridgely

ALS, DNA, RG45, MC, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 19 (M147, Roll No. 5).

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO MASTER COMMANDANT CHARLES G. RIDGELY

Charles G. Ridgely<sup>1</sup> Esquire  
U.S. Navy Baltimore

Navy Department  
Jany. 20th. 1814.

Sir/

I have received your letter of the 18th. and highly applaud the ardent desire you express for active service.

In my opinion there is none that will be more honorable than that you mention, and certainly none that will be more highly appreciated by the Nation. It will probably be the great theatre of Glory the ensuing Campaign, and I shall be willing to afford you an Opportunity of participating in the fame, which our brave Officers and Seamen are sure to acquire.

There will be some handsome Commands, and as the selections must be made early, you had better decide Soon.<sup>2</sup> I am respectfully Your Obedt. Servt.

W. Jones

LB, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 197 (M149, Roll No. 11).

1. Navy Department clerks often misspelled Ridgely's name.

2. Apparently Ridgely decided to remain with *Erie* because his correspondence with Jones for the next two months revolved around getting his ship ready for a cruise.

MASTER COMMANDANT CHARLES G. RIDGELY TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Baltimore March 11th. 1814

Sir

I have the honor to inform you agreeably to your order,<sup>1</sup> that the United States Sloop *Erie's* draught of Water is aft—17 ft.—4 In.—forward, 12 ft.—8 In. making a difference of 4 ft. 6 In. not within two Inches of her original draft, I can with the greatest ease bring her more by the Stern if I should find it necessary, but from the information I received yesterday by letter from Captain Warrington,<sup>2</sup> am disposed to believe that the Ship will sail best by the head—he says that he draws 16 ft. 4½ In. aft and 14 ft. 2 In. forward, if he is correct his ship must certainly be by the head, I have exactly the same quantity of kentledge and Shingle Ballast that he has, and only a few more gallons of water, I have landed agreeably to your order, 800, 32 lb. Shot, and have also landed one Months provisions of Pork and Beef and therefore have only 14 weeks provisions on board I think the Ship is now in good trim, her sails by a little alteration set very well I have every thing on board and shall drop her below the Fort<sup>3</sup> to Morrow Morning—I have also agreeably to your order transferred every supernumerary officer and seamen to the *Ontario* Captain Spence, I shall immediately on receiving your instructions proceed down the Bay, I am happy to Say that I feel proud of my officers and Crew, and hope it is not necessary to assure you, that every exertion shall be made to add to the honor of our flag I have the honor, to be Your obt ser

Ch, G, Ridgely

ALS, DNA, RG45, MC, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 80 (M147, Roll No. 5).

1. Jones had ordered Ridgely to sail whenever the weather permitted him to elude the British squadron. In the meantime, he expressed his concern that Ridgely had overloaded *Erie* with stores, thereby causing her to draw too much water. Jones to Ridgely, 7 Mar. 1814, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, pp. 233–34 (M149, Roll No. 11).

2. Ridgely is referring to Lewis Warrington's sloop of war *Peacock*.

3. Fort McHenry.



Charles G. Ridgely



SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO MASTER COMMANDANT CHARLES G. RIDGELY

Capt. Charles G. Ridgely  
Comm'dg. U.S. Ship *Erie* Baltimore

Navy Department  
March 14th. 1814

Sir,

In answer to your letter of the 11th. current, I observe, that you will be greatly deceived, were you to regulate the trim of the *Erie*, by that of the *Peacock*.— The construction of the two vessels is entirely different.— The *Peacock* was moulded to trim at two feet difference, and the *Erie* at four feet 8 inches, which I am satisfied you will find to be her best trim.— The average draught of water of the *Peacock*, is now three inches more than the *Erie*.— In suggesting the possibility of your having a Surplus of Stores on board, I did not allude to provisions & water, of which it is desirable to carry as much as possible, & fourteen weeks Beef & Pork is a very small quantity, although the crew would readily agree to ½d allowance to lengthen the Cruise— I allude to Gunners Boatswains, Carpenters Stores &c. I am respectfully &c

W Jones.

LB, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 241 (M149, Roll No. 11).

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO MASTER COMMANDANT CHARLES G. RIDGELY

Charles G. Ridgely Esqr.  
Comm'g. U.S. Ship *Erie* Baltimore.

Navy Department  
March 16th. 1814.

Sir,

Having announced the complete preparation of the U.S. Ship *Erie*, under your command, for a cruise,<sup>1</sup> you will proceed, with due vigilance and caution, down the Bay, and, by every proper exertion, endeavour to elude the vigilance of the Blockading Squadron, and get to Sea. When clear of the land, you will run into the Gulph Stream, and following its general course, pass about a degree to the Southward of the Grand Banks, then, under easy sail, shaping a course for a point about 30 or 40 leagues N.W. of Corvo and Flores, which having attained, cruise, in this position, ten or twelve days, according to the state of the winds and weather; thence for the parallel of, and about 60 leagues West of Ushant. Near this Meridian, and between the parallels of Ushant and Scilly, you will cruise thirty days more or less, according to the weather and prospects of success; thence for Cape Clear, between which and the English Coast, you will, according to circumstances, cruise a fortnight or three weeks; or until you have reason to apprehend being too closely pursued by the enemy; when it will be proper to take a circuit of 5 or 6 leagues to the Westward, and thence Southward, until you bring Cape Finisterre to bear S.E. about 50 leagues. Near this position cruise about 20 to 25 days, as success or information may dictate; thence to the Southward as far as Cape St. Vincent, ranging the coast from 20 to 30 leagues distant, and cruising eight or ten days; this may bring you to the 1st. or 10th. of August, when you will run to the Northward, and passing the West coast of Ireland, shape your course for the Shetland Isles, which you may reach

in time to intercept the British Archangel fleet, homeward bound. You will not remain longer on this ground than the 10th. of September, when, if you shall be in want of water and provisions, you will endeavour to reach the Coast of France, and get into L'Orient, which is a convenient port for refitting and of easier ingress and egress than perhaps any other. Should you refit in France, you will make all possible despatch; and, in leaving that coast for another cruise, as the autumnal season will be advanced, you will seek a milder Climate, steering for the Island of Madeira, and in its vicinity cruise three or four weeks. Thence for the Coast of Cayenne, Berbice, and Demarara, and through the Islands, down the Coast of South America, looking into the Bay of Honduras. Thence to the Mouth of the Mississippi, Pensacola, and through the Gulph, to St. Mary's Georgia, where you will touch for information and refreshments.

If from the Shetland Isles, you do not proceed to France, you will return home in such route as you may deem best adapted to the annoyance of the trade of the enemy, and endeavour to get into the Delaware, or New York.

If the qualities of the *Erie* are such, as I feel confident they will prove to be, you cannot fail to make a brilliant and productive cruise. Your own sound judgment and observation will sufficiently demonstrate to you, how extremely precarious and injurious is the attempt to send in a prize, unless taken very near a friendly Port, and under the most favorable circumstances.

A failure of success places our unfortunate Seamen in the hands of the enemy, diminishes your means of achieving honor to yourself and glory to your Country, curtails your cruise, and subjects you to the unequal attack of a foe, nominally your equal but fully manned. Hence, it is evident, that policy, interest, and duty, combine to dictate the destruction of all captures, with the above exceptions. It is a great object with the enemy to capture and detain, in prison, our Seamen; and this can only be counteracted by capturing and bringing into Port an equal number; this is an object of great National importance; the releasing at Sea, on Parole, though practised by all civilized Nations, is utterly disregarded by our enemy.

You will perceive, by the route I have designated and the time indicated at each cruising Station, that my object is, to avoid remaining too long at any one station; that, by a timely change of position, the vigilance of the enemy may be eluded.

The President of the United States, persuaded that the gallantry of our Naval Officers, resting upon a rock of adamant, cannot be shaken by the ostentatious vanity of a boasting but mortified enemy, and from motives of obvious policy, as well as solid objections to the practice, has given it to me in charge, to prohibit, in the strictest manner, the giving or accepting of a challenge, to fight Ship to Ship; which injunction you will strictly observe.

Before sailing you will direct your purser<sup>2</sup> to forward to this Department, a correct Muster Roll of the Officers and crew of the *Erie*. I am, very respectfully, Your Obedient Servant,

W. Jones.

LB, DNA, RG45, CLS, 1814, pp. 109–11.

1. Ridgely to Jones, 15 Mar. 1814, DNA, RG45, MC, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 85 (M147, Roll No. 5).

2. Matthias C. Atwood was appointed a midshipman on 17 December 1810 and became an acting purser before resigning about September 1813. He was appointed a purser on 26 March 1814 and ordered two days later to report to *Erie*, then at Annapolis and en route for a cruise.



SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO MASTER COMMANDANT CHARLES G. RIDGELY

Charles G. Ridgely Esq  
Comm'dg. U.S. Ship *Erie*  
off Annapolis

Navy Department  
March 30th. 1814

Sir,

I have this instant received yours of the 27th.<sup>1</sup> and am much pleased with the very favorable account you give of the sailing and working of the *Erie*, but, Sir, the season is so far advanced, and the force of the enemy below so competent to effect a close Blockade, that I despair of your escape and must repeat my caution to be exceedingly on your guard against delusive appearances or partial prospects of escape.— I am satisfied that those vessels which were at Smiths point, only descended the Bay, in order to draw you down. You will therefore avoid excessive risk as it would be scarcely possible to justify the attempt in the event of disaster under existing circumstances.

Purser Atwood from the Eastern Shore is ordered to join you at Annapolis.

You will let me hear from you frequently. I am, respectfully &c

W Jones

P.S. Enclosed you have the report of Lieut. Smith<sup>2</sup> relative to the men whom you turned over to Capt Spence. You will immediately forward to me the name of the officer who recruited them, in order that he may be made answerable for the imposition.

LB, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 259 (M149, Roll No. 11).

1. *Erie* left Baltimore and arrived off Annapolis on 20 March. Variable winds prevented her proceeding down the bay. Ridgely to Jones, 23 Mar. 1814, DNA, RG45, MC, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 90 (M147, Roll No. 5). Writing on 27 March, Ridgely blamed southerly winds for dashing his hopes of getting to sea. Ridgely to Jones, 27 Mar. 1814, *ibid.*, No. 91.

2. Frederick W. Smith was commissioned a lieutenant on 24 July 1813 and ordered to the Baltimore station the following month. In his report, Smith characterized the men transferred from *Erie* to *Ontario* as "quite useless" because of their age and infirmities. Frederick W. Smith to Robert T. Spence, 27 Mar. 1814, DNA, RG45, BC, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 146 (M148, Roll No. 13).

MASTER COMMANDANT CHARLES G. RIDGELY TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

U.S. Sloop *Erie* Chesapeake Bay April 2nd. 1814

Sir,

I had the honor to address you on the 27 Ult: forwarding you by mail a Muster Roll of the Crew of the *Erie*. The next Morning the 28th. I weighed and stood down the Bay but owing to head winds, and Calms made but little progress on the 29th. I spoke a Schooner off Patuxent who reported he had been chased the Eveng. before by a Brig and Schooner of the Enemy & that they were lying inside the Potomac, I immediately despatched Lieutenant Bell<sup>1</sup> to ascertain if they were there, being determined to give them Battle, Lieutenant Bell returned in the Eveng. and reported he had not seen any thing, I ordered him to continue ahead in the Pilot Boat until he should see the

Enemy, and I followed him in the *Erie* at Meridian of the 1st April then off the Wolf Trap, descried two Sail at anchor a little above New Point Comfort, at same time discovered our look out Boat standing for us with the Signal flying for an Enemy which proved to be a 74 and her tender who immediately made Sail in chase, tacked Ship and stood up the Bay,—

I much fear Sir the Season has too far advanced, for me to attempt to get to Sea, without imminent hazard, the Moon is very bright, the winds light and variable, I have much cause to regret it, having a fine Crew, and am much pleased with the Ship, if you should determine in laying her up for the Summer, I should be happy if it were done immediately, that I might the sooner go for the Lakes with my officers and Crew, in hope to obtain some of the anticipated laurels that may be won in that Quarter, at the Navy Yard Washington would be much preferable, to Baltimore to lay the Ship up, for in the latter place nothing of her equipment would be taken Care of,— I shall continue between the Potomac and Patuxent, unless a wind should favour my escape or, be driven further up by the Enemy, I have the honor to be Sir Yr &c &c &c

Ch, G, Ridgely

ALS, DNA, RG45, MC, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 98 (M147, Roll No. 5).

1. John H. Bell was appointed acting lieutenant and ordered to *Erie* on 13 September 1813. He was sent on 4 April 1814 with most of the disbanded crew of *Erie* to Sackets Harbor and on 9 December 1814 attained the rank of lieutenant.

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO MASTER COMMANDANT CHARLES G. RIDGELY

Charles G. Ridgely Esqr.  
Commg. U.S. Ship *Erie*  
Chesapeake Bay.

Navy Department  
April 4th. 1814.

Sir,

The instant I had closed my letter of this date, by Purser Atwood, I received yours of the 2nd. and accord with you in opinion, that there is not the least chance of your escape, without incurring a degree of risk, that would greatly hazard, both the Public interest and your reputation. This opinion I expressed to you, freely, in my last letter to you a few days since. You will, therefore, immediately proceed to Baltimore, and lay the Ship up, in a convenient and secure manner, so as to preserve, in the most perfect order, her entire equipment and stores, ready for a cruise, when it may be practicable to get to sea; for which purpose she shall be retained for yourself, Officers, and crew, when the service on the Lake shall permit your return.

You will have a complete inventory, in detail, made of the equipment and stores, in every department on board, and suffer not the least article to be removed.

A careful Officer, with a few men, will be appointed to keep the Ship in order. He will receipt for all the Stores and be held accountable.

When you shall have executed this order, you will, immediately, proceed, with your entire Officers and crew, (except such Officer as you may designate to

leave in charge of the *Erie*,) to Sackett's Harbour, and report yourself to Commodore Chauncey for service under his command. From the day you depart from Baltimore, the Seamen will be entitled to an encrease of pay, from 12 to 15 dollars per month; and Ordinary Seamen from their present pay to 7 to 12 dollars per Month, until their return from the Lake service.

Congress has now under consideration the expediency of encreasing the pay of the Officers also, while on that service.<sup>1</sup> I am, respectfully, Your Obedient Servt.

W. Jones.

LB, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, pp. 263-64 (M149, Roll No. 11).

1. For more on this subject, see Jones to Chauncey, 18 Apr. 1814, p. 402.

MASTER COMMANDANT CHARLES G. RIDGELY TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

U.S. Sloop *Erie* April 7th April 1814

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letters by Purser Atwood, yesterday 2 P.M. at Annapolis, I immediately weighed and sailed for this place, I shall proceed with every expedition to put your orders in execution, and will make arrangements with the U.S. Navy Agent<sup>1</sup> for the transportation of my officers and crew, I will leave the Sailing Master<sup>2</sup> with one of his Mates in charge of the Ship, will take his separate receipts for every article left on board in the different departments, I will leave with him such of my crew, that are now too much indisposed to travel with expedition, I will give written instructions what is to be done to the Ship for her preservation & C during the Summer— I presume bedding &c will be supplied the crew on their arrival at Sacketts Harbour, as it will be impossible to carry with them their Hammocks and bedding, there being numbered will easily be recognized by them on their return from the Lake,<sup>3</sup> will therefore have them placed in a Loft with the Sails, every assistance shall be given the Purser in order to expedite his accounts, and due attention shall be paid to the Slops agreeably to your directions. I have the honor to be Sir Yr. Obt. Servt.

Ch, G, Ridgely

ALS, DNA, RG45, MC, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 101 (M147, Roll No. 5).

1. James Beatty.

2. George F. De La Roche's sailing master's warrant dated from 3 August 1813, at which time he was assigned to *Erie*.

3. Ridgely intended to return to *Erie*. He wrote Jones in June from Sackets Harbor recommending the substitution of 18 pounders for 32 pounders in her. Ridgely to Jones, 17 June 1814, DNA, RG45, MC, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 149 (M147, Roll No. 5). By October Ridgely wanted to leave Sackets Harbor for *Erie*. Ridgely to Jones, 24 Oct. 1814, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, No. 104. Ridgely was still on Lake Ontario in January 1815 and asked the new secretary of the navy, Benjamin W. Crowninshield, if he could return to Baltimore. Ridgely to Crowninshield, 8 Jan. 1815, *ibid.*, 1815, No. 8 (M147, Roll No. 6). By 28 February 1815, Ridgely had returned to command *Erie*. Ridgely to Crowninshield, 28 Feb. 1815, DNA, RG45, CL, 1815, Vol. 1, No. 177 (M125, Roll No. 42).

## Barney's Flying Squadron Takes Shape

*Joshua Barney spent the latter half of 1813 molding a fighting force of gunboats and barges. In early 1814 he continued to build or purchase vessels throughout the Chesapeake Bay and increased the recruiting tempo. Inundated with paperwork, Barney desperately needed a purser to keep accounts and issue supplies. The Navy Department anticipated a springtime invasion of the Chesapeake and it was the flotilla's mission to keep the British from Washington.*

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO  
ACTING MASTER COMMANDANT JOSHUA BARNEY

Joshua Barney Esqr.

Commanding the U.S. Flotilla Baltimore,

Navy Department  
Feby. 18th. 1814.

Sir,

I have received your Letter of the 15th. current,<sup>1</sup> the U States Cutter *Scorpion* is ordered to Baltimore subject to your command, and it was my intention to order the Schooner *Asp* also, but she sails so indifferently that I have ordered her to be employed in the transportation of Stores.—<sup>2</sup> It will be of importance to have a very fast sailing pilot Boat attached to the Flotilla as a Despatch or look out Boat, and a single carronade on a pivot. You will therefore ascertain whether a small Boat of first rate character for sailing, can be purchased upon reasonable terms and at what rate.—

I am of opinion that the Barges now building at St. Michaels<sup>3</sup> had better be armed with a long 12 pr. instead of a heavy 18. and a 32 pd. carronade instead of a 24—they will be equally formidable, the two Guns will balance each other and the Barges will row lighter.— We have beautiful long 12 prs. at the Navy Yard and abundance of Ammunition.—

What progress is making with the Barges at St Michaels.— are they to be brought over to be armed, or is their armament to be transported to them? It is time to be moving, we shall have warm work.— How comes on the recruiting?<sup>4</sup> We have 80 or 90 men belonging to the Gunboats and Barges here but the Potomac must not be left without protection. We shall expect you to keep the Enemy below the Potomac, and then the whole force can unite.— I am clearly of opinion your force will be fully competent to repel any force the enemy can put in Boats, & if we can confine them to their Ships, they can do us but little harm; I trust even there they will not be undisturbed.—

The Enemy has a strong desire to destroy this place, and will assuredly make an effort for that purpose, your force is our principal shield, and all eyes will be upon you.— The people on the Shores of the Chesapeake are calling out for a Barge here and there to protect local positions but this is idle, they would all be cut off in detail— To act with effect, the whole force must be concentrated.—

How are you off for light Boats, will you not want a couple of light fleet Barges. If you do, I will direct one of the best description to be built here 35 feet long.—

If you are not very busily engaged, you had better come down here and let us finally arrange all that may be necessary to your command. I am respectfully your obdt. Servt.

W Jones.

LB, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, pp. 219–20 (M149, Roll No. 11).

1. Barney hired a pilot boat to execute Jones's order of 11 February 1814 calling for the removal of the schooner *Adolphus* from the bay. Barney leased the pilot boat for eight dollars a day because his barges and galley lacked coverings for winter protection and Gunboat No. 138 was a poor sailer. Jones to Barney, 11 Feb. 1814, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 215 (M149, Roll No. 11), and Barney to Jones, 15 Feb. 1814, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 2, No. 19 (M124, Roll No. 61).

2. Both *Scorpion* and *Asp* had served with the Potomac flotilla in 1813. See Dudley, *Naval War of 1812*, Vol. 2, pp. 366–68. *Scorpion* joined Barney in Baltimore on 18 February 1814 and became his flagship. This gunboat or block sloop had been built before the war and modified during the winter of 1813–14. *Asp*'s poor sailing qualities relegated her to transporting duties. Barney to Jones, 18 Feb. 1814, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 2, No. 27 (M124, Roll No. 61).

3. Perry Spencer was the builder.

4. Barney wanted to employ the sea fencibles in his boats but had received no guidance from Jones. Barney to Jones, 14 Jan. 1814, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 1, No. 55 (M124, Roll No. 60). Jones did agree to an advance of one month's pay in slops and three in money in order to stimulate interest. Jones to Barney, 22 Feb. 1814, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, pp. 222–23 (M149, Roll No. 11).

ACTING MASTER COMMANDANT JOSHUA BARNEY TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Baltimore March 1st. 1814

Sir,

I have seen several small pilot boats, two of which is in my offer, the price 500 and 600\$ they will want some repairs and sails to put them in order, The One at 500\$ I like the best as to her character for Sailing, and I believe will be the cheapest in her outfits, she will carry One 24 pound Cannonade on a pivot, very well, and would answer the purpose intended, I will thank you for orders respecting her, as I am to give an Immediate answer.<sup>1</sup> The *Scorpion* is heaving out at the *Lazaretto*<sup>2</sup> where we shall fit her, with our own hands, and will cost but a trifle, The Brass 42 lb. Howitzer has been taken out of her, for the *Adams*, she is almost destitute of every thing— I now inclose the names of the Masters with the dates, for to have the warrants filled up. I have not as yet seen either of the Captains of the Sea fencibles, as I wish them to receive letters from the War Department in the first Instance,<sup>3</sup> I am told that the men are very dissatisfied, and wish to join us, I could easily manage the matter if it was not, that the officers are mostly Landsmen.<sup>4</sup> I am Sir with respect your Obt. servt.

Joshua Barney

List of Names for Sailing Masters—

Claude Besse <sup>5</sup>	10th Sept. 1813
John Geoghegan	16th Sepr. do.
John Kiddall	16th Oct. do.
William Martin	12th Jany. 1814
Henry Thomas	25th Jany. do.



Joshua Barney



James Sellers	27th Jany. do.	} of the present date—
James Wright	16th. feby. do.	
Robert Hamilton		
Josiah Rutter		
John Davis		
John A. Webster		
Alexander Beard		
William Peterkin & Beverly Deggs <sup>6</sup>		

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 2, No. 57 (M124, Roll No. 61).

1. Jones approved the purchase of the \$500 pilot boat. Jones to Barney, 4 Mar. 1814, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 230 (M149, Roll No. 11).

2. Lazaretto Point is located east of Fort McHenry at the entrance of the Northwest Branch of the Patapsco River, Maryland. This area was originally called Gossuch Point, but in 1801 a hospital for the treatment of contagious diseases was built there, and the name was changed to reflect this. The Italian *lazzaro* means *leper*.

3. Barney is probably referring to Matthew Simmones Bunbury, who had been captain of one of the companies of sea fencibles at Baltimore since 1 October 1813, and William H. Addison, who was appointed a captain on 27 April 1814.

4. Apparently the War Department and Major General Samuel Smith were also vying for the sea fencibles. Barney to Jones, 17 Mar. 1814, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 2, No. 112 (M124, Roll No. 61).

5. Claude or Claudius Besse had joined the flotilla at Baltimore on 10 September 1813. He was discharged when the flotilla was disbanded on 15 April 1815.

6. Also spelled *Diggs*.

ACTING MASTER COMMANDANT JOSHUA BARNEY TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Baltimore March 25th. 1814

Sir,

I am very much at a loss for a Purser, (having been without nearly four weeks).<sup>1</sup> Particularly so, as I am bound to furnish one months pay to each recruit in Cloaths, which I cannot do with propriety myself. The provisions are furnished by the Navy Agent<sup>2</sup> on the requisition of the Purser, approved by me, I have been Obligated to draw provisions, without such requisition, which induces me to make the request that a Purser may be attached to the flotilla— One of the New Barges has arrived from the Eastern shore and I expect four more this week, the armament will go on with all the expedition Possible, nothing will be wanting but men. I wish to have the accounts of the men, that has been turned over to the flotilla, composing the Crews of the *Scorpion*, *Asp*, Barges, & Gunboat 137, the men are in want of Cloaths, and I do not know what is due to them, so as to order supplies, and they are very clamorous, which Injures my recruiting. I will thank you to order the accounts forwarded to my purser or myself

A Schooner which has been lying in Piankatank ever since the Embargo arrived here yesterday, the Captain Informed me, he left that river on Wednesday morning,<sup>3</sup> that the frigate and Schooners which had been up the bay, went down on Tuesday evening, which induced him to run up; Yesterday morning he saw the *Erie* laying off Annapolis, so that I am now fully convinced any attempt of that ship to get out, would be imprudent, the season is past, and the enemy

concentrated near the entrance of the Bay, in such a manner, as to defeat all prospects of escaping—yet I fear that the great desire of Capt. Ridgeley to get to Sea, will induce him to make the trial.<sup>4</sup> I am Sir with respect your Obt. Servt.

Joshua Barney

I have just received a letter from sailing Master R[utter]<sup>5</sup> now at Washington whom I had sent round in the *Asp* to bring the Barges to this place, he informs me that the *Asp* is not to return; in that case I shall be at a loss for quarters for my officers, and when I represented that circumstance to you when at Washington. you granted my request, of the *Asp*'s remaining with the flotilla

JB

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 3, No. 12 (M124, Roll No. 62).

1. Robert Ormsby had served as purser since July 1811; his commission was dated 25 April 1812. He was listed as a purser on the muster roll of the Chesapeake Bay flotilla until his official discharge on 6 April 1814, but he apparently was ordered to the sloop *Erie* in February and served there a short time before being furloughed in late April. Ormsby never returned to the flotilla.

2. James Beatty.

3. 23 March.

4. On 2 April Ridgely decided not to go to sea. Ridgely to Jones, pp. 30–31.

5. The document is torn here but Barney is probably referring to Josiah Rutter, who was attached to the flotilla on 1 March 1814.

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO  
ACTING MASTER COMMANDANT JOSHUA BARNEY

Joshua Barney Esq.  
Commt. U.S. Flotilla Baltimore

Navy Department  
March 26th. 1814

Sir,

I have received your letter of yesterdays date. Nominations are now before the senate & you will have a Purser in a few days.<sup>1</sup>

I am extremely desirous that the Barges from the Eastern Shore should be with you without delay as danger and difficulty will every day increase.

I hope to be able to increase the number of your men ere long. The Fencibles I can say nothing about nor do I believe you can calculate upon them. The Accounts you require shall be sent on.

I trust Capt. Ridgeley will run no imprudent risk. A few days will determine whether it will be at all prudent to attempt to proceed down the Bay. He will remain a few days off Annapolis. The *Asp* will return to you but she will first take a load of ordnance stores to Frenchtown. respectfully &c

W Jones

LB, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 258 (M149, Roll No. 11).

1. Barney reported to Jones on 12 April that Purser John S. Skinner, who was also the American agent for prisoners at Annapolis, had joined his flotilla. Barney to Jones, 12 Apr. 1814, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 3, No. 66 (M124, Roll No. 62).



## Leadership Transition Portends Change in Tempo

Seeking to energize the North American Station, the British Admiralty in November 1813 recalled the lethargic, uninspired Admiral Sir John B. Warren from his command and appointed Vice Admiral Sir Alexander F. I. Cochrane to succeed him.<sup>1</sup> The British government had twin designs for 1814: to divert American strength from Canada and to distress the American government and people financially. By ordering Cochrane to increase the attacks on coastal towns, the British hoped to prevent further deployment of American forces to the north. In addition, by capturing or destroying agricultural produce and enticing slaves to emigrate, the British were counting on both economic and psychological warfare to force the American government to terms.

Vigorous campaigning had ended in the Chesapeake in September 1813. British activity during the winter of 1813–14 consisted of convoying merchant ships and blockading ports. During January and February 1814, Cockburn visited the Atlantic blockading squadrons to the north and returned to Lynnhaven Bay by 23 February. Cockburn did not know that the Admiralty in November 1813 had ordered Warren to relinquish his command or that Cochrane was on his way from England to replace him. Cockburn kept a low profile in March, deploying his vessels on reconnoitering missions. The squadron could attempt few offensive forays in the bay because of depleted provisions. The indeterminate state of the theater continued until April.

Even though Cochrane arrived in Bermuda on 6 March, he did not assume command of the station until 1 April because Warren refused to resign until he was ready to sail for England. Once in charge, Cochrane set an energetic tone by issuing proclamations that encouraged American slaves to leave their masters and extended the blockade further north.<sup>2</sup> The first proclamation, besides having an economic motive, was considered a practical way to supplement the British ranks with a corps of Colonial Marines. After receiving orders to establish a base of operations in the bay, Cockburn eagerly reported on the attributes of Tangier Island.<sup>3</sup>

1. For the Admiralty's orders, see Admiralty Commissioners to Cochrane, 25 Jan. 1814, UKENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2342, fols. 95–96.

2. For the 2 April 1814 proclamation aimed at American slaves, see p. 60; for the 25 April 1814 proclamation that extended the blockade to include New England, see Niles' Weekly Register, 14 May 1814.

3. For more on British strategy in 1813–14, see Morriss, Cockburn, chapter 3.

VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N., TO  
GOVERNOR-GENERAL SIR GEORGE PREVOST

HMS. *Asia*, Bermuda 11th. March 1814

Sir,

I have the honor to acquaint Your Excellency of my arrival at Bermuda, to Succeed Admiral Sir John Warren in the Command of His Majesty's Ships on the Coast of America, from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, and I take this early occasion of assuring Your Excellency of my most cordial concurrence in every measure that can be conducive to the good of His Majesty's Service; Rear Admiral Griffiths<sup>1</sup> will have my directions to Second your views to the utmost of his power,— And I hope to be able to make a very considerable diversion in



Alexander F. I. Cochrane

the Chesapeake Bay, to draw off in part the Enemy's Efforts against Canada— It is my intention to fortify one of the Islands in the Chesapeake, to facilitate the desertion of the Negroes, and their Families, who are to have their choice of either entering into His Majesty's Service, or to be Settled with their Families at Trinidad or in the British American Provinces— Recruiting Parties are to be Sent from all the West India Regiments to Bermuda, and those who may choose to enlist, are to have their Wives and Families Provided for in the same manner, as those permitted to attend the Regiments abroad, by which it is hoped in a certain time the Regiments will furnish their own Recruits— As two additional Battalion of Marines are on their way out, with the Recruits I expect to raise from the Negroes joined to the 102 Regt. all of which will be under the immediate Command of Major General Conran,<sup>2</sup> I hope to be able to Keep the Enemy in a constant alarm so as to prevent their sparing any part of their Military force from the State, South of the Delaware, which if I succeed in, I do not believe from the temper of the Eastern states that they will be able to recruit their Army from thence— I have the honor to remain &c

(Signed) A. Cochrane

LB, UKENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2349, pp. 1-2.

1. Rear Admiral Edward Griffith, R.N., commanded the British naval forces in the northern division of the North American Station, extending from Nantucket Island to the St. Lawrence River.

2. Cochrane was mistaken. Major General Robert Ross, not Major General Henry Conran, would lead the British expeditionary force in the Chesapeake in August and September 1814.

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO  
ADMIRAL SIR JOHN B. WARREN, R.N.

No. 56

*Albion* in Lynhaven Bay the 26th. March 1814.

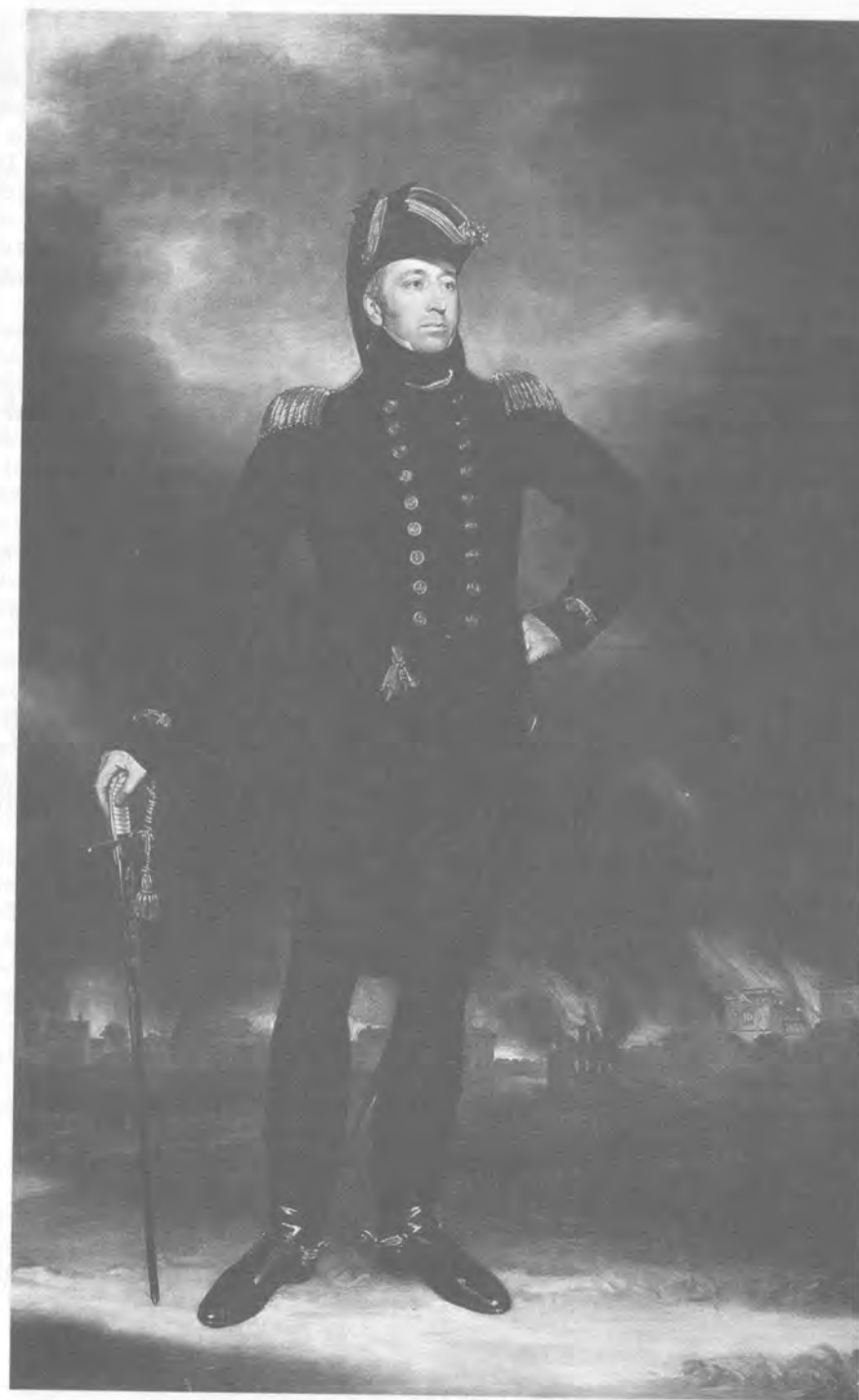
Sir,

I have the Honor to inform you that the *Canso* arrived here on the 14th. Instant, the deficient State of her Sails, Spars Provisions &c. obliging her to quit her Station off Ocracoke and return to Port, and her Commander<sup>1</sup> very judiciously thinking it might prove convenient to the Service if he called here instead of proceeding direct for Bermuda, to give me an Opportunity of forwarding any Dispatches or Communications I might have for you.

As I was in hourly expectation of the Return of the *Acteon* or *Sophie* and had nothing at the Moment of material Importance to detail, I determined to keep the *Canso* a few days to ensure to me a ready Communication with you in the event of the Vessels so expected by me, bringing any Dispatches or Instructions from you requiring answers or Explanations—

An Easterly Wind having however now blown for some days, I am induced to give up the Hope of hearing from you so soon and have therefore directed the *Canso* to proceed to join you without further loss of Time taking under her Convoy a Spanish Brig detained by the Squadron here for Breach of Blockade.

Since my last Communication dated the 28th. Ultimo<sup>2</sup> nothing very material has occurred in this neighbourhood; After the Ships were completed with Water I sent



George Cockburn

the *Armide* with the *Jaseur* and two Schooners up the Chesapeake, they however had no opportunity of effecting any thing excepting Landing in different Parts and procuring Supplies of fresh Provisions for the People— The *Adams* I am sorry to say (as suspected by Captain Barrie) certainly went to Sea in January last, The Flotilla of small Craft for the defence of the upper part of the Chesapeake is I understand no longer kept up, the large Armed Schooners which were hired by the Government being now again in the employ of the Merchants as Privateers or Letters of Marque, and there being only a few Gun Boats kept for the defence of the upper parts of the Rivers, nothing therefore is to be seen moving in any part of the Bay; there are however (I am told) two Sloops of War nearly ready for Sea in the Patapsco, though the large Frigate building there gets on but slowly.<sup>3</sup>

The *Constellation* is as usual under Orders to put to Sea, but remains in her old position with the Gun Boats above the Forts<sup>4</sup> near Norfolk.

I have sent the *St. Lawrence* to take a turn to the Southward as far as Cape Lookout in Consequence of the *Canso's* being forced to quit that Ground, the *Dragon* and *Armide* are now cruising outside, and the *Acasta* which Ship only arrived last Night from off the Delaware (having been relieved there by *Niemen*) I have sent with *Jaseur* to complete her water (of which she was very short) at New Point Comfort; when she returns I propose to call the *Dragon* in and to go in this Ship taking one of the Frigates with me, to the Southward, to see what can be done along the Coast, as the Equinoctial Gales are beginning to break up and I have no doubt the Weather will now soon settle, it has certainly hitherto been unusually severe and unsteady.

Different Flags of Truce have brought to me Letters of which I have herewith the Honor to transmit Copies, as well as Copies of my Answers to them,<sup>5</sup> I have been induced not to throw difficulties in the way of the Gottenburgh Negotiation, as I observe Lord Castlereagh's<sup>6</sup> Letter on the subject to the American Secretary of State<sup>7</sup> says that Instructions have been sent to you to facilitate it, but I confess I should feel more at ease in acting hereon if I could receive some Communication from you on the Subject.

The Letter from Colonel Gayle<sup>8</sup> informing me that the Legislature of Virginia and the Executive Government have established Regulations respecting Slaves eloping to His Majesty's Ships, has induced me to suspend ('till your further Pleasure is known) the indulgence hitherto granted them of Visiting our Ships in search of them

I enclose Letters which have been brought at different Times bearing your address, that from Colonel Barclay I answered as per Enclosure No. 2<sup>9</sup>

I have now only to beg your attention to the quantity of Provisions remaining in His Majesty's Ships here, as if you do not intend to relieve them, it is absolutely necessary no time should be lost in sending again Transports with Fresh Supplies; Since the 12th. I have put them to Two thirds Allowance of Bread, to make that Article hold out with the other Species, it is right I should also add that the *Dragon* has but one Bower Anchor left, and indeed is so reduced in every description of Stores (having been now about eight Months from Port) that it would I think prove more advantageous to the Service if in your power to relieve her. I have the Honor to be Sir Your very faithful and Most Obedt. Humble Servt.

G: Cockburn Rear Admiral

LS, UKENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2333, fols. 6–9.

1. Lieutenant Wentworth P. Croke, R.N.

2. Cockburn informed Warren that after watering his ships he would "take such steps for the General Annoyance of the Enemy," Cockburn to Warren, 28 Feb. 1814, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 10, Vol. 24, p. 11 (Reel 6).

3. Sloops of war *Erie* and *Ontario* and frigate *Java*.

4. Forts Nelson and Norfolk.

5. A marginal note in the letter book copy states that Cockburn forwarded letters from James Monroe and Lieutenant Colonel Levin Gayle as well as Cockburn's replies. Enclosures not found.

6. Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, was British foreign secretary.

7. James Monroe.

8. Lieutenant Colonel Levin Gayle commanded the Sixty-first Regiment (Mathews County) of the Virginia militia.

9. Enclosures not found. Born in New York City in 1753, Thomas H. Barclay chose the loyalist cause in 1776, distinguishing himself in the Loyal American Regiment and Provincial Light Infantry during the American Revolution. After the war, he settled in Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, where he pursued a political career and was named lieutenant colonel of the Royal Nova Scotia Regiment. In 1799 he returned to New York as British consul general, and, at the beginning of the War of 1812, he was appointed agent for prisoners in America.

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO  
VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N.

Private

*Albion* in the Chesapeak 2 April 1814

My dear Sir Alexander—

Allow me in the first Instance to offer you my Congratulations on your appointment to this Command, & particularly at your having it unburthened with West India Concerns,<sup>1</sup> and next I have to thank you for the Letters you were kind enough to write to me by the *Superb*, giving me a general outline of your Ideas & Plans<sup>2</sup> which (added to the wish you expressed respecting Troubridge) has induced me to order *Armide* at once to proceed to join you, as it is evident whilst making such extensive arrangements for operations in this neighborhood, you will require much local Information & I know nobody more equal to give it you than Troubridge, who has had so long a Spell here and has so often visited the different Points to which your first Operations will naturally be directed— I have also endeavored to make him completely Master of my Ideas on the several subjects to which your Letters referred, and his seeing you quickly is therefore, in my opinion, an Object as desirable on public grounds as private

The places you have pointed out to me, as fit for Posts for receiving the Refugee Negroes &c., will not I think any of them answer (as Sir Thos. Troubridge will explain to you—) those near the Main being not only within Shell Range but within Pistol Shot & indeed hardly to be said to be divided from it—and Sharp's Island being too far distant from those parts of the Country, from which alone we find the Slaves inclined to emigrate; The Spot therefore which seems most likely to answer for the several objects in view, is an Island, or rather Islands situated nearly in the middle of the Chesapeak, of which I enclose you herewith a Plan I caused to be taken of them last year;<sup>3</sup> they are a little on this Side of the Potowmac surrounded by the districts from which the negroes always come, and our Ships laying near them will be in as good a



Situation as possible for blockading every part of the Chesapeak except Norfolk and the James & York Rivers. My only fear is, as to their being able to supply as much water as may be necessary, the *Barrosa* & *Narcissus* however watered there last year & I am in great Hopes that we shall find enough by digging a number of Wells, and if they should at any time fail us unexpectedly, our Watering place at New Point Comfort is so near as to make this a matter of less moment than it otherwise would be & George's Island in the Potowmac is equally near & easy of access, which affords plenty of Wood & Water—

In the furtherance of your Plans I have therefore taken Lt. Fenwick,<sup>4</sup> with his Tools &c. into this Ship, & shall proceed tomorrow up the Bay to these Islands and if they prove on examination to be as eligible for the purpose as I hope to find them, we will immediately commence operations, should they however offer Difficulties of which I am not at present aware, We will visit every other part of the Chesapeak & fix on that which appears to be least objectionable, and in a few days I will let you know by the *Rattler* Sloop (which I keep with me for this purpose) the Result of our Observations

If you attach importance to forming a Corps of these Blacks to act against their former Masters, I think My dear Sir your Proclamation should not so distinctly hold out to them the option of being sent as free settlers to British Settlements,<sup>5</sup> which they will most certainly all prefer to the Danger & Fag of joining us in Arms; in the Temptations I now hold out to them I shall therefore only mention generally our willingness & readiness to receive & Protect them, and to put arms in their Hands if they chuse to use them in conjunction with us, The Black Regiments from the West Indies, may very probably have great effect amongst them, but Blacky hereabouts is naturally neither very valorous nor very active—

There are as Troubridge will explain to you a few Inhabitants on the Islands the occupation of which I now Contemplate, I shall of course assure them of Protection both for their Persons & Property, but you will oblige me by informing me by the first opportunity, how far I may venture to promise them or others in similar situations (who receive us kindly & assist us as far as may be in their Power) Indemnification for any Losses which they may unavoidably sustain from our occupying their grounds & Property

As to Provisions we cannot count upon commanding any, of any description whatever; since my arrival here the American Govr.<sup>6</sup> has refused to the People of Richmond to send a Barrel of Flour to their Friends at Norfolk, though we are laying in the outer part of Lynhaven Bay, and so strictly are the Embargo Laws enforced that I do not believe a single Vessel has escaped with cargo since the Bill was passed, this probably will not last much longer, but in all our operations we must make our arrangements for food quite independent of what we may hope to procure from the Enemy, which if any thing, must always be extremely precarious 'till we are in sufficient Force to occupy a considerable extent of Country, and with respect to Cattle, it is with great difficulty we manage now & then to get a fresh meal for the Crews of the few Ships now acting here, & the Americans are in the Habit of turning their Cattle loose into the Woods whenever they observe us approaching the Shore or hear of our landing— Captain Paget assured me a Victualler was on the way to this place under convoy of the *Loire*, if however she should not have left Bermuda before *Armide* arrives I must beg you my dear Sir to hurry her off, or we shall be all in great distress here. we have been for some time at  $\frac{3}{4}$ d. Allowance of Bread & must soon re-

duce to the same of Spirits and the Negroes must for the moment encrease the Evil— the Ships are likewise in great Want of Candles & other necessities which perhaps you will not be much surprized at when I add that *Armide* now going in has been here Nine Months, *Dragon* eight Months. This Ship has been from Halifax (her last port) since the 20th. October last and I believe most of the Ships on the Coast bear about an equal Proportion of Sea Service, which arises from what I am happy to observe you have already noticed to the Admiralty, namely, the inefficiency of Force employed on the Station, for its extent and the Service necessarily required on it, of which nobody in England & particularly at the Admiralty seem to have the most distant Idea—and now I am on this subject I must beg to draw your attention to a Point on which I wrote soon after my first arrival on this Station but I am sorry to say to no purpose, which is to state the very great advantage which would be derived from having Bomb Ships with us in these Waters there is not a Fort, from Norfolk to Baltimore that has a Bombproof Casement in it or a Splinter proof— there is not a Fort or Battery within the same extent which a Line of Battle Ship or even a frigate drawing upwards of three Fathoms, can approach within battering distance, nor is there one against which a Bomb Ship drawing twelve or thirteen feet Water might not be advantageously placed & under the immediate Cover of a Line of Battle Ship; I am sure I need say no more to point out the propriety of sending Vessels of this Description here, instead of which, they will persist in sending us Rockets & Rocket Vessels which though of use in their way & tolerably good against a Column of Men are of no more to throw against a Fort than a toasted Biscuit would be.—

The force you mention to be under orders for this Country till the opening of the St. Lawrence is quite enough I really believe, to march to Washington if they like, but when the Soldiers go away and we are left with the Marines & Black Men, my only hope will be that General Conran may prove a very different Man to the General we had here last Year,<sup>7</sup> for from what I observed it will not answer to have regular officers with irregular Troops no more than perhaps unscientific officers would do with regular Troops,— Sir Thos. Troubridge will explain to you more fully my Meaning on this Point, the Experience of last year making me consider it as an imperious Duty to touch thus early on a subject, to which from what I have seen, I cannot but attach the highest Importance

The whole of these Shores are as usual in a wretched state of Defence and excepting at Norfolk, I do not think there are any Regulars doing Duty, but as to the exact Force at the different Points it is impossible to ascertain, During the present Embargo—which has greatly interrupted our former Sources of Information

The Stores of Tobacco, Flour the Foundries &c. if any such still exist on these Shores (which I much doubt) they are only close to or in the principal Towns and only to be got at by occupying the latter—which are generally so placed that Ships of large draft of Water cannot approach them— the Foundry I destroyed last year is I am told the only one in the Upper part of the Chesapeak,<sup>8</sup> there is a very grand one at Richmond but I fear it will be difficult to get at— I do not think any Yankee Senator or Member of Congress worth half the Money you seem inclined to give for them but I will try what is to be done in the way you mention

With respect to the Naval Force requisite for the Chesapeak it must of course depend on the Operations to be conducted in it, of which you must naturally

be better able to judge than myself, for the mere business of the Blockade a Line of Battle Ship, Two frigates & two small Craft are I think fully sufficient—especially during Summer whilst we have long days & short Nights.

I have now I believe adverted generally to every Point mentioned in your two Letters but must refer you to Sir Thos. Troubridge for any more minute Details you may wish; I cannot however close this Letter without assuring you how much I have been gratified by the flattering Expressions towards myself personally, with which you were good enough to commence your first Letter; and I beg you to believe the anxious solicitude with which I shall invariably endeavor to forward & maintain all your Views & Wishes, so long as I continue on this Station, but the Conduct of the Admiralty towards me, inclines me rather to think that they are not very anxious I should remain here, and induces me to take the Liberty of asking you direct whether they have not empowered you to make arrangements for my Return Home in the Event of my wishing it?

I have begged Troubridge to give you my opinion respecting the Fire eating Hero you have offered to send to my assistance, he is much too Great a Man for me— I am My dear Sir with great Regard Your very faithful & Obedt. Hum: Sert.

G: Cockburn

ALS, UKENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2574, fols. 91–99.

1. When the Admiralty appointed Cochrane to replace Warren as commander of the North American Station, it removed the West India theater from his responsibility.

2. These letters were not found in Cochrane's or Cockburn's letter books. Apparently both Cochrane and Warren wrote to George Cockburn in March and *Superb* delivered their letters on 31 March. These Cochrane letters were not entered in the Cockburn letter book, possibly because of their private or secret nature.

3. This plan was not found.

4. Lieutenant J. H. Fenwick, Royal Engineers, assisted in fortifying Tangier Island until his departure in August 1814.

5. Cochrane issued his proclamation on 2 April 1814, the same date of this letter, and therefore did not have the benefit of Cockburn's advice. Cochrane offered the American slaves the opportunity to take up arms or settle in the West Indies or British North America. For this proclamation, see p. 60.

6. James Barbour was governor of Virginia during the War of 1812.

7. Cockburn is referring to Colonel Sir Thomas S. Beckwith, British army.

8. Cecil or Principio Foundry, Maryland. Dudley, *Naval War of 1812*, Vol. 2, pp. 342–43.

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO  
ADMIRAL SIR JOHN B. WARREN, R.N.

No. 60.

*Albion* in Tangier Bay  
Chesapeake—13th. April 1814.

Sir,

I have the Honor to inform you that in consequence of the Communications I received by the *Superb*, I came up to this Neighbourhood on the 4th. Instant and having examined the channel to Tangier Bay and found it to be quite safe and practicable I caused the *Albion* to be moved to this Anchorage on the 6th., placing her in a perfectly secure Berth in 13 Fathoms Water about a Mile to the Eastward of the South end of Tangier Island, on which I have much satisfaction

in stating to you, excellent Water has been readily found in every part where we have dug for it, and is consequently to be obtained in any quantity; and this being the only Island (as I am informed) which produces such good Water as well as the only one hereabouts to which our large Ships can be placed conveniently close, and at which our Boats can Land with perfect facility at all Times and in all Weather, added to its situation offering in my opinion very great advantages over any other Island in the Chesapeake for favoring the Views and Operations contemplated; I have (in furtherance of the suggestions sent to me) taken possession of it, and commenced on it under Lieutenant Fenwick's superintendency the work of which I herewith enclose a Plan,<sup>1</sup> which we conceive will be deemed sufficiently strong when the advantage of its Position, the distance of the Island from the Main, and the probable constant vicinity of some of our Ships is considered.— We have likewise just completed an advanced Redoubt, and are building Guard Houses &c. the forwarding of which Works will be materially assisted by our having luckily Captured a Schooner in the Potowmack the other day, loaded with Lumber and Shingles, which I immediately purchased in your Name from the Captors for the Account of Government, as I shall continue to do any thing more which may be taken likely to prove beneficial to the new establishment instead of allowing it to be sent for Sale to Bermuda, which I trust will prove to be in conformity with your wishes and Intentions in this Respect.

From the *Albion's* present Position Smiths' Point Light House bears W.N.W. about 5 or 6 Leagues and the Main Land of the Eastern Shore is about the same distance from us, we therefore perfectly command the View of both sides the Chesapeake and the Entrance of the Potowmack, one of our Ships being also constantly in the Main Channel West of Tangier Island, which places her about half way between us and the Light House it becomes almost impracticable for any thing whatever to slip by us, a Sloop from Norfolk attempted the other day in a fresh Southerly Wind to get past between Watts Island and the Eastern Shore, but the Boats cut her off at the upper part of that Channel and brought her out; indeed it appears to me that in addition to the other Views for which we have occupied this Situation there is no other within the Capes which we could take up with our present force, more likely to create essential Annoyance to the Enemy and to facilitate our endeavours to enforce the Blockade and to stop his usual Communications by Water.

Tangier Island however I am sorry to have to add does not produce more than is necessary for the immediate support of the few poor Inhabitants who live on it, although there is pasture on it and the adjacent Islands attached to it, sufficient to support several Hundred Head of Cattle if brought here; Watts Island which is on our Eastern side (about four Miles from us) of which I have also taken possession, furnishes plenty of Wood (though but bad Water) and is rather more fertile than this, but it is right I should add that as I before expected, none of the Islands can possibly afford a supply of Provisions of any Importance, or at all to be counted on as facilitating in any way the feeding of a large body of Men; fish is however (I am told) as well as quantities of Oysters constantly to be got amongst them, and I am assured by the Inhabitants of this Island that it is very healthy, which assertion their appearance justifies or I should otherwise have been inclined to doubt it, as it is chiefly Swampy low Land intersected with numerous Creeks and Marshes, but these being all Salt Water and kept in constant Motion by the Tides it seems prevents their produc-



ing any pernicious effects— For any more minute particulars which you may wish to have concerning the Place I beg to refer you to Captain Thompson of the *Rattler* who is charged with this Dispatch, and who has visited the different parts of this Island and has been in his Ship to the upper part of this deep Water Inlet, near to the next cluster of Islands which are called Smith's, and of which perhaps you may also think it right to take possession after you commence operations, but at present it is too much out of the way for me to make other use of than sending occasionally to it for small Supplies of Stock.

The Small Draft<sup>2</sup> I sent by *Armide* of this Bay and the Tangier and Watts Islands, is sufficiently correct to give you a tolerably good Idea of it, tho' the Shape and size of this Island is very incorrectly drawn in it.— As a guide to Strangers arriving I have placed Buoys on both sides the Channel and a Schooner in five Fathoms on the Southmost Points of each of the Shoals, which Schooners bear from each other NEbE and SWbW.—

The *Narcissus* arrived here on 11th. from off the Delaware Captain Pym having ordered her in, on account of her being without Fuel or Candles, the former I have directed Captain Lumley to get immediately from Watts Island and I have given him a small temporary supply of the latter from this Ship, intending to keep him with me a little while in the hope of an arrival from Bermuda enabling me to assist him more effectually; in which should I be disappointed I propose sending him to you with my next Communications.

The *Dragon* and *St. Lawrence* I have sent up the Chesapeake to see what force the Enemy has and what he seems to be about in the Neighbourhood of Annapolis and Kent Island, and to cause him any Check or annoyance which Captain Barrie may find to be in his power.

I sent the *Jaseur* soon after my arrival here to Land some Black men who volunteered for a small bribe to go to the Main for the purpose of spreading amongst their Brethren the intelligence of our having established ourselves here, and our readiness to receive protect and assist them and put Arms in their Hands, the *Jaseur* remained some days after landing them hovering about the Mouths of the Rivers and close to the Shore to cover and favor the escape of any that might chuse to come off to her, but none having made their appearance she has just returned to me, and as I think it possible that her want of Success in this point may have proceeded from her appearance so close to the Shore having occasioned an additional degree of Vigilance on the part of the Americans near the Coast; I shall employ her on other Service for a day or two; I however confess that I much doubt your procuring the Number of Black Recruits you seem to expect, 'till you actually establish yourself in some force on the Main Land— I have now altogether about Fifty of them and as soon as our Works are a little further advanced, I shall begin to form and drill them, they pretend to be very bold and very ready to join us in any expedition against their old Masters.

I must now again Sir beg to draw your Attention to the small quantity of Provisions and Necessaries remaining in the Ships here; I cannot at this Moment send you an Abstract of the Weekly Accounts owing to the Ships being so dispersed but I enclose a return of the Provisions remaining in this Ship<sup>3</sup> and you will observe by the last Abstract (sent the other day by the *Armide*) that the other Ships are but little better off, and when you consider that we have these Black People to feed in addition to our own Complements, you will perceive the Inconvenience which will be likely to arise if a supply does not arrive within a fortnight;

I have however put the whole to  $\frac{3}{4}$ ds. Allowance and you may depend on my doing the best within my power to prevent any very serious Mischief arising to

our operations herefrom, with which View I shall begin before it is too late to send Ship after Ship to Bermuda always reducing the one I send to the least possible quantity necessary for carrying her safe in. I have the Honor to be Sir Your very faithful and Most Obedt. Humble Servt.—

G Cockburn Rear Admiral

LS, UkENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2333, fols. 18–23. Cockburn was still writing to Warren because he had not yet received official notice that the command of the North American Station had devolved to Cochrane. The official transfer took place on 1 April, but Cockburn did not acknowledge receiving the notice until 28 April. Cockburn to Cochrane, 28 Apr. 1814, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 10, Vol. 24, p.70 (Reel 6).

1. A British plan for Tangier Island showing Fort Albion is found in UkENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2326, fol. 288B.

2. This sketch was not found.

3. This enclosure was not found.

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO CAPTAIN ROBERT BARRIE, R.N.

HM Ship *Albion* Monday Morning 25 April 1814

Dear Sir

I have directed the *Albion's* Men to be withdrawn from the *Erie* and desired Lt. Fitzmaurice to join you forthwith and to consider himself in future as entirely & exclusively attached to the *Dragon*, you will therefore put into her such Crew as you may deem advisable & then taking her with you I wish you to proceed in the *Dragon* into the Potowmac, to ascertain whether the Enemy has any force there within our reach, and to do him any Mischief, which you may find to be within your Power either at St. Marys or in any other part of the River below the Kettle Bottoms, after which you are to return again to your Anchorage off Tangier Island and I shall have your orders made out to proceed to Bermuda to refit & Victual, should not Vessels previously arrive from thence with Supplies—

I propose sending the *St. Lawrence* also into the Potowmac to assist you, after she has recalled the *Narcissus* for me & received some Provisions of which, she is I believe in immediate Want—

The *Jaseur* returned last Night having ascertained that there is not a passage into the Chesapeak to the Northwd. of us, but a deep channel runs up to the Head of this Bight, that is till Hoopers Straits bears West, into which however you cannot carry more than two fathoms Water, at high Water—& through Cages Straits<sup>1</sup> only one & half— they brought down with them three Schooners taken out of Hoopers Straits but I am sorry to say all light— I am my dear Sir very faithfully yours

G: Cockburn

ALS, MiU-C, Robert Barrie Papers.

1. Probably Kedges Straits.



REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO  
ADMIRAL SIR JOHN B. WARREN, R.N.

No. 64.

*Albion* in Tangier Bay  
Chesapeake—27th. April 1814

Sir,

Being still disappointed in the Hopes which I had been led to entertain of either soon seeing a Ship of War arrive from Port to relieve the *Dragon*, or a Transport with Provisions &c. to relieve the now pressing necessities of the whole Squadron in the Chesapeake; I feel that I must no longer detain the *Narcissus* and therefore having reduced her Provision to one fortnight's I have directed Captain Lumley to take charge of two Prizes and to proceed with them to Bermuda, there to Victual and refit the *Narcissus* and to receive further Orders from you.

I have no Communications of importance to make to you since my last by the *Rattler*—<sup>1</sup>

The *Belvidera* arrived here on the 14th. Instant having been detached by Captain Paget of the *Superb* from Sandy Hook to draw the *Narcissus* from the Delaware Station to that of Sandy Hook, but the *Narcissus* having previously come to this Anchorage for Supplies Captain Byron followed her here; Enclosed I transmit a Copy of my Letter to Captain Paget which will fully explain to you my Opinion on this Subject and the decision I was induced to make on it, and in consequence of which the *Belvidera* returned immediately with my Letter to Captain Paget.<sup>2</sup>

The *Dragon* returned a few days ago from the upper parts of the Chesapeake no opportunity having offered for effecting any thing of importance against the Enemy in that quarter; There is nothing in Annapolis, nor did there appear to be any force on Kent Island or in its Neighbourhood; The Sloops of War<sup>3</sup> which were ready at Baltimore and which indeed had come part of the way down the Chesapeake have returned again into the Patapsco and are I am informed dismantled and laid up for the Summer— The *Dragon* is now gone up the Potomack to observe the state of the Enemy in that Neighbourhood and see if any thing offers for us to do thereabouts, immediately she returns I must (should supplies not arrive) send her in, and I am sorry to add that the *Albion* must follow her almost immediately, which will be the more distressing as in that case all we have done on this Island will most probably be destroyed though I shall endeavour by Means of the Frigates, Sloop and Schooner (which can hold out a little longer than us) to keep the Enemy from getting possession of the Island as long as possible, in the hope that each succeeding day may be at least the more likely to bring Supplies from Bermuda.

We have now above an Hundred Negroes, Men, Women and Children who are rather an Inconvenience than advantage to us in our present distressed state for Provisions and Necessaries, as they are all Victualled from this Ship, over and above the Complement for which latter we have now (as you will observe by the Returns) only 9 Days Bread, 7 Days Beef and 12 Days Spirits— I have therefore been induced to take out of the Prizes an Hundred Barrels of Flour literally to secure us from the danger of Starving and should it be used I think Sir you will see the Justice of allowing the Captors Agents the same Price for it as that now sent may actually fetch at Bermuda— I have likewise supplied the Engineer<sup>4</sup> with a Cargo of Lumber and have sent his Receipt to the

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Agents directing them to wait upon you to learn your Pleasure as to obtaining payment for it.

We still continue to be plentifully supplied with Water and have had occasional Supplies of fresh Beef & Fish, but on this and all other Points relative to holding these Islands, the observations I have been enabled to make since Anchoring here only tend to confirm the several Opinions I have already had the Honor of submitting to you thereon I have the Honor to be Sir Your very faithful and Most obedient Humble Servant

G: Cockburn Rear Admiral

I enclose an Abstract of the State and Condition of His Majestys Ships remaining here, together with a particular Return of their Provisions.<sup>5</sup>

G: Cockburn

LS, UkENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2333, fols. 39–42.

1. See pp. 46–49.

2. Cockburn to Charles Paget, 15 Apr. 1814, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 10, Vol. 25, fols. 5–7 (Reel 7).

3. *Erie* and *Ontario*.

4. Lieutenant J. H. Fenwick, Royal Engineers.

5. This enclosure was not found with the cover letter.

VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N., TO  
REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N.

No. 4

Bermuda 28th April 1814

Sir,

Your Dispatch by the *Rattler* addressed to Sir John Warren has been received & I am happy to find that you consider the Situation of Tangiers Island to possess so many advantages.<sup>1</sup> I presume that long before this Date the *Loire* will have arrived with the Transport laden with Provisions,<sup>2</sup> which Vessel will be of use to receive such of the Black Volunteers on board as may not be fit for Military Purposes— Those who enlist I think may be allowed a bounty of say Twenty Dollars to serve either on board or ashore, or in the Dock Yards, they will also receive the pay & Clothing of Marines. I will furnish you with Money to facilitate their enlistment before they come here as those now at Ireland<sup>3</sup> are beginning to be troublesome & all wanting to go to Halifax— The first object is to raise Volunteers to Garrison the Island<sup>4</sup> the Supernumeraries only to come here. You are at perfect liberty as soon as you can muster a Sufficient force, to act with the utmost Hostility against the shores of the United States— Their Government authorizes & directs a most destructive War to be carried on against our Commerce & we have no means of retaliating but on shore, where they must be made to feel in their Property, what our Merchants do in having their Ships destroyed at Sea; & taught to know that they are at the mercy of an invading foe. This is now the more necessary in order to draw off their attention from Canada, where I am told they are sending their whole military force—

Their Sea Port Towns laid in Ashes & the Country wasted will be some sort of a retaliation for their savage Conduct in Canada; where they have destroyed our Towns, in the most inclement Seasons of the Year; it is therefore but just, that Retaliation shall be made near to the Seat of their Government from whence those Orders emanated, you may depend upon my most cordial Support in whatever you may undertake against the Enemy— I have directed my Secretary Mr. Balhetchet to furnish you with 2000 Pounds Stg. (if so much is to be procured) to answer for the Contingent Expences of the Squadron, to pay for information & bringing off Persons of Political Interest attached to the Democratic party, to be held as Hostages for those they Keep in confinement to Suffer, should the British Traitors found in Arms against their Country suffer death— This Money will also be applicable to purchase fresh provisions from those willing to Supply the Squadron; for such as may be taken off the shore by force, no remuneration is to be paid to the Individuals, the fair Market price will be allowed for it by Government & the amount distributed as other Captured property— All the Lumber used in the Fortifications & buildings I will order to be paid for at the same rate, as if the Prizes had been Sent here & the Country Provisions you may find necessary to take for the Supply of the Negroes, for all of which you will keep a regular account.

I presume that you have had in view the building of a Magazine & a Store for your Provisions, also an Hospital, let me Know if the Materials can be had upon the Spot— A Magazine made of Logs, well fitted together Say four feet thick, with 8 or 10 feet of Earth above would I think be perfectly secure; but of this Lt. Fenwick will be the best judge— It is not my wish nor is it necessary to establish those works on a permanent plan but to answer for the local purposes of this War, expedition is the principal thing to be attended to

The *Saturn* takes about thirty thousand ball cartridges any farther supply you may require, will be sent, also more Arms when hands can be found to use them. I will also send you uniform cloathing, to answer for their temporary purposes. As Captain Nash is going to take the command of the blockading Squadron off New York, I wish him to be delayed as short a time as possible, the *Loire* I presume is gone to her station.<sup>5</sup> The Families of Artificers willing to engage in the Dock yards, will be victualled until they can provide themselves, and if the Women and Children are industrious, they will be paid for the work, such as picking Oakum &c. Those not willing to come under engagements, or to enter into the West India Regiments, may be sent direct to Halifax in the Transport. I wish none to come here but those willing to engage for a term of years, not under five, unless they prefer going to Trinidad instead of nova Scotia, in which case you may let them come here with the others: let the list be made out perfectly clear, and those who enter either for the Colonial marines, or to serve in the yards must sign regular enlistments. Whenever the Americans may d[r]ive down Cattle, or any other Stock with an intention of drawing our People into ambush to fire upon them, you will take the earliest opportunity of retaliating upon them by the destruction and laying waste of whatever property there may be near to the spot where the ambush was laid. In addition to the Ball Cartridges before mentioned, the *Saturn* will take 4. 18 pr. long Guns, compleat and 4. 12 pr. Carronades compleat, with 100 rounds of ammunition: and if they can be got from the yard in time four whip saws, and 4 cross cut saws, and 2 seines for the use of the establishment on shore, which may save a considerable

expende to Government in the victualling of negroes. I have the honor to be &c.

Sigd. A Cochrane

LB, UkENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2349, pp. 29–32. Another letter book copy is in DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 14, Vol. 38, pp. 259–65 (Reel 9). A marginal note on the Cochrane version indicates it was sent via *Saturn* on 6 May 1814; a note on the Cockburn letter book copy states it was received on 14 May. Areas that were unreadable on the Cochrane film were supplied using the Cockburn letter book.

1. See Cockburn to Warren, 13 Apr. 1814, pp. 46–49.
2. The provisions finally arrived on 29 April. Cockburn to Cochrane, 29 Apr. 1814, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 10, Vol. 24, p. 70 (Reel 6).
3. Ireland Island, one of the Bermuda Islands.
4. Tangier Island.
5. Cockburn had kept *Loire* in the Chesapeake.

## Barney Confronts Manpower Shortages and Inferior Vessels

By April 1814 Joshua Barney was eager to test his fledgling flotilla on a shakedown cruise. Responding to the commodore's numerous entreaties for more men, Secretary of the Navy Jones transferred most of the crew of *Ontario* to the Chesapeake squadron. On sailing from Baltimore on 17 April, Barney's vessels revealed significant deficiencies. The gunboats and the smaller class of barges, especially, were taking on too much water. After returning to Baltimore to remedy the defects and secure more men, Barney descended the bay again, but this time with fifteen craft—sloop *Scorpion*, Gunboats No. 137 and No. 138, and twelve barges. Look-outs reported the British squadron operating between Tangier Island and Smith Point. Meanwhile, Barney experimented with improving conditions on his "miserable tools."<sup>1</sup>

By April 1814 the Navy Department recognized the need to regularize the flotilla service that it had established the previous summer to respond to the British coastal threat. In August 1813, Jones had appointed Barney an acting master commandant in the navy with the distinct and separate command of a flotilla in the upper Chesapeake. On 26 April 1814, the department sent Barney a commission, dated 25 April, as a captain in the flotilla service. Barney's two lieutenants, Solomon Rutter and Solomon Frazier, who had been appointed acting lieutenants in the navy, were formally commissioned as lieutenants in the flotilla service in April.<sup>2</sup>

1. The most comprehensive history of the Chesapeake Bay flotilla is Shomette, *Flotilla*.
2. DNA, RG45, AOR, 15 May 1813–23 Nov. 1815, p. 165 (T829, Roll No. 382).

ACTING MASTER COMMANDANT JOSHUA BARNEY TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Baltimore April 4th. 1814

Sir,

I had the honor of receiving your letter of the 29th Ulto.<sup>1</sup> and shall be extremely happy in having the number of my men increased. The two Barges



from Washington arrived this day, I had sent the Look-out boat to meet them with 30 additional hands for their assistance, four of the new barges from the Eastern-shore are here, and Col. Spencer the builder, will be here, (if the Weather permits,) with four more this week, the Armament for them is nearly ready, but I have been most cruelly disappointed in the delivery of the Guns (light 18 pounders) by Mr. Dorsey, he has trifled with us from the first, with promises from day to day, and it was but four days ago I was able to get from him the Guns, in fact, no dependence can be put, on his word. I believe Mr. Beatty has much reason to complain. I have heard, that Capt. Spence has received orders to transfer some men to the flotilla, (say 18) but I have not seen him— I have just heard from Mr. Frazier,<sup>2</sup> he complains that men cannot be procured on the Eastern-shore for that both parties discourage enlistments, each wishing to keep the men, for the next Elections, as they are so equally divided, that the loss of a few Votes would throw the ballance into the hands of the other party. I have given Assurances that all the Demos,<sup>3</sup> shall be there on the 1st of Octr. next to Vote, which I hope will have some effect, It would appear we have about 30 men to come over, which I shall order here next week; We were doing very well in procuring men, untill the news of raising the Embargo arrived,<sup>4</sup> but I fear that will put a total stop to it, every thing that can sail fast, will now be fitted out, and the Cupidity of our Merchants is such, that they care not, how much the City is threatened so that they can get a vessel to sea— I am Sir with respect your Obt. Servt.

Joshua Barney

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 3, No. 40 (M124, Roll No. 62).

1. No letter from Jones bearing this date was found. Barney is probably referring to the order dispatching the U.S. galley *Shark* to join his flotilla. Thomas Tingey to John Kiddall, 29 Mar. 1814, Private Collection of Captain John P. Feerick, USMC, USNR.

2. In February 1814, Solomon Frazier was appointed an acting lieutenant in the navy for separate service in the Chesapeake Bay flotilla. His commission as a lieutenant in the flotilla service dated from 26 April 1814; he was discharged in February 1815.

3. Democrats.

4. On 1 April 1814 President Madison asked Congress to repeal the trade embargo, which it did on 14 April. Stagg, *Mr. Madison's War*, p. 384.

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO  
ACTING MASTER COMMANDANT JOSHUA BARNEY

Joshua Barney Esq  
Commandant U.S. Flotilla Baltimore.

Navy Department  
April 14th: 1814

Sir,

Your letters of the 12th: and 13th: have been received.—<sup>1</sup> The Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the *Ontario*, have been ordered to Sackett's Harbour.—

The petty officers, Seamen, or ordinary Seamen and Boys belonging to that Ship are ordered to be transferred to your Command without discrimination or exception.— Capt: Spence whose state of health will not permit him to proceed will see this order punctually executed, with the exception of a petty officer & three or four men to take care of the Ship.—

Mr: Beatty will deliver to you the medicine chest of one of the Sloops, together with the instruments, the whole of which you will preserve in perfect order to be returned to the Ship when prepared for service.—

He will also deliver your purser such Slops from the *Erie* [which ship has a vast superabundance] as you may require and whatever stores of a perishable Nature may be onboard either Ship he will deliver on your requisition for the consumption of the Flotilla. The *Schr: Asp* has gone down the River with 13. 24 pdr. Cannon to be delivered at French Town and a set of mast pieces in tow for the Frigate<sup>2</sup> at Baltimore.—

I have in consequence of the information in your letter sent down to stop her.— I hope in a few days to transmit the Commissions for yourself and officers.— I am all anxiety to see you under way in order to Keep those fellows in check below.— Your present force I trust is sufficient to repel all the Boats the enemy can muster and I hope to hold his Ships uneasy under certain circumstances.—

If he enters the Potomac you must hang upon his rear.— I am respectfully &c.

W Jones.

LB, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 277 (M149, Roll No. 11).

1. Barney sought Jones's assistance in obtaining men and supplies for the flotilla and he reported news of the British sailing up the bay. Barney to Jones, 12 Apr. 1814, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 3, No. 66 (M124, Roll No. 62), and Barney to Jones, 13 Apr. 1814, *ibid.*, No. 69.

2. *Java*.

ACTING MASTER COMMANDANT JOSHUA BARNEY TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Baltimore Apl. 15th. 1814

Sir

I had the honour to receive yours of yesterday, and shall communicate the contents to Capt. Spence in the morning, the Conduct of that officer in not transferring the men, put me under the necessity of telling him that I understood it was your intention it should be done, and if so, why not, when he saw that the enemy was at the mouth of the river, in consequence of which he told me they should be sent onboard, & which was done in a manner to require censure, forty came onbd. the evening of the 13th, All drunk, & caused the greatest confusion, yesterday twenty Eight more were sent in the same situation, so that I was under the necessity of putting the most of them in Irons, (all of which has a fatal tendency) Seventeen are, returned, as in the Hospital, making in the whole Eighty five, I know not what has become of the remainder, but I shall be better informed in the morning—

Yesterday Mr. Frazier arrived from St. Michaels, he came over in an Open Barge, with 30 men for the flotilla, he passed a 74 and two Schooners, a few miles below Sandy point, and above Annapolis, they had been for two days off St. Michaels, I suppose, to hear of our Barges but finding them safe, they proceeded up the Bay, they have taken a number of Craft & set fire to them in the night, the weather has been bad all day & I have no news from below. I have



no certain news of my look out boat but rumour says, she is in some creek below, yet I fear for her safety—<sup>1</sup> I hope to move down in a few days if the weather will permit, with Seven heavy Barges, four smaller, the Scorpion, Galley, & one Gun boat— If I had the Sea fencibles, which are doing worse than nothing at the fort, I could mann five more Barges. I am with respect your Obt. Servt.

Joshua Barney

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 3, No. 80 (M124, Roll No. 62).

1. Barney's lookout boat joined him soon after this; the enemy had driven it into the Patuxent. Barney to Jones, 20 Apr. 1814, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 3, No. 98 (M124, Roll No. 62).

ACTING MASTER COMMANDANT JOSHUA BARNEY TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Off Annapolis. Apl. 18th. 1814

Sir.

Yesterday I left Baltimore with ten Barges, Scorpion. Galley & Gunboat 138. We had fresh Winds, I find the 2d class does not answer well, they shipped much water and are dangerous in any thing of a Sea— The Enemy (by information from a Craft this morning) was off Piankitank two days ago, having gone down the Bay, unless some of them were up Potomac, which he could not see, I shall return to Baltimore in the Morning, as three of the Barges, has Twisted off the head of their Rudders, they will require Rudders of more depth— I hope very shortly to be in a situation to resume my Station The remainder of my Barges are fitting at Baltimore under Mr. Rutter,<sup>1</sup> we still continue to pick up men, I hope to mann two more boats in a few days— I am respectfully your Obt. Servt.

Joshua Barney

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 3, No. 91 (M124, Roll No. 62).

1. In September 1813, Solomon Rutter was appointed an acting lieutenant in the navy for separate service in the Chesapeake Bay flotilla. His commission as a lieutenant in the flotilla service dated from 25 April 1814, and he was discharged in February 1815.

ACTING MASTER COMMANDANT JOSHUA BARNEY TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Baltimore 22d Apl. 1814

Sir

I inclose you the Copy of a letter from Govr. Wright<sup>1</sup> to the Secretary at War, respecting the Sea fencibles, I do not know what effect it will have, but I wish to leave no stone unturned to obtain men; after this effort I am done, and the blame will lay on the right person.

I would wish with your approbation to have a good Bay craft, bought or hired for the use of the flotilla,<sup>2</sup> the Barges, particularly the second class will carry but a few days provision and water, and it will never answer to come, or, send them for fresh supplies, my situation at times might put it out of my power to do so, and perhaps find myself cut off from a Communication with Baltimore or Washington, but by having such a vessel we could always keep her a going, so as to put it in my power to remain on any station which may be necessary. I am Sir respectfully your Obt. Servt.

Joshua Barney

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 3, No. 101 (M124, Roll No. 62).

1. Robert Wright was governor of Maryland from 1806 to 1809, but at the time of this letter he was serving in the U.S. House of Representatives. He asked Secretary Armstrong to transfer willing sea fencibles to the flotilla where they could aid in protecting both shores of the bay. Wright to John Armstrong, 21 Apr. 1814, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 3, No. 102 (M124, Roll No. 62).

2. Jones rejected Barney's request for a bay craft; the secretary considered Scorpion, Asp, the look-out boat, and the gunboats to be sufficient for his needs. Jones ordered Barney to convoy Asp from the mouth of the Potomac to Baltimore. Jones to Barney, 25 Apr. 1814, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 299 (M149, Roll No. 11).

CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE, TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

At Anchor. at Mouth of Patapsco 29th. Apl. 1814

Sir

Yesterday I left Baltimore, with the Scorpion, two gun boats, and twelve Barges, to proceed down the Bay, with a view of "Convoying" the Asp from Potomac, The wind from SSE has detained us: On Monday last I sent down the Look-out boat with the Galley: The Galley has just returned and informs me, that there are two Ships and several Smaller vessels of the Enemy in the Potomac; I shall proceed down with a change of wind and be guided by circumstances: I cannot remain long as we are unable to carry more than twelve days of provisions, The Asp not being with me, nor the look out boat, and it is impossible to put provisions, other than Salt, onboard the gunboats, they have no hold or place to put Bread, which is very Bulky, nor dare I trust Liquors, or small stores among the Crews of Any, but I will do the best I can; The look out boat remains below to watch the movements of the Enemy— I have left Mr. Rutter to superintend the Service in Baltimore, and have Mr. Frazier with me. I am with respect your Obt. Servt.

Joshua Barney

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 3, No. 129 (M124, Roll No. 62). On 27 April 1814 Barney acknowledged receiving his commission "as a Captain in the Flotilla Service of the United States." Barney to Jones, 27 Apr. 1814, *ibid.*, No. 121. This commission, dated 25 April 1814, was not approved by the Senate until 18 October 1814. See pp. 354–55 for the letter transmitting Barney's second commission.

1. 25 April.

CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE, TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Patuxent May 1st 1814

Sir,

This morning I left the Patapsco with the Vessels mentioned to you in mine of the 29th: Ulto. and arrived here at 4 P M, I shall send over land in the morning to "point look-out," for information respecting the Enemy; I am informed here, that a ship and two or three Schooners lay in the Potomac two days ago; my look-out boat is still below me, and I expect to hear from her tomorrow; The information I shall receive from Point look out, will determine my movements; I shall be delayed here a day, to get a Mast for one of the Barges, which was carried away coming down, we had a fresh gale down, the Second rate Barges are unsafe, as they took in much water, and swim too deep, altho I have lightened them very much since I was at Annapolis, by changing the 18 pounder for a 12, and having but a few days provision & water onboard, I am Sir with respect your Obt. Servt.

Joshua Barney

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 3, No. 138 (M124, Roll No. 62).

CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE, TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Baltimore May 11th. 1814

Sir,

Since mine of the 4th Inst.<sup>1</sup> from Patuxent, I have been with the flotilla to Potomac, where I remained part of Sunday & monday last;<sup>2</sup> I sent into St. Mary's, to obtain information of the Asp but without effect, I then concluded to send my "look-out-boat" up the Potomac to join her if possible, and to remain with her untill she got up the Bay. Previous to my leaving Patuxent I sent Gunboat 137 to Baltimore for Provisions with orders to follow me down to Patuxent; when at Potomac I found my provisions nearly expended I determined to run up the bay in hopes of meeting the Gunboat, knowing that so long as the wind was from the Southward she could not get down, nor could I get up with the flotilla with the wind from the Northward; on my arrival in Patuxent I found she was not there, which compelled me to proceed further up, and yesterday I met her just below Annapolis, the Weather being bad I continued up and arrived here at 5 PM, which was very lucky as we have had a terrible night. On examining the Bread put onboard the Gun-boat I found a great quantity has been wet by leaks in her deck, which Obliges me to take every thing out and to have her caulked, before she can serve again; indeed Sir, she and No. 138 are both such miserable tools I do not know what to do with them, they cannot carry any thing more than their own Armament, as 3500 lb. Bread fil [*filled*] bags filled her, the salt provision on deck where their men were obliged to sleep, and they sail so bad, that I am afraid to trust them out of my sight ahead or astern. I had to take every thing out of the Barges of the 2d Class, even their shot (except 15 rounds) and put it into the large boats; In going down, and whilst laying off

point look out at anchor, I was very near loosing them, as they took in great quantities of Water; to remedy which, I have concluded to have Wash-boards put round them about 8 Inches high, which will keep out the water and of course make them more safe, I am Obliged to do this as the men are very unwilling to remain in them in their present state; Could I have a vessel to carry provisions, to receive the Sick, and to put the Doctor and his Medicines onboard, it would be a great relief, as I found great Inconvenience respecting the sick when down, as there is no place on board the Barges for them, and the exposed situation of the men, causes sickness, more or less daily, indeed we must expect 20 or 30 always on the list, out of Six hundred men, in such a service, of this you can judge as well as myself. The Enemy left the Potomac on the 30th. Ulto., the last vessel being a large schooner, and carried off upwards of 100 negroes, onboard the Dragon 74; they now lay at, and about Wats Island in the Tangier sound, and in the Bay below Smiths point. I suppose they got information of the flotilla from the Russian Secretary,<sup>3</sup> as we lay in the mouth of Patuxent when the flag went down and she was spoken by my look out boats, (Galley & pilot boat). Mr. Skinner informs me that the Admiral<sup>4</sup> and also the Captain<sup>5</sup> of the Dragon enquired where I was, & said, they had heard of me, they also took a schooner which went with me down as far as Patuxent; I got the same information from a gentleman who had been landed at Point look out, who also says, they have a fort of 17 Guns on Wats Island where they have their sick &c, and about 300 negroes, Men, Women & children, that the Admiral was much onshore fishing and amusing himself. I shall get ready again without loss of time to proceed down, or as you may direct. And am with respect your Obt. Servt.

Joshua Barney

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 4, No. 25 (M124, Roll No. 63).

1. On 4 May Barney reported that a British ship of the line and three schooners had moved down the Potomac into the bay. They had sent raiding parties along the Virginia shore between the Coan River and Smith Point. Barney had remasted his barge and was ready to sail again. Barney to Jones, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 3, No. 139 (M124, Roll No. 62).

2. 7-8 May.

3. Barney is referring either to Andrei Ia. Dashkov, the Russian minister at Washington, D.C., or to the counselor of the Russian legation, Aleksei Sverchkov.

4. Rear Admiral George Cockburn, R.N.

5. Captain Robert Barrie, R.N.

## British Occupy Tangier Island and Recruit Blacks

*As second in command on the Chesapeake Station, Rear Admiral Cockburn informed Cochrane in May 1814 that he had too few vessels to accomplish all his duties: establish a base of operations on Tangier Island, blockade the entrance to the bay, and raid coastal towns and ports. Cockburn's letters to his superior exude an independent spirit, evidenced by his defending his selection of Tangier as a staging area. Cochrane gave his subordinate some leeway, but he was not so flexible as his predecessor, Admiral Warren. The new commander in chief held specific views on diplomatic and refugee slave issues. Not receiving*

*the anticipated reinforcements by the end of May, Cochrane restricted his operations to economic harassment: raiding, and enticing slaves to emigrate.*

PROCLAMATION OF VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N.

[British royal coat of arms]

*By the Honorable Sir ALEXANDER COCHRANE, K.B.  
Vice Admiral of the Red, and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels,  
upon the North American Station, &c. &c. &c.*

### A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS it has been represented to me, that many Persons now resident in the UNITED STATES, have expressed a desire to withdraw therefrom, with a view of entering into His Majesty's Service, or of being received as Free Settlers into some of His Majesty's Colonies.

*This is therefore to Give Notice,*

That all those who may be disposed to emigrate from the UNITED STATES will, with their Families, be received on board of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels of War, or at the Military Posts that may be established, upon or near the Coast of the UNITED STATES, when they will have their choice of either entering into His Majesty's Sea or Land Forces, or of being sent as FREE Settlers to the British Possessions in North America or the West Indies, where they will meet with all due encouragement.

*GIVEN under my Hand at Bermuda, this 2nd  
day of April, 1814.*

ALEXANDER COCHRANE.

*By Command of the Vice Admiral,  
WILLIAM BALHETCHET.*

GOD SAVE THE KING.

D (printed), UKLPR, Adm. 1/508, fol. 579.

VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N., TO  
REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N.

No: 1.

HMS Asia, Bermuda  
8th April 1814

Sir,

I have directed Captn. Brown of HMS *Loire* to take under her Convoy the *Lord Collingwood* Transport laden with provisions which is sent to revictual the

Squadron employed in the Blockade of the Chesapeake & for the victualling of the Refugees that may come from the Shore of the United States, this Ship when discharged, reserving a sufficiency of Provisions to come here is to be sent with as many of the Refugees as she may be able to store conveniently under Convoy of one of HM Ships to this Port, and to land them upon Ireland, when she will be ordered to return with Provisions— The quantity of the Kings provisions to be issued I must leave to you conforming as much as possible to the custom of the Army for the Women & Children— Upon the arrival of the *Loire* you will take from the *Armide*, the provisions & Stores she can spare & send her here as I require her to fit for particular Service— Another Frigate will be sent from hence to relieve the *Loire*, which Ship may if the Transport is ready see her safe into Bermuda; & afterwards proceed to Boston Bay— The other Ships now in the Chesapeake will be relieved as fast as I can find Ships to Send but they are so scattered as to leave me but little hopes of being able to collect them for some weeks— It is not my intention to allow any Ships to call here for repairs during the Summer Months having directed Commodore Evans<sup>1</sup> to employ the Artificers of the Yard solely for the Works carrying on— The Ships of the Squadron are to call here for Provisions, Water, & Stores only & to go to Halifax to make good their defects— I send you one thousand copies of a Proclamation to be circulated which I hope will induce many of the Negroes to resort to the Squadron, or to the places that may be taken possession of in the Chesapeake— If you find the number of Refugees to encrease you will take care to send for Provisions in time unless you can procure a supply of such articles as may be substituted for Kings Provisions on the Spot. I have the honor to be &c—

(Signed) A. Cochrane.

LB, UKENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2349, pp. 9–10. The docketing reads: "by *Loire* 15th April 1814." Another letter book copy is in DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 14, Vol. 38, pp. 246–47 (Reel 9). Its docketing reads: "Received 28 April 1814 *Loire*."

1. Captain Andrew F. Evans, R.N., was second in command at Bermuda.

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO  
VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N.

[Extract]

No. 3.

*Albion* in Tangier Bay Chesapeake, 9th. May 1814.

Sir,

I am honored with your Letter No. 1 under date of the 13th. Ultimo by the *Loire* acknowledging the Receipt of mine addressed to Sir John Warren up to the 3rd. April, and intimating to me your Intentions of sending the *Plantagenet* immediately to relieve the *Dragon*,<sup>1</sup> . . .

Our Establishment on Tangier Island advances as fast as I can expect with the small force I am enabled to appropriate for that particular Duty from the various other Services necessary to be attended to within the Chesapeake Waters by



the few Ships here, two of which being required constantly in Lynhaven Bay to secure the entrance and watch the offing, leaves me only two others (considering the *Albion* as one) and a Brig & Schooner to attend to this Island and to carry on the requisite offensive attacks at different and distant Places within the Bay, by which in spite of every Effort of the Enemy who cannot possibly guard every point, we manage at times to surprize his Vessels where he deems them most secure, and keep him continually on the Fret, much harrass his Militia and oblige them to be always under Arms, which is a most serious Inconvenience and annoyance to the Country in general—and therefore induces me to keep a portion of my Force constantly moving about on such Services, in preference to putting our whole strength on the Works at this Island; And as it appears to me from an Observation in your last Letter that I have not explained myself sufficiently clearly in Answer to your question as to the Naval Force requisite for the Chesapeake Blockade, it may be necessary I should embrace this opportunity of explaining to you Sir, that although I stated I conceived Two Frigates, a Line of Battle Ship &c. enough to secure the Blockade, it was strictly supposing no other object to be in view and the whole of the Ships to be placed in Lynhaven Bay, stretching across it in a Line, but for Operations as above alluded to and now open to us, I could afford full and useful employment here to twice the Number; The enclosure marked 10 is a Return of Vessels taken and destroyed since the 1st. April.<sup>2</sup>

As I have had the Honor of stating to you in my former Letters I consider under all the Circumstances that Tangier Island (particularly the end of it which I have occupied) though perhaps not without its inconveniences, is far better adapted for the purposes you contemplated than any other in the Chesapeake, and though I have no doubt the Moschettos will be numerous in the Summer time, yet I do not think it probable they will be much worse here than at the other Islands, and as we clear the Ground from the underwood they will I think be likely to quit us for the other places where there is this necessary shelter for them from the Wind when blowing fresh, particularly the Sea Breeze to which the Southern end of this Island is fully exposed, and previous to the arrival of the *Loire* (by which ship I received your Letter expressing your Doubts as to its answering in consequence of what had been told to you respecting the Moschettos &c.) I had proceeded so far in establishing here one of the Posts contemplated by you, I consider it still most advisable to continue the completion of it, and if disapproved of hereafter or found more inconvenient than I expect, it need not be kept for the general or principal Rendezvous, but as an advanced Post and temporary place of Refuge for the Negroes, as whilst we have a considerable Naval force in the Bay it will always be safe from Attack, and when we have but a small one it must from its position be the best for us to occupy in as much as from its position it will always be the easiest for us to ensure the defence of.

I add marked 11 a Return of Black Refugees embarked for Bermuda in the *Lord Collingwood* and marked 12 a Return of those remaining under our Protection on the Tangier Island. I have the Honor to be Sir, Your very faithful and Most Obedt. Humble Servant

G: Cockburn Rear Admiral

LS, UkENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2333, fols. 54–59; docketing reads: "recd. by *Lacadmonian* 25 May." About five pages of text are not printed

here dealing with diplomatic issues, American naval strength in the Atlantic theater, and the economic state of the American government.

1. Cockburn meant Cochrane's letter numbered two, Cochrane to Cockburn, 13 Apr. 1814, UkENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2349, fols. 12–13. *Plantagenet* was never sent to the Chesapeake.

2. Enclosure 10 was not found in the Cochrane or Cockburn papers.

[Enclosure No. 11]

Return of Black Refugees embarked for Bermuda in the *Lord Collingwood* Transport—9th May 1814.

Men	36
Women	48
Children	<u>67</u>
Total	<u>151</u>

G: Cockburn Rear Admiral

DS, UkENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2333, fol. 52A.

[Enclosure No. 12]

Return of Black Refugees remaining on Tangier Island in the Chesapeake 9th. May 1814

Men	38	Soldiers
"	13	{ Stout effective Men Sawyers &c. for Works
Women	13	{ Belonging to and attached to above
Children	<u>14</u>	
Total	<u>78</u>	All Volunteers to stay with us here and to assist us against their former Masters.

G: Cockburn Rear Admiral

DS, UkENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2333, fol. 53B.

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO  
VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N.

Private

*Albion* in Tangier Bay 10 May 1814

My dear Sir

The *Narcissus* which carried my last Letters to you, had scarcely got out of Sight when the *Loire* arrived with the victualling Transport and put an end to all my Anxieties respecting Provisions. I have also to thank you for your two private Letters by Captain Brown under date of the 11th & 13th Ultimo,<sup>1</sup> by the latter of which I was glad to learn that Sir Thos. Troubridge had had a good passage

in and arrived so immediately after Lady Troubridge to whom I beg my best Respects.—

By my public Letter No. 3,<sup>2</sup> which accompanies this, you will observe that I am rather inclined to hope the Moschettoes & other plagues you have been told of as infesting Tangier Island, will not prove to be quite so bad as has been represented, and at all Events that having advanced so far in establishing a Post here (which seemed to answer in every other Respect previous to receiving your Letter, I have not deemed this Report of sufficient Importance to induce me to give up all we have been doing and to relinquish a Place so admirably situated for forwarding all operations and Views against the Enemy in the surrounding rich & populous States—

In your Letter of the 13th you mention a Wish that I should send the *Loire* off New York “as I have two Frigates here,” but as in your public Letter of the 8th Ultimo<sup>3</sup> you direct me to send the *Lord Collingwood* Transport with as Many Refugee Negroes as she can conveniently stow to Bermuda, under Convoy of One of His Majesty's Ships, and as I have certain Information of the Enemy's Squadron in New London being laid up & dismantled, which precludes any immediate necessity for encreasing our Force there,<sup>4</sup> And the Lives of the 150 poor Wretches embarked in this Transport depending on her getting safe in, I feel confident I am acting most in unison with your Ideas & Wishes by sending the third Frigate with Her to Bermuda, and suspending the sending of another Ship to New York till I again hear from you— Symptoms of Scurvy having lately shewn amongst the Crew of the *Lacedæmonian*, which Ship has been constantly kept at Anchor here ever since her arrival on the American Station, and the *Loire* having been as constantly cruising, has inclined me to prefer the former for this little detached Service which I trust you will approve of, and if you agree with me in the Idea of the Mouth of the Delaware being now the part of the American Coast least guarded, you will perhaps permit me to send *Lacedæmonian* on to that Station after she has returned to me with any Letters or Instructions you may wish to send me, and as she is only in want of a small quantity of some Species of Provisions which the Transport could not supply, I have ordered Captain Jackson not to take his Ship into Bermuda until he has waited upon you and received your further Orders— The *Narcissus* which was on the Delaware Station would prefer I believe joining this, and as a Volunteer is always worth two prest Men, I hope you will indulge Lumley herein when he is ready.—

I send by Captain Jackson a file of American Papers for April by which you will see the wretched State of this Country and how anxious they are to have an End of this foolish Mad War which they rushed so headlong into; by a Paragraph in the National Intelligencer of the 22d, it appears that the Retaliatory System is about to be abandoned and a proper Line of Conduct towards Prisoners is likely to be adopted, but as I have heard nothing on this subject yet from Coll. Barclay and as the Americans are so much in debt to us for People landed from our Ships for Receipts, I still refuse to suffer any of the Prisoners taken by His Majesty's Ships to be landed without having equal Numbers of Englishmen delivered at the Moment in Lieu of them, and I still continue sending our Prisoners into Port by every Opportunity as being the only efficacious Mode of inducing the Americans to restore our People which the chances of War have placed within their Power; if you would wish me to relax

at all in this particular I will thank you to let me know it as soon as convenient, but my Ideas of managing Jonathan, is by never giving way to him, in spite of his bullying and abuse.<sup>5</sup>

Great pains are taken along the Shores of the Chesapeake to prevent the escape of the Negroes, by securing all the Boats & Canoes and placing strong guards over them and on the different Points along the Shore, in spite however of all this we are continually getting a few, but not the Quantities you would do were you once fairly landed on the Main, Those whom you will see by the Returns, I have enlisted as Soldiers are getting on astonishingly, and are really very fine Fellows, and I think whenever you arrive you will be pleased with them, they have induced me to alter the bad opinion I had of the whole of their Race & I now really believe these we are training, will neither shew want of Zeal or Courage when employed by us in attacking their old Masters; I am sorry to say some of those I landed to disseminate your Intentions respecting them have been taken, they managed however to tell so good a Tale & their Comrades kept so faithfully their Secret, that they escaped condemnation, & have only been sold for the back Settlements, and it is supposed by those who have since come off that they will not be carried far in land before they will contrive to elude the Vigilance of those who have charge of them, & that we shall probably see them again here ere very long— I have given to men I have sent on these errands forty Dollars in all which I suppose you will repay me, it is the only expence I have yet put Government to, on this Head, excepting the Slop Clothing I have ordered to be issued to those who volunteer as Soldiers, (as detailed in my public Letter on that subject) and the Cargo of Lumber I formerly mentioned to you I had delivered to the Engineer;<sup>6</sup> the Rice I took from Captain Lumley I am now forced to issue to this Ship's Company in lieu of Pease, owing to the Transport having brought us so very small a Supply of that Article in proportion to others— The Hundred Barrels of Flour which I kept back from One of the Prizes the *Narcissus* took in, I now send in the *Perseverance*, the Supply of that Article by the Transport being ample and precluding the necessity of my using the other, you have only therefore to pay the Captors for the Rice & Plank—

If you direct this Transport to be again loaded with Provisions for the Ships here as you say you intend it will be necessary for you to give Directions that she may have a very much larger quantity of Pease Spirits & Bread than of other Species, as she was this time deficient in these, particularly the two former, and she did not bring any Vinegar which is likewise wanted by these Ships, though we are not likely to be again in such absolute want as we were before *Loire's* Arrival yet I have no doubt by the time this Transport can be again got ready with convenience & sent here, we shall be able to unload her, at least if our Black Mouths go on encreasing as I expect.— but I am not sanguine enough to think I shall want more Arms before I have the Pleasure of seeing you—

The American Papers tell me you have determined in the first Instance to attack Portsmouth & they add that they are quite prepared to receive you there, I doubt their being so any where, & I am sure they are not equal to defend them—



selves against a determined attack in any part of this Neighborhood, and the Government not being able to obtain Money to go on with is not likely to improve their Means of Resistance; the Numbers of their Militia their Rifles & the thickness of their Woods still I believe constitute their principal, if not their only, Strength—

It appears they already know of your Intentions respecting the Blacks and it has caused a most general & undisguised alarm, they expect Blacky will have no mercy on them and they know that he understands bush fighting and the locality of the Woods as well as themselves, and can perhaps play at hide & seek in them even better—

I will endeavor to procure Some Stock to send you by the next occasion which offers, I have not enough by me at this Moment worth sending you—and it is not without difficulty & some delay that we procure it—

I am very Anxious to have our next news from Europe my Letters & Papers are more behind hand than usual, I hope you will spare something to bring them to me when they arrive Adieu My dear Sir Believe, me most truly Yours

G: Cockburn

P.S I am rather surprised at learning by your Letter that my Ideas were erroneous respecting your having brought Permission from the Admiralty for My Return to England, and the Number of Junior Flags you mention as intended for this Station (particularly if Beresford<sup>7</sup> is to be so considered) renders it the more extraordinary,

Tho: if the War is to close with the year as expected it is perhaps as well to see it out and if it does not, you may perhaps be induced to Stretch a point for me by & bye in the fall of the Year when operations are over. but on this, when I have the pleasure of meeting you, will be time enough to enter more fully—

ALS, UKENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2574, fols. 103–9.

1. No private letters of 11 and 13 April were found in either the Cochrane or Cockburn papers. A public letter of 13 April is in UKENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2349, pp. 12–13.

2. See Cockburn to Cochrane, 9 May 1814, pp. 61–63.

3. Cochrane to Cockburn, 8 Apr. 1814, UKENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2349, pp. 9–10.

4. Cockburn is referring to Commodore Stephen Decatur's squadron, frigates *United States*, *Macedonian*, and sloop of war *Hornet*, which the British had forced into the Thames River, New London, in June 1813. In April 1814, the two frigates were removed up the Thames, dismantled, and laid up.

5. Prisoner exchanges were a continuing problem from the beginning of the war. Although exchanges were made, they were marred by retaliatory actions when one side took hostages in response to actions taken by the other. The article in the *Daily National Intelligencer* of 22 April 1814 reported several releases by both governments that augured well for a resolution of the prisoner of war problem. For a fuller discussion of prisoner exchange, see Dietz, "Prisoner of War."

6. Lieutenant J. H. Fenwick, Royal Engineers.

7. In May 1814, John P. Beresford was created a baronet and attained the rank of rear admiral.

VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N., TO  
REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N.

No. 9—

Bermuda 26th. May 1814

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatches by the *Lacedemonian* (which arrived here yesterday) numbered from 1 to 5 inclusively; replying to my Orders and Letters conveyed to you by the *Loire* and acquainting me of the various occurrences connected with the Squadron under your Orders up to the 9th. instant, which were accompanied by the several Papers therein referred to.<sup>1</sup>

I send you herewith a Scheme for Victualling the Refugee Negroes but I have no objection to your making whatever alterations you may think proper; and you will be pleased to substitute or differ in the mode of victualling these People as you may conceive best suited to existing circumstances. The object to be attended to is the feeding of them at as small an Expence to Government as possible at the same time giving them a sufficient quantity of what is wholesome, which can be better done by supplying them with their usual food than by giving them that which is established for the Service.

You will authorize the Captains of His Majestys Ships on whose Books Refugee Negroes are borne to supply such of them as are in absolute want of clothing with Slops to cover them, not exceeding the amount of thirty Shillings a Man: +<sup>2</sup> such as enter as Marines are to be fitted with Marine Clothing, and if there are a sufficiency of Red Jackets in the Squadron to supply them with one each, it may be advisable to Clothe them in Red as their gay appearance may act as an inducement to others to come off.

I do not see any necessity for the Russian Minister's<sup>3</sup> sending a Vessel to Europe purposely with information of the Embargo's having been taken off, as our Allies will have much earlier information of this through my Communication to the Lords of the Admiralty, which has been forwarded by Express and in Duplicate, than they can have through the means the Minister proposes.

With respect to the Ship *Emilie*!—as the whole of the Ports of the United States are now declared in a state of blockade you will be pleased to withdraw the permission you have given for her proceeding from Newport with a Cargo: she can only be allowed to sail in Ballast.

I request you will acquaint Captain Watts of His Majestys Sloop *Jaseur* that I have much pleasure in noticing the gallant and successful enterprize performed by the Boats of that Sloop under the Orders of Lieutenant West, whose conduct I shall not fail to point out to the Lords of the Admiralty for their consideration.<sup>4</sup>

I wish you could communicate with Colonel Barclay on the Subject of the Exchange of Prisoners; until you learn that America has arranged for the payment of the Balance in favor of Great Britain you will continue sending all Prisoners into Port; giving Halifax the preference whenever opportunities occur for that place.

His Majestys Ship *Narcissus* is to convey this Dispatch to you and then proceed Off the Delaware. She carries also the Duplicates of Letters sent to you by the *Endymion* which ship was to go off Charleston before she went to the Ches-



peake; as the latter ship has on board the *Dragons* Letters, you will detain the *Dragon* a few days for the *Endymion*'s arrival.

As I cannot with propriety send Captain Jackson back to the Chesapeake I have given him the Command off Charleston and you will retain the *Loire* until I have a Ship to relieve her.

I send you a statement of the distribution of Force upon the North American Coast.

If you can find a fine Pilot Boat of about 40 or 50 Tons have the goodness to retain her and I will order her to be purchased into the Service as an advice Boat for your Station, sending her papers in for condemnation, and surveying her. I have the honor to be Sir your most obedient humble Servant

(signed) Alexr. Cochrane

P.S. From the great loss of Anchors in the Chesapeake I recommend that upon Ships coming to an Anchor there, the Anchors are lowered down a cockbill and Afterwards checked on their way to the bottom by Stops upon the Cable.

(sd) A Cochrane

LB, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 14, Vol. 38, pp. 296-99 (Reel 9). Notation on top of first page reads: "Recd. pr. *Narcissus* 10 June 1814."

1. For Cockburn's letters to Cochrane numbered one, 28 April, numbered two, 29 April, numbered four, 9 May, and numbered five, 9 May, see DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 10, Vol. 24, pp. 70-85 (Reel 6); for letter number three, see Cockburn to Cochrane, 9 May 1814, pp. 61-63, above.

2. The marginal note reads: "The Women to have a proportion of Duck to cover them."

3. Andrei Ia. Dashkov.

4. George E. Watts, R.N., commander of the brig-sloop *Jaseur*, was promoted to captain on 7 June 1814. In late April or early May 1814, the crew of *Jaseur*, under First Lieutenant Henry West, R.N., captured the letter of marque schooner *Grecian* in the East River. Also at this time, West's contingent captured a vessel carrying arms intended for the American army. Cockburn to Cochrane, 9 May 1814, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 10, Vol. 24, pp. 84-85 (Reel 6).

[Enclosure]

Black Marines—] whole allowance of all Species

Men not entered as Marines and Women

Bread or Flour, or a proportion of

Rice, Corn or Indian Meal. 1 lb pr. day

Children do do ½ pound

Men Meat per day 1 pound

Women do do ½ pound

Children do do ½ pound

All other species of Provisions in the above proportion. Women that work to be allowed a proportion of Rum extra.

LB, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 14, Vol. 38, pp. 299-300 (Reel 9).

[Enclosure]

Disposition of His Majestys Ships upon the Coast of America—.

Stations	Force	Ships Names
Under Rear Adl. Griffith at Halifax & in Boston Bay	2 Line of Battle Ships 4 Frigates	<i>Bulwark Ramillies</i> <i>Junon Tenedos Nymph Curlew</i>
	11 Sloops 1 Schooner <sup>1</sup>	<i>Wasp Martin Arab Fantome</i> <i>Epervier Rifleman Thistle</i> <i>Indian, Rattler Borer &amp; Bream</i>
Off Nantucket Shoals from 7 to 50 Leagues SE }	2 Frigates	<i>Armide &amp; Endymion</i>
Off New London and Rhode Isd. }	2 Line Battle Ships 1 Frigates 2 Sloops	<i>Superb La Hogue</i> <i>Maidstone Nimrod Sylph—</i>
Off the Bar of New York }	1 Razée and 1 Frigate	<i>Saturn and</i> <i>Belvidera</i>
Delaware	2 Frigates	<i>Nieman and Narcissus</i>
Chesapeak under the Orders of Rr. Adl. Cockburn }	2 Line Battle Ships. 2 Frigates 1 Sloop and 1 Schooner	<i>Albion Dragon</i> <i>Acasta Loire</i> <i>Jaseur &amp; St. Lawrence</i>
Between Cape Hatteras and St. Marys River }	1 Razee, & 3 Sloops	<i>Majestic Morgiana</i> <i>Dotteral and Peacock—</i>
Gulf of Mexico to the Tropic Canser }	1 Frigate 2 Sloops 2 Schooners	<i>Orpheus</i> <i>Sophie Childers,</i> <i>Shelburn &amp; Cockchafer</i>

The same force or as near as possible will be kept on those Stations altho' the Ships will be occasionally changed.

LB, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 14, Vol. 38, p. 300 (Reel 9). A fourth column, entitled "Remarks," appears to the right of the "Ships Names" column and is not reproduced here. Only two entries appear in this column: "*Majestic* going into Halifax to refit," and "*Orpheus* Do. [going into Halifax to refit]—."

1. Only nine sloops or brig-sloops are listed under the "Ships Names" column. A tenth vessel, *Borer*, was a gun-brig. The last vessel listed, *Bream*, was a schooner.

VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N., TO  
REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N.

Private and Confidential

Asia 27 May 1814 Bermuda

My dear Sir,

As I daily look for the arrival of the Marines and it being probable from the lateness of the Season that nothing equal to what was intended can take place,

the Troops being required for the Defence of Canada, I must therefore confine myself to minor objects, attainable by a force not exceeding 1,500 Men. I have therefore to beg that you will endeavour to procure the most correct information possible of the Force and position of the Enemy within the Chesapeake—and to the Southward with the Situations where Landings can be made to do them the greatest injury and facilitate the Escape of their Negroes—such information can be only come at by paying for it—you have therefore authority to do so. It is of material consequence to know exactly their military force at the different Stations, as it may be necessary to make distant and partial attacks to draw off their force from the point of real attack. You will therefore see what consequence it is to obtain the best information on those heads which may be difficult unless you can find some enterprising characters who run all risks for money, with which you may assure them of being well remunerated if their intelligence is found correct. Adieu my dear sir, ever most sincerely Yrs

A Cochrane—

LB, UKENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2346, fol. 2.

## British Strategy

*By early April, in anticipation of Napoleon's abdication, the British government ordered more troops sent to the North American Station. Limited manpower proscribed any grandiose strategy and necessitated instead restricted objectives. The Admiralty and the War Office established the parameters for their respective services and outlined the framework for joint operations in the Chesapeake. The British chose a less risky, conservative policy.*

FIRST SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY JOHN W. CROKER TO  
VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N.

No. 40.

Admiralty Office  
4 April 1814

Sir/

In reference to my Letter to you of the 27. of January last<sup>1</sup> informing you of the directions which had been given for sending to you from Canada the staff officers of the Second Battalion of Royal Marines under the orders of Lieutenant Colonel Malcolm,<sup>2</sup> with such other officers as might not be wanted on the Lakes, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you that in the Troop ships named in the margin,<sup>3</sup> now proceeding to join you under the protection of His Majesty's ship *Tonnant*, have been embarked one thousand Marines, formed into ten Companies of one hundred each, with one Company of marine Artillery, consisting of eighty men, with their guns &c.

I am, accordingly, to signify their Lordships direction to you to form this Detachment into a regular Battalion, including the staff and other officers from Canada; and to employ the same in cooperating with the Naval Forces under

your orders, on such Services on the Coasts of the United States, as may be found most expedient for His Majesty's Service and the annoyance of the Enemy.

Their Lordships entrust to your judgment the choice of the objects on which you may employ this Force, the operations of which may be carried on against a maritime Country like America with comparative ease and security, as it will rarely if ever be necessary to advance so far into the Country as to risk its power of retreating to its embarkation. But it will naturally occur to you that on every account any attempts that should have the effect of crippling the Enemy's naval Force, should have a preference. I am Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant

J W Croker

LS, UKENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2343, fols. 4–5. Notation at top of letter reads, "recd. by *Tonnant* 6 June /14."

1. Croker to Cochrane, 27 Jan. 1814, UKENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2342, fols. 116–17.

2. Lieutenant Colonel James Malcolm, Royal Marines, was the brother of Rear Admiral Pulteney Malcolm, R.N. They both served in the Chesapeake campaign in the summer of 1814.

3. *Regulus, Melpomene, Brune.*

FIRST SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY JOHN W. CROKER TO  
VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N.

Duplicate

Secret  
No. 61

Admiralty Office  
19 May 1814

Sir

In response to my Letter to you of the 4. of last month conveying to you the directions of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for the employment of a Battalion of Marines in such services on the Coasts of the United States as might be found expedient for His Majesty's service: I have their Lordships commands to acquaint you that orders have been given for the embarkation in the *Gironde* of a body of Troops, amounting to above three thousand men, on board the Line of Battle Ships prepared for the reception of Troops, and the Troopships named in the margin<sup>1</sup> and that Admiral Lord Keith has been directed to place those ships, as also four Frigates, two or three sloops, and the *Devastation* and *Meteor* Bomb vessels, under the orders of Rear Admiral Malcolm, and to direct that officer to proceed with them to Bermuda and put himself under your command: and it is their Lordships directions that you take that officer and the said Ships & Vessels under your orders accordingly.

It is the intention of His Majesty's Government that the abovementioned Division of Troops should be employed, together with the Battalion of marines in conjunction with the naval Force under your command, in such operations as may be found best calculated for the advantage of His Majesty's Service, and the annoyance of the Enemy: on the subject of which I am to refer you to my Letter of the 4th ultimo, and also to the inclosed Extract of a Letter written by me to



Sir John Warren on the 20th. of March 1813<sup>2</sup> respecting the employment of a Force of a similar description under the directions of Colonel Sir Sydney Beckwith: and for your further information and guidance, I shall transmit to you, as soon as I can obtain them, a Copy of the Instructions given by the Secretary of State to the officer in command of the Troops ordered to proceed from the Gironde.<sup>3</sup>

In the event of your not proceeding yourself on such operations as may be undertaken with these Forces, I am to signify to you their Lordships direction that you employ Rear Admiral Malcolm on the same, with such naval Force as the nature of the service may require: and I am also to acquaint you that when the *Leopard* and *Diomedé* Troopships shall have joined you from Quebec and you shall no longer find it necessary to employ the two Line of Battle ships sent out with the Rear Admiral, in the conveyance of Troops, it is their Lordships direction that you send these two ships to England.

Lord Keith is directed to send out to you in the ships under Rear Admiral Malcolm the three hundred Seamen mentioned in Mr. Barrow's Letter to you of the 6. Instant.<sup>4</sup> I am Sir Your most obedient humble servant

J W Croker

LS, UKENL., Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2343, fols. 66, 71–72.

1. *Diadem, Dictator, Trave, Weser, Thames.*

2. The Admiralty left the actual targets in America to Cochrane's discretion, relying on his judgment to weigh advantages with risks. Croker to Warren, 20 Mar. 1813, UKENL., Alexander F. I. Cochrane, MS 2343, fols. 77–80.

3. See the following letter, pp. 72–74.

4. John Barrow to Cochrane, 6 Mar. 1814, UKENL., Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2343, fol. 58. Barrow was second secretary to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR AND THE COLONIES EARL BATHURST TO  
MAJOR GENERAL EDWARD BARNES, BRITISH ARMY

Copy  
Secret

Downing Street  
20th. May 1814.

Sir

It having been judged expedient to effect a diversion on the Coast of the United States of America in favour of the Army employed in the defence of Upper & Lower Canada; Admiral Sir A. Cochrane has received Instructions to direct a Squadron to proceed with a detachment of Troops and a Battalion of Marines towards those places on the Coast where it may appear to him most advisable that a descent should be made; and H.R.H. the Prince Regent confiding in your valour, enterprize, and discretion, has been graciously pleased to commit to you the command of these Troops in such operations as you may judge it expedient when on shore to undertake—

In addition to the force which may have been placed under your orders previous to your departure from the Gironde, you will on your arrival at Bermuda, take under your command one other Regiment of Infantry & one Company of

Artillery which have been directed to proceed thither from the Mediterranean for that purpose—

The amount of the force which will be thus placed under your command (& which is specified in the margin<sup>1</sup>) will sufficiently point out to you that you are not to engage in any extended operations at a distance from the Coast—

In concerting the particular object of attack with the Officer in command of the naval part of the Expedition, you will express to him your opinion of its expediency in a military point of view, and will without reserve state the difficulties or facilities with which its execution may be attended. You will also consider yourself authorized to decline engaging in any operation which you have reason to apprehend will lead from the probability of its failure to the discredit of the Troops under your command, or will expose them to a loss disproportioned to the advantage which it may be the object of the attack to attain—

While afloat you will consider yourself as under the command of the Naval Officer commanding this Expedition— The disembarkation of the Troops and their reembarkation will be directed by him; but he will be instructed to concert with with you as to the best mode of effecting the same respectively— You will decide as to the time when you may consider it expedient to reembark the Troops, as that must in a great degree be regulated by the success of your undertaking, and by the approach of the Enemy's Force, but you will previously ascertain whether in the opinion of the Commander of the Naval Force there is any period positively unfavourable for reembarkation—

You will regularly transmit to me for the information of H. M. Government detailed Accounts of your proceedings & of any operations in which you may have been engaged—

When the object of the descent which you may make on the Coast is to take possession of any Naval or Military Stores, you will not delay the destruction of them in preference to the taking them away, if there is reasonable ground of apprehension that the Enemy is advancing with superior force to effect their recovery.

If in any descent you shall be enabled to take such a position as to threaten the Inhabitants with the destruction of their property, you are hereby authorized to levy upon them contributions in return for your forbearance, but you will not by this understand that the Magazines belonging to the Government, or their Harbours, or their Shipping are to be included in such arrangements; These together with their contents are in all cases to be taken away or destroyed.

You will not encourage any disposition which may be manifested by the Negroes to rise upon their masters— The humanity which ever influences H.R.H. must make him anxious to protest against a system of warfare which must be attended by the atrocities inseparable from commotions of such a description. If however any individual Negroes shall in the course of your operations join you or give you assistance, & if you have reason to believe that they would in consequence be exposed to the vengeance of their masters after your retreat, you are at liberty on their earnest desire to take them away with you, and you are authorized, if they are willing to enlist, to enlist them in any of the Black Corps; but if they evince no such disposition, you will consign them to the care of the Admiral commanding who has received instructions as to their disposal—But you must distinctly understand that you are in no case to take slaves



away as slaves, but as free persons not subject to any restrictions incompatible with the state of free persons. I have &c

(Signed) Bathurst

Copy, UKENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2343, fols. 67–70. This letter was enclosed in Croker to Cochrane, 21 May 1814, *ibid.*, fol. 76. Bathurst addressed this letter to “Major General Barnes or the Officer in command of the Troops detached from the Gironde.” Major General Edward Barnes (1776–1838) was serving on the staff of the British army in the Peninsula at this time. These orders actually went to Major General Robert Ross who was sent instead of Barnes to command the expeditionary force on the coast of the United States.

1. “3 Regts. of Infantry with a proportion of Artillery from the Gironde—1 do. [*Regiment*]  
[*of Infantry*]  
— with one Company of do. [*Artillery*] from the Mediterranean—1 Battn. of Royal Marines with a proportion of Marine artillery—.”

## Java under Construction

Congressional legislation in January 1813 authorized construction of six 44-gun frigates, but only three were actually built. William Doughty completed the design for *Java*, *Guerriere*, and *Columbia* by June, and while the naval constructor undertook the building of *Columbia* at the Washington Navy Yard, the other two were built under private contract. The Baltimorean schooner builders William Flannigan and William Parsons built light, swift, privately-armed vessels during the war and the Navy Department awarded them *Java*'s contract.<sup>1</sup> Secretary Jones mediated a construction dispute generated by a discrepancy between Doughty's draft and departmental instructions.

1. *Chapelle*, *American Sailing Navy*, p. 256, and *Garitee*, *Republic's Private Navy*, pp. 30, 107, 109.

### SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO NAVY AGENT JAMES BEATTY

James Beatty Esqr.  
Navy Agent Baltimore

Navy Department  
April 29th. 1814

Sir,

I am this moment informed by Mr Doughty, that, contrary to the clear delineation of the Draught, and the particular instructions delivered to Messrs. Flanagan & Parsons for building the Frigate *Java*, they have fallen into a very gross error, in diminishing the height between the Gun and Spar Decks four inches fore and aft; and as the height, designated in the Draught, is the least that can possibly be admitted, in a Ship with a Battery of such magnitude, the error must be corrected without delay.—

I regret exceedingly, the inconvenience which Messrs. Flanagan & Parsons will incur by this untoward mistake; and were it not of such serious importance I would not insist upon the alteration, as I understand the Deck is entirely

framed and all the lodging and part of the dagger knees bolted; but whatever may be the consequences, the bolts must be backed out, and the Spar deck raised, to the proper height designated in the Draught and instructions. I am respectfully &c.

W Jones

LB, DNA, RG45, CNA, Vol. 2, p. 59 (M441, Roll No. 1).

### SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO NAVY AGENT JAMES BEATTY

James Beatty Esqr.  
Navy Agent Baltimore

Navy Department  
May 2d. 1814.

Sir,

Referring to my letter to you of the 29th. ulto. relative to the error in the height between decks of the Frigate *Java*, I have now to say that Mr Flannagan has just been with me, with the copy of the Draught by which he worked and the Instructions from Mr Doughty.—

The latter very clearly designates the height to be seven feet exclusive of the thickness of the Gun deck plank, but it is not so clear in the former.

The Instructions however ought to have governed as they give the heights and thicknesses of the deck plank and beams in accurate detail. I find however from the representations of Mr F. that the spar deck frame is so far and so firmly secured that much injury and serious expense would be incurred in raising the deck frame, and altho' I regret extremely the error which has been committed yet under existing circumstances I have deemed it better to proceed with the deck as it now is and have instructed Mr. Flannagan accordingly. I am respectfully &c

W Jones.

LB, DNA, RG45, CNA, Vol. 2, pp. 60–61 (M441, Roll No. 1).

### SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO NAVY AGENT JAMES BEATTY

James Beatty Esqr.  
Navy Agent Baltimore

Navy Department  
May 4th. 1814

Sir,

My letter to you of the 2d was induced by my desire to avoid subjecting the builders of the *Java* to the inconvenience and expense of correcting the error, into which they had fallen, by taking the heights from the shear plan of the in-board works, instead of the detailed heights and thickness in the instructions, and the working Draught, which exactly correspond and show the height to be 7 feet in the clear fore and aft, from the upper side of the Gun-deck, to the lower side of the Spar deck; and consequently six feet and an Inch from the lower side of the spar deck beams, to the Gun deck; and also by the representations of Mr Flannagan, by which I was led to believe that the error was not so

considerable, as I find it to be by the heights taken by Mr Doughty, who has just returned.—

Commodore Rodgers is of opinion that the error is of so much consequence, as not to admit of a moments hesitation in applying the remedy at once.<sup>1</sup> Indeed being now possessed of the facts, I have no hesitation in saying, that ten thousand dollars would be no consideration, compared with the advantages to be derived from correcting the error. I am aware that the builders will make little or perhaps worse than nothing, by the Contract, and am on that account the more disposed to admit the most liberal construction of their Conduct in the present case, and to consider the representation made to me by the Naval Constructor of the faithful manner in which they have in other respects executed the Contract.— The error however must be corrected and the deck raised to its proper height fore and aft. You will keep an exact account of the expense attending that operation, which you will pay exclusive of the Contract, and I trust the builders will particularly feel the necessity of rendering that expense as moderate as possible. Mr Doughty is of opinion, that it may be completely done in four or five days, and will not cost more than from \$500. to \$1000. He is now directing the manner in which it may be accomplished, in the shortest time and at the least expense.—

The bolts which will be backed out, will be too small for the same holes through the knees, but will work up to advantage in the Gun Carriages & mast work.

I trust on this occasion the builders will exert themselves. Owing to the unfavorable result of the Contract on the part of the builders, you will exercise your discretion in respect to the last payment according to the solidity of their sureties.— I am respectfully &c

W Jones.

LB, DNA, RG45, CNA, Vol. 2, pp. 63–64 (M441, Roll No. 1).

1. As Commodore John Rodgers was visiting Washington in the spring of 1814, he may have given an oral opinion. No letter was found in the captains' letters series.

## Battle of Cedar Point, 1 June 1814

*By the end of May events were drawing Joshua Barney's flotilla into its first armed clash with British naval forces on the bay. Reports that the British were establishing a staging area in Tangier Sound enticed Barney southward, while Captain Robert Barrie ordered reconnoitering parties between the Potomac and Patuxent rivers. The confrontation that ensued exposed deficiencies in both forces.*

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO CAPTAIN ROBERT BARRIE, R.N.

30 May 1814

My dear Sir

Subsequent to our Conversation of last Night I have received Intelligence that Commodore Barney has again come down with his Flotilla to the Neigh-

bourhood of the Potomac— The Man who brings the Information states that he saw him the Day before yesterday a few Miles to the Northward of the Cape Lookout— I therefore send You the Auxiliary Force I before intended, but I must beg of you to make use of it to the Northward instead of the Southward by sending it with your own Boats, Tender &ca. to examine St. Jeromes Creek &ca to the Patuxent, and covering them at such Distance as you may judge adviseable with the *Dragon*, taking also to your Assistance the *St. Lawrence* if on communicating with her Commander you find so employing her will not be likely to clash with Promises or Arrangements made with the Blacks landed from her the other Day.<sup>1</sup>

Should you neither gain Information nor see anything of the American Flotilla in or on this Side of the Patuxent, I would have you cause St. Marys & Yeucumoco to be looked into, & you may do any Mischief on either Side of the Potomac which you may find within your Power, if this Information which I have received turn out to be incorrect, I can only say in your Operations to the Northward of Point Look out or to the Westward of it, You will consider yourself at full Liberty to act as Circumstances may point out to You as being most adviseable for the Service

The high Confidence I have in your Zeal and Abilities assuring me that I cannot do better than Point out to You the Object, and leave the Rest to your Management, but should you not be able to annoy the Enemy in that Direction we will still hold in View our intended Attack on Cherrystone Creek and perhaps a further Attempt on the other Side opposite to it

The *Jaseur* has taken another Schooner loaded with Salt Fish, she is gone up to the upper Part of the Bay near Hoopers Straights— What Capt. Watts has in View I know not

Let me hear from You as occasion may offer. I am Dr. Sir With much Truth Yours most faithfully

G. C.

I send Lt. Urmston in Command of the Boats of this Ship & I trust you will be satisfied with his Attention & Conduct

LB, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 10, Vol. 25, fol. 12 (Reel 7). This letter book copy does not include an address line; internal evidence suggests that Cockburn was writing to Robert Barrie.

1. Lieutenant David Boyd, R.N., commander of the schooner *St. Lawrence*, had cruised the Chesapeake shoreline during May encouraging slaves to emigrate.

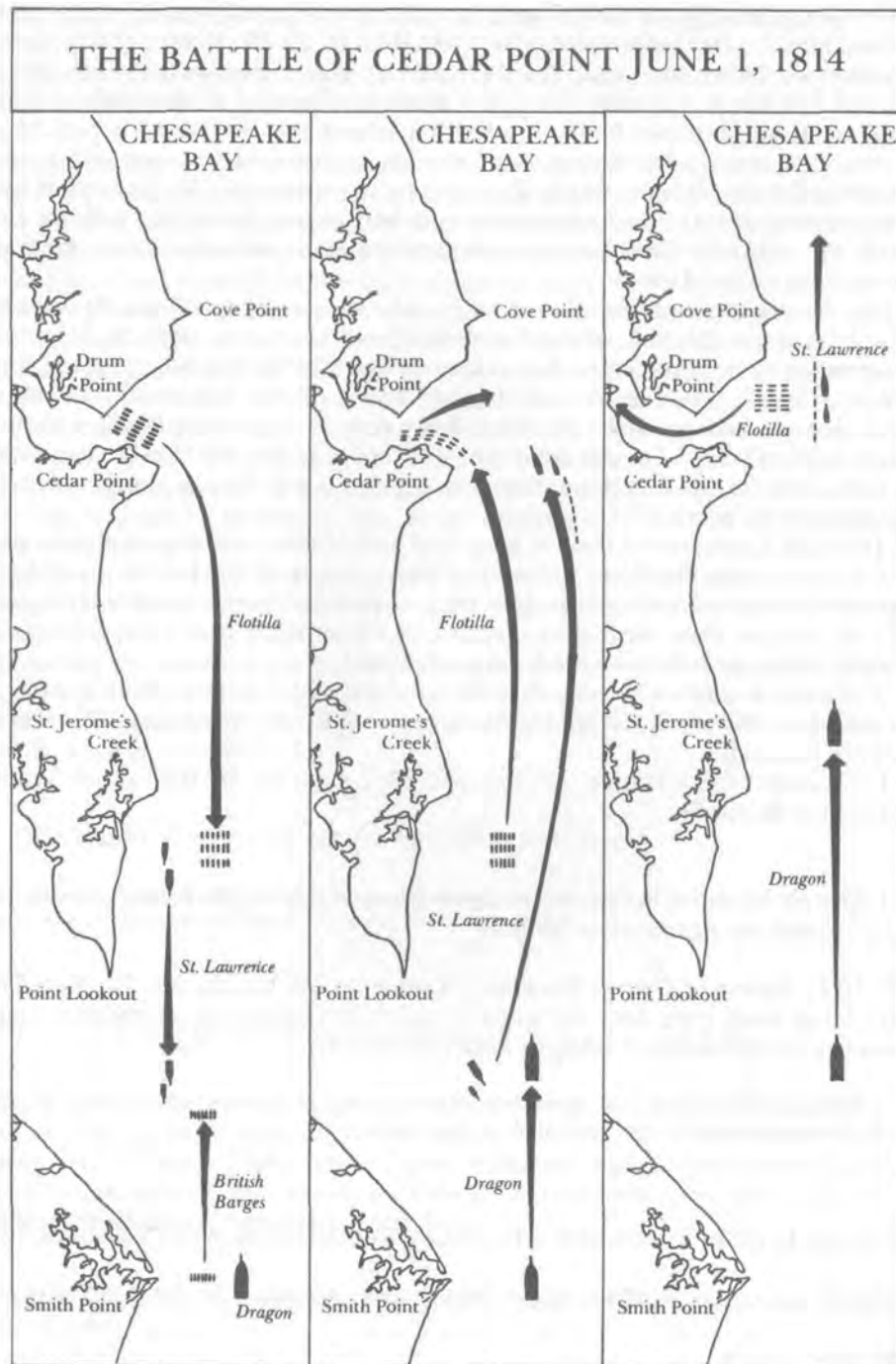
CAPTAIN ROBERT BARRIE, R.N., TO REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N.

Copied

His Majestys Ship *Dragon* Chesapeak 1st. June 1814

Sir/

I have the honour to acquaint you that agreeably to your Orders, I directed the *St Lawrence* and *Catch up a Little* Tender to Rendezvous Off Point Look out, and at Eight Oclock last night I left the *Dragon* at Anchor Off Smiths Point, and



Map 3

proceeded with three Boats of the *Albion*, commanded by Lieutenant Urmston, and four of the *Dragon*'s commanded by Lieutenant Pedlar, towards St Jeromes Creek. I arrived in my Gig at the Rendezvous by day break, but the other Boats were along way astern: at 5 Am, while Employed in the *St. Lawrence* Reconnoitring St Jeromes, several strange Sail were discovered standing down the Chesapeak towards Hoopers Straights, We immediatly gave chase and soon discovered them to be the Baltimore Flotilla, consisting of twenty five Sail, Of these sixteen appeared to be large Lateen Rigged Vessels, Rowing from thirty to forty Oar's, the rest were Sloops and Schooners, one of the Sloops carried a Broad Pendant, and shewed six Ports Of a side. One Of the Lateen Vessels, carried a French Flag at the Fore.

On discovering the *St Lawrence* the Enemy altered his course and gave chase to us, as by this time I had bore up to the Southward to pick up the Boats, (yet a long way Off) and to call the attention of the *Dragon*. the Wind was variable but generally in favour of the Enemy, who closed us fast, but about one Oclock it shifted to the Southward, and Observing the *Dragon* to get under weigh We wore round to Close the Enemy, who in his turn made Off and was ultimately chased into the Patuxent, where he arrived about Sunset. the *Dragon* was oblidged to Anchor Eight Miles below, Not being able to stem the Tide as the *St Lawrence* & Boats rounded Cedar Point, the Flotilla opened its fire on us but at too great a distance to do execution, and as we were too feeble to attack the Flotilla with the *St Lawrence* and Boats, I endeavoured to tempt him to separete his force, by directing Lieutenant Pedlar with the *Dragon*'s Barge and Cutter, to Cut Off a Schooner under Cove Point, this Service (as well as every other on which he has been employed) was ably performed by Lieutenant Pedlar, and Commodore Barney allowed the Schooner to be burnt in the face of the Flotilla, without attempting a Rescue.

It is my intention to take advantage of the first opportunity to move the *Dragon* into the Mouth Of the Patuxent, mean time I shall keep the *St Lawrence* and Boats on the look out, to blockade the Flotilla conceiving it my duty to do so, till I have the honour to receive your Instructions.

I fear it will be impossible to follow the Flotilla up the River in the *Dragon*, and as the Schooners and Boats are by no means equal to attack it, may I request you will have the goodness to Reinforce Me with *Jaseur* & one of the Frigates, when I think we may venture up the River, as our Boats would be able to tow the Frigate should it be necessary.

I have great satisfaction in assuring you Of the zealous Conduct of all the Officers & Men Employed in the Boats, and had we been any thing like a Match for the Enemy, I am certain We should have given a good account of him.

I was highly pleased with the conduct of the Colonial Marines, under Ensign Hammond, every Individual of which Evincd the greatest eagerness, to come to Action with their former Master's. I have the honor to be Sir Your Obedient & faithfull Humble Servant

Robt: Barrie Captain

LS, UkENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2333, fols. 98–99. A copy is in UKLPR, Adm. 1/507, fols. 74–75.



CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE, TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Patuxent June 3d. 1814

Sir,

On the 1st Inst. at 3 AM. we got under way from this place, at 9 the "Galley" & "Lookout boat" signalled the Enemy, "A Brig & schooner," below us, the wind light from the northward & inclined to calm, we gave chase Sails & Oars, and came up with them very fast, on approaching, I found that they were two schooners, One a full Rigged, shewing Nine ports on a side, they made signals & fired guns: when off St. Jeromes we discovered a large ship underway, and that she had dispatched a number of Barges to the Assistance of the schooners— unfortunately at this time the wind shifted to SW and squally, which brought the ship to windward of us and under a press of sail steering for point-look-out of course could cut us off from the Potomac, I then made the signal "for Patuxent," and was followed by a 74, three schooners & Seven Barges, with a fresh wind, Squally & Rain (bad for my boats) at 4 PM we doubled round Cedar point in the mouth of this river, The barges in all sail, as the wind had hauled to the westward, & rowed up under the weather shore, The Scorpion worked in very well, but the Gun boats hung in the Rear, particularly Gun boat 137, (with provisions) The Enemies whole force very little astern, finding I must loose No. 137 or risk an engagement I brought the Scorpion, & gunboat 138 to Anchor; sent men onboard 137 to Row & tow her in, the Tide & wind being against us, Signal'd my Barges to return and join me Immediately, at this moment No. 138 & myself opened a fire on the Large Schooner, who was leading in with a number of Barges, she Immediately bore up and got her boats ahead to tow her off; my Barges rowed down upon her and the other schooners and gave them a number of shot at long distance, We then gave up the chase, got under way with the Scorpion & gunboats and returned into port with all the flotilla, during the firing, the enemy advanced a Barge which threw Rockets, but as they cannot be directed with any certainty they did no Execution, but I find they can be thrown further than we can our shot; and conclude from this Essay, this will be their mode of Warfare against the flotilla, The 74 is now anchored off the mouth of this River, the large schooner with her, the Barges play about all day—the other schooners have gone down the Bay, I presume for more force, in which case some attempt may probably be made to Attack us, we lay about 3 miles up the river (in Sight) I shall observe their motions and act accordingly, I now regret not having furnaces for hot shot, In a day or two I expect the enemy will make their arrangements and if the troops that are in this neighbourhood were ordered to this place I conceive a good use might be made of them— This affair has confirmed me in the bad opinion I had of the Gunboats for this service for to save No. 137 I was near being exposed in Bad weather, to a general engagement with a heavy force, may I now be permitted to ask you for a vessel to carry provisions, such as will not be the means of disasters or disgrace, if you will allow me one she can be had of Mr. William O'Neal in Washington, She is now here having been under my convoy, and her captain has gone on to Washington— she is a fine Vessel, sails well & will carry about 450 barrels, the Captain who is half owner will go in her, and says you may have her very cheap (hired) as he has nothing to employ her with. I have thought proper to send this by express, and have only waited to observe the

movements of the Enemy to day; by the post on Monday I shall give you further details And am with great respect your Obt. Servt.

Joshua Barney

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 4, No. 86 (M124, Roll No. 63). The last page of this letter was bound out of order.

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO  
CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE

Capt. Joshua Barney  
Com'dg. U.S. Flotilla Patuxent

Navy Department  
June 6. 1814

Sir,

I have this instant received your letters of the 3d. & 4th.<sup>1</sup> detailing your rencontre with the Enemys force off the Patuxent.

It is very much to be regretted that the weather proved so boisterous and unfavourable for the Flotilla.—

The Gun Boats are really an encombrance to you as they cannot move with the rest of the Flotilla.—

You had better therefore when you have a convenient opportunity send them to Baltimore, there to remain.—

You are at liberty to hire the Schooner you mention as a Store Ship on the most reasonable terms you can agree upon with the Captain as one of the owners.—<sup>2</sup>

We have a surplus of excellent powder & provisions on this station which I could place at Annapolis, or any other convenient depot that you may point out for the use of your Flotilla.— I have caused an experiment to be tried on the Sheet Iron furnace, which I mentioned to you but it will not answer your purpose, for in heating the Shot the furnace itself becomes intolerably & dangerously hot,— when you return to Baltimore you may have a brick furnace constructed on board the Asp or either of the other vessels or in a good stout launch which might be kept for that special purpose.— Such a Boat would row as well as the Barges and might have a 12 pdr. Carronade in her Bow.—

The Enclosed documents are Copied from originals which are considered by the Govern'mt. to be entitled to entire credit.— Capt. Herbert is a very respectable man and would willingly accompany an expedition of the kind he suggests.—<sup>3</sup>

Should an opportunity occur when the calm season commences, and you deem the object practicable, its accomplishment would be very important & exceedingly popular.— I am respectfully &c.

W Jones.

LB, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 333 (M149, Roll No. 11).

1. In a follow-up letter to his correspondence of 3 June, Barney reported that bad weather had prevented him from discovering the enemy's movements. Barney to Jones, 4 June 1814, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 4, No. 87 (M124, Roll No. 63).

2. After speaking to the owners of the storeship the next day, Jones left the hire of their vessel to Barney's discretion. Jones to Barney, 7 June 1814, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 334 (M149, Roll No. 11).

3. This could be Edward Herbert, late master of the schooner *Traveller*, who was captured by the British sometime in April and released on condition that he exchange himself within one month. Cockburn to Lieutenant James Thorne, 1 May 1814, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 16, Vol. 44, pp. 85–86 (Reel 10). Commissary General of Prisoners John Mason wrote to Secretary Jones in June and July about traitors conspiring with the British on Tangier Island. In this correspondence, Mason mentions that he has just recently exchanged a Captain Herbert of Norfolk, "a very respectable Man," who is "now free to act." Apparently Herbert had proposed an expedition against the enemy. Mason to Jones, 30 June 1814, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 4, No. 85 (M124, Roll No. 63), and Mason to Jones, 1 July 1814, *ibid.*, Vol. 5, No. 25 (M124, Roll No. 64).

## British Divert Strength to Crush the Flotilla

*Having faced little naval opposition in the bay during 1813 and early 1814, the British recognized Joshua Barney's newly organized flotilla as a potential threat to their operations. Rear Admiral George Cockburn decided temporarily to divert some of his forces engaged in blockading the mouth of the Chesapeake and harassing coastal towns to destroying the fledgling American squadron. He ordered the frigate Loire, Captain Thomas Brown, and the brig-sloop Jaseur, Commander George E. Watts, to join Captain Robert Barrie's force in the Patuxent. Barrie required the smaller vessels to pursue the Americans aggressively.*

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO CAPTAIN ROBERT BARRIE, R.N.

[Extract]

*Albion* Tangier Bay 3d June 1814

My dear Sir

I am sorry the *Dragon* was not able to get up with the Baltimore Flotilla before they housed themselves in the Patuxent, it is however of all the rivers in the Chesapeake the best to have them in and I only hope you will be able to keep them there, till we are strong enough to follow them up it, with small Craft.—I have sent for *Jaseur* from Smith's Island and she shall join you immediately, I have likewise dispatched my Tender to Lynhaven Bay for *Loire* and have directed Capt. Kerr to hurry up whatever may arrive from Bermuda, nothing has appeared from that Quarter since you moved but I trust in God we must have something in a day or two—you may depend on my sending every thing to you as it arrives as the destruction of these Fellows would be a Point of great Importance; if a Line of battle Ship arrives (senior to you) I will come to you myself, and I know I need not press on you to endeavor by all means to get acquainted with the Channel in— Should these fellows get by you again in a Calm or in the dark pray hurry off to me some of the small Craft and my Boats—and with the *Dragon* & your Tender act as you may deem most advisable for Springing them again—

I send you fifteen Thousand Musket Ball Cartridges & some (14) blue Lights—but I am sorry to say we have only four spare oars in the ship (these I have however desired Ross to send) and as we have only two Boxes of Rockets &

I understand *Dragon* has many left, I must beg of you to supply what may be wanted by our Rocket Boat, and the Moment I receive the supply the Commander in Chief promised me some Months ago, I will send you a full Proportion—

I am glad this ship's Boats have conducted themselves to your satisfaction, and most pleased at your Report respecting the new raised Black Men<sup>1</sup>

Pray let me know as often as possible what passes in your neighborhood, as you may naturally suppose the anxiety with which I shall watch for accounts from you.— . . .

You will of course keep every thing with you that you now have so long as you [consider them necessary for your operations.

I will not detain your tender any longer. May success attend you. I am My dear Sir—]

AL, MiU-C, Robert Barrie Papers. One paragraph dealing with private affairs was not printed. The last page of the autograph letter is missing; material within brackets was supplied from the copy in DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 10, Vol. 25, fols. 14–15 (Reel 7).

1. See Barrie to Cockburn, 1 June 1814, p. 79.

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO  
CAPTAIN ALEXANDER R. KERR, R.N.

HMS *Albion*—3 June 1814.

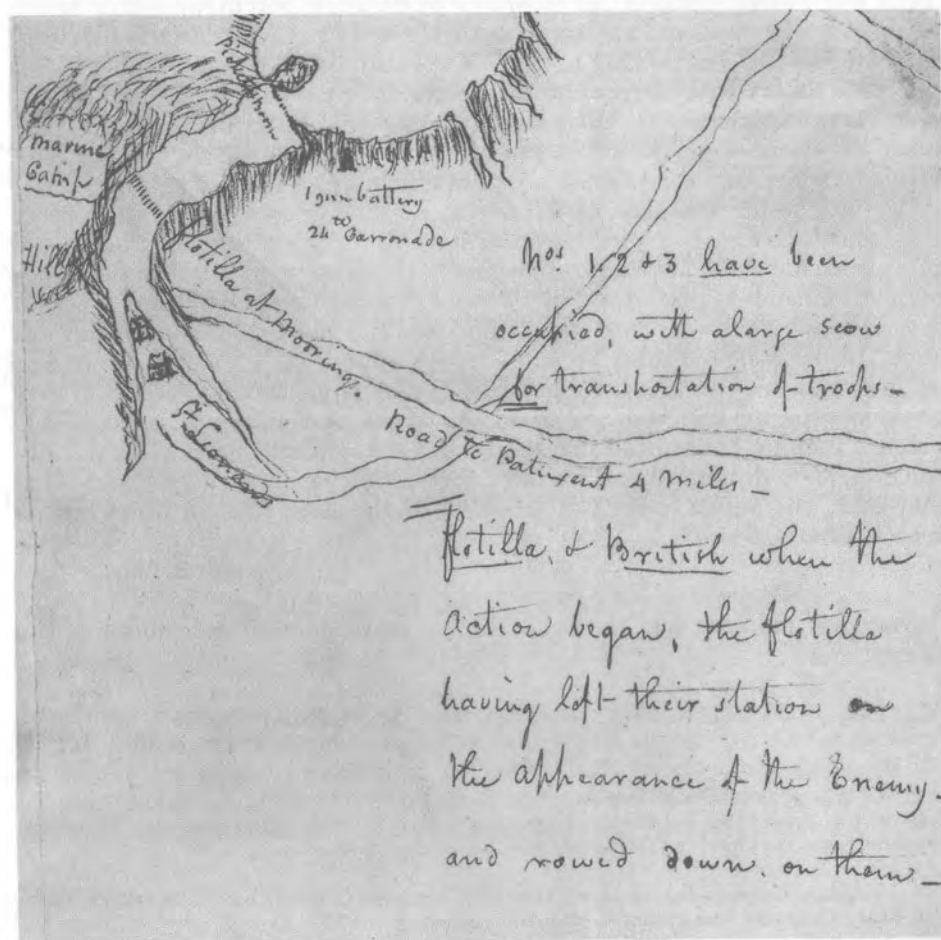
Sir,

Information which I have this day received from Captain Barrie of the *Dragon*, who has chased the Baltimore Flotilla (consisting of Twenty three Vessels) into the Patuxent, occasions me to want whatever Force I can collect. You will therefore immediately you receive this hurry up to me the *Loire* and any other Man of War which may be in Lynhaven Bay excepting the *Acasta* & *Warrington*, and I must confide to you singly for a short time the care of the *Constellation*, in the doing of which I beg you to believe I feel no Anxiety except from the consideration of thereby placing it out of your Power to attend to Vessels passing in the offing, and which will induce me to send another Ship to you again the first moment I can do it, and I request if more Vessels than one in addition to *Loire* should arrive that you keep one with you 'till you hear further from me forwarding any Dispatches for me by your Tender.

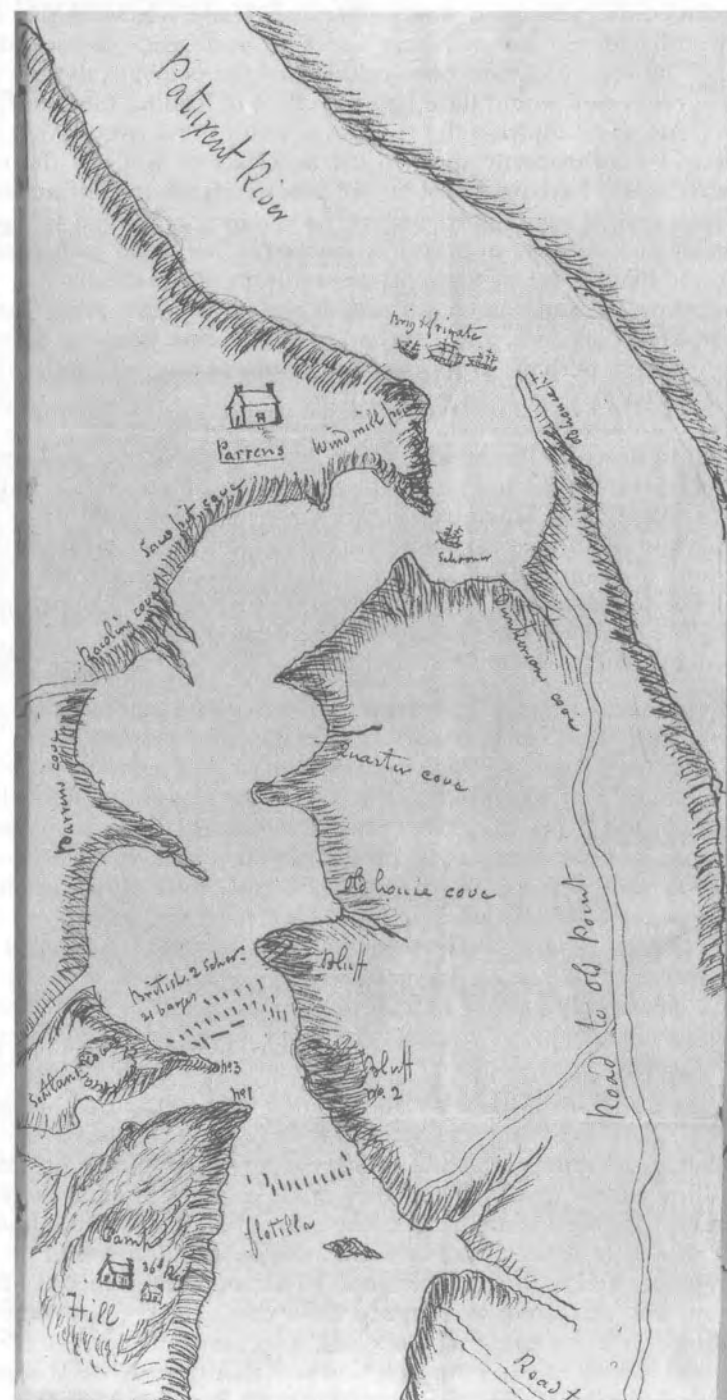
Such Ships as come up you will please to direct to pass up to the Westward of Tangier Shoal in the Main Chesapeake Channel 'till they bring the South Point of Tangier Island to bear EbN of them, where they are to anchor and their Captains to wait on me for orders. I am &c.

(Signed) G: Cockburn Rr. Adl.

LB, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 10, Vol. 24, pp. 99–100 (Reel 6).



*Joshua Barney's Sketch of the Upper Part of St. Leonard's Creek, 10 June 1814*



*Joshua Barney's Sketch of St. Leonard's Creek, 10 June 1814*



ing with great confidence upon your judgement, I have no doubt that the motives which induced you to enter that Creek in preference to ascending the Patuxent, will be found to have been justified by the occasion though the former in my present view would have had the effect of leading them farther into the Country, and of multiplying the chances of annoying & obstructing them in their descent. I shall instantly apply to the Secretary of War, for the order to Major Stewart,<sup>1</sup> and I have no doubt he will order such other reinforcements, as will secure you against any reinforcements the enemy may receive.— If properly and vigorously pursued, the opportunity appears to me to be such as ought to be desired, and may enable us to punish the temerity of the enemy.

In anticipation of some such service, I had four light twelve pounders mounted on field Carriages, and attached to the Marine Corps; a detachment of which amounting perhaps to 100, as good troops as can be found, will be immediately ordered to your assistance, with two or three twelve poundrs. and a howitzer.

Be pleased to describe the nature of the Banks of the Creek and River, and point out such positions as may afford the best points of annoyance, either with light or heavy Artillery or Musketry. Is there any prominent point upon which a Breastwork could be thrown up below the enemy, and the Guns from the Gun Boats mounted thereon. We could soon send you two or three truck Carriages, if travelling Carriages are not to be had. What means does the Country afford of transporting the Guns without Carriages to the desired point?—

I shall order your Purser<sup>2</sup> and Provisions in due time.— I am respectfully your Obedt. Servt.

W Jones.

LB, DNA, RG45, CLS, 1814, pp. 149–50.

1. Major Alexander Stuart.

2. John S. Skinner.

CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE, TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

St. Leonard's Creek, June 11th, 1814.

Sir,

My last was on the 9th instant. On the evening of the 9th, the enemy moved up with twenty barges, having received more force from the 74,<sup>1</sup> at the mouth of the Patuxent. I met them, and after a short action drove them until dark, and returned to my anchorage. Yesterday they made a bold attempt; about 2 P.M. they moved up with twenty-one barges, one rocket barge, and two schooners in tow. On making their appearance, we went down on them; they kept up a smart fire for sometime, and seemed determined to do something decisive. But they soon gave way and retreated; we pursued them down the creek. At the mouth lay the eighteen gun schooner;<sup>2</sup> she attempted to beat out, but our fire was so severe, she ran ashore at the entrance, and was abandoned. We still pursued, until the razee<sup>3</sup> and brig<sup>4</sup> opened upon us a brisk fire, which completely covered the schooner and the flying barges, &c. We must have done them considerable damage.

Printed, Brannan, *Official Letters*, p. 340.

1. *Dragon*.
2. *St. Lawrence*.
3. *Loire*.
4. *Jaseur*.

CAPTAIN ROBERT BARRIE, R.N., TO REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N.

Copied

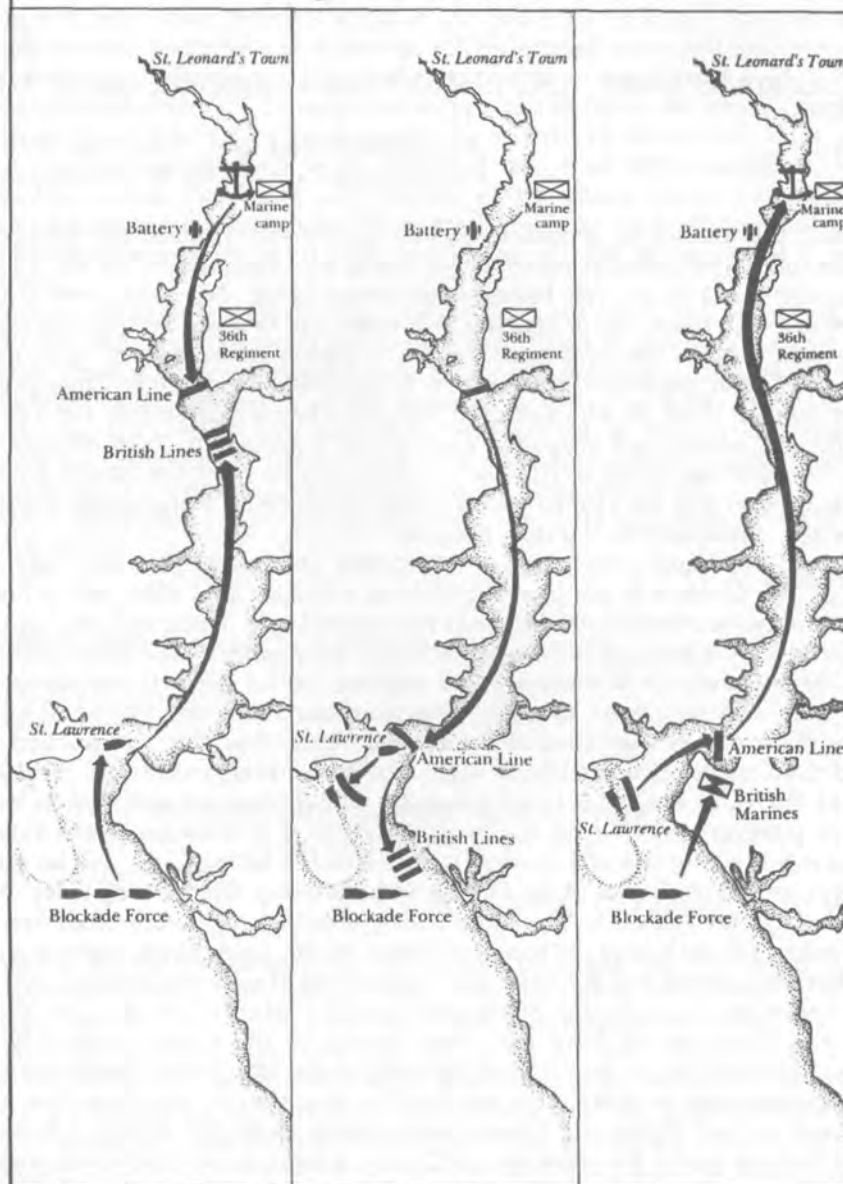
His Majesty's Ship *Loire* June 11th. 1814  
Off Leonards Creek in the River Patuxent

Sir/

I have the honour to acquaint you that on the 6th. Instant, the Baltimore Flotilla quitted its position under Drum Point, and Ran further up the Patuxent. at day break of the 7th. having been joined by the *Loire*, and *Jaseur* Brig I proceeded with them, the *St Lawrence*, Schooner, the *Dragon's* Tender, and seven Boats belonging to the *Albion* and *Dragon*, in pursuit of the Enemy. at about 9 O'clock<sup>1</sup> he was discovered working up St Leonards Creek, unfortunately the Water was too shoal to admit of even the *Jaseur* being carried into the Creek, and the *St Lawrence* had grounded early in the Morning, and was still ashore, every exertion was made to Anchor the *Loire* and *Jaseur* at the Mouth Of the Creek, so as to pen the Flotilla within it, and about Noon I proceeded with the Boats to Reconnoitre the Enemies position.

I found him most advantageously Anchored about six miles from the entrance.<sup>2</sup> The Creek is in few places more than a Musket shot wide, and in many not above two Cables length. its banks are covered with Trees, and the Land is generally high. Finding it impossible to attack the Enemy in our Boats with the most distant prospect of success, I had nothing left for it but to endeavour by every means in my power, to annoy him from our Boats and provoke him to Chace them within Gun shot of the Frigate, with this View every scheme I could think of was practiced both Night and day without success, till the 10th. Instant when our Rocket[s] and Carronades Gall'd him so much, that he quitted his position and Chaced the Boats nearly to the Entrance of the Creek, just at this Moment the *St Lawrence* grounded with a falling Tide, and lay completely exposed to the fire of the Flotilla, without being able to bring more than One Gun to Act against it. The Boats and Flotilla kept up a very smart fire on each other, till the Latter got to within Reach of the *Loires* Guns, when the Action became general but the Enemy was so cautious of exposing himself, that he kept under the Trees on the Starboard Point of entrance, out of sight of the *Loire* and *Jaseur* except from their Mast heads, so the Gun's could only be pointed by direction of the Officers stationed at the Mast heads, but under this great disadvantage so quick a fire was kept up, that after a little more than half an Hours general firing, the Enemy precipitately made Off, before a Party of Royal Marines under the command of Captain Carter, could reach their station on the Starboard point Of the Creek, over the position the Enemy had been firing from, our Boats harass'd his retreat and chaced him to his former Anchor[age] where he lay secure defended by strong parties of Regulars and Militia, stationed on each side of the Creek behind the Trees. Notwithstanding the exposed situation of the *St Lawrence*, the Enemy's Gun's were so ill directed

### THE BATTLE OF ST. LEONARD'S CREEK JUNE 10, 1814



Map 4

that only four Shot struck her, in this skirmish our loss consists of three killed, and two slightly wounded, Indeed this is all the loss we have hitherto sustained from the Flotilla in the different skirmishes we have had with it.

I have great pleasure in acquainting you that the Conduct of every Officer and Man Employed under my Orders, demands my highest approbation. I am much indebted to Captain Brown and Watts for their Zealous and Cordial Cooperation. I have the honour to be Sir Your Obedient & faithful Humble Servant

Robt: Barrie Captain

LS, UKENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2333, fols. 104–5.

1. 8 June.

2. Barney estimated the distance at two miles in his 9 June 1814 letter to Jones. See p. 84. In all likelihood Barney was correct. Shomette, *Flotilla*, p. 219, note 13.

### Charles Gordon Adapts to Norfolk Station Duty

Captain Charles Gordon, resigned to coastal service because the British blockade consigned the U.S.S. Constellation to the Elizabeth River, reluctantly took command of all the naval forces afloat at Norfolk. By May he had manned twenty-one of the twenty-three gunboats, using his ship's complement and men from the Gosport flotilla. While preparing defensively for a possible British attack, Gordon continued to aspire to sea duty. He asked the Navy Department's permission to replenish Constellation's ranks in hopes of taking advantage of a lapse in the blockade.<sup>1</sup> Hearing of Barney's predicament in St. Leonard's Creek in early June, Gordon devised a plan to assist the blockaded flotilla and proceeded on his own initiative up the bay. Rebuffed by superior British forces, Gordon returned to Norfolk and its mundane personnel problems—discipline, retention, recruitment, and fester- ing command issues.

1. Gordon to Jones, 10 May 1814, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 3, No. 47 (M125, Roll No. 36).

CAPTAIN CHARLES GORDON TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Hornet, Craney Island 12th. June 1814

Sir,

Finding that the Baltimore Flotilla is certainly blockaded in the Patuxent, I have determined on attempting a diversion with the *Hornet* & Tenders to raise his blockade if possible— As they have not more than 4 or 5 Ships now in the Bay, A very trifling movement on our part, will induce them to change their position; And I cannot but believe that they are weak upon Tangier Island, & of course apprehensive of being dislodg'd— I am not sufficiently strong to attempt a landing, And I find it impossible to obtain a single man from the Army notwithstanding they have so many Sailors at this Port; And absolutely we shall be overrun with militia, for they are coming in by hundreds every day—



As I do not contemplate taking any of the Gun Boats with me, and intend keeping on the western shore I can (in the event of being cut off from Norfolk) run my Schooners up one of the rivers & rejoin the Flotilla (by land) at my pleasure; This however I do not apprehend as their force in the Bay is small,— But one Ship (the *Acasta*) is now kept at the Capes, which is mortifying to me while my Ship is laying unmann'd & unprepared— And should anything occur up the Bay or, off the Capes I should expect to see her depart also, while I should require some days to victual & prepare for sea—

I have mention'd this to prepare you for any reports which may circulate on the subject, as it is now very evident they do not intend keeping more than one warm Frigate for the summers Blockade; And as I am short of compliment even when all hands are on board, I feel desirous to be inform'd if it is your intention the ship should proceede to sea in the event of the lower part of the Bay & the Capes being entirely clear of Enemy Ships in order that I may immediately replace the provisions I am now using & have men in readiness to fill the vacancies in the Ship—

On my return from the present contemplated Cruise as we may then calculate on Calms, I shall take my force upon the Shore to annoy the Blockading Ship if practicable—

Could the Commander of the Baltimore Flotilla be acquainted with my determinations he might be prepared to profit by it; And I should feel conscious of effecting something could we possibly form a junction— This appear'd to me so desirable that I was about to despatch one of my fast rowing boats to look for & communicate with him when I heard of the Blockade— Could he get into Potomac & communicate with me, I will be in readiness & will immediately appoint [a] place of rendezvous—

[I] shall tomorrow send an extra officer [in] my lookout boat up the bay with orders to proceede up to St. Marys (should nothing important occur between this & Potomac) And by crossing over by land, try to get an interview with the Commander of the Baltimore Flotilla—<sup>1</sup> I have the honor to be with high respect Sir, yr. obt. servt.

Cha<sup>s</sup> Gordon

ALS, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 4, No. 55 (M125, Roll No. 37); bracketed material is supplied in the places where the seal obscures letters.

1. Jones did not respond directly to Gordon about this daring plan but the secretary did inform Barney about it. Jones to Barney, 18 June 1814, p. 103.

#### CAPTAIN CHARLES GORDON TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Craney Island 29th. June 1814

Sir,

The force of the Enemy now in the Bay are so disposed as to render any movement (up the Bay) impracticable other ways than in Launches— While off Hampton, I had Launches & Cutters sufficient to operate with 150 men; But there Brigs & schooners being all up the Bay, no opportunity the most trifling was offer'd me—

After waiting untill Tuesday last<sup>1</sup> I was induced to return owing to the circumstance of Capt. Kerr (of the *Acasta*) sending in a flag with a frivolous excuse of enquiring for one of his Midshipmen & two men who were driven on shore (in a prize) upon the coast of North Carolina— He however, only saw my 3 Schooners & one Gun Boat, the Launches being conceal'd— Conceiving a change of position important on those occasions (I dropp'd up off Pig point) their old landing near Crany Island, in the night, And left my Launches & one Tender under Old point to prevent any reconnoitering they might attempt— But finding ultimately that the two Frigates<sup>2</sup> kept their position with their Tenders close under their Guns every night, And the men in my Launches requiring rest, having slept [on] the Boats & Mess'd upon the Beach for a week or 10 days, I return'd to the squadron, regretting very much that the inactivity of my Force together with its importance to the defence of this place deprives me the satisfaction of assisting Barney in any way at present— By the time my look-out boat reach'd here the point Lighthouse it appears two Ships had join'd Adml. Cockburn at Tangier; Previous to which, & when Capt. Barrie was defeated by Barney I am well satisfied the *Albion* had not half a compliment of men on board; And my officers who had been on board reported her as much lumbered with Mechanicks work Negroes, &c. &c. And disorderly & filthy in the extreme— That would have been my happy moment, with a sufficiency of Launches to have transported 500 of my men unobserved; But the distance was too great for one nights run with my Schooner which determined me on taking the western shore, so as to have concealed myself in the river before daylight had not their force been encreased and a large Ship Anchor'd off Back river on the very day that I arrived in the roads—

By tomorrows mail I will have the honor to enclose a Copy of the charges against Acting sailing master D. Hagan for which he is now in arrest! Also a statement of the distribution of all the sailing masters on this Station—<sup>3</sup> I have the honor to be with high respect Sir, Yr. Obt. servt.

Cha<sup>s</sup> Gordon

P.S. My report from the Bay shore This moment mentions one Frigate from up the Bay & one of the two at the Capes, standing out to sea; so that its probable they are with drawing from the Patuxent

C—G—

ALS, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 4, No. 111 (M125, Roll No. 37).

1. 28 June 1814.

2. *Acasta* and *Armide*.

3. For Gordon's charges against Acting Sailing Master David Hagan and his assessment of the other flotilla officers, see Gordon to Jones, 30 June 1814, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 4, No. 112 (M125, Roll No. 37). To avoid the disruption of a court-martial, Secretary Jones dismissed Hagan, stating his services were "no longer required." Jones to David Hagan, 16 July 1814, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 378 (M149, Roll No. 11).

#### CAPTAIN CHARLES GORDON TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

US. Schooner *Hornet*, Lamberts Point July 19th. 1814

Sir

I have the Honor to report, that we are now discharging men so fast from the Crew of the *Constellation*, as well as from the Flotilla that I shall be reduced to

the necessity of laying up several of the Gun Boats in a few days or at least to send them up to the yard so soon as the Enemy may make any threatening movement, as I am only keeping them at present for appearances, with the determination of full manning as many as I can & send the rest out of the way, as soon as an attack on the advance of the enemy is expected.

I have at present a nominal force of twenty Gun Boats & the *Hornet*, when I have not more than men sufficient to full man ten, including two thirds of the *Constellations* Marines with her crew, which will soon be reduced to the few I have entered since I took the command of her— We this day discharged twenty and average from five to ten per day. In her present good condition for service, And dangerous as must be her present situation in the event of a serious attack here, I have much to regret she cannot be in a constant state of readiness for sea or, for any change of Situation that may offer for the better— Having repeatedly troubled you on this Subject, it is with much reluctance I am again induced to mention it, And confess, I scarcely know what remedy to suggest; But as I feel unbounded interest in this favourite ship; And as a Sailor seldom finds himself at a loss in any situation, I would solicit to be indulged with permission to open a rendezvous in as many ports or such ports as you may deem proper, for instance all the Southern ports, as they may be conveyed here coast ways & through the Canal. And as an inducement to turn the attention of the Sailors from the Army & Letter of Marque Rendezvous's, to those of our service, I would suggest a bounty, to as great an extent, as you may conceive the importance of this ships getting to sea may require, Or even admitting they were only for the defence of this place. As it is allow'd by all who have given an Opinion that much depends upon the floating force— I would rather than be deprived of men, send my Officers to recruit Sailors for the Army, provided I could be permitted to command them in our own element, And if I could not be granted a Bounty Otherwise, It would also be gratifying if I could be permitted, by way of keeping what we have, before they are discharged, to have a general muster of the Men upon this Station, Produce my Shipping articles in person to them all. Offer such Bounty as you may sanction for a full crew of two years men from the present date, relinquishing the ballance of the time they have now to serve, and grant them liberty on shore in Small parties, to spend their Bounty and the pay now due them— Some such course appears to me desirable at this moment to enable me to profit by any change or opportunity which may offer, as I am sure, while but one Ship (now the *Dragon*) remains on the Blockade many circumstances might occur to give me an opening My Launches accompanied a Baltimore Schooner from this place night before last, and saw her safe out without the least difficulty—

With due difference I would remark that the recruiting & travelling expences, of the Crew of this ship as well as the *Adams*, Amounted I presume to at least 10 or 15 Dolls. per man from the time they sign'd untill musterd on board; And if my memory serves me we have had frequent instances in the Navy of a Bounty of 5. 10. 15. & 20 Dollars exclusive of other recruiting & travel expences— This however I do not presume to offer as a motive for my giving it, I allude to the urgency of the occasion, of which you must be the best judge, to prevent our being left destitute of men on the Station If a Bounty of 10 Dollars is considered too much: And you will sanction my making the proposition to the men upon this station and to open a rendezvous in North Carolina, I am of Opinion if I can be allowed to go as far as 10 Dollars per man including every possible ex-

pence, I can man the Ship compleat with a Crew of two years men in a short time<sup>1</sup> I have the Honor to be Sir very respectfully yr. Obt. Servt.

Cha<sup>s</sup> Gordon

LS, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 10 (M125, Roll No. 38).

1. Jones did not foresee any change in status for the bay-bound *Constellation*, but he recognized the need at this critical time to maintain the ship's complement. He therefore permitted Gordon to recruit seamen in North Carolina, Wilmington excepted, and authorized bounties of \$10 for ordinary seamen and \$20 for seamen. Jones to Gordon, 22 July 1814, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, pp. 383–84 (M149, Roll No. 11).

# CAPTAIN JOSEPH TARBELL TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

U. States Gun Boat No. 67  
Off Craney Island July 21st. 1814

Sir

Your letter of the 16th Inst.<sup>1</sup> I have had the honor to receive, in answer to which, I have to observe that on receipt of your letter of the 15th of April, wherein you directed me to report myself to Capt. Gordon, as senior officer, and to co-operate with him for the defence of this station, I waited on him immediately, and produced your letter, which he observed he received one to the same effect.

Notwithstanding this Capt. Gordon assumed the command of every thing afloat, and in all his movements he has never suggested to me any thing whatever, in fact Sir, his Lieutenant has more command than he considers I have and in a late general order he even has gone so far as to deprive me of approving the requisitions for the Flotilla and Sir, I am even deprived of granting an officer, or sending a small boat from the Flotilla on duty without his special permission, now Sir, I would beg leave to ask what situation can I consider myself under. I did forbear troubling the Department but merely to appear before the Honle. the Secretary of the Navy, in order to explain these motives which actuate me. last year this place was well defended, all peace, harmony and unanimity, this year quite the reverse five Masters Mates were put in confinement on board the ship for stating their grievances to the Department, but since ordered to duty, by these proceedings and many other causes prevent the Petty officers & men from re-entering, we are now Discharging a number of them every day, by the last of August there will be but a very few men left, I now have rank as well as Capt. Gordon, & am always ready to defend my countrys wrights, it is Sir a painful task for me thus to complain; but I state nothing but facts I have the Honor to be Sir very respectfully your Obt. Sert.—

J<sup>os</sup>. Tarbell

ALS, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 16 (M125, Roll No. 38).

1. Tarbell had written Jones on 13 July requesting permission to visit Washington to discuss his continuing command problems with Gordon. Tarbell to Jones, 13 July 1814, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 4, No. 161 (M125, Roll No. 37). Jones refused Tarbell's request and reiterated his 15 April order placing Gordon in overall command. Jones to Tarbell, 16 July 1814, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 376 (M149, Roll No. 11), and Jones to Tarbell, 15 Apr. 1814, *ibid.*, p. 278.



## CAPTAIN CHARLES GORDON TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Norfolk 26 July 1814

Sir

I this day had the Honor to receive yours of the 22d. Inst.<sup>1</sup> and feel gratified for the opportunity you have given me to man my Ship, at this most urgent & important crisis—No exertions shall be wanting on our part—

Two rendezvous's shall be immediately opened in North Carolina (Wilmington excepted) and my personal exertions in this place—

Lieut. Drayton's<sup>2</sup> total incapacity for service has so much reduced that grade in my ship, that since the departure of Lt. Kennedy I have had Mr. Stallings<sup>3</sup> doing Actg. Lieuts. duty, without assuming the uniform or receiving the pay— He is worthy & deserving, has often written me on the subject of several juniors being made over him, but will not trouble you with a complaint, relying on his commander for his character & support— Indeed (altho young as we all are) the *Constellation* cannot want for Lieuts with her present Officers— For Mr. Hamersley & Midsn. Davis<sup>4</sup> have also sufficiently my confidence to fill vacancies of Lieuts. when required, & yr. late appointmts. of Midsn. are a great acquisition to the service—

Capt. Tarbell I fear has troubled you on the subject of his command as he has addressed me on the subject in such a manner as to induce me to reply in a positive and unreserved manner— I will not trouble you at this important period with our correspondence; But assure you that the Service shall not suffer— His authority was not curtail'd untill his arrangements and general system was disapprovd by me. And as I conceived prejudicial to a Force which my Character was responsible for; Indeed I left the whole details of the Squadron to him, such as signing requisitions for supplies granting indulgences &c. &c. untill I had complaints and found it a duty incumbent on me as a responsible Commander. I was not desirous of this trouble and have studiously avoided wounding his feelings; But be assured no difficulties will arise.—

My attention being now call'd more particularly to the Ship untill the enemy shall advance, I shall again vest him with his former authority in the Flotilla, under my general instructions & guidance during my absence or untill he again deviates from what I conceive correct service— I beg I may not be considered vain, when I say that that force has progressed in its character of respectability, and would be more so with a few more dismissals, As they are, with the exception of four or five, a valuable set of Officers who will do honor to the service.—

Neither of the Warrants could be obtained from those who were dismissed— Fearful Mr. Hagan may intrude himself on you, I inform you he ran from this to avoid a warrant which was issued against him for violating the wife of a petty Officer of the Flotilla whose Husband is now in persuit of him— Mr. Hayman<sup>5</sup> is in my Opinion too worthless a character to find his way to Washington tho I believe he has left this place—

Since reporting the sloop *Earl*<sup>6</sup> of Nantucket, And on delivering up the baggage of the two men who were paroled by Capt. Barrie, we found a portable writing Desk among it which they disclaim'd the Capt. & Supercargo<sup>7</sup> of the Sloop also disclaimed it & observed that it came with Capt. Holmes's<sup>8</sup> baggage— I opened it and found it to belong to one of the Lts. of the *Dragon*— It containd several papers, but were unimportant except a few signals— I have the Honor to be with high respect & consideration your Obt. Servt.

Cha<sup>s</sup> Gordon

P.S. From the advice of a Lawyer I have conceived their deposition unimportant, consequently have not sent them on—

LS, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 34 (M125, Roll No. 38).

1. See the first note 1, p. 95, for a synopsis of Jones's 22 July letter.

2. Lieutenant Glen Drayton's service at Norfolk began in August 1813. He became ill in January 1814 and died at Norfolk on 4 September 1814. Gordon to Jones, 7 Sept. 1814, p. 305.

3. Charles T. Stallings's midshipman's warrant dated from 16 January 1809. Serving in *Constellation* since 20 May 1812, Stallings was not promoted to lieutenant until 9 December 1814.

4. Thomas S. Hamersley held the rank of sailing master from 14 January 1812. Pollard Davis's midshipman's warrant dated from 15 November 1809. He served in *Constellation* from 25 September 1812 until killed in a duel with Surgeon's Mate Richard C. Gregory on 12 November 1814. Gordon to Jones, 14 Nov. 1814, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 7, No. 131 (M125, Roll No. 40).

5. Anthony W. Hayman was appointed a sailing master on 22 April 1813 and served on the Norfolk Station until his discharge on 7 July 1814. Hayman apparently was reinstated briefly because he again appears on the station's muster rolls from 10 May 1815 until his discharge on 15 June 1815. DNA, RG45, Norfolk Station muster and pay rolls, 1807–38 and 1809–26, entry numbers 261 and 269.

6. On 21 July 1814 Gordon reported detaining the sloop *Earl*, a vessel contracted by the citizens of Nantucket. The selectmen of Nantucket sought permission from Admiral Cochrane to obtain provisions and fuel for their destitute island. Gordon to Jones, 21 July 1814, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 17 and enclosures (M125, Roll No. 38).

7. Jacob Barney was master and part owner of the sloop *Earl*. Peter F. Coffin was the agent for the selectmen of Nantucket.

8. A Captain Holmes carried coal up the Potomac to the Russian minister at Washington, Andrei Ia. Dashkov.

## Jones Reassesses the Flotilla's Fate

*After the first Battle of St. Leonard's Creek, a strategic dilemma confronted Secretary Jones. The initial euphoria of staving off a British attack on 10 June and maintaining a stalemate led to an optimistic assessment of the flotilla's situation. Jones sent more supplies and marines, and Barney strengthened his position with a small battery. In a series of letters to Barney over a ten-day span, however, Jones reevaluated American and British strategy in the Chesapeake. The bottling up of the American flotilla forced the secretary to question the value of protecting a fleet of barges and leaving Washington and Baltimore, possibly the real British targets, defenseless. Jones, ever the accountant, weighed the worth of bare hulls in deciding the fate of the little American fleet.*

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO  
CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE

Joshua Barney Esqr.  
Captain Commanding the U S. flotilla  
St. Leonard's Creek.

Navy Department  
June 12 noon, 1814.

Sir,

I have this moment received yours of yesterday,<sup>1</sup> and mark with pleasure the result of the renewed attack made by the enemy on your flotilla on the 9th. and 10th.—



It is evident you must have done them great damage, particularly the Schooner.<sup>2</sup>

They will no doubt collect all the disposable force within the Chesapeake, but as our force will doubtless collect at least as fast as that of the enemy, and as no force that he can bring against you in Boats can endanger the flotilla, so long as the Banks of the Creek are protected by our Military, the position appears to me as favorable as any in which we may expect to attack him. I shall be mistaken if ultimately he is not made to suffer extremely for his temerity.—

Lieutenant Miller<sup>3</sup> with a detachment of about 110 Marines, with three light 12 pounders in complete order, set out this morning at day dawn to join you.— They will go by the way of Queen Ann's, as there are no means of passing the Artillery over the river lower down.— He will send an Officer ahead, in order to consult you on the best position for his cooperation. All that may be expected from excellent Officers and Men, you will derive from their services.

I have not seen the Secretary at War since Friday, but it is said that two 18 pounders were dispatched from this place yesterday morning, and some infantry to day.— Should you erect a Battery at any point on the Creek or River, shot may be heated with great facility and dispatch by making a simple excavation in the earth and a good large fire. I omitted to mention this to Lieutenant Miller but 12 Pound Ball may be thus heated in a few minutes, and in loading the peice insert a dry wad, and then a damp one, before the Shot; and no accident can possibly happen.—

I have a Letter from Mr. Skinner of the 10th. Inst.— He was to put 30 days provisions on board the *Asp* the following morning for South River, and I have no doubt has himself joined you by this time.—

You will give him instructions to draw either from Baltimore or this place, such supplies as you may require, and if from this place, he will expedite the object by attending to it in person.

I will direct the supply of powder and Cylinders you require, to be dispatched tomorrow for St. Leonards town.— I am respectfully Your Obedt. Servt.

W Jones.

LB, DNA, RG45, CLS, 1814, pp. 150–51.

1. Barney to Jones, 11 June 1814, pp. 88–89.

2. *St. Lawrence*.

3. Samuel Miller was promoted to first lieutenant in the Marine Corps on 7 March 1809 and captain on 18 June 1814. He was brevetted a major for his service at the Battle of Bladensburg on 24 August 1814.

CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE, TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

St. Leonards Creek. June 13th. 1814

Sir,

I had the honor of addressing you on the 11th. Inst. giving you a short detail of our action with the enemy on the 10th. By information, they suffered much, the Large schooner<sup>1</sup> was nearly destroyed, having several shot through

her at the waters edge, her deck torn up, Gun dismounted, and main-mast nearly cut off about half way up, & rendered unserviceable; she was otherways much cut, they ran her onshore to Prevent her sinking. The Commodore's<sup>2</sup> boat was cut in two, a shot went through the *Rocket* boat, One of the small schooners carrying two 32 pounders had a shot which raked her from aft, forward; the boats generally suffered, but I have not ascertained what loss they sustained in men. Since that time they have remained in-active this way. Finding that the masts of my barges was a mark for them over the trees and points of land, I have had them all taken out, the boats are lighter & will row faster, with less danger from the Fire of the Rockets. Major Stewarts men has arrived, he has placed them in different Positions along the creek to annoy, if they venture up,

I have also erected a small battery, (1. 24 lb. Carronade), at the mouth of the branch where the *Scorpion* & Gunboats lay, and have also drove piles across the Creek, with a Boom, so that, should the force increase we have little to fear from an Attack by boats, no matter how numerous.

Yesterday a Gentleman of this County by the name of Parren<sup>3</sup> (a Violent Fed) who lives at the mouth of the creek, came up, and said that himself & Brother had been taken and carried onbd.; That he had been landed from the Commodore, to inform the inhabitants that if they remained at home quietly, they should not be molested, but if on landing he found their houses deserted he would burn them all, as he had done the house of a Mr. Patterson,<sup>4</sup> and the Barn of Mr. Skinner, (our Purser), he also said he had, promised the Commodore after having given such information to return onboard in the evening, he had the Impudence to come where the flotilla lay, and then into the Camp of Major Stewart, where I found him, and on his declaring to me it was his intention to return onboard the Enemy in the Evening, I had him arrested and have him now under guard, where he must remain untill I receive your orders, or the enemy goes down,— several other persons are onboard the enemy, and some Voluntarily, (as I am informed). Saturday<sup>5</sup> and Yesterday, the enemy were employed on the Patuxent river in landing on the Banks to plunder stock &c— it was on Saturday evening they burnt the property of Mr. Patterson & Skinner. This Mr. Parren informs me that Commodore Barrie of the *Dragan* alway commanded and is much disappointed at his defeats, for that he had wrote to Admiral Cockburn that if the Admiral would send him a frigate & Brig, he would most assuredly destroy the flotilla, The frigate is the *Acasta*, the Brig the *Jasseur*,<sup>6</sup> They left only 200 men, and one small boat onboard the *Dragon* at the mouth of the Patuxent, so that there must have been in the affair on Friday<sup>7</sup> upwards of 800 men, they came with a Band of Music playing, My force, after the bursting of my Gun, & the sinking of the Galley, was twelve Barges and 450 men,

The Militia have all been discharged, except one company, the fact is, their officers (mostly Feds.) did not encourage their men to act, & such conduct only encouraged the enemy to commit depredations along the river— I have the honor to be respectfully, Your Obt. Servt.

Joshua Barney

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 4, No. 111 (M124, Roll No. 63).

1. *St. Lawrence*.

2. Captain Robert Barrie, R.N.

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO CAPTAIN ROBERT BARRIE, R.N.

*Albion* off Tangier Island the 5th. June 1814

Sir

In Consequence of the State of the weather to day, when the *Loire* passed, I made her Signal to proceed on to join you instead of anchoring, and I therefore now forward Captain Brown's Orders

As when *Jaseur* gets to you—you will have all our Force in the Chesapeake, excepting only the *Acasta* and *Albion*, which Vessels cannot be moved on Account of Services of higher Importance; I must desire if you find the Force I have now sent to you inadequate to attack the Enemy in the Situation he has occupied in the Patuxent, that you will be good enough to make such Arrangements as may appear to you necessary to insure his being kept within the River, and then direct such of our Force as can be spared to rejoin me without Loss of Time, particularly making a Point of sending to me the People and Boats of this Ship whenever you have resolved on giving up the Idea of acting for the moment offensively, as my other Views and operations within the Chesapeake most urgently require all the Contrivance and Means which I can possibly command with the present limited Force at my Disposal. I am Sir Your very faithful Humble Servant

G: Cockburn Rear Admiral

LS, MiU-C, Robert Barrie Papers. Marginalia read: "received 7th June 8 PM."

## Engagements at St. Leonard's Creek, 8-10 June 1814

*As British reinforcements converged on the Patuxent, Barney recognized that the larger British vessels would hold the advantage in that river's open waters. In a move of questionable wisdom, Barney withdrew his small barges into St. Leonard's Creek where he hoped they would outmaneuver the British vessels. A collision was inevitable. A series of skirmishes, all ending in stalemate, preceded the first Battle of St. Leonard's Creek on 10 June.*

CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE, TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Patuxent,—St. Leonards Creek. June 9th. 1814

Sir

Since mine of the 3d & 4th. Inst. the enemy has been re-inforced with a *Razee*<sup>1</sup> and a Sloop of War Brig,<sup>2</sup> I then moved up to the mouth of this creek, at 5 AM yesterday we perceived One ship, Brig, two schooners, & 15 Barges coming up the Patuxent the wind at East. I got the flotilla under way and moved up the Creek about 2 Miles, and moored in line abreast across the channel & prepared for action, at 8 AM the Enemies Barges came up the creek, the ship &c anchored at the mouth of the Creek, a Rocket barge was advanced upon us, we fired several shot to try the distance which fell short,

whilst their Rockets passed over us in every direction, finding myself exposed in such a situation I got my Barges (13 in number) under way leaving the *Scorpion* & gunboats at Anchor, and rowed down upon them when they preceptively fled from their position behind a point, sailed & Rowed off with all their means— we pursued them untill near the Shipping, fired several shot among them, when we returned to our moorings; In the afternoon they came up again, Again threw Rockets, and was again pursued out of the Creek, but this time they were more successfull, as One Rocket fell onboard of *No. 4* of the *White*,<sup>3</sup> killed one man, set fire to a barrel of musket carthridges, the explosion of which very much injured three men, this kind of warfare is much against us, as they can reach us, when we cannot reach them, and when we pursue them, their light boats fly before us, I expect we will have much of this kind of fighting, and if they continue the Blockade of the Creek, we shall be out of provisions in 12 days, and therefore beg you will order down our purser<sup>4</sup> with Instructions to provide what may be necessary, as my time is taken up night & day in the duties of my command— I send you by an express of Col Taney,<sup>5</sup> this letter & one of the Rockets which went into the ground and did not explode the staff was about 15 feet long, I think Sir if the troops under Major Stuart<sup>6</sup> was ordered up the Patuxent & to cross over at Benidict they would be of great use, as they could occupy the different points of the Creek and annoy their boats very much, I am well convinced that the Enemy are seriously inclined for our destruction, & no doubt will wait for more force, if they cannot succeed with what they have; The Militia under Col Taney are on the alert. I am Sir with great respect Your Obt. Servt.

Joshua Barney

I am this moment informed the Ship &c have entered the mouth of the Creek

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 4, No. 105 (M124, Roll No. 63).

1. Frigate *Loire*.

2. Brig-sloop *Jaseur*.

3. Barney divided his squadron into three divisions. He commanded the red, Lieutenant Solomon Rutter the white, and Lieutenant Solomon Frazier the blue.

4. John S. Skinner.

5. Lieutenant Colonel Michael Taney, Thirty-first Regiment (Calvert County), Maryland militia.

6. Major Alexander Stuart, Thirty-sixth Infantry, U.S.A.

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO  
CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE

Joshua Barney Esqr.  
Captain Commanding the US flotilla  
St. Leonards Creek

Navy Department  
June 10th. 1814.

Sir

I have this moment received your letter of the 9th. and notice the detail of the attempt made by the enemy upon your force in St. Leonard's Creek. Rely-



3. The Parran family, Anglicized French Huguenots, settled in Calvert County in 1706 on three hundred acres on the south side of St. Leonard's Creek. John Parran, owner of Spout Farm at the mouth of the creek, is probably the "Violent Fed" to whom Barney is referring.

4. A Mr. Pattison occupied a house just north of Skinner's home.

5. 11 June.

6. Barney is referring to Barrie to Cockburn, 1 June 1814, pp. 77-79, above. Barney meant the frigate *Narcissus* and the brig-sloop *Jaseur*.

7. 10 June.

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO  
JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE

Commo. Barney

Navy Department  
June 14th. 1814—1 PM.

Sir,

Having this instant answered that part of your letter of yesterday, touching the case of Mr. Parren,<sup>1</sup> I have now to notice the remainder. I am gratified with the result of your contest with the enemy on the 10th.— He has doubtless suffered no less in men, than in his Vessels, and I trust before he leaves the Patuxent, we shall have cause to thank him for his visit.

The Marines sat [set] out on Sunday morning,<sup>2</sup> and from erroneous information, as to the means of passing the river at Nottingham, they went round by queen Anne's, which has protracted their journey 25 miles, they are I trust, with you by this time. There is a good Scow at Nottingham for passing Artillery.— The two 18 Pounders did not start as I had supposed, but will with a detachment from this place this afternoon.— Your powder and Cylinders are on the way.— Should they continue the blockade of the flotilla, without any any further attempt with their present force, it will be with a design to await the arrival of an additional force from the coast, with which they may attack some other point, while you are locked up.— In this view I have been reflecting what is best to be done, and now give you the result.— I am satisfied that the whole of the Barges may be transported from the head of St. Leonards Creek to the Bay with great facility.— I believe the distance is not more than four miles, and I am told the road is tolerably good and free from any serious impediment.— One of the large Barges stripped of every moveable article will not weigh more than Six tons—about the weight of a Cable for a 44.— Two pair of dray wheels with a stout Boltster and a chock to fit the bottom and raise it clear of the Wheels would carry a Barge. There are plenty of Oxen I am told, and in different places, you have manual force to assist.— Your information on the spot will enable you to test my information and judge of the practicability.—

If it is practicable it will be highly gratifying, and produce an excellent effect, for if you can transport them four miles you may twenty, and thus the enemy will see the futility of any attempt to Blockade you in any of the numerous inlets into which circumstances may force you.—\*

Many of our heavy built decked Gun Boats were built in the district of Maine four or five miles from navigation and hauled down by Oxen.—

A recent instance has occurred of a Vessel of 100 Tons being hauled several miles.—

The wheels and whatever else may be necessary for the purpose may be ordered from Baltimore, under the pretext of being intended for Cannon, and it will be well to keep all snug until you are ready for a rapid movement.

The Artillery and infantry will be able to protect you on either side, until the Barges are ready for action on the Bay side. I am respectfully Your Obedt. Servt.

W Jones.

\*upon the effect of which, I believe they calculate with great Confidence.

LB, DNA, RG45, CLS, 1814, pp. 152-53.

1. After consulting Attorney General Richard Rush, Jones decided to free the suspected spy John Parran because he doubted that a civilian court would convict him. Jones to Barney, 14 June 1814, DNA, RG45, CLS, 1814, pp. 151-52.

2. 12 June 1814.

CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE, TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

St. Leonards creek June 16th. 1814

Sir,

your dispatch of the 14th. 1:30 PM,<sup>1</sup> was delivered to me this morning at 6 AM. I have released Mr. Paran, but he chuses to remain as if under restraint for his own purposes. The Marines arrived this evening, I have not seen Mr. Miller, he is encamped about half a Mile up the creek at the town. On the receipt of your letter I sent my Son, Major Barney<sup>2</sup> who has been constantly with me, to examine the grounds & roads from this creek to the Bay, he has returned and reports an excellent level road from the head of the Creek 2½ Miles to the Bay. I see but one thing to prevent carrying your plan into execution, the difficulty presents itself on the Bay shore, there is nothing to prevent the Enemy the enemies ships from laying near the shore, so that we should not be able to launch, Arm, and get away our barges after they are transported, for if we place Artillery to cover us from the shipping, we cannot defend the Blockade, & Rockets, as they throw them One mile further than our shot, & I am well convinced that in four hours after we begin to prepare for transportation, the Enemy will be informed of our intentions, by the people of this district, who are all disaffected; however if you think proper we can make the attempt, and send to Baltimore for Wheels, Blocks, falls &c. Since mine of the 13th. the Narcissus frigate has come up, The Enemy has come up the creek once or twice after dark, threw a few Rockets & shot, and retired, but with no effect; I find they have four Barges from Admiral Cockburn, with 22 of his Marines all of which was in the Action of the 10th, as one of the Marines who deserted informed me; They have been up the Patuxent, Burning houses & plundering, on both sides yesterday & to day, I do not know whether they mean to attack me as yet, but expect if they do it will be in the night, I am pretty well prepared for them. Col. Carbery<sup>3</sup> is here, his conduct does not please me in more ways than one, he finds much fault publicly to the Inhabitants about my coming into this creek, he seems to have no disposition to give me real assistance, as you will see by the inclosed note, I have just received, The Position he occupied was a fine one, commanding



three points on the creek, the ground very high, and within 400 yards of the flotilla, on whom he could at any moment have fallen back upon, yet sir, last night he withdrew, without giving me any notice whatever, and this evening at 9 o'clock sent me the inclosed note,<sup>4</sup> I can expect no support from him, Major Steuart or the men, the fact is, there is no order or discipline in that Corps, The Col. disaffected, the other officers without experience and in two parties, the men under no control, ranging through the country, committing depredations, on the persons & property of the Inhabitants, leaving their Camp when they please, such sir is my situation at present, which loudly calls for relief. I am Sir with respect your Ob Servt.

Joshua Barney

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 4, No. 119 (M124, Roll No. 63).

1. Barney is referring to Jones's one o'clock letter, pp. 100-101.

2. William B. Barney, Joshua Barney's son, held a commission as a major in the Maryland militia's Fifth (Baltimore City) Regimental Cavalry District. Serving as his father's aid while the flotilla sparred with the British, William commanded the cutter *Scorpion* during the first Battle of St. Leonard's Creek.

3. Colonel Henry Carbery, Thirty-sixth Infantry, U.S.A.

4. In a short note, Carbery cited fatigue among his men as the reason for withdrawing on 15 June. Carbery to Barney, 16 June 1814, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 4, bound out of place with No. 125 (M124, Roll No. 63).

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO  
CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE

Joshua Barney Esqr.  
Commanding the U S Flotilla  
St. Leonard's Creek.

Navy Department  
June 18th. 1814. 2 PM.

Sir

I have this moment received your official letter of the 16th. Inst. together with copies of your notes to Colo. Carberry and his notes to you under the same envelope, and at the same time your private Letter of the same date.<sup>1</sup>

I regret to observe the want of cordial Cooperation and of harmony which you describe, for without the most perfect union and energy, we can hope to make but little impression on the enemy. Indeed the result of such a state of things must necessarily encourage the advances of the enemy, and may ultimately prove disastrous.—

It is difficult to account for the retrograde movement of Colonel Carberry, as the alleged motive of seeking quarters in a Barn for the repose of his men, appears to convey but an indifferent idea of the discipline and energy of that Corps. I shall lay the papers before the proper authority, and hope that a remedy may be applied.—

Colo. Wadsworth the Commissary General of Ordnance will be in your vicinity with two long 18 pounders, before this reaches you.— This morning a volunteer Company of Riflemen, and a very fine Company of volunteer Artillery I

understand have marched for the Scene of action, and I think it probable that a detachment of volunteers may march from Baltimore.—

The plan of transporting the Barges overland to the Bay, was not suggested without a view to the possible difficulties you have stated, but my local knowledge was not sufficiently distinct to determine the nature & degree of the obstacles.—

It is for you to determine the practicability of rearming and equipping the Barges on the Bay side in the face of the enemy.— If his heavy Ships can approach the beach within a point blank shot, I should deem it impracticable. The transportation can certainly be effected with great facility and reasonable expedition; and I think it will be well to order from Baltimore, two sets of wheels eight in each set, Vizt. four Wheels geared as close together as they will work, with a boltster and chock to receive the Barge at about one third from each, and thus the boat will be sustained by eight Wheels, say of the size and full strength of dray wheels, and would be drawn by fourteen yoke of oxen allowing the weight of the heaviest Barge and 500 lbs. for each Ox, but in the short portage of 2½ miles the force of your men would supersede the necessity of so many oxen.—

When you have the wheels purchases &c. prepared, you will be the better able to determine upon the expediency of using them upon the plan suggested, but whether or not, they may be converted to another very useful purpose, Vizt. to transport a few of your heavy Guns to any eligible point for a temporary battery, there to be mounted on truck Carriages which can be sent from this place or Baltimore, or by securing two rough Cheeks [*Chocks*] on the boltsters of those wheels, the Guns might be mounted on them for service.—

I wish to know how many Barges you have left in Baltimore of each kind, and in what state of preparation they are. We have one of the large and two of the smaller size Barges at this place ready for service.—

The enemy appear to attach great importance to the Blockade of the flotilla, and Mr. Barclay their Agent has been heard to say, that if you had double your force, the blockade would not be raised. Should the enemy increase his force in the Bay, it may be necessary ultimately to secure your flotilla if practicable, and transfer your men to the Barges at Baltimore and this place, and endeavour to raise the Blockade outside.—

Captain Gordon is now making a diversion in your favour, and has sent I believe an Officer to St. Mary's, to cross over and communicate with you upon the best plan of cooperation, as in collecting their force to blockade you, they raise the blockade of Norfolk, and Captain Gordon has now 23 Gunboats and two or three Schooners &c. with between 6 & 700 men.—<sup>2</sup> I am respectfully &c

W Jones.—

LB, DNA, RG45, CLS, 1814, pp. 154-55.

1. The correspondence relating to this interservice dispute can be found in DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 4, Numbers 119, 120, 125, 126 (M124, Roll No. 63) and *ibid.*, Vol. 5, Numbers 1 and 2 (M124, Roll No. 64).

2. For Captain Charles Gordon's plan to divert the British blockade of Barney, see Gordon to Jones, 12 June 1814, pp. 91-92.

CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE, TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

St. Leonards creek June 20th. 1814

Sir

I had the honor to receive your dispatch of the 18th. 2 PM, yesterday at 3 PM, Since mine of the 18th Inst.<sup>1</sup> by Major Stewart informing you that Col Carbery intended marching his troops, he did actually leave this Place that evening & encamped about 1 mile in the rear, and yesterday moved up the country a few miles from this, a number of his men left behind straggling about the farm, &c. The reports respecting the enemies movements up the Patuxent are various and no dependance to be put in them, it appears that the Brig<sup>2</sup> has moved up above Benedict, that several small schooner (prizes) returned onboard the frigates yesterday, laden with Goods Tobacco, Stock &c and immediately returned up the river again. Deserters, of whom I have had Six from the Narcissus say they will wait for troops from Bermuda, but little dependance can be placed in such information, at all events they have kept pretty well out of this creek for some days past, for on Friday<sup>3</sup> I moved down the Barges and lay them under cover of a point, & about 10 AM. A Gig came in, and rowed up under the points untill she got within good gun shot, she then discovered us but our round shot was very near distroying her, I saw two Oars cut off and was told, two men fell over board, or jumped over, Several bodies of dead men have floated onshore in the creek and River since the 10th Inst. I observe what you say respecting Wheels &c. and now write to Mr. Beatty to furnish them, with Blocks, falls and other necessary Articles, as we have no means whatever of Assistance at this place.

If three or four truck carriages could be sent on from Washington for 24 pounders, we might make good use of them, there is a fine point below this, called Point Patience where the river is very narrow not more than 200 yards wide, this point will be shewn to Col Wadsworth when he arrives. There are neither ox, horse, or Person residing within several miles of this place, all have ran off from the Enemy, or removed with their effects to avoid the ill treatment & plunder of the 36th Regt. I have been obliged to take the Waggons of the Marine Corps to send for Provisions to South river where it seems Mr. Skinner has received some from Baltimore, I am under the necessity of furnishing the Marines with Rations &c; we are much at a loss for some person to purchase articles & procure supplies, the Waggons want money advanced to them, and horses to ride express, I am not provided with money for that purpose, nor is Mr. Skinner here to make the supplies— The waggon from Washington with powder &c arrived here on Saturday 18th Inst. I shall most cheerfully co-operate with Capt Gordon when I hear from him, or transport my men &c to Washington or Balte., but I am fearfull if I do transport the barges to the bay side, we shall sacrafice the Scorpion, 2 gunboats & look out boat, if left without troops to protect them—

I have now here

- 3. 75 feet barges carrying long 24 lb. & 42 lb. Carronades
- 4. do . . . . . long 18 & 32 lb. do.
- 2. 50 feet do . . . long. light 18 & 24 lb. do.
- 4. 50 do do . . . . . long 12 & 24 lb. do.
- Look out boat . . . . . 18 lb. Gunnade
- Galley . . . . . 18 lb. Gunnade

Scorpion 1 long 24 lb., 1 18 lb. Gunnade & 2 12 lb. Carronades  
2 Gunboats, Guns taken out for service here, & 1 long 24 lb. left at Baltimore.  
There is at Baltimore

- 8. 50 feet Barges with 1 long 12 lb. & 18 lb. Gunnade
- 3. Small barges bot. [*bought*] of City with Sixes & 12 lb. Carronades these barges are ready to receive Men.

A few Shells for my 42 lb. & 32 lb. Carronades could be used to advantage over the land & points where the ships lay, or a 68 lb. Carronade with Shells would be a formidable Instrument to move them.

We have several men disabled by Accidents & some sick, The Marine Corps have no surgeon, My Doctor<sup>4</sup> is much engaged, a Surgeons mate<sup>5</sup> if at Washington to assist him would be desirable, if none at Washington I will order down a Young Gentleman who attends, Gratis, my sick at the Lazaretto at Baltimore. I am Sir. Respectfully your Ob Servt.

Joshua Barney

N B. I had engaged a Waggon to go for provisions but Col. Carbery, pressed her into his Service I have inclosed my letter to Mr. Beatty, please to correct it if necessary.

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 4 (M124, Roll No. 64). Several of the pages were bound out of order.

1. Barney to Jones, 18 June 1814, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 1 (M124, Roll No. 64).

2. *Jaseur*.

3. 17 June 1814.

4. The muster roll for the Chesapeake Bay flotilla lists Thomas Hammilton as surgeon from 22 December 1813 to 1 April 1815. Barney refers to him in later letters as Hamilton.

5. Anthony Thompson is listed on the flotilla's muster roll as serving from 19 July to 7 September 1814 as a surgeon's mate.

[Enclosure]

James Beatty Esqr. St. Leonard creek

June 20th. 1814

Sir

You will please to order without delay 16 Wheels the size & full strength of Dray wheels to be fitted as the fore Wheels of a Waggon with a Simple Tongue, Also—

- 4. 18 Inch threefold blocks. 4. 18 Inch double blocks.
- 4. 18 Inch Single blocks. 2 Carreening falls for Do.
- 4. towlings<sup>1</sup> 4½ Inch 120 fathom long
- 2 Coils of Lanyard Stuff
- 3 Coils of 15 thread rattling<sup>2</sup>
- 50 lb. of 10 Inch Spikes
- 50 lb. of 8 Inch do.
- 50 of 7 Inch do.

50 lb. of large nails—these articles to be sent down the bay as low as possible, to South river, West river, Herring bay or Plumb Point, according to circumstances, If a number (say 5) of heavy mill Waggons, could be procured at Baltimore to bring them down and afterwards to ply between this place, and where



my provisions may be landed, and for other Purposes it would be of Importance, Mr. Skinner is now above to send forward provisions, as my force has increased by the arrival of the Marine Corps & I expect other men of the flotilla from Balte. we shall continue to want provisions, which must be kept under forwardness to our relief— I am Sir your Ob Servt.

Joshua Barney

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 4, enclosure (M124, Roll No. 64).

1. Towlines.
2. Ratlines.

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO  
CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE

Joshua Barney Esqr.  
Commanding US Flotilla  
St. Leonard's Creek.—

Navy Department  
June 20th. 1814.—

Sir

The force of the enemy present & accumulating in and near the Patuxent, either for the real or ostensible purpose of destroying or blockading the flotilla under your command, calls for a deliberate view of the motive and object of the enemy, in order to determine decisively and promptly upon the course which the public interest and sound policy may render it expedient to pursue on our part.—

There is little doubt that the enemy is concentrating in your vicinity, not only all the disposable force in the Chesapeake, but has ordered reinforcements from the Coast if not from Bermuda.— Such a force will either accomplish his object, if the destruction of the flotilla be in reality the object, or will require a corresponding increase of force on our part for its protection.— This force must be drawn chiefly from this place and Baltimore, and thus abstract an essential part of the defensive means of those Cities, including a large portion of Artillery.— To act with effect the greater part of this force must operate on the narrow peninsula formed by the Chesapeake, the Patuxent, and St. Leonard's Creek, the isthmus of which is not more than two miles wide, on the Bay side of which the enemy may land a body of men in the night and attack your rear, while another body in cooperation with his Barges and light Craft may assail you in front; thus jeopardizing all the force in the Peninsula, and exposing the flotilla to his musketry and artillery from the banks of the Creek

Suppose however he does not choose to hazard an attack, but shall be content to blockade the flotilla, and thus employ its whole force, together with the military, collected for its protection, in mere measures of defence; which the presence of two of his Ships will accomplish, while all his Barges and light Craft may, be employed depredating in every other quarter unmolested.—

But if his force should be very considerable, his apparent design upon the flotilla may serve to mask a rapid movement upon this City or Baltimore.—

He may ascend the Patuxent to Nottingham, and landing within twenty four miles of this City, reach it by a forced march in a few hours, and in the absence of a principal part of its defence, accomplish its destruction and return to his fleet before a sufficient force could be collected, either to repel his approach or cut off his retreat. A few hours would also carry him to the vicinity of Baltimore, where in the absence of the flotilla, he would command without molestation the whole of the Patapsco below the range of the Guns of Fort McHenry, and land on either side his forces, where his Rockets could be thrown into the Fort and Town, secure from the range of the Guns of the Fort.—

He certainly appears to attach much more importance to the blockade of a few Barges, than the distinct and intrinsic object can justify— Hence I believe he has other and greater designs.—

These are serious views of the subject, and demonstrate that our object in maintaining the defence of the flotilla, in order to justify our perseverance in that course, should be commensurate with the importance of the objects which are thus exposed to hazard.—

That some public sensation might be excited by the voluntary destruction of the flotilla, is very probably, but that could not sustain for a moment the force of just explanation. Let us examine the extent and nature of the object to be defended, and the consequences of its abandonment.— If all the armament & every moveable equipment of the flotilla was removed to a place of safety, the value would stand thus—

Hull of the cutter <i>Scorpion</i>	\$3000"
Two Gun Boats, <u>Hulls</u> absolutely <u>nothing</u> being old and so sluggish as to endanger any force they may act with, and are better burnt than preserved.	}
The bare Hulls of Six Barges, large Size, may be contracted for, to be built in a fortnight at \$2000 each	
Ditto of 7 Small Size Barges . . . . .do. at \$1500 "	12000"
	10500"
Extent of the loss by voluntary destruction	\$25,500"

This is but the cost of a single Baltimore Schooner, which nobody would think of defending even at the expense already incurred, and if we continue to defend the flotilla in its present position, more than its whole value will be expended every fortnight, besides being deprived of the invaluable services, and perhaps of the lives of those employed in its defence.— The possible chance too of some of the Barges falling into the hands of the enemy ought not to be lost sight of.— Their loss would be nothing compared with the consequences of such formidable weapons of annoyance in the hands of the enemy; Our loss then will be merely the pecuniary amount of the bare Hulls of the Flotilla.—

The men can be immediately transferred to the other Barges which are ready to receive them.— These considerations have induced the determination to destroy effectually the whole of the flotilla under your command, after stripping them of every moveable article, which you will transport as soon and as conveniently as possible to Baltimore for the equipment of other Barges.—

The Agent at Baltimore<sup>1</sup> will have orders to contract immediately for the building of five large Barges with all possible dispatch.—

As soon as you have accomplished the destruction of the flotilla, and taken the necessary measures for the safety & transportation of the Stores; You will send to this place a sufficient number of officers and men to man one large and



two small Barges, and a new Schooner<sup>2</sup> of 100 tons just built and equipped at this Navy Yard.

The Schooner mounts one long 18 Pr. pivot Gun, and Six 12 Pd. Carronades.— The residue of your Officers and men you will order to Baltimore to man the Barges at that place, when the force from this, will join you as soon as possible.—

Should the enemy have changed his position so as to afford a clear indication of an opening for your escape, you will suspend the execution of this order for a short time, otherwise you will carry it into execution forthwith.— I am respectfully Sir your Obedt. Servant

W Jones.

P S. The transportation of the Barges across the Isthmus to the Bay, as suggested in my former letter, could certainly be accomplished with ease, but if the enemy's Ships can lay within gun shot of the Bay shore, according to your information, the rearming and equipping of the Barges under his guns, would be impracticable.—

LB, DNA, RG45, CLS, 1814, pp. 155–58.

1. James Beatty.
2. *Lynx*.

CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE, TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

St. Leonards creek. June 21st. 11 AM. 1814

Sir.

I have just received your dispatch of Yesterday, and shall instantly commence the preparation to carry it into execution, I acknowledge the justness of the reasoning, and the precaution in your orders, but I feel a depression of Spirits on the occasion, indescribable: I must be cautious in mentioning to my Officers & Men the final result, they are in high spirits and anxious to meet the enemy, who we look on as defeated & Beaten. I shall break the matter to them as we progress: We shall want waggons from above (none here) to transport the materials which will be great. The Cannon will be difficult to remove and if left here will be rendered useless by the disaffected Inhabitants, as has been the case at Benedict. I had furnished Major Stuart with a 12 lb. Carronade when in St. Maries, he had it brought to Benedict on his way to join me, where some Villians spiked it. I conceive the best mode will be for me to forward our Articles towards Herring bay. West & South river, there to be embarked (if out of danger) for Baltimore, sending one party direct to Washington to mann the three barges at that place, nothing will detain me but the means of transportation, The enemies Brig<sup>1</sup> and several small schooners (prizes) laden with Plunder chiefly Tobacco went down the Patuxent yesterday, I suppose to deposit their cargoes & return. This morning the other schooners & Barges have gone up towards Benedict. The two frigates<sup>2</sup> & Large schooner<sup>3</sup> lays at the mouth of the creek. I am respectfully your Ob Servt.

Joshua Barney

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 5 (M124, Roll No. 64).

1. *Jaseur*.
2. *Narcissus* and *Loire*.
3. *St. Lawrence*.

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO  
CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE

Joshua Barney Esqr.  
Commanding the US flotilla  
St. Leonard's Creek.

Navy Department  
June 21st. 1814.—

Sir

I herewith enclose a copy of the order of the Secretary of War to Colo. Wadsworth, by which you will observe that a battalion with some heavy peices has been ordered from Baltimore, and that Colo. W. is directed to examine point Patience, and if found a commanding position to erect a Rampart thereon, with which and the field Artillery on both sides the river, it is hoped to annoy effectually, if not prevent the return of the Ships, now above that point.

If this plan or any other which may promise a successful result, shall be adopted, you will suspend the execution of my order of yesterday until an experiment shall be made, or the project abandoned.—

Colo. Wadsworth will see and confer with you on the subject, and it certainly would be very satisfactory, if any decisive course could be adopted, to terminate the Blockade, and spare the destruction of the flotilla; but the continuance of the present state of things, is altogether inadmissible; and unless some alternative shall speedily occur, you will carry into execution my orders of yesterday. I am respectfully Your Obedt. Servt.

W. Jones.

P S. I have this moment, 3 PM, received yours of the 20th. the person who brought it, having been injured by a fall, cannot immediately return. If the enemy could be driven below the mouth of the Creek, so that the flotilla could pass up the river, the Vessels could be placed in safety, and the Crews transferred to other Barges.—

This however can only be done by a force on shore.

LB, DNA, RG45, CLS, 1814, p. 159.

CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE, TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

St. Leonards creek June 22d. 1814

Sir.

At 11 AM. I received your letter of yesterday I was at that moment onshore carrying into Execution your order of the 20th. I had dismantled the *Scorpion*,

two gun boats, Galley, look-out boat, & the Six fifty feet barges, every article was onshore under tents ready for transportation when waggons should arrive, I instantly gave orders for all the guns to be again reshipped with the necessary Ammunition & prepared for Action, it is now 2.30 PM and every barge and the *Scorpion* is ready. I will not re-arm the gun boats. should an occasion present, by arrival of any force in troops, so that we can drive the enemy from the mouth of the creek, I will push up the Patuxent, according to your wish, which I now flatter myself will be done. Yesterday morning (I am informed) the *Dragon*, Brig,<sup>1</sup> schooner & Prizes went down the Bay, the large Schooner,<sup>2</sup> (again repaired) & a number of Barges went up the Patuxent, we are left with the two frigates<sup>3</sup> to blockade us.

As I have all the sails, Rigging, water casks and other articles onshore, and which I shall not want, even if I get up the river, I will have them transported up the Country, so that let the worst come, I shall have very little else, than our Guns & ammunition to send away, I have fixed on a place about 12 miles from here, Huntington Court house for a deposit, where I have sent Mr. Rutter with a guard to receive the Articles, also to take charge at that place of what provisions may arrive from Baltimore, it is situated about 3 miles from the head of Huntington Creek, and I believe more out of danger than if further up, and quite convenient to me in both respects; my only difficulty will be, if I am under the fatal necessity of distruction, to get off my heavy guns, the only mode I see is for Mr. Beatty to send down with Bread &c. several of the large Baltimore mill waggons, they & they only can effect the transportation of my long 24s. & 18 pounders. I am Sir, respectfully your Obt. Servt.

Joshua Barney

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 6 (M124, Roll No. 64).

1. *Jaseur*.

2. *St. Lawrence*.

3. *Narcissus* and *Loire*.

## Recall of Blockading Force

By mid-June 1814, Admiral Cockburn, like Secretary Jones, was reevaluating his strategy in the Chesapeake Bay. After strengthening the force blockading Joshua Barney, to the detriment of the blockading squadron at the mouth of the bay and the establishment of the Tangier Island base, Cockburn decided to recall this concentrated force and leave a minimal one to bottle up the commodore. Meanwhile, Captain Barrie initiated raids against Benedict and Lower Marlborough, hoping a pillaging campaign would draw the American flotilla out. With Barney neutralized in St. Leonard's Creek, Cockburn decided it was an opportune time to order *Dragon* to Halifax for refitting after its long duty in the bay. Captain Thomas Brown of *Loire* assumed command of the squadron blockading the flotilla.

In the last week of June 1814, Cockburn resumed his correspondence with Cochrane after a five-week hiatus. The rear admiral attributed the lull to the expectation that Cochrane would be joining him in the Chesapeake at any time. In the meantime, as the commanding officer on the spot, having up-to-date knowledge of local exigencies, Cock-

*burn took it on himself as occasion justified to overrule the absent vice admiral's orders and reinforce his own squadron.*

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO CAPTAIN ROBERT BARRIE, R.N.

*Albion* in the Chesapeake 17th. June 1814

Sir

I have to request so soon as you receive this Letter that after making such Arrangements as may appear to you requisite for securing the Retention of the Baltimore Flotilla within the Patuxent you will without further delay rejoin me at this Anchorage in the *Dragon* bringing with you also such other of our Force as may not be absolutely required for the Duty above specified the charge of which you will be pleased to give over to Capt. Brown of the *Loire*— I am &c.

(signed) G Cockburn Rr. Adl.

LB, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 10, Vol. 24, pp. 128–29 (Reel 6).

CAPTAIN ROBERT BARRIE, R.N., TO REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N.

Copied

*Loire* off St Leonards Creek  
River Patuxent June 19th. 1814

Sir

My Letter of the 11th. Inst.<sup>1</sup> would acquaint You with the Result of Commodore Barneys Manœuvres, and that he had secured himself at the Head of the Creek under a strong Protection of Military, finding the Flotilla shewed no Disposition to again venture from its Fastness, I conceived by destroying some of the Tobacco Stores, the Inhabitants would be induced to urge Commodore Barney to put out and defend their Property— Under this Impression (accompanied by Captain Watts), I proceeded towards a Tobacco Store about four Miles above the Ship in the Neighbourhood of which five hundred militia were assembled.<sup>2</sup> Captain Carter (R.M.) was landed with one hundred and forty Marines and thirty of the Colonial Corps— The Enemy did not think it prudent to face this Force, but allowed the Tobacco Store and three Houses which were most excellent Military Posts, to be burnt without Opposition.

On the 13th. Captain Carters party was landed on the South Side of the River to oppose three hundred Militia collected near the House of Mr Prater,<sup>3</sup> but the Enemy aware of our Intentions fled into the Woods— On the 14th. We again landed on the South Side, and burned a Tobacco Store and a House which the Soldiers had occupied— On the 15th the *Narcissus* joined and still keeping in View the Probability that the Inhabitants would force the Flotilla out to protect them, I determined to proceed up the River with three Divisions of Boats, the first consisting of five, commanded by Captain Watts, the second of three by Lieutenant Alexander, the third of three by Lieutenant Urmston, in these I embarked about one hundred and Sixty Marines, and thirty of the Colonial Corps— I also took with me the *Dragons* Tender— We left the *Loire* at one

## BARRIE'S RAIDS ON THE PATUXENT



Map 5

o'Clock and in a few Hours arrived at Benedict, here a Party of Regulars were station'd who fled on our approach, leaving several Musquets—Knapsacks, and Part of their Camp Equipage behind them, they also left a Six Pounder which was spiked— The Inhabitants deserted the Town and removed their effects— We found a Store containing about three Hundred and Sixty Hogsheads of Tobacco, leaving Lieutt. Fitzmorris (an active zealous Officer) in the *Dragons* Tender to protect this Store from the Enemy, I pushed on towards Marlborough where I understood there were several Stores of Tobacco and other Property, and as Marlboro: is near the Seat of Government, I thought an Attack on this Town would be a sad Annoyance to the Enemy and oblige the Regulars and Militia to try their Strength with us, but I was deceived; as both Militia and Inhabitants made off to the Woods, and we were allowed to take quiet Possession of a Town admirably situated for Defence, here we passed the Night without Molestation though only eighteen Miles from Washington— In the Morning I loaded a small Schooner with Tobacco, and having plentifully supplied ourselves with Stock, I burned Tobacco Stores containing two thousand five hundred Hogsheads of this valuable Article, and then embarked— From some Slaves who came down to us I received Intelligence that about three hundred and sixty of the 36th. Regt. and a Party of Militia were collected on some high Cliffs on the narrowest Part of the River to cut off our Retreat, as these Cliffs afforded a secure Ambush to annoy the Boats from, I landed Captain Carter with his Party to take the Enemy in Flank should he shew himself, but the Marines were allowed to traverse the Skirts of the Cliffs and embark without Molestation, tho' soon after they were embarked the Enemy shewed himself and fired a few Volleys out of Gun Shot; When we arrived off Benedict I found Lieutenant Fitzmorris had completely kept the Enemy at Bay, and leaving him with a few Boats to guard the Town and Ferry I returned on Board the *Loire* where I had the Honor to find your order of the 17th. Instant.

I am aware that the Nature of the Service I have been obliged to detail has rendered my Narrative extremely prolix, but I must yet trespass on your Patience to assure You of my fullest Approbation of the active obedient and zealous Conduct of every Officer and Man under my orders,

I received from Captains Brown, Lumley & Watts every Assistance I could expect from Gallantry, Zeal, and hearty Cooperation, the same Feeling animated all; Captain Carter of the Marines on this Occasion and on every other where his Services have been required, conducted himself like an active, able, and judicious Soldier; Lieutenant Urmston of the *Albion* commanded a Detachment of the Boats and I have great Pleasure in reiterating the Assurances I have given You of his meritorious Conduct— Lieutenant Alexander of the *Dragon* who commanded the third Division of the Boats continues to merit in the fullest Extent the high Encomiums you were pleased to express of his Conduct, when he had the Honor to be the Senior Lieutenant employed under you in the different Attacks up the Susquehanna— Lieutenants Dickinson, Marshall Fitzmorris, Hoare, Wright & Mr George Pearson who commanded in the heavy Boats acquitted themselves fully to my Satisfaction, and I am happy of again having this opportunity of bringing Mr Pearsons Services under your Notice— On every Occasion where the Marines were landed Lieutenant Hawkins commanded the Advance, his active, zealous, and intrepid Conduct justified my so employing him, at the same Time allow me to assure You that the Officers &



Marines belonging to the *Albion*, *Loire*, & *Narcissus* acquitted themselves with the utmost Credit.

You will be happy to hear that the Colonial Corps conducted themselves with the utmost Order, Forbearance and Regularity, and they were uniformly Volunteers for the Station where they might expect to meet their former Masters

It is with Pleasure I acquaint You that not an Instance has occurred of Drunkenness tho' every House we entered was amply supplied with Spirits. I have the Honor to be Sir Your most obedient and Very humble Servant

Robt: Barrie Capt

LS, UKENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2333, fols. 106-10.

1. See pp. 89-91.

2. This incident occurred on 12 June 1814.

3. Barrie probably meant Plater, as that St. Mary's County family lived at "Sotterly," an estate overlooking the Patuxent River.

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO  
CAPTAIN SIR EDWARD T. TROUBRIDGE, R.N.

23d June 1814

Dear Sir

I beg you to believe that it is not without the greatest Distress and Anxiety I feel myself called upon by the Exigencies of the Service to annul for a moment the pleasanter orders under which you were acting from the Commander in Chief,<sup>1</sup> and in Lieu thereof to employ *Armide* on a Duty so much less agreeable to you, but we all owe it to our Country to sacrifice our private Feelings, to the general Good—And I am sure if I were not here, and you were in Fact the Senior Officer, you would not leave the *Acasta* alone under the existing Circumstances and with such superior Force of the Enemy so near to her—much less would you give up all we have open to us in the upper Part of this Bay, to concentrate the whole in Lynhaven the only Alternative left me, in the Event of my complying strictly with orders, certainly written by the Commander in Chief, whilst ignorant of the rapid increase of the Enemy's offensive means within the Capes— Captain Barrie's Report makes the Flotilla now blocked up in the Patuxent amount to 24 Vessels averaging about 60 men each, having a Regiment attached to them— there are four large Sloops of light Dft of water with 4 or 5 Guns of a Side, the others carry a long 24 Pr. each and are tolerably well handled & managed, this Force therefore he states cannot be secured in its present inoffensive Position with less than two Frigates and a Brig or Schooner<sup>2</sup> which Force he has therefore left there, I have there but one other Frigate to guard this Island (which I cannot now give up without Permission from the Comm in Chief for so doing) & to keep up the Communication between Lynhaven and myself as I must now [*proceed*] in this Ship<sup>3</sup> to the higher Parts of the Chesapeake in Consequence of the *Dragon* being ordered into Port and my Judgement dictating to me the Propriety of complying with the order relating to her in Preference of those regarding the Frigates<sup>4</sup> as she is short of Provisions Stores &c of every Description in which you are of Course all of you complete, added

also to the Consideration that you have been lately refreshed in Port, and she has been out nearly a year— I owe it however to Capt. Barrie to add that seeing the Difficulties to which I am reduced for Force, and how much the Honor & Advantage of our Country require an Increase of it here at this moment, he has most handsomely offered and indeed pressed me to allow him to stay also, but the great Deviations I have been obliged to make in the Comm in Chiefs Arrangements imperiously calling on me to communicate with him thereon, I have for the Reasons I have before hinted & on other Considerations withstood his very disinterested & ready offer & directed him to proceed in Conformity with the Com. in Chiefs orders into Port, but carrying my Dispatches to him at Bermuda prior to his going to Halifax, all therefore which I find it in my Power to do to meet your wishes, is to send the order which I now do to Capt. Kerr to permit of your proceeding according to your former Orders on the Arrival of any Ship in Lynhaven Bay which will make him equal to cope with the Enemy's Force threatening him from Norfolk

I have been led perhaps rather more into Detail on this Subject than was necessary, but I wish to impress upon you that nothing but the Paramount Call of what I conceive to be my Duty to my Country & to the Commr. in Chief himself, could have induced me to detain you one minute & you will perhaps understand better by & Bye, when you have had a few heavy & responsible Charges entrusted to you, that which I at present feel & by which I am governed in my Conduct towards you. I am Dr. Sir

G Cockburn

LB, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 10, Vol. 25, fols. 21-23 (Reel 7).

1. Admiral Cochrane had ordered Troubridge to cruise off Nantucket. Cochrane to Troubridge, 25 May 1814, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 14, Vol. 38, pp. 311-12 (Reel 9).

2. Frigates *Loire* and *Narcissus*; brig-sloop *Jaseur*; schooner *St. Lawrence*.

3. *Albion*.

4. Probably *Armide* and *Narcissus*.

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO  
VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N.

*Albion* in Tangier Bay 25 June 1814

My dear Sir

I have to thank you for your private Letters by the last four Ships which have touched here *Saturn* *Endymion* *Narcissus* & *Severn*,<sup>1</sup> but my want of means of communicating with you has occasioned my public Correspondence with you to accumulate to such an extent that I will not now trouble you at any length, the more especially as in your last of the 11 Inst. you give me to hope that I shall have the Satisfaction of seeing you so very soon, and I full well know how much more is to be explained in half an Hour's Conversation than in a Volume of Letter writing.

My public Letters<sup>2</sup> will inform you of all our late Operations and how sharply and unexpectedly Jonathan has exerted himself in putting forth his Marine Ar-

maments in this Bay and how much I have been puzzled to cut & contrive to meet him at all Points and cause all his Efforts to recoil on himself, I trust My dear Sir you will be satisfied with our Exertions, and can truly assure you that every man has done his best, had I had more force at my disposal more should have been done but as it is, this last Month has cost the Enemy around us more than a Million of Dollars, and I have his great Armament fast where it can do no harm but to its Friends and is exposed to certain Destruction whenever force enough arrives to attack it— Captn. Barrie will probably have to deliver to you my Dispatches indeed I hope it may so happen as he can give you every particular respecting the Situation of the Flotilla & of the Force requisite or best adapted for destroying it— the Bombs Ships are in my Opinion the first & principal requisite, the Marines the next; I like the description of Force you now have with you far better than that which was here last year, it is of a much handier & less ceremonious kind.

I hope you will be induced to push up towards the Patuxent or their Islands without stopping in Lynhaven, that the Armament may arrive before the Accounts of it— I am decidedly of Opinion that about the Seat of Government & in the upper parts of the Chesapeak is where your Operations may be commenced to most Effect—but the Country is in general in a horrible State it only requires a little firm & Steady Conduct to have it completely at our Mercy— I beg you to weigh in your Mind the reasoning in my last Letter to Coll. Barclay, and to make up your Mind how you chuse us to act on the subject of their Militia Men, much will turn on this<sup>3</sup>

I hope you will be gratified at learning by my public Letters how uncommonly and unexpectedly well the Blacks have behaved in the several Engagements in which they have now joined with us, & though one of them was shot & died instantly in the front of the others at Pungoteake it did not daunt or check the others in the least but on the contrary animated them to seek revenge Mr. Hammond however has them in excellent order & entirely prevents their committing any improper outrages, he really deserves much Credit for his Care & Management of these People, & I trust you will be inclined to do something for him

I do not think we want recruiting Parties from the West India Regiments, as I much prefer your Idea of forming a Corps of Colonial Marines the Name by which they are now known and I assure you I should be most happy to have a Proportion of them embarked in the *Albion* in lieu of our own Marines, they are stronger Men and more trust worthy for we are sure they will not desert whereas I am sorry to say we have Many Instances of our Marines walking over to the Enemy

The fatigues we have undergone here & the sudden changes of the weather from excessive Heat to Coolness has tried our Constitutions a little, I have been unwell but am now better again— Captn. Ross however of this Ship has suffered so much that I have been obliged to give him leave of absence to go into Port in the *Dragon*, in the hope that a few Weeks recreation & better Air may bring him about again, I trust you will approve of my having so done Any Commander who has a mind to act here during his Absence I shall gladly receive.

*Dragon* is loaded literally with Prize goods & I have still, more here than I know what to do with, I hope you will have some Transports with you fit to take it in, you see we have not been quite Idle even in this way—

Have you heard of the Change in the Admiralty? Mr. Canning is first Lord— Lord Melville is gone back to his board of Controul & Lord Buckinghamshire is Lord President—<sup>4</sup> Our latest Paper is to the 17th. of June—Buonaparte had embarked at St Tropez for Elba & every thing was quiting on the Continent even faster than Could have been hoped or expected, [Lor]d Wellington & Lord Harrowby [torn] to be our Ministers at the general Congress, and the latter is to remain as our Ambassador in Paris—<sup>5</sup>

I enclose herewith some of our latest Papers and in anxious hope of soon seeing you the Bomb Ships & Marines— I remain My dear Sir Most faithfully & truly your's

G: Cockburn

ALS, UKENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2574, fols. 135–39.

1. Cockburn is referring to Cochrane's letters to him from April to June received via *Saturn* on 14 May, *Narcissus* on 10 June, *Endymion*, on 17 June, and *Severn* on 24 June.

2. Cockburn's public letter number nineteen of 25 June 1814 follows; the other public letter of this date is in UKLPR, Adm. 1/507, fol. 87. This latter letter related Lieutenant George C. Urnston's destruction of an American post near Chesconessex Creek.

3. Cockburn is probably referring to his letter of 8 June to the agent for British prisoners in America, Thomas Barclay. Cockburn contended that off-duty American militiamen should not be considered noncombatants if captured. According to Cockburn, the American government considered all males between twelve and forty-five to be in the militia and capable of defending the coast, thus releasing the regular army for action in Canada. Cockburn to Barclay, 8 June 1814, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 10, Vol. 24, pp. 111–26 (Reel 6).

4. Cockburn was misinformed about the change at the Admiralty. George Canning did not replace Viscount Melville as First Lord. Robert Hobart, 4th Earl of Buckinghamshire, was president of the Board of Control from 1812 until his death in 1816.

5. This is a reference to the Congress of Vienna, which convened in the fall of 1814 to settle issues relating to the disposition of the French Empire. Although each nation that had participated in the war with France sent plenipotentiaries to Vienna, the four powers that had overthrown Napoleon—Austria, Britain, Prussia, and Russia—took the lead in negotiations. Lord Castlereagh headed the British delegation at Vienna. The Duke of Wellington later replaced him. The Congress of Vienna concluded its deliberations in June 1815. Dudley Ryder, 1st Earl of Harrowby, was a minister in Lord Liverpool's administration from 1812 to 1827.

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO  
VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N.

No. 19

*Albion* in the Chesapeake  
the 25th. June 1814

Sir,

I have the Honor to report to you that in pursuance of the System which I stated to you (in my last Communication of 9th May by *Lacedaemonian*)<sup>1</sup> I had thought most advisable to pursue here, for distracting and annoying the Enemy's Attention, Means, and resources; I caused (soon after the sailing of the *Lacedaemonian*) some Excursions to be made up the Severn, York, and Back Rivers, which however were not attended with any Consequences beyond that of harrassing the Enemy and therefore do not require being further detailed to you; On the 28th May having learnt that the Enemy had erected a Battery and established a Post at a Place called Pungoteake not far from this Anchorage. I



determined on attempting to Surprize the Guard and destroy the Work, On which Service therefore the Boats of the *Albion* and *Dragon*, proceeded in the Night of the 28th. under the immediate Command of Captain Ross of this Ship who very handsomely volunteered his Services on the occasion, and I have much Pleasure in adding that tho' they failed in the first part of the object (owing to the Wind and Sea getting up and preventing their reaching the place before daylight) yet they completely succeeded in the latter Point bringing off with them a very handsome 6 Pounder Field Piece after destroying the Battery Guard House &c. &c. in the Face of the whole Militia Force of the Neighbourhood; herewith I transmit for your more particular Information the official Report<sup>2</sup> of this Gallant little affair, and have much Pleasure in congratulating you on the Conduct of our new raised Corps, the Colonial Marines, who were for the first time, employed in Arms against their old Masters on this occasion, and behaved to the admiration of every Body.

On the 30th. May I was on the point of sending off an Expedition of similar Nature against a place called Cherrystone further to the Southward, under the immediate Direction of Captain Barrie, when I received Intelligence by one of these Islanders that a more extensive and formidable Flotilla than that of last Year had again been fitted out from Baltimore at great expence, and had actually sailed from thence under the Command of Commodore Barney towards the Potowmac, and was supposed in the first Instance to be intended to Capture or destroy any of our smaller detached Vessels which they might be able to cut off and surprize, and then to join in the Potowmac River, the Washington and Norfolk Flotillas both of which were on the move though they had not as yet quitted those places; Having often received Communications of this Nature without foundation, I did not give implicit faith to the Intelligence but I considered it sufficiently worthy of Attention to induce me to change the destination of my little Expedition and in lieu thereof, to direct Captain Barrie<sup>3</sup> to proceed with the Boats of this Ship and *Dragon* and the *St. Lawrence* (covering them with the *Dragon*) as high up the Chesapeake as the Patuxent, looking into every Creek and inlet in the way, to ascertain whether such a Flotilla was in the Neighbourhood, and if so, to use his utmost endeavors with the means at his disposal to Capture or destroy it; on the 3rd. I learnt by Letter from Captain Barrie<sup>4</sup> that he had scarcely reached St. Jerome's Creek in the furtherance of the Instructions I had given him, when he discovered the Flotilla in question consisting of Twenty four Vessels large and small, standing with a fair Wind towards Hoopers Straits, near to which the *Jaseur* had been placed to cover a Party of our People getting fascines from the Upper Islands for Fort Albion— on seeing the *St. Lawrence* and our Boats the Flotilla altered its Course and gave Chace to them but on discovering the *Dragon* under Sail it made the best of its way back up the Chesapeake again, and was closely pursued by the *St. Lawrence* the Boats and the *Dragon*, 'till it reached the Patuxent in which River it took shelter; Captain Barrie there closed with it, and reconnoitred it, and found the Strength of the Flotilla was far too great for him to attempt doing any thing against with the force then attached to him as there was not working room for a Line of Battle Ship within the River but he stated that he thought the Enemy might be followed up the Patuxent and perhaps something done with them if I would send to him Frigates and other small Craft, I therefore immediately dispatched an order to Lynhaven Bay for the *Loire* to proceed without Loss of Time to the Patuxent<sup>5</sup> and I recalled the *Jaseur* from the Service she was engaged in at the

upper part of this Inlet, and ordered her likewise to join him without delay, this was (unfortunately) all the force under my orders excepting only the *Acasta* in Lynhaven Bay and this Ship here between which I endeavoured to keep up a Communication though fifty miles apart, by means of a Prize Sloop I converted into a Tender—<sup>6</sup> On the 10th. I had the Satisfaction of discovering another Frigate coming up which proved to be the *Narcissus* but on her arrival (contrary to my Expectation) I found myself in much greater difficulty and dilemma than before, she having positive orders from you to go on to the Delaware and bringing Your Instructions for me to send *Dragon* into Port without being relieved immediately *Endymion* should arrive, which Ship was likewise not to remain here; seeing as I immediately did that it would be quite impossible for me to carry strictly into Execution these your orders, but by the Destruction of this new raised Flotilla, I did not hesitate in taking the momentary advantage offered me towards forwarding this object by the Arrival of the *Narcissus*, and I directed Captain Lumley (notwithstanding his orders) to proceed on without loss of Time to Captain Barrie to aid in the Attempt, but on the 17th. the *Endymion* arrived and as I had learnt by Letter from Captain Barrie that notwithstanding every thing I had sent to the Patuxent, it was perfectly impracticable for him to do any thing successful against the Flotilla in the Situation it had occupied in Leonard's Creek, that all his Efforts by burning Stores &c. in the Neighbourhood had failed of inducing Commodore Barney to come from his strong hold, and that a very large land Force had been gathered from all parts for the Security of this Flotilla, I was obliged to give up the Idea of destroying it for the present, but I could not bring myself to permit of its escaping again from a Place where it is so easily to be got at, if any Strength of Marines or Land Force (as now expected) should arrive, and where by its being kept, the whole Country around Baltimore which was at the great expence of fitting it out, is left open to our incursions, I therefore considered it my duty, after reading your Dispatches by the *Endymion*,<sup>7</sup> to send to Captain Barrie the Letter of which the Inclosure No. 1 is a Copy<sup>8</sup>—and on the 18th. I received intimation that the *Armide* had arrived in Lynhaven Bay, but being at the same time informed that the Norfolk Flotilla ~~before alluded to~~, and the *Constellation* & some armed Brigs and other Craft at Norfolk were on the Point of taking advantage of my being obliged to leave the *Acasta* single in Lynhaven Bay, and were on the move to attack her, I was obliged to direct *Armide* to remain for her support 'till the return of Captain Barrie would enable me to judge of the further arrangements these various Occurrences and the late rapid increase of the Enemys offensive Means (the whole of which I knew you to be unacquainted with) would render it necessary for me to adopt for the Moment;<sup>9</sup> the *Dragon* did not get here 'till the 22nd. Instt. when Captain Barrie informed me that he conceived the great Force and active Power of this Baltimore Flotilla to be such as to render it decidedly an overmatch for any of our smaller Ships and therefore that he had been obliged to leave the *Loire*, *Narcissus* and *St. Lawrence* at the mouth of the Creek to obey the part of my order which directed its retention within the River, no smaller force than that being in his opinion adequate to such service— I herewith transmit Captain Barrie's official Report<sup>10</sup> of the operations above alluded to and though the waryness of Commodore Barney has prevented the great object I had in view (the Destruction of this new raised Flotilla) yet my general Plan of annoying and distressing the Enemy to the utmost in all his different accessible Points, has been forwarded in a most eminent Degree by the indefatigable efforts of

Captain Barrie and the Force under him to oblige the Flotilla to come forth for the Protection of the Country, which, with this View was overrun by our Marines and Sailors in every Direction on both sides the River to within Eighteen Miles of Washington itself, vast stores of Tobacco which had been hoarded in the upper Part of the River (from the supposed security of the Situation) have been set fire to and destroyed to the Value of at least 7 or 800,000 Dollars; as well as all the Guard Houses and others where Military Posts had been established, and all the towns near the Banks have been abandoned, and Consternation spread far and near, and above Four hundred Hogsheads of Tobacco shipped off from the wharves and embarked in the Frigates— In short Sir I am sure I am within the Mark when I state to you that since my last Communication of the 9th May we have taken or destroyed within the Chesapeake above a Million of Dollars worth of the Enemy's Vessels and Property.

The above mentioned Movements and unexpected accumulation of Force of the Enemy, although I have managed in some degree to cause it to recoil on himself has nevertheless occasioned me much anxiety and difficulty, inasmuch as I found it decidedly impossible to guard at Norfolk the *Constellation* Thirty Gun Vessels Two Privateer Brigs and other Craft said to have been lately armed there, In the Potowmack the Washington Gun Boats, In the Patuxent the new Baltimore Flotilla and to take care of and forward the Works of this Island<sup>11</sup> (the distance between these Places being Eighty or Ninety Miles) with only this Ship Two Frigates a Brig and Schooner,<sup>12</sup> and I was therefore thereby obliged to take upon myself the always unpleasant Duty of deviating in some measure from the Letter of your Instructions, and take advantage for a few days of the assistance of some of the Ships under orders from you to proceed on other Service, which I did with the more reluctance when I considered that you had ordered the *Dragon* to be sent to Halifax without waiting to be relieved, immediately subsequent to receiving my last Letter pointing out to you the necessity of additional force being sent to this Station— The arrival however this day of the *Severn* has enabled me to despatch and arrange every Thing according to your last orders excepting only in what relates to the *Dragon* which Ship I am still obliged to desire to remain in Lynhaven until some fresh Arrival or other Circumstances may enable Captain Barrie to leave there a Force equal to Cope with the Proportion of the Enemy ready to push out from Norfolk, when the *Dragon* is to proceed without further Loss of Time to Halifax in the furtherance also of your Instructions respecting her.

I have now only to add that learning yesterday Evening the Enemy had established another Post and Battery at a place called Chissinessick<sup>13</sup> immediately abreast of Watts' Island I determined on destroying it, which was ably and gallantly accomplished by the Boats of this Ship the *Dragon*, and *Endymion* under the Command of Lieutenant Urmston 1st. Lieutenant of this Ship, who brought off with them another Six Pounder Field Piece after destroying the Work and burning the Guard Houses &c. &c. in its Vicinity, I have the Honor to transmit Lieutenant Urmston's detail<sup>14</sup> of this well executed Attack and beg permission to remark to you that this is the third Battery taken and Second Gun brought off from the Enemy by the Boats since my last report.

I also enclose herewith a List of Vessels captured and destroyed since my Last.<sup>15</sup> I have the Honor to be Sir Your very faithful And Most Obedient Humble Servant

G Cockburn Rear Admiral.

LS, UkENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2333, fols. 123–32.

1. Cockburn to Cochrane, 9 May 1814, pp. 61–63.
2. Captain Charles B. H. Ross to Cockburn, 29 May 1814, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 14, Vol. 38, pp. 314–17 (Reel 9).
3. Cockburn to Barrie, 30 May 1814, pp. 76–77.
4. Barrie to Cockburn, 1 June 1814, pp. 77–79.
5. Cockburn to Kerr, 3 June 1814, p. 83.
6. *Warrington*.
7. *Endymion* delivered these on 17 June 1814.
8. This enclosure was not found. Cockburn is probably referring to his 17 June 1814 letter to Barrie, p. 111.
9. Cockburn to Troubridge, 23 June 1814, pp. 114–15.
10. Cockburn may be referring to Barrie's letter of 19 June 1814, pp. 111–14.
11. Tangier Island.
12. *Albion*, *Acasta*, *Loire*, *Jaseur*, and *St. Laurence*.
13. Spelled *Chessenessix* in 1814 and *Chesconessix* today.
14. A copy of Urmston's 25 June 1814 letter to Cockburn is in UkLPR, Adm. 1/507, fols. 88–89.
15. This list was not found.

## Engagement at St. Leonard's Creek, 26 June 1814

*While the British forces under Captain Robert Barrie and his successor, Captain Thomas Brown, attacked port towns along the Patuxent to draw Barney's flotilla out of St. Leonard's Creek, the American commodore plotted his escape. By 22 June the Daily National Intelligencer reported that American land forces—militia, army, and marines—were marching to the mouth of the creek to support Barney. Colonel Decius Wadsworth, the army's Commissary General of Ordnance, commanded these forces and established a battery on a high bluff point that commanded the Patuxent River on its right and St. Leonard's Creek on its left. A combined attack from the battery and the flotilla commenced at daybreak on 26 June. Although there would be recriminations after the battle about the conduct of some of the battery forces, in the end Barney rowed his way out of the creek and up the Patuxent to the mortification of the British commander, Thomas Brown, lying becalmed at Point Patience.<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> For Col. Wadsworth's account and that of Captain Samuel Miller, commander of the marine detachment, see the *Daily National Intelligencer*, 29 June and 7 July 1814, respectively.

CAPTAIN THOMAS BROWN, R.N., TO REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N.

His M. Ship *Loire* off  
St. Leonards Creek 23 June 1814

Sir,

I beg to acquaint you the day Captain Barrie quitted this Anchorage, I dispatched the *St. Lawrence* with the Launches and part of the Marines of the Frigate up to St. Benedict, to load with the remaining Tobacco, after getting on board seventeen Hogsheads, the Party were surprised and attacked by several hundred Infantry and Cavalry, with four field Pieces, a Serjeant, four Marines and one Seaman, retreating to the Boats were cut off, and made Pris-



oners, but I am happy to learn no lives have been lost, or any person wounded, Lieutt. Boyd speaks in the highest terms of praise and admiration of Lieutts. Scott of the *Narcissus* and Marshall of the *Loire* who commanded the Party on Shore, and also of the Soldier like conduct of Lieutt. Salmon Senr. Officer of the Marines on board the *Loire* and Lieutt. Bluck RM of the *Narcissus* who Commanded the Marines, the whole of the Officers express themselves in the highest terms of the conduct and exertions of the Men under their Command.—

Lieutenant Boyd being the bearer of this, will be enabled to give you every information relative to the transaction. I send also under convoy two Schooners laden with part of the Tobacco on board the Frigates, and there is now remaining on board them sixty eight Hogsheads, from information obtained by two Blacks, who come on board the *St. Lawrence* it appears that the Enemy are mustering a very strong force on both banks of the Patuxent, and a number of Tobacco Stores are already emptied. The Flotilla remains in the same situation as when Captain Barrie quitted, but I am given to understand from an American who came on board this Ship last night, that their Military force is daily increasing, which I fear will render all further attempts on Commodore Barney hopeless, without a considerable Land force, as well as Vessels calculated to carry long Guns, and not to draw more than eight feet water. Should the Enemy possess a decent proportion of Spirit and enterprise I imagine from the thick woods near the enterance of the creek, and on the opposite Bank of the River, they might get Guns that would oblige us to drop further out, and perhaps eventually out of the River, but should you have any hopes of an Army arriving, that could attack their capital it would be very necessary that Barneys Flotilla should be pent up the Creek, as so strong a Force up the River where Boats only could approach might be a considerable annoyance to any force going there. I learn also that a place about five Miles below, called point patience, they are beginning to erect Batteries and also on the opposite side of the River, as we have not been able to discover any thing of the Kind from the Ship, I shall desire Lieutt. Boyd in his way down the River to Telegraph me any alterations he may discover should the information given by the American prove correct you may depend upon my using every exertion, with the force under my Command to check their operations.

I shall not think of quitting my present situation unless the safety of the Ships should absolutely require it, until I have the honor of receiving your Orders, I take the liberty to observe at the same time that it would be very desirable that I should have a small Vessel to cruize up & down the River to reconnoitre the different points of the Enemy.

The *Loire* having only three weeks Provisions on board I shall take a Months from the *Narcissus*, that was intended for the *Niemen*, which I trust will meet with your approbation. I have &c

(signed) Thos. Brown Captain

LB, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 14, Vol. 38, pp. 341-43 (Reel 9).

CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE,  
TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Honble. Wm. Jones

Sunday 26 June 1814. 10 AM

Sir

This morning at 4 AM a combined Attack of the Artillery, Marine Corps, & flotilla, was made upon the Enemies two frigates<sup>1</sup> at the mouth of the Creek, after two hours engagement, they got under way & made sail down the river, they are now warping round Point Patience, and I am moving up the Patuxent with the flotilla, my loss is Acting Midshipman Asquith<sup>2</sup> Killed & ten others killed & wounded—

Mr. Blake<sup>3</sup> the bearer of this was a Volunteer in my barge, he will give you every other Information With respt. your Obt. Sert.

Joshua Barney

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 12 (M124, Roll No. 64).

1. *Loire* and *Narcissus*.

2. George Asquith's date of entry on the flotilla's muster roll as a midshipman was 16 June 1814.

3. Thomas H. Blake was a member of the militia of the District of Columbia; he later became a congressman from Indiana.

CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE, TO LOUIS BARNEY

flotilla off. Benidick, June 27th. 1814

Dr. Louis,

Yesterday morning at the point of day we woke up our enemies, by 2 pices. (18 pounders) under Capt Geoghegan<sup>1</sup> his officers & 20 men of the flotilla, with red hot shot, 3 pr. under Capt Miller of the Marines, the Artillery posted on a Hill commanding the Enemy, the whole under Col. Wadsworth, the enemy were so alarmed that it was a quarter of an hour before they returned a shot— I moved down with the flotilla, and joined in "Chorus," our shot was terrible, as we were not more than four hundred yards off, a distance which did not suit us, for we were within grape shot, but I was obliged to take that or none, as they lay direct in the mouth of the Creek, we pushed out and gave it to them, the moment we appeared they ceased their fire on the Batteries and poured it into us, seeming to have just waked, we returned it with Interest, at 6 they began to move and made sail down the river leaving us Masters of the field, thus we have again beat them & their Rockets, which they did not spare, you see we improve, first, we beat a few boats which they thought would make an easy prey of us, then they increased the number, then they added schooners, and now behold the [*two*] frigates,<sup>2</sup> all, all, have shared the same fate, I next expect, ships of the line; no matter we will do our duty— My loss was 6 Killed & four wounded, young Asquith who had just joined us was killed—Capt. Sellers, Kiddall, & Worthingtons<sup>3</sup> boats were the sufferers, I had three men wounded at the fort, for it was my men alone that fought there, altho there was

600 men of Carbery & Little's<sup>4</sup> Regmt. in the rear— I am now waiting orders from head quarters.

Give my love to Ann & Kiss Misses—Your Afft.

J Barney

Wm.<sup>5</sup> was not with us, as I had sent him with Skinner, in a flag to the Admiral with dispatches from Government—

The moment the enemy ran off, we moved up the River, so that, thanks to Hot & cold shot the Blockade has been raised—

ALS, MdAN. Joshua Barney's brother, Louis, lived in Baltimore.

1. Sailing Master John Geoghegan's warrant dated from 16 September 1813. He served with the Chesapeake Bay flotilla from 11 March 1814 until his 15 April 1815 discharge.

2. Tape obliterates the end of the line. The British had two frigates, *Loire* and *Narcissus*, stationed at the mouth of St. Leonard's Creek.

3. Sailing Master James Sellers's warrant dated from 27 January 1814. He was attached to the Chesapeake Bay flotilla on 9 March 1814. Sailing Master John Kiddall's warrant and flotilla service dated from 6 October 1813. Henry Worthington's sailing master warrant dated from 15 September 1813. All three served in the flotilla until their discharge on 15 April 1815.

4. Probably Peter Little, colonel in the Thirty-eighth Infantry, U.S.A.

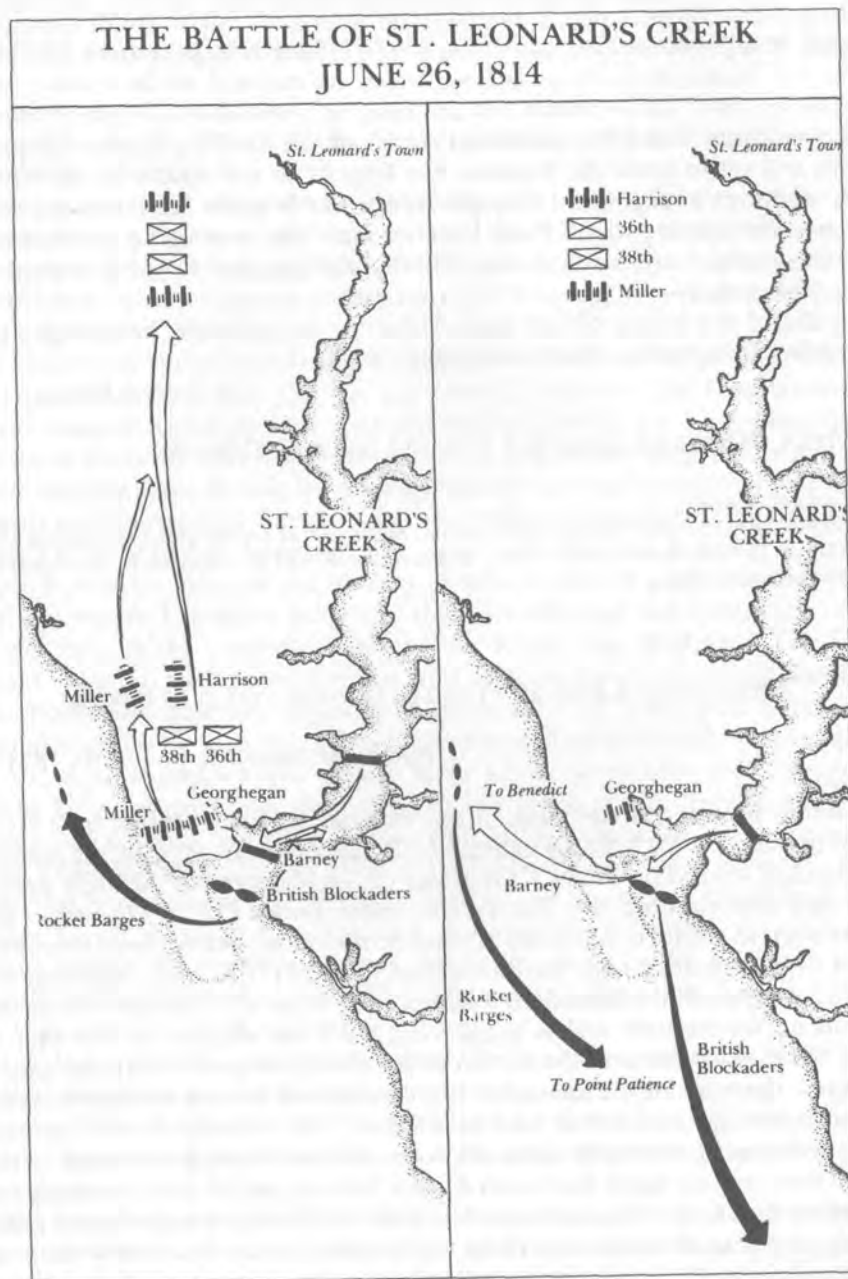
5. William Barney, Joshua Barney's son.

#### SAILING MASTER JOHN GEOGHEGAN TO CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE

Official Report of the Transactions at the Battery on the 25th & 26th June 1814.—

Sir

Agreeable to your orders of the 25th. of June, I departed from the Gun-boat about 5 PM. with 21 persons, officers included, Mr. Blake in Compy. at 6 PM. we arrived at Mr. Taylor's, where I expected to fall in with Colonel Wadsworth, a short time after his servant came along and informed me that the Colonel was on his way down to the mouth of the Creek, I immediately moved on with my men, Mr. Blake took Colonel Tawney's horse and proceeded down to deliver orders which he had received from you. Nothing material occurred until about sun-set, when I fell in with Capt'n. Miller's encampment by whom and his officer's I was politely treated. Colonel Wadsworth came soon after, and held a few moments conversation with me, He told me to proceed on with my men; After marching a considerable distance, I again fell in with the Colonel who was planning his furnace, He then went on with us, and on the way we took down several fences by his orders, and continued on until about half a mile from the spot intended, we there made a halt, the Colonel & myself went to the spot where he wished the guns to be placed, And then returned to the men, The Colonel remained on the spot where the furnace was planning, At 11 PM. I left the men in charge of Mr. Carter<sup>1</sup> and went with Mr. Wall<sup>2</sup> towards the Furnace with the intention of falling in with Colonel Wadsworth, when we arrived there we found the Colonel with the guns, waggons, planks, spades &c. and a party of Infantry under Capt'n. Carberry, they marched down and halted a short distance from the place intended for the guns, June 26th. at ½ past 12 AM. I got 7 spades and the same number of



Map 6



Pick axes, and commenced heaving up a Breast work. The Regulars & part of my men employed bringing plank for the Platform, Bricks, and wood for the furnace &c., My men continued digging without any assistance from the soldiers, altho frequent application was made for help and for more shovels, but without effect. At about ½ past 3 AM. the place was not so deep as Intended it should be for want of Assistance. The guns came soon after and the necessary preparations were made. The Col. disapproved of the position where I had thrown up the breast work it being too much exposed to the enemy's fire, he ordered the guns to be placed several feet in the rear of it in the soft Sand; by this time day was breaking, I divided my men equally to the big guns with some Soldiers, but not enough to work the guns as they should have been, at this time it was getting light, we loaded the guns & got every thing in readiness. We then commenced firing with the 18 poundr. which was followed by Captn. Miller's 12's. A short time after 2 officer's and one man, belonging to my crew were accidentally wounded by one of the gun's going off prematurely, this accident with one man whom I left in charge of our muskets, reduced our crew to 16 including officer's. Nothing material occurred till nearly At the close of the action, when Captn. Miller's shot being expended he deemed it most prudent to move back, at the same time a magazine chest blew up, but, from what cause I know not. This explosion injured one of my knees, it likewise injured Mr. Dunan;<sup>3</sup> At this moment Two Barges & one Rocket boat made their appearance on our right and commenced firing on us with round & Grape shot. they continued rowing in order, to gain our rear apparantly with a view of landing. At this time observing the infantry to be retreating, I informed the Colonel of it, he answered that he had ordered a detachment to march toward the barges to repell them should they attempt a landing. His orders were not obeyed & the troops continued their Retreat leaving the Col. myself, officer's & crew with three of the regulars on the Battery and exposed to the danger of being cut off by the enemy— The Driver and horses belonging to the 18's. having also retreated we were compelled to spike the gun's by Colonel Wadsworth Orders being fearful that the enemy might land and turn them upon us in our retreat. We then left the Battery and fell in with the Regular's who had halted on the road with the horses and limbers belonging to the big guns, they returned to the Battery and brought of the pieces. At that time the ships were getting Underway. I then left my wounded at Captn. Miller's Encampment and returned with my Officer's and men to the Gun-boat,<sup>4</sup> and altho' my crew were much fatigued, I succeeded in getting every thing out of her by 5 O'Clock PM. and hauled her up alongside of No. 137. and scuttled them both agreeable to order's received from Lieutenant Rutter.

July 8th. 1814.  
John Geoghegan SM

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 54, enclosure (M124, Roll No. 64). This report was enclosed in Barney to Jones, 14 July 1814.

1. Probably Master's Mate William Carter.

2. Boatswain Samuel Wall had joined the flotilla on 14 May 1814.

3. Midshipman Aymond Dunan entered the Chesapeake Bay flotilla on 7 April 1814 and was discharged on 24 August 1814.

4. Gunboat No. 138.

CAPTAIN THOMAS BROWN, R.N., TO REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N.

His Majestys Ship *Loire* Off Point Patience.  
in the Patuxent 27 June 1814

Sir/

I beg to acquaint you that yesterday at daylight the Enemy opened a Battery of Five Guns on the two Ships under my Command, from the high land, forming the Entrance of Leonards Creek, on the Larboard hand, at point blank Shot, it being covered with Wood, we were only enabled to fire at where the smoke issued from, shortly after the Flotilla came down rounded the point and opened a well directed fire on both Ships, but from the warm reception they met with, were soon obliged to retreat. I had previously to this sent the Launches of the Ships, with a boat fitted for Rockets to flank the battery, when I soon had the satisfaction to observe a slight explosion to take place, and the Battery to cease firing. but judgeing we might be harrassed by the Battery again opening on us and the Ships having been frequently hulled, and part of the Rigging Shot away, I thought it most prudent to weigh and drop down the River to a place called point patience, where I again Anchored about three Miles below in hopes the Flotilla might be induced to follow, but on its falling calm had the mortification to observe them rowing down the Creek, and up the River, the whole consisting of One Sloop<sup>1</sup> and Eighteen Row Boats, One of them we observed, to be obliged to return to the Creek, which I imagine had sustained so much injury as to prevent her accompanying the rest, during the firing which continued nearly two hours; I am happy to say the only person wounded is the Boatswain of the *Narcissus* who has lost a leg.—

Captain Lumley who is the bearer of this will be able to give you any further information you may deem necessary, and whose cordial co'operation during the time we have been together merits my warmest approbation. I have the honor to remain Sir Your most Obedient Sert.

Thos. Brown Capt.

P S I Yesterday morning recd. your letter by the Flag of Truce and enclose you Mr. Reynolds receipt.—<sup>2</sup>

LS, UKENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2333, fols. 146–47.

1. *Scorpion*.

2. J. W. Reynolds was a civilian captured at Lower Marlborough when the British raided that town in June 1814. The "receipt" may have been for his exchange. Thomas Brown to George Cockburn, 23 June 1814, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 14, Vol. 38, pp. 339–41 (Reel 9).

CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE, TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

flotilla off Benidick June 27th. 1814

Sir,

I wrote you yesterday merely to inform you that we had raised the Blockade, and that I was moving up the Patuxent. I now wish your further orders re-

specting my future movements, I have sent down to St. Leonards for information respecting the enemy, which I expect has gone down (at least) to the mouth of Patuxent, from his great anxiety to get round point patience by Warping. I have left Mr. Rutter at St. Leonards with orders to get every thing which was left there away, either by water or land according to circumstances. The particulars respecting our Action with the Enemy, as regards the Artillery under Col. Wadsworth, and Capt Miller I cannot as yet give you, My Men worked & served the peices under the Col. but there certainly has been some unaccountable Conduct somewhere; but as I have not seen my officer,<sup>1</sup> I do not wish to give particulars such as has been related to me, one good result has been, I am clear of the Blockade, so far it is well, but I fear things have not been as they should be, for the honor of our Country. I am respectfully your Obt. Sert.

Joshua Barney

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 15 (M124, Roll No. 64).

1. Sailing Master John Geoghegan did not submit his official report until 8 July; see pp. 125–26.

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO  
CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE

Joshua Barney Esqr.  
Commanding the US flotilla Benedict

Navy Department  
June 28th. 1814.—

Sir

Last Evening I received yours of the 26th & 27th. and congratulate you on the successful result of the vigorous effort by which the Blockade of St. Leonard's Creek was raised.—

The Patuxent affording a safe retreat for the flotilla in the event of the blockade of that river being continued with such a force as to forbid the hope of your release, it has become necessary to consider and determine what is best to be done, and as this can be decided with a more full and satisfactory discussion by an hours conversation than by partial correspondence; I think, after you have made such arrangements and given such instructions to the officer next in command,<sup>1</sup> as shall ensure the safety of the flotilla, and place you at ease during your absence for a day or two, you had better proceed immediately to this place, and with this view, I shall defer until your arrival whatever else I have at present to say.—<sup>2</sup> I am respectfully your Obedt. Servt.

W Jones.—

LB, DNA, RG45, CLS, 1814, p. 160.

1. Lieutenant Solomon Rutter.

2. The *Daily National Intelligencer* of 2 July 1814 reported that Barney had arrived in Washington on 30 June. Secretary Jones and Barney, in discussing the flotilla's situation and British intentions, decided to prepare for attacks against either Washington or Baltimore by keeping Barney in command of his fleet in the Patuxent and sending Lieutenant Rutter to oversee the barges at Baltimore. Barney, *Biographical Memoir*, p. 262.

## Cochrane Vacillates over Targets

As late as early July Cochrane was still under the misconception that 20,000 troops would join him on the North American Station and the British government had not yet informed him what his target would be.<sup>1</sup> He asked Cockburn's views on which city, Philadelphia, Baltimore, or Washington, to assault first. In anticipation of operations as soon as the forces from Europe arrived, Cochrane urged Cockburn to curtail his marauding expeditions and concentrate on the more mundane tasks of securing pilots, guides, horses, and black recruits. After giving descriptions of each city, Cockburn unequivocally recommended attacking Washington first.

Before receiving Cockburn's advice, however, Cochrane wrote three letters in mid-July to the War Office and the Admiralty which show his indecision. Before 15 July, Cochrane foresaw an attack on Baltimore and then Washington. But when Rear Admiral Edward Codrington<sup>2</sup> arrived in Bermuda and reported that the army coming from Europe would not be as substantial as Cochrane had expected, the commander in chief wavered. Even though the Admiralty had left invasion plans to Cochrane's discretion, the vice admiral outlined in a letter to Lord Melville possible attacks on every major coastal port. On 23 July, one month before the attack on Washington, Cochrane had even discounted the efficacy of a Chesapeake campaign during the "sickly season" of August and promoted an assault on Rhode Island or New Hampshire first. The British command lacked a plan in July 1814.

1. Cochrane did not receive until mid-July the Admiralty's letter of 19 May, which gave the vice admiral the power to choose his own targets. See pp. 71–72.

2. Captain Edward Codrington departed Portsmouth, England, on 28 May 1814. He was promoted to rear admiral on 4 June and, on arriving in Bermuda in mid-July, replaced Henry Hotham as captain of the fleet.

VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N., TO  
REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N.

Bermuda 1st. July 1814

Sir,

My departure from here has been delayed by the Account I have received from England that a considerable body of Troops are under Orders for this Country. Yesterday the Cannon arrived from Gibraltar by Captain Spencer I am informed that 2 Regts. the 26th. & 29th. were under Orders & Several other Regts. from Sicily; Lord Hill<sup>1</sup> & 15,000 men are Said to be coming out from Bourdeaux & Several Regts. from England & Ireland. In the Naval line I expect very considerable reinforcements— As it is a great object to Secure Guides & Persons calculated to Serve as pioneers, for this purpose & to enable you to cover the desertion of the black population I send you HMS *Asia* & *Aetna* Bomb with the 3 Troop Ships named in the margin (*Regulus*, *Melpomene* & *Brune*) having on board an Artillery Company & the 3rd Bat: of Marines which you will take under your Orders & employ in the manner you may consider best calculated to secure to the approaching Armies the necessary assistance they may Require, in this I include Guides who ought to be liberally paid for which you have my authority; Pilots of every description will be wanted not only for the Chesapeake but for the Delaware & New York & if they come in your way Secure



them & place them upon pay at 10 s.  $\text{\pounds}$  day each— Let the Landings you may make be more for the protection of the desertion of the Black Population than with a view to any other advantage, the force you have is too Small to accomplish an object of magnitude— the great point to be attained is the cordial Support of the Black population with them properly armed & backed with 20,000 British Troops, Mr. Maddison will be hurled from his Throne. As I understand that 2000 dismounted Dragoons compose part of the Armament procure all the good horses you can for them & the Artillery and give every Negroe a reward for bringing them Say 20 Dollars bounty for each horse fit for Service— These I think may be upon the Islands under your controul until the Troops arrive, collect all the Small Craft you can as I fear we will be deficient in Flat Boats or the means of transporting Troops into Shallow Water. I Send you 3 which is all I have. I trust the Ships from England, France and the Mediterranean will each have one on board— I have directed the Marine Clothing specified in the margin to be Sent you in the *Asia* for the purpose of equipping the Volunteers which make as gay as possible (500 Jackets, 1000 Shirts, 1000 Pr. Trousers, 500 Hats, 500 Stocks, 1000 Flannel Jackets) Each of the Troop Ships take 1000 Stand of Arms & 100,000 Ball Cartridges & the *Asia* 500 Stand with Accoutrements, They are mostly French, She also will take 1,000 Swords— I am uninformed of the plans of Government but shod. Suppose that they must be pointed against Philadelphia, Baltimore & Washington, if to the first the landing should be made at or near New Castle & Chester upon the Delaware or at the head of Elk; at Brandwine the principal Mills for Powder & Flour are Situated which may be destroyed in passing— Line of Battle Ships can go up near to New Castle; Should Baltimore & Washington be the primary objects, it is to be decided where the landing can be made to most advantage, to me it appears that Baltimore should be the previous object & by landing to the Northward of it, you cut off the Resources & Support from the Country East of the Susquhannah. On the other hand it is worthy of consideration if we would not derive an equal advantage by landing at Annapolis & march direct either upon Washington or Baltimore, by this we will Secure good Roads for your Artillery & make no doubt a number of Volunteers will join from the Surrounding Country— I will thank you for your opinion on these points which Send by the first conveyance— I beg that you will send Lieut. Fenwick of the Engineers back to Bermuda, detaching to me for this & what is before mentioned any one of the Ships under your Orders you can best spare & that may be most in want of provisions— The *Asia* will convey to you a Sum of Money which will be Spoken of particularly in an accompanying Letter—<sup>2</sup> I have the honor to be &ca

(Signed) A. Cochrane—

LB, UKENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2346, fols. 8–9. This letter was recorded in Cochrane's "Secret Orders and Letters 1814–15" letter book.

1. Rowland Hill, 1st Viscount Hill, served under Wellington on the continent in 1814. Major General Robert Ross was ordered to command the British expeditionary forces in the summer of 1814.

2. Cochrane sent \$3,600 to Cockburn for victualling and contingent expenses. Cochrane to Cockburn, 1 July 1814, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 14, Vol. 38, pp. 365–66 (Reel 9).

VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N., TO  
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR AND THE COLONIES EARL BATHURST

HMS. *Tonnant* Bermuda 14 July 1814

My Lord

Governor Cameron having requested of Me to forward a Small Turtle to your Lordship. I have requested Capt. Byron of the *Belvidera* to take charge of it; also another of a larger Size which I beg You will do me the Honor to Accept:— A Box of Indian Arrow root accompanies the Turtle which I hope will be Acceptable to Lady Bathurst—with my respectful Compliments,— upon the Top of the powder Her Ladyship will find one of the most Approved receipts for using it,— it will give me the Greatest pleasure if I can be made Useful in forwarding any of the productions of this Western World, and I beg that Your Lordship will upon every occasion lay Your Commands upon me

I am sorry to say that little public service has been performed since My Arrival unfortunately the fate of France was not determined in sufficient time for reinforcements to Arrive before the hot weather set in— the expectation of Arrivals has detained Me here, and I feel I must remain until I know the determination of Govt.— Lord Melville will shew Your Lordship what I have done with respect to the Indians Two Thousand Men would Give to Gt. Britain the Command of that Country—and New Orleans,— Major Nicolls of the Marines will I hope be able to bring all the Indian Tribes to act in Concert together,<sup>1</sup> I have sent about Nine Hundred Marines to the Chesapeake to act under Admiral Cockburn—who has been Annoying the Americans A good deal of late— with this force making partial Attacks and Shifting from place to place I trust to be Able to find the Enemy full employment for all his troops in *Virginia*, *Maryland* and *Pensylvania*,—without detaching to the Canada Frontier— If Troops Arrive soon and the point of Attack is directed towards Baltimore I have every prospect of Success and Washington Will be equally Accessible They may be either destroyed or laid under Contribution, as the Occasion may require, and I have not a doubt of raising any Number of Black troops for the prosecution of the War, but I am not equally Certain that they Will Volunteer their Services to the West India Regiments, Their bent is to Obtain Settlements in the British Colonies in N America—where they will be most Useful Subjects; from their Hatred to the citizens of the United States I have already a small Corps in Arms and now that the Marines are gone to Virginia they will rapidly encrease— Conceiving that it is in view to attack the enemy in that Quarter I have directed Horses to be Collected and placed upon Islands that are under our Controul— I beg to recommend that some Thousand sets of dragoon Accoutrements be sent out, and the Same Number of Rifles— the Blacks are all Good Horsemen and thousands will Join upon their Masters Horses—and they will only require to be Clothed and Accoutred, (with the Assistance of Officers, to bring them into a little regularity) to be as good Cossacks as any in the Russian Army—and I believe more terrific to the Americans than any troops that could be brought forward.— I have it much at heart to give them a complete drubbing before Peace is made—when I trust their Northern limits will be circumscribed and the Command of the Mississippi wrested from them. I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect Your Lordships Most Obedient and Humble Servant

Alexr Cochrane

P S 15th. Commodore Codrington has just Anchored and I have received a Copy of Your Lordships instructions to Genl. Barnes— they afford me much Satisfaction and coincide most fully with my wishes.<sup>2</sup> I entirely Agree with your Lordship that no steps should be taken to enduce the negro's to rise Against their Masters— my views go no farther than to afford protection to those that chuse to Join the British Standard—who will be free to enlist as soldiers or to become Settlers in the British Colonies—

A C

I understand from Good Authority that when the peace was made with America the Boundary line Was Artfully removed from Penobscot to St. Crois River,<sup>3</sup> by the American Commissioners,— if this could be remedied in the New Treaty, our northern provinces would be made more Secure and a fine Mast Country would be Obtained thereby,— I trust Your Lordship will pardon me for this hand and attribute it to its true Cause

A C

ALS, UKLPR, WO 1/141, pp. 7–14.

1. Cochrane had ordered Brevet Major Edward Nicolls, Royal Marines, to West Florida to organize, arm, and train a force of Creek Indians as a prelude to British invasion of the Gulf. Cochrane predicted that a force of three thousand regulars, acting in concert with the Creeks and disaffected Spanish and French residents, "would drive the Americans entirely out of Louisiana and the Floridas." Cochrane to Croker, 20 June 1814, UKLPR, Adm. 1/506, fols. 390–93. For Cochrane's orders of 4 July to Nicolls, see *ibid.*, fols. 480–85. Nicolls's operations among the Creeks are described in Owsley, *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands*.

2. See Bathurst to Barnes, 20 May 1814, pp. 72–74.

3. During the negotiations over the 1783 Treaty of Paris, the British, whose troops still occupied Maine, made a claim for territory as far south as the Penobscot River. The Americans made a counterclaim for a boundary at the St. Croix, a river named in Massachusetts' colonial charter. The British acquiesced and the treaty names the St. Croix in delineating the northeast boundary of the United States. After ratification, a disagreement arose as to whether the river St. Croix named in the Massachusetts charter commission was the Magaguadavic or the Schoodiac, nine miles further west. A boundary commission established by Jay's Treaty of 1794 determined that the Schoodiac would be the border. Morris, *Peacemakers*, pp. 363–64.

VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N., TO  
FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY VISCOUNT ROBERT SAUNDERS DUNDAS MELVILLE

His Maj Ship *Tonnant*  
Bermuda 17 July 1814

My dear Lord

Commodore Codrington arrived here upon the 14th when I had the honor to receive Your Lordships letter of the 22d may.<sup>1</sup> I was well aware that the state of Europe did not admit of a military force being sooner sent out, I have most to regret that the one daily expected does not correspond with the numbers stated in the Public prints, but such as it is I trust some good service will be performed, and His Majestys ministers may depend upon their being Actively and I hope Carefully employed,—

The worst Enemy we have to contend with is the Climate and the Abundance of Green fruit every where to be met with, this brings on dysenteries which are

follow'd in the month of August by intermittent complaints— we must try to guard against those Evils as much as possible by keeping the troops in action and thier minds employed: I have always observed that while active Service was going on men seldom fell Sick, but immediatly after all was over they fell down in numbers

I think I explained to your Lordship as also to Lord Bathurst my opinion of the principal Towns in America all of which are Situated upon navigable Rivers—but none of Them Accessible to a direct attack from Shipping only,—although open to a combined one with a land Force

Boston and New York and I may add Philadelphia—ought not to be attacked by a Force under Twelve Thousand men— at the former place one of Their Line of Battle Ships is Launched the one at Portsmouth is only in the Frame and has a house built over it<sup>2</sup> I will endeavour to convey with this a Sketch of that Harbour with the Situation of thier Naval Yard

If N York ever becomes an object of Attack—and the destruction of the City is resolved upon—this may be carried into effect by Landing the Troops upon Long Island— by referring to the map Your Lordship will see that the East River which divides Brookline from N York is not half point Blank Shot over from thence Rockets Carcasses—&c &c may be thrown into the Town (or, put under Contribution.)

Philadelphia can be Approached within fifteen miles by a Ship of 64 Guns—to Attack it part of the Army may be Landed At N Castle upon the Delaware— Six miles from which thier Principal Powder and Corn Mills are situated upon the little River Called the Brandy wine—those of Course will be destroyd,— while one part of the Army is employd upon this service the rest may proceed up the Delaware in Transports to Chester from thence it is only 15 miles to Philadelphia by the time they will have landed and marched, the first division will be up, as the Roads are excellent. If the Enemy do not destroy the Bridge over the Skuylkill, the Troops may be in Philadelphia in four hours after they are landed and sooner if the Horses of the Country are Secured to guard Against the destruction of the Bridge a number of Copper Pontoons ought to be provided they are Portable and with the materials of a few of the Farmers Barns, or the wood of the Country—a Bridge will soon be Constructed

I was at the taking of Philadelphia under Lord and Genl. Howe and Assisted at the Reduction of the Forts at Mud Island,<sup>3</sup> as we can have no intentions of remaining there, there will be no occasion to go near them,— After this Service has been effected—the Army Can retreat by the Same Line to NCastle. from thence they may either proceed accross the Isthmus to the Head of Elk and from thence to the Attack of Baltimore or they may lay waste the lower Counties upon the Delaware and part of Maryland—being covered upon each flank by the Ships in the Delaware and Chesapeake Should they be followed by an overpowering Force there are many positions upon the Eastern Shore in the Chesapeake from whence they can embark. Kent Island Affords them a Secure retreat—the passage is fordable at low water— If this Route is not Judged Advisable the Army may cross the Susquehannah at Havre de Grace, or be conveyed down the Elk—and Landed either Above or below the Patapsco River as near to Baltimore as possible— This River is difficult of Access by Large Ships and has been fortified since the War— It is my Clear opinion that no time ought to be lost in taking of Forts—besides the great loss of Lives—the Object may in general be attained without taking the Bull by the Horns—



In an attack upon Baltimore I count upon being Joined by a Number of Negroes—those I would Arm, and Employ as Guides After leaving Baltimore the Army ought to march upon Washington, George Town and Alexandria—passing down the Right Bank of the Potomac to where the Fleet will be at Anchor near the Kettle Bottoms above which Large Ships Cannot go with safety

Anapolis is the Capital of Maryland—is the place of Residence of the Rich—lays perfectly open and liable to an attack

Rich-mond lays up the James River—too high up for the Ships to be of much service— it is said their principal Cannon foundries are there— I think it may be destroyd

Norfolk. must be attacked from the Portsmouth Side from whence it may be destroyd as also the Naval yard—which is close to Gosport on the same side with Portsmouth in this Case the Army must land and reimbark Above Hampton Roads upon James River

By this Means we will take all thier works in reverse and do them full as much Mischief as if they were in our possession

North Carolina can only be attacked by Vessels of a Light Dft. of Water—The Gun boats and Sloop Galleys now in the Medway are well Calculated for that and the Southern Coast, They are I am told fit to cross the Atlantic and 10 or 15 men Sufficient to Navigate Each if Loaded with provisions and stores they will pay all cost 40 or 50 of them will be of the Greatest use for Carrying Troops—for I am sorry to inform your Lordship that I have only Three Flat Bottomed Boats in the Country, I had about 70 in Egypt besides 200 Officers it is said two are at Halifax but this I am not certain of— Charles town and Savannah in Georgia are Accessible by the Inland navigation, by Galleys and Small craft—

Mobile—and NOrleans are equally so but the necessary Craft are wanting—

When I placed the whole Coast of America under a Strict Blockade I was in possession of private information that the Embargo was to be taken off from the same Channel I received a Copy of the report of the Secret Committee recommending the measure as the Only Means left by which a Revenue could be raised to enable them to prosecute the War that the Loans having failed and the Commerce annihilated they had no Other resource left— This Coming from such high Authority, I considerd that I owed it to my Country to defeat an Object that might endanger the Canadas—and in this I flatter myself I have fully Succeeded Their Revenue must have considerably decreased, as Neutrals can no longer Enter any of Their Ports. I therefore trust their plans are in a manner paralyzed for the present—

I sometime Ago informed Your Lordship that I had appointed a Cousin of Mine Mr. ORIelly Lieutenant of the *Belvidera*—I then thought he had Served his time. finding I was mistaken I have cancelled his appointment and given the vacancy to Mr. Beckwith, upon your Lordships list—

I am vexed beyond measure to see the names of Lord Cochrane and my Brother Johnstone<sup>4</sup> coupled with a set of Sharpers who have so deservedly incurred the public censure. I hope and trust they will clear themselves with Honor if not our connection must cease. I did all I could to get Lord Cochrane

away—whose sentiments and Politic's as well as those of Mr. Johnstone have ever been at variance with mine

Your Lordship will See by my public Letter that I am called upon by Sr. Geo Prevost to retaliate upon the Maratime Coast of the United States for the Barbarities Committed by the Americans in upper Canada,<sup>5</sup> I ever remain with Great Truth my dear Lord your much obliged and most Obedient Humble Servant

Alex<sup>r</sup> Cochrane

ALS, InU, War of 1812 Manuscripts.

1. Melville sent this hasty note to inform Cochrane that Admiral Warren had just arrived at Spithead with Cochrane's letters of 10 and 25 March and 2 April. Melville had nothing substantial to add to his previous dispatches. Melville to Cochrane, 22 May 1814, UKENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2574, fols. 130–31.

2. Three 74-gun ships were under construction: *Independence* had just been launched at Charlestown; *Washington* was launched at Portsmouth in October 1814; and *Franklin* was launched at Philadelphia in August 1815.

3. Philadelphia fell to the British forces under Vice Admiral Richard, Lord Howe and General Sir William Howe on 26 September 1777. Two months later, with the capture of the Delaware River forts of Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island (November 16) and Fort Mercer (November 21), the British won control of the river below the city.

4. Sir Alexander F. I. Cochrane's nephew, the dashing Royal Navy captain Thomas Cochrane, 10th Earl of Dundonald, was innocently embroiled in a stock exchange scandal during 1814. A French refugee, Charles Random de Bérenger, promoted a rumor that Napoleon had died, knowing that the news would inflate stock prices. Allegedly, Bérenger and Andrew James Cochrane-Johnstone, Lord Cochrane's uncle and Sir Alexander's brother, benefited by selling stocks during the spike in prices. Lord Cochrane had made many enemies and they eagerly used his association with these unsavory men to effect his conviction at a trial held on 8–9 June 1814. *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Smith, Elder, 1885–1901), Vol. 11, p. 170.

5. For more on this topic, see pp. 140–42.

VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N., TO  
FIRST SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY JOHN W. CROKER

No. 70

Bermuda 23rd. July 1814.

Sir,

Taking into consideration the advanced state of the Season and the sickness that prevailed in the Chesapeake last Year, in the month of August, where out of two thousand men, by the beginning of September five or six hundred were laid up with fever and ague, which in a manner rendered that Corps inefficient for the rest of the Season—

I am of opinion that until the month of October our efforts ought to be confined to the northern States, and if it should appear that the Line of Battle Ship building at Portsmouth<sup>1</sup> is not in so forward a state as to make her destruction an immediate object, Rhode Island presents itself as the next in consequence—either to destroy or to keep possession of, until the extreme heats are over to the southward, by which the Troops will be kept in health and fit to form attacks upon the Enemy from the Delaware southward as the Season advances.

I do not think that any attempt should be made in force south of the Delaware before the month of October: partial attacks may take place to keep the Enemy upon the alert, but in my opinion the great object will be to preserve

the Health of the Soldiers until they can act with effect. I have the honor to be,  
Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant

Alex<sup>r</sup> Cochrane  
Vice Admiral and Commander in Chief

LS, UklPR, Adm. 1/4360, fols. 133–34.

1. *Washington.*

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO  
VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N.

*Albion Off Jerome's Point Patuxent* 17 July 1814

My dear Sir

I have to thank you for Your private Letter of the 1st.<sup>1</sup> by the *Asia* containing so much pleasant Information as to the Mode in which my Friend Jonathan is likely soon to be handled, the sooner this sensible kind of Warfare begins, the better it will be for us, & the greater will be the advantages we shall derive from it, I can only say the whole of the Country around here (excepting a few of the Towns most exposed like Norfolk &c.) is in as defenceless or indeed in a more defenceless State than it was at the Commencement of the War, for then there was the Charm of Novelty to induce the Inhabitants to perform cheerfully & vigilantly the Military Duties required of them, but now that they begin to feel the Inconvenience of being kept to this kind of Work and the pressure & Privations occasioned by the War daily increasing, their patriotic Ardor has pretty generally vanished and given way to Murmurs and Squabbles as to the cause & necessity of their present Sufferings, In the Mean time the total Stop to their Trade & other resources, renders it extremely difficult for them to pay the War Taxes (inadequate as they are to prosecuting it with Vigor) and the Treasury is at this Moment without sufficient Funds to pay the various Demands on it, in short it is quite impossible for any Country to be in a More unfit State for War than this now is, and I much doubt if the American Government knew decidedly every particular of the intended Attack on them, whether it would be possible for them to adopt with sufficient Promptitude any effective Means to avert the Blow.— You will see by my Secret Letter of this Date the Points at which I consider them to be most Vulnerable but I have no hesitation in saying they have not a Place on the Sea board which can hold out any length of Time against the Force I understand you expect, and I take for granted if the regular Army they now have in Canada is called to the Southward in consequence of Your appearance here in such Force, Sir George Prevost will follow close on their Heels and render their Retreat difficult & Costly to them, & their arrival at length in this Neighborhood of little or no avail—

By the different Dispatches which the *St. Lawrence* will now convey to you you will learn how I have been employed since my last Communication by the *Lacedæmonian*, how much I have been harrassed & distressed for Ships to attend to the Numerous Irons I have been obliged to have in the Fire at the same Time; what we have managed to do and how much more might have been done had I had a greater Force at my Disposal as it is, however, the Americans I assure you feel most severely our late Operations and I have a Confident Hope that the General Exertions of the small Party in the Chesapeake will gain for them your Approbation—

My Brother Sir James is I understand arrived at Halifax and intends paying me a Visit here in his way to Bermuda— What you tell me of the conduct of Ferdinand in Spain surprises me excessively he will certainly love again his Kingdom if he persists in his endeavors to reestablish there the Old Order of Things—

Fleming will be delighted with his Command though I should not have expected the Admiralty would have selected him for it, or his Friends (particularly Lord Keith) have liked his returning there as they seemed to think he had already become too much of a Spaniard—Ben Hallowells remaining in the Mediterranean I always expected—pray what is Sidney Smith to have?

I am told by Captain Skene and Others that Geo Hope said *Spencer* is sent out for me, is there any truth in this? I don't know that I am very anxious about it so long as our Operations are likely to be confined within the Capes, but if I am to have any more sea work I confess I should prefer having a faster Ship than this, the more especially if the Americans succeed in getting any of their Seventy Sixers out and this Ship having been now Nine Months from Port, my having a fresh Horse at least whilst she goes in to bait, might be useful, but for myself I have neither a Want nor a Wish to carry me in, so long as I can be useful here or any where else.

I enclose herewith some of our latest Papers and a Piece of one giving an Account of the Capture of the *Essex* on which event I beg to congratulate you, though I cannot conceive what could induce Captain Hillyar to allow of that Vagabond Porter returning immediately to America on Parole—<sup>2</sup> at least if the Story be true of his encouraging his People to Tar & Feather an English Sailor, because he declared he was an Englishman & did not wish to fight against his Country<sup>3</sup>—and I have never heard this Report against Captain Porter contradicted—

Adieu My dear Sir Most anxious shall I be to see you with all Your Train till when, you may depend on my doing the best I can to meet your wishes as explained in your last Letters— Believe me Always with much Esteem Dear Sir Your's very faithfully & truly

G: Cockburn

ALS, UKENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2574, pp. 142–45.

1. This private letter was not found.

2. For more on Hillyar's parole of Porter, see pp. 746–47.

3. See Dudley, *Naval War of 1812*, Vol. 1, pp. 170–76.

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO  
VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N.

Secret  
Copy

*Albion off Jerome Point Chesapeake* the 17th July 1814

Sir

In Answer to that Part of your Secret Letter of the 1st. Instant<sup>1</sup> which regards the Landing and commencing of Operations of the English Army, which you inform me is to be so soon expected in this Country, and on which Points You desire me to communicate to You my opinion—I feel no Hesitation in stating to You that I consider the Town of Benedict in the Patuxent, to offer us advantages



for this Purpose beyond any other Spot within the United States.— It is I am informed only 44 or 45 Miles from Washington and there is a high Road between the two Places which tho' hilly is good, it passes through Piscataway and no nearer to Fort Washington than four Miles, which Fortification is sixteen Miles below the City of Washington, and is the only one the Army would have to pass, I therefore most firmly believe that within forty eight Hours after the Arrival in the Patuxent of such a Force as You expect, the City of Washington might be possessed without Difficulty or Opposition of any kind; As You will observe by my public Letter of this Day,<sup>2</sup> the Ships of the Fleet could cover a landing at Benedict, the Safety of the Ships and the Smoothness of the Water in the River would render us entirely independent of the Wind or Weather in all our projected Movements, (an Object of considerable Importance when we recollect how fast the Season is advancing to that Period when the Weather becomes so unsteady on all this Coast) The Army on its Arrival would be sure of good Quarters in the Town of Benedict, and a rich Country around it to afford the necessary immediate Supplies, and as many Horses as might be wanted to transport Cannon &c; which Advantages might certainly now be obtained without meeting with the slightest Opposition or requiring any Sacrifice from us whatever, & as I have quitted the Patuxent and (on this Account) do not intend again to visit it until you arrive with the Army or I hear further from You;— I trust and believe every thing will remain till then, in the Neighbourhood of that River exactly as I have now left it— The Facility and Rapidity, after its being first discoverd, with which an Army landing at Benedict might possess itself of the Capitol—always so great a Blow to the Government of a Country as well on Account of the Resources, as of the Documents and Records the invading Army is almost sure to obtain thereby, must strongly I should think urge the Propriety of the Plan here proposed, and the more particularly as the other Places You have mentioned will be more likely to fall after the Occupation of Washington, than that City would be after their Capture— Annapolis is tolerably well fortified, and is the Spot from whence the American Government has always felt Washington would be threaten'd, if at all, it is natural therefore to suppose Precautions have been taken to frustrate and impede our Advance in that Direction; add to which Annapolis being fortified, a Station for Troops, and not to be approached by our larger Ships on Account of the Shallowness of the Water, it is possible and probable the Occupation of it might cost us some little Time, which would of Course be taken Advantage of by the Enemy to draw together all the Force at his Command for the Defence of Washington, and at all Events enable the Heads of Departments there, to remove whatever they may wish— Baltimore is likewise extremely difficult of Access to us from Sea, We cannot in Ships drawing above sixteen Feet, approach nearer even to the Mouth of the Patapsco than 7 or 8 Miles and Baltimore is situated Twelve Miles up it, having an extensive Population mostly armed, and a Fort for its Protection about a Mile advanced from it on a projecting Point where the River is so narrow as to admit of People conversing across it, and this Fort I am given to understand is a Work which has been completed by French Engineers with considerable Pains and at much Expence,<sup>3</sup> and is therefore of a Description only to be regularly approached, and consequently would require Time to reduce, which I conceive it will be judged important not to lose in striking our first Blow— But both Annapolis and Baltimore are to be taken without Difficulty from the Land Side, that is coming down upon them from the Washington Road, the former being I

think commanded by the Heights behind it, and Baltimore having no Defence whatever in its Rear, and from the Moment of your Arrival in the Chesapeake, let the Plan adopted be what it may, a small Force detached to the Susquehanna will always prevent or materially impede the Arrival of any considerable Reinforcements or Assistance from the Eastern States.

If Philadelphia is supposed to be an Object of greater Importance than the Places I have just mention'd, I should deem the landing at Elkton the most advisable Mode of approaching it, as the intended Point of Attack would thereby be masked till the Army would be actually landed and on its March on the Road from Elkton to Wilmington (above Newcastle) which is short and good, and does not offer, as far as I know, Difficulties or Opposition of any Kind, and this Movement need not prevent such Ships as may be judged requisite, from proceeding up the Delaware to co-operate with the Army as Circumstances may require and point out the Propriety of, and I should here remark that if Washington (as I strongly recommend) be deemed worthy of our first Efforts, although our main Force should be landed in the Patuxent, yet a Tolerably good Division should at the same Time be sent up the Potowmac with Bomb Ships &c which will tend to distract and divide the Enemy, amuse Fort Washington, if it does not reduce it, and will probably offer other Advantages of Importance without any counterbalancing Inconvenience, as the Communication between the grand Army and this Division will be easy and immediate in Consequence of the very small Space of Land between the Potowmac and Patuxent.

American Guides will not be difficult to obtain in this Country when we have Force to protect them and Money to pay them, I have already one who has been ill treated in his own Country, and seems extremely anxious to be revenged; I have employed him on all Occasions, and he has shewn himself staunch and clever, and I have therefore now put him on regular Pay according to the Tenor of your Directions, he being both a Pilot for the Rivers and a Guide for the Roads in this Neighbourhood

Norfolk seems to be the only Place where the Americans expect a serious Attack, that Place has been considerably strengthened of late and I am informed Eight or Ten Thousand Men are collected there, it is not however in my Opinion worthy of primary Notice, but You may deem it perhaps Sir worthy of attending to after others of greater Importance have been disposed of. I have the Honor to be Sir Your very faithful and Most obedient Humble Servant

G: Cockburn Rear Admiral

LS, UkENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2333, fols. 173–78. Docketing reads: "recd. by *St. Lawrence* 26 July 1814.—" Cochrane received this before leaving Bermuda for the Chesapeake.

1. See Cochrane to Cockburn, pp. 129–130.

2. See Cockburn's letter No. 29, pp. 154–57.

3. A succession of foreign-born engineers supervised the initial design and construction of the Baltimore fort. Majors John Jacob Ulrich Rivaldi (1794–97) and Louis Tousard (1798) oversaw the creation of the fort's detached water batteries, and Jean Foncin (1799–1802) directed the building of the main masonry work. Construction on the brick-faced, star-shaped fort was complete by 1805, and costs through 1802 amounted to some \$110,000. Sheads, *Fort McHenry*, pp. 5–7.

## British React to American Depredations

*While pondering how he would employ the long-awaited invasion force, Cochrane received documentation from Lieutenant General Sir George Prevost outlining the uncivilized conduct of American troops against civilians in Upper Canada. Following Prevost's recommendation, Cochrane ordered his officers to retaliate against American coastal towns. However, in a secret memorandum, Cochrane tempered his order with pragmatism. A draconian policy that further alienated the American populace would be counterproductive to the British who needed supplies and other assistance from the local population. Cochrane adopted a practical approach—levying contributions but blaming their adoption on the predatory practices of the American government in Canada. The British would use the threat of force when appropriate.*

VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N., TO  
COMMANDING OFFICERS OF THE NORTH AMERICAN STATION

By the Honorable Sir A. Cochrane

Whereas by Letters from His Excellency Lt. General Sir George Prevost of the 1st & 2d of June last,<sup>1</sup> it appears that the American Troops in upper Canada have committed the most wanton & unjustifiable outrages on the unoffending Inhabitants by burning their Mills & houses & by a general devastation of private property— And whereas His Excy has requested that in order to deter the Enemy from a repetition of similar outrages I would assist in inflicting measures of retaliation— You are hereby required and directed to destroy & lay waste such Towns and Districts upon the Coast as you may find assailable; you will hold Strictly in view the conduct of the American Army towards His Majesty's unoffending Canadian Subjects.

For only by carrying this retributory justice into the Country of our Enemy can we hope to make him sensible of the impolicy as well as inhumanity of the system he has adopted.

You will take every opportunity of explaining to the people how much I lament the necessity of following the rigorous example of the Commanders of the American forces And as these Commanders must obviously have acted under instructions from the Executive Govt. of the U S whose intimate & unnatural connexion with the late Govt. of France has led them to adopt the same system of Plunder & Devastation; it is therefore to their own Govt. the unfortunate Sufferers must look for indemnification for their loss of Property.

And this order is to remain in force until I receive information from Sir Geo. Prevost that the Executive Govt. of the U.S. have come under an obligation to make full remuneration to the injured & unoffending Inhabitants of the Canadas for all the outrages their Troops have committed.

Given under my hand at Bermuda 18th. July 1814  
(Sigd.) A. Cochrane

To the respective Flag Officers, Captains, and Commanding Officers upon the North American Station.

By Command of the Vice Admiral (Sigd.) Wm. Balhetchet

LB, UkENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2346, fols. 17–18.

1. After receiving Lieutenant General Gordon Drummond's letter of 27 May 1814 detailing the American raid on Dover (see pp. 489–90), Prevost sent Cochrane a copy of his response as well as his recommendation that Cochrane consider retaliatory measures in his theater of operations. Prevost to Drummond, 1 June 1814, and Prevost to Cochrane, 2 June 1814, UkENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2326, fols. 139–40 and 143–44, respectively.

VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N., TO  
COMMANDING OFFICERS OF THE NORTH AMERICAN STATION

Secret Memo.

Bermuda 18th. July 1814

Notwithstanding my public order of this days date directing you to destroy & lay waste Such Towns & Districts of the Enemy as may be within your power, you are hereby authorized to except Such Islands & places as either from furnishing Supplies or from being likely to be hereafter occupied by us in furtherance of the object of the War in which we are engaged it may be more advantageous to ourselves to treat with a marked lenity & forbearance— And if in any descent you Shall be enabled to take Such a position as to threaten the Inhabitants with the destruction of their property, you are hereby authorized to levy upon them contributions in Return for your forbearance (& in proportion to the value of the private property thus Spared) But you will not by this, understand that the Magazines belonging to the Government or their harbors, or their Shipping are to be included in Such arrangements, These together with their Contents are in all cases to be taken away or destroyed—

(Signed) A. Cochrane—

To, Cockburn, Milne Griffith Hotham Jackson—Skene—Pym, Nash Sir T Cochrane, Percy

LB, UkENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2346, fol. 8.

VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N., TO  
REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N.

No. 14

Bermuda 21st. July 1814.

Sir/.

Having directed Captain Palmer of His Majestys Ship *Hebrus* to proceed in that Ship to the Chesapeake and follow your Orders, you will take him under your Command accordingly, sending the *Loire* forthwith, off New York with Directions to her Captain<sup>1</sup> to put himself under the Orders of Captain Nash of His Majestys Ship *Saturn*; previously Compleating her Provisions from the Transport named in the Margin<sup>2</sup> sent you under Convoy of the *Hebrus*.



The *Hebrus* will Convey to you two Field Pieces and their Stores with Tents for One thousand Men; she has on board also Lieutenant Colonel Malcolm and the Staff of the Second Battallion of Marines, who are to join the Battalion now under the Command of Major Lewis, to be henceforth the 2d. Battalion under the Command of the Lieutenant Colonel.

On board the Transport there are Lieutenant Colonel Brown, and Detachments from West India Regiments who by the direction of Government are sent to endeavour to recruit their respective regiments from the Blacks who may Emigrate, in which you will be pleased to assist them as they may require. If they succeed I purpose they shall form a Corps to Act under the Command of Lt. Coll. Brown during the Continuance with the War with America.

I am in daily expectation of the Arrival of Rear Admiral Malcolm with the first Division of the Army consisting of about five thousand Men;<sup>3</sup> when they arrive you may expect to hear from me again & to receive two hundred Congreves Rockets. The 1st. Battalion of Marines is also to join me.

You will receive herewith an Order to retaliate upon the inhabitants of the United States for the barbarities committed in Canada together with a secret Memorandum, as soon as you have Acted upon these with some effect you will use every means to Circulate Copies of the former, to shew that the Origin of the Evil which Visits them lies in their own Government—

As to the species of Warfare therein pointed out may accumulate much of the Enemy's property you may keep the Transport with you for its reception and cause temporary Stores to be put up upon Tangier Island for the reception of this Property as well as a Depot for Provisions

I send you herewith an order for Mr. Cummings, Surgeon of the Battalion under Major Lewis to Act as Surgeon upon Tangier Island

Your detention of Lieutent. Fenwick has occasioned me to receive the Enclosed Letter of Captain Cunninghams forwarded to me by General Horsford;<sup>4</sup> if he has not already been sent to Bermuda I must beg of you not on any account to fail sending him in.

As Captain Bruce proceeds in the *Hebrus* to take Command of the *Manly* you will employ Lieutenant Pearson in any manner he may be most useful—. I have the honor to be &c.

Vice Admiral of the Red & Commander in Chief

I send you a Letter for Mr. Barclay under Cover to General Mason which after perusal Seal & forward.

LB, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 14, Vol. 38, pp. 378–81 (Reel 9). The marginal note reads: "recd. by *Hebrus* 7 Augt. 1814."

1. Captain Thomas Brown, R.N.

2. *Tucker*.

3. On 2 June 1814, Rear Admiral Pulteney Malcolm sailed from Verdon Roads, Bordeaux, France, with an expedition transporting almost 3,000 troops from the Fourth, Forty-fourth, and Eighty-fifth regiments of foot. Malcolm's flagship *Royal Oak* and the rest of his squadron stood into the harbor of Bermuda on 25 July. UKLPR, Adm. 50/87, fols. 81 and 107.

4. Cunningham to Horsford, 19 July 1814, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 14, Vol. 38, pp. 381–82.

## Flotilla's Strategy in July

*Commodore Barney and Secretary Jones were in a quandary after the second Battle of St. Leonard's Creek. The flotilla had escaped the creek, but what next? While Barney's squadron sailed up the Patuxent to the supposed safety of Nottingham, the British immediately attacked the village of St. Leonard's at the head of the creek, destroying gunboats and merchant vessels that might have eventually rejoined the flotilla. Cast into a defensive posture, all Barney could do was report British movements to the Navy Department and speculate where the enemy might strike next. Cockburn masked British intentions by dividing his force into two squadrons, Potomac and Patuxent, thus forcing Secretary Jones to adopt a reactive policy that changed daily from establishing a new flotilla for Barney in the Potomac, to moving his flotilla overland from Queen Anne's Town to South River.*

ACTING LIEUTENANT SOLOMON RUTTER, FLOTILLA SERVICE, TO  
CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE

Commodore Barney—

Camp at Calvert Court house  
July 3d. 1814—

Sir—

According to your orders a Schooner, lying at the head of St. Leonards Creeke was prepared for sailing, and loaded with the Spars and Iron Kentledge remaining there which had been landed from the Barges. This was compleated on the morning of the 30th. Ultmo.—with an intention of proceeding down the Creeke the ensuing night for the purpose of joining the Squadron as soon as possible— Capt. Geohagen, who had been left in charge at St. Leonards row'd some way down to gain intelligence of the Enemy and was soon informed that, two Ships, accompanied by several small Schooners had drop'd a little above the mouth of the Creeke; about 4 OClock that evening. This circumstance, precluding a possibility of the Schooner gaining the Patuxent, in the morning of the 1st. Inst., the Spars &c were al landed, & placed in thire former Situation. Capt. Geohagen then removed his party to this Camp, and on the morning of the 2d, again proceeded to St. Leonards town, with a guard of 8 men accompanied by the Waggon, for the purpose of removing the Spars & Kentledge left there, but had only time to load one Waggon when the near approach of the Enemy forced them to desist, & dispatch it back with orders for those not yet arived to return. Thirteen Masts of our Barges and the yards belonging to the Gally, were then launchd into the Creeke, & push'd up so as to conceal them from the Enemy. Care had also been taken to send off the Slide belonging to Gun Boat No. 138, lest by getting into thire posassion it might aid them in arming any other vessell.— Capt. Geohagen remained upon the point on which the warehouse is situated untill the Barges got within Musket Shot, when they were saluted with a well directed voly, which was returned by round & grape without any injury to our brave fellows, who were then ordered off, and directed to return to our post at this place.— An order with which they very reluctantly complied.— The officer remained to watch the motions of the Enemy, who has this morning returned, and reports from the best information he could obtain, that on the arival at the head of the Creeke, they commenced by burn-

ing the small vessells lying there, they then landed and a party remained upon the point who employ'd themselves in removing the few Hhds. of Tobacco which were left in the Warehouse, some of which they placed in a Launch, & the remainder, they either roled into the water, or left to be consumed in the house, to which they set fire— In the mean time another party had proceeded up the village, where they burned all the houses except that where the Doctor had his quarters with the store adjoining, and another immediately opposite. they did not even Spare the Negro's huts, or thire hen houses and pigstys.— The Officers eagerly enquired who fired upon them from the shore & upon being informed it was the Flotilla men said it was like them, but they regretted they had not stayd a little longer.— They embark'd in thire Barges about 6 OClock in the evening, occasionally firing round & grape Shot as they proceeded down.— There appear to have been 11 Barges and one Schooner up the Creeke.— An Officer is going down to reconoitre, & inform himself of all the particulars relative to their proceedings while on shore. The Pins & Sheaves of the Spars left at the ware house, had been taken out and put in security, so that the few left near the Warehouse were all remaining in thire power.<sup>#</sup>— All our Waggon's are now loaded here with Spars & rigging and are just moving off with them to hunting creek.— I am happy to inform you, that, from Doctor Hamilton's report, the Wounded are all likely to do well.— I have the honor to remain Sir with great respect your Obedt. Servt.

Sol<sup>n</sup> Rutter  
Lieut. U S Flotilla

Spars belonging to Gunboats No. 137 & 138<sup>1</sup>

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 31a (M124, Roll No. 64). This is an enclosure in Barney to Jones, 4 July 1814, *ibid.*, No. 31. Barney reported that he would soon be moving the flotilla up to Nottingham.

1. This note was probably written by Joshua Barney and was designated in the text with the # sign.

CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE, TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

US. flotilla, Nottingham July 8t 1814

Sir,

Major Briscoe of this place arrived here last evening from the mouth of Patuxent, which he left yesterday Morning, he informs, that on the 6th Inst. a large ship;<sup>1</sup> said to be Admiral Cockburns having a flag arrived, and joined the two frigates<sup>2</sup> at the mouth of the river, they have five schooners with them, two of which are the same as heretofore, and three others (smaller) on which they have placed two cannon each, that they are very busy in working upon their Launches & Barges to fit guns &c, from which he infers they mean an Attack either on the flotilla, or else where; An English officer had been onshore and said, that this flotilla was laid up, & that "Barney" was gone on to Baltimore to fit the flotilla there, and when ready, men were to be sent from Washington to mann this, & that they had information of Artillery having been sent down to

be placed on a point near them, where the two flotilla's were to operate with them &c

I am informed that Col. Wadsworth is laying in the rear of Benidict, (some say to cover the property of Clemm Dorsey during his harvest) I am likewise told that a body of Militia are ordered out from this place & Vicinity, to proceed to St. Leonards creek, (under Col Taney, who has never done any thing, nor do I beleive, would, if in his Power;) this will be drawing the forces to an improper place, as they cross the Patuxent here, and no way of recrossing afterwards, for the defence of this side, from this downwards, so that in case the enemy comes up and lands on the Nottingham side we shall have no force to repel them. I shall take a stand about a mile below this town, being the best place for to operate with all my force, the river being widest there, and commands a narrow part of the river by which they must come, but, we have Cliffs on each side, which ought to be occupied by a few troops & one or two cannon, for if the enemy gets possession of them (Cliffs) they will have it in their power to injure us very much. I do not fear them without troops, but as they seem seriously employed at preparation, I think it very probable that they expect to have some. The troops under Col. Wadsworth can be of no real service at Benidict, or lower down, & even at lower Malborough, as every thing is distroyed below this & of course no object to the Enemy, so that the natural conclusion is, that this place & perhaps higher up must be the Object. I have got every thing from St. Leonards which was left there My officer<sup>3</sup> who was near there (at their landing) reports that they went onboard one of our gunboats that was sunk level with the water, & attempted to blow up part of her deck, but did not trouble the other, that he retired in the evening & next morning on going to the place met a number of the Inhabitants, who had been onbd. the Gunboats, & tore up & plunder'd every peice of Iron old Copper &c. they could get at, he took it from them, and Observed they were more Anxious to plunder the property of the US. than to defend their own, which is certainly the case, as there were more men collected for that purpose than has been seen together since we lay in the creek: And can it be possible that men are to cross the river from the defence of their own homes to defend such Traitors. I have the honor to be respectfully yours

Joshua Barney

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 43 (M124, Roll No. 64). The pages are bound out of order.

1. *Albion*.
2. *Narcissus* and *Severn*.
3. Sailing Master John Geoghegan.

CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE, TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

flotilla off Nottingham July 13th. 1814

Sir

On Monday evg.<sup>1</sup> 10 PM. I received Possitive information that a frigate, 2 small Schooners & 6 Barges were off Benidict, that the boats had been up a few



miles above, into the mouth of Hunting Creek, knowing that there was a Warehouse at the head of that creek with Tobacco, I concluded they intended to rob & destroy it. I then determined on moving down with the flotilla, at 2 AM we began our movements, at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 we were off the mouth of the creek, where I was in hopes of catching the schooner & Boats, but saw nothing. We continued down to Benidict, when I was informed that the Ship &c. had gone down early in the morning and was then off St. Leonards, that they had landed about 100 men on the afternoon before at Benidict & burnt 8 hogsheads of Tobacco, and carried off three more in a Scow which they brought with them, this confirmed me that their Object was Huntington warehouse, as the schooners could not get up, & the Scow was for the purpose of taking Tobacco off— In going down the river, (some how or other) a Gun went off in one of my barges, the report of which was heard at Benidict, of course onboard the frigate, and the people informed me that in ten minutes afterwards the frigate got under way, I returned to my station this morning, and have just received your letter of yesterday.<sup>2</sup> The situation of the flotilla, in my opinion will not admit of my absence at this time, Mr. Frazier second in command (& the only officer) is now on shore in bad health. The enemy are below in force. One tide brings them up to us— Mr. Geoghegan can proceed to Washington but I feel a regret at letting him go, as he now commands one of my largest Barges in the place of Mr. Nicholson—<sup>3</sup> I wish if Possible for Captn. Miller to communicate to me for the Court of Enquiry what evidence he thinks I can give,<sup>4</sup> I hope such a mode may be adopted. I have also received inclosure respecting furnaces from Comr. Lewis,<sup>5</sup> and am of opinion with you, that a furnace in a launch, or rather in one of the fastest light barges, bought of the City of Baltre. will answer better than any other mode. I wish Sir to have a couple of light travelling gun carriages, to mount guns on in case of necessity, The Size for long twelves will answer. I am respectfully your Obt. Servt.

Joshua Barney

An Officer of the 36th. just from Leonard town St. Maries informs that 1. 74 & two frigates with several small vessels have passed up by point look out<sup>6</sup>

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 53 (M124, Roll No. 64).

1. 11 July 1814.

2. Jones ordered a court of inquiry into the conduct of Captain Samuel Miller, U.S.M.C., at the Battle of St. Leonard's Creek on 26 June, after receiving a letter from Colonel Decius Wadsworth, disparaging Miller's actions. Jones instructed Barney and Sailing Master Geoghegan to attend the court of inquiry at Miller's request. The court acquitted Miller of any blame. Wadsworth to Jones, 7 July 1814, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 38 (M124, Roll No. 64); Jones to Barney, 12 July 1814, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 372 (M149, Roll No. 11); Samuel Miller court of inquiry, 26 July–15 Aug. 1814, DNA, RG125, CM, Vol. 5, No. 169 (M273, Roll No. 7).

3. Sailing Master James Nicholson, appointed to the command of one of the large barges at Baltimore, joined the Chesapeake Bay flotilla on 6 September 1813. Granted a furlough on 2 July 1814, Nicholson was temporarily replaced by Sailing Master Geoghegan. Nicholson was discharged on 15 April 1815.

4. Sailing Master Geoghegan and Commodore Barney, in lieu of attending Miller's court of inquiry held in Washington from 26 July to 15 August 1814, submitted either a general statement (Geoghegan) or written answers to several interrogatories (Barney). Both concluded that the marine captain was an able, cooperative officer whose men were well disciplined. Samuel Miller court of inquiry, 26 July–15 Aug. 1814, DNA, RG125, CM, Vol. 5, No. 169 (M273, Roll No. 7).

5. The commander of the New York flotilla, Jacob Lewis, who was commissioned a captain in the flotilla service on 26 April 1814, suggested to Secretary Jones that if Barney had furnaces for hot shot the British could not blockade him. Jones asked Lewis for details on dimensions and Lewis sent the information to Barney. Lewis to Jones, 27 June 1814, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 17 (M124, Roll No. 64); Jones to Lewis, 29 June 1814, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 361 (M149, Roll No. 11); and Lewis to Jones, 6 July 1814, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 37 (M124, Roll No. 64).

6. *Asia*, 74, *Regulus*, 44, *Brune*, 38, *Melpomene*, 38, *Manly*, 12, and *Aetna*, 8. They brought reinforcements of marines and Royal Marine Artillery.

CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE, TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Cutter *Scorpion*, July 21st. 1814

Sir,

On Sunday morning last,<sup>1</sup> the alarm was given, that the enemy were in force, with 3 Ships, 5 Schooners & 30 barges having troops onbd. and coming up the Patuxent,<sup>2</sup> the moment I heard of it from Genl. Winder<sup>3</sup> I got the flotilla under way and dropt down to a convenient place to receive the enemy and moored for the purpose, during the day I received fifty different accounts of the movements of the enemy but none agreeing. The Wind blew hard from the Southard with a flood tide, so that it was impossible for me to row down had an occasion of Acting, presented itself, in the afternoon I learnt they had landed just above Benidict on the Calvert side, and had marched to Huntington & burnt the Warehouse, which is what I expected from their movements the week before. This was done by not more than 120 men, who marched upwards of Seven miles into the country and returned without molestation; Rumours and alarms have been continual every day since, the people are all frightened out of their senses running about the country like so many mad people, nor can I procure a single man & horse to go down the river for information as to the force of the enemy at the mouth of the River; And I cannot trust one of my officers for he would be betrayed by our internal foes such is my situation. Yesterday, news was brought by letters that the enemy had landed 700 men at Benidict and sent parties into the Country, that Leonard town in St. Maries was taken by a force that had gone up the Potomac;<sup>4</sup> and also that the enemy had again visited Huntington & burnt Calvert Court house, such Sir are the daily rumours & tales, so that in fact, I cannot write you any thing as certain; If I had a fast Gig, or whale boat, I could send down the river and obtain Information as to their force & position, but I have not, being confined to boats that will not row fast.

I have been under the necessity of suspending Sailing Master Claude Besse, his conduct has been such as to take away all confidence in him, for, from [*the*] day of our battle on the 10th. June, (the time his G[unboat] was sunk) he has appeared so much deranged, that I cannot continue his command any longer; he will be ordered to Baltimore.<sup>5</sup> I am Sir with Respect your Obt. Servt.

Joshua Barney

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 67 (M124, Roll No. 64). The bracketed words are conjectures; the seal tore the paper.

1. 17 July 1814.

2. For British documentation on raids on the Patuxent River, see pp. 150–62 and the map of Nourse's raids on p. 158.

3. Brigadier General William H. Winder, U.S.A., was captured at the Battle of Stony Creek in June 1813 and imprisoned in Canada until early 1814. On 1 July 1814, Madison appointed him commander of the newly established Tenth Military District, comprising the District of Columbia, Maryland, and Virginia between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers.

4. For British documentation on their raiding parties along the Potomac, see pp. 162–73 and the map of Cockburn's activities on p. 164.

5. Sailing Master Besse, although temporarily suspended, was not discharged until the flotilla was disbanded on 15 April 1815.

CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE, TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

US Cutter *Scorpion* off Nottingham July 24th. 1814

Sir

By a deserter (A Dane by birth) which left the Severn frigate on the 19th. when they landed in St. Maries, I have obtained the following information; That the Severn, a troop ship, mounting 28 Guns, a Bomb ship having a Morter & 12 18 lb. Carronades, a Gun brig,<sup>1</sup> and 4 small schooners carrying 32 lb. Carronades & one with a long 9 lb., is the force in the river above point patience, and between that & Benidict; That he was of the parties at the burning of Huntington & Calvert court house, on Sunday & Tuesday last, and when landed on the St. Maries side on Wednesday,<sup>2</sup> he made his escape, that the Sole object of all the late expeditions, as he heard the officers say, was Tobacco & Negroes, with some fresh provisions. That two troop ships came from Bermuda with Admiral Cochrane, having onbd. about 8 or 900 Marines,<sup>3</sup> that about 300 was with the division above stated, he says the day they burnt a Tobacco house in St. Maries, he heard the officers say, that they had now got, and destroyed all, that was in their power, and must wait further orders from the Admiral. That when they went to burn Calvert court, Capt. Nourse of the Severn, got horses from Old Major Taney for himself & officers, that they were well received and treated by the Major, and that Capt Nourse had given the Major a Written protection; however I am informed from Genrl. Wilkinson that the day before yesterday, every Negro belonging to the Major went off Voluntarily, of course lost to him; My Informant says there is 4 ships of the line & 7 frigates in the Bay. I mean to drop down in a day or two, towards Benidict, but I have been so ill for three or four days, that I have hardly strength to keep up, however I am now better, and shall make a movement to watch the enemy, for I cannot obtain any positive information; There are so many individuals that make it their business to give false and alarming news, that we cannot believe any thing we hear, among others a Mr. Simmons late accountt. of the War office, he has been down into St. Maries, and came up with the Story of 1500 men marching up the Country, which set every person to moving from Portobacco &c, it is such, that do the mischief and prevents the Militia from doing their duty, by exaggerat-

ing the force & power of the Enemy, such conduct is daily and hourly practiced by many others in these parts— I am respectfully your Obt. Servt.

Joshua Barney

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 87 (M124, Roll No. 64).

1. Nourse was ordered to take Severn, Brune, Aetna, and Manly up the Patuxent.

2. Sunday, the 17th; Tuesday, the 19th; Wednesday, the 20th.

3. Admiral Cochrane's force did not arrive until mid-August. On 15 July 1814, five warships and two transports brought reinforcements to the Chesapeake.

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO  
CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE

Joshua Barney Esqr.  
Commanding the US flotilla  
Patuxent River

Navy Department  
July 26th. 1814.—

Sir

I have received your letter of the 24th. and am myself of opinion, that the principal object of the enemy at present is plunder. Admiral Cochrane I presume has arrived, and has brought reinforcements with him, but not to the extent that has been reported. He will in all probability endeavour to give more importance and activity to his command. They are now very busy upon the Potomac, have it is said bouyed out the Channel through the Kettlebottoms, and one frigate is reported to have passed those Shoals.— If the fact is so, they may probably go up to Maryland point.—

In this state of things, I wish you to reflect and determine, whether you can place your flotilla in a position, secure against the force of the enemy in the Patuxent, and leaving it in charge of your next in command, come yourself with two hundred of your Officers and Crews to this place, and with the new Schooner,<sup>1</sup> three new Barges and such other force as we have, proceed down to Maryland point and look at the enemy. I would also embrace the occasion to erect a Sailors Battery, of 6 or 8 heavy Guns on Maryland point, which with a furnace and a sufficient military force to protect the Battery, would effectually defend that point.

I have ordered two travelling Carriages, for long light 18 pounders to be made for the use of your flotilla.

If you come, come quickly.— I am respectfully Your Obed Servt.

W Jones.

LB, DNA, RG45, CLS, 1814, p. 172.

1. The schooner *Lynx* was being built at the Washington Navy Yard.



SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO  
CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE

Joshua Barney Esqr.  
Commanding the US flotilla  
Nottingham Md.

Navy Department  
July 27th.—1814.

Sir

Accounts have been received here this morning, that the whole of the enemy's forces on the Potomac have gone down below Blackston's Island,<sup>1</sup> and probably up the Bay again. You will therefore consider my letter of yesterday by express as countermanded, and continue with your present command.—

As the temptation for plunder is nearly exhausted on the Patuxent, it is to be presumed that the enemy may be content, to blockade you in that River, and employ his disposable force elsewhere.— Should this be the case, it will be advisable to proceed with the flotilla to Queen Anns, from whence to South river, I believe is but 8 or 9 miles over a good level road.—

The *Scorpion* when divested of all her heavy Stores, can I believe ascend nearly to Queen Anns.— If arrangements can be made with due privacy, until the moment of operation, the Barges may be transported to South river,— but if this project shall fail, I still think that Queen Anns will be the place of greatest safety, from whence the Crews can be transferd to Baltimore, Annapolis, or to this place, as occasion may require, with more facility, and the position is, I believe the most salubrious, of any on the upper part of the Patuxent.—

I shall be glad of your opinion on this subject.— A waggon will start this afternoon with a very light fast Gig, oars &c. for Nottingham to your order.— I am respectfully Your Obedt. Servt.

W. Jones.

LB, DNA, RG45, CLS, 1814, p. 173.

1. Now St. Clement's Island.

## Cockburn's Diversion along the Patuxent

Anxiously awaiting Vice Admiral Cochrane's arrival with the expected invasion army, Rear Admiral Cockburn, by mid-July 1814, was reinforced with only 900 marines and a company of Royal Marine Artillery. Under orders to limit his operations until the main force arrived from Bermuda, Cockburn employed his small contingent by forming two squadrons—one under his command to attack along the Potomac River and one under Captain Joseph Nourse to chart the Patuxent and make limited forays against the American populace. From mid-July to mid-August Nourse's squadron captured or destroyed tobacco stores along the Patuxent and the Eastern Shore, and stationed vessels at Drum Point to blockade Barney's flotilla in the Patuxent.

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO CAPTAIN ROBERT BARRIE, R.N.

*Albion* Off Drum Point Patuxent 11 July 1814

Dear Barrie

I was sorry to learn by your Letter of the 5th the untimely Fate of the *Warrington* & the more so as we have at this Moment Nothing of the kind equally good to replace her,<sup>1</sup> I hope however to get one ere long as in Consequence of finding Barney had got above Benedick and that it was useless to endeavor to follow him up this River affording him such facility of Retreat to so great a distance from our Shipping, I have directed the *Loire*, *St. Lawrence* & a Tender to take Advantage of his being hemmed in here, to proceed to the upper parts of the Chesapeake (as high as the Elk) to work Our friends about Baltimore & to endeavor to get hold of the Steam Boat and do them any other Mischief he may find to be within his Power;<sup>2</sup> if he be tolerably successful this will obtain for Your Friend Barney a few more Blessings

The Frigates<sup>3</sup> prior to my arrival had examined Leonards Creek, burnt the Vessels Barney left there<sup>4</sup> & brought off about forty Hhds of Tobacco and coming up here *Albion* took a Schr. loaded with Lumber, so you see we go on picking a little, which as the War is so nearly at an end may offer you some Consolation for Your Detention in Lynhaven being so unexpectedly prolonged, as the Operations of the Frigates took place on the Saturday,<sup>5</sup> which I find by your Letter was the day on which the *Acasta* & *Narcissus* sailed it will be necessary for you to be particular in Reporting the Hour of their passing the Capes<sup>6</sup>

I have had parties on Shore constantly on both Sides the River but the Militia pertinaciously keep to the Woods and leave the Shores & the Clear ground subject to our Depredations from which we have taken Stock Corn &c. but I have not allowed further Damage to be done in consequence of our Not meeting with Opposition— The other day two Heroes on Horseback fired at one of my Lieutts. when on Shore and then rode off as hard as they could— I ascertained who they were & where they lived, & that Night I sent to their House (between two & three Miles off) destroyed every thing belonging to it and brought them & their Horses on board, and I now send these two Heroes to you for a Passage to Halifax and I trust this example added to that of Jarboe<sup>7</sup> will induce Jonathan to be more guarded in his behaviour towards us & to treat us in future with due Respect

If the Commander in Chief does not appear before *Loire* returns I believe I must myself drop down to Lynhaven Bay to release you, it is really very Sad to be distressed as I am for adequate Force to do the Duties of this important Bay with so many Ships on the Station, but I hope when the Vice Admiral has once been here himself he will be induced to change his present System of Operations & Distribution of the Ships

I send you all the late Newspapers I have, but they contain little or Nothing more than you have already seen

*Severn* is gone up the River to ascertain how high it is possible for Ships to get, and *Albion* is completing her Water at Drum Point where I have established a most excellent Watering Place under the Guns of the Ship

I was very glad to learn Your Passengers are doing so well in spite of the natural anxiety attending their Detention, pray remember me most kindly to them all, Accept my best Thanks for your Offers of Service in England should I have any thing to send prior to your being Ordered home, I shall not hesitate in

availing Myself of your kindness— Adieu. Believe me with real Esteem & Friendship Ever most faithfully & truly yours,

G: Cockburn

As the Vessel Mr. Thorn is now in, is not fit for the Lynhaven Bay Anchorage—I will thank you to send her back to me with any Communications you may wish to make and I hope to have a better Vessel for him by the time he gets here in which case he shall lose no time in again returning to you—

ALS, MiU-C, Robert Barrie Papers.

1. This letter was not found. Cockburn used *Warrington*, *Albion's* tender, to communicate among his squadron.

2. Cockburn ordered Captain Thomas Brown on 7 July to take *Loire* and *St. Lawrence* on a cruise to the upper Chesapeake to annoy American trade carried on via steamboat between Baltimore and Elkton. Cockburn to Brown, 7 July 1814, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 16, Vol. 44, pp. 150–52 (Reel 10). This vessel may have been *Chesapeake*, which reportedly was the only steamboat in Baltimore between 1813 and 1815. Shannahan, *Steamboat 'n' Days*, pp. 9–12.

3. *Severn* and *Loire*.

4. Among the vessels burned were Gunboats No. 137 and No. 138.

5. 2 July 1814.

6. When *Acasta* and *Narcissus* sailed from the Chesapeake was important in determining whether they would qualify for prize money.

7. Cockburn is referring to the British capture of James Jaboe at his St. Mary's County home on 2 July 1814. George C. Urmston to Cockburn, 3 June 1814, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 14, Vol. 38, pp. 322–24 (Reel 9).

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO CAPTAIN ROBERT BARRIE, R.N.

*Albion* Saturday Morning 16 July 1814 off Drum Point

Dear Barrie

The *Asia* got up to me yesterday, I immediately caused every Exertion to be used to get from her, the Company of Artillery & the numerous Articles she brought out for us and I now send her to release you, and with her, three Sloops & a Schooner loaded with Part of your Property to take with you to Halifax, the large Sloop is particularly valuable having besides 33 *Hhds.* of Tobacco, a Number of Cases & Casks of *other Costly Commodities*, they are all good Vessels and I do not think they will detain you much. We have now remaining at Tangier exactly 102 *Hhds.*

I am sorry to say the *Loire* missed the Steam Boat<sup>1</sup> by a few Hours (our Information respecting her Arrival at Baltimore was incorrect she gets in it seems in the Afternoon, instead of after Dark as we supposed) Captain Brown however managed to bring me Ten Prizes of Sorts, the best of the Vessels are those I now send to you & the most Valuable parts of the Cargoes of all, are in the Sloop, the produce of his Cruise is therefore not very great, but I intend having another treat for the Steam Boat when the Alarm occasioned by *Loire's* going up has worn away a little

The Commander in Chief tells me he is coming in Mighty and overbearing Strength, *but when* seems a question he is not himself able to solve, I confess I do not expect him for some time and intend therefore sending the *St. Lawrence* to Bermuda with my Letters & Despatches for him—in the Mean Time I have

positive Orders only to make Play with the advanced Force now sent to me & on no account to attempt any Thing of Importance before the Army arrives, which is to be Thirty Thousand Strong (this however you are to consider as a Secret Communication) to be sure such an Army here will only have to chuse where it will go & what it will occupy & take Possession of I shall strongly advocate their seizing in the first Instance the Capital as that is always a hard Blow to begin with and is in this instance so easy to be effected within 48 Hours after Landing such a Force at *Benedict*—to facilitate which I am now going to move from this River leaving in it only two Frigates & a Brig,<sup>2</sup> that my Views respecting it may only appear to have reference to the Blockade of the Flotilla—and to further this Idea I have directed them to lay chiefly off Drum Point after having made one Haul up the River at a Place I have just received Information of as containing some extensive Stores—

I am myself with the rest of the Force going into the Potowmac & after making a Flourish or two there, sacking Leonards Town &c. I shall again move elsewhere, so as to distract Jonathan, do him all the Mischief I can and yet not allow him to suspect that a serious & permanent Landing is intended any Where this is the extent of what is at present permitted to me and indeed under the existing Circumstances it is perhaps the wisest Plan though I think we have more to expect from the Enemy's want of Means & Energy to frustrate our Plans than from his want of Information— Every thing is as quiet in this Neighborhood as when I last wrote, not a Militia Man or Soldier to be seen except we hunt for them in the Woods & then they only play at Hide & Seek with us, and in such good Order are the Inhabitants, that one of them on the left Bank of the River (about 40 Miles from Washington) sent to me to beg I would give him Permission to go from his Property for a few Days to Visit Relations ten Miles distant—and another sent to Ask leave to send a few of his young Geese to another of his Houses where part of his Family resided— in short it is quite ridiculous the perfect Dominion we have from the Entrance of this River to *Benedict*— Mr. Maddison must certainly be either in confident Expectation of immediate Peace, or preparing to abdicate the Chair.—

By the *Asia* & *Thistle* I yesterday received your Three Letters, two of the 12th. & one of the 14th<sup>3</sup> for which I thank you I read over all your Correspondence with General Porter who I think seems really to feel as he ought about the aggression of His officer and has done in it every thing within his Power.— agreeably to your Wish I return you the Generals Letters and I will thank you to leave for me with Captain Skene a particular Report of the State of the Wounded Man when you Sail— I was sorry to learn the Flux was becoming so alarming in the *Dragon*, All the Ships here have had a little of it but it seems generally to have yielded to Medicine without producing any fatal Consequences, and I trust your People will soon get better when you are once fairly out of Chesapeake Air, You did quite right in taking the onions from the Schooner with *Thistle* & the Stock from the Spaniard I only wish you had taken more from the latter, as we are here all in Clover— I am very glad you sent the *Thistle* up to me, as I shall keep her in lieu of *St. Lawrence*, I like the appearance of your Friend<sup>4</sup> who Commands her very much, he managed to get to me before the Troopers— My Brother<sup>5</sup> tells me he is coming here to pay me a Visit, he expected to come in *Niemen* & to be here before the Brig, and therefore kept back most of my Letters & other Things— there is however no News but what we have heard through the American Papers—Excepting Admiral Stirling trying at



Portsmouth for his conduct at Jamaica—<sup>6</sup> Fleming appointed Comr. in Chief from Cape Finisterre to Bay of Roses & Hallowell chief from thence up the Mediterranean all the Other Admirals returned or returning home, and 6 Frigates & five Sloops Ordered from Medn. here— Kerr of the *Acasta* has taken (off the Delaware) a Small Prize with Tar & Spirits of Turpentine, I hope you may pick up something good as you run along the Coast. Adieu let me once more repeat to you My Thanks for the Cheerful & ready Assistance I have so invariably received from you especially at the Moments when My Chief's Conduct put me So much to my Shifts May success attend you wherever you go and believe me Always with real Esteem Most faithfully & truly Yours

G: Cockburn

Remember me to all your Passengers I wish them Joy of their delivery from Chesapeak. when will they return me the Compliment

Pray make out as good a Case for me as you can in Answer to my public Letter about the American & leave it with Skene, if the Man does not remain behind—<sup>7</sup>

G C

ALS, MiU-C, Robert Barrie Papers.

1. *Chesapeake*.

2. *Severn*, *Brune*, and *Manly*.

3. Cockburn's letter book of received letters contains no Barrie letters from 19 June to 21 July 1814.

4. Commander James K. White, R.N. On 21 July Cockburn appointed White acting captain of his flagship *Albion* to replace Captain Charles B. H. Ross, who left for Halifax to restore his health.

5. Sir James Cockburn, British army.

6. Accused of corruption while in command at Jamaica, Vice Admiral Charles Stirling, R.N., was recalled in 1813. The charges against him were partly proved at a court-martial held in May 1814.

7. Cockburn is referring to the complicated case of James Guedron. The American government contended that the British impressed Guedron into service in 1809. British documentation found he joined the Royal Navy voluntarily. Cockburn to Barrie, 15 July 1814, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 10, Vol. 24, pp. 198–201 (Reel 6).

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO  
VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N.

No. 29

*Albion* off Jerome Point  
Chesapeake 17 July 1814.

Sir,

One of the Bastions of Fort Albion being perfectly completed and the Guns mounted on it on the 30th. Ultimo, I considered the Establishment on Tangier Island to be sufficiently secure against any Force the Enemy in the actual state of affairs has it in his power to send against it, and therefore giving to Captain Watts of the *Jaseur* the order of which the Enclosure No. 1 is a Copy,<sup>1</sup> I moved up the Chesapeake to the Patuxent in the *Albion*, on Anchoring in the River I received Information that the light part of the Baltimore Flotilla which had es-

caped from Leonards Creek, had retired so high up and were of such shallow draft of Water, as to leave us no chance of again getting near them, I therefore immediately dispatched Captain Brown in the *Loire* with the *St. Lawrence* and a Tender to sweep (whilst the Flotilla were hemmed in here) the upper parts of the Chesapeake, from Baltimore to the Elk, and to endeavor to intercept the Steam Boat<sup>2</sup> (of Five hundred Tons Burthen) which runs continually between those Places— I also sent the *Severn* up the Patuxent to ascertain how high it is actually navigable for our Ships, and to endeavor to gain me further Intelligence respecting the movements and Intentions of Commodore Barney— From the Station I took in this Ship (immediately between Drum Point and Hog Point within Musquet Shot of both Shores,) I sent Detachments into the Country occasionally on both sides the River, but except procuring Supplies of Stock they have had no opportunity of effecting any thing against the Enemy, the few Militia Men they have met with having always taken to the Woods whenever approached, leaving the whole of the fine Country in this Neighbourhood completely at our disposal and Mercy— on the 12th. Instt. the *Severn* returned, Captain Nourse carried that Ship without difficulty nearly as high as Benedict (forty five Miles from Washington) and I enclose No. 2 the Plan he delivered to me of the River,<sup>3</sup> he sent his Boats four Miles above Benedict but could neither see nor learn any thing of Commodore Barney, excepting that the People told him the Commodore would for the future take care to keep where he would be secure from the possibility of our getting at him— Captain Nourse reports the whole Country bordering the River as high as he went, to be in the same defenceless and deserted State that it is hereabouts, and indeed the only People who venture now to inhabit the Houses around, are such as have applied for and obtained our Permission and Protection.

On the 14th. Instant the *Loire* returned and I am sorry to have to report that she missed the Steam Boat by a few hours only, she captured however Ten other Vessels and Captain Brown was with the Boats as high as French Town, and took Possession of every thing he could find afloat either on the Bay or in the upper Rivers— after giving the People of Baltimore and its vicinity a little time to recover again from the general alarm and state of active Vigilance which the sudden appearance of the Frigate in that neighbourhood occasioned them, I intend to repeat the manoeuvre, as I know the Americans cannot resist taking advantage of the easy and short Water Communication between Baltimore and Elkton whenever they believe Danger at all removed from it, and it was for the more particular protection of this (to them) valuable Communication, that the Flotilla I have now rendered useless was fitted out.

On the 15th. the *Asia* arrived here with the Troop Ships<sup>4</sup> and *Manly* Brig, and Captain Skene delivered to me your Letters, one dated 18th June (marked Confidential) and two dated 1st. July, one No. 13 and the other marked Secret<sup>5</sup>— after a full consideration of every thing set forth in the latter, and of your Instructions to me therein contained, I determined for the Reasons explained in the accompanying (Secret) Letter<sup>6</sup> immediately to move from the Patuxent with the greater part of the Ships, and to leave there only such a Force as would have the appearance of being merely intended to Blockade and attend to the Flotilla— I am therefore now on my way to the Potowmac, having left in the Patuxent Captain Nourse in the *Severn* with the *Brune* (and the Detachment of Marines in her) and the *Manly* Brig; and I have directed Captain Nourse (after capturing some valuable Stores which we had just received Information of and

which had previously escaped us) to remain principally at the lower part of the River only reconnoitring it occasionally, & by means of the Marines and Ships left under his orders, to prevent or destroy in its Infancy, any Work the Enemy may shew a disposition to construct on either of its Banks.

I have ordered the *Asia* to Lynhaven Bay to Blockade the Entrance of the Chesapeake and attend to the Enemy at Norfolk, and I intend to proceed myself with the rest of the Force in the first Instance as high up the Potowmac as a Place called Leonards Town, which by Information I have received has many valuable Stores deposited in it and principally belongs to People of the Democratic Faction. I also propose to take advantage of our being in that Neighbourhood to endeavour to ascertain the Passage past the Shoals in the Potowmac named the Kettle Bottoms, which the Ships ordered up that River last year were not able to accomplish, but which (with a view to our future operations) I think it essentially Important we should discover if possible— These objects, and knowing that the Black Population inclined to join us is more numerous on the Shores of the Potowmac than any where else within the Chesapeake, makes me consider that River as the place best adapted for the moment, to offer me advantages in meeting and advancing the Views and Spirit of your present Instructions to me,

I shall not however continue any longer than absolutely necessary so high up the Potowmac as Leonards Town, it being my Intention studiously to avoid occasioning the Americans to suspect I have been led into the River for any other object than that of Leonards Town and the other incursions which I shall probably make on the opposite side, and therefore I shall afterwards visit other Points endeavoring to distract as much as possible the attention of the Enemy and to induce him to believe that no serious or permanent Landing is really contemplated, which I think may be done whilst the best probable Means of advancing the Objects you have specified in your Instructions to me are adapted, and I will take care to keep a Vessel always so Stationed as to ensure her meeting with you in your way up the Bay, to inform you of my Movements and of my Position at that Moment.

I have several small Vessels already collected at Tangier, and I will take every opportunity encreasing the Number, but if you could send a light Transport to receive the great quantity of Prize Goods we have here, it would put so many more of these Vessels at our disposal, we have now 102 Hogsheads of Tobacco and many other Articles at Tangier Island, in addition to 320 Hogsheads and other things which I have sent to Halifax with the *Dragon*.

The Marine Clothing you sent by the *Asia* for the Colonial Marines has arrived most opportunely, we were in very great want of it; I think we have about 120 Men in the Corps and I have now no doubt of encreasing it rapidly, they are indeed excellent Men, and make the best skirmishers possible for the thick Woods of this Country.

The last Paragraph of your Letter repeating again so particularly your desire that Lieutenant Fenwick may be returned to Bermuda, I do not think it proper any longer to take upon myself to detain him here, but his loss will be very sensibly felt at Tangier, where his presence or that of some other Officer of Engineers is still very essentially necessary for the advancement of His Majesty's Service.

On the Evening of the 15th. Instt. the *Thistle* Gun Brig arrived here in search of you with Dispatches from Halifax, but as she sails excessively ill and is of a

draft of Water which may enable her to be of some use here, I have determined to send the *St. Lawrence* on to you instead of her, with the Dispatches from Halifax, with my present Letters in Answer to your Communications by the *Asia* and many other Dispatches from me (detailing to you the Proceedings in the Chesapeake since the sailing of the *Lacedamonian*) which have been accumulating on board the Ship of the Senior Officer in Lynhaven Bay waiting some opportunity of being forwarded or delivered to you. I have the Honor to be Sir Your very faithful and Most Obedt. Humble Servant

G: Cockburn Rear Admiral

LS, UKENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2333, fols. 179–84. Docketing reads: "Received by *St. Lawrence* 26 July 14." This was Cockburn's public letter to Cochrane of this date.

1. Cockburn placed Captain George E. Watts in charge of Tangier Island during his absence. Cockburn to Watts, 30 June 1814, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 16, Vol. 44, pp. 144–48 (Reel 10).

2. *Chesapeake*.

3. Nourse's sketch of part of the Patuxent River has been reproduced in George, *Terror*, p. 82.

4. *Regulus, Melpomene, Brune*.

5. Cochrane's confidential letter of 18 June 1814 was not found. In letter number 13 of 1 July 1814, Cochrane mentioned sending \$3,600 to Cockburn for victualling and contingent expenses. Cochrane to Cockburn, 1 July 1814, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 14, Vol. 38, pp. 365–66 (Reel 9). For the secret letter of 1 July 1814 from Cochrane to Cockburn, see pp. 129–30.

6. For Cockburn's secret letter of 17 July 1814 to Cochrane, see pp. 137–39.

CAPTAIN JOSEPH NOURSE, R.N., TO REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N.

HM Ship *Severn* in the Patuxent July 23rd. 1814

Sir,

On Sunday the 17th. Instant I landed with the Marines you did me the honor to place under my command, at a point about 3 or 4 miles above Benedict called Gods graces on the County of Calvert side and marched to Hunting town a distance of seven miles and destroyed a Store containing 130 Hogsheads of Tobacco, we returned by the same road, taking off from the Estate of Gods graces 13 Hogheads of Tobacco, and got all the Marines reembarked and on board the same day.

On monday the rain was too heavy to admit of any operations on Shore.

On Tuesday I landed and marched nine miles to a place called the Court House in the County of Calvert denominated by the Americans a Town and where their Assizes are held—Burnt the Court House and Jail releasing one Black man confined for endeavouring to escape to us—returned by the same road and re-embarked every one by four o'clock the same Evening.

On Wednesday morning I landed about 2 miles below Benedict St. Marys side—burnt a Store of 29 Hogsheads of Tobacco about four miles in the Country and brought off ten found in the woods.

On Thursday I intended dropping down the River but the wind being foul I landed the Marines on both sides of the River.

On Friday Morning I moved the Ships down to Sandy Point having information of a Store of Tobacco in that neighbourhood—landed the Marines and



marched 5 miles into the Country found a Store containing 12 but for want of means could bring away but five.

On Saturday morning in obedience to your Order I drop'd down to Drum point— In all these operations I have been attended by Captains Kenah and Badcock and my first Lieutenant Mr. Gammon and received every assistance from their Zeal and Activity I also find Captain Cole Commanding the detachment of Marines a most Zealous good Officer. I have the honor to be &c

signed Joseph Nourse

LB, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 14, Vol. 38, pp. 368-70 (Reel 9).

CAPTAIN JOSEPH NOURSE, R.N., TO REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N.

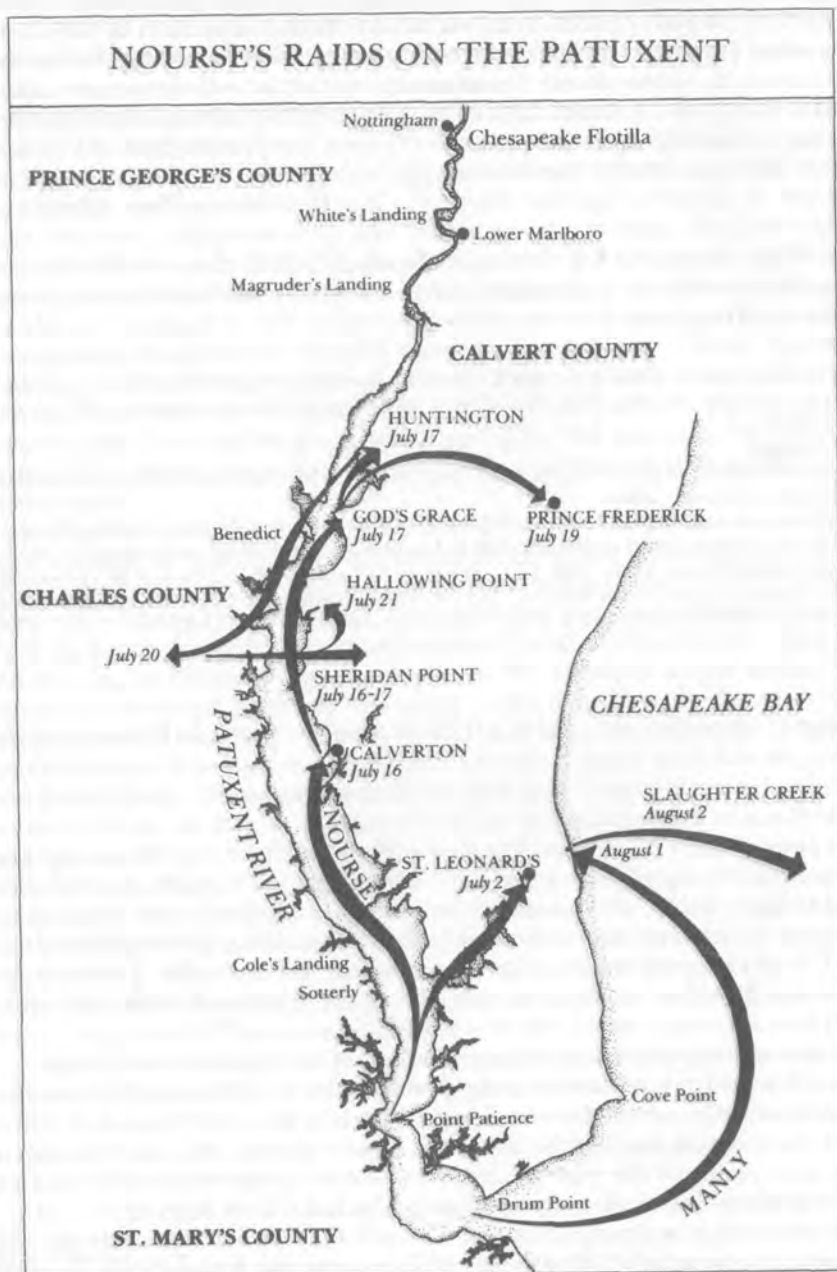
H.M. Ship *Severn* in the Patuxent July 23rd. 1814

Sir,

I trust you will be satisfied that I have not been Idle since I left you, with respect to Commodore Barney I have not been able to procure any positive information as all the accounts vary so much as to his exact position though eve[r]y one agreeing and of which I have no doubt of his being as high up the River as he can get and that he has there made himself as strong as he can, repo[r>t says 3000 Troops are with him— the people on either side of the Patuxent are in the greatest alarm and consternation many are moving entirely away from both Calvert & St. Marys, and I think in a short time they will be nearly deserted, those that remained at home all their Slaves have left them and come to us, last night 39 Men Women and Children came from Colonel Plater's. I have never at any time when landed seen more than one or two armed people of the Militia and have reason to believe that all their Force is about Washington, Baltimore and Annapolis— When we landed on Wednesday<sup>1</sup> we heard that you had landed at St. Marys Town— The Militia commanded by a General Stewart that were laying in the woods opposite your Anchorage at Drum point I am informed moved up the River when we did—And are said to be at a place called Cool Springs about seven miles from Benedict— I could learn nothing of them when I landed in that Neighbourhood—their object I believe is to keep at a respectable distance— There is still a good deal of Tobacco, but in small parcels concealed in the Woods and Barns at some distance from the water side, but I did not think it of sufficient importance to delay me any longer from dropping down to Drum Point in obedience to your Orders where I mean to complete the Ships in water as fast as possible—

I do not think the Calvert side low down at all likely to be fortified from its being so narrow a slip of land, but I shall be upon the alert—

In one of our Expeditions an American told us he guessd we were the advanced Guard of a considerable force intended to land at Benedict and march to Washington— I wish with all my heart this Force was arrived for Jonathan I believe is so confounded that he does not know when or where to look for us and I do believe that he is at this moment so undecided and unprepared that it would require but little force to burn Washington, and I hope soon to put the first torch to it myself—



Map 7

Horses may be procured in abundance and I should have taken a great many but I have not the means of taking care of them, the Slaves deserted to us I have sent by Captain Kenah he has been constantly on shore with me, and I have found him so useful that if I am not taking too great a liberty I should request your being kind enough to say how satisfied I have been with him. out of the number of Coloured people a great many are women and Children—but there would be no getting the men without receiving them, the misfortune is the one bears no proportion to the other— I have kept a few that are acquainted about here for guides— I have now 30 Hogsheads of Tobacco on board—but I did not think it proper to send any away by the Bomb—but should you Sir have a spare Vessel, we shall find her very useful, I allude to any capture you may chance to make in the Potowmac. I have &c

(signed) Joseph Nourse

LB, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 14, Vol. 38, pp. 370–72 (Reel 9).

1. 20 July 1814.

CAPTAIN JOSEPH NOURSE, R.N., TO REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N.

His Majestys Ship *Severn*  
Drum Point Augt. 4—1814

Sir/

Since my last letter to you by Captain Kenah<sup>1</sup> I have completed the Ships Water and made several landings with the Marines my Boats have also been near Benedict— Commodore Barney from what I can learn has been moving about. I suspect with his best rowing boats only—but I do not hear of his having been seen lower than Benedict the information concerning him most to be depended on is that Orders had been sent to lay up the Boats but since countermanded—

The Militia are at last in Motion and on the Calvert Side have come as low down as the Court House— hearing they had a guard over some Tobacco on the Bay side opposite St. Leonards Creek and a force differently stated from one to three hundred Militia in that neighbourhood I dispatched Captain Pearson in the *Manly* with as many marines as I could conveniently send to Capture or drive away the Militia and bring off the Tobacco—which Service he has performed much to my Satisfaction and I enclose his Letter<sup>2</sup> for your perusal—by the Officers Account that destroyed the Schooners there are a number of Vessels of that description on the Eastern Shore about the Choptank River, and in a place below that river called in my Chart Hudsons river— The Vessels were burnt in this river in a Creek called Slaughters Creek— On Sunday last<sup>3</sup> I was over on the Eastern Shore and Crossed with my Gig a Flat between Hoopers and Barren Islands called Torbay,<sup>4</sup> I landed at a Mill in Fishing Creek In Dorchester County I found the people quietly desposed and was informed the Militia were not embodied

The Black Refugees increase so fast that I begin to be somewhat puzzled about them. I have sent as many as the Gun Boat bearing this letter can take my other Gun Boats are so useful here that I cannot well spare them particularly as our boats are not sufficient to land all our Force— one of the Prize Schooners I have with me is loaded with Plank, and other Materials for house Building I enclose her Invoice and she has about 8000 feet of Plank upon her Deck in addition I have mentioned it as it struck me it might be wanted for Tangier Island— upon the return of my Tender, I could if you desire it send Her and the other Vessel I have with 22 Hogs. Tobacco to Tangier Island— I heard on St. Marys side yesterday that General Winder & 1,200 Militia were every day expected to occupy the same situation as did the Militia when you were here. I can get no papers as I hear you have Captured the Mail— I have &c.

sd. Joseph Nourse

I have 49 Hogs. Tobacco altogether here & expect a few more to Day—.

LB, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 14, Vol. 38, pp. 372–74 (Reel 9).

1. Nourse is probably referring to the two preceding letters of 23 July 1814 in which he detailed raids along the Patuxent from 17 to 23 July.

2. Commander Hugh Pearson to Nourse, 3 Aug. 1814, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 14, Vol. 38, pp. 375–76 (Reel 9).

3. 31 July 1814.

4. Tar Bay.

CAPTAIN JOSEPH NOURSE, R.N., TO REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N.

[Extract]

HMS *Severn* Drum Point Augt. 12th. 1814.

Sir/

... I have sent by the *Manly* all our Blacks except such as I keep for guides and who are in training for Soldiers also two Vessels laden with Tobacco and the one with Wood, and an armed Tender with blacks also—

Commodore Barney is moving above he was seen with five of his Vessels at Anchor near Gods Graces by one of my boats, since that I have sent Captain Badcock with all the Boats up the river but he could see nothing of him there are various reports—one that he is ordered not to leave the river; and I have been told by a Person living on Sandy Point, that he came there and talked of bringing some Guns upon the Point, but that the proprietor of ye. land—"Groom objected to it. he also wanted to know where our Guard Boats came that he might surprize them. I have also been told of his meaning to get some people with Black faces & hands to personate negroes begging to be taken off and to Surprize our boat coming to fetch them. that he does not shew himself a little more alert I cannot conceive, and if he chose to fit out some small Craft as fire Vessels & follow close after himself he might if not get away throw us into some Confusion under this idea I have been laying down an Anchorage on the lower side & close to Point patience, it has this advantage, it is the narrow-



est part of the river the point Projects, across the River so as to protect us from fire Vessels. In case of attack also, if he dare it, the point would bring up his point blank Shot, and ours being so much higher would reach him over it—we can also see a long way up the River & saves a long pull for our boats and there is a well upon the Point sufficient to keep up our Water one report has been of his intention to take up his old Station in St. Leonards Creek but that cannot have ever been thought of Should you approve it I will move to Point Patience

We had a report Yesterday that Mr. Maddison had Ordered all the Militia to Washington but they refused to go—

I believe they are getting some Force In and about Hunting Town & should you leave the Potomac I suppose we Shall have them from that side of St. Marys to this—. I have &c.

sd. Joseph Nourse.

LB, DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 14, Vol. 38, pp. 405–8 (Reel 9). The forty-one lines left out concerned Nourse's rebuttal to charges made by William Bilgour that a British raiding party burned his house as well as his tobacco.

## Cockburn's Diversion along the Potomac

*In mid-July 1814, while awaiting Vice Admiral Cochrane's arrival in the Chesapeake, Rear Admiral Cockburn left Captain Joseph Nourse's squadron in the Patuxent and sailed with another squadron into the Potomac. Cockburn's incursions along the latter river below the Kettle Bottom Shoals were intended to distract American attention from his proposed plan of landing British forces at Benedict for an attack on Washington. He criss-crossed the river, attacked ports and towns along tributaries of both Virginia and Maryland, and encountered little significant resistance.*

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO  
VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N.

No. 31. *Albion* in the Potomac 19th. July 1814.

Sir,

In Conformity with the Plan of Operations which the arrival of the Battalion of Marines<sup>1</sup> sent by you to act under my Orders induced me to resolve on, and which I had the Honor of submitting to you in my Letter of the 17th Curr.<sup>2</sup> I proceeded on the Morning of the 18th. with the Ships named in the Margin<sup>3</sup> up the Potowmac for the purpose of commencing by an attack on Leonard's Town, (the Capital of St. Mary's County) where I understood the 36th. american Regiment to be stationed and much Stores &c. to be deposited, the Ships were therefore on the same Evening anchored as near to the Mouth of the Creek<sup>4</sup> which leads to the Town as they could be brought, and having reconnoitred the place I proceeded at Midnight up the Creek with the Boats having the Marines

embarked in them under the Command of Major Lewis— At the dawn of Day the Marines were put on Shore at some distance from the Town, and I directed Major Lewis to march round and attack it from the Land side whilst the Boats pulled up to it in Front. The Enemy however on discovering us, withdrew whatever armed Force he had in the place and permitted us to take quiet Possession of it.

I found here a quantity of Stores belonging to the 36th. Regiment and a Number of arms of different descriptions all of which were destroyed; A quantity of Tobacco, Flour, Provisions and other articles likewise found in the Town I caused to be shipped and brought away in the Boats and a Schooner which we took laying off it— This occupied us the most of the Day during the whole of Which not a musket was fired at us nor indeed a single armed american discovered, in consequence of which conduct on the part of the Enemy I deemed it prudent to spare the Town, which we quitted in the Evening and returned to the Squadron without having sustained accident of any kind.

I feel myself under much obligation for the Zeal manifested on this occasion and the assistance afforded me by Captain Brown of the *Loire*, who had the general Superintendence of the Naval Operations, and by Captains Ramsay of the *Regulus*, and Rowley of the *Melpomene* and Lieutenant Urmston 1st. of this Ship (acting as Captain of her) who each Commanded Divisions of the Boats, and the several officers and men employed under them behaved to my entire Satisfaction.

The Promptitude and ability shewn by Major Lewis with the Marines under his orders on this occasion, also require me to express to you my high sense thereof. I have the Honor to be Sir Your very faithful and Most Obedt. humble Servant

G: Cockburn Rear Admiral

I must also add that Captain White of the *Thistle* after much meritorious exertions succeeded in getting that Sloop into the Creek to assist our Operations and Secure our Retreat.

LS, UkLPR, Adm. 1/507, fols. 101–2.

1. Second Battalion of Marines.
2. Cockburn is referring to his public letter No. 29 to Cochrane. See pp. 154–57.
3. *Albion*, *Loire*, *Regulus*, *Melpomene*, and *Thistle*.
4. Breton Bay.

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO  
VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N.

No. 32. *Albion* in the Potomac 21st. July 1814. 10 P.M.

Sir,

I have the Honor to inform you that understanding the Virginia Militia had assembled in some Force at a Place called Nominy Ferry in the State of Virginia situated a considerable way up Nominy River, and that some field artillery



Map 8

much Stores and several Vessels were also there, I determined on making an immediate Attack on the Place— The Ships were therefore moved yesterday Morning as close to the entrance of the River as practicable, and at Noon the three Divisions of Boats arranged and Commanded as on the 18th., having the Marines in them under the Command of Captain Robyns of that Corps (owing to the temporary indisposition of Major Lewis)—and the Marine artillery under Captain Harrison being embarked in Tenders fitted for that Service, the whole proceeded towards Nominy River supported by the *Thistle*, Captain White, and the Tenders tho' the Bar at the mouth of the River and the Intricacy of the Channel permitted the Boats only to succeed in getting up to the Enemy's Position at the Ferry, which I found to be on a very commanding Eminence projecting into the Water, a high Road going up the side of it from a Landing Wharf on one side, and the other side being steep and covered with Wood— I immediately directed a Sub Division to endeavor to land and get up on the Steep side to threaten the Enemy's Flank, whilst I landed the remainder of our Force at the Wharf and attacked him by the Road— This had the desired effect, for on discovering our People getting up the Craggy side of the Mountain he (after receiving a few Shot from them) fell back and enabled me thereby to gain without loss the Eminence, and to form upon it, after which no Time was lost in advancing to attack him, but his Knowledge of the Country and his advantage in Cavalry enabled him to baffle all my endeavors to bring him to Action, though I succeeded in overtaking a few of his Stragglers in the Woods and in making them Prisoners, after following him therefore into the Country between four and five Miles, and the Night fast approaching, I resolved on returning to the Position at the Ferry from which we had driven him, and there to pass the Night— This morning (neither seeing nor learning any Thing of the Enemy) after embarking all the Tobacco and other Stores discovered in the Place and a quantity of Cattle, and destroying all the Storehouses and Buildings, I again embarked the Marines and dropped down to another Point of this (Nominy) River where I observed some Movements on the Shore, scarcely had we landed here before a heavy Volley of musquetry was discharged at us by the Enemy, but the advance Guard of Marines dashing into the woods after them, soon dispersed them and I saw no more of them, Every thing in this neighbourhood was therefore all destroyed or brought off, and after Visiting the Country in several other Directions, covering the Escape of the Negroes who were anxious to join us, we quitted the River at dark and returned to the Ships carrying with us 135 Refugee Negroes—two Captured Schooners a large quantity of Tobacco, dry Goods and Cattle and four Prisoners.

It is perhaps right I should mention to you Sir that report was made to me, soon after landing at Nominy, of an officer of the *Regulus* having found a Bottle of poisoned Spirits set out with Glasses round it in the porch of a House on the Eminence we first gained, as however the officer unfortunately broke the Bottle, it has been out of my Power positively to ascertain the Fact.

It is with the greatest Pleasure I have again to report to you the Zeal and good Conduct of every officer and Man employed under me, and the particular obligations I feel to Captain Brown of the *Loire*, Captains White of the *Thistle*, Ramsay of the *Regulus* and Rowley of *Melpomene* and Ist. Lieutenant Urmston of this Ship—as well as to Captain Robyns of Royal Marines who on this occasion



Commanded the marine Battalion and Captain Harrison who Commanded the Marine Artillery.

I have been informed since quitting the Ferry that the Enemy withdrew his Field artillery from it on learning our approach and hid it in the woods, fearing if he kept it to use against us, he should not be enabled to retreat quick enough with it to save it from Capture.

A List of Killed and Wounded during the operations above recited is herewith enclosed. I have the Honor to be Sir Your very faithful and Most Obedt. humble Servant

G: Cockburn. Rear Admiral

LS, UkLPR, Adm. 1/507, fols. 103-6.

[Enclosure]

Return of Killed and Wounded in Nominy River in the Chesapeake on the 20th. July 1814.

Men's Names	Quality	To what Ship belonging	Remarks
Thomas Thomas	Carps. Mte	H.M. Sloop <i>Thistle</i>	Killed
T. Hardy	Seaman	—do.—	Wounded—not severely—
J. McKenzie	—do.—	—do.—	—do.—do.—
T. Alexander	—do.—	—do.—	—do.—do.—
Serjt. Jobb	—do.—	Royal Marine Battalion	—do.—Severely

G: Cockburn Rear Admiral

LS, UkLPR, Adm. 1/507, fol. 107.

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO  
VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N.

No. 33

*Albion* in the Potowmac 24th. July 1814.

Sir,

I have the Honor to inform you that yesterday Morning the Boats and Tenders went up St. Clements Creek in St. Mary's County, with the Marines and marine artillery to examine the Country on its Shores— The Militia shewed themselves occasionally but always retreated when pursued, and our Force returned to the Ships in the Evening without casualty of any sort having Captured four Schooners and destroyed another which had taken shelter in the upper part of the Creek.

The Inhabitants in this Neighbourhood having remained peaceably in their Houses I did not permit any Injury to be done to them, excepting only at one Farm from which two musket shots were fired at my Gig, where we therefore landed and destroyed the Property; Captain White acting in the *Albion* had the Superintendence and arrangement of the Naval department this day, and Major Lewis that of the Marines and as usual, with all employed, conducted every

thing to my entire Satisfaction. I have the Honor to be Sir Your very faithful and Most obedt. humble Servant

G: Cockburn Rear Admiral

LS, UkLPR, Adm. 1/507, fols. 108-9.

BRIGADIER GENERAL PHILIP STUART, MARYLAND MILITIA, TO  
SECRETARY OF WAR ARMSTRONG

Sir,

A Frigate, two schooners and eight or ten Barges ascended the Potomack yesterday— They have since been busily engaged in sounding the River and marking the channel by a chain of Buoys. The Frigate to day passed over the most difficult part of the Kettle Bottoms, which is the only obstruction in the navigation of the river, which could create any serious delay to the Enemy's shipping.

From information, which I think entitled to credit, Admiral Cockburn landed with 1200 Marines on the 23rd. near St. Clement's Bay— His object plunder. He consoled the suffering Individual, whom he had stripped of his property, by an assurance that He should not visit him again, as the reinforcement so long expected, had arrived and He should proceed on against Washington.

To day the Enemy landed from 2 Schooners & 8 barges for the purpose of taking off the Tobacco from lower Cedar point Ware-House— I determined not to be an inactive Spectator, tho' the situation of the ground was highly advantageous to the Enemy and as unfavorable to us. I could not attack them with my Infantry as it would expose them to the rake of the Enemy's vessels and not assure to us the capture of the Enemy. So, I employed my Riflemen and artillery. With the latter I drove them from the shore and then opened a fire upon the Schooners & Barges. I had but two light sixes, whilst the Enemy employed agt. us as heavy metal as 32 pounders. after an hour's firing, the Enemy hauled off, not a little damaged. But not before they set fire to the Ware-House, which I presume was done by a rocket, as they employed them against us. This affair demonstrates the wisdom of employing this species of force on the Banks of our Rivers— We can thus annoy the Enemy without fruitlessly exposing the lives of the men— As I apprehend, the operations of the Enemy will now principally be carried on, in the Potomack, permit me to urge the propriety of detaching to my aid, Major Peter's artillery and Capt. Stull's riflemen— With their force, in addition to my own, we might keep the Enemy in check or at least annoy them in their progress up the River— at least I will pledge myself to suffer no opportunity of doing them mischief pass unimproved— I am with due respect, yr. obt. Servt.

Camp at Yates's

24 July 1814

Philip Stuart Br. Genl.

LS, DNA, RG107, Letters Received by the Secretary of War, Registered Series, S-191 (8) (M221, Roll No. 66). Philip Stuart commanded the Fifth Brigade (St. Mary's and Calvert Counties) of the Maryland militia.

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO  
VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N.

No. 34. *Albion* off Wicomoco in the Potomac—31st. July 1814—

Sir,

I have the Honor to inform you that having on the 26th. July proceeded to the Head of the Machodick River in Virginia where I burnt Six Schooners and the Marines having at the same time marched over the Country on the banks of that River without opposition and there not remaining any other Place either on the Virginia or St. Mary's side in the Neighbourhood of my last Anchorage which I had not visited, I caused on the 28th. the Ships to be moved above Blackston's Island<sup>1</sup> and anchored them at the Mouth of the Wicomoco River, and on the Evening of the 29th. I proceeded with the Marines under Major Lewis and the Boats under the Captains of the Squadron (the whole of whom invariably volunteer to accompany and assist me on every occasion) to reconnoitre this extensive Inlet and its adjacent Shores, on some part of which General Stuart was said to be stationed with Twelve hundred Men to oppose me— I landed at Hamburgh and examined in the course of the Evening the whole of the upper part of the River and passing the Night in the Boats I landed at daylight yesterday with the Marines about Three Miles below Chaptico, which Place we marched to and took Possession of without opposition, I remained all day quietly in Chaptico whilst the Boats shipped off the Tobacco which was found there in considerable quantity, and at Night I re-embarked without molestation, I visited many Houses in different parts of the Country we passed through, the owners of which living quietly with their Families and seeming to consider themselves and the whole Neighborhood as being entirely at my disposal, I caused no further Inconvenience to, than obliging them to furnish Supplies of Cattle and Stock for the use of the Forces under my orders.

This little excursion has furnished me with another occasion to mention to you the Names of Captains Brown White, Kenah, Ramsay & Rowley and Mr. Scott my 1st. Lieutenant and of Major Lewis of the Marines & Captain Harrison of the Marine Artillery all of whom as well as those employed under their orders are most indefatigable in their Exertions for the Service and their anxiety to meet my wishes on every occasion. I have the Honor to be Sir Your very faithful and Most Obedt. humble Servant

G: Cockburn Rear Admiral

LS, UKLPR, Adm. 1/507, fols. 110–11.

1. Now St. Clement's Island.

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO  
VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N.

No. 35 *Albion* in the Potomac 4th. August 1814

Sir,

I have the Honor to acquaint you that having (with the assistance of Captain Brown of the *Loire*) succeeded in my Endeavours to discover a passage

for large Ships through the Kettle Bottom Shoals, and there being no further object to induce me to remain longer in the higher part of this River—The Squadron was dropt down on the 2nd. Instant near to the entrance of Yocomoco River, (Virginia) and yesterday morning at day break Major Lewis and myself, assisted as usual by Captain Brown and the other Captains of the Squadron, landed with the Marines and some Seamen within the aforesaid River— We here found more resistance from the Enemy than usual he having collected in great Force to oppose us, but the ardor and determination of our gallant little Band carried all before them, and after forcing the Enemy to give way, followed him Ten Miles into the Country, capturing from him a Field Piece, and burnt in our Route several Houses which had been converted into Depôts for Militia Arms, Ordnance Stores &c. Learning afterwards that General Hungerford had rallied his Men and collected in some force at Kinsale we proceeded thither, and though the Position the Enemy had there taken was extremely strong he had only time to give us an ineffectual Volley or two of musquettry before our People gained the height, when he again retired with precipitation and we saw no more of him, we then shipped off without further molestation the Stores found at Kinsale, and having burnt the Store Houses and other Places and Two old Schooners, and destroyed two Batteries, we embarked again at Ten o'Clock at Night and returned to the Ships taking with us Five Prize Schooners, a large quantity of Tobacco, Flour &ca., a Field Piece, five Prisoners and the Horses of General Taylor and his Son, the former of whom being wounded was unhorsed and only escaped being taken by the Thickness of the Wood and Bushes into which he run.

I have the Honor to enclose a List of our killed and wounded on this day; the Enemy I have no doubt suffered much more.

The penetrating with 500 Men Ten Miles into the Enemy's Country at almost a Run, and the Skirmishing March back again surrounded by Woods in the Face of the whole collected Militia of Virginia under Generals Hungerford and Taylor, added to the gallant manner in which the Heights of Kinsale were carried after such a March, will I am sure prove to you Sir how much the officers and Men serving with me are entitled to my warmest Praises and Thanks— I must however beg Permission to add how particularly I felt indebted during this arduous Day to Captain Brown of the *Loire* whose Exertions are unceasing, Acting Captain White of this Ship, Captains Kenah, Ramsay, Rowley & Urmston (Acting in the *Thistle*) Major Lewis Commanding the Marines, Captain Harrison of the Marine Artillery and Lieutenant Scott (acting 1st. Lieutenant of the *Albion*) my Aid-de-Camp when on Shore, and to 1st. Lieutenant Stephens of the Marine Battalion who Commanded the Company of that Corps charged with clearing the Woods and Skirmishing with the Enemy in his own way, which he conducted with such peculiar Activity and Ability as strongly to merit my begging to draw to him your favorable Notice. I have the Honor to be Sir Your very faithful and Most Obedient humble Servt.

G: Cockburn Rear Admiral

LS, UKLPR, Adm. 1/507, fols. 112–15.





three schooners anchored in their view: they were met by a company of Lancaster militia, who drove them back, and cut away their colours; but the appearance of ten other barges filled with men obliged our militia, who had not been reinforced, to retreat, which they did in good order, and without any personal injury: the British troops then took possession of the three schooners—landed on both sides of Cone, and burned all the houses they could find, some of which, the property of James Smith, postmaster at Northumberland courthouse, cost upwards of six thousand dollars.

It is reported, that there are nearly one thousand militia at the place last named, and about 150 at Wicomico church in Northumberland; and that the enemy's force at the mouth of Cone, including tenders and vessels captured, amounts to thirty sail.

The people of this part of Lancaster are in daily expectation of invasion, and it is their opinion that the war will be carried on against them with inveterate malignity. It is said, that the language of these marauding Britons to persons who are or have been in their power, accords with their actions; and that among other terms of scurrilous indignity, the opprobrious, insulting epithet of "rebels" has been applied to several native citizens of this state by some of the humane, well-bred disciples of Admiral Cockburn. I am, Sir, with great respect, Your most obedt. Servant,

William Lambert.

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 6, No. 20 (M124, Roll No. 65). William Lambert, a former clerk in the State and War Departments with a longstanding interest in determining the longitude of the Capitol in relation to Greenwich Observatory, England, turned down a clerkship in the Navy Department during the War of 1812 to continue serving as an informant to that department from Kilmarnock, Lancaster County, Virginia. Lambert chronicled British naval movements in the lower Potomac near the Chesapeake Bay. For information on Lambert's State and War Department positions see Madison, *Papers*, Vol. 2, p. 111; for more on his astronomical interests, see Lambert's letters to the secretary of the navy dated 26 March and 22 July 1812, 2 and 22 March 1813, and 7 and 10 May 1815, in DNA, RG45, Miscellaneous Letters Received series (M124). For Lambert's declining a clerkship in the Navy Department, see his letters of 28 January and 10 February 1814 in the same series.

1. Coan River.

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO  
VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N.

No. 37.

*Albion* in the Potowmac 13th. August 1814.

Sir,

I have the Honor to Inform you that having finished with the Virginia side of the Potowmac as detailed to you in my Letter of the 8th. I crossed over on the 11th. with the Squadron and Anchored them close to George's Island<sup>1</sup> at the

Entrance of St. Mary's Creek,<sup>2</sup> and the Marines under Colonel Malcolm being embarked in the Boats during the Night, Captain Sir Peter Parker Commanding one Division and Captain Palmer the other; assisted by Captains Ramsay and Rowley—I proceeded followed by the *Aetna* and Tenders into St. Mary's Creek— We landed in various parts of this extensive Inlet, and made some long Marches into the Country, particularly towards Sunset to a place they call the Factory of St. Mary's, where there is a building for Manufacturing Cotton, but (though Militia had certainly been formerly stationed at this Place for its defence) we did not meet with a Single Armed Person nor was one Musquet fired during the whole day, the Inhabitants of this State appearing to have learnt that it is wiser for them to submit entirely to our Mercy than to attempt to oppose us in Arms—They very readily complied with whatever Directions I gave for the line of Conduct they were to adopt, and the Supplies they were to furnish to our Forces, and therefore leaving the *Aetna* at Anchor in the Creek to facilitate these arrangements I returned at Night to the Ships with the whole of the Boats and Troops.

I felt much indebted to Lieutenant Colonel Malcolm for his cheerful Co-operation during this day, and to Captains Sir Peter Parker, Palmer, White, Ramsay, Kenah and Rowley & Mr. James Scott (Acting 1st. Lieutenant of the *Albion*) for the active and zealous assistance they afforded me. I have the Honor to be Sir your very faithful and Most Obedt. humble Servant

G: Cockburn Rear Admiral

LS, UKLPR, Adm. 1/507, fols. 119–20.

1. St. George Island.
2. St. Marys River.

## Perry Outfits *Java*

*After the Battle of Lake Erie, Captain Oliver H. Perry requested a transfer back to Newport, Rhode Island, to resume command of the naval station that he had commanded in 1812. He returned to his hometown in November 1813 after a triumphal month-long journey from New York—feted by jubilant citizens everywhere. The undemanding Newport station, blockaded by the enemy, became a sinecure for the naval hero until, as Secretary Jones noted, "a Ship, suitable to your rank, shall be at the disposal of the Department."<sup>1</sup> By the summer of 1814 when Jones offered him command of the frigate *Java*, still building at Baltimore, Perry was eager to leave behind the tedium of his blockaded station of gunboats for the prospect of sea glory. But events in the Chesapeake during August and September relegated the outfitting of the blockaded *Java* to secondary importance. Anticipating that *Java* would never see action, by November 1814 Perry set his sights on commanding a flying squadron of commerce-raiding vessels.*

1. Dudley, *Naval War of 1812*, Vol. 2, p. 577.



## SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO CAPTAIN OLIVER H. PERRY

Captain O H Perry  
Newport R I

Navy Department  
July 6th. 1814.—

Sir

I offer to you the command of the United States Ship *Java*, if it shall meet your views, of which I shall expect to be apprised by return of mail; as she will be launched in all this month, and the direction of her Commander is much wanted at present.—

Should you accept, you may select an experienced Master and send him on immediately to superintend her equipment, and follow yourself as soon as possible.— Indeed I need not urge to you the necessity of your presence, for it is much easier to prevent than to correct errors in the fitting of a Ship, about which even judicious men differ in the minutia more than upon almost any other subject I am respectfully Your Obedt Servant

W Jones.—

LB, DNA, RG45, CLS, 1814, p. 166.

## CAPTAIN OLIVER H. PERRY TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Newport July 12th 1814

Sir

I have the honor to have your letter of the 6th Inst. offering me the command of the U.S. Ship *Java*, now before me— Permit me Sir, to express the high sense I feel, for the delicate manner this offer has been made.— I accept the command of this Ship, with pleasure, provided, Capt. Smith, who, I understand had previously the offer of her, (and, who, then chose to go to the Lakes) declines her, or Sir, if you should feel any disposition to repeat the offer to him, I beg I may not stand in the way—<sup>1</sup> I am sensible, that at a proper time I shall be called into service in a manner agreeable to my feelings and to my rank—

I shall be in Washington shortly after this letter—Sailg. Master Taylor,<sup>2</sup> will leave here, immediately to join the *Java*. I am Sir Very Respectfully Your Obt. Servt.

O. H. Perry

ALS, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 4, No. 159 (M125, Roll No. 37).

1. After spending a frustrating winter and spring of 1814 refitting *Congress* for another cruise, Captain John Smith was given the option in late May of the command of *Java* at Baltimore or the new frigate *Mohawk*, building at Sackets Harbor. Smith chose service on the lakes but informed Jones on 29 June that he was unable to assume his new duties because of poor health. Smith did not return to active command for the remainder of the war. Jones to Hull, 31 May 1814, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 328 (M149, Roll No. 11); Smith to Jones, 9 June 1814, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 4, No. 42 (M125, Roll No. 37); Smith to Jones, 29 June 1814, *ibid.*, Vol. 5, No. 46 (M125, Roll No. 38).

2. William V. Taylor's sailing-master warrant dated from 28 April 1813. He was appointed an acting lieutenant on 16 November 1814 and lieutenant on 9 December 1814. Taylor served as the sailing master of *Lawrence* during the Battle of Lake Erie and followed Perry to the Rhode Island Station in 1814.

## SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO CAPTAIN OLIVER H. PERRY

Capt. O. H. Perry  
U.S. Navy Newport R.I.

Navy Department  
July 17th. 1814

Sir

You will proceed to Baltimore and take command of the U.S. Ship *Java* now building and ready to launch.—<sup>1</sup>

The Navy Agent<sup>2</sup> at that place will inform you of the progress made in the equipments for that Ship, and of the existing contracts for the same purpose, which you will forward with due dispatch.—

You will be furnished with tables of Outfits &c. &c. as soon as they can be copied.—

You will order one suit of the heavy sails to be made out of the Hollands duck now at Baltimore in the hands of the Navy Agent, who will engage a competent sail maker to execute the work in the manner the sails of the Sloops of War at Baltimore,<sup>3</sup> which were made at the Washington Navy Yard, are completed.—

The mast maker has the dimensions of the Spars—the rope-maker of the rigging—and the blocks & pump work will be executed here.—

One hundred & forty or fifty tons of Kentledge will be sent from this place for her ballast as soon as the position of the Enemy will permit.—

If her lower battery is to be of the long 32's. of the new pattern (which will be the case if Mr. Dorsey can make them in time) and the spar deck battery of course of 32 pd. carronades, it will be necessary to attend to the Gun carriages in time.—

As you progress in fitting the Ship and can employ them to advantage, you will recruit one hundred petty officers, Seamen and ordinary Seamen for the *Java*.— I am respectfully &c.

W. Jones.

LB, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 394 (M149, Roll No. 11).

1. Perry did not get to Baltimore in time for *Java's* launching on 2 August. Master Commandant Robert T. Spence oversaw the event and reported "her entry into the element" was "without accident." Spence to Jones, 2 Aug. 1814, DNA, RG45, MC, 1814, Vol. 2, No. 13 (M147, Roll No. 5).

2. James Beatty.

3. *Ontario* and *Erie*.

## CAPTAIN OLIVER H. PERRY TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

U.S. Ship *Java* Baltimore October 25th 1814

Sir

I have the honor to inform you of my return to this place—<sup>1</sup> But little has been done toward the equipment of the *Java*, since the Enemy first made their appearance before this City—owing, to the Mechanic's being all employed in the Militia Service The Gun carriages for the 32 pdrs, are nearly completed, some of which have been loaned for a short time to the garrisons—

The mode in which the Enemy has prosecuted the war of late, must stimulate every officer, at least, to the desire of annoying them in their own way, and no

one has a more anxious desire to get to sea for that purpose than myself, but I fear Sir, the *Java* cannot be got out, while so large a force as it appears the determination of the Enemy to keep, remains in the Bay— Should the bill authorising the equipment of a number of small vessels, become a law, and the government decide upon dividing them into Squadrons—I beg Sir, I may be considered as an applicant for the command of one of them I understand Capt. Porter has applied for a similar command— I certainly do not mean to interfere with his application<sup>2</sup> I am Sir, Very Respectfully Your Obdt. Servt—

O. H. Perry

ALS, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 7, No. 61 (M125, Roll No. 40).

1. Perry spent very little time overseeing *Java*. He arrived in Baltimore in early August but Jones soon sent him to New York to sit on a naval court of inquiry and in early September he organized a gunnery position on the Maryland shoreline to harass the British naval forces descending the Potomac after the latter's assault on Alexandria. Perry returned to Baltimore in late October after spending about a month at his home in Newport.

2. On 15 November 1814, Congress authorized the purchase or construction of no more than twenty vessels rating between eight and twenty guns. The following day, Jones ordered both Perry and Porter to purchase vessels for a "flying squadron" that would harass British commerce. Perry anticipated only a short cruise; he expected to return to the command of *Java*. The war's early conclusion, however, precluded Perry's command of either the squadron or the frigate. *Statutes at Large*, Vol. 3, p. 144; Jones to Porter and Jones to Perry, 16 Nov. 1814, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, pp. 456–58 and p. 459, respectively (M149, Roll No. 11); and Perry to Midshipman Richard Lemmon, 18 Nov. 1814, DNA, RG217, Auditor for the Navy Department (Fourth Auditor), Accounts and Claims (Numerical Series), Settled Miscellaneous Accounts and Claims, 1817–1911, Box 33, No. 3302.

## Labor Issues at the Washington Navy Yard

*Just three weeks before the British invasion of Washington, the salaried master mechanics at the Washington Navy Yard protested the loss of their civilian pay while they engaged in militia training. The economy-minded William Jones rejected their entreaties for dual compensation. As commandant of the Washington Navy Yard, Thomas Tingey labored under the shadow of the secretary of the navy and therefore experienced more scrutiny than did other commandants. But this proximity could also be advantageous. In late October 1814, when faced with a disagreement over pay inequities, Tingey asked Jones's advice, thus temporarily deflecting the onus in the dispute.*

COMMODORE THOMAS TINGEY TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Navy Yard Washtn. 5th: Augt: 1814

Sir

I have the honor to transmit you herewith, a letter from some of the Master Mechanics & others, relative to the stoppage of their pay, during their absence from the yard on Militia duty; which is submitted for your consideration.

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I deem it proper to observe that, there are about one hundred, or more, of the Mechanics &c: to whom the case will equally apply. I have the honor to be very respectfully Sir Your Obdt. Servt.

Tho<sup>s</sup>: Tingey

ALS, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 64 (M125, Roll No. 38).

[Enclosure]

Navy Yard Washington  
August 3d: 1814

Sir

When we, the undersigned, are called out as volunteers to use our best exertions for the safety of this place, when menaced by the enemy, and when we know too, that the business of the yard suffers but a partial if any inconvenience by our absence for a short time, we think it extremely hard that our pay should stop during that period, more particularly as we are told that it is not the case with others employed in public service by the year: why we are restricted in this as daily\* workmen we cannot conceive, and flatter ourselves that when the Secretary comes fairly to consider it he will direct it otherwise we are with respect your obt. servts—.

George M<sup>c</sup>Cauley  
SHAD<sup>s</sup> Davis  
Tho<sup>s</sup>: Murry  
James Carbery  
Thomas Howard

\*These subscribers are all on yearly pay T:T:—<sup>1</sup>

Commodore Tingey Present

LS, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 64, enclosure (M125, Roll No. 38).

1. This annotation was written by Thomas Tingey.

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO COMMODORE THOMAS TINGEY

Thomas Tingey Esqr.  
Com'dt: U.S. Navy Yard  
Washington

Navy Department  
August 5th. 1814

Sir,

Your note of this day is before me.— Whether the compensation of the persons employed in the Navy-Yard may be by the Year, or by the day, it is clearly understood to be, for service rendered, during the whole of the time for which compensation is claimed.—

Those Mechanics, who are employed by the day, expect only to be paid for the time which they render actual service in the Yard, during the hours estab-



lished for labour.— These men, who, have also families to support, and receive a comparatively small compensation for their labour, do not expect to be paid, as for service at the Yard, while they may be employed about their own personal concerns, or in the Militia service, for which they receive a distinct compensation

Why the master Mechanics, who are compensated by a stated sum Per Annum, should claim peculiar privileges and the continuance of Pay, while they render no service in their several vocations in the Yard, I cannot conceive.—

Is their case while employed in the militia, different from that of other mechanics, not in the Public service who leave their homes, their business, and private emolument, to discharge their duty as soldiers.— It certainly would be very convenient to the Individuals, to receive their pay as Master Mechanics of the Yard, while they are also receiving pay and rations as officers of militia; but it would be very unjust to the public.—

These claims serve to prove, that the whole system of Salaries in the Navy Yard is erroneous, and ought to be abolished; but while they exist they will only be paid for service actually rendered.—

During the time any Salary Officer of the Yard may be employed in his personal concerns, or in any other service, his pay will be proportionally reduced, in the Yard. I am very respectfully &c.

W: Jones.

LB, DNA, RG45, CNA, Vol. 2, pp. 159–60 (M441, Roll No. 1).

# COMMODORE THOMAS TINGEY TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Navy Yard Washtn: 30th: Octr. 1813 [1814]

Sir

The riggers employ'd at this yard, having made a written application to me for a rise of their wages from 125 to 150 cents <sup>per</sup> day, stating that their present wages is "smaller in proportion to their labour, than that of any other class of workmen in this yard." In [I] have therefore in submitting their request to you, deemed it proper (as there are other classes, not well satisfied with their pay, in proportion to that of some others) to transmit a statement of the daily pay, of the different denominations of tradesmen employ'd in the yard. My own opinion on this subject is, that the 1st: class of Shipwrights, are certainly entitled to higher wages, than any of the other trades—from their constant exposure to heat & cold—and from the time they must necessarily lose in severe, and rainy weather, and consequently that the wages of the Mastmakers, Boat-builders and Gun-carriage makers, (who all work under cover) are disproportionably high, compared with the Shipwrights— besides that, except in the case of one or two men, who are complete wheelrights—the work on the gun carriages, can be as well executed, by some of the Joiners, all of whom we have not now occasion for; and who I presume, will be glad of being retain'd in this yard, as gun carriage makers, without expecting any augmentation of pay—which has been 156 cents pr. day: and whether those three denominations of tradesmen, are entitled to a higher rate of wages, than that of the coopers, I think is worthy of consideration. One other point only, connected with this arrangement is, whether the apprentices in the last year of their time, shall continue to be allowed the

same wages as the 1st. class of their professions? It has occurred that some apprentices, after being rated for one year with the 1st: class of their profession—on becoming free, & continuing to work in the yard, have had their wages lowered, on being reported by their former masters, as not being compleat workmen—which circumstance has more than once, created unpleasant feelings, in the minds of some of our best, and first rate mechanics.

All which is respectfully submitted. I have the honor to be very respectfully Sir Your obedt: Servt.

Tho: Tingey

ALS, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 7, No. 79 (M125, Roll No. 40). There is no record of Jones's reply. A note written, possibly in Jones's hand, on the docket reads: "For early consideration." Jones resigned as secretary of the navy on 1 December 1814.

[Enclosure]

A Statement shewing the daily pay of Mechanics employed in the different departments in the Navy Yard Washington.

Description	wages pr. Day	Description	wages pr. Day
Carpenters Mast		Blacksmiths	
Makers, Gun Carriage		1st. Quartermen	237½
Makers; & Boat Builders		2d. Ditto	225
1st. Class	206	Journeymen 1st. Class	192
2d. Class	181	Ditto 2d. Ditto	180
3d. Ditto	150	Ditto 3d. Ditto	170
Apprentices 1st. Year	80	Ditto 4 Ditto	150
Do. 2d. Do.	120	Apprentices 1st. Year if over 17	80
Do. 3d. Do.	160	years of age	
Do. 4th. Do.	206	Ditto 2d. Ditto	100
		Ditto 3d. Ditto	140
		Ditto 4th. Ditto	180
Foreman Carpenter	320		
Quartermen	256		
		Sawyers, Topmen	150
Mill Wrights	200	Ditto Pit men	120
Foreman of Ditto	300		
		Block Makers & Painters	
Caulkers	175	Foreman of each	250
		Journeymen	150
Coopers	175	Apprentices 1st. Year	65
Apprentices 1st. Year	65	Ditto 2d. Year	80
Do. 2d. Ditto.	100	Ditto 3d. Ditto	120
Ditto 3d. Ditto.	140	Ditto 4th. Ditto	150
Ditto 4th. Ditto.	175		
		Riggers	125
Sail Makers	170		
Foreman	231	Engine Keeper	250
Apprentices 1st. Year	65	Apprentice	100
Ditto 2d. Ditto	100	Overseers of Labourers	
Ditto 3d. Ditto	140	Mr. Vidler	180
Ditto 4th. Ditto	170	Mr. Thornton	170
		Labourers	75
Joiners	156		
Apprentices 1st. Year	65	Armouers	175
Ditto 2d. Ditto	100	Foreman	200
Do. 3d. Do.	125	Apprentices the same as Blacksmiths	
Do. 4 Ditto	156	Apprentices	

D, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 7, No. 79, enclosure (M125, Roll No. 40). The wages were calculated in cents per day.

## Barney and Jones Plot Their Strategy

By the beginning of August 1814, Secretary Jones and Joshua Barney held opposing views on future British strategy in the Chesapeake. Jones thought the British had exhausted their plundering forays and would blockade Barney in the Patuxent and turn elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Barney countered that the headwaters of the Patuxent were still abundant in tobacco and slaves and the capital was a strong lure. Barney meticulously outlined his objections to Jones's plan for transporting the flotilla overland to Queen Anne's Town. Ultimately, the British disembarkation at Benedict on 19 August decided the flotilla's fate.

1. See Jones to Barney, 27 July 1814, p. 150.

CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE, TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

US. Cutter *Scorpion*, Augt. 1st. 1814

Sir,

I have considered the situation of the flotilla, and passed in view the conduct of the Enemy since I came into this river,<sup>1</sup> and if I am to Judge from what has passed, I am led to believe we have little to apprehend at present; it would appear that they have not a considerable force, and I do think the force now here, has been drawn from Bermuda for the express purpose of capturing the flotilla in St. Leonards creek, for from the first attack on the 8th June they declared they must have Land, or Marine troops in order to take us where we were, and that vessels were dispatched to Bermuda for such a force; 8 or 900 Marines have come, & several smaller size Vessels, I do not understand that Admiral Cochrane has come, which goes to confirm me in my first opinion; The Enemy continued to attack me at times untill about the period they had a right to expect the arrival of the Troops; on the 26 Ult<sup>o</sup>.<sup>2</sup> we made the attack on the blockading Squadron and got out, a few days after brought up Admiral Cockburn with the force he expected, (too little for any serious enterprize on our large Towns) but as during my blockade they had tasted the sweets of Plunder of Tobacco & Negroes, they were then determined to continue that Species of Warfare, in the lieu of their disapointment in capturing the flotilla and their disgrace in their several defeats, at the same time to answer another purpose, for whilst plundering & burning, they, and their partizans here & in Washington threw the blame of such warfare on the Administration and the flotilla; The Admiral himself not wishing to risque an attack for fear of his reputation, has kept his light squadrons employed up and down the bay &c ever since, for as yet I do not learn that any other force has arrived, (yet Sir I may be mistaken) but it is from what has happened that I have drawn these conclusions.

The question now is, what is the best to be done with this part of the flotilla; Should an occasion present for us to get out, where are we to go, it will be difficult if not impossible to get up the Potomac, If up the Bay nothing short of Baltimore will put us in safety, or give us the means of acting as occasion may require against the enemy; on the other hand should the blockade continue so as to prevent my getting out, what would be the consequence of pro-



ceeding to Queen Anns and there attempting to cross by land to South river; Such a thing can be done, but can it be done with safety, & if done will we be better off in South river than in the Patuxent, for I fear very much we should be blockaded there, for let us act with what secrecy & precaution we will, such a Novel affair would be known all over the state in two days, and the enemy would know it in twelve hours, for all the lower part of Calvert County is in their quiet possession, where they act as they please, and where too many Traitors reside; These fiends travel up through the Country, they hear & see every thing, and the next day they are at home, where the British officers visit and learn every thing that passes, therefore by the time my barges had reached South River, the enemy who could run up in 6 hours would be there also; Another Idea presents itself would not the Enemy prefer my being any where else than here; Their object being plunder, where does such a harvest present itself, as on the head waters of the Patuxent; I do know, that at Nottingham, pig point, Upper Malborough, Queen Anns, and in the several private warehouses on these waters, there is nearly 6,000 Hogsheads of Tobacco, which the enemy know, & could they get it off, is worth to them three millions of dollars, exclusive of at least 1000 Negroes which would go off with them; This is a great temptation, more than can be presented to them throughout the U S; and I am well convinced had not the flotilla got out of St. Leonards the sweep would have been made before this day, (& if a sufficient force arrives may yet be attempted.) For what purpose does the enemy collect all their Craft prizes, they formerly burnt them, they now preserve them, unless to enter our shoal waters & carry off Plunder; The Admiral has been heard to say that he could take the City of Washington with more ease, than the flotilla where we now are; knowing that boats will never answer, and the troops now under his orders are not sufficient to ascend the river for that purpose; should these be their Ideas they will give me an opportunity of getting out, as they can then enter and with ease distroy, if not take away the whole of the property now left on this river; for Sir, they never have, and I beleive never will be resisted by the Inhabitants near this river, The Militia officers being mostly in their Interest, encouraging the enemy and discourage such as are disposed to act by exaggerated accounts of the enemies forces &c. If you had seen the Panic that appears to strike all classes at hearing of the enemy, you would quickly coincide with me in saying that when they See them, (if they could be prevailed upon to stay & See them) they would make no defence whatever, for should 100 men land twenty miles below this, the numbers would increase (by report) to 1000 before they reached here, and when the 100 did arrive, they would be looked upon as the Advance guard of 2000 more; no resistance would be made for fear of the arrival of the supposed main army which were following, Thus sir, before the real number could be known the mischief would be done; I see it daily, I had sent an officer and 10 men to bring up a couple of yawls which belonged to the Gunboats and had been left at St. Leonards creek, on their way up the Militia which had been stationed on ther river, gave way in every direction at the appearance of these two boats— a small schooner which also escaped from St. Leonards came up, the people at lower Malborough ran out of town, called on a Militia officer and declared the enemy had come up and landed 500 Men from a schooner, this I had from the Officer himself a Mr. Contee, such Sir, is the situation here, the officers worse than the men & the moment I leave Nottingham the Inhabitants leave it also, they have no confi-

dence in any other defence for the place, there is 1000 hogheads of Tobacco here, it will soon go, this will encourage the enemy for further enterprize. On the other hand should the enemy come up in force by land I must retire, untill I meet, land forces of our own, to cooperate, we then might do much and perhaps by a dicisive effort put and end to the War in this Quarter, by completely beating them, for under all circumstances I am led to beleive that if they do any thing, or attempt any thing of consequence it will be in this Quarter, for reasons already given, first, for Rich plunder, secondly, if successfull, they can march to the Capitol with as much ease and in as short a distance as from any other place,

After receiving your letter of the 27th Ulmo.<sup>3</sup> requesting my "Opinion" respecting the flotilla's going to Queen-Anns &c. I sent my Son<sup>4</sup> up the River to sound and inform himself, he has returned last night and gives the following report—

—Annexed—

Should it be determined to cross the flotilla by land, I will cheerfully and expeditiously carry your orders into execution, my calculation is as follows

13 barges & 1 Galley at average of 5 tons eh.	70 tons
15 long guns. 24: 18 & 12 lb. average 1½ tons eh.	22½
15 Carronades 42: 32 & 24 lb. average ¾ say.	10 —
Shot of the 15 Vessels..... average 1½ ..	22½
Rigging, Masts, yards, anchors, cables, } 2 eh.	30
Water casks, small arms stores &c	
	155 tons

Say 3 horses pr. ton will require 465 horses = 56 pr. of dray wheels & 64 Wagons, to transport all at once and be carried across in One day; In proportion of force the time of transportation will be longer—

I have the satisfaction to tell you that I have not more than ten men sick, except the wounded who are all getting well, nor have we had at any time since I came into the River a greater number of sick at a time. On Saturday<sup>5</sup> an officer I had below returned from the mouth of the river having left it in the morning— Two frigates, the Severn & Brune, a Gun brig,<sup>6</sup> & three schooners lay across the mouth of the River opposite Drum point— this position would infer a settled Blockade. first a Schooner near drum point, next a Brig, then a schooner, then 2 frigates & lastly a schooner near the south shore— It would be very convenient could the Mail be carried to this place twice a week in lieu of once. I am respectfully your Obt. Servt.

Joshua Barney

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 103 (M124, Roll No. 64).

1. Patuxent River.
2. Barney meant 26 June 1814.
3. See p. 150.
4. William B. Barney.
5. 30 July 1814.
6. Probably *Manly*.

[Enclosure]

Report of Mr. W B. Barney

The depth of water from this place (Nottingham) to Pig-point being already so well known, I did not sound it, from Pig point to Scotchmans hole about 4 miles higher up, is a sufficiency of Water for the Scorpion, above that place she could not be carried without lightening and then only about one mile— from this<sup>1</sup> upwards there is not more than  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to five feet at most— the river varies in its width— above pig point and to within one mile of Queen Anns it is narrow, not exceeding in some places 80 to 100 yards, its channel frequently crossing from side to side, for the last Mile it is quite narrow and very winding and no where wider than to admit more than One barge to row up at a time, as far as the Bridge at the town. The Road from Queen Anns across to South river is generally good, the distance rather less than Eight miles, there are 6 or 8 hills of gradual ascent to rise & as many to descend, all of which require more or less, and some of them considerable repairs; Twelve or fifteen gates also intervene having large Gate Posts. There are two or three Elbows in the Road to Obviate which, several trees would have to be cut down, there are only two marshy places, and them very small; the Shores at Queen Ann and South river are firm and rise gradually; The Road in places and for short distances, passes between two banks which may require a little cutting away on each side.

Sign'd. W. B. Barney

Copy, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 103, enclosure (M124, Roll No. 64). The enclosure is in Joshua Barney's hand.

1. There is an interlineation at this point, "PP," which probably refers to Pig Point.

CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE, TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

US. Cutter *Scorpion*, Aug. 4th. 1814

Sir,

I had the honor of receiving yours of the 2d Inst.<sup>1</sup> by Mr. W. B. Barney. My Gig returned this morning from the mouth of the river, the officer informs me that the enemy are continually in motion with their small schooners & Barges, but seldom above point patience and then only for a few hours; when he left a hill in the rear of Hopewells house yesterday morning, the Enemy had made a landing, by means of three schooners & 8 Barges at Carrolls, and from Information it was supposed they intended the distruction of a Cloth manufactory belonging to Mr. Peter Gough about four miles from thence; the Enemy has been up a few miles on the Bay shore landed at a Mr. Makalls, carried off 14 Hoghd. of Tobacco & burnt the Warehouse & the remaining Tobacco, The Militia according to custom appeared after all was over— The Negroes, it would appear, flock to them from all quarters; I have advised a number of persons in Calvert to get their negroes off, and promised them to move down with the flotilla in order to Cover and protect them when doing of



Joshua Barney's Sketch of the British Position on the Patuxent River, 3 August 1814



it, and to be a check upon the Black Gentry— altho Calvert deserves nothing from us, yet I conceive it a duty we owe our Country and am sure it will meet your approbation—

I send you a small Sketch<sup>2</sup> of the mouth of the River, and the position where the enemy lay yesterday morning, the 3 Schooners & 8 boats at Carrols. &c and am respectfully your Obt. Servt.

Joshua Barney

I am sorry in being under the necessity of requesting the discharge of Sailing Master James Wright,<sup>3</sup> for continual Intoxication and improper conduct, as reported to me by Lieutt. Rutter from Baltimore. Also the discharge of Sailing Master Claude Besse already reported to you— my situation is almost that of a Tyrant, as I am obliged to punish from my own authority, not having it in my power to hold court Martials for want of a sufficient number of Commission[ed] officers, from which circumstances many escape just punishment, whilst I am obliged in other instances to be severe; but thank god, I have been able thus far to get forward with a few examples; but to check effectually misconduct, We must begin at the head; for when petty officers & men see that, superiors are punished, we shall have but little trouble—

—JB—

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 111 (M124, Roll No. 64).

1. This letter was not found.

2. See p. 185.

3. James Wright received a warrant as a sailing master on 16 February 1814; he was discharged on 1 February 1815.

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO  
CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE

Joshua Barney Esqr.  
Captain Commanding the U S  
Flotilla, Nottingham

Navy Department  
August 19th. 1814.  
2 P.M.

Sir,

Yours of this morning is now before me, and the account given by your Officer, as to the number and description of the enemy's force at the mouth of the Patuxent agrees with other accounts from the same quarter.—<sup>1</sup> Captain Gordon writes that on the morning of the 16th.—22 Sail came in from sea, and passed up the Bay, Vizt. two 74s. one 64. one Razee, 7 frigates 7 transports and two or three Brigs or Schooners.—<sup>2</sup> Appearances indicate a design on this place, but it may be a feint, to mask a real design on Baltimore; If however their force is strong in troops, they may make a vigorous push for this place. In that case they probably would not waste much time with the flotilla. If you can impede and retard his movements, time will be gained which is all important, but should he advance upon you, with an overwhelming force, you will effectually destroy the flotilla by fire, and with your small arms, retire as he advances, towards this place,

opposing by all the means in your power, his progress, and advising me of your movements, in order that the Park of Artillery 3., 12s. & 2 long light 18s. may be detached to meet you, together with the Marine Corps.— If the flotilla can be run up to Queen Anns with a very few men and a careful Officer, with orders to destroy the whole effectually, and in due time, in the event of the enemy advancing to that place in force, you may pursue that course, but you will run no hazard of capture, and will be careful to regulate your movements, so as to keep in advance of the enemy.

You will keep me advised of every important event, either by express, or by the numerous confidential persons who will be passing this way. I am respectfully Your Obedt. Servt.

W Jones.

LB, DNA, RG45, CLS, 1814, p. 181.

1. Barney reported the following British force: an 80- or 90-gun ship, four 74s, six frigates, ten ships of about 32 guns, four small ships, two barges, one large 16-gun schooner, thirteen large bay craft, and a large number of small boats. Barney to Jones, 19 Aug. 1814, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 6, No. 30 (M124, Roll No. 65).

2. Charles Gordon to Jones, 16 Aug. 1814, DNA, RG45, CL, 1814, Vol. 5, No. 105 (M125, Roll No. 38).

CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE, TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Nottingham 20th Augt. 1814  
—7 AM.

Sir

I recd. yours of yesterday 2 PM, at 9 PM. and would have dispatched an express immediately to you, but it was out of my power to obtain a horse, such is our situation; The Enemy (14 sail of square rigged) got up to Benidict yesterday about Noon, and began to land troops, they contd. at it untill dark, when my officer returnd, No doubt their object is Washington, and perhaps the flotilla, The distance here is twenty miles and a fine road—and 25 to Washington,— it is 40 miles from Benidict to Washington the road not good, so that I think it probable they will come this way, unless they mean a push at the City, before you can be prepared to meet them— I shall be on the Alert, and do whatever is in my power; if you think it best, I can move up to Queen Ann leave the flotilla with a few men & march over to your Assistance;— not the least appearance in this Quarter of Resistance nor can I procure, horses, or any thing else to keep you informed of our situation if I had two or three Volunteers from the City it would be a desirable thing— With respect I am your Obt. Servt.

Joshua Barney

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 6, No. 31 (M124, Roll No. 65).

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO  
CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE

Navy Department  
Augt. 20. 1814. 11½ AM

Sir

I have this instant received yours of 7 AM this day. I am informed by gentlemen who have frequently travelled from this to Benedict that there is a very good and direct road of 35 Miles. Should the enemy dash for this place he will probably take this road, unless he should follow the Bank of the river to Nottingham with his advance guard to drive back your flotilla and bring up his main body by water. This will have been decided before you receive this, and you will immediately send the flotilla up to queen anns with as few men as possible and a trusty officer to remain there and in the event of the enemy advancing upon the flotilla in force to destroy the whole effectually and proceed with his men to this place. Having given these directions you will retire before the enemy toward this place opposing his progress as well by your arms, as by falling trees across the road removing Bridges, and presenting every other possible obstacle to his march. Tomorrow Morning the detachment of Marines with three 12s. and two long light 18' pounders with every thing complete will march to join you and will be placed under your command. When combined your men will man the Guns and the Marines under the command of Captain Miller will act as Infantry under your command.

I enclose for your government the joint "regulations of the War & [Navy] Departments for the government of their respective commanders when acting in concert"<sup>1</sup> and you will with the most perfect harmony and promptness afford all the cooperation in your power. With this view you will communicate freely with Brigdr. general Winder on the subject.

How are you off for muskets and pikes? Will you require an additional supply of the former after you have manned the Guns? You will draw your provisions from this place with more facility than any other. Make your requisitions on Com Tingey and they will be complied with immediately. Your force on this occasion is of immense importance and is relied upon with the utmost confidence.

I shall send to you two men from the Navy yard to ride express in quick succession during the continuance of the present emergency. I am respectfully your obdt. Servt.

W Jones  
½ past 2. PM

P.S. Any modification of this order that yourself and General Winder shall agree upon I authorize. W J.

Joshua Barney Esqr.  
Commanding the US flotilla Nottingham

ALS, PHi, Papers of Joshua Barney. The letter book copy is in DNA, RG45, CLS, 1814, p. 182, but it does not include the postscript and the closing time.

1. See Dudley, *Naval War of 1812*, Vol. 2, pp. 434–35.

## Invasion Force Enters the Patuxent

Events took a decisive turn for the British in late July 1814. While Rear Admiral Cockburn's squadron in the Chesapeake was attacking American towns along the Patuxent and Potomac Rivers and on the Eastern Shore, a British invasion force was assembling slowly. Captain Alexander Skene arrived in the Chesapeake on 14 July with a reinforcement of warships and transports, consisting of a battalion of 350 marines and a company of Royal Marine Artillery. On 21 July, Cochrane ordered the frigate *Hebrus* to the Chesapeake with two field pieces, stores, tents for 1,000 men, and the staff of the Second Battalion of Marines. Rear Admiral Codrington arrived in Bermuda from England on the 15th with dispatches and an oral report that dashed the wild speculations about a massive war machine rendezvousing at the island. Instead, after a seven-week voyage, Rear Admiral Pulteney Malcolm's flotilla of warships and transports, carrying only about 3,000 troops from the Fourth, Forty-fourth, and Eighty-fifth Regiments of Foot, stood into Bermuda's harbor on 23 July. On that late date Cochrane still vacillated over where to attack first—even considering going to New Hampshire or Rhode Island to avoid the "sickly season" in the Chesapeake.<sup>1</sup> Of crucial importance in formulating Cochrane's plans was the arrival in Bermuda on 25 July of H.M. Schooner *St. Lawrence* with Cockburn's letters dating from 22 May to 17 July. The latter's secret letter of the 17th,<sup>2</sup> emphatically recommending an attack on Washington, finally swayed the wavering Cochrane to come to the Chesapeake. By the 30th, another convoy brought about 1,000 men of the Twenty-first Regiment of Foot to Bermuda, thus completing Cochrane's assault force and permitting the vice admiral to depart for the bay on 1 August. Rear Admiral Malcolm and the troop convoy weighed anchor two days later. Cochrane joined Cockburn's squadron in the lower Potomac on 14 August, and, after Rear Admiral Malcolm joined on the 16th, the decision was made to disembark at Benedict. Barney's flotilla was the immediate British target; and, after its unopposed destruction, the British army commander, Major General Robert Ross, and Cockburn concurred on attacking the Capital.<sup>3</sup>

1. See Cochrane to Croker, 23 July 1814, pp. 135–36.

2. See Cockburn to Cochrane, 17 July 1814, pp. 137–39.

3. For more on the roles of Ross and Cockburn in deciding what to do after the flotilla was destroyed, see Morris, Cockburn, pp. 105–6.

VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N., TO  
FIRST SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY JOHN W. CROKER

Duplicate  
No. 77

Tonnant  
Chesapeake Bay 11 Aug. 1814

Sir,

I have the honor to acquaint you for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that Rear Admiral Malcolm in the *Royal Oak* with the Ships Named in the Margin and Transports having on board Major General Ross and the Division of Troops under his command arrived at Bermuda on the 23d. Ultimo.<sup>1</sup>

On the 30th. following, the *Iphigenia*, *Furieuse*, *Bacchante* and *Euryalus* arrived there with the Transports having on board Major General Gossling and the Divi-



sion of Troops under his Command, one Regiment of which, the 21st. (by the Instructions which the Major General found at Bermuda) is placed under the Command of Major General Ross to be employed under my orders, the remainder of this Second Division proceeds to Halifax.— Leaving Rear Admiral Malcolm to bring on the Expedition as soon as it should have completed its water—I quitted Bermuda with the *Tonnant* and *Euryalus* on the 1st Instant, and arrived here this day, where I am advised that the Rear Admiral and the expedition left Bermuda on the 4th. Instant and I hourly expect their arrival.

I cannot at present acquaint their Lordships of what may be my future operations, they will depend much on the information I may receive in this quarter. I have the honor to be Sir Your Most Obedient Humble Servant

Alex<sup>r</sup> Cochrane  
Vice Admiral and Commander in Chief

LS, UKLPR, Adm. 1/506, fol. 550. A notation indicates it was received 27 September 1814. A letter book copy is in UKENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2348, pp. 48–49. The latter was used to supply indecipherable words.

1. *Pomone*, *Menelaus*, *Despatch*, *Rover*, *Meteor*, *Devastation*, *Diadem*, *Dictator*, *Trave*, *Weser*, and *Thames*. Rear Admiral Pulteney Malcolm's squadron left Verdon Roads, France, on 2 June 1814.

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO  
VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N.

No. 38                      *Albion* in the Potowmac    15th. August 1814.

Sir,

According to the Permission you were pleased to give me last night<sup>1</sup> I landed again within St. Mary's Creek this Morning with the Marines under Colonel Malcolm, and accompanied by Captains Sir Peter Parker and Palmer and the other Captains of the Squadron; meeting however in the different Parts of the Country which we visited to day, the same quiet and submissive Conduct on the part of the Inhabitants as in the Places we visited on the 12th. Instant—We returned again to the Ships in the Evening without any material occurrence, and as the whole of this Country bordering the Potowmac has now been visited, I propose in Compliance with your Directions to join you Tomorrow with the Ships under my orders—<sup>2</sup> But I cannot close my detail of the various Services lately performed in the Potowmac with the assistance of this 2nd. Battalion of Marines, without begging again to express to you the high opinion I entertain of their gallantry and discipline, and how much on every occasion I have had reason particularly to admire the able and active Manner in which the Company under 1st. Lieutenant Stephens assisted by 2nd. Lieutenants Pascoe and Bloomfield, appropriated for the particular Service, scours the Country, examines the Woods and clears the way for the Column, and I have much real Satisfaction in also remarking to you that although our Marches have at times been excessively long and necessarily much extended in the thick Woods of the Country, and though our reembarkations have frequently taken place in the

Night, Yet during the whole of these operations, Neither a Marine nor a Sailor has been reported missing.

Lieutenant Coll. Brown, whom you sent here with the *Hebrus* to raise Men for the West India Regiments, has always accompanied me in the Expeditions undertaken since his arrival, and has favored me with ready advise and assistance on every occasion. I have the Honor to be Sir Your very faithful and Most obedt. humble Servant

G: Cockburn Rear Admiral

LS, UKLPR, Adm. 1/507, fols. 121–22.

1. Cochrane and his invasion force joined Cockburn in the Potomac on the evening of 14–15 August 1814.

2. Cockburn may have initiated this raid to prove to Cochrane that American resistance was nonexistent and thus persuade his chief to disembark his troops in the Chesapeake.

REAR ADMIRAL EDWARD CODRINGTON, R.N., TO RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS

Genl. Memo.

*Tonnant* Chesapeake  
17th August 1814

Whenever the signal No. 8 is made accompanied by the Flag white pierced Red as directed in the Code of Signals appropriated to Combined operations of the Army and Navy, the Boats are to proceed to the ships, and prepare to receive the Troops according to the accompanying arrangement.—

When the Flag white pierced Red only is hoisted with a Signal relative to the Boats, it applies to the whole of the Boats.

When with a Red pendant under it applies to the first division only.

When with a White pendant under it applies to the second division only.

When with a Blue pendant under it applies to the third division only—

And if either two pendants are hoisted with the Flag it applies to the two divisions only designated by those pendants.

The Boats of the first division will be commanded by Captain Wainwright of HM Ship *Tonnant*.

The second division by Capn. Nourse of HMS *Severn*

The third division by Capn. King of HMS *Iphigenia*

(Signed) E. Codrington  
Captain of the Fleet

LB, UKLNMM, Papers of Sir Edward Codrington, COD/6/4.

Ships Names	Description of Boats	1st. Division		From whence
		number of men to take on board	Regiment	
<i>Tonnant</i>	1st. Barge—	—36—	85th. Regiment	<i>Diadem</i>
"	2d. " —	—32—	"	—Do.—
"	Pinnace —	—28—	"	—Do.—
"	Yawl —	—24—	"	—Do.—
"	Launch —	—60—	"	—Do.—
<i>Albion</i>	1st. Barge—	—36—	"	—Do.—
"	2d. " —	—32—	"	—Do.—
"	3d. " —	—32—	"	—Do.—
"	Launch —	—50—	"	—Do.—
"	Flat —	—50—	"	—Do.—
<i>Diadem</i>	Pinnace —	—28—	"	—Do.—
"	Launch —	—40—	"	—Do.—
<i>Royal Oak</i>	1st. Barge —	—35—	"	<i>Golden Fleece</i> Tranp
"	Flat —	—50—	"	—Do.—
"	1st. Cutter —	—18—	"	—Do.—
<hr/>				
2nd. Division				
<i>Severn</i>	1st. Barge—	—32—	Flank Compy. of 21st. Regiment	<i>Albion</i> Transpt. N 62:
"	Flat —	—50—	"	—Do.—
"	Launch —	—50—	"	—Do.—
<i>Dictator</i>	Pinnace —	—28—	Flank Compy. of 44th. Regiment	<i>Dictator</i>
"	Launch —	—40—	"	—Do.—
"	Cutter —	—18—	"	—Do.—
<i>Weser</i>	Launch —	—35—	Flank Compy. of 4th. Regiment	<i>Weser</i>
"	Cutter —	—20—	"	—Do.—

<i>Trave</i>	Launch—	—35—	"	—Do.—
<i>Hebrus</i>	Barge —	—30—	Colonials	<i>Albion</i>
<i>Regulus</i>	Launch—	—32—	Marine Skirmishers	<i>Regulus</i>
"	Pinnace—	—28—	"	—Do.—
<i>Melpomene</i>	Launch—	—28—	"	<i>Melpomene</i>
"	Cutter —	—12—	"	—Do.—
<i>Royal Oak</i>	Launch and } Barge	—60 and	Artillery men	
<i>Diadem</i>	Cutter	two—3 Pounds Baggage—	85 Regt.	
<hr/>				
3rd. Division				
<i>Iphigenia</i>	Barge	—32—	4th. Regiment	<i>Weser</i>
"	Pinnace	—32—	"	—Do.—
"	Launch	—40—	"	—Do.—
"	2 Yawls	—40—	"	—Do.—
<i>Severn</i>	Cutters	—40—	"	—Do.—
<i>Weser</i>	Cutter	—20—	"	—Do.—
<i>Trave</i>	2 Cutters	—40—	"	—Do.—
<i>Hebrus</i>	2 Cutters	—40—	"	<i>Venerable</i>
<i>Regulus</i>	Cutter	—20—	"	—Do.—
<i>Melpomene</i>	Cutter	—20—	"	—Do.—
One Boat belonging to <i>Venerable</i> Transpt. to take her remaining 30 men				
4 of them to take three Horses each and the remaining 7 to take 30 Men each from the <i>Trave</i>				
Transports Boats	Launch	25	4th. Regiment	—Do.—
<i>Brune</i>	Cutter	12	"	—Do.—
"	Flat	40	"	—Do.—
"	Scow	30	"	—Do.—

Rear Admiral Cockbourns Tenders to take 300 of 44th. Regiment from *Dictator* and *Hornet* & *Melpomene*'s Tenders to take the remaining 144—  
 (Signed) E. Codrington  
 Captain of the Fleet

LB, UklNMM, Papers of Sir Edward Codrington, COD/6/4; enclosed in Codrington to the Respective Captains, 17 Aug. 1814.

1. The last four ditto in this column refer to *Trave*.



CAPTAIN JOSHUA BARNEY, FLOTILLA SERVICE, TO  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Pig Point. Augt. 21st. noon

Sir,

Yesterday about 11 AM I received information that the Enemy had left Benedict, and was marching up, with Intention of taking the Nottingham road; knowing that they could reach Nottingham in the Evening, I determined to move up the river, which I did to this place,—leaving a boat to bring me information; in the night my boat returned and said that the enemy had not moved from Benedict, such was the information at Nottingham; I have just recd. your dispatch of yesterday,<sup>1</sup> and have concluded to land 400 men this afternoon and march to upper Malborough, a distance of two miles from us. I shall leave Mr. Frazier with about 120 men including, Sick & wounded, with orders to proceed up towards Queen Ann, and to destroy the flotilla in case of necessity, and join me with his men— I have also wrote to Captn. Miller informing him the road I shall take from upper Malborough, which I suppose will be by the Wood yard, for him to meet us in that direction, I shall do every thing in my Power to meet your Wishes and orders—

As we have but two or three days provisions it will be necessary to forward some from Washgn. also an Extra Waggon or two for our Baggage as I fear it will be impossible to obtain them on the road. Yours respectfully

Joshua Barney

N B. A boat I sent to Nottingham has returned & informs me that several British Barges are within three or four miles of Nottingham

J B.

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 6, No. 36 (M124, Roll No. 65).

1. See p. 188.

SECRETARY OF STATE MONROE TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES

Augt. 21—1814 5 miles from Aquasco mills. ½ after 3. P.M.

Dear Sir

I have just receivd your letter of this date. I quarterd last night near Charlotte Hall, & took a view at 8. this morning from a commanding height below Benedict creek, of the enemy's shipping near the town, & below it 10 or 12 miles down the river. I counted 23. square Rigged vessels, & no others were to be seen, & very few barges. I inferrd from the latter circumstance that the enemy had mov'd up the river, either against Com: Barney's flotilla solely or against the city, taking the flotilla in the way, by a combind mov'ment with the force on the Potowk. I had, when I left Aquasco mills last night, intended, to have passd over to the Potowk., after giving you an account of their vessels from the height below Benedict—but on observing the tranquil scene which I have mentiond, I

hastend back to take a view of the enemy's movments in this quarter, which it might be most important to the govt, to [be] made acquainted with. I am now on the main road from Washington to Benedict 12 miles from the latter & find that no troops have passed in this direction. Reports make it probable that a force by land & water, has been sent against the flotilla. I shall proceed immediately to Nottingham with Captn. Thorntons troop, & write you thence whatever may be deserving of attention.

Of the real form of the enemy, I think it would be prudent, from every thing that I can collect to estimate it at about 6,000. Of that on the Potowk., your intelligence will be more correct than mine.

They have plunderd the country of all the stock &c to the distance of 3 or 4 miles from Benedict. with respectful regard

J<sup>as</sup> Monroe

I have written to Genl. Winder.—

ALS, DNA, RG45, MLR, 1814, Vol. 6, No. 35 (M124, Roll No. 65). Monroe sent a similar letter, also dated 21 August, to James Madison; DLC, James Monroe Papers, Series I (Roll No. 5).

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO  
VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N.

No. 1

On board the *Resolution* Tender  
off Mount Calvert Monday Night 22nd August 1814

Sir

I have the honor to inform you that after parting from you at Benedict on the Evening of the 20th. Inst. I proceeded up the Patuxent with the Boats and Tenders the Marines of the Ships being embarked in them under the Command of Captain Robyns (the Senior Officer of that Corps in the Fleet) and the Marine Artillery under Captain Harrison in their Two Tenders— The *Severn* and *Hebrus* Frigates and the *Manly* Sloop being directed to follow us up the River as far as might prove practicable.

The Boats and Tenders I placed in three Divisions, the first under the immediate Command of Captains Sullivan (the Senior Commander employed on the occasion) and Badcock, the Second under Captains Money and Somerville, the third under Captain Ramsay—The whole under the Superintendency and immediate management of Captain Wainwright of the *Tonnant*, Lieutenant James Scott (1st. of the *Albion*) attending as my Aid-de-Camp.

I endeavored to Keep with the Boats and Tenders as nearly as possible abreast of the Army under Major General Ross that I might communicate with him as occasions offered, according to the plan previously arranged, and about mid-day yesterday I accordingly anchored at the Ferry House opposite Lower Malborough where I met the General and where the Army halted for some hours After which he marched for Nottingham and I proceeded on for the same place with the Boats— On our approaching that Town a few Shot were exchanged

between the leading Boats and Some of the Enemy's Cavalry but the appearance of our Army advancing caused them to retire with precipitation— Captains Nourse and Palmer of the *Severn* and *Hebrus*, joined me this day with their Boats, having found it impracticable to get their Ships higher than Benedict.

The Major General remained with the Army at Nottingham and the Boats and Tenders continued anchored off it. during the Night, and soon after daylight this morning the whole moved again forward, but the Wind blowing during the morning down the River and the Channel being excessively narrow and the advance of our Tenders consequently Slow, I judged it advisable to push on with the Boats only leaving the Tenders to follow as they could.

On approaching Pig Point (where the Enemy's Flotilla was said to be) I landed the Marines under Captain Robyns on the left bank of the River, and directed him to march round and attack on the Land Side, the Town Situated on the Point to draw from us the attention of Such Troops as might be there for its defence and the defence of the Flotilla; I then proceeded on with the Boats and as we opened the Reach above Pig Point, I plainly discovered Commodore Barney's broad Pendant in the headmost Vessel (a large Sloop) and the remainder of the Flotilla extending in a long line astern of her. Our Boats now advanced towards them as rapidly as possible but on nearing them we observed the Sloop bearing Broad Pendant to be on fire, and she very soon afterwards blew up, I now Saw clearly that they were all abandoned and on Fire with Trains to their Magaz[ines], and out of the Seventeen Vessels which composed this formidable and So much Vaunted Flotilla, Sixteen were in quick Succession blown to atoms, and the Seventeenth (in which the Fire had not taken) we captured, the Commodore's Sloop<sup>1</sup> was a large armed Vessel the others were Gun Boats all having a long Gun in the Bow and a Carronade in the Stern, but the Calibre of the Guns and number of the Crew of each differed in proportion to the Size of the Boat, varying from 32 Prs. and 60 Men to 18 Prs. and 40 Men— I found here laying above the Flotilla under its protection Thirteen Merchant Schooners, Some of which not being worth bringing away I caused to be burnt, such as were in good Condition I directed to be moved to Pig Point— Whilst employed taking these Vessels a few shot were fired at us, by some of the Men of the Flotilla from the Bushes on the Shore near us, but Lieut. Scott whom I had landed for that purpose, Soon got hold of them and made them Prisoners— Some Horsemen likewise shewed themselves on the Neighbouring Heights but a Rocket or two dispersed them, and Captain Robyns who had got possession of Pig Point without Resistance now Spreading his Men through the Country the Enemy retreated to a distance and left us in quiet possession of the Town, the Neighbourhood and our Prizes

A large quantity of Tobacco having been found in the Town at Pig Point I have left Captain Robyns with the Marines, and Captain Nourse with two divisions of the Boats to hold the place and Ship the Tobacco into the Prizes and I have moved back with the 3rd. division to this Point to enable me to confer on our future operations with the Major General, who has been good enough to send his Aid-de-Camp<sup>2</sup> to inform me of his Safe arrival with the Army under his Command at Upper Marlborough.

In congratulating you Sir, which I do most Sincerely on the complete destruction of this Flotilla of the Enemy which has lately occupied So much of our attention; I must beg to be permitted to assure you that the cheerful and indefatigable exertions on this occasion of Captains Wainwright, Nourse and Palmer

and of Captains Sullivan, the other Commanders, Officers and Men in the Boats you have placed under my Orders most justly entitle them to my warmest acknowledgements, and my earnest recommendation to your favorable notice. I have the honor to be Sir Your very faithful and most obedient humble Servant

(Signed) G. Cockburn Rear Admiral

Copy, UKLPR, Adm. 1/506, fols. 602–5. This copy, endorsed by Cochrane, is enclosure number one in Cochrane to Croker, 2 Sept. 1814, pp. 226–28, below. Bracketed words were supplied using Cockburn's letter book copy in DLC, Papers of George Cockburn, Container 10, Vol. 24, pp. 246–53 (Reel 6).

1. *Scorpion*.

2. Lieutenant George de Lacy Evans, deputy assistant quartermaster general, British army.

VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N., TO  
REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N.

Copy (H)

½ past 5.  
22. August.

My dr. Adl.

I congratulate you most cordially on the Destruction of Barney's Fleet and think as this matter is ended, the sooner the Army get back the better; I will not longer detain the Boat that she may save Tide up<sup>1</sup>

Ever Your's  
A. Cochrane

Best Wishes and Congratulations to the General<sup>2</sup> A: C:

Copy, UKLNM, Papers of Admiral George Cockburn, COC/11, p. 135.

1. This short note indicates that Cochrane, who was waiting at Benedict, wanted to end the incursion after the destruction of the flotilla. Cochrane did not mention this dispatch in a letter to the Admiralty after the subsequent attack on Washington. Cochrane to Croker, 2 Sept. 1814, pp. 226–28, below.

2. Major General Robert Ross.

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE COCKBURN, R.N., TO  
VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALEXANDER F. I. COCHRANE, R.N.

Head Quarters Upper Marlbro:  
23 August 1814

My dear Sir

I wrote you a hasty Note from my Boat yesterday as I thought it would be a great Relief to you to know of the Flotilla being actually disposed of, I learnt in the Evening that the general had occupied this Place, I came here this Morning to consult with him & learn his future Plans, & I find he is determined



(in consequence of the Information he has received & what he has Observed of the Enemy), to push on towards Washington, which I have confident Hopes he will give a good account of. I shall accompany him & of course afford him every Assistance in my Power<sup>1</sup>

I yesterday took One of the Gun Boats unhurt, which ~~will make~~ is a good Vessel for these Waters— I likewise took several light Schooners which are loading Tobacco at Pig Point. We therefore shall not return empty handed

Every Body in the Naval Department has behaved admirably & we are all in high Spirits No Sickness amongst us & but little as yet in the Army Believe me My dear Sir Most truly Your's

G: Cockburn

If you could Spare the *Hornet* to come as high as Nottingham with Spirits & Bread it would assist us, as we are all getting Short of Provisions, she may return to you immediately after delivering it

ALS, UKENL, Alexander F. I. Cochrane Papers, MS 2329, fols. 3–4A.

1. Cockburn did not allude to Cochrane's short dispatch of 22 August (p. 197) recommending a recall of the forces, perhaps because the commander in chief did not phrase it as a direct order and because the rear admiral wanted to proceed against Washington. In his memoirs, Cockburn called the Cochrane note a "halter" that he disregarded. UKLNM, Papers of Admiral George Cockburn, COC/11, p. 134.

## Naval Preparations for the Defense of Washington

Washington was ill prepared for the invasion force that sailed up the Patuxent River on 19 August 1814. Seeing no strategic advantage the British could gain by attacking the capital, Secretary of War Armstrong denied any need to defend it. Brigadier General Winder, the newly appointed commander of the just-formed Tenth Military District, energetically undertook Washington's defense, but after six weeks had accomplished little due to his own lack of organizational skills and Armstrong's inertia. Secretary of the Navy Jones, as with most of Madison's cabinet, but not the president himself, did not consider Washington threatened. When faced with imminent peril, however, Jones acted quickly and decisively. He immediately enlisted the assistance of three of his illustrious naval captains, John Rodgers, David Porter, and Oliver H. Perry, and promised them glory in defending the capital. At the Washington Navy Yard, the secretary engaged Master Commandant John O. Creighton to reconnoiter the British squadron progressing up the Potomac. Meanwhile, the commandant of the yard, Thomas Tingey, responding to an oral order from Jones, employed the yard's clerk, Mordecai Booth, to secure wagons for transporting supplies to troops in the area. Booth's eyewitness account portrays the confused, panic-stricken state of the city in the days before the invasion.

### SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO COMMODORE JOHN RODGERS

Navy Department Augt. 19. 1814

Sir

The enemy has entered the Patuxent with a very large force indicating a design upon this place which may be real, or it may serve to mask his design upon Baltimore

In either case it is exceedingly desirable to collect in our vicinity all the disposable force within reach as soon as possible.

You will therefore with the least possible delay proceed to Baltimore with about three hundred men (including officers) of the force under your command and also order on the detachment of marines from Cecil furnace to meet you at Baltimore where the further orders of the Department will await you I am respectfully Your Obdt. Servt.

W Jones

Commodore John Rodgers  
US. Ship *Guerriere* Philada.

ALS, DLC, Rodgers Family Papers, Series III-B, Container 51, fols. 5532–33. Rodgers was at Philadelphia superintending the construction of *Guerriere*.

### SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO CAPTAIN DAVID PORTER

Capt: David Porter  
U.S. Navy New-York

Navy Department  
August 19th. 1814

Sir,

The Enemy has entered the Patuxent with a very strong force indicating a rapid movement upon this city.— The court of Enquiry<sup>1</sup> will therefore be suspended and you will proceed without delay to this place, with as many of your late officers & Crew as you can collect and any others you may be enabled to engage, as well for the defence of the U.S. new Ship *Essex*<sup>2</sup> destined for your command as for that of the national Capital, and its important establishments.— I am respectfully &c

W: Jones.

LB, DNA, RG45, SNL, Vol. 11, p. 410 (M149, Roll No. 11).

1. For more on the court of inquiry into the loss of *Essex*, see p. 760.

2. Jones was referring to the frigate *Columbia* that was building at the Washington Navy Yard.

### SECRETARY OF THE NAVY JONES TO MASTER COMMANDANT JOHN O. CREIGHTON

Capt: John O. Creighton  
U.S. Navy, Present

Navy Department  
August 22d: 1814

Sir,

The reports from the vicinity of Cedar point yesterday, state that six ships of the enemy either had passed, or were at that time passing the Kettle Bottoms