

GENERAL JOHN STRICKER AND THE DEFENSE OF BALTIMORE

As Marylanders were celebrating the bicentennial of the defense of Baltimore and Fort McHenry, it is important to recognize the contribution of General John Stricker and to understand the historic context in which he lived. He was born in 1759 and raised in Frederick, Maryland. His paternal grandparents had emigrated from Switzerland to North Carolina and then moved to Frederick. His grandmother was French Swiss, while his grandfather was German Swiss. His mother, whose family name was Springer, also was of Swiss background.

In the Revolutionary War of 1776–82, he first served in his father's (Colonel George Stricker) German artillery company. He then was commissioned as an officer in Proctor's Artillery and rose to the rank of captain. He saw action in Washington's major engagements from Trenton in December 1776 to Monmouth in June 1779, he was assigned to General Sullivan's scorched earth expedition against the Iroquois in the New York's Finger Lakes region. At the end of the war, he lived for some months in Philadelphia and married Martha Bedford. They had six daughters and one son. He soon settled in Baltimore became a prominent merchant, and also served in the local militia and was promoted to the rank of brigadier general. Eventually, he would play a crucial role in the defense of Baltimore in 1814.¹

FEDERALISTS AND REPUBLICANS

Political life in the early Republic was dominated by a two-party system, the Federalists and the Republicans. The Federalists advocated a strong central government to foster commercial and industrial growth. Led by Alexander Hamilton, Washington's Secretary of the Treasury from 1789 to 1795, they drew support from the middle and upper classes in the tidewater and commercial regions, and from those of English background. Their opponents, the Republicans, led by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, favored strict *laissez-faire*. They saw government as a necessary evil, to be kept as small as possible. Power should be delegated to the states. They idealized an agrarian society of yeomen farmers and eschewed large cities with their gross inequalities and unruly crowds. Their support came from small farmers, especially in the backcountry, urban craftsmen, and those who were not of English descent. Republicans

also believed in the equality of all white men, with no rights for slaves and minimal rights for free blacks. Federalists, on the other hand, believed in a social hierarchy, that successful men should lead, and that blacks were “objects of elite paternalism.”² Under Hamilton’s leadership, Congress had passed an excise tax on whiskey, which angered the farmers of Western Pennsylvania, who found it easiest to market their surplus grain by distilling it. They rebelled in 1794, refusing to pay the tax and harassing tax collectors. President Washington saw this as a direct challenge to the newly formed government, which had just been established in 1789. He mobilized the militias of Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey, and Virginia and sent them to subdue the rebellion. The rebels vanished, and there was no violent suppression. Stricker, as a commander of the Baltimore militia, accompanied the troops on their mission.

Maryland was politically divided; the Federalists dominated the oldest part of the state, the tobacco-growing counties of Southern Maryland, Saint Mary’s, Charles, Calvert, Prince George’s, Montgomery, and Anne Arundel. The Eastern Shore leaned towards the Republicans, but was politically moderate, while the northern counties from Harford to Allegheny strongly backed the Republicans. In Baltimore City, the elite supported the Federalists, but the rest of the city vigorously backed the Republicans. The Maryland Germans split their vote between the two parties up until 1796, but then shifted towards the Republican side, particularly as the Federalist anti-immigrant orientation became apparent. The Republicans came to power in Maryland and nationally in 1800 when Jefferson defeated the Federalist Adams for the Presidency. Stricker, a Republican, was appointed to the Naval Agency of the Port of Baltimore in 1801. For almost ten years, he acquitted himself well and impartially in that capacity, according to all accounts.³

During this time, Britain and France (under Napoleon since 1799) were at war from 1793 to 1814 for the mastery of Europe and the seas. Both the British and the French seized neutral American ships that were trading with their enemy, but the British had a larger navy and took more ships. The British also “impressed” thousands of sailors from American ships and forced them to serve in the British navy, claiming that they were actually British subjects. Many of the impressed sailors were U.S. citizens, angering Americans even more.⁴

Many Republicans called for war with Britain, while Federalists sympathized with Britain and advocated neutrality. President James Madison (1809–1817), a Republican, at first sought to pressure the British by using trade restrictions to lift their blockade of France (called the Orders in Council). He came to believe, however, that the British would never do so and asked Congress to declare war on June 1, 1812. Congress voted for a declaration of war, 79–49 in the House and 19–13 in the Senate, with all of the Federalists and some Republicans in opposition. Madison signed the declaration on June 18. As it turned out, Britain had suspended the Orders in Council on June 16, but the news, of course, could not reach the United States in time. According to historian Jeff Broadwater, “Madison later said that he would not have gone to war if he had known about the change in British policy.”⁵ The British, however, still retained their impressment policy, and the United States did not rescind its declaration of war. With Britain engaged in a difficult conflict with Napoleon, many American leaders hoped that, with Britain distracted, they could gain Canada or at least portions of Canada and gain a favorable peace.

BALTIMORE IN 1812—A DIVIDED CITY

Baltimore had grown more rapidly than any other East Coast city since 1790, becoming the third-largest American city with 46,000 in the 1810 census, and was composed of several groups. Blacks made up twenty-two percent of Baltimore’s population, and more than half of them were free. According to the 1820 census, only three percent of Baltimore’s inhabitants were foreign born.⁶ A survey of the first *Directory of the City of Baltimore* (1796) reveals that ten percent of the surnames were German, but many were children or grandchildren of German immigrants like Stricker himself.⁷ Irish were America’s largest immigrant group during the period from 1783 to 1812. At this point, the majority of Irish immigrants were Protestant from Northern Ireland; Catholics from southern Ireland did not become the majority of Irish immigrants until the 1830s.⁸ In addition, there was a large native-born working class, many of them migrants from rural Maryland and other nearby states. These groups were all competing for low wage jobs in a rapidly changing and industrializing economy. Free blacks were part of this labor force, and also some slaves

as well, as their owners rented them out to other employers or had their slaves hire themselves out and took a large portion of their wages.⁹

The decision for war was an extremely divisive issue and had been hotly debated since the fall of 1811. Baltimore's Federalists, largely the elite, opposed the war, while the rest of the city supported it. A Federalist newspaper, the *Federal Republican* denounced the decision for war, criticizing the Republicans as Napoleon's lackeys. On the evening of June mob destroyed the house where the paper was published. During the next ten days, mobs attacked ships that were rumored to be trading with Britain. The mobs targeted not only wealthy Federalists, but they also attacked their economic competitors, African-Americans. They attacked a few black individuals and destroyed two houses owned by the wealthy black James Briscoe. A demonstration by the militia cavalry restored order until the end of July.

It seems the political divisions in the city coincided with the social divisions between wealthy and working class and was exacerbated by racial antagonisms. Religion also played a role; the Protestant merchants from Northern Ireland backed the Federalists and clashed with the Catholic Irish who whole-heartedly joined the Republicans.¹⁰

On July 27, the editor Alexander Hanson published a new edition of the *Federal Republican* and gathered about thirty armed Federalist supporters to defend his new office on Charles Street. A mob assembled to attack the house during the evening, and the defenders killed two in the mob with gunfire. General Stricker, commander of the city militia, who lived nearby, waited for two magistrates to sign a legal order to call out the militia. He received authorization by and mobilized a troop of cavalry, but only thirty men appeared; they placed themselves between the mob and the Federalist house. The standoff continued until the morning, when Mayor Edward Johnson arranged for the Federalists to walk with militia protection to the city jail, where he believed they would be safe. The mob reassembled later that afternoon. When Stricker summoned the militia, only forty-five men showed up, not enough to protect the prisoners from the mob, which broke into the jail, and badly beat eleven of the Federalists and killed General James Lignan, a hero of the Revolutionary War, while women egged them on, shouting, "Kill the Tories."

Tensions and unrest remained high, and crowds searched for fugitive Federalists. They started to gather in front of the post office on August 4 because of rumors that Hanson's newspapers were in the post office awaiting delivery. On the fifth, Stricker mobilized the entire Baltimore brigade of 1000 men and scattered the mob; for some days thereafter the militia patrolled the streets and maintained order.

Such brutal mob violence at that time was unprecedented and shocked the nation. Baltimore was beginning to earn its unflattering nickname of "mobtown." About 100 rioters in all of the disturbances were identified; most were white laborers or semi-skilled artisans; few owned property.¹¹

The Federalists then won control of the Maryland legislature in the October 1812 elections and investigated the city administration's failure to maintain order and targeted Republican politicians, especially the Mayor Edward Johnson. Stricker also endured some criticism, as he had made a perfunctory effort to stop the rioters while they attacked Federalists, but then took more vigorous action only when mob violence spread. In Stricker's defense, he realized that many militiamen sympathized with the crowd and would not act against them. When, on July 28, he was asked why he did not mobilize the entire militia brigade, Stricker said, "There is the brigade," indicating the mob. As it turns out, one third of those identified in the riots appeared on the rolls of the militia in 1814, and most were privates and corporals.¹² In any case, his indecisive behavior at that time was the most controversial of his otherwise illustrious career and contrasts with his stalwart leadership in September 1814.

THE BRITISH ON THE CHESAPEAKE, 1813–1814

As for the war against Britain, most of the fighting took place along the Canadian border and at sea with inconclusive results. In April 1813, Britain sent a fleet into the Chesapeake in order to divert American forces from the Canadian frontier. Essentially, the United States had no substantial naval forces and only local militia, for the most part, to defend the Chesapeake region. The British fleet sailed throughout the Chesapeake at will and attacked towns, villages, plantations and farms, carrying off tobacco, provisions, and livestock. British soldiers accompanying the fleet struck without warning and returned to their ships before the militia

could mobilize in force. The British lived off of the land and took whatever food supplies they could find. Some slaves also fled to the British.¹³ The British burned Havre de Grace and their troops committed pillage, rapes, and murders in Hampton, Virginia. Such actions induced the Chesapeake inhabitants, including many Federalists, to rally to defend their homes and support the war. The British had less success against larger, more fortified places, such as Elkton, Saint Michael's, Queenstown and Norfolk, Virginia. In September, most of the British forces withdrew to Halifax in Canada or to Bermuda.¹⁴

As the British fleet was sailing up and down the Chesapeake, Maryland's Governor, Levin Winder, appointed Major General Samuel Smith to command the militia in the defense of Baltimore. Smith had command experience in the American Revolution and was also one of Maryland's U.S. Senators at the time. In preparation for a possible attack, Smith strengthened the fortifications at Fort McHenry and added cannon. He built other supporting forts nearby at Covington, Babcock, and Lazaretto. He believed that British would also land at North Point and advance on the city, and sent Brigadier General Stricker and other officers to familiarize themselves with the terrain and to choose the best place to engage the British. He also started building fortifications at Hampstead Hill (present-day Patterson Park) to block the British advance into the city. Lastly, he embarked on a training program for all military units.¹⁵

Napoleon was defeated in May 1814, and the British government decided on a three-pronged attack against the United States with veteran troops. One force would advance from Canada to Lake Champlain in New York and to the Hudson Valley; a second force would sail into the Chesapeake to divert American forces from Canada; the third would target New Orleans towards the end of the year. The British expected to achieve some victories, to end the war on terms favorable to them, and to gain some American territory.

The fleet carrying soldiers sailed up the Chesapeake in August and entered the Patuxent River. Forty-five hundred troops debarked at Benedict and advanced on Washington. After routing the untrained and unprepared militia at Bladensburg on August 24, the British burned the public buildings in the capital and then returned to their ships. After that, the British commanders initially considered leaving the Chesapeake, but then

decided to attack Baltimore, setting sail for the Patapsco on September 9. The British called America's third largest city a "nest of pirates," the home port for numerous privateers who had captured the largest number of British ships during the war.¹⁶

Baltimoreans feared the worst if the British captured the city and prepared for their defense. At this point, Baltimoreans set their considerable differences aside and united against the common threat. On August 26, at the request of General Stricker and other officers and civilian leaders, Governor Winder appointed Samuel Smith to be the commander of all troops involved in defending the city. They wanted to avoid another debacle like Bladensburg. Baltimoreans also elected a Committee of Vigilance and Safety to help implement measures to defend the city. The Committee divided the city into quadrants; in each quadrant, all able bodied men age sixteen to fifty were required to report to Hampstead Hill every fourth day to work on the fortifications; free blacks were also "most earnestly invited." Those in the militia were expected to drill with their unit. Slave owners were requested to supply their slaves to join the other men in their quadrant and were compensated fifty to seventy-five cents per day.

By the twenty-eighth, Baltimoreans brought their shovels, wheelbarrows, and pickaxes to Hampstead Hill to build fortifications. Militia from Virginia, Delaware, and Pennsylvania arrived and drilled. To pay for supplies, Baltimore banks loaned funds; citizens also contributed cash, building materials for the fortifications, and other goods. Farmers brought in food; women rolled bandages and supplied linen for the hospital, and brought coffee and water to the drilling militia. They all pulled together, and all participated in the City's defense.¹⁷

The British planned a combined sea and land attack; the fleet was to bombard Fort McHenry into submission, while the British army landed at North Point early in the morning of September 12 and advanced on Baltimore from the southeast. General Smith had already dispatched Stricker with 3200 Baltimore militia to engage the British. The British Commander, General Ross, stopped for breakfast at the farmhouse of the Robert Gorsuch. When Gorsuch asked Ross if he would be returning for dinner, Ross replied, "I will sup in Baltimore tonight or in hell."

The British had no cavalry to reconnoiter and did not realize that the Baltimore brigade was waiting for them. Stricker sent out sharpshooters to engage the British advance guard. As the action started, Ross rode forward to observe and was mortally wounded. Some believe that the shots came from one of two teenage sharpshooters, Daniel Wells and Henry McComas, who were then killed by British return fire. Colonel Arthur Brooke then assumed command and brought up the main British forces.

Stricker placed his forces at the narrowest point of the peninsula, at the edge of an open field, which the British would have to cross and expose themselves to musket and artillery fire. The British forces advanced and engaged the militia; when they threatened to outflank the Americans on their left, the opposing 51st regiment retreated. The remaining forces stood their ground for an hour, answering the British fire with their own. As the British threatened to close in, Stricker ordered his troops to pull back. The British forces did not pursue the Americans, who returned to Hampstead Hill. The Americans suffered 213 casualties, compared with 341 for the British.¹⁸

On the next day, September 13, the British advanced to within sight of Hampstead Hill and waited for the results of the attack on Fort McHenry. As we all know, the British bombardment failed to subdue the Fort, and the fleet sailed back to North Point on the fourteenth. They also withdrew their ground forces and returned to their fleet. With 4500 troops, they were reluctant to attack a force of 11,000 in their fortifications, plus the addition of Stricker's forces and 100 cannon.¹⁹ In October, the main British forces withdrew from the Chesapeake to prepare for an attack on New Orleans.

Stricker's performance at North Point shows a clear improvement over the American debacle at Bladensburg. Essentially, the same British regiments fought both battles. One difference was that the British did not signal their intentions as they marched through Southern Maryland. The American commander at Bladensburg, Brigadier General William Henry Winder (the nephew of Maryland's governor), believed that the British might march on Annapolis; also there were numerous approaches into Washington, so Winder did not establish a fortified position. The Madison administration likewise did not believe that Washington would be a target and made little effort to fortify the capital beforehand.

In addition, Winder had no unified command structure. Various commanders made decisions without coordination, and they did not know the location of the other American units. The British forces under Ross advanced towards Bladensburg on the morning of August 24, and Winder rushed his forces there piecemeal and did not establish a coherent defensive line. After inflicting 250 casualties, the scattered American forces broke ranks under the British attack and fled in panic; the engagement was dubbed, “the Bladensburg races.”²⁰

Samuel Smith, on the other hand, correctly anticipated that the British would approach Baltimore from the North Point peninsula. Smith was given total command, so that he could devise a coherent defense, so as to avoid a repetition of Bladensburg. John Stricker understood that the British soldiers were better trained to maneuver in combat than Americans. He placed his troops at the narrowest point of the peninsula, inducing the British to attack in a frontal assault and reducing their ability to maneuver. Stricker’s force had arrived at the battlefield the night before, and he established a defensive line. Also, the American forces could have been ashamed of their poor showing at Bladensburg and wanted to atone, including the Fifth Regiment, which had been present at Bladensburg. While the British eventually won the field, the inexperienced militia showed that they could stand up to veteran British troops and inflict more casualties than they took.

After the British forces arrived at Hampstead Hill, the new commander, Colonel Brooke, was faced with question as to whether to attack. He realized that the failure to take Fort McHenry meant that there would be no naval support; he was outnumbered; heavy rains on the morning of the thirteenth meant that his army would have to climb uphill through mud in the open to get the American lines; he perceived that American militia, now more resolute after Bladensburg, could inflict considerable casualties when in defensive and fortified positions. Admiral Cochrane, commander of the British fleet, advised against “throwing away the men’s lives.” Brooke also knew that there were plans to capture New Orleans and wanted to save his men for that venture. After consulting with his officers, Brooke reluctantly ordered a withdraw.²¹ Sadly for these British regiments, they and other units suffered a casualty rate of twenty-five percent when they assaulted the American fortifications at

New Orleans on January 8, 1815, compared with less than ten percent for each of the two engagements on Maryland soil.

The battles of Bladensburg, North Point, and New Orleans provide evidence that British discipline prevailed when Americans were disorganized. But in a static defensive position, the Americans could stand up to British veterans. A final point is that the British advance on Washington caught Americans by surprise, and they could do little to protect the capital. On the other hand, when the British decided to attack Baltimore, the entire region had mobilized its resources, which offset the British advantage in conventional military forces.

Even as the battle for Baltimore was being fought, an American fleet on Lake Champlain destroyed a British naval force, turning back a British invasion of New York from Canada on September 11. This defeat, combined with the British failure to take Baltimore, undercut public British support for the war. After twenty years of war against France, it seemed pointless to continue the unnecessary conflict; it was clear that Britain achieved its main goal of retaining Canada. British merchants and manufacturers lobbied hard to open lucrative trade with their former best customers. The issues that induced America to declare war, impressment and the Orders in Council, were moot, because now Europe was at peace. The Americans were willing to ignore those issues; they also proposed peace on the basis of *status quo ante*, leaving the borders as they were before the war. The British at first had demanded some territory from the United States, but the mounting criticism of the war led the British government to agree to the American compromise position, and both sides signed the Treaty of Ghent (in modern-day Belgium) on December 24 ending the war.²²

THE AFTERMATH

The successful defense of Baltimore served to unify a previously divided city. September 12, the anniversary of the Battle of North Point, is celebrated as Defenders Day, a Maryland state holiday. On July 4, 1815, 25,000 Baltimoreans celebrated the laying of the cornerstone for Washington's monument at Mount Vernon Place. On September 12, 1815, Baltimoreans laid the cornerstone to the battle monument, to memorialize the thirty-nine soldiers who fell in the defense of Baltimore,

and to celebrate their victory over the British. General John Stricker, General Samuel Smith, and Lieutenant Colonel George Armistead, commander of Fort McHenry, all attended. The monument's base and column have been preserved, but the female figure on top, representing "Lady Baltimore," has badly deteriorated and has been moved to the Maryland Historical Society, replaced by a concrete replica.²³

Baltimore's victory is notable because the citizens of the city, state and region voluntarily all pulled together to defend the city. The federal government essentially had few resources to give to city. Most of the 16,000 involved in Baltimore's military defense were militia. Much of the material and all of the labor for the fortifications were provided without charge by Baltimore's residents. Blacks, both slave and free, along with whites built the fortifications at Hampstead Hill. Some blacks served in the US Navy, but Maryland militia regiments remained all white, which reflected the prejudices of that era. While deprived of equal status, blacks nevertheless played a role in Baltimore's defense.²⁴

The burning of Washington sparked an upsurge of patriotism throughout the nation, which was increased by the unified defense of Baltimore. Francis Scott Key's poem, inspired by the flag and the defense of Fort McHenry, was set to music and became popular around the country, eventually becoming our national anthem. Baltimoreans had faced the military might of the British Empire, the victors over Napoleon, and had triumphed, and so had the country. Word of the victory at New Orleans (two weeks after peace had been signed) arrived on the East Coast in early February 1815, and shortly thereafter, the news of the peace treaty also arrived. Many Americans conflated the two events and were under the impression they had won the war and had dictated the peace on their terms.²⁵

Initially, a residue of partisan politics remained. When Samuel Smith stepped down as from his position as major general, Maryland's Federalist leaders bypassed Stricker for a promotion and appointed Robert Goodloe Harper, a former Federalist Congressman (and later a Maryland Senator). Stricker then resigned as a militia commander on November 10, 1814. Eventually, the Federalist Party faded away and disappeared, and for about fifteen years, the only time in our history, the U.S. did not have a two party system. During this period, called the "Era of

Good Feelings,” political unity and national pride prevailed. American motifs such as the eagle appeared on furniture, art and architecture.

Even though he was denied a promotion, Stricker continued to devote his life to public service. He became Vice-President of the German Society of Maryland from 1817 until his death in 1825. He helped the German Society obtain a charter from the Maryland legislature in 1818. He also served as the President of the Bank of Baltimore. He was offered a seat in the Maryland Senate²⁶ and was also asked to run to be Mayor of Baltimore, but declined in both cases. John Stricker played a key role in the defense of Baltimore and exemplifies the ideal of the citizen-general who serves the public without personal ambition. The battle of Baltimore illustrates how the people of the city and region, in spite of their considerable differences, came together in defense against a powerful invading force.

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NOTES

The author would like to thank Christopher George, the author of *Terror on the Chesapeake* and other publications, for his knowledgeable insights and for patiently answering my numerous questions.

1. The Stricker family history comes from website, "German Marylanders," John Stricker, Jr, "General John Stricker" [written in 1837, printed in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 1914, reprinted in MHM, 107, 1 (Spring 2012), 110–111], and Henry C. Peden, Jr, *Revolutionary Patriots of Frederick County, Maryland, 1775–1783* (1995).
2. Alan Taylor, *The Civil War of 1812* (New York: Knopf, 2010), 82–83.
3. Stricker, 112. Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1948), 178. Joseph A. Whitehorne, *The Battle for Baltimore 1814* (Baltimore: Nautical & Aviation Publishing, 1997), 12–16. Whitehorne explains (15), "...in Southern Maryland... its large plantations were the seats of the state's wealthiest and most established families, many of whom had been resisting the intrusion of the more entrepreneurial Republican types..."
4. Britain claimed that any man born in the British Empire could be drafted or impressed into military service. Americans argued that naturalized citizens and native-born Americans should be free from such a draft. The British admitted that 3300 sailors in the Royal Navy in 1812 claimed to be Americans; the State Department put the figure at 6257. Americans were incensed that the British arrogantly did not recognize US citizenship and sovereignty. See Taylor, 101–106, 110–113, 132–137 and J.C.A. Stagg *The War of 1812* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 18–47.
5. Jeff Broadwater, "The Paradox of a Republican Presidency," MHM 109, 4 (Winter 2014), 430.
6. Christopher Phillips, *Freedom's Port* (Chicago: University of Illinois, 1997), 108 and 195.
7. Cunz, 161.
8. Irish made up 57% of all immigrants during 1783–1810. Hans-Juergen Grabbe, *Vor der grossen Flut* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2001), 65–72, 95–99. Taylor, 81.
9. Seth Rockman, *Scraping By* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2009), 57–69; Phillips, 21–29.
10. Rockman, 32 and 285n.
11. Richard Chew, "Origins of Mobtown," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 107, 1 (Spring 2012), 7–36. Frank Cassell, "The Great Baltimore Riot of MHM, Fall 1975, 241–259. Whitehorne, 18–20. Alan Taylor, 177–179. Christopher T. George, *Terror on the Chesapeake* (Shippensburg, PA, White Mane Books, 2000), 14–20. Ralph E. Eshelman and Burton K. Kummerow, *In Full Glory Reflected* (Maryland Historical Trust, 2012), 17–19. Paul Gilie, "Le Menu people in America: identifying the mob in the Baltimore Riots of MHM, Spring 1986, 50–66. For a description of Baltimore's working class in the early Republic, see Rockman. Mob violence became more widespread in East Coast cities

- later in the nineteenth century, but the Baltimore riot of 1812 shocked the nation, especially Federalists.
12. George, 16, Gilie, 58–63; see also Blaine Taylor’s article on the 1812 riots in *Military Heritage* (October 2011).
 13. Alan Taylor reports that 3,400 escaped to the British during the Chesapeake campaigns; the total enslaved population of the Chesapeake region came to more than 400,000; lecture at the MHS, 5/22/14. See Christopher T. George, “Mirage of Freedom: African 107, 1, (Spring 2012), 37–55; and Gene Allen Smith, *The Slaves’ Gamble* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 85–131 and 175–216. After the war, the majority was transported to Nova Scotia, while most of the rest went to the West Indies and Bermuda.
 14. Whitehorne, 41–86. Eshelman, 24–47. George, 27–51.
 15. Whitehorne, 39–40, 44–46, 80. Marc De Simone, *Sam Smith—Star-Span-gled Hero* (Self-published, 2014), 120–126.
 16. A comprehensive account of Baltimore’s privateers can be found in Jerome R. Garitee, *The Republic’s Private Navy* (Middletown, CT, Wesleyan University Press, 1977).
 17. Walter Lord, *The Dawn’s Early Light* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University, 1972), 231–238. Whitehorne, 162–174. George, 126–129. Eshelman, 120–128. Steve Vogel, *Through the Perilous Fight* (New York: Random House, 2013), 238–243. See Rockman, 70, on the compensation to slaveowners.
 18. Whitehorne, 176–183. George, 135–145. Lord, 259–269. Vogel, 278–281, 287–309. Eshelman, 128–135.
 19. Recently published articles on the defense of Baltimore include Frank A. Cassell, “Response to Crisis, Baltimore in MHM 107, 1 (Spring 2012), 83–101. Nelson Mott Bolton and Christopher C. George, “Captain Henry Thompson’s First Baltimore Horse Artillery, and the Defense of Baltimore in MHM 108, 4 (Winter 2013), 420–444.
 20. Whitehorne, 127–136. George, 91–104. Lord, 123–143. Vogel, 122–151. Albert Kimberley Hadel, “Battle of Bladensburg,” MHM 107, 1 (Spring, 2012), 58–76. Broadwater, 429–51.
 21. Lord, 280. George, 148. Whitehorn, 190, Vogel, 327–333. Eshelman, 137–139.
 22. Lord, 302–321. Vogel, 363–369, 375–384. George Dangerfield, *The Era of Good Feelings* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1952), 64–91, Stagg, 139–47.
 23. Eshelman, 158–161. Cindy Kelly and Edwin Remsberg, *Outdoor Sculpture in Baltimore* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2011), 2–3, 58–59, 82–83.
 24. Rockman, 70. George, “Mirage of Freedom,” 48–50.
 25. Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty* (New York: Oxford UP, 2009), 696. Taylor, 421.
 26. Stricker, 113–117. During that time, each county had one state Senator, to be appointed by the electors of the Maryland’s electoral college.