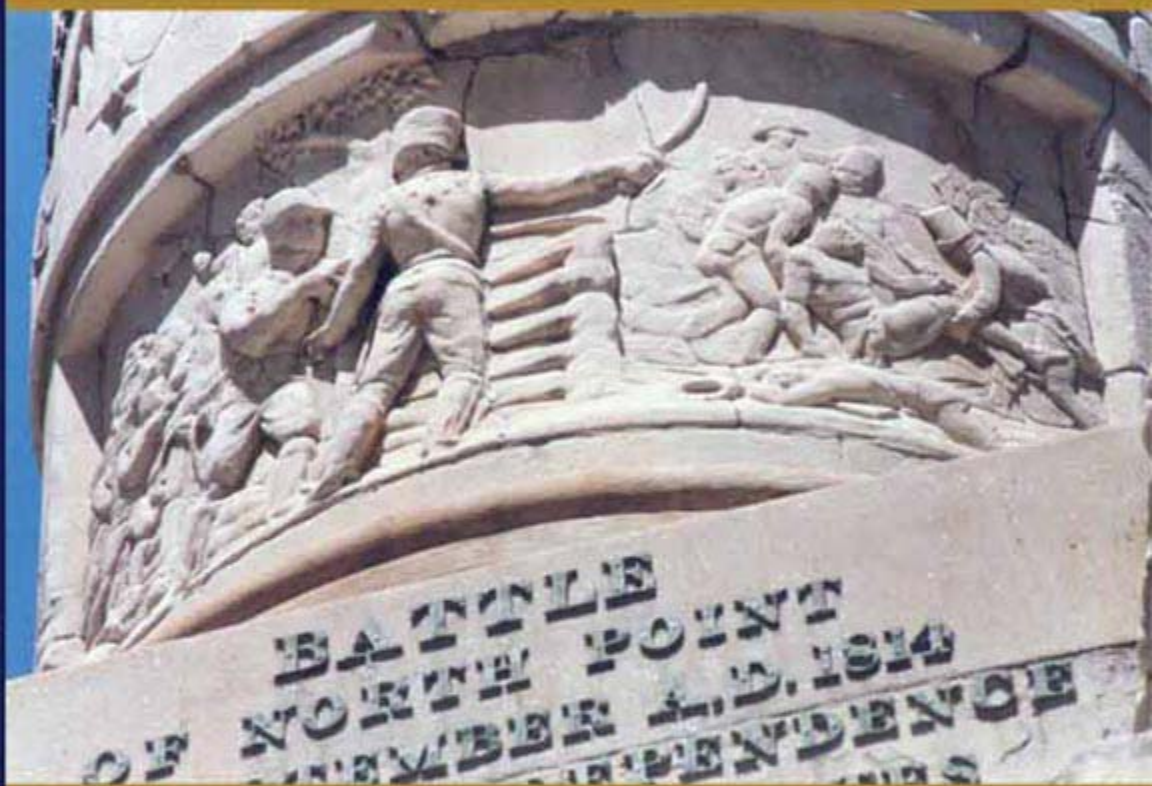
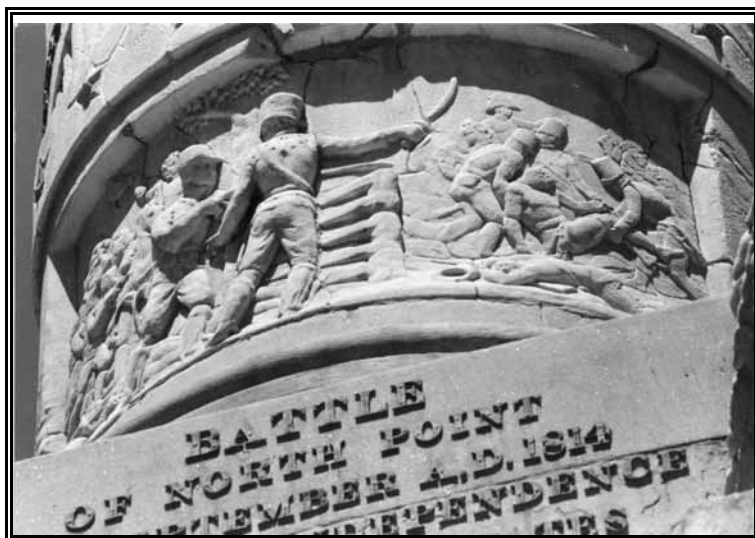


HERITAGE OF COURAGE



*A Bicentennial Celebration of the Society
of the War of 1812 in Maryland*

ROBERT TOWLES CUMMINS, JR.



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The Society of the
War of 1812
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by
ROBERT TOWLES CUMMINS, JR.

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Nathaniel Williams, Esq., a Defender of Baltimore in 1814, and spokesman for *The Association of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814*, imparted these words to the newly organized sons of the Defenders on Defenders Day, 1857:

“.....A new feature is recently imparted to our Associations. The sons of the Old Defenders have formed themselves into a society, whereby the bond which unites us is strengthened, and promises to make it perpetual. This act of filial regard savors of the sacredness of filial piety. It inspires mutual sentiment of respect and affection, and is calculated to bind more closely together the ties of fathers and children. It imposes upon the elders the duty and obligation of affording to the young examples of courage, patriotism, and integrity. Now we no longer fear that our association will fall into desuetude or that our memories will fall into forgetfulness. The residue of our lives will be cherished, our feebleness be sustained and our graves be honored. This reflection is an ample compensation for all the burdens and vexations of life—a sufficient reward for our trials and sorrows. The wealth of the aged is the love of his offspring, and the solace of declining years the tender affection of family ties. To our young associates let me express the united welcome of their airs[sic]. Age is always prompt in its acknowledgements toward confiding and sustaining youth. Our right hand of brotherhood is already extended, and we feel the warm pressure of that embrace, which youth, in its love and faithfulness, always imparts. Toward us, when removed from these interchanges and mutual intercourse, we now ask that we may be preserved in your memories; we bespeak your indulgence towards our frailties; and that you will cherish the recollection of our virtues, and of our courage in the days of our country’s trials.”

September 12, 1857

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Preface

After Baltimore was seemingly miraculously spared in September 1814 from what had appeared to be inevitable destruction at the hands of a vengeful British enemy, the citizenry felt compelled to give proper respect to that eventful time. Municipal leaders immediately took measures to institute remembrance, leading to the enactment of legislation to ensure that the citizen defenders would be honored on each and every anniversary of the battle. As they annually came together and celebrated what is now known as Defenders' Day, the parading citizen soldiers, eventually becoming known as The Old Defenders, formed a deep bond of unity throughout the remainder of their lives. The spirit and upholding of remembrance, being too precious to leave to extinction, were passed for perpetuity to their descendants with a charge and a blessing. Today, The Society of the War of 1812 in the State of Maryland is uniquely privileged to carry on the legacy of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814, to celebrate their accomplishment for the nation in the repulsion of the British invasion, and to be a reminder of the impact their courage and faith have had on the world to this day. We do this in the spirit of fellowship.

This book attempts identify the various forms and organizations from which The Society of the War of 1812 in the State of Maryland can trace its origin, beginning with the response of Baltimore citizenry to imminent attack by a far superior military force. Some of the more colorful accounts of our cherished 200 year tradition are presented for posterity. Many of these can only be found in the newspapers of the

day, since the Old Defenders themselves did not publish personal accounts.

Each member of The Society of the War of 1812 in the State of Maryland is a descendant of a soldier, militiaman, seaman, field musician, or anyone who gave honorable service to the United States during this second war for independence. Many of the qualifying ancestors served in the defense of Baltimore in 1814. Ancestral linkage to the soldiers, sailors, and militiamen of 1812 is more than a requirement for membership; it is a recognized privilege—unearned yet cherished—which permits a closer appreciation of our ancestors, their deeds, and the country they helped found. To this end the ancestral linkage of all of our members to their respective War of 1812 ancestors is periodically published.

Readers having an interest in Baltimore and War of 1812 history may appreciate learning about Baltimore's response to the invasion of the British in September of 1814. Those wanting to learn of the events which supported and fueled the patriotic fervor manifesting itself ultimately in the establishment of our national anthem may find accounts contained within this book to be "the story behind the story".

Foreword

The fullness of Society experience over the past 200 years necessarily touches areas beyond the immediate activities of the Society and appreciation for its forbears. Properly understood, the Society cannot be seen as entirely separate and distinct from the City of Baltimore since it as it indeed finds its roots in historically significant people and in nineteenth century events. Monuments created in Baltimore by the citizen-soldiers and their descendants, the impact of contemporary municipal events, legendary local tales and more have a place in society consciousness. Now during the Bicentennial of the War of 1812 we pause to reflect on the last 200 years and recall those events which have constituted our unique experience. The Star-Spangled Banner, as inspired by the courageous deeds of the Defenders of Baltimore, was adopted as the national anthem of our United States of America in 1931. Legislation establishing the national anthem was moved forward by Society family members.

Achieving and maintaining proper remembrance of the events of September of 1814 has been ongoing for 200 years, with general public interest varying but being generally strong. Remembrance has been rich and deep in many forms, with mainstay commemorative forms having originated in 1814, and enduring ever since. Baltimore's magnificent Battle Monument, paying tribute to 1814 veterans, is rendered on the Baltimore City logo and was a central point of interest to the city in its early days. As mentioned, the song inspired by this

same battle has become the national anthem of the United States – a national anthem which has become inseparably identified with the country’s flag. The Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland and its predecessor organizations are likewise remarkable commemorative forms, nearly the oldest organization of their types, being rooted in the sentiments of the Defenders themselves.

Brief History of the Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland

The Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland traces its roots to the early militia units which defended Baltimore against British invasion in September of 1814. The unique bond of fellowship built in this defensive effort continued through various evolutions of organization among the soldiers and was then passed by the soldiers to their descendants. The spirit of 1814 has been passed to us through this thread, and it is what we celebrate in the Bicentennial. The facts of history undergird our unique heritage and reinforce the cherishing of it; moreover, our strength as an organization is sharpened by it. An overview of the events of this journey therefore should be examined and kept in mind. A brief summary composed of relevant gleanings from the past 200 years is presented here:

It was in May of 1814 when attack was imminent that the citizen-soldiers of Baltimore came together in solidarity and conviction of purpose which galvanized them in battle and forged a bond which would be carried among them for the remainder of their lives.

The successful repulse of the British and salvation of the young nation and city from the jaws of despotism forged a deep sense pride and patriotism within the municipality and a watching nation. As a consequence, measures were taken by the City Council to guarantee that the awareness of the significance of what had transpired would never fade. Creation of a magnificent monument dedicated to the Battle, around which by law, the military units engaged in the Battle would march every September 12th, (or on the 13th if the 12th fell on a Sunday) became the symbol of the City upon its completion in 1827.

The significance of the annual parade and the Battle Monument to the citizens and veterans of this event inspired historian Thomas

Scharf to lament “a beautiful monument in the center of the city perpetuated the the names and memory of those who fell in defence of their homes. Around it, on each returning anniversary of the day, amid dense crowds of spectators, the pomp of military escort, and the stirring strains of martial music, march, under a tattered flag, a handful of aged men, their number lessening every year, the survivors of that eventful twelfth of September, the honored company of "Old Defenders". May it yet be long ere the last survivor of that venerable band performs his solitary circuit!”

In the decades following the Battle of Baltimore additional measures were required to maintain the bonds of unity and remembrance, as the very laws meant to enforce the preservation of that which constituted “that eventful day” in began to work contrary to their intended purpose: the aging veterans, dwindling in number, no longer fell within Maryland Militia guidelines for military eligibility and thus could not be included in their beloved military units which had been ordered to march every September 12th.

The Defenders of Fort McHenry responded to this inevitability by convening a meeting of surviving soldiers at Fort McHenry on September 13, 1836. Under the leadership of William Steuart and Sheppard Leakin, the group of men vowed to “never disband” and “to meet every year at Fort McHenry” forming a corps and a Society in which they would assume the rank of service each held during the battle. According to oral tradition, this formative meeting took place in a tavern adjacent to the fort. The army had purchased the large tavern property on September 12, 1836, capable of holding hundreds of men, just the day before the meeting of the defenders.

It soon became clear that an organization which included the North Point veterans was needed. In 1841, “The Surviving Defenders of Baltimore in the Late War,” also known as “The Surviving

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Defenders of Baltimore in 1814,” was formed. Further evolution came a year later with the incorporation of “The Association of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814,” which gave a sense of permanence and stability. The date of the charter was May 14, 1842, a date which had been decided upon by a committee and marked with a Grand Encampment.

The new Association assumed a distinctive military character in the early years, with the members kept in their respective militia companies at their 1814 rank. Fines were levied for non-attendance. However, new possibilities were introduced under the new format. For the first time the veterans themselves were in control of their own celebration, and the annual September 12th commemorations became ritualized with a dinner and church service inclusive of soldiers irrespective of Militia Company or regiment. The social welfare of veterans’ widows and orphans, veterans’ burial expenses, and reclamation of back-pay for federalized military service could be addressed by this large union of veterans. Annual business meetings could be held in City Hall, as several Association presidents also served as mayors of Baltimore.

With the advent of rail in that period the Association of Defenders of Baltimore in 1814 became visiting dignitaries to East Coast cities. Presidential visits were common, with attendance at presidential inaugurations and burials expected. Still, the delight of the “Old Defenders,” as they were called, was to march and meet privately for dinner and “relive their battles o’er again.”

On September 12, 1857, a celebration sponsored by the sons of the Old Defenders introduced their own counterpart organization, one formed to perpetuate recognition of their fathers’ courageous deeds after that generation had passed away. The *Baltimore American* reported:

Saturday being the forty-third anniversary of the defence of Baltimore, it was celebrated according to the time-honored custom by the

Brief History of the Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland

Association of Defenders. They dined with their sons at Brown's Pavilion, a beautiful spot a short distance from the memorable field of North Point.

The cause of their dining with their sons upon this occasion was brought about in the following manner: A few weeks since, a well known, public-spirited citizen, son of an Old Defender, conceived the idea that it was high time that the sons of the lineal descendants of this band of veterans, should adopt some measures for a more proper and general observance of the 12th of September, than had heretofore been the custom. In accordance with the thought, several other gentlemen, sons of Defenders, were spoken to upon the subject, and an organization called the Association of the Sons of the Defenders in 1814 proposed to be formed.

The two associations were kept separate "until such time when this association shall be unable for want of members to continue its aims and purposes." In February, 1880, necessity dictating the decision, the first descendant, William H. Daneker, grandson of the president, Captain John J. Daneker, was invited to the ranks of the Association and elected Secretary and Marshal. Two descendants were noted among the 13 members present that year at the Defenders' Day ceremonies. At a meeting on August 23, 1880, Baltimore's 150th anniversary year, at the new Baltimore City Hall, a motion was made for the inclusion of the sons and grandsons of the defenders with remaining active 12 members. A committee reported and adopted a resolution "that to adopt such a suggestion they would of necessity be compelled to relinquish the appellation of Old Defenders, which they so tenaciously hold and cherish, with the influx of new and active members they would lose control of the association."

In October, 1883, when fewer than 5 Old Defenders were able to attend a meeting, The Association of Defenders of Baltimore in 1814

Heritage of Courage

was dissolved.¹ By authority granted to them in 1857, that the descendants had authority to take over the reins of the veteran organization. Instead, the Association continued unofficially, with the remaining Old Defenders were picked up by carriage and served dinner by Robert Rennert at the Rennert Hotel; those unable to attend were served at their homes. While Baltimore missed the parading Defenders, this part of Defenders Day festivities, the dinner, remained. Joseph C. Morford was the last Old Defender to attend the dinner at the Rennert on September 12, 1888, with Nathaniel Watts being served at his home.

On September 12, 1892 at the Lombard Street residence of Charles Carroll of Carrollton (1737-1832), “Descendants of the Defenders of Baltimore of the War of 1812-14,” admitting both male and female descendants, was organized. Annual meetings thereafter took place in Carroll Mansion as well, in a room where Carroll had entertained Washington and Lafayette.

Descendants of the Defenders of Baltimore in the War of 1812-14 re-organized on October 25, 1893, as the “Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland of Baltimore City,” and registered incorporation in the Circuit Court of Baltimore. The female descendants organized as the Maryland Chapter of U. S. Daughters of 1812 a few years later.

The Association of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814 had previously declined solicitations for merger with a Pennsylvania War of 1812-14 veteran group which admitted descendants into its ranks. The Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland, however, now in control its own destiny and having resolved the issue of descendants, now, with much debate, joined the Pennsylvania movement, and received its charter from a newly formed national group originated by the Pennsylvania society. This national umbrella organization was to be

¹ “The Day We Celebrate, Four Survivors of the Defenders of Baltimore – Anniversary Program,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 11, 1886.

known as The General Society of the War of 1812. (Other states in this national confederation of state societies assumed a name consistent with the nationally enforced template “The Society of the War of 1812 in the (domicile)”. With its new charter as “The Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland,” its membership no longer required descent from a Defender of Baltimore in 1814. It was more inclusive, extending eligibility to descendants of any combatant who served during the War of 1812 for the United States of America and was discharged in good standing.

The newly chartered Maryland Society debuted by organizing a massive commemoration of the centennial of Fort McHenry in 1894. For years thereafter the Society had as a primary mission the preservation of the star fort that guarded the nautical gateway to Baltimore. At the Star-Spangled Banner Centennial in 1914, consistent with its overall stated purpose of remembrance, the Society published “The British Invasion of Maryland,” a valuable compendium of Battle of Baltimore information.

Spanning three centuries, The Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland has been the keeper of the traditions of the Old Defenders and their legacy in Baltimore, by both those who are directly descended from the Old Defenders and also those who have qualified ancestors who fought elsewhere in the War of 1812. The Society envisions a strong continuation of service into the future.

FIRE AND COURAGE

THE CITY SURVIVES

MAY 1814 – HOUR OF RESOLVE

On March 30, 1814, Wellington marched down the streets of Paris in proud victory. The forces of Napoleon had fallen. The abdication of Bonaparte and his surrender of the throne of France for the principality of Elba, which took place at Fountainebleau, April 4, 1812,² found Wellington with a large force of his peninsular veterans at the south of France. It was necessary to remove these troops, and there seemed no better way to utilize them than to destroy the centers of American commerce and force the United States to submit to disabling terms of peace.³ The defeat of France thus enabled an eventual full-force invasion of the new United States.

Word of the fall of Napoleon would reach Baltimore first as rumor. The April 15th *Boston Gazette* reported that an aged fisherman who had been detained aboard a frigate in Gloucester had given news that the British had been successful in their march to Paris. Bonaparte had been forced to proceed to Corsica “from whence he came”⁴. Within time, additional reports provided sufficient information to establish actionable intelligence. Baltimore had to brace for the full brunt of a British and perhaps Russian onslaught. Sentiments ran to the extreme.

"Blot out France from being a preponderating power, and the world will be ruled by British and Russian savages, and the dark ages of the Goths and Vandals once more benight the scientific regions of France. If the fall of France should be decreed by Providence, for any unforeseen purpose, we

² Robertson, Thomas Bolling, “Journal of events in Paris, from June 29, 1815, to July 13, 1815. By an American,” January 1, 1815.

³ “Continuation of Extracts from London Papers by the General Armstrong, Arrived at New York,” *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, July 25, 1814.

⁴ *Baltimore Patriot*, April 15, 1814.

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should not be surprised if hordes of the savage Cossacks should in twelve months hence, be vomited forth on our shores, in the floating dungeons of England."⁵

Baltimore Patriot, May 27, 1814

The likelihood of such a monumental test ignited all manner of concern. Prominent banker John Hoffman threw up his hands at the fiscal impossibility of supporting a needed defense and vented over outrageous superiority of the opposing superior force in a letter of May 3, 1814 to Virgil Maxcy:

I verily believe that a similar instance of national incongruity never, never has presented itself to astonished mankind, in the whole history of the family. "and..." I imagine that the next disgraceful alternative, for ways of means, will have to be forced sales of the national script, at whatever price may be obtainable in the money markets⁶...

But in the midst of dread and uncertainty there emerged an attitude of resolve and the need for cool expedience. The city came together. Men moved to form deeper bonds of resolve and unity. Efforts to promote Masonic allegiance girded men on a spiritual level. Archibald Dobbin petitioned on behalf of Knights Templar for a Charter on Recognition on April 20, 1814 and was granted the same with amazing quickness from the Grand Lodge in Philadelphia on May 7, 1814.⁷ This was but the first stage of a larger plan.

At the same time notice had been given by Dobbin, this time as Grand Secretary of the Maryland Lodge, that individual Masonic lodges would be unified under the singular roof of a Masonic Hall as a Grand Lodge of Maryland, and a cornerstone would be laid after a

⁵ *Baltimore Patriot*, May 27, 1814.

⁶ John Hoffman to Virgil Maxcy, letter dated May 3 1814, personal files of Robert T Cummins, Jr.

⁷ Schultz, Edward T., *History of Maryland Commandery No. 1 Knights Templar, stationed at Baltimore, State of Maryland, from 1790-1890*, pages 12 and 22.

parade and dedication on May 16, 1814. The notice further informed that “All brethren who are not members of any particular Lodge at this time, are requested to attach themselves to someone for this occasion”.⁸ Maryland area Royal Arch Chapters 1, 2, and 3 met on May 9 in Baltimore and adopted a constitution for organizing a Grand Chapter, then joined the newly formed Grand Lodge of Maryland.⁹

The Knights Templar is a Masonic and military order purposed to defend faith and the innocent. Historically it played a significant role in the motivation of warriors. The uncompromising principle to never retreat, along with a reputation for courage, excellent training, ability to organize efficiently, and possession of heavy armament, had made the Templars one of the most feared combat forces in medieval times. Now, similar strengths would be called upon to bring about the defeat of the mightiest military force of Dobbin’s time.



**SIR KNIGHT ARCHIBALD
DOBBIN, CAPTAIN 39TH
REGIMENT MARYLAND
MILITIA¹**

⁸ *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, May 12, 1814.

⁹ Albert G. Mackey, H. L. Haywood, *Encyclopedia of Freemasonry*, Part 2, page 628. Note that Royal Arch Chapters had voted to form a Grand Lodge on Jan 21, 1807 which would include Maryland and Washington.

THE CITY UNDER SIEGE

The dreaded day arrived within four months of the news from France. The British forces appeared at the doorstep with unmistakable intentions.

In an August, 1814, summer night's sky, the horrific glow of Washington, DC, aflame signaled the hellishness soon to be visiting Baltimore. But Baltimore would not be unprepared to defend itself. With an outburst of civic pride, the city's leaders had taken steps to put the city into a state of preparedness. Fortifications and breastworks had been established at and around Fort McHenry and at North Point in the expectation of a two-pronged land and sea attack. The Baltimore brigade was taken en masse into the service of the United States, and both the United States regulars and Maryland militiamen were put under the direction of Major General Smith, of the Maryland militia.

Baltimore was first tested in a land engagement at North Point, down river from Fort McHenry. The American troops actually engaged and sent to meet the invading enemy were extremely outnumbered. An account by Maj. Gen. Sam Smith describes the outnumbered band of raw militiamen who found themselves exchanging musket balls face-to-face with highly trained professionals:

On Saturday, the 10th of September, we had information that the enemy was ascending the bay, and on Saturday morning his ships were seen at the mouth of our river, the Patapsco, in number from 40 to 50. Some of his vessels entered the river, while others proceeded to North Point (at the mouth of the Patapsco) distance 12 miles from the city, and commenced the debarkation of their troops in the night, which was finished early the next morning. In the meantime the frigates, bomb ketches, and small vessels

Fire and Courage

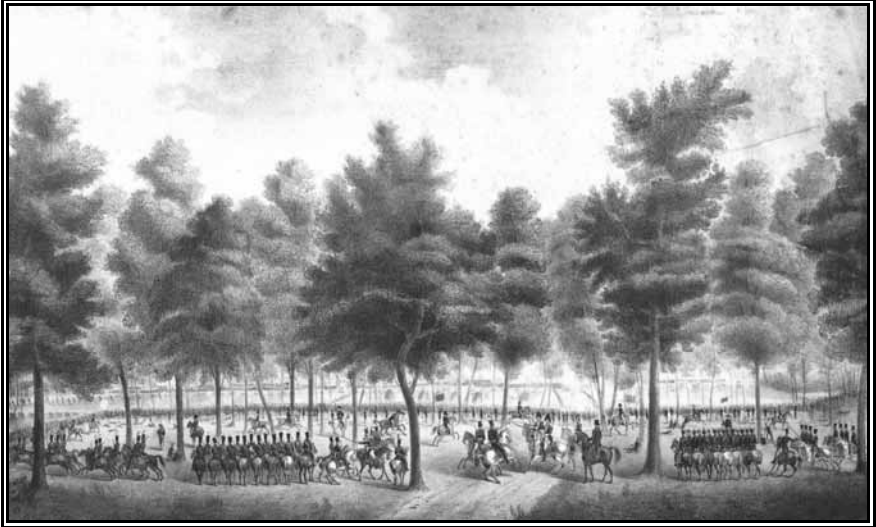
approached and ranged themselves in a formidable line to cannonade the fort and the town. The frigates were lightened before they entered the river, and the ships of the line lay off North Point to overawe us and protect the whole force. The force that landed consisted of about 9,000 men: 5,000 soldiers, 2,000 marines, and 2,000 sailors. The first under Major-General Ross—the latter commanded by the famous Admiral Cockburn. The troops were a part of Wellington's "invincibles." Some works were erecting not far from North Point to arrest their progress; but their incipient state forbade a stand being made at them; and the enemy marched four miles towards us uninterrupted, except by a few flying shots from the cavalry.

Here they were met by General Stricker with his entire Baltimore brigade, (except that he had only one company of the regiment of artillery) consisting of Col. Biays' cavalry, the rifle corps, and the 5th, 6th, 27th, 39th and 51st regiments of infantry, commanded respectively by Lieut. Cols. Sterrett, McDonald, Long, Fowler and Amey. In the 5th was incorporated an elegant uniformed company of volunteers from York, Penn., under Capt. Spangler; and in the 39th, Captain Metzger's fine company of volunteers from Hanover, Penn. and Capt. Quantrill from Hagerstown, Maryland; and in the 6th, Capt. Dixon's volunteers from Marietta Penn.—all the rest were city troops; and the whole, including Capt. Montgomery's company of artillery (with 6 four pounders) amounted to about 3,200 men. The rest of our forces were judiciously stationed in or near the various defences. About 1 o'clock a party of 150 or 200 men, consisting of Capt. Levering's and Capt. Howard's companies of the 5th regiment, and Col. Aisquith's rifle corps, were detached from the line to feel the enemy, and bring on the battle; they were accompanied by a few artillerists with one of their pieces.

Before they expected it, they were attacked by the British, in very superior numbers, and driven in with some loss after a few fires, to the main body. As the enemy advanced, the artillery opened a destructive fire upon them, which was returned from 2 nine pounders, and the action became general along the line of the 5th and 27th, which were in

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front. The 39th and 51st were in the rear of these, and the 6th advantageously posted still nearer the city, to protect and cover the whole. The fire from the two first named regiments as well as from the artillery, was very active and uncommonly certain for about an hour. Of the 5th, much was expected, but the 27th behaved, at least as gallantly.



BATTLE OF NORTH POINT BY THOMAS RUCKLE, CA 1815.

The men took deliberate aim, and the carnage was great. The artillery fired about 130 rounds. The 'invincibles' dodged to the ground, and crawling in a bending posture, to avoid the militia—the 'yeomen' they were taught so much to despise. When the 5th and 27th (between which was placed the artillery) were outflanked by the much greater force of the enemy, they retired in better order than could have been expected under galling fire; and they retired reluctantly at the repeated command of their officers. The artillery had been drawn off little while before. The right of the 39th was gallantly engaged, but the 51st took no part in the action; and it was not at that time and place expected that the 6th would share in it, else (under its veteran Colonel, a soldier of the revolution, and one who met the same foe under Pulaski) it would, no doubt, have distinguished itself. The cavalry, though they performed very severe and important duties, had but little to do in the battle. The whole number of our men actually engaged, did not exceed 1,700.

Fire and Courage

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

The force of the enemy in the battle, may have amounted to 4,000 men. They were fine looking fellows, but seemed very unwilling to meet the "yankee" bullets—their dodging from the cannon and stooping before the musketry has already been noticed. The prisoners and deserters say that for the time the affair lasted, and the men engaged, they never received so destructive a fire: and this may well be, for our men fired not by word of command only, but also at an object. Of the 21st British regiment about 500 were landed—on the morning of the 13th they found 171 killed, wounded and missing. Their whole loss may be safely estimated at from 500 to 700 men. Major General Ross was killed in the early part of the action; and there is reason to believe that two or three other officers high in command met the same fate.¹⁰

The enemy having re-embarked onto their vessels in frustration, a new prong of attack would be executed: a naval attack of Fort

¹⁰ Major General Sam Smith, October 20, 1814, Official Battle Report, Niles Weekly Register, Vol. VII page 23.

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McHenry, which guarded the entrance to Baltimore's port. Major J.B.B. Trussell, Jr., CAC, provides details of the attack in the *Field Artillerists Journal* in this adaptation of his work:

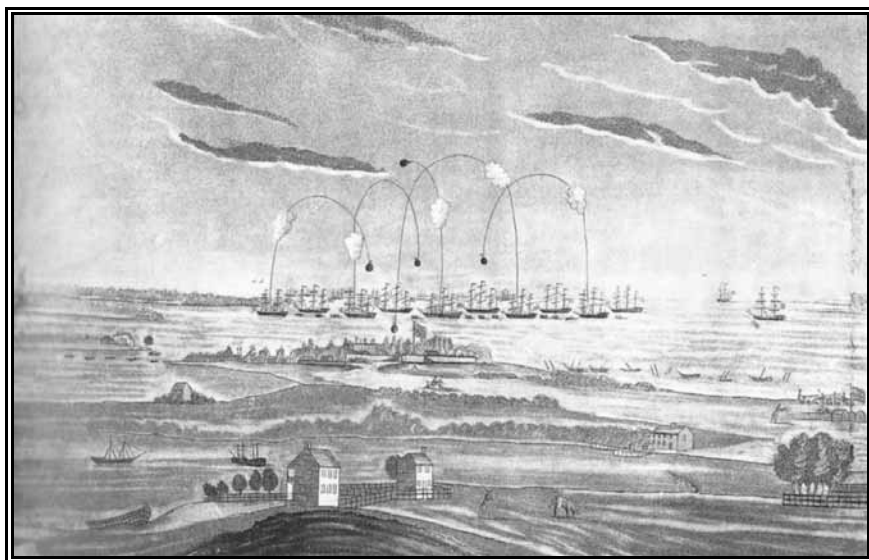
Fort McHenry was a permanent installation garrisoned by some 200 Regulars commanded by Major George Armistead of the United States Artillery. The fort was located on the tip of Whetstone Point, a neck-land that jutted into the Patapsco River, at its confluence with Northwest Branch, the waterway that formed Baltimore's harbor. Fort McHenry had been built in the conventional pattern: five bastions forming the arms of a star. Behind a dry moat its masonry walls gave a false impression of solidity, although they were merely mounds of earth with a shell of brick before and behind and a granite coping on top. Guns were mounted in each of the bastions, but, as they were on naval carriages, they were for all intents and purposes, fixed in position.

Measures were taken to strengthen the defense. Earthworks were prepared on the waterfront, the efforts intensifying considerably after American defeat at Bladensburg. The garrison of Whetstone Point was increased to a thousand men. Fort McHenry itself was made the innermost of three arcs of defense on the point; its 21 pieces to be manned by a company of United States regular artillery under Captain Frederick Evans and by a militia company of 70 men, the Baltimore Fencibles, organized and commanded by Judge Joseph H. Nicholson (brother-in-law of Francis Scott Key). The second of the arcs consisted of a series of trenches held by infantry. The outermost arc, also an earthwork, was sited just above the water-mark at high tide. Here dirt walls protected a total of 36 pieces, fifteen of which were 42 pounders (heavy, long-range weapons) and the remainder 24 pound and 18 pound guns and howitzers. The infantry, under Lieutenant Colonel William Steuart and Major Lane, would be in the outer ditch, to meet the enemy at his landing, should he attempt one. Two companies of United States Sea Fencibles (volunteers in the federal rather than the state service) the Washington Artillery under John Berry the Independent Artillerists, commanded by Captain Charlie Pennington

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and some naval militia under a Lieutenant Rodman—these units furnished the crews. Baltimore would not be unprepared to defend itself.

But in spite of their careful preparations, the citizens who manned the defenses must have felt far from secure when the first reports of the enemy approach started coming in. The naval task force which hove to and anchored off the Patapsco's mouth on September 11, 1814, consisted of 56 vessels, among which were the 80-gun *Tonnant*; the seventy-four's *Dragon*, *Royal Oak*, and *Albion*; 5 of the Royal Navy's eight bomb ketches; its only rocket ship; as well as several frigates and numerous transports. This was an imposing array of naval strength. Aboard the transports was a correspondingly formidable military force—between 3,000 and 5,000 British troops, with the smoke of victories over Napoleon still fresh upon them.



“A VIEW OF THE BOMBARDMENT OF FORT MCHENRY,” NEAR BALTIMORE, BY THE BRITISH FLEET TAKEN FROM THE OBSERVATORY UNDER THE COMMAND OF ADMIRALS COCHRANE & COCKBURN ON THE MORNING OF THE 13TH OF SEPT 1814 WHICH LASTED 24 HOURS & THROWN FROM 1500 TO 1800 SHELLS IN THE NIGHT ATTEMPTED TO LAND BY FORCING A PASSAGE UP THE FERRY BRANCH BUT WERE REPULSED WITH GREAT LOSS. BOWER, J. SC. , CA. 1815 (*PUBLIC DOMAIN*).

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In the meantime, the Royal Navy had begun to discharge its part of the plan of maneuver. Its task was to destroy the harbor batteries—Fort McHenry and the earthwork gun positions around it. Because the channel of the Patapsco was shallow, the vessels of deeper draught could not approach within range, but such a situation was made to order for the bomb ketches and the rocket ship. The bomb ketches were, for their time, awe-inspiring engines of destruction. They mounted two mortars each—one 13-inch and one 10-inch mortar or two 13-inchers—and their explosive projectiles, weighing 200 pounds, were accurate even at ranges in excess of two and a half miles. Their explosive force and their steep angle of fall made them ideal for the bombardment of fortifications. It is no great wonder that British Admiral Cochrane, who was responsible for the bombardment of Fort McHenry, had confidently predicted that, under their attack, the American fort would yield in a few hours.

Moving forward at dawn on the 13th, the ships opened fire soon afterward, while they were still beyond the range of such few of the American pieces as could be brought to bear upon them. More than half of the guns of the fort, semi-fixed as they were and with no traversing mechanism, could not fire down the river at all. Nonetheless, an attempt was made to shell the invaders, but, despite the use of dangerously heavy powder charges, the American shots still sent up their splashes far short of the enemy ships. The result was that, while there were no breech bursts, three of the American guns were put out of action: recoil was normally absorbed by a backward roll of the carriages, but with the barrels of the cannon elevated to obtain maximum range the thrust of the recoil was downward rather than backward, making it impossible for the carriages to dissipate the force by rolling. The force of such abnormally heavy charges was more than the small, cast-iron wheels could take, and they gave way, dismounting the pieces.

Secure in their position, the British confidently pounded away, while the Americans sweltered in their trenches or in the bastions of the fort. Considering all the factors, it is amazing that the works did not become

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a bloody shambles, for the mortar shells dropped with maddening regularity, one per minute, and the angle of their fall was such that none of the walls afforded much protection against them. There were some desperate moments as it was—one of the shells struck the roof of the fort's powder magazine but did not explode. Then, at about two o'clock in the afternoon, one of the shells exploded in McHenry's southwest bastion, which was under the immediate command of Captain Nicholson. The force of the blast broke the iron straps that held the trunnions of a 24-pounder to its carriages and flung the barrel onto the ground. Nicholson's second lieutenant and a sergeant were killed. Another sergeant and five privates were wounded. A frantic bustle necessarily ensued as the wounded were removed and the gun was replaced. Admiral Cochrane, watching through his glass from the quarterdeck of the *Severn* the confusion as men rushed about to deal with the matters at hand, surmised incorrectly that the defense was crumbling. Trying to seize an opportunity to turn the situation into an advantage, he ordered the flags to be hoisted to signal an advance to shorter range.

As the British ships moved toward them the Americans on Whetstone Point readied themselves to put match to touch-hole, welcoming the prospect of finally striking back in repayment for the brutal pounding which they had withstood for eight hours. Every piece which could be trained on the river was loaded. Slowly, the enemy moved forward for the kill. Armistead ordered a fire to be opened; He was obeyed with alacrity through the whole garrison. American gun commanders shouted their order to fire, and the whole of the point broke instantly into flame. Smoke clouded the emplacements and blinded the gunners, but they served their cannon all the more furiously, finding relief from the bitter frustration which had oppressed them since dawn. The storm of iron which broke upon the ships was not at all what Admiral Cochrane had expected, but, disregarding the bombardment, and in their best tradition the British continued to close in, attempting to smother their opponents with an increased volume of fire. Two of the bomb ketches were hit and Cochrane, quickly realizing that this was not his opportunity to strike a coup de grâce, hoisted signals to order a withdrawal. The feisty Baltimoreans had held their ground.

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Resuming their former position, the ships once more began lobbing shells and rockets into the defenses. All that the American gunners could do now was endure with what fortitude they could muster. The enemy continued throwing shells, with one or two slight intermissions, until one o'clock in the morning of Wednesday, when it was discovered that the British had availed themselves of the darkness of the night, and had thrown a considerable force above to the American right; indeed they had approached very near to Fort Covington, and had begun to throw rockets in an attempt to reconnoiter the shores. The deafening and continuous scream of their shells and rockets added terror to the awful spectacle of a cannonade by night.

It was Cochrane's estimation, that in the inevitable confusion accompanying a night attack, the British might have succeeded in a land attack despite the infantry in the trenches on Whetstone Point. A squadron of barges, bomb-ketches, and rocket-boats, numbering 80 in all, and manned by 1,200 men with scaling ladders, pushed up the cove beyond Fort McHenry to effect a landing and attempt an escalade to the rear. At about midnight, still screened by total darkness, the enemy made a last effort to enter the city. However, a few yards from shore, when almost about to land, one of the guards at Covington's Battery heard the sound of oars and immediately aroused the garrison there. One of the men, hearing the noise, but not seeing anything, set fire to a rick of hay, which lighted up the scene, revealing that the enemy was upon them in some force. Orders were immediately given to fire, and for 30 minutes the guns of Fort McHenry, Covington's, and the Six Gun Battery produced terrible thundering. Baltimore dwellings were shaken to their foundations. During this time the Defenders of Fort McHenry kept up an animated and very destructive fire.

Those of the enemy who could get back were out of reach of our guns, and those who could not found a grave in the waters of the Patapsco. The British suffered severely, their barges and dead having afterward been found floating in the river. Worsted, and convinced of their inability to conquer the city, they withdrew. Wonderful as it may

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appear, the loss in the fort amounted to but four men killed and about 24 wounded. By holding fast, the defenders constituted a threat too dangerous for the British to disregard. The steadfastness of the gunners on Whetstone Point was the rock on which the British battering ram was splintered. The skillful leadership of Captain Sheppard Leakin, U.S. 38th Regiment, at Fort Covington kept the guns fully ready for the unexpected moment of opportunity which was to assure the sparing of the city¹¹. And had not the men of the garrison of Fort McHenry gritted their teeth and stood firm by their guns despite the hell that burst around them, history might tell a very different story.¹²

Through the fog of battle and grit of courage and faith the city survived. A well-deserved response to this “eventful day” would be given in a monumental way in a multitude of forms. The entire city was not set on fire by the British as expected; but it *was* set on fire by a patriotic fervor. A national anthem, a monument which became the symbol of the city, *The Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland* and its predecessors, and an annual day of recognition called Defenders’ Day, were among the city’s expressions of remembrance. The nation and the world would no longer look at the American Flag, now universally referred to as the “Star - Spangled Banner,” in the same way.

¹¹ “Sheriff Election,” *Baltimore Patriot*, September 25, 1821.

¹² Major J.B.B. Trussell, Jr., “Cannon Hold the Breach,” Combined Arms Center, Nov-Dec 1949, *The Field Artillery Journal* page 259-260.

BUILDING REMEMBRANCE

AFTERMATH OF THE BATTLE

AFTER THE BATTLE

Because remembrances of Baltimore's "eventful day" began humbly and are too numerous to be addressed in a single volume, only selected instances by selected groups or individuals will be presented here. Emphasis will be on those instances which can be considered related to the history of The Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland:

Major General Sam Smith

Setting a day set apart for remembering the events of September 12-14, 1814, became well established over the following century. Eventually it was to become known as Defenders Day, but, in 1814, with no pattern to follow, the date chosen for public remembrance was October 20, when a day of prayer was ordered by Major General Sam Smith. This notice appeared in the *Baltimore Patriot* newspaper:

Head-Quarters, 13th October 1814. GENERAL ORDERS - As it has been recommended by the Rev Clergy of Baltimore, that Thursday the 20th inst. be set apart for a day of Thanks-giving and Prayer, for the recent deliverance of this City, from a hostile Fleet and Army, and as it is the duty of all Soldiers and Citizens, to reverence with lively sentiments of gratitude, the mercies of that Almighty Being, who governs and directs all things—the Maj. Gen. commanding orders, that the day aforesaid be observed by all officers and soldiers under his command, with becoming respect, and recommends that they unite in celebrating the praises of the most high, for this signal instance of his goodness.

By the order of Maj. Gen. S. Smith¹³

¹³ "General Orders," *Baltimore Patriot*, October 22, 1814.

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The Rev. Hargrove preached on this day of prayer and thanksgiving at the New Jerusalem Temple, at the corner of Baltimore and Exeter Streets, to the First Regiment of Artillery. He cited the miraculous frustration of the enemy at every turn, giving insight into the contemporary perception of the nature of the successful repulse of the British:

.....O! My fellow citizens, how awfully tedious appeared the hours of that dark and gloomy night? While some of us were on the house tops painfully marking the fatal direction of their horrible energies of destruction; many more, I am well assured were prostrated before the Lord, wrestling in mighty prayer for the preservation of this city. And “glory to God in the highest” —he was entreated on our behalf—he baffled all of their schemes, and all of their power, and their thousand bombs fell almost harmlessly at our feet!!!¹⁴

Baltimore understood what the repulse of the British meant to both the city and the nation, and felt that the bravery of the citizen-soldiers and the acting hand of Providence should be recognized and remembered for an object lesson. If this was not the first Defenders’ Day it could nonetheless be characterized as a “Supreme Defender’s Day.”

City Council

While a large city in its time, 1810 Baltimore was small by the standards of the 21st century, with a population of 46,555. Municipalities such as Baltimore were generally more self-contained and closely knit given the comparative lack of transportation and modern technological options. Consequently, citizens more often had to fill multiple roles in close

¹⁴ Sermon, New Jerusalem Temple, Reverend Hargrove, October 20, 1814.

community. Thus, individual paths commonly crossed in a variety of contexts—geographic, occupational, religious, social, political, military, etc. Since all able men between 18 and 45 were engaged in the Battle of Baltimore, many soldiers served in and were influential in local government. Having served in the military was often a credential for election to office. The quality of service was often known by the electorate through first-hand or second-hand accounts.

Contemporary 1814 words of the City Council, which included such defender notables as John Berry, a hero in the Battle of Fort McHenry, illustrate prevailing attitudes within the Baltimore community:

The joint committee appointed by the two Branches of the City Council to report what measures are "necessary to perpetuate in a suitable manner the remembrance of the signal repulse and defeat of the late Enemy before Baltimore on the 12th and 13th of September 1814" beg leave to submit this annexed Resolve together with such observations as in their opinion the occasion calls for.

Your Committee are of opinion that there are in the affairs of nations, of cities, and communities, certain important eras which naturally call for some commemorative institution. When a people are rescued from the grasp of despotism - when their condition is ameliorated by some momentous revolution - or when they have escaped some heavy impending calamity through the intervention of a benign Providence, the human mind in all ages, has sought as well to record them continually in view by monumental remembrances. For the latter of these purposes were the arts of sculpture, architecture and painting introduced amongst men. These present the subjects intended to be commemorated before the eyes of thousands who may not have time or opportunity to consult the volume of history, and produce a more lively impression on the minds of those who are not so debarred. To our youth, they furnish the most solemn

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and impressive lessons, and kindle a noble ardor to imitate these great examples. A brief review of that never to be forgotten period in the history of this City, when all America trembled for her fate, will show with how much reason we regard it as important. Never can it pass from our memories, while gratitude holds her seat in our hearts, or while we continue to honor the brave citizens, who bled and died in her defense. “The throb of anxiety which then agitated the bosom of every inhabitant of this City will never be forgotten, nor the joy which we hailed on the return of day the glorious, the beloved flag of our country, still waving in proud defiance to our assailants. We have had also to lament the loss of some of our most respectable townsmen, who fell at their posts. The invader, baffled in all his attempts, was compelled at last to retire, and our City once more lifted up her head in gladness.”¹⁵

The Battle Monument

With this report Baltimore City Council set out to consider how to best respond to the events of 1814. It therewith decided to build a monument, having no designs other than a desire to create a perpetual reminder. While this purpose would be achieved, this monument, the Baltimore Battle Monument, in short order became an iconic symbol of the City of Baltimore as well as a memorial to the fallen defenders. Over the decades the Battle Monument would become, in spirit at least, a possession of the Society of the War of 1812 and its predecessor organizations, including the Defenders themselves.

For early planners, the location for the monument was of primary importance. A monument in some far off battlefield did not serve their intention for remembrance. Therefore, by design and by City Council Monument Resolution 1, the monument was placed in the city, the

¹⁵ *Report of the Special Committee of the 1816 Baltimore City Council for Commemoration of the Repulse of British Forces, September 13th and 14th, 1814, First Branch of the City Council.*

exact place determined by a committee. The chosen location was the most important, elegant, and accessible in the city, near the court house in the center of town, a fashionable promenade and pleasant place to take a walk on a humid Baltimore summer evening. This would allow the monument to serve as a daily reminder. Baltimore was geographically small at that time, so by being centrally located, it would be just a short walk way through the dusty streets that would not see an automobile for another century. That it would be so easily accessible allowed the monument to become truly the citizens' own.

Monument Resolution 7 of the City Council provided a suitable dedication for the laying of the cornerstone. It stated “that the cornerstone be laid on the 12th of September next; that there be then a grand procession of the relatives of the deceased be invited to attend, and that a suitable address be delivered on the occasion.”¹⁶

George Stiles, Chairman of the Grand Procession Committee, alerted his fellow citizens regarding the nature of the event in local newspapers shortly before it was to occur:

....On this solemn and interesting occasion, when we are about to pay this tribute of respect to the memory of our brave and departed brethren, it is scarcely necessary to observe that the committee expect from every citizen the strictest observance of order and decorum——¹⁷

As called for by the resolution, a citywide remembrance of the fallen and celebration of thanksgiving was held on September 12, 1815, the anniversary of the Battle of North Point. The cornerstone dedication ceremony included a citywide Grand Procession of military, musicians, city officials, designers of the monument, clergy, and those

¹⁶ Baltimore City Council Resolutions, 1815.

¹⁷ “Grand Procession,” *Baltimore Patriot*, September 8, 1815.

who contributed financially to the monument's construction. Inside the cornerstone were placed a list of subscribers, the current newspaper, and a representative set of coins for the year. The Grand Procession also featured the first parade of soldiers marching to observe remembrance. Yearly, and to this day, veterans or their descendants, now The Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland, have proceeded to the Battle Monument every September 12th for solemn remembrance and rededication.¹⁸

On this first occasion speeches were given and sermons offered by the Rev. Inglis and Bishop Kemp. An excerpt from the Rev. Inglis's address was published in the *Portfolio*:

Tell to the world that the Lord hath kept the city, and that therefore your defenders were not vigilant in vain. Tell to the world that your dwellings are your own: that your persons are free: that independence still hallows the soil on which you tread, the blood-bought heritage of your fathers: and that Almighty Providence, by your deceased heroes and their survivors in arms, hath done this thing. Almighty Providence frowned defeat and mortification on the self-confident invader, who, flushed with a long series of victories in the fields of European discipline, dreamed that an easy prey laid before him. By a divine blessing on the general industry, zeal, and patriotism, our citizens, whose habits and occupations had hitherto for a long train of years, been such exclusively as are incident to a state of peace, were rapidly converted into efficient warriors; and the city which had been destined to "sit as a widow," soon found herself enabled to sing, "Blessed be the Lord, my strength, who teacheth my hands to war, and my fingers to fight! my goodness, and my fortress; my high tower, and my deliverer; my shield, and he in whom I trust; who subdueth the people under me!"

19

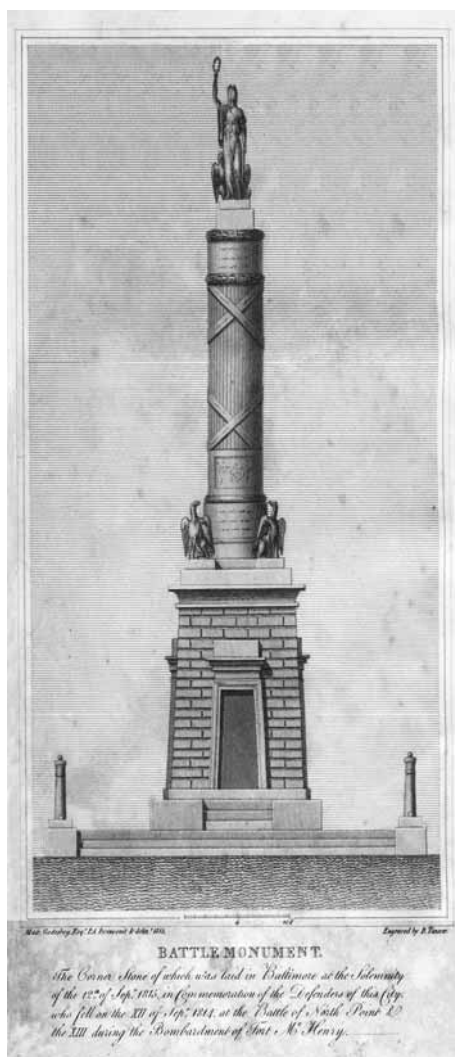
In subsequent years remembrance was instituted by Maryland Militia law. Citizen soldiers had to march on September 12th.²⁰ Each

¹⁸ *Baltimore Patriot*, September 9, 1815.

¹⁹ The Battle Monument, *The Portfolio*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, January 1816.

²⁰ Maryland Militia Act of 1816, Maryland State Archives.

year, the citizen-soldiers would march through the streets of Baltimore City, which would be lined with appreciative, cheering people. After completion in 1827, gathering at The Baltimore Battle Monument would become the primary commemoration of “that eventful day” in September, 1814, and of the fallen who had given the ultimate sacrifice for freedom. The only issue early Baltimore could not agree on with respect to their Monument was its name.



The Baltimore Battle Monument was referred to commonly as *The Baltimore Monument* as well as *The Battle Monument* during the period of its inception and construction. Immediately after the battle, the fact that their city was untouched and not desecrated in the face of an invading superpower was emphasized. Homes and businesses they imagined to be burned and looted “were still there” the next morning, thankfully, after a night of horrific bombardment and long season of dread. Baltimore was proud of itself and the fact that it had subsequently created a magnificent monument. As the trauma of the event began to fade, the monument became viewed

exclusively in context of the military event and referred to with the “Battle” moniker. On February 26th, 1822, a City Ordinance attempted unsuccessfully to revert the official name to “The Baltimore Monument.”²¹

Architecturally, the Battle Monument was to be unsurpassed in elegance and symbolism. The first published illustration of it appeared in the January, 1816, issue of *The Portfolio*, a regular publication from Philadelphia.

Completing the Monument was a financial challenge, even with the free architectural services offered by French émigré Maximillian Godefroy. Soldiers and citizens were approached for contributions to defray building costs—all citizens were given the opportunity to contribute—with the maximum contribution being limited to five dollars. Finally after 12 years of incremental progress, sufficient funds had been gathered to complete construction.²²

Few monuments have ever become such an integral part of the fabric of a municipality and of the lives of soldiers and their descendants. General appreciation of the monument in recent years has been reduced to the perfunctory rendering of it on the Baltimore City logo and flag; however, it has been the pride and welcome responsibility of The Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland to seek maintenance and appreciation for this magnificent testimony to Baltimore’s finest hour.

Citizens of Baltimore

Year after year the city’s inhabitants paused from daily activity on September 12 to observe the events of the 1814 Battle in many ways.

²¹ “City Ordinances,” *Baltimore Patriot*, February 28, 1822.

²² *Baltimore Patriot*, October 22, 1822.

Private celebrations were held much in the spirit of those which are still customary in the United States on the Fourth of July. The North Point Battlefield and Patterson Park were the sites of military reenactments and other ceremonial events. The citizenry established a custom of walking the hallowed ground of Hamstead Hill, where the militia “took the last stand against the invader” in 1814.²³ Near the North Point Battlefield, boat outings in Bear Creek, with plentiful servings of giant terrapin at Houck’s and The Bear Creek Hotel, rounded out festivities.^{24 25}

Attending the Grand Procession was primary and standard fare in early Baltimore. Thomas Scharf gave a reflective account after his attendance at a Grand Procession:

"Intelligence of the defence[sic] of Baltimore was received throughout the country with every demonstration of joy. The fall of Washington had hushed for a time the discords of party rancor, and united out whole people in the energetic prosecution of war; and the result of the attack on Baltimore soothed the feeling for the disaster of Washington. The joy of the Baltimoreans, rescued, as it seemed to them, from the very jaws of destruction cannot be described. Measures were taken for a perpetual celebration of the event; rewards were proposed for those who had filled distinguished positions in the defence[sic]; and a beautiful monument in the center of the city perpetuated the names and memory of those who fell in defence[sic] of their homes. Around it, on each returning anniversary of the day, amid dense crowds of spectators, the pomp of military escort, and the stirring strains of martial music, march, under a tattered flag, a handful of aged men, their number lessening every year, the survivors of that eventful twelfth of September, the honored company of "Old Defenders". May it yet be long ere the last survivor of that venerable band performs his solitary circuit!"²⁶

²³ "Celebration at the Public Walk," *Baltimore Patriot*, September 13, 1850.

²⁴ *Baltimore Sun*, September 11, 1840.

²⁵ *Baltimore Sun*, September 12, 1840.

²⁶ Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland*, Baltimore, Maryland, pages 125-126.

Heritage of Courage

The Battle Monument, centerpiece of the celebration and remembrance, became the centerpiece of the city, even before it had been completed. Contemporary sentiments are expressed in the poem below, which appeared in the *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, September 15, 1815:

Lines on the Baltimore Monument

Oh! Melancholy pleasing scene,
That bid'st at once our tears to flow,
And hearts with rapture swell;
For ah! No fancy fabl'd theme,
Of aught imagined joy or woe,
Awakes the feeling soul.
Behold our pious city bend,
In holy gratitude to tell
The valor of her sons;
And bid that Monument ascend,
To speak of those that bravely fell,
Whose fated loss she mourns.
In sight of Heaven, is there ought,
Of things most touching, most sublime,
That with this may compare?
Oh yes! A scene more noble yet,
Will grace the future page of time,
And live forever there.
Oh! Who the horrors of that hour,
What tongue its awful gloom can tell,
When o'er the fated town,
Impending ruin seem'd to lour,
The foe, revengeful, vast, and fell,
More fierce for havoc grown—
She sends her sons, her soldiers now,
The mother, sire, and weeping maid,
Sigh forth a last adieu,
Alas! What hope against the foe,

Building Remembrance

In vet'ran arms and fleets array'd
A bold, unconquer'd crew.
Hark! The pealing, loud, artillery——
Lo! The hateful bombs invade the sky,
And burn upon the shore;
On every heart, each sound falls heavily——
Mayhap it breaks some tender tie,
Some chord to thrill no more.
Lo! Gracious Providence decrees,
For the Patriot Soldiers cause,
A glorious Victory;
But see the gallant Warrior lies,
And with the latest breath he draws,
"Tis for my home I die"
Then let this Monument arise,
Our City's ornament and pride,
And ev'ry Freeman's boast;
And bid it tell he never dies,
Who fighting on his Country's side,
His fleeting breath is lost.
Oh! May it speak to future years,
And bid our youth these gen'rous deeds,
In emulation view;
Thou mourner, dry those falling tears,
For not in vain your Soldier bleeds,
His fame is ever new.
Departed Spirits of the brave,
Behold this Monument Shroud
With joys that Angels feel;
"Twas yours this grateful town to save,
Methinks now bending from the clouds,
In whisper say—"Tis well"
"Twas thus in days, when Greece was free,
O'erwhelmed fell, that Godlike band,
The Sons of Liberty;
No more their monument we see;
Yet the last sound that Fame shall lend,
Shall be "THERMOPYLAE"

H.M.B.

Star-Spangled Banner

In the public eye our national anthem has dwarfed in stature the event which inspired its composition: the Battle of Baltimore, and in particular, the bombardment of Fort McHenry. However, the net result of the attention attracted by the “Star-Spangled Banner” has perhaps given the battle more attention than it would have received otherwise.

If it is true that the “pen is mightier than the sword,” supporting evidence may be found in the writing of the “Star-Spangled Banner”. It has brilliantly captured the sense of triumph, relief, and thankfulness that swept over Baltimore and, indeed, the nation. Key’s verses and the new name for the flag – the “Star-Spangled Banner” resonated with the population and immediately gained common usage in patriotic expression.

Ironically, however popular the song was in that time, Key was never documented as being part of the celebrations in Baltimore on September 12th or with gatherings of the Defenders of Baltimore. As a Georgetown lawyer and ordained Episcopal minister,²⁷ Key perhaps saw, especially given his remote geographic location, his duties at hand as more compelling than whatever honor might later due him for the lyrics he had written.

Writing in the *Maryland Journal*, October 1, 1898, Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland member Col. Winfield Peters gives an historic perspective with regard to the Star-Spangled Banner, the Battle of North Point, and the bombardment:

“At the present juncture, the incentive to renew and perpetuate the annual observance of September 12th seems to have grown out of

²⁷ Key-Smith, Francis Scott, Francis Scott Key: What Else He Was and Who. Washington, Key-Smith and Co., 1911.

special reverence for the birth of the national anthem—and the impulse to do homage and give praise for it—as a primary and singular factor of the period. Assuming this to be true, an anomaly will be patent to all well-informed persons, because, first Key the author, was moved by the happenings September 12th and 13th—the inspired war ballad having been written on the morning of September 14th—and, secondly the Battle of North Point having occurred September 12th and the bombardment of Fort McHenry September 13th, extending into the night of the 13th-14th, the events of the 12th were the primary factor and were essential to the victory will culminated immediately before Key wrote the “Star Spangled Banner”. Moreover, although in the battle which followed, the bravery of the Maryland soldiery (with a single exception) cannot be questioned; it must be admitted that the killing of the British General Ross, just as the battle of the 12th opened, operated to depress, if not to demoralize his men—accustomed to rely upon his skill and success—and that a loss of confidence and spirit-decorps inured very much to the advantage of the Americans. According to British accounts published at the time, the force under Ross was part of Wellington’s Invincibles sent to capture “Washington—the seat of the American government—Baltimore and Philadelphia; BUT MORE PARTICULARLY BALTIMORE; on certain terms to be offered at the point of a bayonet.”

Needless to say the Baltimoreans of 1814 could imagine the point of a bayonet much more vividly than those a generation removed from the invasion, who attributed the city’s rescue to the Old Defenders, not to Key. Focus on Key started with the passing of the Old Defenders, when they could no longer serve as a rallying point for patriotic remembrance. The “Star-Spangled Banner” provided a powerful and

accurate expression of the spirit alive in September of 1814, only now used in a more romanticized fashion. It filled a void left by the passing of the Old Defenders.

Maryland Militia

For months after the British retreat the troops in Baltimore, both federalized militia and US troops, remained in a prepared state in case the enemy returned to attempt again what they had failed to accomplish during their thwarted invasion. However, the British did not return; rather, they headed to New Orleans. With the Treaty of Ghent bringing an official cessation to the war in February of 1815, future assemblage of troops in Baltimore with respect to the British invasion would be commemorative and ceremonial or fraternal. The soldiers who fought in the Battle of Baltimore knew that they had taken part in a miraculous and monumental event and needed to maintain a remembrance of it. Their determination was shared by civic leaders.

On September 12, 1815, the first anniversary of the Battle of North Point and the laying of the cornerstone of the Baltimore Monument, the heroic Baltimore troops assembled and paraded, creating a powerful spectacle for a city still in awe at what had transpired. From then on a Grand Procession was set yearly on September 12 as a traditional remembrance.²⁸ By 1817 Legislative acts were passed to more effectively regulate the troops and insure this

²⁸ *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, September 12, 1815.

Grand Procession would occur every September 12th.²⁹ Thus, groundwork was laid for remembrance and a tradition which would bond the city and the soldiers for the better part of the remaining century.

By Maryland Militia Law the Baltimore troops were held together over three decades for both military and ceremonial purposes. Fraternal sentiments and bonding among the men who had fought side by side under such extreme circumstances were inevitable consequences. The militia unit organization in which they fought on that “eventful day” was the core format for maintaining and continuing an important fellowship and remembrance.

With the passage of time and the advance of technology the remembrance of “that eventful day” took on additional forms. The development of the B & O railroad enabled 1,200 Baltimore troops to parade in both Washington and Baltimore on the same day, September 12, 1836, extending the reach of their patriotic spirit. This event signaled the beginning of a marvelous new era, but, unfortunately, the end of another: the end of military viability of the aging veterans of the Battle of Baltimore.³⁰

²⁹ Laws of Maryland, Chapter 228, Volume 192, page 2211, 1817, MSA Vol. 628.

³⁰ *Baltimore Sun*, September 13, 1836.

DINNER TO THE WASHINGTON BLUES,
AND CELEBRATION OF THE
THIRTEENTH OF SEPTEMBER.

On Wednesday afternoon at Five o'clock, the Washington Blues of Philadelphia, commanded by general Patterson, who had done us the honor of a visit to our city, and had been received the day previous, by the Light Brigade, and joined in the celebration of the 12th, marched to the Assembly Rooms, where they were received by major-general McDonald, and the officers of the 5d Division, M. M.; and at six o'clock, sat down with them to an elegant Dinner, prepared in the handsomest style, by Mr. Sinners, of the Fountain Inn. The room was appropriately decorated for the occasion; and the Orchestra occupied by the fine Band of the Rifle Regiment.

After Dinner, the following Toasts were drunk:

1. The 12th and 13th of September, 1814.—The warlike spirit of that time, expelled from our soil the invading foe—its recollection has this day surrounded us with sympathising friends, whom we delight to honor.
2. The memory of those who fell in defence of Baltimore. How beautiful is death, when earned by virtue.
3. The President of the United States.
4. The Army of the United States—their glory forms a fine contrast to their numbers.
5. The Navy of the United States;
Far as the breeze can bear, the billows foam,
Survey our empire and behold our fhome.
6. Washington—Many heroes lived too long for their reputation—The measure of his life would have been immortality.
7. The people of Pennsylvania—In peace or war, still our friends.
8. Gen. JACKSON—He completed with tenfold glory at New-Orleans, the work begun at Baltimore.
9. Greece—Though fallen be her fanes, and ruined her-temples, the vestal flame of Liberty still burns in her land.
10. South America—Nature has marked this country with the characteristic of greatness; may man never mar its obvious destiny.
11. Charles Carroll of Carrollton—May he long enjoy that "Life, fortune and sacred honor" which he pledged to his country in '76.
12. Gen. La Fayette—Though far from us, still near to our hearts.
13. The American Fair.

VOLUNTEER TOASTS,

By Major Gen. McDonald.—Our respected guests, the Philadelphia Washington Blues—May their martial appearance and correct military deportment, be imitated by the youths of our country.

By Brig. Gen. Patterson.—Baltimore; distinguished by the enterprise, energy and industry of her merchants, the virtue and intelligence of her statesmen, and the urbanity, skill and gallantry of her citizen soldiers.

By Brig. Gen. Leakin.—The memory of Gen. Winder.

By Brig. Gen. Stewart.—The memory of Armistead, the gallant defender of Fort McHenry.

By Col. Barry.—Stricker, Sterett and Heath.

By Lieut. Col. Kell.—Philadelphia; yesterday showed her a neighbour nearer to us—to-day she is asked to esteem herself dearer to us.

By Col. Howard.—Philadelphia, founded by a Penn, has also taken to the sword; success to her pursuits.

By Lieut. Col. Campbell.—The Sages and Soldiers of our Revolution.—May the free governments of the western world be their everlasting monument.

By Lieut. Col. Davies.—The Heroes and Statesmen of the Revolution—May their descendants imitate their public virtues, and maintain inviolate the inheritance of their sires.

By Major Cooper, of the Washington Blues.—The battle of North Point, distinguished among the many distinguished actions of the late war.

By Major McEvers, of New York.—Our country: born for her use, we only live to serve her.

By Mr. Meers, of the Washington Blues.—The citizens of Baltimore—Their politeness and hospitality will ever be remembered by the Washington Blues.

By Major Mallart.—The Washington Blues of Philadelphia—They united with us in celebrating the day, on which many of the troops of their State bore a conspicuous part in repelling the enemy.

By Major Finley.—Major Gen. Thomas Cadwallader, of Philadelphia.

By a Volunteer.—Captain James Baker, of the Washington Blues: though absent, not forgotten.

By Mr. Bourhie, of the Washington Blues.—Fort McHenry, the casket of Baltimore.

By Captain Stirling.—Philadelphia and Baltimore: may brotherly love continue and abound.

By Major Jessop.—"Demonstration:" a new term in the vocabulary of war. Its meaning in 1814, was fire and sword—if successful; otherwise, a hasty retreat.—Baltimoreans remember this!

By Captain Keener.—Washington Blues; Such Volunteer Corps; a Republics brightest ornament in Peace, her surest defence in War.

By Captain Symington.—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS—The accomplished Statesman,—he is now filling the highest station his country can give him.

By a Volunteer.—A well organized, disciplined militia; may our country never lose sight of their vast importance.

By Captain Willis.—The memory of our late Major Gen. Robert G. Harper.

By Captain Branson.—The York Volunteers.

By Surgeon Charles E. Smith.—The Constitution of the United States; when touched, it should be with a trembling hand.

By Adjt. Labroe.—The 20th of September 1826; the 90th birth-day of the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence.

VETERANS TYPICALLY CELEBRATED THE ANNIVERSARIES OF THE BATTLE OF NORTH POINT AND FORT MCHENRY ANNIVERSARY WITH A DINNER AND TOASTS. BALTIMORE PATRIOT, SEPTEMBER 26, 1826

Perpetuity of the annual parade was not established by Maryland Militia Law, which required that a militiaman serve only up to the age of 45.³¹ By around 1840, a large portion of the remaining veterans became age ineligible for militia service.³² This is reflected in newspaper notices (required by militia law)³³ which were published up to and including September 11, 1839, then ceasing:

In obedience to the law, the Fourteenth Brigade (veterans of North Point) will parade tomorrow, September 12th, in honor of the day.—

Federal Gazette and Daily Advertiser, September 11, 1821.

The commander of the Fourteenth Brigade orders that they assemble at eight o'clock on September 12th at Washington Square to celebrate their victory over Great Britain—

³¹ Maryland Militia Act of 1816, Maryland State Archives.

³² Hawkins, Archibald, *The Life and Times of Hon Elijah Stansbury, and Old Defender and ex-mayor of Baltimore*, 1874. Pg 266. *A list of (58) Old Defenders of Baltimore in the War of 1812 who are now living (1874) with their respective ages:*

Maj Joshua Dryden, Pres't, **81**. Col. John Dutton, Vice Pres't, **77**. Colonel Nicholas Brewer, Sec'y, **86**. Asbury Jarrett, Treasurer. **78**. Captain Joseph Clackner, **95**. Captain Thomas Kelso, **90**. Jesse L. Hiss, **86**. Benjamin German, **81**. James Elmore, **86**. William Batchelor, **86**. Matthew H. Murray, **84**. Abraham Troxell, **86**. Thomas B. Watts, **82**. Colonel Mendes I. Cohen, **77**. John Petticord, **77**. Thomas Green, **81**. James Sheldon, **80**. Joseph Bookman, **76**. David Whitson, **83**. Henry Warner, **78**. Thomas Dean, **82**. Nicholas L Woods, **79**. James Ensor, **75**. John D. Toy, **79**. Colonel Elisha Stansbury, **82**. John Tudor, **80**. Henry Walker, **80**. John Jamison, **82**. George Boss, **79**. Michael Gross, **80**. Lieut. John Ijams, Marshall, **85**. Dr. Sam'l B. Martin, Surg'n, **90**. Samuel Jennings, Ensign, **77**. Christopher Wynn, **78**. John J. Daneker, **76**. John Piet, **82**. Henry Hickman, **80**. William Groom, **81**. Dr William McPherson, **83**. John Jennings, **80**. Isaac D. Fowler, **82**. Samuel Glenn, **79**. Lemuel W. Gosnell, **78**. William Spicknall, **81**. Henry Lightner, **76**. William McPherson, **80**. William Metzger, **81**. James Morford, **80**. James Pennington, **83**. William Stites, **80**. John C. Schley, **88**. Captain Henry Snowden, **82**. Reuben Trowbridge, **80**. John Wright, **84**. Nathaniel Watts, **80**. Samuel Wardell, **83**. Robert B. Varden, **78**. Captain John A. Webster, **86**.

Based on the above veterans:

Mean age 81.39, Modal age 80, Median age 81, SD 3.86;

Year/Number soldiers over 45:

1835/4, 1836/4, 1837/9, 1838/11, 1839/13, 1840/17, 1841/24, 1842/30, 1843/40

³³ Laws of Maryland, 1817, Chapter 228, Volume 192, page 2211.

Heritage of Courage

Baltimore American, September 11, 1822.

According to the custom, the veterans of North Point will assemble on September 12th to celebrate the anniversary of that memorable day in 1814.—

Baltimore American, September 11, 1823.

The usual custom of the soldiers of North Point will be observed tomorrow—.

Baltimore American September 11, 1824.

The military of Maryland are ordered by the commanding general to parade tomorrow, September 12th.

Federal Gazette and Daily Advertiser, September 11, 1825.

The year 1840 was a turning point. According to the *Baltimore Sun*, September 12, 1840, edition:

Today is the anniversary of the glorious Twelfth of September, when a proud and haughty foe were driven back from our city, by the stout arms of free men.

.....

The one thing that excites our special wonder, and that is, we do not perceive that an order has been given for the parade of a single military company to do honor to the day. Surely this will not be looked upon as decidedly creditable to the monumental city.

.....

Twenty-six years have elapsed since that eventful period, but in your beautiful city and the neighboring states there are yet living many venerable survivors of that eventful contest; many, in whose gray locks and honorable scars we may yet behold the strongest incentives to the discharge of every duty of a citizen and a patriot. Tomorrow, their minds will recur to the period when they so nobly followed up the call of duty, and won for themselves an immortal renown – tomorrow, when one of them shall meet an old companion in arms, methinks he will salute him with a strong grasp, while with chastened feelings and moistened eyes, they will call up the reminiscences of the 12th of September, 1814; tomorrow, their children will relate to each other,

Building Remembrance

with youthful simplicity and enthusiasm, the patriotic devotion and sacrifices of their sires at the Battle of North Point.

.....

Let each returning anniversary of the Twelfth of September be celebrated by every lover of Baltimore—by every true patriot.

Despite not having orders to march, the remaining active veterans still gathered along with the inactive veterans, this time under their own auspices rather than by order of the Maryland Militia, and as one group, not as a collection of companies.³⁴ Events at the North Point battleground proceeded normally and as planned.³⁵

The open space of the battleground would have permitted large number 1814 veterans to meet at one location. One oral tradition cites North Point as the location to which the Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland traces its origin.

The evidence for a landmark meeting on September 12, 1840, is presented retrospect by Francis Davidge in an oration at the Battle Monument one year later: “As this is the first anniversary of the 12th of September, in celebrating which the “Defenders of Baltimore” have united as one body, let us entertain a well-founded hope that it will be the forerunner of a long succession of re-unions for a similar purpose. Conscious of having done our duty faithfully as Baltimoreans and as American citizens, and ready to do so as the occasion should demand, let us enjoy thankfully the blessings purchased for us by the blood of our revolutionary sires; and each succeeding year to brighten the links in the chain of friendship”.³⁶

Sentiments among the troops and within the citizenry to keep the Defenders of Baltimore together even though their militia careers had ended were deeply manifested. A new organization would have to be

³⁴ *Baltimore Sun*, September 14, 1841.

³⁵ *Baltimore Sun*, September 11, 1840.

³⁶ “Mr. Davidge’s Address.” *Baltimore Sun*, September 24, 1840.

Heritage of Courage

established if the soldiers were to keep together, one which would have a format permitting the continuation of a proper military context, that is, marching under military jurisdiction, so that the celebration of their bond and the accomplishments of “that eventful day” on September 12th would be correct and befitting. (After 1840, active military units escorted the venerable band of parading Old Defenders.)³⁷ Veterans referring to themselves as “The Surviving Defenders of Baltimore in the Last War” or “The Surviving Defenders of Baltimore in 1814”³⁸ banded together and drafted a constitution in August of 1841, thereby creating an organization modeled after the Defenders of Fort McHenry, a group established in 1836, yet inclusive of the North Point soldiers. The constitution proposed a new name, *The Association of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814*. Reorganization as *The Association of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814* became official on May 14, 1842.³⁹ The evolving chronology of veteran organizations may be found in the next section *Sustaining Remembrance*.

³⁷ *Baltimore Sun*, September 14, 1841.

³⁸ *Baltimore Sun*, April 26, 1840.

³⁹ Association of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814, Record Books, 1841-1888, page 55.

SUSTAINING REMEMBRANCE

OLD DEFENDERS RALLY

Time-line of Defender Organization

For two decades after the Battle militiamen were contained in companies and officers were contained within their own chain of command. This fragmentation and segregation kept groups of veterans apart at a time when it would have been beneficial for them all to join together on September 12th.

When the annual “law parade” on September 12th was discontinued in 1840, the veterans found themselves no longer constrained by military structure. They were free to “meet for the first time as one.”⁴⁰ They could gather together regardless of age, rank, or company—the veterans of the Battle of North Point were able to join together with veterans of Fort McHenry. From this time on, the Old Defenders proceeded to create, refine, and solidify an association.

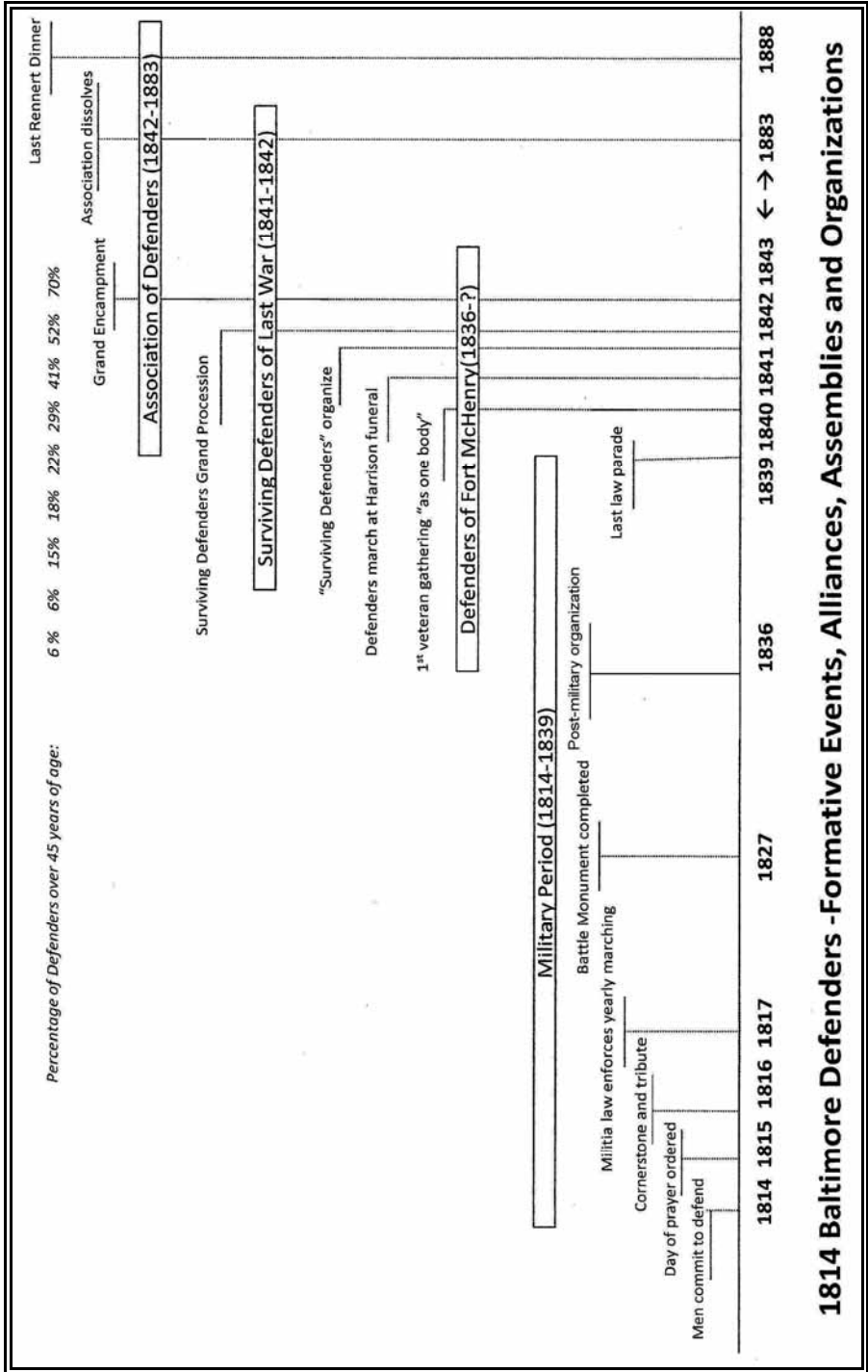
The veteran companies at Fort McHenry had in 1836 already chartered a similar association - a new corps which would carry them in perpetuity. Even so, the Defenders of Fort McHenry did not hesitate to join up with the veterans of North Point, in this unified association movement, appearing together with them for the first time as the Surviving Defenders of Baltimore in the Last War in the April, 1841 parade for William Henry Harrison.

The next fall, meetings were held to organize yet another association. The resulting draft of a constitution replicated the constitution of the Defenders of Fort McHenry in respect to its being both a society and a corps, with members assuming their 1814 rank. The proposed constitution also provided an the option to follow or discontinue enforcement of military rules, but it still stipulated that the September 12th parade must be a military parade and comply with military standards.

⁴⁰ “Mr. Davidge’s Address,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 24, 1840.

Heritage of Courage

As planned, Surviving Defenders of Baltimore in the Last War reorganized as The Association of the Defenders of Baltimore chartered on May 14, 1842, and brought an end to a decade of uncertainty, segregation, transition, and consolidation. The following timeline presents an overview of key organizations and events characterizing how this group of Defenders came together in May of 1814 and stayed together for the remainder of their lives. Details of each organization represented will follow afterwards.



Defenders of Fort McHenry

Never disband, but commemorate annually

Public notice for a meeting of the Defenders of Fort McHenry appears in the September 10, 1836, *Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, and is signed by "Nicholson's Fencibles". (It was in this 1836 celebration that Old Defenders had marched in Washington D.C. as well as Baltimore in the same day, a feat made possible by the newly established locomotive.)

**SEPTEMBER 12th, 1814.—DEFENDERS OF
FORT MCHENRY—ATTENTION!!!—A meeting is re-
quested at the Military Hall, in Gay-street, on SA-
TURDAY EVENING NEXT, at half past seven o'-
clock, of all Volunteers who defended Fort McHenry
during the Bombardment, in order to celebrate the
proud day by a Procession to the Fort, and raise the
old Star Spangled Banner, which:**

**" In triumph shall wave,
O'er the land of the free
And the home of the brave,"**

NICHOLSON FENCIBLES.

SEPTEMBER 10, 1836, BALTIMORE GAZETTE.

Sheppard Leakin and William Steuart organized and led the meeting of this group of surviving Fort McHenry veterans. In accordance with the public notice, the surviving Defenders took the steamboat Canton, a popular public transport, to the fort where toasts and music were enjoyed inside the garrison, perhaps in the newly

acquired tavern property adjacent to it. (The tavern was now considered part of the garrison.)⁴¹

A large number of the survivors of the "Bombardment of Fort M'Henry," proceeded to that fortress yesterday on board the steam-boat Canton, for the purpose of doing honor to the day. After having assembled, they formed themselves into a society and adopted several resolutions, among which was one determining that they celebrate hereafter the anniversary of the defence of Fort M'Henry on the 13th of September.

Captain Thompson, Commander of Fort M'Henry, was detained in town on business till a late hour in the evening, but had every arrangement made in the garrison for the entertainment of the visitors. After the resolutions had been passed, the company drank a number of patriotic toasts commemorative of the day, each sentiment being accompanied by an appropriate tune from a band that went down in the steamboat — At half past six o'clock the company left the fort, when a salute was fired by the garrison.

BALTIMORE GAZETTE, SEPT 14, 1836

⁴¹ "Public Sales," *Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser* September 10, 1836, The day before, on the anniversary of the Battle of North Point, September 12th 1836, the federal government acquired a hotel sized tavern property adjacent to the Fort, so at the time of the meeting it could be considered as a part of the garrison and a probable meeting place for the defenders of the fort, being able to accommodate hundreds of celebrants.

Pursuant to public notice, a meeting of all persons who participated in the defense of Fort Mchenry, on the 13th day of Sept 1814, after ~~meeting~~ ^{and on the 13th day of Sept 1814} ~~about~~ ^{at} the Fort, Col. M^r. Stewart, was called to the chair, & S^r Leakin appointed Secretary.

On motion of Mr. W. Galley, it was resolved, that the members present form themselves in a corps to celebrate ~~the~~ the battle of Fort Mchenry, 13th Sept 1814, in each and every succeeding year.

On motion of Capt. Brown, the following committee was appointed by the chair,

Capt. Sanster
Leakin
Berry

W. Galley, &
Capt. Brown,

whose duty it shall be to ascertain, or ascertains, to take the names of all those who participated in the defense of Fort Mchenry, on the 13th Sept 1814, and that said committee be authorized to increase their number, if it should be deemed necessary, & the said com. to report to the chair, as soon as said duty is performed.

on motion, the meeting adjourned. S. Leakin

MEETING MINUTES TAKEN BY SECRETARY SHEPPARD C. LEAKIN AT THE FIRST DEFENDERS OF FORT MCHENRY MEETING (KEPT WITH SHEPPARD LEAKIN'S PERSONAL PAPERS, UNKNOWN TO THE SOCIETY UNTIL RECENTLY).⁴²

⁴² Leakin Papers, Maryland Historical Society, Manuscripts Collections, MS.1349.

Sustaining Remembrance

Society officers were installed at the event, with William Steuart assuming the chairmanship and Sheppard Leakin becoming secretary. Captain Leakin and Lt. Colonel Steuart had served as officers in the U.S. 38th Infantry, who pummeled the British at Fort McHenry and Fort Covington in 1814. ⁴³ (After resigning from service to the U.S. Army by law they became part of the Maryland Militia.) Steuart and Leakin had been among the contingent that greeted Lafayette during his tour of America in 1824. ⁴⁴

When it was established a few years later (in 1842), the Association of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814 would replicate this format, with Sheppard Leakin serving as an Executive Director during the founding of the Association. ⁴⁵ (William Steuart died in 1839 before the Association of Defenders was formed. ⁴⁶)

The new organization restored the pride, brotherhood and remembrance experienced by the men who had steadfastly served in during the hour of peril in 1814.



⁴³ *Baltimore Sun*, October 13, 1838, page 2.

⁴⁴ Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore*, Baltimore, Maryland, Page 409.

⁴⁵ Association of Defenders record book 1841-1888, page 82.

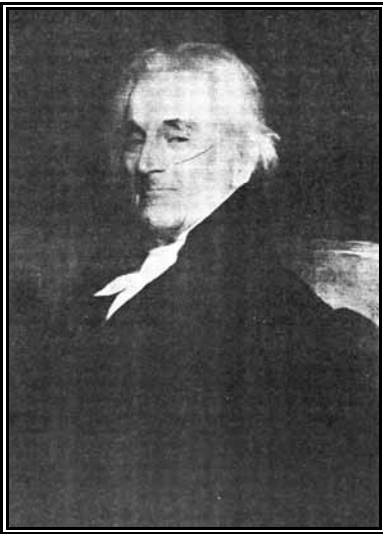
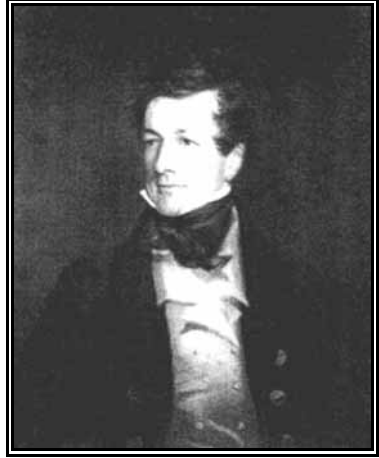
⁴⁶ *Baltimore Sun*, February 13, 1839, obit.

Heritage of Courage

SHEPPARD CHURCH LEAKIN (1790-1867)
CAPTAIN, 38TH U.S. INFANTRY
MAYOR OF BALTIMORE 1838-1840

COURTESY, MARYLAND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY ACCESSION: 1923-17-27

BY SARAH PEALE, c. 1820



WILLIAM STEUART (1780-1839)
LT. COLONEL, 38TH U.S. INFANTRY
MAYOR OF BALTIMORE 1831-1832

COURTESY, MARYLAND ARCHIVES
MSA SC 3520-12469

The Surviving Defenders of Baltimore in the Last War

The last Grand Procession in which the Defenders would receive orders to march as active troops occurred on September 12, 1839⁴⁷. In September of 1840 these veterans found themselves without the organizational form necessary to march under military protocol in public ceremony, and, with most too old to be enlisted in their 1814 companies, without the organizational unity essential to nurture of a fraternal bond.

The next spring, in April 1841, President Harrison died, leaving Baltimore not only with a sense of loss but also with the need to publically honor the late president with a procession “consisting of various military companies, associations and societies”. The 1814 veterans felt compelled to participate in the occasion. They therefore made an appearance as “The Surviving Defenders of Baltimore in the Last War,” with nearly 400 veterans present to assume an important position in the proceedings as part of the “Second Division”:

⁴⁷ *Baltimore Sun*, September 11, 1840.

**Second Division.—Assistant Marshals, Col. H. McKinnell, David Cushing and John H. O'Donnell; Major General John S. Smith and Aids; Officers of the Army and Navy of the U. States; Officers of the Militia of Maryland; Brig. Gen. C. O'Donnell and Aids; Officers of the City Guards of Baltimore; Officers and Soldiers of the late War; Defenders of Fort Mc Henry, and Officers and Soldiers of the Battle of North Point; Detachment of U. S. Seamen, under command of Lt. Com'dg. G. N. Hollins, U. S. Navy. The defenders of Fort McHenry, and the officers and soldiers of the battle of North Point, had a banner of white satin, on which was inscribed the words—"The surviving defenders of Baltimore in the last war;" and their old colors were furled and shrouded in crape, and borne by Mr. John Lester, the same who bore them on the day of battle, and who received several wounds in their defence.— They numbered nearly four hundred, and attracted very especial interest, both along the line of march, and at Mount Vernon, where they formed the inner line in the shape of a crescent, next to the funeral car—an honorable position, and a just tribute of respect to those who "in the day and hour of danger," had placed themselves as a barrier between their city and a powerful invading host, and stood
"Between their lov'd homes and the war's desolation."**

APRIL 28, 1841, BALTIMORE SUN

This appearance "attracted a very special interest." However, formal organization was needed to appropriately reunite and legitimize the Defenders as a legal if not military-styled entity. The 1836

organization, “The Defenders of Fort McHenry,” had provided a template, but it had not included the veterans of North Point. Thus, in April of 1841, shortly after respects were paid to President Harrison, a constitutional meeting for the new group was proposed for August of 1841⁴⁸.

DEFENDERS OF BALTIMORE, 1814—An
Adjourned Meeting of the surviving defenders of Baltimore, in 1814, will be held at the City Hall on the evening of THURSDAY NEXT, at 7½ o'clock. The report of the Committee, with a draft of a Constitution for the government of the association, will then be submitted for consideration and adoption.

J. K. STAPLETON, Sec.

Printed copies of the Report and Constitution can be had at my store, 258 BALTIMORE STREET, or from members of the Committee. **a10-31½**

AUGUST 10, 1841 NOTICE OF ORGANIZATION

In August of 1841, a draft of the new constitution was presented, with James K. Stapleton acting as Secretary.⁴⁹ With this action—in what could have the most important meeting ever held by a patriotic or veteran group—the Old Defenders laid a solid foundation for a living heritage which would carry remembrance through the second half of the nineteenth century.

In this meeting, *The surviving Defenders of Baltimore in 1814* elected officers and established a plan to lead the heart of the City of Baltimore and the nation through the continuation of celebration and parading.

⁴⁸ Association of Defenders of Baltimore in 1814, Record Book 1841-1888.

⁴⁹ “Defenders of Baltimore, 1814,” *Baltimore Sun*, August 10, 1841.

PROCESSION OF THE SURVIVORS OF THE DEFENDERS OF BALTIMORE IN 1814.—The defenders of the city of Baltimore, during the late war, having determined to commemorate the anniversary of that event,

Resolved, That they will have a procession on the ensuing 13th September, and that a chief marshal and assistant chief marshal be elected, with authority to appoint four aids, and, in conjunction with said aids, to make all necessary arrangements for the same.

Col. D. HARRIS was elected Chief Marshal, and Gen. A. MILTENBERGER, Assistant Chief Mar.

Aids,
Gen. S. C. LEAKIN, Major WM. RONEY,
Gen. R. DUTTON, Adj. T. BALTZELL.
ORATOR OF THE DAY.

FRANCIS H. DAVIDGE, Esq.

Col. HENRY MYERS, Quarter Master BARLING, and A. E. WARNER are a committee to superintend the erection of a suitable stand for the orator of the day.

All who participated in the defence of Baltimore, at the gloomiest period of the late war, when our beloved city was threatened by a merciless foe, are invited to join in the procession.

The Marshals respectfully request that the flags of the shipping and public places be displayed during the day, and that all public and private carriages and vehicles be withdrawn from the streets through which the procession shall pass.

Those having flags borne during the late war, are requested to report the same to the Chief or Assistant Marshal.

The Independent Blues, Capt. Lilly; the Invincibles, Capt. Anderson, and the Independent Light Dragons, Capt. Owens, having, in the kindest manner, volunteered to act as an escort to the procession, will form as follows: The Infantry in Baltimore street, the right resting on Paca street, extending East; the Cavalry in north Eutaw street, the right resting on Baltimore street, extending North—at 8 o'clock, A. M. and report to the Chief Marshal.

The defenders of Baltimore, each with a black cockade in his hat, will form, in single file, divided into sections of eight, in Baltimore street, the right resting on Paca street, extending West.

The Chief Marshal and Assistant Chief Marshal will wear scarlet scarfs; the Aids, buff scarfs.

ORDER OF PROCESSION.

The line will be formed at 9 o'clock, A. M. precisely, in the following order:

- Independent Blues, Capt. Lilly.
- BAND.
- Chief Marshal—Assistant Chief Marshal.
- Aids. Aids.
- CLERGYMAN AND ORATOR OF THE DAY,
(In a broughy.)
- Aged Soldiers, in a broughy.
- BANNER.
- Defenders of Baltimore, during the late war.
- Flags borne during the war.
- BAND.
- Defenders of Baltimore, during the late war.
- MUSIC.
- Invincibles, Capt. Anderson.

The procession will move at 9½ o'clock, A. M. precisely, for the base of the Battle Monument, where an oration will be delivered. The route to the Battle Monument will be down Baltimore street to Eutaw street; up Eutaw to Lexington; down Lexington to Howard; down Howard to Baltimore; down Baltimore to South; down South to Lombard; down Lombard to Calvert; down Calvert to Gough; down Gough to Market; up Market to Baltimore; down Baltimore to High; up High to Hillen; down Hillen to Saratoga; down Saratoga to Gay; up Gay to Baltimore; up Baltimore to Calvert; up Calvert to the base of the Battle Monument.

Captains Owens, Lilly, and Anderson are requested to meet the Marshals and Aids on Saturday next, at 5 o'clock, P. M. at the City Hall.

DAVID HARRIS, Chief Marshal.
A. MILTENBERGER, Asst. Ch. Mar.

*10-3t

SEPTEMBER 11, 1841 NOTICE FOR PROCESSION PARADE

Solicitation of veterans to march extended new life to a generation whose lives were profoundly changed by that eventful time.

Refinement and addition of some specifics would come after their proposed reorganization as the *Association of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814*, an organization to be officially installed on May 14, 1842.

During the brief existence of The Surviving Defenders of Baltimore in 1814, one Grand Procession was conducted in glorious fashion. A grandiose account was given by the *Sunpapers*:



**JOSEPH K STAPLETON¹
CAPTAIN, 39TH REGIMENT
SECRETARY, THE SURVIVING
DEFENDERS OF BALTIMORE IN
THE LAST WAR**

The Surviving Defenders of Baltimore—The Celebration – The association composed of the survivors of those gallant and patriotic heroes, who bested and repelled the invaders of their country, and completely frustrated their designs on Baltimore in 1814, yesterday celebrated the Anniversary of the Battle of North Point, the Defence of Fort McHenry, and the scorching of the enemy by the celebrated “six gun battery”. At an early hour in the morning, even a stranger would have known something unusual was on foot. People generally were in a sort of holiday motion. Ladies were out in numbers; children were dressed in their “holiday clothes,” some of the boys being furnished with miniature guns, as if indicative of the events to be commemorated; the national flag floated from the top of all the public buildings. It waved over the heads of the free and the brave in all accustomed places, giving the national stars and stripes to the breeze on “tower and fort and (we had almost said) tented ground”; but we have no tented ground just now, in the military sense of the phrase, though the signs of the time would seem to justify the inference that we will not be long in that peaceful condition. There were, however, tents in town; and even ice cream and lemonade could not cool the patriotic ardor of their

Heritage of Courage

occupants, who hoisted diminutive flags on their “ridge poles”. In short, patriotism was awake, and the gratitude was abroad to do honor to the surviving defenders of the city. The beauty of the town was out in all its attractive loveliness, showing itself at the windows on the line of the procession, and shedding its roseate light on the multitude assembled at Monument Square. The young and untried soldiers basked in the sunlight of their smiles, and seemed as if they wished for an opportunity, like that given to the veterans whose escort they were to secure, by their deed of arms, the title to the fee simple of that admiration and gratitude which the fair of the present day so freely bestowed upon the brave of the past.....

SEPTEMBER 14, 1841 THE BALTIMORE SUN

The Association of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814

A “Permanent Organization”

“THAT THE RIGHT SPIRIT IS ALIVE IN BALTIMORE IS KNOWN TO THE WORLD. AS IT SHOWN FORTH IN THE SHEETS OF FLAME AT NORTH POINT AND FORT MCHENRY, AND FLASHED DEFEAT UPON THE BRITISH FROM THE “SIX GUN BATTERY, “SO LIVE IT YET IN THE GENERAL HEART OF MODERN AS OF “OLD” BALTIMORE. IT IS NOT SEEN ALONE IN HER MONUMENT MARBLE, BUT IS EVEN STILL MORE GRATIFYING VISIBLE, BECAUSE LESS OSTENSIBLY EXIBITED, IN THE OBSERVANCE OF THE ANIVERSARY OF THE DAY OF HER DEFENSE, THE HEARTFELT RESPECT AND PROFOUND REVERENCE ENTERTAINED FOR HER DEFENDERS, AND THE HONORS PAID TO THE YET LIVING REMNANT OF THEM ON ALL SUITABLE OCCASIONS.”

THE SUN SEPTEMBER 13, 1843

With the imperative to create a continuum of strong and intelligent organization, the veterans, many of them now city leaders and influential citizens, moved with strength of force to forge an association that would suitably perpetuate the traditions of their renowned militia companies. Association minutes record the measures taken to situate the beloved Defenders into “modern” Baltimore:

The Committee on organization reported that they had obtained from the Honorable Secretary of War a complete roster of the troops engaged in the Battle of North Point and that they are now ready for permanent organization, that the Secretary when elected should continue to issue certificates to members whose names were found upon the official roster, the report was agreeable and accepted.

Heritage of Courage

A committee was then appointed to make nominations and to report to the next meeting which should be considered the date of permanent organization. May 14th was selected as the day of organization.

City Hall, April 1st 1842

Whether this Association shall resume its old military character or not it shall always parade on September 12th be formed according to military rules, all absentees from the parade that day shall be fined twenty five cents unless in the case of sickness or absence from this city.⁵⁰

A clear framework comparable to that of the Maryland Militia was needed, yet one which had no age limitations; a “permanent” organization (as the charter states,) through which the graying veterans could participate in order to address common concerns: care for their widows, recovery of unpaid battle wages, and the securing of a bounty land warrant from the federal government.⁵¹

On May 13, 1842, with the Battle long past yet still in the minds and hearts of all, surviving members rallied “to arms,” as it were, in response to a newspaper advertisement:

⁵⁰Association of Defenders of Baltimore in 1814, Record Book 1841-1888, page 78.

⁵¹Association of Defenders of Baltimore in 1814, Record Book 1841-1888.

DEFENDERS OF BALTIMORE IN 1814—
You are hereby notified to attend a general meeting of the Association, at 7½ o'clock, on THURSDAY (Friday) EVENING, the 13th inst., at the City Hall, preparatory to the intended visit to the Encampment, to be formed at Camp Baltimore, at the invitation of Major General George H. Steuart. Punctual attendance is particularly desired.

All persons having in any manner been engaged in the defence of Baltimore in 1814, desirous of joining in the visit to the Encampment, and who have not signed the Constitution, are requested to meet the Association on that evening and do so.

Those who do not sign it on that evening, will please call on Mr. Samuel Myers, at the City Hall, with whom the Constitution is left for that purpose.

All persons not residents of the City of Baltimore, who were engaged in the defence, are respectfully invited to report themselves to the Chief Marshal, who will assign them a place in the line. By order of the
ml2 2t EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

MAY 13, 1842, BALTIMORE SUN

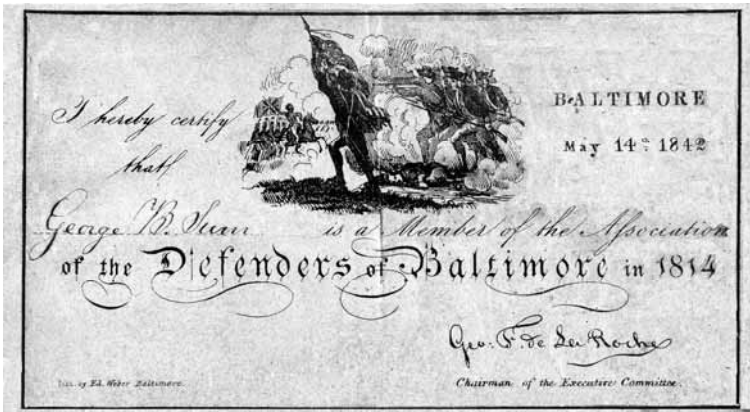
The official date of organization was to be May 14, 1842, a date decided by a committee⁵² for reasons not explicitly documented. Examination of what took place in Baltimore during May of 1814 in *Hour of Resolve*, second chapter of this book, may give some insight into the selection of the charter date. Without intimate knowledge of the experiences of these veterans, it might be puzzling that a September charter date was not selected.

The first days of charter enforcement were filled with activity. “The Association of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814” (now a distinct entity)

⁵² Ibid, page 55.

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scheduled its first appearance at Monument Square on May 14, 1842, to be followed by an encampment at Mount Clare Mansion⁵³, the home of Charles Carroll, Barrister. Originating at Battle Monument, the 220 attending Defenders, all of whom were veterans of the Battle of North Point, marched to Camp Baltimore at Mount Clare. Along the two-mile route a remarkably large crowd—some 15,000 citizens—gathered to view the parade from windows and rooftops. At the camp a parade was held “exercising the regimental evolutions” of years past. It was a glorious event, one which was repeated through the years, until old age began depleting the members’ numbers.⁵⁴



CERTIFICATE ISSUED TO VETERAN ASSOCIATION MEMBER.

As militiaman, the veterans had been enrolled to parade by law and to sanctify the formal ceremonies of the day, but as *Surviving Defenders of Baltimore in the Last War* and now as *The Association of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814*, they were in control of their own celebration, which they standardized and crossed former company and regimental boundaries. A morning church service, a parade originating in front of City Hall and

⁵³ “Old Fort McHenry,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 13, 1894.

⁵⁴ “The Encampment,” *Baltimore Sun*, May 17, 23, 1842.

proceeding around the Battle Monument where speeches were given, a formal dinner at Houck's Pavilion, Govanstown, or in another city such as York, became standard features. But variations did occur. One such involved inviting the public to take a steamboat dinner-cruise with the Old Defenders as part of a Defenders' Day celebration in Annapolis.⁵⁵ Steamboat and rail transportation were commonly required to facilitate visits to and marches in other cities.

Business meetings took place semi-annually in City Hall, usually in August and February to plan the festivities, as well as to address other issues important to the Association.

Scott Sheads, in his article "*Remembrance of the Brave: The Last 1814 Old Defenders of Baltimore*" gives details of important artifacts related to the Old Defenders - two banners, a photograph, and two drums.

1845 - The Old Defenders' Banners

On September 12, 1845, the Association met at City Hall where a "splendid banner" was presented to them by Miss Marcella Jennings and Miss Eva Rodgers. The *Baltimore American* described the banner:

The banner presented to the association is beautiful in workmanship and appropriate in design. On the front two soldiers are represented, one equipped as a volunteer, the other as a citizen. The volunteer lifting up the National Flag, giving to view two circular mirrors, the upper of which reflects the bombardment of Fort McHenry, and the lower the battle of North Point. The emblem of Liberty, the American Eagle, is seen hovering round both, bearing in its beak a scroll with the motto "*nostrum decus in pace, et talibet in bello*" – "Our Glory in peace, our safeguard in war."

⁵⁵ "Local Matters," *Baltimore Sun*, September 12, 1849.

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On the back is inscribed the following in gold lettering: “A Tribute of Respect to the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814, by the Ladies [of Baltimore], Sept. 12, 1845.” It is a handsomely trimmed with gold cord and tassels. The design and execution of the banner were by Mr. S[idnor].S. Donaldson – the trimming by Mr. C[harles]. Sisco.⁵⁶

A second banner from a predecessor organization, a U.S. flag, bore the motto “Surviving Defenders of Baltimore during the Late War.”⁵⁷ The flag presentations were made prior to the group’s departure for Washington, where they were met by the District of Columbia Defenders, who escorted them to the White House to meet President James K. Polk and his cabinet. Then they marched by the residence of Mrs. Dolley Madison, who appeared for those who had served in the war during the presidency of her husband James Madison.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ “The Twelfth of September,” *Baltimore American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, September 13, 1845. Charles Sisco was a maker of sashes and cockades of different colors, ladies finery and other ornamental clothing. “Battle of North Point,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 12, 1839. Sidnor S. Donaldson advertised of “Ornamental and Fancy Painting,” *Baltimore Sun*, June 26, 1846.

⁵⁷ “Celebration of the Twelve of September,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 13, 1854.

⁵⁸ Sheads, Scott S., “Remembrance of the Brave”: The Last 1814 Old Defenders’ of Baltimore, September 1880, 2009.

LOCAL NEWS,

REPORTED FOR THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

RECEPTION AND ENTERTAINMENT OF THE
OLD DEFENDERS OF BALTIMORE.

Our Metropolis presented a very unusually animated appearance during the whole of yesterday. Soon after 9 o'clock, the Washington Light Infantry, under the command of Lieut. McKEAN, assembled in front of their armory, in the City Hall, for the purpose of forming the escort to the Old Defenders of Baltimore, who were expected to arrive, with the volunteer companies from Baltimore, at eleven o'clock. The Light Infantry made a very handsome display, and turned out well as to number. The Committee of Arrangements, with the Mayor, and General HUNTER as Chief Marshal, and the Committee of Arrangements of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814 now resident in Washington, walked in procession to the Railroad depot, where they awaited the arrival of their and the city's honored guests. At about ten o'clock, the Columbian Artillery, stationed in the Judiciary square, fired a national salute, and this announced the arrival of the first car containing a portion of our respected visitors. In about half an hour afterwards the other cars arrived, and the whole of the Old Defenders, accompanied by Col. BOULDIN's fine troop of Independent Light Dragoons, and Capt. WATKINS's handsome company of Mechanical Volunteers.

The Old Defenders marched from the cars in front of the depot, on Pennsylvania avenue, where, after being welcomed by the Mayor in a brief but cordial manner, they, preceded by their military escort from Baltimore, were saluted by the Washington Light Infantry, under Lieut. McKEAN, who were drawn out in line to receive the Baltimore visitors.

As the Old Defenders marched along, receiving the salute of the Light Infantry, we had a good opportunity of noticing their appearance, number, banners, &c. In number they far exceeded what we had been led to expect. There were at least two hundred and fifty men of different age and stature; some of them venerable indeed for their years and services in defence of the Monumental City in the hour of its peril and difficulty.

We have never seen a more imposing and interesting spectacle than was presented by the Old Defenders marching in line and in sections along

Pennsylvania avenue. Patriotic was their defence of Baltimore on the 12th of September, 1814; imposing and honorable was their appearance in Washington on the 12th of September, 1845. The procession of the Old Defenders will long be remembered as one of the most animating and patriotic spectacles that was ever witnessed in the metropolis of the nation; and insensible indeed to national feeling must that man be who could look upon such a spectacle with indifference.

We noticed in the procession of the Old Defenders, who marched under General A. MILTENBERGER, as Chief Marshal, several banners, one of which was inscribed "The Surviving Defenders of Baltimore." Another, which was quite new and handsome, had been presented yesterday morning by the Ladies of Baltimore to the Old Defenders. Of this beautiful banner, which of course excited much attention in the streets of this city as well as in Baltimore, the following description is given in the newspapers of that city:

"The banner is a very tasteful and handsome affair, and was designed and executed by Mr. S. S. Donaldson, a promising young artist of our city, who has already won high honor in his profession. The front of the banner represents on either side a soldier, one a citizen, the other a volunteer, the latter of whom is seen in the act of lifting up the national flag, which discerns two circular mirrors, in which are reflected a view of the two most prominent scenes in the defence of the city—the bombardment of Fort M'Henry, and the Battle of North Point—both of which are surrounded by an American Eagle bearing in its beak a scarf, on which is inscribed the motto of, *Nostrum deus in pace, et tutamen in bello*. 'Our glory in peace, our safeguard in war.' The reverse is of beautiful blue silk, and contains simply the words in rich gold letters: '*A tribute of respect to the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814, by the Ladies, September 12, 1845.*' The trimming by Mr. Sisco is very appropriate."

The procession, after forming into line in front of the Railroad Depot, marched along Pennsylvania avenue to the Executive Mansion in the following order:

- Col. Bouldin's Troop of Independent Light Dragoons.
- Capt. Watkins's Company of Mechanical Volunteers.
- The Washington Light Infantry, under the command of Lieutenant McKean.
- The Mayor of Washington.
- The Committee of Arrangements, with blue badges.
- The Defenders of Baltimore resident in Washington.
- The Marine Band.
- The Old Defenders of Baltimore, in sections of eight, all wearing the black rosette cockade.
- Citizens and Strangers.

Old Defenders visit Washington DC and the President of the

Arrived at the President's House, the procession marched through the vestibule into the reception-room, where the PRESIDENT and his Cabinet were all assembled to receive the Old Defenders, their Escort, the Committee of Arrangements, and other visitors. The MAYOR presented the Committee of Arrangements, and Gen. A. MILTENBERGER, Chief Marshal of the Association of the Surviving Defenders of Baltimore, who presented Mr. PRESSMAN and Mr. STAPLETON. The former addressed the President in a short speech, to which the latter made a suitable and eloquent reply. The venerable Mr. STAPLETON, Vice President of the Association of Surviving Defenders, addressed the President more at length. He dwelt with patriotic emotion on the events and circumstances of the memorable bombardment and defence of Fort McHenry, and alluded, with all the laudable pride of an Old Defender, to the beautiful monument which Baltimore had erected to the brave and gallant heroes who had fallen in her defence on the glorious 12th of September, 1814.

The President responded to this address with much feeling and eloquence. He complimented the Old Defenders on their past bravery and noble conduct in the defence of Baltimore on the memorable day which they had now assembled to commemorate. Such noble and heroic conduct, worthy of "the times that tried men's souls," gave the Old Defenders a claim of gratitude not only on the city of Baltimore, but on the nation. The President added that, should a crisis arrive in the affairs of this Republic which would require him to call upon its citizen soldiers, he felt assured that there would be found among the Old Defenders many who would willingly respond to the call of patriotism and their country. Of such willingness the interesting spectacle now before him afforded the most unequivocal assurance.

After the preceding remarks from the President, each of the Old Defenders was presented to the Chief Magistrate and shook him by the hand. The members of the two Baltimore volunteer companies and many other of its citizens were then also introduced to the President, and had the honor of shaking hands with him. Among the Old Defenders who marched in the procession, and who afterwards shook hands with the President, were two gentlemen in naval uniform. On inquiry, we learned that one of these gentlemen was Capt. WEBSTER, who in the battle of the 14th September, 1814, command-

ed the six gun battery; the other was Lieutenant DIGGES, who fought with Capt. Webster on that memorable day.

One of the most gratifying sights we witnessed was the presence of the venerable Dr. STEWART, of Baltimore, now the oldest survivor of the Defenders of Baltimore, who, at the advanced age of ninety, could not refrain from joining with his compatriots in visiting the metropolis of the nation on this interesting occasion. Major General G. H. STEWART, a son of the venerable gentleman above named, was also present.

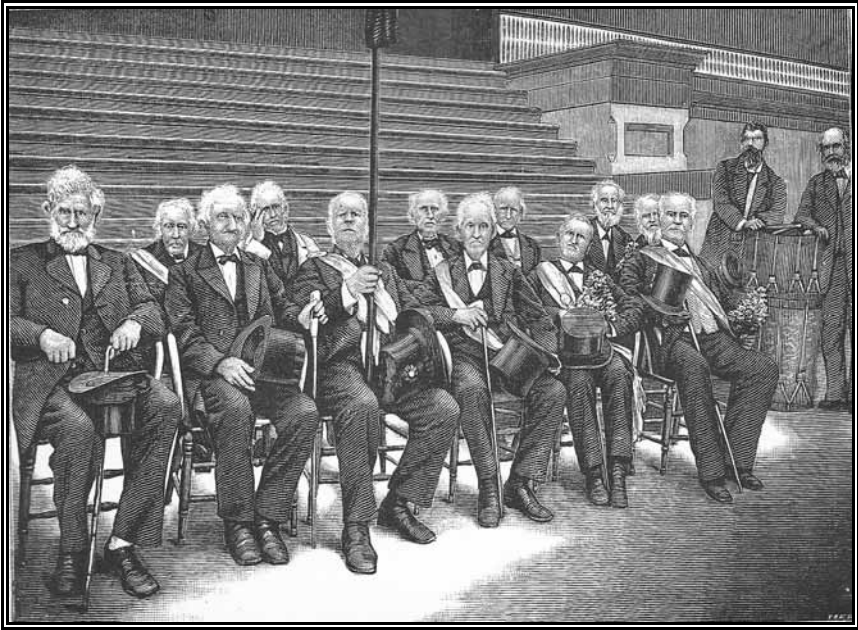
The Old Defenders of Baltimore, after spending upwards of an hour at the Executive Mansion, resumed their former position in the line of the procession, and marched in admirable order to the residence of the venerable Mrs. MADISON, where they saluted that much-respected lady, as she stood on her front steps, attended by the Mayor and several of her friends in this city. The Committee of Arrangements and the Old Defenders marched uncovered as they passed along the street in view of Mrs. MADISON.

From the residence of Mrs. MADISON the procession moved along F street to the Patent Office, where the Old Defenders halted to take a view of it and its splendid Museum. Here half an hour was spent in examining its numerous curiosities. The procession again formed into line, and passed along Eighth street into E, where the Old Defenders and their escort honored the Mayor with a passing salute. From the Mayor's residence the procession moved along E street and Sixth street to Brown's Hotel, where the Old Defenders and the Baltimore volunteers partook of an elegant cold collation provided by the Committee of Arrangements, and in the very best style of the Messrs. BROWN. Among the guests at the dinner were the Secretaries of State, the Treasury, War, and Navy Departments.

It is impossible for us at this time to furnish any of the toasts or addresses delivered at this excellent dinner, as we were compelled to withdraw early.

The firing of another national salute by the Columbia Artillerists announced, at half past 5 o'clock, the departure of a great number of our honored guests and visitors. At 8 o'clock another train of cars conveyed the remainder to Baltimore. May health, long life, and happiness attend the Old Defenders of Baltimore!

The 1880 Photograph



1880 RENDERING OF PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN OF OLD DEFENDERS AT DRUID HILL PAVILION APPEARING IN SCHARF'S HISTORY OF BALTIMORE CITY AND COUNTY.

On September 12, 1880, the 12 attending defenders, assisted by veterans of the Civil War Grand Army of the Potomac, gathered at the Druid Hill Park's pavilion. As in previous years veteran drummer Henry Lightner played "The Girl I Left behind Me."⁵⁹

The 1880 historic photograph shows the defenders on the mansion steps with silvered heads uncovered, each man wearing a black broadcloth coat, a top hat with a black cockade and rosette on the left side with a black [mourning] crape on their right arm out of respect to the memory of their deceased comrades. A badge with the words "Defenders of 1814" further identified them⁶⁰. Five defenders are

⁵⁹ "Defenders' Day in Baltimore," *Baltimore Sun*, September 14, 1880.

⁶⁰ *Baltimore Sun*, September 14, 1858.

Heritage of Courage

wearing sashes from their right shoulder to their left waist, a symbol of their status in the organization. The Chief Marshal and Assistant Chief Marshal wore scarlet sashes while the treasurer and three other officials wore buff sashes.⁶¹

Sun Staff writer Fred Rasmussen gave us some background of the day's events leading up to the taking of this photograph in the September 8, 1996 edition of his column "Remember When":

And now, 66 years later, they had gathered at Druid Hill Park dressed in their finest. They sat for the ages with stern faces and with beaver hats resting on their knees while a photographer focused his lens.

"All were in full sympathy with the gray-haired veterans, and will long remember the celebration of 1880," The Sun reported.

The Old Defenders taking part in the ceremony that day included Capt. J. J. Daneker, president of the Association of Defenders of Baltimore; Nathaniel Watts, first vice president; Asbury Jarrett, second vice president; Darius Wheeler, marshal; Capt. James McKay; George Boss; William Stiles; Col. E. Stansbury; William Batchelor (ensign and carrier of the original flagstaff of the Fifth Regiment of 1814); James Morford; Henry Lightner (drummer); and Samuel Jennings.

"The Old Defenders started from City Hall at 9:30 o'clock and marched in single file around the Battle Monument with uncovered heads, Henry Lightner, the ancient drummer, 82 years of age, beating the little drum," said the newspaper.

They were then taken by a decorated horsecar of the Baltimore City Passenger Railroad to the entrance of Druid Hill Park, where they were met and conveyed to Boat Lake Grove.

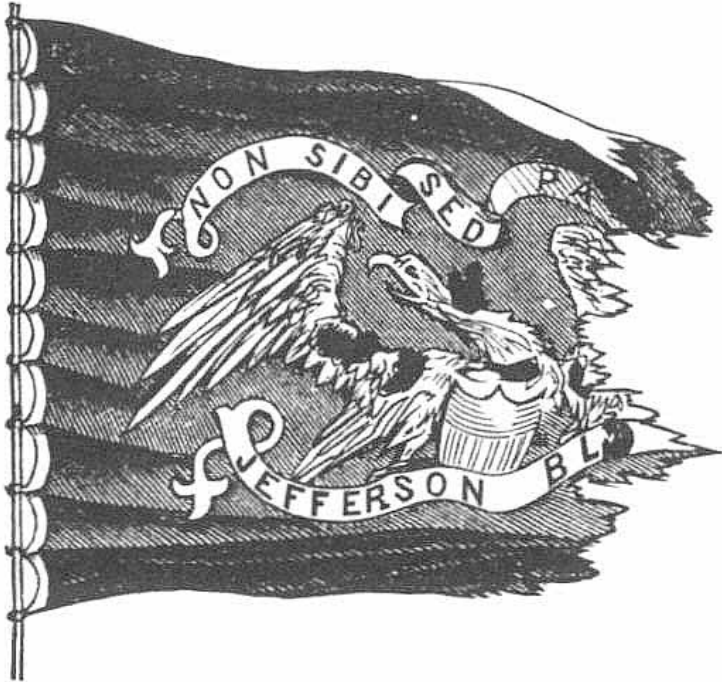
⁶¹ "The Old Defenders' Celebration," *Baltimore Sun*, September 14, 1858; September 13, 1841.

Sustaining Remembrance

The Sun observed of the veterans that "They were all remarkably upright in carriage, active in mind and vivacious in spirits."

William Batchelor, 93, was the oldest of the group, "but it was a disputed point as to who was the boy of the party, Capt. J. J. Daneker or Henry Lightner, each being 82 years of age."

As a youth, Lightner had strapped a drum across his shoulders and gone into battle at North Point. He followed in the footsteps of his father, who had done the same thing in the Revolutionary War, playing the same drum.

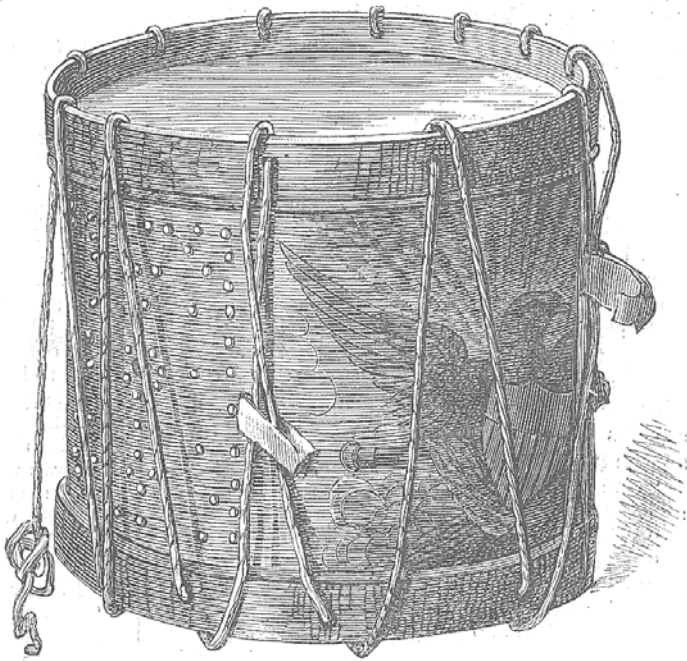


Flag of the *Jefferson Blues*, 27th Maryland Regiment

The flag was of blue silk, with gold designs was carried by Ensign William Batchelor, 27th Maryland Regiment at the Battle of North Point. He kept the flag at home and displayed it from his window on

Defenders' Day. In 1862 author Benjamin Lossing sketched it when it belonged to company Ensign John Lester who years later presented it to the Maryland Historical Society. Inscribed on the flag is the Latin motto "**Non Sibi Sed Patriae,**" which means "Not for self, but for country."

**Old Defenders' Association bass drum
and Henry Lightner's snare drum**



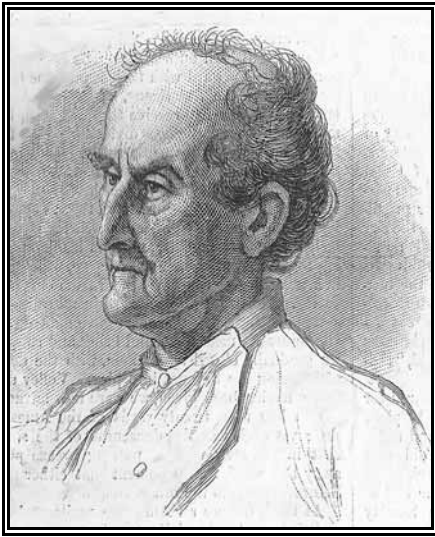
The 1841 bass drum of the Old Defenders' Association, seen below, appeared in *Harpers Weekly* in September 1880.

The snare drum of Henry Lightner, a member of Captain John Berry's Washington Artillerists, 1st Maryland Regiment of Artillery survives as an artifact. Lightner played it on the morning of

Sustaining Remembrance

September 14, 1814 at Fort McHenry. ⁶² On July 1, 1959, his grandson, Henry Lightner McCullough, donated the drum to the Star-Spangled Banner Flag House. A newspaper correspondent on August 17, 1814, noted:

Who that has ever heard the reveille played at Fort McHenry by the skillful performance of that garrison's, "ear-piercing fife and spirit stirring drum," when touched by the hand of a master?...Of National Airs, we have as yet few; but we have two that are sufficient for our purpose – *Yankee Doodle* and *Hail Columbia* – are as soul-aspiring as ever were suitable to our present situation.⁶³



**HENRY LIGHTNER (1797-1883),
AGE 83
"THE DRUMMER BOY OF FORT
MCHENRY."**

The *New York Harper's Weekly* of September 25, 1880 devoted a full page entitled "The Old Defenders of Baltimore," in which seven portrait drawings of the 12 who had attended the reunion were drawn by *Harper's Weekly* artist F.B. Mayer.⁶⁴

⁶² "The Defenders of Baltimore," *Baltimore Sun*, September 12, 1881.

⁶³ [Baltimore] *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, August 17, 1814.

⁶⁴ *Harper's Weekly Journal of Civilization*, September 25, 1880, Vol. 24, No. 1239.

The last years of Association of Defenders of Baltimore in 1814

In October, 1883, when fewer than five Old Defenders were able to attend a meeting, The Association of Defenders of Baltimore in 1814, as warranted by the 1842 charter, was officially dissolved. *The Sun* eulogizes their September 12th activities and laments the first passing of this day without them.

The 12th of September was always a red-letter day with the old soldiers. On that day they assembled at City Hall, and after marching around the Battle Monument, until recent years, when they became too feeble to do so, they proceeded to some convenient place out of town, where they partook of their annual dinner, drank toasts, and listened to an oration by someone selected for the occasion. Of late years William M. Marine and General R.H. Carr were generally chosen for this duty. Formerly the members used wine in drinking their toasts, but of late years they did not allow wine upon the tables except it was unfermented. It has been the custom of the association to attend church in a body on the Sunday previous to the 12th of September, each member wearing a cockade and a piece of crape on the left arm.⁶⁵

The (1884) 12th of September was celebrated as a popular holiday, with parades, sports, and merry-making, but with the disbanding of the Old Defenders Association, that feature of the celebration which gave a special character to the day was lost. The parade of the Old Defenders of Baltimore, which has been a distinguishing feature of the celebration of the 12th September, was missed yesterday, though the reunion which usually followed the parade was observed through the thoughtful kindness of Robert Rennert.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ "The Old Defenders Gone. No More Annual Reunions. The Famous Association Disbanded," *Baltimore Sun*, September 6, 1884.

⁶⁶ "A Day of Parades and Sport. Entertaining the Old Defenders," *Baltimore Sun*, Sept. 13, 1884.

The Association of Defenders continued unofficially through the graces of the Robert Rennert, owner of the Rennert Hotel, it would seem, as current references place the dissolution of the Association in 1888. ⁶⁷ Rennert continued the Old Defenders dinner on September 12th, picking up the Old Defenders by carriage and serving them dinner, with those unable to attend served at their homes. William Marine was often the dinner speaker. The first of these dinners in 1884 was attended by Nathaniel Watts, Samuel Jennings, James Morford, and John Peddicord.⁶⁸ Unable to attend were William Batchelor, Asbury Jarrett, and George Boss. In 1897 the *Sun* contradicted its 1884 reporting declaring that the “Society became extinct” at the December 17, 1888 passing of the last Defender to attend a dinner. ⁶⁹Joseph C. Morford, age 99, was the last Old Defender attending the dinner at the Rennert on September 12, 1888. Elizabeth Sands, age 99, honorary Association member for her “active women’s service” at Fort McHenry, was present with Morford that day. Nathaniel Watts, unable to attend, was provided with a dinner at his home. ⁷⁰

⁶⁷ “One Defender Was There,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 13, 1888.

⁶⁸ “A Day of Parades and Sport. One Defender Was There,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 13, 1888.

⁶⁹ “Defenders’ Day. It Will be Observed Monday, September 13, as a Municipal but Not as a Legal Holiday,” *The Sun*, September 9, 1897.

⁷⁰ “A Day of Parades and Sport. One Defender Was There,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 13, 1888.

The Wells & McComas Monument

Of the many colorful and controversial Battle of Baltimore historical accounts and legends that have become part of our heritage, that of “Wells and McComas” remains frequently readdressed, even to this day. A brief recounting of Wells and McComas story follows:

On September 12, 1814, following the landing of a British forces commanded by Major General Robert Ross, at North Point, Brig. Gen. John Stricker, commander of the 3rd Brigade of the Maryland militia, was ordered to delay the British advance so that the defense entrenchments around Baltimore could be completed prior to the advance of the British forces on the city. The 5th regiment was assigned the task of holding the American right flank of which Wells and McComas were members.

According to legend, Wells and McComas rode up Long Log Lane (present-day Old North Point Road) where they came upon Ross at the Gorsuch family farm. Taking advantage of the situation Wells and McComas would discharge their muskets hitting Ross in the right arm and in the chest. Ross would die a short time later from his wounds. In the ensuing firefight both Wells and McComas would also be killed.

Whether it was Wells and McComas or other soldiers that fired at Ross remains in dispute, as no soldiers witnessed who shot Ross. However the military companies of Baltimore thought highly enough of the two fallen heroes to form a Wells and McComas Monument Association to honor their memory. In 1858, the remains of the two riflemen were disinterred from their vault in Greenmount Cemetery, laid in state in the old Maryland Institute, and reburied in Ashland Square at Monument and Gay Streets. In 1873, after funding had been raised by public subscription (in a manner similar to the way citizens raised the money to build the Battle Monument), a 21-foot high obelisk of marble was built over their grave.

Sustaining Remembrance

According to the inscriptions on the base, at death, Daniel Wells was "aged 19 years, 8 months, and 13 days" and Henry G. McComas "aged 18 years, 11 months, and 22 days." However, no claim is made on the monument that the boys shot Ross. Nineteenth century historian J. Thomas Scharf viewed this as highly significant. "Thus it will be seen," he wrote in a letter to the press, "that the comrades of Wells and McComas, who erected the monument to their memory, did not claim that they killed General Ross."⁷¹

Modern recounting of the tale of Wells and McComas and their subsequent enshrinement—both literally and figuratively—as two boy heroes who represent a David and Goliath scenario—typically digress into attempts to establish proofs.

Taking a look at contemporary issues brings about a fresh and significant meaning to it all. In a paper read before the Maryland Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland September 12, 1898, by Colonel Winfield Peters, a man who had first-hand encounters with those having experienced the profound impact that the Old Defenders had on the city. In this paper he presents sentiments and thoughts regarding Wells and McComas held by the citizenry, which historically found ample room for expression at the re-interment of their bodies.

He adequately supports his claim that the occasion of re-interment "was one of rare interest, and was doubtless the grandest celebration of the battle and bombardment that has occurred":

The Monument Association had charge of the arrangements for the funeral procession, for which there was a large and imposing civic and military parade. There was no chief marshal. At ten o'clock the line formed on Baltimore Street, right resting at Gay Street, extending east, and at eleven o'clock the column formed and

⁷¹ George, Christopher T, *Monumentally Speaking* <http://wikimapia.org/7516470/>, March 2011.

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marched. An estimated 25,000, “an avalanche of the people” as characterized by Mayor Swann, attended the final destination, the entombing at Ashland Square.

The ceremonies began about two o’clock with an eloquent prayer by The Rev. John McCron. Mayor Swann followed with a short address, the abstract of which is given here:

In the autumn of 1814, a bold and daring soldier, stimulated by a thirst for conquest, landed upon the shores of your noble Bay. The city of Baltimore was the tempting prize of his ambition. At the head of his numerous and well-appointed army, he entered upon his march of invasion, on the memorable 12th of September—the day of whose anniversary we are here to celebrate.

Oh! My friends, it was an anxious day in the annals of this good old City. On the heights overlooking the approach of this adventurous foe.....That bright dream was the mission of the young Baltimoreans, in whose honor we are here to-day, and whose simple history is thus told, was terminated on earth. Brief, brave, and glorious was their young career. Of Wells and McComas, the champions in this holy cause, it is not mine to speak. That task has been assigned to other and abler heads. Without rank, or influence, or pretension—the representatives of that great industrial class on whom rests honor and safe-keeping of our free institutions—they went forward like brave men, in defence of their homes and their friends. A grateful city comes today to do homage to their ashes.

And let us not forget, as appropriate to these ceremonies, the living band of patriots who shared in the perils of that eventful struggle. They are here by your invitation to pay last tribute of respect to their illustrious compatriots. They have come down from another generation. Venerable men! The City of Baltimore owes you a debt of gratitude. Her lofty spires, crowded streets and stately edifices reflect your glory;

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your steps may falter—your career on earth may terminate; but the recollection of your great services will continue to live when monuments and cities have crumbled into dust. Baltimore can never forget the Old Defenders.

At the conclusion of his remarks Mayor Swann introduced the orator of the day, The Hon. John C. Legrand. The oration of Judge Legrand was both argumentative and scholarly. After he presented the evidence as to the claim that Wells and McComas killed General Ross, he concluded that the matter will probably always be disputed. For himself, however, he said that he preferred to respect the facts and tradition which affirmed the claim. And he did prove that Ross was killed in open warfare, not covertly and dishonorably, as the British had claimed.⁷²

Perhaps one merit of the Wells and McComas story is that it provides an example of individual courage, sacrifice, and merit against a superior force. It is all too easy to lose sight of the individual soldier amid the ranks and files of massed bodies of troops—or in the chaos of battle. But on September 12, 1858, the City of Baltimore gave recognition—and faces—to two heroes from a generation of heroes.

⁷² Peters, Col. Winfield, *Maryland Journal*, October 1, 1898.

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DESCENDANTS LEAD THE WAY

Time-line of Descendants Organization

By 1850 institutionalized remembrance of the repulse of the British had matured and stabilized. The lingering issue was the inevitable loss of the Old Defenders and the future remembrances on September 12th. The most plausible solution was to charge the descendants of the Old Defenders with managing the continuation of Defenders' Day ceremonies and festivities, which the sons of the Defenders at that time were all too eager to do.

That succession occurred gradually over the years. While the Old Defenders were flattered and gratified to pass on their responsibilities, they were naturally hesitant to do so at the expense of the integrity of their own association.

The process began on September 12, 1857, when the Association of the sons of the Defenders in 1814 was formed. This event was celebrated with a grand dinner to which the sons of the Old Defenders invited their fathers. Still, it was decided that the fathers' and sons' groups should remain separate at that juncture, with the sons group eventually assuming all responsibilities and authority.

At the time of Baltimore's 150th anniversary in 1880, the admission of two of the sons of the aging Defenders into their fathers' association was imperative for conducting operations. Finally, when the conditions for complete succession were met in 1883, the sons were in line to take over the totality of the responsibilities of the fathers' group. The Association of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814 continued unofficially through the graces of Robert Rennert of the Rennert Hotel, who continued to host the annual dinner every September 12th until 1888.

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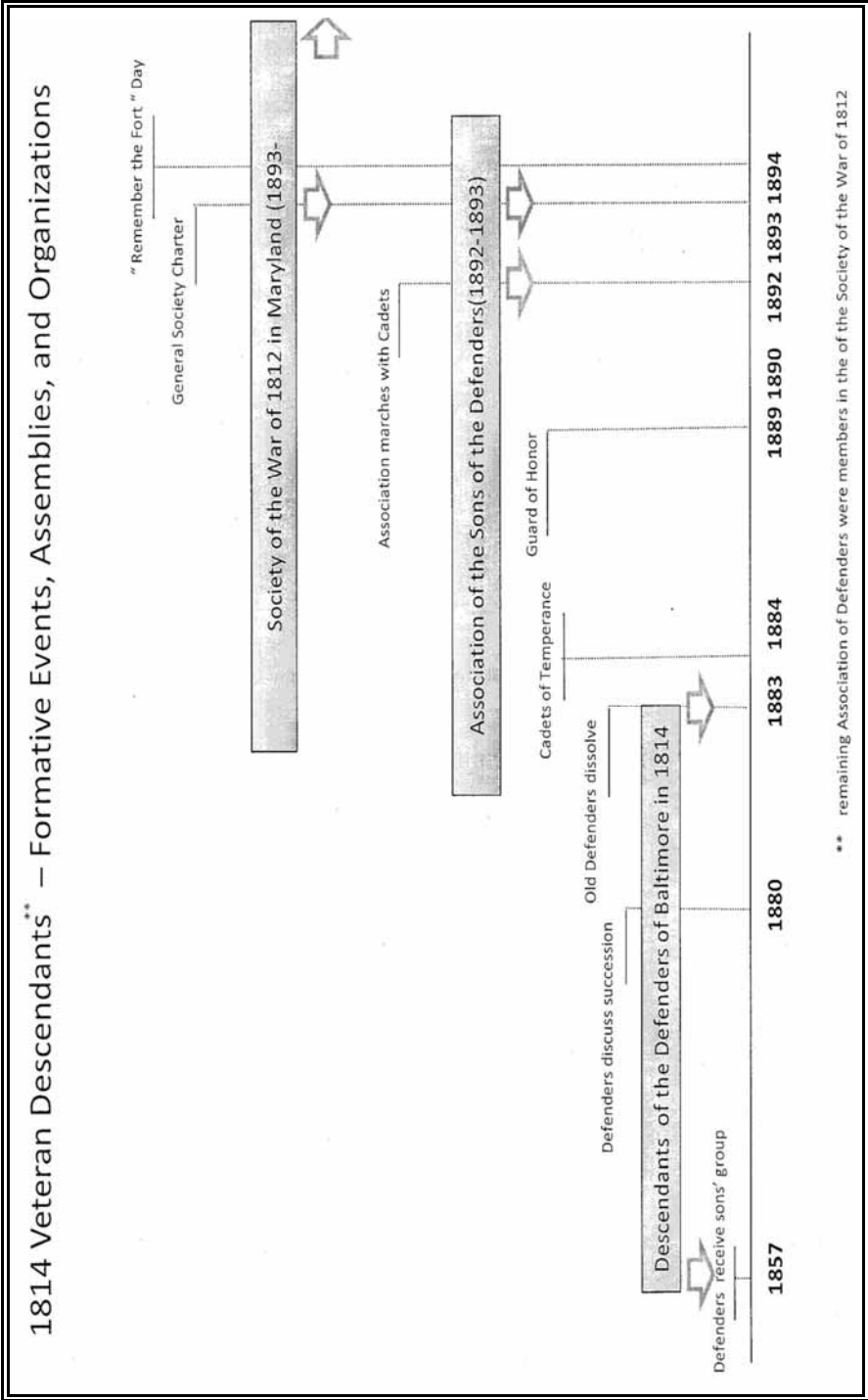
Charter for the new successor association, The Descendants of the Defenders of Baltimore in the War of 1812-14, was not adopted until 1892. In the interim, a group known as the Cadets of Temperance, which had been founded in 1874, conducted mass public gatherings⁷³ and marched *pro tempore* for the Old Defenders from 1884⁷⁴ until 1892.⁷⁵ In 1889 a “Guard of Honor” (of the Star-Spangled Banner), consisting of descendants of 1814 veterans, also organized *pro tempore*, solely for the purpose of escorting the Star-Spangled Banner at the 75th anniversary in the absence of an active, formal organization of descendants.

The transition from the Association of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814 to a stable and final form of a descendants’ organization—the Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland—required the passage of several more years.

⁷³ “Call it ‘North Point’ A Public Meeting’s Request to Secretary of Navy Tracy. Commemorate Baltimore’s Battle” *Baltimore Sun*, September 14, 1891.

⁷⁴ “Sunday Observances. Celebration by Cadets of Temperance, Religion and Patriotism,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 12, 1887.

⁷⁵ “Local Matters,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 12, 1890.



Association of the Sons of Defenders in 1814

September 12, 1857, was a pivotal point in the legacy of remembrance. The sons of the descendants displayed interest in preserving and perpetuating the legacy of courage and patriotism of their fathers, and then received a warm reception from this otherwise very private group of men. At this tender moment the sons had an opportunity to publicly express their feelings with regard to their fathers. The fathers responded personally to the sons and went even further, addressing the nation and future generations. Coverage has been selectively gleaned from the full front page coverage of this exchange in the *Baltimore American*, September 13, 1857. Consolidation of reported details offers a “time capsule,” which defines the special day:

”Saturday being the forty-third anniversary of the defense of Baltimore, it was celebrated according to the time-honored custom by the Association of Defenders. They dined with their sons at Brown’s Pavilion, a beautiful spot a short distance from the memorable field of North Point.

The cause of their dining with their sons upon this occasion was brought about in the following manner: A few weeks since, a well-known, public-spirited citizen, son of an Old Defenders, conceived the idea that it was high time that the sons of the lineal descendants of this band of veterans, should adopt some measures for a more proper and general observance of the 12th of September, than had heretofore been the custom. In accordance with the thought, several other gentlemen, sons of Defenders, were spoken to upon the subject, and an organization called the Association of the Sons of the Defenders in 1814 proposed to be formed. A meeting was called and the association organized, the main features of which are the more general observance of the anniversary of the defense, and the erection of a monument upon the battleground, the funds to be raised by an annual payment of a

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stipulated sum by the members, and voluntary contributions by the citizens generally. After the adoption of a constitution and the laws for government of the Society, the members determined to start the ball by inviting their fathers to meet them at the festive board on the 12th . The invitation was accepted and the celebration came off as above stated.

At eight o'clock the Association of the Fathers met in front of the City Hall, and after forming in line were waited upon by the Fifth Regiment of Maryland Volunteers under the command of Col. John W. Watkins, and escorted to the steamer Lancaster at Light Street wharf. The Association and escort left the Hall in the following order:

The Fifth regiment with the following officers and companies:

Col. W. J. Watkins, Lieut. Col. A.P. Shutt, Quartermaster Watkins and Paymaster Gelston.

City Comet Band, Capt. Feidtman.

Law Greys, Capt. Bowers;

National Greys, Lieut. M. J. Grady, Commanding;

First Baltimore German Guards, Capt. George F. Imhoff;

Jackson Guards, Captain Heidrick;

National Comet Band, Capt. Joseph Acomb.

Then followed the Association of Defenders headed by their chief Marshall, General Anthony Miltenberger, assisted by Messrs. John Ijams, Isaacc Bull and Thomas Williams, aides.

The officers of the Association are Andrew E. Warner, Senior, President; Col M. J. Cohen, Samuel Child,

George Rogers, John Fossett and Thomas Evans, Vice-Presidents; Surgeons, Drs. Samuel B. Martin, and Alexander Clemdennon, Executive Committee, A.M. Stansbury, Dr. John M. Williams and John H. Manroe, Secretary; Col. Nicolas Brewer; Treasurer, Christopher Winn. The Association numbers only about one hundred members, giving sorrow ful evidence that the hand of death is rapidly thinning their ranks.

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The line of march was up Fayette Street to Monument Square; around the Battle Monument to Baltimore Street; up Baltimore Street to Charles Street; down Charles to Conway Street; down Conway Street to Light Street, and then to the steamboat Lancaster.

On reaching the steamer, they were received by the "Association of the Sons of the Defenders in 1814," and welcomed on board. In a few minutes the plank was drawn in, and to the delightful music of Capt. Minnick's Cornet Band, the boat gallantly steamed her course to the place of celebration.

On approaching Fort McHenry the boat was rounded to at the wharf for the purpose of taking on board Major French and Leut. Davis, officers of the U. S. A., and in command of that beautiful national arm of defense.

After a short delay the officers were received on board and the boat again in motion. On leaving the Fort the company were saluted with a discharge of artillery from the batteries.

About twelve o'clock the boat reached the Pavilion, and in a few minutes all had disembarked in order.

The Association of Defenders immediately formed upon the lawn a little to the right of the Pavilion, for the purpose of listening to the orator of the day. After the body had been formed into a hollow square, Nathaniel Williams, Esq., who, in addition to being wounded in action as a part of the 5th Regiment of Maryland, Captain Sterett's Company, in 1815 had been selected by the citizens of Baltimore to be on a committee to compose a congratulatory address to President Madison for successful termination of the war, was once again called upon and delivered the following beautiful and appropriate address during the gathering of the Defenders and their sons in 1857:

"I greet you once more, brother Defenders, with a hearty welcome. And if the diminished numbers and increasing infirmities of our band are calculated to sadden our feelings, yet have we cause of thankfulness to Heaven for the sweet savor of the memories of the departed, who had

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filled up the measure of duty and usefulness; and for having our own lives prolonged, if not for active services, for the comfort of our families and the unabated respect of our fellow-citizens.

I must here claim, without arrogance or vain boasting, honor and commendation in our behalf, for the faithful performance of our duty in the hour of national peril, I and for the exposure of our lives to the assaults of a trained and outnumbering foe, on the memorable 12th and 13th of September. 1814. And may we not challenge from our sons and youthful successors warm and earnest acknowledgements of patriotism and valor for our achievements at that memorable epoch. That sentiment, I am satisfied, is freely accorded to us.

Fairly and justly to appreciate the value and merit of the Baltimore Militia in the War of 1812, especially in the unequal contest at North Point, it is necessary to consider the discouraging and untoward circumstances which environed us; and the powerful and triumphant array of forces which Great Britain marshaled against us. Our sons and successors can never be placed in an attitude of war so comparatively feeble in numbers, so unprepared for offense or defense, as we were on that occasion. Yet I dare to affirm that we acquitted ourselves like men and patriots.

So that although at all times we ought not to think of ourselves more highly than becomes modest worth and resigned Christians, nor boast unseemly of our deserts, we may recall with pride and satisfaction our then unfledged laurels, and expect from our prospering and happy countrymen grateful returns for those untimely and efficient services.

In this connection permit me to allude to the reasonable and seasonable expectation which some of our brothers in arms elsewhere, whose devotion to our common country corresponded with our own, have led men to entertain, which is, that the Congress of our great nation will so far enlarge the boundary conferred in the donation of lands (a remote and temporary benefit) as to grant us a pension for the brief residue of our lives. I trust, my fellow Defenders, that an allowance, even if small, may be vouchsafed to us out of an overflowing treasury.

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And what country is it that if we aided more than forty years ago in saving and crowning with all her rights and growing in prospects! In 1814 our whole population was 8 million. In 1854 it had risen to twenty-six and a half millions, and is now scarcely less, if at all, than thirty millions.

Baltimore was in 1814 less than 55,000; it is now more than 200,000. We behold our nation, our State and city in rapid march of vast enlargement in territory, with an immense increase in wealth and population. This expansion is a marvel among the nations. It will scarcely stop until it reaches both oceans and embraces the whole continent of North America, excepting a weak power in the North, and yet a weaker one in the South.

With so widespread an empire, could its republican institutions be preserved if it were a consolidated government? This may be reasonably doubted; for a vast central power must be possessed to maintain peace and preserve the integrity of the State.

The miraculous invention of our forefathers in establishing a nation which combines federal union of independent states, whereby all the duties and powers of government are reserved to the States, while just so much power is yielded to the general government as is necessary for national purposes. This contrivance enables the union to be indefinitely extended, without any encroachment on private rights, or further abridgement of State sovereignties. No prophecy can be so daring as to predict the extent and power of this united nation, in a few ages to follow, and to be realized by our descendants. We must be content to view, and with great cause have we for congratulation that we may view this dazzling prospect in contemplation.

But are there not causes of alarm in the prevalence of a riotous and factious spirit in our large cities?

I do not regard the predictions of croakers who think they see a speedy or at least remote change in the nature and form of our government. These who so predict, or perhaps who wish, do not appreciate the nature of free government. If they did they would see that a republican government is the strongest in the world. For, unless a people are woefully sunk in ignorance

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and depravity, how can there be a rebellion or treason by those, who, in fact constitute a part of the government? It is political suicide.

Do not therefore, my comrades, fear for a moment lest our children and descendants shall lose those wholesome and glorious fruits which the efforts of our ancestors and of ourselves have won and matured. May these blessings be perennial! At the same time vigilance and patriotism especially become the aged and experienced, and without private virtue there cannot long exist security, peace, and social happiness.

To revert, however to a topic more appropriate for this interesting occasion, the last occasion, which I may have of addressing my old comrades in this formal manner.

The success of a free nation, struggling for its rights against a superior enemy, depends on intelligence, patriotism, and courage. The people must understand their rights, and duly appreciate them. They must submit to the regular and organized discipline of the governing power. These qualities our forefathers possessed in the war of the revolution, and under the most discouraging prospects surrounding they triumphed.

Scarcely if any less were the difficulties and embarrassments which enveloped this nation at the second war of independence, in which it was our privilege to bear a part. Our finances were at the lowest depression; our commerce was cut up and rendered unprofitable; our staple products had no market abroad; our councils were not united; our navy and army untried and of inferior forces, and a portion of our population seduced by artful political reasons, were not only wanting in patriotism, but were failing in allegiance. Added to this our powerful enemy, which had been at war for a quarter of a century, was suddenly released from any demand on her immense resources by a successful overthrow of her great European enemy.

This disheartening condition of our affairs did not discourage the nation. The great body of our people yielded nothing to threats or alarms, but were invigorated and fortified by repulses and defeat; until, acquiring skill in the use of our means, and increasing confidence in our invincibility, we learned

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to conquer, both on sea and land. And when peace came we gave up none of our rights, but secured every object for which we contended. We also derived from the contest an everlasting benefit, greater than all our conquests—the conviction that our republican institutions were as well fitted for war, when forced on us, as for peace; and the further conviction that no power could frighten, humble, or injure us in our rights or our possessions.

I must be allowed to say, that the repulse at Baltimore occasioning great and mortifying disappointment to our confident and ruthless foe, with the death of her experienced commander, had an important and most cheering influence on the administration, discouraged by the disaster and defeat at Washington, notwithstanding the stubborn resistance of a small force under Commodore Barney, and other instances of valor there.—It had united with our recent victories on the Lakes, a powerful influence on the public mind, and led on to a succession of victories and triumphs, thus giving confidence to the government and strength to the union.

The War of 1812 prepared, by its manifestations of the resources and capabilities of the nation, for that series of military achievements in the war with Mexico which are unparalleled in history, ancient or modern. The ardent, warlike spirit of our regular army, and above all our volunteers, led on by daring and gallant officers, exceeded all our anticipations of success, and astonished the warriors and statesmen of the world.

The war of the revolution was, in its conduct, embarrassed by a divided allegiance; and although there was no deficiency of courage or patriotism, the people had no experience of an independent, still less of a free government.

In the war of 1812 sailors, soldiers, and volunteers all knew how to value their rights, and resolved to maintain them. The fight was not merely national; it was individual, and as such was triumphantly prosecuted.

The war with Mexico discloses another feature in our national character. It showed our citizens to be addicted to warlike enterprises. This is a propensity which, under other forms of government, proves dangerous by

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contributing to strengthen too much of the ruling power. By us are experienced the value and influence of a popular government. Republics which are strong by the united will of government and people are essentially pacific, and never promote war but for the public good.

The United States has become a great nation—one of the most powerful of the earth. The extent of its dominion; its variety of climate; the value and abundance of its products, the intelligence and enterprise of its citizens, the encouragement of religion in all its various sects, attended with universal toleration, are manifold blessings never before possessed by any nation. But the crowning of its glories is its free democratic institutions.

The proximity of this spot to the scene of the events we this day celebrate, awakens a flood of reminiscences, and I feel a strong inclination to exhibit in review the prominent incidents of the never to be forgotten 12th and 13th, when the forest and the river were vocal with the resounding of rockets, muskets, and bombs. But I forbear, both because these recollections are as vivid in your minds as in my own, and because these desultory remarks have already long enough occupied your attention. Nor is the recital now necessary in order to engage the sympathies or touch the hearts of our children. The proceedings of this day sufficiently attest their sense of our deserts, and the glow of generous affection which warms their bosoms.

A new feature is recently imparted to our Associations. The sons of the Old Defenders have formed themselves into a society, whereby the bond which unites us is strengthened, and promises to make it perpetual.

This act of filial regard savors of the sacredness of filial piety. It inspires mutual sentiment of respect and affection, and is calculated to bind more closely together the ties of fathers and children. It imposes upon the elders the duty and obligation of affording to the young examples of courage, patriotism, and integrity.

Now we no longer fear that our association will fall into desuetude or that our memories will fall into forgetfulness. The residue of our lives will be cherished, our feebleness be sustained and our graves be honored.

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This reflection is an ample compensation for all the burdens and vexations of life—a sufficient reward for our trials and sorrows.

The wealth of the aged is the love of his offspring, and the solace of declining years the tender affection of family ties.

To our young associates let me express the united welcome of their airs. Age is always prompt in its acknowledgements toward confiding and sustaining youth. Our right hand of brotherhood is already extended, and we feel the warm pressure of that embrace, which youth, in its love and faithfulness, always imparts.

Toward us, when removed from these interchanges and mutual intercourse, we now ask that we may be preserved in your memories; we bespeak your indulgence toward our frailties; and that you will cherish the recollection of our virtues, and of our courage in the days of our country's trials.

In your progress through life you can scarcely escape being called upon to sacrifices for our country's good. Our confidence is unbounded that you will, at all hazards, defend and support the liberties, the honor and the glory of the nation. We leave you an inheritance derived from our ancestors, rich and precious. It is only to be preserved by valor, allegiance, and public virtue. Faithfully transmit it to your children as a sacred deposit, and teach them that patriotism in a free country is a religious duty.

A word of parting to my old comrades, not parting for the last time here I hope, but until another anniversary. Let the recollection of our common anxieties, struggles, and perils make firm our friendships. The occasion has led me over the names of those who constituted the Baltimore Brigade; the ravages made therein are numerous and sorrowful, yet they have only gone a little before us, and are sharing already, as we believe, in those rewards which are promised to the well-doing and the righteous.

Then keep them in your remembrance, cherish and emulate their virtues. And having our lamps trimmed and burning, let us also be ready for that great change which awaits us all, with our faces turned Heavenward.”

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At the conclusion of the address the Association was dismissed, some to wend their way to the field of their exalted deeds and “fight their battles o’er again,” and others to join in social intercourse with the many friends who had assembled to meet them.

At half-past one the tap of the drum called the company to the banquet table. The table was spread in the grove to the right of the pavilion, and was handsomely decorated with numerous flags and banners.

On approaching the table the old veterans were welcomed by General James M. Anderson, President *pro tem* of the Sons, substantially as follows:

Mr. Marshall and the gentlemen of the Association of Defenders of Baltimore in 1814—We are gratified to meet you here in response to our invitation to unite with us in celebrating the anniversary of a day so marked in the annals of our city and country, and rendered glorious by the patriotic devotion displayed by yourselves on that momentous occasion. The Association of the Sons of the Defenders of Baltimore, knowing that a few more years would remove from among them all of that gallant band, who in 1814 “stood between their homes and the war’s desolation,” and being desirous of perpetuating the deeds of their fathers, have formed an association to effect this end, that when all that gallant band shall have passed away, the annual recurrence of the day that we have met here to celebrate should be observed by their posterity to the latest time.

In the name of your own sons and the sons of those who stood “shoulder to shoulder” with you at North Point, at Fort McHenry and the defense covering the eastern heights of our city in 1814, we invoke your countenance to our efforts, to assist us with your counsel and advice, that the object we have in view may be effectually obtained, and that finally we will be enabled to erect a suitable monument on the spot of your heroic toils—a monument to our father’s patriotism, and their children’s gratitude.

General Miltenberger replied as follows:

Mr. President: No event has occurred since the organization of the Association of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814 that has afforded me

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greater pleasure than the handsome compliment this day paid to those who forty-three years ago risked their lives in the defense of their homes and their firesides, and drove from our shores the foreign foe. The fathers feel justly proud of the reception given to them this day by their sons, and feel confident from manner of the same, that the glorious independence of this happy country, achieved by our fathers, and maintained by us, will be defended by you, and be by you handed down to your children without stain or blemish, and that the beautiful flag,

**The Star Spangled banner,
Will continue to wave
O'er the land of the Free
And the Home of the brave**

General James M. Anderson presided at the head of the table, assisted by Major French on the right, and Andrew E. Warner, president of the Old Defenders, upon the left.

The honors of the foot of the table were delegated to Col. George P. Kane, Vice President *pro tem* of the Sons, assisted by Col. Owen Boulden upon the right, and Dr. James M. Martin upon the left.

General Miltenberger and aides and other officers of the Association of Old Defenders were seated upon the right and left of the officers at the head of the table. Before sitting down to the table a blessing was asked by the Rev. John W. Randolph.

After doing justice to the eatables and drinkables, the following regular toasts were announced, first from the head of the table by General Anderson, and the next from the foot by Col. George P. Kane.

REGULAR TOASTS

1. The Day We Celebrate -Made sacred by the deeds of the Defenders of Baltimore. "Star-Spangled Banner"

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2. The Old Defenders - Their sons will endeavor to imitate their valor, and to hold in grateful recollection their patriotic devotion in the hour of their country's need. "Go where glory waits thee"
3. George Washington -The record of his virtue and patriotism adorns the brightest page of world history. His cherished memory is the sacred trust of Freedom's children everyw here. "Dirge"
4. The President of the United States. "President's March"
5. The Governor of the State of Maryland . "Maryland Quick Step"
6. The American Union – Purchased with the blood of our fathers. May the blood of their sons be freely shed ere they part with their richest heritage. "Yankee Doodle"
7. The Army and Navy of the United States - The one on the field and the other on the ocean have contributed to the glory of our country. "Hail to the Chief"
8. To the Memory of the Gallant Dead who died in Defense of the City - Their deeds have made their names immortal. "Dead March in Saul"
9. The Press - Free from the eye of the censor. An agent terrible for evil, mighty for good. Accursed be the memory of him who prostitutes it. Honored be his life who upholds it in purity and right. "Quick Step"
10. Education - The mightiest pillar beneath the Constitution; the strong arm in the Republic; the key to power and greatness yet in the dark the vault of the future; the staff of the Old Patriot, the sword of the aspiring youth. "American Boy"
11. The Heroes of the Revolution – Their deeds live in history; their memory in the hearts of a grateful people. They sacrificed life and fortune to secure the blessings we now enjoy, but their sacred honor they retained, and bequeathed untarnished to their children. "Auld Lang Syne"
12. The Volunteer Soldiery of the United States . "Marseillaise Hymn"
13. The wives and daughters of the Old Defenders - Gentle in peace; brave in the presence of danger. The approving smiles of the former, was the sweetest reward of their husbands' gallantry. May the smiles of the latter be the joy and solace of the Defenders' sons. "To Ladies Eyes"

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The following letter was then read from the Hon. Thomas Swann, Mayor of the City.

MAYOR'S OFFICE, CITY HALL
BALTIMORE, Sept. 12th 1857

Gentlemen: I regret extremely that owing to official engagements, it will not be in my power to avail myself of your kind invitation to dine with the Old Defenders at Brown's Pavilion today. I beg you to present my sincere acknowledgements to the Committee, and assure them that I heartily participate in the pride, which as Marylanders, they must all feel in doing honor to that gallant body of men. May they long live to wear the laurels which they have so nobly won in defense of the soil of the native state.

I beg to offer the following sentiment:

The Sons of the Old Defenders-descendants of a glorious stock-May they never cease to emulate the example of their illustrious parentage.

With great respect, your ob't.s'vt.

THOS. SWANN

There were but a few volunteer sentiments offered, a slight rain which occurred at the time causing the guests to leave the table. The following are the ones we could obtain:

By Gen. A. Miltenberger- The Sons of the Defenders can never fail in honoring their sires whilst they maintain the glory and perpetuate the Union of the States.

By Capt. J.W.Ringrose- The Arts and Sciences-May they continue to improve till their influence shall put an end to all further occasions for wars and bind all nations together as brothers.

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After dinner the Association of the Fathers organized and unanimously passed the following resolutions, submitted by General Miltenberger.

Resolved, that the sincere thanks of this Association be tendered to the Rev Dr. Smith, for his truly eloquent and very appropriate sermon, delivered before them on Sunday, September 6th , in the Second Presbyterian Church, East Baltimore Street.

Resolved, That a copy of the foregoing resolution, signed by the President and Secretary, be respectfully presented to the Rev. Dr. Smith.

At half-past 4 o'clock the company were all on board the steamer and in a few minutes her bow was put in the direction of the city. On nearing Fort Carroll, it was determined to stop there and give the old veterans an opportunity of seeing this great fortification. Accordingly the boat was rounded to, and a half an hour spent in walking over this stupendous government work.

After a cry of 'all aboard' the steamer again started for the city, but stopped a few moments at Fort McHenry to leave Major French and Lieutenant Davis, where the company, the second time, was honored with a salute.

After leaving Fort McHenry the boat proceeded directly to her wharf at Light Street, where in a few minutes past six o'clock the entire company disembarked, all appearing highly pleased with the occurrences of the day.

The Executive Committee of the Association of the Sons of the Defenders under whose immediate superintendence of the whole affair came off, were Messrs. Robert T. Smith, Samuel Maccubbin, Andrew J. Bandel, Andrew J. George, and Dr. Samuel H. Martin.

By committee decision, the two associations were kept separate "until such time when this association shall be unable for want of

members to continue its aims and purposes.” Thirteen years later in February, 1880, necessity dictating the decision, the first descendant, William H. Daneker, grandson of the president, Captain John J. Daneker, was invited into the ranks of the Association and elected Secretary and Marshal. One other descendant was listed among the 13 members present that year at the Defenders’ Day ceremonies.⁷⁶

On August 23, 1880, in the fervor of Baltimore’s 150th anniversary, a motion was made during the Association’s semi-annual meeting at the new Baltimore City Hall to change the name of the Old Defenders’ Association and admit the sons and grandsons of the remaining active 12 members. A committee reported and accepted a resolution “that to adopt such a suggestion they would of necessity be compelled to relinquish the appellation of Old Defenders, which they so tenaciously hold and cherish, with the influx of new and active members they would lose control of the association.”⁷⁷

Nevertheless, looking towards the future, the Association of the Defenders of Baltimore empowered the sons “to do the work laid down for us in the Constitution and with amendments and alterations as they may deem necessary for the furtherance and continuance of the yearly celebration of the Anniversary of the Battle of North Point, the elevation of American citizenship and to foster patriotism, to be ever ready as their fathers were to take up arms against a common enemy in the defense of our independence.” This report amounted to a constitutional change with participation in the Association for the sons, to be followed by full membership later.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ “Local Matters. Almanac for Baltimore - This Day. Old Defenders Association,” *Baltimore Sun*, November 9, 1880.

⁷⁷ “Local Matters,” *Baltimore Sun*, August 24, 1880.

⁷⁸ Blizzard, Dennis F., *A Chronicle of 1812 Soldiers, Seamen, and Marines*, page xiv.

Pro Tempore Assemblies

Cadets of Temperance and the Guard of Honor

The Cadets of Temperance primarily served religious and political purposes for the temperance movement in the 19th century. The Cadets of Temperance in Baltimore saw fit to maintain the tradition of a yearly mass meeting and parading in commemoration of the Battle of North Point when the Old Defenders parade was discontinued in 1884. Robert T. Smith, a leader in this Cadets of Temperance group, addressed a rousing crowd on Defenders' Day in 1891: "The last of the heroes, who, seventy-seven years ago, kept the British forces out of Baltimore, is gone now," he said, "but their descendants, proud of their work, are here to do honor to their name. People in these busy days have let the significance of the day die out, and it is left to us, the Cadets of Temperance, to keep the day, with all its glorious memories, before the world." He concluded by urging the formation of an association of the descendants of Old Defenders with at least 1,000 members, to celebrate September 12th as their fathers celebrated it with a parade and by marching around the Battle Monument.⁷⁹ The Cadets of Temperance and the Descendants of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814 conducted a joint event on Defenders' Day of 1892.^{80 81} Robert T. Smith was elected Treasurer of the Descendants of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814, thus following his own advice. (Also, in 1893 he would be among the incorporators of The Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland.⁸² He had been on the Executive

⁷⁹ "Call it 'North Point', A Public Meeting's Request to Secretary of Navy Tracy. Commemorate Baltimore's Battle," *Baltimore Sun*, September 14, 1891.

⁸⁰ "Old Defenders' Day to be Celebrated by Young Americans-Timely Sermon-New Flags," *Baltimore Sun*, September 12, 1892.

⁸¹ "Carroll Park Festivities," *Baltimore Sun*, September 12, 1892.

⁸² "Maryland Society of the War of 1812", *Baltimore Sun*, November 3, 1893.

Heritage of Courage

Committee of the Association of the Sons of the Defenders in 1857.) The Cadets of Temperance had a week-long encampment at Ridgewood Park, along the Lake Roland Electric Railway.⁸³

The Guard of Honor, marching in the parade for the 75th anniversary of the battle in 1889 were the descendants of Battle of Baltimore veterans, men who had responded to a notice in the newspapers to march as a guard of honor to the *Star-Spangled Banner*. Three companies of this guard were formed, one of the sons, one of the grandsons, and another of the great-grandsons, all marching with a float containing the original banner and the flag of the Twenty-seventh Regiment.⁸⁴

⁸³ "In and About Town Almanac for Baltimore This Day," *Baltimore Sun*, August 20, 1892.

⁸⁴ "Local Matters," *Baltimore Sun*, Baltimore Sun, July 3, 1889.

1889 - 75 year anniversary

Preserving the Memory of the Old Defenders

“On October 14, 1889 the national flag of the Old Defenders’ Association—a banner of silk, with gilt fringe—was presented to the Maryland Historical Society by William N. Batchelor, the son of Ensign William Batchelor, who had carried it at North Point. Along with the worn ensign were presented three red, white, and blue pieces of the original Star-Spangled Banner, presented by Miss Virginia M. Carter.⁸⁵ The same year, Nathaniel Hickman’s re-publication of his 1828 *The Citizen Soldiers at North Point and Fort McHenry, September 13 & 14, 1814* helped stir patriotic emotions with company roster listings and with stories of the Defenders and the events of that perilous time. This publication was a reprint of historical information, but it also included an extensive report on the 1889 75th anniversary celebration of the Battle of Baltimore.”⁸⁶

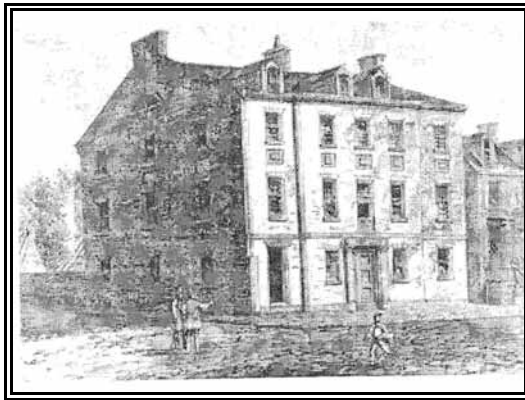
⁸⁵ “Gifts to the Maryland Historical Society,” *Baltimore Sun*, October 15, 1889.

⁸⁶ Sheads, Scott, “The Last Old Defender,” 2010.

Descendants of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814

Time grew very short for the remaining Old Defenders. Scott Sheads, Fort McHenry historian, has noted that each passing of an Old Defender was given coverage in newspapers across the country. Such was the high regard in which they were held during their lifetimes.

In 1883, by authority granted to them in 1857, the descendants were eligible to take over the reins of the veterans' organization. Calling themselves the Descendants of the Defenders of Baltimore in the War of 1812-14, the descendants finally organized officially on September 12, 1892, at the historic winter home of Charles Carroll of Carrollton in Baltimore. Annual meetings thereafter took place in Carroll Mansion as well, in a room where Charles Carroll entertained Washington and Lafayette.⁸⁷



Carroll Mansion, 800 E. Lombard Street

The first house structure was built on the current Carroll Mansion site between 1804 and 1808. Charles Carroll of Carrollton died in this house in 1832, while it was still the property of his son-in-law and daughter, the Catons. Subsequent owners made additions to the original structure.

⁸⁷ "A Victory Recalled," *Baltimore Sun*, September 13, 1892.

The Society of the War of 1812

The Association of Descendants of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814 re-organized as the “Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland of Baltimore City” on October 25, 1893.⁸⁸ As the Association of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814 had been the final organization of the Old Defenders, The Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland would be the continuing organization of the descendants.⁸⁹

The Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland received a new charter from a national umbrella organization, The General Society of the War of 1812. It had formed on April 14th 1894, when the Maryland and Pennsylvania societies had met at Independence Hall, along with delegates from similar societies in Connecticut, Massachusetts and New York to establish a national alliance of state societies. As had the Maryland society, the societies of War of 1812 descendants in other states had assumed the name “The Society of the War of 1812 in the (domicile)”.

The issue of becoming part of a larger veteran or descendant society was not a new one. The Old Defenders association had for years declined offers to be united with other veterans’ groups or even

⁸⁸ “Charter, Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland of Baltimore City,” Superior Court of Baltimore City, Liber JB, No. 31, Fol. 288 & C; Society of the War of 1812 Papers, Lansdale Library University of Baltimore; “Old Fort McHenry,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 13, 1894. On January 8, 1892 a similar patriotic organization, The National Society United States Daughters of 1812 was organized on the anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans. Today three Maryland State chapters carry on the traditions: the Mary Young Pickersgill Chapter (org. February 16, 1978, The Kitty Knight Chapter (org. 1984) and The William Smallwood Chapter.

⁸⁹ “In and About Town. The Society of the War of 1812,” *Baltimore Sun*, April 12, 1894; “An Old Defenders Death,” *Baltimore Sun*, February 7, 1898; “Society of the War of 1812,” *Baltimore Sun*, October 26, 1898; “Maryland Society of the War of 1812,” *Baltimore Sun*, November 3, 1893. The exception descendant membership are the honorary memberships in The Society of the War 1812 in Maryland given to War of 1812 veterans such as John Lumberson, James Hooper, Jarrett Curl, and William Welsh. James Hooper is among the original incorporators of the Society.

with their own descendant groups. Indeed they had turned down solicitations from Peter Hay of Pennsylvania for a national unification since 1880.⁹⁰ The Association of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814 cherished their exclusivity and their private annual social affairs and reunion, which provided an intimate occasion for “living their battles o’er again.” They treasured a strong sense of unity and identity they felt could not easily be shared with others.

Much debate among the sons had ensued before they joined the veteran and descendant groups from other parts of the nation. With the new charter as The Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland, membership no longer required descent from a Defender of Baltimore in 1814; rather became more inclusive and allowed descent from any soldier, sailor, or militia serving during the War of 1812-1814 who was discharged in good standing regardless of place of service. The Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland, however, maintains and cherishes the traditions and legacy of the Old Defenders of Baltimore.

⁹⁰ *Baltimore Sun*, August 24, 1880.

Preservation of the Fort

The Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland moves aggressively

The newly formed Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland burst on the scene in 1894, and organized a grand city-wide program to celebrate the centennial of Fort McHenry. Entitled “Remember the Fort,” the event featured a grand parade which began at the Hotel Rennert and proceeded through the city and onto the Fort. With the passing of the Defenders, focus was placed on the Fort and the “Star-Spangled Banner” as a means of stirring patriotic sentiment for “that eventful day” in 1814.⁹¹

A strong focus on the glories of 1814 was sorely needed. Over the past few decades, the Old Defenders, decreasing in number, had met with competition for patriotic attention from Civil War veterans and other groups. Also at that time the flood of immigration from Eastern Europe seemed to threaten the heritage and the very identity of the nation; it stimulated an increased interest in the early history of United States. The national memory was changing, and the Society sought to re-direct attention to the nation’s formative heritage: the Star-Spangled Banner heritage. (The Sons of the American Revolution, The U.S. Daughters of 1812, The Sons of the Revolution, The Daughters of the American Revolution, and The Society of Colonial Wars were all begun during that time for similar reasons.)

The main events of the 1894 program at the Fort included a concert, the finale of the parade, various speeches, and a cannon salute. Both the *Baltimore American* and the *Sun* feature large illustrations of the

⁹¹ “Honor the Old Fort,” *Baltimore Sun*, *Baltimore Sun*, September 12, 1894.

fort and print full-page articles on the events there. Similar programs were staged each year through 1898. The result was an appreciation for the Fort's grounds as a park.

At that time, the future of Fort McHenry was in jeopardy, and strong action was needed to bring about proper stewardship of it. A member of the crowd locked out of the Fort in 1898 stated:

“What has become of all that talk of Fort McHenry being a public park? Here we have an antiquated fort, good absolutely for nothing except as a home for a few officers and men and as a public pleasure ground.”⁹²

In *Battle of Baltimore - The Rise and Fall of Fort McHenry*, Chris Isgrig details the efforts that were taken to preserve the fort at this critical time:

The Society of the War of 1812 aggressively supported preservation of the Fort. Annual letters were sent to the Adjutant General's office requesting a salute from the Fort's guns on September 12th. ⁹³ In 1902 the request was denied.⁹⁴ The Secretary of Defense was motivated to investigate.⁹⁵ A review of War Department records showed that salutes had not been an annual occurrence and had only begun as recently as 1894. The secretary's report had, of course, missed the majority of the salutes previously fired; it was in his interest to argue down any historic or traditional roles the fort played in the annual celebrations. The real issue that now faced Baltimore was the continued intransigence of the Fort's administrator and the threat it posed to the holiday festivities.

In January, 1904, the former president of the Society of the War of 1812 and of the Sons of the American Revolution, Edwin Warfield,

⁹² *Baltimore American*, September 12, 1898.

⁹³ “Salute at Fort McHenry,” *Baltimore Sun*, *Baltimore Sun*, September 12, 1904.

⁹⁴ Letter from Assistant Adjutant General Henry P. McClean to Dr. Albert K. Hadel, president of The Society of the War of 1812, September 2, 1902.

⁹⁵ Memorandum from F.C. Ainsworth for the Secretary of War, September 1902.

Continuing Remembrance

became the governor of Maryland. Two years later, in 1906, the press announced the planned removal of federal troops from the fort as all but an accomplished fact.⁹⁶ The prospect of the garrison's departure set off a bidding war for the future development of the site. Throughout the negotiations, the War Department's insistence that Fort McHenry be available for future military needs both simplified the bidding and complicated the task for those interested in preserving the installation as a public park.

The Warfield administration made the first attempt at placing the fort at the city's disposal. Their negotiations centered on leasing it to the state for use by the state militia. This policy succeeded in securing a lease, but public speculation on the prospects of subletting the fort to the city for use as a park caused the War Department to suspend the agreement.⁹⁷

Then in 1908, The Society of the War of 1812 reversed its earlier resolution and petitioned to have Fort McHenry made a permanent military installation. This and other resolutions like it were mainly aimed at providing federal funds for maintenance and upkeep, with some provision for it to become a park, monument, or museum. The Adjutant General's Office maintained, however, that it had no authority to transfer the property without an act of Congress, and until that time the War Department was committed to maintaining it for military use. Senator Isidor Rayner, of Maryland, made several attempts by direct legislation to effect the transfer, but he failed to get the necessary support to approve the measures.⁹⁸

With the passing of the Warfield administration Clinton L. Riggs was replaced as the Adjutant General for Maryland and placed in charge of a committee seeking the preservation of Fort McHenry. A quick resolution would be essential to make it available in time the centennial of the bombardment in 1914 – especially since consideration was also being given to the possibility of making it an

⁹⁶ *Baltimore Sun*, March 26, 1906.

⁹⁷ Svejda, George J., *History of the Star Spangled Banner From 1814 to the Present*, Division of History, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, February 28, 1969, pg. 305-312.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p 312-313.

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immigration station. The troops finally left in 1912, and on September 12, 1913, the first public Defenders' Day ceremony at the Fort was held since Major Vose had closed the gates in 1898⁹⁹. Among those attending, Secretary of the Navy Franklin Roosevelt could now proclaim his support for the ongoing negotiations to transform it and its grounds into a park. In February 1914,¹⁰⁰ Congressman Charles Linthicum was able to pass the necessary legislation to open Fort McHenry to the public as a park. The legislation contained provisions for an immigration station and for the restoration of military control during a national emergency."¹⁰¹

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In 1934, with the Fort having been established as a national park for decades, an effort to increase patronage began. The *Baltimore Sun* announced that Fort McHenry "would once again be the center of activity after years of comparative quiet," citing James E. Hancock, Society of the War of 1812, as aiding the restoration of the exterior of the Fort, and in setting up a museum in the restored barracks buildings, all of which would attract significant patronage.¹⁰³ The primary draw for the museum would be the Berkley Bowie Arms collection, which the Society had received in the 1930s from the estate of Baltimore collector E. Berkley Bowie.

⁹⁹ *Baltimore American*, September 13, 1913.

¹⁰⁰ Loc cit..

¹⁰¹ Svedja, George J., *History of the Star Spangled Banner From 1814 to the Present*, Division of History, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, February 28, 1969, pg. 318.

¹⁰² Isgrig, Chris, "Battle of Baltimore – The Rise and Fall of Fort McHenry," 2003.

¹⁰³ "CITY'S FAMED SHRINE FACES REFURBISHING Work To Begin On Old Barracks Soon With Extensive Museum Planned--Bowie Arms Collection To Be Central Figure--Visitors Increase," *Baltimore Sun*, September 16, 1934.

Society Flags

In the Old Senate Chamber in the Statehouse in Annapolis—the room in which George Washington resigned his commission as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental forces—two historic flags were presented to the State of Maryland by The Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland.

The first flag, “Old Glory,” was carried at the Battle of Cowpens and brought back to Baltimore by William Bachelor. His son, William Bachelor, Jr., fought in the 27th Regiment at the Battle of North Point in 1814. The second William Bachelor presented the flag to the Society at an annual meeting.

The second flag, the “Old Defenders Flag,” served as the banner of The Association of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814, having been adopted for use on September 10, 1814, by the soldiers; according to the October 20, 1907 *Sum.* (More recent assessments do not date this flag to such an early point in time.)

Centennial Celebration

“Months of preparation went into the centennial celebration of Defenders’ Day. The parades and ceremonies lasted for a week and far surpassed anything the city had done before. The basic structure of the parade was an expansion of the Jubilee that had taken place eight years before, also on Defenders’ Day, to mark Baltimore’s rebirth after the Great Fire of 1904. Unfortunately for the planners, the city’s great moment was superseded in the headlines of even its local newspapers by the news of simultaneous outbreak of World War I in Europe.”¹⁰⁴

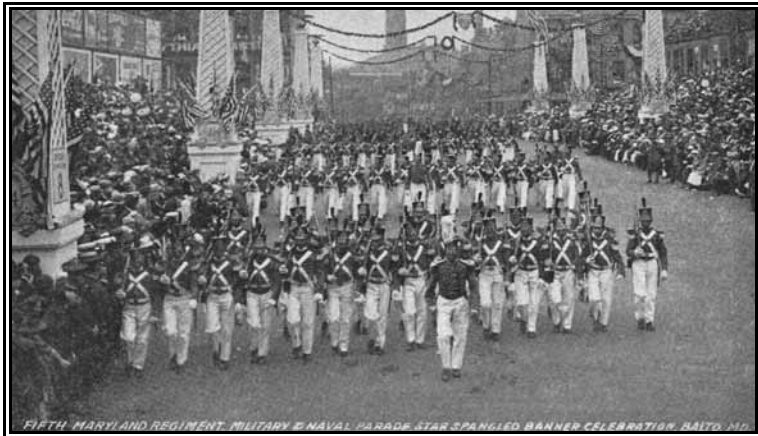
Society contribution in the Star-Spangled Banner Centennial in 1914 came in varied forms. The General Society of the War of 1812 Biennial Congress was hosted by the state society in Baltimore. Commemorative General Society silver spoons and Maryland Society medals were struck to recognize both the centennial and the biennial meeting. The Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland donated a statue of George Armistead to Fort McHenry. The authoritative work, “The British Invasion of Maryland,” by William Marine, was published for the centennial. It offered not only a valuable compendium of historical accounts of the Battle of Baltimore and other Chesapeake encounters, but also an alphabetized listing of all Marylanders then known to have taken part in the “Second War of Independence.”

¹⁰⁴ Isgrig, Chris, “Battle of Baltimore - The Rise and Fall of Fort McHenry,” 2003.



ILLUMINATION OF THE STAR-SPANGLED MASONIC ARCH.

Widespread use of electric lights was still a novelty in the early Twentieth Century. Newspapers reported another innovation with the headline “Autos Pack the Streets”. Notice the overarching Knights Templar symbol (Cross and Crown) in the upper center of the photo.



THE MARYLAND 5TH REGIMENT.

The Centennial celebration was attended by over 63,000 visitors. Parades, firework shows and military balls commemorated the successful defense of Baltimore in 1814 as well as a century of progress.

The Star-Spangled Banner

Significant commemorative and patriotic contributions of The Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland, and its “sister organization,” the United States Daughters of 1812, founded in 1892, continued in the decades following the Centennial Celebration.

In 1931, due largely to the efforts of Mrs. Reuben Ross Holloway, president of the Maryland State Society, United States Daughters of 1812, and Congressman J. Charles Linthicum, of Baltimore, Congress made "The Star-Spangled Banner" the official national anthem of the United States. From time to time resolutions with this goal had been introduced in the U.S. House of representatives and Senate, but none had been acted upon. Mrs. Holloway, along with Daughters' corresponding secretary, Mrs. James B. Arthur, approached many prominent persons and sought their support for the cause. In 1918, Congressman Linthicum introduced a bill in congress to designate “The Star-Spangled Banner” the national anthem. The measure failed to gain much support, so Linthicum introduced similar measures in every succeeding Congress. Other Congressmen introduced bills, but also without success. As time passed, other organizations joined the effort. Linthicum’s bill finally passed in the House on April 21, 1930, and in the Senate on March 3, 1931. President Herbert Hoover signed it into law that day.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ Heidler & Heidler, Encyclopedia of the War of 1812.

Municipal Parades

“Remember the Fort” Day was the first of many Defenders Day parades to come, many of which would be large-scale events such as the Centennial Parade in 1914. Parades commonly included local patriotic, fraternal, and municipal organizations.

The Society of the War of 1812 actively encouraged participation in and often sponsored Defenders’ Day parades throughout the 1900s¹⁰⁶. Upon election as president of the Society in 1909 General Peter Leary urged the local military organizations, especially the Fifth Regiment, which fought in the Battle of North Point, to conduct a parade to honor the day and keep patriotic sentiments strong, especially among the youth.¹⁰⁷ The “I Am an American” annual Defenders’ Day parade series, started in 1938 by the Hearst Corp., publisher of the old Baltimore News American,¹⁰⁸ saw a variety of sponsorship over seven decades, including Baltimore City and The Society of the War of 1812.¹⁰⁹ The parade sometimes drew hundreds of thousands of parade watchers.¹¹⁰ The 1940 Defenders’ Day parade took two-and-a-half hours to pass, jamming city streets. The Society, assuming a private character in the early-mid 20th century, typically recognized Defenders’ Day with a private banquet and a ceremony at the Battle Monument, was noted by the local newspaper in that year for being inconspicuous.¹¹¹ The Society did, however, make an appearance in later parades.

¹⁰⁶ “Thousands March 3 Miles in Defenders Day Parade,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 18, 1967.

¹⁰⁷ “Annual Parade Urged. Society of War of 1812 Would Honor Bombardment,” *Baltimore Sun*, October 26, 1909.

¹⁰⁸ “Lack of funds cancels 'I Am an American Day Parade' for '95”, *Baltimore Sun*, Liz Atwood, September 13, 1995.

¹⁰⁹ “A Grand Day for an American Parade,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 10, 1984.

¹¹⁰ “Parade Marks Defenders Day,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 14, 1970.

¹¹¹ “Crowds Watch Parade for Old Defenders,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 13, 1940.

The Last 60 Years and Into the Future

Well into the 1960s the Society enjoyed an acknowledged social prominence and *éclat*, drawing many of its members from the upper echelons of business, the professions, and the judiciary. Newspapers such as the *Baltimore Sun* featured the slate of elected Society officers. Society Defenders' Day banquets at locations such as Hotel Belvedere and Lord Baltimore would receive mention as well. In the 1950s Baltimore City underwrote the cost of the Society's Defenders' Day meal.

The Society's partnership with the City of Baltimore and Fort McHenry in sponsoring a Defenders' Day evening program of fireworks, 1814 military re-enactments, martial music, and patriotic recounting of the deeds of the Baltimore forces of 1814, has continued as an enduring endeavor. Not surviving past the 1950s was the tradition of attending a church service, as the Old Defenders had done.¹¹²



**1814 INFANTRY WARFARE DEMONSTRATION AT FORT
COURTESY MCHENRY NATIONAL PARK SERVICE**

¹¹² Personal interview with Dandridge Brooke, Baltimore, Maryland, June 01, 2011.

By the 1970s national businesses began replacing local Baltimore firms which had existed for generations. With the influx of new sentiment and the changing political dynamics experienced during that time, the Society of the War of 1812 resumed a more private character. This was well in line with the private nature that had come to form the basis for the annual meetings of the Old Defenders during their later years in the last part of the 19th century. But even then, new and competing influences translated into a reduction of general public interest, yet could not diminish the “flame of remembrance” among a relative few.

The Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland and The General Society of the War of 1812 published genealogical references and brief histories in 1972, 1988, 1989, 1993, and 1997.

The Bicentennial Celebration of the City of Baltimore in 1997 included an effort to restore and rededicate the Baltimore Battle Monument. Members of the Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland actively supported the restoration, and were on hand to speak and attend the rededication ceremony as a contingent of dignitaries.

Restoration of Battle Acre in North Point has also been a goal of the Society, with laying the groundwork for appropriate recognition of this significant but long-neglected area. The erection of a North Point monument is under consideration.

As the Bicentennial approaches, the Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland prepares for special one-time celebratory events, but it continues to conduct the quiet and faithful exercises which have characterized its recent past. The Defenders’ Day banquet and wreath-laying at the Battle Monument, a Mint Julep Party honoring the May 14th charter of the Association of Defenders, and an annual Jackson Day business meeting and luncheon are traditions which perpetuate the remembrance of the deeds of the Defenders of Baltimore in 1814.

SIDELIGHTS AND MUSINGS

A Private Moment with the 'Adversary'

On September 12, 1895, Mrs. Mary Dutton, age 90, gave a first-hand account of the Battle of North Point to the *Baltimore Sun*. Her father, John Murray, had a home at Orange Farm on the Philadelphia road, which was within a short distance of the battlefield. Even at her advanced age she still had a clear and vivid recollection of those momentous times.

"I remember the time of the battle very well," said Mrs. Dutton. "The fight with the British took place on a Monday afternoon, and the weather was very much like the warm weather we have been having for the past few days. The American soldiers marched down the Philadelphia Road past our house Sunday afternoon, and they presented a fine appearance. My father was not one of them, but I had two brothers, Francis and Matthew Murray, and a brother-in-law, Capt. Peter Gault, in the army. Mr. Robert Dutton, whom I afterward married, was one of a company which marched from Abingdon, Harford County, and was stationed in the entrenchments of the city.

"I was not at the house during the battle, as my father sent us away when he learned that the British were drawing near. We went up to Garrison Forest in Baltimore County, and with a great many families from Baltimore, remained there for ten days or so. My father and an aunt, Mrs. Elizabeth Gray, stayed at our home on the day of the battle. They heard and saw much of the fight, and when it was over our house was used as a temporary resting place for the wounded until they could be brought to Baltimore. On Tuesday morning my father was compelled to leave the house, when the British troops began to move toward Baltimore after the battle. They took possession of our place and stayed there all day. They killed all our hogs and chickens and even

dug up china which had been buried in the yard and smashed it to pieces. An old colored servant who had been on the place was told to go to Baltimore with a big milk can and buy a lot of Brandy for the British, but he never went back to them. We did not hear any news at Garrison Forest from Baltimore until Wednesday, and it was a time of great anxiety for everybody. We learned that the British had retreated early Wednesday morning.”

Over the years some doubt had been cast on the account that Daniel Wells and Henry G. McComas killed General Ross, the British commander. Mrs. Dutton stated, however, that everybody believed the story in the years immediately following the battle. “Wells and McComas had gotten separated from their company, somehow,” she said, “and standing on a little knoll they happened to see General Ross drawing near through the wood. They did not know, of course, that he was the British commander. Both of them leveled their weapons at him and fired. Before they had time to drop their guns from their shoulders they were shot down where they stood.

“After peace was declared a nephew of General Ross came over to this country. Under the guidance of my father he went over the battlefield and determined as nearly as possible where his uncle fell. I remember very well how he drove up to the house in a fine equipage, looking very handsome in the clothes he wore. My father had on his working clothes. “Hadn’t you better dress up a bit before you go with Mr. Ross,” asked my mother. “Not a bit of it,” was my father’s reply. When they came back the Englishman offered my mother a pinch of snuff out of a splendid snuff-box which belonged to his uncle. He promised to come back and visit us, but we never saw him again.”

Legends Are Better Than History.

The Oral Tradition of Society Origin

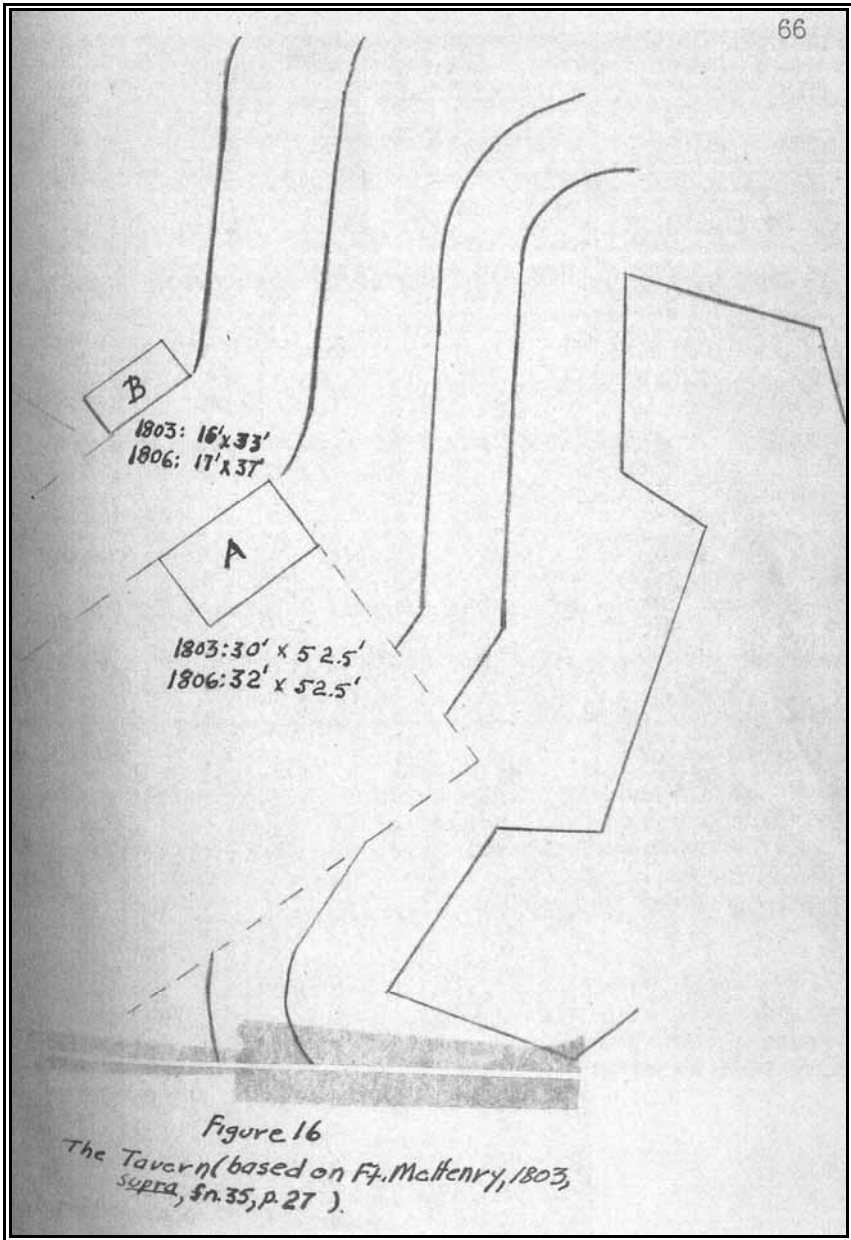
“After the fight, the soldiers at Fort McHenry, Covington’s and Six Gun Battery—commanded respectively by Major Armistead, Lieutenants Rodgers and Webster—the retreat of the British having been ascertained and realizing the consequences of their victory both to the city of Baltimore and to the nation, were so elated that after burying the dead soldiers of England, they paraded near their guns and there vowed that they would never disband, but come yearly to this spot and celebrate the event,” according to an 1895 newspaper account given by Dr. Albert Hadel, Secretary of the Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland. Traditional accounts report that this oath was taken Schwarzausers Tavern, which is not inconsistent with the former account given that the tavern property was about 100 yards or so from the walls of the Fort. This oath never to disband taken by the soldiers traditionally was thought the origin of a fraternal organization of soldiers and later, descendants of soldiers, to perpetually remember the battle.

Dr. Hadel reported that the sentiment for perpetual remembrance was conveyed to and embraced by the soldiers at North Point on September 14, 1814, when, jubilant, they joined the men from Fort McHenry in Baltimore City. According to his account, their spirited meeting inspired spontaneous marching and a vow of keeping remembrance. This legend has perpetuated as an oral tradition which continues as of this writing. The newspaper article where Hadel argued that September 14, 1814, was the date of organization was a rebuttal to Society officer J. Appleton Morgan’s assertion that September 13, 1814

Heritage of Courage

(which would have been during the bombardment) was the date of organization, with Morgan's arguments not presented.

As with most legends, there is a thread of truth woven within a romanticized story. The historic record supports an account of an oath taken at Fort McHenry by the surviving soldiers on September 13, 1836, a point at which the soldiers truly had a concern with regard to disbanding, as many were reaching the age of ineligibility for military service. Thus - decades long bond with their fellow soldiers—with whom they fought side-by-side in 1814—would be dissolved. The oath marked the beginning of the formation of a post-military organization of the aging men. The more recently constructed large 50' x 150' tavern built (a 32' x 52.5' dwelling existed previously in this spot) near the earlier and smaller 17' x 37' 1814 tavern had been purchased by the federal government the day before on September 12, 1836 (a holiday and day upon which business would not normally be conducted) and would have been the logical place to hold the event. Upon purchase, the tavern and its grounds became part of the garrison. If the legendary account were true over 1000 men would have sworn an oath inside of the 1814 tavern, which had 32' x 52.5' dimensions.



MAP OF SCHWARZAUER PROPERTY - EARLIER TAVERN (B) AND DWELLING (A). LARGER TAVERN CONSTRUCTED AFTER 1823 OVER DWELLING (A) AND ON AN ATTACHED 5 ACRE PROPERTY. FORT MCHENRY IS DEPICTED AT THE FAR RIGHT.¹¹³

¹¹³ Fort McHenry Archeological Report, 1957.

FOR RENT,



The Tavern House near Fort Mc-Henry, formerly occupied by Philip Schwarzaer. To any person of respectable character the terms will be liberal.

ALSO,



A dwelling House opposite the above tavern, having a lot of ground of five acres attached thereto, in a high state cultivation, and suitable for a market garden. For terms apply to

**DANIEL SCHWARZAUER,
april 1—1861 c* Baltimore Observatory.**

ADVERTISEMENT APPEARING IN THE BALTIMORE PATRIOT IN APRIL 1823

Evidence to suggest the citizen-soldiers organized on September 14, 1814 has not been found. Furthermore, that the British had not yet left the harbor on that 14th suggests the unlikelihood any such efforts could have occurred on that day. The men were still on duty. Later recognition of September 14 as a societal milestone was not evidenced by the Defenders. The Association of Defenders, by committee decision, set their charter date as May 14, 1842, not September 14, 1842. That the men organized a brotherhood in 1814 and took an oath to never disband is true, however, the two events did not occur simultaneously on September 14, 1814.

Report of the Special Committee of the 1816 Baltimore City Council for Commemoration of the Repulse of British Forces, September 13th and 14th, 1814

This is a transcription of a report made by the Special Committee, First Branch City Council, Baltimore, Maryland, respecting the measures necessary to be adopted to commemorate the repulse of the British Forces before Baltimore on the 12th and 13th of September, 1814.

The report was found in the Archives of Baltimore City, Reference 1814-298-A.

IN THE FIRST BRANCH OF THE CITY COUNCIL

The joint committee appointed by the two Branches of the City Council to report what measures are "necessary to perpetuate in a suitable manner the remembrance of the signal repulse and defeat of the late Enemy before Baltimore on the 12th and 13th of September 1814" beg leave to submit the annexed Resolve together with such observations as in their opinion the occasion calls for.

Your Committee are of opinion that there are in the affairs of nations, of cities, and communities, certain important eras which naturally call for some commemorative institution. When a people are rescued from the grasp of despotism - when their condition is ameliorated by some momentous revolution - or when they have escaped some heavy impending calamity through the intervention of a benign Providence, the human mind in all ages, has sought as well to record them continually in view by monumental remembrances. For

the latter of these purposes were the arts of sculpture, architecture and painting introduced amongst men. These present the subjects intended to be commemorated before the eyes of thousands who may not have time or opportunity to consult the volume of history, and produce a more lively impression on the minds of those who are not so debarred. To our youth, they furnish the most solemn and impressive lessons, and kindle a noble ardor to imitate these great examples. A brief review of that never to be forgotten period in the history of this City, when all America trembled for her fate, will show with how much reason we regard it as important. Never can it pass from our memories, while gratitude holds her seat in our hearts, or while we continue to honor the brave citizens, who bled and died in her defence.

The Country had been filled with anguish, astonishment and dismay, at the successful attack upon our Capital; we forgot for a moment that it was but a straggling (sic) Village, defended by an inadequate force - by militia hastily drawn together a few hours before, fatigued and worn down by extraordinary exertions, and we felt, as if a vital blow had been struck at our national existence. It was discovered that our foes had thrown aside the restraint of civilization and were resolved on the most cruel and barbarous warfare. This was unequivocally displayed in the wanton destruction of private property and in the mutilation of the most splendid monuments of the arts which this new world might boast. In their hasty retreat from the conflagration of Washington, it was easily perceived that Baltimore was destined to be the next victim. When the name of that hero and Statesman, whose illustrious example is no longer the exclusive right of any portion of the Globe, but belongs equally to the whole human race, could afford no protection, what was to be expected by Baltimore the peculiar object of their enmity - their most active and enterprising foe? The

return of our fellow citizens from the unsuccessful attempt to defend the unfortunate Capital, brought to us the afflicting account which spread a gloomy panic over our city now thought to be already in the deadly grasp of her unsparing enemy. It is not to be wondered at that the first sensations experienced on this awful occasion were those of despondency. A powerful fleet and a veteran army, urged on by the prospect of booty, were every moment expected to make their appearance before our City, at that moment in a state almost defenseless. In this situation of the public mind appalled as it was by terrors, from which there appeared no possible escape, our citizens determined on a defence; each endeavored to dispel the feelings of despondency by the example of his own resolution; new energy was inspired, and we were taught that a people contending in defence of their families and their homes, ought never to despair! The period of despondency was not of long duration. It soon yielded to the busy and anxious note of dreadful preparation. Ignoble and cowardly thoughts vanished and each one with alacrity took the post assigned him. Much was to be done in order to place a large open town in a situation to be defended by inexperienced militia. Excepting the Fort which defended the entrance to the harbor, this City which had grown up in an interval of peace, was without a single military work. What an interesting spectacle did she exhibit in the sudden transition of the employments of her industrious inhabitants from the avocations of a peaceful life to the turbulent scenes of war! The merchant, the mechanic, the professional man laboring together in the same trench, serving the same piece of artillery or exposed to the most inclement weather and performing the duty of veterans. Such was the scene which Baltimore exhibited previously to the powerful attack by the forces of Great Britain. We behold a peaceful city transformed on a sudden into a martial camp; its inhabitants

throwing off their civic habits and feeling all at once the ardor of the patriot soldiers of Greece or Rome. Instead of mercenary hirelings, fighting for their pay, we behold friends and neighbors, brothers and even father and son, old men and boys scarcely able to wield a musket, mingled in the same company, united in the defence of all that is dear to the human heart. Notwithstanding this determined attitude which Baltimore assumed, the contest was yet regarded as most doubtful its probable result was indeed against her. Assailed by land and sea, by so powerful a force, to contend with troops flushed by recent victory, under perfect discipline, and impelled by the hope of obtaining a rich booty, with preparations of defence made in the greatest possible haste, her situation, had she taken a moment to weigh the chances of war must have appeared desperate indeed. The defence thus manfully undertaken under circumstances so discouraging cannot but heighten the merit of success. Scarcely had there been time allowed for these hasty preparations for the reception of the Enemy, when on the 11th of September, 1814, he made his appearance at the mouth of the Patapsco with a fleet of ships of war and transports amounting to fifty sail besides a great number of smaller vessels. On the same day the land forces to the number of at least seven thousand men, the veterans of Wellington, debarked at North Point, and on the following day advanced toward our city. The Baltimore Brigade composed of citizens of the place, claimed the honor of being the first to meet the invader and check his insolent march. They accordingly went forth to give him a foretaste of the manner and spirit with which he might expect to be received. The Enemy was unexpectedly met by an advanced party of the Brigade, and in a skirmish which ensued, their Commander-in-Chief General Ross, was killed. At first disconcerted, then exasperated by this unforeseen and signal misfortune, they rushed forward under the orders of the next in command, to revenge the death of their leader. The Brigade,

although not more than fourteen hundred stronger, received with coolness the onset of a force so superior in numbers and discipline. They maintained a brave fight and made a considerable slaughter amongst the enemies of our Country, holding their ground until that Enemy approached within twenty paces, which prudence dictated that they retire to the post assigned them in the general line of defence. Many of our most worthy and now lamented fellow citizens, on that day, offered up their lives as a sacrifice on the altar of their country, for the protection of our firesides and to secure to us that safety and prosperity which we now enjoy. Shall those brave men ever be forgotten? Shall we show ourselves ungrateful by neglecting to pay due honor to their memories? Or rather what honor can our gratitude devise, commensurate with the blessings they have procured us?

One Hundred and Sixty-Three of our fellow citizens, nearly one eighth of the force engaged, bled on that occasion! This is no summer parade of patriotism. The immediate consequences of this affair was to check the progress of the British army, and to prove to them that a resistance was to be expected very different from that which they had anticipated. Their accounts of the battle show in what lights it was regarded by them. They magnified our forces to "six thousand men" and vauntingly told of their having "put over thousand Hors de combat". Their loss was double ours, according to the most reasonable estimates, and it was greater even according to their own acknowledgements; so that, when we add to this, the loss of their Commander, they could boast of but a barren victory. But to us, it was attended with all the effects of a real victory, it infused now courage and confidence in our troops too much disposed to magnify the progress of their foes; their chief was no more; the invincibles of Wellington had been withstood by raw militia. The affect of this affair

on the result of the contest was signally beneficial. The Enemy cautiously approached the entrenchments lined by freemen, and after viewing their positions, and having already formed some estimate of the resolution with which they were animated, deemed it prudent to retire.

Our City was still more awfully threatened from another quarter. But for the unexampled defence of Fort McHenry, all our efforts on the land side would have been vain. On the 13th of September, 1814, the most eventful day that Baltimore ever knew, the enemy's ships formed a crescent round the Fort and commenced a tremendous bombardment which continued with little interruption for twenty four hours; during which time upwards of fifteen hundred large shells were thrown weighing each two hundred pounds beside a vast number of round shot and rockets. The Fort was defended by a gallant officer, and manned by citizen soldiers of Baltimore in conjunction with a small body of sea-fencibles and regulars. The throb of anxiety which then agitated the bosom of every inhabitant of this City will never be forgotten, nor the joy which we hailed on the glorious day of the return of our troops, the beloved flag of our country, still waving in proud defiance to our assailants. We have had (sic) also to lament the loss of some of our most respectable townsmen, who fell at their posts. The invader, baffled in all his attempts, was compelled at last to retire, and our City once more lifted up her head in gladness.

The effects of this signal and almost unhopd for repulse raised the character of Baltimore throughout the whole union. The conduct of her citizens was cited as worthy of imitation, and the misfortunes of our army at Washington were for the time forgotten or considered as retrieved. The event was the most consoling and encouraging to the whole nation, at that moment much embarrassed and depressed, and it

is not too much to say that this affair together with that of Plattsburg was productive of the most important effect upon the ultimate results of the War. From that day, Baltimore assumed a proud rank amongst the American Cities, and her future hopes were fixed upon imperishable foundations. But why do we enumerate all those facts, still recent in the memories of our fellow citizens? Because the simple recital of the story of the preservation, nay of the second birth of Baltimore, will most forcibly impress us with the importance of the event, and will constitute the best argument in favor of a suitable commemoration. When a people are so sunk in apathy, so lost to generous feeling, as to suffer such transactions to pass away unnoticed and unmarked, it is an evidence that they are in a fair way of losing the spirit which produced them. We are neither wanting in public spirit, nor in individual enterprise and we are fully conscious that there is still something higher due to the noble feelings of humanity; to those exalted sentiments which show a people to be possessed of more generous incentives to action, than the mere sordid interested desire of gain. Occurrences of less moment have given rise to solemn festivals and to pompous celebrations, Baltimore has laid the foundations of a monument to the memory of our fellow citizens who fell on the memorable twelfth and thirteenth of September, 1814, and it is proposed on this occasion, at the Public expense, to illustrate the events of those important days on which the fate of our City was so critically suspended by instituting some suitable memorial. This is proposed to be done by two paintings, the one of the battle of North Point, where our fellow citizens first met the Enemy, and the other of the bombardment of Fort McHenry where an awful attack was resisted with the most glorious success. Your Committee are of opinion that more admirable subjects never offered themselves to the genius of the

painter. Where can we find a more touching and we may say sublime spectacle, than that of a peaceful city, thus threatened with utter destruction by a force deemed invincible, resolving on her defence in a moment of general panic, and without experience in war. A city filled with women and children and old men equally alarmed by the dangers impending over themselves and by those which threatened their beloved soldiers—their defenders, their stay and support and dependence in peace as well as in the hour of battle. What spectacle amongst men can have more of sublimity than that exhibited by these citizen soldiers marching forth from their homes and from the bosom of their families, cheerfully to devote themselves in a cause sanctified by every earthly endearment! The appearance of a regiment moving under such circumstances must impress every generous heart, with sensations very different from the sight of the mercenary hireling who fights for his pay, to gratify the guilty ambition of a master, with a savage ferocity in the contemplation of his prey. View it as we may, all modern history may be challenged to produce a subject more finely adapted to the most elevated efforts of the painter for it is not the conflict merely that we are to consider, important as it is, but the great example, the admirable lesson, the fine trait of history conveyed to future times standing on equality with the noblest of antiquity. It is by such traits, that the history and characters of nations are formed. It is these occurrences, which bestow upon them an independent and distinctive existence. The brave defence of Baltimore will no doubt be recorded in history with all the honor which it merits, but as a community, we ought to do something to show that we are not insensible to the glory of the achievement. What Baltimorean, what American will not feel a generous glow of exultation and pride of Country when he beholds these monumental testimonials of the valor

and virtue of his countrymen? Nothing contributed so much in the bright days of Greece and Rome, to keep alive their patriotic feelings and public spirit, as their national monuments.

The American Republic but just in its infancy - but just beginning to acquire a character and a name, for this can only be the result of a series of noble actions, demands that every exploit of her sons should be carefully monumented. It is important even with a view to the permanent Union of the States. The day will come when our Orators, our painters and poets will find ample matters for the exercise of their respective talents in the national achievements of our own Country. It is due then to that Country, to this City, to the brave men who fought, to the living and the dead, to our children who may be called on some future day to emulate the example, that some suitable measure be adopted to commemorate and mark those events so highly interesting to the City of Baltimore, and to the American People.

On the Part of the 1st Branch

JAMES MOSHER

F. SHEPPARD

JOHN BERRY

WM. ROSS

RICHARD B. MAGRUDER

Heritage of Courage

On the Part of the 2nd Branch

JAS. BIAYS

CUMB'D DUGAN

CHARLES BOHN

(Note that the two paintings mentioned as being commissioned were created by a militiaman who served in the Washington Blues, a company of the 5th Maryland Regiment, Thomas Ruckle: “The Assembling of the Troops” and “The Defense of Baltimore.” Both paintings are now in the collection at The Maryland Historical Society.)

Laying the Cornerstone of the Battle Monument

as it appears in *Scharf's History of Baltimore City*

Agreeably to the foregoing resolution, on the 12th of September, 1815, a procession was formed in Great York street (now East Baltimore street) which proceeded by the intended route to Monument square. The funeral car, surmounted by a plan of the intended monument as designed by Mr. Maximilian Godefroy, and executed by Mr. John Finley assisted by Mr. Rembrandt Peale, was drawn by six white horses, caparisoned and led by six men in military uniform, and guarded by the Independent Blues, commanded by Capt. Levering. On the arrival at the square, the band, under direction of Professors Neninger and Bunzie, performed the music selected for the occasion. The Right Rev. Bishop Kemp then addressed the Throne of Grace in prayer, when the cornerstone of the monument was laid by the architect and his assistants, under the direction of General Smith, General Stricker, Colonel Armistead, and the Mayor. The book containing the names of the subscribers to the building of the monument, two newspapers of the preceding day, gold, silver, and copper coin of the United States, were deposited therein, together with a plate of copper on which was engraved—

September XII.

A. D. MDCCCXV.

In the XL year of Independence.

JAMES MADISON being President of the United States.

To the memory of the brave defenders of this city, who gloriously fell in the Battle at North Point on the XII September, 1814, And at the bombardment of Fort McHenry on the XIII of the same month;

Heritage of Courage

EDWARD JOHNSON, Mayor of the City.

Maj. Gen. Samuel Smith, Brig-Gen. John Stricker, and Lieut. Col.
Armistead

of the U. S. Artillery,

Laid the corner stone of this Monument of public gratitude and the
deliverance of this city,

Raised by the munificence of the citizens of Baltimore, and under the
superintendence of the Committee of Vigilance and Safety.

J. Maximilian M. Godefroy. Architect J. G. Neale, S. Baughman, and
E. Hore, Stone-cutters. W. Attley, Stone-mason.

The Rev. Dr. Inglis then delivered the address, after which the
Mayor announced to Gen. Harper that the laying of the cornerstone
was completed, when a federal salute was fired by the detachment of
artillery, and the assembly was dismissed. Minute guns were fired, and
the bells of Christ Church were rung muffled during the moving of the
procession, and all business was suspended for the day.

The following inscriptions appear on the different sides of this
monument naming the men who died:

BATTLE OF NORTH POINT,

13th of September, A. D. 1814, and of the Independence of the United
States • the thirty-ninth.

BOMBARDMENT OF FORT McHENRY.

September 13, A. D. 1814.

Sidelights and Musings

John Lowry Donaldson, Adjutant, 27th Regiment.

Gregorius Andre, Lieut. 1st Rifle Battalion.

Levi Claggett, 3d Lieut, in Nicholson's Artillerists.

G. Jenkins, H. G. McComas, D. Wells, J. Richardson, J. Burneston, W. McClellan, R. K. Cooksey, W. Alexander, G Fallier, J. Wallack, T. V. Beeston, J. Jephson, J C. Byrd, D. Howard, E. Marriott, W. Ways, J. H. Marriott of John, J. Dunn, C. Bell, J. Armstrong, P. Byard, J. Clemm, M. Desk, B. Reynolds, T. Garrett, J. Craig, J. Gregg, J. Merriken, R. Neale, A. Randall, C. Cox, J. Evans, J. H. Cox, U. Prosser, J. Haubert, J. Wolf, B. Bond, D. Davis

A Fitting Toast and Two Heartfelt Tributes

A toast offered to the Defenders can be found in the September, 1830, edition of the *Lynn Mirror* from York, Pennsylvania, which informs us that “several gentlemen from this and of the neighboring towns, who were residents at Baltimore on the ever memorial 12th of September, 1814, met at Nahants at Rhees, where, as usual, lots of good things were prepared to celebrate the Battle of North Point. Captain Joseph Johnson was called to the chair. From the toasts we select one:

“The Defenders of Fort McHenry—When the flag over their heads was torn by descending bombs, their hearts remained unbroken.”

The Rev. Dr Jesse Taylor, grandson of a defender of Baltimore, declared on Defenders Day: “I am proud to be an American, proud to be a Marylander, and prouder it may be to be a Baltimorean. The 12th of September never comes but finds me filled with emotions of pride for the city of my nativity. As long as Baltimore lasts I trust that the grass on the graves of the Old Defenders will be kept green. I trust that as the city grows, the spirit of the past will grow in the breasts of men, so that the Star-Spangled Banner will have patriots to defend it.”¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ “Local Matters. Almanac for this Day,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 13, 1890.

At the inaugural Defenders' Day event of the Descendants of the Defenders of Baltimore, William Marine eulogized: "The men who fought the Battle of North Point and who stood behind the breastworks at Fort McHenry eighty years ago are known no more by those who march now beneath the starry flag, but the memory of their deeds will never be forgotten. It was my good fortune to be associated with those who helped make this association what it is. There were over 100. I have seen that noble band gradually diminish, and as I stand here I seem to almost hear their voices and see their faces, and I feel that I am the link for the moment between them and their descendants. In times past when speaking on occasions like this, I have sought to impress upon all the fact that we owe a debt of gratitude that can never be paid. The acts of those patriots of our State were far more brilliant than the many deeds that have given more generous mention in history."¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ "A Victory Recalled. A Celebration by Descendants of the Defenders of Baltimore," *Baltimore Sun*, September 9, 1892.

The North Point Monument

North Point Monument is a curious breach in an otherwise stellar record of a city in attributing what is due in recognition of benefactors. The cornerstone for this monument was laid at the North Point Battleground in "Battle Acre" with great enthusiasm on the twenty fifth anniversary of the Battle of North Point, September 12, 1839, and then largely forgotten.

A correspondent asks for information relative to the "disease" that prevents the growth of the North Point Monument. He says it grew to its present stature, which is to be measured in "inches" with marvelous rapidity, and then stopped short. He says, "it is mournful and melancholy; that the favorite enterprise of our city, the youngest born of her monument offspring, over whose birth such boisterous rejoicings were held, should be hopelessly stunted in growth? We agree with him; it is certainly a matter of regret, that so much patriotic display should have been exhibited at the laying of the cornerstone, and that nothing should since have been done for the erection of a superstructure...."

A contemporary account of the grand laying of the cornerstone is as follows:

The Monument at North Point - The ceremony of laying the corner stone at North Point, was celebrated Thursday, by the military and citizens of Baltimore, who were received at the spot by the survivors of the gallant band who aided in the defense of the Point. The cornerstone was then laid, with a few appropriate remarks by the venerable General William McDonald. In it there were deposited the usual documents, a copy of each of the papers of the day; the muster rolls of the companies engaged in the conflict; the rolls of the volunteer troops present, &c.

Sidelights and Musings

After this ceremony, the veterans of the late war and the officiating officers of the day proceeded to the woods, where a prayer was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Juiris, and an oration by Gen. Benjamin C. Howard. His Excellency Governor Grason, His Honor the Mayor, the Secretary of the Treasury, and other officers of the cabinet at Washington were present at the ceremony.

Since preparing the above, we have received the following letter from our correspondent.

Baltimore, September 12, 1839.

Gentlemen.—Having heretofore made it a point to write you whenever I had anything of interest to your citizens to communicate, I should certainly be wanting in attention, now that the Ledger is a daily supplied, as I understand, to several hundred subscribers in Baltimore, were I not to continue to furnish you with whatever of news that comes under my observation. Today (Sept. 12) is the 25th anniversary of the justly famed battle of North Point, and gallantly it has been celebrated. Baltimore, already famous for monuments, commemorative of great men and other great events, today did honor to the noble achievement of 1814, at North Point, by sealing the cornerstone of a monument about to be erected on the ground of the battle. Early in the morning the city was literally alive with military companies and citizen spectators assembling from different parts of the city, and the former forming in Gay street, whence, after a variety of evolutions, marchings and counter-marchings, the spirit stirring martial music of a dozen or more excellent bands, they embarked onboard the numerous steamboats lying, apparently parting for movement, in the Bay. Among the steamboats which went down to the ground with an average of from 700 to 1000 persons on board of each, I recollect the names of only the Charles Carroll, the Alabama, the Georgia, the Fredericksburg, the Rappahannock and Patapsco, but there were 7 or 8 of which I should think would average on board between the number mentioned. The splendid boat Charles Carroll was appropriated to carry down the "defenders, "as they were termed, the veterans who participated in the

Heritage of Courage

glorious achievement about to be commemorated. They were designated by a small black cockade upon the hat, and from the number thus designated one would suppose that a great proportion of the heroes of North Point were now present. I had the good fortune to obtain passage on board the same boat with them and it was really gratifying to hear the brave old soldiers reanimated by the present occasion, recount their battle o'er, and describe the various circumstances attending it. The other boats were occupied promiscuously by military companies and citizens and were dangerously crowded. Besides those who went down on board the boats, there were on the ground a great number of persons in hacks, on horseback, in sulkies, baggies, wagons, and carryalls showing that notwithstanding the boats were literally crammed, they did not carry all. North Point is about 10 miles from the city by land and about 15 by water. In making our way to it by water, we have to several miles up Bear Creek, quite a narrow body of water, but very deep, as you will conclude by the fact that the largest steamboats found no difficulty in making their way up right in front of the battle ground. The ground is a lonesome and dreary place, mostly covered with a second growth of young timber with some 20 or 30 acres cleared, within which is the site of the contemplated monument. This spot has been cleared, and improvements made by Mr. Houck, proprietor of the celebrated quack medicine which bears his name, who has erected a hotel at the landing which overlooks the ground. If I were not convinced by the appearances of the day of the almost universal enthusiasm which has enlisted the feeling of the citizens upon the subject, I should imagine that the affair had been got up by the owner of the ground (who gives an acre of land for the site of the monument) to add value to his lands.

One of the two military companies from Philadelphia were expected, Captain Fritz's National Greys, particularly.

No accident of any account occurred to my knowledge, notwithstanding the immense multitude who assembled, crowding every mode of conveyance to the utmost.

September 14, 1839, *The Sun*

The reason for such discrepancy in ambition expressed in the cornerstone ceremony and lack of follow-up action to complete the monument is open to speculation. Contemporary newspaper accounts cited political opportunism for putting goals so far out of balance with, or in the absence of, any planned follow-up. Efforts have been made by the Society to bring about completion of the monument¹¹⁶. A tablet and plaque were placed at the site in 1914 as part of the Centennial celebration. It is never too late to close this story by finishing the monument.

¹¹⁶ "North Point Monument," *Baltimore Sun*, February 26, 1898.

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