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Fall 2012

MARYLAND
Historical Magazine

Friends of the Press of the Maryland Historical Society

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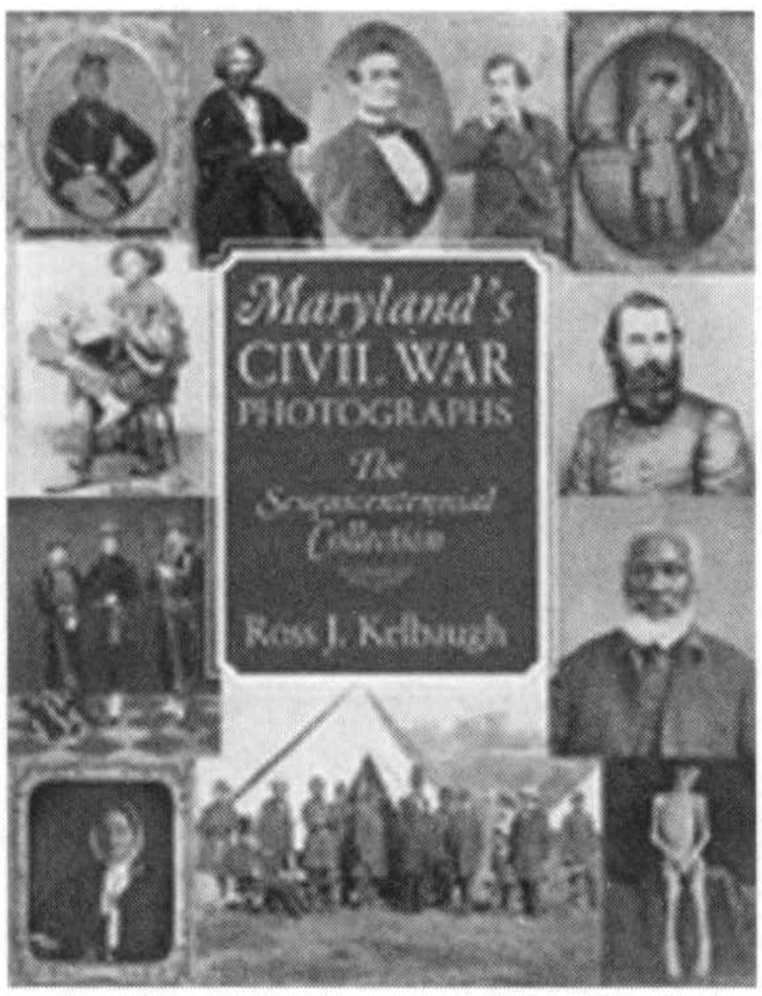

Ross J. Kelbaugh, *Maryland's Civil War Photographs: The Sesquicentennial Collection*, is a vast photographic record of the people, places, and events surrounding the war. It is also the largest collection of original Maryland-related Civil War photographs ever published.

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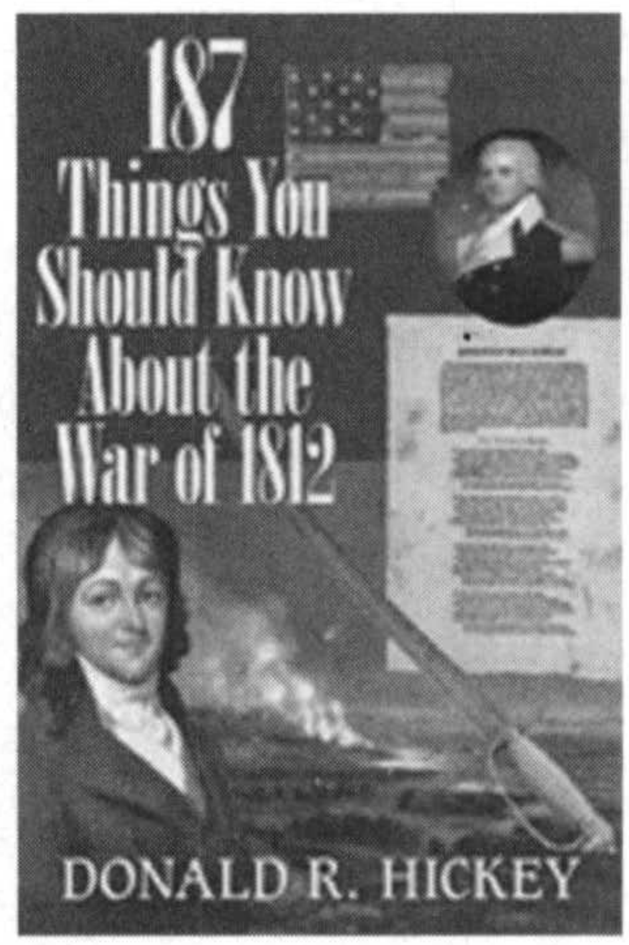

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Editor's Notebook

Bertram Wyatt-Brown, in Memoriam

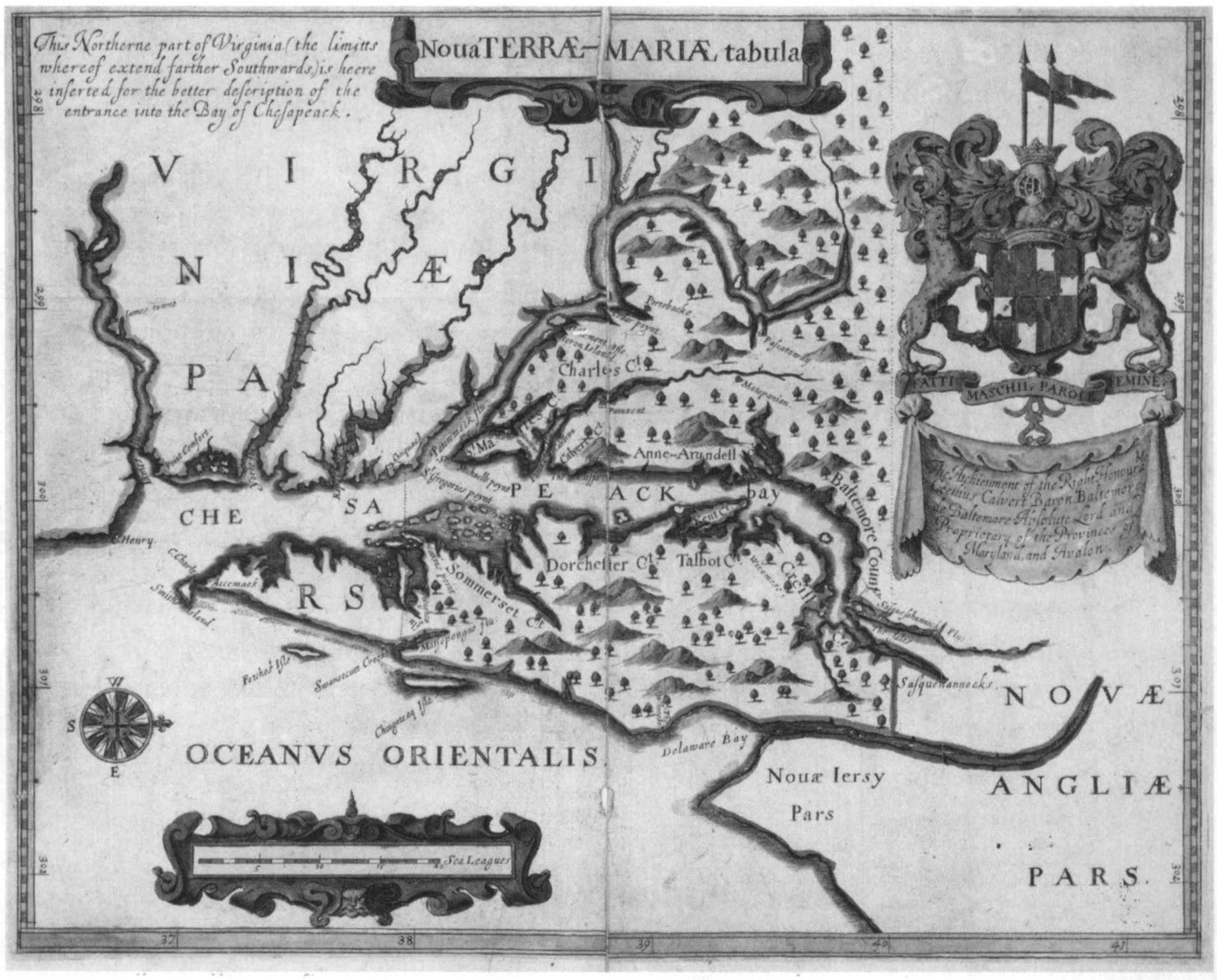
In 1995, editor Ernest L. Scott addressed the question of why there were so many names on the Maryland Historical Magazine masthead and detailed the roles and responsibilities of those who brought this journal to print. Although those duties have shifted over the past eighteen years, the Publications Committee's function remains unchanged. The recent death of member Bertram Wyatt-Brown prompts another behind-the-scenes revelation into the workings of this essential group of volunteers, some of whom have gathered at the table for decades.

Historians, publishers, editors, lawyers, and a judge serve on this committee, identified on the masthead as the "Editorial Board." Some are retired and others are building careers, but all share their time and expertise in continuing a century-long tradition of excellence and integrity. Members read and critique submissions, review new titles, fundraise for Friends of the Press, approve production costs, and break into subcommittees for special projects. Beyond the tangible, the committee offers unfailing intellectual and moral support, and every question is answered, no matter how trivial. Jean Baker brought Bert to the committee in 2005. His personal warmth and humor enlivened our meetings as his scholarship buttressed our work. Even as his health failed, he tirelessly offered encouragement during the most challenging of seasons. We will miss him most deeply. Standing on the threshold of volume 108, we thank you, Bertram Wyatt-Brown, for gracing our efforts, and this committee of luminaries for their commitment to Maryland history through the printed word.

PDA

Cover

Maryland's Union regiments lost forty-eight officers during the Civil War, among them Captain Robert A. Wilson, photographed in 1861 at Camp Carroll, Baltimore. In February 1865, Robert and his brother, Colonel John W. Wilson, suffered fatal injuries during three days of fighting at Dabney's Mill (Hatcher's Run). John died on the battlefield and Robert in Baltimore one week later. The battle, one in a series of General Robert E. Lee's attempts to break the siege of Petersburg and Richmond, resulted in 3,000 deaths and no clear victory for the Union Army. (Courtesy, the Logan family.)



Archaeologists have recently identified the southern Maryland site of the Piscataway on lands that belonged to Governor Charles Calvert. (John Ogilby, Nova Terra-Maria Tabula *[London, 1671]. Maryland Historical Society.)*

The Zekiah Town and Fort of the Piscataway and Allied Indians (1665–1692)

WAYNE E. CLARK

In seventeenth-century Maryland, the leadership of the Piscataway paramount chiefdom attempted with diplomacy, skill, and tenacity to navigate the turbulent waters brought by a growing tide of English settlers. The Lords Baltimore and Governor Charles Calvert entered into formal treaties with them to codify the terms of mutual coexistence, to trade for furs and other commodities, to provide for allied defense against common Iroquois enemies, and to establish the formal relationship between independent English and Algonquian polities. Under the power of the 1633 charter granted them by the King of England, the Lords Baltimore claimed title to all lands in Maryland. The tayac and weroances of the southern Maryland chiefdoms initially resisted that assumption by giving land to the Jesuits, a practice the Lords Baltimore stopped in the 1640s. By the 1650s, the native leadership had conceded the dominance of the Maryland and English governments and had begun to enter into treaties that created a series of reserves for the various allied chiefdoms in which they could maintain their self-government and Algonquian way of life.[1]

This article poses new theories about the Algonquian and English leaderships' need to establish a dual system of land reserves for Indian use. The traditional subsistence pattern practiced by all the chiefdoms involved living in agricultural towns from summer to fall, moving families to smaller winter hunting quarters, moving them again to early spring fishing quarters, and in late spring returning the entire population to their summer towns in the tidewater to plant crops. The reserves were carved out of a radius of three miles around the summer town lands. The Choptico, Portaback, and Piscataway chiefdoms also had reserves created for them surrounding their winter hunting quarters. Reserves were not created around the spring fishing quarters, but in all treaties the Indians kept the right to hunt, crab, and fish in lands and waters that Lord Baltimore conveyed to the ever-expanding English population seeking to plant tobacco.

The extensive Zekiah Swamp served as a buffer rich in food resources necessary to support the seasonal rounds of the Choptico chiefdom and the five chiefdoms led by the tayac of the Piscataway paramount chiefdom. Zekiah Manor was estab-

The author, executive director of the Tri-County Council for Southern Maryland, has published several works on Maryland's Indian peoples.

lished in 1665 around the Zekiah Indian town, which this author proposes was the principal winter hunting quarters of the Piscataway paramount chiefdom, and Governor Charles Calvert retained title to the manor for use by the Zekiah Indians. To reinforce his title to this manor, Calvert built his summer home there in 1673, at a spot that appears to have been within a mile of the Zekiah Indian town along the Piney Branch Indian path.

In 1675, the Maryland and Virginia English and the Choptico, Mattawoman, and Piscataway allied chiefdoms besieged a Susquehannock fort on Piscataway Creek. During the siege, the English killed five Susquehannock tribal leaders who had come out of the fort under a flag of truce, a diplomatic blunder that embittered the Susquehannocks. Those who escaped the English siege eventually formed an alliance with the Five Nation Iroquois and lived under their authority. They also spent the next decade encouraging the Iroquois either to force the southern Maryland Indians to join them or eliminate them as a people in retaliation for their alliance with the Maryland English.

By 1680, Iroquoian attacks drove the Piscataway to seek permission from the Maryland leadership to move east to the Choptico or Zekiah towns or to the Mattawoman fort. The parties settled on relocating the occupants of the Piscataway fort to a new one they built within Zekiah Manor and close to the Zekiah Indian town in the area of the Piney Branch Indian path. Here they resided peacefully with the Marylanders until Lord Baltimore's Catholic-dominated government was overthrown in 1689 during the Protestant Reformation. Leaders of the southern Maryland chiefdom soon found that the new Protestant government was suspicious of the Piscataway Indian alliances to both the Iroquois, which the Piscataway Indians entered into in 1682, and to the Catholic leadership in Maryland and therefore were generally hostile toward them. With the arrival of Sir Lionel Copley as governor in 1692, and his subsequent anti-Indian measures, the Piscataway abandoned the Zekiah fort for one they built on Rock Creek at the fall line of the Potomac drainage, beyond the reach of the Maryland government.

Lord Baltimore, now out of power in Maryland and struggling to retain title to his lands, took measures in 1690 to reassure the Piscataway that he would hold the Piscataway and Zekiah Manor's reserves for their use on the prospect that he would someday return to Maryland. Baltimore regained control of his manors in the mid-1690s but failed to regain control of the colony from the Protestant government, which saw no advantage in treating the Piscataway fairly since it prized their reserve lands over any benefit from an alliance. The Piscataway responded in 1697 by migrating even farther west in the Piedmont beyond the control of the provincial government. Having failed to secure the return of the Piscataway to their reserve lands, Lord Baltimore began conveying tracts within Zekiah Manor to his loyal supporters. The former cornfields, Zekiah town, and Zekiah fort were deeded to English settlers and their locations forgotten.

In the 1930s interest in the Zekiah fort was revived through the research of Raphael Semmes and William B. Marye, the leading historians of their generation interested in southern Maryland's seventeenth-century Indian life. Efforts by archaeologists to follow their clues and locate the fort near the Zekiah Swamp were unsuccessful until 2011, when a team assembled under the leadership of a St. Mary's College professor, Dr. Julia King, with funding provided by Michael and Laura Sullivan, Smallwood Foundation of Charles County, conclusively discovered the location of Zekiah town (1665–1680) within Zekiah Manor. They believe that the Zekiah Fort (1680–1692) was built within the limits of the Zekiah Indian town. Both the town and the fort sites are predicted to be within the largest land tract of Zekiah Manor, the Jordan tract (Figure 1).

In the early seventeenth century, the Piscataway paramount chiefdom consisted of five smaller chiefdoms or polities under the rule of the Piscataway paramount chief. The Piscataway term for the paramount chief was tayac; the English referred to him as the Indians' emperor. The smaller chiefdoms under the authority of the tayac in the 1630s were the Anacostian, Piscataway, Mattawoman, Nanjemoy, and Portoback chiefdoms. For the purposes of this study, individual polities under the authority of a weroance will be called chiefdoms, and the larger government under control of the tayac will be called a paramount chiefdom.[2] Each chiefdom was ruled by a weroance—the English referred to weroances as kings—who acknowledged the authority of the tayac of the Piscataway paramount chiefdom.[3] That chiefdom stretched from the fall line along the north shore of the Potomac River southward to the Port Tobacco River drainage. In 1632, Henry Fleet estimated that five thousand Algonquian-speaking Indians lived in various polities along both shores of the tidal Potomac River basin.[4]

The Choptico chiefdom and allied Indian towns along the tidal Wicomico River and the three chiefdoms along the Patuxent River were independent of the Piscataway paramount chiefdom but allied with one another for mutual support.[5] In 1651, the Choptico and allied Patuxent groups entered into a treaty with Lord Baltimore, who then created and held for them as a reserve the Choptico Resolving Manor of more than six thousand acres at the juncture of Choptico Creek and the Wicomico River.[6] That year the governor also reserved Beaver Dam Manor on the upper Wicomico River for his own use, but the land also appears to have been reserved as a winter hunting quarters for the Choptico chiefdom.[7]

By the 1650s the weroances and great men of the southern Maryland Indian chiefdoms apparently concluded that Lord Baltimore and the colonists intended to "reserve land" for Indian use only around major, permanent Indian settlements. Since hunting quarters were only seasonally used and occupied, Indian abandonment during three quarters of the year led the colonists to pressure Baltimore to remove the reserve status from these underutilized lands and to permit their use for tobacco plantations. A practical solution appears to have been to establish year-round

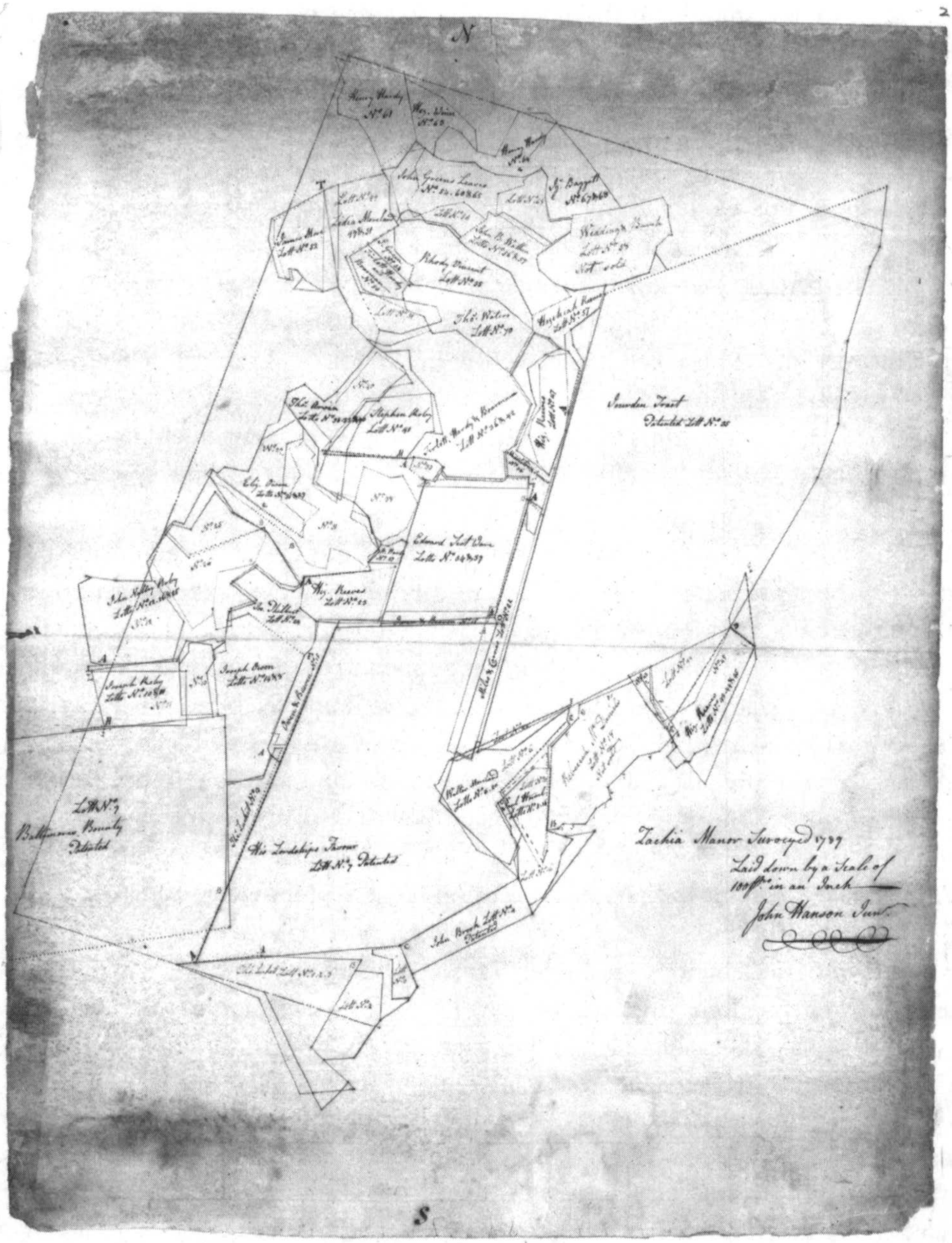


Figure 1: The 1789 plat of Zekiah Manor, established in 1665 around the Zekiah Indian town. Image reproduced with permission of the Maryland State Archives, MSA S65-126.

residency for select Indian families at the hunting quarters and compelling those families to establish agricultural fields around their homes in these non-fortified towns. The "towns" in the traditional hunting areas of the major chiefdoms thus met the rule that the reserves were secure under Lord Baltimore's ownership so long as the Indians continued to demonstrate year-round residency.

A broader understanding of the seasonal shifting of settlement patterns is important to set the stage for seventeenth-century decisions made by the Piscataway regarding reserve lands and village movement. All the Algonquian-speaking Indians of southern Maryland followed an annual seasonal round of three shifts in settlement locations to take advantage of changing resources in the five seasons they observed. From early spring (cattapeuk) to early summer (cohattayough), families resided in fishing quarters where they depended on fish and waterfowl in addition to such foods as tuckahoe (a fresh water marsh root) and oysters. From summer to late fall (nepinough and taquitock), most of a chiefdom's population lived in the farming hamlets along major rivers in areas where the soil was good for growing corn, beans, and squash. After the harvest and feasting ended, families relocated to the interior of their territory and established smaller winter hunting quarters, periodically bringing food back to the families that remained in the agricultural villages. The winter season was called popanow. Traditionally, only the farming towns were occupied year-round by a part of the population.[8]

The Zekiah Swamp served as a winter hunting area and buffer zone used by the members of the Piscataway paramount chiefdom and the Choptico chiefdom.[9] Trails from the villages along the drainage divides to Mattawoman and Zekiah Swamps allowed for the regular travel between summer villages and the interior hunting camps. With the return of spring vegetation and annual fish runs, the families shifted to the tidal rivers to take advantage of tuckahoe, oysters, fish, waterfowl, and other gathered materials.[10]

In 1666 the Maryland government continued to encourage all southern Maryland chiefdoms to acknowledge control of the Piscataway tayac, a move that non-allied chiefdoms and some allied chiefdoms successfully resisted.[11] The 1666 treaty, agreed to by the Piscataway's tayac, various weroances, and the great men of the recognized chiefdoms and independent Indian towns, reaffirmed existing Indian reserves and created new ones. The articles of peace included the "Pascattoway, Anacostanck, Doags, Mikikiwomans, Manasquesend, Mattawomans, Chingwawateick, Hangemaick, Portobackes, Sacayo (Zekiah), Panyayo [Pangayo] and Choptico."[12]

The first mention of the Zekiah and Pangayo dated to a year earlier when Governor Calvert laid out six-thousand-acre manors to include the best lands around the Indian towns of Pangaio and Sackio.[13] The Zekiah Indians, from 1665 to the last reference to them in 1692, were never represented by a weroance. After 1680 their name is interchangeable with the Piscataway associated with Zekiah fort or Zekiah town. A major Indian path connected Zekiah Indian town to the old Piscataway fort on Piscataway Creek. The evidence indicates that Zekiah Manor was created around a winter hunting quarters used by the various chiefdoms under the control of the Piscataway paramount chiefdom.[14]

The Pangayo Indian town was located on the Port Tobacco River and was probably established to serve as a reserve around the winter hunting quarters of the Por-

toback chiefdom, part of the Piscataway paramount chiefdom. The Portobacks were led by a weroance but the Pangayo were not, forming the basis for this interpretation that the Pangayo Manor may have been a hunting quarter reserve for the Portoback chiefdom. Manor reserves around the summer-fall towns of the weroances were established along the Nanjemoy River for the Nanjemoy chiefdom, Mattawoman Creek for the Mattawoman chiefdom, and Piscataway Creek for the Piscataway paramount chiefdom.[15] The Nanjemoy, Mattawoman, and Piscataway all had forts, while the Choptico, Portobacks, Pangayo, and Zekiah lived in towns.

In the 1660s, English encroachment along the tidal rivers increased pressure on the remaining chiefdoms to situate their semi-permanent agricultural villages wisely, and they tended to select freshwater marsh areas for their abundant and diverse types of food. This satisfied the summer-fall and spring portions of their seasonal round while still requiring families to travel to hunting quarters during the winter and fishing quarters in early spring. They could reach oyster, waterfowl, and fishing areas by canoe without trespassing on land held by the English. A dual system of reserves for agriculture and hunting was basic, but the Indians still demanded and received access to all tidal waters outside the reserve lands. The treaties of 1651, 1666, and 1692 clearly stated that the "privilege of hunting, crabbing, fishing & fowling shall be preserved to the Indians inviolably."[16]

The 1666 treaty also created reserves around the Indian towns that did not already have them. Two reserves, each encompassing more than six thousand acres, were established around the Pangayo town on the Port Tobacco River and Zekiah town on the Zekiah Swamp. These provided access to freshwater marshes with their abundant fish, plant life, and game. Large numbers of beaver in the freshwater valleys created abundant grassy areas that attracted deer, and the English trade in deerskins continued with the Zekiah and Pangayo Indians long after the beaver had been trapped out.[17] The area also provided excellent soil for the bean/corn/squash crops and upland mast species (nut trees) required to sustain the native way of life. A feasible interpretation of the Beaverdam, Pangayo, and Zekiah Manors is that they were held as preserves by Lord Baltimore for use as Indian hunting quarters.

By the spring of 1680, the tayac of the Piscataway was living in a fort on a hill on the southeast side of the headwaters of Piscataway Creek. When the fort came under repeated attack by the Susquehannock Indians and their Iroquoian allies to the north, the tayac and his great men asked the Maryland governor for permission to move to the territories of the Choptico or Zekiah Indians, located in two proprietary manors established as Indian reserves in the Wicomico River drainage. A third alternative would have been to move to an Indian fort of the Mattawoman chiefdom, located in their reserve on Mattawoman Creek. Calvert granted them permission to move to Zekiah Manor, which had been designated in 1665 as a buffer around the Zekiah Indian town located on the west side of Zekiah Swamp.[18]

Placing the Piscataway in the existing reserve north of colonial settlement signaled their value as a buffer against attacks on the English by the northern tribes. Zekiah Indian town appears to have been the winter hunting quarters of the combined chiefdoms of the Piscataway and so was a logical choice and one agreeable to both Calvert and the tayac, who moved to a newly built fort on Zekiah Manor in 1680. The Zekiah, Piscataway, and their tayac stayed there until 1692, when they relocated to yet another new fort on Rock Creek in the fall line region on the edge of the Maryland frontier.[19]

The tayac was moving his fort to a hunting quarter shared by the allied chiefdoms of the Piscataway. By 1680, the Zekiah Indian town also would have had agricultural fields for the families who resided there throughout the year so as to retain possession of the manor. As the Piscataway moved to Zekiah Manor in May of 1680, they most logically would have chosen the Zekiah town lands with established agricultural fields. They focused first on building a new fort, and probably used that part of the forest that had been cleared for the fort's palisade as fields for their second and third plantings of corn. By the spring of 1681, they had enclosed the agricultural fields in fences to keep out English settlers' roving cattle and pigs.[20]

The Choptico stayed at their town and only took temporary refuge at Zekiah fort during the Iroquois attacks in 1681. To maintain control over and rights to the reserves, the Choptico preferred to stay in the reserves instead of resettling at Zekiah fort within Zekiah Manor.[21] Beginning in the 1640s the adjacent Basford and St. Clements Manors had been settled with a number of English farms on the tidewater Wicomico River; by the 1680s, isolated English land grants lay within the boundaries of the manor. The only way the Choptico could keep their claim on both the Beaverdam and Choptico reserves was to inhabit the sites and retain use by occupancy of the heart of their remaining territory.[22]

The Mattawoman, Choptico, and Piscataway who had assisted in the attack on the Susquehannock fort on Piscataway Creek were awarded match coats by the English for their service, but they had also incurred a lasting vendetta from those Susquehannocks who escaped the siege and settled back in their traditional territory on the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania. There they came under the authority of the Five Nations Iroquois and used that relationship to involve the Iroquois in vengeful raids on the southern Maryland chiefdoms. But from 1676 to 1682, the Iroquois launched a series of attacks against the Piscataway and allied chiefdoms out of more than revenge. The Iroquois had a constant need to replace people lost to illness or raids which they met by taking prisoners during their raids. So many members of the Choptico, Piscataway, Mattawoman, and Nanjemoy chiefdoms were captured and taken north that by 1680 the tayac of the Piscataway asked Maryland authorities for permission to abandon their fort on Piscataway Creek and move closer to the Maryland settlers for survival.

Research since 1989 indicates that the new (1680–1692) Piscataway fort was

located in the Manor of Zekiah. The discovery of the plat of Zekiah Manor in Revolutionary War records places the manor not in the area of Kerrick Swamp but north of Piney Branch, to the north of Jordan Swamp, and west of Zekiah Swamp (Figures 1 and 2). The fort had to be: 1) near the Piscataway-Zekiah path that followed the Piney Branch drainages of Zekiah Swamp, Mattawoman Creek, and Piscataway Creek; 2) within the Zekiah Manor reserve established in 1665 by Lord Baltimore for the Piscataway and allied Indians as a possible hunting reserve; 3) within the largest landholding (Jordan tract) in Zekiah Manor held for Lord Baltimore; 4) within the sound of a gunshot (between two and three miles) of Lord Baltimore's 1673–1681 summer house, which was probably within the bounds of "His Lordship's Favor"; and on suitable soil for cornfields, which reportedly surrounded the fort. It further had to contain evidence of a square/rectangular footprint of a stockade and bastions modeled after European fortifications; a moderate midden accumulated after twelve years of occupation (1680–1692); subsurface evidence of soil borrow ditches similar to those observed at the former site of the 1679 "old fort" on Piscataway Creek, and post mold stains from the palisade's post line; and Camden and debased Potomac Creek wares, European gun flints, shot, ceramics, wine bottles, horseshoes, hoes, scissors and other English material from the period 1680–1692, and possibly shards of Iroquoian pipes, shell wampum and other items the Susquehannock and Five Nation Iroquois used in trade (1682–1692).[23]

The site of the Zekiah Indian town would contain Potomac Creek complex and European artifacts dating from at least 1665 to 1680, with even earlier evidence of occupation if the town was settled in the location of a former hunting quarters. The site of the town should also present sufficient evidence of Indian bows and arrows and European weapons, shot, gun flints, and flint flakes as well as European trade items acquired in exchange for deer furs and other services. The diversity of artifacts at the hunting quarters should be less than the Zekiah town, which should be less dense and diverse as those from the Zekiah fort. If the fort was built on the town site, the European artifacts present should date from 1665 to 1692, and a little earlier if the town was also the site of a hunting quarters which dated prior to 1665.

In the winter of 1679–1680, the Susquehannocks and their Iroquois allies built a fort five hundred yards away from but within sight of the Piscataway fort on Piscataway Creek. In the spring of 1680, the Piscataway received permission from Lord Baltimore to relocate to a new fort. Zekiah fort was approved by the English, and the Piscataway were notified to repair thence "and there to seate themselves under such Fortifications as they shall think fitt to Erect for their Safe guard and Defense."[24]

The 1660–1680 Piscataway fort was built on a high promontory above the tidal headwaters of Piscataway Creek.[25] The northern boundary of the Piscataway or Calverton Manor followed along Piney Branch of Piscataway Creek, perhaps close to the Piscataway "old fort." From there, the path went toward the Mattawoman Swamp, crossing near and following the north side of Piney Branch.[26] The headwaters of this

second Piney Branch erode to the headwaters of a third Piney Branch that empties into the Zekiah Swamp just south of modern Route 5. The projected path traverses a mere fifteen miles, which is a one-day walk. The naming of Piney Branch for the Piscataway, Mattawoman, and Zekiah drainages, with adjacent headwaters, seems more than a random act.[27] The Zekiah-to-Piscataway path will be called the Piney Branch Indian path for the rest of this article.

A 1903 topographic map of Piscataway Creek shows an old dirt road along the ridged divide leading from Farmington Landing to modern Route 373. From there it is not far to the mouth of Piney Branch on the Mattawoman Creek. The 1795 Griffith Map shows the road at that time generally following modern Route 5 northeast of Piney Branch. The path would have ended at Zekiah Indian town in the vicinity of Piney Branch's juncture with Zekiah Swamp.[28] Two archaeological sites with Potomac Creek Plain pottery and one with Colono-Indian ware have been reported at the mouth of or near Piney Branch and Zekiah Swamp. Not far to the north another Potomac Creek complex site with some flakes of English gun flint has recently been tested.[29] These sites are thought to be the pre-1665 site of the Zekiah Indian hunting quarters. The post-1665 location of the Zekiah Indian town and possible Zekiah fort is at the Windy Knoll site, which would have been near the lower ford of Piney Branch and on its north side, across from His Lordship's Favor (Figure 2). After attacking the Zekiah fort in 1681, the Iroquois are reported to have followed a broad path toward the old Piscataway fort. That would have been the Piney Branch Indian path.[30]

The Piney Branch Indian path connected the Piscataway Creek hilltop fort, a year-round agricultural town, to the Zekiah Indian hunting quarters. When the Piscataway Creek fort was deserted in May of 1680, the Piscataway apparently followed the well-trodden path to the Zekiah Manor hunting preserve. On June 28, 1680, Captain Randolph Brandt, an officer of the Maryland militia, reported that the Piscataway were afraid of being discovered by the Seneca before they had built their new fort.[31] Their fears were warranted because the fort was attacked in early August.

The cumulative evidence suggests two possibilities. One is that the Zekiah abandoned their non-palisaded town in 1680 to join the Piscataway in their new Zekiah fort, which might have been situated some distance from the Zekiah town in an area the Iroquois would have had difficulty finding while it was under construction. The other possibility is that the Zekiah fort was built very near to or within the limits of the Zekiah town itself. If that was the case, the Piscataway and Zekiah both would have occupied the fort for mutual protection. In 1682 the Piscataway and the Iroquois reached a formal treaty.[32] The resulting peace would have permitted the Piscataway and Zekiah to settle outside the fort's walls without fear of attack.

The available documents do not show that the Piscataway built this new fort at or inside the Zekiah Indian town, but between 1680 and 1692 the historical record mentions Zekiah Indian town only twice.[33] The *Archives of Maryland* contain more

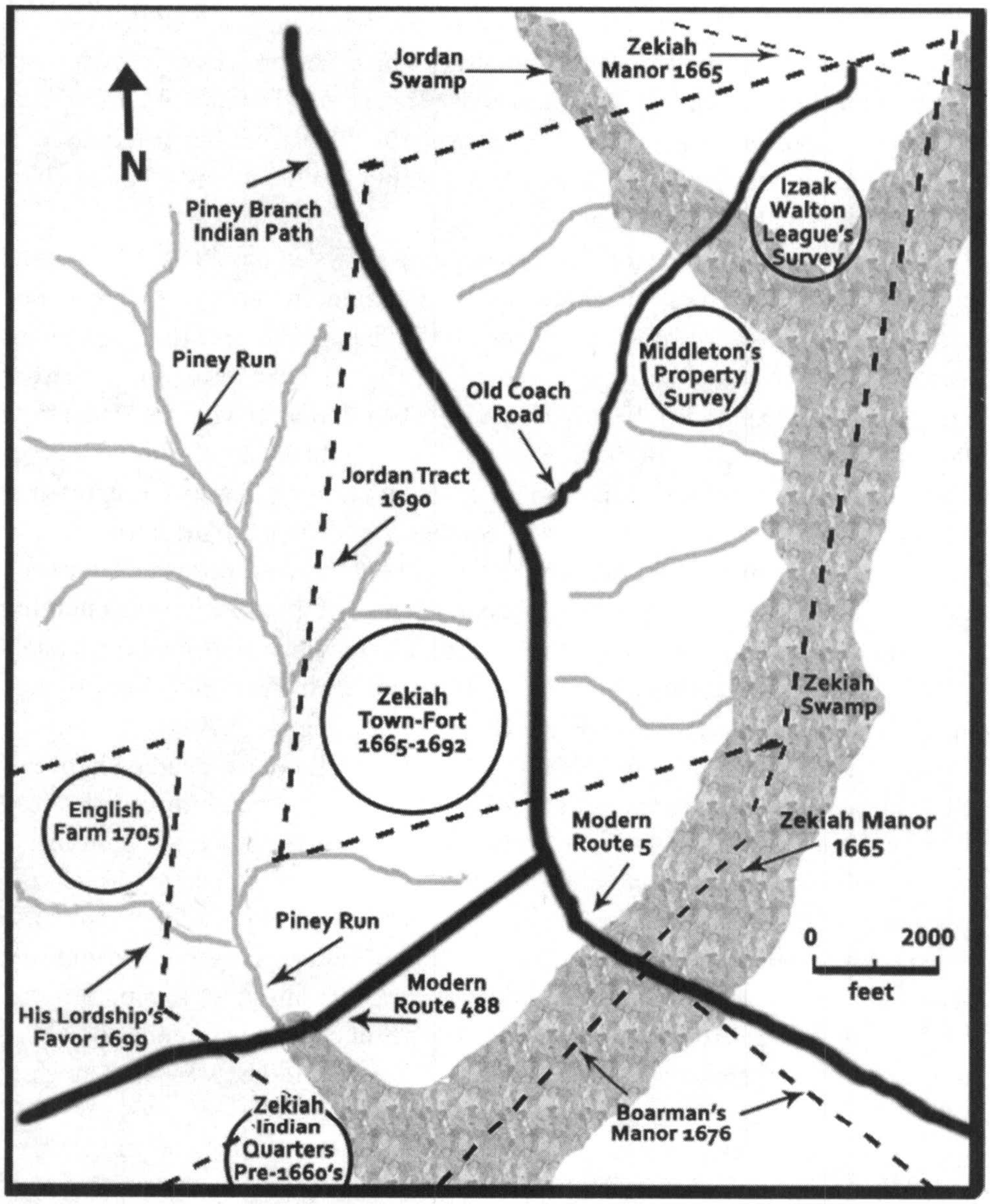


Figure 2: Zekiah Manor, associated historic land grants, and archaeological survey locations. (Map by Wayne E. Clark.)

than a dozen references to the Zekiah fort. Several references to treaty discussions include instructions to the ambassadors to look after the interests of the "Piscataway or Zachiah Indians" and the "Piscataway and Zachiah Indians,"[34] implying that they were still recognized as a separate people but considered one polity. The inference is that both the Zekiah and the Piscataway resided in Zekiah fort. In 1692, the tayac of the Piscataway informed Governor Copley that only a few Indians remained to keep and look after it.[35]

After the tayac and many of the Piscataway and Zekiah Indians abandoned Zekiah fort that spring to build a new fort on Rock Creek and plant cornfields, there is no mention of the Zekiah fort in the Maryland archives, but the archives do contain references to the Piscataway fort. Colonel Boarman, who had been Lord Baltimore's faithful agent for the Zekiah and Piscataway Indians, was replaced by Colonel Addison, a man loyal to the new Protestant government after the Glorious Revolution of 1688.[36] Addison lived on a tract adjacent to today's Wilson Bridge in Prince George's County, and his frequent interaction with the Piscataway after 1692 is a clear indicator that the new Piscataway fort was in the former territory of the Anacostia chiefdom. Other documents suggest it was built on the upper Rock Creek.

The Modern Search for Zekiah Fort

Archaeologists and historians have been searching for the Piscataway Indians' seventeenth-century Zekiah fort since the 1930s. William B. Marye showed that the fort was within Zekiah Manor but could not find a tract map to confirm the manor's boundaries, and, because archaeologists who subsequently took up the search for the fort's remains lacked that information, surface surveys taken from Allen's Fresh north to Route 5 on the upper Zekiah Swamp drainage were unsuccessful.[37]

In 1989, John Hansen discovered the Zekiah tract map (Figure 1) among the eighteenth-century survey plats buried among the public auction records in the Revolutionary War section of the Maryland State Archives. His sharing of the discovery with this author refocused mapping and survey efforts in 1989–1990 and in 2008–2011 to within the Zekiah Manor boundaries. Hansen's work led him to conclude that Zekiah fort was located in the fifteen hundred acres assigned to William Joseph in 1690, the "Jordan Tract," which lies on the west side of Zekiah Swamp and extends from Piney Branch to north of Jordan Swamp.[38] However, surface surveys in the vicinity of the mouth of Jordan Swamp in 1989–1990 and 2008–2011 failed to reveal evidence consistent with the remains of a 1680s Zekiah town or fort.

In 2008 a team of archaeologists, historians, and surveyors, later joined by representatives of the three contemporary Piscataway Indian groups, began a systematic survey funded by Michael and Laura Sullivan through the Smallwood Foundation on the east and west sides of Zekiah Swamp. Marye had thought that Kerrick Swamp was within the boundary of the Zekiah Manor and suspected that that was where Zekiah Fort had been.[39] In 2009 the research team, led by Julia King of St. Mary's College, tested two sites on the south and north sides of the juncture of Kerrick and Zekiah Swamps that reconfirmed previous findings of insufficient archaeological evidence for a Zekiah Indian town or the Piscataway fort.[40]

By 2009, researchers were in agreement that Zekiah Fort was somewhere within Zekiah Manor. The St. Mary's College team found an English home site dating to the early eighteenth century in His Lordship's Favor tract within Zekiah Manor, and in 2011 they turned their attention to the southern section of the Jordan tract. Deed

references to the William Joseph tract (the "Jordan Tract") that described old Indian fields and the earlier presence of an Indian town piqued their interest. Excavations revealed the long-sought pattern of seventeenth-century colonial artifacts intermixed with a concentration of deposits of the Potomac Creek archaeological complex associated with the allied chiefdoms of the Piscataway paramount chiefdom. Although their first year of test excavations of what came to be called the "Windy Knoll" site did not uncover stains from a trench and palisade like those at the Piscataway fort of 1660–1680, they were confident that the Zekiah fort was somewhere on the Windy Knoll site.[41] Archaeological and historical evidence confirms that the Zekiah Indian town of 1665–1680 was at Windy Knoll, and historical references suggest that the Piscataway fort of 1680–1692 was built either at the town or nearby. The Windy Knoll site is near the area shown as Zekiah Town and fort in Figure 2.

Marye had noted that, to comply with the terms of the 1666 treaty, Zekiah Manor was resurveyed for Lord Baltimore in August 1669 as a reserve for the Piscataway and allied chiefdoms. He had placed the fort at Kerrick Swamp based on a reference to the Zekiah town being situated four miles from the house of a Dennis Huscuhah, a planter, which was five miles north of John Pryor's merchant house at the Allen's Fresh area of the Wicomico River.[42] He assumed that the Zekiah town of 1682 was one and the same with the Zekiah fort of the same period. The scattered Potomac Creek pottery reported from small sites at the mouths of Kerrick Swamp and Piney Creek only allude to winter hunting quarters or a dispersed Indian town, not to a fortified village.

Charles Calvert honored his commitment to the various chiefdoms in Maryland by retaining title to the lands he had set aside as reserves. He patented and conveyed tracts to his most trusted officers to hold for them—Choptico Resolving, Calverton Manor, Piscataway Manor, and Zekiah Manor, where he built his summer house.[43] When the Piscataway asked to move into Choptico Resolving, Lord Baltimore assigned them to Zekiah Manor instead, and apparently encouraged them to build their new fort to the north of his summer house at what became His Lordship's Favor. Doing so would preserve the traditional role of the Piscataway as a buffer between the various English settlements to the south and the vacant lands subject to attack by the Iroquois and other northern Indians. Had he allowed the Piscataway to build in the Choptico Resolving Manor reserve, many English plantations would have been put at risk of attack.[44] Since Zekiah Manor was still on the fringe of English settlement in 1680 and the Piscataway chiefdoms were already using it as a designated hunting preserve, it was the logical place to relocate the Piscataway in time of aggression by the Iroquois.

John Hansen made a good case for Lord Baltimore having carved out the fifteen-hundred-acre Jordan tract in 1690 to serve as the reduced reserve for the Piscataway Indians at Zekiah fort.[45] Hansen noted that Lord Baltimore was in England in 1688 defending his charter when he sent a Catholic friend, William Joseph, to Maryland

to serve as governor. After the overthrow of King James II, Maryland Protestants spread rumors that the Piscataway were conspiring with Governor Joseph to kill them. In 1689, John Goode led a coup d'etat that overthrew Lord Baltimore's government, and Governor Joseph fled with the Jesuits to Virginia. Once Lord Baltimore lost his right to govern, his property rights remained unsettled. In 1690 he granted to William Joseph the fifteen hundred acres of the Jordan tract as a private transaction. That allowed Baltimore to keep his promise to the Piscataway at Zekiah fort and protected at least that portion of the Indian reserve. By 1696, the proprietor had regained control of the patent records, and three years later, he granted William Boarman, his former Indian agent and interpreter, His Lordship's Favor.[46]

By 1692 a number of factors induced the Piscataway to leave the Zekiah Manor. These included English encroachment, colonists deliberately knocking down Indian fences, the adverse effects of rum on Piscataway society, their alliance with the Iroquois Five Nations, the new Protestant leadership's distrust of the Piscataway and its aspiration to take over reserve lands in order to expand English settlement, and the Piscataway's distrust of the Virginia and Maryland governments.[47] The actual date of their departure is unclear, but the available historical records suggest 1692. Since William Joseph would have held on to Jordan Tract to honor Lord Baltimore's pledge so long as the Piscataway remained on the Zekiah reserve, the fact that he sold it in 1696 to John Smith, a Virginia planter, suggests that the Piscataway were no longer occupying the fort or expected to return there. Moreover, in 1697 the Piscataway abandoned their Rock Creek fort and moved to the Piedmont area of northern Virginia. Their subsequent move to Heater (Conoy) Island on the Potomac Piedmont in 1699 was a clear rebuff of Maryland officials' attempts to persuade them to return to their tidewater reserves. That same year Colonel Boarman received His Lordship's Favor from Lord Baltimore. The Piscataway lived on Conoy Island until the tayac and his people left Maryland in 1711 to move to Pennsylvania.[48]

Gunshots in the Night

William Marye pointed out that from Governor Calvert's "Zachajah House" Captain Brandt heard the 1681 Iroquois attack on Zekiah fort, stating that "there were a great many Guns shot in the night."[49] Assuming that Calvert's Zekiah summer house was in the area later formed as His Lordship's Favor, the fort had to have been within earshot of gunfire from the north. Gunshots can be heard for two, or perhaps three miles under ideal conditions.[50] The portion of the Jordan tract north of Jordan Swamp is three miles from His Lordship's Favor, but Windy Knoll is only a mile from it. Based on this analysis, the Zekiah fort was probably in the southern section of the Jordan tract, on the north side of Piney Branch.

This author has periodically searched for evidence of Zekiah fort within the Jordan tract since 1989. Surface survey of cultivated fields on the property of Thomas Middleton on the south side of Jordan tract failed to reveal any sites with Poto-

mac Creek pottery or seventeenth-century colonial artifacts (Figure 2: Middleton Survey). Farther west on the south side of Jordan Swamp, Julia King found one site with an English gun flint flake and Potomac Creek pottery, interpreted as a seventeenth-century hunting quarter.[51] Survey efforts of cultivated fields and woods north of Jordan Swamp within the Jordan tract were similarly unsuccessful (Figure 2: Izaak Walton League's property). Review of photographs from the air of both areas revealed two rectangular stains on the Izaak Walton League's property of the size and composition predicted to be the remains of a colonial period, rectangular fort design (Figure 3). Shovel test pitting of Stain # 1 did not reveal artifacts dating to the seventeenth century. The Izaak Walton League's artifact collection from the Archaic period site nearby lacked seventeenth-century period artifacts. While both properties are within the Jordan tract, the three-mile distance from His Lordship's Favor and the absence of seventeenth-century sites suggest that the Jordan Swamp area was not the location of the Zekiah fort.

In 1676 the Piscataway chiefdom may have had eighty men, based on the number of match coats awarded them for their assistance in attacking the Susquehannock fort on Piscataway Creek. When twenty Piscataway men were reported at their fort on Heater Island in 1699, they were among twenty women and thirty children, creating a ratio of one warrior for every 2.5 women and children.[52] This ratio suggests that 280 people might have lived at Zekiah fort if all the warriors and their families moved there in 1680. To sustain that number, cornfields would had to have ranged from 100 to 180 acres. The seventeenth-century reference indicates that the Iroquois hid in the cornfields to ambush anyone leaving the fort. They were extensive enough that the Iroquois could cut down the crops unconcerned by gunfire from those within the fort.[53]

The Chesapeake Bay Algonquians are reported to have planted at least three successive crops of corn to hedge against drought and other factors. The Windy Knoll site exists in a favorable upland location upon soils that could support agriculture in all conditions from drought to excessive rainfall and sustain three plantings. Windy Knoll site is also within a mile's walk from the insect-infested Zekiah Swamp and would have been a wise location for occupation from late spring to early fall. If the Indians set fire to Zekiah Swamp in the late fall or early winter in order to drive the deer to slaughter, then locating the town and fort away from the conflagration would also constitute a wise decision.[54]

In 1718 the site of the Piscataway fort on a hill overlooking Piscataway Creek (abandoned in 1680) was visited during a court case involving a boundary dispute for Piscataway Manor. Marye noted that Mr. Marbury testified that the trenches belonging to said fort were fresh and visible in his time and memory, and that the existing stand of pine trees had been Indian cornfields.[55] Assuming that the same methods used to build the Piscataway fort were employed at the Zekiah fort, the archaeological evidence should reveal subsurface stains from palisade posts and

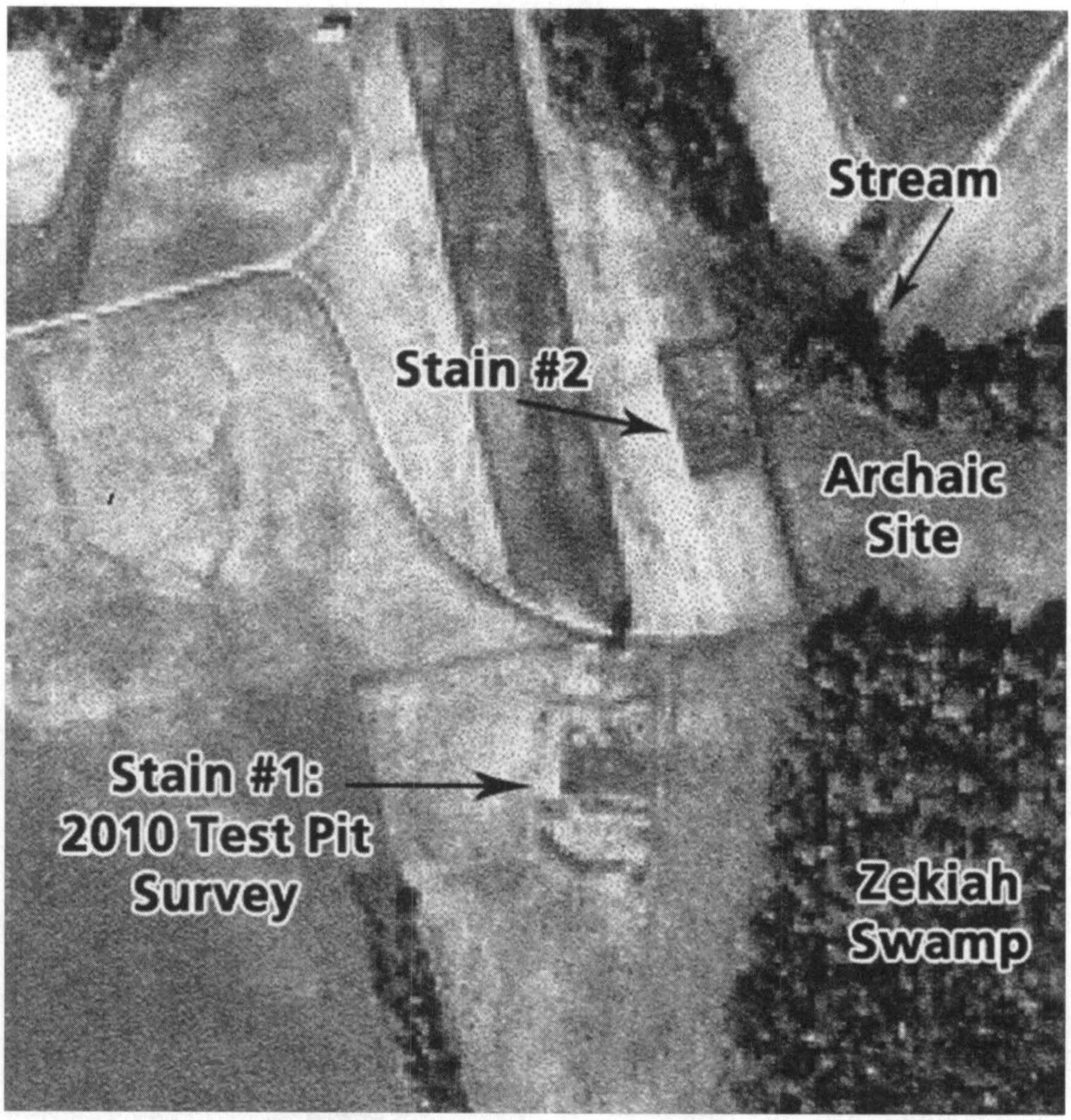


Figure 3: Two rectangular stains on the Izaak Walton property, reproduced with permission of the Charles County Soil Conservation Service. (Source: 1957 Aerial photograph, 5T-24-57.)

parallel borrow trenches dug for the purpose of piling extra soil against the base of the palisade or packing clay on the wattle and daub palisade wall.

The shapes of the Piscataway Creek and Zekiah forts were not noted in the colonial records, but archaeological excavations of the Piscataway fort on Heaters Island document a square fort between 150 and 180 feet long on each side, with at least one bastion.[56] A contemporary drawing of the Susquehannock fort at the mouth of Piscataway Creek and archaeological evidence record a nearly square fort, 210 by 210-plus feet, dating to 1675, with two known and four implied bastions. A 1675 drawing by the English of that fort shows shooting platforms and a possible trench along all sides of the outer palisade, though such a trench was not found by archaeologists. All the lines of evidence suggest that the Piscataway had adopted the

European-style, straight-walled fort design with ninety-degree corners and bastions to take advantage of the devastating range of rifle fire along the fort's outer walls. We know the Piscataways made effective use of firearms, and that in 1680 the English gave the Piscataway forty guns to help defend against the Iroquois. On at least two occasions, the English also provided twenty soldiers with guns to assist in defending the fort against the Iroquois.[57]

Detailed analysis of the systematic shovel testing and the line of test squares of the 2011 excavations of the Windy Knoll site has been presented in various lectures by Julia King and is under development for publication. Shovel test pits revealed a pattern of colonial and Potomac Creek complex artifacts on the hill (midden A) and downslope to the small swale to the north of the knoll (midden B). The greatest density and diversity of artifact concentration is in midden A on the hill. The concentration was about 150 feet square, which is the predicted minimum size of the Zekiah fort. The excavators from St. Mary's College did not uncover evidence of a palisade or trench, which should still be present even after years of erosion and cultivation. Nevertheless, there was sufficient evidence to confirm midden A as the location of the Zekiah Indian town of 1665 to 1680. Julia King believes that midden A is also the site of Zekiah fort.[58]

The testing uncovered 12,000 artifacts dating to the right time and right assemblage of Potomac Creek complex and colonial materials: "Potomac Creek pottery, glass beads, large bore white clay tobacco pipes as well as an Indian-made red clay tobacco pipe. The most common lithic material found at the site is European flint, including a gunflint."[59] Test squares produced similar material, along with European ceramics and a number of triangular brass and iron projectile points. The types, density, dating, and distribution of the artifacts indicate conclusively that the Zekiah Indian town was located in midden A on Windy Knoll. The midden A artifacts document domestic activities with bone, Potomac Creek ceramics, European ceramics, and bow and arrow and weapons associated with either hunting or military activity. With only Potomac Creek ceramics, glass beads, and gun flint flakes found in midden B, this portion of the site is interpreted by this author as a pre-1665 hunting quarter of the Zekiah Indians.

The Windy Knoll site is a great archaeological discovery and fits the various historical evidence for the Zekiah Indian town which is thought to be the locale selected by the Piscataway for their Zekiah fort. Detailed analysis by the St. Mary's College team will be the definitive basis for refining this preliminary comparative analysis. The available data from the site can be interpreted as representing an initial period of use prior to 1665 (midden B) as a seasonally occupied Zekiah Indian winter hunter quarters. The knoll adjacent to the swale (midden A) became the site of the Zekiah Indian town between 1665 and 1680, allowing the Piscataway Indians to maintain a permanent settlement and retain their rights to the use of the Zekiah Manor land. The Zekiah fort was built in 1680, and the Zekiah Indians joined the

Piscataway inside it. They built the fort either on the knoll at the town site or nearby, possibly using the old town for expanded agricultural fields. The town site on the knoll has not yielded sufficient feature or artifact data to conclude, in this author's opinion, that the Zekiah fort was built on the same site as the town. But historical evidence indicates that the fort would have been close to the town to take advantage of the existing planted fields and the Piney Branch Indian trail which would have run past the town.[60]

This analysis provides an anthropological and historical review of evidence of the adaptive strategies of the southern Maryland Indians to the Maryland colonists' increasing dominance from the 1650s to 1690s. While not a theoretical discourse, contextual analysis is a platform for understanding the factors leading to the occupation and abandonment of the Zekiah Indian town and Zekiah fort. The Zekiah Indians are clearly associated with the Piscataway paramount chiefdom even though they are located on the same drainage as the Choptico chiefdom. The Choptico chiefdom and the Piscataway paramount chiefdom strived to work with the Maryland government to maintain their way of life by retaining sufficient land reserves to sustain their seasonal settlement patterns of summer-fall farming towns, spring fishing quarters, and winter hunting quarters. Both were apparently successful in having Governor Calvert grant them manors around their summer farming towns and their winter hunting quarters.

Zekiah Manor was established around the apparent winter hunting quarters of the Piscataway chiefdoms. Select families were required to occupy the Zekiah Indian town to demonstrate continued use. The town was a logical place to relocate the Piscataway and have them build a new fort in Zekiah Manor in 1680 when they came under attack by the Iroquois. Fearing Iroquois discovery and attack, building a fort at or near the Zekiah town would allow both the Piscataway and Zekiah to focus on building a fort and houses instead of clearing fields and erecting fences for planting spring crops. The 1688–1689 English revolution, which shifted Maryland government from Catholic to Protestant control, broke the agreement and trust that had been forged as a Catholic-Anglo/Piscataway alliance and prompted the tayac of the Piscataway and his followers to leave the Zekiah Manor in 1692. The Zekiah fort therefore has symbolic as well as historical importance to both the Algonquian and English communities in Maryland.

NOTES

1. For the complicated interaction of interest groups on Indian and English alliances/hostilities in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake, see J. Frederick Fausz, "Merging and Emerging Worlds: Anglo–Indian Interest Groups and the Development of the Seventeenth Century Chesapeake," in *Colonial Chesapeake Society,* edited by Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, (1988): 47–97.
2. For detailed discussions of chiefdoms and paramount chiefdoms evidence for the Potomac River tidewater, see Stephen Potter, *Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs: The Development of Algonquian Culture in the Potomac Valley* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993). The Chicacoan chiefdom was similar to the Choptico chiefdom whereas the Patawomeck were similar to the chiefdoms of the Piscataway paramount chiefdom. The Chicacoan and the Patawomeck chiefdoms had fallen under the marginal control of the Powhatan paramount chiefdom during the rule of Powhatan. The Powhatan did not extend control north of the Potomac.
3. Wayne E. Clark and Helen C. Rountree, "The Powhatan and the Maryland Mainland," *Powhatan Foreign Relations: 1500–1722* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 112–35; Helen Rountree, Wayne E. Clark and Kent Mountford, et al., *John Smith's Chesapeake Voyages: 1607–1609* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 263–85. Both publications provide a summary analysis of the various chiefdoms of southern Maryland, their culture, and the changing relationship between the smaller chiefdoms and the paramount chief or tayac of the Piscataway paramount polity.
4. Henry Fleet (1632), "A Brief Journal of a Voyage Made in the Bark Virginia, to Virginia and other Parts of the Continent of America" in *The Founders of Maryland as Portrayed in Manuscripts, Provincial Records and Early Documents*, edited by Edward D. Neill (Albany, New York, 1876): Joel Munsell.
5. While the Choptico chiefdom appears to be allied more closely with the Piscataways in 1666, they maintained their alliance with the Patuxent chiefdoms as well. The merged Patuxent–Choptico chiefdoms stayed in Maryland as an independent chiefdom long after the Piscataway tayac and many of his people left the Zekiah Manor reserve in 1692. For a brief summary of the Patuxent Indian reserve and merger with the Choptico chiefdom, see Rountree, Clark and Mountford, et al., *John Smith Voyages*, 260–61.
6. *Archives of Maryland,* 1:329–30. The Choptico Resolving Manor was a grant of 8,000 to 10,000 acres at the head of the Wicomoco River, held in reserve for the Mattapanians, Wicomocons, Patuxants, Lamasconsons, Kighahnixons, and Chopticons. The treaty noted that "no one Copyhold Exceed Above fifty Acres unless it be of the Werowance or chief head of every of the said Six Nations above mentioned respectively." In practice, no evidence exists that these copyholds were laid out and surveyed formally, rather, the land was held in common. The Maryland government never granted to the chiefdoms the title to the Indian reserves in southern Maryland. The reserve titles were held by the successive Lords Baltimore or granted to their trusted appointed executive or military officers.
7. *Archives of Maryland,* 15:336. During open hostilities with the Iroquois, the weroance of the Choptico reported that their enemies took five of his Indians away from their hunting quarters on the Beaver Dam Manor. This is the only reference to the use of Beaver Dam Manor as the hunting quarters of the Choptico but is consistent with a hunting preserve associated with freshwater swamps. The beaver population provided an added value in the fur trade. The governor reserved the right to trade (or commission agents to trade for

him) with the Indians involved in the fur trade. Similarly, Zekiah Swamp is thought to have formed due to extensive beaver activity. The Zekiah Manor would have served a similar purpose as hunting quarters that would have benefited the governor and his agents and the tayac and his great men.

8. The Powhatan Algonquians' five seasons were: Popanow (winter), Cattapeuk (spring), Cohattayough (summer), Nepinough (late summer earing of the corn), Taquitock (fall harvest and falling of the leaf). John Smith, "A Map of Virginia," in *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith,* edited by Philip L. Barbour (3 vols., Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 1:156.

9. George Alsop in 1666 described a Susquehannock winter hunting quarters that could equally apply to the Piscataway chiefdoms: "About November the best Hunters draw off to several remote places of the Woods, where they know the Deer, Bear, and Elk useth; there they build them several Cottages, which they call their Winter-quarter, where they remain for the space of three months, until they have killed up a sufficiency of Provisions to supply their Families with in the Summer." George Alsop, "A Character of the Province of Maryland," in *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633–1684*, Clayton Colman Hall, ed. (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, Inc., 1988), 337–87.

10. Rountree, et al., *John Smith Voyages*, 29–35, 263–69; Clark and Rountree, *Maryland Mainland*, 118–19, for discussion of Algonquian seasonal round and subsistence practices.

11. *Archives of Maryland,* 2:15, 25–26; The Nanjemoy chiefdom partitioned Lord Baltimore to be removed from the control of the Piscataway's tayac and their request was granted. They were still living in their town on Nanjemoy Creek in 1697 on a 600-acre reserve five years after the Piscataway tayac and his people left the Zekiah fort. See *Archives of Maryland,* 38:343.

12. Ibid., 2:25, 131. Both documents for the same treaty discussion have varied spelling for the chiefdoms involved. The government commissioned Jerome White, surveyor general of the province, to lay out the reserve lands for the various chiefdoms in 1669, ibid., 5:34–35. Two new reserves were laid out for the Pangayo and the Zekiah Indian towns and erected into manors for Lord Baltimore, see *Archives of Maryland,* 51:443 and John Kilty, *Landholder's Assistant* (Baltimore, 1808), 100, liber 17, folio 572.

13. The spelling of Pangaio town of the Pangayo Indians and Sackio Town of the Zekiah Indians varies considerably over time. For purposes of this article, both the towns and the Indian communities will be referred to as Pangayo and Zekiah unless referenced otherwise in a direct quote from the primary sources.

14. Pagaio and Sackaio Indian Towns and Manors, see J. Kilty, *Landholder's Assistant*, Liber 7, folio 558. For the location of Pangayo on Port Tobacco River, see *Archives of Maryland,* 51:299, in which a land grant within the manor is described as being on the west side of the Port Tobacco River in area of St. Thomas Creek. For the Nanjemoy, see ibid., 2:10–11, 26; for the Piscataway Manor, ibid., 5:34–35; for Mattawomen, see ibid., 3:354; 5:34–35. Note that the reserve set up for the Mattawomen stated that no Englishman may settle within three miles of the Indian town, a practice common for the other reserves as well (ibid., 3:354).

15. Throughout the volatile seventeenth century, the leaders of all the southern Maryland chiefdoms negotiated with the Algonquian, Iroquoian, and English-speaking governments. The Choptico strived to maintain their established culture in their traditional territory and resisted efforts by the Maryland colonists to force them to be subservient to the authority of the tayac of the Piscataway. The cohesiveness of the Piscataway paramount chiefdom loosened over the course of the century. Some chiefdoms chose to stay in their traditional territories while others migrated west with the tayac beyond the frontier of Maryland's governmental

control. Our understanding of the primary and archaeological record of individual chiefdoms varies significantly. The Piscataway paramount chiefdom, Choptico chiefdom, and three allied Patuxent chiefdoms are best documented. Others, like the Zekiah and Pangayo towns, appear during the 1660s to 1690s and are not as well studied.

16. See *Archives of Maryland,* 2:25, for 1666 treaty provisions.

17. For the creation of reserves for the Pangayo and Zekiah Indians, see, Kilty, *Landholder's Assistant,* 99, 100, as cited in William B. Marye, "Piscataway," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 30 (1935): 215. The size of the Zekiah Manor, based on plotting on modern maps, was 8,800 to 9,000 acres. Julia A. King and Scott M. Strickland, "In Search of Zekiah Manor: Archaeological Investigations at His Lordship's Favor," unpublished manuscript at Maryland Historical Trust, Crownsville (2009): 1. I used the 6,000-plus figure based on original intent at time of the establishment of the manor. *Archives of Maryland,* 17:92, 94; Marye, "Piscataway," 217–18. The Indian town of "Zachajah" was involved in trading deer skins for clothing for the English, resulting from a shortage of English cloth in the colony that year. The reference to the Zekiah Indian *town* of 1682, two years after the establishment of the Zekiah fort of the Piscataway Indians, might imply that the town and the fort were in separate locations. Since the Zekiah and the Piscataway appear to have joined forces at the Zekiah fort after 1680, the inference is that the fort was built in the vicinity of the town.

18. *Archives of Maryland,* 15:283–84; 299–300, 302–4; Marye, "Piscataway," 204–7, provides a useful summary of the detailed discussions between Governor Calvert and the various Indian chiefdoms to find a mutually satisfactory solution to the threat from the northern Indians.

19. Marye, "Piscataway," 226–27. Marye discusses the period after the Piscataway left Maryland in 1697. His research suggests that they moved to Rock Creek in the spring of 1692, after abandoning the Zekiah fort.

20. Raphael Semmes, *Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1937), 479, 481. The Iroquois had knocked down the fences around the cornfields near the Zekiah fort and spoiled the corn crop. The Piscataway feared restoring the fences after thirteen of their numbers were captured by the Iroquois during the siege and taken north by the retreating war party.

21. They continued living in these areas into the eighteenth century, even when the English government ceased to recognize the Choptico and other chiefdoms as political entities. Families from the former Choptico, Patuxent, Mattawoman, Pamunkey, and other Piscataway chiefdoms chose to stay in southern Maryland after the tayac and his supporters left Maryland for Pennsylvania in 1711.

22. Even as early as 1663, Thomas Gerard was given a 400-acre land grant by Lord Baltimore. The grant was rescinded in 1664 when the tract was found to be within the bounds of the Choptico Resolving Manor, reserved for the Choptico Indians. (*Archives of Maryland,* 51: 440.) For details on these manors see Lorena Walsh, "Land, Landlord, and Leaseholder: Estate Management and Tenant Fortunes in Southern Maryland, 1642–1820," *Agricultural History,* 59 (1985): 373–97, and Lorena Walsh, "Community Networks in the Early Chesapeake," in *Colonial Chesapeake Society,* eds. Lois Carr, Philip Morgan and Jean Russo (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 200–241. The complicated movements of the chiefdoms after 1692 are too involved to detail here. For an overview of their movements from 1680 to 1722, see Semmes, *Captains and Mariners,* 476–503.

23. John H. Sprinkle Jr., "A Prelude to Rebellion: Indian-White Relations on Virginia's Northern Neck, 1660 to 1676," *Northern Neck of Virginia Historical Magazine,* 35 (1985): 3990–4004, provides a summary of English and Indian interactions leading up to the siege of the Susquehannock fort by the Virginia and Maryland English. See Wayne E. Clark,

"The Susquehannock Fort: A Historical Overview," in *The Accokeek Creek Complex and the Emerging Maryland Colony, 1634–1984* (Accokeek: Alice Ferguson Foundation, 1984), 61–81, for discussion of the history of relationships between the English and the Susquehannocks and the move to and attack on their fort at Piscataway Creek in 1675. Semmes, *Captain and Mariners,* 468–82; Marye, *Piscataway*, 202–27; and, Robert L. Stephenson, Alice L. L. Ferguson, and Henry G. Ferguson, "The Accokeek Creek Site: A Middle Atlantic Seaboard Culture Sequence," in *Anthropological Papers, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan,* 20 (1963): 16–24. The Accokeek Creek site (circa 1400–1550 A.D.) predates John Smith's voyages of 1608. The mouth of Piscataway Creek does contain archaeological confirmation of the square-cornered fort with bastions erected by the Susquehannocks in 1675. The fort's design is confirmed archaeologically and in a contemporary drawing made by the English during their trial of those Englishmen who murdered the Susquehannock leaders under a flag of truce. For fort plans, see Stephenson et al., *Accokeek Creek Site,* figures 3, 4, 9; and Clark, *Susquehannock Fort*, 76. Similar square forts with bastions were also adopted by the Piscataway Indians according to evidence from the excavations of their fort at Heaters Island. See a drawing of a Piscataway Fort at Heaters Island in Dennis C. Curry, "Comparative Information on Native American Forts from the Eastern United States, 1600–1756," unpublished manuscript (2008), on file at the Maryland Historical Trust, Crownsville. Julia A. King and Scott M. Strickland, "A Phase I Archaeological Survey of Prospect Hill, La Plata, Maryland," report on file at the Maryland Historical Trust in Crownsville; and King and Strickland, *In Search of Zekiah Manor*, (2009).

24. See Marye, "Piscataway," 205–6; *Archives of Maryland,* 3:280–82 for a Susquehannock fort within 500 feet of Piscataway fort on Piscataway Creek; ibid., 15:288–92 for Piscataway willing to relocate to Choptico, Mattawoman or Zachiah, but preferred Choptico; and ibid., 15:302, for quote on permission to move to Zekiah Manor.

25. Thomas E. McGarry, "Piscataway Archeological Survey–1981, Piscataway Park, National Capital Parks–East," report on file at Landover: MARS Laboratory, National Park Service (1981): 21–22, 37. Dennis C. Curry, *Feast of the Dead: Aboriginal Ossuaries in Maryland* (Crownsville: The Archaeological Society of Maryland and the Maryland Historical Trust Press, (1999), 28–40. The Piscataway fort of post-1622 to 1660 was located near the ossuaries at Farmington Landing. The Piscataway fort for the period 1660–1680 may have been located on an adjacent high hill in the area of the ossuary at site C. This site C was an ossuary that produced artifacts including English coins with the dates of 1679 and 1680. The Piscataway requested the assistance of four English to help them build their 1660 fort in the English style. The exact location of both forts on upper tidal Piscataway Creek have not been confirmed by archaeologists per Dr. Stephen Potter, National Park Service, personal communication to Wayne Clark, February 26, 2010.

26. Marye, "Piscataway," 204; English help make over new fort, ibid., 216–17, for path reference.

27. Philip L. Barbour, "The Earliest Reconnaissance of the Chesapeake Bay Area: Captain John Smith's Map and Indian Vocabulary," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* 80 (1972): 41. In Algonquian, the term "peya" means "come" with variations meaning to come in or to come quickly. An Algonquian specialist can best dissect the term "Piney," but perhaps this is a version of the term for path, which would explain why all three creeks are so named, the path being on the drainage divide parallel to the three Piney Creeks.

28. "A Map of Prince George's County and the District of Columbia showing the Topography and Election Districts," in Stephen R. Potter, "A Review of Archeological Resources in Piscataway Park," report on file at Landover: MARS Laboratory, National Park Service,

(1980), 32–33; Dennis Griffith, "Map of the State of Maryland, 1794," In Edward C. Papenfuse and Joseph M. Coale III, *Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland, 1608–1908* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 72.

29. Jeffrey Wanser, "A survey of Artifact Collections from Central Southern Maryland," Maryland Historical Trust Manuscript Series, No. 23, Annapolis, (1982), 172–77. The sites at the mouth of Piney Branch on the south and north side appear to predate the establishment of Maryland. See also R. E. McDaniel, Archeological Site Forms, (1974): 18CH 107-110, and (1977): 18CH 198-200, on file at the Maryland Historical Trust, Crownsville. The St. Mary's team recently completed shovel test pits on a site near Route 5 and Zekiah Swamp that yielded Potomac Creek pottery and flakes of European flint. See Julia A. King, "'. . . a place now known unto them': Finding the Zekiah Fort," PowerPoint presentation at the Maryland Historical Trust's Workshop in Archaeology, March 10, 2012. All of these sites are outside the Jordan tract but within the larger Zekiah Manor. The Windy Knoll site, (18 CH 808), a mile northwest of the mouth of Piney Branch, is within the boundary of the both the Jordan tract and the Zekiah Manor.

30. The location of the 1665 Zekiah town and possible fort falls within the Jordan tract, also within the Zekiah Manor. Hansen cites a 1692 survey of "Jourden Tract" for William Josephs that mentions a "coach Road" that "cometh the said mane branch" of Zekiah. The name "Old Coach Road" still exists on a residential road leading from Route 5 to the south side of Jordan Swamp on the Middleton property (Figure 2). The Old Coach Road used to cross Jordan Swamp in the best drained and highest part of the swamp near its juncture.

31. *Archives of Maryland,* 3:300, 304.

32. For 1682, see *Archives of Maryland,* 17: 197–201, 363, 365–66; The treaty between the Iroquois and the Piscataway was reinforced in a ceremony with the gift of belts of peake, each of which symbolized a different aspect of the understandings between them. The treaty was concluded in June 1682. See Semmes, *Captains and Mariners,* 604–29, for detailed discussions between the Maryland diplomats and the Iroquois Five Nations' representatives in New York resulting in this treaty, which brought peace to the southern Maryland Indians and the Five Nation Iroquois and their tributary tribes.

33. Indians from Zachiah Indian town in 1682 were involved in the deer skin trade with an English merchant whose store was at the tidal head of Wicomico River (*Archives of Maryland,* 17:92). In 1690, Choptico Indians noted they were away from their towns of Choptico and Zekiah. See Jacobson Collection, Records Illustrating the History of Maryland, 224, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis.

34. *Archives of Maryland,* 15:381–82 and 16:221.

35. Semmes, *Captains and Mariners,* 486. In discussions with the new governor, Lionel Copley, the Piscataway tayac, Othotomaquah, stated that he had left very few Indians behind him at Zachaiah Fort to look after and keep the same.

36. See ibid., 544–55 for discussion of Boarman's interpretive skills and responsibilities; 491–95, for John Addison's treatment of the Piscataway Indians and such treatment as one of the reasons for the Piscataway decision to migrate west, beyond the Maryland frontier.

37. Marye, "Piscataway," 183–240; Semmes, *Captains and Mariners,* 468–85.

38. John Hansen, "Prehistory of North America," term paper, 1989 and Hansen, "History of Locust Grove," 1990, unpublished manuscripts on file at Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum, St. Leonard; John Hansen to the author and Julia A. King, April 1, 1990, on file at Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum, St. Leonard. Based on his rediscovery of the 1789 plat of Zekiah Manor, Hansen first reported that it lay to the west of Zekiah Swamp with a southern boundary along Piney Branch and the northern border around today's Route 382,

north of Jordan's Swamp. Both Hansen and the author believe that the Jordan tract, located to the north of Piney Branch and north of Jordan Swamp was the reserve retained around the Zekiah Fort location. The original plat is at the Maryland State Archives, Maryland Survey Papers, Citation MSA S65-126.

39. See Marye, "Piscataway," 214–17 for the rationale behind a Kerrick Swamp location; ibid., 114 for Zekiah fort located within Zekiah Manor.

40. Testing of the Prospect Hill site, 18 CH 6, on the lower terrace south of the juncture of Kerrick Swamp, revealed only two shards of pottery and no colonial period artifacts. Testing of the Hawkins Gate site, 18 CH 4, on the uplands north of the juncture of Kerrick Swamp and the Zekiah Swamp, yielded an abundance of Potomac Creek pottery in one part of the site and an abundance of seventeenth-century colonial artifacts in another part. The historic artifacts appear to be from an English house site post-dating the occupation of the site during the Potomac Creek complex. King, "'A place now known unto them,'" oral presentation recorded in this author's research journal.

41. Scott M. Strickland and Julia A. King, Archaeological Site Survey Form for the Windy Knoll Site (2011), 18 CH 808, on file at Crownsville: Maryland Historical Trust; Julia A. King, "The Discovery of Zekiah Fort: A 17th Century Piscataway Indian Settlement," September 15, 2011 public program on file with the Maryland Historical Trust at Crownsville, Md. King, "Finding the Zekiah Fort"; Windy Knoll Site visit and personal communication between Wayne Clark and Julia King, 2011, field notes in author's collection. Gretchen Phillips, "Archaeologists find So. Md. 'Holy Grail': Piscataway fort is key discovery for Colonial period," *Maryland Independent*, September 7, 2011, 1, 11.

42. Marye, "Piscataway," 217.

43. Lois Green Carr, personal communication to author, 2006. Carr recalled a conversation she had with Russell Menard, who had completed extensive reconstruction of original land grants in southern Maryland. Menard unraveled the Lord Baltimores' system of providing reserves while retaining control in the hands of the proprietor. This system was reinforced in the 1640s when the Jesuits began receiving direct land grants from the Patuxent Indians, a process that was quickly and effectively stopped by Lord Baltimore.

44. Deed research by Scott Strickland, Preliminary Patent and Land Records, 2008, on file at St. Leonard: Jefferson-Patterson Park and Museum. Strickland's research has documented the granting of lands to English owners south of Piney Branch between the 1650s and the 1670s.

45. Hansen made his case to this author. See also, Hansen, "History of Locust Grove." He discovered that his namesake ancestor, John Hansen, completed the 1789 plat of Zekiah Manor. Hansen noted in his research that the conveyance of the Jordan tract was "not patented in the normal manner but through a letter from Calvert to Joseph, dated "London, January, 1690." Calvert did not win back his right to convey patents until 1694.

46. King and Strickland, "In Search of Zekiah Manor," 45.

47. See Semmes, *Captains and Mariners*, 485–91, for discussion of various reasons the Piscataway offered for leaving the province of Maryland.

48. Marye, "Piscataway," 215–16; Alice L. L. Ferguson and Henry Ferguson, *The Piscataway Indians of Southern Maryland* (Accokeek, Va.: Alice Ferguson Foundation, 1960), 29–43.

49. Marye, "Piscataway," 215–16, based on *Archives of Maryland*, 17:14–15.

50. Without immediate access to modern ballistic experts to replicate the experiment using seventeenth-century muskets, this author asked John Clark (a hunter with 50 years experience in Maryland's woods and fields), to estimate the distance he has been able to detect gunshots from known locations. He was confident that the maximum range that the

sound of gunshots travels would be two miles, or three miles under ideal topographic and atmospheric conditions.

51. Wayne E. Clark, "Zekiah Indian Reservation Survey: Middleton Property Survey 02.24.1989: Field notes. Unpublished manuscript on file at Maryland Historical Trust, Crownsville (1989); Julia A. King, "From Moyaone to St. Mary's City: The Archaeology of Anglo-American Relations in Early Maryland," Power Point presentation at the Fall Meeting, Archaeological Society of Maryland (2012), author notes.

52. See *Archives of Maryland,* 2:489, for the reference to eighty warriors. Maureen Kavanagh, handout on calories of corn needed per year per family, 2008, on file at the Maryland Historical Trust. Kavanagh estimated the Piscataway population from 1680 to 1711, then estimated the corn yield per acre needed to sustain that population in order to determine the number of acres of farmland surrounding the Zekiah fort.

53. Marye, "Piscataway," 221–22; *Archives of Maryland,* 15:329, 408–9.

54. Henry Spelman, a captive of the Patawomeck Indians, noted the movement of families to winter hunting quarters in remote locations. There they conducted an annual fall deer drive, using fire to drive the deer to enhance the slaughter so that sufficient meat and hides could be obtained to sustain the population. Because the Patawomecks and the Piscataways shared the same Potomac Creek complex material culture, settlement, and subsistence patterns, it is reasonable to assume that Spelman's account of the Patawomeck winter quarters more closely corresponds to the Piscataway paramount chiefdom's practice of winter hunting quarters than to the Susquehannocks' winter hunting quarters described by Alsop noted above. See Henry Spelman, "Relation of Virginia," in *The Travels and Works of Captain John Smith,* Edward Arber and A. G. Bradley, eds. (New York, 1910), ci–cxiv.

55. Marye, "Piscataway," 209. Also note that the English described the Susquehannock fort of 1675 as a "high bank of earth . . . and a ditch round all, and a row of tall trees 5 to 6 inches in diameter erected six inches apart and wattled in between." Quote from Curry, "Native American Forts." See Clark, "The Susquehanna Fort," 76, for an English plan of the fort. Original Quote from Thomas Mathew, "Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion, 1675–1676," in *Narratives of the Insurrection, 1675–1690* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), 15–41. The Piscataway paid four English in 1660 to help them build a new fort on the hill overlooking Piscataway Creek. That may be the source from which the design of a square fort with bastion used in subsequent forts was derived. *Archives of Maryland,* 3:403.

56. Curry, "Native American Forts," Heater Island site plan. The fort site was excavated in the 1960s by American University and Catholic University anthropology students, who revealed one bastion. The historical description provides the dimension of 50–60 yards by 46–55 yards. A minimum of two bastions at opposite corners was required to provide rifle coverage along two walls. Based on the archaeology, the 1675 Susquehannock fort had only two adjacent surviving corners with bastions, which suggests four bastions at that Iroquois-style fortification. Stephenson, Ferguson, and Ferguson, "The Accokeek Creek Site," 44.

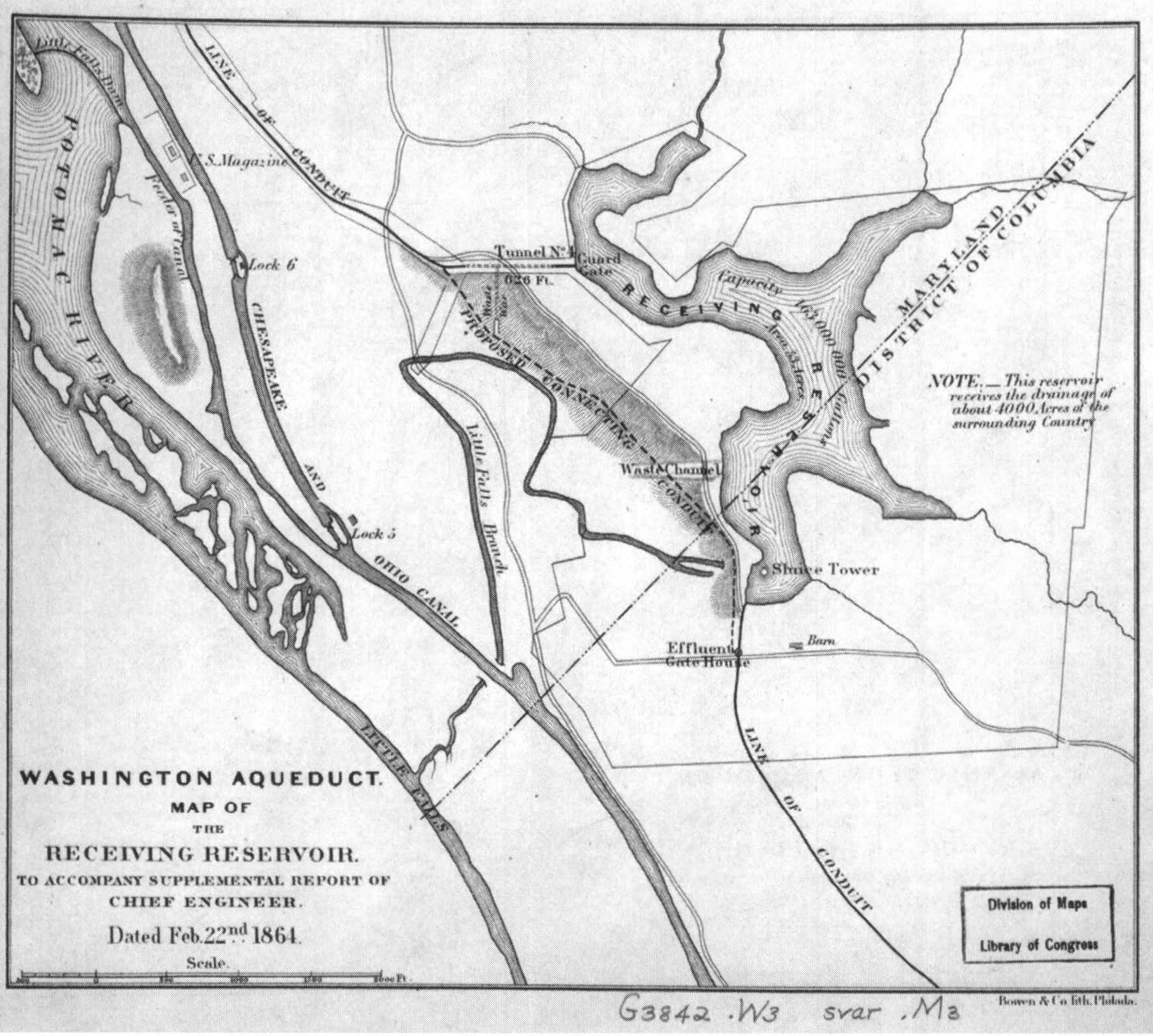
57. *Archives of Maryland,* 17:113. The English sent twenty able-bodied men to stand guard at Zekiah fort in August 1682. These men were dismissed in November 1682 when the Choptico moved into the fort and the Englishmen were no longer needed, *Archives of Maryland,* 17:54. The Choptico would have returned to their Choptico Resolving Manor as soon as it was perceived safe to do so.

58. King, "From Moyoane to St. Mary's City."

59. King and Strickland, Windy Knoll Site Inventory Form (2011). King, "The Discovery of Zekiah Fort."

60. The St. Mary's College team performed extensive shovel test pitting east and north of the

Windy Knoll site without evidence of other major sites. The Zekiah Fort location is predicted to be in close proximity to the Windy Knoll site, northeast of and adjacent to Piney Branch in an area not yet tested. Additional testing is needed at the Windy Knoll site and proximity to locate evidence of the fort's palisade, trench, and artifacts dating to the period of the fort's occupation, 1680–1692.



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Washington Aqueduct Map of the Receiving Reservoir, 1864. In the upper left corner, this map depicts the same landmarks as the Potomac Company's 1825 map on page 312 below, but they are labeled: The Little Falls Dam, the U.S. Magazine and the Feeder of Canal. (Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division G 3842 W3 SVAR. M3.)

An Old and Obscure Citizen: Captain George Pointer and the Potomac Company

CLARA MYRICK GREEN and BARBARA BOYLE TORREY

The histories of the Potomac Company and its successor, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company (C&O), are well documented, partly because national leaders were associated with both. George Washington became the first president of the Potomac Company in 1785, and President John Quincy Adams celebrated the C&O Canal's inauguration forty-three years later. Much less is known about the many slaves and free blacks who gave their labor and lives to the companies. Fortunately, a rare letter provides a glimpse into the life of a former slave who worked for the Potomac Company in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[1]

In September 1829, the new directors of the C&O Canal Company received an eleven-page letter from Captain George Pointer, whose cottage was in the path of their new canal. In it he described his career as a slave laborer for the Potomac Company, his subsequent manumission, and his eventual appointment as a supervising engineer. The letter is both literate and historically accurate in its account of the many directors and presidents of the Potomac Company and their activities over more than forty years. It begins:

> To the President and directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal
>
> Gentlemen—
> I pray you to read the memorial and humble petition of an old and Obscure Citizen, I was born in the year A.D. 1773, 11th Of October in Frederick County Maryland. I was born a Slave, and continued one for 19 Years, a part of which time I had the honor of being with the engineers and directors of the old Potomack Canal Company during that period, I had the good fortune to get in the good graces of my master the engineer and the Company, having been well recommended by the engineer and the Directors and the Company.[2]

George Pointer's literacy and details of the work he did make the letter unique. At

Clara Myrick Green is a retired teacher of French and a local historian. Barbara Boyle Torrey is a retired member of the National Research Council. They co-wrote Brookmont: A Neighborhood on the Potomac *(Bethesda, Md.: Signature Book Press, 2008).*

a time when some of the company's white laborers could not write their own names on the payrolls, Pointer's cursive handwriting is well formed and bold.[3] The letter contains no visible corrections, and his wording is sophisticated. Spelling in many company documents is erratic, but Pointer's spelling is excellent; only his punctuation is irregular. The details of his life are presented chronologically, and his petition to the directors of the C&O Canal Company is appropriately formal, marked by a humble tone only at the beginning and the end.

Pointer's memory of the events and leadership within the Potomac Canal Company is confirmed by the company records. He correctly named the first four company directors, who were elected in May 1785, forty-three years before he wrote his letter, and he listed the subsequent directors and superintendents in the approximate order of their tenure. His job titles for some occasionally differed from their official titles. For instance, Pointer remembered Henry Foxall as a "Superintend," although he was simply a member of the board of directors. Pointer's use of names varied. For example, his chief engineer "Mr. John Smith" is James Smith in the records; "Capt. Meyers" is Captain Christopher Myers. He also did not mention Thomas Johnson, who became the president of the Potomac Company when George Washington resigned to become president of the United States. Those differences aside, he remembered accurately the major leaders and activities of the company over many years.

Pointer's letter reveals a hardworking natural leader who, despite being born a slave, achieved not only his freedom but also considerable success in jobs that had been previously occupied by whites. A succession of supervisors increased his responsibilities, culminating in his promotion to engineer for the Potomac Company. Pointer's letter emphasizes his work experience and loyalty. Evidence of his personal life comes from other company records, decennial censuses, and population surveys.

George Pointer was born in 1773 in the original Frederick County, Maryland, an area that had been carved out of Baltimore and Prince George's Counties twenty-five years earlier. At that time, Frederick County included present-day Montgomery County, created in 1776, and the District of Columbia, which was not formed until 1791. On the eve of the American Revolution, there was little but woodland beyond the port settlement of Georgetown, with the exception of tobacco farms on tracts of land granted by patent from the Lord Proprietary of Maryland. In 1776 a colonial census revealed a sparse population of 912 whites and 616 blacks in the county's "Lower Potomack Hundred." In the port of Georgetown, the "George Town Hundred," resided 433 people, of whom eighty-two were black.[4]

Because Pointer mentioned only the county of his birth, not a town, he was probably born in a rural part of Frederick County, perhaps on one of the several tobacco farms scattered near the Potomac River. Such farms consisted of cleared land, a small one-story log house covered in planks, log barns, a springhouse, and

other farm structures. Typically there were no slave quarters; slaves slept in the farmhouse loft.[5] There were at least two slave-owning farms on the lower Potomac River of Frederick County in the late eighteenth century: the Whitehaven plantation, three miles north of Georgetown, and the Brooke farm, two miles farther upriver.[6]

At the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, George Washington resigned his military commission before the Congress, which was meeting in Annapolis, and almost immediately returned to his prewar "grand idea" of making the Potomac River navigable from the tidewater to the Ohio River Valley.[7] The attempt to do so was important for the economic development of towns and farms along the river, such as Alexandria and Mount Vernon.[8] Within two years, Washington helped finance the new Potomac Company and in 1785 became its first president.

The challenge was building canals and locks to circumvent Great Falls, Virginia, and Little Falls, Maryland. Together the two falls drop more than one hundred feet before reaching tidewater. Hiring laborers was, naturally, a priority, and is detailed in the proceedings of the Potomac Company's board meetings. (The proceedings from 1785 to 1828 are found in leather-bound volumes that contain carefully handwritten minutes and the signatures of Washington and various board members.) At the meeting in October 1785, the directors authorized the hiring of slaves and were specific about provisions for them:

> It was ordered that one hundred good and able working Negroes should be hired for the use of the Company for each of whom there should be an Allowance of twenty Pounds; Virg[ini]a. Currency, also cloath them and pay their Levies and furnish them with Rations viz 1# Salt Pork 1 ¼ # Salt Beef or 1 ½ # fresh Beef or Mutton and a sufficiency of Bread each Day and also a reasonable quantity of Spirits when necessary. That the Negroes are to come well-cloathed, or to be supplied with what may be deficient.[9]

The following year, the board authorized placing a second advertisement for the hiring of slaves at $5.32 a month for common hands and $6.66 for more experienced workers.[10]

George Pointer must have been one of the first and youngest slaves hired, because by 1787, at age thirteen, he had already been working for the company long enough to have been given a "cottage" in which to live. The following year, Washington asked his good friend and well-respected surveyor, Col. George Gilpin, to lead an exploration with the new chief supervisor of the company, James Smith. Washington wanted them to survey the entire length of the Potomac River from the Savage River in western Maryland, through Cumberland, to the downstream end of Little Falls.[11] Pointer accompanied them:

> I at that period occupied the place where my little humble cottage now stands. Being given to me by the Directors and Company in 1787– the chief engineer as

> well as I can recollect was Mr. John Smith from Scotland whom General Washington as I learnt — employed to explore the Route of the Potomack Canal, it fell to my Lot to be his Servant during the Period of the Exploration.[12]

As Smith's servant during the exploration, the fourteen-year-old George Pointer would have seen many of the sites on the Potomac where he would later work in the next forty years. One of Pointer's early memories was of Washington's annual visits to inspect the work site of the canal at Little Falls between 1785 and 1789, before he left the company to assume the U.S. presidency. Pointer wrote:

> Yearly in the month of October General Washington would come to view the progress of the work and well I recollect that at every squad of workmen he passed he would give a dollar to, and I also will well recollect that the Sections contained two miles ¾ and ten Rods.[13]

Pointer did indeed remember well, since his account is accurate within twenty feet of the length of the Little Falls canal, which was over two and a half miles long.[14]

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Maryland was more liberal in the matter of slavery than were many other Southern states.[15] Although slavery was considered hereditary, the possibility of freedom did exist, and slaves who had been freed were allowed by law to live, work, and travel with certain limits.[16] Although manumission after the death of an owner was outlawed from 1752 until 1790, during the Revolution 952 Maryland slaves were granted freedom by their living owners.[17]

After the war's end private indebtedness and inflation were rampant. In addition, the tobacco market, which had always been seasonal, was also depressed.[18] Many slaveowners began hiring their slaves out to other employers, sometimes for extended periods and at great distance from the owner.[19] Many of those slave laborers were allowed to keep part of their pay, and some saved enough to buy their freedom.[20] Pointer remembers: ". . . for the faithful Services Rendered them by me, my master Told me that if I would pay him 300$ In a given time that I Should be my own man, which I did out of the Hard earnings I Received from the company."[21]

There is no record to identify George Pointer's "master," but in 1793 he bought his freedom after approximately five years of hard work. The three hundred dollars he paid for his freedom was the standard price for slaves in the District of Columbia at that time, roughly $6,000–$7,000 today.[22] Ironically, 1793 was the same year that Congress passed the first Fugitive Slave Act, giving slave owners the right to recover their runaway slaves. In order to not be re-enslaved, Pointer had to carry a certificate of freedom with his name, age, physical characteristics, conditions of birth (slave or free) and the name of his former owner.[23]

The first U.S. decennial census in 1790 listed no slaves by name. However, it did show that slaves made up 35 percent of the population of Montgomery County and that only 5 percent of county blacks were free.[24] This was a smaller percentage than

for all of Maryland, where 7 percent were free.[25] Ten years later, "Geo. Pointer" was listed as the Negro head of household under the category "All the free Persons except Indians not taxed." His five-person household was not listed by age or gender, but we know from his letter that he had a wife and children. Although his household appears in the District of Columbia records, all the evidence suggests that his cottage was, in fact, in Maryland, less than a mile from what was then a poorly marked boundary between Maryland and Washington, D.C.[26]

As a free man, Pointer continued working for the Potomac Company, first on the canal at Little Falls and then at Great Falls. In 1796 he was put in charge of five boats that each day transported stone from Seneca quarry to Great Falls. As his responsibilities grew, he eventually became one of four pilots who helped boats loaded with flour descend the river. He also supervised workers building walls to make it easier to haul boats back upriver.[27]

The name "Pointer," which is sometimes spelled "Poynter," appears numerous times in the records of the Potomac Company between 1796 and 1828. In 1801 payments were made to George Pointer as well as to a "J. Pointer" and sometimes to a "John Pointer." The names John and George never appear together on the same date. Since George Pointer was the only person with this surname recorded as residing in the Washington area in the decennial population censuses of Maryland or the District of Columbia between 1790 and 1830, it seems likely they are the same man. Between the fall of 1800 and the summer of 1801, John Pointer was regularly paid cash for such work as "boating corn," carrying pork from Little Falls to Great Falls, and the "waggoning of Casks."[28] He was also repeatedly entrusted with money to purchase meat or grain for the Potomac Company's laborers. We know that he had his own boat, because in 1802 the company paid George Pointer for the "hire of his boat."[29]

Company records indicate that its board of directors knew and trusted Pointer. In January 1801, the board ordered "that Mr. Pointer give notice to the Owners of Boats and Scows now lying at the Basin of the Great Falls . . . [that] the owners immediately remove [them]."[30] This is the first time the formal title of "Mr. Pointer" was used in the company records. The same year, he was given $3.33 a month for board, presumably for lodging company workers.[31] A year later, in May 1802, the board discussed Pointer again, because they wanted "Poynter's house be taken possession of and set apart for the use of the men while employed in quarrying stone on the banks of the Canal."[32]

In December 1804, Betty Pointer was paid $7 for "cooking and the lodging of six Negro men."[33] It is very likely that Betty was George Pointer's wife, one of the five members of the Pointer household enumerated in the 1800 census. This also suggests that the 1802 company order to requisition Pointer's home for company laborers may have resulted in the boarding of the six men in his house in 1804.

Pointer and his household do not appear in the 1810 decennial census, probably because the census records for the District of Columbia were lost and later only par-

tially reconstructed from tax records.[34] He says in his letter that he left the Potomac Company for several years at the beginning of the nineteenth century to work for himself as a captain on the Potomac. He returned to the company around 1810, and Josiah Thompson, the new supervising engineer, asked him to oversee workers in removing obstructions in the Shenandoah River. He may have been too conscientious in this because he mentions in his letter that while working on the river, local farmers threatened his life when he and his men tried to remove their fish pots.[35]

By 1816, Josiah Thompson had handed in his resignation to the company board which was meeting at Union Tavern in the District of Colombia.[36] Pointer proudly remembers the meeting:

> [Colonel Williams and Josiah Thompson] called on me to meet the board that had assembled at the Union Tavern, they then told the board that they thought inexpedient to employ any engineer on the Potomack as I had had experience enough to Superintend any work. . . . Consequently I was named by Mr. Henry Foxall to Superintend a parcel of hands for the purpose at that time of building a wall to throw the water in the canal in the Great falls.[37]

The company certainly had financial reasons for promoting George Pointer at the time. Its best year had been in 1811, just before war erupted with Britain. But by the end of the War of 1812, the number of boats and the tonnage on the Potomac Canal were less than half of what they had been at its peak, and the company would never fully recover.[38] Pointer would have been cheaper to hire than engineers with more training but less experience. He therefore worked for several more years at Great Falls and supervised thirty workers building a wall to funnel water into the Seneca Canal. He began boating stone, which was dangerous work:

> I then commenced Running free Stone from Seneca to the Little Locks that were then building; in Running the Stone above mentioned on a certain day there was a parcel of boats fast in Seneca Falls with Marble for the Capitol, I could not get by, consequently I had to Run out Side. Unfortunately my boat struck, I was precipitated out of her, and a broken Leg was the issue of it. I Laid in that Situation four days Without medical aid, I However Saved the cargo and got it down Safe to the Little Falls its Place of destination.[39]

On July 25, 1819, the directors of the Potomac Company met in Georgetown with John Mason, the son of George Mason, presiding. The only business recorded that day was to "pay Geo. Pointer acc't for forty eight dollars and forty two cents" and to pay two other men.[40]

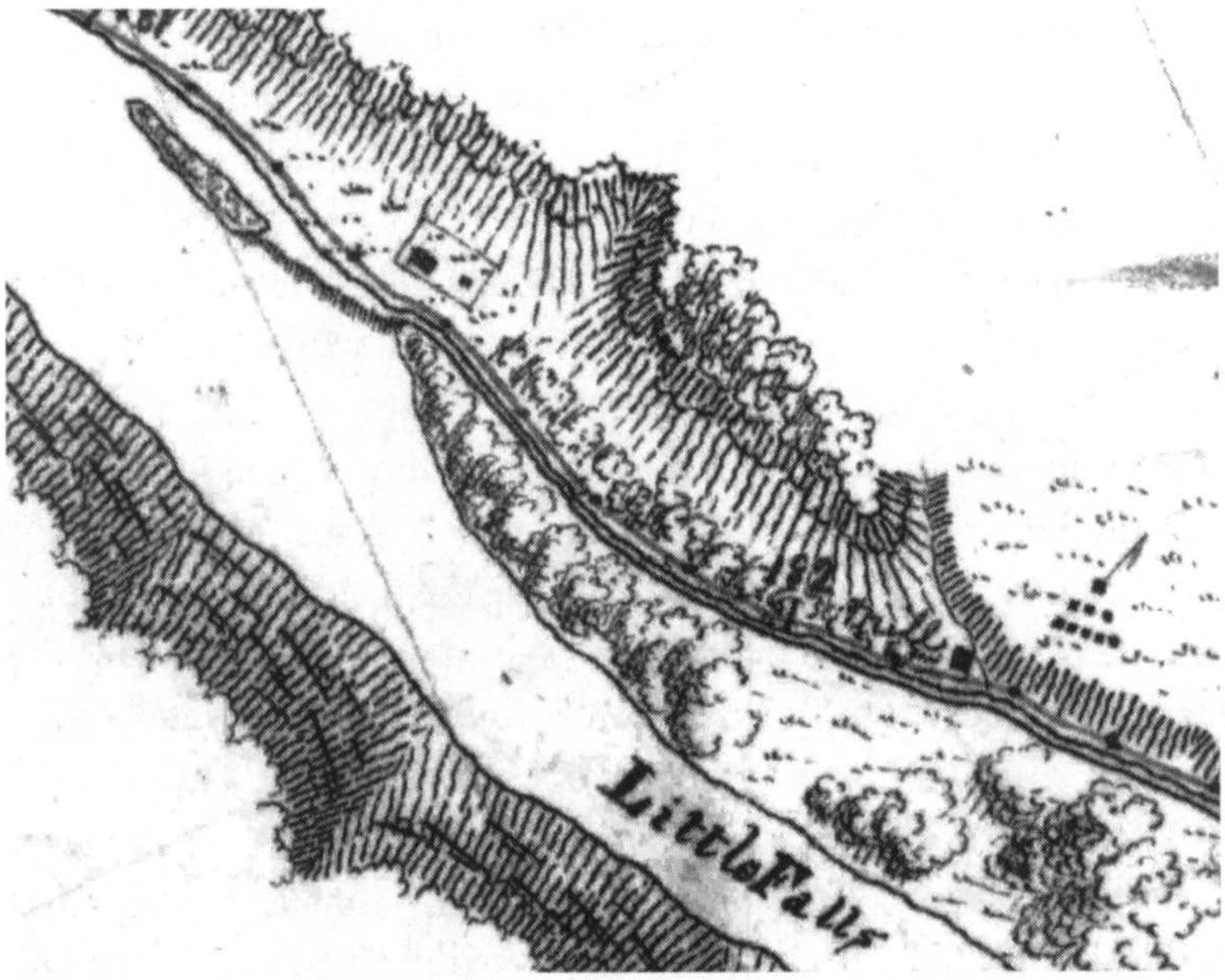
In the spring of 1820, George Pointer appears again in the decennial census in the District of Columbia as the head of a household that included a woman at least forty-five years old, presumably his wife Betty, and a young woman between the

ages of sixteen and twenty-six. Curiously, he and the members of his household were categorized under "whites." This may simply reflect a lack of interest or the retrospective memory of the census taker, since the Potomac Company records and two other censuses refer to him as Negro or Free Colored.

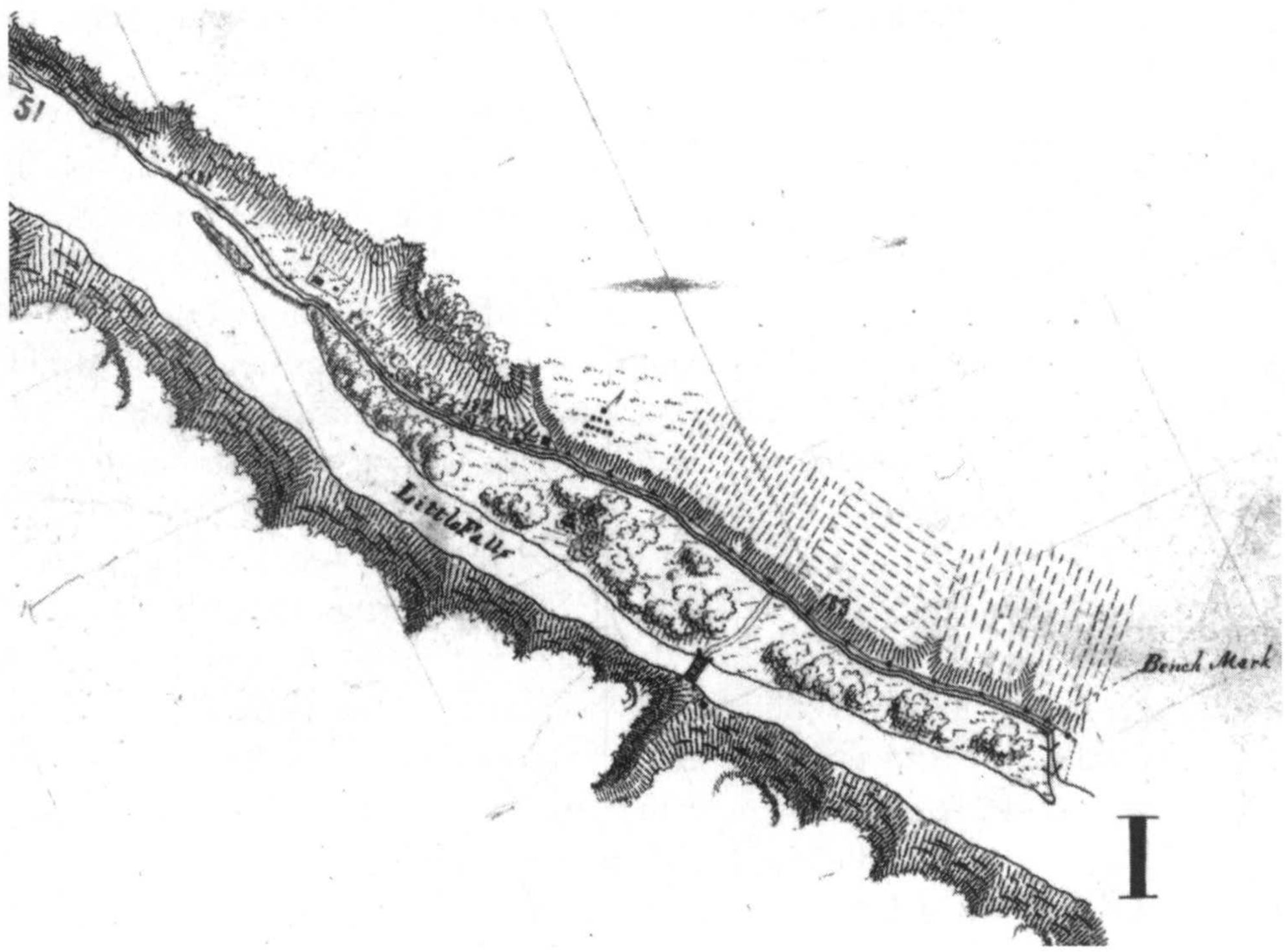
The Potomac Company records twice refer to Pointer's house, both times suggesting a location near the head of the Little Falls skirting canal, which later became the C&O Canal feeder canal. The location of Pointer's house in the 1802 reference to accommodating men quarrying stone at the "company's house situated between the Canal Bridge and the Locks at present occupied by one Poynter" is ambiguous. The locks were at the downstream end of the canal where the historic Abner Cloud House is located, but there may have been several bridges crossing the canal. There was probably one to provide access to the 1797 Potomac River Bridge (later called Chain Bridge), and possibly another farther upstream near what is now Lock 5 of the C&O Canal.[41] The second reference in 1820 gives more information. A report about repairs mentions "clearing out a considerable portion of the Canal — rebuilding from the foundation the tumbling dam by Poynters house."[42] The term "tumbling dam" has several meanings. It can refer to a small waste dam or weir designed to spill overflow water from a canal, and it can designate a dam that feeds water into a canal. It is unclear where waste weirs were located on the Potomac Canal, but it is possible that the report refers to the Potomac Company's wing dam, made of loose rock and located at the head of the Potomac Canal to divert water into it. The remnants of this dam are still visible today.

Twenty-three years later, the records of the successor C&O Canal Company also refer to Pointer's house. A flood in mid-September 1843 did considerable damage to the C&O Canal, and a report cites large breaches near the powder magazine and the dam "near Pointer's."[43] A map from an 1825 survey of the Potomac Canal shows the wing dam reaching from High Island to a much smaller island.[44] On the shore, the powder magazine built to hold the Potomac Company's blasting powder, is shown surrounded by a fence. The ridge on the Maryland shore is also well defined.[45] A map drawn forty years later shows the same reference points, but with more detail and precision.[46] The powder magazine is labeled "U.S. Magazine," the dam is named the "Little Falls Dam," and the Potomac Company's skirting canal has become the C&O Canal's feeder canal.

The Panic of 1819, the economic depression that followed, and the severest drought in twenty years pushed the Potomac Company further into debt.[47] Pointer asked the board for permission to build fish traps near the entrance of the canal by his cottage—he had to support his family by selling fish and the corn he grew on the nearby island at the Georgetown market. According to Pointer's petition, it took him eight years and $400 to complete the fish traps, but only three years later workers building the new Chesapeake and Ohio Canal began dismantling them.[48] Pointer complained to a C&O Canal construction supervisor, who advised him to ask the



Survey of the Potomac Canal, 1825. The map below shows the Little Falls on the Potomac River and the Chain Bridge that crosses the River between Maryland on the right and Virginia on the bottom. The detail of the same map at the top shows the "tumbling dam that reaches from the Maryland shore to the island upstream. This dam was mentioned in the Company records as being near "Poynter's house." It also shows two small structures with a fence around them. One is the munitions magazine that was built to store the blasting powder used to make the Potomac canal. (National Archives, Record Group 77, Cartographic and Architectural Division.)



board for restitution. It was this advice that prompted Pointer's petition to the new canal company for redress.

> [T]he foregoing fish potts I built that cost me So much labour and money have been taken down by Mr. McCord's workmen and the Stone of which has been put in his wall. . . . also the Shap Spring Island which is no more for me as the wall that was built opposite Mr. D. Bussards Section shuts me out entirely from it. I made on the same Island yearly from 12 to 14 Barrells of corn, but alas it is for me no more at all.[49]

This passage further helps pinpoint the location of his house. Daniel Bussard, a Georgetown contractor, had been awarded the work of building sections 2 and 3 of the C&O Canal, which he was finishing the month before Pointer wrote his letter.[50] The wall of the new canal would have cut off Pointer from "Shap Spring Island." This island was the northern extension of what is now called High Island, the only sizable island with enough flat space to plant a crop. If the wall of the canal was cutting off access to the island, Pointer's cottage must have been on the inland edge of the new canal.

Despite the Potomac Company's financial woes, George Pointer occasionally continued to perform contract work for them. The final payment to him was recorded on July 22, 1828, for "clearing away sand bar from the front of the Lower lock gates at the Little Falls: $13.00."[51] That was two weeks after the inauguration of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, so evidently the Potomac Company was clearing its books. George Pointer was not only one of the first people hired by the Potomac Company, he was also one of the last people they employed.

By the time Pointer wrote his petition in 1829, the area surrounding his cottage had changed considerably. In 1773 when he was born, the area had been sparsely populated, but twenty-four years later the first Chain Bridge had been built approximately a mile downstream from Pointer's house. Floods washed it away periodically, but it was always rebuilt to encourage northern Virginia farmers to bring their produce to Georgetown for sale instead of taking it to Alexandria. Between 1800 and 1820, boat traffic using the Little Falls canal near Pointer's house more than tripled.[52]

On a ridge above the skirting canal, the Isaac Brooke farm had grown considerably from its nine acres in 1773.[53] Isaac's son, Thomas A. Brooke, inherited the farm, bought and sold slaves, and was made a justice of the peace in Montgomery County in 1820.[54] Although he was ten years younger than Pointer, Brooke died in 1824, leaving a widow and three sons. His widow, Henrietta, was eventually forced to sell some of the farm to the C&O Canal Company for the easement of the new canal. She later regretted it and like Pointer wrote to the company with her grievances.[55]

Pointer and his family would have witnessed the ground-breaking ceremony of the C&O Canal on July 4, 1828, at the mouth of the skirting canal near his cottage.

The powder magazine, built by the Potomac Company to store blasting powder, is in the foreground. It is partially buried in two hundred years of silt from river flooding. Remnants of the company's wing dam can be seen in the background arching across the Potomac River. It fed water into the mouth of the canal. George Pointer's cottage was in this vicinity.

President John Quincy Adams, the members of his cabinet, the diplomatic corps, the Marine Band, and two companies of riflemen took a steamship as far as the Little Falls locks and then transferred to canal boats up to the entrance of the old Potomac Canal at the wing dam. They arrived "just within the bounds of the State of Maryland," with hundreds of people watching the ceremony from the eastern slope where Pointer lived.[56]

A year later, in August 1829, heavy flooding made the Potomac Company's Little Falls skirting canal unusable for boat traffic.[57] Rather than repairing the old canal, the C&O's board of directors accelerated their work on the new canal. As construction approached George Pointer's cottage, he sat down to write his letter to its directors.

> The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal is drawing near my little Cottage that I have occupied for 43 years unmolested with an aged wife and some offspring but alas none left to assist us, I do trust in God, the giver of all things, that if the new Company does Dispossess us from our Little Humble Cottage, that hitherto has not been a detriment to the old Canal Company nor anybody Living, and which was given to me, that they will give me Some Little place adjacent to the new Canal, that they may upon it Support themselves for the few days that they

have to breathe upon this earth — Which is but few.[58]

He ended the letter with a personal blessing of the new canal:

God has prospered the old Canal that the father of his Country First brought into existence and may he favour the new one. My well wishes the Company has for its future Prosperity.

Gentlemen, I have the honor to be, With the greatest obligations to you all, your very humble and obedient Servant.

Capt. George Pointer September 5th 1829[59]

In September 1829, several weeks after Pointer wrote his letter, a post office was established near his house, one of seven set up along the new C&O Canal at the company's behest.[60]

Pointer's letter to the C&O Canal Company's board of directors has been well preserved in their files more than 180 years, but there is no mention in their records that his letter was ever discussed or answered. Like his cottage, he survived for at least another year, since he is recorded in the District of Columbia decennial census of 1830 under the category of "Free Colored Persons" between the ages of thirty-six and fifty-five, although he was actually fifty-six years old. His family included one woman between the ages of fifty-five and one hundred, and a female child under ten years of age.[61] One of them was listed as blind.

George Pointer lived long enough to see much social change in Maryland. Between 1790 and 1830 the number of free blacks increased five-fold, and the number of slaves declined from 32 percent to 23 percent of the population.[62] The growth in the number of free blacks in Maryland was a source of increasing concern for whites. In 1817, Francis Scott Key and others founded the American Colonization Society with the goal of returning free blacks to Africa.[63] Fourteen years later, in 1831, Nat Turner's slave uprising in Virginia terrified white Marylanders, and in the spring of 1832, the Maryland House of Delegates chartered the Maryland State Colonization Board to oversee "the Removal of Coloured People" to Africa. That year, the sheriff of Montgomery County collected the names of all "Free People of Color" to facilitate their removal. Elizabeth Pointer was listed as a forty-year-old black woman.[64] She was too young to be Pointer's wife, Betty, but is an appropriate age for a daughter named after her mother who was living in the Pointer household in the 1820 census. She was the only Pointer listed in Maryland in 1832. The next three decennial censuses, 1840–1860, contain no mention of George or Elizabeth Pointer in Maryland or the District of Columbia. There is, however, in the 1840 Washington, D.C. decennial census, one W. A. Pointer, a thirty-six-year-old free black man in a household with a wife and two children

George Pointer's cottage may have withstood the many floods of the Potomac and the building of the C&O Canal in the nineteenth century, but it could not survive

the need for better transportation in the twentieth. Today, the Clara Barton Parkway passes over the approximate site of his home. All that is left from his life with the Potomac Company is their powder magazine, the C&O feeder canal, and remnants of the wing dam that still directs water into the feeder canal. The powder magazine is a stone structure on the shore next to the wing dam. The boulders of the dam still stretch out to what was George Pointer's Fish Pot Island, now called Snake Island, and the feeder canal, a remnant of the Potomac Canal, is lined with stones, some perhaps from George Pointer's fish traps. They are rugged witnesses to an era when the Potomac River symbolized the ambitions of a new country, and when Captain George Pointer exemplified the promise of that country's future.

NOTES

1. For a complete history of the Potomac Company, including a discussion of the letter written by George Pointer, see Robert J. Kapsch, *The Potomac Canal: George Washington and the Waterway West* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press: 2007).
2. National Archives, Record Group 79 (hereinafter NA-RG 79), Entry 262, "Petition of Captain George Pointer to the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal," September 5, 1829, 1. Hereinafter the citation is "Petition." Within the last three years, the National Archives renumbered the entries of this group of records. All of the cited entry numbers for this record group are the current numbers. For a full transcript of George Pointer's petition see appendix to Robert J. Kapsch in *Canal History and Technology Proceedings*, 21 (2002): 216–19.
3. The payrolls show that many workers signed a receipt of payment with an X. See NA-RG 79, Entry 232, Potomac Company Correspondence and Reports: 1785–1828, box 4.
4. Gaius M. Brumbaugh, *Maryland Records: Colonial, Revolutionary, County and Church* (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1915), 1:187–97. A "hundred" designated a tax and militia district in colonial Maryland, the equivalent of a township. The word has its origin in its usage in old England to mean a district that would furnish one hundred soldiers.
5. Richard K. MacMaster and Ray Eldon Hiebert, *A Grateful Remembrance: The Story of Montgomery County, Maryland 1776–1976* (Rockville, Md.: Montgomery County Government and the Montgomery County Historical Society, 1976), 18.
6. Barbara Boyle Torrey and Clara Myrick Green, *Brookmont, A Neighborhood on the Potomac* (Bethesda, Md.: Signature Book Press, 2008), 210–14.
7. Joel Achenbach, *The Grand Idea* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004).
8. Dan Guzy, "The Potomac Company's Canal and Locks at Little Falls," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 96 (2001): 421.
9. NA-RG 79, Entry 230, Potomac Company Proceedings 1785–1828, Volume A, October 18, 1785, 14.
10. Ibid, October 4, 1786, 27. Today these wages would be worth an estimated $100 to $140.
11. Robert J. Kapsch, *The Potomac Canal: George Washington and the Waterway West*, 70.
12. George Pointer, Petition, 2. On company payrolls there was also a John Smith, a slave overseer, and at some point Pointer may have worked under him. John Smith, however, was not involved in the exploration of the canal route that Pointer discusses in his petition.

13. George Pointer, Petition, 2. A rod was 16.5 feet.
14. Dan Guzy, "The Potomac Company's Canal and Locks at Little Falls," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 96 (2001): 430.
15. Letitia Woods Brown, *Free Negroes in the District of Columbia: 1790–1846* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 12–17. According to the first U.S. decennial census in 1790, there were 753,430 blacks in the United States, over half of whom lived in Virginia and Maryland. More than a third of all free blacks in the United States lived in these two states.
16. Benjamin Quarles, "Freedom Fettered: Blacks in the Constitutional Era in Maryland 1776–1810. An Introduction," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 84 (1989): 300.
17. William L. Calderhead, "Slavery in Maryland in the Age of Revolution, 1775–1790," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 98 (2003): 306.
18. Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland, A Middle Temperament, 1634–1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press and the Maryland Historical Society, 1988), 138. See also Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought* (New York: Oxford University Press: 2007), 53.
19. Calderhead, "Slavery in Maryland in the Age of Revolution," 307–8.
20. Lorena S. Walsh, "Rural African Americans in the Constitutional Era in Maryland, 1776–1810," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 84 (1989): 338.
21. George Pointer, Petition, 1.
22. David Bailie Warden, *A Chorographical Description of the District of Columbia* (Paris, 1816), 58. Current value was roughly estimated using historical series of wholesale price index from 1793 to 1890 and the consumer price index in the twentieth century.
23. Quarles, "Freedom Fettered," 301.
24. Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 2.
25. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (Hatboro, Pa.: Tradition Press: 1967), 4:319.
26. The census taker moved up the river from Georgetown. Pointer's name appears as the seventh name after that of Thomas Main, a Scottish immigrant and horticulturist who lived in the Whitehaven house, where tidewater meets the Little Falls. (The house, greatly altered, still exists on Reservoir Road above the historic Abner Cloud house.) Main provided plant cuttings to Thomas Jefferson. He employed five or six young blacks whom he boarded, educated and paid to work in his nursery. See Warden, *A Chorographical Description,* 119.
27. George Pointer, Petition, 3–4.
28. NA-RG 79, Entry 240, Potomac Company "Daybook" (Financial Ledger for Georgetown, February 8, 1800–July 1807), May 10, 1801.
29. Ibid., December 6, 1802.
30. NA-RG 79, Entry 230, Potomac Company Proceedings, Volume A, 209.
31. NA-RG 79, Entry 240, Potomac Company "Daybook," April 10, 1801.
32. NA-RG 79, Entry 230, Potomac Company Proceedings, Volume A, May 11, 1802, 380.
33. NA-RG 79, Entry 240, Potomac Company "Daybook," December 10, 1804.
34. 1810 United States Federal Census, at Ancestry.com.
35. Pointer recalls: "I next went with the Directors and the engineer to the Shenandoah River. I was left by Mr. Thompson to superintend the navigation of that River such as Removing dams and fish potts and many time run the risk of loosing my life by the inhabitants in the absence of the company for having removed the same." Petition, 5. Pointer's statement is corroborated in Corra Bacon-Foster, *Potomac Route to the West* (Washington, D.C.: Columbia Historical Society, 1912), 108.
36. See W. B. Bryon, "Hotels of Washington Prior to 1814," *Records of the Columbia Historical*

Society, 7 (1903). This tavern was built in 1776 at the corner of M and 30th Streets.
37. George Pointer, Petition, 6. Englishman Henry Foxall was a wealthy and prominent citizen of the Georgetown community and owner of a munitions foundry. Over the years he had freed many of his own slaves. Colonel Williams was Elie Williams, the president of the Potomac Company's board from 1815 to 1817.
38. NA-RG Entry 230, Potomac Company Proceedings, Oversize volume, December 20, 1822, 5. The title of the table is: "A Table shewing the Am't of tolls rec'd by the Potomac Company in each year from the 1st of August 1799 to the 1 August 1817, together with the number of Boats and Tonnage employed, and the Produce and Merchandise transported with the estimated value of the same during that Period."
39. George Pointer, Petition, 6–7. A history of black labor that helped build the U.S. Capitol claims that Pointer "regularly brought building materials to the Federal City for the Capitol, Seneca Sandstone for the flooring and Potomac marble for columns shafts in House and Senate Chambers." Pointer does not mention this contribution to the building of the Capitol, and because the author bases his statement solely on Pointer's letter, we do not know if this is true. See William C. Allen, *History of Slave Laborers in the Construction of the U.S. Capitol* (Washington: Office of the Architect of the Capitol, 2005).
40. NA-RG 79, Entry 230, Potomac Company Proceedings, Volume B, 380.
41. Ibid., Volume A, 237. A bridge that crossed the canal near Lock 5 was damaged in a flood in 1832. See Harlan D. Unrau, *Historic Resource Study: Chesapeake and Ohio Canal* (Hagerstown, Md.: National Park Service, 2007), 278.
42. NA-RG 79, Entry 232, Potomac Company Correspondence and Reports 1785–1825, box 2, folder "1820–21."
43. Unrau, *Historic Resource Study*, 283.
44. Kapsch, *The Potomac Canal*, 85. An 1834 description of the dam says that it reached as far as "Fishpot Island," a reference to a small island of rocks in the river, now called Snake Island. Pointer asked the company's permission to construct stone fish traps or "pots" near the entrance of the canal, so it is likely that his traps were near this island.
45. NA-RG 77, Cartographic and Architectural Division, *Survey of the Potomac Canal, 1825*.
46. *Washington Aqueduct Map of the Receiving Canal, 1865*, Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division G 3842. W3 SVAR. M3.
47. Dan Guzy, *Navigation on the Upper Potomac River and its Tributaries* (Glen Echo, Md.: Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Association:2008), 23.
48. George Pointer, Petition, 8–9.
49. Ibid, 9–10. "Shap Spring Island" is known today as High Island.
50. NA-RG 79, Entry 253, Proceedings of the President and Directors of the C&O Canal, Volume A, 304.
51. NA-RG 79, Entry 250, Potomac Company Miscellaneous Accounts 1785–1828, box 3, folder 1, July 22, 1828.
52. NA-RG Entry 230, Potomac Company Proceedings, Oversize volume, December 20, 1822, 5.
53. Torrey and Green, *Brookmont, A Neighborhood on the Potomac*, 210.
54. Montgomery County Land Records Abstracts, liber V4, number 44, 4, 16, Historical Society of Washington, D.C.
55. NA-RG 79, Entry 266, Volume 1, Copies of Letters Written by the President of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, 175.
56. Adams stated in his memoirs: "I went with my son John to the Union Hotel, at George-

town, where were assembling the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company; the Mayors and Committees of the corporations of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria; the heads of Departments, foreign Ministers, and a few other invited persons. About eight o'clock a procession was formed, preceded by a band of music, to the wharf, where we embarked in the steamboat *Surprise*; followed by two others, we proceeded to the entrance of the Potomac Canal, and up that in canal-boats to its head—near which, just within the bounds of the State of Maryland, was the spot selected for breaking the ground. The President of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, with a very short address, delivered to me the spade, with which I broke the ground." From the memoirs of John Quincy Adams, 8:49–50 as quoted in Unrau, *Historic Resource Study,* 253.

57. Guzy, *Navigation on the Upper Potomac River*, 96.

58. George Pointer, Petition, 10

59. Ibid., 11.

60. Unrau, *Historic Resource Study,* 189.

61. In the 1830 decennial census, the George Pointer household is listed as being in Tenleytown, which was two miles from the canal, just inside the District of Columbia boundary.

62. 1790 and 1830 decennial censuses as reproduced in J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland,* 4:319.

63. Brugger, *Middle Temperament,* 212.

64. "List of the Free People of Color in Montgomery County as Enumerated by Wm. O'Neale Jr., Sheriff in the Year 1832," reprinted in Jerry M. Hynson, *Free African-Americans of Maryland 1830s: including: Allegany, Anne Arundel, Calvert, Caroline, Cecil, Charles, Dorchester, Frederick, Kent, Montgomery, Queen Ann's, and St. Mary's Counties* (Westminster, Md.: Family Line Publications: 1998), 108.

Irish and Irish-American nationalists frequently employed images of Irish harps, shamrocks, and the female personification of Erin in their public and private literature. (c. 1850–1900, Courier and Ives, Library of Congress.)

Michael J. Redding and Irish-American Patriotism

TRACY MATTHEW MELTON

"Dante had two brushes in her press. The brush with the maroon velvet back was for Michael Davitt and the brush with the green velvet back was for Parnell."
—James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916)

By the fall of 1884, nineteen-year-old Daniel O'Neill had become adamant on the subject of dynamite. The young man, the son of Irish immigrants, his father a famine refugee from County Armagh, already had a reputation for curious behavior. He aimlessly wandered the countryside around his family's house in the mill town of Hampden, just north of Baltimore, in the Jones Falls Valley. His Hampden neighbors considered his mannerisms and rambling thoughts to be those of "a crank." Recently, he had focused those thoughts on the sensational dynamite campaign launched by more radical members of the Irish-American community who sought to terrorize the British government into releasing their homeland from its clutches. Over the previous weeks and months, local newspapers had carried numerous accounts of explosions and scares, and the sharp response of British authorities. These accounts, and conversations about them, had apparently led his troubled mind to conceive that he was a dynamiter.

On October 20, O'Neill entered Michael J. Redding's saloon at 8 Tyson Street in a bustling neighborhood on the north side of Baltimore. Redding, tall and thin, with fair skin and hair and bright, ready eyes, doubtless donned the long dark frock coat and tall top hat that he deemed proper for the proprietor of a business establishment. He perhaps read a book, something he often did when business allowed. Like O'Neill, Redding was an Irish-American. His parents had migrated from County Clare to Limerick during the famine and later had moved their growing family to Baltimore. Redding concerned himself with Irish affairs and, though only thirty-one, had gained a prominent role in several local societies devoted to alleviating suffering among Ireland's peasantry and reforming its current status within the British Empire. He also actively involved himself in Catholic organizations. The two men were acquainted but were not very close. The conversation quickly turned to dynamite,

Tracy Matthew Melton is author of Hanging Henry Gambrill *and a frequent contributor to the* Maryland Historical Magazine.

O'Neill somehow feeling that Redding had spoken about him as an English spy and a traitor. An agitated O'Neill drew a revolver and fired multiple shots, one striking Redding in the shoulder. The injured saloonkeeper pulled out his own weapon and chased his assailant down the street. Passionate emotions, generated by the contentious Irish question, and the resort to terrorism, had seemingly turned troubled thoughts into violent behavior.[1]

The incident put O'Neill on a tragic course. Police arrested him, and the Baltimore Criminal Court found him guilty of assault with intent to kill. After his attorney had the verdict overturned on grounds that he was insane, he attacked his advocate for characterizing him in such a way. At his retrial, the court accepted the insanity defense and had him committed to the Mount Hope Retreat. Shortly after, further violence forced a move to the more restrictive Spring Grove Asylum for the Insane. Within fifteen years, O'Neill was dead.[2]

Mike Redding, though, survived his wound and continued his rise among the ranks of Irish nationalists. Over the next four decades, he participated in many of the numerous Baltimore societies devoted to Irish and Catholic causes. These societies operated within a larger associational culture that frequently brought the city's male citizens together in a web of civic, cultural, religious, political, and benevolent organizations. Redding became well acquainted with many of the leading political and religious figures in the city and state. He counted several of the most illustrious Irish nationalists—like Michael Davitt, John Dillon, John Redmond, and Maud Gonne—as friends and associates. His career eventually encompassed most of the key developments in the evolution of the Irish-American community from the post-Civil War decade through the Great Depression, making it a valuable vehicle for understanding this process and the larger culture where it occurred.

The Making of an Irish-American Patriot

Michael John Redding's childhood unfolded in the shadow of the Great Irish Famine (1845–1849). His parents John and Ann Redding were natives of County Clare in the ancient province of Munster in far western Ireland. Remote from Dublin and the regions most securely under control of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy, County Clare and the surrounding lands remained most deeply attached to traditional Irish language and culture, and the Roman Catholic faith. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the windswept western county, like most of the island, was densely settled but still largely rural, most of the population living on small, leased lots where they relied on potatoes and other crops for subsistence. Families most often lived in simple stone houses, scattered across the countryside or huddled together in small villages. Reliance on potatoes made the peasant population vulnerable to any significant failure of that crop. When blight destroyed much of the Irish potato crop in 1845 and successive years, famine ravaged the peasantry and caused many to flee to nearby cities and oversea lands. The result was an almost unprecedented

depopulation, the total number of people residing in County Clare, for example, falling by close to half.

Among those abandoning the Clare countryside was the young Redding family. John Redding had been born in March 1814 and his wife Ann in April 1817. In 1847, the couple moved to the city of Limerick, just south of County Clare, on the River Shannon. Here Ann gave birth to at least four children (in order): Margaret, Michael, Andrew, and Mary. Michael was born July 14, 1853. The family worshipped at St. Mary's Catholic Church and sent Michael, and perhaps the other children, to school from 1858 to 1864, when the family relocated again, this time joining the continuing flow of Irish across the Atlantic, to Baltimore. According to a much later account, given by Michael, in Ireland his father John had made a living as a farmer. Michael's account suggested that a landlord had evicted his father, who then directly brought his family to Baltimore. The account's vagueness, and the possibility that Michael, or the reporter recording it, had confused events, left the exact sequence unclear, specifically whether the alleged eviction had occurred in Clare or Limerick.[3]

In Baltimore, the Reddings lived among tens of thousands of others only recently transplanted from the Old World. Most had come from Ireland or the German states. During the previous decade, this large-scale immigration, and the response to it, had had a dramatic impact on the city's politics as neighborhood associations and party organizations coalesced on the basis of ethnicity, language, and culture. Most importantly, local politicians had involved nativist and ethnic street gangs in party politics, bringing their hostility and violence into the sharp rivalry between the nascent American Party and rival Democracy. Only on the eve of the Civil War had Democrats decisively routed the nativist Americans, and not until the North-South military conflict itself had the significance of ethnic politics been considerably diminished, though not eliminated. At the Reddings' 1864 arrival, the Civil War was grinding toward its conclusion, which eventually created more normalized conditions and allowed the orderly integration of these Irish and German immigrants, and their children, into the larger American culture.[4]

John and Ann Redding, like most of their fellow Irish immigrants, became members of Baltimore's working class. The city's adult male immigrants most often earned an hourly wage as laborers, teamsters, hucksters, or in construction. Women usually remained at home or worked as domestic servants. Not a few were prostitutes, often entertaining sailors and laboring men in shabby houses in waterfront neighborhoods. John invariably appeared in census records and city directories as a laborer. Mike, as he was popularly known, later recalled that his father sold produce at Lexington Market. Ann herself appeared in the 1867 directory, the first that definitely included the Reddings, as a huckstress, an occupation she would continue after her husband's death. Likely the couple worked together at the market. The family lived on Pierce and Saratoga Streets in West Baltimore, before moving more permanently just a few blocks farther west to Rock Street and the adjacent Baker and Jackson Courts.

The Redding family neighborhood, from O. W. Gray & Son, Gray's New Map of Baltimore, 1876. *(Maryland Historical Society.)*

Like many poorer residents, they frequently changed addresses, though their lives remained centered on these latter streets and alleys.[5]

The Redding children attended school and started their careers in West Baltimore. According to later accounts, Mike studied at either the neighborhood public school or at the Catholic school in St. Peter the Apostle parish. St. Peter's, at the corner of Hollins and Poppleton Streets, was the primary parish in West Baltimore. It had been established two decades earlier to serve the growing working-class Catholic population in the neighborhoods around the Baltimore & Ohio's Mount Clare shops. In either case, the experience had an important influence. Mike later summed up his education: "My schooling ended when I was 17. Though I knew how to read and write, I suppose I was poorly educated according to the standards of the present day. But, all the same, I learned to love books, which is a great deal more than most school-children do now." Indeed, words, for him, would serve as a cherished means of relishing the mysteries and improbable flights of the Irish soul, and expressing his own romanticism.[6]

After leaving school, Mike apprenticed as a carpenter. In 1871, when he was eighteen, his name first appeared in the city directory with that occupation listed. Over the next ten years, city directories connected him with the same occupation. His brother Andrew's name also was published in the 1871 directory, his occupation given as laborer. Over subsequent years, directories described Andrew as a horseshoer or blacksmith. The Redding family suffered a sad loss on February 26, 1874, when the patriarch died from undisclosed causes. For several years, Mike and his brother Andrew remained in the same neighborhood, residing at different addresses on Jackson Court and Rock and Ryan Streets.[7]

Redding Mrs. Catherine, grocery, 84 Towson
Redding John, laborer, 123 n Exeter
Redding John, laborer, 9 Jackson ct
Redding John, porter, 227 s Bond
Redding Michael, laborer, 84 Towson
Redding Michael, carpenter, 9 Jackson ct

Wood's Baltimore City Directory, *1871*.

Like many other working men, Mike Redding involved himself in the city's pervasive political culture. In the tumultuous summer of 1877, he represented the Thirteenth Ward in the Workingmen's City Convention. The Workingmen's movement occurred in the immediate aftermath of the Great Railroad Strike that had resulted in deadly rioting on Baltimore streets. Among its demands were an eight-hour day, child-labor laws, safe working conditions, prohibition on prison labor, and public ownership of transportation and industrial enterprises. The movement nominated blacksmith Joseph Thompson for mayor and a full slate for the city council. On the stump, Thompson had a popular, homespun, but highly articulate style that charmed and entranced his working-class following. More than three decades later, Mike would praise a blacksmith he heard at a political rally at Broadford in County Clare as being as finely spoken as "our own 'Honest Joe' Thompson." Despite Thompson's memorable speeches, the movement could not unseat the entrenched Democratic machine. This brief foray into working-class politics served as the twenty-four-year-old Irish immigrant's entrance into the city's dynamic associational culture. It also coincided with the reinvigoration and extension of the movement to free Ireland from British domination, a movement in which the Irish in America would play an integral role.[8]

In his upbringing, Mike certainly had opportunity to develop a strong sense of Irish patriotism. Circumstances, whether eviction or a general lack of opportunity, had forced his family to depart Limerick, the city of his birth. He would naturally have developed nostalgic feelings for his boyhood home. Indeed, he always remembered these years and strongly felt their influence. He later proudly recalled that both his grandfathers spoke Irish, and not English, "the bartering trademark of the bargain counter, fit only to shop with." His own "hint o' the brogue" was, to him, a living emblem of his Limerick boyhood, an outward sign of Ireland's deep influence on his personality. This nostalgia was likely intensified by his family.[9]

The Reddings' Ireland had been under British domination since the twelfth century. Over the centuries, the British had confiscated land from the native Irish lords and established plantations (colonies) populated primarily by immigrants recruited from England and Scotland. British intervention had been especially brutal in the seventeenth century when Oliver Cromwell and William of Orange had conducted

bloody military campaigns against the Irish population. Under William and Mary and their successors, Anglo-Irish owned most of the land, which they leased to the Irish Catholic peasantry. The British governed the island from Dublin Castle. The Church of Ireland (Anglican) was the state religion.

John and Ann Redding had been born only a generation after the revolutionary decades of the late eighteenth century had briefly brought the prospect of self-rule in Ireland. Anglo-Irish leader Henry Grattan had gained recognition of an Irish Parliament, popularly known as Grattan's Parliament, in 1782. The following decade, revolutionary fervor, spreading from France, agitated Ireland. Theobald Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen collaborated with the French revolutionaries to create a nationalist movement, uniting Irish of all creeds behind the cause of an Irish republic. For the French revolutionaries, the Irish movement potentially undermined the military capacity of their British enemy. The British, though, thwarted a French invasion and cracked down on the United Irishmen, arresting many and, most notoriously, hanging William Orr in October 1797. The Crown finally crushed the United Irishmen following a rebellion and failed French invasions in 1798. Wolfe Tone killed himself in prison rather than allowing his oppressors to hang him. Five years later, young United Irishman veteran Robert Emmet led another armed revolt against British rule. Like Orr, Emmet died on the gallows. The United Irishmen—most especially Orr, Tone, and Emmet—became martyrs to the cause of freedom, their lives, and deaths, serving as inspiration to later generations of Irish nationalists, like Mike Redding.

John and Ann had resided in an Ireland stirred by Daniel O'Connell's great campaigns for Catholic emancipation and repeal of the Acts of Union (1800), which, in the aftermath of the United Irish rebellion, had created the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and fully established the nation as an integral component of the British Crown. After gaining Catholic emancipation in 1829, O'Connell turned to repeal of the Acts of Union. These legislative acts had not only politically erased Ireland as a separate nation but had also eliminated Grattan's Parliament. Irish interests were instead represented in the British Parliament at Westminster. O'Connell orchestrated a series of mass meetings across Ireland, but in 1843 a nervous Dublin Castle banned a planned meeting in Clontarf and arrested O'Connell. The Emancipator never regained the initiative and died in 1847, the same year that John and Ann moved to Limerick.

During the couple's years in Limerick, Irish opposition to British rule continued. Following the collapse of O'Connell's repeal campaign, and his subsequent death, a brilliant, inspiring Young Ireland movement briefly emerged but crumpled following an aborted uprising that collapsed following a farcical confrontation between nationalists and police at Ballingarry in County Tipperary in July 1848. That summer, Young Ireland leader Thomas Meagher was briefly imprisoned in Limerick for a seditious speech in a nearby town, and other prominent nationalists prowled the

Limerick countryside in search of support. Ten years later, Young Ireland veteran James Stephens founded the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, later the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), in Ireland and John O'Mahony the Fenian Brotherhood in the United States. The Fenian name eventually became popularly associated with both groups, whose joint aim was the establishment of an Irish republic.

Over the next decade, Stephens's IRB struggled through controversy and government suppression, many of the organization's leading figures going to prison. During the same period, American Fenianism suffered from factional infighting and public embarrassment following seemingly preposterous military raids on Canadian territory in 1866 and 1870. The raids were misguided attempts to strike at British colonial interests where they presumably could be injured. The IRB, though weakened, survived, but American Fenianism fell apart following the failed Canadian raids. Leadership of the American movement for Irish freedom came under the control of the more secretive Clan na Gael, founded by Jerome Collins in New York in 1867. Only a single record hinted at John's and Ann's opinions regarding these rousing developments survived, an inscription in pink granite on a West Baltimore hillside, under John's name: "By Birth an Irishman. By Choice an American. By Nature a Lover of Freedom."[10]

Mike Redding's education and religious life occurred in an environment imbued with warm feelings toward the Irish nation. In Limerick, he very likely studied under the Christian Brothers, a Catholic educational congregation with a reputation for instilling its students with a strong sense of Irish nationalism. St. Peter's, in Baltimore, where the family worshipped, and where Mike may have attended the parish school, was under the charge of Reverend Edward McColgan, who, like Redding, had been born in Ireland and emigrated to America. Reverend McColgan remained an unabashed supporter of Irish national aspirations over his entire career. His concern with Irish affairs conformed closely with the interests of his congregation, which included numerous immigrant families from that country. Reverend James Dolan, a native of County Tipperary, Reverend John T. Gaitley, a native of County Galway, and Reverend James McDevitt, born in County Donegal, as well as many other members of the local clergy, also energetically supported Irish nationalism.[11]

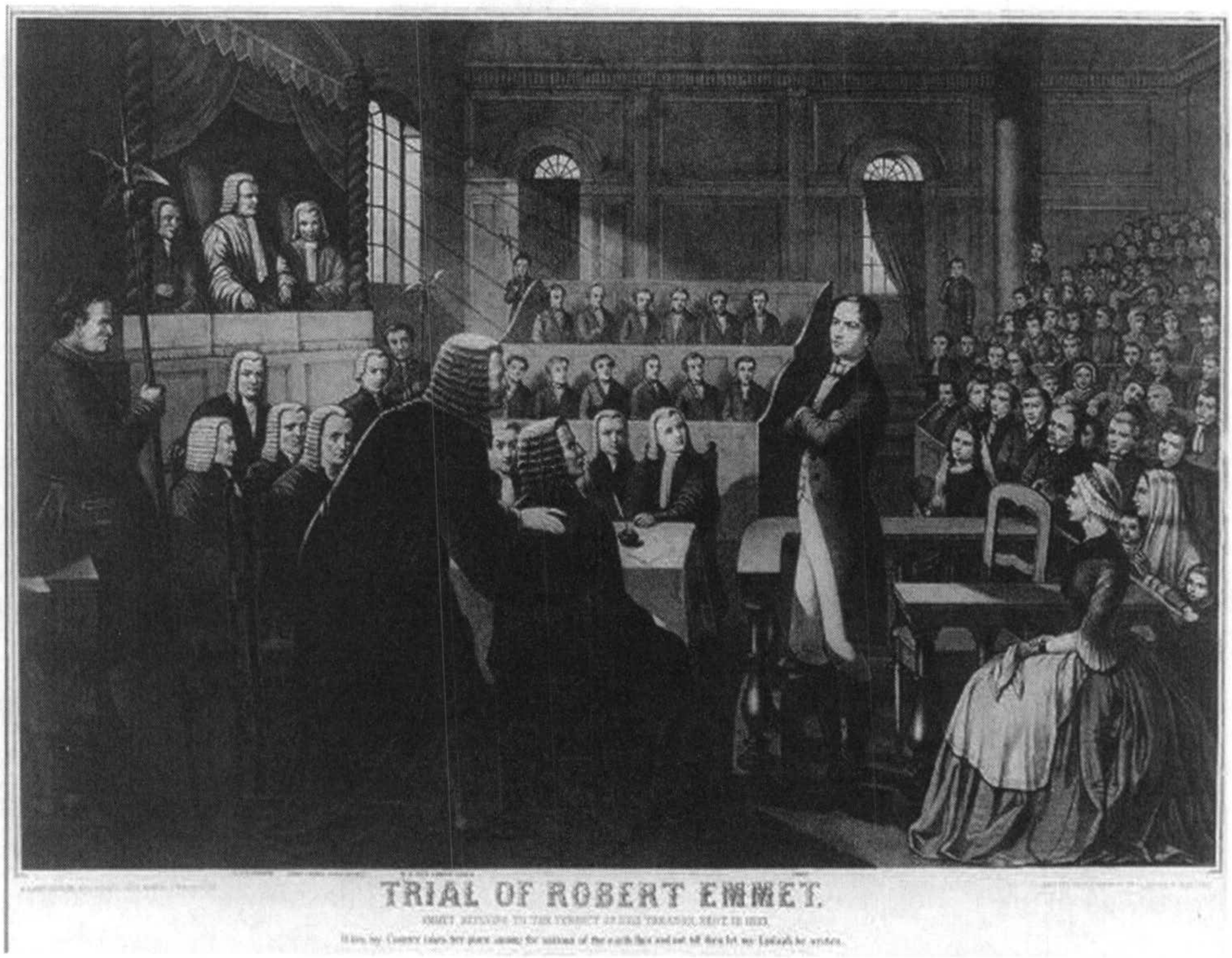
Moreover, in young Mike Redding's Baltimore a broad array of Irish and Catholic societies brought together Irish families in a variety of associational activities that promoted patriotism and created a dense network of personally and politically useful connections. By the time his family had arrived in Baltimore, the Hibernian Society of Baltimore had been active for a half century. The Hibernians were a social and benevolent society whose most important responsibility was management of the Oliver Hibernian Free School. The Hibernians celebrated the students' accomplishments with a well-attended awards ceremony at the school every St. Patrick's Day. After the ceremony, the Hibernians hosted a lavish dinner with numerous toasts to Ireland and the United States, and their republican heroes. Prior to the Civil War,

the Hibernian awards ceremony and dinner, together with another dinner hosted by the Irish Social and Benevolent Society, an association formed in 1852 to aid Irish immigrants and promote Irish culture, were the chief events of the day's celebrations in Baltimore.[12]

As early as 1860, Irish-American patriots had organized a Fenian Brotherhood circle in Baltimore. Like the Irish Social and Benevolent Society, the Brotherhood faced serious disruption with the Civil War's outbreak. American issues obviously stood at the fore, and many local relationships felt the impact of war and dislocation. At the close of the war, however, the Brotherhood reinvigorated or reestablished circles in the city and surrounding towns. In November 1865 it held a public meeting at the Maryland Institute. A Fenian speaker called for Irish freedom from British rule and threatened the use of dynamite to achieve this goal. The following spring it hosted two more meetings at the Front Street Theatre, one addressed by IRB founder James Stephens. Other public events drew large numbers of supporters and, inevitably, politicians, even Governor Thomas Swann, who, as mayor of Baltimore from 1856 to 1860, had headed the city's nativist American Party. At the time, the governor was running for Congress and sought support from the Irish-Americans of West Baltimore. Despite the public events, the Baltimore Fenians mostly operated in semi-secrecy, the names of Brotherhood officers and members rarely appearing in newspaper accounts of their activities. Some leaders, though, left at least something of a public record.[13]

The leading Irish organizer in post–Civil War Baltimore was Colonel Eugene T. Joyce, a native of County Galway whose family had fled Ireland for Canada during the Great Famine. Joyce eventually made his way to Baltimore where he established a restaurant and then a hotel, the Niagara House, on Camden Street, near the Baltimore & Ohio's Camden Station. The occupation, and location, well suited someone meeting frequently with traveling agents and provocateurs seeking to garner local support for different Irish causes. Joyce played a prominent role in Democratic politics in South Baltimore and won election to the city council and state legislature. Because of the Brotherhood's semi-secrecy, Joyce's precise connection remained veiled, but he gave a firm indication of his Fenianism in August 1868 when he addressed a reception given him upon his return from a visit to Ireland. According to a newspaper report, Joyce told his friends "that every Irishman should be a Fenian; that in Ireland the word meant national Irishman." He awaited Britain's next conflict, which would offer Ireland an opportunity to take its freedom. The following year Joyce presided over a meeting at the Maryland Institute, which featured a speech by General John O'Neill, the head of one of the Fenian national factions.[14]

In 1867, Joyce took a leading role in organizing the Ninth Regiment of the Maryland National Guard and gained his military title from his command of the unit. The Ninth's membership was predominantly Irish-American, and the four hundred officers and soldiers identified themselves as the Emmet Guards, a reference to the



Irish patriot Robert Emmet was barbarously executed in 1803. The concluding words of his final speech became inspiration for Irish nationalists: "When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then shall my character be vindicated, then may my epitaph be written." (Library of Congress.)

United Irishmen martyr. Officers included Irish businessmen and well-known Baltimore Democrats like Daniel Constantine, Thomas W. Campbell, and Dr. George W. Benson; Reverend James Dolan was chaplain. In October 1867, Colonel Joyce's Irish-American militiamen joined the other eight regiments and cavalry and artillery units of the First Division of the Maryland National Guard in a grand military parade through the streets of Baltimore. The Emmet Guards wore gray uniforms trimmed in green. "The officers wore black slouch hats with a green feather, the effect being very fine." A link between Fenianism and creation of the Emmet Guards is not clear, but Joyce's involvement in both suggests that the Guards may have been conceived as a useful vehicle for Fenian recruitment and training.[15]

The Emmet Guards soon established the St. Patrick's Day Parade as the central event in the holiday's celebration in Baltimore. The previous year, as in the recent past, the day's events had largely been confined to the Oliver Hibernian Free School, Catholic pulpits, and a few banquet halls. At the Guards' first St. Patrick's Day in 1868, the entire regiment assembled at its downtown armory on North Street, near Saratoga, and, accompanied by several Catholic societies, paraded to St. Patrick's Catholic Church in East Baltimore where the Right Reverend James Gibbons, who

had just recently been appointed Apostolic Vicar of North Carolina, celebrated a High Mass. A delegation of Baltimore women then presented a Maryland flag to Colonel Joyce, who made a speech on the freedom the flag represented and the brave fight made by generations of Irishmen for that same freedom. The following year, the Emmet Guards and the Catholic societies again paraded from the armory to St. Patrick's. Over the next few years, the St. Patrick's Day Parade became an established institution in the city.[16]

In August 1875, Baltimore's Irish-Americans celebrated the centennial of Daniel O'Connell's birth. The main event was a grand parade from Mount Vernon Place to Druid Hill Park. Many of those marching belonged to the Catholic knighthood societies that had been organizing over the previous few years. These were affiliated with the Catholic churches in the city and intended to serve as the physical representation of the worldly power of their faith at civic demonstrations. Included in the line were the Knights of St. Patrick, Knights of St. Peter, Knights of St. Martin, and Knights of St. Augustine, the last an African American association. Also included were several Catholic beneficial and temperance societies. Marching bands accompanied the religious formations. The Knights of St. Patrick were the most impressive group. Numbering over one hundred and wearing long black frock coats, green belts, and black slouch hats looped with an Irish harp and flashing a green feather, each knight displayed a sword at his side. The Knights had only organized in 1872 but had already established themselves as a prominent Catholic association. They also espoused Irish patriotism. At a Saint Patrick's Day banquet two years before, they had toasted Robert Emmet and "The Heroes of Ninety-Eight." Quite naturally Colonel Joyce had been one of the organizers. Within a few years, several other Catholic knighthoods were parading on Baltimore streets.[17]

More shadowy was the Clan na Gael, which in the 1870s overtook the Fenian Brotherhood as the chief organizing vehicle for the more strident Irish-Americans who sought an Irish republic and were willing to use force to achieve their purpose. The Clan expanded under the leadership of John Devoy and Dr. William Carroll. Irishman Devoy had served five years in British prisons for Fenian activities before arriving in New York in January 1871. Carroll was an Irish-born Philadelphia physician who traveled widely organizing Clans in American cities. The Clan's greatest achievement in this period was the sensational rescue of several Irish prisoners the British had exiled to Australia by smuggling them away on the sailing ship *Catalpa* in 1875–1876. Given the Clan's secretive nature, little evidence of its Baltimore existence, let alone activities, survive, but Mike Redding much later attended a reunion of the local Clan and presided at another Clan meeting. And he would also leave behind a clue to his membership on the same pink granite marker that proclaimed his father's love of freedom.[18]

The Irish political situation continually stoked the natural nostalgia one has for a lost childhood home. Unlike other immigrant groups, Irish-Americans remained

closely engaged with a homeland that was both far and near. Ireland remained under the same foreign rule that had allowed the Great Famine to cause such appalling death and destruction, and forced so many to flee their homeland. Irish nationalists actively fighting for an Irish republic eagerly appealed to the Irish in America for support. As a result, many Irish in America, like Mike Redding, were becoming more American, but without losing the zeal to square past and present wrongs inflicted upon their nation and their culture.

Irish-American Patriotism in Baltimore

Renewed famine reinvigorated the movement for an Irish republic after a relatively quiet decade. During the 1870s, in the wake of the IRB's suppression, Sir Isaac Butt's Home Rule League emerged as the primary Irish political movement, pushing for an Irish parliament under a federal system that would allow the Irish to legislate on domestic affairs while leaving imperial matters to Westminster. One of Butt's more aggressive Home Rule associates was Charles Stewart Parnell, a young, enigmatic Protestant Anglo-Irish landowner who pushed the Home Rulers toward a more obstructionist attitude at Westminster and eventually established himself as a rival for the organization's leadership. After Butt died in 1879, Parnell aligned himself with a developing land agitation movement that united a broad spectrum of Irish nationalists.[19]

Spurring the nationalist movement in the late 1870s was the looming specter of another famine. Severe competition from midwestern American wheat reduced the market price of this commodity, and another potato blight struck the harvest. Potato shortages and declining prices for market crops, together with poor weather, made it difficult for Irish peasants to pay land rents, resulting in impoverishment and a wave of evictions across the countryside.[20]

Released Irish Fenian prisoner Michael Davitt took up the peasants' cause. Davitt seemingly embodied Ireland's suffering. He'd been born in County Mayo during the Great Famine, and the local landlord had evicted his family, driving it out of Ireland to the English mill town of Haslingden, where work might be found. While he was employed in a textile mill there, the young Davitt's right arm had caught in a machine and been ripped away. He became a Fenian and, like so many others, went to an English prison, which further embittered him. "I was immediately stripped naked," he later wrote, "and compelled to undergo the indignity of being searched in a manner almost too disgusting to describe." All the evils of English domination—landlessness, famine, exile, poverty, exploitation, violence, and humiliation—had been personally visited upon Davitt.[21]

Plans for an organized land agitation came together during Davitt's 1878 trip to the United States. The British had released Davitt on a ticket of leave the previous December. On the trip to reunite with his mother and sisters, who had moved to Pennsylvania, Davitt gave lectures and met with Irish nationalists, among them Clan

na Gael leader John Devoy. The two Fenians made common cause, and together with their associates, put together a "New Departure" program designed to create an opportunity for Irish nationalists to step out of the shadows and participate openly in politics. Nationalists would unite with the Parnellite Home Rulers over the land question and aggressively but non-violently pursue land reform and a vaguely defined "self-government." The Davitt-Devoy program of agitation aimed at winning the Irish land for the Irish people brought nationalists and Home Rulers together over an issue on which they both could agree. According to Davitt, nationalists would support:

> A demand for the immediate improvement of the land system by such a thorough change as would prevent the peasantry of Ireland from being its victims in the future. This change to take the form of a system of small proprietorships, similar to what at present obtains in France, Belgium, and Prussia. Such land to be purchased or held directly from the State.[22]

Davitt and Devoy traveled to France and then to Ireland, where they negotiated with the IRB and Parnell and reached an agreement largely conforming to the New Departure proposal. Davitt then took the argument to the Irish peasantry. During 1879, as crisis engulfed the countryside, Davitt moved from meeting to meeting, rallying peasants behind the New Departure land proposal. To organize the agitation, he created the National Land League of Mayo in the summer and expanded it into the Irish National Land League in October. The Land League pressed for transfer of the land to the peasants who farmed it and worked during the existing crisis to relieve those evicted. To ensure success, Davitt turned to Parnell to head the Land League. Ironically, agitation against Anglo-Irish landlordism was headed by an Anglo-Irish landlord. Parnell, though, won over the Irish population and emerged as the most influential national leader since O'Connell. Over the next two years, a "land war" raged in Ireland as the peasantry and its allies struggled to keep hold of their land and avoid starvation. Violence occurred more than occasionally, but the most frequent instrument of resistance was the boycott, a term coined following the treatment of one land agent, Charles Boycott, by the renters he managed.[23]

At the beginning of 1880, Parnell arrived in the United States for a speaking tour to unite Irish-Americans and raise funds for relief and organization. Almost immediately Baltimore's Irish-American community began preparations for a Parnell meeting. They gathered at the hall of the Knights of St. Patrick on West Baltimore Street. Colonel Joyce presided. A newspaper report paraphrased Joyce's comments, "His [Parnell's] mission is not for forcible revolution, but to lay the real facts before the people of the United States and ask assistance. He [Joyce] wanted the receptions of Mr. Parnell to be ovations everywhere, so that he will carry back unmistakable proofs of the fact that Americans expect England to ameliorate the condition of

the Irish at home." A committee of arrangements included Joyce and fellow Emmet Guards officers Daniel Constantine and John Norman. The support of the Catholic clergy and laity was evident. The committee included the grand commander of the Catholic Knighthood of Baltimore and the president of the Consolidated Board of Catholic Societies. Reverends James McDevitt and John T. Gaitley also received appointments. In Catholic churches, pastors read a letter from Archbishop James Gibbons (elevated in 1877) recommending donations for the relief of the beleaguered Irish peasantry. The Catholic hierarchy had generally supported Irish aspirations but not the secret revolutionary organizations.[24]

On February 13, Parnell appeared at the Academy of Music. General admission tickets sold for fifty cents, reserved seats for seventy-five cents, all the money raised to go for relief. A large crowd came to hear the Irish leader attack landlordism. Parnell blamed the Great Famine and current crisis on the land system: "We charge that the famines and chronic poverty of Ireland are due to the absurd and cruel system of land tenure. We have there a feudal land tenure, a plant which was brought from England, but which has flourished more noxiously in Ireland than in any other part of Europe." He asserted that a million had died and another million had emigrated during the earlier famine. Nothing had improved, and famine again haunted the Irish. After Parnell's visit, local Irish-Americans continued to raise money for relief. Shortly before St. Patrick's Day, Joyce even requested that Baltimore's Irish associations forego the annual celebrations and instead donate the money saved for relief.[25]

Organization of the Irish-American community soon followed. That May, Davitt arrived in New York to assist in forming the Irish National Land and Industrial League of the United States. His arrival coincided with the official organization of the league at Trenor Hall in New York. Over the next six months, Davitt, accompanied by fellow Land Leaguer John Dillon, traveled across the United States, addressing Irish-Americans in dozens of cities and encouraging them to organize a league chapter. According to Davitt, "The best friends of the Land League in these cities were the members of existing Irish-American organizations, like the Clan-na-Gael and the Ancient Order of Hibernians."[26]

A Baltimore branch of the Irish National Land League formed at the hall of the Knights of St. Patrick on June 15. It elected Colonel Joyce as president and Reverend James McDevitt as chaplain. The association proclaimed its purpose was to aid the Irish in putting "an end to rack-renting, eviction and landlord oppression, and make such a radical change in the land system in Ireland as will put it in the power of every Irish farmer to become the owner on fair terms of the land he tills." In December, Joyce and other Irish-American leaders formed an auxiliary branch in East Baltimore and also a West End Land League. Reverend Gaitley of St. Patrick's addressed the Land Leaguers in East Baltimore at their inaugural meeting in the hall at his church.[27]

MIKE REDDING FIRST CAME to prominence as a member of the West End Land League, described in one account as the most radical in Baltimore. At an April 1881 meeting at a hall at Baltimore and Poppleton Streets, very near Redding's house on Rock, the branch denounced the American government's failure to protest the British arrest of an American citizen as an Irish agitator. Redding spoke at the meeting, and his fellow Land Leaguers appointed him to a committee to arrange an indignation meeting. His large personality and eloquent speechmaking, together with his passionate commitment to the cause, made him a natural leader. Redding would later describe this period as the beginning of his personal association with Irish-American leaders.[28]

Redding's newly established prominence in Irish-American affairs coincided with the opening of his saloon at 8 Tyson Street, at the corner of Park Avenue. The liquor trade eventually earned him a modest fortune and provided him means of contributing generously to Irish nationalists. Redding not only conducted his business on Tyson but also lived there with his rapidly expanding family. He had married Ellen, or Ella, Flaherty in 1878 when he was twenty-five and his "Ellie" not yet twenty-one. Her parents John and Hannah Flaherty were Irish immigrants who had lived in Albany before coming to Baltimore. When Mike and Ellie moved to Tyson Street, they already had a daughter, Catherine, and Ellie was pregnant with another daughter, Annie, at the time of the move. Over the next four years, the young couple had two more children, John in November 1884 and Nora in September 1885. Another child died.[29]

Redding developed close relationships with numerous friends and neighbors, most often those also Irish, and those also in the liquor trade. His dearest friends included Patrick Martin and Bart McAndrews, partners in a wholesale liquor business. Martin had been born in County Mayo in 1846, but the Great Famine had driven his family to England and then Baltimore. In 1873 he had gone into business with McAndrews, who had likewise been born in Ireland. The liquor wholesalers participated in the same Irish associations as Redding and donated generously to Irish causes. Eventually Redding's friends included Democratic Party bosses like James Frank Morrison and John J. "Sonny" Mahon. All of these friends, and many more, had significant influence in Baltimore business and political circles.[30]

The literary-minded saloonkeeper took a strong interest in Gaelic culture. Ireland itself was on the brink of a profound movement that sought to revive Gaelic culture and overcome British cultural domination. Nationalism undergirded the movement, in the belief that a culturally accomplished Ireland would have a stronger claim to freedom. In Ireland, the Young Ireland Society (YIS) coalesced in 1881, the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) in 1884, and the Gaelic League in 1893. Although the entire movement embraced all aspects of Gaelic culture, the YIS and Gaelic League emphasized language and literature. A May 1883 newspaper report regarding a donation for relief sent to the Irish Catholic clergy identified Redding as the chairman

of a committee of the Robert Emmet Literary Association. Emmet would always remain an especially heroic figure to Redding.[31]

That same spring, Redding joined others in establishing the Irish National League of America. In Ireland, Parnell and his associates had caused a compromise that ended the land war and sought to consolidate their control over political movements through a new Irish National League. Over the next few years, Parnell and the League would fight for Home Rule and land reform at Westminster, where for a brief period, under the government of Liberal Prime Minister William Gladstone, the strategy seemed especially promising. In the United States, Land Leaguers met in Philadelphia in April 1883 to establish the Irish National League as the American counterpart. According to reports, more radical Clan na Gael members—some of them in charge of the developing dynamite campaign in Great Britain—controlled the Philadelphia meeting. Most notorious were Irish Fenian O'Donovan Rossa and Chicago political boss Alexander Sullivan, the president of the new association. Within weeks, Baltimore's Irish-Americans had organized Irish National League branches. Mike Redding organized the central branch with Colonel Joyce and others in the local Irish-American community. The following year, Redding and his friend Patrick Martin represented Baltimore at the Irish National League convention at Faneuil Hall in Boston. Redding and Martin served on convention committees. Two months after their return, Dan O'Neill shot Redding at his Tyson Street saloon after the argument over dynamiting.[32]

The Baltimore Irish National League branches had connections to numerous local Irish and Catholic associations. Several clubs, knighthoods, and beneficial societies cooperated with the League and aided the Irish cause. Among them were the Knights of St. Ignatius, the knighthood affiliated with St. Ignatius' Catholic Church at Calvert and Madison Street. St. Ignatius' worshippers had established the association in the spring of 1875, during the peak period of knighthood formation in the city. The Knights hosted social events for members and their families and raised money for charitable causes like relief for yellow fever victims in the South and Parnell's Home Rule campaign in Ireland. Redding had begun to attend St. Ignatius' after moving to Tyson Street and became a member of the church's knighthood. By 1886, Redding was chief knight of St. Ignatius and, soon after, grand commander of the Catholic Knighthood Union, the umbrella organization for the knighthoods in Baltimore.[33]

Some of those associated with Irish causes launched a Celtic Club in the spring of 1885. Patrick Martin became the first president. The club opened rooms on West Baltimore Street and became active in local Irish-American affairs. It stood in very close relationship to the Irish National League, which began to meet in the Celtic Club rooms. Like the Knights of St. Ignatius, the Celtic Club contributed money for Parnell. Both also appointed delegates to the Irish National League convention in Chicago in August 1886. Redding was one of the Knights' delegates. His friend Martin also went to Chicago, becoming a vice president in the national organization.

On their return, the Baltimore League branch elected Redding as vice president and Martin as treasurer.[34]

Redding's emergence as a well-known Irish-American leader put him in contact with Irish nationalists. These appeared frequently in the United States, bidding for moral, political, and financial support. Since the Irish diaspora and the exile of Fenians, a coordinated network capable of providing key support to nationalists in Ireland, who were poorly funded and subject to British coercion, had developed. Most important were Irish-Americans, especially those who formed large and tightly woven communities in cities like New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Baltimore. In August 1885, Redding received a letter from Ellen Ford, the sister of influential New York newspaper publisher Patrick Ford, letting him know that Michael Davitt's sister Sabina would be arriving by steamer at Locust Point and asking if he could host her while she was in the city. Mike and his wife Ellie, together with Patrick Martin and his wife Mary and delegations from the Irish National League, Robert Emmet Literary Society, Celtic Club, and Knights of St. Patrick greeted her at the pier. They showed her the city, and Mike and Ellie gave a dinner for her at their house. At the time, Ellie was pregnant with the girl the couple would name for their guest, Nora Sabina Redding.[35]

In November 1886, Redding reported to the local Irish National League branch that Michael Davitt had sent him a letter informing him that he would be coming to Baltimore to speak on Home Rule. Davitt arrived on January 13. A committee headed by Patrick Martin greeted him, and the Catholic Knighthood Union escorted the party, together with former Governor William Pinkney Whyte, to the Concordia Opera House, which organizers had procured for his speech. Afterward, the Irish National League hosted a small dinner for the Irish patriot. Redding spoke to the gathering, praising Davitt and proclaiming his own devotion to the Irish cause. "Mr. Michael J. Redding, in a jocose manner, said were he a great painter and should he choose a type for a great dynamiter, a great conspirator, he would select the face of Michael Davitt, who he believed would go farther than any other Irishman present for the cause of Ireland. Mr. Redding said he was willing to follow any man who would raise the Irish flag in College Green." The following morning, Redding and Martin rode to the train station with Davitt.[36]

In June, an opportunity arose that Redding would later consider one of the proudest honors in his life. Archbishop James Gibbons had been created a cardinal in 1886, succeeding John Cardinal McCloskey of New York, the first American cardinal, and had subsequently gone to Rome to receive the red hat from Pope Leo XIII. Cardinal Gibbons had been born in Baltimore to Irish-immigrant parents from County Mayo. During childhood his family had returned to their native land, only coming back to the United States after his father's death. Baltimore Catholics, and many others, proudly regarded him as A local treasure. Most proud perhaps were the city's Irish Catholics. Here was a local boy, with a background similar to their

own, who had risen to a foremost position in the Catholic Church, and in national affairs as well.[37]

On his return, Baltimore Catholics organized a grand procession to accompany Cardinal Gibbons from Union Station to his residence. Such processions were then at the height of their popularity, with many different associations, including knighthoods, political clubs, and other civic groups, requiring members to spend large sums on uniforms primarily intended for display at these events. Thousands formed the line and many thousands more gathered on the sidewalks. As the current grand commander of the Catholic Knighthood Union, Michael J. Redding marshaled the third division of the line, which included the Baltimore knighthoods. Under his charge marched an enormous contingent of knights in close order and full uniform. Among them were the Knights of St. Ignatius, St. Aloysius, St. Vincent, St. Patrick, and St. Peter. For Redding, the devout Catholic, the patriotic Irish-American, heading the honor guard for his adopted country's chief prelate, like himself an Irishman with a disrupted childhood, was a brilliant, shining moment. In the procession, he carried a ceremonial sword crafted for the occasion, which he long considered his "most cherished possession."[38]

Triumph, though, soon gave way to tragedy. Ellie fell ill. Her younger sister Catherine Theresa Flaherty came into the household to serve as her older sister's nurse and to take care of the four young Redding children. The illness continued for a long period. Finally, on March 13, 1888, Ellie died. A Requiem Mass was celebrated at St. Ignatius', and she was buried on a hillside in Bonnie Brae [later New Cathedral] Cemetery in West Baltimore. That December, Redding had a pink granite monument erected above her gravesite, the same one with the inscription to his father. It had been sculpted out of Hill of Fare granite, quarried in Scotland, west of Aberdeen. Stonemasons had carved the Redding name deeply into all four sides of the base. Topping the monument was a large Celtic cross that, according to an inscription, followed the design of one the Irish historian James MacGeoghegan had described as being raised during King Dermod's reign, on the banks of the Shannon, "under Shadow of 'Cluan-Mac-Noisk' Abbey, of which St. Kieran was Abbot." Shamrocks decorated the cross, and its center contained a message left by Redding. Etched in the stone was a Fenian sunburst, a bright sun rising above the clouds, symbolizing the freedom that, after overthrow of the long subjection to British rule, would enlighten Ireland. Though even Irish-Americans had to be circumspect in their utterances lest they embarrass or endanger their cause, here, in this private place, where he would one day be placed for eternity, Redding could boldly and forever proclaim his devotion to Irish freedom.[39]

Less than ten months after Ellie's death, Mike Redding married her sister Catherine. Although Ellie's death was obviously an emotionally devastating event for Mike and the children, the household seemingly transitioned smoothly from one sister to the other. Over the next seventeen years, Mike and Kate had eight children

together, seven of whom survived childhood. In their names, Mike displayed his love of Ireland and its most heroic figures: Lillian, Agnes, Margaret, Rosalind, Michael Emmet, Clare, and Patrick Brendan. With Kate and their growing family, Mike moved his business and residence to the corner of Chase Street and Park Avenue and then, just a few years later, established himself in the flatiron building that he built at the intersection of Howard and Park Streets. According to one description, "Mr. Redding made his first place [sic] on Chase street famous by covering the floor with silver coins. They were nailed to the floor and men traveled across the city to walk on a fortune. The bar at that time had many other novelties and a good lunch counter." Redding, the old carpenter, was proud of the new building at Howard and Park: "I bought this lot and put up this place. I bossed the job myself—from cellar to roof, and there's not a spot in it you can't pack with bags of shot. It will stand any amount of weight. The barrels of whiskey weigh 450 pounds and I designed it for them." Redding also sold liquor wholesale. In city directories, he advertised, "Est. 1881 Liquor Dealers, Wholesale and Retail, Ripe Old Whiskies of all the Maryland Brands. Goods delivered to all parts of the city." From the Chase Street residence, on a cold day in early January 1895, he departed with the funeral procession for his mother Ann, first for a Requiem Mass at St. Ignatius' and then to Bonnie Brae.[40]

During these years, Redding had a conspicuous role in numerous Catholic and Irish events, at the latter establishing a wide reputation as a patriot who out-Irished the Irish. He commanded the Catholic Knighthood Union at official ceremonies, for example the laying of cornerstones for St. Joseph's Monastery and St. Jerome's Church. As Knighthood Union grand commander, he served on the committee of arrangements for an Irish picnic at Standard Park on the Belair Road on September 12, 1887. Every year, on the twelfth, Baltimoreans traditionally celebrated their defeat of the British at North Point in 1814. The defeat held double significance for the city's patriotic Irish-Americans. Not only was it a signature American triumph but also stirring proof that British soldiers could be overcome by determined citizens. The Irish National League, Celtic Club, Emerald Beneficial Society, and Catholic Knighthood jointly organized the event, and Redding's friend Patrick Martin was chairman. The day was an echo, at least, of old Ireland. According to a report, "One of the pavilions was almost constantly besieged by spectators of the dancing of the genuine Irish 'jig' to the tunes of the fiddle."[41]

The Irish associations sponsored summer picnics and winter balls and celebrated St. Patrick's Day. The Knights of St. Patrick and the Celtic Club hosted the most lavish Irish balls. At their 1888 ball at the Academy of Music, the Knights wore "their natty uniforms of black, with gilt buttons, their white belts, Maltese crosses and semi-naval caps with bullion bands," making "the occasion seem not unlike a fancy naval ball." Mike Redding and fellow stalwarts Colonel Joyce and Patrick Martin always took an active role in putting them together. John B. Buckley often served as master of ceremonies and popular singer Thomas F. McNulty as the chief entertainment. At the

Celtic Club's St. Patrick's Day banquet in 1889, an event Redding attended and probably addressed, "The celebration was peculiarly an Irish one; the vernacular of Erin was brought prominently into play; the speeches were reeking of unalloyed Gaelic patriotism." During the late 1880s, the Irish National League remained the principal political association. In January 1890, it hosted a winter ball at the Concordia Opera House, where it raised several hundred dollars for the Home Rule movement.[42]

Besides Michael and Sabina Davitt, Redding acted as escort and host for several other visiting Irish dignitaries. The grand commander of the Knighthood Union escorted Irish nationalists Sir Thomas Henry Grattan Esmonde and Hon. Arthur O'Connor, MPs, to a grand reception given in their honor. Together with Patrick Martin and others, he similarly attended former Fenian prisoners John Daly and John Devoy. Later he greeted the brilliant and fiery Maud Gonne, the much-admired heroine of Irish nationalism, and chaired a large meeting at the hall of the Baltimore YMCA that she addressed on behalf of the South African Boers, who were then engaged in a hard struggle with the British. Redding's daughter Agnes and two other Irish-American girls, dressed in white, carrying American, Irish, and Boer flags, preceded the "Irish Joan of Arc" onto the stage.[43]

Through the closing months of 1890, Charles Stewart Parnell stood as the unrivaled Irish leader. Davitt remained a romantic figure among the more radical Irish discontents, especially those whose focus was most squarely on peasant and working-class poverty, not the idea of nation. However, his embrace of American Henry George's call for public ownership of all land, rather than the original proposal for peasant proprietorship, and an overall emphasis on class over race and culture, had alienated many more conservative Irish and Irish-Americans. It was instead Parnell who in the Home Rule battles at Westminster had come to be seen as the indispensable figure, a true Washingtonian-like nation builder.

Redding, whose first political participation had been in a working-class movement, certainly remained a Davitt supporter, but Parnell reigned in Baltimore, as elsewhere. After 1887, when the *London Times* launched a campaign to link the parliamentarian Parnell to the violent methods of some Irish and Irish-American nationalists, and the most serious charges ended up in the courtroom and before an investigative committee, Irish-Americans formed a Parnell Club and rallied behind him. Monsignor Edward McColgan, still pastor at St. Peter's and also vicar-general of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, when referring to Parnell's legal entanglements told a reporter, "Parnell has the sympathy of all the world, and there is no question of his success. I have no knowledge of any fund being raised in Baltimore to aid Parnell, but if there is any real need of money, Baltimore will heartily subscribe her share."[44]

Near the end of 1890, though, Irish affairs were thrown into chaos when a divorce suit filed by Parnell associate Captain William O'Shea reached an Irish courtroom. Unchallenged testimony revealed that the Irish leader had engaged in a longstanding affair with O'Shea's wife Katherine. The affair was a fact, and the couple had for years

regarded themselves as husband and wife. They had children together. Captain O'Shea may have known about the relationship and willingly accepted it as he engaged in his own trysts and gained political preferment from his association with Parnell.[45]

Whatever the exact relationship between Parnell and the O'Sheas, the embarrassing developments created a great rift between those who supported the Home Rule leader and those who thought him too compromised to represent Irish aspirations. The struggle between the two sides was fought hard in Ireland and elsewhere. Anti-Parnellite Home Ruler John Dillon, MP, came to Baltimore to discuss the situation with the Irish-American community. He stayed the night as a guest of Monsignor McColgan. Together they met with Cardinal Gibbons, whom Dillon claimed was "in full accord with the Irish hierarchy on the moral question from which the controversy started." Leading Baltimore Irish-Americans were clearly outraged. "A people personally pure will not follow anybody who has made a record like Parnell," John Norman told a reporter. The sense of disappointment and betrayal was perhaps most poignantly captured by James Joyce in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, when the boyish narrator Stephen Dedalus observes that his aunt, called Dante, had removed the green velvet from her Parnell brush: "He wondered which was right, to be for the green or for the maroon, because Dante had ripped the green velvet back off the brush that was Parnell one day with her scissors and had told him that Parnell was a bad man."[46]

Culminations

Parnell's fall fractured the political movement that had largely represented Irish political aspirations from the beginning of Mike Redding's public career. Parnell himself died in October 1891, apparently crushed by public reaction and the ugly politicking that ensued. Defeated in 1886, Home Rule briefly reemerged in 1893 when Liberal William Gladstone again became British prime minister, but Gladstone and the divided Irish politicians could not overcome the opposition of Unionists in the House of Lords who were determined that Great Britain would rule the Irish nation. After Home Rule's second defeat made it plain that no such measure would succeed in the near future, Irish and Irish-Americans continued to pursue land reform but also increasingly focused their efforts on a self-conscious cultural nationalism. A clearly defined Irish culture, rooted in an independent and praiseworthy past and scrubbed of an unwanted and illegitimate Anglo influence, might serve as the foundation for any future movement for self-rule or independence. The GAA and Gaelic League provided an organizational base, and literary figures like William Butler Yeats, Douglas Hyde, Maude Gonne, Lady Gregory, George William Russell (Æ), and Edward Martyn the inspiration. In Baltimore, Redding and fellow Irish-Americans embraced this cultural nationalism and advanced it in their associational activities over the 1890s and into the next century when political prospects improved and new nationalistic movements emerged.

The Hibernian Society, oldest Irish association in the city, 1900. (MS2029, Maryland Historical Society.)

Mike Redding took an especially lively interest in the celebration of Irish heroes. For him, their lives sometimes illustrated the greatness of Irish culture and sometimes the injustice of British rule, which had stymied and defeated many of the nation's most dashing and talented figures. In November 1891 he represented Baltimore at a Washington commemoration of the twenty-fourth anniversary of the executions of Michael O'Brien, William Allen, and Philip Larkin—the Manchester Martyrs—charged with killing a police officer in an attempt to free Fenian prisoners. Organizers decorated the hall with shields emblazoned with the images of Wolfe Tone, Robert Emmet, and others remembered as patriots. Every March 4, Redding helped celebrate Robert Emmet Day. At the 1896 banquet, Tom McNulty sang "The Star-Spangled Banner" and "Last Words of Emmet," and Redding offered a toast to "The Irish in America." When the Clan na Gael got together to honor United Irish martyr William Orr, Redding presided.[47]

Redding belonged to almost every Irish association and appeared at almost every Irish meeting. Patrick Martin continued as the Celtic Club's president, and Redding took a turn as secretary. Redding organized the local Ninety-Eight Cen-

tennial Association, which commemorated Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen, and the Commodore Jack Barry Club, dedicated to the memory of the American Revolutionary naval hero. Barry had been born in Ireland but had taken to the sea after a landlord had evicted his family from its land. Redding addressed a meeting of the Irish Historical Society and spurred the Ancient Order of Hibernians to a more active policy. At one Hibernian meeting, the mischievous saloonkeeper distributed a souvenir program containing a chronological history he had written, and, more mischievously, a circular denigrating the recently deceased Queen Victoria. "If the bones of all the Irish men, women and children, which her negligence done to death, were gathered together a triumphal arch could be built under which her scorbutic son, Edward VII, might ride to his coronation."[48]

Near the turn of the century, international developments reignited Irish political movements. The United States went to war with Spain following the sinking of the U.S.S. *Maine* in February 1898. On March 10, Redding wrote President William McKinley offering a $1,000 loan for national defense. The offer was part of a campaign "to serve notice on all countries on earth that American citizens, foreign-born side by side with native-born, stand ready to protect the interests and uphold the honor of our common country." When an anonymous *Sun* subscriber suggested that Catholic Irish-Americans would fight against England but not against Catholic Spain, Redding publicly responded that the subscriber "may rest assured that the boys who wear the 'Sprigs of Green' on their breasts will give a first-rate account of themselves when the Spanish-American war begins. If he desires further information on the subject he would do well to scan the muster rolls of the regular army and navy, where I will venture to predict he will find that at least one-third of the men are either of Irish birth or blood." Despite the early support for the war, Redding and other Irish-Americans later turned against McKinley and his expansionist policies, which looked uncomfortably like those pursued by the British Empire.[49]

In 1899, the British went to war with the South African Boers. Irish nationalists actively sympathized with the Boers, whom they regarded as fellow sufferers of British imperialism. Comparing British attitudes toward the Irish and the Boers, Michael Davitt wrote, "There was a similar stream of calumnies and lies against the Transvaal in the Jingo press; the same attacks upon the Boer people, their laws, customs, institutions, and character." Nationalists like Maud Gonne campaigned against British aggression, and in the United States Irish-Americans tried to win public support for the Boers and lobbied the government on their behalf. The Baltimore Clan na Gael banquet honoring William Orr resolved that "the cause of the Boers [was] worthy of the active support of every republic throughout the universe." Redding represented the local Irish-American community on a committee of arrangement for a pro-Boer fundraiser at the Lyceum Theatre.[50]

The Boer War reunited the rival Irish Home Rule factions. During the 1890s, the Parnellite and anti-Parnellite groupings had hardened into a more permanent

alignment. In early 1900, however, Irish political leaders agreed to come together behind Parnell's successor John Redmond and the United Irish League, which former anti-Parnellite William O'Brien had organized two years earlier during yet another agricultural crisis. The following year, Redmond and several associates departed for the United States, where they hoped to win Irish-American support for the unity movement. In New York, Redmond told a gathering of influential Irish-Americans, "When I came here years ago and asked your sympathy, you told us, and quite rightly, to go back and become united among ourselves before appealing to the Irishmen in foreign lands. I took your advice, and now I come to you with the assurance that the Irish people are at last absolutely united, and with this assurance we ask your sympathy and aid in the battle for our rights."[51]

Mike Redding met the Irish nationalists in New York and escorted them to Baltimore. Upon their arrival, the city's leading Irish-Americans hosted a dinner for them. The hosts included Redding, his son Michael Emmet, Colonel Joyce, and Patrick Martin. The following night, the Irishmen addressed a spectacular mass meeting at Ford's Opera House. Redding had the honor of calling the meeting to order. His wife Kate and daughter Nora Sabina sat in one of the boxes with Nora's namesake Sabina Davitt. "May the God of peace or of battle hasten the day when Irish-American mass-meetings will be no longer necessary and our people at home will be in the enjoyment of their liberty," Redding told an audience estimated at three thousand people. From Baltimore, Redmond and his associates traveled to Washington for a meeting with President Theodore Roosevelt.[52]

The Irish delegation then coordinated with Irish-Americans in the creation of a United Irish League (UIL) in the United States. Redding was deeply involved in the project. The previous year, he had organized an Irish-American Union in Baltimore and served as its first president. Now he returned to New York to meet with Redmond and fellow Irish-Americans. The conference named Redding as chairman. The emphasis was on unity. Redmond assured those there that the League would not pursue a policy of violence, but would not renounce the possibility that it would be necessary. The assurance was intended to win the support of Irish-Americans spanning the spectrum from the more conservative nationalists to the old dynamiting faction. Redmond called for an organization that would serve as an auxiliary to the Irish original. Attendees agreed to name a provisional executive committee with John F. Finerty of Chicago as president, Redding as first vice president, and Dr. Patrick F. Martin—Patrick Martin's son—as assistant secretary. Over the winter, the committee wrote a constitution and made arrangements for a national convention. In Baltimore, Redding and his friends organized the Maryland Central Branch of the United Irish League. The executive committee included Mike Redding, Bart McAndrews, Patrick Martin Sr. and Jr., several Catholic clergymen, and two dozen other interested Irish-Americans. They also assisted in the organization of sister branches in the city and Maryland counties.[53]

The Maryland Central Branch began preparations for a grand celebration of Robert Emmet Day on March 4, 1902. The featured event was a mass meeting addressed by William H. K. Redmond and Joseph Devlin, MPs, representing East Clare and North Kilkenny. Redmond and Devlin called for the support of Irish-Americans. They hoped to achieve their goals through the peaceful assertion of their rights but did not renounce the possibility of violence. After the meeting, Redmond and Devlin, escorted by Redding, traveled to Cumberland to address the UIL branch there. Two months later, Redding traveled to Washington, D.C., to help Devlin organize a branch. Redding addressed the issue of violence. According to a report, he told a meeting that "he, too, had been for force, but that this movement was a better and a more practical one. All those who were for force were for this movement. What they wanted was to free Ireland first. The question of methods was a secondary one." In making the statement, he directly addressed the more radical faction in Washington, which felt violence would be necessary.[54]

In October, the UIL held a national convention in Boston's Faneuil Hall. Davitt, Dillon, and Redmond traveled to the convention to rally support and raise money. Two dozen Baltimore Irish-American nationalists, including Redding and the Martins, attended. According to Davitt, "The convention was a conspicuous success; there being over seven hundred accredited delegates present from States and cities stretching south to New Orleans and westward to Colorado. Canada was likewise represented in leading Irishmen from Montreal and other cities." It resolved to raise $100,000 over the following six months to assist the Irish nationalists. Finerty was re-elected president and Redding a vice president. The other vice president was Patrick Egan, an old Fenian and Land Leaguer, and one of the most widely connected Irish nationalists. The following month, Dillon and Davitt came to Baltimore for a mass meeting at Ford's Opera House. Redding, McAndrews, Dr. Martin, and others greeted them at Union Station and escorted them to a dinner in their honor. The next day, Redding called the meeting to order, and Dillon and Davitt spoke. Redding publicly subscribed $200 and the firm Martin & McAndrews another $200, their subscriptions making up a large proportion of the $2,500 reportedly raised.[55]

The following spring, Redding traveled to Dublin for an Irish Land Convention that included Irish leaders from around the world. They gathered in the Round Room of the stately Mansion House, the official residence of the Lord Mayor of Dublin and in some ways the Irish White House, to discuss land legislation. John Redmond presided, and Davitt and Redding, representing Irish-Americans, spoke on the issue. For Redding, the convention was a heady experience, a triumphant return to a homeland from which his family had fled, to sit down with those attempting to overturn the illegitimate rule of a government that had caused so much misery for his family and fellow Irishmen.[56]

From Ireland, Redding wrote his friend John P. Cunningham describing his travels. He arrived at the Cove of Cork on April 8 and observed, "One of the sad sights of

the town is to see the flower of Ireland in its young manhood and young womanhood waiting for the next outgoing ship to take them to a foreign land for the betterment of their condition." But he was cheered to find at the Cove "a flourishing branch of the United Irish League, with a membership of 320." Traveling by train to Limerick, he ran into Count George Noble Plunkett, an art critic and cultural nationalist. Plunkett told him "that he was not at all satisfied with the Land bill, owing to the compulsory clause being omitted. There are landlords who will not sell, but should be compelled to sell, owing to the vast tracts of land they own." In Limerick, where he had been born, Redding looked up former Limerick mayor John Daly, whom he had met in Baltimore in 1897. After Daly's 1899 election, Redding, Cunningham, and others had sent him a telegram. "Your Baltimore friends rejoice in your triumph. Well done, Limerick." The men took in a football match together.[57]

Redding then visited Clare, Galway, and Tipperary. He met with local politicians and closely surveyed the political situation. "Galway is very patriotic and has a large number of branches of the United Irish League," he noted. In Tipperary, he found that "patriotism is proved by its numerous branches of the league." On several occasions, the saloonkeeper noted the sobriety and upright behavior of those he encountered. "May God forgive those who libel these poor people! If the people are poor, it is not to be put at the door of vice, but laid against laws which for 300 years have been detrimental to Irish industries." On Redding's return, the Baltimore UIL hosted a reception for him. He discussed his travels and spoke in favor of the land legislation, arguing that satisfactory settlement of the land issue would inevitably result in Home Rule. "Then science and literature will, as in the days of Margaret of Offaly, the beautiful and accomplished Queen of O'Carroll, once more spring up, and industry, with intelligence, shed a luster on the scene by producing from its past turmoil and tears the rainbow of peace and prosperity."[58]

For the next several years, Irish-American activities in Baltimore continued along the same path. Colonel Joyce died in November 1903, but many of the same individuals kept charge of Irish-American affairs. Redding retained the vice presidency of the national UIL. In 1907, the Maryland Central Branch organized a mass meeting to help raise the city's assigned $3,500 contribution to the UIL's $100,000 national fund for support of the Irish Parliamentary Party. The featured guests were Thomas W. Kettle and Richard Hazleton, MPs. The reception committee included Redding, McAndrews, and the Martins. Redding introduced the speakers, most notably Governor Edwin Warfield and Congressman John Sharp Williams of Mississippi. After the meeting, Redding and Patrick Martin accompanied Hazleton to Annapolis where Governor Warfield hosted an entertainment for him.[59]

The Hibernians also organized major Irish social activities. A Hibernian picnic at River View in August 1905 drew thousands. The event featured a speech by Secretary of the Navy Charles J. Bonaparte on the Know Nothings, and the running of an Irish jaunting car. Two summers later, the Hibernians hosted a June "Irish Day"

at River View. They hoped that the event would become an annual celebration. That August, large numbers attended Hibernian picnics at Darley Park and River View. At Darley Park, "Everything on the grounds had a Celtic flavor, and even the grass looked greener than usual." At River View, numerous Democratic politicians came to greet voters. Mike Redding was an active Hibernian. He helped to organize several of these events and was at every one. He escorted Democratic gubernatorial candidate Austin L. Crothers from Union Station to the August 1907 River View picnic.[60]

Redding became more involved in Democratic Party affairs during these years. He had always had numerous political friends, especially among Democrats, but had shied away from party conventions and political office until a reform movement spurred him to action. In July 1910, he publicly defended Democratic boss Sonny Mahon, another Irish-American who, like Redding, had risen from modest beginnings to emerge as one of the most influential politicians in Maryland. Reformers had for years campaigned against political boss Isaac Freeman Rasin and his protégé Mahon, charging that "two more unscrupulous men in politics do not exist in this or any other community." Mahon's enemies, Redding retorted, "will be turned into weeping willows drooping over mugwump graves, the only decoration in Republican cemeteries, before we give up our ideal commander Mahon." That fall he made a speech for organization congressional candidate J. Charles Linthicum and the next spring for organization mayoral candidate James H. Preston, a personal friend. According to the saloonkeeper, "Many of us want nothing from any man or any party, but, sincerely believing that pure and simple democracy is best for the whole people, we indorse no spurious offspring, but vote that ticket which our recognized leaders put before us."[61]

That same year, 1911, Redding became the first president of the Eleventh Ward Democratic Club. The Eleventh Ward contained some of the city's most stylish residences and had long been known as the "silk-stocking" ward. The club, which eventually opened a house at 847 Hamilton Terrace, was intended as the headquarters of the entrenched party interests in the neighborhood but operated in a more refined, high-minded way than the typical ward club. At one meeting, members debated initiative, referendum, and recall, with Redding on the winning negative side. At another, they heard arguments for women's suffrage. The Eleventh Warders took an especially energetic part in the 1912 presidential campaign. Baltimore hosted the Democratic National Convention, and Mayor Preston, an Eleventh-Ward resident, had some long-shot vice-presidential ambitions. Eleventh Ward members provided an open house for convention delegates at 244 West Hoffman Street, directly across from the Fifth Regiment Armory where the Democrats were meeting. They served refreshments and entertained party members from across the country. Local politician Eugene Beer assumed, and long held, the presidency of the club, but Redding remained on the board of directors into the 1930s. On at least one occasion, Redding inserted his Irish patriotism into club proceedings. He arranged

for the club to sing ballads in commemoration of the birthday of Irish nationalist poet Thomas Moore.[62]

Redding's financial success allowed him to indulge his lifelong love of literature and Irish history. In 1907 he privately published a small book on Irish love and marriage. The volume was appropriately bound in green and decorated with gold Irish harps, with an inscription, "Soon may thy chords be attuned to Irish liberty." Redding dedicated it to his wife Kate: "This natal gift, this bit of prose, / I lovingly tender to you, Kate— / My wife, my star, my heavenly rose, / Whom God has given as a mate." Included were photos of Mike, Kate, their house, and his birthplace in Limerick.[63]

On July 14, 1913, Redding's sixtieth birthday, he published a more ambitious *Brochure of Irish Achievements in Government, Art, Architecture, Literature and Poetry.* In the foreword, Redding displayed his deep romanticism:

> The quick impulsiveness and emotional characteristics of the Celtic mind, blended with an imagination vivid enough to fill the soil just below the roots of the shamrock with sprites, and the air with spirits, make the Irishman a being which cannot be appealed to, like the saxon, through a table d'hote. For while his humanity compels his feet to touch earth, his spirit lives in illimitable space communing with eternity.

The following chapters described the achievements of the Irish race. Redding found democracy's roots in Irish history: "The Irish Clan system was essentially a pure democracy, in fact, it went so far as to include the initiative, referendum and recall, for each tribe was supreme within its own borders." He cited an English expert on the perfection of Celtic art and claimed Gothic architecture as an Irish creation. In literature, poetry, and music, Irish scholars and artists were unsurpassed. Displaying attitudes and ideas commonplace in this period of emerging modernity, with Creation sharply contested between traditionalists and Darwinists, Redding found Irish greatness in race and religion. "And the ultimate power of the artist," he opined, "lies in the spirit of local patriotism and pride in the race from which he sprang." But a true faith was also essential: "The Celt has never looked upon life as the progression of a protoplasm vivified by a sun-ray, He rides no such moon-beams. He knows that he is made in the image and likeness of God." Redding concluded the book with a familiar refrain, the Irish harp. "Soon may thy chords be attuned to Irish liberty."[64]

At the time Redding was putting together his paean to Irish culture, John Redmond's Irish Parliamentary Party was making headway at Westminster. British political developments gave the Irish parliamentarians increased leverage. The Liberal Party, which needed Irish support for its agenda, first limited the veto power of the House of Lords and then passed Home Rule. Home Rule received royal assent in September 1914, although the outbreak of war suspended its implementa-

tion. Under the legislation, Ireland would have its own legislature, responsible for domestic affairs, and a reduced representation at Westminster, which would retain responsibility for imperial affairs. The measure temporarily excluded six counties in Ulster where Protestant Unionists were in the majority, and opposition to Home Rule, which seemed, to them, to portend Catholic rule, was resolute. Although the Irish nationalists most committed to an Irish republic were not satisfied, the measure was a landmark victory for many who had supported Redmond's Irish Parliamentary Party and the United Irish League. During the Home Rule debates, Redding commented, "Like every other Irishman in the United States, I am glad that the Home Rule bill has passed the House and sincerely hope that it is passed by the House of Lords. It would be a splendid crown for our work during the last 30 years. Under home rule I believe that Ireland and England would get along amicably." Two months after the measure received royal assent, Redding's Baltimore friends hosted a banquet at the Rennert Hotel to honor his efforts on its behalf. Mayor Preston spoke, and numerous Irish-Americans and politicians attended. Newspapers described it as "a real Erin-go-bragh affair."[65]

The Great War intervened at a precarious moment. Both the Irish in Ulster and those in the rest of the nation had formed militias to ensure they could defend their interests under a new political framework. The Ulstermen had organized as the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) and the Irish nationalists as the Irish Volunteers. Ulster Unionists and Redmond's Irish nationalists, despite their intensifying hostility toward each other, decided to fight for the British against Germany. The UVF and the bulk of the Irish Volunteers joined the British army. These Irish Volunteers became known as the National Volunteers. Ulstermen and National Volunteers died in large numbers on the battlefields of France. Most notable among the latter were William H. K. Redmond, John's brother, and Thomas Kettle, both of whom had spent time with Mike Redding in Baltimore.

Other Irish nationalists, though, opened communication with Germany. Foreign conflicts had always been looked upon as promising opportunities to strike while the British were engaged elsewhere, and here was a signature crisis. The most momentous result of the conspiratorial Irish dealings with Germany was the failed Easter Rising of 1916 when a cadre of nationalists revolted in Dublin and a handful of other towns. Those behind the revolt had intended that it would be a national rising aided by German arms smuggled into Ireland, but those plans miscarried. The British government responded by promptly executing fifteen of the ringleaders, including Joseph Plunkett, the son of Redding's fellow train passenger Count Plunkett, and John MacBride, Maud Gonne's estranged husband.

Mike Redding remained loyal to Redmond and his policies. In July 1914 he attended a meeting of the UIL executive committee in New York. The meeting pledged almost $100,000 for the Irish nationalists, and specifically the Irish Volunteers. Redding spoke and personally pledged $3,000. One report claimed, "Mr. Redding

has seen that just now England's cause is Ireland's cause. He has no tolerance for the other kind of Irish. He has a sublime faith in Redmond's course and cleaves to the line Redmond has marked out." In the *Sun*, a self-proclaimed former member of Sinn Féin, an Irish nationalist association that had coalesced in the decade before the war, described and defended the association, and incidentally denigrated more conservative Irish-Americans like Redding: "I trust that these few lines will not make Irishmen like Michael J. Redding and other Redmondites of this city imagine that the Sinn Fein Society was a useless organization, established to make strife in the dear home land." Still, Redding, the old advocate of physical force, and the great admirer of Robert Emmet, thought the Easter Rising a heroic gesture. He sent fifty dollars to Grace Plunkett, who, shortly before Plunkett's execution, had married the idealistic Easter Rising revolutionary. According to Redding, "She is the bravest little woman in the world, braver even than Sarah Curran, the betrothed of Robert Emmet, the Irish martyr; for Sarah Curran never married her betrothed nor intimated a desire to do so after he was under sentence."[66]

Sinn Féin pushed to the fore in the closing years of the Great War and dominated postwar developments. It won a large majority of the Irish parliamentary seats at the December 1918 election. Instead of going to Westminster, available members, primarily those not in British prisons, gathered at the Mansion House in Dublin and proclaimed themselves the Dáil Éireann, the legitimate legislative body of an Irish republic. For Redding, the moment was obviously a precious one. At the very place where he had sat down with Davitt, Redmond, and other nationalists to plan for eventual Home Rule, Irishmen assembled on their own soil to represent the Irish nation. The British, however, rejected the bid for Irish independence and warfare broke out.

After two years of atrocious violence across Ireland, the two sides negotiated the Anglo-Irish Treaty (1921), which created an Irish state with dominion status in the British Empire. The new Irish Free State included twenty-six counties but not the six counties of Ulster, which had received its own parliament at Belfast under the Government of Ireland Act (1920). Moreover, all members of the Dáil would take an oath to the British monarchy. The terms proved unsatisfactory for many nationalists, and a savage civil war followed, costing the lives of numerous nationalists like Cathal Brugha, Arthur Griffith, and Michael Collins.

In Baltimore, Redding remained closely in touch with events. In 1919, Dr. Patrick McCartan came to the United States as a representative of Éamon de Valera, the leader of the Irish Dáil. McCartan had old ties to the Clan na Gael and worked through this organization. Then de Valera himself made the trip across the Atlantic. McCartan and de Valera called for Irish-Americans to lobby their government and also to purchase Irish bonds to finance a new Irish state. McCartan was in Baltimore in January 1919 and again in January 1920. When de Valera made arrangements to come in the spring of the latter year, Redding headed a movement to have him ad-

dress the Maryland legislature. Those drawing up the resolutions inviting the Irish leader included Redding, his friend John P. Cunningham, and two Redding sons-in-law. According to a description of de Valera's visit, "He was accompanied to the Ancient City by a delegation of 100 Baltimore men and women under the leadership of Stephen J. McDonough and Michael J. Redding. Each member of the delegation carried Sinn Fein flags with the green, white and orange colors." Redding helped to organize the bond sale and purchased an undisclosed amount himself. His daughters Clare, Margaret, and Nora were among a small group of Baltimore women who raised $1,000 selling green badges on the streets of Baltimore.[67]

McCartan and de Valera won Redding's full support. During the war, Redding had at least some association with the Friends of Irish Freedom, which John Devoy and the Clan na Gael organized to lobby and raise money for Ireland. But following their visits he became the head of the local branch of the American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic, a rival organization intended as a vehicle for putting Irish-American money and influence directly under Irish control. Unlike de Valera, though, Redding supported the Anglo-Irish Treaty. Before the Dáil narrowly approved the treaty in January 1922, creating the new Irish Free State, he said, "If the new peace terms satisfy the people of Ireland they ought surely to satisfy us here." For Redding, and other Irish-Americans, the ensuing civil war, fought with Michael Collins on the pro-treaty side and de Valera on the opposite, was a tragic development. On Collins' death, he lamented, "The news came as a shock. I deplore a division among the Irish people that has brought such a result. With the firm purpose of eventually obtaining complete freedom for the Irish people Collins and Griffith were paving the way to that end with the approval of the most advanced Irish thought. I hope the death of Collins will not injure the Irish State."[68]

For Redding, the war and ensuing years brought a great deal of personal loss and changing circumstances. Besides the deaths of Irish friends and associates, including Davitt and Redmond, several close friends and family members died. Patrick Martin passed away in November 1913 and Martin's business partner Bart McAndrews in January 1914. Over the next two years, Redding lost grandsons Michael J. Redding, John's son, and John Redding Barrett, Nora's son. In July 1917, he shuttered his saloon. He claimed the decision was not because of the war or impending Prohibition. "I just wanted to get out some time, and this just as good as another time." He had speculated in real estate and now made that his primary business interest.[69]

Redding's family also broke up. In 1923, his wife Kate left. He claimed that trouble had arisen when his daughter Margaret started a typing bureau in the Redding house. The business expanded, and he ordered her out. When she left, Kate went with her. At a court hearing, Kate "declared her husband had failed to support her as befitted her station in life, and compelled her to perform services that impaired her health. She testified he had driven their children from home."[70]

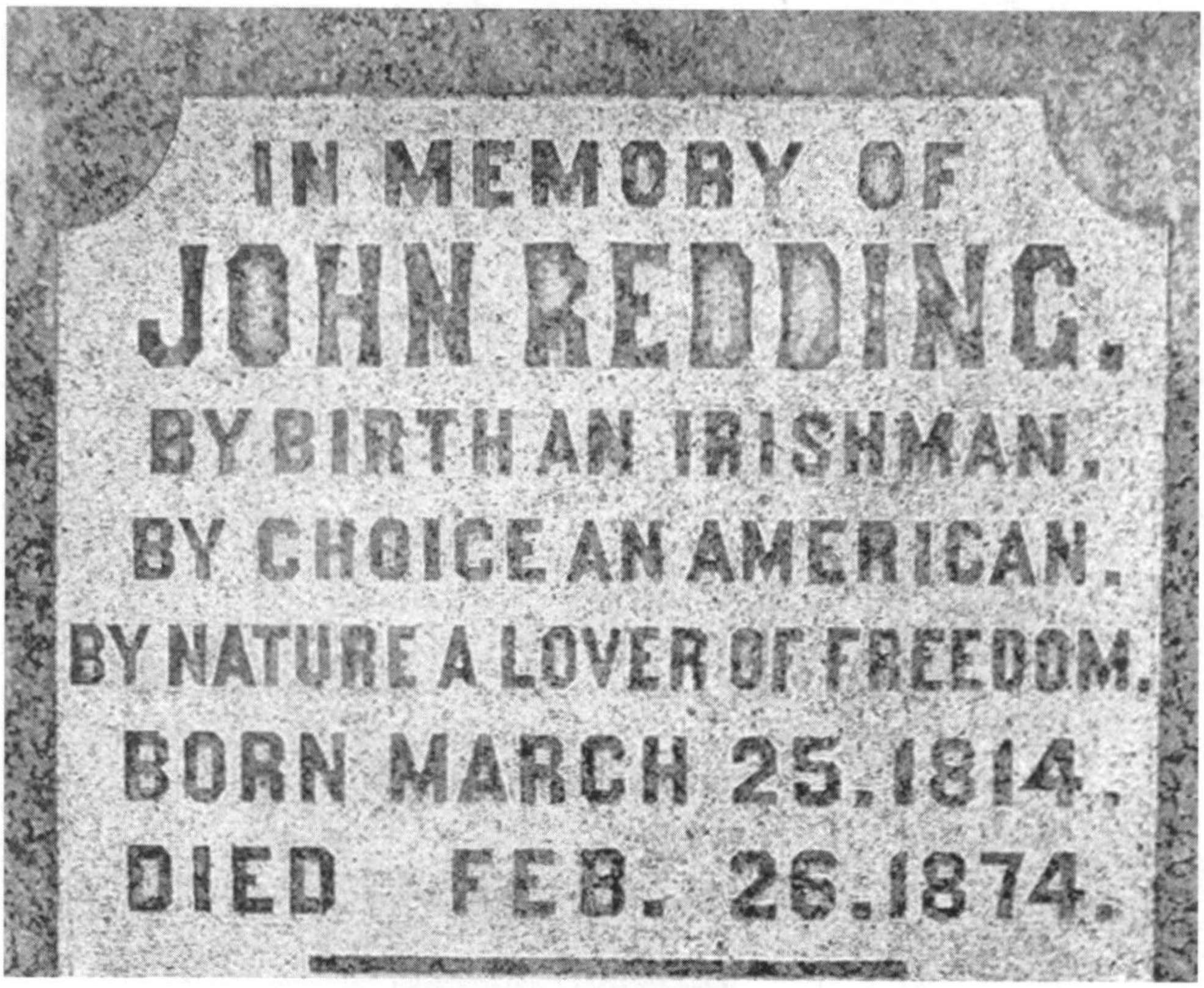
Redding's children married and pursued careers. His business and political

connections shaped his sons' careers. Brendan died young, but John and Emmet established themselves in business. John started with Mike, and then went into sales. Emmet was in the insurance business. Like his brother-in-law John G. Barrett, Nora's husband, he became active in Democratic Party politics. He later served as Eleventh Ward executive and held a patronage position as secretary of the Baltimore Board of Police Examiners. His longtime business partner Ambrose J. Kennedy was a Baltimore congressman.[71]

Two of Redding's daughters had especially notable Baltimore careers. Mike initially funded Margaret's typing bureau. In 1921, H. L. Mencken noticed an advertisement for the bureau and brought her twenty pages of typing. She soon became his secretary and a familiar member of the well-known writer's household. "Never in all my time I worked for Mencken," she later recalled, "did I fail to catch my breath and feel my heart beat faster as I stood on his front steps at 1524 Hollins Street, waiting for the door to open to me." Close access to Mencken's thinking impacted her own: "Gradually I awakened to his body of thought; it was far from my own. He did not convert me, but he widened my horizon." After marrying and leaving Baltimore, Margaret wrote short stories for magazines and published her own magazine for professional women. Her sister Rosalind (Lohrfinck) replaced her as Mencken's secretary and remained in the place for almost three decades. Mencken was at Rosalind's house when he suffered a debilitating stroke. After the stroke, she continued with him, still as secretary but also as a caregiver and friend. According to Rosalind, "He was able to walk around and work in the garden, and I used to read to him and we would sometimes go to the movies. And through it all, he always tried to be cheerful." Shortly before his death, she came across a forgotten manuscript that became *Minority Report*. Mencken's last project was the editing of the manuscript with Rosalind.[72]

Mike Redding died quietly on January 6, 1936, and was buried in the family plot on the hillside in old Bonnie Brae, beneath the pink granite Celtic cross. The calm of his final years contrasted sharply with the almost constant motion of his five decades as a businessman, politician, churchman, and Irish-American patriot. During those decades, Redding played a distinguished role in numerous associations dedicated to Irish freedom. These groups, and related ones, were part of a well-developed associational culture. Adult males, especially, frequently belonged to numerous associations and often spent evenings gathering together not only in saloons and restaurants but also at meetings, banquets, and other events. The depth and breadth of this culture allowed individuals to build up dense personal networks and provided motivated individuals the means of efficiently mobilizing large numbers to a specific purpose. Mike Redding's professional and associational activities gained him numerous friends. Many of them shared interests that intersected in numerous areas. When Redding and others put together new associations to advance Irish freedom, they had the connections to make those projects successful. They could work through

IN MEMORY OF
JOHN REDDING.
BY BIRTH AN IRISHMAN.
BY CHOICE AN AMERICAN.
BY NATURE A LOVER OF FREEDOM.
BORN MARCH 25. 1814.
DIED FEB. 26. 1874.
ANN REDDING.
BELOVED WIFE OF
JOHN REDDING.
BORN APRIL 26. 1817.
DIED JAN. 7. 1895.
REST IN PEACE.
REDDING.



Michael Redding's granite grave marker in New Cathedral Cemetery, Baltimore. Above is a detail of the Redding grave marker with Michael's commemoration of his father John. (Author's photograph.)

their relationships in beneficial associations, churches and church organizations, and party politics—and with colleagues and neighbors.[73]

And, in a reciprocal way, the plight of the Irish nation strengthened and enhanced this associational culture and intensified the Irish patriotism of the period. Irish-Americans, like other immigrant groups, retained an avid interest in their homeland. Part of this was the natural affection of people for the place where they had grown up. A part, though, was a sense of anger at the awful circumstances that had driven them away and an ongoing opposition to British rule that many felt the cause of these circumstances. British rule in Ireland kept Irish-Americans engaged and active. In Baltimore, and other cities, it brought them together in a range of associations that deepened and broadened the network of relationships among those involved. Given that he spent his first eleven years in Limerick, with admired parents and siblings, Mike Redding would have likely maintained a devotion to Ireland. But the long, hard fight to win freedom could only have intensified this devotion.

Mike Redding may have left one last record of his own pride at the creation of the Irish Free State. On April 2, 1930, a census-taker came to his house to enumerate his existence. His house was one of the first visited in her enumeration district. The

census-taker recorded his name, gender, race, age, marital status (married but living alone), recent education, and ability to read and write. Under his birthplace and that of his father, she apparently just wrote "Ireland." After "Ireland," "Free" is squeezed in for him and "Fr State" for his father. The "Ireland" for his mother is smaller and the entire phrase "Ireland Free State" appears to have been written whole. The census-taker recorded no Irish birthplaces before Redding. After, she included Free State in the name. Did the old Irish-American patriot stop the census-taker and correct her, making sure she recorded that his Ireland was now free?

NOTES

1. *Baltimore Sun*, October 21 and December 19–20, 1884; January 13, February 26–27, June 17, and July 30, 1895. See also Daniel O'Neal [O'Neill] in 1870 U.S. Census, Ninth District, Baltimore County, Maryland.
2. *Baltimore Sun*, January 13, February 26–27, and June 17, 1885; September 20, 1899.
3. Thomas Power O'Connor and Robert McWade, *Gladstone-Parnell and the Great Irish Struggle* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Brothers, 1890), 615; Redding Monument, Section L, Plot #116, New Cathedral Cemetery, Baltimore, Maryland; *Baltimore Sun*, February 27, 1874 (John Redding obit); January 9, 1895 (Ann Redding obit); April 26, 1903; July 20, 1907; September 1, 1907. In the *Baltimore Sun* of July 20, 1907, Redding is reported as giving birthplace as New Walk, Limerick.
4. Tracy Matthew Melton, *Hanging Henry Gambrill: The Violent Career of Baltimore's Plug Uglies, 1854–1860* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2005).
5. The 1864 Baltimore directory published by John W. Woods listed three John Reddings. Analysis of directories and census data suggest that only the John Redding living at 33 Ryan could have been Michael's father. The same directory also listed an Edward Redding living at 30 Ryan. It was common for adult children to live in houses nearby their parents, making it possible that Edward was an older Redding child. Additionally, Andrew Redding was listed at 35 Ryan in the 1873 and 1874 city directories (Woods). His residence here may have been a coincidence but perhaps another clue that the Redding family was here in 1864. Ryan is located near the B&O's Mount Clare Shops.
6. *Baltimore Sun*, September 1, 1907, and O'Connor and McWade, *Gladstone-Parnell*, 615. Accounts of Redding's education differ in detail. The 1907 *Sun* article states that he had a public-school education. According to the brief biography in *Gladstone-Parnell*, "At the age of five years young Redding was placed in a private school, where he remained until 1864, when the family came to this country, settling in Baltimore. For several years he attended the Christian Brothers' school, connected with St. Peter's Parish, and was afterward apprenticed to a carpenter." It appears some of the facts were mixed up and that it is most likely that Michael attended a school run by the Christian Brothers in Limerick and then attended St. Peter's parochial school, or perhaps the Baltimore public schools. Earlier in the nineteenth century, the Christian Brothers had been established in Ireland to provide schooling for the children of impoverished Catholics. During Michael's years in Limerick, the Christian Brothers operated four schools in that city. Partial records from these schools are available online, but Michael Redding's name did not appear in the available records. See "Guide to Collection P34 Christian Brothers Schools Limerick," Limerick City Archives, Limerick, Ireland, www.limerickcorp.ie/CollectionLists/ [accessed February 2011]. According to avail-

able information, the Sisters of Mercy, not either of the primary Christian Brothers religious communities, had charge of the parochial school at St. Peter's. See *The Catholic Church in the United States of America*, vol. 3, *The Province of Baltimore and the Province of New York, Section I* (New York: Catholic Editing Company, 1914), 77.

7. See the Baltimore city directories published by John W. Woods during this period; 1870 U.S. Census, Thirteenth Ward, Baltimore, Maryland.

8. *Baltimore Sun*, February 27, 1874 (John Redding obit); August 7, 15, 18, 1877; April 26, 1903.

9. Michael J. Redding, *Brochure of Irish Achievements* (Baltimore: Privately Published, 1913), 7; *Baltimore Sun*, September 6, 1908.

10. Thomas Keneally, *The Great Shame and the Triumph of the Irish in the English-Speaking World* (New York: Anchor Books, 2000), 163; Redding Monument, Section L, Plot #116, New Cathedral Cemetery. On the IRB, American Fenianism, and the Clan na Gael, see Keneally, *The Great Shame*; Leon O Broin, *Revolutionary Underground: The Story of the Irish Republican Brotherhood 1858–1924* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1976); Terry Golway, *Irish Rebel: John Devoy and America's Fight for Ireland's Freedom* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998); Jay P. Dolan, *The Irish Americans: A History* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008).

11. *Baltimore Sun*, January 13, 1870 (Dolan obit); January 10, 1889; May 1, 1891; July 1, 1891; December 13, 1892 (Gaitley obit); August 10, 1895 (McDevitt obit); February 7, 1898 (McColgan obit). For information on Redding's Limerick schooling, see note #6.

12. *Baltimore Sun*, September 20, 1852; March 19, 1855.

13. Ibid., December 4, 1860; May 8, June 21, and October 2, 1861; April 17, 1865; May 2, November 7, 9, and December 5, 1865; February 28, April 18, June 5, September 12, and November 13, 1866; March 19 and August 12, 1867; April 1, 23, 29, July 3, 31, and August 26, 1868.

14. Ibid., August 26, 1868; February 23, 1869; November 24, 1903 (Joyce obit).

15. Ibid., June 14, July 8, 11, 29, August 12, September 6, October 16, and November 11, 1867.

16. Ibid., March 18, 19, 1867.

17. Ibid., April 3, May 1, and June 19, 1872; March 19, 1873; April 1 and June 27, 1874; January 21, April 12, and August 7, 1875. Several of these knighthoods organized in the years immediately following Baltimore's hosting of the Grand National Convention of the Knights Templar. This event may have been the inspiration for the local knighthood movement, which lasted through the 1880s. On the convention, see *Baltimore Sun*, September 18–22, 1871. Other knighthoods included the Knights of St. Michael, Knights of the Holy Cross, Knights of St. Ignatius, Knights of St. George, Knights of Father Mathew, Knights of St. Aloysius, Knights of St. Lawrence, Knights of St. Joseph, Knights of St. Vincent, and Knights of the Sacred Thirst.

18. *Baltimore Sun*, March 4, 1898; March 7, 1900; Redding Monument, Section L, Plot #116, New Cathedral Cemetery. On the organization of the Clan na Gael, see, for example, Golway, *Devoy*; Keneally, *The Great Shame*; and Carroll letters to Devoy in John Devoy, William O'Brien and Desmond Ryan, eds., *Devoy's Post Bag, 1871–1928*, vol. 1 (Dublin: C. J. Fallon, 1948). Both Golway and Keneally discuss the *Catalpa* rescue.

19. F. S. L. Lyons, *Charles Stewart Parnell* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1977), 60–108.

20. Ibid., 74–76.

21. D. B. Cashman, *The Life of Michael Davitt* (Glasgow: Cameron & Ferguson, no date), 23–24.

22. Golway, *Devoy*, 100–113; Lyons, *Parnell*, 66–108; Cashman, *Michael Davitt*, 68.

23. Lyons, *Parnell*, 88–90.

24. *Baltimore Sun*, January 13, 17, 26–27, 1880. On Constantine's and Norman's connections to the Emmet Guards, see *Baltimore Sun*, July 29 and October 16, 1867.

25. Ibid., January 27, February 14, and March 13, 1880.
26. *New York Times*, May 19–20, 1880; Michael Davitt, *The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1904), 247–52. The quotation appears on page 252.
27. *Baltimore Sun*, June 16, 23, August 11, September 14, and December 22, 31, 1880; February 24, 1881.
28. Ibid., April 2, 1881; October 2, 1916.
29. Ibid., July 20 and September 1, 1907; July 5, 1917; O'Connor and McWade, *Gladstone-Parnell*, 616; John and Hannah Flaherty in 1860 U.S. Census, Albany, New York and 1880 U.S. Census, Seventeenth Ward, Baltimore City, Maryland; Michael J. and Catherine T. Redding in 1900 U.S. Census, Thirteenth Ward, Baltimore City, Maryland; Redding Monument, New Cathedral Cemetery. No. 8 Tyson was later renumbered to 108 Tyson.
30. O'Connor and McWade, *Gladstone-Parnell*, 623–24; *Baltimore Sun*, November 4, 1913 (Martin obit); January 16, 1914 (McAndrews obit). Redding contributed for a large emerald ring presented to Morrison and served as a director of his Crescent Club. For these, see *Baltimore Sun*, March 15, 1887; January 29, 1890. On Morrison, see Tracy Matthew Melton, "Power Networks: The Political and Professional Career of Baltimore Boss J. Frank Morrison," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 99 (2004): 455–79.
31. *Baltimore Sun*, May 24, 1883; August 6, 1885. On the YIS, see Matthew Kelly "Dublin Fenianism in the 1880s: 'The Irish Culture of the Future'?" *The Historical Journal* 43 (2000): 729–50.
32. Golway, *Devoy*, 144–45; Lyons, *Parnell*, 236–39, 250–51; *Baltimore Sun*, June 6, 1883; *Washington Post*, August 14, 1884.
33. *Baltimore Sun*, April 12, 1875; September 21, 1878; October 10, 1885; June 19, 1886; O'Connor and McWade, *Gladstone-Parnell*, 616.
34. *Baltimore Sun*, May 5, 14, June 25, and November 13, 1885; March 18, April 29, July 15, August 13, 16, and September 21, 1886.
35. Ibid., August 4, 6, 1885. Nora's full name is given in the *Baltimore Sun*, November 18, 1901.
36. Ibid., November 18, 1886; January 14–15, 1887.
37. Ibid., January 7, 1936 (Redding obit).
38. Ibid., June 6–8 and July 30, 1887.
39. Ibid., March 14–15 and December 6, 1888; July 20, 1907; Redding Monument, New Cathedral Cemetery.
40. *Baltimore Sun*, January 10, 1889; January 9, 1895 (Ann Redding obit); July 20, 1907; July 5, 1917; and see Michael J. and Catherine T. Redding in 1900 U.S. Census, Thirteenth Ward, Baltimore City, Maryland; 1910 U.S. Census, Eleventh Ward, Baltimore City, Maryland; 1920 U.S. Census, Eleventh Ward, Baltimore City, Maryland; and Michael J. Redding in 1930 U.S. Census, Eleventh Ward, Baltimore City, Maryland. For the advertisements, see 1896, 1898, 1899 Baltimore business directories at www.pre-pro.com accessed December 2010. Redding's residence was also the point of departure for the funeral procession of his sister Margaret Mack the following year. See *Baltimore Sun*, February 10, 1890.
41. *Baltimore Sun*, July 30 and September 12–13, 26, 1887; September 1, 1907.
42. Ibid., November 21, 1887; January 11, and February 2, 1888; February 28, and March 19, 1889; January 13–14, 1890.
43. Ibid., December 13, 1887; November 27, 1890; December 21–22, 1897; February 17, 20–21, 1900.
44. Ibid., February 19 and March 19, 1889.
45. On the Parnell-O'Shea affair, see Lyons, *Parnell*.

46. *Baltimore Sun*, December 18–19, 1890; *New York Times*, March 20, 1891; James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (New York: Signet Classics, 2006), 28.
47. *Washington Post*, November 24, 1891; *Baltimore Sun*, March 5, 1896; March 4, 1898; October 6, 1899; March 7, 1900.
48. *Baltimore Sun*, July 20, 1893; December 21–22, 1897; March 11, 18, April 2, and October 28, 1898; March 26 and April 9, 1901; *Washington Post*, January 20, 1905.
49. *Baltimore Sun*, March 11, 15 and April 2, 1898; November 1, 1900.
50. Davitt, *Fall of Feudalism*, 694; *Baltimore Sun*, October 6, 1899; February 20–21 and April 28, 1900.
51. Davitt, *Fall of Feudalism*, 693; James Lydon, *The Making of Ireland: From Ancient Times to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 318–20; *New York Times*, November 1, 16, 1901.
52. *Baltimore Sun*, November 16–19, 1901.
53. Ibid., November 1, 1900; December 19, 1901; January 14, 16 and February 7, 20, 26, 1902; *New York Times*, December 5, 20, 1901; *New York Tribune*, December 20, 1901.
54. *Baltimore Sun*, February 7, 20, 26, March 1, 4, 8, April 4, and May 21, 1902; *Washington Post*, May 20, 1902; *Washington Globe*, May 25, 1902.
55. *Baltimore Sun*, October 10, 16 and November 14–17, 20, 1902; *New York Times*, October 22, 1902; Davitt, *Fall of Feudalism*, 696.
56. *Baltimore Sun*, March 30 and April 17, 26, 1903.
57. Ibid., January 24, 1899; April 26, 1903.
58. Ibid., April 26 and May 1, 1903.
59. Ibid., October 21 and November 24, 1903 (Joyce obit); August 19, 1904; October 4, 1906; November 25 and December 16, 1906; January 3, 7–8, August 26, and September 3, 1907; July 20, 1908; March 14, 1909; September 24, 1912; *New York Times*, July 17, 1914.
60. *Baltimore Sun*, August 18 and November 1, 1905; June 24 and August 4, 9, 20, 1907; August 7, 1908.
61. Ibid., July 17, October 7, and December 7, 1910; March 10, October 26, and December 14, 1911.
62. Ibid., December 14, 1911; May 2 and June 12, 1912; April 10, 1913; December 16, 1920; December 14, 1922; November 11, 1929; December 22, 1932; *Baltimore American*, December 18, 1913; *Baltimore News*, December 18, 29, 1913; January 3, 1914. The best source of detailed information on the Eleventh Ward Democratic Club is Minute Books, Eleventh Ward Democratic Club, MS 592, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. For Redding's contribution to the DNC reception house, see "Subscription List for Democratic Convention House" in Minute Book for 1912.
63. Michael J. Redding, *Brochure of Irish Achievements in Government, Art, Architecture, Literature and Poetry* (Baltimore: Michael J. Redding, 1913).
64. Ibid., 5, 15, 19, 87.
65. *Baltimore Sun*, January 17, 1913; November 25, 1914.
66. *New York Times*, July 17, 1914; *Baltimore Sun*, March 18, 1915; May 5, 13, September 2, and October 2, 1916.
67, *Baltimore Sun*, January 20, 1919; January 24, March 26, and April 2, 1920; July 14, 1921; December 8, 1921; March 14, 1934; Golway, *Devoy*, 252–53. The sons-in-law were John G. Barrett and George E. Lamaze.
68. Ibid., September 2, 1916; January 9, 10, 23, 1921; July 14, 1921; August 24, 1922. On the rivalry between the Friends of Irish Freedom and the American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic, see Golway, *Devoy*.
69. *Baltimore Sun*, November 4, 1913 (Martin obit); January 16, 1914 (McAndrews obit); May

6, 1915 (Michael J. Redding, grandson, obit); January 6, 1916 (John Redding Barrett obit); July 5, 1917.

70. Ibid., April 10, 20, 1923.

71. Ibid., December 3, 1944 (Emmet Redding obit). Redding's children: John M. Redding married Anna C. Ahern; Nora married John G. Barrett; Rosalind married John W. Lohrfinck; Margaret married Charles F. Lappin; Clare married James Harold Parran and Maurice J. Crump; Catherine married Burdette F. Keenan; Annie (Nancy) married George E. Lamaze and then Max von Mitzel; Agnes married Frank G. Hoopes and then Bacon. Michael Emmet did not marry.

72. *Baltimore Sun*, August 21, 1964 (Rosalind Lohrfinck obit); May 30, 1972 (Margaret Lappin obit); July 9, 1973 (Nora Barrett obit); Marion Elizabeth Rodgers, *Mencken: The American Iconoclast* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 229–32, 543–45; Terry Teachout, *The Skeptic: A Life of H. L. Mencken* (New York: HarperCollins, 2002), 327–30. Margaret is quoted by Rodgers on pages 230 and 232. Margaret's and Rosalind's papers are located at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

73. *Baltimore Sun*, January 7, 1936; *New York Times*, January 7, 1936.

Research Notes &
Maryland Miscellany

A New Word from Roger B. Taney on the Suspension of Habeas Corpus

Edited by JONATHAN W. WHITE

In April 1861, President Abraham Lincoln authorized his commanding general, Winfield Scott, to suspend the writ of habeas corpus along "the military line" between Philadelphia and Washington, D.C. In short, this meant that Lincoln could use the military to arrest and detain civilians without charges. Article I, section 9 of the U.S. Constitution states that "The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it." With Congress out of session, a rebellion in progress, and Maryland appearing to teeter on the brink of secession, Lincoln knew he had to take action. Moreover, Lincoln believed that this extraordinary step was necessary to ensure that Union troops would be able to travel through Maryland to defend the national capital.

On May 25, 1861, Union military authorities ordered the arrest of John Merryman, a Baltimore County farmer who, as a Maryland militiaman, had burned railroad bridges around Baltimore on April 23 in an effort to prevent Northern troops from passing through the city. Soldiers roused Merryman from his bed at 2:00 A.M. and took him to Fort McHenry. On May 26, Merryman's lawyers hurried to Washington, D.C., to alert Chief Justice Roger B. Taney to what had happened.[1]

Taney immediately traveled to Baltimore and convened a session of the U.S. Circuit Court. Unaware that Lincoln had suspended the writ, Taney ordered the military commander at Fort McHenry, General George Cadwalader, to bring "the body" of John Merryman before his court the following day, but the general refused to comply with the judge's order, citing Lincoln's authorization to suspend the writ of habeas corpus. The revelation flabbergasted Taney. As the suspension clause was in Article I of the Constitution, Taney maintained that only Congress possessed the

The author is assistant professor of American Studies, Christopher Newport University, and author of Abraham Lincoln and Treason in the Civil War: The Trials of John Merryman *(Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011).*

President Abraham Lincoln.
(Maryland Historical Society.)

authority to suspend it. On May 28, the chief justice issued a verbal opinion declaring that the president did not possess the authority to suspend the writ. Then, on June 1, he amplified his position in a written opinion entitled *Ex parte Merryman.*[2]

Taney went to great lengths to have his opinion reach as many readers as possible, publishing the opinion in pamphlet form. Historian Mark E. Neely Jr. suggests that *Ex parte Merryman* should be read like a nineteenth-century political stump speech.[3] The chief justice sent copies of his opinion to friends and acquaintances, and several prominent persons wrote back, praising his position.[4]

One of those recipients, Richmond Carlisle, received an annotated copy of the work that recently sold at auction for $8,888.[5] On page 23, line 39, immediately preceding the final paragraph, Taney instructed the reader to see "note A," written out on the last page.[6] With this addition the chief justice implicitly likened Lincoln's actions during the Civil War to those of King George III during the American Revolution, implying in essence that the South might be justified in seceding:[7]

> A. The constitution of the United States is founded upon the principles of government set forth & maintained in the Declaration of Independence. And one of the reasons assigned in that memorable instrument for withdrawing the allegiance of the colonies from the British sovereign & forming separate & independent governments for themselves is, that–
>
> "He (the King) has affected to render the Military independent of, and superior to, the civil power."

NOTES

1. Until 1911, all Supreme Court justices were responsible for "riding circuit" within a particular judicial circuit. Taney's circuit happened to include Virginia, Delaware and Maryland. As such, Taney had jurisdiction to hear cases in the U.S. circuit court in Baltimore.
2. For a complete account of the proceedings in *Ex parte Merryman*, see Jonathan W. White, *Abraham Lincoln and Treason in the Civil War: The Trials of John Merryman* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011), ch. 2.
3. Mark E. Neely Jr., "'Seeking a Cause of Difficulty with the Government': Reconsidering Freedom of Speech and Judicial Conflict under Lincoln," in Phillip Shaw Paludan, ed., *Lincoln's Legacy: Ethics and Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 52.
4. See, for example, Roger B. Taney to Franklin Pierce, June 12, 1861, in "Some Papers of Franklin Pierce, 1852–1862," *American Historical Review*, 10 (1905): 368.
5. Skinner, Inc., Lot 82 in Fine Books & Manuscripts Sale 2571B, November 13, 2011.
6. The recipient was probably Richmond Carlisle (1848–1866), the son of Washington, D.C. lawyer James Mandeville Carlisle (1814–1877), findagrave.com.
7. Privately, Taney hoped that "the North, as well as the South, will see that a peaceful separation, with free institutions in each section, is far better than the union of all the present states under a military government, and a reign of terror preceded too by a civil war with all its horrors, and which end as it may will prove ruinous to the victors as well as the vanquished." See Taney to Pierce, June 12, 1861.

Book Reviews

Jefferson, Lincoln, and Wilson: The American Dilemma of Race and Democracy. Edited by John Milton Cooper Jr. and Thomas J. Knock. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010. 229 pages. Notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $39.50.)

Racial inequality and racial tension remain perpetual issues in American society, a society that even claims an African American as its chief executive. This reality alone makes *Jefferson, Lincoln, and Wilson: The American Dilemma of Race and Democracy* an important book for scholars and lay readers alike. In particular, this impressive collection of nine essays explores the ways in which race affected and shaped Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Woodrow Wilson's personal and political philosophies and policies during eras in which Americans grappled with the meanings and boundaries of democracy. The essays highlight the struggle by these three immortalized men to reconcile race and American democracy. For many of the contributors, who are prominent scholars of these presidents and their times, they fell short in their quest to accommodate the two. "As great and brilliant presidents," the editors explain, "they constitute a kind of trinity, partly because no other chief executives have communicated more effectively or so eloquently to both their fellow citizens and the peoples of the world the ideals of democracy, even as they violated principles for which they ostensibly stood" (3). Ultimately, these essays complicate our understanding of presidents and their (often evolving) conceptions of the roles African Americans should—or should not—fill in American society.

One cannot argue that there is a paucity of books and articles on Jefferson and slavery. Few topics in American history have received more scrutiny than the response of the founding fathers to their new nation's deep involvement with the institution. Nevertheless, Annette Gordon-Reed, Peter S. Onuf, and Lucia Stanton contribute new insights into Jefferson's evolving thinking about the relationship between race and democracy. Gordon-Reed carefully studies Jefferson's views over the course of his lifetime by comparing him with St. George Tucker, a lesser-known fellow Virginian who was both a legal scholar and a federal district judge. In so doing, Gordon-Reed looks into how and why Revolutionary leaders and thinkers ultimately "talked their way out of their pronounced anti-slavery ideals" and moved toward making peace with the institution (20). In contrast, Onuf finds that Jefferson remained staunchly opposed to slavery until his death in 1826, tracing the third president's antislavery views as they related to his commitment to a republic that was for, by, and of whites. Jefferson's solution was the complete removal of African Americans from America via colonization. Finally, Stanton examines a Thomas Jefferson who may have begun to accommodate slavery but who had dedicated himself to applying humanitarian and scientific principles to labor management at Monticello. Stanton concludes that

although bondsmen on Jefferson's plantation gained valuable skills and enjoyed better treatment than their counterparts in many other slaveholding households, he had no intention of preparing his property for lives as free men in America.

Abraham Lincoln has generally been remembered as a man who fiercely battled against racial inequality, yet the next three essays contend that his "iconic status also impedes a finer appreciation of the varied and often painful ways in which Lincoln endeavored to reconcile race and democracy" (5). Filling a gap in the vast literature on Lincoln, Jean H. Baker explores the extent to which Lincoln's personal encounters with African Americans—some of which dated back to childhood—shaped his views about, and political behaviors regarding, black civil rights. She finds that Lincoln's personal experiences with blacks, free and enslaved, made him steadfastly opposed to slavery and ultimately allowed him to acknowledge their humanity and intelligence. Nevertheless, Baker concludes that Lincoln was at heart a politician—a moderate one at that—who wished to keep the country together, who had considered the advantages of colonization, and who had never given serious thought to African American civil rights. Eric Foner applauds Lincoln for transcending his moderate political agenda of the 1850s and early 1860s. Foner focuses upon Lincoln's political philosophy relative to colonization, concluding that the Emancipation Proclamation decoupled emancipation and colonization and launched the process of Reconstruction and the acceptance of a biracial American society. The final essay on Lincoln is David W. Blight's fascinating though excessively politicized discussion of the ways Americans, particularly recent politicians, have appropriated Lincoln as a symbol for their persuasions. Blight's emphasis is on those politicians on the right who have "tried to steal the meaning of American history and ride Lincoln's coattails while hating the government he imagined" (138). Although Blight's essay is highly original and will likely appeal to a broad audience, it strays a bit from the central theme of this volume.

Unlike Jefferson and Lincoln, relatively little has been published regarding Woodrow Wilson's thoughts about race in a democratic society. A common strain running through the final three essays is the assertion that Wilson did indeed hold liberal and enlightened stands on many issues but remained curiously evasive on ones related to racial justice. Cooper reveals the extent to which Wilson avoided confronting pressing racial problems, including lynching, northern race riots in wake of the Great Migration, and prejudice in the federal government, and remained silent whenever possible. Wilson was simply uncomfortable addressing a political issue that "excited the hottest and most violent passions in the public arena" (159). Like Baker with Lincoln, Manning Marable looks at Wilson's one-on-one relationships with African American leaders, particularly W. E. B. DuBois, and finds that Wilson reneged on his promises to African Americans and failed to take seriously the requests of black leaders. Erez Manela pushes his readers to consider the larger, more international, implications of Wilson's views on race and democracy as iterated in

his Fourteen Points. Manela applauds Wilson for asserting that "if the United States was going to be a light unto the world—the antithesis of militarism and barbarity—then American society had to be a model" (202). Wilson conveyed that it was past time to address and remedy the country's racial inequalities.

Jefferson, Lincoln, and Wilson succeeds as a collection that will be of value to specialists and will also appeal to non-specialists with interests in presidential and political history, African American history, and race relations. It should be praised for its fresh insights on individuals and eras that have received ample scholarly attention. Maryland receives few references in this volume except for a more generalized discussion in some of the essays of slavery's impact on the Upper South, but these essays transcend any state's history. The relationship between race and democracy is a truly national issue, and *Jefferson, Lincoln, and Wilson* encourages its readers to think about this relationship not only in the past but in the present as well.

KATHERINE E. ROHRER
University of Georgia

Witches, Wife Beaters, and Whores: Common Law and Common Folk in Early America. By Elaine Forman Crane. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011. 278 pages. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $35.00.)

Oftentimes legal studies fail to attract a large following, but combine the former with scandal, murder, and a few witches, and you have a book that will certainly excite a wide variety of readers. With her latest publication, Elaine Forman Crane combines each of these themes into her creative, intriguing work, *Witches, Wife Beaters, and Whores: Common Law and Common Folk in Early America.* A professor of history at Fordam University, she successfully illustrates "the ways in which legal culture and the routine of daily life were knotted together" (4). Crane establishes that early Americans retained a thorough understanding of the law and frequently sought justice by way of the court system. Unlike some legal works that adhere to a top-down approach, Crane focuses on common Americans to prove that they understood and even manipulated the law for their own benefit. Furthermore, she demonstrates that when formal procedures failed, some took matters into their own hands in order to enact their particular version of justice. Crane relies on microhistory to develop her work, believing that it offers a deeper understanding of the events and those involved in due process.

Witches, Wife Beaters, and Whores provides "an engaging way of reimagining the meaning of law as experienced by common folk" (3). Chapters on the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam and Island of Bermuda explore incrimination by way of slander. Whether loose morals or signs of witchcraft invited salacious attacks, accused and accuser both relied on their local court system to address and rectify their concerns. Disparaging comments served as a mask for the ultimate truth—fear and

jealousy. In New Amsterdam, offensive accusations directed at women revealed less about their sexual behavior and more about their business strategies and, to their male counterparts' chagrin, economic success. In Bermuda, allegations and trials for witchcraft revealed little about magic and broomsticks, but much about fear of economic decline and property loss on that crowded island. Although jealousy led many Americans to malign their neighbors, Crane finds that the court system allowed common people to redress their grievances even if the verdict ended in a fine or a trip to the gallows.

A discussion of domestic violence and assault reveals the avenues by which common people strove to defend their marriages and reputations. Most women preferred to handle domestic issues in private, rather than immediately appealing to the courts, but when spousal issues ignited, members of the community often stepped in. Only in extreme cases did domestic issues make it to the courtroom; as gossip and economic threats often curtailed the problems first. Crane looks into the rape charges brought by Comfort Taylor against a slave named Cuff, a case in which the details remain hazy since the parties presented different versions in the court room. Cuff, a slave and therefore property of another person, defended himself in court and after losing his first trial, sought and received an appeal, demonstrating the ambiguity and contradictions within the early American legal system. The book's thoughtful epilogue argues that legal history, coupled with microhistory, successfully offers another interpretation of the American experience.

Some of Crane's creative decisions might leave the seasoned scholar a bit perplexed. The book explores legal cases in New Amsterdam, Bermuda, New England, Rhode Island, and Maryland, but dedicating two chapters and a large section of another to legal proceedings in the colony of Rhode Island seems a bit over-weighted for a work that presents itself as a narrative about early America. Crane writes in her introduction that slander, assault, and accusations of witchcraft and murder occurred throughout all of the American colonies, and an investigation or acknowledgment of cases within the southern and middle colonies might have bolstered the author's argument. Her final, and perhaps most intriguing chapter, introduces the ghost of Thomas Harris and his persistent need to see his last will and testament fulfilled. While fascinating, the chapter ultimately disappoints since evidence relating to the participants, details, and outcome of the trial remain scarce. Crane spent most of this chapter speculating rather than connecting this event to the legal culture of the common American.

Regional choices and paranormal activity aside, Crane's book remains a fantastic and informative read. Her use of microhistory offers a thorough glimpse into the lives of ordinary people, while demonstrating their active participation in their community's legal system. One glance at the bibliography indicates that the author scoured mountains of legal archives that include indictments, witness statements, and jury lists to arrive at her conclusions. Crane's knowledge of both civil and com-

mon folk law, coupled with a familiarity with Dutch and English jurisprudence establishes her authority on the topic, and her work is an important contribution to the study of early America.

AMBER SURMILLER
Texas Christian University

William Parks: The Colonial Printer in the Transatlantic World of the Eighteenth Century. By A. Franklin Parks. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012. 218 pages. Illustrations, appendix, notes, index. Cloth, $79.95.)

In the 1720s, the daily work of printers and publishers was especially difficult. In addition to fierce competition for readership and advertising, these craftsmen had to quickly learn how to present materials without offending the Crown, clergy, and social elites. Although government crackdowns against potential dissidents flourished in London, the colonial printer often found a much more turbulent environment. For example, when William Nuthead attempted to print the laws of Virginia with a license from the Crown, Jamestown authorities forced him to leave. Soon after, Virginia governor Francis Howard banned printing completely for nearly fifty years. In 1730, William Parks, commissioned as the official public printer of Maryland and founder of the *Maryland Gazette*, opened a branch office in Williamsburg and began operating the first permanent Virginia printing press. Parks' successes in Maryland and Virginia illustrate how printers navigated political, social, and economic pressures and he is deservedly revived in this monograph as a crucial figure in the history of colonial American printing.

The work is not a traditional biography. That is impossible given the lack of a diary or daybook and with only a few letters from Parks himself still intact. Author A. Franklin Parks (no relation) suggests the category "cultural biography" be applied as readers interpret "the story of his craft, his age, and the various events that inspire and shape his decisions and his output" (xi). In many ways, this approach, combined with the author's extensive research into Parks, his genealogy, and his work and travels, serves the figure well by reinvigorating the image of the colonial publisher-printer with new dynamics. By investigating what was being published and how printers selected, edited, and fostered works, Parks and his colleagues transcended the role of mere "mechanic." The most successful operated in a vital space during this time as bureaucrat and civic leader, juggling the needs and desires of the public, the restraints and obstacles imposed by the government, and their own political and aesthetic tastes.

The opening chapters trace Parks' lineage in Ludlow, England, his training and development as a printer, and finally his move to the colonies. Although the author has uncovered piles of new evidence, information is still limited and often the reader is left to imagine the nature of Parks' upbringing and apprenticeship and his motives

for moving his shop in Ludlow to Hereford, Reading, and beyond. Fortunately, this is easy to do with a strong, well-paced narrative that incorporates a broad social, political, and literary scan of each landscape and which offers viable options to explain Parks' decisions. Daniel Defoe's *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* often provides color and context, and parallels between Parks and Benjamin Franklin appear early on. Although his work at these venues does not stand out from other contemporary publications, Parks' own savvy business choices and editorial interests are quickly visible. For example, his publication of Benjamin Meredith's translation of Bunyan's *Jerusalem Sinner Saved* into Welsh not only reveals how small, rural printers survived against larger London-based competitors, it also highlights the emergence of niche markets and the production of new works that would have been untouched by more prestigious publishers. Moreover, these early publications demonstrate Parks' interest in literary and satiric works, his quick adaptation of serials and letter-and-response columns, and his ability to best represent information and counter misinformation spread by rival London papers. He would utilize all of these approaches in his ventures in America, and while these works show much about the literacy and interests of Parks' clients and readers, the author's assertion throughout the work is that they, too, reveal much about the printer himself.

In March 1726, Parks arrived in Annapolis to present his petition to the General Assembly. Despite much debate between the upper and lower houses, Parks ultimately won the position of first "official" public printer to the province. In addition to printing the laws and proceedings of the Assembly—his volume was a standard for nearly fifty years—Parks also took the role of Annapolis postmaster and founded the *Maryland Gazette*, the eighth such weekly newspaper venture in the British North American colonies and the first south of Pennsylvania. Shaping the colonial public sphere, Parks' greatest contributions to publishing and literature slowly come into focus.

In 1728, he published Richard Lewis's *The Mouse Trap* and the poetry of other figures like Ebenezer Cook—the self-proclaimed Maryland poet laureate responsible for penning the now canonical *The Sot Weed Factor.* He also published a variety of political essays and pamphlets and printed original and reprints of satirical works and essays dedicated to larger philosophical questions addressing religion, morality, and politics. Highlighting this is the ten-part essay series Parks published in 1729, "The 'Plain-Dealer,'" that Benjamin Franklin later used in his own *Pennsylvania Gazette.* Engaged citizen or clever salesman, Parks encouraged local submissions and typically made slight changes to works borrowed from English periodicals that they might better appeal to or reflect local interests and concerns.

While still working at the *Maryland Gazette*, the printer began negotiations with the Virginia legislature to publish their collected laws. By 1730, he had officially opened a branch office on Duke of Gloucester Street in Williamsburg and in 1736 started the *Virginia Gazette*, in which he continued to foster the kind of work he had

begun in Maryland. Found in the essay series "The Monitor" and in his proposal for *The Virginia Miscellany* is a collection of original work from Virginians. Parks also expanded his business as a bookseller and supplier of stationery. The author notes that Parks' works found their way into the libraries of founders such as William Byrd of Westover and Thomas Jefferson. The final years of his life were especially busy. One of Parks' most ambitious projects was the establishment of the first paper mill south of Philadelphia, a project that sought collaboration with and financial support from Benjamin Franklin, to whom he was already financially indebted.

Overall, this rich narrative is not only a nice addition to Lawrence Wroth's works on Parks and colonial printing but also to the history of the book. While students of colonial America and the Atlantic world will benefit from this book, the author demonstrates new avenues to explore in studies on period reading and literature. This work adds to the story of colonial printing by highlighting Parks as an entrepreneur and exploring the transformation of tradesmen to members of the landed gentry.

K. A. Wisniewski
University of Maryland Baltimore County

Hirelings: African American Workers and Free Labor in Early Maryland. By Jennifer Hull Dorsey. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011. 210 pages. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $45.00.)

Taking a decidedly materialist approach rather than what she considers a more common overemphasis on matters ideological and political, Jennifer Hull Dorsey examines the ways in which free African Americans shaped and navigated the political economy of work and family life on Maryland's Eastern Shore. *Hirelings* is an example of social history at its best, bringing tax assessments, census data, plantation account books, and court records to life, while demonstrating the payoff of a tightly focused primary source analysis. With her first book, Dorsey makes a major intervention into two of the most enduring historiographical issues in studies of slavery, freedom, and labor more generally: what historian Herbert Gutman once called "The Sartre Question," and the development of "free labor."

Dorsey's use of sources is exemplary. To explain the effects of the Quaker manumission of some three hundred slaves in Talbot County, Maryland, by 1790, she examines a variety of sources and is careful not to reach beyond her evidence. Dorsey draws on census records to put demographic shifts in context and explain their importance. The free African American population grew to 31 percent of the overall black population from 1790 to 1830, for example, with more residing in the Eastern Shore than anywhere else in Maryland. Similarly, she charts the growth of the free black population over time (50 percent larger than the slave population by 1820, and 70 percent larger by 1830), the impact of the "baby boom" of 1820, and the fact that free African Americans outnumbered slaves on the Eastern Shore by

1860. Exploring the tensions and contradictions of slavery and freedom existing side-by-side, she creates a richly textured picture of "blended families" (composed of manumitted slaves, term slaves, and freeborn African Americans), of free black coopers setting up hogsheads, blacksmiths binding casks, and barbers traveling to Philadelphia to buy razors. Dorsey does wonders with the 1817 tax assessment for Talbot County, the applications for certificates of freedom from the county courts, the 1832 "Census of Negroes" carried out by Maryland sheriffs, and five plantation account books. She brings statistics alive with exciting stories: of the twelve slaves who escaped from Queen Anne's County in 1826 with the assistance of freedman Phaeton Thomas, for instance, or of Joseph Chain the barber and Conway the laborer as points on a spectrum of experiences with bondage, wage work, and freedom.

Hirelings can also be situated along a historiographical spectrum framed by Herbert Gutman's reformulation of French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre's question: to emphasize what has been done to human beings in the past, or what they have done with what has been done to them? Dorsey's work serves as corrective to what historian Walter Johnson recently critiqued as Gutman's "totalizing formulation" of African American subjectivity by specifically attending to the material conditions, or determinations, of historical agency (Walter Johnson, "Agency: A Ghost Story," in Richard Follett, Eric Foner, and Walter Johnson, *Slavery's Ghost: The Problem of Freedom in the Age of Emancipation* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011]). Through her analysis of autonomous institutions such as mutual aid societies and the African Methodist Episcopal Church and the ways free black people shaped the economy and society of antebellum Maryland, Dorsey clearly shows how freedmen and women mastered their own destiny. Yet, especially in her chapter on "Dependency," she also stresses the barriers they faced. New laws designed to fix the racial hierarchy attempted to legislate dependency by denying economic self-sufficiency; the construction of a new state penitentiary in 1809, black codes, the public whippings of free African Americans, and convict labor all conspired against free black people's pursuit of autonomy; and the development of a racialized criminal code between 1801 and 1837, and an increasingly racialized apprenticeship system, were aimed at producing what she calls a "working caste" and "dependent, racialized labor force" (83–86; 131; 147).

How are we properly to understand the kinds of autonomy free African Americans were able to carve out within the context of such structures of domination? Dorsey's book sparkles with accounts of political action on the part of freedmen, such as the 1797 petition to free "Ned" from the Talbot County jail or the direct action of eight free African Americans and fourteen slaves who armed themselves and marched on the courthouse in Easton for three consecutive nights. Yet, after describing the 1826 escape of twelve slaves aided by Phaeton Thomas, she cautions that such stories were the exception not the rule, that most had too much to lose to engage in such activity, concluding that black solidarity across slavery and freedom was often just too

risky (96, 99). The staggering and grotesque realities of the domestic slave trade—38 percent of the 2,288 enslaved human beings shipped by slaver Austin Woolfolk from Baltimore to New Orleans between 1819 and 1832 came from his agent on the Eastern Shore, dwarfs the some forty-seven legal suits free African Americans were able to bring to the Talbot County courts and punctuates her pessimism. But, the complex and ongoing tension in the social historians' Sartre question is very much present when reading Dorsey's conclusion about the alienation of the free black population from the slave population against her account of "blended families" and those who chose to live close to enslaved relatives.

A different kind of tension is embodied in Dorsey's protagonist, the figure of the landless "hireling," or cottager. According to John Beale Bordley and other late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century writers, these hirelings were a "degraded class of dependents" understood to be quite distinct from the autonomous, landowning yeoman farmer of Thomas Jefferson's agrarian republic. Yet 1840 Maryland was not the land of cottagers that Bordley had predicted, and Dorsey demonstrates the ways in which work shaped attitudes toward time, status, and family, and how African Americans shaped the very meanings of "free labor." Indeed, in the foreword of what is the single most influential book on the topic, Eric Foner acknowledges the need for more detailed studies of the constituent elements of the free labor ideology that he admittedly treated as given in *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War.* As with Foner's competing conceptions of the free laborer as small-hold farmer and as wage earner, Dorsey shows how free African Americans' desire for autonomy came into fierce competition with planters' desire to maintain a subjugated class of black working poor as a "reliable" and "dependent" workforce. Thus, by focusing on material conditions, the nitty-gritty of daily life, Jennifer Hull Dorsey still weighs in on matters ideological and political.

Benjamin D. Weber
Harvard University

Essays in Early American Architectural History: A View from the Chesapeake. By Carl R. Lounsbury. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011. 277 pages. Illustrations, notes, index. Paper, $35.00.)

Carl R. Lounsbury offers a collection of essays, most previously published, that present his consistent argument for a revised version of early American architectural history based on the value of fieldwork and dedicated to careful study of regional currents underlying design traditions and innovations. Lounsbury criticizes the origins of American architectural history (which, he laments, sought direct one-to-one European models in pattern books and relied excessively on connoisseurship) and narrates the generational shift that led to his own generation's field-oriented methodology of architectural history. As he concludes, *Essays in Early American*

Architectural History offers "a partial glimpse of the type of research that has recast our understanding of building in early America," clarifies key themes that underlie some of these approaches, and serves as "a building block" for "a synthetic or comprehensive revision of that history" (11). It is important to note that while the methodological lessons of the text are valuable for American architectural history more broadly, the examples within it are rooted primarily in the Mid-Atlantic and the Low Country (with a few examples drawn from other regions and countries) and are primarily focused on the eighteenth century.

Lounsbury's book is organized into four sections. It opens with three essays, grouped under the heading, "The Origins of Early American Architecture," all of which reconsider the evolution of the materials and typologies for architecture in the colonial Mid-Atlantic. Of particular interest in these chapters is the manner in which Lounsbury negotiates the transatlantic relationships between buildings in the colonies and contemporary structures in Britain. By emphasizing that the study of early American architectural history "shares the same intellectual heritage and wrestles with many of the same issues that inform the study of British vernacular architecture," Lounsbury can explore the affinities and divergences between British and American examples without seeing American structures as merely derivative of British prototypes. The second unit of the text, "The Design and Building Process," consists of two chapters, both of which seek to give further nuance to the manner in which ideas generated by European pattern books "were integrated into the colonial design process" (97). The first chapter approaches this concept through a case study of William Buckland's courthouse for Prince William County, Virginia, the second through a consideration of the complex "regional traditions and metropolitan influences" at play in the architecture of Charleston, South Carolina (120).

The third unit of the book, "Regional Building Patterns: Ecclesiastical Architecture," is the lengthiest, and comprises four chapters. These again consider the ways in which regional and transatlantic influences melded in early American architecture and juxtapose detailed case studies with more sweeping regional analyses. Within this unit, a chapter entitled "Anglican Church Design in the Chesapeake" will be of greatest interest to readers of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* as it explores the differences between church design in Maryland and in Virginia. In focusing on local building practices and regional dynamics, Lounsbury is able to challenge the notion of stylistic consistency in architecture throughout the Chesapeake region.

The final unit of the book is devoted to Lounsbury's particular expertise, namely the architecture of Williamsburg, Virginia. Here the book shifts to consider the methodologies of historic preservation, interpretation, and restoration. Herein he addresses the evidence for the history of the design and construction of the public buildings of Williamsburg in the eighteenth century, the reconstruction of Williamsburg in the early twentieth century, and the changing approaches to the stewardship of the site across the twentieth century. It is particularly useful to have these three

essays grouped into a single volume as they work collectively to offer a significant statement with regard to the ways in which historical research, ideology, and public opinion intersect in historic preservation and public history. By extending the case study of Williamsburg across several chapters, Lounsbury has offered a focused series of essays that will be of value to educators and general readers alike who seek to understand the complex dynamics underlying the stewardship of historic sites.

Essays in Early American Architectural History allows readers to comprehend the regional diversity, traditions, and values of architecture in the eighteenth-century Mid-Atlantic. Perhaps more importantly, as Lounsbury suggests in his introduction, assembling these essays into a single volume elucidates the range of information that can be gained only by studying buildings through fieldwork and the careful balance historians need when weighing archival, textual, and structural evidence. Finally, by openly addressing the ideological and highly public challenges of historic preservation at Williamsburg, Lounsbury concludes the volume with a powerful argument for the social significance of architectural history. The book's greatest value lies in this latter point. A reader who works through all of these essays will ultimately conclude that the methodologies of architectural history are most significant not because of the academic disputes to which they are tied, but rather for the ways in which they influence widespread understanding of historical cultures and are brought to bear on the public interpretation and manipulation of history.

JULIA A. SIENKEWICZ
Duquesne University

Books and the British Army in the Age of the American Revolution. By Ira D. Gruber. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. 344 pages. Illustrations, 1 map, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $55.00.)

Ira D. Gruber's new work on books in the eighteenth-century British army is less an argumentative monograph than a reference work. Of the 344 pages of text, nearly two hundred are devoted to bibliographical information, footnotes, tables, appendixes, and long, annotated lists of "Books Preferred" and "Books Not Preferred." In addition, there is a seventy-four page section on "Officers and Their Books" that reads like a biographical dictionary.

The sixty-three page introduction is the only part of the work that offers analysis, but commentary is detailed and thoughtful. Using as evidence the "books on war that" a sampling of forty-two elite "officers owned, bought, recommended, cited or discussed between the War of the Spanish Succession and the wars of the French Revolution," Gruber claims that British military leaders were increasingly influenced by Continental books in general and French theories of "prudential" war in particular (5, 34). To be sure, Gruber acknowledges the difficulty of establishing a direct connection between specific books and specific actions on the battlefield, yet the

French books "preferred" give credence to the idea that eighteenth-century British officers shied away from direct confrontation and instead embraced "maneuvers, skirmishes, and sieges" (43). In this regard, Henry Clinton's "commonplace books and additional loose sheets" on his reading are particularly revealing (44). In those documents, Clinton "disparaged" generals who unnecessarily risked their armies and praised those who "took strong posts and refused battle" (44–45). In May 1778, upon his appointment as commander in chief of the British army, Clinton applied this French-influenced philosophy to the American Revolutionary War. Although his political superiors urged him to wage war aggressively, this diffident, intellectual man "found many reasons to make war according to the most prudent and fashionable French methods" (49).

Not surprisingly, Gruber's assessment of the influence exerted by French military texts complements his excellent 1972 book on the Howe brothers, which demonstrated how the prospect of a negotiated peace settlement undergirded the cautious, conciliatory, and relatively humane military strategy of Admiral Lord Richard and General William Howe (*The Howe Brothers and the American Revolution* [New York, 1972]). Yet despite this thematic overlap, *Books and the British Army in the Age of the American Revolution* is not as successful as it could be. Gruber does not link the fad for French military books to eighteenth-century Britons' love-hate relationship with all things French (for example, Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1720–1830* [New York, 1997]). Nor does he cite or utilize the outpouring of scholarship on print culture that has revolutionized the study of reading, writing, and publishing (for example, John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* [Chicago, 2000]). As a result of these shortcomings, the author is unable to venture a sustained interpretation of how exactly British officers' engagement with books on war intersected with either the broader culture or specific strands of literary society. In that vein, it is revealing that most of the books Gruber's subjects owned were not military texts but works of literature, drama, theology, travel, music, art, or philosophy. The author repeatedly emphasizes the growing professionalism of the British officer corps, but the catholic reading interests of men such as Lieutenant Colonel William Calderwood and Sir William Maxwell suggest that a modern professional attitude toward soldiering was not even conceivable to these eighteenth-century aristocrats. Gruber implicitly acknowledges this fact when he writes that Calderwood's "fine library . . . reflected far more of his wealth, learning, and cosmopolitan interests than his devotion to the profession of arms" (72) and Maxwell's "interests in war were more those of a prominent and well-educated country gentleman than of a soldier" (72, 109). But despite these astute statements, the author does not explore in full the links between military leadership, versions of reading, and aristocratic enlightenment. He likewise does not reference David Bell's illuminating discussion of eighteenth-century French aristocratic, military, and literary culture, even though it contains

important insights for anyone studying the early modern culture of war (David A. Bell, *The First Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It* [New York, 2007]).

For all the ways in which *Books and the British Army in the Age of the American Revolution* "will be," as Gruber indicates, "valuable to anyone who is trying to understand the British army and its officer corps during the eighteenth century," it is nonetheless a work that does not fulfill its potential (139). Because the author focused so narrowly on "books on war" and the notion of emergent military professionalism, and because he did not consult a wide range of new scholarship on Anglo-French relations and print, aristocratic, and military culture, an opportunity to deepen the analysis was missed.

MATTHEW RAINBOW HALE
Goucher College

Clothed in Robes of Sovereignty: The Continental Congress and the People Out of Doors. By Benjamin H. Irvin. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. 390 pages. Notes, index. Cloth, $34.95.)

In 1778, after the Continental Congress concluded French treaty negotiations, Louis XVI dispatched his minister, Conrad Alexandre Gérard, to Philadelphia. Officially recognizing the republic as an independent nation, the treaty came with the promise of financial and military assistance, and just as importantly, offered the United States the chance to formally receive the French minister. Carefully choreographing Gérard's arrival with a decorated barge, gun salute, and the discharge of thirteen cannon (one for each state), congressional pageantry employed diplomatic theatrics to demonstrate national glory and sovereignty to the general acclaim of the Philadelphia citizenry. The *Pennsylvania Packet*, for example, lauded this "new and noble sight" as a sign from God: "[I]t is the Almighty who raiseth up; he hath stationed America among the powers of the earth, and cloathed her in robes of Sovereignty" (176).

These "robes of Sovereignty" are the subject of Benjamin H. Irvin's suggestive book, which, rather than focusing on the political inner workings of the first and second Continental Congress, instead explores the patriotic material and ceremonial culture Congress invented and manipulated in order to appeal to the people "out of doors," those who participated in popular political action outside of official representative institutions. Thus, his study importantly emphasizes the symbolic and ceremonial media through which the newly formed American polity was imagined during the Revolution: "The Continental Congress labored," Irvin argues, "in far greater earnest than historians have appreciated, to create new and distinctive symbols, artifacts, and observances for the United States, and by those creations to inspire national allegiance in the American public" (4). Examining a diversity of invented

symbols and traditions, including behavioral codes, the emblematic iconography of state seals and continental currency, state thanksgivings and celebrations, and commemorative objects such as swords, medals, and monuments, he successfully demonstrates the aesthetic and affective mechanisms used to legitimize revolution and cultivate a patriotic identity among citizens. Irvin models his study on an extensive cultural historiography of the French Revolution—noting the influential work of Lynn Hunt and Robert Darnton, among others—which, beginning in the late 1970s, explored the symbols and rituals the Jacobin regime used to distinguish itself from the Bourbon state.

One question we might ask is why it has taken above thirty years for the cultural history of the American Revolution to catch up with the French. Perhaps, as Irvin himself points out, this has to do with the fact that American revolutionaries, unlike the Jacobins, did not imagine their regime as a total temporal rupture that erased completely the symbols and traditions of existing government. Congressional delegates saw the Revolution "not as a violent or totalizing abnegation of history, but first as a battle for the restoration of American rights" (11). Thus, when Gérard arrived in Philadelphia, few delegates identified any contradiction in adopting a modified version of European diplomatic ceremony, consulting handbooks on monarchical diplomatic ritual, creating an elevated throne-like perch from which the congressional president addressed the minister, and carefully choreographing ritual bowing. That Americans drew upon established European traditions, however, did not make their Revolutionary civic and ceremonial rituals any less contentious. As Irvin underscores throughout his study, delegates disagreed over symbolic vocabulary while the people out of doors often made official symbols and rituals a locus of contestation for the articulation of oppositional political meanings.

Irvin divides his eight chapters into four parts, beginning with an exploration of the ways in which the Continental Congress bestowed meaning on colonial resistance through an appeal to ideals of Anglo-British nationalism and freeborn English liberties, while simultaneously cultivating a nascent American identity through the 1774 Articles of Association. A massive trade boycott against Britain, the Association was central to the emergence of a collective political unity between the separate British colonies, as T. H. Breen persuasively argues in *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (2004). Building on Breen's work, Irvin explores the disjunction between the moral rhetoric of virtuous and reciprocal self-denial undergirding economic resistance and the ideals of polite masculinity that Congressional delegates embraced to enact their political authority. Such attributes, including "courtesy, eloquence, attire, horsemanship, and coiffure" depended on genteel and often costly display, thereby reaffirming hierarchies of class, race, and gender and attracting criticism of congressional pomp from Philadelphia satirists and crowds who demanded that the burden of boycotting be equally shared (43).

As fighting broke out, Congress increasingly utilized patriotic material, sym-

bolism, and ceremonial inventions to "mobilize the 'United Colonies' for war and to justify its assumption of federal powers," the subject of Part II's examination of continental currency and the militarization of public celebrations (73). In an impressively researched chapter on Benjamin Franklin's emblematic designs for continental currency, Irvin argues that, even if the currency failed to hold its monetary value—not surprising given that Congress lacked the power to tax—it nevertheless helped give material form to the imagined political community while disseminating patriotic ideologies through the use of emblematic iconography and pithy maxims. Passed between colonists, currency was thought to "serve not merely as a medium of exchange, but also as a medium of patriotic values" (77).

Part III considers the development of state ceremonies after the Declaration of Independence, examining the invention of diplomatic protocol and the haphazardly celebrated early anniversaries of national independence. In 1777, the Fourth of July came almost without notice. Congress had only just returned to Philadelphia after fleeing to Baltimore, the "dirtyest Place in the World," according to John Adams, from the advancing British army (143). Deciding that ritual commemoration would cement people to the cause and alleviate anxiety about Philadelphia's future, Congress planned a naval and military display that showcased a new American flag, fireworks, and window illuminations. Suspecting dark windows as signs of loyalist sympathy, out-of-door patriots targeted Quakers with illegal window smashing (against the urging of the Pennsylvania Council). Finally, in Part IV, Irvin considers the somewhat antagonistic relationship between Congress and the Continental Army. Unable to pay the military, Congress lost political and financial credibility while the officer corps, especially George Washington, seemed to rival the delegates in ceremonial esteem and political clout. Congress attempted to mediate its relationship with the army through the meritorious award of swords, medals, and statuary that could tap into patriotic affection for war heroes while reinforcing its own authority by "predicat[ing] the glory of military service on the sovereignty of the civil government" (213).

In this extensively researched and densely written cultural analysis of American politics during the Revolutionary period, Irvin successfully reveals how Congress sought to legitimize its authority and national independence, attract patriotic support for resistance, and construct a national identity flexible enough to encompass the thirteen distinct colonies that comprised the new polity. But as he points out, people out of doors reacted to such attempts in unruly and unpredictable ways, "turn[ing] Congress's emblems and ceremonies to their own, self-determined uses" (283). As in the case of the first anniversary of independence, material and ceremonial traditions often aggravated dissension and division rather than unifying the community. Visual and theatrical political symbols, Irvin suggests, mediate both affective bonds and prejudicial antagonisms.

Stephanie E. Koscak
Indiana University

Seeing Jefferson Anew: In His Time and Ours. Edited by John B. Boles and Randal L. Hall. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010. 224 pages. Bibliography, index. Cloth, $35.00.)

Historians have studied and written about Thomas Jefferson and his fellow Founding Fathers at great length; at first glance, one might even contend that another anthology about Jefferson or Adams or Washington is simply unnecessary. But under the direction of editors John B. Boles and Randal L. Hall this collection of essays proves that there is still much to be learned about and from the life of Thomas Jefferson. Originally presented at Rice University in February 2007, the essays focus on seven aspects of Jefferson's life and career including democracy, the West, religion, and women. *Seeing Jefferson Anew* offers readers a complex description of a man who has become more myth than human at times but was nevertheless "a human with human failings" (5). This collection reminds readers that although they might not always like Jefferson or agree with his politics or his actions, his legacy has had a lasting impact on the country.

Each of the seven essayists strive to understand and explain how Jefferson's ideas and principles pertain to the present while also exploring the context in which they were conceived. Thomas E. Buckley, S.J., analyzes Jefferson's thoughts and feelings about religion, suggesting that his ideas about religion were often misunderstood. Jefferson did not believe in government without religion, according to Buckley, but a separation between the two that ultimately benefitted both. Buckley suggests that Reverend James Maury, Jefferson's teacher during his teens, taught Jefferson three important lessons: the equality of all people before God, the importance of reason in relation to religion, and a basic grounding for religious dissent. Jefferson's all-encompassing and inclusive language in his public statements allowed him to integrate religious notions and, Buckley asserts, made Jefferson the "architect of American civil religion" (137).

Jan Ellen Lewis tackles the role of women in two periods of Jefferson's life when he was unattached. "Women were the language that men shared," Lewis contends, but females were never the authors of letters—they were the "markers of the positions occupied by men" (156). The correspondence between the young Jefferson and his friends was where Jefferson defined himself as a man and as a member of the gentry. According to Lewis, courtship was a competition. Lewis notes that the second instance in which Jefferson's misogynistic tendencies surfaced was during his time in France. Jefferson was anxious about female sexuality, posits Lewis, and "the risks it posed for both the male body and body politic." European women were to blame for tempting young American men living abroad (159). Jefferson believed in a strictly gendered order and viewed America as the ideal with its gendered division of labor.

Buckley's and Lewis's essays are complemented by essays from Eva Sheppard

Wolf, Peter J. Kastor, and Andrew Burstein, to highlight three. Wolf examines the role of elections in Jefferson's life and how his relationship with the people changed and progressed over time, with major turning points during the Revolution and the political issues of the late 1790s. Wolf contends that today Jefferson is "an optimistic symbol of democracy and the people" (61). Kastor argues that Jefferson saw two "wests," near and far, and, depending on his role in public affairs, his opinion about expansion and government in those wests determined his attitude toward Native Americans. The final essay in the collection is Andrew Burstein's examination of Jefferson and his fascination with science and the medical enlightenment. Exploring the role of Jefferson as a "patient" who "paid close attention to his body and its urges" (186, 192), Burstein argues that many of Jefferson's practices, actions, and beliefs came from studying the work of Swiss physician Samuel A. D. Tissot. Although scientific knowledge and study often governed Jefferson he also possessed passion and imagination.

Seeing Jefferson Anew offers valuable insights into aspects of Jefferson's life that merit further study and exploration. As Kastor notes, historians must be careful of cherry-picking passages from his vast writings. Those must be viewed as a whole and within the context of his time in order to fully understand and appreciate the man of Monticello.

KYLIE A. HORNEY
University of Georgia

1812: War and the Passions of Patriotism. By Nicole Eustace. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. 332 pages. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, $34.95.)

Compared with the Revolutionary War, relatively few Americans enlisted to serve in the War of 1812, and less than .05 percent of the enlisted men were killed. Only a small number of American families experienced the loss of a son or husband or felt anxiety about a particular soldier or sailor's safety. The war was popular, and national candidates who supported it were elected (or re-elected), to the chagrin of the anti-war Federalists. Although the war's conclusion in 1815 brought negligible territorial gains and huge debt to the young nation, it ushered in an "era of good feelings" under the Monroe administration (xi; 238, n.7). Historian Nicole Eustace makes the case that popular print culture in the early days of the republic influenced emotions in ways that the experience of war itself did not and was instrumental in the rise of nationalism, then a new phenomenon.

A broad shift in a populace's emotions, whether through intentional manipulation or sweeping cultural forces, can have profound historical consequences, but, curiously, historians have only recently begun to think this phenomenon worthy of their attention. "Emotional history," or "emotionology," as the field has also been known, had previously focused on the individual's experience of emotion and its expres-

sion and management rather than the historical impact when emotions are widely shared. This book, in addition to Eustace's cultural history of pre-Revolutionary War America, *Passion is the Gale: Emotion, Power, and the Coming of the American Revolution* (2008), places her in the forefront of practitioners of the "emotional history" approach to American cultural history.

Eustace documents how, from 1800 to 1815, in ballad and poster, Americans conflated sexual ardor with patriotic fervor and military courage. The press's call to action in support of the war based on love of country linked romantic feeling with military performance in essays, editorials, and broadsides. People understood, that "the cure for fear was love, [and] that amorous feelings and patriotic ardor enflamed each other" (45). The popular press also forged a connection in readers' minds between marital fecundity and geopolitical strength. Englishman Thomas Malthus's idea that population growth motivates imperial aggression was not unfamiliar to Americans, but supporters of the war dismissed this proposition as inapplicable to the United States. In their minds, the recent peaceable acquisition of Louisiana by treaty (1803) presented a challenge of occupation, not the spoils of imperial aggression. In short, Eustace explains, women's duty was to "render sexual service to the nation both by inspiring fighting men" and populating sparsely occupied territory with their progeny (258, n.42).

Eustace presents her larger thesis—that the popular press created emotional responses in the public that changed the course of history—through an absorbing series of narratives and vignettes gleaned from published and unpublished accounts, ephemera from the American Antiquarian Society, and historical newspapers. Her telling of the events leading up to the conviction of General William Hull for treason for surrendering to the British forces at Detroit in August 1812 makes a powerful case for the impact of shared emotion. General Hull believed that the troops' primed-for-battle emotional state was irrelevant in the face of clear evidence of their inexperience, insufficient strength, and lack of preparedness, but the court and public opinion, swayed by romantic stories, were against him.

In September 1813, the press metaphorically recounted Captain Oliver Hazard Perry's victory on Lake Superior as the successful suit of lady Victory by a gallant lover. The press's continual retelling of this heroic narrative distracted the public from the military setbacks that quickly followed. The claimed widespread impressment of American sailors into service on British ships, a principal justification for going to war, was attacked as interfering with a citizen's liberty to choose freely his country as he did his spouse, a choice not open to true subjects of the Crown, whose civil status was not contractual. An American seaman's forced labor for the British Navy interfered with his marital relationship and his voluntary allegiance to his chosen country. Through such appeals, the pro-war press elicited public support for the flagging war prospects by equating patriotic loyalty with marital steadfastness, a civic virtue beyond dispute.

A popular literary form in the early nineteenth century, the captivity narrative, recounted the harrowing experiences of a Euro-American (usually a woman) captured by Native Americans. Through painstaking comparison of texts, Eustace exposes how these accounts were often distorted by subsequent editors (usually men) to stir up hatred and justify aggression toward the indigenous enemy in the service of "imperial geopolitical purposes" (272, n8). Equally illuminating is Eustace's deft treatment of common views on slavery. The widespread belief that although the domestic slave trade cruelly disrupted families the solution was not freedom but passing laws to make slavery more humane, was in jarring contrast to the equally common understanding that love of liberty was a natural extension of familial emotional bonds.

The reader's close attention to Eustace's entertaining but dense writing style will be rewarded by entrée into relatively inaccessible but fascinating background on the War of 1812. Possibly due to editorial exigencies, the more direct exposition of the author's thesis is sometimes relegated to the notes rather than the text, which the reader would especially benefit from reading closely.

ROYANNE CHIPPS BAILEY
Independent Scholar

Fathers on the Frontier: French Missionaries and the Roman Catholic Priesthood in the United States, 1789–1870. By Michael Pasquier. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010. 304 pages. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $74.00.)

Fathers on the Frontier offers an insightful look at the practice of the priesthood among a small coterie of Catholic missionaries while incorporating their story into the larger historiography of American Catholicism and religion in the early United States. Steeped in primary and secondary literature, from which he teases out the role of French missionaries in creating the framework for Catholic missions in the American frontier, Pasquier tells an engaging story of priests balancing their roles as leaders of God's people and followers of Christ in foreign territory. The reader is introduced to missionaries' ideals and the realities they faced on arriving in the early republic as émigrés from Revolutionary France. Over the ensuing decades they assumed influential roles in the American Catholic Church in the trans-Appalachian and trans-Mississippi west.

In focusing on the "practice" of the priesthood, Pasquier adds to the growing literature of the history of "lived religion" led by historians such as David Hall and Robert Orsi. Yet, Pasquier is quite deliberate in terming his work a study of the "practice of the priesthood," arguing that studies of lived religion have left out the religious experiences of the clergy—a group who must publicly adhere to orthodoxy, even as they apply doctrine and faith to their individual private lives, as do lay religionists. In this sense, Pasquier's work is instructive, drawing out the complicated

story of missionaries who simultaneously present the infallible Church (and its sacraments and liturgy) and experience the shortcomings, fears, and trials (physical and spiritual) of spreading the gospel in a strange and uninviting environment. From the first, French missionaries had to balance their ideals of missions—a romantic view they had received from reading about Jesuit missions in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century New France—with the realities of living on the frontier of a nation heavily populated with Protestant "heretics." Drawing from the letters and journals of French priests, Pasquier reveals the personal and institutional challenges they faced in the field. While many French seminarians left their homes with noble thoughts of evangelizing the native Americans or enslaved Africans, the reality was that most missionaries ministered only to the few (and far-flung) Catholics residing within dioceses as large as the entire nation of France.

Although French missionaries did not make up the majority of Catholic priests in the early United States, Pasquier makes a compelling argument for their integral role in shaping the American Church. Focusing his study on religious leaders such as Benoit Joseph Flaget and Jean-Marie Odin and lesser-known missionaries, Pasquier argues that the influence of Sulpician-trained priests from the Gallican Church on the formation of the early American Church was disproportionate to their numbers. As men such as Flaget and Odin worked to formalize the missions and dioceses of Bardstown and Louisiana, they imposed a Sulpician order on the missions and encouraged more priests to join them from their home country.

The final chapter, addressing the discourse on slavery and the Civil War among French missionaries in the southern frontier, illustrates Pasquier's overarching argument that the unusual balance French Catholics maintained between a traditionally autonomous Gallican church and the growing reliance upon the Roman Holy See helped define how the American Catholic Church would handle doctrinal issues specific to its situation. Historians of American religion are already familiar with the proslavery position Catholics maintained during the antebellum and Civil War eras, but Pasquier adds a new level of nuance to this discussion. His study points out the ways in which Church leaders on the southern frontier drew upon their training as French priests (or under French priests) to justify their defiance of a papal letter renouncing the "inhuman slave trade of Negroes and all other men" (179). Pasquier's retelling of this episode in American Catholic history demonstrates the complexity of decisions made by missionaries in the American context. It also reinforces his main objective of emphasizing how "the actual experience of being a missionary in a local setting, and all of the daily minutiae that such a vocation entailed, served as one of the most significant factors in the development of the Catholic Church in the United States" (204).

Lily Santoro Williams
Southeast Missouri State University

Gleanings of Freedom: Free and Slave Labor along the Mason-Dixon Line, 1790–1860. By Max Grivno. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011. 282 pages. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, $50.00.)

All too often, historians view slavery as an "either/or" system: employers either depended on slave labor, or they did not. Max Grivno goes far in exploding this conception of the labor system in north-central Maryland during the antebellum period. Slave labor existed right alongside free labor in Maryland, and employers developed their own unique labor systems based on ready funds, seasonal work, and slave and worker restiveness. "Treating the workforce as a single, unified whole illuminates not only how laborers and labor regimes interacted but also how they evolved" (8). Such a dynamic, all-inclusive conception of labor re-creates workforce stratification in the era of the early republic, allowing us to visualize several interrelated and muddled segments of the laboring population, as opposed to the more traditional, free or slave, white or black suppositions with which many readers have become comfortable. Rural employers experimented with various forms of labor, creating relationships far different from those in other regions of the slave South. Eventually, emancipation in neighboring Pennsylvania, the need to manage the growing free landless population, and the quick profits to be made by selling slaves to the burgeoning markets in the Cotton South all led to slavery's slow stagnation along the Mason-Dixon line. Slavery in Maryland whimpered and died from demographic changes, not the dramatic contest of the Civil War.

During the 1790s, northern Maryland experienced an agricultural boom the likes of which had never before been seen in the state. Farmers trundled wheat from Carroll, Washington, and Frederick Counties along rutted dirt roads to regional and international markets in Baltimore and Philadelphia. Slavery already existed at the time of the wheat explosion, but it had not become entrenched as it had on the Chesapeake shore. Excess slaves from the slowly depleted soils of the bay region did, in fact, begin to fill the new demands for labor in the state's central counties. Wheat farmers, though, did not need a large annual workforce but instead gauged labor requirements according to seasonal and harvest cycles. Although the use of slave labor did increase somewhat during the turn of the nineteenth century, far more growth occurred in the transient free population. Growing numbers of landless whites filtered into the Maryland interior and found jobs building new canals and railroads between stints working for white landowners during the harvest season. Employers found themselves mixing and matching labor systems depending on the time of year, the tasks that had to be completed, and the availability of slave and free labor pools. Farmers might depend on slavery year-round for general farm upkeep and management of crop growth, or even rent slaves to towns or neighbors for odd jobs or other tasks. When it came time to reap the wheat harvest, these same slave-

holding farmers hired free white and black laborers to meet the immediate labor need, and then terminated the jobs at the end of the harvest season.

The economic decline in the wheat market that began in 1819 continued through the 1820s, drastically reconfiguring the agricultural market in north-central Maryland. Successful farms at the end of one harvest season might not have enough capital available to purchase seeds and labor the next season, let alone maintain a perpetual slave institution. Grivno charts the fracturing in the labor hierarchy during this downturn by analyzing farmers' attempts to control the restive slave population as well as create codes of morality for the under-hired free workers. Emancipation in nearby Pennsylvania enticed many Maryland slaves to flee northward. At the same time, slave owners resorted to "hiring-out," the practice of renting slave labor, to increase funds depleted by the woeful wheat market. The proximity of legal freedom and newfound geographic mobility put stress on the master-slave dynamic. Grivno admits that some steps toward gradual manumission did occur but recognizes that the practices of allowing slaves to buy their freedom and selling slaves farther south into the booming cotton industry were far more common. In the case of free labor, Maryland farmers began to enact temperance regulations during the 1820s to control the transient labor force. "The attempts to root out harvest drinking were part of a larger campaign to strip farmwork of its disruptive, premodern features and to discipline both free and enslaved workers in a setting where employers' and slaveholders' authority was often compromised" (113). The movement toward controlling laborer morality and providing for the poor came to typify Marylanders' attempts to rationalize wage labor and maintain social stratification.

Grivno's work recasts our common images of slave and free labor in antebellum Maryland. Most importantly, he creates a model of free market expansion and the inauguration of rural wage labor. The genius of *Gleanings of Freedom* is that he is able to situate this model on the "tattered edge of slavery." As a concession, one may question his work's representativeness. Grivno examines but a small sliver of the slave economy. His claim to have focused on six Maryland counties seems somewhat specious, with the bulk of his study concentrated in the three central, agricultural counties of Washington, Frederick, and Carroll. Nevertheless, Grivno's book should incite a new discussion of the interrelationship between wage and slave labor in the antebellum era, and future historians should keep his model of agricultural market maturation in the back of their minds.

ANDREW J. FORNEY
Texas Christian University

Freedom's Gardener: James F. Brown, Horticulture, and the Hudson Valley in Antebellum America. By Myra B. Young Armstead. (New York: New York University Press, 2012. 219 pages. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, $35.00.)

Freedom's Gardener sets out to mine an unusual historical resource. It rests on a

ten-volume journal, spanning over thirty years, kept by an escaped slave turned master gardener and civic volunteer. Through this methodically kept but cryptic personal record, Armstead hopes to explore how a free black man in mid-nineteenth-century America experienced concepts of masculinity, citizenship, and agency.

James F. Brown was born into slavery around 1793, mostly likely in Frederick, Maryland. In 1827 he escaped to New York. He eventually purchased his freedom and that of his wife, Julia, from his former mistress and settled in the Hudson Valley to become master gardener to the Verplanck family. By 1837 he owned sufficient property to become a voter and took part in local political and volunteer organizations. From 1829 to 1866, Brown wrote in his journal on an almost daily basis, recording his activities as well as occasional observations about people around him and local events. He died in upstate New York in 1868.

Armstead situates James Brown's life's journey within the myriad cultural forces at work in the early republic. She makes significant use of Joyce Appleby's conception of the post-Revolutionary generation as a pivotal group in American history, one that redefined American citizenship in terms of agency, reinvention, and mobility (*Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000]). She also cites numerous other studies regarding antebellum concepts of masculinity, theories on the development of middle-class values of time management, self-control and industriousness as signifiers of genteel behavior, and botanical tracts regarding the new "scientific" methods of horticulture and new aesthetic values of beauty.

Armstead seems most interested in Brown's life as it pertains to concepts of masculinity. In addition to the journal, she also used a letter from Brown to his former employer Jeremiah Hoffman, in which he apologized for running away and promised to make good on his debts. The author sees this as an expression of Brown's masculine self-image. "He wanted it known that his escape was an act of conscience incumbent upon any man, that the principle of manliness compelled him to flee" (31). She analyzes the letter at length to show how concepts of agency and manliness present in the larger culture were reflected in the text, despite white society's general refusal to see someone like Brown as a man.

Clearly a tremendous amount of research was required to flesh out this work, and Armstead has admirably pieced this story together from scant evidence, though at times this means that entire pages of conjecture rest upon quite flimsy scaffolding, particularly early in the story. Several sections are written almost entirely in the subjunctive tense: "If James had lived with the Williams family. . . . he certainly would have had ample opportunity to gain experience. . . . It is easy to imagine. . . . It is very likely. . . . it is tempting to think. . . . It is possible that. . . ." (19, 20, 116, 118). The future James F. Brown who lived in slavery in Maryland was, as Armstead acknowledges, a shadowy figure with multiple aliases, and Part 1 of the book almost requires a family tree-type chart—for one man—to follow coherently.

Many of Armstead's difficulties are probably unavoidable and are inherent in trying to tease a full life portrait out of a subject who left so few tangible clues. There are times when she perhaps should have let Brown's own voice come through more, as when she notes that on a trip to Saratoga Springs he was impressed by the style of the people there (65). The larger problem, however, lies in what Armstead cannot get Brown to say. From Brown's journal we can derive a sense of his reading tastes as he read both abolitionist tracts and the more conservative New York newspapers, his religious leanings, and even his volunteer activities. His actual thoughts and political views remained concealed, but snippets come through, as in 1859 when he referred to John Brown as "John Brown the Hero (120)." He wrote almost nothing about the Civil War, in progress throughout the last phase of his journal.

Armstead's overall interpretation of James R. Brown hinges in large part on her reading political motivation into the keeping of his journal and the terse style of writing that made it so cryptic. "It was important to counter the prevailing image of blacks as unregulated, passion-driven, and excitable. It was imperative to portray his own steadiness, reason, and well-tempered mind throughout the pages of his life" (160). But this interpretation rests on Armstead's own supposition. Unfortunately, in the larger sense of things, Brown's own taciturnity seems to have made the book Armstead wanted to write impossible.

SHANNON E. DUFFY
Texas State University

Money over Mastery, Family over Freedom: Slavery in the Antebellum Upper South. By Calvin Schermerhorn. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011. 294 pages. Illustrations, essay on sources, notes, index. Paper, $30.00.)

Calvin Schermerhorn argues that slaves in the antebellum Upper South attempted to use the changing market economy as a way to defend themselves against market-induced separations caused by the internal slave trade. Schermerhorn, in conversation with other authors who have studied the dynamics of the internal slave trade, examines how the Second Middle Passage impacted the African American family dynamic in Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, and North Carolina. Seizing on a hole within the historiography, Schermerhorn attempts to understand how slaves in the Upper South, who helped fuel the expansion of slavery in the Old Southwest, adapted to the increased rigor of a market economy driven by the commodification of slavery, industrial development, and hiring out.

Schermerhorn asserts that slaves understood that the capitalistic development of the United States in the antebellum period grew on the backs of slaves who had been commodified by the internal slave trade. Capitalism's "creative destruction" certainly ripped apart numerous families and destroyed the lives of thousands who were caught up in the trade, but Schermerhorn takes this argument one step further by arguing

that a paradoxical relationship existed between slaves and the market. Although the enslaved understood the market could destroy their families and the lives they knew, they also realized that they could use the market economy as a weapon to resist the internal slave trade and to solidify their control over their own families.

The key to maintaining his family rested in the development of strong networks of human and material sources a slave could use to resist sale before reaching the auction block. Schermerhorn engages in an extensive rereading of numerous familiar slave narratives (Frederick Douglas, Henry Box Brown, and Harriet Jacobs to name a few) to show how individual slaves used networks of white and black allies to maneuver themselves or their family members away from sale into the Second Middle Passage. Slaves could build this network by participating in the very market economy that could result in their downfall. By working on railroads, joining white churches, serving as sailors on coastal ships, or hiring themselves out as domestic servants, they could navigate the modernized market economy that had moved the Upper South away from tobacco. This extension of slaves' lives helped them form new connections they could then use in attempting to convince their masters or other white allies to intervene to keep from being sold to Louisiana or Mississippi.

Schermerhorn also explores how slaves combined their human networks with material resources earned from extra wages paid during the hiring out process to prevent sales to the Lower South. Frequently slaves utilized their own property, either cash or other moveable goods, in an effort to convince masters to negotiate with them instead of quickly selling them for a profit. Here, the author links to previous scholarship on the importance of slave property and shows how slaves could combine money earned in this new market economy with networks formed from the same market system. In this way, Schermerhorn contends that both property accumulation and social networks remained essential for slaves to keep their families together.

Those interested in the history of Maryland will find Schermerhorn's work especially interesting in that he answers many vexing questions about the interaction of the market, family, and community in the antebellum period. Maryland, slowly devolved from a "slave society" to a "society with slaves" because of the internal trade, has a special place in antebellum history. Scholars interested in how slavery in the state and the region changed over time will be well informed by Schermerhorn's work, as his ideas challenge historians to rethink our understanding of how that devolution affected the lives of individual slaves.

In the end, Schermerhorn has produced a work that rightly puts the role of family and the market at the forefront of antebellum interactions over slavery. His constant emphasis on the importance of family, resistance, and negotiation for family cohesion illustrate, as his title contends, that slaves in the Upper South exercised agency in the fight to maintain families in the midst of the changing institution of slavery instead of fighting for individual freedom. *Money over Mastery, Family over Freedom*

therefore is an important step forward in the study of family, community, and the impact that the changing nineteenth century economy had on them.

JAMES GIGANTINO
University of Arkansas

Iron Coffin: War, Technology, and Experience aboard the USS Monitor. Updated edition. By David A. Mindell. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012. 208 pages. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Paper, $23.00.)

Iron Coffin explores the complex relationship between technology, war, and human experience through the analytical lens of the U.S.S. *Monitor*. In 2001 the Society for the History of Technology awarded the first edition of this book the Sally Hacker Prize. The updated edition commemorates the 150th anniversary of the battle of Hampton Roads, which occurred in March 1862, and adds a new preface linking the dynamics aboard the *Monitor* to the contemporary relationship between technology and warfare, such as the use of aerial drones to target terrorist leaders abroad. The updated edition also benefits from a new epilogue that examines archeological efforts to study, preserve, and recover the *Monitor*'s wreckage and display significant portions, such as the ship's turret, at the U.S.S. *Monitor* Museum in Newport News, Virginia.

The book tells the story of the various people involved with the *Monitor*, from the ship's designer John Ericsson, to the ship's crew, to literary commentators who wrote about the vessel and its implications. Mindell's rich narrative illuminates the complicated world lurking below the surface as individuals contrived, debated, contested, and grappled with both the technology itself and its ultimate meaning in their lives. *Iron Coffin* will appeal to a varied audience. Specialists in the history of technology and naval history, as well as general readers and Civil War enthusiasts alike, will benefit from the work.

Mindell's stated purpose in *Iron Coffin* is to depart from the traditional interpretation of the vessel as a "technological revolution" and focus instead on "the experience of the *Monitor* and its representations" (7). Mindell convincingly demonstrates that the *Monitor*'s success was primarily one of perception rather than technology. From a technical standpoint, the *Monitor* was mediocre at best. Leaky hatches, poor ventilation, and excessive heat—sometimes reaching 156 degrees Fahrenheit—all plagued the crew's existence and limited the ship's actual effectiveness. In addition, the *Monitor*'s guns could not elevate high enough to engage enemy hilltop positions, as the Union navy discovered at Drewry's Bluff on the James River. Nor could the guns even shoot straight ahead due to the poor position of the pilothouse relative to the turret. These extensive problems limited the *Monitor*'s effectiveness when operating in rivers, which was the vessel's supposed strength, and became deadly on the open ocean, with the vessel eventually sinking on New Year's Eve, 1862, off

the coast of Cape Hatteras. In contrast, one of the *Monitor*'s competitors, *New Ironsides*, was quite effective technically but lost the battle of perception. Even though *New Ironsides* was one of the most successful Union warships, a similar model was never built. Instead, of the more than eighty Union ironclads eventually built, a full sixty-four were designed specifically as monitors. The ship's progeny, such as the U.S.S. *Weehawken*, suffered from the same defects. A number of them, including the *Weehawken*, ultimately met the same fate.

Iron Coffin is very well researched. Mindell analyzes a wide array of archival sources, including the papers of pivotal figures in the story such as Cornelius Bushnell, John Ericsson, Gustavus Fox, and Gideon Welles. Mindell also examines the official log of the *Monitor*, and, more importantly, surveys the personal accounts of the vessel's crew. In particular, Mindell scrutinizes the letters of sailor George Geer, a fireman on the ship, and William Keeler, the ship's paymaster. Keeler's letters to his wife Anna prove particularly useful. He wrote over seventy-five meticulously detailed letters in 1862, even going so far as to number them chronologically. In addition to providing intricate detail, Keeler's "literary flair" breathes life into the daily events, both mundane and terrifying. Extensive notes and a useful bibliographical essay strengthen the book.

Iron Coffin is especially valuable for the many dualities it compellingly presents— operators and heroes, calculation and chaos, change and continuity—and shows that far from simply changing the technology of war, the U.S.S. *Monitor* transformed the very experience of war. Fundamental concepts such as heroism and courage had to be recast to fit within the mold of the "iron coffin." The theme of integration—integrating a technology into an effective system and integrating the technology into meaningful personal and social understandings—is one of the book's many contributions. Mindell convincingly shows that technology does not exist in a historical vacuum. Rather, it is constantly being marketed, utilized, and debated by human actors, often with competing interests. In the end, individuals created the *Monitor*, worked, lived, and suffered inside it, and often had conflicting ideas about its role in their lives and in history.

WILLIAM A. TAYLOR
Angelo State University

Civil War Talks: Further Reminiscences of George S. Bernard & His Fellow Veterans. Edited by Hampton Newsome, John Horn, and John G. Selby. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012. 512 pages. Maps, preface, introduction, index. Cloth, $35.00.)

In 1892, George S. Bernard (1837–1912), a Petersburg, Virginia lawyer, former sergeant in the 12th Virginia Infantry Regiment during the Civil War, and state legislator, published *War Talks of Confederate Veterans.* This 335-page volume was a

compilation of firsthand addresses, short memoirs, and official reports of Civil War battles and campaigns in the Eastern Theatre, especially the Battle of the Wilderness, the defense of Petersburg, and the Battle of the Crater. Many of the texts first appeared as talks before Petersburg's A. P. Hill Camp of Confederate Veterans. The volume, though noticeably free of neo-Confederate partisanship, did include charges and counter charges directed at former Confederate generals Jubal Early, James Lane, William Mahone, and Cadmus Wilcox. It remains valuable to scholars today.

Though Bernard compiled a second volume of veterans' recollections, he proved unable to publish it, and following his death parts of the manuscript became scattered in various archival collections or simply vanished. Fortunately, in 2004 a major cache of the original manuscript surfaced in Roanoke, and editors Hampton Newsome, John Horn, and John G. Selby have resourcefully and expertly reconstructed the hitherto unpublished second volume of Bernard's work.

Civil War Talks: Further Reminiscences of George S. Bernard & His Fellow Veterans is an ably introduced, transcribed, annotated, and executed documentary edition. Newsome, Horn, and Selby have judiciously excluded some texts published previously in the *Southern Historical Society Papers* as well as lengthy quotations drawn from the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*. The result is an extensive and finely detailed collection of postwar speeches and letters, ten of which derive from Bernard's pen. The editors arrange the texts in twelve chapters. All but one, James A. Walker's "Life in the Army: The Private Soldier's Spirit," focus on the major military campaigns in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

These include eyewitness accounts of the 1862 Maryland invasion, Gettysburg, Seven Pines, Malvern Hill, and the Overland, Petersburg, and Appomattox campaigns. The texts transcend standard military accounts by offering reminiscences of civilian life in Dinwiddie County, Virginia, and the recollections of a boy who helped defend Petersburg and then joined General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia in its final march to Appomattox. The editors quite correctly note that the stories prepared and solicited by Bernard in the 1890s were products of decades-old historical memory. Though crafted within the Lost Cause mentalité of that age, they generally eschewed discussions of race, slavery, and the political and social causes and consequences of the internecine conflict.

Civil War Talks contains rich descriptions of combat and Confederate soldier life. For example, in his commentary on the fighting at Antietam, John T. Parham of the 32nd Virginia Regiment's color guard recalled an especially fierce battle scene. "The fire from the enemy was now very severe, several men killed right at my side. The flag-staff was cut into by a bullet, and the colors were pierced by many minies. We counted seventeen holes in the flag after the battle. One poor fellow, a member of company I, was shot in the head, and his brains were splattered over the sleeve of my jacket. Another was killed and fell on my ankle as I knelt near him. Altogether it was the warmest place I was ever in" (112). Parham remembered another instance,

while on burial detail, when a fellow soldier was shocked to discover his brother among the dead. "All the bereaved brother could do was to wrap him in his blanket and bury him on Maryland's soil" (113).

In his reminiscence of the aftermath of the Confederates' defeat at Gettysburg, former Virginia governor William E. Cameron, who served with Bernard in the 12th Virginia, poked fun at his own ineptitude when appropriating enemy property during the southerners' withdrawal from Pennsylvania. "Mad and footsore during the retreat," Cameron recalled, "determined to have something to show for all I had suffered in that strange land," he "impressed a fine horse, jersey wagon, and set of harness." All went for naught when Henry Smith, Cameron's body servant, lost control of the horse and rig and his booty "rolled down towards Washington on the tawny current of the Potomac" (162).

In his war diary of July 31, 1864, Bernard recorded impressions of what he termed the "bloody drama" of the previous day's Battle of the Crater (250). In a scene that Bernard considered even more gruesome than the Confederate massacre of surrendering U.S. Colored Troops at Fort Pillow, Tennessee, on April 12, 1864, Virginians retaliated for the mine explosion that rocked their works in Petersburg's defenses by murdering black soldiers they engaged after the blast. "The scene now baffles description," Bernard wrote. "But little quarter was shown them. My heart sickened at deeds I saw done. . . . I have never seen such slaughter in any battlefield" (251). By battle's end, Bernard recalled, the Confederates lost no more than 400 men while at least 700 Federal troops fell in the bloody scourge. The Rebels imprisoned as many as 1,000 Yankees.

Newsome, Horn, and Selby conclude their excellent edition with Bernard's diary entry of August 29, 1866. "I enter my thirtieth year today," he wrote, "perhaps too little thankful that I have been allowed to attain it" (451). Civil War historians will judge *Civil War Talks* an excellent compilation of autobiographical narratives, especially of the Virginia campaigns.

JOHN DAVID SMITH
University of North Carolina at Charlotte

America's Conservation Impulse: A Century of Saving Trees in the Old Line State. By Geoffrey L. Buckley. (Chicago: The Center for American Places at Columbia College Chicago, 2010. xviii + 267 pages. Illustrations, appendixes, notes, index. Cloth, $39.50.)

In "How Conservation Began in the United States," *Agricultural History,* 11 (Oct., 1937) 4: 255, Gifford Pinchot, American conservationist and founding chief of the United States Forest Service, observed that "Conservation grew out of forestry." And it was the tree that stood at the center of the conservation movement from the national and state on down to the municipal and academic. Early efforts

ranged from the establishment of parks, resource management, and reforestation policies. With the history of American conservation spanning several decades, the literature is varied and deep. Geoffrey L. Buckley ably contributes to this field with *America's Conservation Impulse: A Century of Saving Trees in the Old Line State.* His goal "is to direct attention to the origins and early history of professional forestry as it evolved at the state and municipal levels in Maryland and Baltimore" (xiii). Given his objective, Buckley has crafted an engaging, scrupulously researched and thoroughly readable text.

America's Conservation Impulse begins with a discussion of national forestry efforts before turning attention to the state of Maryland. Rather than pursuing a two-pronged analysis of the rural and urban, Buckley considers them as a unified system. With artificial distinctions present in much conservation scholarship, this reviewer found the approach refreshing. Buckley argues that efforts in the Old Line State are noteworthy and hold great explanatory value. His argument hinges on the belief that Maryland occupies a unique place as a "yardstick" measuring national and state conservation efforts (xi). In making the point, Buckley follows the efforts of Maryland's first state forester, Fred Besley, Yale graduate and National Forest Service alum steeped in the teachings of Gifford Pinchot. Besley began his job in earnest by undertaking a survey of Maryland's forests, planting trees, and instituting a comprehensive fire plan. In Baltimore, civic energies concentrated on the management of trees. Just as the establishment of Maryland's forest system owed to the bequest of a wealthy benefactor, so too did municipal tree-planting efforts. Progress was slow and methodical. As Buckley makes clear, gains were measured in individual trees, and social and legislative inertia often delimited conservation efforts. Industrial-era issues of deforestation and the unrestricted use of land and resources gave way to a more conscious effort at forest management reflected in the budding conservation movement.

Buckley's take on the Maryland conservation experiment is well documented and clear, but this reviewer is not quite sure whether Maryland's conservation efforts are illustrative of more national trends. On this point Buckley assumes what needs to be proven. Although states adopted common conservation methods, they were often suited to the political, social, and economic needs of a given locale. And without a fuller background of other conservation efforts, the layman, in particular, is left in the dark about the usefulness of lessons outside Maryland's borders.

Despite the absence of a bibliography, Buckley's expanded notes include a generous amount of source work, including contemporary news accounts, archival materials, and empirical data. As someone who appreciates below-line commentary, these notes deserve close examination, for a separate storyline awaits the reader. Laymen will also appreciate the pictures and illustrations giving texture to the personalities and events unfolding in the tale. This also contributes to the readability of the text, straddling, as it does, the academic and popular. A pair of appendixes, "Maryland

State Forest Lands Acquired as of 17 May 1934" and "Trees Planted and Removed in Baltimore, 1957–1965," buttress Buckley's rich narrative.

In his introduction and again in the epilogue, Buckley considers "how best to manage . . . natural resources" in the present and future by "consider[ing] how these resources have been administered in the past" (187). But aside from highly general suggestions, concrete solutions are nowhere to be found. What, precisely, is to become of the future of conservation efforts in Maryland and the greater United States? As the nation and several states grapple with endemic issues of urban sprawl, commercial development, changing recreational appetites and environmental (mis) management, this study could prove quite valuable. More recent issues involving novel energy sources such as solar, wind and geothermal, and extraction techniques such as "hydro-fracking" also present challenges to the future of conservation. None of this, however, detracts from a timely study illuminating the complexities of the conservation movement. Buckley is to be commended for blurring the distinction between rural and urban forestry and presenting an insightful history of conservation in the Old Line State.

JONATHAN C. BERGMAN
Texas A&M University

Empty Pleasures: The Story of Artificial Sweeteners from Saccharin to Splenda. By Carolyn de la Peña. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. 296 pages. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $32.50.)

Carolyn de la Peña's rich history of artificial sweeteners deftly interweaves production and consumption, men and women, "Big Pharma" and small entrepreneurs. The marketing of "calorie free" food provided an entirely new and lucrative model for the American food industry. Eating artificially sweetened products is, de la Peña argues, like buying on credit, people can eat more food than they can "afford" in terms of calories.

She declares that, rather than being entirely "artificial" entities, "our food products embody us," specifically, the many men and women involved in product development, production, marketing, and consumption (3). One of the book's biggest strengths is de la Peña's ability to avoid technological determinism and instead integrate individual decisions, business, government regulation, and popular movements.

Unintentionally created in a lab at Johns Hopkins in 1879, saccharin was one of the first products of Monsanto Chemical, along with other soft-drink ingredients, caffeine and vanillin. Soda manufacturers used saccharin because it was cheaper and more reliably sourced than sugar, until Harvey Wiley labeled it a poisonous "adulterant" in 1911. Real sugar was considered a healthy source of energy, especially for children (a perception reinforced by sugar-industry marketing). No consumer wanted *less* sugar, and saccharin was seen as a cheap, false substitute.

From 1945 to 1958 saccharin and cyclamates were available but "lacked clever marketing slogans and user-friendly packaging" (40). Dieters who wanted to use saccharin bought tablets from the drugstore and figured out how to add them to food. Recipes using saccharin and cyclamates required experimentation, since the sweetening power was not standardized. Recipe authors did not stress "weight loss and deprivation" but "creativity, innovation, and experimentation" (56). De la Peña uses this as an opportunity to study "bottom-up consumption"; rather than decide whether consumers "bought" the advertising, she can study how consumers "made meanings" for themselves.

De la Peña relates the interplay of pharmaceutical R&D and corporate development. Through correspondence and company documents, she charts the relationship between executives at Abbott Laboratories, which produced Sucaryl (cyclamates) and promoted its use in processed food, and the California Canners and Growers (CCG) fruit-growers cooperative, which used Sucaryl in canned fruit until the substance was banned by the FDA. She argues that "men also needed diet foods," not necessarily to stay thin, but to grow their business, bolster their expertise, and make professional connections. Abbott Laboratories courted CCG, providing samples, technical literature and expertise. For food technologists at CCG, affiliation with Abbott bolstered their identification as powerful, modern "men of science." Unfortunately, the FDA's ban on cyclamates hurt CCG much more than it hurt Abbott.

De la Peña next turns to women who based their professional careers on artificial sweeteners, among them Jean Nidetch (founder of Weight Watchers), Tillie Lewis (canner and promoter of Tasti-Diet canned food), and female journalists who wrote about diet foods and programs for the "women's pages." Successful business owner Tillie Lewis used her glamorous image and her personal story to sell diet canned fruit, promising weight loss without sacrifice or suffering on a "diet with sweets." For women's page journalists, diet plan promotions offered a way to generate revenue through ad sales while still promising pleasure. For buyers, sellers, and marketers, artificial sweeteners offered control over markets and industry, as well as personal cravings and behavior.

De la Peña mines rich sources in the voices of actual saccharin consumers. In March 1977, the FDA announced that saccharin would be banned in 1978 because of research linking it to bladder cancer. Thousands of Americans wrote to Congress, the FDA, and President Jimmy Carter to protest the ban, passionately defending saccharin and their right to consume it despite risks. Consumers placed saccharin in the context of their own bodies, arguing that saccharin's benefits far outweighed its risks, especially among all the other health risks they faced, like cigarettes or pollution or being overweight. Consumers' responses, along with heavy lobbying by saccharin manufacturers, allowed the ban on saccharin to be quietly put aside.

De la Peña concludes with the great popularity and controversy swirling around NutraSweet (aspartame). Developed by Searle and intensively marketed, NutraSweet

benefitted directly from saccharin's bad press. Meanwhile, artificial sweetener manufacturers led a nutritional fight against sugar, and a counter-movement grew of people who warned of "NutraSweet syndrome" after consuming large quantities. De la Peña points out that increased NutraSweet consumption has not reduced sugar consumption; on the contrary, its intense sweetness may be "skewing other foods towards sweet so that we will find them palatable" (216).

Her most compelling argument suggests that artificial sweeteners functioned as a solution to overproduction. Pharmaceutical companies sold more food "by marketing it as *less*. One is hard pressed to think of a more ingenious system for moving large quantities of product through American bodies in the postwar era" (4). This is a valuable lens with which to view the entire postwar food industry, if not the entire economy and society (de la Peña memorably compares artificial sweeteners to Reaganomics—consumers could save the economy by buying and eating more). She concludes that, although there are benefits to artificial sweeteners, they "have been bad for us as a society" (10). Although not specific to Maryland history, this book is certainly good for historians of consumption, food, technology, business, and gender.

KATHERINE LEONARD TURNER
Independent Scholar

Outdoor Sculpture in Baltimore: A Historical Guide to Public Art in the Monumental City. By Cindy Kelly; photographs by Edwin Harlan Remsberg. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011. 416 pages. Illustrations, maps, appendixes, bibliography, indexes. Cloth, $44.95.)

This is more than just a coffee table book. It is also a historical and biographical encyclopedia, a tour guide, an exhaustive photographic documentary record and, perhaps most importantly, a paean to the monumentality of the Monumental City. Such an ambitious project faces many obstacles and must successfully navigate numerous pitfalls. Fortunately for everyone who loves Baltimore, Cindy Kelly has done so. Combined with Edwin Harlan Remsberg's striking and well-composed photographs, Kelly's text takes readers on a fascinating and novel tour of Baltimore.

The book begins with an introduction that deftly introduces readers to the history of public sculpture in Baltimore, beginning in 1800 and running all the way up to 2007. In addition to recounting the broad outlines of this history, Kelly is careful to place Baltimore within the national contexts of monument building during the nineteenth century and publicly-financed art during the twentieth. The introduction is especially helpful for readers who are not experts in art history, as it introduces important sculptors from Antonio Capellano to Vollis Simpson as well as their benefactors who commissioned important pieces of sculpture and donated them for public display.

The core of the book is divided into eighteen separate tours covering nearly the entire city, from Cherry Hill and Brooklyn Park in the south to Northern Parkway in the north, and from West Baltimore to Canton. Each tour begins with a map showing the locations of each sculpture within a given area and listing subsequent page numbers for reference. Kelly helpfully denotes six of the tours (primarily near the core of the city) as being walkable, while the remainder will require some driving. Within each tour, each individual entry begins with the sculpture's title and year, its location, the sculptor (including birth and death dates), the medium, and the donor. The vast majority of the entries include a single photograph of the sculpture, although in a very few cases where a multi-component sculpture could not easily be captured in a single frame, two photographs are included. The narrative text for each entry includes a brief history of the sculpture's commissioning and production, a description of its location (or locations, if it has been moved), a brief biography of the sculptor (the first time a sculptor's work is presented only), an aesthetic discussion of the piece, and, when appropriate, mention of similar or related pieces of sculpture in Baltimore and elsewhere.

Following the tours, Kelly closes the book out with an epilogue discussing the most recent piece of public sculpture to be installed in Baltimore (a statue of former Baltimore mayor and Maryland governor William Donald Schaefer, south of the Light Street Pavilion in the Inner Harbor). Three appendixes—a timeline of public sculpture in the city, a list of sculptures that have been relocated from their original location, and a list of sculptures that have been removed entirely, moved indoors, or are too badly damaged to have been included in the tours—a list for further reading, and two indexes—one of sculptors whose work is represented in the tours and a general index—complete the work.

In *Outdoor Sculpture in Baltimore,* Cindy Kelly has done an excellent job of highlighting an important but rarely noticed feature of public space in the city. Her text is filled with thousands of obscure details, but she does an excellent job of minimizing redundancies and maintaining the reader's interest. The individual tours are coherent and well conceived. The addition of Remsberg's often striking photographs adds life to the text. The book is not without a few minor blemishes. For one, all of the photographs are black and white. For many of the sculptures in the book, this does not present a problem. For others, though, such as the outdoor sculptures at the American Visionary Art Museum on the south side of the Inner Harbor, color is an integral part of the aesthetic experience of the sculpture; the inclusion of a small section of color plates would have greatly enhanced the volume. Another minor criticism is the lack of citations within the text, even in the introductory essay.

Overall, though, Kelly and Remsberg have produced a beautiful volume that will remind Baltimoreans and others who love the city why it is so unique. Those interested in civic life and public space in the Monumental City will want to have this book on their shelf. *Outdoor Sculpture in Baltimore* is not only an exhaustive

reference work, it is also a great discussion piece and an important contribution to the art history of a great American city. Baltimore is lucky to have a scholar as devoted to it as Cindy Kelly.

ROBERT CHIDESTER
Maumee, Ohio

Maryland Historical Magazine

Contributors' Guidelines

The editors welcome contributions that broaden knowledge and deepen understanding of Maryland history. The *MdHM* enjoys one of the largest readerships of any state historical magazine in the nation; over the years it has developed strong ties to the scholarly community. Despite the distance usually separating local and academic history, the magazine strives to bring together the "professional" and "popular"—to engage a broad audience while publishing the latest serious research on Maryland and the region.

We especially invite submissions that raise good questions, build on newly discovered or reexamined evidence, and make one's findings interesting and readable. We invite amateur historians to consider and make clear the significance of their work and remind scholars that they address not specialists alone but a wide, literate public.

MANUSCRIPTS. Please submit a dark, clear, typed or computer-printed manuscript, double-spaced on high quality, standard-sized (8 ½" x 11") white paper, leaving ample margins on all sides. Authors are invited to send submissions on disc or via email attachment. A stamped, self-addressed envelope will ensure the return of your work. Because articles normally go to outside referees for a blind evaluation, we ask that they arrive in duplicate, with the author's name on separate title pages.

Follow *The Chicago Manual of Style* (15th edition, 2003). In writing dates, the *MdHM* uses the form month/day/year. For questions about spelling and hyphenation, consult *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, Fourth Edition (2006).

QUOTATIONS. Quoted passages lend immediacy and poignancy to a manuscript and allow historical figures to use their own language. Lengthy quotes (best avoided where possible) should also be double-spaced and indented from the left margin. Ellipses or dots indicate omitted material within quotation marks—three within a sentence, four when the omission includes a period. Authors must double-check the accuracy of all quotations and obtain permission to quote from manuscripts and unpublished materials.

TRANSCRIPTIONS. Transcribing handwritten sources (letters, diaries, etc.) presents special problems. On the "expanded method," a set of guidelines that follow the text closely while making a few concessions to readability and good sense, see Oscar Handlin, et al., *The Harvard Guide to American History*, pp. 95–99, or William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal, eds., *The Papers of James Madison*, 1:xxxvi–vii.

TABLES, GRAPHS, CHARTS. Explanatory graphics should be numbered in

Arabic numerals with any notes pertaining to it below (mark footnotes to tables with raised letters rather than numbers). Each must bear its own explanatory title and within it authors must double-check all arithmetic. References in the text should appear in parentheses within punctuation, e.g., (see Table 1).

ILLUSTRATIONS. We invite authors to suggest prints, photos, maps, etc. that illustrate their material and to provide copies when possible. With submissions one need only send photocopies of possible illustrations. Send captions and credits (or sources) for each illustration. Hand-drawn maps and free-hand lettering generally do not suffice.

ENDNOTES. Cardinal rules are clarity, consistency, and brevity. One should avoid gratuitous footnoting and if possible while remaining clear, *group citations by paragraph.* Indicate notes with a raised numeral in the text, outside of punctuation and quotation marks. Follow month-day-year format in notes as well as text.

First citations must be complete. For later citations of books and journals, use sensible author-title short references (not the outdated and often confusing op. cit.). Involved citations of archival materials may be abbreviated after the first, full reference to the collection. Underline published titles only.

Use Arabic numerals throughout, even for journal volume numbers. Where pagination within a journal runs consecutively by volume, one need not cite specific issues.

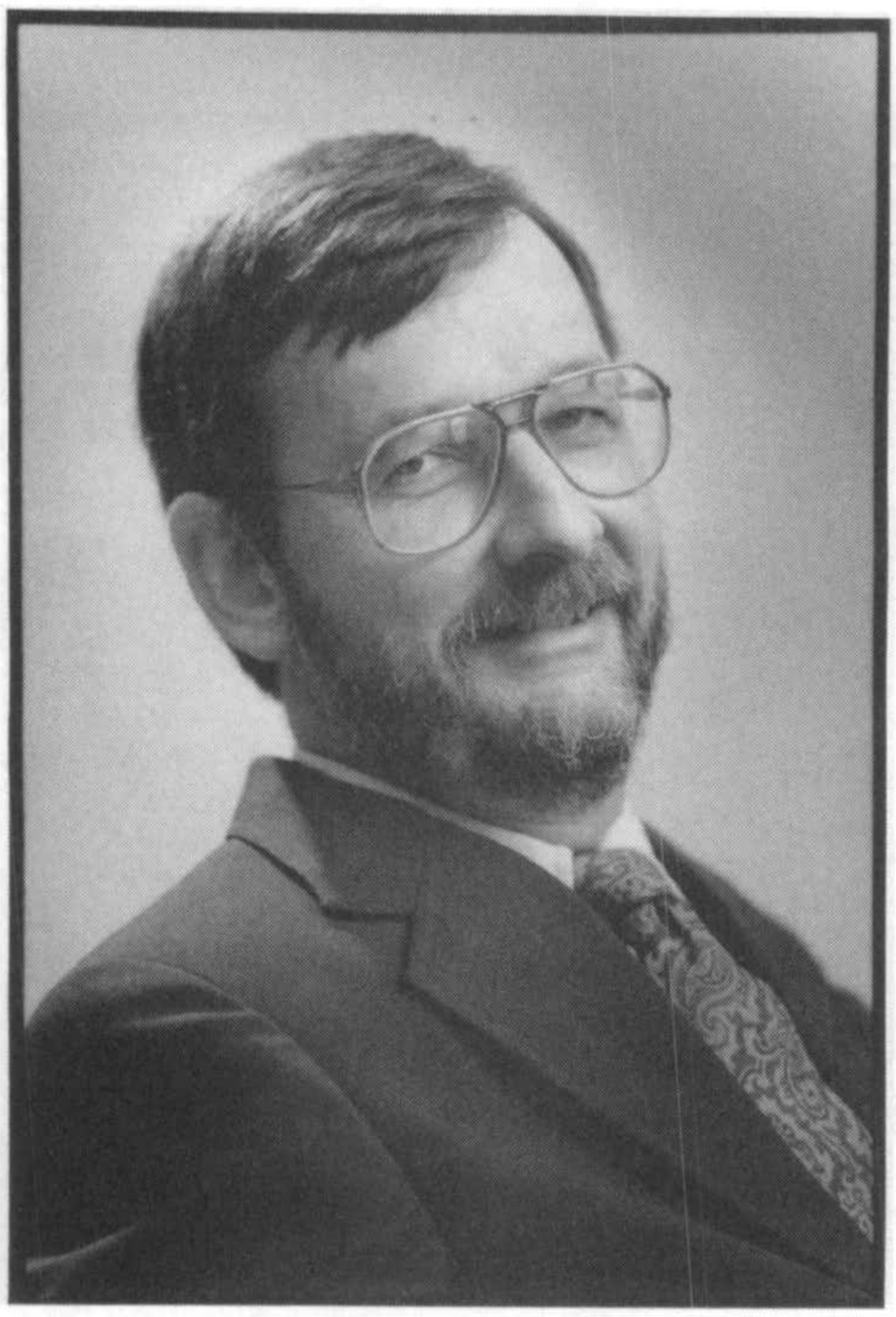
Where a note cites a single source immediately preceding it, use ibid. (we no longer underline this Latin abbreviation; because it means "in the same place," refrain from "in ibid.").

In newspaper titles, italicize place name, as in *Baltimore Sun.* Page references generally are unnecessary in newspaper citations.

Cite manuscript collections as fully as librarians at each repository request. Citations of Maryland Historical Society holdings must include collection and box numbers; abbreviate MdHS.

Check the *Chicago Manual* for standard, clear citations of official publications and records.

PROOFS. Authors take primary responsibility for the logic, tightness, and accuracy of their work, but preparing a manuscript for publication is usually a collaborative effort between editors and contributors. Every submission requires a close reading that may entail some revisions in style and content. Final drafts must undergo copyediting. Before a piece goes to the press, the editor will send authors page proofs for final examination and proofreading. A Publishing Agreement will accompany the page proofs for the author's signature.



Joseph L. Arnold Prize

for Outstanding Writing on Baltimore's History in **2012**

Submission Deadline: February 1, 2013

Thanks to the generosity of the Byrnes Family in Memory of Joseph R. and Anne S. Byrnes the Baltimore City Historical Society presents an annual Joseph L. Arnold Prize for Outstanding Writing on Baltimore's History, in the amount of $500.

Joseph L. Arnold, Professor of History at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, died in 2004, at the age of sixty-six. He was a vital and enormously important member of the UMBC faculty for some three and a half decades as well as a leading historian of urban and planning history. He also played an active and often leading role with a variety of private and public historical institutions in the Baltimore area and at his death was hailed as the "dean of Baltimore historians."

Entries should be unpublished manuscripts between 15 and 45 double-spaced pages in length (including footnotes/endnotes). Entries should be submitted via email as attachments in MS Word or PC convertible format. If illustrations are to be included they should be submitted along with the text in either J-peg or TIF format.

There will be a "blind judging" of entries by a panel of historians. Criteria for selection are: significance, originality, quality of research and clarity of presentation. The winner will be announced in Spring 2013. The *BCHS* reserves the right not to award the prize. The winning entry will be posted to the *BCHS* webpage and considered for publication in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

Further inquiries may be addressed to: baltimorehistory@law.umaryland.edu, or call Suzann Langrall at 410-706-4529.

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