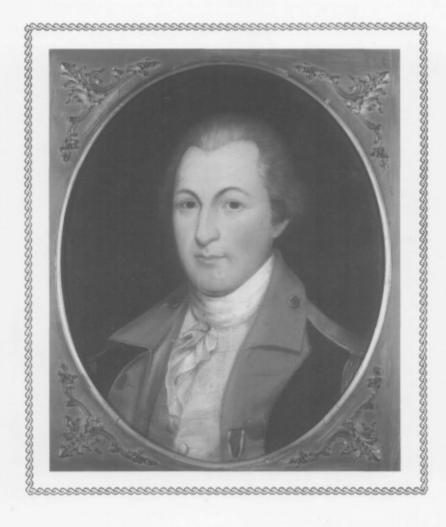
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# Maryland Historical Magazine



ublished Quarterly by The Museum and Library of Maryland History
The Maryland Historical Society
Winter 1980

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Volume 75 Number 4 December, 1980 ISSN-0025-4258

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John Eager Howard (1752–1827). Portrait by Michael Laty, after Charles Willson Peale (1826–1848), ca. 1847. Inscribed on back "Col. John Eager Howard/From Peales of 1787/by/M. Laty 1846". Oil on canvas, 23–1/2" × 19–5/8". MdHi Accession #1846.1.1 Howard received a medal and the thanks of Congress in recognition of his valor during the Battle of Cowpens, January 17, 1781. Howard later served as a delegate to the Continental Congress, as Governor of Maryland (1788–1791), and as United States Senator from Maryland (1796–1803). Several rich collections of Howard family papers donated to the Maryland Historical Society are held in its Manuscripts Division.

Annual Report 1979-80 July 1, 1979—June 30, 1980

> Museum and Library of Maryland History

**Maryland Historical Society** 

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1979-80

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Randolph W. Chalfant
S. Vannort Chapman
Ferdinand E. Chatard
Barry Dressell
T. Marshall Duer, Jr.
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Vera Ruth Filby
William E. Hill

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### Annual Report

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Jeannette Riggs Pennington

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James W. Constable

Robert Kershaw Benjamin S. Schapiro

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Mrs. N. Blair H. Cochrane
Mrs. Charles W. Cole, Jr.

\* Mrs. Richard Cromwell, Jr.
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Mrs. Curtis Carroll Davis

\* Mrs. Edward K. Dunn
Mrs. Gerson G. Eisenberg
Mrs. W. T. Divon Gibbs

Mrs. W. T. Dixon Gibbs
Mrs. Elizabeth W. Glascock
Eugenia Calvert Holland Honorary

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Mrs. Henry F. LeBrun Mrs. Samuel S. Merrick

\* Mrs. Nicholas B. Merryman

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\* Mrs. B. Franklin Newcomer

\* Elisabeth C. G. Packard Mrs. Richard C. Riggs Mrs. S. Stevens Sands, Jr. Mrs, John W. Sause, Jr.

Mrs. George McLean Shriver, III

\* Mrs. J. Nicholas Shriver, Jr. Mrs. Edward B. Stellmann, Jr. Mrs. Paul P. Swett. Jr.

Mrs. W. Wallace Symington, Jr.

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1979-80

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Romaine Stec Somerville Director

L. Arlette Mouat Administrative Assistant
Sandra W. Falls Director of Annual Giving
Donna Brodsky Grants Officer
Mary Lou Jones Accounting Manager

Charmie McClendon Bookkeeper

Karen Dukes Administrative Secretary
Debra Teachman Membership Secretary
Julian Kurzmann Financial Advisor

\*Gary L. Browne ....... Editor, Maryland Historical Magazine

\*P. William Filby ...... Consultant

# Library

Dr. Larry E. Sullivan Head Librarian
A. Hester Rich Librarian

Mary K. Meyer ..... Genealogical Librarian

Cynthia Requardt ..... Manuscripts Librarian to 10/79

<sup>\*</sup> Associate Member

<sup>\*</sup> Part-time

	s and Photographs Librarian to
1/80	0
Helena Zinkham Prints	s and Photographs Librarian from
*Betty McKeever Key Direct	tor, Oral History
Karen Freeman Librar	ry Secretary to 10/79
Terri Meehan Librai	ry Secretary from 11/79
Amira Margie Ünver Catalo	oguer
Berkeley Cooley (CETA) Photo	duplication Service
*Edward Whitman Photo	grapher to 4/80
Karen Stuart Assist	ant Manuscripts Librarian
Paula Velthuys Assist	tant Prints and Photographs rarian from 2/80
	ant, Library
	tant, Library
	ant, Library
	tant, Library
	tant, Manuscripts
*Heidi Levine (Student intern) Assist	tant, Manuscripts
*Janice Ruth (Student intern) Assist	tant, Manuscripts
*Ellen Steininger (Student intern) Assist	tant, Manuscripts
*Gary W. Parks Gened	alogical Researcher from 9/79
*Jean Porter Oral i	History Transcriber
	ultant, Maritime Manuscripts

# Gallery

Stiles Tuttle Colwill	Gallery Curator
Judith M. Coram	Curator of Textiles
Gregory R. Weidman	Curator of Furniture
Jan A. Williamson	Assistant to Gallery Curator
Enolliah B. Williams	Assistant, Gallery
Barbara W. Horneffer	Cataloguer, Drawings
Phyllis S. Williams	Secretary to the Gallery
Diana C. Schramm	Registrar
Mrs. William C. Sadtler	Assistant Registrar
John R. Laubach (CETA)	Installationist to 12/79
Marjorie D. Winslow (CETA)	Installationist from 2/80
*Mrs. R. Riggs Griffith, IV	Consultant for Silver
*Jennifer F. Goldsborough	Consultant for Silver

# Radcliffe Maritime Museum

Randolph W. Chalfant	Curator of the Maritime Collection
Lewis A. Beck	Associate Maritime Curator
*Nancy Brennan	Consultant for the Maritime Collection

<sup>\*</sup> Part-time



(left to right) Harry D. Berry, Jr., member of the Gallery Committee, Jennifer F. Goldsborough, Silver Consultant, and Stiles T. Colwill, Curator, comparing a recently acquired piece of silver by the firm of Kirk & Smith with two pieces of the Kirk silver already in the collection.

# Education Department

Director of Education

Assistant, Education

Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe				
Dr. Edward C. Carter, II Dr. Charles E. Brownell Dr. Darwin H. Stapleton	Editor in Chief Assistant Editor for Architectural History Assistant Editor for Engineering & Technology			
Dr. Lee W. Formwalt Dr. John C. Van Horn	Associate Editor Associate Editor			

Dr. Lee W. Fornwalt

Dr. John C. Van Horn

Geraldine S. Vickers

Doris Stude

Virginia Dawson

Sally Griffith

Tina H. Sheller

Research Assistant

Richard B. Wilkof

Research Assistant

Research Assistant

Research Assistant

Research Assistant

Research Assistant

Research Assistant

\*Judy Van Dyke

\*Nancy Martel

<sup>\*</sup> Part-time

# Public Programs

Nita Schultz ..... Director of Public Relations to 2/80 Administrator for Public Programs from Barbara Banks Publicity Specialist from 2/80 Catherine Snead Volunteer Coordinator Ann Forbush Assistant, Public Programs Mary C. Kirby Assistant, Public Programs Leola Walton \*Patricia H. Hoffman County Coordinator \*Frances Kidder Volunteer Recruiter

### Museum Shop and Bookstore

Barbara Gamse Manager, Museum Shop & Bookstore

\*Mrs. Allan Mead Co-Manager to 3/31/80

\*Mrs. Robert Laird Co-Manager to 4/10/80

# **Building Services Department**

Kathleen Timmons Manager, Building Services Davie Harrell Manager, Business Office Janet Waddy ..... Assistant Manager, Building Services Lucy Currie Telephone Operator \*Katharine Damstra Telephone Operator \*Albert G. Harris Maintenance Engineer \*John P. Carson Assistant Maintenance Engineer William F. Brown Maintenance Employee \*\*Marshall Greenway ..... Maintenance Employee \*Clifton F. Guy Maintenance Employee Maintenance Employee Hazel McClinton Housekeeper \*John Englar, Jr. Chief Guard \*Samuel Assero Guard \*Olla Brown Guard \*Nicholas Dunne ..... Guard\*John Hopkins Guard\*Joseph Lentz Guard \*Maureen Mullany Guard \*Adolph Schneider, Sr. GuardGuard\*James Waddy \*H. Clifton Watts, Jr. Guard

<sup>\*</sup> Part-time

<sup>\*\*</sup> Retired

# **VOLUNTEERS**

### 1979-80

# Annual Giving Office

Paula Busick Mrs. F. R. Knoop, Jr. Kathy Weaver

The following civic-minded businesses contributed the services of their executives listed below:

William P. Boden (The Rouse Company) Ron Gilbert (C & P Telephone Company)

Charles Gildea (Westinghouse Electric Corporation)

Clivie C. Haley (C & P Telephone Company) Elaine Knowles (C & P Telephone Company)

Stewart Koehler (The Title Guarantee Company)

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Champe C. McCulloch (C & P Telephone Company)

Robert A. Marshall (Bethlehem Steel Corporation)

John Metzger (Baltimore Gas & Electric Company)

Frank Moore (The Savings Bank of Baltimore)

Jill Rosenfelt (Maryland National Bank)

Julian Simmons (Mercantile Safe Deposit & Trust Company)

Chuck Tine (C & P Telephone Company)

# **Business Office**

Sara Bowen

# Education Department/Volunteer Guides

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Mrs. Mark Huss Mrs. Bryden B. Hyde Mrs. Roy Kinard Mrs. W. Carl Lohmeyer

Etta Lyles

Mrs. Francis C. Marbury

Mrs. John Neale Mrs. John Nuttle Rita Petza Mrs. John Posey Mrs. John Sanders Lewis G. Sheppard

Mrs. Harvey Singer Mrs. William B. Somerville

Mrs. Charles Stieff Mrs. Joseph Tubman Anne Williams



FIGURE 2.
Gallery tour for volunteer tour guides—part of their Fall training program.

# Gallery

Carroll R. Bennett
Mrs. Bruce Berger
Harry D. Berry, Jr.
Peggy Coster
Eric Ebaugh
Kathy Farnsworth
Mrs. Peter Fischinger
Jennifer Goldsborough
Mrs. R. Riggs Griffith, IV
Louis G. Hecht
James Hennessey
Mrs. Mark Allen Hoffberger
Mrs. Allen Hopkins
Mrs. Herbert L. Hosford
Ken Jones

Debra Krome
Mrs. Robert Lane
Henriette Leanos
Mrs. William Levenson
Dave Mark
George Rich
Arthur Rocklin
Eleanor Scriba
Mrs. James Seiler
William H. Smith, Jr.
Mrs. Robert J. Thieblot
Dorothy Wermsdorfer
Barbara White
Harry Williamson

# Information Desk

Darlene Abraham Mrs. Leon M. Bates Mrs. W. Grinnell Locke Mr. Francis C. Marbury Mrs. Robert Beacham Mrs. Carroll D. Bird Mrs. Daniel Brewington Mrs. Clayton Daneker Mrs. Patrick Deering Martha Delea Mrs. F. Markoe Dugan

Martha Delea
Mrs. F. Markoe Dugan
Sylvia Fetzer
Mrs. James Ford
Mrs. Ralph E. Fraser
Mrs. Hilary Gans
Mrs. Jerome Grant
Mrs. Matthew Hirsh
Mrs. John R. Holland, Jr.
Mrs. Herbert L. Hosford

Mrs. Carroll M. Keith, Sr. Mrs. William Levenson

Mrs. C. Nels Jensen, Jr.

Mrs. E. Paul Mason, Jr.

Anita McCarty

Mrs. H. Downman McCarty

Myrna McLaughlin

Bea Mills

Mrs. Vernon H. Norwood

Rita Petza

Mrs. Richmond Rulon-Miller

Doris Schulze Lewis G. Sheppard Mrs. Robert W. Smith Ida E. T. Simms

Mrs. William B. Somerville

Araminta Stubbs Mrs. J. Healy Sullivan Dr. Asher A. White Margaret Wilson Mrs. H. Boyd Wylie, Jr.

### Latrobe

Vivian Klein

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Alice Martin
Mrs. Henry A. Naylor, Jr.
Margaret Neal
Brigid Nielson
Kenny Parker
Gary W. Parks
Nancy Symington Perin
Joyce Prevost
Ella Rowe
Eugenia Stalfort
M. Kathleen Thomsen
Shirley Wiesand
Anne Williams

### VIVIAII INICIII

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Isabella Athey
Shirley Bandy
Robert W. Barnes
Sara Bowen
Mrs. Walter Buck
Dr. Ferdinand E. Chatard
Mrs. William S. Clark
Mrs. Grafflin Cook, Jr.
Benjamin Deford
Suzanne Elsasser
P. William Filby
Eliza C. Funk
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Richard Hasson
Edgar G. Heyl

### Maritime

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George B. Wilson

Lewis A. Beck Randolph W. Chalfant

Arlene Katz

# Museum Shop and Book Store

Mrs. Robert Beacham

Mrs. Ted Black

Mrs. Calhoun Bond

Mrs. Walter Buck

Mrs. James Cantler

Mrs. Gerard Gaudreau

Mrs. Dennis German

Mrs. John Helldorfer, Jr.

Mr. William Horn

Mrs. William Horn

Mrs. William V. Keegan

Mrs. Carroll M. Keith, Sr.

Mrs. William Kouwenhoven

Mrs. Richard Moore

Mrs, Richmond Rulon-Miller

Mrs. Francis R. Williams

# Public Programs

Mrs. Jerome Grant

Mrs. Matthew H. Hirsh



FIGURE 3.
School tour group in the Museum Shop and Book Store.

# EXCERPTS FROM PROCEEDINGS FROM THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MUSEUM AND LIBRARY OF MARYLAND HISTORY, MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, HELD IN THE JACOB AND ANNITA FRANCE AUDITORIUM ON OCTOBER 6, 1980

After transaction of routine business, the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, J. Fife Symington, Jr., reviewed for the members the tremendous strides the Society has made under the leadership of Leonard C. Crewe, Jr., retiring President, who will continue as Chief Executive Officer. "We have had a stupendous and innovative four years under Leonard Crewe's leadership as President. This, alone, is cause for thanks and congratulations from our whole Maryland Historical Society. As a tribute to Mr. Crewe and his contributions to the Museum and Library of Maryland History, I'm going to ask you to rise with me for a standing ovation and tribute to our fellow associate. Thank goodness we will have the benefit of his enthusiasm and expertise and guidance as Vice Chairman of the Board."

The Chairman stated further "It is my privilege, on behalf of all of us, to thank the Trustee and Council members who are being rotated off the Board for their conscientious efforts and wonderful cooperation and to let them know in no uncertain terms that we look forward to a continuing and fruitful relationship with them until they scream to come back aboard."

Mr. Symington noted in conclusion that, looking toward a capital fund drive in the near future, a proposal is being prepared for submission to the National Endowment for the Humanities for a challenge grant of \$750,000 which would have to be matched on a three to one basis.

### DIRECTOR'S REPORT

In honor of retiring President Leonard C. Crewe, Jr., the Director's Report and the reports of the individual committee chairmen this year will cover a four-year period, touching on the highlights of one of the most active and progressive eras in the history of the Society. In addition, the reports will make projections and commitments for the future, thus giving a comprehensive picture of the past, present and future of the Museum and Library of Maryland History.

The increased activity of the past four years is reflected in both attendance and annual expenditure figures. Attendance grew from 40,000 visitors to over 50,000. The goal for the future is a 10 percent per year increase culminating in 75,000 visitors in 1984. General funds expenditures rose from \$433,000 in 1976 to \$727,000 in 1980. Dramatically increased fund raising coupled with new grants of public funds helped to balance the budget during these years of increased activity and expanding attendance. City, county, and state grants totaled almost \$321,624 during the four-year period and included the first grants ever received from county governments.

Staffing needs were studied and significant changes and additions were made.



FIGURE 4.

Mrs. Harry Hughes, First Lady of the State of Maryland, and J. Fife Symington, Jr., Chairman of the Board of Trustees at ribbon-cutting ceremony for the Annual Antiques Show & Sale.

A Director of Development and a Publicity Director were appointed in 1977 along with the first professional Shop Manager. In 1978 Julian Kurzmann joined us to reorganize the accounting and budgeting systems. A Head Librarian and a County Coordinator were also appointed that year and P. William Filby retired as Director. In 1979 a full-time Grants Officer and a professionally trained Registrar were added to the staff.

Volunteers became an important factor in staffing the Museum and Library. In 1976, volunteer time totaled approximately 4,000 hours. A Volunteer Recruiter and Volunteer Coordinator were appointed in 1978 and 1979 respectively, and by 1980, over 15,000 hours of volunteer service were donated in one year. The goal is to more than double this by 1984.

There are two sides to the operation of an institution such as the Maryland Historical Society: the professional responsibilities of running the Museum and Library, and the development of activities and programs which stimulate interest and contribute to fund raising potential. In order to separate the functions related to operating a Museum and Library from those of operating ever–expanding special events and public relations programs, a major staff reorganization took place. Two new departments were created: Annual Giving and Public Programs. Library and Museum functions and responsibilities were then clearly defined and separated from development activities.

Collection and exhibit policies approved by the Council and Trustees were implemented. In 1978, with membership approval, we became self-insured. In 1979, a public statement of collection policy was issued. As for exhibits, research and interpretation were stressed resulting in theme exhibits such as "The Practical Arts of the Sea." The 20th Century was "discovered" with the Klots and costume exhibits and work on the photograph collection. In keeping with the current approach to historical research in which the emphasis is on the recording of everyday life, the tool collection and the 18th-century kitchen exhibit were reevaluated and preparations made for reinstallation. The schedule now calls for one major exhibit each year supplemented by two smaller interpretive exhibits and three special exhibits honoring specific counties.

One of the most important goals for the future is accreditation by the American Association of Museums. At this time fewer than 10 percent of the museums in America are accredited. However, accreditation will soon become a major factor in evaluating institutions for public and private grants. We plan to be ready. The first step forward this goal will be an application for a museum assessment program grant from the Institute of Museum Services to fund a pre-accreditation evaluation.

Under the leadership of Leonard C. Crewe, Jr., President, and J. Fife Symington, Jr., Chairman of the Board, the Museum and Library of Maryland History is truly fulfilling its mandate to preserve for present and future generations the cultural heritage of the State of Maryland. The membership and staff extend their sincere and deep appreciation to these men and all the other volunteers whose dedication and generosity have made this possible.

Romaine Stec Somerville

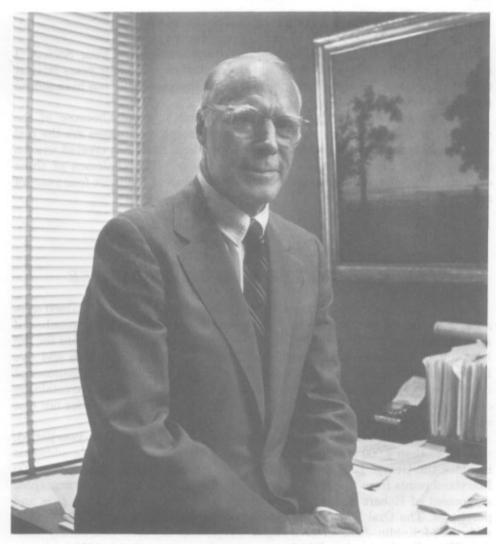


FIGURE 5.
Leonard C. Crewe, Jr., President of the Museum and Library of Maryland History, Maryland
Historical Society July, 1976—June, 1980.

# THE PRESIDENT'S REPORT

On September 20, 1976 when accepting the presidency of your Society, I expressed my thanks for the honor and the challenge. Now, four years later at the end of my term, I would like you to know that this experience has been indeed most rewarding.

Good things have been happening at the Society, mainly because of the competence of our standing committees. These sixteen committees are the real policy makers for their respective areas of operation. Each has created written policies in the form of "Scope and Responsibility." The chairmen of these extremely knowledgeable committees have been asked to condense four years of activity into brief reports.

### REPORT FROM THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE

Fourteen members serve on the Library Committee. The years 1976–1980 were a hallmark period in the Maryland Historical Society Library. The number of readers increased by 28 percent, and a three–year National Endowment for the Humanities Challenge Grant, begun in 1976, enabled the Society to add five Library staff members. The extra staff allowed us to re-survey all the manuscript collections and catalogue the heretofore inadequately processed ones, to catalogue over 7,000 books and pamphlets, and to devise cataloguing methods for our fine collection of prints, maps and photographs.

The Library significantly augmented its collections during the four-year period, with more than 2,000 gifts representing over 150,000 items. Valuable additions included the George L. Radcliffe Papers, the Johnson Family Papers, over 200 Maryland prints from Robert Merrick, 6,000 photographs, and the photographic equipment of Robert Kniesche, as well as thousands of books, both gifts and purchases. The Oral History Collection increased four-fold during the period, with the McKeldin-Jackson Civil Rights Projects as the most noteworthy addition. The collections and staff had grown to such an extent that in 1978 it became necessary to institute the position of Head Librarian to coordinate the four divisions of the Library.

It is the aim of the Library Committee to assist in the growth and stature of the staff members and in collection development, so that the increasing number of readers will continue to be benefited.

Edgar G. Heyl, Chairman



FIGURE 6.
(left to right) Mary K. Meyer, Genealogical Reference Librarian, Edgar A. Heyl, Chairman of the Library Committee, and John Walton, Chairman of the Genealogy Committee, examining one of the many genealogical charts in the Library.

# REPORT FROM THE GENEALOGY COMMITTEE

Seventeen members serve on the Genealogy Committee. The genealogy division of the Library has experienced an unprecedented increase in demands for service. This has been partially met by the addition to the staff of a genealogist/researcher.

One instructional course in genealogy is sponsored each year and will continue. In 1979, a successful week-long conference on Maryland records was held and plans are underway to hold another such conference in 1981.

Numerous genealogical reference materials have been added to the collection by purchase and gift. Among the major acquisitions over the past four years have been the microfilm copies of the 1900 Federal Census of Maryland and the 1850 Census of Virginia. The genealogical collection of the Society is unsurpassed in the state and enjoys a national reputation.

The new genealogy magazine has the third largest circulation of genealogical periodicals in the United States. Within the next year, we will consider the possibility of increasing the frequency of publication.

John Walton, Chairman

### REPORT FROM THE MARITIME COMMITTEE

Twenty-six members serve on the Maritime Committee. The Radcliffe Maritime Museum has amassed a large and distinguished collection over its three decades of existence. In the past six months we have moved to utilize and interpret this collection to its maximum advantage.

This summer our first professional curator came aboard to plan further exhibits and educational programs. The first exhibit "The Practical Arts of the Sea" opened to the public in October. Accompanying this exhibit, we began a regular series of family programs on maritime history.

Regarding future planning, this year we will complete a collections management project funded by the National Trust for Historic Preservation and a master planning study funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities. On the results of these studies, we will determine our future collecting efforts and our directions in future exhibits and programs.

George M. Radcliffe, Chairman

# REPORT FROM THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

Fifteen members serve on the Membership Committee. In 1976, our membership record keeping was done manually. At that time we had 3,984 members. Commencing in the fall of 1979, the Society's membership list was put on a computer. Membership currently totals 6,879.

We are actively soliciting new members from the following sources: individuals who attend the Society's special events, through a trial Joint-County Membership program and from those who visit the Museum and Library. There is also a program of telephone solicitation and follow-up.

We are in the process of developing a plan which will result in 9,000 members at the end of five years.

Louis G. Hecht, Chairman

# REPORT FROM THE GALLERY COMMITTEE

Sixteen members serve on the Gallery Committee. The past four years have been years of unparalleled improvement and change in the Gallery which has resulted in an increase in loans, gifts, and scholarly research. Inventories of major portions of the collection have been completed. Exhibitions have taken place with more regularity on both a large and small scale. The Gallery Committee has accessioned over 3,300 objects from 367 donors. The collection now embraces over 50,000 objects. 1,371 objects from the collection were lent to 226 institutions. The Gallery answered 16,000 reference questions. Four matching grants from the National Endowment for the Arts amounting to over \$34,000 have assisted in the restoration of 58 paintings and 109 drawings while 8 pieces of furniture have been reupholstered in correct period fashion and another 16 have been restored. In addition to this, the Gallery Committee and Curatorial staff have been appointed advisors to Governor and Mrs. Hughes on the reinstallation of Government House. Future plans include reinstallation of period rooms, 18th–century kitchen and tool collection, in addition to changing exhibits with broad–based appeal. Development and refinement of the collection will continue.

Bryden B. Hyde, Chairman

### REPORT FROM THE EDUCATION COMMITTEE

Eight members serve on the Education Committee. Over 53,000 children and 12,500 adults received guided tours of the Museum and Library during the last four years. In 1976–77, guided tours alone brought 10,500 children and 2,400 adults to the Society for a total of 584 tours. In 1979–80, we had 14,000 children and almost 4,000 adults in 885 tour groups. Volunteer guides increased from 18 to 34.

An outstanding training program was developed for the volunteer guides. The information desk volunteers also attend the training program now. Each year averaged 10 to 12 training sessions and trips to other institutions.

Preparatory packets enabled teachers to give background information to students in order that they might get the most out of their visit. Special tours for the elderly and handicapped were offered and the first braille labels in the Baltimore City Museum were installed.

In a special effort to offer programming at different levels, the Education Department conducted special workshops for teachers, participated in one-week seminars for gifted and talented elementary school children, worked with the Mayor's office on Special Projects, cooperated with Cecil County Title One Cultural Experience Bus Programs, and developed cooperative special interest fall tours with Fort McHenry.

With the assistance of a generous gift to finance buses for school children, it is hoped to increase tour groups by 10 percent a year with a goal of 26,000 annually in five years.

Dr. Morgan Pritchett, Chairman

# REPORT FROM THE BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS COMMITTEE

Seven members serve on the Buildings and Grounds Committee. The Museum Shop has quadrupled in size and Museum Shop storage space has been added.

The audiovisual equipment in the auditorium was improved and a much needed piano acquired. Sophisticated new security systems were installed, including ultra-sonic detectors, a television surveillance unit, and new smoke detectors. These put the Society in the vanguard of local institutions in the area of detection and security.

The Turnbull House, acquired during this period, received much needed maintenance and repairs, and a security system was installed.

New and pleasant working spaces were created by the addition of office partitions and carpeting. The gardens were refurbished.

In an effort to conserve energy, windows were covered with plexiglass, lexan and sun film. In addition, our energy use was carefully monitored.

Other much needed storage space was provided by remodeling the second floor of the Howard Street building, including climate control and burglar and fire alarm systems. Future plans include investigations of barrier–free access for the handicapped, remodeling of the first floor of the Howard Street property, and a feasibility study made for the addition of an area for special exhibits and an all–purpose meeting room.

Allen Hopkins, Chairman

### REPORT FROM THE ADDRESSES COMMITTEE

Six members serve on the Addresses Committee. A new endowed lecture, the Morris Schapiro Memorial Lecture, was added to the existing three in April, 1979. Other memorial lectures are endowed in the name of Amy L. Steiner, William and Sarah Norris, and Edward G. Howard.

Other organizations were invited to co-sponsor lectures on subjects of mutual interest resulting in dramatically increased attendance, inter-community cooperation and a broader program of lectures.

A special effort was made to relate the lecture series to programs and topics of current public interest. Sample lecture subjects include "Benjamin Henry Latrobe;" "The Port that Built the City 1790–1830;" "Contemporary Black Artists;" "The History of Baltimore County During World War I;" "The Steel Industry;" and "Rare Book Collecting."

Demonstration lectures were also given, the most popular being the musical presentations by Lester Levy and "Art In Action: How A Portrait Comes to Life."

In the next four to five years, we hope to add three more endowed lectures to the series—this will require a minimum endowment of \$10,000 each.

G. Luther Washington, Chairman

# REPORT FROM THE SPEAKERS' COMMITTEE

The Speakers' Bureau Committee was formed on June 22, 1979 and spent the summer participating in orientation talks with the Museum Curator's staff and also joined the guides' training program when possible.

Our committee which started with five members now has ten active members including four of the original five. Our first talk was on September 27, 1979, and by the end of June, 1980 we had given 29 talks to approximately 1,250 people, using eight different speakers.

For the 1980-81 season, we had a brochure printed which lists nine subjects for future slide presentations. During the summer and fall these lectures have been perfected and six of the nine are ready to go. Four talks were given in September to 150 people and 34 talks are already scheduled for the rest of the season and we expect many more requests.

We see our committee objective to reach the Maryland public with the story of the Maryland Historical Society and the benefits of membership therein. We also see an additional altruistic motive—an opportunity to help patients in nursing homes and senior citizens to have a more interesting life.

Arthur Flinner, Chairman

### REPORT FROM THE WOMEN'S COMMITTEE

Since its inception twenty-two years ago, the Women's Committee has always promoted and encouraged interest in the Society, its collections, exhibitions and lectures.

In more recent years, our Committee, whose membership numbers 35, has been involved in fund raising activities such as our most successful Annual Christmas Party for the membership and organizing bus trips to historic points of interest and to view special exhibitions at various museums. We also fulfill numerous hostess opportunities including the Annual Maryland Antiques Show and Sale and the upcoming Appraisal Day in January. The Museum Shop, which was originally suggested by the Women's Committee, continues to be supported by our members as volunteers. Two of our members are tour guides for the Society.

As our fund raising efforts expand, we are hopeful that we can continue to contribute to the general funds of the Society and begin to aid financially in the restoration of paintings and furniture in the collection.

Mrs. Calhoun Bond, Chairman

### REPORT FROM THE SPECIAL PROJECTS COMMITTEE

The Special Projects Committee, consisting of six members, was established in 1976. Their first special project was the "Jefferson Reincarnated" program. They have co-sponsored and coordinated with the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities in the Annual Fort McHenry Picnic and Concert held in the Fall of each year. The concert is always open to the public.

The Committee has also sponsored the dinner/dance on the Saturday evening of the Annual Maryland Antiques Show & Sale. Future plans of the Committee include a project on Maryland Music, producing a recording based on historical sources and materials, many of which are already in the collection at the Society.

Thomas W. Burdette, Co-Chairman

### REPORT FROM THE PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Sixteen members serve on the Publications Committee continuing its tradition of excellence in book and journal publications. The cover and format of the

Maryland Historical Magazine was changed to make it more appealing and interesting. This publication, now completing its 75th year, enjoys the third largest circulation among historical journals in the United States. A new journal, the Maryland Magazine of Genealogy, was begun in 1978.

Publication of *The Virginia Journals* of *Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, 1795–1798 inaugurated a ten-volume selected edition of Latrobe's work. The first volume was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize. The Society's support to this million dollar project is in the range of \$30,000 per year. We also sponsored a two-volume history of the Green Spring Valley in 1978, and the *Maryland Manual* of *Oral History* in 1979.

Two significant and long-awaited manuscripts were completed and accepted for publication in 1980: a biography of Samuel Chase, entitled Stormy Patriot: The Life of Samuel Chase, and a new guide to the Society's research collections. The committee has adopted a policy affecting all Society manuscripts submitted for publication, and looks forward to the creation of a Publications Department with a full-time director in 1981–82.

Charles L. Wagandt, Jr., Chairman

### REPORT FROM THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Ten members representing various basic activities of the Society were appointed to the recently re-activated Program Committee. Members will review, coordinate and determine programs proposed by Standing Committees and Departments. The objective is to increase attendance in all twelve months of the year while fulfilling the basic responsibilities of the Maryland Historical Society. Whenever necessary, the Committee will propose and implement, through subcommittees, additional programs which will provide an overall balance.

Mrs. Dudley I. Catzen, Chairman

### REPORT FROM THE PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE

The Public Relations Committee was appointed in 1977 and elected at the following annual meeting. Eight members now serve on the Committee. Early projects included approval of all literature publicizing the activities of the Society. Projects range from the preparation and implementation of a major promotional campaign for the Annual Maryland Antiques Show & Sale to troubleshooting situations.

Future plans include regional advertising which will continue to strengthen the image of the Society as the state-wide source for Maryland history and memorabilia.

Elmer M. Jackson, Jr., Committee Member, reporting for Mary E. Busch, Chairman

### REPORT FROM THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

Over the past two years, we have reorganized our internal accounting not only to make financial information more readily available, but to reduce the work required by our outside auditors. Their fee was \$22,500 a year ago. The current audit fee is set at \$10,000.

The projected income for the coming years relies in part on the earnings of our Endowment Fund. About one year ago, the investment of that fund was placed in the hands of Investment Counselors of Maryland. The year prior to that assignment the Investment Fund had an annual return of 6.2 percent of the value of the Fund. For the year just closed, the annual return was 7.0 percent, or an 11 percent increase in performance.

This was done with relatively little change in the total value of investments. Now, with the Capital Funds Drive, we expect to double the Investment Fund within three years, and, hopefully, to double annual fund earnings to \$375,000.

Julian Kurzmann, Financial Advisor, reporting for John T. Stinson, Chairman

### REPORT FROM THE ANNUAL GIVING COMMITTEE

There was no organized program as an Office of Development before the spring of 1977. The department was renamed the Office of Annual Giving in the summer of 1979 and is monitored by a new standing committee with the same name.

Annual fund-raising programs include campaigns directed to members, friends, and the business community. In addition, on-going grant solicitations from Federal, State, City, County and Foundation sources are implemented by our Grants Officer. Deferred giving programs are communicated to the membership through quarterly Heritage mailings. Special emphasis has been placed on the procurement of unrestricted gifts-in-kind.

Direct annual financial support to the Society (excluding membership dues and gifts-in-kind) had increased from approximately \$109,000 in 1975-76 to approximately \$286,000 in 1979-80. The projected figure for 1983-84 is \$355,000.

Calvert C. McCabe, Jr., Committee Member, reporting for Leonard C. Crewe, Jr., Chairman

Numerous other *Special* Committees are also functioning superbly, such as, the Auction Committee, Chairman, Robert Kershaw; Maryland Antiques Show & Sale Committee, Chairman, Mrs. Charles W. Cole, Jr.; Fort McHenry Concert, Thomas W. Burdette and Thomas H. G. Bailliere, Jr., Chairmen; and many various trips and receptions under the Special Women's Committee chaired by Mrs. William Kouwenhoven, Mrs. John S. Kerns, Jr. and Mrs. Ted J. Black.

We have had several successful special trips starting with the Delta Queen two years ago, and trips to England, France, Ireland and across Canada.

The Executive Committee is composed of Vice Presidents Calvert C. McCabe, Jr., E. Phillips Hathaway, Richard C. Riggs, Jr. and William C. Whitridge; Secretary Mrs. Frederick W. Lafferty; Treasurer John G. Evans; Counsel Jacques T. Schlenger; and Past President Samuel Hopkins. They have met quarterly and have always been of great assistance to the decision–making process required by management.

Our first Trustees were elected in the fall of 1976 during my first term in office. The By-Laws were changed in the fall of 1977 placing legal and fiscal responsibility for your Society with the Board of Trustees. J. Fife Symington came into the picture at this time as Chairman of the Board when many constructive changes in our organization began to take place. Within one year, all 23 counties in the State were represented on the Board. The administration and the Society are extremely fortunate in having the support of this fine Board of Trustees.

We are deeply indebted to the hundreds of volunteers who work within the framework of these standing and special committees. It is the generous contribution of their time and talent that provide the life-blood of the Museum and Library of Maryland History.

Mrs. Romaine Somerville has reported on her activities under the heading of the Director's Report. I wish space permitted my commenting on each individual on her superb staff. They are among the best in their respective fields and we have Mrs. Somerville to thank for this organization.

Leonard C. Crewe, Jr.



FIGURE 7.

Maryland Chippendale dressing table, circa 1770, walnut. The Dr. Michael & Marie Abrams

Memorial Purchase Fund.

With grateful appreciation, we list those members and friends who have made contributions to the Society from July 1, 1979 through June 30, 1980.

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#### MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

## **General Fund**

CONDENSED STATEMENT OF SUPPORT, REVENUE AND EXPENSES FOR THE YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1980

SUPPORT AND REVENUE		
Dues	\$ 81,526	
Contributions and grants	232,623	(1)
Legacies and trusts	5,406	
Investment income	189,081	
Rentals, sales and service fees	46,231	
Antique show and auction	84,596	
Gain on sale of property	8,523	
Other income	_19,641	
	667,627	
EXPENSES		
Gallery and museums	76,680	
Library, prints and manuscripts	99,619	
Magazine and history notes	50,906	
Educational services	14,993	
Public relations and development	56,359	
Annual giving	30,692	
Building operations	204,388	(2)
Administrative and general	193,743	(2)
	727,380	
Excess of expenses over support and revenue	\$ 59,753	(3)

- (1) Includes grants from city, counties, state and federal governments totaling \$71,504.
- (2) Includes services rendered to the Library, Museums, Gallery, Latrobe Project, and other operating departments of the Society.
- (3) Deficit for the current year is offset by excesses of prior years.

## **Funds for Specified Purposes**

ENDOWMENT FUNDS		
Support and revenue	\$113,663	
Expenses	35,523	
•		\$78,140
DIVIDAGE MANAGEMENT		Ψ.Ο,110
PUBLICATION FUND		
Support and revenue	6,984	
Expenses	4,757	
		2,227
SPECIAL FUNDS		,
	000 004	
Support and revenue	229,224	
Expenses	211,480	
		17,744
LATROBE FUNDS		
	158,638	
Support and revenue	,	
Expenses	119,264	
		39,374

NOTE: This condensed report of support, revenue and expenses for the General Fund and Funds for Specified Purposes has been prepared by the Treasurer of the Maryland Historical Society from statements prepared by our public accountants. Detailed audited statements are available upon request to the Treasurer, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore 21201.

## **Enoch Pratt as Letter Writer**

#### ALEXANDRA LEE LEVIN

A NUMBER OF YEARS AGO I DISCOVERED IN AN OLD FAMILY trunk a packet of one hundred letters written in the 1850s and '60s by banker Enoch Pratt to my great-grandfather, John Knight. The find quadrupled the number of Pratt's letters in the collections at the Maryland Historical Society and Pratt Library. Unlike the correspondence in those depositories, many of these letters, although written principally to keep his client abreast of money matters, were flavored with Pratt's small talk. His views on a variety of subjects provide indications of his relatively little-known character.<sup>1</sup>

Enoch Pratt had come to Baltimore from his native Massachusetts in 1831. The enterprising, frugal young man had made a success of his hardware business before turning to banking. At his "counting house" on S. Charles street Pratt advertised "Iron, Cut Nails, Spikes, Horse and Mule Shoes, Taunton Yellow Metal and Cumberland Coal". By 1848 his Yankee shrewdness, combined with good fortune, had pushed his income to the three-quarters of a million mark. Pratt's improved financial status induced him to move from a modest rented brick row house on Pleasant street to the fine residence he had built at Park and Monument in the best section of town.

Pratt was never one to lay aside thrifty habits, and he continued to whittle his own pens from long goose quills. His letters, written with a heavy hand on thin paper, were still signed "E. Pratt & Brother" although his brother had long since ceased to participate in counting house affairs.

John Knight's father, James, a civil engineer, had left Frederick, Maryland, around 1805 and settled with his young wife in the frontier territory of Indiana. John was fourteen when he and his five younger sisters and brothers, all born in an Indiana log cabin, were left orphans. In order to support the family, John trudged forty miles over an Indian trail to Cincinnati where he learned the printing trade. At the age of nineteen he traveled down the Mississippi to Natchez where he became owner of a general store. Business throve in the booming cotton economy, and when his health deteriorated, he was able to retire in 1850. He placed his business affairs in the capable hands of banker Enoch Pratt, then made an extended European tour with his wife and only child, Fanny. Mrs. Knight was the former Frances Beall of Frederick.

Pratt's letters from Baltimore kept the Knights up-to-date on matters at home. "We have had an abundance of rain here," he wrote chattily on August 13, 1857. The summer had been so delightful that Mr. Pratt and his wife had not

Mrs. Levin has published widely in local history and biography.

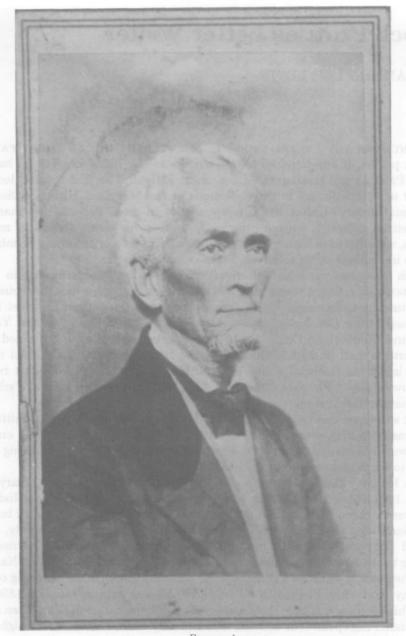


FIGURE 1.
John Knight (1806–1864), son of James and Mary McCleery Knight of Frederick, Maryland. From a carte de visite, circa 1860.

been out of the city. In fact, very few people had been away, and none of the watering places were more than half full, except White Sulphur in Virginia.

"All eyes are now turned to the ground Telegraph," Pratt reported. "We expect to hear by the 20<sup>th</sup> Inst. how it gets on." The steam frigate *Niagara*, the finest

vessel of the U.S. Navy, and H.M.S. *Agamemnon* of the British Navy each were to lay 1,250 tons of telegraph cable across the Atlantic. "We have great fears of its success, but hope for the best," Pratt wrote. The cable had been joined at sea on August 5, but broke on the eleventh. A year later it was laid successfully.

Pratt's letter continued: "Mr. Peabody leaves in the steamer that takes this; you will no doubt see him." George Peabody, the banker and philanthropist, handled Mr. Knight's financial affairs in London. "Peabody has given us \$50,000 more for the institute here—he has given over a half million since he come over." Some months earlier the London-based banker had donated \$300,000 to establish a free Literary and Scientific Institute at Baltimore. Mr. Peabody had been visiting his friends in this country after an absence of eighteen years and, according to Pratt, had announced his intention of soon retiring and spending part of his time in Baltimore.<sup>3</sup>

Late that August a general financial panic in the United States was triggered by the suspension of the Ohio Life and Trust Co. Pratt informed his client on September 9: "There has been a tremendous smash up among the stock operators at N.Y. involving a good many persons who were extended." He wrote again on October 3: "The business of our whole country has been puffed up by paper and credit until the ball would not roll any more, and a general smash up is the consequence. Pratt was astonished that the day of reckoning had not come sooner.

The Knights were wintering at Rome when Pratt wrote again on October 20: "There never was such a crisis before and hope never will be again. People have been too fast, done business too fast, lived too fast." Pratt was pleased that so far Baltimore had come through remarkably well. Except for the banks, the city had had no failures nor suspensions of any consequence. "Fact is, the Northerners have been talking about Southern old fogeyism & rusting out: it now proves that the South has done business on correct & reliable principles, and the South only," Pratt wrote. "The people north seem to have, particularly in N.Y., gone Stockmad: everybody—employers, clerks & porters, all gambling more or less in some kind of stock till now they are all brought up with a round turn, and obliged to show their hands." Fortunately the firm of "E. Pratt & Brother" was entirely out of debt and intended to "keep so."

Pratt wrote again on November 23: "The panic seems to have run its race and people now begin to gather up and look round and find the real damage not near so great as they expected." While the stocks and bonds of states like Missouri, Virginia and Ohio fluctuated violently, those of Maryland and Baltimore City had "stood like a rock."

At Rome John Knight worried about the solvency of his London banker. "Your surmise about Mr. Peabody having received aid from the Bank is correct," Pratt answered on December 26, "but in place of effecting (sic) his credit has increased it, as it is thought that if he could furnish 5 millions out of his private funds that he must have a good pile." In fact, it was said at Baltimore that Peabody did not have to use all his funds at the bank as his remittances on this side of the Atlantic had been enormous during the past three or four weeks. "The steamer that left on the 24<sup>th</sup> took over \$2,300,000," Pratt reported. "You need have no fears in the world of the soundness of Geo. Peabody Co." Fortunately everything had "settled down as calm as a May morning."

On March 1, 1858, Pratt wrote that Baltimore feared there would be no ice for the summer due to the mild winter. But then it snowed, ice formed 6 inches thick, and everyone was relieved on that score. Financial matters, too, had "settled down as easy as an old shoe." Yet the old game of stock gambling was on the increase at New York again. "Many fancy stocks not worth a dollar are letting at high rates," Pratt wrote disapprovingly. "People seem very anxious to be humbugged, notwithstanding all we have passed through."

The Knight family was preparing to return to America when Pratt wrote on March 24, 1859: "The world seems now to be in a state of excitement about a war in Italy, which every arrival is looked for to bring the announcement," For some time Sardinia's foreign minister, Cavour, had tried to persuade Napoleon III of France to help the Italian patriots liberate their country from Austrian domination. "We have never thought there would be any war," Pratt commented, "although some of the population might be induced to try their hands at a revolution, as they have before, and quit again because they are not capable of forming a substantial government for themselves. It is thought here that the French Emperor wants to imitate his uncle." Pratt conceded that there might be "some sort of a blow up," but if the Knights embarked immediately for Marseilles he supposed that it would not interfere with their "getting along." War began a month later.

"We are glad to hear of your safe arrival at Paris," Pratt wrote on June 6.<sup>11</sup> "There are large numbers of Americans going over this year, but we think they will have but a limited trip. The war must shut them off from all of Italy, if not from other parts, and you are fortunate in having got through with your journey as there is no telling when there will be peace again." Late in July the Knights boarded the iron-hulled paddle steamer *Persia*, pride of the Cunard Line, bound for home. The *Persia*, the fastest vessel afloat, reached New York on August 3.

The Knights spent the summer of 1860 in Florence, Massachusetts, near the "Water Cure Establishment" where Mr. Knight hoped to benefit his health by drinking the salubrious waters. Enoch Pratt wrote from Baltimore on June 29, "The weather has turned very hot here and I now begin to envy you in a cool resort, although I can't say but that I find it very comfortable at my house."

The political situation was heating up, too, with rising concern over the presidential election. Rumblings of trouble between the North and South could be discerned. The Democratic party had already split apart when it met in Baltimore that June. "We have had very great excitement here among the politicians, and as the matter gets hot we hope they will cool off," Pratt wrote. "They talk a great deal about dissolving the Union, which is moonshine. The people have no such idea." The South had never been more prosperous, yet Pratt was certain that the price of cotton would soon fall.

The election of the Republican candidate, Abraham Lincoln, led to South Carolina's secession from the Union in late December. On the third day of the new year, 1861, Pratt wrote to Knight, then wintering in Magnolia, Florida: "The country seems now in such utter confusion the Lord only knows what will come of it. We so far get along very smoothly in Baltimore."

When Pratt wrote again on January 29, South Carolina's example had been followed by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana. Texas was

soon to join them. "We are doing all we can to hold on to the Union," Pratt told Knight.

Three weeks after Abraham Lincoln's inauguration, Pratt wrote on March 25: "There seems to be a calm in politics and we hope people will come to their sober senses once more now they see Mr. Lincoln is not like to eat them up."

The calm did not last long. Fort Sumter surrendered, and the Union sent out a call for 75,000 men. The Knights were trying to leave the South for New York when Pratt wrote on April 17: "It looks now as though you would not be able to go from Savannah to N.Y. by steamer as it is reported all the steamers to southern ports have been withdrawn." He hoped that the "public mind" would soon cool down. "There is now intense excitement both North and South growing out of late events at Charleston. We have fallen on evil times. . . . "

Two days later the first blood of the war was spilled when a Baltimore mob attacked the Sixth Massachusetts regiment as it passed through the city on its way to the Capital. When news was received at Baltimore that the attack aroused a vindictive feeling in the North against the city's entire population, Mayor Brown ordered the bridges on the Philadelphia and Northern Central railroads destroyed. This was an attempt to keep large bodies of troops from suddenly marching upon the city. Baltimore hoped to keep the war away from its homes if possible.

John Knight wrote to Enoch Pratt on April 25, informing him of their safe arrival at New York's Fifth Avenue Hotel, and asking about the advisability of another European trip. Pratt answered on the twenty-ninth: "At all hazards we should take the chance, as you can live there as cheap as here."

Five days later Pratt described the political situation at Baltimore: "The Union feeling grows stronger here daily...." A number of Union meetings were held, expressing support for the right of Federal troops to pass unmolested through the city. Pratt reported that the government was repairing bridges on the Northern Central railroad, and Union troops were advancing toward Baltimore. "We think there will be no trouble."

In mid-July when the Knights sailed from New York aboard the *Persia*, Pratt wished them a safe and pleasant voyage and hoped they could find "some quiet spot."

"The Government since the 1st of August, after the discharge of the 3-months men," Pratt wrote on October 4, "has made great preparations for the defense of the capital; they have 300 thousand men in and around Washington, and great confidence is now entertained that a settlement may be brought about honorable to all concerned." <sup>12</sup>

Soon after Pratt wrote, the "Trent Affair" occurred. President Jefferson Davis decided to send two commissioners, James M. Mason of Virginia, and John Slidell of Louisiana, to represent the Confederate government at London and Paris respectively. Mason and Slidell ran the blockade at Charleston and reached Havana in safety. There they embarked on the British mail steamer *Trent* for Southhampton, England. As the *Trent* was steaming through the Bahama Channel she was stopped by an exploding shell from the *San Jacinto*, a 15-gun U.S. sloop under Captain Charles Wilkes. Wilkes seized Mason and Slidell from the *Trent* and carried them to Boston where they were confined as prisoners of war.

News of the capture was greeted with joy at the North, but the British were furious at what they considered a violation of their flag. The war spirit waxed hot, the British government made plans for war, and its ministry framed a formal demand for reparation. Secretary of State Seward skilfully answered the British demand by declaring the act of Captain Wilkes an error, the Confederate commissioners were released on January 1, 1862, and the danger of war was averted.

Prior to the release of Mason and Slidell, John Knight, then wintering at Pau, France, sent Pratt a worried letter concerning the possibility of a transatlantic conflict. Pratt answered on January 6:

We in this country have no idea or notion of going into a war with England. We never had any and we have been very much astonished to see with what alacrity the English people seem to be willing to pitch into us, and leaves fears in our minds that they mean to have a war at all hazard so they can get cotton. It would seem a strange thing if anti–Slavery England should join the South, but Politics make strange bed fellows, as the old saying is, and if they are determined to have cotton they won't stand at the extension of Slavery or anything else, but force a war on us at any rate. Our government promptly without asking gave up Mason and Slidell and it only now remains to see what the English really mean. We can't yet make up our minds that we are to have war if there is any possibility of our government averting it. We shall not, for both they & the people are fully aware such a war won't be fatal to us.

We cannot give you anything but hope in regard to our own war. The government has prepared everything on the most gigantic order and it can't be long continued in the present state. The expenses are over a million, if not two, a day, and no nation on earth can stand such a very long time without action. God protect and prosper us. You are perfectly right in throwing off everything, and taking it as it comes. You could do nothing here, and if you can stay still out of the excitement we strongly advise your doing so. <sup>13</sup>

That same month U.S. General Burnside sailed from Fortress Monroe with a fleet carrying troops to the eastern shore of North Carolina. The fleet reached Roanoke Island which was held by about 3,000 Confederate soldiers. Seventy-five hundred Union men landed on the island, scaled the Confederate breastworks, and made prisoners of the entire force on the island. This victory on February 8, 1862, was an important one for the North.

Pratt's letter of February 14 glowed with pride as he described the event:

The last steamer took out a wonderful statement of the battle of Roanoke Island, N.C., in which the Confederates claimed their troops showed great bravery but were overpowered by numbers, after killing about 1000 Federal troops & wounding as many more. The facts of the case come to hand this morning which show that only about 70 were killed on both sides, the Confederates surrendering about 3000 without firing a gun. This bombast is in accordance with the whole course of the Confederates. They have claimed all along that one Southern soldier was equal to five of the Northern and heaped all sorts of insult on them as cowards and hirelings which they could frighten with wooden guns; but the case begins to look entirely the other way. In any case, the South has run & as the immense preparations the Govt. has been making are completed, they now begin to press on the Confederates on all sides. We have every hope and reason to believe, soon as the roads dry a little, that a movement

will be made to settle the matter & give peace. This is the opinion now of most classes. The Govt. has 600 thousand of the best appointed troops the world ever saw. We hope the end is coming.<sup>14</sup>

General McClellan had taken command of the Army of the Potomac when Pratt wrote again on March 31:

There is certainly great hope of the Union and prospects brighten every day, but we must not be too confident as the fate of battles are uncertain. There was never on this earth such an army as is now arrayed to uphold the sacred cause of the Union, well drilled, well appointed in everything—deadly projectiles such as were never before employed in destruction of human life. The spring opens and the hosts are moving on. If Providence protects the right the Union will be preserved, but we must not disguise the fact that our Southern brothers are united and determined as one man to fight as long as they can, & that they are brave and true to their country no one will deny. It is a wonder to us all how they can maintain themselves as they do, cut off from the world & with lack of any material of war. I must confess I have a great admiration for them and only regret they are expending their lives and substance in such an unholy cause.

The Union Army is now moving from Fortress Monroe on Richmond and it will not be long before we hear of bloody battles. Not until our army occupies Richmond can we be certain that day is breaking. God protect the Union. 15

The "Seven Days' Battle" had been fought and the Union had sent out a call for 300,000 more volunteers when Enoch Pratt wrote less confidently on July 4: "Owing to the defeat of McClellan's army before Richmond which is promulgated this morning in a thousand no doubt exaggerated rumours, we send your money as the war may be prolonged to an indefinite period. God knows what will come & we think to be on the safe side." 16

It is said that many Baltimoreans cut Enoch Pratt dead on the street because of his staunch pro-Union views. Unable to stomach further taunts from Southern sympathizers, Pratt fled the city for a rest at Newport, Rhode Island. He wrote Knight from there on July 21. As he was on vacation, he signed himself "Enoch Pratt" instead of the usual "E. Pratt & Brother":

Being now settled at this place for a few weeks, thought I would write. Our currency is being depreciated to such an extent we are losing all landmarks. The government is issuing Treas. notes and has now made Postage stamps currency so that we shall not see any gold & silver, and I presume we shall be flooded with individual shin plasters. <sup>17</sup> But all this trash will buy Govt. stocks and bonds of states and cities. . . .

The prospect of a settlement of the war is not as good. Congress had adjourned and left us not a speck of peace, and there is so much Abolition, confiscation, and politics the hearts of the truly Loyal sink within them. It has had such an effect on me the year past, living on the verge of the seat of war, with so much secession all around me as to seriously affect my health, as it has many others, and I have come away to this spot for quietness and repose. I am doing better.

The repulse of McClellan before Richmond only prolongs the contest, for the government immediately called for 300 thousand additional troops, which are now being enrolled and will soon be in the field. The South is united, man & child, in their unholy cause. If the North were equally so, the war would have come to an end before this, but the Govt. has gone on the conciliation plan and has seemed to be unwilling

to push the unity of the war, as waged in the South. But they begin to find it no use, and I fear the full horror of civil war, as we read of in history, is to be waged by the two sections, and God knows what is to be the result or the end.

There is now fear of interference by France & England. This will only make it worse. Our people would come out in mass, old and young, and we are now prepared for war. We have about 30 of the most terrible iron gunboats, monitors and the like, that will be ready by 1st Sept., and more building. Our country was never before prepared for war as now, but I hope and trust the Lord will avert it and bring us back to peace.

Enoch Pratt was right about the fear of intervention by England and France. The Confederate commissioners, Mason and Slidell, had diligently set to work stirring up support for their cause. At Paris Slidell tried to catch the ear of Louis Napoleon and secure from him recognition and active help. In Britain the American Civil War had marked effects on its economy. The blockade of southern ports produced great suffering among the English mill workers when the lack of cotton necessitated wide-spread stoppages in manufacturing districts. By December famine in England was at its height.

In the United States the staggering costs of the seemingly interminable war sent prices spiralling. The public debt, which at the beginning of the conflict stood at less than \$70,000,000, had become \$500,000,000. Enoch Pratt tried to write with some show of confidence on January 23, 1863:

Our government is putting out more currency and piling up debt. No one can foresee what is in the future. There are, of course, plenty of people who think the government will cave in, and all this vast indebtedness be repudiated. But who holds it? The people: and with such a vast sum scattered broadcast over this land, it will take more power then this land can give to repudiate. That is our opinion & we hold a large amount of the government securities, and we mean to hold them and we don't see why, if they are not good, how anything else will be, for certainly if the head and body dies, the limbs will.

Speculation made on Railroad stocks, & Bonds, almost everything has doubled and still going up. Two years ago Railroads were thought the last to invest in. Now nothing is so good, & there will be most terrible losses sustained bye and bye. . . . Our currency, we maintain, has not depreciated. You can buy wheat & flour, beef & provisions now, as low as you could two years ago in coin, & these are the true standards—not gold; one you can eat, the other, not. Again, farms & lands are no higher & from them we live, so that our money is just as valuable as ever. . . .

Mr. Peabody sent me a check for \$25,000 the first of this month, a further donation to the Peabody Institute. He has made an enormous sum the last year. 18

Pratt wrote on March 26, saying that he hoped that Mr. Knight took the *Baltimore American* as it gave reliable facts and was looked upon as the best paper in the country. "We do not wonder that you see the question on the black side, so far remote and away from information, & what you do get highly coloured." Pratt assured Knight that the price of gold was coming down. Speculators had paid as high as \$72 as ounce, but it had fallen to \$40. Money was in plentiful supply, labor very scarce, and the price of real estate in the cities rising. "We are sorry you can't come home, but as things are, you are better off in Europe until the war is over."

With this Pratt's letters ceased. John Knight died in Biarritz, France, in October 1864. Enoch Pratt, two years Knight's junior, lived until 1896, ten years after the opening of his gift to Baltimore, "a free circulating public library, open to all citizens regardless of property or color."

#### REFERENCES

- 1. Letters are now at Duke University Library.
- Letter sent via Collins Line's steam packet Baltic from New York to Liverpool, C/O George Peabody Co., London.
- 3. This sentence is from Pratt's letter of March 1, 1858.
- 4. Via Collins Line's Atlantic from New York, Saturday, September 12, 1857. All ships went to Liverpool.
- 5. Via Canada from Boston, Wednesday, October 7, 1857.
- 6. Via Baltic from New York, Saturday, October 24, 1857, "Per Prussian Closed Mail."
- 7. Via Arabia from New York, Wednesday, November 25, 1857, "Per Prussian Closed Mail."
- 8. Via Canada from Boston, Wednesday, December 30, 1857, "Per Prussian Closed Mail."
- 9. Via Africa from New York, Wednesday, March 3, 1858.
- 10. Via City of Washington from New York, Saturday, March 26, 1859.
- 11. Via Cunard Line's Asia from New York, Wednesday, June 8, 1859.
- 12. Via City of New York, C/O George Peabody Co.
- 13. Via Niagara from Boston.
- 14. Via steamer from New York.
- 15. Via America from Boston.
- 16. Via Bremen from New York, July 5, 1862.
- 17. During the early part of the Civil War gold and silver disappeared from circulation, mainly from hoarding. To satisfy the demand for small change, a postage stamp currency was introduced by the Treasury Dept. The design of a postage stamp was reproduced on notes of 5,10,25 and 50 cent denominations, printed on ungummed paper.
- 18. Via City of Baltimore from New York.
- 19. Via Edinburgh from New York.

## On the Road to Antietam: Letters of Edward K. Wightman of "Hawkins's Zouaves"

EDWARD G. LONGACRE

In September 1862, less than a week before the bloodiest day's fighting of the Civil War took place outside the village of Sharpsburg, Maryland, 27-year-old Edward King Wightman left Washington, D. C. and marched toward the sound of the guns. One of a large party of recent enlistees, he sought the whereabouts of his regiment, the Ninth New York Volunteer Infantry ("Hawkins's Zouaves"). A member of a family with old New York and New England ties, and a proud possessor of a master's degree from New York University, the young recruit had quit a successful career as a trade journalist in exchange for the life of a soldier.

Wightman's education and professional training enabled him to send home perceptive, articulate, even humorous accounts of his journey to war, with emphasis on scenes of military and civilian activity throughout lower Maryland. His audience consisted of his 59-year-old father, Stillman King Wightman, a Yale graduate, a former member of the Connecticut Assembly and Senate, and destined to become the oldest active attorney in Manhattan; his mother, Clarissa Butler Wightman (1805–1897); his brothers, Frederick (1829–1911, their father's law partner), James (1833–1919, a budding New York City architect), and Charles (1837–1934, a former schoolteacher and a future minister); his unmarried sisters, Mary (1839–1890) and Ellen (1841–1899); and his sisters–in–law, Abigail (1836–1912, the wife of Frederick) and Lillie (?–1868, James's wife).

Edward Wightman's observations in print include a graphic description of the littered battlefield along Antietam Creek, where, on September 17, Major General George B. McClellan's Army of the Potomac salvaged a tactical draw against Robert E. Lee's Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, thus aborting Lee's invasion of the North. Though he arrived too late to participate at Antietam, Wightman would see action in numerous sanguinary engagements during his two years and four months of service with the New York volunteers, culminating in his death, under heroic circumstances, during the second assault on Fort Fisher, North Carolina, on January 15, 1865.

The originals of his letters (to which extra paragraphing and some essential punctuation have been added) remain in the possession of the soldier's descendants. The editor acknowledges the kind cooperation of Mrs. Edith Wightman Kreitler, of Radnor, Pennsylvania, through whose courtesy they here appear.

The author of two books about the Civil War, Mr. Longacre was recently appointed a staff historian of the Strategic Air Command.

Washington Friday Morn. Sept. 12, 1862

Dear Fred:

I propose to give you occasional and truthful sketches of my experiences and impressions. They will come to you very irregularly and in crude condition. They are intended, however, only for your own eye, or if you choose, for the satisfaction of the male portion of the family. The women would be too much shocked at what is coming. I shall write more generally to them. Please keep the notes I send you, for it is possible I may want to make use of them some day. They will constitute the only record of facts I can preserve.

In haste, Ed. K. W.

Washington Friday Sept. 12, 1862

Dear Bro.

The note mailed this morning was hurriedly finished in consequence of the receipt of marching orders, which were subsequently recalled. Last night I slept like a top, although it required at first much time to nurse myself into forgetfulness; for the room was densely packed with men who lay stretched in radiating circles around the posts supporting the roof [of the recruiting depot] and elsewhere were tumbled promiscuously together like fish in a basket. I unrolled my rubber blanket on the floor and, wrapping myself in the govt. blanket to keep off the rain that came dripping through the roof, made a pillow of my knapsack, and propping the top of my head against the wall to keep muddy boots from under my nose, shut my eyes and tried to think myself comfortable, as a philosopher should. But two noisy Irishmen got quarreling about some ridiculous trifle and kept up a yelling until we rose in a body and expelled them. Our Zou-Zou (Newfoundland) dog joined in the demonstration and had a pretty strong voice in the matter.

I was up as usual at about 4 A.M. After waiting for rations till about 10 o'clock I procured a steak with great difficulty at a neighboring restaurant. The delay was caused by a crowd, for Washington is overrun with new troops from the North. Two long trains came in this morning bringing regiments from New York: one of them was the "Monitors," including Charley's friend, "Old Cooper," whom I saw and shook by the hand.

(A Zou–Zou has just kicked over my inkstand while searching for his canteen.) The barracks are crammed—two regiments are quartered out of doors. We have now more than 300,000 troops defending Washington and reinforcements are continually streaming in. McClellan is endeavoring to cut off the advance of the rebels and no one here seems to doubt of his success. No fears are entertained for the safety of Washington.

P. M. We have been joined by some of our regiment from the hospitals and the above was cut short to attend to the wants of a poor fellow who lies beside me shivering with the ague he caught at Acquia Creek [Virginia, McClellan's recent supply base]. Leut. [James H.] Fleming visited our quarters about 10 o'clock and announced that our march would not be commenced until tomorrow.

After feeding my sick man I accordingly started for a stroll over this City. The

Capitol is not in my eyes a pretty place, although the marble buildings of the several [government] departments are in themselves admirable. . . .

Friday night we bunked on the floor of the barracks as usual. The Zou-Zous, for some reason, were more frisky than usual. The 29th Ohio quartered with us and two or four men, finding they had some brass pieces with them, played some really fine duets. Afterwards they made less pleasant noises. They beat a big brass drum furiously in the middle of the night. They worked the most hideous sounds out of a trombone at frequent intervals till daylight broke. They got on the roof and trampled over it and velled through the knotholes till everyone was worn out and disgusted. They mounted guard at the door where they had no business to and prevented egress and ingress. Their dog Jack tore the seat square out of the trousers of a Massachusetts man who incautiously walked near their sleeping place. In fact "Them New York fellers and their damned dog" became a by-word and a reproach among the countrymen. Often as I waked I couldn't but laugh heartily at the disgusted countenances of the hundreds whose heads stuck up all over the room as they lay propped on their elbows to examine into each new cause of disquiet. My wakefulness was increased by the want of a government blanket, our shivering friend having monopolized three of them.

At day break we were up and washing in the thousand and one mud puddles near[by]. After that we formed in double lines from 1/8 to 1/4 of a mile in length, each man with a tin cup. (I have provided myself with a sockdolijer [sic] that holds a quart and a pint) and after struggling and crowding for an hour jammed our way into the grub room. This room is as long as a rope walk and contains three rough board tables running from end to end. On these tables are placed at intervals buckets of hot coffee, having much of the appearance of swill tubs, and along the edges of the tables, about a foot apart, are thick slices of bakers bread crowned with chunks of fat—very fat—salt pork, boiled. We stand in our places, dip our cups into the muddy coffee tub, take the bread and pork in our fingers (the latter is as greasy as whale blubber) and make the most of our banquet. When a man is as hungry as a bear, it is not so bad as you may imagine.

At noon on Saturday the 13th we threw our knapsacks into an ammunition wagon drawn by four donkies [sic] and started (20 in a squad) on the march for Rockville, Maryland. We had a mounted guide and a man rode on one of the donkies to direct the team. Our route was through Georgetown. The sun was hot as the mischief and burned me as red as a lobster in less than an hour. This road was dusty and made more so by the continual passage of wagon trains and the tramp of infantry squads.

At about 3 P. M. we stopped, ate our rations, and sucked water from a muddy brook. My [canteen] filter was brought into requisition immediately and good fellowship demanded its transference, like a pipe of peace, from hand to hand, and from mouth to mouth. You who have seen the tobacco stained mouths of our Zouaves, will give me one credit for generosity. However, policy, you know—as Jack Falstaff remarked, "the lion knows instinct." While we were eating the 29th Ohio, which had started three hours before us, came up. They intended us a compliment in saying we "marched like the devil."

In half an hour we started on again, passing long trains of ambulance wagons and here and there the dead body of a horse or a donkey who had fallen in the

midst of his labors, and every few yards coming upon a cast shoe, a flattened canteen, parts of blankets, pieces of knapsack, etc. Occasionally a darkey would appear in a neighboring field with a basket of peaches or apples with which he goodnaturedly treated us.

At 8 o'clock P. M., some time after dark, we reached Rockville, Md., having marched during the afternoon 20 miles. I used my heavy walking shoes and beyond a *quantum sufficit* of leg weariness and a slight bruise on the left heel from the doubling-in of the new leather felt no inconvenience. I considered myself justified in getting a warm supper at the tavern and then, all the barracks and tents being occupied, retired to a hay loft which we had been lucky enough to find in the dark and almost before I could close my eyes fell asleep.

The village, town, or whatever it may be is thoroughly secesh. McClellan has just moved his headquarters from about 5 miles in our rear (we passed close by them on Saturday) to Poolesville. We are already in the midst of the army and when on the route see encampments and breastworks on the more commanding hills.

Sunday Morning—Our loft last night had a window in each end so that a stream of cool air coursed over us incessantly. Yet I feel no ill effects. I was buttoned up tight in my overcoat and at the first symptoms of a chill covered myself with a mountain of hay. The hay seed in my uniform this morning stuck so that it would scarcely be picked out. We rose "with the lark" and after admiring a lot of dried sheep skins strung overhead, climbed down from our roost, boiled our coffee in a big pot in the tavern yard and made a breakfast on rations.

Our regiment is in the advance and [Major General Ambrose E.] Burnside, in whose corps it is stationed, is presumed to be at Frederick. At 5 P. M. today (the greater part of Sunday being given to rest), we start on a ten mile march with knapsacks to join it. Our team has already gone back. We heard the firing of heavy guns this morning towards the north and it is possible an important battle has been fought. We expect to march 35 or 40 miles before catching our regiment.

To my astonishment some of "our boys" manifested a disposition to go to church but the secesh declined to admit them on the ground that the building was already crowded. This afternoon my scrubby head (I was shorn of my strength in Secesh Baltimore) will probably be seen in the midst of the congregation.

I have no time to write more. My health and spirits are first rate. Remember me to the "Phellers."

Yours truly, Ed. K. W.

After this and others have been read please put them somewhere in a drawer where they will not get rubbed. I want to keep them for reference. As soon as I am posted so as to be able to give my address it shall be forwarded. It may be several days yet before we join the regiment, and until we do we shall be shifting our position perpetually.

Tell father and the family to have no anxiety on my account. I shall take the best possible care of myself. I would write to mother and the girls if I knew where

they are [on a vacation trip]. I have seen the [New York] Herald this morning for Saturday, or rather it has been handed me by a blushing secesh girl and I intend to read it. Army men place but little reliance on newspaper statements of any movements though they give almost the only information we can get—Our Major Genls. keep their mouths shut as tightly as healthy clams and leave us and even our colonels scarcely room for surmises.

E.

Frederick, Md. Monday, Sept. 15, 1862

We are still eight miles south of Frederick but I date my note there because our present locality has no name. On Sunday afternoon we were prevented from leaving Rockville, as I wrote we intended to do, by the receipt of a telegram from Frederick stating that McClellan had gone further north and that his army was already short of provisions. It threatened to send us back to Washington. But during the night affairs assumed a more favorable aspect. Long wagon trains of provisions rumbled by in the direction of Frederick.

After passing a second night (Sunday) in our hayloft we rose before daybreak and, boiling our big pot of coffee over a fire in the stable yard, hastily swallowed our rations of crackers and salt pork, filled our haversack heavily with extra rations and our canteens with water, and, shouldering our knapsacks, set out on a quickstep for Frederick.

After proceeding four miles or so, we overtook an ammunition train, and, pitching knapsacks and haversacks into the donkey bins strapped behind the wagon, continued our journey with relieved backs and lighter spirits. The wagons, about 30 in number, are laden with heavy cases of rifle cartriges [sic] and are generally drawn by four or six donkeys each, a contraband nigger being mounted on each nigh wheel donkey and holding a single rein in his left hand (a heavy whip in his right) with which he guided the whole. . . . The darkeys keep up an incessant yell of "Yah-ay-ay! yare yare!! yare!!" which the sleepy donkeys obey or not as suits their convenience. The country through which we passed is rolling or regularly undulating; nothing but up high hills and down again all the way. In going down the hind wheels of the wagons are always chained.

We met hundreds of stragglers in squads of from two to fifty—indeed enough to make in themselves, if consolidated, a large army. The majority of them were sick, however, or miserably worn. Their countenances are sunken and melancholy and indifferent almost to stolidity. When left to themselves, they progress very slowly, cooking their own food and sleeping upon the ground. It is quite common to see two or three dozen groups within the space of half a mile boiling food in their tin cups over fires made with fence rails. News from the seat of war is the only thing which interests them. They are all thoroughly disgusted with the life they lead and swear that if ever they get out of the army they will commit suicide almost before entering it again. It must be remembered, though, that many of them are skulkers.

I have not yet heard a favorable opinion expressed of McDowell nor of Pope: the former is frequently called "traitor" [Major Generals John Pope and Irvin McDowell had led part of the Army of the Potomac and other Union forces to overwhelming defeat at Second Bull Run, two weeks before]. McClellan and Burnside and [Army General-in-Chief Henry W.] Halleck all enjoy the entire

confidence of the troops. These sentiments are recorded as representative of the views of men from all parts of the country with whom I have conversed.

At 3 o'clock we had accomplished a distance of twenty miles and determined to encamp in a meadow by the side of a shallow stream, until morning. The dust stood 1/16 of an inch thick on our boots and leggins [sic]. Our first step was to bathe; the next to get supper, which we did by putting our hands in our knapsacks and pulling out our greasy pork and crackers. Then I sat down on a stump and commenced penning this epistle. It is now twilight. The donkeys have been unharnessed and are grunting, groaning and biting and squealing over their fodder and the benighted darkies are yelling like demons.

Tuesday, Sept. 16 The first part of last night I spent in an ammunition wagon crowded with a Zou-Zou and a nigger. But the corners of the boxes hurt me so that I got out at midnight and lay on the ground. At 3 1/2 A. M. we were up and it was discovered that in the small hours of the morning our rascally recruits had stolen a sucking [sic] pig from a secessionist and roasted him. "Our boys" are, like most privates in the army, disgustingly unprincipled and profane. Hardly one of them hesitates at a theft. Robbing a sutler is among them counted a meritorious deed. They eat pies and drink cider ad lib and walk off with them in their "stummuts" without a thought of paying. They swear perpetually for the sake of swearing. To make matters worse the officers wink at the vices of the men in order to secure their favor and obtain the reputation of being good fellows.

Before sunrise we were on the march for Frederick, which was duly reached at about 9 A. M. On the way we passed the ruins of the iron bridge on the Balt. & Ohio R. R., the horns and heads of numberless cattle slaughtered by the rebels in their retreat, the odorous carcasses of dead horses, etc. etc. Here we were greeted with startling mirrors of battles fought by Burnside, of the capture of 15,000 rebels, etc., of the death of Leut. Col. Kimball [Lieutenant Colonel Edgar A. Kimball of Hawkins's Zouaves survived this spate of fighting, despite the rumor]; and 300 rebels are reported as being confined in the hospital here and in a few minutes I shall stroll out and see them.

The city of Frederick is regularly built chiefly of brick and is the prettiest place I have seen since leaving New York. We are now quartered in an apple orchard where we have the privilege of eating all the fruit we want. I am under a tree chewing and writing—pausing at every other word to [the] snap of catarpillars [sic], of which within the last half hour I have sent at least three dozen spinning.

We hear nothing definite of the location of the 9th. It is probably 40 miles west of this point, near Harpers Ferry. Our squad resumes the chase tomorrow. I should be very glad to hear from you but do not see how you can write at present.

In haste, Ed. K. W.

Two miles from Boonsboro and Five miles from the battle-field of Wednesday, Thursday Sept. 19, 1862

Dear Bro:

We have just stopped by the side of a muddy brook to rest and I seize the opportunity while my comrades are snoozing under the trees to resume my narrative and furnish further details of our progress. My last notes left us Tuesday

forenoon in the apple orchard of a benevolent fellow named Dill, a resident of Frederick. We spent the entire day in that city and when night came slept in the barn of our host. A drizzling rain set in late in the afternoon but did not disturb us. On retiring to my pile of hay my first proceeding was to button a "bumble" bee in my coat collar, where he stayed about three minutes before he could be got out. His buzzing of course was very amusing, the more so as it was pitch dark. After being kept awake a couple of hours as usual by the scolding and swearing of the Zouaves and the barking of their dog and after having the satisfaction of hearing the provost guard march two of them off [to] the guard house, I got to sleep.

On waking in the morning I was pleased to find a big nest of "bumble" bees buzzing close to my left elbow. It was now discovered that there was a home cider press in the barn, which was at once put in action and our canteens filled with apple juice. We then sliced up some apples, pork and bacon, and borrowing a long legged fry pan, went into an adjoining lot and got up a rousing breakfast. It was still raining slightly.

Orders were now received to send our knapsacks to the Quartermaster's Department and march forward to join our corps. Our knapsacks were accordingly left in a storehouse at Frederick and we started on. Some carried overcoats, blankets, changes of clothing, etc. strapped to their backs. I took only my rubber blanket and writing materials and Abbie's knapsack. At noon we advanced two miles out of the city when we were overtaken by 100 empty ambulance wagons on their way up to the battleground after the wounded. We parleyed [sic] a little and jumped aboard and travelled quickly to Middletown.

### 3 hours later McClellans Headquarters 5 miles from Boonsboro

Gen. McClellan and staff this moment rode within six yards of me. The Genl. seems to be in fine condition. He is much heavier—more solid and rotund than I thought—but otherwise his likenesses give a fair impression of the man. A roar of cheers followed him wherever he went. There is no fighting going on at the moment, although a terrific battle is said to have been finished last night. I have had no time for enquiring. The camp is full of rumors. The papers will give you the news sooner and more complete than I can collect or forward it.

"But to return to our subjects," the discussion of which was suddenly interrupted by an order to "fall in." The ambulance wagons were a stroke of luck. It was almost the pleasantest ride I remember. The body of the wagon is set on soft springs both at the sides and ends and the seats and their backs are nicely cushioned all round. Underneath are two kegs supposed to contain water for the wounded, of whom each wagon accomodates from two to a dozen—only two when reclining at length. The wagons are similar to those often seen opposite your office.... The drivers (like those of the ammunition and provision wagons) are paid \$25 per month for their services. The scenery as we rode along was glorious. The Blue Ridge was before us and rich fields of corn and grain were everywhere visible on the hill-sides. Shade trees including the oak, elm and maple lined the road and were grouped in picturesque clumps and groves in the fields.

We alighted at Middletown, marched two miles out and took up our quarters for the night in a barn. Before morning it rained furiously and the pattering of the drops as they fell from the roof on my rubber blanket awoke me (a thunderstorm here obliges me to resort to my blanket again and seek the shelter of a tree). About midnight a whole brigade marched by our barn to re-inforce McClellan, whose forces are being concentrated with great rapidity.

Before sunrise I pawed my way into the open air, tumbling through the barn floor in the effort: but our rations were exhausted and we could get no breakfast. Every pump in the neighborhood had been pumped dry by our insatiable squads and there was not even enough water to drink. So we tightened our sashes and took to the road. The propinquity of the army was now evident by a number of signs—fences torn down, old ladies bewailing the ruin of their cabbage plants, the scarcity of food at hotels and in private houses, the frequent appearance of wounded men with their arms slung in bloody cloths or their heads swathed in bandages, the walls and windows of houses perforated with balls, tree trunks, telegraph posts and fences shattered by shells, an increase in the number of dead horses and mules, all these things told of our near approach to the scene of action.

From our barn we ascended gradually over a pleasant road (a splendid one to defend, for in addition to the ascent it was skirted on both sides by dense woods, distant but a few hundred feet), to the summit of the first Blue Ridge range. The scenes of the various contests were pointed out to us and particularly the ridge where Gen. [Jesse L.] Reno fell, pierced by a ball from the piece of a sharpshooter in the wood [at the Battle of South Mountain, on September 14]—it is said here that he was killed through mistake by one of our own men. The neighboring hills still hold the unburied bodies of the rebel dead; some of our squad went and examined them. The enemy asked permission to bury the corpses but were refused, for fear of revealing our position.

In haste, Ed. K. W.

P. S. It's sunset. I have made a supper of coffee and crackers and the squad have gone to bed in a barn. We are pleasantly located here in a clearing where we are enclosed by tents and baggage wagons. Our troops lie in line of battle prepared for an emergency. We are still in the dark in regard to the position of our regiment. Leut. Fleming is looking it up. Today's Phild. Enquirer [sic] says that Burnside is at Harpers Ferry; if so we too shall go there.

I had almost forgotten to mention the rebel prisoners we saw in Frederick and afterwards on the road hither. Everyone who had seen them assured me that they were a most deplorable looking set of fellows. But believe me Wightman, they are nothing of the sort. An impartial eye cannot but admire their tough, wirey [sic] frames although one may smile at their unique dress. I saw several thousand rebels march through the streets of Frederick followed by an equal number of paroled Union men (who had been recently captured) and truth compels me to say that had the enemy been clad in our uniforms instead of the dust covered suits of homespun gray which enveloped them, our men might have suffered by the contrast. They are naturally more lithe and active than we, and the struggle for independence seems to have molded their features into inflexible

severity and determination. There is a look of savageness in their eyes not observable in the good natured countenance of our men.

Friday, Sept. 20th—Last night McClellan and I both slept well—he in a tent on one side of the street, I in a barn nearly opposite. Our squad, having come in irregularly and the Leut. being absent, could get no rations and had to go without breakfast. McClellan had his.

At noon we received news that our regiment was about 2 1/2 miles distant and started to overtake it. We found only a camp of stragglers. Here we got coffee and crackers and after marching 2 miles further over the battlefield of Wednesday, reached the great camp of the left wing [of the Army of the Potomac], including perhaps 30,000 men, early in the evening.

The innumerable camp fires blazing here and there for miles presented to us as we descended among them a grand scene. Leut. Col. Kimball (killed in the late great battle by rumor) received us with a hearty welcome. I had myself placed at once in Co. B, which has the right of the line and soon became the centre [sic] of a tea party round the camp fire. They nearly shook my arm off, stuffed me with coffee and crackers and pumped me dry of news. Then a couple of corporals took me to their tent, where, after talking till midnight, we comfortably snoozed.

This, Saturday, morning I saw Gen. Burnside while getting water at a spring. The enemy have succeeded in crossing the Potomac [back into Virginia] and it is expected that we shall march today to Harpers Ferry.

Now I shall be glad to hear from you all. Write as often and profusely as you please. Direct as follows:

Edward K. Wightman Company B 9th Regiment, N. Y. Volunteers (Hawkins Zouaves)

Thus addressed letters will come straight.

Ed

Saturday, September 21 [20]

(Private)
To the Boys—

Dear Bros.—I have just missed taking part in a great battle. On Wednesday our regiment was fiercely engaged on the left [of McClellan's line] and lost 250 in killed and wounded. In common with the two other regiments of [Colonel Rush C.] Hawkins' Brigade (the 89th and 103 New York) they assaulted a battery posted on a hill and defended by a whole division of the enemy. The boys charged gallantly over two ridges of ploughed [sic] land up to the mouth of the guns, but their ammunition failing there, and getting no support from a second brigade appointed to act in concert with them, they were forced to fall back after holding their newly taken position fifteen minutes, in the face of a withering fire. Our color guards were cut down almost to a man and Kimball, our hot headed Lieut. Colonel, finally seized the flag himself and wrapped it round him. Strange to say, he was uninjured.

On Friday afternoon I walked over the field. Our dead still lay unburied,

horribly mangled and lying in every conceivable attitude. The rebels had been for the most part removed, but large numbers of them still lay piled in the neighboring gullies. Fences were everywhere broken down, trees shattered, the ground ploughed up in furrows and everything testified to the terrible destructiveness of the agencies employed. As the rebels were yet near, we were ordered to arm ourselves from the equipments which strewed the field. From the multitude of battered muskets laying round I selected a cartridge box, cap box, bayonet, etc. Our squad was then detailed to assist in burying the dead and we were occupied till sunset in digging graves. Older hands performed the rest.

I am pressed for time and can write no more at present. Let neither father nor the women read this.

Ed

P. S. The enemy are now so well advanced that we do not expect another immediate engagement. We have the rumor this morning that [Major General Samuel P.] Heintzelman with 80,000 men is marching from Washington to Richmond. The impression among our soliders is that the war is finished. They think the battle of Wednesday the greatest of the war and decisive. . . .

Burnside's Headquarters near Harpers Ferry Monday, Sept 22nd, 1862

Dear Bro:

I believe I have not yet told you the exact position of our regiment in the army. We are in the 9th Army Corps, 3[rd] Division, 1st Brigade. General Burnside commands the corps—Col. Hawkins (just appointed) the division and Col. Fairchilds [Colonel Harrison Fairchild] the brigade. The division consists of 12 regiments [brigades] (36,000 men): the Brigade of three regiments, viz: 9th, 89th and 103rd (the last German), all of New York State. Col. Fairchilds, our acting brigadier, is of the 89th. Our senior capt. is Wm. G. Barnett of Co. B and our adjutant is his brother [Lieutenant George A. C. Barnett].

It will be some time before the regiment recovers from the effects of the late series of battles, which extended over a period of nine days and were more exhausting from the long marches with which they were coupled. The loss in killed and wounded is now estimated as high as 277. The ammunition of the rebels was pretty well used up in the contest and they hurled against us all sorts of missles [sic]. One of four men had his leg carried away by the head of a sledge hammer; another was wounded in the thigh with a huge "chainy alley" which he showed me, and all testify to the fact that cobblestones and railroad iron fell among them in showers.

We are at present posted among the hills of Maryland, 4 miles from the Potomac. The enemy has crossed and McClellan is close upon his heels with an army unimpeded by luggage. Union troops have, within the past two days, been hastening across the river as fast as they could move.

On Saturday night our camp was incessantly disturbed by rolling volleys of musketry, whose echoes rattled round the hills till it seemed as if the left wing were again beset on all sides, and our Colonel was several times on the point of ordering the beat of the long roll. The noise was doubtless occasioned by a stubborn stand of the enemy's rear guard. Since that time we have been perfectly quiet—even dull for lack of excitement. Early this morning there was a report that the 9th had been ordered back to Washington; but this afternoon the Company Cook (a very friendly and useful fellow) informed me that the Quartermaster's man informed him that we should remain here until McClellan had fought another battle. If sent to Washington it will probably be with the intention of moving us further south to act in concert with McClellan.

We have had rumors of the taking of Richmond by Heintzelman and by [Major General Fitz-John] Porter severally, but do not know whether they may be relied on, or whether the rebels have any considerable force south of that city. We are told, too, that Charleston, S. C. has surrendered—

Please send on a paper now and then and, if you can, a good newspaper map of the field of action [of the 17th]. I am as much in the dark with regard to the movements of the opposing forces as though I lived in another world, and regiment[al] officers know no more than the privates. We are only the machinery.

Our camp is fixed on the top of a hill, at the base of which, distant one eighth of a mile, flows a stream of water. It is always muddy on account of the multitude of cavalry horses continually tramping through it; the springs by which it is fed, however, are less so. . . .

Our "light marching time" has been drawn to so fine a point that "the boys" begin to grumble. The quartermasters have been forbidden transportation for meat, beans, and with the exception of fresh beef twice a week we are forced to live on hard crackers and coffee. Four crackers are allowed each man per meal. They are entirely sufficient and satisfactory for me, for you will remember that I am naturally abstemious; but some of the other fellows are more epicurean. We confidently expect, though, that "suthin'll bust" pretty soon.

Tuesday Morning Sept. 23, 1862. The tattoo beat this morning an hour before dawn and the brigade was ordered under arms. We formed rapidly in the dark, to resist an expected attack but none was made and we were dismissed with an order to strike tents and prepare for a march. Two hours afterwards the order was countermanded and we are again in status quo. We may leave in some unknown direction in thirty minutes and may not in a week.

Compl[imen]ts to the fam[ily]. Ed

- P. S. A gust of wind blew this away from me and it was politely returned by a greasy fingered soldier, see his mark.
- P. P. S. A careless man this moment let off his piece. The ball pierced the tent next to the one in which I am living and passed through the thigh of a man not 12 feet distant. He is lying on his stomach biting his fingernails. Says "whoever did it is a blame fool."

# The Black Colleges in the Maryland State College System: Quest for Equal Opportunity, 1908-1975.

MARTHA S. PUTNEY

This essay explores Maryland's record of compliance with laws and court orders on access to educational opportunities for blacks in the Maryland State College System, a segmented part of the state's postsecondary schools. The essay also relates the efforts of blacks to improve the quality of education provided for them by this system.

The Maryland State College System consisted of Bowie, Coppin, Frostburg, Morgan, Salisbury, and Towson. Towson State University, the first of the state's postsecondary institutions and the largest one in the system, began as a normal school in 1866. Frostburg State College, in western Maryland, opened as a state normal school in 1902. Bowie State College, chartered privately as the Baltimore Normal School for the Education of Colored Teachers, came under state control in 1908. Salisbury State College, on Maryland's eastern shore, opened as a state normal school in 1925. Coppin State College began as a black teacher training adjunct of the Baltimore city public school system and joined the state college system in 1950, Morgan State University began as the Centenary Biblical Institute in 1867 under the auspices of the Methodist church and was redesignated Morgan College in 1890. Although the state assumed control of the institution on November 29, 1939, and renamed it Morgan State College, it was not until 1967 when by law it joined the state college system where it remained until January 1, 1976. In the days of legal segregation, Bowie, Coppin, and Morgan were three of the state's four black postsecondary schools, and they enrolled a vast majority of the black students attending the public four-year colleges. Coppin, Morgan, and Towson are located in the Baltimore metropolitan area.<sup>1</sup>

The Board of Trustees of the State Colleges, appointed by the governor, administered the schools and selected their presidents. At its inception on July 25, 1963, this board had one black among its nine members. From 1967 to 1975, with the exception of 1972, two blacks sat on the board. The state superintendent of education was an ex officio member with voting rights. Prior to 1963, the State Board of Education along with the state superintendent of education served concurrently as the Board of Trustees of the State Teachers Colleges and governed these schools which were then basically teacher training institutions. No blacks sat on this latter body until 1951.<sup>2</sup>

Of the states maintaining dual systems, Maryland was the next to the last to

provide public facilities for the postsecondary education of blacks. The first such facility, the Baltimore Normal School for the Education of Colored Teachers, was a gift from a private corporation which had begged the state to take over this responsibility. The state relocated the institution in a rural area near the town of Bowie in Prince George's County and redesignated it the Maryland Normal and Industrial School at Bowie.<sup>3</sup>

In 1912 and 1915, Don S. S. Goodloe, the principal of this school, reminded state officials of the inadequate dormitory accommodations. Three years later, in July 1918, Goodloe complained: "We have lacked facilities, equipment, and specialists for teaching the industries." He added: "We do not have a course which justifies the State Superintendent of Public Instruction in issuing to our graduates a first-class certificate." The principal, then, suggested that "a standardized normal course," which Towson and Frostburg had offered from their inception, be established at Bowie for "the students who might be prepared to take it."

At the same time Goodloe noted:

There is increasing dissatisfaction on the part of the negroes of Maryland with the accommodations of this school. It is surrounded with schools which have superior physical conveniences and opportunities, and are far more attractive. The girls of the school must live together in one large unheated room, without pretense of privacy. They must live in this unheated room even in zero degree weather. The boys are still using a made–over barn, with few of the conveniences which the modern school now offers its students, black or white. These conditions have become widely known; and the hope of the first few years that successive legislatures, through a sentiment of fair play and consideration for the negro people, would provide fairly for this school has changed gradually to discouragement.<sup>5</sup>

Bowie got a new dormitory within a year, but it had to wait until 1923 before receiving permission to institute a standard normal school curriculum.<sup>6</sup>

As a result of agitation by blacks for more equitable facilities for higher education, the General Assembly in 1933 authorized the Board of Regents of the University of Maryland to use a special allotment in its general funds for Princess Anne Academy (formerly Morgan College's industrial branch but by then the state's only black junior college) for out-of-state scholarships for blacks who were qualified to pursue courses not offered at Princess Anne or Bowie but offered at the other public colleges and university. Ironically, the General Assembly did not fund the scholarship program for 1933 and 1934.

While Donald G. Murray was taking legal action to gain admission to the law school of the University of Maryland, a legislative commission began to study the problem of postsecondary education for blacks. After the State Court of Appeals upheld the Baltimore City Court's decision that Murray was to have "equality of treatment now," another legislative commission began to study the problem of scholarships for blacks.<sup>8</sup>

The recommendations of these two commissions resulted in the state's acquisition of Morgan College and the addition of more, but still inadequate, money for the out-of-state scholarship program for blacks. In the succeeding years, the state failed to keep its 1939 commitment to the Morgan College Corporation to provide educational programs at "Morgan State College (or University)" not only

comparable to those at the University of Maryland but also sufficient to meet the needs of blacks in the state. The awarding of an increasing number of scholarship grants to blacks over the years reflected, in part, this failure. The state gave 142 grants during academic year 1939–40 and 1,010 ten years later.<sup>9</sup>

The Murray decision also led to the upgrading of Bowie and Coppin in 1938 from normal schools with three-year programs to teachers colleges with four-year programs. Frostburg, Salisbury, and Towson had undergone a similar change four years earlier. <sup>10</sup>

The Commission of Higher Education in 1947 and the Commission to Study the Question of Negro Higher Education in 1950 confirmed allegations by blacks of inadequate and inferior facilities, underfunding of programs at black colleges, and discriminatory practices and procedures. Delegations and spokesmen from more than fifty black groups, indignant over the proposed merger of Coppin with Bowie and other inequities, appeared before the latter commission and denounced the removal of Coppin from Baltimore, a black population center. It was this commission that warned the governor and the legislators that time was running out—that court decisions, including the McCready decision of 1950 which opened the university's School of Nursing to blacks, had made it clear that the state had to provide equal facilities and opportunities for blacks.<sup>11</sup>

Thomas G. Pullen, Jr., the state superintendent of education and the chief administrator of the teachers colleges, still felt that "the state had, as far as possible, given to the colored schools services equal to those given to the white schools." About the same time that Pullen was expressing these sentiments, F. Vernon Roberts, a junior at Coppin, requested a transfer to Towson. He complained that he and other blacks had been discriminated against since the board had not given them "adequate and equal training facilities as those provided whites at Towson." Pullen and the board rejected his request although they continued to honor such requests from students at Frostburg, Salisbury, and Towson. Paparently, Roberts and his NAACP—sponsored attorney were, simultaneously, seeking to extend the McCready decision to the state college system and hoping to get the board and state authorities to improve the facilities at the black colleges.

After the United States Supreme Court had issued its final decree in the Brown case, the board declared that "segregation according to race is hereby abolished in all of the State Teachers Colleges of Maryland." Despite this announcement, board policy only permitted the selective admission of blacks to the freshman class and the fifth year program (a program enabling persons with liberal arts degrees to qualify for teacher certification) at the former all-white colleges. <sup>13</sup>

During the 1955–56 academic year, eleven blacks had been allowed to enter Towson and one had been accepted for admission at Frostburg. No other-race students had applied at Bowie, Coppin, or Salisbury. A survey made by the *Baltimore Afro-American* showed that only Towson had other-race students for the 1957–58 school year. Officials at Salisbury acknowledge that, although one black had attended the previous semester, they had "not processed applications from colored students" for that year. The board and college officials reacted only to applications initiated by students. Hence, the colleges remained essentially segregated.

The board and other state educational policy makers wrote off Coppin and

Bowie as victims of the Brown Decision. The vigorous opposition of Dwight O. W. Holmes, emeritus president of Morgan State College and the lone black board member, and the petitions and appearances before the board and other state agencies of black citizen groups in late 1955 and 1956 prevented unused space on Coppin's new campus from becoming the site of an all-black armory of the Maryland National Guard. In the board's view, if the people accepted integration, "there would be no justification for the continued operation of Coppin and then the entire property would be available for the [state] Military Department." These same citizen groups and Holmes insisted that capital improvement at Coppin continue as planned. 15

Pullen felt that "once desegregation begins to move rapidly, it seems inevitable that Bowie will be closed." He reasoned that, since few people lived in that rural area, the school would have an enrollment problem. Pullen added that in the interval the college "will continue to serve a very healthy purpose," since "it is the only place where the colored youth of Maryland are going in any numbers to prepare for elementary teaching." <sup>16</sup>

Likewise, the Commission for the Expansion of Public Higher Education in Maryland, whose task was to formulate a plan to meet the increasing demands of Marylanders for college education, took no action on the future of Bowie and Coppin although it did recommend the conversion of Frostburg, Salisbury, and Towson to liberal arts colleges. The commission's report in 1962 noted Bowie's location in an area of emerging population growth and saw a future for the school "if it serves all qualified students." Obviously, this latter statement was a reference to the potential students among those who were rapidly moving into Prince George's County, especially the then all-white mushrooming community of Belair, a few miles from the campus.

By September 1962, some forty whites, most of them from the Belair community, were among the 343 enrolled students; only one white had attended the previous year. Also, in September 1962, some ninety-eight whites were among the 257 students in the previously all-black campus laboratory school. Whites enrolled in increasing numbers at the college over the next nine years. 18

Richard Schifter, a board member from Montgomery County, remarked that the interest of the Belair community in Bowie "was a very encouraging development and that the board should give the college all of the support it can." But the years of neglect and paternalism combined with the college campus militancy and the civil rights movement of the 1960s led to student boycotts and demonstrations at Bowie in 1966 and at Bowie and Coppin in 1968. The students demanded a massive infusion of funds for new facilities and the repair and proper maintenance of existing facilities. They also demanded quality education and a more enlightened administration. The state took some action to improve the physical plant and the educational program at each institution. <sup>19</sup>

In the interval between the student demonstrations, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) asked the state for information on the status of desegregation in its postsecondary educational institutions. HEW had the obligation under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to seek a cut-off of federal funds to programs or activities discriminating against individuals on account of their racial or ethnic origins.<sup>20</sup>

To meet HEW's request, the board, in September 1967, sought reports from the colleges on the racial distribution of students and faculty in the various programs and on what was being done to attain a "greater racial balance." When one college president complained of the difficulty of obtaining some of this data, one board member made it clear that the information was required "for obtaining state and Federal funds" and that this was "what we need and this is what we have to have."

Faced not only with the need to deal with the problems at Bowie but also with the prospect of a cut-off of substantial federal funding, the board now began to show greater concern with the pace of desegregation. Some two months later, it issued a document entitled "Integration in the State Colleges of Maryland." In this document the trustees admitted that since 1954 very little desegration had been achieved. Tables in the document revealed that in every category, even those for which the percentage of difference was insignificant, except for classified personnel, the predominantly black colleges had attained more racial mixture among students, faculty, and administrative staff than the predominantly white colleges. The trustees called upon all agencies, organizations, and citizens to join in their efforts to help to desegregate the colleges. Further, the trustees directed each college to formulate a desegregation plan, and they retained the Sidney Hollander Associates, a marketing and opinion research firm, to make a study on integration in the state college system.<sup>22</sup>

The colleges' desegregation plans contained an assortment of projects and proposals for attracting other-race students and personnel and/or for improving the physical plant and the quality of education. The Hollander study pointed out that blacks rejected predominantly white schools "because of racism, segregation, and location" and that whites rejected formerly black schools because of "'bad publicity' and low academic quality." Further, the Hollander study urged the board to take immediate steps to desegregate the colleges. These steps, the study admonished, would require "some cost in money, effort, freedom of choice, departure from accustomed patterns, probable displacement of Negroes and to some extent the quality of education."<sup>23</sup>

Martin D. Jenkins, the president of Morgan State College, had already declared that the board had to adopt mandatory measures because voluntary methods had not achieved results. Also, the NAACP voiced its deep concern about the lack of progress in integrating the state colleges.<sup>24</sup>

In March 1969, HEW requested desegregation plans from the ten states, including Maryland, which it felt were still maintaining segregated systems of higher education. HEW found Maryland's first plan, which was submitted on October 1, 1969, inadequate. A revised plan sent on December 2, 1970, found HEW entangled in the politics of President Nixon's "southern strategy." Hence, Kenneth Adams and others with the assistance of the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund brought suit to compel HEW to obtain desegregation or to seek a cut-off of funds.<sup>25</sup>

Consequently, on March 27, 1973, HEW requested additional data. From the information supplied, HEW concluded that, on the basis of student enrollments and faculty employment, the dual system had "not been fully disestablished" and that many of the measures that had been implemented had either been "ineffec-

tual" or had reinforced racial dualism in the system. After some official posturing, Marvin Mandel, governor of the state, created a task force to formulate another plan. <sup>26</sup>

The task force received a detailed statement from the Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP entitled "Dismantling Dual Systems of Public Higher Education: Criteria for a State Plan." This document set forth HEW's insistence on specificity, time tables, comprehensiveness, and monitoring and the Legal Defense Fund's plea for equal opportunity and warning that the burden of compliance not fall on blacks, the victims of the system.<sup>27</sup>

At public hearings, more than fifty people expressed their disapproval of some portions of the plan because of what they felt would be the deleterious effects these components would have on the predominantly black colleges and the present and future black college students. Some of these critics displayed a lack of faith in the state's intention or willingness to fund the plan adequately.<sup>28</sup>

The Maryland Plan for Completing the Desegregation of the Public Postsecondary Education Institutions in the State, dated February 5, 1974, contained the state's pledge "to enhance" the predominantly black "institutions as open, quality colleges selected by students primarily on bases other than race" and not to place on them "an unequal burden in the implementation of the desegregation process." In the foreword of the state college segment, the board reiterated its "commitment to provide equal educational opportunity to all students and equal employment opportunity to faculty, administrators and staff not only to be in compliance with all Federal regulations, but because it is right and proper that it do so." 29

HEW accepted the plan which had many admirable features. But, in December 1975, after an analysis of the data from the progress reports, HEW charged that state officials were not implementing their plan. Governor Mandel sought an injunction against HEW to ward-off a possible cut-off of funds. Mandel accused the federal agency of attempting "to dismantle and destroy the system of higher education in Maryland," of wanting "to run our schools," and of making a "little more than a veiled attack on Maryland's black colleges and its black university and the demonstrable progress they have made during the last several years." This controversy is still in the courts at this writing.

For the academic year 1974–1975, five of the six state colleges had a full-time undergraduate enrollment in excess of 92 percent of the same race. Bowie, the exception, had 25.7 percent of other-race students. For the same year, the three predominantly white colleges had a part-time undergraduate and graduate enrollment in excess of 90 percent of the same race, while that at Bowie, Morgan, and Coppin was 58.4, 24.9, and 11.5 percent respectively of other-race students. The state's other-race grant program, whereby needy other-race students received financial assistance towards their college expenses, contributed to some of this other-race enrollment. Of the 693 students holding these grants during the 1974–75 academic year, 277 were at Towson, 120 at Frostburg, 120 at Morgan, 90 at Salisbury, 61 at Coppin, and 25 at Bowie.<sup>31</sup>

The faculty of the predominantly black schools has experienced significant integration. For 1973-74, the latest year for which published data are available, 37.6 percent of Bowie's, 18.9 percent of Coppin's, and 18.3 percent of Morgan's

full-time instructional staffs were white. On the other hand, less than one percent of the faculty in each of the predominantly white schools was black.<sup>32</sup>

Another index for measuring compliance with the law is the annual expenditure per student. Prior to the Murray decision, significantly much less money was spent annually at Bowie than at the white schools. The Brown Decision, the student demonstrations at Bowie and Coppin; the activity of HEW in seeking desegregation, and the changing national mood were important factors which accounted for the amount of the expenditure per student at the predominantly black colleges. For the school year 1974–75, each of the formerly black colleges received more money per student than any of the formerly white schools. <sup>33</sup>

The state founded no postsecondary schools for blacks; belatedly it assumed control of existing black insitutions. With faith in education as a key to upward mobility, blacks petitioned, agitated, remonstrated, lobbied, brought law suits, and boycotted to get the state and the state college system to comply with laws and court decisions. A view among board members and some state policy makers that blacks would abandon their inferior schools ran counter to some of the realities of the black experience in America: racism and vestiges of segregation and discrimination still remained. Blacks wanted these schools improved. From Goodloe, the first principal of the Maryland Normal and Industrial School, to the voices at the hearings on the *Maryland Plan*, blacks had articulated this desire.

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### **BOOK REVIEWS**

The Engineering Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Edited by Darwin H. Stapleton. (The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Series II, Volume I. The Maryland Historical Society. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980. Pp. xx, 256. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, appendix. \$62.50.)

The Maryland Historical Society is to be congratulated for its decision to publish *The Engineering Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*. Latrobe is primarily remembered as an important early American architect especially for his work on the United States Capitol and the Cathedral of Baltimore. However, his engineering achievements, such as the Philadelphia Waterworks, are equally noteworthy. As part of the collection and publishing of the multi-volume Latrobe Papers project, this decision may seem obvious in retrospect, secure in the knowledge that historians of technology, in particular Eugene Ferguson, have recently recognized and drawn attention to the importance of the "non-verbal" element in technological thinking expressed in engineers' notebooks and their technical drawings. That the decision was made prior to any widespread popular understanding of the importance of technical drawings speaks to the project staff's foresight and historical understanding.

To decide upon a publishing venture by no means secures a volume's success but, here too, the project has succeeded admirably. Darwin Stapleton, the editor, has done a superb job in annotating and setting in historical context slightly more than half of Latrobe's engineering drawings. (Latrobe's architectural drawings are collected in another volume in the series.) Stapleton has also provided a lengthy introductory sketch of Latrobe's engineering career. Although not designed as a replacement, the essay nicely complements Talbot Hamlin's standard biography, Benjamin Henry Latrobe (New York, 1955), which emphasizes his personal life and architectural practice. The editor briefly examines Latrobe's engineering training and career in Europe before concentrating on his American practice. He also analyzes Latrobe's techniques and relationship to the wider American technical community. In so doing, Stapleton has arranged his essay topically by type of project, which in turn parallels the general arrangement of the engineering drawings. Because Latrobe's career by no means followed such a compartmentalized path, this may confuse the casual reader. However, since the volume is intended primarily as a tool for the serious scholar, this was quite clearly the most sensible approach, and a brief chronology of major events is included which helps to rectify the problem.

In addition to providing a general historical background for understanding Latrobe's engineering drawings, a number of valuable insights regarding the transfer of technology emerge from Stapleton's introduction. Born in 1764 of a Moravian family, Latrobe received his education in both England and Germany at the hands of a church which recognized the importance of technical and scientific as well as religious training. Latrobe chose engineering as a career and subsequently worked with a number of England's most prominent engineers, including John Smeaton and William Jessop. During this period Latrobe also expanded his interests to encompass the "complementary and overlapping" (p. 6) field of architecture. Stapleton concludes that "by the time [Latrobe] left for the United States [1796] he had the training and experience expected of an English engineer" (p. 7). That Latrobe freely drew upon this experience during his American career, for example in his use of hydraulic cement as a building material and his selection of dimensions for several of his canal projects, provides a good indication of how technological

knowledge is transferred in the personage of the engineer. The editor also shows how Latrobe was related to the American technical community, serving as an important focal point in technological debate and development, often providing a training ground through his projects for workmen and engineers who later went on to other engineering tasks.

Stapleton quite accurately concludes that an examination of Latrobe's engineering career "reveals the state of the art in his time" (p. 61) and "provides deep and significant insights into the development of early American technology" (p. 71). There are many good suggestions here for future researchers to follow up, a major goal of the Latrobe Papers project.

The second section of the volume pertains to Latrobe's Susquehanna River Survey Map. Stephen F. Lintner, a specialist in river systems behavior, has provided a brief analysis to accompany the map. The Susquehanna River was a major transportation route for goods shipped from the interior of Pennsylvania; however, much of its lower section was hazardous for navigation, and in 1801 Latrobe was commissioned to survey the river to determine the best route for a channel. (He also served as the general contractor and supervisor for the actual clearance.) The resultant map measured approximately seventeen feet long by two feet wide and was appropriately watercolored in addition to the basic pencil and pen and ink. The existence of two survey notebooks and a sketchbook which Latrobe used "to supplement and clarify [his] field observation and measurements" (p. 79) provide, in Lintner's capable hands, an almost complete picture of how the map was created. The map itself is reproduced in ten sections, each of which is accompanied by a brief annotation and selected drawings from Latrobe's field books and sketchbook. Although reduced in size and reproduced only in black and white, the map is clearly "a historical document of exceptional detail and beauty" (p. 87) and one of Latrobe's most interesting engineering drawings.

The third section of the volume includes slightly over half of Latrobe's known engineering drawings. Several either of doubtful authorship or attributable to others are included because they were part of projects under his direction or based upon his instructions and serve to more fully illuminate his career. The major criteria used for inclusion was importance of content including the depicted completeness of a particular project. A second consideration was the clarity with which a given drawing could be reproduced. The volume's 11" × 16" size means that the drawings are reproduced at anywhere from one-quarter to one-sixteenth of their original size which in certain cases makes some of Latrobe's detail and handwriting difficult to understand. As a result, serious scholars may still want to consult the originals. Most of the eighty-four drawings are reproduced in black-and-white, although there are ten color plates. One might have wished for more color reproductions, especially of the Susquehanna River Map, but presumably printing costs prevented this.

Most of the drawings are related to Latrobe's transportation work including two dating from his British career, in which Latrobe was called upon to survey the Chelmer and Blackwater Rivers for a navigation improvement project. Six drawings deal with the Naval Drydock and Potamac Canal Extension with four more of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. These are followed by five pertaining to the Washington Canal, four of which are also reproduced again in color. The Dismal Swamp Canal, the James River Canal and Railroad, and the National Road are each represented by a single drawing. Latrobe's Philadelphia Waterworks project is the most extensively depicted through thirty-four drawings, four of which are also reproduced in color, while the New Orleans Waterworks has three drawings. There are also two drawings related to a report submitted by Latrobe on shoaling in the Delaware River and four submitted with a report on using fascine works to repair a broken New Orleans levee occasioned by a major flood in 1816. Another large selection of 17 drawings pertains to the Washington Navy Yard Steam Engine; two of

these are also reproduced in color. Finally, there are four miscellaneous drawings of machinery used or designed by Latrobe during his career.

Taken as a whole the drawings and Stapleton's accompanying annotations provide an exceptional look at the career of an important early American engineer. One especially intriguing aspect of this book is that many of Latrobe's suggested solutions to engineering projects were either rejected, never finished in his lifetime, or completed in different manner than originally planned and depicted. Thus, we are treated to a glimpse of a working process, not merely completed artifacts. For this reason, the collection will be of special value for historians of technology desirous of more completely understanding the process of technological development which, although often seemingly logical in its outcome, was by no means predestined as such.

The editor has chosen to include a brief appendix listing the additional thirty-two drawings including their location known to be attributable to Latrobe. The volume closes with two brief but useful bibliographies: one of the major printed sources pertaining to Latrobe's engineering practice and the other of materials bearing on the Susquehanna River Map Survey.

Although clearly not a book for everyone's coffee table, serious scholars of early engineering practice will find this volume extremely useful, and any research library worthy of its name will want to make it a permanent acquisition.

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The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore: From Tobacco to Grain. By Paul G.E. Clemens. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980. Pp. 249. \$15.00.)

Paul G. Clemens is one of a growing number of historians who see socio-economic development in terms of staple systems. The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore is a major contribution to this literature on staple systems. An outgrowth of Clemens's dissertation, it also reflects much of the recent scholarship on the colonial Chesapeake. Here he focuses on the place of the Eastern Shore in the Atlantic economy because he believes market conditions decisively shaped the region's development in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The book is actually a study of the upper Shore: from the Sassafras to the swamps of Dorchester County. The lower Shore of Maryland and Virginia is excluded because the economy was based on lumber and livestock and responded to a totally different market. Clemens sees the society and economy of the upper Shore as midway between that of New England and the plantation colonies, sharing characteristics of both. He believes the seventeenth-century settlers attempted to fashion a stratified farming society like that they left behind in England. But by the mid-eighteenth century a fundamental change occurred. The stratified society that had emerged at the end of the seventeenth century gave way under a more equitable distribution of income. This change occurred because the Shore shifted from tobacco to wheat as its staple crop.

Clemens divides his book into two sections: 1620 to 1712, a period in which the economy went from boom to stagnation, and 1712 to 1776, one of recovery in the tobacco market and of growing diversification. Each section is introduced by a chapter on the state of the Atlantic Economy; the rest of the section is devoted to the Eastern Shore's response. Clemens finds that Talbot and Kent fell into two different marketing networks, one dominated by London and the other by Liverpool and Glasgow. These different marketing networks meant not only different prices but also different crops of demand. One of the strengths of this work is Clemens's ability to illuminate the relationship between the micro–economy of the Shore and the macro–economy of the Atlantic world. Shore planters

were not making decisions in isolation, but responding to a highly complex economic system which included the West Indies and Europe as well as England and the Chesapeake.

The upper Shore was settled during a period in which the tobacco market was healthy, and settlers plunged totally into the market economy. Before the end of the seventeenth century, however, boom gave way to stagnation. Settlers had arrived with dreams of wealth. As in England small farmers committed to self-sufficiency were the most numerous class. Upward mobility from servant (in great demand to grow tobacco) to landowner to substantial planter was possible as long as the economy was growing. But when growth stopped in the late 1680s opportunity paled and tenancy became a permanent status for ex-servants. Rising land prices squeezed poorer men into the back country or out the Shore counties. Depression also had its effect on the supply of servants. As less servants came to the Chesapeake slaves became all the more attractive. The rich claimed a greater share of the area's wealth and resources, laying the foundations of immense fortunes. By the end of the century the Shore had a stratified society similar to that of England. But the small farmers began to move away from tobacco towards grains, setting the stage for a shift to wheat the Shore's major staple at the time of the Revolution.

After 1713 tobacco trade revived although it remained plagued by cycles of boom and bust. More tobacco was produced on the Shore as the population increased. By the 1830s there were far more households, and a greater reliance on slave labor and servants relative to the seventeenth century. Still most landowners remained small farmers without slaves. As the economy boomed in the early 1740s most landowners were able to become slaveholders, thus driving a wedge between small landowner and tenant. At the same time migration syphoned off more and more of the poor and ex-servants, although movement out of the region was matched by immigration.

The most interesting development, however, was the accelerating movement away from tobacco. While tobacco production actually increased, it played a decreasing role in the Shore's agricultural economy. Clemens addresses the question of the profitability of tobacco as well as the expansion of markets for wheat. Those who believe planters moved away from tobacco because wheat prices were higher will be startled by Clemens's findings. He shows that on the Shore at least the pertinent question was the most profitable use of increasingly valuable farm land, particularly in the fact of a growing population. He believes that population growth actually forced the most profitable use of land. And wheat had a far higher per acre return than tobacco. Changing to a grain staple set the stage for a reorientation of the Shore's market to Philadelphia, contributed to the growth in wealth and power of local merchants, and led to a more equitable distribution of income.

Clemens has made skillful use of probate and tax records to uncover changes in the social structure, patterns of landholding, changes in land use, numbers of servants and slaves per householder. His charts and graphs are clear and concise. But beyond statistics Clemens uses county records to draw composites of small landowners and of tenants as well as to unravel complex kinship relations among the area's elites. This makes fascinating reading. Small farmers predominated on the Shore, but the great planters who left extensive records have usually dominated historical accounts. Clemens rescues the Shore's small farmers from obscurity, reconstructing the physical world in which they lived and the society in which they functioned.

The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore is a thoughtful assessment of a century and a half of economic change which left the Shore with an economy and society different from that of Southern Maryland and oriented towards Philadelphia rather than Annapolis or Baltimore. In many respects the consequences of the Shore's divergent development are present to this day. Clemens had provided answers to questions involving timing as well as motives for the Shore's change of staples. He has pointed out the need to understand the workings of the macro-economy before any attempt is made

to assess micro-economies. Those who wish to expand their knowledge of Maryland's upper Eastern Shore as well as those interested in staple economies will want to read this book.

Catonsville Community College

BAYLY ELLEN MARKS

Grist Mills in Baltimore County, Maryland. By John W. McGrain. (A Baltimore County Public Library Heritage Publication. Towson, MD: Baltimore County Public Library, 1980. 40pp. Illustrations, maps, index. \$4.95.)

John McGrain addresses his book to those who, as he, find romance in old mills. For those unfamiliar with grist mill technology, McGrain provides a well-illustrated description of water wheels, power transmission, grist stones, and Evans conveying devices. Maps, illustrations, and histories of over forty individual mills will assist local history buffs to locate and learn more about county mill sites.

The earliest mills in Baltimore County appeared about 1700 when the expansion of settlement beyond the costal plain brought the rise of mixed agriculture. In eighteenthand early nineteenth-century America, thousands of grist mills custom ground wheat and other grains for the farmers' own use. Following the expansion of wheat production in mid- and late-eighteenth century Maryland, flour joined tobacco as an important cash crop for export, and a new breed of large merchant mills catering to the commercial market grew up generally close to costal shipping. By the early nineteenth century Baltimore boasted the largest flour trade in the nation, and much of this flour came from the many mills in surrounding Baltimore County. With the movement of the center of wheat farming to the midwest and the development of steel roller milling in the mid-nineteenth century. the Baltimore County grist and flour mills gradually passed out of existence. In the book McGrain sketches the life history of the local industry and of each of these mills in colorful detail.

Professional historians can find the information on the extent of the industry useful but may desire more analysis and interpretation. Considerable research into tax and other local records has been incorporated into the text, sadly without adequate documentation. If the reader harbors a curiosity about Baltimore County history or wants to know what went on in the abandoned grain mill down the road, he will find McGrain's book rewarding. Bethany College

J. W. LOZIER

Ethnic Heritages and Horizons: An Expanding Awareness. Prepared by the Ethnic Affairs Committee of Baltimore County. (Baltimore, 1980. Pp. viii, 165. No price given.)

Through the efforts of the Ethnic Affairs Committee of Baltimore County and with the assistance of a grant from the former Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, a day-long seminar was held at Essex Community College in Baltimore in May 1979. It was designed primarily to enrich educational experiences at every level of the curriculum. This book represents the results of that seminar. A diverse collection, involving the research and reflections of a variety of ethnic scholars as well as primary and secondary educators, *Ethnic Heritages and Horizons* explores essential ethnic issues and provides summaries of Greater Baltimore's resources. Divided into two parts, the seminar and the workshop, this collection consistently demonstrates the presence of a lively interest in ethnicity and social pluralism.

The seminar section includes papers on the problems of ethnic hierarchies within ethnic studies, notes on ethnic genealogy and oral history, and discussions of ethnicity and the classroom. An important but controversial theme running throughout the section and

indeed the entire collection is the issue of the place of ethnicity in American society. Jane Young-Hea Lew, in her opening remarks celebrates the persistent refusal of cultural pluralities to be melted into mainstream America. Robert F. Harney, too, declares that "emphasizing our ethnically diverse background does not endanger national unity" (p. 13). John Higham, on the other hand, echoes a theme he earlier developed in *Send These To Me* (1975) in calling for an "underlying consensus" (p. 22). Similarly, Peggy Byounghye Chang, in her discussion of Asian minorities, refers to the "unintended benefit of relocation" in accelerating the "assimilation process for the Japanese" (p. 5).

Much attention is devoted to translating ethnic concerns and studies into appropriate educational methodologies and programs. Corinne A. Krause persuasively argues for the need for informed oral history in the classroom. Higham distinguishes between problemsolving and celebration in the classroom and urges the adoption of a "critical stance toward ethnic groups as well as towards the host society" (p. 26). Tönu Parming and Jane J. White analyze the problems confronted in moving toward a multi-ethnic curriculum while Particia Watson evaluates the Baltimore City program established in 1976 for Promoting America's Total Heritage With All Youth (PATHWAY). Finally, Paul Fenchak, an educator and former minor league pitcher, urges greater appreciation of the variety of ethnics in ethnic studies programs in a paper not surprisingly titled "Needed: All Americans on Ethnic Studies Teams."

Part II on the "Workshop" provides synopses of slide/lectures presented at the Essex seminar, vignettes on a variety of Baltimore's ethnic groups—the French, Finns, Greeks, and Ukranians, and models for constructing ethnic directories and conducting research in community history. Particularly sensitive to social history and rich in research possibilities in labor history is Sirkka Toumi Lee's brief history of the Baltimore Finns. Also useful is Dimitri Monos's summary of local research resources, from parish records to the oral histories collected under the auspices of the Baltimore Neighborhood Heritage Project.

Ethnic Heritages and Horizons involves not merely an expansion of ethnic awareness but also a strengthening of a multi-ethnic network of individuals and organizations, from local neighborhood associations to the Balch Institute in Philadelphia. Although much that is discussed offers little new historiographically, this collection still must be praised for bringing together sociologists, historians, and a variety of other educators in an attempt to exchange and develop ideas concerning the role of ethnicity in scholarship and the schools. And although some essays reflect the unfortunate "contributions approach" to ethnic history, still others represent efforts to understand the complexities of cultural diversity.

Dickinson College

JO ANN E. ARGERSINGER

The Frederick Douglass Papers. Series One: Speeches, Debates and Interviews. Vol. 1: 1841–46. Ed. by John W. Blassingame, et al. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979. Pp. cii, 530. Appendices, notes, index. \$35.00.)

Frederick Douglass was born a slave in Maryland in 1818. When he died in the District of Columbia in 1895, he had long been regarded as one of America's most representative men of the nineteenth century, a universal reformer and an orator of international stature. Historian Benjamin Quarles once noted about Douglass: "That he had been held in bondage became the cardinal fact of his life." It matters not, academic hair-splitters to the contrary, that Douglass' life in slavery may have been easier than the lot of most slaves. His was, nonetheless, the profound experience of unfreedom. That he had spent the first twenty years of his life in captivity served not only to launch him upon his public career as a liberal reformer, but it was the point of departure and reference for much of his

thought and of his manner of expressing it, his need to expose slavery, his desire to rise above slavery and racial inequality, his ability to relate abolitionism to the whole array of reform. His personality and his world-view were molded by slavery, as by some nightmare of childhood.

This volume is the first of what promises to be the definitive collection of Douglass' papers: speeches, interviews, letters, journals, newspaper and other published writings. It consists largely of his speeches from the time he first ascended the platform in 1841 to the end of 1846, when as a rising luminary among Garrisonian abolitionists he was in the midst of his triumphant first tour of the British Isles. Except for a few pages at the beginning, the book consists of speeches from the British tour. In Britain, far from the physical and legal harrassments of his native land, Douglass was freer to develop his oratorical skills and to refine ideas he had previously expressed in America. Since many of the speeches, understandably, deal with the same themes, the book might seem unduly repetitive to some readers. The virtue of inclusivity, however, is that the reader is enabled to become more thoroughly familiar with Garrisonian thought and with how Douglass as orator reworked his material to hammer home those themes to audiences highly accustomed to the art of oratory. Easier to grasp, too, is whatever success he may have enjoyed in removing from the popular mind in England some of its doubts about Negro capability. Similarly comprehendable, on the other hand, is the hostility he aroused among American nationalists by his steady barrage of criticism abroad of America for its racial hypocrisy and its brutal treatment of its black population.

The speeches are an excellent example of the Garrisonian emphasis on moral suasion as the prime agent of social change. Douglass later converted to politics and he ultimately countenanced war in a just cause. However, the moral foundation he constructed in his early abolitionist years remained to undergird his social and political thought the rest of his life.

Douglass rested his thought on two sources: the Bible and the Declaration of Independence on the one hand and his experience as a slave and as a black man in a white man's country on the other. Slavery and inequality violated the laws of God and of nature (which were a gift of God). "Slavery is as abhorrent to God," he uttered, "as revolting to humanity, as it is inconsistent with American institutions." Not only was the institution of slavery a sin, but slaveholders were sinners, for in the final analysis sin was personal and the slavocracy and those in complicity with them, especially the churches, had to assume the responsibility for the perpetuation or eradication of slavery. Moral suasionists like Douglass had to live with the dualism inherent in the transmutation of the revivalist doctrine of "disinterested benevolence" from individual to social reform.

Like many of the "new abolitionists," the Douglass of this period strongly believed that focusing the spotlight of publicity on wrong-doers would convert them to good or right. People of strong religious convictions and goodwill everywhere could thus isolate Southern slaveowners and force them to observe a new morality, or one at least as old as Christ, and to let the sufferers go free. Perhaps in retrospect the belief seems naive. But several things should be kept in mind. These reformers were deeply committed to moral power to bring about change. As much time as they spent reading and listening to each other, they could not have remained uninfluenced by mutual eloquence and logic. Events, too, conspired towards this end. Every act of liberation, every sign of humanitarian advance, especially in England and America, confirmed their belief in the inevitability of human betterment.

Douglass was a universal reformer. Championing many of the popular causes of the day, he subscribed whole-heartedly to the philosophical rationale for their interrelatedness. But he reached that conclusion through the practical route as well. For he could readily see their connection with abolition and the black predicament. His commitment to pacifism and non-violence was certainly based on the laws of God and nature, but practical

considerations loomed large in his thinking. War meant death to many innocent, defenseless people, and slaves would be the principal sufferers from violent revolt. Many times in his speeches, Douglass referred to the brutal whipping administered his cousin by her owner. This experience not only offended his sense of human dignity, but it probably strengthened his notion of the nobility of womanhood and hence his commitment to the cause of women's rights. He seems to have supported temperance largely because intemperance played into the hands of whites who were ready to write off black people as unfit for freedom. Keenly aware of the pervasiveness of such popular bigotry, Douglass comported himself in public so as to be above reproach. He considered himself the representative of the slaves, for they had no other like him, one who shared with them their practical, common sense approach to life and who had escaped from captivity to speak so eloquently for them.

In their superb series of introductions, the editors place Douglass in the context of contemporary standards of oratory as well as against the background of Garrisonian reform. As they go to some lengths to point out, Douglass profited from an intense study of the popular oratorical texts of the day as well as from his close association with abolitionist orators. They reiterate that one distinguishing characteristic of Douglass' oratory was that he spoke from the heart, from an experience different from that of white abolitionists. But that he spoke from the heart, they imply correctly, should not obscure the truth that Douglass expressed his ideas clearly and logically, consistent with the highest canons of nineteenth century oratory. What he learned in the white world he combined with what he had acquired in the black world. For his talents on the rostrum also derived from his slave experience: his oft-noted talent for mimicry, his ear for the rhythms of speech; and his recognition of the power of the human voice to move people. This is a legacy from a people whose traditional method of communication has been audiooral. It argues nothing, however, against the excellence of the introduction that little is said of these black influences. For in the absence of recordings of Douglass' voice, it is next to impossible to document such influences. Indeed, as the editors make abundantly clear, there are near-insurmountable historical difficulties in collecting and reconstructing the speeches from the written records.

In achieving their objectives of "completeness, accuracy, and historical significance" Professor Blassingame and his associates have admirably succeeded in this volume. The notes, many of which in their thoroughness identify obscure abolitionists and their opponents, provide the reader with much useful information, especially about reform politics in Britain in the 1840s. They constitute an excellent complement to the speeches themselves. With this volume, the editors have set a standard for themselves which if maintained will yield possibly the best collection of materials in Afro-American history and in the history of American reform for the entire nineteenth century for many years to come

Syracuse University

OTEY M. SCRUGGS

The Democratic Art: Pictures for a 19th-Century America, Chromolithography, 1840-1900, by Peter C. Marzio (Boston: David R. Godine, 1979, Pp xiv, 357. \$50.00.)

The essential core of this book is a narrative history of the development of one aspect of chromolithography in America, the fine art aspect, as distinguished from that genre's routinely commercial or merely decorative applications. Marzio defines his subject broadly enough to include the best of the advertising art that appeared, but he is primarily interested in the attempt of leading firms to produce high quality multicolored pictures that could be marketed as pictures at affordable prices. He concentrates on the most

important chromolithographers of Boston, New York and Philadelphia, but does discuss some of the significant work done elsewhere as well. The only reference to Baltimore concerns the importation of lithographic stones from Germany.

When Marzio sticks to his essential core, he has a great deal to offer readers interested in the history of chromolithography. In addition to an expert's assessment of some of the key pieces produced, for example, this book contains excellent discussions of such subjects as the business practices of leading chromolithographers and the impact of new technologies upon the way in which a chromolithograph was actually created. Moreover, these valuable discussions are well researched and thoroughly documented. Marzio has provided a useful, reliable, and badly needed basic history of chromolithography as an art form.

Marzio gets himself into conceptual and analytical problems, however, when he attempts to assess the role and place of chromolithography in the culture of "a" (how many were there?) nineteenth century America. He quotes E.L. Godkin and Harriet Beecher Stowe, the two chief adversaries on the cultural merit of art chromos (the former loathed them as debasers of true art; the latter welcomed them as harbingers of refinement and sources of uplifting sentiment), but he does not offer grounds upon which either he or his readers might decide between their respective points of view, or move beyond them. One of the essential elements in a critical historical assessment of the cultural impact of art chromos, for example, would be a precise sense of who actually purchased them for what purpose. Yet Marzio is frustratingly elusive on this key point. He also appears unaware of the historical debates about the role of class and social control in the shaping of popular culture, despite the fact that such debates have dominated much of the recent scholarship in the field. This is unfortunate for the Godkin/Stowe controversy would fit nicely into the framework established by that scholarship. In short, readers will learn far more about chromolithography itself from this book than they will about the relationship between that genre and American culture in the nineteenth century.

A final word about the price of this volume is in order. While this reviewer considers \$50.00 expensive for a book, *The Democratic Art* is probably not overpriced. The production is first-class and the illustrations (44 in black and white and 108 in color) are skillfully chosen and well executed. It is a pleasure to see nineteenth century chromolithography taken seriously; Marzio deserves credit for doing so.

University of Maryland Baltimore County

JAMES C. MOHR

### OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

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### **NEWS AND NOTICES**

### CORRECTION

Information given on page 74 of the Spring 1980 issue of *Maryland Historical Magazine*, the oral history interview with Mr. William B. Marye, is in error. Dr. Douglas S. Byers was Director of the Robert S. Peabody Foundation at Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts (*not* Andover University.)

JOSHUA JOHNSTON (c. 1765–c. 1830) was an American portrait painter active in the Baltimore, Maryland area during the first quarter of the 19th century. He was America's first known Negro artist of prominence. The conventions of his style include a rigid three-quarter pose, brass-head tack decoration on Sheraton style furniture, and the depiction of hand held objects such as books, letters, flowers and strawberries. Most of his subjects were wealthy landowners, seafaring gentlemen, and their children in the Maryland and Virginia Tidewater region. Any information concerning Johnston's life and work is requested for inclusion in a Master's thesis for the George Washington University. Please contact M. L. Perry, 513 Ridgely Avenue, Annapolis, MD 21401, or call 301/266-6017.

## ANNOUNCING THE JOURNAL OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC

Indiana University at Indianapolis announces the establishment of a new quarterly historical journal devoted to the period in United States history between 1789 and approximately 1850. The JOURNAL OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC, to be published for the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic (SHEAR) beginning in the Spring of 1981, will provide an outlet for articles, review essays, and book reviews related to the history, broadly interpreted, of this period. Contributions in political, economic, social, cultural, intellectual, diplomatic, military, ethnic, urban and other fields are welcome.

Published by Indiana University in Indianapolis, where the editorial offices are located, the JOURNAL OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC is edited by Professor Ralph D. Gray of the Department of History. Address communications to

Editor JOURNAL OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC Indiana University 925 West Michigan Street Indianapolis, IN 46202.

Two copies of article manuscripts, with author's name on a separate title page only, and a stamped, self-addressed return envelope will permit faster evaluation and return of unused materials.

Individual memberships in SHEAR, which include a subscription to the JOURNAL OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC, are \$10.00. Institutional memberships are \$20.00. Membership dues and communications concerning SHEAR may be sent either to the JOURNAL office or to Professor James H. Broussard, SHEAR, 8011 Lieber Road, Indianapolis, IN 46260.

The INTERNATIONAL MARITIME JOURNAL has been founded to provide a medium for the publication of postgraduate research into the economic, political, social and religious aspects of maritime history. The JOURNAL is international in concept, and will publish papers relating to pre-Roman times and all periods up to A.D. 1850. The first issue, to be published in the spring of 1981, will include an article on enforced migration to Maryland in the 18th century.

U.S. subscription rates are as follows: Individual, \$38; Institutional, \$45; Student, \$28. Orders should be addressed to Studies in Economic History, P. O. Box 70, Ipswich IP4 4EW, U.K. Contributions and other editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor,

John Savory, 51 Boston Road, Ipswich IP4 4EQ, U.K.

On May 16, 1981, the Museum and Library of Maryland History will host a one-day seminar/workshop funded by the Maryland Committee for the Humanities through a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities entitled "Native American Studies in Maryland: Needs and Opportunities." Topics for the workshop will be "Archaeology in Maryland", "Integration of Indians into White Society" and "Urban Indians in Maryland." More information will follow in the spring issue.

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