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# Maryland Historical Magazine

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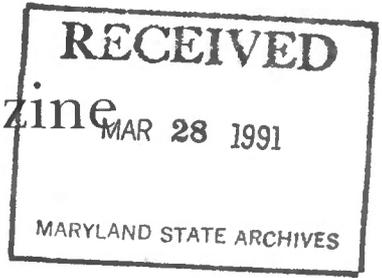
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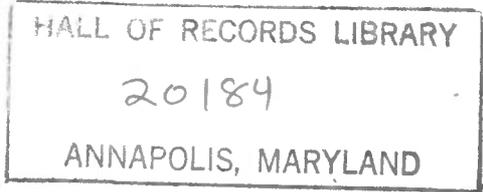
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# Maryland Historical Magazine



VOLUME 86

SPRING 1991



## CONTENTS

Emerging Ethnicity: The German Experience in Antebellum Baltimore . . . . .	1
<i>by Jörg Echternkamp</i>	
Whigs in the Streets? Baltimore Republicanism and Politics in the Spring of 1861 . . . . .	23
<i>by Matthew Ellenberger</i>	
A Brothers' Fight for Freedom . . . . .	39
<i>by Harold T. Pinkett</i>	
Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany . . . . .	51
Was Shakespeare's Son Lieutenant Governor of Maryland? <i>by Robert E. Morsberger</i>	
The Annapolis Poll Books of 1800 and 1804: African-American Voting in the Early Republic, <i>by David S. Bogen</i>	
The Public Thoroughfares of Annapolis, <i>by Jean B. Russo</i>	
Babe Ruth's North Carolina Spring: The Tar Heel Perspective, <i>by Jim L. Sumner</i>	
Old Oriole Scorecards, <i>by Ted Patterson</i>	
Book Reviews . . . . .	90
Sarudy, "Eighteenth-century Gardens of the Chesapeake," <i>by Peter Hatch</i>	
Kukla, <i>Political Institutions in Virginia</i> , and Quitt, <i>Virginia House of Burgesses, 1660-1706:     The Social, Educational, and Economic Bases of Political Power</i> , <i>by Mary Gwaltney Vaz</i>	
Green, <i>The Maryland Gazette, 1727-1761</i> , <i>by Robert Barnes</i>	
Smith, <i>Anti-Jacksonian Politics Along the Chesapeake</i> , <i>by Whitman H. Ridgway</i>	
Clark, <i>Footloose in Jacksonian America: Robert W. Scott and His Agrarian World</i> , <i>by George     M. Anderson</i>	
Bell, <i>Major Butler's Legacy: Five Generations of a Slaveholding Family</i> , <i>by Jack Shreve</i>	
Coryell, <i>Neither Heroine Nor Fool: Anna Ella Carroll of Maryland</i> , <i>by John R. Wenersten</i>	
Radley, <i>Rebel Watchdog: The Confederate States Army Provost Guard</i> , <i>by David Winfred     Gaddy</i>	

Vicchio and Geiger, eds., *Perspectives on the American Catholic Church: 1789-1989*, by Thomas W. Spalding  
 Durkin, ed., *Swift Potomac's Lovely Daughter: Two Centuries of Georgetown through Students' Eyes*, by David Hein  
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 Varga, *Baltimore's Loyola, Loyola's Baltimore 1851-1986*, by R. Emmett Curran  
 Musser, *The History of Goucher College, 1930-1985*, by Nicholas Varga  
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 Bustard, *Washington: Behind the Monuments*, by Gilbert Gude  
 Powell, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries*, by John David Smith  
 Leon and Rosenzweig, *History Museums in the United States: A Critical Assessment*, by Barry Kessler

Books Received .....117

Notices .....119

Maryland Picture Puzzle .....122

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*Editor's Corner:* Spring turns the attention of many Marylanders to Orioles baseball, and two of our articles in this issue take one back to the early days of the team. More serious fare includes recent research on German ethnicity in antebellum Baltimore and a new interpretation of the 19 April 1861 riot and its aftermath.

This issue of the magazine registers another modest facelift—a shift to a Baskerville typeface, a slightly lighter page, and a few more pages in length. We hope not to make any further changes in the magazine's design for quite some time, quality and consistency being essential in scholarly quarterlies.

It is with deep sadness that we note the recent death of a former volunteer copyeditor on the magazine staff, Nancy D. West, and pay lasting tribute to a warm and courageous person admired by all of us who knew her.

*Cover design:* Orioles baseball scorecard from the 1884 season, featuring pitcher Hardy Henderson. (From the collection of—and special thanks to—Ted Patterson.)

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 Magdalena..... M<sup>lle</sup> PAULINE CANISSA  
 Marquis of Corey..... HERR VIBRINGS  
 Bijou, a Blacksmith..... HERR FRANZSCH  
 ACTS II AND III.  
 ST. PHAR..... THEODORE WACHTEL  
 Lady de Latour..... M<sup>lle</sup> PAULINE CANISSA  
 Marquis of Corey..... HERR VIBRINGS  
 Alcindor..... HERR FRANZSCH  
 Bourbon..... HERR ROHRBECK  
 Rosa..... FRIE SCHMITZ  
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Announcement of the Grand German Opera of 1872, an event held at the Concordia Hall. (Prints and Photographs, Library, Maryland Historical Society.)

# Emerging Ethnicity: The German Experience in Antebellum Baltimore

JÖRG ECHTERNKAMP

Recent research in Germany and the United States alike (*Sozialhistorische Migrationsforschung* in Germany and American ethnic history) argues for a fresh account of the German immigrant's experience in nineteenth-century America. This study of antebellum Baltimore proceeds on the assumption that the older, so-called melting pot theory is unrealistic and even chauvinistic, suggesting the transformation of the old European into a new (and superior) American with equal opportunities. Current emphasis on ethnic pluralism rejects the notion of disappearing ethnicity but itself errs in viewing ethnic identity as something imported from the Old World. "Today's revisionist view is as misleading as its predecessors," concludes Jonathan D. Sarna; it "falsely assumes that immigrant groups were internally united by pre-existing ties and that all 'old world' institutions actually existed across the ocean. The facts, on the other hand, demonstrate that ethnic ties developed on American soil."<sup>1</sup>

Only a few historians consider the regional, social, and religious diversity of the so-called German immigrants in their studies, yet the development of ethnicity among Germans in the United States is especially revealing.<sup>2</sup> Before the foundation of the *Kaiserreich* (German Empire), "Germany" could only be defined idealistically in Ernst Moritz Arndt's vision of a universal German brotherhood of states with cultural boundaries, "Where'er is heard the German tongue / And German hymns to God are sung."<sup>3</sup> Most immigrants coming to the United States in the years before 1871 had very little sense of belonging to or having belonged to a German nation. They perceived themselves as people from a particular local area—not as Germans but as Bavarians, Württembergers, Mecklenburgers, Saxons, Westphalians, and so forth. Contemporaries clearly sensed these differences. Lamenting inner strife among the Germans in America, Franz Löhner in 1847 pointed to the antipathies bound up in regional loyalties:

There is a wide gap between the Upper-Germans and the Lower-Germans.... Within these two army camps, there are smaller hostilities. The fellow from the Münster region thinks that the Hessian is a worse man than he is, the Saxon thinks that the Prussian is much stupider, the Swabian thinks that the Bavarian is much coarser—and vice versa.<sup>4</sup>

---

Mr. Echterkamp, a student of history, French, and pedagogy at the University of Bielefeld (Germany), spent the 1988-89 academic year at the Johns Hopkins University.

These localized attachments gradually gave way to a wider “German” identity, a subjective allegiance to common origins primarily reflected in the “German” language.<sup>5</sup>

In place of the misleading metaphors of uprooting and transplantation, we might well think in terms of the dynamic by which an ethnic group develops a social identity.<sup>6</sup> By this process of “ethnicization”<sup>7</sup> members of the group validate their claim to shared descent by referring to cultural attitudes that they believe they hold in common. Perception counts more than actuality; the emergence of ethnicity stems from the interaction of two factors: self-ascription and ascription by others. On the one hand, the category “German” as non-Germans applied it, became a recognized basis of social identification. Old hometown loyalties and the new broader appellation—the outsiders’ view of the immigrants—transformed immigrants into ethnics, who accepted (and elaborated on) their ascribed identity.

On the other hand, the factor of “self-ascription” (“adversity” in Sarna’s terminology) can explain why immigrants accepted the externally imposed label: their readiness to be defined in terms of the somewhat vague national grouping complied with the need to unite themselves against the foreign, often adverse environment.<sup>8</sup> Thus the immigrant press, benevolent societies, ethnic symbols, and public performances, social clubs, churches, and schools all performed the primary function of creating an ethnic community out of divided immigrants. “Community” of course, embraces more than “neighborhood” or any other close-knit spatial unit.<sup>9</sup> Analyzing residential patterns in mid-nineteenth-century Baltimore, Joseph Garonzik concludes that, although some neighborhood clusters appeared, “heterogeneous mixtures of various ethnic origins were more common.”<sup>10</sup> Given these results, an analysis of the German community can hardly start on the assumption that proximity was a sufficient condition for the process of ethnicization. It is my thesis that the ethnic residential “patchwork” supports a notion of “community” that depended upon an ethnocultural network of communication and interaction. Institutions provided the focal points of German ethnicity, not neighborhoods or neighborhoods alone.

The post-colonial wave of large-scale German emigration to the United States began after the Napoleonic wars. Rural overpopulation, pauperism, and the coincidence of the last agricultural and industrial crisis in the 1840s triggered the emigration; religious and political motives, such as the protest against the unification of the Lutheran and Reformed churches in Prussia or against the reactionary policy during the years preceding the revolution of 1848/49, the so-called Vormärz era, were numerically less important. The number of German immigrants increased from 5,753 in the decade 1820 to 1829 (4.5 percent of the total immigration) to 124,726 in the 1830s (23.2 percent) to 385,434 (27 percent) between 1840 and 1849. Immigration climaxed in the decade prior to the Civil War, when 976,072 Germans (34 percent) arrived. The annual peak was reached in 1854 (215,009).<sup>11</sup> Although most pre-war German immigrants settled in the farmland and frontier cities of the Midwest, the cities that served as ports of entry also contained large German contingents.

Along with New York City, Philadelphia, and New Orleans, Baltimore became a major port of debarkation, especially for Germans.<sup>12</sup> Its central position, the good possibilities of continuing the journey to the West, and the extensive commercial relations with Bremen (the most important German emigration port) made Baltimore a favorable destination. According to contemporary estimates, 20,000 Germans (native-born and second-generation) constituted one sixth of Baltimore's growing population in 1848.<sup>13</sup> In 1850 the number of German-born alone amounted to 19,274; during the following decade it increased to 32,613. Between 1833 and 1860, 168,966 Germans landed in Baltimore. Among the 43,884 German "foreigners" residing in Maryland in 1860, 8,126 emigrated from Hesse, 7,733 from Bavaria, 3,485 from Baden, 2,827 from Prussia, and 2,229 from Württemberg.<sup>14</sup> Skilled and commercially oriented Germans were attracted by the specialized markets of eastern cities, whereas many unskilled laborers were often deterred by the Irish competition.<sup>15</sup> According to this general pattern, most Baltimore Germans were craftsmen and retailers, some were wholesalers. There were Germans "in almost all branches of the city's activity, and even in the branches of public affairs, from the judge...down to the night-watchman."<sup>16</sup> Some Germans had important positions with the railroad companies, others made a political career. As to religious affiliation, Baltimore's Germans comprised Catholics, Protestants, and Jews.<sup>17</sup>



Ethnoreligious factors strongly influenced the process of immigration and the subsequent formation of an ethnic community.<sup>18</sup> Emigrants to the United States, argues Timothy L. Smith, regrouped into "larger aggregations that both preserved and revised inherited patterns of language, religion, and regional culture." Formal affiliation in ethnic associations mostly depended on the extent to which the immigrants identified themselves with a specific religious tradition. Ethnic consciousness, then, was influenced by the attachment to a particular religion before emigration. At the moment of migration, "the interweaving of religious and ethnic feelings had become for many a deep-seated habit of mind." Migration, in turn, strengthened religious commitment. Smith terms it a "theologizing experience."<sup>19</sup>

The first German immigrants to settle on the Chesapeake Bay were in their majority Lutherans and Reformed Protestants. In the second half of the eighteenth century they managed to build two small churches; thirty-five Lutherans signed the first constitution in 1769 and could afford a pastor of their own. A second constitution four years later was adopted by 145 members. Although the number reached 318 at the turn of the century, German Lutherans still made up an extremely small portion of Baltimore's forty thousand inhabitants.

With the incorporation of the *Zions-Kirche*—as the Lutheran community had been called since the 1780s—it became eligible for public financial support, erected a new church building in 1808, and, most of all, became a center of synodal activity. Due to the religious and professional ambitions of Pastor Daniel Kurtz, who had

come to Baltimore on a missionary tour before taking over the congregation, the Pennsylvania Synod three times (1797, 1803, 1819) held its annual meetings in Baltimore. Moreover, Kurtz managed to become the president of both the newly founded Maryland and Virginia Synod and the General Synod in 1820.<sup>20</sup>

What at first glance looks like a success story of pious immigrants on closer examination reveals community tensions and internal controversies. Two examples document how ethnoreligious quarrels could result in temporary and permanent splits. As early as 1800 the refusal of the church council to employ the English language in liturgy provoked the exodus of some members. The discussion sharpened in 1815: members opposing a German-only service demanded a second, English-speaking pastor. Although they were ready to finance him at their own cost, members of the Zion church council heartily rejected the offer. In a pamphlet addressing “the members of the German-Lutheran Community in Baltimore who are inclined to introduce the English along with the German language in our church,” the elders underlined the advantages and necessity of a German church. Faith and the mother tongue, they argued, had been their common denominator—that is, community without unity of language was unimaginable. They considered German “the chosen language; by its means we were reared, by its means we learned about God and Jesus; by its means we are delighted reading...the Bible; by means of the German language we wish to continue edifying ourselves publicly in the church.” For the pro-German faction, language and faith were inseparably linked. “One day on the deathbed,” they declared in their pamphlet, “we want to be comforted in the German language.” Finally, conservatives interpreted the German service as an honorable, patriotic duty, asking the Lutherans to “act like men, act like Germans.”<sup>21</sup> Pointing out the interrelation of language, Germanness and religion and its relevance for the immigrant, the church council at an early stage anticipated later patterns of argumentation. Its members, however, also had a personal, profane reason for their unyielding position. Since they could not speak English, as they mentioned in passing, bilingualism in the community would have reduced their power. Not until 1822 did the election of a second German pastor from Bremen provide the occasion for pro-English Lutherans in Baltimore to become independent. Five years later, German colleagues of the pastor of this first English Lutheran Church received him “with polite coldness.” They “did nothing to encourage (our) project,” John Gottlieb Morris remembered; he blamed his early difficulties on the bad reputation of the German Lutherans, who were criticized as “not demonstrative in their piety” and “not recognized as a working, Christian people.”<sup>22</sup>

Religious and personal disputes were the reason for a second split in 1834-35, when a new German pastor clashed with the church council and together with more than 150 former members at Zion organized the *Zweite deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische St. Paul's Gemeinde*. The Zion community eventually achieved peace under the Rev. Heinrich Scheib. After a phase of change and consolidation, a new constitution of 1844 provided the ethnoreligious basis for the next half a century. On the one hand, it aimed at “reasonable religiousness” and prohibited membership in a

“non-reasonable” synod. On the other hand, it underlined the German character of the church. Since it was founded “by Germans and for Germans,” the service would be held in German as long as there would be five members who demanded it. Only a preacher with perfect knowledge of German could be employed.<sup>23</sup> Against this background the community developed into a center of German life during the 1840s and 1850s. Scheib rose successfully from the position of a disputed beginner to the social status of an ethnic leader among Baltimore’s Germans.

The ups and downs of the oldest Lutheran Church (and the only one to offer German services today) exemplify the structural characteristics of the Protestant churches that often originated in religious, ethnic, and personal drives.<sup>24</sup> Among Lutherans, the *Deutsche Lutherische Fell’s Point Gemeinde* (founded in 1815 and later called “Trinity Church”) laid the foundation for further growth. In 1853 its pastor and more than fifty members left the church in anger to found *St. Matthäus*, and others took part in the organization of the *Vereinigte Deutsche Gemeinde*. At least two other churches (St. Johannes in 1846 and St. Stephanus in 1850) came into being when the flux of immigrants increased.

The First Reformed Church was also concerned with the language question. In 1818 its church council approved bilingual services, but ten years later the last German sermon was given, indirectly forcing non-English-speaking parishioners to leave the community. Tensions and growing demand shaped later developments. Whereas the third Reformed Church was English speaking from the beginning, the fourth and fifth Reformed communities (St. Johannes in 1846, and St. Paul’s in 1850) held German services and opened bilingual parish schools. Smaller groups widened the palette of German Protestantism. The Otterbein Church dated to the late eighteenth century; a Pennsylvania pastor founded an *Evangelische Gemeinschaft* in 1840, the so-called Swedenborgians established their *Neue Jerusalems-Kirche* in 1857, and a Baptist community was organized two years later.

Thus a complex network of partly interrelated, partly competing Protestant churches developed within the German community. Their number grew from five in 1830 to fourteen in 1860. Ethnoreligious questions provided crucial elements in the process of organizing and reorganizing. There was no predefined direction in the development of one church nor a parallel between the rise of, say, two Lutheran churches. While the *Zionsgemeinde* struggled over the language issue during the first decades and strengthened its German makeup from the mid-1840s on, the Reformed church at the same time accepted English sermons but had to re-introduce German in the two decades before the Civil War. A more detailed analysis of this network will be necessary to shed light on its complexity, especially on the influence of language and religious loyalty.

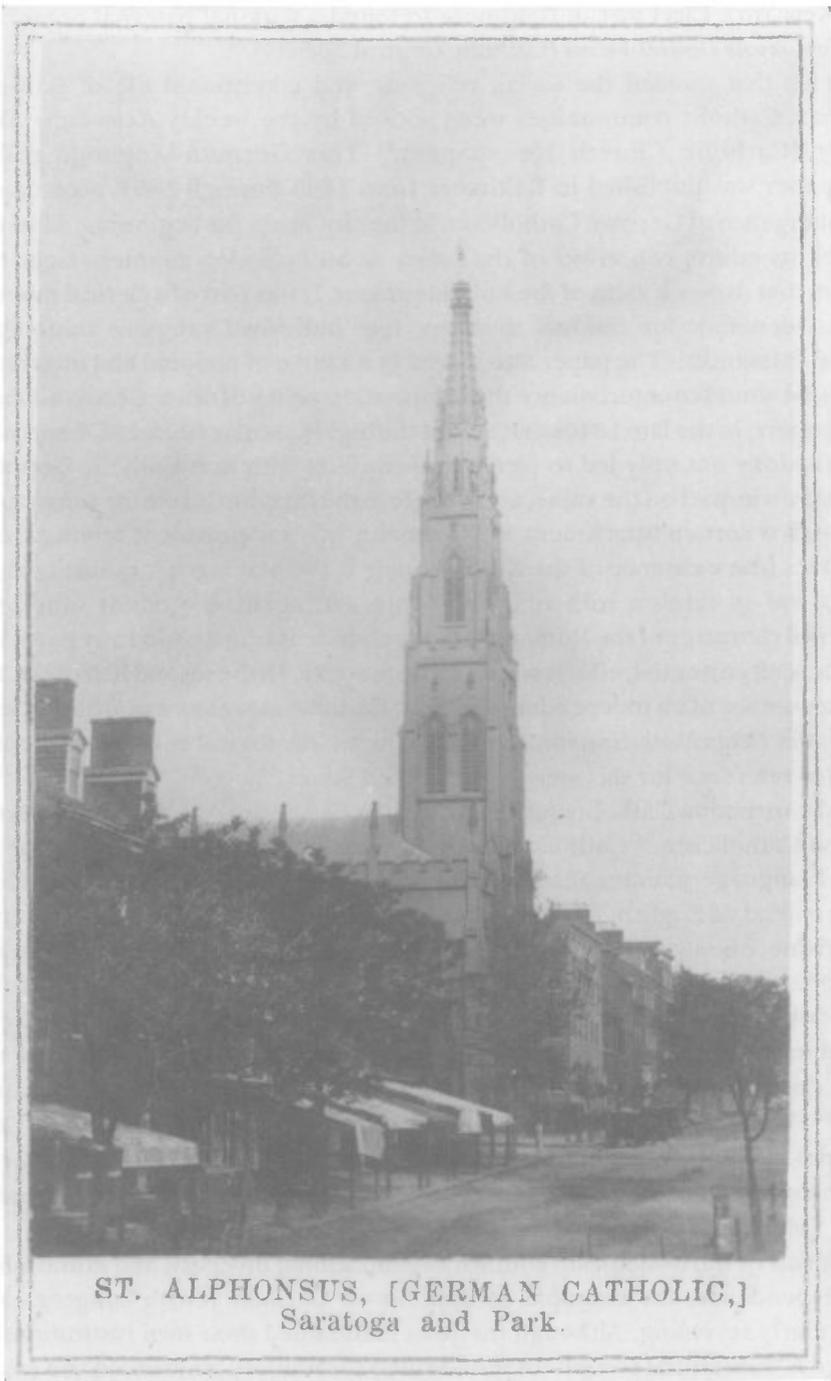
In Baltimore, as in other American cities, German-Catholic immigrants faced a twofold ethnic-religious problem: not only were they in the minority in relation to the German Protestants, but they also had a minority status within the Irish-dominated Catholic church. Baltimore’s German-Catholic congregations—unlike Protestant and Jewish ones—had to be founded as a German-speaking congregation within the mostly non-German Catholic church. Catholic parish life, however,

paralleled both Protestant and Jewish developments. An early attempt to establish a separate German parish led to a temporary schism at the turn of the century, but not until 1840 did a separate German congregation—named for St. Alphonsus—and a German-Catholic social-religious network begin to form. This development was inextricably linked to ethnic-religious, charitable and social organizational efforts made by the German Catholic order of the *Congregatio Sanctissimi Redemptoris* (Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer), whose patron was St. Alphonsus.<sup>25</sup>

Apart from being places of worship, St. Alphonsus and the newly founded churches were the center of community life, serving primarily as an important institution of socialization for German-Catholic immigrants. Churches met their need for a gathering point where they could share experiences and activities. Religion offered a common denominator that could transform and replace various Old World ecclesiastical habits, like processions on provincial holy days or homage to local saints. At the same time, the Catholic church life guaranteed denominational continuity. Universal holy days and particular occasions like the celebration of St. Alphonsus's feast day gave rise to a distinct tradition among German Catholics in the city. Special religious events, such as the "Day of the Holy Mission," as well as highlights in one's personal religious life, such as First Communion, provided occasions for numerous common activities, ranging from the decoration of churches to music and public singing, from prayers and Bible lessons to processions inside and outside the church.<sup>26</sup>

Catholic social and charitable associations developed as both a cause and an effect of the emerging Catholic life in Baltimore. First to be founded were the Bonifacius Society in 1839 and the *Alphonsus Liebesbund* (union of love) in 1845. In 1847 alone, three new societies came into being, each with more than one hundred members.<sup>27</sup> Unquestionably, these *Vereine* played an important, twofold role in the shaping of community life. On the one hand, these associations—like their non-Catholic equivalents—had a strong social component that was essential for the formation of a particular *German* Catholic community. Beyond a separate club life, they undertook common excursions open to all German Catholics. The first public outing, organized by the Alphonsus Society in the summer of 1846, set the pattern for subsequent events. Members of the St. James and St. Alphonsus communities, various associations, pupils of the parochial schools, and the clergy were some of the eight hundred people who enjoyed the steamboat trip on the Chesapeake Bay. A German choir and a piano player supplied the musical background for the excursionists who "recalled to their memories the social and comfortable life of Germany."<sup>28</sup> Apart from this social function, these associations were the primary vehicle for the public display of Catholicism. Their participation in the parade on the occasion of the Redemptorist Father Jolin Neumann's consecration as bishop of Philadelphia in 1852 is a case in point: the members, 1,400 - 1,500 men, formed a colorful procession from the St. Alphonsus church to the archbishop's residence.<sup>29</sup>

Baltimore's Catholic associations evidently were in contact with similar societies throughout America. This net was strengthened in the mid-1850s when representatives of seventeen societies (from Pennsylvania and Illinois, Washington, D.C.,



ST. ALPHONSUS, [GERMAN CATHOLIC,]  
Saratoga and Park.

The bustling neighborhood surrounding St. Alphonsus German Catholic Church (steeple to rear) as photographed in 1864 by D.R. Stiltz & Co., View Photographers. (Prints and Photographs, Library, Maryland Historical Society.)

and New York City) met in Baltimore to found a national paternal organization, the *Katholische Central Verein* (Catholic Central Society).<sup>30</sup>

Events that molded the social, religious, and educational life of Baltimore's German Catholic communities were noticed by the weekly *Katholische Kirchenzeitung* (Catholic Church Newspaper).<sup>31</sup> This German-language religious newspaper was published in Baltimore from 1846 through 1851, accompanying the emergence of German Catholicism in the city. From the beginning, Maximilian Oertel, its editor, conceived of the paper as an orthodox counterweight to any reform that drew on ideas of the Enlightenment. It was part of a clerical movement against demands for rational theology, free individual religious thinking, and secular humanism. The paper also served as a source of national and international news that would counterbalance the information policy of other German-language newspapers, in the late 1840s that meant the highly secular *Deutsche Correspondent*.<sup>32</sup>

Orthodoxy not only led to ideological conflicts with non-Catholic Germans; it also had an impact on the value, and therefore the function, of ethnic consciousness. Although a certain attachment to "Germanness" was prevalent among German Catholics (the existence of the *Kirchenzeitung* is the best sign)<sup>33</sup>, ethnicity at other points was in tension with religion. Again and again, the editor affirmed the universal character of the Roman-Catholic church. It transcended any particularistic, ethnically oriented, efforts within its framework. In the second half of the 1840s, the emergence of an independent German-Catholic movement in various German states, the *Deutschkatholizismus*, functioned as an ideological contrast and external point of reference for this view in the United States.<sup>34</sup>

While orthodox Catholics fostered German *Catholicism*, other Catholics stressed *German Catholicism*.<sup>35</sup> Catholic missionaries for example, directly faced the problem of language maintenance and clung to German despite Vatican indifference to the spread of English. If one shifts the focus from the public self-presentation to the private, one sometimes discovers secret exchanges of information between the missionary orders and their German bases. These tensions and language problems cast doubt on the official Catholic version of harmony among ethnic subdivisions voiced in Oertel's newspaper. Attachment to German language and culture necessarily clashed with Irish-Catholic dominance and in turn raised ethnic consciousness.<sup>36</sup> "We are afraid that the English language, English customs and English attitudes might also enter our convent," the Mother Superior of the German missionary order of the School Sisters of Notre Dame wrote to Munich in December 1847, "May God preserve us from this!"<sup>37</sup>

In terms of intra-subgroup conflict, organizational diversity, and ethnoreligious interdependence, the example of Baltimore's German Jewish congregations is particularly revealing. Although the Jews maintained their own institutions, they formed a "substantial section" of the German community. Embedded in a common web of social relations, Jewish and gentile Germans interacted on several levels: Jewish merchants advertised their commercial affairs in Baltimore's German dailies, *Der Correspondent* and *Der Wecker*; in the *Maryländische Teutsche Zeitung* of 1821 the Cohen banking house boosted its services. Advertisements for non-Jewish

enterprises can be found in the *Sinai*. Reports on charity performances of Jewish societies testify to the presence of Christian Germans and their generosity: about two hundred of them went to a ball in aid of the Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1847. Ten years later, at the anniversary dinner of this association, "our Christian friends who were solicited" contributed \$200 to the fund. But social contacts were not restricted to commercial and charitable cooperation. Jews played an increasing role in German *Vereine*, too.<sup>38</sup>

The litmus test in an analysis of any interrelationship between social groups, however, is the question of intermarriage. In the case of Baltimore, the data corroborate the hypothesis that marriage for Jews was not restricted to the members of their denominational group. For at least twenty of 203 couples married by Rabbi Hochheimer between 1850 and 1861, the first and last name of one partner suggest a non-Jewish, but still German origin.<sup>39</sup>

Baltimore's Jews—like their brethren in New York or Philadelphia—were far from being a uniform bloc. The group was formed along three religious directions: Orthodoxy, Conservatism, and Reform. This religious controversy was overlapped by a social-religious delimitation: the old-stock, prestigious Sephardi elite treated the newly arriving Ashkenazi immigrants with condescension in the early nineteenth century.<sup>40</sup> In 1829 the first Jewish organization was incorporated. Some Baltimorean Jews founded the Nidche Israel Synagogue, later known as the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation. Dissatisfaction with the Orthodox Rabbi caused a first split in 1842, when young Jews seceded from the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation. The establishment of the *Har Sinai Verein* was not so much a "miracle...shrouded to some extent in mystery," but the result of the incompatibility of orthodox demands and the Reform oriented ideal Jewish immigrants brought with them. More than a decade after this secession, the Bavarian David Einhorn was appointed Har Sinai's first rabbi. His liberal and controversial position, expressed in his monthly magazine *Sinai*, stimulated the Reform. Consequently, Einhorn's eloquent engagement broadened the increasingly unbridgeable gap that split Baltimore's Jews.<sup>41</sup> A third congregation, Oheb Shalom, was incorporated in 1854. Its rabbi after 1859, Benjamin Szold, promoted a middle path between right wing Orthodoxy and extreme Reform. In modern terms, Oheb Shalom was a "progressive Conservative Synagogue."<sup>42</sup>

The bitterness of the Orthodoxy in the face of spreading Reform, and the polemic character of the mutual, public criticism is exemplified by an article that appeared in the conservative *Occident* ridiculing Reformed Jews as "excited minds who are delirious with their new temple, ravished by the new organ, and maddened by the appeals to their enlightened understanding on the choice spirits of the age."<sup>43</sup> Einhorn considered the difference of geographic origins as a major source of this antagonism.<sup>44</sup>

Against the backdrop of this diversity, Baltimore's German Jews assumed different attitudes toward the German language and the country they had left behind. With the growing flow of immigrants, and the arrival of the rabbis in the 1840s and 1850s, the role of German and Germany became a crucial issue for the

self-conception of Baltimore's Jewry. Positively, Germany functioned as a religious point of reference (and reverence) for the Reform, implying the endorsement of the German language and its use. Negatively, it became the symbol of anti-Orthodoxy, entailing a disparagement of German. From the Orthodox angle, a religious-pragmatic argument and a civic-moral aspect demanded support of the English language. The determining factor, however, was the idea that Germany equated with Reform in two ways. First, "Holland, Denmark, England, and France, where ancient Judaism is taught, practiced and openly acknowledged," directly contrasted with "Germany, where the so-called utilitarian spirit of innovation and reform had its birth, and now rides rampant, overturning all the observances and rites of ancient orthodox Judaism."<sup>45</sup> Second, German was the language of the congregation that represented Reform in Baltimore, Har Sinai.

Einhorn and his adherents—like the Orthodox Jews—considered Germany the country of Reform Judaism. But for them it served as a positive point of reference. It was the Jewish communities in Berlin, Hamburg, and elsewhere that stimulated Reform life in America. For members of Har Sinai, more than for the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, the German language was the only proper vehicle of culture and therefore was essential for modern Jewish spirituality.

For all religious groups parochial schools proved a sensitive point. Since education was inextricably linked to ethnic attitudes and values, many debates centered on curriculum. Criticizing the orientation of the Orthodox Baltimore Hebrew Sunday School in 1857, Reform Rabbi Einhorn offered a case in point.<sup>46</sup> Small wonder that the development of German schools in Baltimore paralleled the evolution of German congregations. Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed churches as well as the German Jews built parochial schools in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>47</sup> They usually were founded at the same time as the congregations and perished with them in the last decades of the century, when public schools offered German classes.

The parochial school of the *Evangelisch-Lutherische Zionskirche* became the fulcrum of the German community. Its history, however, did not follow the usual patterns. By 1835, when the progressive pastor Heinrich Scheib reorganized the school, it had given up its function of supplying German-speaking children for German services. Unlike most German church academies, the Zion school gradually had become independent in form and content; the notion "church school" had lost its meaning, mostly because of the Reverend Scheib's liberal leadership of both institutions. Schab's idea of "modern" teaching that found its expression in the constitution of the Zion school was based on enlightened principles. It aimed at training the students to do their own thinking in the search for truth. Moreover, the school was responsible for the formation of a civic consciousness. According to this utilitarian concept, religious goals had to give way to a secular one: the education of German immigrants' children in preparation for their American future.<sup>48</sup> Bilingual instruction (and the admission of at least one German-Jewish student) was the result of this pragmatic pedagogy. The establishment and struggles of the German-English Zion school in Baltimore cast light on the social and

ideological problems it answered.<sup>49</sup> It also offered an example of enlightened teaching in an antebellum American city.

While debates over ethnoreligious questions clearly revealed differences among German Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, fragmentation ironically helped to forge German ethnicity in two ways. Because the quarrels, hopes, and anxieties concerned German and were expressed in German, they pointed to the most relevant subjective common denominator, the German language. Moreover, the internal divisions provided equally important stimuli for defining explicitly and publicly the ethnic position. Both aspects, then, had a unifying consequence.

The radicalism of the German *Turner* and the critique it provoked were another case in point. The prominent Baden democratic leftist Friedrich Hecker helped found the first North American *Turnverein* in Cincinnati in November 1848. Only one week later, the New York *Turngemeinde* came into being, and in 1849 the Baltimore *Social-demokratische Turnverein* was founded. By 1850 it was the numerically largest *Turnverein* in America with 278 members. The Turner movement in America was inaugurated by those "Forty-Eighters" who had participated in the German Revolution of 1848-1849, mostly as members of the *Demokratische Turnerbund*. *Turner* from south and southwest Germany prevailed, almost half of these emigrants (after 1848) were between seventeen and twenty-three years old. The majority (62.5 percent) belonged to the petite bourgeoisie; a small minority (less than 4 percent) had a scientific education. Similarly, Baltimore's *Turnverein* consisted mostly of German small artisans and skilled laborers. Petite bourgeoisie and intelligentsia joined together as *Turner*.<sup>50</sup>

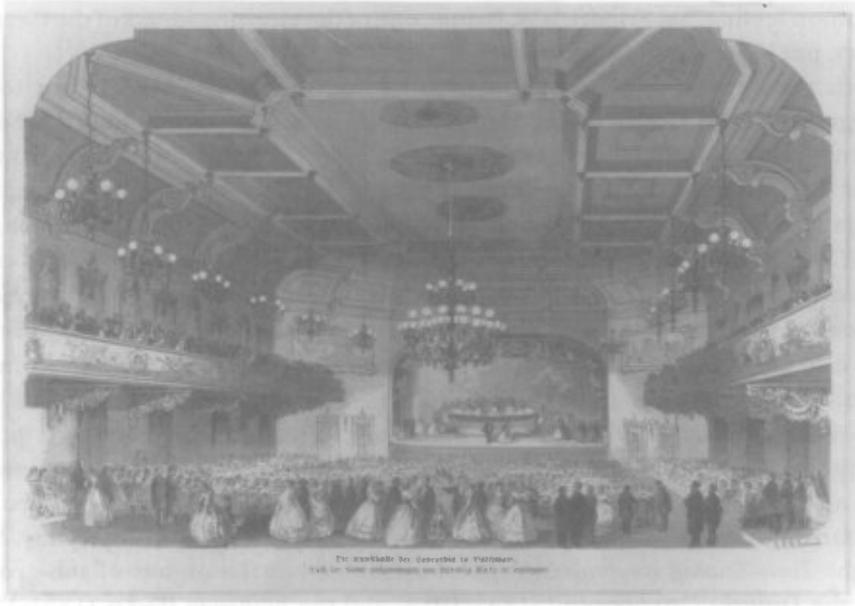
Members of the German-American *Turner* perceived themselves as the avant-garde of liberty, proceeding on the assumption—at least until the early 1850s—that a new revolution in Germany would not be long in coming. An assembly (*Tagsatzung*) in Philadelphia, to which the Baltimore association sent its representatives, created a parent organization, the *Socialistische Turnerbund*. In 1851 the *Turn-Zeitung* became its official organ.<sup>51</sup> An 1852 report on the Baltimore *Verein* provided a paradigmatic outline of *Turner* life, organization, and ideology.<sup>52</sup> It pictured three functional components—militarily oriented physical training, ideological education, and sociability. Needy *Turner* members, "refugees," and Baltimore's poor received financial support. The Turner Hall, where well-known guests like Hecker were welcomed, served as a drill and fencing ground; gymnastic apparatus encouraged various exercises. A special youth squad, led by gymnastic teachers from Germany or German-American *Vorturner* took care of *Turner* pupils. Recitative lectures, debates in a reading circle, and a library with emphasis on arts and science fostered the proliferation of *Turner* ideology. A stanza of the *Turner* song, *Der Turnerbund* (written by Baltimore's most prominent *Turner*, Carl H. Schnauffer), captured the movement's radical spirit: "Steel-clad characters / ready for the quarrel for justice / impress their traces / on their time in a manly way / because, where the yoke and chains will be broken / it is the Turner's duty to take part in the fight."<sup>53</sup> Baltimore's *Verein* claimed to serve local Germans and improve their relationship with the native born. It had "made the Americans familiar with

German sense/habits and German life; and it has acquired the love and acknowledgment of the real Germans."<sup>54</sup>

One of the main occasions for singing *Turner* songs—either by the *Turner-Liedertafel* or laymen—was the interregional *Bundes-Turnfest*. Organized after the model of the gymnastic festivals (*Turnfeste*) in the Germany of the "Vormärz," these festivals painted a lively (if misleading) picture of German brotherhood, increased public interest in gymnastic activity, and helped to promulgate *Turner* ideas. In September 1852, for example, the *Social-demokratische Turnverein* organized the *Turnfest* in Baltimore. The event called for the cooperation of many different German clubs. A large number of German-American gymnastic groups paraded through the streets of Baltimore. Social clubs like the *Concordia* sent delegates to the festival. Gymnastic pupils of the Reverend Scheib's Zion school were present, and the members of the *Liederkrantz* singing society were also among the participants.

Baltimore became *Turner Vorort* (headquarters) in 1859, and the following year the *Turner* issued an appeal urging all associated clubs to vote in favor of the republican candidate. Like Lincoln—so they argued—the *Turnverein* "strongly opposes slavery, nativism or any form of deprivation of rights resulting from color, religion, or place of birth, since this is incompatible with a cosmopolitan conception of the world."<sup>55</sup> Small wonder that a company of Baltimore *Turner* was among the first corps of volunteers that followed Lincoln's call to arms in April 1861—a direct result of their abolitionist and radically liberal attitudes, which were no secret. Earlier, Southern sympathizers had destroyed the *Turner* gymnasium and forced leading figures to flee. The Civil War put an end to the *Social-demokratische Turnverein*.

While the *Turner* movement in Baltimore offered a home to "free-thinking" liberal immigrants of the middle-class, the German community also provided possibilities of expression for upper-class members. The elitist "Germania" club is one example, the charitable *Deutsche Gesellschaft* or German Society of Maryland another. During the years after its revival in 1817, the German Society (first founded in 1783) played a prominent part within the German community and contributed to its establishment in many ways. Members were recruited mostly from the upper classes—"Distinguished merchants, scholars, artists" in its early days; after 1817 importers of German goods, attorneys, and bankers. They included descendants of colonial settlers as well as new immigrants from Austria, Switzerland, Baden, and Hesse—Lutherans, Catholics, and Jews alike.<sup>56</sup> Interest on investments, fees, and donations financed the society, and public contributions provided another means of support. After 1832 the society profited from the so-called commutation money that every immigrant had to pay to the city upon arrival.<sup>57</sup> The society performed legislative work, organized charitable activities, and established non-profit services (notably an employment agency). Potential emigrants benefited from information on Baltimore that the society circulated in the German states.<sup>58</sup>



*Die Kunsthalle der Concordia im Baltimore.* A print depicting the interior of the Concordia Theater (Prints and Photographs, Library, Maryland Historical Society.)

The society's latent function, however, was of no less importance to its members. The *Deutsche Gesellschaft* met the demand for an association that clearly differed in its character and membership from other German *Vereine*. It offered the organizational frame for the expression of its members' elitist consciousness. Annual meetings mirrored this social feature particularly well. Louis P. Henninghausen, a former president of the society, recalled the "consciousness of feeling that you were among men of generous, benevolent hearts, gentlemen by their very nature." Membership, in fact, diminished remarkably when the banquet had been suspended for four years. It was also symptomatic that from 1842 on another elitist club, the *Germania* (consisting of wealthy businessmen, most from Bremen), placed its rooms at the disposal of the society. The presence of the mayor and other prominent citizens contributed to the 'artistic' atmosphere.<sup>59</sup> Toasts proposed in the course of these meetings reflected an ambiguous loyalty. Washington ("the universally revered saviour of his country"), John Adams, Jefferson, and Franklin ("giants in the land of those days"), and the United States Constitution were praised, on the one hand. On the other, Goethe and Schiller, the Rhine ("sacred to every German as the Ganges to the Hindoo"), and the Hansa represented objects of German pride. Patriotic songs like *Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland* (What is the German's fatherland) or *Am Rhein, am Rhein* (by the Rhine) were sung along with *The Star Spangled Banner* and *Washington's March*. Speeches and music testified to a commitment to the American nation and, at the same time, a consciousness of ethnic togetherness as Germans "from a common origin, a common language, and

a common feeling," as Friedrich W. Brune, one of the vice-presidents of the German society, put it during the anniversary dinner in 1838.<sup>60</sup>

Both the explicit and latent functions of these groups were relevant to the emergence of the German community. The *Deutsche Gesellschaft* and the *Social-demokratische Turnverein* clearly embodied two extreme points in the rich array of ethnic institutional life. Other clubs, mostly of middle-class character, included associations like the *Concordia*, singing societies (*Baltimore Liederkrantz*, *Arion*, *Arbeiter-Gesangverein*, and *Harmonie*),<sup>61</sup> military companies and their music corps (*Deutsche Jäger*, *Erste deutsche Baltimore Garde*), as well as various lodges (*Schiller-, Germania-, Wilhelm Tell-Loge*). Intellectual associations such as the *Bildungsverein*, and mutual help societies (*Baltimore Central Bauverein*, *Arbeiter Kranken-Unterstützungsverein*) also figured among German ethnic institutions.

Their numerous activities were announced, reported, and discussed in the twenty-five German-language newspapers that appeared in Baltimore between 1820 and 1860<sup>62</sup> and that by the 1840s and 1850s testified to the emergence of a German ethnic community. Three periodicals, the *Katholische Kirchen-Zeitung*, *Sinai* and the *Turn-Zeitung* have already been mentioned as the organs of sub-groups. With the *Deutsche Correspondent* (1841-1917) and the *Baltimore Wecker* (1851-1878) Germans created two elements of continuity and community, both stemming from and reinforcing ethnic consciousness. The very co-existence of two German-language newspapers gave evidence of growing demand on the part of the immigrants in the 1850s. Both dailies addressed a broad audience in Baltimore. Their respective editors, Friedrich Raine and Carl H. Schnauffer, continued professional careers already begun in "Germany," relying on and improving their Old-World professional skills. Primarily an entrepreneur, Raine aimed at as broad an audience as possible, taking a moderate-conservative course and avoiding controversial issues. Schnauffer and his successors, on the contrary, promoted the ideas of the Enlightenment with all its rational, often anticlerical implications.

The *Wecker* and the *Correspondent* played key parts in the emergence of a German ethnicity—functioning as centers of a rising communication network among Baltimore's Germans, offering a forum for presentation and self-presentation. Their reports and comments on cultural-social events, from the performance of the *Deutsche National Theater*<sup>63</sup> to the opening of a new *Wirtshaus* (neighborhood bar), mirrored German-American everyday life, fostered interest in German matters, and often provoked discussions of ethnic and ethnoreligious issues.<sup>64</sup> By communicating developments in the German states, both papers kept their audience informed and also offered valuable reference points for defining their position in America. A more-or-less-equal covering of the German states furthered a broad, decidedly German perspective. But German life and these dailies intermeshed more directly: many of the *Vereine*, German stores, and cultural events owed their popularity, maybe their very existence, to the publicity the press could give them. Classified ethnic advertisements reflected early economic reasons to emphasize Germanness. In the *Wecker* and the *Correspondent*, in particular, immigrant merchants, retailers, apothecaries, etc. explicitly addressed the "German

audience,” promoted goods imported from “Germany,” or pointed out German training and certification. Both the creation of publicity and the ordering of opposing ideologies linked the *Wecker* and the *Correspondent* to the formation of Baltimore’s German-ethnic community.

To strengthen ethnic ties among German immigrants and thereby make them more respected in Baltimore was the explicit purpose of *Didaskalia*, an 1848-1849 quarterly. The editor’s complaints enforce the thesis that ethnicity was not something the newcomers brought with them.

Germany, our old, beautiful native country is represented in all of its raggedness even here in America. And when we talk about Germany, we rarely have in mind the whole Germany, but normally only one of the 38 fatherlands, where, by chance, we were born and raised. If someone from Reuss-Greiz-Schleiz-Lobenstein talks about a fellow countryman, whom he had met, he certainly means just someone else from Reuss-Greiz-Schleiz-Lobenstein, but never a Prussian, Bavarian or Hessian, etc.<sup>65</sup>

Through articles about prominent German-Americans (e.g. General Steuben), reports of regions of German settlement, and cultural aspects of German-American life, the *Didaskalia* hoped to accelerate the ethnicization process.



On the eve of the Civil War Baltimore’s distinctly *German* community had become an important element in the city’s life. Assuming that cultural diversity within the immigrant group was crucial to its evolutionary patterns, I have here focused on the articulation and institutionalization of variation among German newcomers to Baltimore. A rich array of voluntary associations and denominational institutions—from the *Deutsche Gesellschaft* to the *Social-demokratische Turnverein*, from the Har Sinai congregation to the *Zionskirche*—was the visible expression of their heterogeneity. In Baltimore, as in other cities with a high percentage of “Germans” of very different provincial, dialectical, professional, and other backgrounds, Old-World distinctions were partly reinforced, partly superceded as the self-perception and self-definition of being “German” emerged. Persistence of the “German” tongue and lingering identification with the Germanic states of course provided outsiders a yardstick for measuring ethnicity. But immigrant attitudes toward language and loyalty to the fatherland depended greatly on intramural issues more ideological or religious than ethnic. German Catholic and German Free Thinker, Orthodox German Jew and Reform German Jew, conducted lengthy quarrels largely known only to Germans. Oddly enough, it was because of—and not despite—these quarrels that an underlying ethnic consensus developed, countering centrifugal forces. The German community in Baltimore was forged principally in the ethnocultural conflicts of the 1840s and 1850s—in spite of increasing economic differentiation and various sociocultural, political, and economic avenues to assimilation. Belief in a common heritage (instead of

Bavarian or Prussian heritages), emphasis on a common language (instead of Hessian or Swabian dialects), and the possibility to profit from a sense of “ethnic honor” (Max Weber’s phrase),<sup>66</sup> sustained by the conviction of the excellence of one’s own ethnic customs, implied a distinctive self-perception. Negative pressures from outside the group, in particular the nativism of the 1840s and 1850s, strengthened this process. Thus antebellum Baltimore’s Germans became more German than they had been as “Germans” in “Germany.”<sup>67</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Jonathan D. Sarna, “From Immigrants to Ethnics: Toward a New Theory of ‘Ethnicization,’” *Ethnicity*, 5 (1978): 370.

2. One exception is Paul Kleppner, *The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850-1900* (New York: Free Press, 1970). Kleppner emphasizes the importance of provincial orientations and their derivative values for the voting behavior of the German group and other ethnic minorities in Midwestern states. See also John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), pp. 1-56.

3. It is particularly instructive that Arndt’s poem was presented in English by a German singing society at a Baltimore mass meeting “in honor of European Republicanism” in May 1848. See *Baltimore Sun*, 4 May 1848.

4. Franz Löhner, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika* (Cincinnati/Leipzig, 1847), pp. 410-11.

5. In an interesting way, ethnicity paralleled the later rise of nationalism in Germany in that both processes involved the discovery of a common ethnic core that had presumably been obscured by provincial particularities. However, this parallel cannot be extended too far. For example, although similar organizations in Germany preceded the appearance in America, they led to nationalism in the future, whereas they became an early sign of ethnicity in the United States.

6. Fredrik Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1969), pp. 13-14. The dynamic concept has recently been used by Nora H. Faires, “Ethnicity in Evolution: The German Community in Pittsburgh and Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, 1845-1885” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1981). See also Charles F. Keyes, “Towards a New Formulation of the Concept of Ethnic Group,” *Ethnicity*, 3 (1976): 202-13, and Paul P. Brass, “Ethnicity and Nationality Formation,” *ibid.*, pp. 225-41.

7. Victor Green, *For God and Country: The Rise of Polish and Lithuanian Ethnic Consciousness in America 1860-1910* (Madison, Wisc.: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1975), pp. 3-5, seems to be the first to use the notion of “ethnicization.” He used it in a psychological sense, meaning ethnic consciousness-making. Sarna, “From Immigrants to Ethnics,” understands ethnicization in the larger sense it is employed in this study—to describe a social and historical process of group formation. See also Kathleen N. Conzen, “Immigrants, Immigrant Neighborhood

and Ethnic Identity: Historical Issues," *Journal of American History*, 66 (1979): 603-15; Max Weber, "Entstehung ethnischen Gemeinsamkeitsglaubens. Sprach- und Kultgemeinschaft," in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft I* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1947): 234-40. John Higham, *Send These To Me: Immigrants in Urban America* (Baltimore/London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), p. 177, terms it an "intermediate level" between arrival and assimilation. This concept is also applicable, for example, to Italian and Chinese immigrants.

8. See Sarna, "From Immigrants to Ethnics," p. 374. It is tempting to attribute the rise of ethnicity to nativism, manifested in Baltimore by the Know-Nothings and their political organization, the American Party. However, the early acceptance of German immigrants in Baltimore's political and cultural life as well as the fact that nativism culminated in the 1850s, when ethnicity had already emerged, make this thesis very unlikely.

9. My use of the concept "community" is characterized by the following points: (a) Territoriality and defense against outsiders are not of primary importance for its definition; (b) It is a dynamic social unit, subject to development and change; (c) Heterogeneity is compatible with the qualification of community. The definition draws on Thomas Bender, *Community and Social Change in America* (Baltimore/London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982). Community in this study is not understood as one pole of the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* dichotomy (after Tönnies).

10. Joseph Garonzik, "The Racial and Ethnic Make-up of Baltimore Neighborhoods, 1850-1870," *Maryland Historical Magazine* (hereafter *MdHM*), 70 (1975): 401. A similar pattern of spacial distribution along occupational lines holds true for Philadelphia. See Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), p. 56. For a discussion of the nexus between residential patterns and ethnicity see Kathleen N. Conzen, "Immigrants, Immigrant Neighborhoods, and Ethnic Identity," pp. 603-15.

11. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 105. For a summary of German emigration to the United States see Wolfgang Köllmann and Peter Marschalk, "German Emigration to the United States," *Perspectives in American History*, 7 (1973): 499-557.

12. See Rolf Engelsing, *Bremen als Auswandererhafen, 1683-1880* (Bremen: Schünemann, 1961), pp. 180-85. Within only two days in 1845, for instance, 286 immigrants arrived in Baltimore from Bremen alone (*Niles' Weekly Review* [hereafter *NWR*], 30 August 1845); *Didaskalia*, 1 (1848): 138. See also Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans: A History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1948), p. 202.

13. *Didaskalia*, I (1848): 142.

14. *U.S. Census Office Statistics of the United States in 1860, compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (New York, 1976), pp. liii-liv. Irish-born constituted the second largest foreign-born group.

15. See Kathleen N. Conzen, "Germans," in Stephen Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University

Press, 1980), p. 414. For the conflict between German and Irish unskilled workers, see W. David Baird, "Violence along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, 1839," *MdHM*, 66 (1971): 122-24. See also D. Randall Beirne, "The Impact of Black Labor on European Immigration into Baltimore's Oldtown, 1790-1910," *MdHM* 83 (1988): 331-45.

16. *Didaskalia*, 1 (1848): 142.

17. See Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, pp. 232-36, 265-66.

18. For a recent example of the ethnoreligious approach in migration history, see Robert P. Swierenga, "Religion and Immigration Patterns: A Comparative Analysis of Dutch Protestants and Catholics, 1835-1880," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 5 (1986): 23-45.

19. Timothy L. Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America," *American Historical Review*, 83 (1978): 1158, 1175, 1181. See also Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migration that Made the American People* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1951).

20. For the history of the Zion Church see Klaus G. Wust, *Zion in Baltimore, 1755-1955: The Bicentennial History of the Earliest German-American Church in Baltimore, Maryland* (Baltimore: Zion Church, 1955), pp. 1-88. Wust gives a useful overview and provides translations of various documents.

21. "An die Mitglieder der deutsche-lutherischen Gemeinde in Baltimore, welche geneigt sind, neben der deutschen Sprache, auch die englische in unsere Kirche einzuführen" ["To the members of the German-Lutheran community in Baltimore, who are inclined to introduce the English language in addition to the German language in our church"], 12 November 1815, Archives of the Zion Church, Baltimore.

22. John Gottlieb Morris, *Life Reminiscences of an Old Lutheran Minister* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1896), pp. 99 and 112.

23. *Kirchen-Verfassung der deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Zions-Gemeinde in Baltimore. Erneuert im Jahre 1844* [Church Constitution of the German Evangelical-Lutheran Zion-Community in Baltimore. Renewed in 1844] (Baltimore: Friedrich Raine, 1847). Copy in Archives of Zion Church, Baltimore.

24. Names and dates in the following are compiled from *Baltimore: Seine Vergangenheit und Gegenwart mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des deutschen Elements* (Baltimore: Deutsches Literarisches Bureau, 1887), pp. 251-67, and *Das Neue Baltimore: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Deutschen im Geschäftsleben* (Baltimore: German Publishing Company, 1905), pp. 138-54.

25. See Charles R. Gellner, "Ecclesiastical History of the Catholic Germans in Maryland," *Journal of German-American History*, 26 (1945): 37-48, and N. A. Weber, "The Rise of National Catholic Churches in the United States," *Catholic Historical Review* (hereafter *CHR*), 1 (1915-1916): 422-34. The Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer came to the United States in 1832 in order to take care of German Catholic emigrants. It was supported financially by the Vienna mission society *Leopoldinen-Stiftung*. The Bavarian *Ludwig-Missionsverein* also contributed to a large extent to this order. This society, founded in 1838, was in its turn sponsored by the Bavarian King Ludwig I. For the mission societies see Theodore Roesner, "The Centenary of the Ludwig-Missionsverein, 1838-1939," *CHR*, 25 (1939-40): 53-58,

and Roesner, *The Leopoldine Foundation and the Church in the United States 1829-1839* (New York, 1933). The *Katholische Kirchenzeitung* (hereafter *KKZg*), 23 April 1847, provides a contemporary evaluation.

26. For examples see *KKZg*, 9 April 1847; 1 July 1847; 10 August 1847; 29 June 1848.

27. *KKZg*, 25 November 1847.

28. *KKZg*, 31 July, 7 August 1846.

29. *KKZg*, 25 March 1852.

30. Alfred Steckel, "German Roman Catholic Central Society of the United States of North America," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, 6 (1895): 251-65, provides a list of the founding societies. For an analysis of the organization see Philip Gleason, *The Conservative Reformers: German-American Catholics and the Social Order* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968).

31. *KKZg*, 1 May 1846. Microfilm copies in the Catholic Newspapers Archives of America, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.

32. For a critique of non-Catholic German newspapers in Baltimore, see *KKZg*, 23 September 1847 and 7 August 1851.

33. From a linguistic point of view, it must be noticed that no other publication made such frequent use of English words. A report of the "Fair" at St. Alphonsus Hall, where "Gentlemen and Ladies" enjoyed the "Lunch Table" is an outstanding example of German-English blurring (*KKZg*, 1 January 1848).

34. See *KKZg*, 1 May and 25 December 1846 (including "What one can learn from the German-Catholic nuisance"). These early conflicting ideas about Germanness and Catholicism foreshadowed the intra-Catholic nationality question (*Nationalitätenstreit*). In the late nineteenth century, however, conservative Catholics in the United States supported the German language, opposing unorthodox "liberals" who approved of quick assimilation. For a brief overview see Richard M. Linkh, *American Catholicism and European Immigrants 1900-1924* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1975), pp. 1-17. "German Catholicism" does not refer to the *Deutschkatholizismus* movement.

35. On the quarrels between the Redemptorists and the School Sisters of Notre Dame (SSND) concerning the German orphan asylum, see *Chronik der deutschen Schulschwwestern in Nord-Amerika* (n.p., undated), Archives of the SSND, Baltimore.

36. See, for example, complaints of the Irish bishop's preferential treatment of Irish nuns in Sr. Mary Hester Valentine, ed., *Collected Correspondence of Mother Theresa of Jesus Gerhardinger, Foundress of the SSND* ( vols.; n.p., 1977), 1:515.

37. Mother Theresa of Jesus Gerhardinger to King Ludwig 1, 22 December 1847, *ibid.*, p. 514. See also *Chronik der deutschen Schulschwwestern*.

38. Moses Aberbach, "The Early German Jews of Baltimore," lecture delivered to the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, 8 February 1970, typescript in the archives of the Jewish Historical Society (JHS), Baltimore, p. 8; Rudolf Glanz, *Studies in Judaica Americana* (New York: Ktav, 1970), p. 217; advertisements in *Simai*, 1 (1856): 228 and 7 of the appendix. For social contacts see *The Occident*, 10 (1848): 510 and 14 (1857): 497, and Isaac Fein, *The Making of an*

*American Jewish Community: The History of Baltimore Jewry from 1773 to 1920* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publications, 1971), pp. 132-34.

39. "Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, List of Marriages 1850-1900 by Rabbi Hochheimer," Ms. 22, Archives of the JHS. See also Rudolf Glanz, "German-Jewish Names in America," *Studies in Judaica Americana*, pp. 278-304.

40. See Aberbach, *Early German Jews*, p. 7.

41. Quotation from Abraham Shustermann, *The Legacy of a Liberal: The Miracle of Har Sinai Congregation as it is recounted on the 125th Anniversary* (Baltimore: Har Sinai Congregation, 1967), p. 8. *Sinai: Ein Organ für Erkenntnis und Veredlung des Judenthums* (An organ for recognition/knowledge and ennobling of Jewry) was published from 1856 through 1863 (copies in the archives of the JHS and the Har Sinai Congregation, Baltimore). For Einhorn's inaugural sermon, see *Sinai*, 2 (1857): appendix 1. His article questioning the authority of the Talmud and the protest of Rabbi Rice foreshadows the form and the content of future tensions; see *Occident*, 13 (1855): 448-53.

42. See Baltimore *Sun*, 30 October 1853; Aberbach, *Early German Jews*, p. 15.

43. *Occident*, 16 (1858): 359.

44. Einhorn wrote that "normally, the communities consist of very different elements. Often, almost every member of them has a particular place of birth, if not a particular homeland; and due to this fact antipathies develop very easily on the slightest occasion. To a large degree they make difficult the intimate association for a common striving, even despite the same religious view" (*Sinai*, 1 (1856): 256).

45. *Occident*, 17 (1859): 16.

46. Einhorn also questioned the ability of the school's female faculty (*Sinai*, 2 [1857]: 440). On the role of parochial schools, see Heinz Kloss, "German-American Language Maintenance Efforts," Joshua Fishman, et al., *Language Loyalty in the United States* (The Hague: Humanities Press, 1966), 208. See also Max Weber, "Entstehung ethnischen Gemeinsamkeitsglaubens," p. 238.

47. Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1817), p. 222, and Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, p. 222.

48. See *Schulverfassung für die bei der deutschen Zions-Gemeinde zu Baltimore bestehende Bürgerschule*, 1836 (Archives of German Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, doc. 160 AS), and the Minutes of the School Board (Archives of Zion Church, Baltimore, file "Bürgerschule Baltimore. Verhandlungen, Gesetze, Beschlüsse"). For the new pedagogical guidelines see Heinrich Scheib, *Seine Lebensbeschreibung, von ihm selbst verfasst* (Archives of the Zion Church, Baltimore). A son of one of the more prominent Jewish families received his elementary education from the Protestant Pastor Scheib.

49. Financial difficulties posed many problems, of which the Minutes of the School Board give ample evidence.

50. Horst Ueberhorst, *Turner unterm Sternenbanner: Der Kampf der deutsch-amerikanischen Turner für Einheit, Freiheit und soziale Gerechtigkeit* (München: Moos, 1978), pp. 41-43. For emigration and the 1848 Revolution see Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration, 1816-1885* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 129-33, 153-57, and Günther Moltmann, "Auswanderung als

Revolutionsersatz?" in M. Salewski, ed., *Die Deutschen und die Revolution* (Göttingen: Muster-Schmidt, 1984), pp. 272-97. Moltmann gives evidence of an "affinity" between revolutionary thrift and emigration. On Baltimore see J. Prahl, "History of the German Gymnastic Movement of Baltimore," *The Report*, 26 (1945): 16-29, and Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, p. 274.

51. The *Turn-Zeitung: Organ des socialistischen Turnerbundes* appeared in Baltimore in 1859-60 (microfilm copies in the New York Public Library).

52. *Turn-Zeitung*, 1 January 1852, and Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, p. 74.

53. *Turn-Zeitung*, 1 October 1852.

54. *Ibid.*, 1 January 1852.

55. Quoted by Prahl, "German Gymnastic Movement," p. 17. For the participation of German Forty-Eighters in the Civil War see William L. Burton, *Melting Pot Soldiers: The Union's Ethnic Regiments* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1988).

56. See *Berlinische Monatsschrift*, 8 (1786): 391-97. Matching membership lists or the names of members of the board of officers announced in various newspapers with the listings of Baltimore's city directories supports this assumption. For a complete list of members see Louis P. Henninghausen, *History of the German Society of Maryland* (Baltimore: Sun Job Printing Office, 1909), pp. 181-83.

57. See the 1856 annual report of the treasurer, published in the Bremen weekly *Deutsche Auswanderer-Zeitung*, 29 January 1857, p. 34. A letter from Baltimore to Herrn H. Hagedorn & Son, Bremen, 26 September 1849, referred to the *Commutations-Gelder* (Chamber of Commerce Archives, Bremen, doc. 11-A.1.1. Bd.2 Nr.6.).

58. As examples, see *An die Emigranten nach Amerika!* (Baltimore, 22 June 1853; Bremen Chamber of Commerce Archives, doc. 11.A.III.1. Bd.F Nr.173), and *Wohlgemeinter Rath der Deutschen Gesellschaft von Maryland an Deutsche, die irgend ein Interesse an der Auswanderung nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika fühlen* (*Well-intended advice by the German Society of Maryland for Germans, who feel any interest in the emigration to the United States of North America*) (Baltimore, 3 October 1834; Bremen State Archives, doc. 2-p.8.B.8.a. Bd. 2, Nr. 246-247).

59. Henninghausen, *German Society*, p. 161. *Germania* guestbooks and book orders supply an idea of its upper-class character and literary ambitions (Archives of German Society of Maryland, Baltimore). Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp. 73-138, distinguishes "manifest" (consciously intended) and "latent" (unrecognized) functions as a device for the analysis of institutions.

60. Toasts and songs reported in Baltimore *American*, 2 February 1838. This article was obviously sent to Bremen, since a clipping can be found in Bremen State Archives, doc. 2-P.8.B.8.a. Bd.2, Nr.320. Carrying the Star-Spangled Banner along with the German flag in public parades was a similar symbolic expression of this ambivalence. Rather than interpreting it as a schizophrenic behavior or as an attempt to anticipate nativist resentments, I consider it a deliberate display of the German-American self-definition as good (sometimes better) U.S. citizens.

61. Commemorative publications, partly including excerpts from the minutes, are the most important among the scarce sources testifying to the life of Baltimore's German singing societies of the antebellum period: *Festschrift zur Fünfzigjährigen*

*Jubel-Feier des Baltimorer Liederkranz*, 1836-1886 (Baltimore, 1886); *Goldenes Jubiläum des Männergesangvereins Arion*, 1851-1901 (Baltimore, 1901); *Festschrift zum Fünfzigjährigen Jubiläum des Gesangvereins Harmonie*, 1853-1903 (Baltimore, 1903); *Festschrift zum Goldenen Jubiläum des Germania Männerchor, Maryland, gegründet am 10. Oktober 1856* (Baltimore, 1906). The documents are in the New York Public Library, Performing Arts Research center at Lincoln Center, Music Division. *Didaskalia*, 1 (1848): 144-48, provides a lively 1848 "inventory" of German club life.

62. Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, p. 265.

63. Adolf E. Zucker, "The History of the German Theater in Baltimore," *The Germanic Review*, 18 (1943): 122-35, is based on these reports. The *Deutsches National Theater* and the Rullmann company co-existed in the 1850s. Plays by Kotzebue and Schiller were presented along with titles such as *Sieben Mädchen in Uniform* (Seven girls in uniform), *S' Lorle aus dem Schwarzwald* (Little Lorle from the Black Forest), and *Des Teufels Zopf* (The devil's plait).

64. For example, in an 1850 article on the German element in the United States, the *Correspondent* emphasized the contributions of political refugees and Protestant communities, explicitly excluding Catholics, "who are under the Pope's scepter and the Jesuits' control." Oertel retorted immediately in the name of the attacked German Catholics (*KKZg*, 6 November 1851).

65. *Deutsch-Amerikanische Didaskalia: Vierteljahrschrift für Geist, Gemüth und Publicität der Deutschen in den Vereinigten Staaten*, 1 (1848): 141 (Library of Congress).

66. Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, p. 221.

67. This conclusion contradicts Cunz's thesis that ethnic "awareness" developed during the "German-American Epoch" and that "no such thing existed before the Civil War or after the first World War" (Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, p. 366).

# Whigs in the Streets? Baltimore Republicanism in the Spring of 1861

MATTHEW ELLENBERGER

SINCE ABOUT 1965 SCHOLARS have been rediscovering the fundamental importance of republicanism from the late colonial period through 1815.<sup>1</sup> American revolutionaries and early statesmen, we now realize, drew upon the rich tradition of British whig ideology as a guide in interpreting events and calling patriots to action.

Early American whiggery proceeded from three assumptions. The first was that the individual's liberty could exist only if the corporate body of citizens was free, and the virtuous citizen was willing to sacrifice narrow, selfish interests for preservation of freedom of the whole. A second was the belief that historically the strongest forms of government had reflected the natural and unavoidable divisions of the citizenry into rich and poor (although a coexisting strand of republican thought emphasized the importance of procuring a rough social and economic equality for each citizen). The final assumption was the apprehension that the greatest threats to citizen virtue and corporate liberty came from a powerful executive able to bribe the one and coerce the other through the manipulation of public finance and public debt and the control of a mercenary army.<sup>2</sup> A notable feature of the ideology was that it could vary considerably among and within social groups and regions.<sup>3</sup> "Republicanism" meant the study of self-government, with special attention paid to its necessary preconditions and forms, but the general awareness of any republic's susceptibility to corruption and eventual decline infused with considerable passion any discussion or application of the ideology.

One aspect of this English legacy changed as it crossed the Atlantic: What had been the ideology of the opposition, of those critical of the growing ability of the Crown to subvert Parliament's independence, became in the American colonies the ideology of a successful revolution, of a triumphant rejection altogether of tyrannical authority. The revolutionary generation then relied upon republican analysis and tradition for guidance in tackling the thorny, counter-revolutionary problem of the establishment of "more perfect" forms of government for the new republic. The problem of authority, a basic concern of republicanism and critical

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to any self-governing polity, was a principal theme of American politics from the 1780s into Jefferson's administration.

Republicanism evolved following the War of 1812, but certain tenets and practices of revolutionary ideology continued unchanged well into the nineteenth century. Many citizens continued to feel an abiding suspicion of a powerful chief executive such as "King" Andrew Jackson. New state constitutions, support of established governments, and defense of liberty—according to popular belief—still rested upon citizen involvement. Regional and social class variations of republican ideology remained influential at least until the eve of the Civil War.

But the role of the ideology in American politics changed dramatically between 1776 and 1876. Attempts to redefine and restructure republicanism to fit a more urban, more industrial America robbed it of its vitality. Self-interest came to replace a concern for the general good as a fundamental tenet of American politics.<sup>4</sup> Eliminating property requirements for suffrage and elected office denied the importance and reality of class in American politics. Radicals called for a democratic distribution of wealth to match the democratic structure of government, while propertied classes corrupted their public rhetoric to suggest that their interests matched those of, or "trickled down" to benefit, the poor.

As the country's wealth multiplied, a vague awareness arose of a "contradiction between republican thought and the expansion of capitalist production and market relations which transformed every aspect of American life"—a variation and elaboration, in other words, of the classic tension that J. G. A. Pocock of Johns Hopkins notes in his studies of eighteenth-century republican thought, the tension between "virtue and commerce."<sup>5</sup> Sometime in the course of the nineteenth century republicanism became the ideological refuge of those objecting to and critical of a country increasingly dominated by "capitalist production," "market relations," and "commerce." Republicanism once again became the ideology of the opposition, of those various workers, disaffected intellectuals, up-country farmers, and reactionary Southerners condemning a society whose only social bond seemed to be the cash nexus.<sup>6</sup>

Studies of Baltimore during the spring of 1861 have viewed these conflicts in the context of border-state politics, at a critical time when Baltimoreans and Marylanders chose (or had selected for them) their wartime allies.<sup>7</sup> A minority of Baltimore's citizens did indeed consistently understand that period in terms of partisan politics, and their prominent leadership at critical times has shaded our understanding. What this approach fails to account for, at least in the case of Baltimore, are the wild swings of public opinion and action, the roots of which are set in our poorly understood perception of events. If we recast those events in the light of nineteenth-century republicanism, however, we capture more completely the sentiments of the general population. Their city's recent history having provided an object lesson in the value of self-government, aroused citizens opposed to a powerful chief executive moved quickly to defend their homes and liberty, not to choose between their warring countrymen. Citizens of Baltimore did not then have this popular and participatory republicanism severely diminished by outside

occupation forces, but sacrificed it themselves at the altar of free trade. Their leaders in this sacrifice were men of great property who either discounted or had redefined citizen virtue to make it amenable to their interests in commerce.

Baltimoreans were not unique in drawing upon the nation's republican heritage to frame their understanding of the dangers confronting the Union in 1860-61.<sup>8</sup> But the republicanism of the city was not the republicanism of Alabama or the Old Northwest, and the theories of conspiracy so popular in the antagonistic regions of the country carried little credence in Baltimore. Free labor advocates in the North and defenders of slavery, source of the sectional hysteria and mistrust that would result in America's civil war, each believed that the presence of the other system destabilized its own economic and social arrangements. Because of the city's long familiarity with both systems of labor, public debate in Baltimore following the election of Lincoln never accepted the prevailing view of the Union as a house divided against itself, or of an irrepressible conflict, or of a dilemma to be solved by secession or abolition. To underscore the point, the problems that threatened to wrench the country apart were, from the vantage point of Baltimore, not inherently intractable: the slaveholder and the industrialist were not threatening abstractions, but neighbors. Their own experience suggesting no reason why this model could not work nationwide, citizens of Baltimore acknowledged, but perhaps never fully appreciated, the depth of feeling rival systems of labor engendered North and South.<sup>9</sup> What most concerned the citizens of Baltimore and could frighten them into panic was the possibility of the breakdown of the political system itself.

Baltimore in the 1850s had come perilously close to a collapse of public life. Gangs of young men, ostensibly firemen or members of political clubs but in reality street thugs who thrived on terror and violence, had come to be the key players in the city's brutal politics. Unchecked by the undermanned police department, tolerated and even encouraged by respectable politicians, these Blood Tubs, Thunderbolts, Rip Raps, Red Necks, and Plug Uglies had constricted the mores of a civil public life to the simple principles of violence and intimidation.<sup>10</sup> Violence had plagued the city before the advent of Know-Nothing rule in 1853; but as support for that party waned in the mid- and late-1850s, street violence increased and darkened and came to be associated with the desperate struggle of the Know-Nothing/American party to retain political control. To non-partisan observers, elections became a frightening, lurid mixture of the bacchanalian and barbaric. Torchlit parades through the streets inflamed passions that would find release in the street fights and gunfire on election day. The grimmest example of Baltimore's political process under such conditions was the presidential election of 1856, when partisans armed themselves with a cannon in addition to various smaller arms. The resulting street fighting produced 150 injuries and ten deaths; a cowed police force arrested few, with even fewer prosecutions.<sup>11</sup>

Memories of what the *Sun* recalled as "the degradation into which public affairs [had] degenerated"<sup>12</sup> mingled with pride in the regeneration of public life. The key to the successful reform movement of the late 1850s had been institutional

reform: the replacement of private, competing fire stations with a municipal monopoly and the reorganization of the undermanned, demoralized police force into a larger, more professional, less partisan organization.<sup>13</sup> These improvements quickly bore fruit, as the municipal elections of October 1859 (in which reform candidate George Brown was elected mayor with nearly 70 percent of the vote) and November 1860 (in which Abraham Lincoln received less than 5 percent of the vote) were free from the corrupting influence of threatened or real violence.<sup>14</sup>

Other evidence from late 1860 and early 1861 confirmed Baltimore's successful restoration of public life. The partisan crowds that had gathered outside the clustered newspaper offices on Baltimore Street, stirred by that spring's disturbing national news and spirited editorials, responded with "excitement," not violence.<sup>15</sup> Rival political organizations had marched the streets, and large, well-attended conventions of States' Rights and Union men had met that winter with little violence.<sup>16</sup> Restoration of competitive, two-party politics, one of the most important fruits of the reform movement, epitomized the unique vitality of public affairs in Baltimore on the eve of the war. Elsewhere, the collapse of an effective two-party system in both the Deep South and North had resulted in acceptance of more extreme political leaders and positions, a loss of faith in the political process, and general acceptance of war as the solution to impossible political problems. In Baltimore politicians forced to appeal to a majority of citizens with a wide variety of interests that included business ties to all parts of the nation, as well as familiarity with modern commerce, industry, and slavery, could make no radical appeal, or they would be politely and quietly ignored, much the way Abraham Lincoln had been in 1860. Both States' Rights and Union parties pledged fealty to the Union and the Constitution as well as advocating the rights of the minority South in that Union.<sup>17</sup> Neither secession nor abolition ever enjoyed any popularity in the city. Unlike many of their national brethren, Baltimoreans had not despaired of the political process and had not accepted the legitimacy of war. Those hard years of the 1850s had taught the citizens of the city a grim lesson in republicanism, one they would be slow to forget and quick to defend. A general fear of and opposition to "coercion"<sup>18</sup> in public affairs would be the standard by which Baltimoreans would judge the regional antagonists.

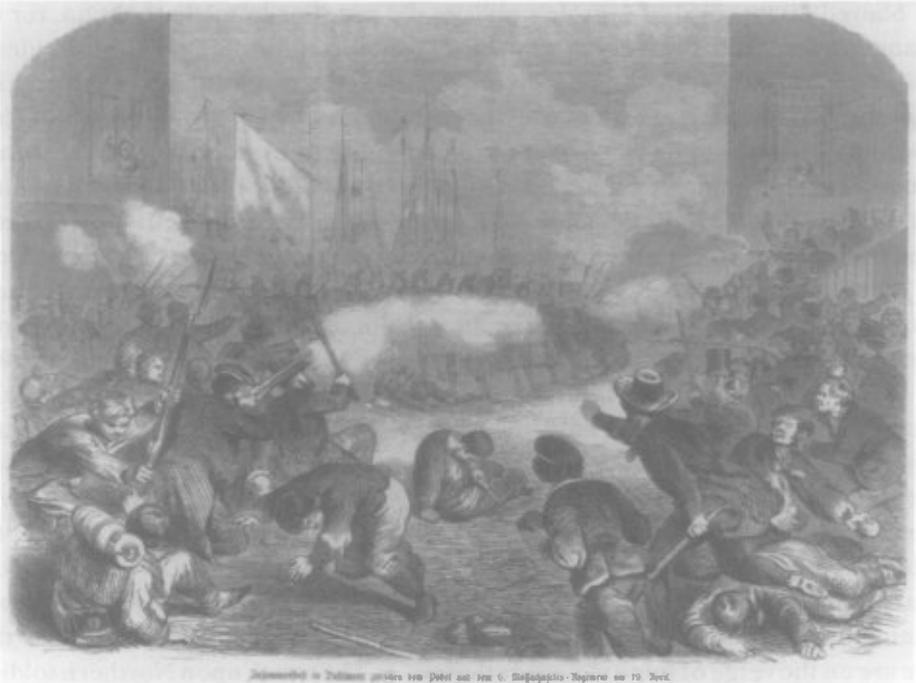
The surrender of Fort Sumter, reported the *Republican*, produced in Baltimore neither elation nor relief but a "poignant regret that a resort to arms had been had." William Wilkins Glenn, a journalist sympathetic to the South, observed a "general feeling [in the city] against the action of South Carolina,"<sup>19</sup> but censure of Southern aggression dissipated on Monday with Lincoln's call for volunteers. Despite the president's claim that the militia from the several states were to be used for the defense of the Capital, many Baltimoreans found themselves agreeing with the *Exchange* that the Federal government had begun "a wicked and desperate crusade...against the fundamental American principle of self-government."<sup>20</sup> Echoing classic republican fears of the previous century, Baltimoreans voiced deep suspicions of a powerful executive of the central government distorting the political process by means of military power.

Shared disapproval of Lincoln's policies did not spur immediate action, for the dangers were still theoretical, and honest men could differ on the president's wisdom. Radicals, defined in Baltimore as those who had lost faith in the political system, began to act on their convictions. Rumors had a group of pro-Lincoln Germans answering the president's call and going to the District of Columbia to enlist; Thursday morning, 18 April, a raucous crowd of "disorderly characters" met and rudely escorted six companies of federal volunteers from the Bolton Street to the Camden railroad stations. Timely appearances by the police kept the peace.<sup>21</sup>

The pro-Southern National Volunteers were prominent in newspaper accounts at that time. They had been meeting all week in the "new hall" on Fayette Street near Calvert. Henry C. Dallam, a wealthy lawyer, speaking on the sixteenth before a "large and enthusiastic meeting" proposed that a "Massachusetts Regiment" rumored to reach Baltimore early the next morning "should be met and prevented from passing through the city." An "immense spontaneous" meeting of these volunteers had collected on the eighteenth, responding to news that a body of troops would arrive in the city that day. According to John Pendleton Kennedy, the volunteers had been advised by T. Parkin Scott "not to interrupt the passage of this party, saying they were not yet prepared for this but had to be ready for the next." Kennedy concluded his journal entry ominously; it was "manifest," he wrote, "that we are on the verge of some violent outbreak."<sup>22</sup> The attack upon Northern soldiers on the nineteenth, the very violence which would have repelled most citizens of the city, was a frequent topic at the National Volunteers' rallies that week. Heretofore Baltimore police had restrained any such threats.<sup>23</sup>

On the nineteenth, however, Mayor Brown was unable to learn if or when the next trainload of troops would arrive from Philadelphia. This communications failure prevented authorities from providing the protection they had supplied the previous day. That morning a crowd of 250 people gathered at the President Street Station. Freed from police restraint, the mob taunted the inexperienced Massachusetts soldiers as they marched up President Street, crossed the Jones Falls, and entered Pratt Street. At Commerce and Pratt, the crowd pelted the troops with a "fusillade of stones." Shots answered the bricks, and four Massachusetts soldiers and twelve Baltimore civilians fell dead. Only then did Marshal Kane arrive with a contingent of fifty police to provide the necessary escort to Camden Station.<sup>24</sup> The riot, small enough to be defused with only fifty police, had been contained, so much so "that the main part of the outbreak was over...[before] most of the citizens even within three or four squares of the place knew anything of it, or had any idea of such a proceeding."<sup>25</sup>

As the train containing the harassed soldiers finally began to leave the station for Washington, Robert W. Davis, a dry goods merchant, made a gesture at the train and its passengers while standing beside the tracks; someone from inside the train then shot Davis dead. According to the *Sun* this "cool and deliberate deed of slaughter" of a prominent local merchant produced "an intense feeling" among Baltimore's business classes, who up to that time had provided the community's most important anchors in the Union.<sup>26</sup> The news flashed through the streets of



“Confrontation in Baltimore between the People in the Street and the 6th Massachusetts, on 19 April.” Most prints depicting the Baltimore Riot of 1861 portray the public as a rowdy mob, a view evident even in this print from *Frank Leslie’s New York [?] Illustrirte Zeitung*, 1 June 1861 (Prints and Photographs, Library, Maryland Historical Society.)

fighting and several deaths near the harbor, headlined with Davis’s sensational death. Outrage now galvanized the city, escalating the scale of disturbance from a contained riot to a city-wide popular movement.<sup>27</sup> To Baltimore’s citizens the events of 19 April proved the real nature of Lincoln’s intentions—creation of a despotic executive, buttressed with military power, which would destroy the Union in the name of saving it. Doubts and factions disappeared; opinion coalesced around opposition to this tyranny. The *Baltimore American*, later allied with Lincoln and the Union, eloquently voiced what nearly all Baltimoreans felt: “[I]n such a crisis as this all other considerations must give way to our duty towards one another, and to the State and city.”<sup>28</sup>

This republican conception of “duty” would dominate the city for the next several days. Until the riot Baltimore’s politics had taken its cue from the mayor and police chief. Even the probable immediate cause of the riot—prominent lawyers exciting the propertyless—had its source in the will of some members of the privileged class.<sup>29</sup> From Friday afternoon, when a large crowd gathered spontaneously in Monument Square, through at least Sunday morning, when citizens organized themselves in militia companies, Baltimoreans acted decisively without discernible reference to the city’s traditional or established leadership.

Countless citizens acted with no prompting or guidance from above. This aberrant behavior seemed to confirm Baltimore's "mob-town" reputation. It also gave life to republican rhetoric, as citizens rushed to defend their city and their liberties.

The evening of the riot and through Saturday and Sunday, small mobs attacked internal foes and dissidents. Members of the German Turnhalle on West Pratt Street reportedly had answered Lincoln's call for volunteers. On Friday night the Germans refused to fly the Maryland flag, which had quickly become a symbol of resistance to federal coercion. On Saturday, thirty men sacked the hall. *Der Wecker*, the only Republican newspaper in the state, and *Sinai*, an abolitionist publication, both suffered attacks on the twentieth. The ransacked china store on North Eutaw Street, the incinerated home of three workingmen on the corner of Sharp and German streets, and the "threatened" attack on Mechanics Hall were all politically motivated, with the (potential) victims sharing a dedication to the Union and hence implied approval of Lincoln's coercive policies. The most obvious Union target, Fort McHenry, would in all likelihood have been attacked that Friday night as well but for the presence of two hundred defenders whom Police Board President Charles Howard had sent there to establish a line of defense.<sup>30</sup>

Other violence had a different goal, that of procuring weapons. On the day of the riot people broke into "the gun store" at 14 West Pratt Street and "the gunsmith establishment" on South Calvert Street. Three gun shop proprietors requested city protection. Jos. Boring & Sons demanded that police safeguard their warehouse containing "some five hundred pieces, firearms, sundry hunting knives, powder flasks, percussion caps, and similar wares." A clue to the general sentiment of the community, however, can be found in the headline the *Sun* gave to its story of the plundering of several businesses and warehouses, including the Germans' armory in the Turnhalle, on Friday and Saturday nights. These activities did not describe a community verging on lawlessness; in light of the cry for self-defense, they were a legitimate "Seizure of Arms."<sup>31</sup>

The frightful din that startled the city on Sunday morning—"Men were rushing to and fro as if crazy; the bells of the town clock rang forth an alarm; the females ran shrieking through the streets..."—began one of the most extraordinary days in the history of Baltimore, "one of those events that are placed among the marked memories of a lifetime." Three thousand, maybe ten thousand Northern troops were reported to be at Cockeysville. "Notices calling upon volunteers to defend their city were quickly placed on the newspapers' bulletin boards. The call was responded to in an instant." These volunteers "comprised representatives of all classes and conditions—merchants, mechanics, professional men, gentlemen of leisure and loafers..." "Even the ladies became accustomed to the sight of a volunteer rushing along with his musket, and the sight of firearm caused no more remark than it had been an umbrella..." Before the day was over, "4000 and upwards" had enrolled in companies for "the defense of the city." Within two days, the estimated total would top 15,000.<sup>32</sup>

"A large number of our fellow Citizens," wrote Charles Howard to Col. Isaac Trimble, "have apprized this Board that *they are organizing themselves* into Associa-

tions for the defense of the City.”<sup>33</sup> Civil authorities faced a delicate situation: they had to act to maintain municipal leadership, popular support, and legitimacy; demagoguery could heighten popular passion, making it the city’s master. Solidly rooted in the upper classes,<sup>34</sup> Mayor Brown and his administration quickly suggested that property would not stand in the way of their “duty.” Railroad bridges north of the city had been burned on Brown’s orders the night of the nineteenth. The following day, three prominent bankers loaned Baltimore \$500,000 to provide for the “defense of the City,” and forty merchants came forward with \$100 each for “the purchase of arms to be placed in the hands of the police commissioners for distribution.” On 21 April Mayor Brown forbade the export of provisions such as coal and flour from the city and took municipal control of the telegraph lines, cutting those that ran north and censoring those that went south.<sup>35</sup> Brown also worked to secure Lincoln’s word to pull back the troops from Cockeysville and through Trimble established municipal control of the defense associations.<sup>36</sup>

Thus the mayor effectively ended the “anarchy” that had existed since the afternoon of the riot. The city’s traditional leadership had re-established control. From this point forward, republican components of Baltimore’s political life either dissolved or went underground. Without a more complete history of republican ideas in Maryland and among Marylanders, it can not be said whether the reemergence of Baltimore’s traditional leadership was a symptom or a cause of this dwindling republicanism; it can be said that this class did not work to reverse the trend.

Baltimore’s economy had been depressed since the previous November, but now in the week following the riot it became sluggish, even inert. Everywhere citizens could perceive the residue of riot: empty hotels, deserted wharves, light harbor traffic, the absence of mail and telegraph service. The price of the embargoed flour and coal grew exorbitant. “The merchants have almost all suspended,” wrote one observer, “absolutely no business is transacted, except that of equipping the soldiers.” Other indications of falling confidence included declining real estate values, sharply discounted bank notes, and the suspension of local stock market activity. Unemployment, affecting the lower end of the social spectrum, remained high.<sup>37</sup> Baltimoreans had learned an important lesson about the city’s relationship to the rest of the nation. The business community traditionally had possessed strong ties to the Southern economy, but many merchants now realized the even greater importance trade with the dynamic West and the industrial North had assumed because of Baltimore’s extensive commercial network.<sup>38</sup>

“People are deserting the city, some from one motive, some from another... Men are suspicious of each other, and talk in whispers, or only in private,” continued the anonymous observer.<sup>39</sup> The presence of the militia prompted talk of imminent martial law, with the potential for the same sort of military coercion of which Lincoln had been accused. Lincoln’s order to blockade all Southern ports from North Carolina to Texas had been overlooked on the nineteenth, the day of its announcement. Calm allowed the implications of a federal blockade of “Southern” Baltimore to become evident. Federal troops had landed peacefully at Annapolis

on Sunday the twenty-first, their reception in that town a sharp contrast to events in Baltimore. "Threats of resistance" to federal control of those railroads connecting Annapolis with Washington never materialized. Meanwhile, the Northern press howled with rage, calling for revenge for the attack on the troops.<sup>40</sup>

Rumors ran rampant ("the Government intends to form several camps around Maryland...to hold Maryland in check in case our state should secede" circulated before the end of April; others believed there existed a "deep laid scheme...to send Lincoln's hordes to Baltimore to guard it")<sup>41</sup> as individuals retreated into their private sanctuaries, emptying public life of its vitality. Thus the city failed to respond collectively to threatening federal activity. On 1 May the commander of Fort McHenry ignored with impunity a writ of habeas corpus. This jolt to traditional concepts of legal procedure and the relation of military to civil authority barely had been received before word spread that General Butler on 5 May had occupied the crucial rail junction at Relay, only eight miles west of Baltimore. On 7 May Butler arrested Joseph H. Spencer on the previously unknown charge of "treasonable language."<sup>42</sup>

The return in strength of Union sentiment occurred in this atmosphere of fear and economic panic. But to acquiesce to Lincoln's policies first required discrediting the rioters. Conversations revealed that the 19 April riot might not have been precisely what the fiery reports afterward had said. "It was some days," wrote David Pratt Jabez, "before the people understood that the outbreak was that of a mob." More specifically, went one report from the city, it had been "a crowd of the 'Riff Raff,' principally Irish, stimulated and urged on by Custom House officials, and merchants dealing with the South..."<sup>43</sup> Many propertied opinion makers, the "natural" leaders of Baltimore, came to believe that scattered extremists from the lower and lowest classes, spurred on by demagogues, had precipitated the popular reaction, and the city had acted rashly at the expense of property and public order.

As Union sentiment ascended, an important dispute arose concerning the suspended export of basic necessities. It pitted those who saw Baltimore in its network of markets (and who wanted the commercial right to exploit those opportunities) against those who viewed the municipality as a political whole (and who believed that the "corporate economy" should serve the political will of the citizenry). The municipal government served as referee and ultimate arbiter of the dispute. Thursday, the twenty-fifth, the mayor and board of police, "in compliance with the unanimous wish of the mercantile community," lifted the 21 April ban on trade. Charles Howard issued a clarifying order on the twenty-seventh, stating "[a] due regard for the wants of our own community makes it absolutely necessary that we should forbid all shipments to points outside our own state." Howard's clarification implied that the trading patterns of Baltimore merchants should serve first the city's sentiments, that commerce should reinforce and not corrupt republican virtue and idealism. A clearer understanding of the riot had tarnished these beliefs, however, and by 1 May, responding to "a large Committee of members of the Flour & Corn Exchange and by many merchants," Howard ordered all trade restrictions lifted.<sup>44</sup>

Union sentiment then appeared unassailable. The Stars and Stripes reappeared in public, several hundred men attended a Union meeting in East Baltimore, and reinforcements reached Fort McHenry on 27 April. Telegraphic communication and mail service through Baltimore reopened before the end of the month. On 1 May state senator Coleman Yellot of Baltimore introduced his "Bill for the Public Safety," which called for the creation of a committee of public safety with broad powers, including control of the state's military. Yellot's bill generated "bitter and uncompromising opposition" in Baltimore and died a quick death in committee. Guided by the instructions of Unionist Judge Hugh Bond, who deplored the abandonment of the "peaceful pursuits of trade" since the riot, a grand jury in early May began investigating criminal proceedings against the rioters of 19 April. Lincoln patronage appointees occupied their offices that same day, Fort McHenry received further reinforcements, and a recruiting office for three-year Union volunteers soon opened on West Baltimore Street.<sup>45</sup>

Beginning soon after the riot, as Union sentiment gathered momentum, citizen participation in public affairs declined and changed. Fewer than 10,000 voters, one-third the total of previous elections, came to the polls in an election held 24 April.<sup>46</sup> Citizens who had spontaneously organized themselves for the "defence and protection of our beautiful & halowed [sic] city" on 22 April had by 8 May convinced their commander that it would be an "injustice" fueling "a smouldering discontent" not to be paid; the path traversed was from virtuous citizen to unemployed wage earner desperate for sustenance in hard times. The city's administration reluctantly acknowledged duty was no longer its own reward, agreeing to pay those who had volunteered \$3,200.<sup>47</sup>

The factions that came to dominate politics following the weekend of 19-21 April did not accurately express private sentiment. The election results of 24 April had discredited the Southern partisans, despite their prominence in the aftermath of the riot.<sup>48</sup> The city General Butler occupied on 13 May, however, did not fill the streets with celebrations and parades but rather with a peculiar silence and reticence. Brown refused to assist Butler with his official duties, while Unionist John Pendleton Kennedy advised the general that threatened arrests "would give great offense here—that it would convert many Union men into antagonists and would not only be impolitic but unjust."<sup>49</sup> Newspaper accounts of the initial days of occupation are notably bland, merely descriptive: "Spectators to the number of several thousand, including men, women and children, both white and black, clambered up [Federal Hill] during the afternoon, and many of them stood for hours outside the line of pickets, watching the progress of things around them...."<sup>50</sup> Clearly, pro-Northern sentiment had not captured the city, despite having dominated public life for at least two weeks.

A nervous (and private) preoccupation with survival infused a short letter a Baltimorean sent a friend north of the Mason-Dixon line on 9 May. "H" declared the arrested Spencer—a mutual friend—guilty only "of an honest expression of his opinion about the conduct of our government.... [The federal government] can arrest in our city 200,000 more for the same cause." Nevertheless, "H" did not

absolve Spencer, for he had acted "indiscreetly," disregarding the new, unspoken rules of political reality, the necessity of maintaining public silence and of saving one's true opinions for the company of one's closest and most trusted friends.<sup>51</sup>

Borrowing from Phillip Paludan, we can view the Baltimore reform movement of the late 1850s as an exercise in "government making," that is, an active, participatory involvement in the processes and (local) definition of self-government;<sup>52</sup> in the case of Baltimore, the reform movement's basic goal and guiding principle was the removal of coercion from public affairs. The success of this republicanism can be measured by a two-party system markedly absent in the rest of the country. In Baltimore one found open public debates, lively street life, and the cautious, distinctly unradical sentiments of much of the population in regard to the issues tearing the rest of the nation apart. The 19 April riot itself, from this perspective, was a popular, principled act of resistance to coercion, an emotional, public determination shared by all classes of the city to shoulder the duty of the "defense and protection of our beautiful & halowed city." But the post-riot embargo on trade and the badly damaged communication and transportation links produced a quick and severe business slump. For many, Baltimore's city-wide or state-wide opposition to the coercive measures of the federal government, if purchased at the price of economic depression, was simply not worth the price. They moved to restore prosperity. By the first of May, however, it was clear that prosperity would be coupled with a profoundly constricted public life and the collapse of public sentiment into vague, inchoate private fears and whispered rumors. In this atmosphere the politics of the city, dominated for a time that spring by pro-Southerners and finally by pro-Northerners, did not and could not express public sentiment, for in a sense, there was none. In those days in Baltimore between the riot of 19 April and the occupation of 13 May, there occurred a confrontation between "virtue and commerce," another act in the continuing drama of American history that so frequently results in the death, not of the salesman, but of the citizen.

#### NOTES

1. See Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1965), especially pp. 22-54; and Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), especially chapters 1-3; Robert Shallhope, "Toward a Republican Synthesis: The Emergence of an Understanding of Republicanism in American Historiography," *William and Mary Quarterly*, (3d. ser.) 29, (1972): 49-80; and Shallhope, "Republicanism and Early American Historiography" in *ibid.*, 39 (1982): 334-56.

2. J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975), pp. 333-461.

3. Gary Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 341-49; Anne Norton, *Alternative Americas. A Reading of Antebellum Political Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 124ff.

4. Albert O. Hirschman, *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism before Its Triumph* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977), analyzes this revolution in eighteenth-century European thought; no similar study exists for the United States.

5. Eric Foner, *Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 10; Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, pp. 462-506.

6. For republicanism among workers and up-country farmers, see Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic. New York City & the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), and Steve Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism. Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983). For republicanism as a refuge of opposition, see John F. Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine. Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776-1900* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1976); John L. Thomas, *Alternative America: Henry George, Edward Bellamy, Henry Demarest Lloyd, and the Adversary Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983); Robert J. Brugger, *Beverly Tucker: Heart over Head in the Old South* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); Robert Davidoff, *The Education of John Randolph* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979); George M. Dennison, *The Dorr War: Republicanism on Trial, 1831-1861* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1976).

7. See the bibliographical essay in Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland. A Middle Temperament 1634-1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press in association with the Maryland Historical Society, 1988), pp. 748ff.

8. Michael F. Holt, *The Political Crisis of the 1850's*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983); J. Mills Thornton, *Politics and Power in a Slave Society: Alabama, 1800-1860*, and Foner, *Politics and Ideology*, pp. 32-33.

9. "Is it not possible for us to differ decently and like men, without indulging in a spirit of malignity?" *Baltimore American*, 12 April 1861; Jean H. Baker, *The Politics of Continuity: Maryland Political Parties from 1858 to 1870* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), pp. 50-52.

10. Laurence F. Schmeckebier, *History of the Know Nothing Party in Maryland*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, vol. XVII (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1899), p. 41; William J. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland from 1850 to 1861* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), pp. 89-117, 128-29.

11. Evitts, *Allegiances*, pp. 97-98, 108-118.

12. *Baltimore Sun*, 2 October 1860.

13. For reforms of the fire and police departments, see Evitts, *Allegiances*, pp. 118-23, 128-33.

14. *Sun*, 5 October, 7 November 1860.

15. Juan Ianni, "The Nineteenth of April 1861: The Baltimore Riots" (n.p., 1975), p. 10; William Wilkins Glenn, *Between North and South: A Maryland Journalist Views*

*the Civil War*, Bayly Ellen Marks and Mark Norton Schatz, eds. (Cranbury, N. J.: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1976), p. 27.

16. The political organizations included the National Volunteers (described as "young men") who supported Breckenridge for president; the Minute Men supported Bell; the Wide Awakes, Lincoln; *Sun*, 20 October (Volunteers), 2 November 1860. It is a reasonable supposition that many of the young men who had created so much trouble the previous decade now marched in these clubs. If so, their peaceful behavior highlights the civic achievement of demonstrations free from violence. William B. Catton, "The Baltimore Business Community and the Secession Crisis, 1860-1861" (M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, 1952), p. 67, puts the attendance figure for a pro-Union convention held in Baltimore in January at eight thousand; Col. J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore; Being a Complete History of "Baltimore Town" and Baltimore City from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Baltimore: Turnbull Brothers, 1874), p. 584-85, describes the Southern Rights' convention in early February as having filled the Maryland Institute.

17. For Baltimore's business connections, see Catton, "Baltimore Business Community", pp. 40-42; for sentiments voiced at the conventions, see "Addresses and Resolutions Adopted at the Meeting of the Southern Rights Convention of Maryland..." (Baltimore: J. B. Rose & Co., 1861); "Proceedings and Speeches at a Public Meeting of the Friends of the Union..." (Baltimore: John D. Toy, 1861); "Speech of S. Teackle Wallis, Esq. As Delivered at the Maryland Institute, On Friday Evening, February 1st, 1861..." (Printed and Published by Murphy & Co., 182 Baltimore Street, Baltimore, n.d.); pamphlets located in the Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library.

18. John Pendleton Kennedy, perhaps the most eloquent and perceptive observer of Maryland and city politics during this time, used the issue of coercion to form his opinions; see William C. Wright, *The Secession Movement in the Middle Atlantic States* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1973), p. 47. Others deemed the word fundamental to their political sentiment; see William Wilson Bowly, "Reminiscences," 13 June 1910, in the "Civil War" collection, MS. 1860, Maryland Historical Society (hereafter referred to as MdHS).

19. *Baltimore Republican*, 13 April 1861; Glenn, *Maryland Journalist*, p. 27. In this context it is germane to note the unimpeded passage of United States troops through the city, *Sun*, 15 April 1861 and *American*, 15 April 1861. U.S. troops had passed through the city that winter at least a half dozen times; see the *American*, 8, 10, 14 January, 4, 8 February, and 5 April 1861.

20. *The Exchange*, 15 April 1861, quoted in Sidney T. Matthews, "Control of the Baltimore Press During the Civil War," *MdHM*, 36 (1941): 151.

21. Schmeckebier, *The Know-Nothing Party in Maryland*, p. 53; Scharf, *Chronicles*, pp. 600-01; *American*, 19 April 1861 (including the term "disorderly characters"); and *Republican*, 19 April 1861.

22. *Sun*, 15 April 1861; *American*, 17 April 1861; *Republican*, 18 April 1861; entry for 18 April 1861, John P. Kennedy Journal, Peabody Library, Baltimore. There is a mention of "National Mounted and Foot Volunteers," six hundred red-capped, mounted supporters of Breckenridge, headquartered on Fayette Street, in the *Sun*,

3 November 1860. See the *Sun*, 20 October 1860, for the description of representatives of the organization as “young men.”

23. *American*, 19 April 1861; *Sun*, 15 April 1861.

24. The numbers of rioters involved are disputed, particularly before Davis was killed. This article relies upon an eyewitness to the riot, C. W. Tailleure, at the time an editor of a Baltimore paper. An article he wrote for the Boston *Herald* in 1883 provided the numbers used in the paper (Matthew Page Andrews, “Passage of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment Through Baltimore, April 19, 1861,” *MdHM*, 14 [1919]: 69). Other estimates, ranging from 2,000 (Baltimore *Republican*, 19 April 1861) to 20,000 (Frey, *Reminiscences*, p. 120), all seem too large to be controlled by only fifty policemen, particularly if the crowd was as frenzied as the accounts describe.

25. *Sun*, 27 April 1861.

26. *Sun*, 20 April 1861. For Baltimore business’s early support of Governor Hicks cautious Unionist policy, see Carl M. Frasure, “Union Sentiment in Maryland, 1859-1861,” *MdHM* 24 (1929): 214-15; and Catton, “Baltimore Business Community,” p. 62.

27. David Jabez Pratt to John C. Pratt, 20 April 1861, “Civil War” collection, MS. 1860, MdHS; Glenn, *Maryland Journalist*, pp. 29-30 (entry for 19 April).

28. *American*, 19 April 1861, quoted in Scharf, *Chronicle*, p. 596.

29. The value of Henry C. Dallam’s estate was \$19,706; that of T. Parkin Scott’s estate \$6,895. This was at a time when nearly two-thirds of Marylanders had estates of less than \$2,000. Baltimore City General Property Taxable Records, RG4, Series 1, Baltimore City Archives; Baker, *Politics of Continuity*, p. 21 (fn.).

Identification of the rioters is more problematic and requires some speculation. Andrews, “Passage of the Sixth Massachusetts,” p. 76, provides a list of citizens killed in the riot and a rough statistical sampling of those presumably rioting. Of the twelve, six were not listed in the City Directory of 1860; one was Robert Davis; the eighth was James Carr, a black “laborer.” Multiple entries for the remaining four names give each of the occupations as working-class (“iceman,” “paver,” “mariner”), and the *Republican* identified one of these latter names, Michael Murphy, as a “drayman.” With one exception, none of these names appeared in the city’s property tax records; the exception was Davis. *Woods’ Baltimore City Directory, Containing a Corrected Engraved Map of the City* (Baltimore: Printed and Published by John W. Woods, No. 202 Baltimore St., a few doors west of St. Paul, n.d.); *Republican*, 20 April 1861; Baltimore City General Property Taxable Records, RG4, Series 1, Baltimore City Archives. The most specific description this writer has seen is noted in the paper (“principally Irish, stimulated and urged on by Custom House officials, and merchants dealing with the South...”); see text and fn. 43, below); the little independent evidence that can be assembled supports this summary. One set of clues that has never been systematically pursued rests in the newspapers; throughout the period of the war there are irregular announcements of people arrested for their involvement in the riot.

30. *Sun*, 22 April 1861; *American*, 22 April 1861.

31. *Sun*, 20, 22 April 1861; Jos. Boring & Sons to Mayor G. W. Brown, 22 April 1861, Box 1, 2380, Provost Marshal "Letters Received" 1861, 8th Army Corps and Middle Department, Record Group 393, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

32. Baltimore *Clipper*, 22 April 1861, quoted in Ianni, "Baltimore Riots," p. 32; John W. Garrett to Hon. George W. Brown, 21 April 1861, quoted in [Benjamin F. Butler], *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler During the Period of the Civil War* [Norwood, Mass.: Plimpton Press, 1917], v. 1, p. 20; *American*, 22, 24 April 1861; *Sun*, 22 April 1861. Isaac Trimble estimated the number of volunteers to have been "some 20,000 men"; "Statement of I. Ridgeway Trimble [8 December 1864]," "Civil War" collection, MS. 1860, MdHS. The *American*, 22 April 1861, estimated the number of troops in Cockeysville at 10,000.

33. Charles Howard to Col. Isaac R. Trimble, 21 April 1861, in Howard, "Crisis of 1861," p. 259, emphasis added.

34. The value of Brown's estate at this time was \$27,825; George P. Kane, \$24,500; for members of the First Branch of the municipal government elected with Brown (of twenty, sixteen could be identified in the tax records), the average estate was \$14,916, the median \$7,633; for the Second Branch (of ten, eight could be identified), the average estate was \$15,889, the median \$10,950. Baltimore City General Property Taxable Records, RG4, Series 1, Baltimore City Archives.

35. George William Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1887)pp. 58-59; Scharf, *Chronicles*, pp. 598-99; Charles Howard to Col. Isaac R. Trimble, 21 April 1861, in Charles McHenry Howard, introduction, "Baltimore and the Crisis of 1861," *MdHM* 41 (1946): 260; *Sun*, 22 April 1861; *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), ser. 1, v. 2, p. 17.

36. Richard R. Duncan, "The Era of the Civil War," *Maryland A History*, Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, eds. [Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, Department of General Services, 1983], p. 343; and Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April*, pp. 58-63; I.R. Trimble to Charles Howard, 21 April 1861, in Howard, "Crisis of 1861," p. 259.

37. Richard Ray Duncan, "The Social and Economic Impact of the Civil War on Maryland" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1963), pp. 114-15; quote from "Late Events in Baltimore," newspaper clipping, dated 28 April 1861, found in the Harrison Diary, MS. 432.1, MdHS. Expressions of concern can be found in the John P. Kennedy Journal, entry for 29 April 1861, Peabody Library; the *American*, 29 April 1861; and *Sun*, 11 May 1861. The *American*, 26 April 1861, reported the effect of Federal troops in Annapolis: "The officers were moving about in every direction, and making purchases to such an extent as to cause quite a brisk business among the shopkeepers."

38. Catton, "Baltimore Business Community," pp. 40-42.

39. Newspaper clipping, dated 28 April 1861, found in the Harrison Diary, MS. 432.1, MdHS.

40. *Republican*, 24 April 1861; *Sun*, 20, 24, 26 April 1861; John P. Kennedy Journal, entry for 24 April 1861; see also Kennedy Journal, entry for 25 April 1861, Peabody Library: "The Northern papers breath fire and revenge against Baltimore."

41. John P. Kennedy Journal, entry for 29 April 1861, Peabody Library; *Republican*, 30 April 1861.

42. For the habeas corpus case, see the *Sun*, 4, 6 May 1861, and the *Republican*, 4 May 1861. The case involved the enlistment in the military of a minor and was brought by the boy's father; the young man would be released by the fort's authorities on 13 May; *Republican*, 13 May 1861. Spencer, a merchant from Baltimore, had left the city for Virginia and while passing through Relay, apparently had admitted and justified his involvement in the riot of 19 April; for a report of Spencer's arrest, including charge, *American*, 8 May 1861; see also *Republican*, 10 May 1861.

43. David Pratt Jabez to John C. Pratt, 3 May 1861, "Civil War" collection, MS. 1860, MdHS; description of rioters taken from "Late Events in Baltimore," newspaper clipping, dated 28 April 1861, found in the Harrison Diary, MS. 432.1, MdHS.

44. Geo. Wm. Brown to Col. I. R. Trimble, 25 April 1861, Charles Howard to Col. I. R. Trimble, 27 April 1861, and reprint of order of the Board of Police, in Howard, "Crisis of 1861," pp. 263, 265-66.

45. Charles Lewis Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution: Negro Emancipation in Maryland, 1862-1864* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1964), p. 13; *American*, 29 April 1861; *Sun*, 27 April, 2-4, 7 May 1861; Glenn, *Maryland Journalist*, entry for 29 April 1861; *Republican*, 2, 7 May 1861; and Scharf, *Chronicles*, p. 636. Bond dismissed the Grand Jury the next day, "owing to the excitement and the consequent difficulty in obtaining witnesses" (*Republican*, 2 May 1861).

46. In Baltimore, 30,151 votes were cast in the presidential election of November 1860 (Willis, *Presidential Elections in Maryland*, p. 177). The vote total of 24 April is an estimate, as not every voter voted for every candidate; *Sun*, 24 April 1861.

47. Letter of I. R. Trimble (undated); George William Brown to Col. Isaac Trimble, 11 May 1861, in Howard, "Crisis of 1861," pp. 276-79.

48. Among other signs, the flag of the United States ceased to fly in Baltimore; *American*, 22 April 1861. The first issue of the *South*, published 22 April 1861, proclaimed "the people of Baltimore...are at this moment in open and armed rebellion against the Government of the United States." Matthews, "Baltimore Press," p. 151.

49. Report of Butler to Scott, 15 May 1861, *Official Records*, ser. 1, vol. 2, p. 29; John P. Kennedy Journal, entry for 14 May 1861, Peabody Library.

50. *Sun*, 15 May 1861.

51. Griffith, Louis P. from "H," 9 May 1861, Vertical File, MdHS.

52. Phillip S. Paludan, "The American Civil War Considered as a Crisis in Law and Order," in *American Historical Review*, 77 (1972): 1013-1034.

# A Brothers' Fight for Freedom

HAROLD T. PINKETT

THE CIVIL WAR IN THE Upper South sometimes has been characterized as a "brothers' war."<sup>1</sup> In this region kinsmen frequently enlisted and fought in opposing military units for the Union and the Confederacy. The conflict also has been called a brothers' war in another sense. It brought about the creation of military organizations, north and south, in which brothers and other relatives served side by side.<sup>2</sup> In this sense the characterization of the conflict as a brothers' fight had special meaning for thousands of African-American kinsmen who fought for Union and freedom.

This article sketches the story of how four brothers—Sandy, Stephen, Adam, and Wilson Pinkett—of an African-American family in Somerset County, Maryland, won freedom from slavery by joining and serving in the Union army. Their objectives and experiences were probably typical of many African-American brothers in the Civil War. Their own regiments included many men who had the same family names and were recruited in the same locality at the same or nearly same dates and thus were probably brothers or other kinsmen.

The Pinkett brothers were born between the years 1833 and 1843, apparently on the farm of William Records Byrd in an area of Somerset County then known as the Upper District and later as the Salisbury District. The area was a few miles west of the town of Salisbury. Byrd was a descendant of colonial settlers who had lived in the same community when it was known as Rewastico. His great-grandfather, grandfather, and father—William, Jesse, and Thomas Byrd—were owners of land and slaves that were partly inherited by him.

The father of the Pinkett brothers was Denard Pinkett, son of Jacob and Anne Pinkett, free African-Americans, who lived in the Upper District of Somerset County as early as 1820 and probably had obtained free status during or shortly after the American Revolution. During the 1830s Denard was employed as a free laborer on the Byrd farm. There he became a member of the household and the husband of Byrd's slave named Mary. From this union were born twelve children, including the four brothers who enlisted in the Union army. As children of a slave mother they were slaves under Maryland law.

Sandy, Stephen, Adam, and Wilson Pinkett doubtless worked with their father, Denard, in various tasks on Byrd's property. These tasks included the cultivating of corn, wheat, and potatoes, and the care of livestock. They also entailed wood-

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chopping and probably work in Byrd's grist- and sawmills located on Rockawalking Creek, a tributary of the Wicomico River. The family remained together until Byrd's death in 1855, after which Denard's wife and children became the property of their late owners' two sons, William J. Byrd and George Byrd, and daughter, Elizabeth A. Byrd. Sandy and Wilson became slaves of George. Stephen and Adam were bequeathed to William. Denard eventually became a laborer on the farm of Josephus Humphries in the Quantico District of Somerset County.

The division of the Pinkett family served as a reminder of how harsh slavery could be to family relations, and it doubtless strengthened the slaves' desire for freedom. William J. Byrd, a lawyer, lived in the Princess Anne District of Somerset County and had extensive legal practice in partnership with John W. Crisfield, a former Eastern Shore congressman. He apparently did not have a great need for the labor of his slaves and, accordingly, hired them to other persons. George Byrd inherited his father's mills near Salisbury and seems to have had surplus slave labor that he made available for hire. Slaves of Elizabeth A. Byrd may also have been offered for hire. Whatever limited independence from their owners this hiring practice might have given the Pinkett brothers, it probably was overshadowed by the disruption of family ties. "Only the caprice of owners and hirers determined how often family members could see one another—unless they ventured to do so without permission," Barbara Jeanne Fields has observed convincingly. "A limited term of hire provided no automatic guarantee that the following term would place an individual any closer to family and friends."<sup>3</sup> The division of the Pinkett family continued after 1860, when William J. Byrd died and his widow, Adeline H. Byrd, inherited the slaves.

Mrs. Byrd soon had reason to worry about the security of this peculiar property, for the war to preserve the Union evolved into a crusade against slavery. Owners of the Pinkett family, like other slaveholders in the state, dreaded the Union government's demand for increased manpower. As early as June 1863 the War Department authorized Col. William Birney, son of the abolitionist politician James G. Birney, to recruit free blacks in Maryland. Activities began in Baltimore and soon extended to the entire state. Some of Birney's agents in their zeal began to sign slaves, without specific authority, as well as free blacks. By the beginning of October 1863 news of this development had reached slaves on the Eastern Shore, and many of them did not hesitate to flee from their owners to enlist in the army. On 21 October Stephen Pinkett (aged 24) enlisted for three years and was enrolled in Company G, 7th Regiment Infantry, U.S. Colored Troops.

Meanwhile, in deference to the concerns of Unionist slaveholders in Maryland, President Lincoln for a few weeks ordered suspension of all black enlistments in the state, pending negotiations with Governor Augustus W. Bradford. At the end of October 1863, Lincoln approved implementation of War Department General Order No. 329, which authorized the Bureau of Colored Troops to establish recruiting stations in Maryland, Missouri, and Tennessee, where free blacks and slaves, with their masters' consent, could be enlisted. If county quotas were not filled in thirty days, slaves could be enlisted without their masters' consent. Loyal

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TABLE 1  
BROTHERS AND OTHER KINSMEN  
IN THE 9TH REGIMENT INFANTRY U.S. COLORED TROOPS  
1863

Company G:

Franklin Chew	Charles H. Hargus	Dennard Northern
William H. Chew	Henry Hargus	Raymond Northern
	Peter Hargus	
Henry Dennis	Shepard Hargus	John J. Purnell
Littleton O. Dennis		Levin Purnell
	Spencer Laws	Lewis Purnell
Daniel Fossett	Stephen Laws	Saco Purnell
Frederick Fossett		Sevron Purnell
Handy Fossett	Benjamin Massey	
	Joseph Massey	
	William Massey	

Company H:

Arthur Bailey	James Jacobs	Henry Wood
James Bailey	Peter Jacobs	John J. Wood
Charles Davis	Richard Morris	Daniel Wright
John W. Davis	Samuel J. Morris	James H. Wright
	George Somerville	
	John Somerville	

Company I:

Nathan Cottman	Alfred Dashiell	Elsy Pullett
Robert Cottman	James W. Dashiell	John Pullett
Samuel Cottman	John Dashiell	Joseph Pullett
	Joseph Dashiell	
John Steward		
Noah H. Steward		
Sandy Steward		

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masters whose slaves were recruited or who consented to their recruitment could receive as much as \$300 in compensation upon filing a deed of manumission. The order declared that "all persons enlisted into the military service shall forever thereafter be free."

General Order 329 led to the establishment of an army recruiting station near Salisbury. The station's existence and purpose soon became known to Sandy, Adam, and Wilson Pinkett, because within a month of its establishment, on 22 November,

they fled from their owners and joined the Union army. They apparently acted without the consent of their pro-Southern owners; Adam's enlistment record referred to his owner's being a "strong rebel." The brothers' determination to enlist doubtless was increased by Stephen's flight and enlistment one month earlier. Sandy, Adam, and Wilson were enrolled in companies of the 9th Regiment Infantry, U.S. Colored Troops. Other African-American family members, recruited largely on the Eastern Shore, were also to be found in these ranks. The fact that many of these persons possessed the same family names and enlisted at the same time and in the same locality strongly suggests that they were brothers or other close kinsmen (see table 1).<sup>4</sup>

All four of the Pinkett brothers began their army service at Camp Stanton in Charles County, near the village of Benedict and the Patuxent River.<sup>5</sup> There they received instruction in military regulations and discipline and engaged in rigorous drilling in preparation for field duty. They also received some rudimentary training in reading and writing.<sup>6</sup> Unhealthy conditions at the camp caused the brothers much physical suffering. They slept in cold shelters built of timber plastered with mud that had to be replaced after each rain. During the latter part of November they suffered an epidemic of measles and later a siege of congestive chills. For several days in December 1863 and January 1864 Adam received treatment in the camp hospital and Sandy was "sick in quarters." During December eight members of Adam's company died from congestive chills and twenty-three (approximately one-fourth of the company) received hospitalization. Many men of Stephen's regiment perished from sickness during their winter encampment at Benedict.

The 7th and 9th regiments departed from Camp Stanton in early March 1864. Both units traveled by steamship to Hilton Head Island, South Carolina, which Union troops then held as a base for attacks on Confederate coastal areas. The 9th Regiment remained in South Carolina until August 1864, during which time it performed guard duty at Union staff headquarters at Beaufort and engaged in skirmishes with Confederate troops on John's Island.

En route to South Carolina the 7th Regiment was diverted briefly to Portsmouth, Virginia, to assist in protecting Union lines against menacing Confederate forces, who then occupied nearby Suffolk. Maj. Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, commander of Union troops in eastern Virginia, in a letter read to the regiment at dress parade on 31 March 1864, commended this assistance. Soon thereafter the early military conduct of both the 7th and 9th regiments won praise from Gen. William Birney, who had supervised their recruitment and had become their field commander. Birney declared: "My Seventh and Ninth Regiments are very much admired in this department [of the South]. I am proud of having raised two such fine bodies of men."<sup>7</sup>

Meanwhile, on 13 March, the 7th Regiment had received orders to proceed by ship to Jacksonville, Florida, where it was to join several Union regiments engaged in efforts to weaken Confederate positions in Florida. Less than a month earlier Confederate forces had won an engagement at the village of Olustee near Jacksonville. Stephen's first major combat experience probably came in the Jacksonville

9 | 9 | U.S.C.T.

Adam Pinkett  
 \_\_\_\_\_, Co. G, 9 Reg't U. S. Col'd Inf.

Appears on  
**Company Descriptive Book**  
 of the organization named above.

**DESCRIPTION.**

Age 21 years; height 5 feet 4 1/2 inches.  
 Complexion Not very black  
 Eyes Black; hair Hooby  
 Where born Salisbury, Md  
 Occupation Farm hand

**ENLISTMENT.**

When Nov. 22, 1863  
 Where Salisbury, Somerset  
 By whom Col M. Binney, term 3 yrs.

Remarks: Strong? rebel  
Adeline Bird  
Slave for life  
Corporal  
Mustered out with  
Regt. Nov. 26, 1866.

M. Jackson  
 (3834) Capt.

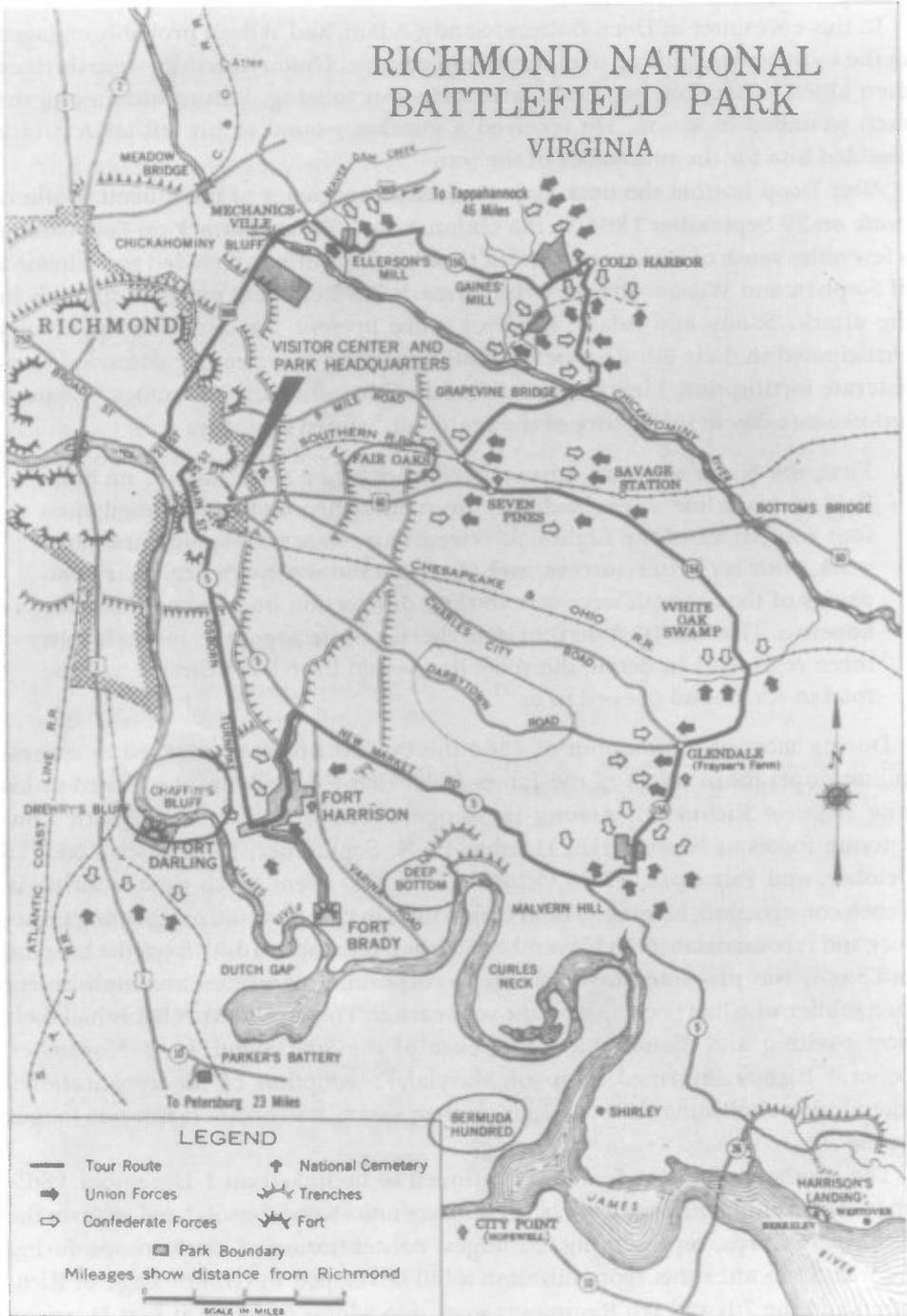
Page from a military record book relating to the enlistment of Adam Pinkett. (Records of the Adjutant-General's Office, National Archives.)

area on 6 May 1864, when Confederate cavalry attacked outposts of his regiment and were speedily repulsed. Later in May his regiment had an important role in skirmishes with the enemy at Cedar Creek. The disciplined mien and energy of the regiment impressed the Union's Florida military commander, Gen. George H. Gordon, who called the 7th "the best colored regiment in the service of the United States."<sup>8</sup>

On 27 June 1864 the 7th Regiment sailed to Hilton Head, South Carolina, to participate in a Union army expedition to the North Edisto River, John's Island, and James Island. The 9th Regiment, which had been in South Carolina several months, joined the expedition. This development placed the four Pinkett brothers in the same theater of action for several days. Union troops sought to capture a Confederate fortification in the Charleston area near White Point. Men of the 7th, 9th, and other Union regiments fought valiantly but were held off by superior enemy artillery fire. In an attack on 3 July 1864 Stephen received a gunshot wound in his abdomen, for which he was hospitalized at Beaufort for one month. The attack continued for several days. On 9 July the 7th Regiment rescued the veteran 104th Pennsylvania Infantry, a white regiment, which had run out of ammunition. As the black men advanced, the Pennsylvanians broke before a strong Confederate assault and fled through the 7th's line. Lt. Joseph M. Califf reported the bravery and discipline of the black soldiers of his regiment: "It was a position to have tried veterans, but our men, for the first time under fire of a line of battle, moved steadily forward...in perfect order and without firing a shot until the order was given."<sup>9</sup>

Stephen returned to duty in South Carolina shortly before his regiment transferred to Virginia. There his wound required further treatment in army hospitals at Fort Monroe and City Point. His transfer to Virginia in August 1864 coincided with that of his brothers in the 9th Regiment. By that time the Pinketts, like thousands of other black soldiers, were assembling in Virginia for the Union's final struggle against Confederate forces. The 7th and 9th Regiments were transferred to Bermuda Hundred on the James River, a base for Gen. Ulysses S. Grant's campaign against Richmond. There they became a part of the Colored Brigade, 3rd Division, 10th Army Corps, and immediately began to take an active part in the Union operations of the Richmond-Petersburg area.

In a strategy designed to test a part of the defense of Richmond, the 7th and 9th Regiments with other army units crossed the James River at Deep Bottom on 13 August 1864. The next day they charged through a cornfield under heavy fire and captured a line of Confederate rifle pits. Two days later the regiments advanced under continued heavy fire in an attack on breastworks, a stronger line of enemy defense. In this encounter they were forced to withdraw after a strong rally by enemy reinforcements. Thomas Morris Chester, black Civil War correspondent of the *Philadelphia Press*, described the gallantry of their withdrawal: "The colored troops were last to retire, which they did with unwavering firmness and in obedience to orders, not, however, before they gave three cheers, which evinced their dauntless spirit."<sup>10</sup>



Map, with author's marks, showing military-operation sites of the Pinkett brothers' regiments during the Union campaign against Richmond, Virginia, 1864-1865. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

In this encounter at Deep Bottom, Sandy, Adam, and Wilson probably engaged in the most severe fighting of their war experience. Union casualties were thirteen men killed, ninety-one wounded, and forty-four missing. Wilson was among the men wounded in action. He received a gunshot wound to his left ankle which disabled him for the remainder of the war.

After Deep Bottom the next major military experience of the Pinkett brothers came on 29 September 1864, in the Union Army's ill-fated attack on Fort Gilmer a few miles south of Richmond. At that time battle injuries precluded participation of Stephen and Wilson, although the former's 7th Regiment engaged strongly in the attack. Sandy and Adam, however, were present for duty and apparently participated in their 9th Regiment's costly storming of a strongly defended Confederate fortification. Lieutenant Califf of the 7th, calling 29 September "the most unfortunate day in the history of the regiment," stated critically:

First, the Ninth was sent unsupported to charge a work...across an open field where its line was enfiladed by the enemy's fire, and was repulsed; then four companies of the Eighth, as skirmishers, were sent against the same work, with no better success, and after this bitter experience, four companies of the Seventh were sent to their destruction on an errand equally hopeless. Had the [Colored] brigade been sent in together, instead of its three regiments in detail, the rebel line would have been carried and the road to Richmond opened to us.<sup>11</sup>

During most of the autumn of 1864 the Pinkett brothers engaged in several military operations north of the James River that General Grant planned in his long siege of Richmond. Among these operations were encounters with Confederate forces at New Market Heights, 28-30 September; Darbytown Road, 13 October; and Fair Oaks, 27-28 October. They also spent much time laboring in trench construction, helping to hold Union lines in rifle pits, and performing picket duty and reconnaissance. In November Stephen returned to duty from the hospital and Sandy was promoted from private to corporal, a significant accomplishment for a soldier who had been a slave one year earlier. The brothers probably had their most exciting and memorable experience of the year when, on 1 November, General Birney informed them of Maryland's adoption of the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery. Their mother, sisters, and brothers were no longer slaves.

The brothers' fight for freedom continued to be linked on 1 December 1865, when their regiments and other black military units were consolidated to form the 25th Army Corps, representing the largest concentration of black troops during the war. Soon after this reorganization a lull developed in Grant's siege of Richmond and the 7th and 9th Regiments went into winter quarters at Fort Harrison (then called Burnham), the Union Army's strongest position in the Richmond vicinity. Lieutenant Califf vividly described the experience of the regiments at Fort Harrison:

When the weather permitted, we had battalion or brigade, and occasionally, division drill. Snow fell frequently and we had much cold weather. We turned out each morning an hour before daylight and stood to our arms until it was so light that an attack from the enemy was improbable, and then went to our quarters.<sup>12</sup>

Philadelphia *Press* correspondent Thomas Morris Chester reported the severe wintry experience of the regiments:

Soldiers gathered around their fires, in their quarters, communing with absent loved ones, while the ever watchful and faithful sentries upon their beats covered over with ice, were the only persons stirring about the camp. The pickets, standing at their post, looked like men who had been glaciated.<sup>13</sup>

The spirits of the Union regiments in Virginia, however, were lifted as the weather became warmer during March 1865 and reinforcements arrived for the coming fight for Richmond. On 19 March General Grant and Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton reviewed the 25th Corps. A week later President Lincoln did the same. Chester made this observation of the presidential review: "Both white and colored troops looked well, and, if possible, marched better than on former occasions. It was a grand sight, and must have been a source of considerable satisfaction to his Excellency."<sup>14</sup>

A few hours after the president's visit black troops received orders to move as Grant began his attack on Lee's lines at Petersburg. Stephen's 7th Regiment marched south to cross the James and Appomattox rivers and the Weldon Railroad and reach a position west of Petersburg near Hatcher's Run. After a terrific cannonade against all Confederate lines from Richmond to the south of Petersburg, the 7th Regiment on 2 April received an order to advance on Petersburg. It pressed forward eagerly but eventually found that the city's principal fortifications had been abandoned. Lieutenant Califf described this effort and one of the war's greatest triumphs:

Pushing ahead the regiment was the first to reach the centre of the city, where it was joined a few moments later by troops that had entered from the other side. The stronghold that had baffled us so long, for whose capture so much blood had been poured out, was ours at last. Petersburg had fallen!<sup>15</sup>

Meantime, under the command of Gen. Godfrey Weitzel, Sandy and Adam on 3 April advanced beyond Fort Harrison toward Richmond, which the Confederate government had already begun to evacuate after the loss of Petersburg. Weitzel's troops advanced along the Osborne Turnpike, entered Main Street, and proceeded to Capitol Square to take formal possession of the city. The Pinkett brothers participated in one of the ironies of American history: the first forces to enter the Confederate capital following its evacuation were black. Although other Union

troops jostled for the distinction, it went to the black 5th Massachusetts Cavalry, followed by elements of the all-black 25th Corps. Men earlier denied an opportunity to serve their country found themselves in the vanguard of forces that had helped to save it and expand its freedom.<sup>16</sup>

While Sandy and Adam were participating in the military occupation of Richmond and later Petersburg, Stephen was pursuing remnants of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia. The route taken by the 7th Regiment led through Burkeville and Farmville and across the Appomattox River. The troops covered nearly one hundred miles in three and one-half days, reportedly "without a single straggler" and were praised by Gen. Edward O.C. Ord, commander of the Department of Virginia. Arriving within four miles of Appomattox Court House on 9 April 1865, the regiment heard reports of General Lee's surrender and shortly thereafter joined the victorious Army of the Potomac at Appomattox. Reporting from Petersburg on 19 April 1865, the day after the 7th Regiment returned there from Appomattox Court House, Chester of the *Philadelphia Press* praised the regiment and other units of the 25th Corps for participating in what he called the "vigorous campaign which has crowned the Army of the Potomac with immortal glory."<sup>17</sup>

The euphoria experienced by the Pinkett brothers and other black soldiers over the surrender of Lee's army and the end of the war was quickly diminished by the news of Lincoln's assassination. The news reached Stephen's regiment in Petersburg on 16 April and was reported to have fallen on the regiment "like a thunderbolt from a clear sky." The men felt that it was "a personal as well as a national misfortune."<sup>18</sup> Hence it doubtless seemed fitting to them that the first camp they helped build after the assassination was named Camp Lincoln. Situated at City Point (now a part of Hopewell, Virginia) at the confluence of the Appomattox and James rivers, this camp became the installation to which the Pinkett brothers' regiments were assigned during their final military service in Virginia. Here on 21 May 1865 Stephen received a promotion to the rank of corporal.

The Union triumph in 1865 ensured the freedom for which the Pinkett brothers had been fighting, but it did not immediately relieve them of the obligation they had assumed when they enlisted for three years of military service. Accordingly, less than two months after the fall of the Confederacy, they along with the rest of the 25th Corps were sent to the Texas border as a show of force against the French-supported regime of the Emperor Maximilian in Mexico. The U.S. Army's commanding officer in the Richmond-Petersburg area, Gen. Henry W. Halleck, supported this assignment because he and other army officers wished to eliminate white protests against the use of black troops in the occupation of former strongholds of the defeated Confederacy.<sup>19</sup>

Stephen's 7th Regiment sailed on 24 May 1865 and, after a long, tedious voyage with stops at Mobile Bay and the mouth of the Mississippi River, arrived at Indianola, Texas, on 23 June. Sandy's and Wilson's 9th Regiment embarked at City Point on 7 June 1865 and reached Brazos Santiago, Texas, on 1 July. Fortunately, the French threat in Mexico subsided, leaving U.S. Troops in Texas with the duties of military occupation. The Pinkett brothers' regiments stood provost-guard, built

and maintained military installations, and handled sequestered Confederate property. The 7th Regiment saw service at Indianola, Matagorda, Lavoca, and Victoria; the 9th served at Brownsville and Brazos Santiago. There was time for some elementary education, from which the Pinketts benefitted. Adam's promotion to corporal on 22 September 1866 was probably aided by this instruction, for he and Stephen learned to read and write during their enlistments.

Service in Texas, however, was not free from trouble. In the summer of 1865, a shortage of fruits and vegetables in army rations led to a massive outbreak of scurvy among the troops, estimated by a medical officer to have affected 60 percent of the 25th Corps. Adam was hospitalized with the disease in September 1865 and again in March 1866. An epidemic of cholera spread to Stephen's regiment at Indianola during the summer of 1866. Lieutenant Califf reported: "It was hard to see men who had safely passed through the dangers of three years of service, and were on the eve of returning to their homes and friends, stricken down without a moment's warning, and dying in a few hours."<sup>20</sup>

In late 1866 the end of the Pinkett brothers' enlistments was in sight. By the middle of October they had left Texas with their regiments en route to Baltimore. At Fort Federal Hill on 15 November Stephen was mustered out. Eleven days later, Sandy and Adam followed. As they journeyed home to rejoin their relatives on the Eastern Shore, they doubtless remembered their regiments' casualties: 130 men had been killed in action or died from wounds, and 570 more had perished from disease. But, in addition to their survival, the Pinketts had much to be thankful for. They had begun the Civil War as slaves and emerged as freedmen, noncommissioned officers in the army of their country. More importantly, their contributions to the preservation of the Union helped to establish a firm basis for the claims of their race to the benefits of American citizenship.

## NOTES

1. See, e.g., James M. McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1982), pp. 149-62.

2. Ira Berlin, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland, eds., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867*, Series II, *The Black Military Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 656-61.

3. Barbara J. Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 27.

4. State of Maryland, General Assembly, *History and Roster of the Maryland Volunteers, War 1861-1865* (2 vols.; Baltimore, 1899), 2:198-205.

5. Details of the Pinkett brothers' military service were obtained mainly from Record Group 94, Records of the Adjutant-General's Office, National Archives, Washington, D.C. These records, arranged according to military organization, show the name, rank, and unit of individual soldiers and provide information about them based on original muster rolls, returns, hospital rolls, and descriptive books.

6. Joseph M. Califf, *Record of the Services of the Seventh Regiment, U.S. Colored Troops* (Providence, R.I.: R.L. Freeman & Co., 1878; repr. 1971), pp. 18-19. Califf served as a 2d lieutenant in Company F of the regiment. His unique and valuable eyewitness account mentions many experiences that this unit shared with its Maryland counterpart, the 9th Regiment, U.S.C.T.
7. Birney to Maj. C. W. Foster, 12 April 1864, printed in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (127 vols.; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), series 3, 4:226.
8. *History and Roster of the Maryland Volunteers*, 2:156. See also Califf, *Services of the Seventh Regiment*, p. 28.
9. Califf, *Services of the Seventh Regiment*, p. 30.
10. Dispatch of 18 August 1864 in R.J.M. Blackett, ed., *Thomas Morris Chester, Black Civil War Correspondent: His Dispatches from the Virginia Front* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), p. 104.
11. Califf, *Services of the Seventh Regiment*, pp. 45-46.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
13. Blackett, *Thomas Morris Chester*, p. 230.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 277.
15. Califf, *Services of the Seventh Regiment*, p. 68.
16. Blackett, *Thomas Morris Chester*, p. 3.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 313.
18. Califf, *Services of the Seventh Regiment*, p. 86.
19. Berlin, Reidy, and Rowland, *Freedom*, pp. 733-736. See also Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers* (New York: The Free Press, 1990), pp. 210, 218.
20. Califf, *Services of the Seventh Regiment*, p. 86.

## Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

### Was Shakespeare's Son Lieutenant Governor of Maryland

ROBERT E. MORSBERGER

It is remotely possible that in 1650 King Charles II named Shakespeare's son lieutenant governor of Maryland. The story of that possibility bears retelling. The putative son was Sir William Davenant, a minor but colorful Caroline poet, a significant playwright, author of the text for the first English opera, and the major playhouse manager during the early years of the Restoration. Whether or not Shakespeare was his father, Davenant led one of the more adventurous lives of the age.

John Aubrey, a Restoration biographer, recorded in his *Brief Lives* the story that Davenant claimed to be an illegitimate son of Shakespeare, and subsequent historians, as well as the actor Thomas Betterton and Alexander Pope, repeated the story. The relationship is unsubstantiated and very dubious, considering the high reputation of Davenant's parents in their day. The father, John Davenant, was a respected taverner who eventually became mayor of Oxford, where William was born in 1606. Oxford is midway on the road from Stratford to London, and Shakespeare may well have stopped at the Davenant inn. Moreover, John Davenant was reputed to be a great admirer and lover of plays, especially of Shakespeare's. In October 1606 Shakespeare's company toured to Oxford and performed there before the chief city officials. It is possible that Shakespeare was William Davenant's godfather. There is a joke that as a child, William was asked where he was running in such haste. When he answered that he was going to see his godfather, Shakespeare, he was told, "Have a care that you don't take God's name in vain."<sup>1</sup> Much later, after his parents' death, Davenant suggested that his mother was the "Dark Lady" who features as the mistress for whom Shakespeare expresses a desperate, enslaving infatuation in a number of his sonnets, that Shakespeare was

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Sir William Davenant as he wished to picture himself—a dashing London bard. (From his *Gondibert: An Heroick Poem* [London, 1651].)



his father, and that his own work in the theater was in lineal descent from the Bard of Avon.

Upon John Davenant's death in 1622, William went to London, where he became a page in the household of the Duchess of Richmond. Upon the death of the Duke of Richmond two years later, he entered the service of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke. Brooke, who had been a friend of Edmund Spenser and Sir Philip Sidney and who wrote the latter's biography, was murdered by a servant in 1628, whereupon Davenant left his establishment. During these years, Davenant had taken to literature and wrote several plays—*The Cruel Brother*; *Albovine, King of the Lombards*; *The Siege*; and *The Just Italian*—all produced with moderate success.

About the time of Brooke's murder, Davenant had a taste of military service. England was again warring with France; and in a letter to the army in 1628, Davenant offered to blow up the powder magazine in Dunkirk. When his offer was not accepted, he joined the Duke of Buckingham's ill-fated expedition to La Rochelle, which was repulsed by Messrs. D'Artagnan, Athos, Porthos, and Aramis.

Back in England, at the Inns of Court, Davenant became a roommate of Edward Hyde, later to be Earl of Clarendon, historian of the English Civil War, and chief adviser to Charles II. Davenant also became friends with Sir John Suckling and many of the young cavalier poets and gentlemanly rakes. Apparently he shared the amorous diversions of his friends, for he contracted a venereal disease "of a black handsome wench that lay in Axeyard, in Westminster."<sup>2</sup> This incapacitated him for

three years and permanently disfigured his nose, which became a butt for jokes by cavalier wits.

On recovering, Davenant entered the service of Queen Henrietta Marie in 1634, wrote two more plays, and the next year became court writer of masques, filling the office vacated by Ben Jonson. When Jonson, the poet laureate, died in 1637, King Charles made Davenant laureate in his place. He appears wreathed in the laureate's bays in the portrait reproduced in the folio edition of his works.

On the eve of civil war between the Royalists and Puritan Parliamentarians, Davenant nearly lost his life. Shortly before Parliament had the Earl of Strafford executed on a trumped-up charge of treason, the Queen hatched a plot, in which Davenant was one of the agents, to replace the military commanders with the Queen's men, then have the army march on London, free Strafford, and dissolve Parliament. But the plot was thwarted when one of the Queen's favorites revealed it to Parliamentary leader Pym, who disclosed all to the House of Commons. Davenant's fellow conspirators escaped to the continent, but he was apprehended on the road to Dover. Though the others were convicted of treason and sentenced to death in absentia, Davenant was granted clemency but fined £4000.

Once civil war broke out in earnest, Davenant was sent to Amsterdam to pawn crown jewels. Then he went to the front and became lieutenant general of ordnance in the northern army. As Philip Warwick recalled, the Earl of Newcastle "chose Sir William Davenant, an eminent good poet and loyal gentleman to be his lieutenant general...."<sup>3</sup> In July 1643 Davenant joined the King at Oxford and was knighted shortly thereafter at the siege of Gloucester. During the next year, he commuted from the battlefield to the Netherlands as a royal agent, after which he took to sea as a blockade runner smuggling weapons and munitions into England, until the King surrendered to the Scots early in 1646. During the winter of that year, Davenant acting as the Queen's envoy visited the royal prisoner at Newcastle to persuade him to save his life by turning Presbyterian. But Charles Stuart persevered in his faith and went to the scaffold at Whitehall on 30 January 1649.

Davenant remained in French exile from 1646 to 1650. In Paris, moved by the desire for fame, he began his poem *Gondibert*, an epic set in medieval Lombardy. He published the first two books in 1650, with a famous preface addressed to Thomas Hobbes that is a major work of seventeenth-century literary criticism. The preface discussed the nature of epic and heroic verse, the role of the poet, and sources of morality and included a reply by Hobbes.

The reason for the fragmentary publication was that Davenant was planning to leave for the New World. In exile during the military government of Oliver Cromwell, Charles II decided to appoint Davenant treasurer of Virginia to replace Captain William Claiborne, who had shown rebel sympathies and who claimed that his having settled Kent Island gave him prior claim to the lands in Maryland chartered to Lord Baltimore. The Queen Mother, Henrietta Maria, asked her nephew Louis XIV, still in his minority, to allow Davenant to recruit colonists from the prisons of Paris. According to John Aubrey, when Davenant entered one prison and asked for weavers, the desperate inmates shouted, "We are all weavers!"<sup>4</sup> By

the end of January 1650 Davenant and his jailbird craftsmen sailed to the Channel island of Jersey, where Charles II temporarily held court. Jean Chevalier, a Jerseyman who left a record of the preparations and voyage in his *Journal*, written in a Norman French dialect, reported that Davenant brought from France to Jersey “fourteen or fifteen people, all craftsmen, whom he took with him, with their tools in order that they might labor at their trades.”<sup>5</sup>

At Jersey, Davenant was astonished to find that the King had changed his mind and given him a more important appointment, authorizing him to oust the proprietary governor of Maryland and to take his place:

Whereas the Lord Baltimore...doth visibly adhere to the Rebels of England and admit all kinde of Schismaticks, and Sectaries, and other ill-affected persons into the said Plantations of Maryland, so that We have cause to apprehend very great prejudice to Our Service thereby, and very great danger to Our Plantations in Virginia, who have carried themselves with so much Loyalty and Fidelity to the King Our Father, of blessed Memory, and to Us, Know ye, therefore, that we, reposing conduct loyalty and good affection to us, of you Sir William Davenant, do by these presents nominate you our Lieutenant Governor of the said province of Maryland. We give you all power and authority to do all things in the said plantation which shall be necessary for our service, and to comply and hold due correspondence with trusty Sir William Berkley of Virginia.<sup>6</sup>

Davenant had to maintain secrecy about his appointment until he could make it good on location in Maryland. Industrious, he set about provisioning the expedition—food and drink, weapons, tools, clothing, stocks of grape vines to start a wine industry, trade goods for the Indians. Sir George Carteret, lieutenant governor of Jersey and later founder of New Jersey, provided a privateer armed with five guns. At dusk on 3 May, in hopes of evading the Parliamentarians under cover of darkness, the governor, crew, and colonists weighed anchor and set sail from Jersey. By dawn, they had passed the Parliamentary island of Guernsey and hoped they would have clear sailing to their destination. Unfortunately, an unsavory privateer named John Green, who had once tortured a merchant from Jersey whose ship he had seized illegally, and who had subsequently spent two years in prison at St. Malo, was on the loose again—with Parliamentary letters of marque. His ship, the *Fortune*, encountered Davenant’s barque in the Channel off Falmouth. Outgunned, Davenant struck his colors, and the rapacious Green seized not only the ship but Davenant’s supplies, money, and personal property. (He had the passengers, crew, and colonial governor searched and stripped and replaced any finery with rags.) After leaving most of his prisoners at Falmouth, Green took Davenant to the Isle of Wight and imprisoned him at Cowes Castle.

In reprisal for the assassination of two Parliamentary envoys, the Commonwealth condemned Davenant and five other Royalist prisoners to death. During the summer, while imprisoned at Cowes Castle, Davenant wrote six cantos of the third book of *Gondibert*. On 22 October, expecting imminent death, he wrote his

postscript to the epic. Shortly thereafter he was moved to the Tower of London to be executed. But once again he escaped. Legend has it that John Milton saved him and that Davenant returned the favor by saving Milton from execution as a regicide after the Restoration. This story is apocryphal; in fact, Parliament reprieved all six condemned men. Nevertheless, Davenant remained a prisoner in the Tower for two years.

Penniless and in debt when he was finally released, Davenant returned to his old trade of dramatist. Though the theater was banned after the Puritans took control in 1642, Davenant managed to present bootleg drama in the heart of Puritan London. Forming a theatrical company to perform in Rutland House, he avoided all mention of "play" and "theatre" and instead borrowed the word "opera," the first time it was used in England. The company opened on 23 May 1656 with a performance called "The First Dayes Entertainment at Rutland-House, by Declamations and Musick: after the manner of the Ancients." This was followed by *The Siege of Rhodes*, "a heroiq̄ue story in Stille Recitative," with music by Henry Lawes, who had composed the score for Milton's *Comus*. Not only was *The Siege of Rhodes* the first heroic play in English, but it is credited with being the first English opera. Davenant persuaded the government to let him give alleged propaganda shows and moved to the Cockpit, where he produced *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru. Exprest by Instrumental and Vocall Musick, and by Art of Perspective in Scenes, etc.* The "art of perspective in scenes" is today's movable scenery, then a novelty. But the Puritans were becoming suspicious of Davenant as a Royalist and dramatist and might again have imprisoned him had he not been saved by the timely ending of the Commonwealth and the restoration of the monarchy.

During the Restoration Davenant was not in very high favor with Charles II, perhaps because of his botched expedition to Maryland as well as the fact that he had produced plays under the Commonwealth and had written, as a piece of political expediency, a poem praising Cromwell. The King discontinued Davenant's annuity, though he was still the recognized poet laureate. Now that the theaters were reopened, Davenant took a leading role. He and Thomas Killigrew obtained warrants that gave them a monopoly to operate playhouses in London and Westminster. Davenant's company, known as the Duke of York's Players, built a new theater at Lisle's Tennis Courts in Lincoln's Inn Fields and opened on 26 June 1661. Among his players were Thomas Betterton, celebrated as the greatest actor between Burbage and Garrick, and the infamous Moll Davis, who became a royal mistress. In addition to his own plays, Davenant produced a few by his contemporaries Dryden and Etherege and got the rights to some of Shakespeare's plays and those of other Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights. Trying to match the tastes of the times, he proceeded to make Shakespearean adaptations. Thus he combined *Measure for Measure* and *Much Ado about Nothing* into *The Law against Lovers* and also made new versions of *Macbeth*, *Two Noble Kinsmen*, and *The Tempest*, assisted in the latter by John Dryden.

For seven years Davenant flourished as one of the moguls of Restoration drama. In affectation of the Frenchified tastes of the Restoration court, he now styled himself D'Avenant. As a wit noted, with a dig at the poet's disfigured nose,

Thus Will intending D'Avenant to grace  
Has made a Notch in's name like that in's face.<sup>7</sup>

He died on 7 April 1668 and was buried in Poets' Corner of Westminster Abbey.

Davenant's claim to be Shakespeare's illegitimate son may well have been an attempt at self-aggrandizement; it has been neither proved nor disproved, though in the early twentieth century Arthur Acheson wrote several books and articles attempting to establish Mrs. Davenant as the "Dark Lady" of Shakespeare's sonnets. One of Shakespeare's biographers, A. L. Rowse, while discounting the identification of Mrs. Davenant as the "Dark Lady," says that she and Shakespeare "may have been something more" than acquaintances and that the story of Shakespeare's being Davenant's father is "likely enough."<sup>8</sup>

Davenant's governorship of Maryland was aborted. But as a landmark figure in English theatrical history and as one of the more colorful characters of the age, he is a lively footnote to Maryland history.

#### NOTES

1. Arthur Acheson, *Mistress Davenant, the Dark Lady of Shakespeare's Sonnets* (London, 1913), p. 176.

2. John Aubrey, *Brief Lives, Chiefly of Contemporaries*, ed. Oliver Lawson Dick (repr.; London: Secker and Warburg, 1950), p. 86.

3. Arthur H. Nethercot, *Sir William D'Avenant, Poet Laureate and Playwright-Manager* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), p. 253.

4. Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, p. 87.

5. W. R. Richardson, "Sir William Davenant as American Colonizer," *English Literary History*, 1 (1934): 62.

6. Killis Campbell, "Notes on D'Avenant's Life," *Modern Language Notes*, 18 (1903): 238-39.

7. Alfred Harbage, *Sir William Davenant, Poet Venturer* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935), p. 19.

8. A. L. Rowse, *William Shakespeare, A Biography* (New York and Evanston: Harper & Row, 1963), p. 462.

# The Annapolis Poll Books of 1800 and 1804: African American Voting in the Early Republic

DAVID S. BOGEN

**I**N EARLY OCTOBER 1800 Africa Green went to vote for delegates to represent the city of Annapolis in the Maryland General Assembly. Election judges entered his name in the poll book but also noted questions about his birth and property. The last entry for him was “refd.” [refused].<sup>1</sup> Each page of the book contained three major columns—voters’ names, objections, and candidates. The candidates’ column included separate space for the names of all the candidates (voters selected two): Allen Quynne, Philip Barton Key and John Johnson. Challenges to prospective electors were made on five grounds—age, residence, citizenship, property, and birth. If the judges resolved objections in favor of the voter, his choice appeared as a diagonal slash in the candidate’s column. The recording of objections and their resolution makes the 1800 Annapolis poll book unique among election documents that have survived from this period.

Objecting to Green on property grounds was not unusual, for this query was the one most frequently made and most often sustained. Property qualifications for voters in Annapolis differed from those in the counties, where freemen aged twenty-one or older who owned fifty acres or property over thirty pounds current money could vote. Under the state constitution of 1776 suffrage qualifications for Annapolis were set by the city charter. That document gave the vote to any person who owned a whole lot in the city with a house built on it, was a resident with a “visible estate” of twenty pounds sterling, or had served five years to any trade in the city and become a housekeeper.<sup>2</sup> Green swore he met the property qualification. In 1801 he purchased Sarah Green and her daughter Kitty from Burton Whetcroft and recorded their manumission the following January. That Green could purchase and free his family soon after the election leaves no doubt that in 1800 he had sufficient property to vote; birth must have been the basis for excluding him from the poll.<sup>3</sup>

Freed slaves, for the most part, were excluded from the ballot in Annapolis, although freeborn blacks were eligible to vote. The distinction arose in 1783 as a

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byproduct of a Maryland statute that banned the importation of slaves and freed illegally imported slaves. According to that law, “no slave manumitted agreeable to the laws of this state, or made free in consequence of this act, or the issue of any such slave, shall be entitled to the privilege of voting at elections....” On its face, the statute appeared to have denied the vote to all freed slaves and their issue, but a 1796 codification made it clear that the franchise exclusion applied only to slaves manumitted after 1783. After the words “no slave manumitted agreeably to the laws of this state,” the assembly inserted “since the passage of the act, entitled, An act to prohibit the bringing slaves into this state.” In 1800 the overwhelming majority of freed slaves in Annapolis had obtained freedom after 1783, and all freeborn blacks old enough to vote had been born prior to 1783. Thus the distinction between “freeborn” blacks and “freed” slaves roughly approximated the legal distinction. The Annapolis election judges’ noting “birth” as an objection might indicate that they excluded all free blacks who had been born in slavery or even all free blacks whose freedom stemmed from an ancestor’s manumission. On the other hand, objections were generally noted in abbreviated form on lines cramped for space, and the judges may have used “birth” as a shorthand for the more precise legal standard of the 1796 codification.<sup>4</sup>

Africa Green was the first of about twenty African-Americans who sought to vote in the Annapolis election of 1800. The objection to his birth demonstrates that the election judges divided free blacks into two separate classes under the law. Although the judges denied Green the vote, they accepted votes from most of the individuals challenged on grounds of birth. Thus the poll book confirms anecdotal evidence that Maryland free blacks voted in the first decades of the new nation. One page of the poll book even indicates race for African-American voters. Further, family names indicate that many of these free black voters earlier had been held in slavery unlawfully. Black suffrage soon ended. A state constitutional amendment disenfranchised all African-Americans in 1802, a fact reflected in the Annapolis poll book of the next presidential year.

Besides Green, three other African-Americans in 1800 were denied the vote on the grounds of birth. The judges also refused to allow Simon Watts and Ralph Joice to vote because they were “not freeborn.” Lonzo Peach faced objections on the grounds of birth, property, and residence. The poll book noted “No Vote. being born of a woman who was set free.” Peach’s votes for Philip Barton Key and John Johnson were initially entered in the poll book, but the election judges circled the diagonal slashes to indicate that the votes did not count.<sup>5</sup>

Six voters overcame challenges based on birth—William Cain, “John Smith—molatto,” William Lee, James Shorter, Charles Short, and Philip Hammond. The Cains were a free black family living in Annapolis. Cain was able to vote after he swore to his eligibility despite objections based on both birth and property. He was the first voter to overcome a challenge based on birth in the 1800 election.<sup>6</sup> “John Smith—Molatto” was challenged on the grounds of birth. The racial designation distinguished him from the John Smith two names above in the poll book. Like Cain, the mulatto Smith overcame the objection by swearing to his free birth.

William Lee faced objections to both property and birth. His name appears just above Simon Watts, and the objections to Watts were noted as "Ditto." Although Watts was rejected, Lee's vote was recorded after he swore to meeting the qualifications. James Shorter also faced objections on grounds of birth and property. The poll book records that Shorter "Refuses to swear as to py." But, after mulling the matter over, he apparently returned. Seventy places after the first entry, there is another notation—"James Shorter Property s." James Shorter then cast his vote. Another successful black voter had an abbreviated form of the Shorter name. Charles Short had "Not Free" in the column for objections, but the challenge was resolved in his favor.

The polls closed on Monday and reopened the next day. The first entry on Tuesday with an objection to birth was "Bth Philip Hammond Birth propty sworn" and a vote cast for John Johnson. This entry raises some interesting puzzles. An entry two days later notes that a Philip Hammond cast a vote for Key after satisfying a challenge based on residence. It is not clear whether there were two different Philip Hammonds or whether the entries refer to the same man, returning two days later to vote for a second candidate. A second puzzle arises from the subsequent use of "B" and "M" as racial indicators in the poll book on Tuesday. The absence of such an indicator for Hammond might indicate he was white, but white Hammonds were unlikely to have been challenged for birth. Perhaps the clerk simply did not begin using initials to indicate race until after Hammond appeared.<sup>7</sup>

At least four other voters on Tuesday were African-American: Nace Butler, Henry Thomas, Ezekiel English and Henry Sample. They had either a "B" or an "M" after their names. The only man rejected on racial grounds that day, Lonzo Peach, also had a "B" after his name. "B" signified black, while the "M" apparently denoted a mulatto. The race of most of these voters could be determined independently of the designation by initial. Thus the objections to Nace Butler "B"—"Property sworn Free born" demonstrate that he was black. The family name of Henry Thomas "B" was that of a well known black family in Anne Arundel County. A member of that family won a petition for freedom in the Court of Appeals in 1794. The Court found the petitioner entitled to freedom by birth, so the 1783 law did not exclude him from voting. Henry Thomas overcame objections based on property and residence by his oath. Ezekiel English had an M. written after his name. The objections noted to English were "Residence Property Freeborn sworn." English was clearly of African-American descent. Henry Sample "B" is the member of this group whose race is inferred solely from the initial "B" beside his name.<sup>8</sup>

Four more voters—William Prout, Thomas and Edward Butler and Edward Short—can be tentatively identified as African-Americans based on their family name and their proximity on the poll books to identifiable free blacks with the same family name. Prout appears in the poll book next to Robert Prout. Robert was the only black in the election who was denied a vote on grounds other than birth. His entry read "Robert Prout Residence—born free he rents a place out of the city—Claims the city as the place of his residence No house or lot—claims—does not live in it, sleeps with his wife who is a Slave to McNeir." In other words, Robert Prout

64	William Lee	Profty Birth. sw
65	Simon Watts	Ditto - not intellid. not free born -
66	Joseph Botz	Residence non resident.
67	Isith Swisher.	
68	Samuel Godman	
69	Henry Hall	Non Resident. Profty. sworn in 1800 - after a. Establd. in 1782 non-resident. 1782 in general. If free of a. wholy let in the City. - Pro. do to ask for former rejected by 60
70	Samuel Ham	
71	John Shaulion	Profty. not naturalized.
72	James Shorter	Birth. refuses to swear as to fr.
73	William Reynolds	Profty. not naturalized.
74	Ebenezer Leech	
75	James Taylor	Residence. Profty. claims - <del>sworn</del> rejected.
76	Robert Drury	
77	Marion Duwall	
78	William Whitcomb	Residence - not a resident.
79	Ralph Toir	Not free born -
80	James Wharfe	
81	William Rawlings of P.	
82	Simon Retallick	
83	John Sullivan Port.	
84	William Herob	Residence & Profty. refuses to st.
85	John Rigby	Profty. naturalization s. 1782 in the Com. by
86	Henry Bordley	naturalized - Profty. sworn
87	William Tuck	
88	Charles Thorb	Not free. Profty. sworn
89	Daniel Hollibanke	Profty. sworn
90	Isaac Perry	Residence & Profty. non resident

Detail from the 1800 Annapolis Poll Book. (Maryland State Archives.)

claimed residence in Annapolis because he slept with his wife who was a slave to Annapolis resident Thomas McNeir. The election judges refused to accept his vote because he had no house or lot in Annapolis and rented property out of the city.

William Prout did vote. His race is inferred from his proximity in the poll book to Robert and from subsequent records that show William Prout manumitted Polly Prout in January of 1804 and Richard Prout in May. The common last name suggests that the manumitted slaves were related to William by blood or marriage. In the Annapolis manumission book for this period, the freedom certificates for slaves freed by whites generally did not give the slaves' last names, and those whose last names were given usually had one different from that of their masters. Prout, like Green, made a mark to show his signature. Most whites who freed slaves signed their names.<sup>9</sup>

Butler, Short and Thomas were family names particularly identified with free blacks. They do not appear in the Annapolis tax lists for 1783 because at that time Butlers, Shorters and Thomases were held in slavery. During the 1790s, however, members of these families brought successful petitions for freedom. Nace Butler, Thomas Shorter, Charles Short and Henry Thomas have all been identified as African-American voters in the 1800 Annapolis poll book.

Two other Butlers—Thomas and William—appear within nine spaces of each other in the poll book. Of twenty-three names on that page of the poll book, they were the only ones to whom objections were made. Both men voted after overcoming property objections by swearing oaths.

The Butler clan was descended from Eleanor Butler ("Irish Nell"), an Irish servant to Lord Baltimore. She married a slave in 1681, and she and her issue were held in slavery for more than a century thereafter. One of her descendants, Mary Butler, won freedom in 1791. The Court of Appeals held that the descendants of a white woman could be held in slavery only if the woman had violated the law in effect between 1664 and 1681 which made slavery the penalty for marrying a slave, and no one could be reduced to slavery for such a violation without a conviction in a court of record. There was no record of Irish Nell's conviction, though the fact of her marriage was widely known and she and her descendants had been held as slaves. After the 1791 decision, scores of Butlers were able to claim their freedom.<sup>10</sup> The Shorter family won its freedom in another famous case. Elizabeth Shorter, a white woman, married a black man named Little Robin in 1681, when both were servants to William Roswell. Elizabeth's descendants were held in slavery, but in 1794 her great grandson prevailed in a petition for freedom. Another of Elizabeth's descendants recovered his freedom in 1795. Members of the Shorter family continued to petition for their freedom throughout the 1790s and into the first part of the nineteenth century. Individuals often claimed to be members of families that had won such suits, but they did not always succeed. See, for example, the advertisements for a runaway slave named Bill in 1798: "he contended for his freedom in the General Court under the name of William Shorter but lost."<sup>11</sup>

In the 1800 poll book Edward Short was registered only seven names after Charles Short. The book shows an objection to Edward based on age. He also

overcame property objections by taking an oath that he met the requirements. His name and its proximity to Short suggest that the judges knew Edward was not barred by birth but suspected he did not have enough property to vote simply because he was young and black. Finally, Robert Parker overcame objections on the grounds of property. Parker was another common family name of free blacks in Anne Arundel. There may have been other African-American voters in the 1800 Annapolis election, but there is insufficient evidence in the nature of the objection or lack thereof to determine race.

In sum, twenty African-Americans presented themselves at the polls. Africa Green, Robert Prout, Simon Watts, Ralph Joice, and Lonzo Peach were rejected. William Prout, Robert Parker, William Cain, John Smith, William Lee, James Shorter, Charles Short, Edward Short, Thomas Butler, William Butler, Philip Hammond, Henry Thomas, Nace Butler, Ezekiel English, and Henry Sample voted.

If all the Butlers who voted were descendants of Irish Nell and if the Shorts, James Shorter and Henry Thomas were from the families that won freedom in 1794, then at least seven voters at the Annapolis election of 1800—nearly half of the identifiable African-American voters—had been held in slavery and had secured their freedom by petitions within the past decade. Thus the law of 1783 failed to prevent growth in black suffrage.

Robert Parker voted for Allen Quynn and Philip Barton Key. Henry Thomas and Nace Butler both voted for Key alone. In all, five African-Americans voted for Key, who came in third behind John Johnson by only sixteen votes. Key challenged the election in the House of Delegates, but members voted that Johnson and Quynn were properly elected.<sup>12</sup>

Twelve of the fifteen African-American voters cast one of their ballots for Johnson. Lee, Charles Short, William Butler, Hammond, and English voted for Johnson alone. Johnson repaid this support in the General Assembly in 1800 by voting in favor of striking the word “white” from a proposed constitutional amendment to abolish property qualifications for voters. His Annapolis colleague, Allen Quynn, voted against allowing nonwhite voters. Although Quynn led the candidates among all voters, only six blacks voted for him.<sup>13</sup>

The vote on the disenfranchisement of nonwhite voters revealed the racial attitudes of Quynn and Johnson. Racial exclusivity had been an integral part of the suffrage proposal since 1798, when Joseph Nicholson introduced a bill “so framed as to give the right of suffrage to all *free white citizens*.” Nicholson claimed that an earlier bill was defective because it included African-Americans. “I never will consent to give them a participation in the government.”<sup>14</sup>

The suffrage amendment failed in 1800 as it had in previous years because the senate opposed elimination of the property requirement. The senate, however, was forced to give way in 1801. The assembly passed a law to amend the state Constitution as follows:

ARTICLE 7. That every free *white* male citizen of this State, and no other, above twenty-one years of age, having resided twelve months in the county next preceding the election at which he offers to vote, and every free *white* male citizen of this State, above twenty-one years of age, and having obtained a residence of twelve months next preceding the election, in the city of Baltimore, or the city of Annapolis, and at which he offers to vote, shall have a right of suffrage, and shall vote by ballot, in the election of such county or city, or either of them, for Delegates to the General Assembly, Electors of the Senate and Sheriffs. (Emphases added).

The act was confirmed in 1802 and thus became part of the constitution.<sup>15</sup>

Greenbury Morton, a nephew of Benjamin Banneker, reacted strongly to the new law.

Morton was ignorant of the new law until he offered to vote at the polls in Baltimore County; and it is said that when his vote was refused, he addressed the crowd in a strain of true and passionate eloquence, which kept the audience, that the election had assembled for him, in breathless attention while he spoke.<sup>16</sup>

In 1804, when Robert Parker attempted to vote in Annapolis as he had in the election of 1800, officials refused him, saying "he cannot vote being a descendant of a woman of colour." Thus the Annapolis poll books not only demonstrate that free blacks voted in Maryland during the early years of the republic; they bear witness to the disenfranchisement of blacks by the 1801-1802 constitutional amendment.<sup>17</sup>

#### NOTES

1. State of Maryland, city of Annapolis, *Polls taken by the Mayor Recorder and Alderman*, October 6, 1800 for delegates to represent the city, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland (hereafter cited MHR).

2. The Constitution and Form of Government of Maryland 1776, Article 4. Annapolis City Charter in Elihu S. Riley, *The Ancient City: A History of Annapolis, in Maryland 1649-1887* (Annapolis: Record Printing Office, 1887), pp. 89-90. Voters in Annapolis could vote for delegates in Anne Arundel County if they met the statewide property qualification. In fact, twenty pounds sterling was slightly more than thirty pounds current money, so the franchise in Annapolis had aspects of both greater and lesser stringency than the franchise generally. Thornton Anderson, "Eighteenth Century Suffrage: The Case of Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 76 (1981): 143-44.

3. Anne Arundel County Circuit Court, Liber Manumissions 1797-1807, pp. 99-100, MHR, and Anne Arundel County Circuit Court, Liber Certificates of Freedom 1810-34, p. 235, *ibid.*

4. *Laws of Maryland, May 1783* chap. 23, sec. 3; *Laws of Maryland November 1796*, chap. 67, sec. 5.

5. Joice was the name of a family that long claimed freedom. Ann Joice came from England to Maryland as a slave of Lord Baltimore sometime between 1678 and 1681. In *Mahoney v. Ashton* the General Court found in 1797 that her descendants, Charles and Patrick Mahoney, were entitled to their freedom because Ann's residence in England entitled her to freedom (*Mahoney v. Ashton*, 4 Har. & McH. 63 [1797]). The Mahoneys took their freedom, but their master insisted they were not entitled to it. In 1798 John Ashton advertized for Charles and Patrick Mahoney, saying that they "pretend that they are set free by the verdict of a jury in the last general court, but were ordered by the court to return home until a point of law should be settled on relating to their case; this they refuse to do" (*Maryland Gazette*, 25 January 1798). If Ralph Joice's claim to voting eligibility relied on the Mahoneys' arguments, it is not surprising that the election judges rejected him. The Court of Appeals ultimately ruled that the Mahoneys should be returned to slavery. The Court said that even if Ann Joice had been free under English law while in England, she was a slave under the governing Maryland law when she came to the province with Lord Baltimore (*Mahoney v. Ashton*, 4 Har. & McH. 295 [1802]).

6. Certificates of freedom were recorded for James Cain (born in 1800) and John, Richard, and Thomas Cain. See Anne Arundel County Circuit Court, Liber Certificates of Freedom 1810-34, MHR.

7. The existence of free blacks named Hammond is evidenced by the manumission of a Rachael Hammond who was a child of eleven in 1800 (Liber Manumissions Anne Arundel County, 1797-1807, f. 29 [back of book], MHR).

8. *Thomas v. Pile*, 3 Har. & McH. 241 (1794). According to their certificates of freedom, several Thomases were children in 1800, including John, Joseph and Nelly. See Certificates of Freedom Anne Arundel County 1810-34, f. 90, MHR. Henry may have been their father or their uncle.

9. Anne Arundel County Records, Liber Manumissions 1797-1807, f. 168-70, 188-89, MHR.

10. *Mary Butler v. Adam Craig*, 2 Har. & McH. 214 (1791). Not every Butler succeeded in petitions for freedom. See *Porter v. Butler*, 3 Har. & McH. 168 (1795), which may have involved an earlier attempt by Nace Butler to gain freedom on grounds other than ancestry.

11. *Shorter v. Rozier*, 3 Har. & McH. 238 (1794); *Sprigg v. Negro Mary*, 3 Har. & John. 491 (1814); *Shorter v. Boswell*, 2 Har. & John. 359 (1808); *Maryland Gazette*, April 1798.

12. *Votes and Proceedings in the Maryland House of Delegates* (hereinafter cited as *VPMHD*), 1800, pp. 28-29. Key's legal career representing slaveholders contributed to his unpopularity with black voters. He apparently represented a slaveholder in Anne Arundel county court and on appeal in *Higgins v. Allen*, 3 Har. & McH. 504 (1796). See also *Rawlings v. Boston*, 3 Har. & McH. 139 (1793), *Porter v. Butler*, 3 Har. & McH. 168 (1793), *Mahoney v. Ashton*, 4 Har. & McH. 63 (1797), and 4 Har. & McH. 295 (1799), and *Negro Harry v. Lyles*, 4 Har. & MCH. 215 (1798).

13. *VPMHD* (1800), p. 51.

14. *Eastern Shore General Advertiser*, 20 September 1803 (letter from Joseph H. Nicholson). In 1798 the House of Delegates voted to postpone the issue to the next session (*VPMHD* [1798], pp. 67, 83).

15. *Votes and Proceedings in the Senate of Maryland*, November 1799, p. 9; and November 1800, pp.47-48; *Laws of Maryland 1801*, chap. 90; *Laws of Maryland 1802*, chap. 20.

16. John H. B. Latrobe, "Memoir of Benjamin Banneker," in *Maryland Colonization Journal*, 2 (1845) :353-54. Latrobe mistakenly gave 1809 as the date of the law limiting the right of voting to white males, relying on a misleading compilation of the laws in force which cited only the latest amendment on voting qualifications, an 1809-10 modification of residence requirements. Latrobe, who was born in 1803, dated the Morton incident from the passage of the constitutional amendment disenfranchising blacks, not from independent knowledge of the year in which Morton spoke. Thus his report of the incident cannot be used to demonstrate the date when the amendment excluding free blacks was effective. He probably used Clement Dorsey, *The General Public Statutory Law and Public Local Law of the State of Maryland from the Year 1692 to 1839 Inclusive* (3 vols.; Baltimore, 1840) 1:1, which listed the "suffrage amendment" as enacted in 1809. Dorsey's volume, however, showed only the constitution as it stood in 1839, "by excluding all such parts of the original form as have been repealed" (p. xxxi). The amendment of 1801-2 was replaced in 1809-10 by an amendment designed to shorten the residence requirements in local communities and make it clear that the electorate for the state delegates served as the electorate for national purposes. (*Laws of Maryland 1809*, chap. 83; *Laws of Maryland 1810*, chap. 33).

17. Polls taken October 1804 for delegates to represent the city of Annapolis, MHR. Parker is listed between registered voters number 131 and 132. There were 244 voters in this election. Parker was the only free black voter identified in 1800 who attempted to vote in 1804.

# The Public Thoroughfares of Annapolis

JEAN B. RUSSO

CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE OF public streets and sidewalks are today taken for granted as part of the responsibilities of local governments. But the earliest local governments held a very different view of their role. The Corporation that governed Annapolis, colonial Maryland's only city, and the courts which served as local administrations in the various counties maintained law and order, collected taxes, provided poor relief, and conscripted labor for clearing roads. With few fixed sources of revenue and no personnel, the courts and the citizens who paid the bills recognized few other civic obligations during the colonial period. Only gradually did local governments assume responsibility for such services as fire protection or maintenance of public health.

A journey through the proceedings of the Annapolis Corporation—Mayor, Aldermen, and Councilmen—to document the history of street paving provided as well an instructive view of the gradual assumption of a larger and larger role for city government in providing an adequate infrastructure for a growing city. The pattern of increasing responsibility can be traced through the records for a variety of the municipal services that we take for granted today but which actually evolved over a century or more.

The earliest surveys of Annapolis, culminating with the one made by James Stoddert in 1718, imposed a street plan on the peninsula between the Severn River and Spa Creek. But from initial settlement until well into the eighteenth century, only their presence on plats and the general absence of major obstructions demarcated streets, alleys, and other passages for pedestrians and vehicles. No other formal definition of the public space existed. By-laws passed in the eighteenth century provided for street maintenance by authorizing first the gatekeeper and then the constables to summon taxpayers or their working hands as necessary to work on the roads. This legislation followed the practice employed by county courts throughout the colony. Each taxpayer was obligated to supply workers for a specific number of days per year; if he owned a cart and horses, they too were pressed into service. The by-laws did not specify the nature of the work, but it undoubtedly consisted of clearing away any vegetation growing in the street bed and removing any man-made obstacles. Nothing suggests that any paving of the streets was included in the labor needs. Thus when Charles Carroll, Barrister, ordered a

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carriage from England in 1760, he requested one “of the Roomy sort as it is not for Travelling into the Country with but for Town use and they answer much better than heavy Chariots with Boxes as our Horses are but small and Ground Deep and sandy.”<sup>2</sup>

The city Corporation established a more formal procedure for street maintenance in 1803 with passage of a by-law appointing commissioners for the City of Annapolis.<sup>3</sup> The Corporation gave the commissioners authority over all officers of the municipal government and such infrastructure as existed. With regard to the city’s streets, the by-law stated that they “shall superintend the repairing and mending of the streets, may cut down and fill up any part thereof for the purpose of leveling and straightening the same, erect a foot-way on each side of the streets not to exceed one fourth the width of such street and may remove or cause to be removed sign posts, horse racks, or anything that in their opinion might impede or interrupt the free passage of the streets, and no person shall hereafter sink a cellar, build any house, wall or fence upon the line of any street, plant posts, build steps or make improvements of any kind whatsoever to project or extend over or upon any street without the approbation and permission of said commissioners.” We may infer from the language of the law that early nineteenth-century streets were indeed obstructed by such impediments as sign posts, steps, porches, and even buildings.

The by-law made no mention of any treatment of the surface of the streets. It simply provided for grading and straightening the roadways if such improvements were warranted and for removing any obstructions. Obstructions continued to be a major problem throughout the nineteenth century as property owners encroached upon the right-of-way of the streets. On occasion, entire houses were built in the street, and as late as 1911 an investigation showed that one Frederick Stehle had planted a crop of peas in the bed of Southgate Avenue.<sup>4</sup> The by-law did, however, indicate the first action taken to define and improve the streets: it required a footway for pedestrians on each side of the street bed.

Only in 1819 did the city begin to evolve a program of street maintenance that would prevail until the 1860s. Street crews kept the street beds in repair, leveling or filling in as necessary to maintain an even surface and clearing the bed as required. By-laws regulated the width of cart wheels to minimize creation of ruts and gullies by narrow wheels. These measures were designed to provide relatively easy passage for horses, carts, and carriages. To protect the street beds further, the street commissioners laid gutters between the bed and the pedestrian footways to direct any flow of water down the sides of the street to minimize its effects upon the street bed. A line of curb stones marked the boundary between the gutter and the walkway. Flagstones placed at the intersection of streets and at points along blocks allowed pedestrians to cross the unpaved streets in muddy or dusty conditions with a minimum of discomfort.

Work on the streets followed a standard sequence. The city began the process by “grading repairing and putting the streets in order” and then laying the gutter and curb stone.<sup>5</sup> Once the latter were in place, property owners were required to “pave”



#### POINTS OF INTEREST IN ANNAPOLIS

- |                              |                                |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. State House               | 7. St. Anne's Episcopal Church |
| 2. Old Treasury              | 8. Chase-Lloyd House           |
| 3. Government House          | 9. Hammond-Harwood House       |
| 4. Court of Appeals Building | 10. Ridout House               |
| 5. St. John's College        | 11. Upton Scott House          |
| 6. Carvel Hall Hotel         | 12. Carroll Mansion            |

The modern-day Annapolis streetscape, with major landmarks. (From A. Aubrey Bodine and Harold A. Williams, *Guide to Baltimore and Annapolis* [Baltimore: Bodine and Associates, 1957].)

the footway with bricks at their own expense within a short period of time. If the property owners did not respond in time, the city would proceed to pave the sidewalk and bill the property owner for the expense.

The sequence can be traced in detail through the Corporation proceedings for 1819, an earlier order to the commissioners to "procure a cargo of paving stone and...have the same laid in some useful street or streets of the city" having apparently had no effect.<sup>6</sup> As a first step, the Corporation appointed a committee "to ascertain and report to the corporation what in their judgment ought to be done in grading repairing and putting the streets in order and procuring kirb stone and such other articles as may be necessary, the probable expence thereof, and the most advantageous method of effecting the same."<sup>7</sup> The committee reported back a week later that they had begun by determining the quantity of curb stone required, beginning at the upper end of West Street and measuring to Church Circle, then down Church Street (later Main) to the Market Space, and along Market Space to Mr. Randall's house (which gave Randall Street its name) to the east. These were the main commercial streets of the nineteenth-century city,

leading from the outskirts of town on the west down to the waterfront. The committee stated that they considered “kirbing the footways...most important, they being the most public, the business of the city laying generally on them, as well as the good condition of the property on the same requiring the footways along said streets to be paved, and the belief that the owners of property on them will pave out to the kirb, if timely put down.” They further recommended “the regular grading and paving with stone the water courses on each side of said streets up to the kirb, this will keep the kirb firm, and the st[reets] free from water on them, till they can be permanently paved, which is recommended as soon as the resources of the city can be adequate.”<sup>8</sup> After passage of a by-law to grade and improve West and Church streets and Market Space, the Corporation on August 31st “ordered that the commissioners for kirbing and grading West and Church Streets,...are hereby authorized to contract with any suitable brick maker in Baltimore for one hundred thousand of the best red paving bricks.”<sup>9</sup>

To summarize, the first street improvements were made along West Street, Church Street, and Market Space, the major commercial streets of the town. The city’s improvements consisted only of grading, curbing, and guttering. The proceedings of 22 June 1819 explicitly stated that the streets were *not* being permanently paved. The proceedings and later by-laws did specifically employ the term “street paving,” but when read in context it referred either to the gutters, which were lined with brick—the “one hundred thousand...best red paving bricks,” or to the footways, which the property owners were to pave, also with red brick.<sup>10</sup> The final improvement—street crossings—was first mentioned in 1823, when the Corporation ordered the commissioners to “have a foot way with flag stone across Church Street, at its intersection with Chancery Lane.”<sup>11</sup>

Once a procedure for improving the streets had been established, the city gradually proceeded to apply it beyond the original commercial core. A by-law of 1819 extended the work to Francis Street and the Corporation instructed the commissioner to put a footway along the north side of South East Street (Duke of Gloucester), perhaps in front of the Assembly Rooms, as the city assumed the responsibility of paving footways in front of public property. By-laws of 1820 further expanded the improvements to Cornhill, School, and Conduit streets and the circles around the State House and St. Anne’s Church.<sup>12</sup> Green Street joined the list of improved streets in 1823 and North East (later Maryland) and Hanover streets in 1826.<sup>13</sup>

Visually, then, by the 1820s the city streets exhibited a mixture of colors and textures. Dirt covered the beds of the streets, red paving bricks lined the gutters and the sidewalks between the buildings and the gutters, granite curbstones defined the boundary between gutter and sidewalk, and flag stone crossings linked the footways at street intersections. Minor variations existed within this pattern. For example, the Corporation in 1825 authorized the commissioners to “pave with round stone so much of the foot way on North East Street (Maryland Avenue) as was heretofore paved with flag stone.”<sup>14</sup> The foot way referred to in this authorization would have been a street crossing, not the sidewalk along North East Street.

Similarly, orders of 1826 directed the commissioners to “make temporary footways of loose stone” as crossings on East and Prince George’s streets and on Church Circle.<sup>15</sup> In 1828 the Corporation also took steps toward the aesthetic improvement of the streetscape by recommending to lot owners that they plant shade trees along the streets within the line of the curb stones, “of such description in all cases as that in growing, their roots will not be materially injurious to the pavements.”<sup>16</sup>

For the next forty years, maintenance and extension of this system of street improvements continued to dominate city affairs. When the Corporation adopted a system of standing, rather than *ad hoc*, committees, the Committee on Streets was one of the first to be formed. Expenses for street repairs and improvements swallowed up a major portion of the city’s tax revenues. The city concentrated its efforts on measures that would “afford a dry and good foot way of a permanent and durable kind at all seasons of the year.”<sup>17</sup> The resources of the city were not yet adequate for permanent paving of the streets, despite the recommendation made by the commissioners in 1819.

The Corporation continued to be concerned with, and have problems with, unobstructed travel on the streets themselves. In 1833 it ordered the commissioners to “contract monthly with some person or persons...to keep the streets clear, to scrape the filth off the surface of the streets as often as it may be required...and to haul the same to some place of deposit.”<sup>18</sup> By-laws attempted to regulate dumping of refuse into the streets and disposal of liquids, but the continual refinement of the legislation indicates that residents used the streets as a convenient garbage dump for much of the century.

Petitions to the Corporation for street improvements similarly reveal the disorderly appearance of the city’s streets. The mayor’s annual report submitted in June 1833, for example, listed as “an essential improvement” the “gradation and pavement at the lower end of Church Street,” one of the city’s major thoroughfares. Also, “the citizens residing in that quarter of the town are very anxious to have the streets leading from the State to the Government House (State House Circle to the Governor’s residence, then at the end of East Street, now on the Naval Academy grounds) graded and curbed; as little money has been spent here,” the mayor wished to satisfy that request if possible.<sup>19</sup> The following month commissioners received instructions “to repair Tabernacle Street (College Avenue), by filling up the gullies, or otherwise, as most expedient.”<sup>20</sup> The 1830s also witnessed the addition of a new element to the array of textures and materials: a plank footway along a portion of the public circle, near “the entrance of the [St. John’s] college green on the street.”<sup>21</sup>

During the 1830s standard improvements of grading, curbing, and guttering, accompanied by private sidewalk paving, were extended further out toward the perimeter of the city.<sup>22</sup> The Corporation assumed responsibility for the city’s alleys and oversaw brick paving of the footways along the alley openings and stone pavement in the alleys themselves.<sup>23</sup> And the hierarchy of street improvements continued to be elaborated, as the commissioners received orders to construct “a

cheap raised footway...from the court house to the Bath Spring with stepping stones across the drains."<sup>24</sup>

In 1841 the records contain the first reference to "dressed curbing," a uniform treatment of the curbstones that can still be seen in many areas of Annapolis. The Committee on Streets had considered the use of "new and dressed paving" in 1839 but decided it "inexpedient" to act on the proposal at that time.<sup>25</sup> In 1841 the Corporation also took its first notice of streets in the Murray Hill area, responding to a request for assistance from James Murray with a report that "stepping stones are necessary for the public accommodation in bad weather and through the winter." They gave Murray authority to lay them in exchange for a credit on his taxes.<sup>26</sup> In 1843 the Corporation authorized \$16 for a footway "across the marsh on Cathedral Street."<sup>27</sup> Improvement of the streets included work along additional sections of Duke of Gloucester and East streets, part of Market Street, and a portion of the newly-opened Compromise Street.<sup>28</sup>

As construction of new buildings continued, the Corporation responded to requests for street improvements in the form of curbs and gutters that would allow property owners to put in sidewalks. In answer to a request in 1840 from Vachel Severe for "75 feet of curb for the purpose of paving the foot way fronting his premises," the commissioner received authority "to purchase and have put down rough curb stone for pavement in front of the houses of Vachel Severe...provided that...Severe bind himself to place a good brick pavement between this curb and his dwelling houses."<sup>29</sup> In 1851 the Corporation directed the commissioner "to procure curbing and lay same in front of two new houses just built by Mr. McMullan and also in front of houses of Messrs. Pucket and Terry situated on the north side of East Street."<sup>30</sup> The policy of responding to individual requests for street curbs meant that outside the fully curbed and paved main streets, the city would be surrounded by a perimeter of partially curbed and paved streets (the paving being of sidewalks, not street beds).

The city recognized the problems inherent in its policy in an 1852 report of the Committee on Streets, which noted that curbing a small section of Duke of Gloucester Street "would connect a large quantity of pavement and be a great convenience to the public." But because the property owners bordering that stretch of street had not requested the improvement, the committee questioned the legality of taking an action that would commit the owners to the cost of paving the sidewalk between their lots and the new curb. On the other hand, the committee did not always approve requests for improvements. In the same report, they rejected a petition from residents of Doctor (later Franklin) Street, deciding that the length of pavement required, the expense of grading the street, and the small number of people who would be inconvenienced by the improvement did not justify the outlay of public funds.<sup>31</sup>

A letter filed among the original papers of 1852 sheds light on the construction of street improvements at mid-century. David Capron wrote to the Council to defend his request for repairs to the gutter in front of his house, where "in



This ca. 1904 view of Duke of Gloucester Street, showing the gutters, paving stones, granite curbs, and dirt surface, captures the appearance of most Annapolis streets during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (Maryland State Archives, MdHR G1890-3220).

consequence of the carts having run in upon the bed stones of the gutter; some of them were sunk below their proper level." The damage occurred as a result of the

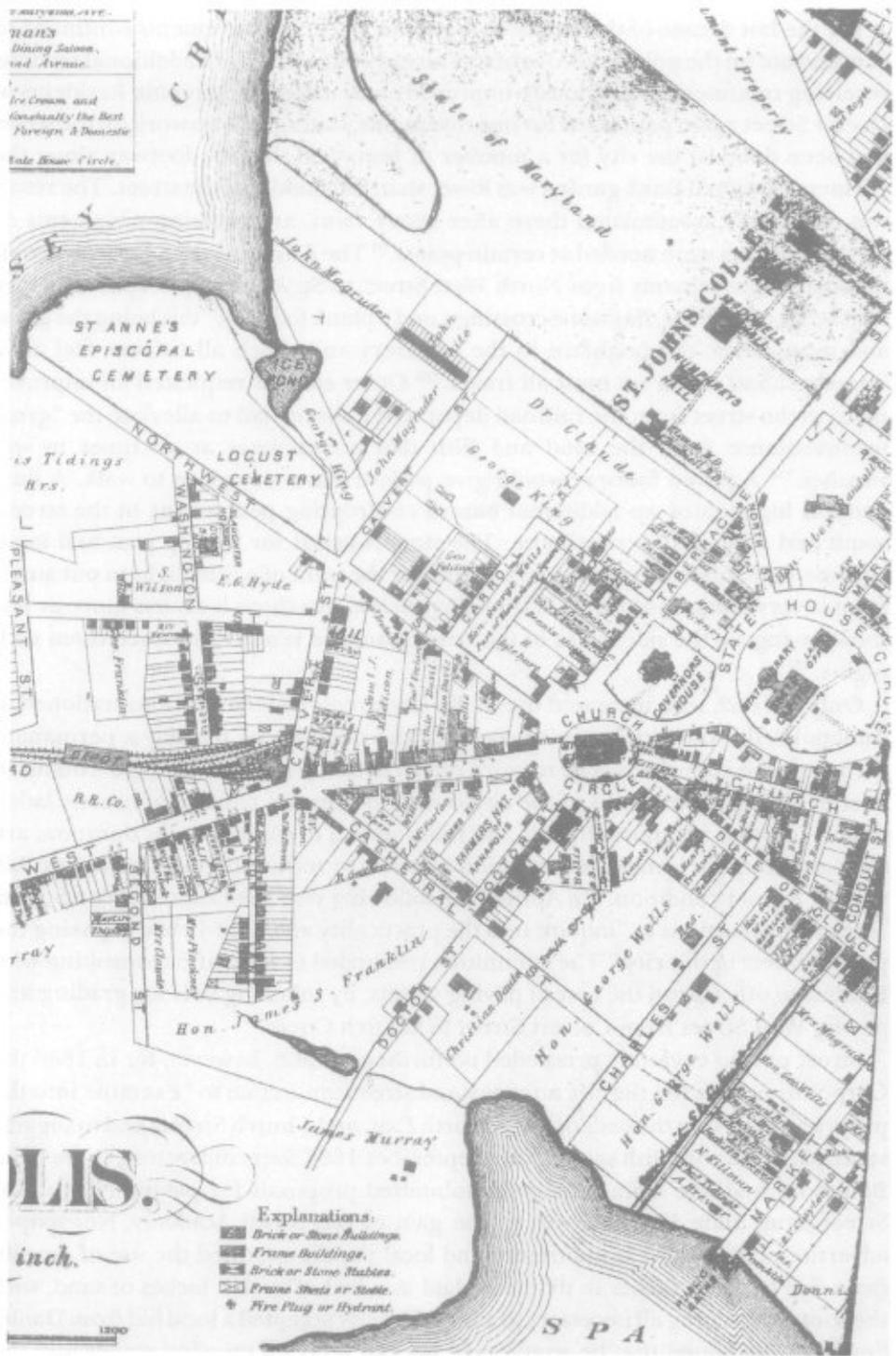
use made of my paved footway by Mr. Hart. He occupies a building adjoining Carroll's as a store house, and in removing his hogsheads of sugar and molasses to his store, he is in the habit of rolling them over the paved footway of my dwelling....I think it manifest that the great weight of these heavy articles will have a tendency not only to crack the bricks of the footway, but also to cause, by their great pressure, the curb stones to incline outward into the gutter, and this more particularly where the soil is more or less moist as is the case on the south side of West Street.<sup>32</sup>

A by-law passed in 1854 to regulate dumping of refuse both comments on nineteenth-century sanitation and confirms the absence of pavement on the street beds. The legislation authorized a fine for "emptying of soapsuds, fish brine, or other offensive refuse into any gutter provided for draining and cleansing streets." Such materials were to be "emptied and scattered" in the middle of the street.<sup>33</sup> Thus, offensive-smelling liquids would not be put in the gutters, where they would remain on the paving stones until washed away by the next rain, but rather poured over the unpaved street, where they would be absorbed into the soil.

For the last decade of the antebellum period, street improvements continued to concentrate on the public thoroughfares already discussed, with additional sections receiving treatment or previously-improved areas undergoing repair. Residents of Doctor Street again petitioned for improvements, stating that no work on the street had been done by the city for a number of years and that the footway along the Farmers' National Bank garden was lower than the middle of the street. The result was that water accumulated there after heavy rains, and crossing pavements or stepping stones were needed at certain points.<sup>34</sup> The Committee on Streets recommended improvements from North West Street to St. Anne's Episcopal cemetery consisting of curbing, flagstone crossings, and a plank footway, "this being the great and most public thoroughfare to the cemetery and which all citizens feel alike interested and which we must all travel."<sup>35</sup> Other citizens requested an improvement to the street from the railroad depot to the county jail to alleviate the "great inconvenience from the mud and filth that accumulates at all times in wet weather."<sup>36</sup> A paved footway would give pedestrians a dry place to walk. A final petition highlighted an additional hazard confronting pedestrians in the streets south and west of the courthouse. The signers asked for a lamp post and lamp because they suffered "greatly dark nights for the want of a little light in our street for it is very dangerous for us in traveling such nights there is always more or less cattle laying on the side walks of the street...and we really cannot see them such nights."<sup>37</sup>

Only in 1862, with increased use of the city streets by Union troops stationed in Annapolis, did the city begin to consider the question of putting a permanent surface on the street beds. The mayor's report of that year noted that the "condition of streets in many portions of the city, owing to constant passage of heavily laden wagons, during an unusually soft and rainy season of some months duration, are such as to require immediate attention in order to restore them as far as possible to their former condition." In April of the following year the Committee on Streets received instructions to "inquire into the practicality and expedience of paving the public streets in this city." The committee responded in May, after consulting with Baltimore officials on the cost of paving streets, by soliciting bids for grading and paving West Street from Calvert Street to Church Circle.<sup>38</sup>

Street paving evidently proceeded no further in 1863, however, for in 1866 the Corporation directed the city attorney and street committee to "examine into the propriety of paving the beds of West, North East, and Church Streets and to suggest some plan to accomplish same."<sup>39</sup> By September 1867 four contractors, three from Baltimore and one from Annapolis, submitted proposals for paving North East Street from State House Circle to the gate of the Naval Academy. Newspaper advertisements placed in Baltimore and local papers specified the use of granite from five to seven inches in diameter, laid in a bed of twelve inches of sand, with the contractor doing all necessary grading. The city accepted a local bid from Daniel Spogle, who stated that he would take up and relay all crossing stones and the gutters.<sup>40</sup> The specification of a diameter as the relevant dimension and the use of



Detail from G. M. Hopkins's 1878 *Atlas of Anne Arundel County* shows the public streets and alleys of Annapolis in the second half of the nineteenth century.

granite indicate that the first paved street was covered with cobblestone, not brick. Flagstone crossings would still provide passage across the street for pedestrians.

Within two years, in May 1869, the city requested bids for paving West Street from St. Anne's to Calvert Street, including relaying of the crossings and gutters, excavating the bed to a depth of eighteen inches, and using materials comparable in quality to those used on North East Street. Work began the following month, although the city had not yet signed a contract with Spogle. The next month the Corporation directed the Committee on Streets to consider grading and paving Church Street between Church Circle and City Dock, a project for which the county commissioners appropriated \$1,250 the following April.<sup>41</sup> When North East and West streets were paved, the city levied a special tax on property owners along the two streets to cover the costs but decided in August 1870 to return the money as a credit against the 1871 taxes. From that time on the city funded all street paving either through tax revenues or special bond issues, with assistance from the county and state where appropriate.<sup>42</sup>

By 1870, then, the municipal government had accepted responsibility for one element of the city's infrastructure: paved streets paid for through tax revenues or bonds (although maintaining sidewalks still remained the duty of the property owners). Nearly two centuries of piecemeal changes, trial and error, and gradual adjustments had been required to reach that point. Decades more would follow before Annapolis applied the procedures and standards that had evolved for the most important city thoroughfares to all streets and institutionalized this public function in the form of permanent city departments.

#### NOTES

1. Annapolis By-Laws 1, 1768-1816, #8, and Annapolis By-Laws and Ordinances 2, 1792-1816, p. 76.

2. Quoted in Michael F. Trostel, *Mount Clare, Being an Account of the Seat built by Charles Carroll, Barrister; upon his Lands at Patapsco* (Baltimore: National Society of Colonial Dames of America, [1981?]), p. 64.

3. Annapolis By-Laws and Ordinances 2, 1792-1816, p. 194.

4. Annapolis Corporation Proceedings (hereafter ACP) 34, 1908-1912, p. 377.

5. ACP 14, 1819-1821, 5/15/1819.

6. ACP 6, 1811-1819, p. 155.

7. ACP 14, 1819-1821, 5/15/1819.

8. ACP 14, 1819-1821, 6/22/1819.

9. ACP 14, 1819-1821, 8/31/1819.

10. See, for example, the by-law of 1833 requiring "each property owner to cause footways to be paved with good red paving brick" (Annapolis By-Laws and Ordinances 3, 1826-1946, p. 65).

11. ACP 15, 1821-1826, p. 68.

12. ACP 14, 1819-1821, 10/11/1819, 11/23/1819, 5/18/1820, 6/12/1820, 8/14/1820, 8/22/1820, 6/7/1821, 6/11/1821, and 9/10/1821.

13. ACP 15, 1821-1826, pp. 63, 266.
14. ACP 15, 1821-1826, p. 216.
15. ACP 16, 1826-1831, 11/14/1826.
16. ACP 16, 1826-1831, 8/15/1828.
17. ACP 15, 1821-1826, p. 32.
18. ACP 17, 1831-1840, 5/24/1833.
19. ACP 17, 1831-1840, p. 120.
20. ACP 22, 1831-1840, p. 129.
21. ACP 17, 1831-1840, p. 160.
22. ACP 17, 1831-1840, pp. 198, 352, and 410.
23. ACP 17, 1831-1840, pp. 301 and 319. See also box 19, folder 14, item 4; on 11 November 1850 the city agreed to take up the stone pavement in Cabbage Alley and replace it with paving brick.
24. ACP 17, 1831-1840, p. 311.
25. ACP 18, 1840-1850, p. 57 and vol. 17, 1831-1840, pp. 396, 399.
26. ACP 18, 1840-1850, p. 68.
27. ACP 18, 1840-1850, p. 181.
28. ACP 18, 1840-1850, pp. 25, 203, and 335.
29. ACP 18, 1840-1850, pp. 15 and 30.
30. ACP, box 19, folder 31, item 5.
31. ACP, box 20, 1852-1854, folder 10, item 3.
32. ACP, box 20, 1852-1854, folder 11, item 2.
33. ACP, box 20, 1852-1854, folder 45.
34. ACP, box 21, 1855-1857, folder 23, item 21.
35. ACP, box 21, 1855-1857, folder 24, item 4.
36. ACP, box 21, 1855-1857, folder 24, item 10.
37. ACP, box 24, folder 14.
38. ACP, box 25, folders 8 and 27 and volume 26, 1863-1869, p. 9.
39. ACP 26, 1863-1869, p. 109.
40. ACP 26, 1863-1869, pp. 144 and 152.
41. ACP 27, 1869-1877, pp. 9, 16, 23, and 54.
42. ACP 26, 1863-1869, p. 188 and 27, p. 79.

# Old Oriole Scorecards

TED PATTERSON

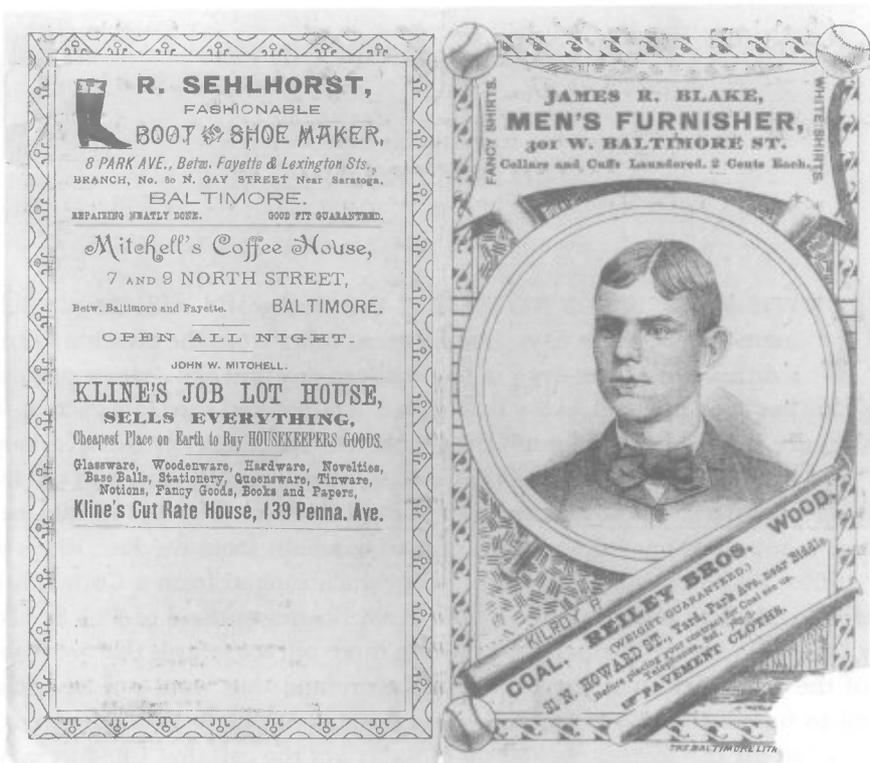
WITH WHAT SEEMS TO BE half the free world collecting baseball memorabilia these days, finding great relics from the past has become a difficult task. Yet even in this modern day and age—when you think every attic has been pillaged, every flea market scoured and yard sale visited—the treasures are still there to be found. Every collector has a story or two of a “super find,” and I’ve had more than my share, but my most recent was one of the most satisfying because it was so unexpected. A local auctioneer called to ask me to appraise a box of thirty vintage autographed baseballs from the late 1940s and early 1950s. While examining the baseballs, which ranged from a Connie Mack Philadelphia A’s ball to one signed by the great Boston outfielder of Tris Speaker, Duffy Lewis and Harry Hooper, I was shown three old scorecards that were to be part of the next auction. They were a late entry and thus were not advertised. Having to broadcast a Navy football game the day of the auction, I entered an absentee bid for the scorecards and on Monday got the call that I had won. The scorecards, from Oriole Park, were vintage ’84, ’85 and ’86. That is, 1884, 1885, and 1886.

In 1882 Baltimore joined the young American Association, a six-team circuit that would rival the existing National League. Baltimore finished last in 1882, and, despite changing owners, managers, players and even ballparks, did the same in 1883. Cincinnati and the New York Metropolitan were the class of the Association. Baltimore played in Oriole Park, a new field, at the corner of what is now Greenmount Avenue and 25th Street. The nickname “Orioles” did not catch on until some years later.

In 1884 fans witnessed the first true World Series, with Providence of the National League beating the original Mets three straight in a best-of-five series. Old Hoss Radbourne had a 60-12 record for Providence, pitching his team’s last thirty-eight games, winning twenty-six of his last twenty-seven decisions. Baltimore’s American Association team finished a respectable 63-43 in that year, sixth in a thirteen-team circuit. Dennis Patrick Casey, said by many to be the hero of Ernest L. Thayer’s epic poem “Casey at the Bat,” hit .248 in his first of two seasons in Baltimore and is listed as the centerfielder and third batter in manager Billy Barnie’s line-up in the 1884 scorecard (see cover), a 10-3 win over Louisville. Bob Emslie, who had a 32-17 record, was the winner. The other Oriole pitcher,

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Mr. Patterson handles sports for Baltimore radio station WPOC-FM and, when playing basketball, shoots a remarkably accurate set shot with a fifty-foot apogee.



An official Orioles scorecard from the 1886 season, featuring pitcher Matt Kilroy and plentiful commercial support on the cover. From the author's collection.

twenty-one-year-old Hardie Henderson, was pictured on the cover. There were advertisements for hatters, clothing outfitters, tobacconists, saloons, and wine rooms, among others.

The 1885 scorecard depicted a 6-0 shutout win over Philadelphia, a big win considering the Orioles finished eighth in an eight team league. Emslie fell to a 3-10 record while Henderson was the workhorse at 25-35. Medicine Bill Mountjoy pitched this game for the Orioles. He posted a 2-4 record in six games. Harry Stovey, who hit .337 and led the circuit with thirteen home runs, was held to an 0-for-4 day for the Athletics. Scorecard advertising showed sewing machines for a dollar down, a dollar a week and fine candies for twenty-five cents a pound.

Matt Kilroy, one of the most celebrated players in Baltimore baseball history, graced the cover of the 1886 scorecard. He also pitched and won the game, 4-1 over Brooklyn. The Orioles won forty-eight games in 1886, again a distant last in the eight-team Association, and Kilroy won twenty-nine of them, losing thirty-four. Three regulars finished with sub-.200 batting averages. Catcher Chris Fulmer led the team with a .244 average. Kilroy completed sixty-six of the sixty-eight games he started in 1886. His 513 strikeouts that year remains the nonpareil of strikeout records. He tossed three no-hitters in 1886. The following year, the twenty-one-

Clothiers Mabley & Carey Gentlemen's

—AND— Furnishing

Merchant Tailors, Goods, &c.

S. W. Cor. Baltimore and Light Streets.

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**ORIOLE PARK. OFFICIAL SCORE CARD, 1886. Umpire**

BALTIMORE.													BROOKLYN.																				
Baltmore.	Pos.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	R.	1b.	BS	O.	A.	E.	Brooklyn.	Pos.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	R.	1b.	BS	O.	A.	E.
Manning,	r.f.	0	0	3			0	3									Pinkney,	3b	0			3		3									
Hoock,	s.s.	2		2			*	0									McClellan,	2b	0		0		0		0								
Farrell,	2b	0		0			x	x									Swarwood,	r.f.	0		3		0										
Sommers,	3b	0		0				0									Burch,	1.f.	0		0		3		0								
Hoover,	c.f.	0		0			0										Phillips,	1b.	0		0				0								
Sott,	1b.	0		0			0		0								McLaman,	c.f.	0		0		0		0								
Palmer,	c.	0		0		x	0										Smith,	s.s.	0		0		0		0								
Green,	1.f.	0		0			0		0								Clark,	c.	0		x		0		0								
Kilroy,	p.	0		0		0		0		0							Harkins,	p.	0		0		0		0		0						
<b>TOTAL</b>		0	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	0							<b>TOTAL</b>		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						

1886. **Headquarters for Base Ball Goods.** 1886.

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year-old Kilroy won forty-six and lost twenty, still a record for a lefthander. His strikeout total fell to 217 because a four-strike rule was instituted that year. Arm troubles cut Kilroy's career short. He finished as a leadoff hitter and rightfielder for Chicago and Hartford before opening a restaurant in his native Philadelphia near Shibe Park. Not many players had a cigar named after them. The Kilroy nickel cigar was manufactured by August Mencken, father of the famed pundit H. L. Mencken.

Thanks to three well preserved and historical scorecards, Baltimore baseball from the 1880s has come alive in 1991.

# Babe Ruth's North Carolina Spring: The Tar Heel Perspective

JIM L. SUMNER

JUST SOUTH OF THE CENTER of downtown Fayetteville, North Carolina, automobile travelers come across a highway marker commemorating the site of Babe Ruth's first professional home run. The curious might be forgiven some skepticism. After all, Ruth was born and reared in Baltimore and started his professional baseball career in his home city in 1914. After a brief minor-league interlude in Providence, Rhode Island, Ruth made the big leagues for good in 1915. The remainder of his pro career of twenty years was spent in either Boston or New York. After his retirement he lived in New York, dying in 1948. What claim does North Carolina have on Ruth?

George Herman Ruth, nineteen years old, left Baltimore's St. Mary's Industrial School in the late winter of 1914 to play professional ball for the minor league Baltimore Orioles. Ruth's first professional experience, indeed his first trip away from Baltimore, was spring training in Fayetteville, North Carolina. "I got to some bigger places than Fayetteville after that," Ruth said later, "but darn few as exciting."<sup>1</sup> It was Ruth's first trip away from home, first trip on a train, first stay in a hotel, even his first ride on an elevator. Indeed it was Ruth's naiveté in Fayetteville that led his bemused teammates to give him his famous nickname. More importantly, it was in Fayetteville that Ruth first unveiled his prodigious talents on the world of professional baseball.

In 1914 Fayetteville was a city of some seven thousand people.<sup>2</sup> Like many American cities during this "golden age of baseball," Fayetteville offered professional, semi-professional, sandlot, and scholastic baseball. The game had been played there as far back as the 1860s. When the Orioles arrived in 1914, the town only recently had enjoyed its first brush with immortality as one of the two North Carolina cities where Jim Thorpe played minor league baseball in 1909 and 1910—an oversight that cost him his 1912 Olympic gold medals. Although not the greatest baseball player in the world, Thorpe was a supremely gifted athlete whose physical prowess provided a standard that Fayetteville sports fans would apply to Ruth or indeed any Baltimore Oriole.<sup>3</sup> It was not particularly surprising to find a professional team training in a city like Fayetteville during this period. Spring

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A Duke University graduate and historian at the North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Mr. Sumner catches the Orioles on cable television.

training in the early part of the century was not confined to Florida and Arizona as it is today. Major league and minor league teams worked out the kinks of long northern winters in cities and towns across the South.<sup>4</sup>

If training in the South was business as usual, other aspects of the 1914 season were decidedly unusual. That year the Federal League, a prospective third major league, mounted an acrimonious, expensive, and ultimately unsuccessful challenge to the American and National leagues. Sports pages in North Carolina and throughout the nation were filled with news of the new league and its attempts to raid its rivals for established players. The Federal League incursion created immediate and serious problems for the Orioles and their owner/manager Jack Dunn. One of the Federal League's most aggressive franchises was the Baltimore Terrapins. In addition to the usual worries of an owner and manager during spring training, Dunn had the additional concerns of whether Baltimore fans would desert his minor league team for the ostensibly big league Terrapins and whether he could keep his players from jumping to the new association.<sup>5</sup>

The Orioles rolled into Fayetteville in 1914 largely through the efforts of Fayetteville merchant Hyman Fleishman, a Baltimore native who initiated contact with Dunn. Fleishman and another local businessman, Jim Johnson, offered to foot the Baltimore team's expenses at the LaFayette Hotel while allowing the Orioles to keep the gate receipts. Dunn accepted and enthusiastically announced plans to bring thirty players south to schedule outside opponents whenever possible and intrasquad games on other days. Dunn told Fayetteville fans that the Orioles "will play two contests when Old Sol's rays are particularly strong."<sup>6</sup>

Dunn's plans were modified by unusually bad weather. A heavy snowfall covered the eastern seaboard in late February and snowbound some of the Orioles. Persistent cold and rain followed. The Orioles arrived in Fayetteville in two groups. The first, which included Ruth, was largely composed of pitchers and catchers, who arrived by train on 3 March. This contingent also included reporters from the Baltimore *American* and the Baltimore *Evening Sun*. The entourage made a favorable first impression. One local paper commented that "They are fine-looking, sturdy young fellows and seem fit and ready for the fray." The remainder of the squad, including Dunn, was scheduled to arrive the following week. Rain forced the Orioles indoors much of the first week in Fayetteville.

On 7 March the weather cleared enough for an intrasquad game. The few players in camp, augmented by a newspaper reporter and at least one unsigned hopeful, were divided into two teams, one dubbed the Buzzards and the other the Sparrows.<sup>7</sup> Since the infielders and outfielders were still in Baltimore, the two teams were forced to improvise. Ruth started the game at shortstop, despite the fact that he threw left-handed, and pitched the last two innings. Playing center field for the Buzzards (Ruth's team) was the young *American* reporter Rodger Phippen, who had a double and a triple in three at bats. The batboy was Hyman Fleishman's eleven-year-old son Maurice (both Phippen and Fleishman would be pivotal figures in the erection of the Ruth marker).<sup>8</sup>



Babe Ruth (at far right in top photo) and the 1914 Baltimore Orioles. Detail at left. (Courtesy of the Babe Ruth Museum, Baltimore.)



The game was a slugfest, won 15-9 by the Buzzards. Only seven innings were played. During the last inning Ruth hit a towering home run over the right fielder's head. In Ruth's words, "I hit it as I hit all the others, by taking a good gander at the pitch as it came up to the plate, twisting my body into a backswing and then hitting it as hard as I could swing." "The ball just disappeared," the batboy's brother recalled, "I haven't seen that ball yet." Pippen, however, didn't have any trouble finding the ball. He later measured the homerun's distance at 350 feet, a considerable clout for that deadball era.<sup>9</sup>

Baltimore newspapers lauded the home run with such headlines as "HOMER BY RUTH FEATURE OF GAME," and "RUTH MAKES MIGHTY CLOUT." Fayetteville papers ignored the contest. One brief account, printed in the Raleigh and Wilmington dailies, observed that "The Orioles showed up well in hitting, but sore arms and fingers brought complaints from the players. Ben Egan and Ruth led in hitting." "Ruth was just a young rookie and naturally we were all glad to see him hit the home run," Fleishman later explained. "However, I wasn't impressed by it anymore

than I would have been if it had been any other young player. Of course I never dreamed he would become the great star he proved to be." Hector McNeill, a local salesman who served as the game's scorekeeper, had a more practical regret: "If I had realized how great he was going to be I would have gotten that ball and had him autograph it."<sup>10</sup>

The rest of the Baltimore squad, including Dunn, arrived in Fayetteville on 10 March. Within a few days the team had thirty-five men in camp, including a number of veterans. The next few days were spent in increasingly intense practices and regular intrasquad games. Although Ruth played well in these contests, Dunn was not quick to promote him. On 16 March Ruth and the other reserves handily defeated a Fayetteville school, Donaldson Military Academy, by a score variously reported as 28-8, 28-7, or 24-6, while the regulars were down the road in Wilmington,<sup>11</sup> where the National League Philadelphia Phillies trained. The Orioles won, 7-2. Ruth did join the Baltimore regulars in time for the next game, played in Fayetteville on 18 March. He pitched the middle three innings of a 4-3 Baltimore win. The Babe was not particularly effective, allowing two early runs before settling down.<sup>12</sup>

He had a much better outing the next day, still in Fayetteville. The Phils jumped to a 6-0 lead before Ruth came on in relief of starter "Smoke" Klingelhoefter. Ruth proceeded to shut the Phils down and became a 7-6 winner when the Orioles rallied with three runs in the sixth inning and four in the eighth. His fine work was praised by a Wilmington paper, which exclaimed "Ruth...pitched ball which ought to win any game." A Fayetteville paper was even more generous in its praise of Ruth. In what must have been one of the earliest testimonies to Ruth written outside of Baltimore or Philadelphia, the Fayetteville Observer wrote: "Well! Well! Well! The Orioles have hit 'em again.... Ruth was substituted for Klingelhoefter [sic] and right then there was nothing more doing by the Philadelphia boys. Ruth's first work after getting on the mound was to fan out three men in succession."<sup>13</sup>

Crowds of 250-300 persons watched Ruth pitch. Many of the Fayetteville fans rooted for the visiting Phillies, while most of the Wilmington fans who made the short trip to Fayetteville rooted for the Orioles. One Philadelphia newspaper marveled that "The Phils are about as popular in Wilmington as orangeade at an Irish picnic on St. Patrick's day." During the early part of their visit to Wilmington some of the Philadelphia players had generated some ill-will by complaining of the condition of the rain damaged diamond. Apparently they had not been completely forgiven by the Wilmington fans.<sup>14</sup>

A five game series was originally scheduled between the Orioles and Phillies. However, as a Fayetteville paper boasted, the "Birds taking the first three of course wound up the little ball of yarn, and the two others have been declared off." Actually an attempt was made to play a fourth game in Wilmington on 20 March, but a return of winter weather forced its cancellation.<sup>15</sup>

The Orioles left Fayetteville with plans to play their way north to Baltimore. On 25 March they again traveled to Wilmington, this time to face the Phillies' American League counterparts, the Philadelphia Athletics, who were playing their way north

from Jacksonville, Florida. The Philadelphia Athletics were the dominant team of the immediate pre-World-War-I period. Managed by the legendary Connie Mack, they had won the American League pennant and the subsequent World Series in 1910, 1911, and 1913 and would again win the pennant (but not the series) in 1914. Their 1913 World Series victory over the New York Giants was avidly followed by Wilmington fans who "congregated in mobs, even in the rain, to hear the [telegraph] returns last fall."<sup>16</sup> In addition to Mack, future Hall of Famers on the team included second baseman Eddie Collins, third baseman Frank (Home Run) Baker, and pitchers Alvin (Chief) Bender, Eddie Plank, and Herb Pennock. The contest was eagerly anticipated by local fans and was almost certainly the most eagerly anticipated single game of the 1914 spring baseball season in North Carolina. Pre-game publicity for the Orioles focused on another Baltimore rookie, outfielder George Twombly, who was promoted as "one of the most promising youngsters Jack Dunn has ever signed." No mention was made of rookie Ruth. Wilmington merchants closed early to allow employees time to make the three o'clock starting time. More than 2,000 fans crowded Sunset Park, most paying an admission of 50 cents (plus an extra 25 cents for the grandstand).<sup>17</sup>

Ruth showed no fear when he was named as the starting pitcher against the fearsome A's; the young lefthander had no idea whom he was facing. His first career start resulted in a peculiar 6-2 victory. The Athletics hammered Ruth for thirteen hits, including four by Baker. At one point the exasperated Ruth called to his manager "Dunnie, who's that big stiff on third base? I can't seem to get him out." Yet Ruth bore down with men on base and held the A's to a mere two runs. On one occasion he retired star Philadelphia catcher Wally Schang with the bases loaded and two outs, while on another he struck out Collins with two outs and two runners on base. Ruth pitched the complete nine inning game, striking out three and walking four. As a batter Ruth was hitless in four attempts.<sup>18</sup>

By now the local press was taking notice of the rookie sensation. One Wilmington paper gave Ruth a rave review:

Twirler Ruth, who handled the delivery end for the Orioles throughout the game, exploded several perfectly good rallies for the Athletics, once with the bases filled, when he deftly mixed 'em up for the batter in such a way that it was an easy out to that phenom left fielder, Twombly. Ruth, who, by the way was playing back-lot baseball in Baltimore this time last year, kept the hits of Mack's sluggers scattered throughout the game. His only weakness was a slight wildness, this having been responsible for the franking [walking] of four Athletics.<sup>19</sup>

Another Wilmington newspaper pointed out that the numerous Philadelphia hits were wasted because in the clutch "the batters could not connect with Ruth's well regulated supply of benders."<sup>20</sup>

Shortly afterwards Ruth left North Carolina for Baltimore and baseball immortality. He had spent about three weeks in the state. His tenure in Baltimore was barely longer than his stay in Fayetteville, only about three months. Weakened by

the success of the Federal League intruders, Dunn was forced to sell Ruth and several other stars for badly needed cash in the middle of the season. Only a few months after beginning his professional career, Babe Ruth was pitching in the big leagues with the Boston Red Sox. Although sent to Providence for more seasoning later in the year, Ruth returned to the majors the next year for good.<sup>21</sup>

While Babe Ruth was becoming the dominant baseball player of his century, Maurice Fleishman, like his father, was becoming a prominent and successful Fayetteville clothier. Through the years Fleishman had the vague idea that Ruth's first home run should be commemorated somehow, but nothing came of it until after Ruth's death. The catalyst was an article by none other than Rodger Phippen, by then sports editor of the Baltimore *Sunday American* and *News-Post*, on 3 September 1950. Headlined "BABE RUTH HIT FIRST HOME RUN IN FAYETTEVILLE, N.C." the lengthy article, which included a grainy photograph and a boxscore, recounted details of the 7 March 1914 intrasquad game in which "the mighty Babe Ruth hit his first home run as a professional ball player." Phippen devoted most of the article to that one game but also discussed Ruth's victory over the Athletics on March 26.<sup>22</sup>

Inasmuch as Phippen was a Baltimorean with no ties to Fayetteville other than his participation in the events there in 1914, his article helped legitimize the 7 March home run as Ruth's first home run. Fleishman and other Fayetteville civic leaders responded to this opportunity. In November 1950 Julian Metz, executive director of the Fayetteville Chamber of Commerce, cited Phippen's article in a request to the North Carolina Department of Archives and History for a state highway marker commemorating Ruth's home run.<sup>23</sup> The Ruth marker, which was formally approved in March of 1951, well before the current interest in sport history, went against the political-military trend of the marker program. Its text read: "BABE RUTH: Hit his first home run in professional baseball, March, 1914. 135 yds. N.W. In this town George Herman Ruth acquired the nickname "Babe."<sup>24</sup>

Fayetteville officials scheduled the marker unveiling for the spring of 1952 and planned an elaborate series of events to go along with the ceremony. By this time the Cape Fear Fairgrounds and its ballpark had been long abandoned; the site housed state highway department offices and warehouses. Maurice Fleishman helped perplexed state officials determine the exact site for the marker.<sup>25</sup> The importance of the Ruth marker ceremonies for Fayetteville and North Carolina was clear in the scope of the planned activities and the size and variety of the guest list—which included people associated with Ruth's life and career, representatives from organized baseball, and the state's governor. Mrs. Claire Ruth, widowed less than four years, accepted the honor of unveiling the marker. Philadelphia Athletics manager Jimmie Dykes was designated the official representative of the American League, although his participation in the ceremonies was somewhat overshadowed by that of Connie Mack, the grand old man of baseball and a man who managed against Ruth for over two decades. Jack Dunn III represented the Orioles and his late grandfather.<sup>26</sup>



The North Carolina historical highway marker, located in Fayetteville, commemorating the earliest days in the professional career of Babe Ruth. (Courtesy of North Carolina Division of Archives and History.)

Three former players invited to the ceremony were North Carolina natives whose careers had been intertwined with Ruth's. Lenoir's Johnny Allen was a former teammate of the Bambino's with the Yankees. Graham's Tom Zachary had also been a teammate of Ruth's but is best remembered for surrendering Ruth's famous sixtieth home run in 1927. Yadkin County's Ernie Shore was Ruth's longtime Red Sox roommate and the man who pitched a famous perfect game in relief of Ruth. State officials included Governor W. Kerr Scott, Secretary of State Thad Eure, and North Carolina Supreme Court chief justice W. A. Devin. Finally, Rodger Pippen and Maurice Fleishman were present, more than thirty-eight years after their first meeting.<sup>27</sup>

The festivities began on the morning of 4 April 1952 with an 11 A.M. parade from downtown Fayetteville to the marker site. When Mrs. Ruth unveiled the marker, she remarked that "Babe would have loved it." Governor Scott named Mrs. Ruth and Mack honorary Tar Heels, while Fayetteville mayor J. O. Talley designated Mrs. Ruth and Mack honorary citizens of the city. A luncheon banquet for the guests followed. That night a motorcade took the celebrities from the Prince Charles

Hotel to Pittman Stadium for an exhibition game between the Philadelphia Athletics and the Orioles.<sup>28</sup>

Auspicious beginnings are important. George Ruth came to Fayetteville in 1914 as an untested commodity. During his stay he demonstrated enough of his enormous skills to convince an astute veteran like Dunn that he was ready for the fast pace of the International League. Certainly events after 1914 magnified the 7 March game. Ruth started his professional career as a pitcher. In that context the 18 March game against the Phillies (in which he made his first pitching appearance against a big-league opponent), his first pitching victory on 19 March, and the 25 March start against the Athletics were of more importance than the 7 March home run to Ruth's young career. Yet, as we know, it was as a slugger of home runs, as the Sultan of Swat, that Ruth became a national treasure.

In North Carolina young Ruth, a raw rookie only weeks removed from St. Mary's, hit a towering home run in a modest minor league ballpark in his first professional ballgame. He there displayed untutored natural talent and stood on the verge of baseball's greatest career. The Fayetteville marker recalls that first step toward greatness.

#### NOTES

1. Ruth quoted in Bob Considine, *The Babe Ruth Story* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1948), p. 23.

2. For Fayetteville see especially Marshall Smelser, *The Life that Ruth Built: A Biography* (New York: Quadrangle/New York Times Book Co., 1975), pp. 38-44, Robert Creamer, *Babe: The Legend Comes to Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974), pp. 57-70, and Considine, *The Babe Ruth Story*, pp. 23-29. The Smelser and Creamer biographies are the best overall studies of Ruth. Also of interest, although of little use for the Fayetteville period, are Robert Smith, *Babe Ruth's America* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1974), and Lawrence Ritter, with Mark Rucker, *The Babe: A Life in Pictures* (New York: Ticknor and Fields, 1988).

3. Fayetteville *News*, 14 May 1867; Robert Obojski, *Bush League: A History of Minor League Baseball* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1975), p. 342; Robert W. Wheeler, *Jim Thorpe: World's Greatest Athlete* (rev. ed.; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), pp. 78-80.

4. Wilmington *Morning Star*, 13, 14, 16 March 1914; Joseph L. Reichler, ed., *The Baseball Encyclopedia* (seventh ed.; New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1988) pp. 245-46, 249-50. The Phillies returned to the second division in 1914 with a sixth-place finish.

5. Creamer, *Babe*, pp. 55-56; Smelser, *Life that Ruth Built*, pp. 45-48. For the history of the Federal League see David Quentin Voigt, *American Baseball: From the Commissioners to Continental Expansion* (University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1983, [repr. of 1970 ed.]), pp. 114-20, and Marc Okkonen, *The Federal League of 1914-1915: Baseball's Third Major League* (Garrett Park, Md.: Society for American Baseball Research, 1989).

6. Raleigh *News and Observer*, 20 August 1973; Fayetteville *Observer*, 4 March 1914.
7. *News and Observer*, 4 March 1914; Fayetteville *Observer*, 11 March 1914; Creamer, *Babe*, pp. 56-60. The Fayetteville *Observer* added, in the casual racism of the day, "We welcome the Orioles...; we shall treat them white."
8. Creamer, *Babe*, pp. 60-61; Smelser, *Life that Ruth Built*, pp. 41-42. Maurice Fleishman later confessed to having played hookey from school for the entire time the Orioles were in Fayetteville (Fayetteville *Observer*, 3 April 1952).
9. Considine, *Babe Ruth Story*, p. 27. Fayetteville *Observer*, 3 April 1952. Creamer says the home run was hit in the second inning (Creamer, *Babe*, p. 61).
10. Creamer, *Babe*, p. 61. The identical report appeared in the *News and Observer* and Wilmington *Morning Star* of 8 March 1914, without attribution. The Fleishman and McNeill quotes are from the Fayetteville *Observer*, 3 April 1952.
11. *News and Observer*, 11 March 1914. The *News and Observer* 17 March and the Wilmington *Morning Star* of 17 March reported the score of the game against Donaldson Military Academy as 28-8. The Fayetteville *Index* of 18 March says 28 to 7, while Creamer, *Babe*, p. 66 and Smelser, *Life that Ruth Built*, p. 43, record a 24 to 6 score.
12. Wilmington *Morning Star*, 17 March 1914; *News and Observer*, 19 March 1914; Wilmington *Morning Star*, 19 March 1914.
13. Wilmington *Morning Star*, 20 March 1914; Fayetteville *Observer*, 25 March 1914.
14. Philadelphia *Times* quoted in the Wilmington *Morning Star*, 21 March 1914. See Wilmington *Morning Star*, 4, 22 March 1914.
15. Fayetteville *Observer*, 25 March 1914; Wilmington *Evening Dispatch*, 21 March 1914.
16. Wilmington *Morning Star*, 24 March 1914. The Athletics lost the 1914 World Series to the "Miracle" Boston Braves. Afterwards Mack, unable to compete with the inflated salaries caused by the Federal League war, sold most of his star players, thus breaking up one of baseball's great dynasties.
17. Wilmington *Evening Dispatch*, 24 March 1914; Wilmington *Morning Star*, 25, 26 March 1914. Twombly would play in only 150 major league games in his career and bat a mediocre .211. He was the older brother of another major leaguer, Clarence "Babe" Twombly (Reichler, *Baseball Encyclopedia*, p. 1544).
18. Considine, *Babe Ruth Story*, p. 28; Kal Wagenheim, *Babe Ruth: His Life and Legend* (New York and Washington: Praeger, 1974), p. 24; Creamer, *Babe*, p. 68.
19. Wilmington *Morning Star*, 26 March 1914.
20. Wilmington *Evening Dispatch*, 26 March 1914. On 28 March back in Baltimore, Ruth again faced the Athletics in an exhibition game. This time Ruth was hit hard in a 12-5 Philadelphia victory (Smelser, *Life that Ruth Built*, p. 44).
21. Smelser, *Life that Ruth Built*, pp. 44-57.
22. *News and Observer*, 20 August 1973; Baltimore *American* 3 September 1950. Fayetteville *Observer* of 3 April 1952 reprinted an article Phippen published in the 17 August 1948 Baltimore *News-Post* which also touted the 7 March game but apparently escaped notice in North Carolina at the time.

23. Jacob Metz to Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, 24 November 1950, Babe Ruth Highway Marker File, North Carolina Division of Archives and History.

24. *Sixteenth Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission, July 1, 1934 to June 30, 1936* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1936), pp. 18-20; Jerry C. Cashion, ed., *Guide to North Carolina Historical Highway Markers* (Raleigh: North Carolina

Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1979), foreword, pp. 203, 223; Michael Hill, "The Fiftieth Anniversary of the North Carolina Highway Historical Marker Program," *Carolina Comments*, 34 (March, 1986): 59-63; Powell to Metz, 19 March 1951. Sport has remained an underutilized subject for highway markers. At present only two other markers in the North Carolina program commemorate sport figures. One marks the site of Jim Thorpe's first minor league season and the other recalls the famous antebellum race horse, Sir Archie.

25. Powell to Metz, 19 March 1951.

26. Fayetteville *Observer*, 3-5 April 1952; *News and Observer*, 4-5 April 1952.

27. Shore pitched his perfect game in relief of Ruth against Washington on 23 June 1917, when both were with the Boston Red Sox. After walking the leadoff batter, Ruth was ejected for arguing with the umpire. Shore came on in relief, the base runner was throw out attempting to steal, and Shore retired the next twenty-six batters. After some debate by league officials, Shore was credited with a perfect game.

28. Fayetteville *Observer*, 5 April 1952; *New York Times*, 5 April 1952.

## Book Reviews

“Eighteenth-Century Gardens of the Chesapeake.” By Barbara Wells Sarudy. (A special issue of the *Journal of Garden History: An International Quarterly*, 9 [July - September, 1989]: 103-59. Notes, appendices.)

Publication of Barbara Wells Sarudy’s “Eighteenth-Century Gardens of the Chesapeake” in the London *Journal of Garden History* marked the appointment of the journal’s editor, John Dixon Hunt, as director of studies in landscape architecture at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C. It also marked the journal’s change of focus—from literary essays on Old World landscape theory to a specific rendering of the American vernacular town garden; from the macro landscape of Humphrey Brown and Alexander Pope to the flower beds of William Faris, an Annapolis clockmaker crazy about tulips. Sarudy’s vividly concise essays, diligently founded on primary sources, clearly elevates the study of American gardens to an academic discipline worthy of the respect of social historians studying early material culture. The order we impose on our property—the yardscapes of fences, flower beds, and walkways—reflects the designs of our minds, the geometry of our social patterns, and the pyramid of our economic order.

Sarudy, formerly acting director of the Maryland Historical Society, presents the central issue as “the extent to which the early American gardens of the wealthy were influenced by the ‘natural grounds’ movement of eighteenth-century Britain” (p. 104). They were not. Garden design in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake, as demonstrated by cartographic evidence, diaries, traveller’s descriptions, and landscape paintings, reflected the logical order of the houses themselves and was based on the traditional parterres, classical terraces, and formal arrangement inspired by the Italian Renaissance.

Of her first five essays, “Gardening books in eighteenth-century Maryland” suggests that, although works inspired by the informal, picturesque English landscape movement were available, Chesapeake colonists “were more drawn to ideas of both classical and later Italian Renaissance garden theory and design that evolved in European gardens as the colonies were being carved out of the great American wilderness.” Next, Sarudy relates how commercial ventures by nurserymen and seed dealers in the late eighteenth century resulted from the increasing wealth and leisure time of the urban middle class. She concludes that these shrewd merchants “were expanding their markets beyond traditional gardeners, who planted for sustenance, to clients who were enticed to plant for pleasure and status during their increased leisure time” (p. 116).

The third chapter details the emergence of commercial “pleasure gardens” in Baltimore. These combined the strolling pleasures of a public park with the sometimes raucous entertainments provided by the traditional European beer garden. “These commercial enterprises set the stage for the development of the

free publicly planned and supported gardens and parks that the citizens of Baltimore would develop in the nineteenth century, and they also served as antecedents to the commercial amusement and theme parks of twentieth century America" (pp. 122-23).

"A late eighteenth-century 'tour' of Baltimore gardens" reviews seventy pleasure gardens, some from the city maps of cartographer Charles Varlé and the engravings of Francis Shallus, others depicted in the landscape paintings of Francis Guy or described by travelers or in diaries. The pictorial dominance of formal, parterred garden beds, straight rows of trees, and symmetrical, turfed terraces or "falls" projected the sense of order, control, and regularity that characterized the gardens of the Maryland gentry. Unfortunately, Sarudy implies that a formal garden—a garden with symmetrical, balanced beds repeatedly exhibited in Warner and Hanna's Plan of the City—was a pleasure garden of ornamentals. As she demonstrates, some of these were clearly flower gardens. However, most of the geometric beds, or garden "squares" as they were known to Chesapeake gardeners, were more likely kitchen and fruit gardens of strawberries, peach trees, cabbages, and peas.

Sarudy's last essay, "A Chesapeake craftsman's eighteenth-century garden," is the most revelatory and exciting of the lot. The 704-page diary of William Faris, an Annapolis craftsman and innkeeper, provides a new dimension to our study of early American gardens by recreating the horticultural world of a middle class artisan who bred and named tulips after Revolutionary generals and classical heroes. The formal pleasure gardens of the Chesapeake are no longer a vague and abstract figure on a map; they are brought to life with images of Faris's garden—box-lined parterres filled with asters, balsams, and anenomes, circle beds of tuberose and hyacinths, holly trees shaped into sugar cones, garden walkways of crushed brick, sand, and oyster shells. Sarudy vividly recreates the pulse of Faris's gardenscape: a picket fence with a bright red wooden gate; simple statues; bee houses; a privy the silversmith called the "temple"; a large vegetable "square" bordered with exact rows of well-trimmed sage and rosemary; nursery beds where Faris sold his surplus tulips to neighbors; moveable half-barrel plant containers; a separate fruit garden of apple trees, berries, and grape vines; water barrels; toolsheds; a rabbit warren.

This is living history. Sarudy herself suggests the implications extend beyond the world of academic historians. "For the past two decades, landscape architect Arthur A. Shurcliff has been criticized for creating elaborate town gardens at the homes of merchants and craftsmen for the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg. This diary of an eighteenth-century artisan may help to quiet some of these tempests."

U. P. Hedrick's *A History of Horticulture in America to 1860* (Oxford University Press; New York, 1950) revealed the scale and scope of American gardens in his general survey of the horizon of our horticultural landscape. Ann Leighton's eloquent trilogy on seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth-century gardens (*Early American Gardens* [Boston, 1970], *American Gardens of the Nineteenth Century* [Boston, 1976], and *American Gardens of the Nineteenth Century* [Amherst, Mass.: 1987]) provided depth, literary color, and the socioeconomic sources to our hor-

ticultural heritage. Sarudy's essays, particularly her unveiling of the garden world of William Faris, also comprise a landmark work. The use of primary sources to document and recreate the middle-class garden world of an Annapolis artisan, not the plantation garden of a wealthy slave-holder, provides a unique chapter in the study of our garden history. Barbara Wells Sarudy shows us how to do it.

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- Political Institutions in Virginia, 1619-1660.* By Jon Kukla. Outstanding Studies in Early American History, edited by John Murrin. (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1989. Pp. xxiv, 264. Notes, bibliography, index. \$45.)
- Virginia House of Burgesses. 1660-1706: The Social, Educational, and Economic Bases of Political Power.* By Martin H. Quitt. Outstanding Studies in Early American History, edited by John Murrin. (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1989. Pp xvi, 388. Appendices, bibliography. \$60.)

Jon Kukla's *Political Institutions in Virginia, 1619-1660* and Martin Quitt's *Virginia House of Burgesses. 1660-1706: The Social, Educational, and Economic Bases of Political Power*, both unrevised Ph.D. dissertations completed in 1979 and 1970, respectively, provide opposing views of the colony's government in the seventeenth century. Kukla's book, an institutional history that considers social and economic as well as political issues, describes a governing system that had achieved a high degree of stability by mid-century. On the other hand, Quitt's volume, a social history that takes as its base the membership of an institution, suggests that Virginia's government was only just beginning to stabilize by the end of the seventeenth century.

Relying mainly upon personal and official correspondence, legislative and executive journals, legal statutes, and local court records, Kukla emphasizes major events and confrontations, such as the first meeting of the General Assembly in 1619, the dissolution of the Virginia Company in 1624, the thrusting out of Governor John Harvey in 1635, the judicial reforms of Governors Wyatt and Berkeley in the early 1640s, the surrender to parliamentary commissioners in 1652, and the burgesses' assertions of authority in 1653 and 1658. He concentrates on principal figures as they strove to recreate English Institutions, focusing particularly on the creative tensions that arose as governors, councillors, and leading burgesses sought to define the locus of authority in early Virginia.

Unlike traditional institutional historians, Kukla views his subject through a wide-angle lens, showing how economic, social, and demographic developments, as well as political ones, shaped early governing structures. He is at his best when demonstrating connections between economic goals and institutional growth. For example, when the colonists fought to obtain a charter after 1624, they not only hoped to preserve abstract rights of Englishmen but also to defend the validity of their land patents. In another instance, after Virginia became a royal colony, burgesses won the right to continue meeting because the king wanted a tobacco

monopoly and the assembly served as a convenient negotiating partner in his efforts to win the lucrative contract.

When linking other aspects of society with governing institutions, Kukla is less thorough. Although he makes the interesting suggestion that animosity toward the Indians had a unifying effect on politics after the massacre of 1644, he does not explain how relations with native Americans shaped governing styles and policies at other times. He shows that population growth necessitated a widening of the judicial network but omits other effects of demographics. Did the high death rate lead to a discontinuity in leadership or demands for particular kinds of government services? How did the scattered nature of settlement and absence of towns affect institutional growth?

Kukla provides a compelling version of events in seventeenth-century Virginia, perhaps the most accurate possible given the sketchiness of available records. However, one cannot avoid thinking that in his eagerness to make sense of his scattered sources, he occasionally stretches them too far. For example, his story often revolves around a supposedly well-defined faction of merchant-councillors that maintained itself for thirty years. Its members did indeed have dense business connections, as Kukla persuasively demonstrates. Nevertheless, common ground on economic issues does not automatically lead to the tight political loyalties he implies. Furthermore, Kukla claims that the House of Burgesses was organized against this faction. He explains the movement of a merchant-councillor, Thomas Stegg, into the speakership of the house in 1642 as an effort to “manage” (p. 117) the body. Yet the assemblymen’s willingness to elect Stegg suggests a great deal of unity. If the two opposing groups did in fact exist, the barrier between them was porous indeed.

Kukla’s assumptions not only bring an exaggerated order to Virginia’s chaotic factionalism, but also lead to a larger point that is equally overstated. He suggests here and restates more specifically in a 1985 *American Historical Review* article, “Order and Chaos in Early America: Political and Social Stability in Pre-Restoration Virginia,” that colonists achieved a high degree of political and social order by the middle of the seventeenth century. Certainly Kukla is right to remind us that early colonial government was not all chaos. Its leaders demanded chartered assurances of their rights. They valued and attempted to follow parliamentary procedures, and they used legal arguments to explain and excuse their actions—even those so radical as the “thrusting out” of a royal governor. Despite all this, during the late 1650s more than 60 percent of each assembly’s members had never before served, a rate that hardly suggests a high level of political stability.

Continuing through the rest of the century, Martin Quitt uses public records from the county and provincial levels plus an impressive collection of biographical and genealogical data (much of which is provided in his valuable appendices) to study the Virginia House of Burgesses from 1660 to 1706. He describes the immigrant origins, families, education, and political stewardship of 361 assemblymen as well as the maturation process of their institutions. He concludes that by the end of the century positions in the house were becoming increasingly

attractive prizes and that the burgesses as a group were gaining a sense of their own importance and dignity.

In the first half of his book, Quitt describes the backgrounds of burgesses, paying close attention to differences between natives and immigrants. His finding that settlers selected men with wealth, education, and family or patronage connections is not surprising. Nor is his contention that officers used their positions to take advantage of the colony's land grant system. However, his data showing the rising prominence of native Virginians in the lower house is highly significant and, in fact, was an important contribution to Chesapeake scholarship when it first became available in 1970. Demonstrating the formation of a creole elite, Quitt's figures indicate that the percentage of natives in the assembly rose from 20 percent during the 1660-1676 period to over 50 percent during the years 1676-1706. Unfortunately, there is one caveat for those who would utilize this data. Because he used provincial rather than county records to locate his burgesses, Quitt missed those representatives who, due to inactivity or frequent absence, were not mentioned in the house journals. As he admits in a footnote (pp. 8-9), when his list of burgesses who served from 1660 to 1676 is compared to one made by Warren M. Billings, Quitt's shows a 17 percent shortfall. Luckily, this omission probably does not affect the ratio of natives to immigrants because men of both groups were no doubt equally likely to be inactive.

Quitt places great emphasis on marriage as a vehicle for social promotion. However, his discussion, although intriguing, is too anecdotal to illuminate the general phenomenon. He is undoubtedly right to recognize the connection between marriage and status, but if he had taken a more systematic approach, showing whether political acceptance came before or after strategic marriages and how patterns varied once natives came to predominate, he could have shed light on the roles of heiresses and widows in elite formation and thus indirectly in government affairs. When studying the colonial period, chances to connect women to public events are all too rare, and it is unfortunate that the author missed this opportunity.

The second half of Quitt's book examines elections and the burgesses' participation in house activities. He argues that decreasing turnover rates and increasing activity on the part of the Committee of Elections demonstrate the growing stability of Virginia's political leadership as well as a heightened enthusiasm for officeholding. Yet as if to contradict himself, Quitt offers examples of political disinterestedness, citing burgesses who gave up their positions in order to become county sheriffs. In addition, he shows that the farther a representative lived from the capital, the less likely he was to be active in assembly affairs. Whether or not these examples of flagging enthusiasm were the norm, they suggest that if late seventeenth-century Virginians came to value seats in the House of Burgesses for the honor they conferred and if they consequently strove harder to be worthy of the office, they were only just beginning to do so. Their level of political stewardship remained far below that which the traditional English ideal demanded.

Because both works are unrevised Ph.D. theses, their organization sometimes seems disjointed, a problem typical of most dissertations. Nevertheless, each

contains information that is highly useful to serious scholars of Virginia and Maryland. Furthermore, when read together, these complementary works are even more enlightening. The last chapter of Quitt's work (not originally included in his dissertation) and sections of Kukla's chapter three (along with his 1980 article, "Robert Beverley Assailed: Appellate Jurisdiction and the Problem of Bicameralism in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*) form a debate over the timing of the General Assembly's move to bicameralism. While both authors agree that the houses, separate since 1643, joined together during the Interregnum, Kukla argues that the two again separated after the Restoration, while Quitt contends that the split came in 1680. Although the evidence each marshals is too ambiguous to settle the question convincingly, the discussion remains significant because of its larger implications. Later in the colonial period the House of Burgesses came to speak most powerfully for colonial interests and to represent colonial identity most profoundly. Because its emergence as a separate entity was an important bench mark in the settlers' campaign to replicate English society, the most important issue should be the house's distinctiveness. No matter who is right on the subject of bicameralism, 1680 remains the watershed date for the assembly. Until that time, councilors sat on committees with burgesses, thus blurring differences between the two bodies.

As the assembly came to resemble the parliamentary model more closely, both in its organization and its prestige, it reflected an increasing social order. At heart, both works reviewed here attempt to trace this development toward stability. While Kukla argues that Virginians had largely achieved their goal by mid-century, Quitt's data suggests that they were only just beginning to settle down at that time. Probably the truth lies somewhere in between the two points of view. Seventeenth-century Virginia was more orderly than most historians have thought but not nearly as stable as the English model its inhabitants wished to emulate.

MARY GWALTNEY VAZ  
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*The Maryland Gazette, 1727-1761: Genealogical and Historical Abstracts.* By Karen Mauer Green. (Galveston, Tex.: Frontier Press, 1989. 324 pp. Index, illus. \$26.50.)

The 7 April 1747 issue of the *Maryland Gazette* contained a notice placed by Thomas Barkley that he and his wife Isabella Barkley had separated by consent, and that she had in her possession her share of the estate of her former husband Richard Wethered. Although Barkley stated he would not honor the debts of his wife, a notice in the *Maryland Gazette* of 9 December stated that Cornelius and Edward Comegys of Kent County, sureties for Isabella, widow of Richard Wethered, but now wife of Thomas Barkley, had filed suit against both Barkleys because the latter would not allow access to the estate. Thomas Barkley of Kent County, merchant, advertised in the issue of 18 July 1750, asking that all those indebted to him settle their accounts immediately. The issue of 17 April 1751 carried a notice

that Barkley was in jail for his debts. A year later, the issue of 2 April 1752 stated that Barkley was still confined in jail for a great number of debts, and intended to petition the General Assembly for relief. In November 1753 Barkley's petition had been handled by the assembly, but he was still in prison. The matrimonial and financial problems of the luckless Barkley were reported in the various issues of the *Maryland Gazette*, but until Karen Green published her synopsis of the contents of every extant issue of Maryland's first newspaper, a researcher would have had to go through the issues him- or herself.

This is not the first book of abstracts from Maryland's premier newspaper, but it is for the period covered. While earlier works (including some by this reviewer) concentrated on vital records or items of genealogical interest, the present work goes much farther than the earlier compilations.

The compiler abstracted every mention of a local person, but world and national events were not abstracted unless a Maryland resident was named. On the other hand items pertaining to Virginia, Delaware, and Pennsylvania were included. Careful attention was paid to ship arrivals, so that if an indentured servant or convict is known to have embarked on a particular ship, it is possible to determine whether that ship did call at a Maryland port. The *Maryland Gazette* of 21 July 1747 carried a notice that the ship *Johnson*, Capt. Pemberton master, from Liverpool, had arrived the previous Thursday at Oxford in Choptank carrying 2 English and 106 Scottish rebels. A notice in the paper the following week stated that a number of the rebels had been brought to Annapolis where they were on sale.

The indexing is thorough. Names of slaves (unless they were given common names) are included in the index as well as names of indentured servants, tracts of land and ships. In addition to a complete name index, Ms. Green has included occupational and topical references such as schoolmaster, free school, brass founder, and tavern. Anyone interested in churches, schools, theaters, or racing grounds will find numerous references in the index under those headings.

Indeed, anyone researching any aspect of the social, economic, or family history of mid-eighteenth-century Maryland will find this an invaluable tool. This reviewer hopes that Ms. Green, who has published abstracts of newspapers from other states, will continue abstracting the *Maryland Gazette* through the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century.

ROBERT BARNES  
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*Anti-Jacksonian Politics Along the Chesapeake.* By W. Wayne Smith. (New York and London: Garland Publishing Co., 1989. Pp. ii, 352. Maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$73.)

This is a useful history of the evolution of the Whig party in Maryland from 1826 through its demise after 1854. Based on a thorough examination of manuscript sources, the book traces the interconnections between state and national politics, focusing primarily on the party itself. Built upon a voter base in formerly Federalist

counties, the Whig party emerged as a coalition between the small counties of Southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore, bolstered by support from Baltimore City and the Western Shore. The Whigs dominated Maryland politics for almost three decades. National contests, especially Henry Clay's perpetual quest for the presidency, often gave direction to the party, but state issues, such as state support for internal improvements and a demand for constitutional reform that dominated legislative affairs in Annapolis, also influenced partisan identity. These issues often cut across party lines, some Democrats supporting internal improvements and Whigs from larger jurisdictions favoring reform measures that would lessen the power of the small counties. Despite partisan rhetoric, which portrayed opponents as representing a distinct class, rival party leaders and officeholders bore a remarkable resemblance to one another.

Several challenging questions remain unanswered by this interpretation. Despite the author's assertion that Jacksonian-era politicians were motivated by a lust for power and patronage rather than acting from principle, other scholars have identified a definite Whig ideology. Considering Henry Clay's long-term popularity in Maryland, it is probable that Whig voters preferred his American Plan to that offered by the Democrats. Furthermore, a more systematic evaluation of the various state legislative programs during this period is needed, with special emphasis on how they were justified by the Whig leadership. Unfortunately, this study does not probe the meaning of Whig ideology, how it was understood by its rural and urban adherents, and whether there were changes between 1826 and 1854. The problem of constitutional reform is also not explained satisfactorily. For most of the period the state legislature was mal-apportioned and under the domination of the small counties because the Constitution gave equal representation to each county regardless of population. The author nicely describes the vicissitudes of reform through the Constitutional Convention of 1850, where reformers had been thwarted in their demands for representation based upon population, but he inexplicably fails to explain how the system was changed in 1851 and what impact it had on the traditional Whig power base. The author also attributes factionalization within the Whig party as being due to personal rivalries between leaders. An equally plausible explanation would be to contrast the inconsistent goals of rural and urban Whigs as a precursor of the tension that destroyed the national party in the 1850s. Rural Whigs saw the party as a vehicle to maintain the status quo and to resist constitutional reform at all costs, while the urban branch favored using the power of government to sponsor internal improvements and to stimulate economic development. As the question of slavery became more divisive after the Mexican War, it became difficult to reconcile both groups within the same party.

Although this book was published in 1989 under a new title in a doctoral dissertation series, it is reproduced as it was written in 1967, so that several important recent works deserve mention to place this interpretation in perspective. David Grimsted has published a long article on the "Pet Bank" crisis in Maryland ("Roger B. Taney and the Bank of Maryland Swindle," *Yearbook 1987 Supreme Court Historical Society*, pp. 38-81), and his earlier work on riots deserves special attention

“Rioting in Its Jacksonian Setting,” *American Historical Review*, 77 [1972]: 361-97). Jean Baker has published two important books on the Know-Nothing Party and the transformation of the two-party competition during the Civil War era (*Ambivalent Americans The Know-Nothing Party in Maryland* [1977] and *The Politics of Continuity: Maryland Political Parties Between 1858 and 1870* [1973]). William J. Evitt’s, *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland from 1850-1861* (1974), is a useful political synthesis of the 1850s.

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*Footloose in Jacksonian America: Robert W. Scott and His Agrarian World.* By Thomas D. Clark (Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 1989. Pp. 250. Notes, index. \$29.95.)

Robert Wilmot Scott was only twenty in September of 1829 when he set out for a six-month trip that took him from his home in Frankfort, Kentucky to many of the major cities of the East. During his travels he kept a journal, which he called his *Memoranda Itineris*. It provides glimpses into early nineteenth century America’s industrial, social, and political life valuable for anyone interested in that period.

A serious-minded and methodical young man, Scott carefully documented his visits to places of interest, from the iron furnaces of Ohio to the campuses of Harvard and West Point to the mills of New England. Though probably unintended, there are moments of welcome humor in his sober accounts. At the Brooklyn Navy Yard, for instance, he noticed not only that there were Bibles near the sailors’ hammocks, but also that they appeared new and unused. This sense of significant detail is pervasive throughout the journal. Scott’s dislike of Pittsburgh is evident in a telling comment on dirty sidewalks covered with frozen dishwater.

Of particular interest are the numerous descriptions of prominent persons. In Richmond, he glimpses an aging Dolly Madison adjusting her cap before a mirror, and describes her eighty-five-year-old husband’s face as covered with a mass of tiny wrinkles. During one of two visits to Baltimore, he sees Charles Carroll of Carrollton riding with other gentlemen in an experimental horse-drawn railroad carriage, his long white hair streaming in the wind. Much later, speaking of a congressman in Washington, Scott uses the phrase, “taking a description of him” (p. 70), suggesting that his more formal word portraits followed a set scheme. The result is a mechanical quality in some of them, but their value is nonetheless real. Where else would one learn that John C. Calhoun’s coarse black hair stuck out on all sides, or that Daniel Webster’s sallow complexion had the effect of giving him “a gastly appearance” (p. 76)?

As the son of the warden of Kentucky’s Frankfort penitentiary, Scott made a point of visiting several of the major prisons of his day, and his descriptions of these are also of interest. At the Maryland Penitentiary in Baltimore, he speaks of the prisoners working at dozens of looms to produce striped cotton cloth. His observations on prisons and houses of refuge for juveniles, however, are those of a

comfortable middle-class youth with little understanding of the possible relationship between crime and poverty. At Philadelphia's criminal court, he could say only that it was in the possession of "wenches, pickpockets, negroes & rascals" (p. 58). Similarly, visiting a mill in Steubenville, he spoke of the boys and girls who performed the work simply in the context of their dirty and unkempt appearance. The darker implications of child labor were lost upon him.

When he returned to Frankfort early in 1830, Scott practiced law briefly, married, and became a prosperous farmer whose fortunes declined only with the end of slavery after the Civil War. The journal's editor, Thomas D. Clark, provides a long account of this latter part of Scott's life—as long, in fact, as the journal itself. But it is the journal that will draw the reader to return for further re-readings, by the immediacy with which it brings to life an America still so open and informal that common citizens like Scott could mingle in the same company as the president himself at public balls.

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*Major Butler's Legacy: Five Generations of a Slaveholding Family.* By Malcolm Bell, Jr. (Brown Thrasher Books. Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1987. Pp. xxiv, 673. Appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95)

The third son of an Irish baronet, Pierce Butler was a major in the British army until his marriage in 1771 to a South Carolina heiress turned him into a low country planter and then into an American patriot. With proceeds from the sale of his army commission, he purchased plantations on the estuary of Georgia's Altamaha River and initiated a multi-generational dependency on the labor of some nine hundred slaves. The story of his family's interaction with the slaves they owned (complete with many remarkable photographs) reads like a masterfully unfolded saga graphically depicting for us a phenomenon which today we can scarcely imagine.

Assertive and confident, Butler was selected as a delegate to the 1787 Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, where he worked for a strong central government, argued for the "three-fifths" method to determine representation (thus legalizing the inferior status of the negro) and proposed the Fugitive Slave Law. Without abandoning his vast holdings in the South, he decided to remain in Philadelphia and rule his estate through the services of his Connecticut-born manager, Roswell King.

When Major Butler's only son Thomas demonstrated that he had "no just claim to brilliance of parts" (p. 200), they became estranged and he transferred his affection to his grandsons, provided that the youngsters agreed to adopt their mother's maiden name. Thus appeared a second Pierce Butler, husband of English actress Fanny Kemble, easily the most sympathetic character in the book.

Butler had become obsessed with Fanny's legendary beauty, and she as an itinerant actress of limited means was attracted by his promise of a comfortable life together. But their temperaments did not mesh, and Fanny, to whom slavery

as an institution was already offensive long before she came to experience it as the personal nightmare that she described in her journal of 1838-1839, left him for good in 1846.

In August 1861 Pierce Butler, who made no secret in Philadelphia of his Southern interests, was arrested and sent to Fort Hamilton, New York. Marylanders will chuckle as they read diarist Sidney George Fisher's comments that certainly Butler "will meet there a number of gentlemen from Baltimore, prisoners like himself & congenial companions" (p. 349).

After Appomattox, Pierce Butler and his faithful daughter Fanny went South to try to make the plantations turn a profit. But the uninspired labors of the freedmen coupled with poor weather forced Fanny to sell the properties at a terrific loss not long after her father's death in 1867. The last of the Butler holdings in Philadelphia were sold in 1924 by Butler's grandson, Owen Wister, author of *The Virginian*.

After Theodore Roosevelt, himself a scion of up-country South Carolinians, became president, Wister sent him a copy of his novel, *Lady Baltimore* (named for a South Carolina confection) and received a fifteen-page typewritten response accusing him of racism. But Bell's toppling blow against Wister comes with the revelation that in a 1923 talk at Harvard the novelist spoke against "excessive" admission of blacks and Jews. There were already adequate places where blacks could be taught the things for which their brains were adapted, he reasoned.

Bell has been criticized for including too much detail about plantation life (he tells us, for example, that a "wretched negress" named Teresa was flogged for complaining to Fanny Kemble about hard work, and that a worker on Sidney Fisher's Maryland farm gave only the views on black suffrage that his white employer wished to hear), but aren't these details precisely what we yearn for in our history books to help us recreate the elusive past? Some reviewers have also criticized Bell for not sympathizing enough with the antebellum slaveholder, yet really how can any modern historian be an apologist for practice of owning slaves?

Bell's final word on Major Butler and his contribution is in fact rather negative. Although Major Butler helped to reconcile unity with diversity at the Constitutional Convention and helped to make a significant advance in the annals of human liberty, he and the other South Carolina delegates at the same time helped to make the constitution something less than what it might have been, and their victory to preserve slavery as a national institution was a festering sore that would suppurate only by dint of civil war.

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*Neither Heroine nor Fool: Anna Ella Carroll of Maryland.* By Janet L. Coryell. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1990. Pp. x, 177. Notes, bibliography, index. \$22.)

Few romantic Maryland legends have been as persistent as that of Anna Ella Carroll. In the press and in several novels over the past century, writes Janet

Coryell, "the legend grew of a noble and self-sacrificing woman who had saved the Union..." (p. 110). Even the noted columnist William Safire sketched Anna Carroll in glowing terms in his novel, *Freedom*.

A determined and ambitious woman from Somerset County on the Eastern Shore, Carroll sought to shape the course of mid-nineteenth century American politics as an author, pamphleteer, political strategist, and manipulator. Before the Civil War, Carroll was well-known for her defense of Millard Fillmore and the Know-Nothing movement.

When the Civil War erupted, Carroll used her not inconsiderable womanly skills to crusade for the Union and devise a military strategy for the northern invasion of Tennessee. Despite Victorian restraints on feminine social and political behavior, Carroll managed to be one of the most influential women of her time.

Legends, however, often obscure the truth and Coryell's carefully researched biography is a far from flattering assessment of Carroll. At her best, Coryell writes, Carroll was neither heroine nor fool but a talented woman of her age. At her worst she was an anti-Catholic fanatic, a shrewish manipulator and a coat-tails opportunist. Plagued by the debts of her illustrious father, Thomas King Carroll and her own financial problem, she schemed constantly for money and preferment.

Coryell sums up Anna Ella Carroll in the following manner: "Obsessed with a desire for power, attention, recognition, and reward, she constantly reinterpreted her own actions and misinterpreted the actions of others until the conclusion filled her needs, however far from reality that conclusion might be" (p. 50).

Anna Ella Carroll spent most of her life defending her claim for compensation from the federal government for her services as a military strategist during the Civil War. Carroll and her numerous allies claimed that she was the architect of the Tennessee River invasion strategy that enabled General Grant to penetrate the Confederate West in 1862 and win a major victory at the Battle of Shiloh. Neither President Lincoln nor the United States Congress believed that she deserved either credit or compensation for a plan that had been sketched on a broad canvas of military decision-making by generals Henry Wager Halleck, Ulysses S. Grant, and others.

Carroll, however, was a skillful propagandist and had wide support from influential citizens. After her death in 1894 Carroll's cause was taken over by feminists in the suffrage movement, but the awards and accolades for her accomplishments failed to materialize.

For the historian, notes Coryell, Anna Ella Carroll is more important as a woman activist in the nineteenth century. That she functioned outside the woman's sphere as a noted writer and publicist is more important than whether she engineered the Tennessee strategy. "Feeling free to write on all sorts of subjects, Carroll exemplified the lettered women and men of the Victorian era who were amateur experts and believed learning and scholarship were inclusive rather than exclusive, and should be shared with others, whether as commentary or as advice" (pp. 123-24).

In the main, Carroll was a persistent, not entirely likeable public woman who labored for causes she believed in, and Janet Coryell has done an excellent job of presenting a balanced appraisal of Carroll's life and work.

*Neither Heroine nor Fool* is a fascinating piece of historical detective work that strips away the legend and gives us a very determined and very human Maryland lady.

JOHN R. WENNERSTEN

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*Rebel Watchdog: The Confederate States Army Provost Guard.* By Kenneth Radley. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989. Pp. xvii, 340. Illus. Personnel and unit rosters, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

An army is a type of community, with its own laws, customs, and social practices. The provost marshal of an army is essentially its chief of police. The commanding general assigned an officer to this duty, usually for a limited time; the “constables” or provost guard similarly were detailed to perform the tasks required of military police, or so it was until modern times, when the military police, or MPs, have become an organized component. (Still, we preserve the informality of olden times when a company commander assigns a lieutenant to the duty of mess officer and the sergeant assigns enlisted men to duty as kitchen police, KPs.) As our interest in the American Civil War has broadened over the past half century, and we have come to look beyond generals and stirring, set-piece battles to seek an understanding of war and warriors, we have deepened our appreciation of Confederate (and Union) war-making. This has come about, in part, because of specialized studies—studies of the various arms, the men in the ranks, foreigners in an Anglo Saxon army, finance and supply, the engineers, the rail system, military medicine, music, the command system, the chaplains—even General Lee’s horse supply and salt. Each of these studies adds to our knowledge and contributes to the more fully informed appraisal of the Confederate experience that is yet to come. Somehow no one had considered the Confederate army’s “policemen” before. Once drawn to the subject, one can only wonder that it took so long. It has come about as the result of interest, professional curiosity, and excellent research by a Canadian army officer.

Lieutenant Colonel Radley is an able guide. He approaches his subject in an organized manner and writes with a lean, spare style that befits a soldier. His professional knowledge emerges in characterizing the cancer of straggling and desertion (What might Lee have done with 15,000 more men at Sharpsburg? What might the Confederacy have done in the winter of 1864-65 with the estimated 100,000 deserters at large?); his experience is evident in assessing march discipline and procedures (pp. 104-105). The breadth and depth of his research is impressive, the more so from outside the United States.

The duties assigned the provost guard reveal the scope of the book: First and foremost, the provost assisted the commanding general in maintaining discipline, backing up the officers and non-commissioned officers of the army, an army whose reputation for individuality and resistance to discipline was part of its legend. Drunk and disorderly conduct, crimes, prostitution, gambling, pillaging, even loose talk of advantage to the enemy could bring down these military policemen.

They went after deserters and stragglers; they guarded prisoners, prisons, hospitals, and government stores; they enforced conscription and the impressment of black workmen; they interrogated prisoners, guarded the railroads, controlled ship departures from Confederate ports, and engaged in counterespionage. They were judge, jailer, and executioner, administrators of martial law. They administered a strict control over movement involving the lines of the army. Perhaps in no other single way did the provost marshal and his men incur so much popular wrath as in controlling freedom of movement—checking soldiers' leave authorizations or movement orders. Over time the quality of manpower available for provost duty declined, even as the tasks mounted. "It seemed that whatever they did they were wrong, useless, and ineffective, never there when they were required, and yet, at the same time, they were guilty of unwarranted interference, skulking from the army, and much other intolerable behavior. This was the particular provost dilemma: there was no pleasing anyone; it was possible only to offend and annoy. The army, the press, the judiciary, the state governments, the Confederate Congress, and the people were unanimous—everyone loathed the corrupt, incompetent, cowardly, 'plug-ugly' provost!" (pp. 253-54). And yet Radley's conclusion and professional assessment is that the Confederate army's provost system, given circumstances and lack of precedent, was generally commendable in performance.

The Marylander, recalling John Winder, and seeing the word "plug-ugly," will wish for greater detail in some aspects. The tarnished silver shield badge, "C.S. Detective" in the collection of the Maryland Historical Society begs for greater understanding of how the detective system worked, especially against espionage and subversion. But Radley has laid the groundwork. This is an essential book in the well-stocked library of the student of the Confederacy.

DAVID WINFRED GADDY  
*New Carrollton*

*Perspectives on the American Catholic Church: 1789-1989.* Edited by Stephen J. Vicchio and Virginia Geiger, S.S.N.D. (Westminster, Md.: Christian Classics, 1989. Pp. xiv, 343. Notes, no index. \$24.95.)

It is fitting that two members of the faculty of a Catholic college in Baltimore—Notre Dame of Maryland—should offer a collection of historical reflections on American Catholicism on the occasion of the two-hundredth anniversary of the official establishment of the Catholic church in the United States in Baltimore itself. The editors have accomplished a remarkable feat in their recruitment of talent and expertise for the elucidation of a truly ambitious range of topics. Though most of the contributors are historians, several are drawn from other fields— theology, philosophy, and education. Their offerings, however, are historical in approach, covering the two-hundred-year span indicated in the title.

The editors contribute an essay each: Sister Virginia Geiger catalogues the expansion of episcopal jurisdictions and Stephen J. Vicchio the recurrent anti-Catholic manifestations in American life. For the rest, Dolores Liptak provides an

interpretive essay on Catholic immigration. Cyprian Davis chronicles the struggles of the black Catholic community, Margaret Susan Thompson the contributions of women to the Church. Patrick W. Carey traces the evolution of Catholic religious thought. Joel Ripinger expounds on monasticism in the United States and John A. Gurrieri on John Carroll and the liturgy. Harold Buetow offers an overview of the development of the Catholic school system while Philip Gleason focuses on Catholic higher education. Leslie Griffin follows the changes in sexual ethics and David F. Kelly in medical ethics in Catholic teaching. Robert F. Leavitt outlines lay involvement (or lack thereof) in the American Catholic church and Sonya Quitslund the contributions of laity and religious to an American Catholic spirituality. Mel Piehl ends the fifteen contributions with a portrayal of Catholic social reform.

All of the essays are well-written, clear, and informative. Many cover familiar ground, but all afford fresh insights or focal differences. Some are distillations of recent major works; some are books in embryo. Some are valuable as ground-breaking efforts in the overall history of American Catholicism, such as those on sexual and medical ethics. Liptak offers a challenging thesis on immigration. Carey's essay on religious thought has certainly probed deeper than any previous effort. Piehl has widened the horizons of Catholic social reform.

In coverage so wide-ranging, it is to be expected that there are lacunae. In his generous and telling examples of American nativism, for example, Vicchio omits any allusion to the American Protective Association or Protestant and Other Americans United. In a laudable focus on the role of women religious, Thompson is compelled to relegate Dorothy Day and Catherine de Hueck to a footnote. Ripinger covers almost exclusively Benedictine monasticism. Buetow's excellent overview of the development of the Catholic school system ends historically (though not philosophically) with the 1960s.

Viewing the work as a whole, however, one could hardly do better in the choice of a single volume in any effort to decipher the present state of American Catholicism and to determine how it reached that state. It is introductory in nature, signaling the areas that demand both attention now and resolution in the future.

If a common theme runs throughout, it is the perception that the Catholic Church in America is poised at midpoint in one of the great divides in history, the awareness of an inability to return to what it was but uncertainty as to the shape it will take. Optimism, however, pervades the essays. "One of the characteristics of maturity is a lack of fear," John Tracy Ellis observes in his foreword, "a readiness to encounter criticism with a serenity" that says much about "their sophistication and their mature approach." The "tone and content" of the essays, he adds, "are reassuring for the time ahead...as the human family reaches beyond the third millennium" (p. viii).

THOMAS W. SPALDING, C.F.X.  
*Spalding University*

*Swift Potomac's Lovely Daughter: Two Centuries of Georgetown through Students' Eyes.*  
Edited by Joseph Durkin, S.J. (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press,  
1990. Pp. xiii, 446. Notes, illustrations. \$14.95.)

This collection of twenty-seven student essays grew out of an undergraduate research seminar on the history of Georgetown University. The seminar was offered as part of the university's bicentennial celebration of its founding in 1789. Student papers are organized under five headings: the written word (college newspaper and literary magazine, undergraduate poetry and essays); the spoken word (debate and drama groups); students' lives (student government, traditions, social institutions, community service, coeducation, black and Latin American students, and so forth); sporting life (intramurals, crew, baseball, football, track, basketball); and books, buildings, and test tubes (the classics, architecture, chemistry).

The students undoubtedly benefitted from this opportunity to delve into the university archives and make their own discoveries. Most seem to have learned more about themselves by reading and thinking about their predecessors. The book will be enjoyed by students, faculty, alumni, and friends of Georgetown. Parts of it could also prove useful to historians of higher education.

The appeal of the book will not extend very far beyond these groups, however. Indeed, this is understandable given the origins of the volume itself as a set of discrete research exercises; publication was apparently only an afterthought. The result, then, is a book that inevitably feels cobbled together, lacking in unity even within its various sections. Not only does the reader jump from one theme to the next with no sense of any order or design; he or she also encounters both too much on some topics and not enough on subjects just as significant as the ones treated.

All of the essays are competently executed, and some—such as the piece on the literary efforts of Georgetown students and the discussion of the move to coeducation—are of genuine interest even to non-Hoyas. What limits the appeal of all of these papers, though, is their extreme parochialism. It is pedagogically somewhat regrettable that these students were not encouraged to take their archival gleanings and examine them within a larger context: for example, how did comparable schools handle coeducation in the late sixties? A little extra work in the secondary literature would have taught these students even more about the craft and uses of history and would have resulted in a livelier study to boot. I was also a bit disappointed that the scope of the study was restricted to “student activities”; there is very little here on the students' actual coursework.

A curious but attractive feature of this book is that it is not only a history of Georgetown students from years gone by but also, implicitly, a picture of the student historians themselves, and thus of contemporary Georgetown. We gain clear impressions from the students' work of their own skills, interests, and predilections. To this reader, the students came across as a thoughtful, intelligent, caring group of individuals, and the university as a place with an enviably rich past and with fine prospects for the future.

DAVID HEIN  
*Hood College*

*Monument School of the People: A Sesquicentennial History of St. Mary's College of Maryland, 1840-1990.* By J. Frederick Fausz. (St. Mary's City, Maryland: St. Mary's College of Maryland, 1990. Pp. 159. Note on sources, appendices, index, illustrations. \$25.)

The physical appearance of *Monument School of the People*, reminiscent of a college yearbook printed on large glossy pages replete with pictures, might initially disconcert a reader anticipating a "standard" institutional history. Moreover, the absence of the customary scholarly paraphernalia of footnotes or endnotes and an alphabetical bibliography could reinforce this sense of the unusual. But, *caveat lector*: appearances in this case are deceiving. This book is, in fact, an attractive and well written scholarly institutional history.

The large-page format provides ample space for over one hundred pictures and almost fifty boxed quotations and source documents interpolated into the two-column text. More than mere embellishments, the illustrations, particularly the boxes containing quotations and photographs of documents, serve to replace what otherwise might have been largely unread footnotes. Moreover, the "Note on Sources" (pp. 150-51), providing bibliographical information chapter by chapter, is probably more useful in this instance than a standard alphabetical bibliography. As the author observes, "Despite the lack of footnotes or endnotes, *Monument School of the People* is a factually accurate account based on extensive primary and secondary sources. A fully annotated copy of the book will permanently reside in the Special Collections of the St. Mary's College library for consultation by future generations of researchers" (p. 150).

But why not *publish* the fully annotated version of the book? One suspects that the reason for choosing not to do so was to make the book as attractive and unforbidding as possible for general readers, particularly those with personal ties to St. Mary's, while also keeping down the cost of publication. The author's emotional commitment to the spirit of the institution also suggests an anticipated inside readership. Nonetheless, the importance of this book for students of Maryland history and of education in general should not be underestimated.

Many Marylanders seem unaware of the fact that St. Mary's College is "Maryland's oldest state-owned institution of higher education, its first public boarding school for females, its first junior college, and its only liberal arts college in the state system" (p. 8), and that it is also "unique as a living memorial to history" (p. 6). The school is a memorial to history by virtue of the act of incorporation, signed into law in 1840, which authorized the drawing of a state lottery to establish the institution and also made it clear that St. Mary's was "designed as a fitting, living, albeit belated, memorial to Maryland's bicentennial—the first and only American school founded as a monument to, and on the original site of, the colonial birthplace of any state" (p. 30). This connection with St. Mary's City, together with the author's manifest enthusiasm for the historic role of Maryland's first capital, accounts for the book's first chapter, devoted entirely to the seventeenth-century settling and development of the site of the "Monument School" and of the events the school was intended to memorialize. The book's remaining three chapters

recount successively the female seminary's first eighty-six years as a girl's boarding school (1840-1926), its period as a junior college (1926-64), and its subsequent promotion to the status of a four-year liberal arts college.

St. Mary's obvious historical importance raises the question of why *Monument School of the People* is, despite an 1887 directive of the board of trustees mandating the prompt writing of a history of St. Mary's Female Seminary, the first full treatment of this remarkable 150-year-old institution. One plausible explanation is the relative paucity of records kept by a girl's boarding school with—as recently as the early 1950s—fewer than one hundred full-time students. This lack of extensive documentation may also have contributed to the comparative brevity of this history despite its coverage of 150 years, not counting the first chapter devoted to seventeenth-century St. Mary's City.

In another decade or so this study should serve as the necessary prelude to a fully comprehensive history of what, today, is the still-young St. Mary's College of Maryland. The *Monument School of the People* will make possible a specific focusing by the institution's next historian on the four-year college. For the present, this history serves its purpose well, making an important contribution to public awareness of a remarkably little known or understood Maryland institution that is just now emerging into the wider prominence it deserves.

FREDERIC O. MUSSER  
Goucher College

✓ *Baltimore's Loyola. Loyola's Baltimore 1851-1986.* By Nicholas Varga. (Baltimore: The Maryland Historical Society, 1990. Pp. xvii, 595. Notes, index. \$29.95.)

1989-1990 has been a notable year for Maryland Catholic historiography. Both Thomas W. Spalding's *The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore. 1789-1989* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989) and the work under review, each long anticipated, rank among the finest institutional studies of the American Catholic community in the past generation.

Varga, like Spalding, has written an institutional history that is richly contextualized within the various environments (local, religious, educational) that shaped Loyola College and felt its influence. As his title suggests, the local community was an integral part of Loyola's history from its beginning and has remained so as the institution has evolved from a small, local school of primarily pre-college students to a major regional private institution of higher education.

The successor to St. Mary's College, which the Sulpicians conducted in Baltimore from 1803 to 1851, Loyola continued its tradition of providing a liberal arts education for the middle class of Baltimore. As the only college for men in the city, Loyola, like St. Mary's, attracted a substantial minority of students who were not Catholic. As Varga notes, the Jesuit school, far from being "a social and cultural citadel" for Catholics, served as a melting pot college, "a meeting ground for young men and families unlikely to associate in the larger community" (p. 145). As such it continued to reflect the ethnic and religious pluralism of an earlier, less seg-

mented America. Moreover, unlike other urban Catholic colleges of the era, few of the sons of the immigrant poor were among Loyola's students in its first half century.

The Jesuits themselves envisioned a large, socially diverse institution. The facilities at the Calvert Street site were designed to accommodate five hundred students, but enrollment never approached this capacity. With fewer than one-third of the city's young people between the ages of five and nineteen in school as late as the 1890s, it was difficult to attract enough students, especially with no endowment to provide scholarship or financial assistance. Only fifteen percent of the students, Varga found, continued to the college level. As early as its second decade the institution established a commercial course in response to persistent complaints that its classical curriculum was "useless to youth who had to make their living in America" (p. 65). Perennially threatening debts overcame periodic Jesuit resistance to this vocational drift in the curriculum. Loyola provided a critical mass of managers for local businesses (some 30 percent of its alumni) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

After the First World War draft removed most of the older students, there was thought of making Loyola a preparatory school only. Instead the college separated from the high school and moved from its confined quarters in the central city to Evergreen, part of the Garrett estate in the northern outskirts of Baltimore, thanks to the generosity of a woman in the Jesuits' Calvert Street parish, St. Ignatius. Ironically, the upscale change in location was accompanied by a downswing in the socio-economic status of Loyola's students during the 1920s. In the prosperous postwar decade its traditional middle class students were seeking their education outside the city, but their ranks were more than replenished by the sons of second or third generation immigrants who were upwardly mobile. Significantly the college's nickname, Greyhounds, which originated in the twenties, was chosen because of its Irish connection. So, too, the school colors (green and gray) reflected the Irish and southern orientation of students and administration. (Varga points out that most of the money for Jenkins Hall, the first academic building at Evergreen, was provided not by George Carrell Jenkins, a major benefactor to the institution, but by Joseph Kelly, a local political boss and bootleg saloon keeper, who understandably wished to remain anonymous.)

Philosophy became the core of a liberal arts curriculum that boasted of its traditional character. Both enrollments and tuition increased rapidly, a trend that the Depression slowed but did not reverse, as it forced many upper middle class Baltimoreans to stay in the city for their college education. A new program in business administration was instituted. By the end of the thirties the college was free of debt for the first time in its history.

Under the leadership of two particularly effective presidents, Edward Bunn and Vincent Beatty, the college entered the modern world of higher education in the 1940s and 1950s. An alumnus, Father Bunn (1938-1947) cultivated community leaders and involved them informally in the institution's direction. He was instrumental in integrating faculty and students within the network of national scholarly and professional organizations. He launched the first major development

campaign and increased the capital funds to provide for a major program of expansion. Even a nasty court case with Archbishop Michael Curley in 1941 over a disputed will Bunn turned to the college's favor when he won not only the court's decision but the community's sympathy for what was perceived as prelate powerplaying in seeking both the money and Bunn's ouster as president. With the end of World War II, enrollments soared over 1,500 as veterans were assisted by both state and federal governments to make their way back into society through a college education (Bunn's classmate, Governor Herbert O'Connor, had named him Chairman of the Maryland Educational Conference to coordinate this program).

Through the establishment of a collegial structure of academic planning and governance involving faculty, administration, alumni, and outside lay advisors, Father Beatty (1955-1964) accelerated the modernization of the institution and considerably democratized it, developments, Varga notes, that put Loyola in the vanguard of the emergence of Catholic higher education into the educational mainstream. Beatty also was successful in attracting a highly qualified faculty, especially in the sciences (many of them alumni). Since the 1890s science had had a high place in the college's curriculum. By the 1950s Loyola ranked among the top 10 percent in colleges whose graduates earned science doctorates. A decade later it outranked all other Jesuit colleges on a per capita basis in NSF grants. Under Beatty the college began to secure state and federal funds for an ambitious building program.

What Bunn and Beatty began, Father Joseph Sellinger has substantially developed over his twenty-five year tenure as president: the doubling of a physical plant that now includes satellite campuses, the tripling of faculty, an enrollment exceeding 6,000 students, a twenty-fold increase in budget. All this, Varga concludes, is the result "of a basic vision of excellence and timely response to circumstance" (p. 426) such as the development of an MBA program in the late sixties when there was no such offering in or near Baltimore. By 1970, there were four hundred in the program, and it continued to grow 13 percent a year. The absorption of Mount St. Agnes by Loyola in 1970 meant instant coeducation and a 50 percent increase in the undergraduate body. Dormitories and acquired apartment buildings changed the school from a commuting to a residential college which became more selective in drawing students from the entire Mid-Atlantic region. With the Supreme Court's decision in 1976 that Loyola, as well as other Catholic colleges qualified for state aid (*Roemer v. Board of Public Works*), it was assured a major source of funding for its future. Varga gives a balanced treatment to this recent history in much of which he was very involved, although at times the administrative detail gets a bit thick.

This engaging, gracefully written work richly captures the multi-layered history of one of the region's oldest and most dynamic educational and cultural resources.

R. EMMETT CURRAN, S.J.  
*Georgetown University*

*The History of Goucher College, 1930-1985.* By Frederic O. Musser. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990. Pp. xvi, 296. Appendix, notes, index, illustrations. \$32.50.)

Among educational institutions anniversaries, especially the centennial, are apt to evoke a commemorative history. And this work by Frederic Musser, professor of literature at Goucher, marks the 100th anniversary of the legal incorporation of Goucher College. Because the Knipp-Thomas volume covered Goucher's first fifty or so years, Professor Musser has focused on the period from 1930 to 1985. In the earlier history, only the first eight years of President David Robertson's administration could be covered. To provide a seamless narrative, this volume begins with the appointment of Robertson and continues through the centenary.

Professor Musser makes clear that his aim "was to present the facts without judgment" (p. 149), and this is the norm by which this book must be judged. It is generally arranged in chronological order with a section for each of the four presidents who have guided Goucher's development over the past fifty-five years. Within this framework chapters tend to focus on pertinent topics.

The story Musser tells is quite eventful and interesting. Despite the stringencies of the Depression and world war, President Robertson began the transfer of Goucher from its original site on St. Paul Street to its spacious campus in Baltimore County. He also restored a more collegial style of governance and impelled an adaptation of the curriculum to contemporary ideas and needs. His successor, Otto Kraushaar, completed the transfer and provided an attractive physical plant commensurate with the needs of the students and faculty. The next president, Marvin Perry, had to deal with the fiscal limitation and turbulence that generally afflicted American higher education after the mid-1960s. When Perry resigned in 1973 a nation-wide search for a replacement was instituted.

The result was an offer of the presidency to a familiar citizen of the Goucher community, Rhoda Dorsey. She came to the campus in 1954 as a teacher of history. In 1968 she accepted appointment as dean and was made acting president on Perry's departure. When finally offered the presidency Doctor Dorsey accepted on condition that trustees who voted for her understood that they would have to work more actively in behalf of the college, especially in regard to its financial health. And they did.

Dependent in large measure on tuition income, Goucher has in recent years reorganized its programs and shed excess faculty. These dismissals brought unwelcome publicity but were found legally sound by various courts. The most dramatic change—going coed—fell just beyond the chronological scope of the book but is thoroughly discussed in an appendix by Julie Roy Jeffrey, a professor of history.

Although there is attention to student and faculty life this is in the main a history from the top down and with very little attention to extra-campus developments. The main sources are minutes of trustee actions and those of various important agencies. Official reports leavened by participant interviews were also cited. The liveliest portions are derived from Otto Kraushaar's oral history. Some of the most interesting points have been relegated to the endnotes. The text is supplemented

with a wealth of pictures documenting campus life and developments. This work might be considered a suitable souvenir of the period.

NICHOLAS VARGA  
*Loyola College*

*Up from Washington: William Pickens and the Negro Struggle for Equality, 1900-1954.*

By Sheldon Avery. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989. Pp. 245. Notes, index. \$36.50.)

*Up from Washington* is the first full-length study of William Pickens, one of the pioneers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Until recently Pickens's life and contributions to the American civil rights movement were lost in the large shadow cast by the careers of W. E. B. DuBois and James Weldon Johnson.

As a "public life and times" biography, this study attempts to show how William Pickens evolved in the context of changing race relations philosophies in America. First as a young graduate of Talledega College, Pickens was an ardent nationalist and defender of the self-help philosophy articulated by Booker T. Washington. Later, Pickens broke with Washington over the issue of civil rights for the Negro. Like many of the "talented tenth" of his generation Pickens believed that the future of African-Americans lay in the vigorous enforcement of the Reconstruction amendments to the Constitution. At great hazard to his life and career, Pickens defied lynch law and the racial accommodationism of Washington and his Tuskegee machine. As an orator, publicist, and civil rights activist, Pickens quickly acquired a national reputation. He was part of the founding generation of the NAACP that first met in Ontario, Canada, in 1905. Pickens sustained himself through administrative posts at Morgan College in Baltimore and as a staff administrator for the NAACP. In both jobs his vitriolic speeches and stubborn individualism taxed the patience of his superiors. As a "race man" dedicated to equality and racial integration, Pickens clearly danced to the beat of his own drum. But he was too skillful a field organizer and orator to be dismissed. During the 1920s Pickens espoused a "New Negro" ideology, stressing that the burden of justice in America was on the backs of whites, not blacks. He also believed that the debt owed by the country to American blacks was perhaps unpayable. Also, like DuBois, Pickens saw that the race question went beyond America's borders. Despite his vitriol, Pickens never repudiated democratic capitalism, even during the 1930s, when the Communist Party seemed the most dynamic force for interracial change.

To know William Pickens is to know the bitter internecine squabbles of the NAACP in the years 1920-1943. To study him is to realize the complex forces that shaped the civil rights movement in America after the death of Booker T. Washington. Pickens himself was a complex figure who was both interested in furthering the race and feathering his own nest. Throughout his career he maintained an elegant residence on "Strivers' Row" in Harlem. Even his associates had difficulty sifting his soaring ambition and obnoxious contention from his pride of

race and faith in egalitarianism. Pickens's career was full of ironies. He championed the Scottsboro boys and opposed the New Deal. He castigated Booker T. Washington and returned to the Tuskegee philosophy late in life.

Avery neither praises nor attacks Pickens, seeing him as first and last a "race man." And as Avery reminds us, Pickens "was the most popular Negro orator during the years between Washington's death and the emergence in the 1950s of Martin Luther King, Jr." (p. 198). Thus Avery has given us a long overdue study of one of the most important men in the American civil rights crusade in this century. His book is well-researched and insightful. While we learn little of William Pickens, the private personality, we learn a great deal about the NAACP, its strong-willed personalities, and the civil rights struggle from 1905 to 1954.

Unfortunately, the book contains no pictures of William Pickens or his contemporaries.

JOHN R. WENNERSTEN

*University of Maryland, Eastern Shore*

*Washington: Behind the Monuments.* By Bruce I. Bustard. (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Trust Fund Board, 1990. Pp. v, 102. Illustrations, maps, suggested readings. \$9.95.)

Based on a 1990 National Archives exhibit by the same title, this book is profusely and attractively illustrated with materials drawn primarily from the National Archives and Records administration holdings. The text and illustrations provide an historical overview of the evolution of the capital city in the context of two centuries of city planning.

Part I deals with the federal city, its government buildings, its principal monuments and memorials, and the Mall. The text and captions weave an interesting commentary on the ebb and flow over the decades of various architectural styles, fads, and fashions and their interplay among the architects, sculptors, artists, politicians, and public servants who helped mold the city and provide the structures needed to house the governmental bureaucracy.

Unforeseen circumstance or shifts in public opinion have overridden the seemingly best laid plans. At the turn of the century, sandy soil under the Mall was responsible in part for halting that aspect of the McMillan Commission's design in which the Washington Monument was to rise from a great platform surrounded by terraced gardens. In other instances public displeasure deterred the wrecking balls to save the State, War, and Navy Building (now known as the Old Executive Office Building) and the Old Post Office, both of which have been newly refurbished. These structures occupy an affectionate corner in the hearts of many Washingtonians as well as architectural conservationists who feel they are almost hallowed landmarks and should stand as long as the pyramids. They are good examples of the thoughtful adaptation of structures to new uses as the needs of the public and private sector change over time.

Another popular city landmark, the Pension Building, also illustrates adaptive reuse. Designed and constructed from 1882 to 1887 under the direction of Gen. Montgomery Meigs, it served a multitude of war pensioners until 1926. With a tremendous, covered interior court surrounded by eight eighty-nine-foot Corinthian columns, it has been the site of several inaugural balls—the most recent being for President George Bush. For a time the building housed District of Columbia courts, but it is now home for the National Building Museum. Of Renaissance Revival architecture, the Pension Building's most distinctive feature is a terra-cotta frieze depicting Civil War soldiers and sailors.

Part 2 treats Washington as "Home," a place of residence, with "70 distinctively identifiable neighborhoods" (p. 78), and some of the supporting institutions such as those of transport, education, public safety, and charity. From this perspective, as a place of residence, the city emerges as a typical American municipality with communities of varying economic, social, and racial makeup which today include a wide diversity of ethnic groups such as Chinese-Americans in Chinatown and Hispanics in Adams-Morgan.

One feels some of the dynamics of a great capital in *Washington: Behind the Monuments*—the interaction of the American public and the seat of federal power as seen in the surge of municipal and national political causes, mournings, and celebrations in and among the city's avenues, monuments, and parks: a 1913 suffragists' march, the 1932 bonus marchers, a 1945 protest against lynching in Georgia in front of the White House, the 1963 Poor People's march, John Kennedy's funeral procession, and a 1979 Adams-Morgan ethnic festival. The narration of these events would have a greater sense of timeliness if it ended with an objective account of the development of the Vietnam Memorial and some of the controversies that continue to swirl around it.

For visitors and old Washingtonians alike, this overview of the capital city adds dimensions that make the city-scape more understandable and more meaningful; it invites more reading and on-site exploration. For the student of history it suggests the richness of the pictorial and map resources of the National Archives as well as the Library of Congress. It also suggests similar studies that would be valuable in examining the history of city and town planning of Baltimore and other Maryland communities. (The exhibit, "Washington: Behind the Monuments," will continue at the National Archives until April 1991.)

GILBERT GUDE  
*Bethesda*

*North Carolina Through Four Centuries.* By William S. Powell. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989. Pp. xv, 652. Appendixes, Further Reading, Index. \$29.95).

Pity the poor historian who chooses to write a narrative history of a state. No matter how careful and comprehensive he or she is, critics always will fault the author for some omission, some lack of emphasis, some glaring inattention to local

detail. The genre itself frequently is criticized for its alleged narrowness, filiopietism, and antiquarianism. Nevertheless, state histories always have had an important place in our classrooms and on our coffee tables, if not in our historical scholarship. And no state has been better served in this regard than North Carolina.

As early as 1908 the former Confederate officer Samuel A. Ashe published the first volume of his *History of North Carolina*. A second volume, tracing the state's past into the 1920s, appeared in 1925. This pioneering work established the topics that later generations of North Carolina historians would explore. In 1919, even before Ashe finished his history, three professional historians—R.D.W. Connor, William K. Boyd, and J.G. de Roulhac Hamilton—published the collaborative three-volume *History of North Carolina*. This work set the standard for a textbook on North Carolina history until 1954, when Hugh T. Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome published *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State*. This highly influential book, revised in 1963 and 1973 and reprinted many times, admirably served generations of Tar Heel students in North Carolina history courses. But as times have changed, so too have historians' interpretations and methodologies.

William S. Powell's new *North Carolina Through Four Centuries* marks an important turning point in the study and analysis of North Carolina's past. No better person could have been enlisted to write this book than Professor Powell. Since 1964 he has taught North Carolina history to more than 6,000 students at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Powell's legendary classes and numerous publications themselves have contributed significantly to the broad appeal of local history in North Carolina. And his unrivaled knowledge of both the primary materials in North Carolina archives and the rich secondary literature punctuate the pages of Powell's new book. It ranks as the most carefully organized, comprehensive, thoughtful, and well written history of North Carolina available.

Having said this, it is unfortunate that in some ways *North Carolina Through Four Centuries* is standard textbook fare. Powell takes his time (244 pages and eleven chapters bring the story only up to 1819) covering the state's early history. He rushes through the more recent past though, devoting only five chapters (116 pages) to the twentieth century. Readers will be disappointed with this inattention to the contemporary period, all the more so because Powell admits that "events that occurred in North Carolina during the quarter century after 1940 probably made a greater impression on the state than any like period in its history" (p. 516). And all too often when discussing recent history, Powell slips into a mere recitation of North Carolina's accomplishments. Another weakness of the book is that women, white as well as black, while not neglected from Powell's consideration, never really are integrated fully into the story. As a result, seemingly more attention is devoted to women's gains in the political arena than to their broad and important role as laborers in both industrial and farm sectors.

Fortunately Powell succeeds better in his treatment of blacks, Indians, and especially race relations. Early in the book he notes that "Greed and envy, a feeling of racial superiority, and an indifference to human suffering" (p. 27) characterized the attitudes of most early white Carolinians to the native peoples they encountered. White racism, individualism, and ignorance bred a conservatism and

provincialism that have marred race relations throughout North Carolina's long history. Even so, Powell suggests that white North Carolinians in the 1950s generally were less extreme in their responses to racial change than other white southerners; "characteristically," he writes, they "took a more reasoned approach than many people elsewhere" (p. 521). Whether or not readers agree with Powell's argument, they surely will welcome the considerable attention he devotes to the long struggle to overthrow segregationist practices in the state, especially the role of blacks in the civil rights revolution of the 1960s.

All in all, then, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries* provides a complete and balanced history of North Carolina as the state approaches the year 2000. Drawing upon a long tradition of state narrative histories, Powell has produced a high-quality volume, one that will satisfy most readers and will disarm even the most hardened of critics.

JOHN DAVID SMITH  
*North Carolina State University*

*History Museums in the United States: A Critical Assessment*. Edited by Warren Leon and Roy Rosenzweig. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989. Pp. xvi, 333. Illustrations, index. Cloth \$34.95; paper \$14.95.)

History museums in America have a long and curious past, and their place in today's society is ambiguous and uncertain. As centers of historical research and interpretation, they may be held to the standards of university scholarship, but they are also public amusements, competing for the "travel dollar" and leisure hour with every other form of recreation. History museums face, with varying degrees of success, the complex challenge of using historical interpretation both to instruct and entertain their highly diverse audiences.

This volume of thoughtful and strongly stated essays, whose authors straddle the academic and museum worlds, evaluates a broad range of historical sites, exhibits and programs, seeking to elevate the critique of history museums to a new level. The results are dispiriting: even the most generously funded, professionally staffed, and interpretively sophisticated history museums routinely fail to meet the reviewers' expectations.

Despite rapid professionalization and growing awareness of their capacity for influence, history museums remain for the most part miserably underfunded, mired in antique styles of presentation, and publicly ignored. While art and science museums have carved cozy and well-funded niches within the education/entertainment continuum, history museums, which constitute half the museums in the United States, serve only one-quarter of the country's museum audience, and spend only a fraction of the national museum budget. In a 1984 American Association for State and Local History survey cited by Thomas Schlereth (p. 312), the history museums which identified fund-raising and public relations as their greatest concerns far outnumbered those naming exhibits, interpretation, or education.

Even as they decry the “mickey-mouse” history which EPCOT and the commercial “pleasure grounds” encircling our major shrines purvey to an ever-receptive public, this group of critics finds little to appreciate in the work of most history museums. Accurate re-creations of historic villages, houses, and battlefields still pander to the nostalgic ideal of a trouble-free, homogeneous past. Living history is a powerful and popular technique, “but even the best” of its practitioners “generally fall far short” of accuracy and completeness in their presentations (p. 72). Although the major city history museums have expanded their missions to interpret the social history of urban development, as yet few exhibits at these institutions live up to the undertaking; most rely on dated techniques and concepts or misapply high-tech exhibit gadgetry. Among those singled out for praise, however, are the Peale Museum’s recently closed “Rowhouse” exhibit and the Baltimore Museum of Industry’s recreated work environments. Despite laudable and encouraging trends in higher standards of interpretation (generally attributed to the influence of the National Endowment for the Humanities), and the new attention to women, African-Americans, workers, technology, violence, domestic life, and war, widespread and substantial improvement still eludes the history museum field.

For the museum professional and historian, this book’s analysis of the history museum’s development and current status in America and its challenge for the future will be invaluable. Long awaited by many, these essays can spur the American history museum—and its audience—to look intelligently and seriously at its goals, its means, its products, and its role in our culture. They are already helping to define the next stages of growth.

BARRY KESSLER

*Baltimore City Life Museums*

## Books Received

*King's Reach and Seventeenth-Century Plantation Life* tells the story of an abandoned and long-forgotten Patuxent River tobacco plantation, now reconstructed at its site in Calvert County. In this attractive small volume—the first in a new series, Studies in Archaeology, to be published by the Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum—archeologist Dennis J. Pogue leads his readers through the process of excavation, discovery, and analysis. The Maryland Division of Historical and Cultural Programs sponsors the park and Pogue's work there, and the National Endowment for the Humanities supported the research that this booklet, with its many illustrations, makes so interesting and easy to follow.

Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum, \$5.95 (paper)

William W. Abbot, Dorothy Twohig, and the able editorial staff of *The Papers of George Washington* recently have published volume three in the presidential series, covering June-September, 1789. Leading documents include the new president's messages to Congress, documents concerned with diplomatic and Indian affairs, and long reports from the Treasury Department. The volume also includes a multitude of applications for federal office, one from Samuel Chase, writing from Baltimore. James McHenry comments on the applications from Maryland; Charles Carroll of Carrollton writes the president on behalf of the revolutionary veteran John Lynch. Here is a rich source of information on the new republic and formation of the federal government, but also on a great many families, petitioners, etc. The project provides an editorial model, and the University Press of Virginia deserves congratulations on another handsome volume.

University Press of Virginia, \$42.50

A must volume for military historians is *America's National Battlefield Parks: A Guide*, by Joseph E. Stevens, which contains thirty-eight chapters, one for each battlefield park administered by the National Park Service. Each chapter tells the story of a particular battle and presents detailed, self-guided walking and automobile tours keyed to National Park Service numbered-tour maps. The volume also contains fifty-two maps portraying battlefield troop movements and depicting present-day roads, trails, and visitor facilities. The text is further illustrated with eighty drawings, paintings, and modern and historic photographs. Crucial battles of the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the Civil War, the American Indian wars, and World War II are covered.

University of Oklahoma Press, \$29.95.

Another volume of interest to military historians and Civil War buffs alike is Fritz Haselberger's *Yanks from the South*, covering the battle at Rich Mountain, (West) Virginia, the first land campaign of the Civil War, which took place in the spring

and early summer of 1861. These “Yanks from the South,” northwestern Virginians whose sympathies lay with the Union, helped to defeat the Confederate forces in that area commanded by General Robert S. Garnett. Haselberger describes the battle without becoming mired in an endless list of military statistics and has skillfully used maps and photographs to illustrate his narrative.

Past Glories Press, \$22.00.

The recent PBS series on the Civil War, while done exceptionally well, could not go into some topics because of limits of time and viewer interest. One of them was the shift in American politics from Revolutionary republicanism to free-market Jacksonian democracy. The “identification of democracy and capitalism with republicanism transformed American political culture by the eve of Civil War,” argues Lloyd E. Ambrosius, professor of history at the University of Nebraska at Lincoln, in a new volume of essays. “Freedom now meant popular choice and individual opportunity for economic mobility, not the careful balancing of power in a hierarchical society.” Questions of choice, opportunity, and mobility dominated the debate leading up to war and also political discourse in the years that followed, at least until about 1890. *A Crisis in Republicanism: American Politics during the Civil War Era* brings together the work of several senior scholars—Thomas B. Alexander, John Niven, Philip S. Paludan, Harold M. Hyman, Hans L. Trefousse, and Joel Silbey—who discuss how this change affected the two-party system, the rhetoric of politics, and Reconstruction strategies among Republican party leaders. “That Lincoln and Johnson and their colleagues still inhabited the political world as originally defined by Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren,” writes Silbey in a concluding essay, “remains a central fact in our full understanding of Civil War politics.”

University of Nebraska Press, \$23.50

Marylanders have a right to be especially interested in the internal improvements that changed the face of nineteenth-century America. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and Chesapeake and Ohio Canal supplied two leading chapters in that story. Both projects owed a heavy debt to the Erie Canal, “an epochal event in the growth of the young United States.” Backers of the C&O sought to imitate the Erie’s success, while the B&O purposefully avoided doing so. Ronald Shaw’s *Erie Water West: A History of the Erie Canal, 1792-1854* first appeared in 1966 and long had been out of print until this University Press of Kentucky reprint. Shaw tells the story of the Erie in terms of its planning and financing, its cargoes and people, but mostly from the vantage point of contemporaries, who marveled at its dramatic scope and skillful engineering. This book will interest anyone who cares about the economics, technology, and flavor of James Fenimore Cooper’s America.

University Press of Kentucky, \$15 (paper)

# Notices

## MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY BOOK PRIZE

The Maryland Historical Society offers an annual prize of \$1,000 for the best book relating to Maryland history and culture published during the preceding two years.

Any work directly or indirectly relating to Maryland, fiction or non-fiction, is eligible. Books published during the calendar years 1989-90 are eligible in 1991. Publishers may submit multiple works.

Nominations must be made by the publisher, four copies of each nomination to be submitted by 15 March 1991. The prize will be announced in June. Please submit nominations to: Maryland Historical Society Book Prize Committee, Maryland Historical Society 201 W. Monument Street Baltimore, MD 21201.

## CIVIL WAR CONFERENCE SET BY STATE ARCHIVES

In Annapolis on Saturday, April 20, the Maryland State Archives will host a conference on the Civil War. Public interest in the war has been heightened by the recent PBS telecast of Ken Burns's miniseries. This conference will examine the role Marylanders played in the great national conflict.

Conference presenters will include Kevin Ruffner, discussing the Union and Confederate junior-officer corps from Maryland; Ross Kimmel, talking about Marylanders in the Confederate Army; and Daniel Carroll Toomey, discussing Marylanders in the Union Army. Brian Pohanka will discuss black soldiers, and State Archivist Edward C. Papenfuse will explain how copies of original records can be used to explore the postwar careers of blacks who enlisted in the Union Army. Agnes Callum, James Walker, Dr. Kay McElvey, and Patricia Melville will discuss the kinds of records that can be used to learn more about Marylanders during the period. William L. Brown III, who directed development of the new Civil War Museum at Gettysburg Battlefield, will talk about using artifacts to tell the story of the war.

This meeting will be the first annual Phebe R. Jacobsen Conference on Maryland History, named in honor of the well-known senior archivist who retired last June after thirty-one years with the Maryland State Archives. A reception honoring Mrs. Jacobsen, open to the general public as well as conference registrants, will follow the conference.

For information on the conference or the reception, contact Mimi Calver at (301) 974-3916 or write Jacobsen Civil War Conference, Maryland State Archives, 350 Rowe Blvd., Annapolis, MD 21401.

## RIVOIRE'S COLLECTION AT SOUTHERN MARYLAND STUDIES CENTER

The Southern Maryland Studies Center (SMSC) at Charles County Community College has recently received the collection of J. Richard Rivoire on the architectural history of Charles County, Maryland. Rivoire's donation includes his manuscript collection composed of thousands of slides, photographs, architectural drawings and extensive research materials developed over a twenty-year career. SMSC is on the college campus in La Plata, Maryland. For more information about the center, please telephone 301/934-2251, ext. 610.

## CULTURAL HERITAGE MAP DEPICTS PEOPLING OF MARYLAND

Maryland's diverse cultural heritage is captured for the first time ever in an illustrative map published this month by the Maryland Division of Historical and Cultural Programs. "We the People of Maryland," a project of the Maryland Ethnic Heritage Commission, outlines the state and its counties, then traces the arrival of ethnic groups beginning with Maryland's first settlement in 1634. This colorful wall-poster also notes that American Indians inhabited Maryland long before the first settlers and that descendants of some of the tribes still make their homes here. For more information or orders, please contact the Maryland Historical and Cultural Publications, Department of Housing and Community Development, 45 Calvert Street, Room 449, Annapolis, Maryland 21401-1907 or telephone 301/974-5585.

## ANCIENT ORDNANCE RESTORED AT MARYLAND'S FIRST CAPITAL

A demi-culverin cannon on exhibit at Historic St. Mary's City, the State outdoor museum at the site of Maryland's 17th-century capital, recently underwent restoration for the first time in nineteen years. Susan Hanna, museum conservator, stated that the cannon was almost certainly one of the eight pieces of heavy ordnance bought by the Calvert family in London in 1633 for the defense of their proposed colony in Maryland. This cannon, and others, came over aboard the *Ark*, and were also part of the armament of the 1634 fort built by the colonists as protection against the Indians, Spanish—and Virginians. Later this gun and its companions were sent to the fort at St. Inigoes.

## AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL CONFERENCE

The fourteenth annual conference of the Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society, Inc. will be held at the Holiday Inn-Capital in Washington, D.C., 2-4 May 1991. The theme for the conference will be, "Connections: Global Dimensions of the Black Experience." Activities are designed to meet a variety of genealogical and historical needs, as expressed in the evaluations from previous conferences. There will be a one-day workshop concerned with family research;

preregistration is required and participation is limited to the first fifty registrants. For additional information, please write to AAHGS, P.O. Box 73086, Washington, D.C. 20056-3086.

#### SECOND SOUTHERN CONFERENCE ON WOMEN'S HISTORY

The Southern Association for Women Historians will hold its second conference 7-8 June 1991 at Duke-UNC-Chapel Hill Center for Research on Women, UNC campus. The conference provides a forum for the delivery of scholarly presentations and the exchange of ideas relating to all aspects of women's history. For more information, please contact Professor Janet L. Coryell, Conference Director, Department of History, 7030 Haley Center, Auburn University, Alabama 36849.

#### WILDFOWL CARVING

The twenty-first annual Ward World Championship Wildfowl Carving Competition will be held at the Ocean City Convention Center, Ocean City, Maryland, 26-28 April 1991. Carvers from around the world compete for prizes totaling more than \$85,000. On Sunday, an auction of the bird carvings donated by entrants is scheduled. Admission is charged for adults, children under 12 years of age are admitted free. For more information telephone Jane Rollins, Events Coordinator, 800/742-4988.

#### HISTORIC HOME NEEDS TOUR GUIDES

The Volunteer Docent Program at The Rectory, formerly Old St. Paul's Rectory, will begin training classes in March 1991. Learn about Baltimore and spend just a few hours a month sharing the rich history of The Rectory. Day or evening opportunities with no previous experience required. For information, contact Whitney Forsyth, Docent Coordinator, at 685-2886.

#### THE COLUMBIAN QUINCENTENNARY SERIES

The Society for Historical Archaeology has published guides to the archaeological literature of the immigrant experience in America. Each guide focuses on an immigrant group representing different people from Europe, Africa, and Asia. For more information, please write the Society for Historical Archaeology, P.O. Box 30446, Tucson, Arizona 85751-0446.

## Maryland Picture Puzzle

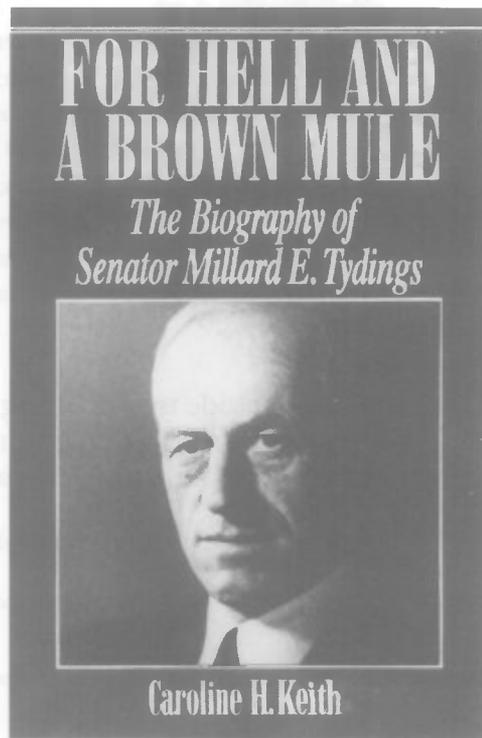
This issue's Picture Puzzle offers a slightly different challenge to its readers. The photograph, simply labelled "Grace Hill, X-Mas 1869," does not give a location. Can you identify the city and state in which this building was located and tell whether it still stands today? Note: it may not have been in Maryland. The Prints and Photographs Division will appreciate any information on this mysterious image. Please send your response to:

Prints and Photographs Division  
Maryland Historical Society  
201 W. Monument Street  
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

The winter 1990 Picture Puzzle shows the dedication of the bridge at Williamsport, Maryland, on 19 August 1909. The following persons correctly identified the fall 1990 Picture Puzzle: Brig. Gen. Albert M. Lettre, Mr. Raymond Martin, Mr. Percy Martin, James T. Wollon, Jr., Carlos P. Avery, Albert L. Morris, Wayne Schaumburg, John Riggs Orrick, and Edwin Schell.



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the controversial  
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who confronted  
Joe McCarthy*



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Caroline H. Keith

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Caroline H. Keith is a free-lance writer and former Editor of *The Maryland Historian*. The Maryland Historical Society is a co-sponsor of this book.

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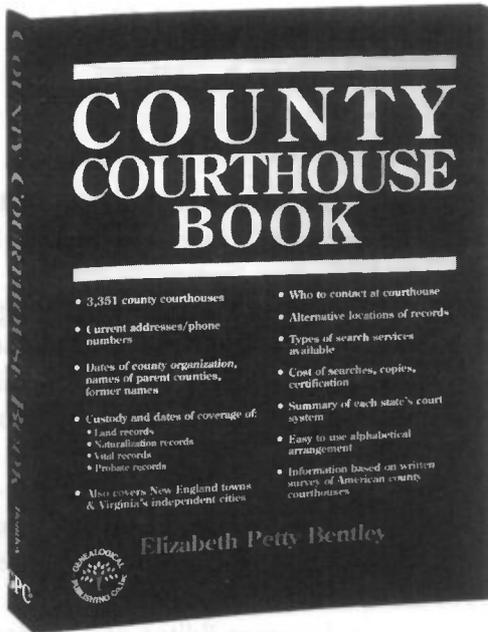


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Rosalie Stier Calvert and daughter Caroline Maria, portrait by Gilbert Stuart.

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edited by Don Swann, Jr.

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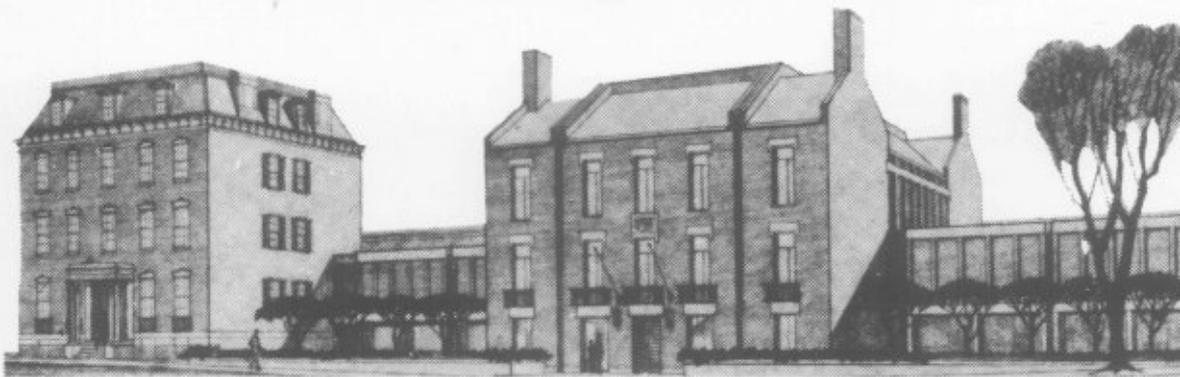
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