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THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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VOLUME 89



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Special Issue: Turf Sports in Maryland History

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Editor's Corner: Special issues call for special thanks, and this one proves the rule. Besides our contributors, many people gave extraordinarily of their time and energy to make this festive issue possible, and all of them have the editor's deep thanks: Mrs. Julia F. Colhoun, Ellen Jenkins Pollack and George Pollack, and Mr. Jack S. Griswold of the Maryland Hunt Cup Centennial Committee; Mr. J. Fife Symington, Jr., Mr. Stiles Tuttle Colwill, and Mr. Tom Voss; Mr. Middleton Evans; Mr. Jeff D. Goldman, Ms. Elizabeth B. Gordon, and Ms. Gregory R. Weidman of the Maryland Historical Society.

Cover designs: Front: Detail from Michael Lyne's untitled painting depicting the action at the eighteenth fence in 1966. Mountain Dew has just cleared the timber; Boating Party follows close behind. (Courtesy of Mrs. Katharine F. Jenkins.) Back: Detail from Middleton Evans's photograph of the 1987 renewal, one of the images that appeared in his *Maryland in Focus* (Baltimore, 1988).

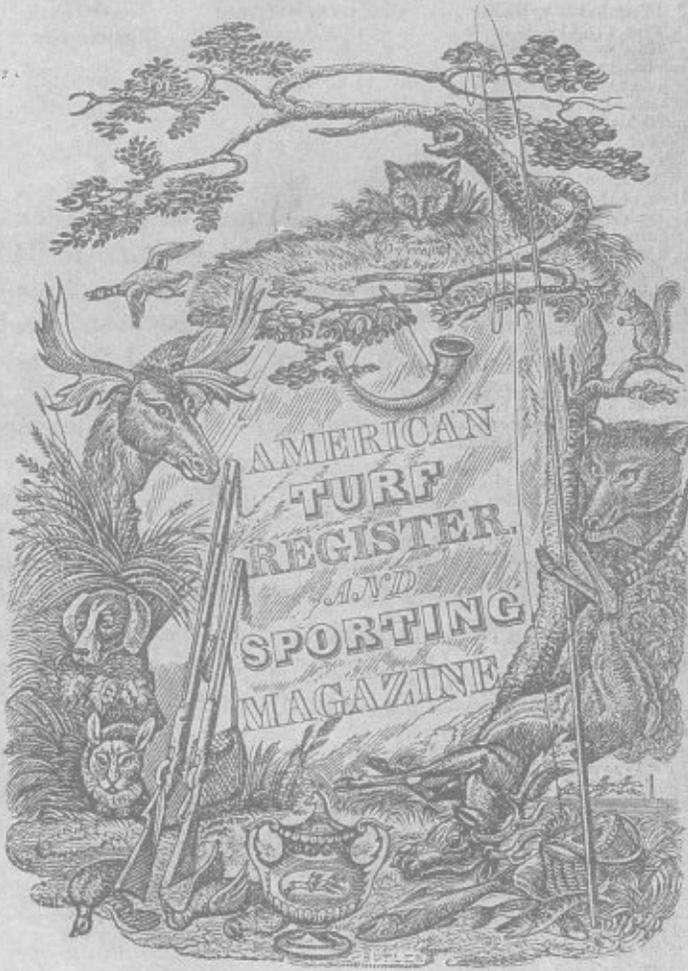
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VOI. V.

NOVEMBER, 1833.

NO. 3.



BALTIMORE:

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY J. S. SKINNER.

J. D. TOY, PRINTER.

3½ SHEETS—POSTAGE—100 miles and under 6 cents;—over 100 miles 10 cents.

The (light blue) cover of the *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine* when it was published in Baltimore.

The *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*: “A Quaint and Curious Volume of Forgotten Lore”

PEGRAM JOHNSON III

Maryland's early love of horses and field sports can be documented through a reappraisal of a unique publishing venture. Written, printed, and distributed monthly in Baltimore between September of 1829 and 1838, the *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine* is clearly one of the several most enduringly fascinating periodicals in American publishing history written prior to the War between the States. These early nineteenth-century sporting journals, which boasted a national readership, include much of interest to the historian, the horse enthusiast, the naturalist, the social commentator, and the general reader. Fairfax Harrison, the noted twentieth-century historian of the early Southern turf, found in the journal the “fragrant aroma of a dead past, which lingers in these pages, [and] must ever give them an abiding charm for everyone who finds gusto in country life and sport.”¹

The *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine* (hereafter abbreviated *ATR*) has served as a primary source for contemporary sporting enthusiast and historian Alexander Mackay-Smith in his two illuminating and superbly documented equine studies, *The Race Horses of America* (1981) and *The Colonial Quarter Race Horse* (1983). More recently, Patricia C. Click used the periodical from a sociological perspective in *The Spirit of the Times: Amusements in Nineteenth-Century Baltimore, Norfolk, and Richmond* (1989).² Ernest R. Gee devoted a whole chapter to the *ATR* in his seminal study, *Early American Sporting Books 1734 to 1844*.³ In his work first published in 1928, Gee wrote of his fond wish that a full reprint edition of the *ATR* might one day be issued.

In his bibliographic entry for the *ATR* in the *Race Horses of America*, Alexander Mackay-Smith summarizes his researches into the publishing history of the *ATR* and the *American Farmer*, an earlier publication of the *ATR*'s first editor, John Stuart Skinner. The *American Farmer*, a weekly, was also published in Baltimore from its inception in 1819 until 1829 when Skinner sold it. On January 21, 1825, the “Sporting Olio” was initiated in the *American Farmer*, the first regular sporting column to be published in the United States.⁴

The Reverend Mr. Johnson holds a doctorate in American literature and serves as rector of St. John's Parish, Accocek, Maryland.

The *ATR*, a monthly for most of its history, was founded and published in Baltimore from September, 1829, until 1838; it was published in New York from 1839–1844. In September of 1835 the periodical was sold to Gen. James West Pegram of Petersburg, Virginia, brother-in-law of William Ransom Johnson, the “Napoleon of the Turf,” and father of the noted Confederate officers, Gen. John Pegram and Col. William R. J. Pegram. From September 1835 until April 1836 Gideon B. Smith served as editor. Allen Jones Davie succeeded Smith from May 1836 until January 1837. In early 1837 the *ATR* was sold to Marylander Robert Gilmor of “Glen Ellen,” with Gideon B. Smith again serving as editor. In January of 1839 the *ATR* was sold to William T. Porter of New York, editor of the *Spirit of the Times*. Porter served as editor of the *ATR* until 1844. In March 1842 the *ATR* was acquired by the printer, John Richards, in whose hands it remained until it ceased publication in December 1844.⁵

Such are the bare facts of ownership and editorship. The only significant early nineteenth-century competitor of the *ATR*, both in length of run and wide readership, was the weekly sporting paper published from 1831 until well after the War between the States and called at various times *The Spirit of the Times and Life in New York*, *The Traveller and Spirit of the Times*, *Porter’s Spirit of the Times* and *Wilkes’ Spirit of the Times*. Other efforts at sporting papers proved to be short-lived until John H. Wallace began his nineteen-year run of *Wallace’s Monthly*.⁶

In his introductory essay of September 1829, Skinner laid out his plans for the *ATR*. He proposed a permanent record for the “performances and pedigrees of the bred horse,” hoping that an American stud book could eventually be compiled on the basis of this information. Additionally, Skinner would inform his readers regarding veterinary matters, rural sports such as “Racing, Trotting, Matches, Shooting, Hunting, Fishing, &c. together with original sketches of the *natural history and habits of American game of all kinds*.”⁷ The precedents for such a work were clearly English, especially the *English Sporting Magazine*, though Skinner promised a magazine that would be American. Nonetheless, he would use borrowings from abroad when necessitated by a shortage of native American material, as occurred particularly in later years of the publication.⁸

Skinner argued a recreational philosophy for the magazine, one based on the social interaction necessary to human growth and development found in the “friendly contentions and rivalries that characterize field sports.”⁹ In announcing the formation of the Baltimore Jockey Club, where horsemen from north or south or west could arrive well-rested by steamboat, Skinner wrote:

If it be true that the ‘proper study of mankind is man,’ then there is no school where that study can be made with more advantage than on a well attended and well managed race course; none where the subject of it is seen under a greater variety of costume, feeling, passion and character.¹⁰

Further, Skinner found in fox hunting a quintessential democratic institution,¹¹ a view that might surprise the modern reader.

Skinner solicited from his intended subscribers anecdotes of experiences written by “the plainest men in the ordinary walks of life,” promising in return a fine engraving in each issue.¹² He assured would-be contributors that what may seem of only ordinary interest to themselves may well prove to be of extraordinary interest to those whose experiences were different: “He, of the mountain, would be gratified with the simplest relations of the Angler on tide water; whilst the latter would gladly hear accounts of the habits, depredations and modes of pursuing and capturing the wolf, or the bear.”¹³ Finally, in order to ascertain the current state of the American thoroughbred, Skinner requested specific verified information from jockey clubs as to rules and regulations, weights, length of course, nature of soil, running time, names and ages of the horses, proprietors’ names, club history, and other lore. Skinner’s readers gladly complied, and the success of American horses and horsemanship was hotly debated in issue after issue.¹⁴

Though Skinner had assumed an artless posture, he generally embraced the grandiloquent style of the Victorians. As a purist totally devoted to the sporting mystique, he was quick to point out any usage he perceived to be inaccurate or inappropriate sporting terminology. Early in the second year of publication, in October, 1830, he commented in an extended note:

Sportsmen should preserve the *terms* that belong technically and by common consent to each sport. In field sports, of course we derive our language from England, there the terms are: when going out with hounds in the morning, and reaching the place of meeting, we *throw off* (or *cast off*) the hounds; we *rouse* a deer, *unkennel* a fox, or *start* a hare.¹⁵

Skinner identified over thirty such sporting terms that should be used accurately. On another occasion he called for more exact descriptions of horses, particularly in color, for purposes of greater consistency in the racing report abbreviations that were included in most issues. Skinner and his successors never lost sight of posterity and thus stressed the need for accuracy.

In the first issue, Skinner addressed a practical matter, the dispersal of information regarding stud services for blooded mares. He promised that if the owners of thoroughbred stallions would send in, before March of the next spring, the name, pedigree, location, age, and expected stud fee of their horses, then he would print the information at no charge to subscribers and a charge of one dollar to non-subscribers. The precedent was once again the *English Sporting Magazine*. Stud notices were to become a regular—and useful—feature of the *ATR* throughout its history,¹⁶ though most were not so creative as the rather ribald advertisement in verse that appeared in August 1833:

This stallion of a sterling race, just five years old in May,
Will stand this season at this place, on every seventh day;
And since the days of Noah’s flood no horse has stood so cheap:
I ask you, notwithstanding *blood*, nine shillings for a leap.

...

'Tis quite the fashion now, you know, to prate of pedigrees,
 And have certificates to show how *sure* your stallion is.
 These things may doubts remove; (I have no doubt they are true;)
 But if the pudding you would prove, take up the bag and chew.
 And if you try him, I'll insure that you will never rue it:
 He has (and, pray, what horse has more?) the *very tools* to do it.¹⁷

In soliciting such advertising, Skinner hoped of course to give some financial stability to the periodical. Subscriptions were always in short supply, and editors were constantly pleading for more subscribers and for catch-up payments by those subscribers who were behind. In a carefully reasoned article in November 1837 entitled "Patronage of Jockey Clubs, &c.," the then current editor argued that the value of the blood horse would only be maintained and raised if sufficient financial support was forthcoming for jockey clubs and for the *ATR* in its attempts to provide a stud book record in its pages.¹⁸

The generalized passion for racing in the South which the *ATR* traded upon can be illustrated in an account of the Tree Hill races which commenced on 20 October 1829.¹⁹ Col. William Ransom Johnson ran his horse *Star*, by Virginian, against William Wynn's mare, *Kate Kearney*, by the famous *Sir Archy*, on the third day of the races on the track near Richmond. The interest was so intense that Mr. Dickson, Richmond theater producer, introduced a comic song into his play the next night, which, according to the *ATR*, "was received with great applause by the audience, many of whom had witnessed the triumph of Col. Johnson's black horse, *Star*":

Full blooded nags, the Southernns boast
 And Jockeys dress'd so smart, sirs!
 All rang'd before the judging post
 They wait the word to start, sirs!
 The word is given from the stand,
 The black horse takes the lead, sirs;
 The mare is running hard in hand,
 She's-old Virginia breed, sirs.
 And old Virginia's up to tricks,
 No matter what the case is;
 Her horses, men, and politics
 Have run some famous races.
 The Black *Star* now has got the track,
Kate Kearney at his side, sirs,
 And now the whips begin to crack,
 And now their bottom's try'd, sirs.
 'Tis Pat O'Brian cries "who'll stake,
 The Bay for twenty pounds, sirs;
 Ould Ireland's color for her sake,
 I'll bet you all around, sirs;
 Och! *Kate Kearney* is the nag for me,



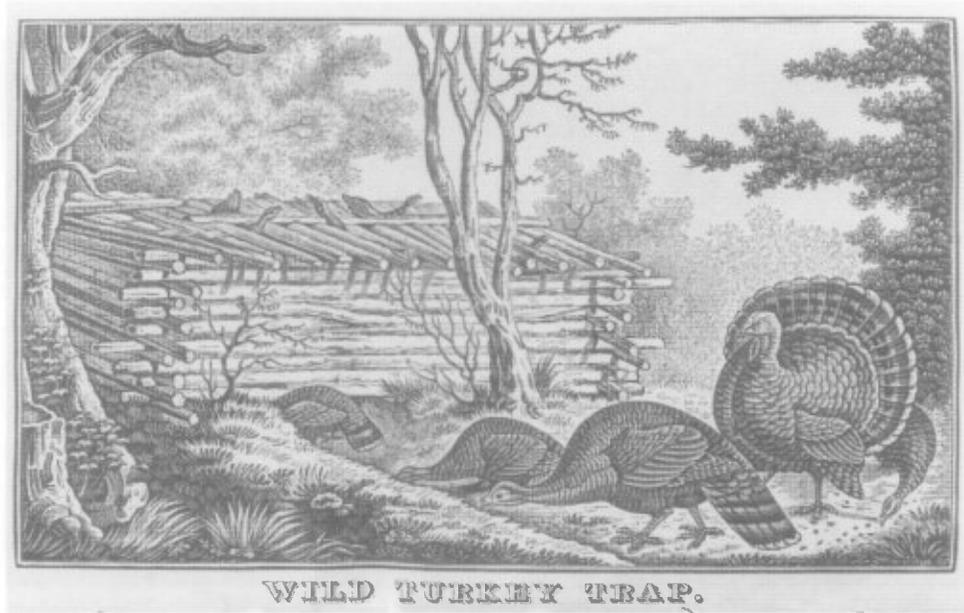
“Spearing a Bull.” The *American Turf Register* described and pictured various field and blood sports, including some of the more exotic. (ATR, April 1834.)

She'll win it, I'll *enshure* her,
 The darling *baste*, why don't you see,
 She drives the *Star* before her.”²⁰

Colonel Johnson often led the Southern contingent in the famous series of contests generally known as the Great North/South Races run on the Union Course on Long Island in New York. In these races regional loyalties prevailed. The intense sectionalism and pride of place may readily be understood as illustrative of the underlying animosities that would break out in a fury in the War between the States.²¹

Skinner was eager to heighten interest in field sports by reference to participation by prominent political figures of the day. In a note on deer hunting in the April 1830 issue, he wrote:

As a memorable instance in support of our constant doctrine, that the sports of the field, while they invigorate the body, exhilarate and prepare the mind for its greatest exertion, we are gratified to be able, from the best authority, to record, that George Mason, at the same time that he stood in the foremost rank of the stern patriots and accomplished statesmen, was known as one of the best shots and keenest sportsmen of his day. Gen. Washington, Gov. Sharpe of Maryland, Col. Fairfax, Col. Blackburn, and other distinguished men, before and after the Revolution, were often the guests of his hospitable mansion, and associates in the hunt on his grounds in Dogue neck.²²



A number of issues described American game, such as the wild turkey, at great length. (*ATR*, November 1833.)

For the modern reader, particularly those with little sympathy for the so-called blood sports, knowledge of nineteenth-century attitudes towards nature may well reinforce their worst fears. Nature and its bounty were to be enjoyed. The American continent was marked by abundance; why not enjoy its spoils? Though the *ATR* provided charts for recording the specifics of one's kill on the hunt, the sense of sportsmanship in the early nineteenth century did sometimes include the practice of restraint. For example, a correspondent signing himself "Ranger" wrote a letter published in the July 1830 issue protesting shooting game out of season. He tells of the depletion of grouse which had been plentiful thirty-five years previously:

The young birds are hatched in all the month of June, and, consequently, are about six weeks old in August, when those barbarous *soi disant* sportsmen sally forth and commence their slaughter of them most unmercifully. I have heard of one company, in the month of August, killing upwards of ninety grouse in one day, and before they left the ground, the birds were spoiled, so that they placed them on trees, and left the greater part of them as unfit for use, being so offensive that they were not worth taking home.²³

The correspondent later lobbied for better game management laws, predicting that without them much game would shortly become extinct. The passion for hunting sometimes reached truly astounding proportions, as in the account from an English paper quoted approvingly in the December 1834 edition:

As Mr. Samuel Robinson of Melbourn, in this county, was shooting of the 1st of September, with a double-barreled gun, his gun burst and laid open his left hand, and otherwise injured him. But so keen was he after sport, that, after holding his wounded hand in water, at the sign of Sir Francis Burdett, for about an hour, he took a single-barreled gun, and traversed the remainder of the ground with his left hand in his bosom; and in that state, having the opportunity of firing five times, he killed four of his birds. —*Derby Reports*.²⁴

Occasionally the modern reader is surprised to find familiar names listed as correspondents of the *ATR*. One such was novelist James Fenimore Cooper of *Leatherstocking Tales* and *Last of the Mohicans* fame. In April 1831 Cooper wrote a letter ruminating on taming wild horses, correcting the name of the importer of a certain thoroughbred, and challenging what he perceived to be inaccurate historical interpretation of General Washington's situation at Brandywine in relation to the British.²⁵

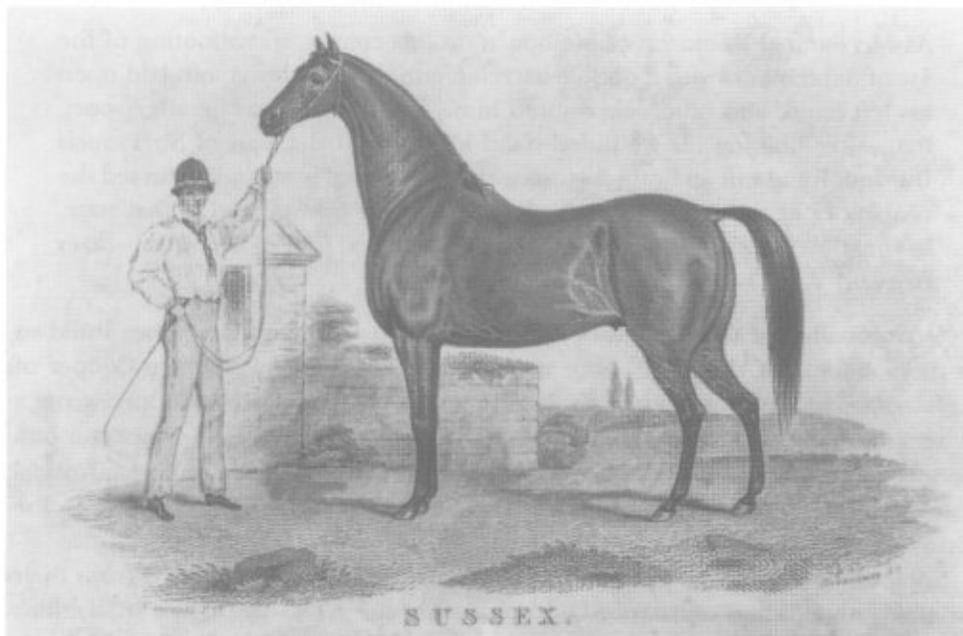
Sometimes writings by prominent people of the day were borrowed from their original contexts and reproduced in the pages of the *ATR*. In August 1838 editor Gideon B. Smith noted that he had secured a rare copy of John Jacob Audubon's *American Ornithological Biography* from which he intended to make extracts:

We begin with the following sketch of the wild horse, from which we think our readers will derive both pleasure and instruction. We also copy from it a very pleasant article, entitled 'Fishing in the Ohio;' and in future numbers shall continue to copy freely from the work, especially the descriptions, habits, &c. of birds most interesting to sportsmen.²⁶

Another such contributor was the artist George Catlin, whose work continues to be appreciated today. Catlin was primarily known for his portrayal of Native American and other Western scenes; not so well known are his literary efforts as illustrated in the lengthy article printed in August 1836 entitled "Indian Scenes," originally written "To the Editor of the Evening Star."²⁷ Engravings of some of Catlin's paintings also graced the *ATR* and represent some of the best art reproduced in its pages.

Washington Irving, the prominent and prolific literary figure who immortalized the Hudson River Valley of New York, wrote to the *ATR* in January 1838 amusingly describing the frustration that marks the experience of many a would-be angler:

I recollect also, that after toiling and watching and creeping about for the greater part of a day, with scarcely any success, in spite of all our admirable apparatus, a lubberly country urchin came down from the hills, with a rod made from the branch of a tree, a few yards of twine, and, as heaven shall help me! I believe a crooked pin for a hook, baited with a vile earth worm—and in half an hour caught more fish than we had nibbles throughout the day.²⁸



Sussex, a thoroughbred owned by Col. J. M. Selden, described by Col. W. R. Johnson as “a fine racehorse and of the *first family*.” (*ATR*, February 1834.)

Not surprisingly, the quality of the engravings that accompanied most issues of the *ATR* varied considerably. In April 1831 a correspondent wrote some suggestions regarding horse portraiture. Referring to an article by the Reverend Mr. Daniel, author of the well known English *Rural Sports*, the correspondent commended the *ATR*'s use of engravings from portraits by the famous English equine artist George Stubbs. He suggested that it was not so important to have a “*handsome picture*” as a “*faithful representation* of all the features and points of the animal, whether good or bad.” He went on to suggest that engravings should be of horses distinguished by their own performance or horses whose blood lines are well represented by their offspring. The editor should not feel obligated to include horses simply on the basis of their pretty pictures or high sounding names, for to do so would be “as unreasonable as to ask the government of the United States, to repair a county road, or stop a gap in Tom O’Nokes’s mill-dam, which is broken by every August thunder gust.”²⁹

Engravings of American horses of note were not always easy to obtain, however. The July 1836 edition included a complaint that horse “owners are indifferent on the subject or wanting in liberality to furnish us the drawings, even when we encounter the expense of the engraving, as much for their benefit as the gratification of our subscribers.”³⁰

The *ATR* sought to give all sorts of practical advice to its readers. For example, the March 1836 issue included in illustration a “Plan of a Race Course” followed by

an article entitled "Rules For Laying Out a Race Course."³¹ At the time the popularity of racing had grown to the point that not only were there a number of public race courses but individual stud farms owners also often had their own race courses, as did Colonel Johnson at his training stables at Oakland in Chesterfield County, Virginia. Correspondents to the *ATR* regularly proposed Jockey Club regulations and refinements.³²

Much of the practical advice from the periodical centered on veterinary matters. Correspondents would write at length of their experiences in trying to cure a variety of diseases. Whenever it appeared the last word must surely have been said, a writer would send in yet another prescription to cure some equine disease.³³

Occasionally strident editorials appeared. In March 1833 in an essay headed "A Word for Ourselves," Skinner pointed out that he had been a veritable pioneer in his former publication in the field of agriculture and in the current publication in matters of the turf, venturing forth without being able to foresee the response of the public to his efforts. The *American Farmer*, he asserted, had proven to be a "national repository" of labor-saving improvements for agriculture and domestic life. During the eleven years of his editorship he had never had to endure charges of "sinister management." Claiming a readership in all the states, Skinner took credit for increasing the value of thoroughbreds by clarifying blood lines and racing history for public record. Skinner then moved to the heart of the matter by taking umbrage at being charged with "wilful partiality." Some readers had objected to the fact that the *ATR* was sometimes late in publishing material sent in. Others felt that their horses, of whatever merit, "do not stand out in bold relief on many pages of the Magazine." Skinner saved his most scathing words, however, for those who objected to the exposure of the false pedigrees they had sent in and on that basis canceled their subscriptions.³⁴

In the same editorial Skinner responded to one such critic by quoting an unnamed patron of the turf: "If any horse, advertised as thoroughbred, should have any flaw or doubt in his pedigree, or any adulteration of blood, it should be known by the public, and his owner [should he knowingly suppress the fact] would meet with censure and discredit." Of course such protestations did not settle the issue, and the *ATR* throughout its history dealt with charges and counter charges of spurious or inadequately documented pedigrees, as in the famous instance of the debate regarding the siring of the "American Godolphin Arabian," Sir Archy.³⁵ Blood line documentation in many instances was the word of one gentleman to another. Recriminations were often made against those whose claims of total recall in such matters could be subject to question. For example, Patrick Nisbett Edgar's *The American Race-Turf Register, Sportsman's Herald and General Stud Book* published in New York in 1833, an early attempt at systematization and primary documentation in American racing history, was considered by some to be highly biased and thereby flawed.³⁶

When William T. Porter, editor of the *Spirit of the Times*, took over editorship of the *ATR* early in 1839, he felt compelled to draft a gently ironic editorial poking fun at the plethora of letter writers. In the January/February combined edition of 1839,

Porter identified “a new set of Patent Literati, who are known as Letter Writers,” the writers being of three sorts—political, commercial, and equine. Of the horse letter writers he gives the following description:

The last variety of this genus are *Horse Letter Writers*; these are found in all the Middle and Southern States, and are not migratory, but local;—those who wish to hear of them may inquire at the offices of the ‘Turf Register,’ or the ‘*Spirit of the Times*.’

Their notes are various as those of the mocking bird. One writes merely to say that a friend of his has sold some fine horses—that although the prices seem high, it was not really so, as they are nags of the purest blood and ‘as certain to race as ducks to swim’—and that ‘the same gentleman has some other young things still more certain to run!’ Of this there can be no doubt, as the letter writer is part owner!³⁷

The excitement of thoroughbred racing was much enhanced by the custom of wagering on the outcome. In April 1833 Skinner wrote a brief reflection on the desirability of betting stands for major American race courses. He argued that the chance of loss or gain in racing should be equally viable to playing a lottery, or the stock market, or even “the risk of running a clipper through a blockading squadron.” While eschewing betting on races himself, he argued that the impulse to bet strikes the average man of affairs once or twice a year and should not be disparaged, as it is a natural impulse and a healthy stimulus to a positive rather than lugubrious attitude towards life. If the race course proprietor would provide a betting stand near the judges’ stand as a place for adequate viewing of the race, he could make money by charging a subscription fee, Skinner argued. In the proposal we see in formation what would become standard racing practice in America as in other countries.³⁸

One of the most famous of the passionately fought races covered in the press in general and the *ATR* in particular was the American Eclipse/Henry race which occurred in 1822. American Eclipse, a horse foaled on Long Island and owned by Cornelius W. Van Ranst, had won a one-thousand-dollar purse in October 1822 in four mile heats. He was challenged by James J. Harrison of Brunswick County, Virginia, who offered Sir Charles as an adversary for American Eclipse, in a race to be run in four mile heats at the Washington course for a proposed purse of five to ten thousand dollars. Van Ranst accepted. The race was fixed for 20 November, but at the time of mounting Harrison forfeited the race, claiming that, due to an accident, Sir Charles was not in his best running condition. Harrison then proposed running only a single four-mile heat. This was run, but Sir Charles broke down on the last round.

Immediately Col. William Ransom Johnson offered to produce a horse to run against American Eclipse on the last Tuesday in May 1823 on the Long Island Union Course for \$20,000 a side. John C. Stephens accepted for American Eclipse. Colonel Johnson selected a four-year-old, Henry, bred by Lemuel Long of near Halifax, North Carolina. Henry was a substitute for John Richards whom Colonel



This racing trophy adorned the back cover for several issues during the editorship of William T. Porter. (*ATR*, October 1842.)

Johnson had intended to run but who had become lame. In this race, Henry won the first heat by half a length. An experienced jockey, Samuel Purdy, replaced William Crafts on American Eclipse who won the second heat. Henry, having been ridden by a “young lad” for the first two heats, was replaced by Colonel Johnson’s famous trainer, Arthur Taylor. Nonetheless, American Eclipse took and kept the lead, winning the third heat and the race.

Racing enthusiasts never tired of recounting the race. Eight years after the actual event, the *ATR* published the original exchange of letters of challenge and response

between the Northern and Southern turfmen in the September 1830 edition as part of a ten-page account of the race by a regular correspondent who signed himself "An Old Turfman"—identified by Fairfax Harrison as Cadwalader R. Colden, editor of *The New York Sporting Magazine*.³⁹ Colonel Johnson, after losing with Henry, had challenged J. C. Stevens to a repeat race the next fall on the Washington Course for a purse of twenty to fifty thousand dollars. Stephen's refusal was much admired for its sportsmanship, for he had determined "never, on any consideration, to risk the life or reputation of the noble animal whose generous and almost incredible exertions, have gained for the north so signal a victory, and for himself, such well-earned and never fading renown."⁴⁰

Humor was far from unknown in the usually serious pages of the *ATR*; sometimes it simply appeared in the text as a quip and at other times it demonstrated a human desire to tell tall, taller, and tallest tales. We find an instance of humorous incidental comment in an 1834 discussion of kennels:

A good shady tree in the kennel yard may be as useful as in that of the stable, and there should be two or three *posts* planted in it. If the reader cannot guess the use of them, Beckford says, there is scarcely an inn window on the road that will not let you in on the secret—

So dogs will p— where dogs have p—'d before.

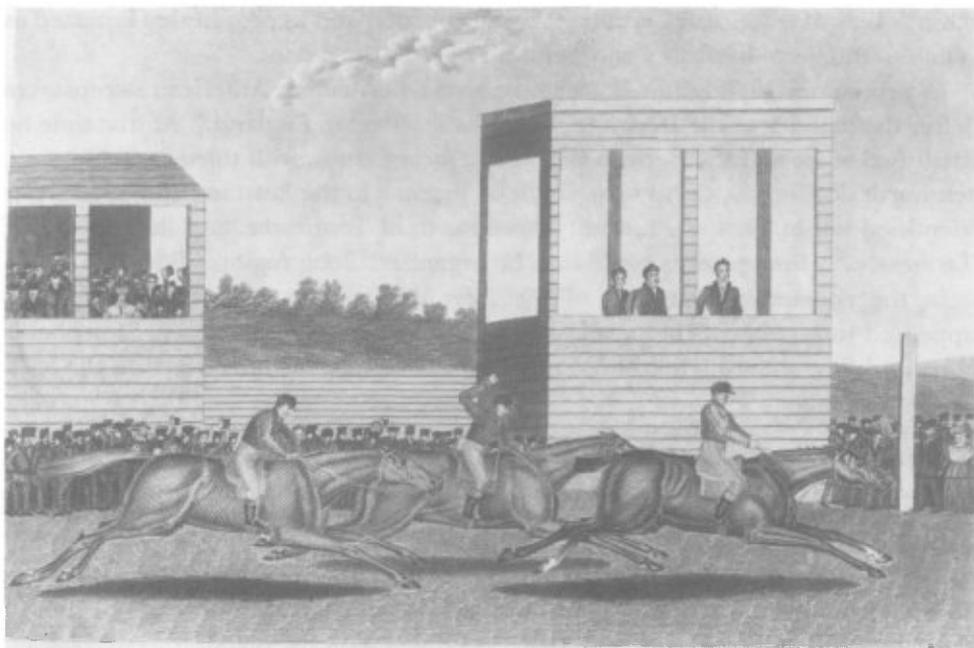
If they are at first backward in coming to them, find some straw round the bottom and rub it with galbanum.⁴¹

"The Groom's Catechism" further illustrates the lighter side of the *ATR*. The obvious tongue-in-cheek parody of the religious catechisms of which Anglicans and Presbyterians are so fond is found in the March 1836 issue:

Q. What is the use of a horse's tail?— A. Its use is two-fold; first, for ornament; and secondly, to brush off the flies.— Q. Why then are the owners of horses so much in the habit of cutting off their tails? A. Because they are both savages and blockheads. They have neither taste nor feeling.— Q. How does a horse look with his tail docked square, to about the length of six inches? A. Look! why he looks like the devil on a chop-block; or, to speak in a more christian-like manner, he looks like—like—a poor, miserable, bob-tailed horse.— Q. What is the condition of a bob-tailed horse in fly-time? A. Why, he is in the same condition that the man ought to be who docked him.—Q. What condition is that? A. Constant misery.⁴²

A grimly humorous anecdote—at least for nineteenth-century readers—focuses on that extraordinary huntsman, John Mytton. The story was borrowed from old England and told by Charles James Apperley, who wrote under the byline "Nimrod":

Returning from hunting one day, he, with some others, called to lunch at a house called the Bungs, near Whitchurch, where there was a very large and savage dog chained in the yard. 'Pray don't go near him, Mr. Mytton,' said



“Fylde Beating Halston and Recovery.” (*ATR*, March 1834.)

his owner, ‘for he will tear you in pieces if you do.’ This was enough for Mytton: so pulling a silk handkerchief out of the pocket of a friend, and lapping it around his left hand, he advanced with it extended towards the dog, who immediately seized it with his mouth. . . . Catching him by the back of the neck, however, with his right hand, Mytton instantly pinned the animal by the nose with his teeth; and getting the other hand at liberty, so pummelled his opponent that he had scarcely any life left in him. As might be expected, the dog never afterwards liked the look of his brother bull dog, or even of a red coat, but slunk into his kennel on the approach of either one or the other.⁴³

In September 1838 a prophetic warning was made by Allen Jones Davie, using the pseudonym, A., Davie warned that Upper South jockey clubs had become fewer in number with smaller stakes, which would ultimately result in fewer bred horses in the region because “gentlemen will cease to breed when they no longer enjoy the pleasures of the race course.” Davie pointed out that Southerners currently were taking their horses north, where the stakes were richer, but that ultimately when Southern breeding diminished there would be few horses to take north to race.⁴⁴ Thoroughbred racing in the old Southern area was arguably already much diminished before the War between the States, due to a variety of causes, some of which were undoubtedly those identified by Davie. The “equine ark of the covenant,” as one commentator had it, did indeed eventually pass from the Roanoke

River Valley of the North Carolina/Virginia border, and as prophesied it passed as much to the west—Kentucky and Tennessee—as to the north.

In September 1839 Editor Porter proposed a permanent American sweepstakes “after the manner of the Derby, St. Leger, and others in England.” At that time he identified at least 107 American race track/jockey clubs, with thirteen in Virginia, ten north of Virginia, twenty-one south of Virginia in the East; in the West, Porter identified ten in Tennessee, twenty-three north of Tennessee, and thirty south of Tennessee.⁴⁵ Sweepstakes could thus be organized along regional lines.

In the concluding numbers of the *ATR* the amount of borrowed material appeared to increase. The heyday of the periodical was clearly over. It probably surprised few when the following notice appeared in December 1844 on the back of the title page:

The present number of ‘*The American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*’ completes its fifteenth volume, and, at the same time, its existence.

With a list of subscribers amply sufficient to defray the expenses of its publication, the Publisher is imperiously obliged to discontinue it, upon the sole ground of their neglect to pay their subscriptions. Hundreds of the ‘*patrons*’ of this magazine have paid no subscription for years!

To those gentlemen who have supported and encouraged him by a prompt discharge of their dues annually, the Publisher begs to express his grateful acknowledgments.⁴⁶

Thus ended an extraordinary early American publishing venture. The “lights of other days” can still be perceived in a perusal of the few crusty issues that remain extant of *The American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*. With the *American Farmer*, the *ATR* serves as a permanent witness to the agricultural and sporting heritage of the Baltimore area in particular and Maryland in general. John Stuart Skinner, the first editor and chief ornament of an extraordinary Southern sporting family, deserves to be honored and remembered for his major contributions to the literature of the horse.

NOTES

1. Fairfax Harrison, *The Equine F.F.Vs.: A study of the evidence for the English horses imported into Virginia before the Revolution* (Richmond: Old Dominion Press, 1928), p. 13.

2. Alexander Mackay-Smith, *The Race Horses of America 1832–1872: Portraits and other Paintings by Edward Troye* (Saratoga Springs, N.Y.: National Museum of Racing, 1981) and *The Colonial Quarter Race Horse* (Richmond: Press of Whitte & Shepperson, 1983); Patricia C. Click, *The Spirit of the Times: Amusements in Nineteenth-Century Baltimore, Norfolk, and Richmond* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989).

3. Ernest R. Gee, *Early American Sporting Books 1734 to 1844: A Few Brief Notes with Portraits and Facsimiles* (New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1971 [repr. of 1928 edition]).

4. Mackay-Smith, *Race Horses*, p. 445.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, p. 446.

7. *ATR*, 1:1.

8. The issue of British precedents vs. American individuality as a bone of contention continued when Gideon B. Smith took over editorship. To a correspondent who required an explanation of running horses to the right instead of to the left, the editor replied in a note in the September 1837 issue (8:508), "The only reason we can give why, in this country, we run to the left, while in Great Britain they run to the right, is, that in this, as in some other things, our countrymen do not choose to follow the lead of their European brethren. Our correspondent might with equal reason ask why we uniformly run on circular courses of exact miles; why we run long and repeating heats, &c. thus enabling sportsmen to see the whole race; while in England they run on straight, triangular, and all sorts of shaped courses of all sorts of distances, except long ones.—*Ed. Turf Reg.*"

William T. Porter as editor also had to deal with the American preference for the home-grown. In the March/April issue of 1839 John A. Jones complained of too liberal borrowing from the English "Mr. Jorrocks" who wrote lengthily of the "Hadley cross hounds," large amounts being reprinted in the *ATR*. Wrote Jones, "If I am to have any more of 'Jorrocks' and the 'Hadley cross,' let it come all at once for God's sake. No more broken doses. I can stand any thing once,—I could, in the cause of the Turf, endure the stake, the cord, or the guillotine,—I could stand drowning, strangulation, or impalement,—but to have pins stuck in one, or be whipped with nettles, or bayed by Jorrocks and the 'Hadley-cross,' morning, noon, and night, every day, is more than flesh can bear" (10:340). Porter agreed to eliminate Jorrocks from the *ATR*.

9. *ATR*, 1:2. The attempts at justifying the sport continued throughout the periodical's history. See, for example, the article by "C. of Cincinnati" entitled "Objections to, and Benefits of Horse-Racing Considered," printed during the editorship of William T. Porter in December, 1841 (12:649–56).

10. *ATR*, 1:515.

11. "I rejoiced to see you, on the morning of the 4th, accoutred for the chase; and with you the veteran President of the Washington Hunt, members of Congress, citizens, gentlemen attached to foreign missions, and officers of the army and navy, whose presence gives a sanction to the manly, animating, and delightful sports of the field. Here let me remark, *en passant*, that I wish you would stimulate more of these gentlemen, particularly foreigners, who are unacquainted with the institutions, manners and customs of our country, to mingle with us in our amusements, where, unshackled by forms, free from the care of business, and forgetful of political prejudice, the finer feelings of the soul are developed, and soon kindle into friendship" (6:234).

12. Some articles which were eventually included in the periodical were written in such heavy dialect of one sort or another that the sense is almost beyond recovery today.

13. *ATR*, 1:3.

14. Though Skinner had as a primary motive the establishing of respectability for American racing stock, he also included in his periodical occasional stories of the more humble origins of American racing, as in the following anecdote printed in October, 1834 (6:54–55): “General Spotswood’s Cumberland, by Partner, was one of his plough nags, before coming to the turf, of which he was several years running the chief ornament—but having shown great activity in running off with a plough and leaping a fence, he was put in training, being unfit for his original purpose, and to his owner’s astonishment, beat every horse in his stables—one of them of some repute.”

15. *ATR*, 2:83.

16. Broad sides of horses at stud remain one of the most intriguing ephemera of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a number being currently found in East Coast libraries.

17. *ATR*, 4:627.

18. *Ibid.*, 8:529–31.

19. On occasion colonial racing information extracts were published, as in the April 1836 article (7:363–65), “Horses of Olden Times.”

20. *ATR*, 1:157–58.

21. The sectional warfare was waged by pen long before it was waged by sword. See, for one example of many, the May 1835 entry, “Turf Warfare Between the North and South” (6:433–41). It is also of interest to note that in a December, 1836, editorial (8:178–79) *ATR* editor Allen Jones Davie accuses the rival paper, the New York *Spirit of the Times*, of trying to stir up negative feelings among Southern turfmen against the *ATR*, the presumed reasons for the paper’s action being both commercial and sectional.

22. *ATR*, 1:400. One of the more amazing stories involved William Byrd: “Of Col. Bird, of Westover, on James river, a gentleman of princely fortune, an anecdote is told, that when in England, at an early age, he met at a famed club house, a party of the most opulent nobles of the kingdom—his grace the Duke of — offered an immense stake on a card—six or ten thousand guineas—it was not until after the lapse of some little time young Bird, an entire stranger, took it and won. He played no more; and thus covered his expenses while abroad” (6:57n.).

23. *ATR*, 1:546–48.

24. *Ibid.*, 6:192.

25. *Ibid.*, 2:369–71.

26. *Ibid.*, 9:359.

27. *Ibid.*, 7:554–61.

28. *Ibid.*, 9:13–14.

29. *Ibid.*, 2:379.

30. *Ibid.*, 7:485–86. Engravings were not limited to thoroughbreds. However, the suggestion made to William T. Porter in August, 1841 (12:434) by a correspondent

who signed himself *The Old Coon Hunter* to the effect that turf leaders such as William Ransom Johnson or Wade Hampton should be immortalized with engravings remained unrealized in the *ATR*, though the New York *Spirit of the Times* did offer several such large engravings of eminent turfmen.

31. *ATR*, 4:356–58.

32. See, for example, John C. Stevens' letter in the May, 1836 issue (7:428–29).

33. Books such as Richard Mason's *The Gentleman's New Pocket Farrier*, first published in Petersburg, Virginia, in 1811 and later in Richmond, went through innumerable editions and was popular reading of the day among farmers and sportsmen.

34. *ATR*, 4:359–61. In casting aspersions on the opinions of others, nineteenth-century controversialists were masters of irony. Sir Walter Scott's popular Waverly novels—and *ATR* correspondents were nothing if not literate—served as a frame of reference for the following barbed remark: "The writer recollects to have heard the late John Randolph of Roanoke, narrate the anecdote referred to by Mr. Seldon, to which he gave entire credence, assigned as a further reason of his belief, the great superiority of Sir Archy, to all others of Diomed's get . . . The Hon. J. Randolph also expressed his belief, from strong testimony, that Greenfield was the author of the Waverly novels" (6:66).

35. See Elizabeth Amis Cameron Blanchard and Manly Wade Wellman, *The Life and Times of Sir Archy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), pp. 141–59.

36. During the editorship of William T. Porter the issue of overstatement was addressed in relation to Edgar's stud book. In March, 1843 (14:167), in a note entitled "*The Best Joke of the Season*" Porter wrote, "Mr. Edgar! Mr. Edgar! You are a very nice man, and Hedgford was a very fine horse, but either he was never 'the very best horse in the United States' or else you are not 'a competent judge!'"

37. *ATR*, 10:63–64.

38. *Ibid.*, 4:436.

39. *Ibid.*, 2:3–12.

40. *Ibid.*, 1:273. Colonel Johnson, ever a shrewd judge of horse flesh, for whom training and racing was a business rather than simply a recreation, purchased American Eclipse in or about 1834, adding yet another equine star to the string he trained and raced until his death in 1848.

41. *Ibid.*, 6:80.

42. *Ibid.*, 7:323.

43. *Ibid.*, 6:186.

44. *Ibid.*, 9:419–20.

45. *Ibid.*, 10:511–12. The Belair stables and museum near Bowie bear witness to the prominence of Maryland's Belair stud in former days, the history of which was chronicled by Fairfax Harrison in *The Belair Stud 1747–1761* (Richmond, 1929). It is interesting to note that the three major American races today, the so-called Triple Crown, are the Derby in Kentucky, the Preakness in Maryland, and the Belmont Stakes in New York.

46. *ATR*, 15: back of title page, final issue.

RULES,
REGULATIONS AND RESOLUTIONS
OF THE
Baltimore Jockey Club.

We, the subscribers, for the encouragement of the breed of fine Horses, do agree to form ourselves into a Racing Club, under the title of the "BALTIMORE JOCKEY CLUB," to commence on the 12th day of August, 1806....to continue five years, and be subject to the rules following....

DAVID HARRIS.
DAVID M'MECHEN.
C. RIDGELY, of Hampton.
JOHN HOLMES.
CHAS. STERRETT RIDGELY.
HUGH NEILSON.
D. GALT.
DANIEL CARROLL.
HENRY THOMPSON.
JOHN M'NEALE. 1
WILLIAM ANDERSON.
LEVI BILLINGSWORTH.
NICHOLAS G. RIDGELY.
EDWARD LLOYD.
JAMES P. BOYD.
JOHN GOODING.
FREDERICK PRICE.
JAMES HELM.
HENRY COURTENAY.
JOHN WOODEN, of John.
WILLIAM LUX.

SAMUEL NORWOOD.
HEIL PECK.
EDWARD AINSWORTH.
CHARLES CHRISTIE.
RICHARD GITTINGS.
CHARLES WIRGMAN.
VACHEL WORTHINGTON.
JOHN R. HOLLIDAY.
WILLIAM J. GOVANE.
WALTER DORSEY.
THOMAS HUTCHINS.
THOMAS TENANT.
NICHOLAS R. MOORE.
JOSHUA B. BOND.
EDWARD HARRIS.
WILLIAM B. BARNEY.
LEMUEL TAYLOR.
JOSEPH CLARK.
C. DESHON.
C. S. KONIG.
JOHN MEANY.

Rules...of the Baltimore Jockey Club, c. 1805. Page one lists members including Charles Ridgely of Hampton. (Collection of Hampton National Historic Site. Photograph by Beth L. Knight.)

A Sure Bet: Thoroughbreds at Hampton

LYNNE DAKIN HASTINGS

Until fairly recently, research at historic sites and house museums centered on architecture and interior furnishings; curators paid less attention to the many types of people who also once lived and worked there—slaves, craftsmen, gardeners, coopers, blacksmiths, horse trainers, and grooms. The evidence at Hampton National Historic Site supplies a strong case for *interpreting* a place and its people: looking at the record, one quickly finds a rich pattern of work and pleasure activities—one that includes the Ridgely family's noteworthy love of horses.

Horse racing in colonial America developed as an outgrowth of the popular sport in England. Testing the swiftness and endurance of equine bloodlines and breeding for these characteristics became profitable businesses. Those who wagered on the outcome of a race to determine the better horse also stood to gain or lose fortunes. Wagers were taken seriously; any breach of the agreement blighted a man's honor. It was unacceptable to back out of a wager for any reason, and if one's horse did not appear at the appointed race time, the owner forfeited his bet. Until overburdened, colonial courts upheld betting agreements as enforceable contracts.¹

Our first records of Ridgely participation in horseracing center around Col. Charles Ridgely (1700–1772), who in 1745 purchased 1,500 acres of land in Baltimore County named Northampton. This tract, for which he paid six hundred pounds sterling, became the core of the Hampton estate. Colonel Ridgely's move from southern Maryland to the developing area around Baltimore was encouraged by the discovery of iron ore at Northampton. By 1762, with his sons John and Charles, he established the Northampton Iron Works.²

Ironmaking created one fortune for the Ridgelys before and during the Revolutionary War; united with mercantile interests and agricultural profits, it provided the wealth necessary for Ridgely and his sons to become founding members of the Baltimore County Jockey Club. The names of the founders, collected a century later in J. Thomas Scharf's chronicle of Baltimore, reads like a Blue Book for the time: Dr. Thomas Hamilton; Col. Benjamin Tasker; Col. Edward Lloyd; Governors Samuel Ogle, Horatio Sharpe, Robert Eden; Benjamin Ogle, George Plater III, Samuel Galloway, Walter Bowie, William Fitzhugh, Daniel Dulany, Jr., Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and members of the Duckett and Duvall families. Many students of the sport consider these years the "golden age" of the turf in Maryland, and Scharf stands among them.

Ms. Hastings is the curator of Hampton National Historic Site, National Park Service.

Regular matched races between pedigreed horses, in the English style, were frequent in most of the principal towns and villages in the province from a very early period. For many years purses varied in amount from fifteen to forty pounds, and the best horses were entered for the matches. The races were patronized by the governors of the province and were encouraged by many of the most distinguished characters of the time . . . when men the most distinguished for their wealth, their talents, or patriotism were seen vying with each other in the importation and raising of blooded stock.³

As early as 1745, the year the Maryland Jockey Club was formed, an advertisement for a Baltimore race listed Colonel Ridgely as a referee, and offered "A Hat and Ribbon of Twenty-five Shillings Value to be cudgelled for on the second Day and a Pair of London Pumps to be wrestled for on the third Day." Ridgely judged these more plebeian events as well.⁴ The flourishing colonial town of Joppa, until 1768 seat of Baltimore County, sponsored many races, often attended by the governor and other dignitaries. Annapolis dominated the Maryland racing scene for some years, although Baltimore held public races at the same early period. The Ridgelys became instrumental in moving the locus of racing to Baltimore.

Col. Charles Ridgely's second son, Charles (1733–1790), built Hampton Hall immediately after the Revolutionary War. Captain Charles, as he was known, was also a devotee of "the sport of kings," sharing this passion with his nephew and principal heir Gen. Charles Carnan Ridgely, second master of Hampton. By 1762 the Captain owned the renowned racehorse Figure, which won all of his local races: "Sir," wrote a contemporary sportsman, "it may be said your Brown Horse Figure Beat all the following Capital, Horses & Mares in Effect as He Beat Mr. F. Berrys gr mare at Lancaster on the 5 June 1763."⁵ The Captain's bride, Rebecca Dorsey, almost certainly rode; bills for red leather sidesaddles with black leather furniture, and blue cloth sidesaddles laced with blue lace and black leather furniture, with silver buckles and fringed with mohair, all appeared in the Ridgely's account with London merchants Russell and Molleson. Captain Charles Ridgely owned one of the first carriages in Baltimore Town; by 1764 his team ran up bills with Baltimore blacksmiths. Accounts from as early as 1761 show him in possession of stables and several horses.

In 1785 a semi-literate farm manager wrote the Captain a letter that offered a view of Ridgely's hierarchy of interests: "little Charley Carnan whas Beter Today and Mis Ridgely is Midling well your Colt is Got well over the distemper all Sems to be Midling." The Captain's heir, wife, and colt, in that order, were ill with some contagious disease. "Sum of the negours is lade up But not dangerous as it apears," the overseer continued. "But I wish you Whoud Cum home this Tim things Whod semme mor Saf to me."⁶ Although here we cannot know which colt caused such concern, written references to the horses usually were specific enough to identify individual animals, as, for example, a comment on a "Black Stallion Three Years Old and a Star in his fore head."⁷ Ridgely actively marketed horses in exchange for money or goods. A mare once was exchanged with Robert Elder for twenty-five

pounds with interest, with a security of eighty bushels of wheat.⁸ In 1786 negotiations took place for a sorrel colt, to be purchased by Mr. Sam Wallis of Philadelphia and forwarded immediately to a Mr. Muncy. The Hollingsworth brothers in Baltimore handled this transaction for Captain Ridgely, who had departed for Annapolis to attend the assembly. The cost of the colt was thirty guineas, and negotiations for a three-year old bay filly were still being conducted.⁹

Captain Charles Ridgely died in 1790 at the age of fifty-six. Once the assembly granted his nephew Charles Carnan and his descendants use of the Ridgely name and coat-of-arms, Carnan became the Captain's principal heir. He quickly reached agreement with his uncle's widow to exchange her ownership of "the large house" for another property, making him and his growing family sole occupants of Hampton Hall. Charles Carnan Ridgely then focused his energies upon making Hampton a showplace. He purchased a "Chariot with Harness for four Horses" in 1791, establishing himself in style. The vehicle, manufactured by James Ker of Philadelphia, cost more than £400. Extra charges included 129/16/3 for the plater's bill, with an additional 3/15/0 for imported plate work and 12£ for four plated bridle bits. The chariot arrived with a green baize cover for the body, "Chintz Slip Lining," an oilcloth cover for the coachman's seat, lace and fringe trim, and postilion saddles.¹⁰ Ridgely also acquired showy mounts and accessories suitable for his role as a brigadier general in the state militia.

An Englishman travelling in Maryland in 1800 wrote: "The General's lands are very well cultivated . . . his . . . horses, etc., of a superior sort, and in much finer condition than many I saw in America. He is very famous for race horses and usually keeps three or four such horses in training."¹¹ One of them was Grey Medley, a grey colt sired by the famous Medley (1776–1792; imported from England in 1785) and born in Virginia in 1792. The *Annals of the Turf* later ranked Medley's stock "among the most remarkable and valuable that have ever signalized themselves on a Virginia racecourse."¹² When the horse was five years old Charles Carnan Ridgely and Charles Duvall purchased it. Then in July 1797 Duvall sold his half share to Ridgely for five hundred dollars. Two years later, in April, Ridgely's manager at Hampton announced that Grey Medley, the "Celebrated *Full Blooded Running Horse*," whose pedigree was "equal to that of any Horse on the continent," would stand at stud the ensuing season for twenty dollars each mare plus five shillings to pay for the groom. The notice observed that good pasturage was available for the mares at half a dollar a week.¹³ In 1802 Ridgely billed David McMechen only £9 for "the Season of Medley to 2 Mares."¹⁴

Charles Duvall almost certainly trained horses for Ridgely and generally oversaw the racing operation. Correspondence in 1792 shows Duvall racing Trimmer at Hagerstown for Ridgely and also attempting to sell the horse; Duvall then travelled to Annapolis, where he hoped to catch up to Ridgely and discuss other thoroughbreds in the stable including "your little Mare Diomed," of which he later exclaimed, "it is a doubt with me if she is not the best Nag I have."¹⁵ A bill from Peter Emerson extolled another horse sold to the General: "Received from Charles

Ridgely Esquire at the hands of Wm Floyd Sixty five Pounds Currency in part for the finest Gelding in the World Sold him for Sixty Guineas 65/0/0.¹⁶

In the same period John Tayloe of Virginia offered Ridgely a slave jockey named Dick, whose interstate sale Maryland's slave code complicated.

He is by far too good a rider to be in any other employment. As Negroes become free by your laws After residing a certain time in Maryland—Unless Maryland born—You can only purchase a term of years. He will enter into indentures to serve you for a term of years, not exceeding ten to become free. Should you not approve of this mode of purchase you can hire him at eighty dollars per Annum—for one or more years.

Tayloe concluded with offers to sell or loan thoroughbreds of renown, including a Medley stud, and also requested Ridgely “to inform the Gentlemen Sportsmen in your State Where they may be furnished with some of the best stock in America.” Ridgely's enthusiastic response assured Tayloe of a home for Dick, a desire for a Medley stud, and his willingness to promote Tayloe's interests in Maryland.¹⁷ (Turf relations between Maryland and Virginia were not always so cordial. In December 1752 Benjamin Tasker's bay mare Selina, previous-spring winner of the Annapolis purse, had defeated four horses native to Virginia at a course in Gloucester County, and for many years afterward Virginia sportsmen closed their races to Maryland-bred horses. Marylanders responded by sending their horses and mares to Virginia to produce Virginia-bred stock.¹⁸)

General Ridgely actively promoted racing throughout the region. He had his own private race tracks for training horses on the Hampton estate, north and west of the mansion. One lay on a level stretch overlooking what is now Loch Raven Reservoir. In 1831 John Ridgely (1790–1867), Charles Carnan's second son and eventual heir, had another race course built at Hampton; this Ridgely bred and trained horses for trotting and sulky racing. Neighboring landowners had their own race courses. As evidenced by a map dated 1835, Robert Gilmore—a founder of the Maryland Historical Society and amateur jockey and tournament rider—had at least two tracks at Glen Ellen, both of them east of the mansion on level ground.¹⁹

An undated plan for a racing stable survives in the Ridgely archives. The plan called for a building nearly sixty feet long and fifty feet in depth; it was to have a steeply pitched roof with a central pediment and stalls for twenty-two horses. Sixteen of the stalls were to be large and elaborate; a central work area would have been twenty-seven by seventeen feet.²⁰ This may or may not have been a preliminary drawing for the stable that in 1805 Charles Carnan Ridgely built just north of the mansion. In December of that year William Tudor earned £49/14/ “for building the Race Horse Stable & Sundry jobs.”²¹ This two-story stable was constructed of stucco-covered rough stone and scored to match the decorative treatment of the mansion. The extant building possesses a wood-shingled hip roof, with principal entrances on the east and west. The stable measures thirty-five by forty-two feet and therefore probably contained fewer stalls than the original plan. Unfortunately, the original interior configuration has been lost, and today the walls and floor are bare.

The stucco was removed during building restoration in the 1960s. The stable is included in an inventory entitled, "Structures on the Hampton Plantation . . . October 13, 1829."²² A second two-story stable, of comparable size with hipped roof and walls of ashlar stone, was added in 1857. Pasture and paddock existed south and west of these structures.

Baltimore City boasted an early track near Pine Street and the Lexington Market as part of the local fair grounds. By 1801 racing also took place at Whetstone Point. A permanent establishment dedicated solely to racing did not appear in the city until 1820, and John Ridgely was among its patrons. Another course, established by the Jockey Club in 1831 and called the Central, was the most prominent and popular of the Baltimore area for decades.²³

Forty miles from Baltimore, the first Washington City race course was built in 1798, perhaps as an attempt to provide a neutral ground for the competing states' interests:

[A] mile track was laid out which extended from the rear of the present Decatur mansion at H Street and Jackson Place, crossing Seventeenth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue to Twentieth Street. The only building at first was a small elevated platform for the judges. The "carriage folk" looked on from the infield while the standees fringed the outside of the course. The feature of the inaugural meeting was a match for 500 guineas a side between John Tayloe III's Lamplighter and General Charles Ridgely's Cincinnatus, 4-mile heats, won by the former, a son of Medley.²⁴

Growth in the Federal City forced abandonment of the early course almost immediately. From 1802 until the sacking of Washington in 1814, the Washington City Jockey Club conducted races at the Holmead Farm, "near Meridian Hill and south of Columbia Road between Fourteenth and Sixteenth Streets." The track was a one-mile oval. Upon it Ridgely's horses had much success.

Except for a lull of about a decade after the War of 1812, Washington and Baltimore were leading centers for racing. The best horses raced there in spring and fall, attracting the American elite. Presidents, military heroes, statesmen, and foreign dignitaries typically attended.

Nowhere else could there be seen so brilliant an ensemble, so rich in glow and color, so distinguished, so picturesque, so various and so vivid. The two men most largely responsible for this were the same pair that in 1798 had provided Washington with its first big turf event: John Tayloe III and General Ridgely. . . . When he [Tayloc] withdrew from the turf in 1810, Ridgely, hitherto his rival, succeeded him as its dictator along the Potomac, the Patapsco and the Chesapeake.²⁵

A small booklet of eight pages entitled *Rules, Regulations and Resolutions of the Baltimore Jockey Club* survives in the Hampton archives. The rules stated that the club would commence the 12th day of August 1806 and would continue for at least five years, with racing at a course near Govane's Town, between Hampton and

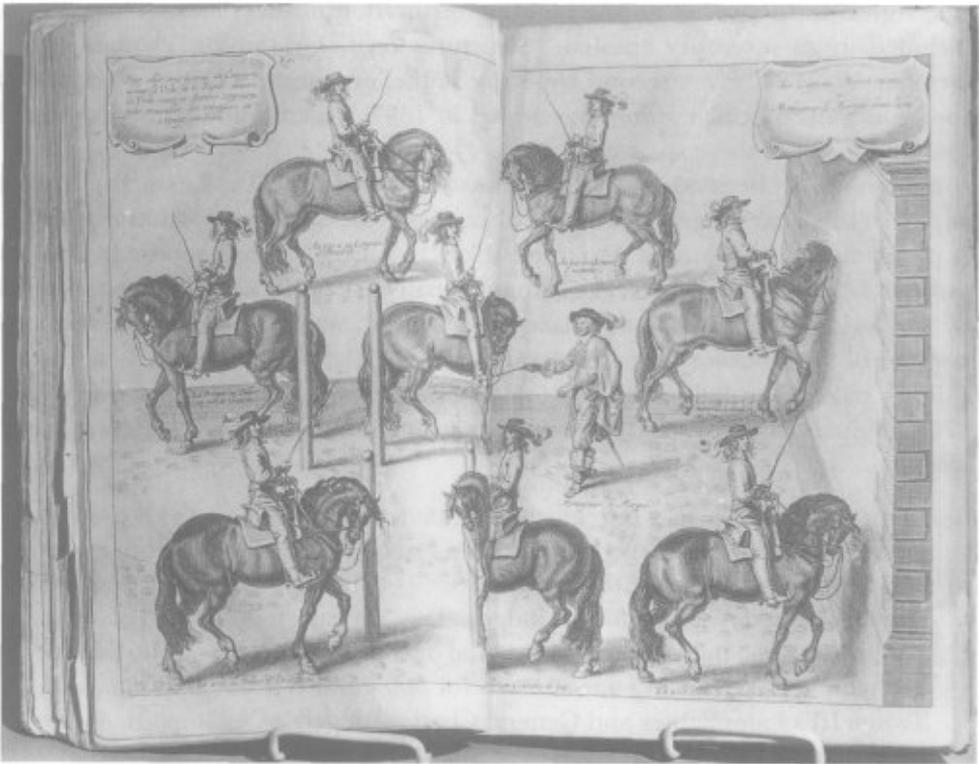


Plate from *The New Method of Dressing Horses*, published by John Brindley, London, c. 1730. This significant volume was found in a stable at Hampton. (Collection of Hampton National Historic Site. Photograph by Beth L. Knight.)

Baltimore.²⁶ The weights contenders were to carry varied with age and ability: 3 years old, 86 lbs.; 4 years old, 100 lbs.; 5 years old, 112 lbs.; 6 years old, 120 lbs.; aged horses, 126 lbs. Mares, fillies, and geldings received an allowance of 3 lbs. Races consisted of four-mile or two-mile heats, with rubdowns for thirty minutes between heats of four miles, and twenty minutes between two-mile heats. Charter members of the Baltimore Jockey Club included Gen. Charles Carnan Ridgely of Hampton, his cousin Charles Sterett Ridgely (1782–1847), his second son's father-in-law Nicholas Greenbury Ridgely (1770–1829), and his eldest son Charles Ridgely of Hampton, Jr. (1783–1819). John Holliday, Charles Carnan Ridgely's nephew, man of business, and fellow charter member of the club, dispersed cash in the amount of £7/10/0 for Ridgely's subscription of 1809.²⁷

The Hampton library contains other remnants of both practical and sporting information. Books include two early London volumes from about 1730, one entitled *The New Method of Dressing Horses* and the other *A General System of Horsemanship. An Inquiry into the Structure . . . of the Horse* (1801), and *Sporting Dictionary* (1803), among others, display the depth of General Ridgely's interest. Later volumes, other than horse-related novels, include: *The Chase*, *The Turf*, and

The Road (1870); *Cross Country with Horses and Hounds* (1902); *Gallops*, volumes 1 and 2 (1904); *Blooded Horses of Colonial Days* (1922); *Maryland and the Thoroughbred* (1932); and several Maryland Hunt Cup programs.

Clothing required for the jockeys, at least according to the rule books, was elegant by most standards. At Baltimore Jockey club races every rider, at starting, was supposed to dress neatly in a silk jacket, jockey cap, and boots, or half boots. Ridgely's accounts show entries such as "3 hats for Race boys @ \$3.50," or \$6.75 for "a double plated bridle bit & Curb."²⁸ Shoes for Mark, August, 1810, and Andrew, August 11, 1813, at the "Race Horse Stable", cost about \$2 a pair.²⁹ In archival references, the shoemaker, George Lindemore, was paid at \$.40 per pair, except for a special type entered as "Jefferson shoes" \$.50 per pair.³⁰ When charges were registered to the recipient, they are between \$2 and \$2.50, and about \$1.50 for a boy's shoe.³¹ In March, 1815, ninety lengths of harness leather were bought from William Jenkins for a total of \$28.13.³² Ribbon for bridles, a decorative element, was also ordered, along with leather for bridles and halters, buckskin, and buckles.³³ Other large purchases of leather were made in the same year, including \$31.00 for harness.³⁴ Some leather purchases, however, were probably for the shoe manufactory Ridgely operated with professional cobblers at Hampton.³⁵

A partial review of Ridgely's stable during the first quarter of the nineteenth century reveals several champions, including Bonaparte and Roxalina. Post Boy, a bay colt, was sired by Gabriel and foaled in 1800. He was bred by Mordecai Hall for John Tayloe, who imported Gabriel from England in 1799. Gabriel was "consistently referred to by the old writers as the one horse that might have disputed the ascendancy of Diomed had he but lived." Gabriel stood at stud for Gov. Benjamin Ogle at Belair in 1799 and then was sent back to his owner, John Tayloe III, in Virginia; he died in 1800. In one season in Maryland, Gabriel produced several outstanding progeny, including Ogle's Oscar, Harlequin, and Post Boy. Post Boy was purchased by Charles Carnan Ridgely in 1803, after the horse won the Colt's Purse at Baltimore. For eight years he remained unbeaten, racing at Washington,



The Post Boy Cup, crafted by Samuel Williamson in Philadelphia, 1805. (Hampton National Historic Site. Photograph by Dennis Caudill.)

Memorandum of a proposed Bet made between Henry
Thompson on behalf of Gen^l. Chas^l. Ridgely of Baltimore &
Col^l. Myles Seldon of Richmond,
Henry Thompson for said Ridgely bets Col^l. Myles
Seldon Ten Thousand Dollars that Gen^l. Ridgely's Horse
Post Boy can beat Mr. Miller's Horse Potomac the Four
Mile Heats on the second Monday in October next, over
the Washington City Jockey Club Race Course, to Run
agreeably to the Rules of said Club.
(Col^l. Seldon is allow'd Fourteen days to
accept or reject the above Bet.)
Richmond
10th Jan^y 1809 }

In 1809 Charles Carnan Ridgely wagered \$10,000 on Post Boy to beat Potomac in a four-mile heat. (Hampton National Historic Site. Photograph by Beth L. Knight.)

Baltimore, Annapolis, Richmond, and Lancaster. Post Boy's stamina allowed him to run three-mile heats in Washington one week and three-mile distances at Lancaster the next, winning both. Purses of \$500-\$1,000 were not uncommon. Post Boy won the annual Fifty Guinea Race Cup in both 1804 and 1805 during the fall races at the Washington City Jockey Club. The large and ornate three-part cups, retailed to the club by Burnett and Rigden of Georgetown and made in the shop of Samuel Williamson of Philadelphia, perpetuate Post Boy's fame.³⁶ These trophies have descended directly in the Ridgely family; one is still exhibited at Hampton National Historic Site. Post Boy lost only two races before breaking a leg during the second half of a race in 1809. The horse died a few days later and was buried in the infield of the Washington City Jockey Club course. John Stuart Skinner, editor of the *American Turf Register*, called Post Boy, "emphatically the great Maryland horse."³⁷

A scrap of paper in the Hampton archives gives proof to the assertion of Post Boy's supremacy. A memorandum registers a proposed bet "between Henry Thompson on behalf of General Charles Ridgely of Baltimore, and Colonel Myles

Seldon of Richmond. Henry Thompson for said Ridgely bets Colonel Myles Seldon ten thousand dollars that General Ridgely's horse Post Boy can beat Mr. Wilkes' horse Potomac the four mile heats on the second Monday in October next, over the Washington City Jockey Club Race Course, to run agreeably to the rules of said Club." Colonel Seldon was allowed fourteen days to accept or reject the bet, which was dated 10 January 1809 at Richmond, Virginia.³⁸ When considering the amount of this wager, it may be useful to note that General Ridgely's large and elegant townhouse on Gay Street was purchased for this same price, and his professional gardener and French chef were each paid only £100 (less than \$300) a year.

Maid of the Oaks—which Benjamin Tayloe called the greatest performer, horse or mare, he ever saw—was born in 1801, bred by Lewis Willis of Fredericksburg, Virginia. Her sire, Spread Eagle, winner of the Epsom Derby before being shipped to Virginia in 1798, covered 234 mares in 1801. By comparison, Grey Medley only covered thirty mares in the 1799 season, and sixty mares in one year is considered a full schedule or "booking" today. Ridgely purchased Maid of the Oaks after several wins as a three- and four-year-old. She won the Fifty Guinea Cup at Washington in 1806,³⁹ defeating Top Gallant in the four-mile heat. "When to her turf record we add her career as a brood mare she must be ranked among the most eminent of American thoroughbreds."⁴⁰

Other Ridgely champions included Oscar (Post Boy's half brother) and True Republican. Oscar eventually became "one of the most popular and successful sires in Maryland and Virginia."⁴¹ Tuckahoe was foaled in 1808 for John Wickham of Richmond, Virginia. Charles Carnan Ridgely purchased the horse in 1813. Tuckahoe, Ridgely's favorite horse, was known as the general's personal saddle horse. Tuckahoe was at his racing peak when in 1816 Charles Ridgely assumed duties as state governor.

Although seemingly more interested in racing than breeding, Ridgely was extremely concerned for the bloodlines of his horses. A customary affidavit of pedigree dated 28 October 1791 read like a family bible: "I hereby Certify that the bay Horse Trimmer five Years Old last Grass was got by Hall's imported Horse Eclipse, his Dam purchased of Doctor Hamilton, was got by the imported Horse Slim, his Grand Dam was got by Old Figure, his Great Grand Dame was got by Hamilton's old Dove, his Great Great Grand Dam was got by Tasker's Othelo out of Selima."⁴² Pedigree was critical to a breeder of Ridgely's stature in the racing world. Inquiries in the form of correspondence often could not keep pace with changing ownership. In 1808 Elias Bayliss of Fayette County, Pennsylvania, wrote requesting information on Whalebone. Having purchased a horse said to be the Whalebone once owned by Ridgely, Bayliss intended to file suit against Alexander Long of Adams County for fraud and needed written evidence that Ridgely had sold Whalebone to a different party (and that this horse had gone blind and died). Ridgely's reply has not been found.

Not surprisingly, the price of race horses far exceeded that of riding horses, work horses, or even hunters. In 1802 Ridgely bought a bay horse for more than \$46, paid \$100 for a gray horse, and \$110 for a brown horse; a mule colt cost him \$45.



Silhouette of Charles Carnan Ridgely on Tuckahoe, c. 1815. (Maryland Historical Society.)

In March 1815 he paid \$95 for another horse. That year he bought a racer, *Revenge*, from John Tayloe III. The purchase price was \$1,000.⁴³

In 1814 Ridgely paid \$100 for a mount for Bateman,⁴⁴ a slave and probably Ridgely's personal servant. His name appears frequently in the accounts, and he seems to have been one of Ridgely's favorites despite his early habit of running away.⁴⁵ A horse would have allowed Bateman to accompany Ridgely on his excursions and travels or to carry messages and make purchases on Ridgely's behalf. Would the horse have allowed him to escape more readily, or at forty-three years of age had Bateman resigned himself to servitude? Slaves were a commodity of value, and they were hunted down if they ran away. However, the cost of purchasing a slave at this same period was generally less than half the cost of a race horse. Ridgely in 1800 purchased the slave Maria for \$500, George for \$235, Baptist for \$281, and Harry for \$320⁴⁶; Ridgely's 1829 estate inventory set the highest value for a prime aged male at \$350.⁴⁷

The annual wage of many free laborers also paled in comparison to the cost of a thoroughbred. Bills for grooms, trainers, and jockeys appear regularly in the accounts. One, dated March, 1811, details a cash payment of \$40 for "Training Horses" without specifying the term of service. "Elijah Caution Negro," listed as "Helper at Race Horse Stable," received \$5 for a month's work in September, 1809. Caution was probably a free African American; his name has not appeared on any of Ridgely's slave inventories to date. In any case, Ridgely's slaves at Hampton received cash payments for work over and above their normal duties. "Negro Nat Bond," laborer, was paid £4 per month for harvesting, or £3/9 per month for mowing and harvesting combined, with an extra "7 cts. pr bushel" for threshing rye. Of the £5/9/1, Bond received in July of 1809, only £1/3/8 was in cash; the remainder was paid to him in meal, pork, shoes, apple brandy, sugar, tea, and whiskey.⁴⁸ The highest paid worker on the estate, the professional gardener, received about \$500 in compensation per year, with similar deductions for barbers.

In addition to bills for groomers, trainers, and jockeys, Ridgely documented medical treatment for the horses. One journal prescribed a cure for sprains:

Take 1 Gill Opedildock, 1/2 Gill oil of Peter, 1/2" Gill of Exter, 1/2 Gill Tincture of Myrrh, 1/2 Gill Spirit of Wine, and three pennyworth of Camphor. Mix them well together.⁴⁹

Dietary requirements were not neglected; countless bushels of oats were ordered for feed.⁵⁰ Stud fees easily offset the cost of feed and supplies.

After Ridgely's election as governor, the time he could devote to racing declined somewhat, and yet accounts continued to list stud fees and other racing and breeding expenses. In July, 1818, Top Gallant was bred to one blooded mare for twenty dollars and to two common mares for ten dollars each. Johns H. Hopkins and Robert Galloway paid ten dollars each for a season of Tom Horse to one mare.⁵¹ In 1822 Ridgely paid George Robey for training his horses at twenty dollars per month (during the same period he paid Jonathan Conrod only seven cents per pound for breaking and swindling thirty-three pounds of flax, and beef sold for five cents per pound). Pasturage for a horse still cost fifty cents a week.⁵²

Horse racing and breeding did not cease at Hampton with the death of Charles Carnan Ridgely. His eldest son, Charles, Jr., was killed in 1819—while riding a high-spirited thoroughbred during a thunderstorm. Thus the second son, John Ridgely, inherited the Hampton estate. A breadth of equine activities during John's tenure shows up in his numerous records for stud services, training, and actual purchases. The services of the horse Whitehall to three mares in 1853 for ninety dollars, and the purchase of a four-year-old colt Sparrowhawk in 1857 for four hundred dollars are only two examples.⁵³ John, who married as his second wife Eliza Eichelberger Ridgely, daughter of Nicholas Greenbury Ridgely of Baltimore, became an official timer for the Maryland Jockey Club when it formed in 1830. He was also one of the sponsors of the first grand ball held after the first club meeting in October, 1831. This ball closed the week of celebration and racing, "at which the beauty and fashion of the whole country was represented."⁵⁴

John's son Charles (1830–1872) became virtual master of Hampton after 1851, when he graduated from Harvard and his father gave him power of attorney to administer the estate. Charles's marriage to his first cousin, Margaretta Sophia Howard, in 1851 and the birth of a son sealed his succession to the property. Charles's fame as a horseman rests with his organization of the Baltimore County Horse Guards in 1861. This group of states' rights gentlemen, well equipped, mounted, and trained, offered its services to the governor and burned railroad bridges as part of the effort to stem the flow of Union troops into Maryland. When federal forces prevailed, the horse guards disbanded, and Charles Ridgely retired to Hampton. After the war he took his family to Europe and spent his remaining years travelling. He died in Rome of typhoid fever.

Charles's widow continued to race horses, although she paid greater attention to sulky than thoroughbred racing. Many improvements were made to the stables and their furnishings during her dowager tenure—new harnesses with stag's head crests,



Elkridge Hunt Club assembled for a meet at Hampton in 1904. (Private collection.)

a phaeton, stable-road repairs. Charles and Margaretta's eldest son, Captain John Ridgely (1851-1938), titular head of the Hampton estate, also concerned himself with thoroughbred horses—one of them, just purchased, he described to his wife as "the fastest mare I ever owned." "Mack drives the Gould filly every evening after the flies go to bed," he reported in another letter, "and she is the finest stepper I ever saw for her age. She will make a trotter sure . . ."; "I timed Ida Mills a half mile."⁵⁵

Captain John Ridgely enthusiastically endorsed the activities of the Elkridge Hunt Club. Hunt meets were held at Hampton between 1881 and 1884 and frequently thereafter, with Ridgely's brother Howard riding to the hounds. Hampton's hospitality was justly famous; the Ridgelys hosted large parties after any meet held on the estate. A large silver repoussé tray in the Hampton collection commemorates Captain John's many years of dedicated service to the Elkridge Hunt. John's sons John, D. Stewart, and Julian, and his daughter-in-law, Louise Humrichouse Ridgely (Mrs. John, Jr.), were spirited members of the fields. D. Stewart Ridgely, "handsome in Pink," became an honorary whipper-in.⁵⁶

The Maryland Hunt Cup, now one of the greatest steeplechases in the world, was originally a local rivalry between the Elkridge Hunt Club and the Greenspring Valley Hunt Club. The cross-country timber race was first held on 26 May 1894, in Shoemaker's Meadow, Park Heights. The next year the race moved to Hampton, held on Saturday, 4 May 1895. It started from the Hampton Gate on the Dulany Valley Turnpike, one mile beyond Towson, with a distance of about 4 1/8 miles. It was a fairly rough course with few jumps, but it included "numerous open ditches, several streams, and a great deal of heavy going." The race again was held at Hampton in 1903, 1919, and 1920, with slightly different courses. In 1922 the Maryland Hunt Cup established its permanent home in the Worthington Valley.

John Ridgely, Jr., (1882-1959), last master of Hampton, served in the cavalry during World War I. Elected vice-president of the newly incorporated Elkridge



A large silver tray by Jacobi & Co., Baltimore, presented "To John Ridgely of Hampton as a token of appreciation by the Hunting Men of the Elkridge Hunt Club 1908." Below: note "JR of H" worked into the repoussé border. (Hampton National Historic Site.)



Hounds, 17 May 1920, he also served on the board of governors. Long Quarter Farm, a Ridgely property at Dulaney Valley and Pot Spring Road, was chosen as the hunt's headquarters, and Ridgely participation continued. But by the second quarter of the twentieth century, the glory days of racing silks and champion-filled paddocks persisted only in memory and dusty archives.

NOTES

1. On colonial racing generally, see Jane Carson, *Colonial Virginians at Play* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1989), pp. 51–52, and William G. Stanard, "Racing in Colonial Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*,

2 (1895): 293–305. See also Francis B. Culver, *Blooded Horses of Colonial Days: Classic Horse Matches in America Before the Revolution* (Baltimore: Privately published, 1922).

2. For additional Ridgely/Hampton history see Lynne Dakin Hastings, *Hampton National Historic Site* (Towson, Md.: Historic Hampton, Inc., 1986).

3. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1971 [orig. publ. 1881]), p. 848.

4. William H. P. Robertson, *The History of Thoroughbred Racing in America* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1964), p. 19.

5. Box 1, Ms. 692.1, Ridgely Papers, Maryland Historical Society (hereafter MdHS).

6. John Linder to Charles Ridgely, 25 June 1785, box 2, Ms. 692, Ridgely Papers, MdHS.

7. Document dated 30 November 1785, box 4, Ms. 692, Ridgely Papers, MdHS.

8. Undated paper, box 2, reel 3, Ms. 1127, Ridgely Family Papers, MdHS.

9. Document #4429, Ms. 692, Ridgely Papers, MdHS.

10. Account dated 21 September 1791, box 2, Ms. 1127, Ridgely Family Papers, MdHS.

11. Richard Parkinson, *A Tour in America* (London, 1805), pp. 72–73.

12. “Annals of the Turf,” *American Farmer*, 8 (1822): 132–33.

13. Printed notice in a private collection; copy at Hampton NHS.

14. See account dated October 1805, folio 179, M4691, G. Howard White Collection (GHWC), Maryland Hall of Records (hereafter MdHR). At this time the pound was worth about 2.6 dollars.

15. Charles Duvall to Charles Carnham Ridgely, 14 September 1792, box 2, reel 3, Ms. 1127, Ridgely Family Papers, MdHS.

16. Account dated 19 October 1791, box 6, Ms. 692.1, Ridgely Papers, MdHS.

17. See letters dated 21 June and 26 July 1794, box 2, reel 3, Ms. 1127, Ridgely Family Papers, MdHS.

18. Carson, *Virginians at Play*, p. 57.

19. Dr. Sterett Gittings, *Maryland and the Thoroughbred* (Baltimore: Hoffman Brothers, 1932), p. 40.

20. See Ms. 692, Ridgely Papers, MdHS.

21. Ridgely Account Books, Ms.691, MdHS.

22. Catalogue of All the Stock, Farming Utensils, &c, Upon the Hampton Farm, the Property of the Late Charles Ridgely of Hampton, 1829, Account of Sales Beginning June 1832, Records of the Orphan Court DMP (I4), BCC, pp. 1–64, MdHR.

23. Scharf, *Baltimore City and County*, p. 849.

24. John Hervey, *Racing in America, 1665–1865* (2 vols.; New York: Privately printed for the Jockey Club, 1944), 2:5.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

26. HAMP 35I5, Hampton National Historic Site, National Park Service.

27. Folio 8, M4692, GHWC, MdHR.

28. Accounts dated 11 October 1816 and 30 July 1818, M4695, GHWC, MdHR. The author is extremely grateful for this and other research notes provided by Dr.

R. Kent Lancaster from his study of African-American history and related topics at Hampton.

29. M4682, GHWC, MdHR.
30. Folio 206, M4692, GHWC, MdHR.
31. M4690, GHWC, MdHR.
32. M4695, GHWC, MdHR.
33. Accounts of 5 and 6 August 1816, M4695, GHWC, MdHR.
34. See 7 February 1816, M4695, GHWC, MdHR.
35. Ninety-eight units of "Soal leather" and "6 Sides Upper Leather" were bought for this enterprise on the same day the six sides of harness leather were recorded. Other entries for sole and upper leather are common, and complemented by ones such as 9 September 1817, for "3 Morroco Skins for Ladies Shoes."
36. For additional information on the races and these trophies, see Rachel E. C. Layton, "Samuel Williamson's Presentation Silver: Important New Discoveries," *Silver*, 25 (Jan.-Feb., 1992): 8-13.
37. Hervey, *Racing in America*, 2:7.
38. HAMP 3514, Hampton National Historic Site.
39. This trophy has not been located for documentation.
40. Hervey, *Racing in America*, 2:9.
41. *Ibid.*
42. Endpaper, M4691, GHWC, MdHR.
43. Folio 201, M4692, GHWC, MdHR.
44. Folio 179, M4691; M4695; 14 Jan 1814, M4695; M4695; M4692, GHWC, MdHR.
45. References to Bateman include an advertisement with a reward for his recapture 20 April 1791, HAMP 6910, Ridgely Family Papers, Hampton NHS. Bateman is described as about twenty-one years of age, lusty and well-made, six feet high with a yellow complexion.
46. Folio 170, M4691, GHWC, MdHR.
47. Estate Inventory, Charles Carman Ridgely.
48. M4692, GHWC, MdHR.
49. Endpaper, M4691, GHWC, MdHR.
50. For example, see entry for 21 July 1810, M4695, GHWC, MdHR.
51. Folios 64 and 78, M4693, GHWC, MdHR.
52. Folios 139, 64, and 101, M4693, GHWC, MdHR.
53. 12 January 1853 and 19 October 1857, MS.692, Ridgely Papers, MdHS.
54. Scharf, *Baltimore City and County*, p. 850.
55. Charles Ridgely to Helen Ridgely, 7 May 1876, [n.d.] 1877, and 27 June 1877, Ms. 715, Helen Ridgely Collection, MdHS.
56. See J. Rieman McIntoshi, *A History of The Elkridge Fox Hunting Club, The Elkridge Hounds, The Elkridge-Harford Hunt Club: 1878-1978* (Monkton, Md.: Elkridge Fox Hunting Club, 1978).



The great Ben Nevis II winning the 1978 Maryland Hunt Cup. (Photograph by Skip Ball. *The Maryland Horse*.)

R. Kent Lancaster from his study of African-American history and related topics at Hampton.

29. M4682, GHWC, MdHR.
30. Folio 206, M4692, GHWC, MdHR.
31. M4690, GHWC, MdHR.
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55. Charles Ridgely to Helen Ridgely, 7 May 1876, [n.d.] 1877, and 27 June 1877, Ms. 715, Helen Ridgely Collection, MdHS.
56. See J. Rieman McIntosh, *A History of The Elkridge Fox Hunting Club, The Elkridge Hounds, The Elkridge-Harford Hunt Club: 1878-1978* (Monkton, Md.: Elkridge Fox Hunting Club, 1978).

The Maryland Hunt Cup: 100 Years of America's Greatest Steeplechase, 1894–1994

MARGARET WORRALL

In the realm of steeplechasing (horse racing over fences), the Maryland Hunt Cup—founded in 1894—is the ultimate: the Wimbledon, the Indianapolis 500, the Rose Bowl. Held the last Saturday of April since 1922 in the verdant natural bowl of the Worthington Valley north of Baltimore, this sporting event carries with it all the charisma, prestige, and thrill one would expect of the world's oldest and most difficult timber race.

On this afternoon of afternoons, there are no announcers, no grandstands, no flashing neon tote boards, no Goodyear blimps, not even a hot-dog stand. Yet the multitudes, young and old, pour in: the horsey sets from Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, politicians from Washington, teenagers with lacrosse sticks and frisbees, tailgate picnickers, and ardent jump-race disciples from Tennessee, Britain, France, and wherever sports people exist. The crowds make this annual pilgrimage to witness just one race, which consists of ten to twelve horses and riders and lasts only about nine minutes.

And so it has been for one hundred years.



Early in the spring of 1894, legend has it, five members of the Elkridge Fox Hunting Club sat on the front porch of the clubhouse debating the relative merits of local hunting horses. The five were Gerard T. Hopkins, Jr., Frank J. Baldwin, Henry J. Farber, Jacob A. Ulman, and Ross W. Whistler. “Among them,” writes one historian of the event, “it was decided to inaugurate a cross-country race for hunters, a test of endurance as well as of speed and jumping ability, to be known as the Maryland Hunt Cup. They joined in donating the cup, drew up a set of conditions, dispatched a challenge, promptly accepted, to the Green Spring Valley Hunt, and the race was on.”¹ The conditions were simple. Riders and owners had to be members of either the Elkridge or the Green Spring clubs. The race would be ridden

Ms. Worrall, a journalist who specializes in horse-related feature stories, is co-owner with her uncle, D. Herbert Sheppard, of the 1992 Hunt Cup victor, Von Csadek, ridden by her son, Patrick, and trained by her husband, Doug.

at catch (variable) weights. Racing colors would be worn. The course would be decided by the donors of the cup. The distance would be approximately four miles, flagged at intervals. There would be no artificial jumps. The prize would be a silver cup to be the absolute property of the winner.

After twice being postponed because of inclement weather, the first Maryland Hunt Cup went off on the afternoon of Saturday, 26 May 1894, with nine horses starting. The winner was John McHenry's Johnny Miller, ridden by his owner. A contemporary writer, identified only as J.K.L., described the race scene:

The start was in a field about 1/8 of a mile from Stevenson's Station, N.C.R.R. Long before 4 o'clock, the hour set for starting, the road commanding the first half of the course was lined with carriages and men and women on horseback, until, as the time drew on, it was next to impossible to get along at all, unless at a snail's pace. Another large crowd assembled near Rogers, about two miles below the starting point, on a hill from which quite a large portion of the race could be seen; while a third lot were content to remain near the finish, so as to be able to see that at all events.²

Although there is no existing map of the first course, it likely was run parallel to the Greenspring Valley Road, starting on the property of Dr. William Lee and finishing at the racetrack (now the playing fields of St. Paul's School) on the Brooklandwood estate of George Brown.

So enthusiastic was the support for the new race among spectators and participants alike that Ross Whistler and Jacob Ulman decided that very day to establish the Maryland Hunt Cup as an annual event. The young Redmond Stewart, Master of Fox Hounds (MFH) of the Green Spring Valley Hunt, was invited to join the original five in drafting a formal constitution for the contest. The Maryland Hunt Cup Association emerged in 1895. Absolute control of the rules of the race rested in the hands of this committee and all the committees to follow. The group selected colors and adopted an official flag: green and gold with a diagonal white stripe with the letters M.H.C.³

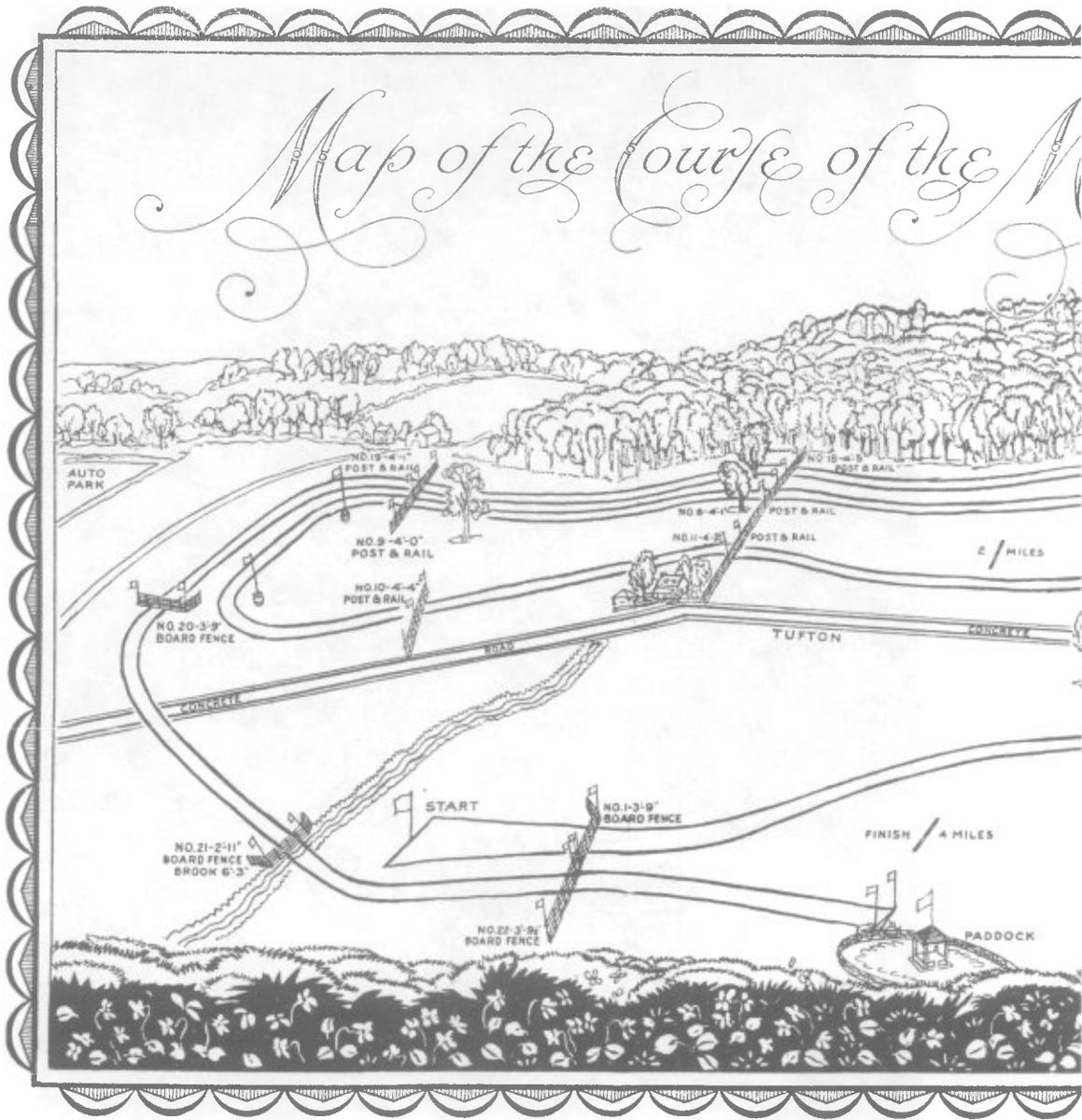
In the first renewals, the course of each year's event was kept a secret among members of the committee until just before the race. In 1898 the prize was standardized to a silver tankard engraved with the coat of arms of Maryland. In 1902 and thereafter the course was officially surveyed and measured at four miles.⁴

To accomplish the goal of finding the best hunter in the country, the original Maryland Hunt Cup committee deliberately laid out a challenging course. But where to locate it? The May 1894 contest allowed spectators to follow the race along the Greenspring Valley Road in all kinds of horse-drawn conveyances. In 1895 the course was set at Hampton, home of Captain John Ridgely, north of Towson. There were only fifteen jumps that year, but the competitors were required to negotiate numerous open ditches and several streams. Because of planted fields, it was almost impossible to find a stretch of open grassland. By 1906 owners of competing horses lodged a formal appeal to the committee for a permanent location.

Nine years passed before such a course could be found. In 1915 James Piper

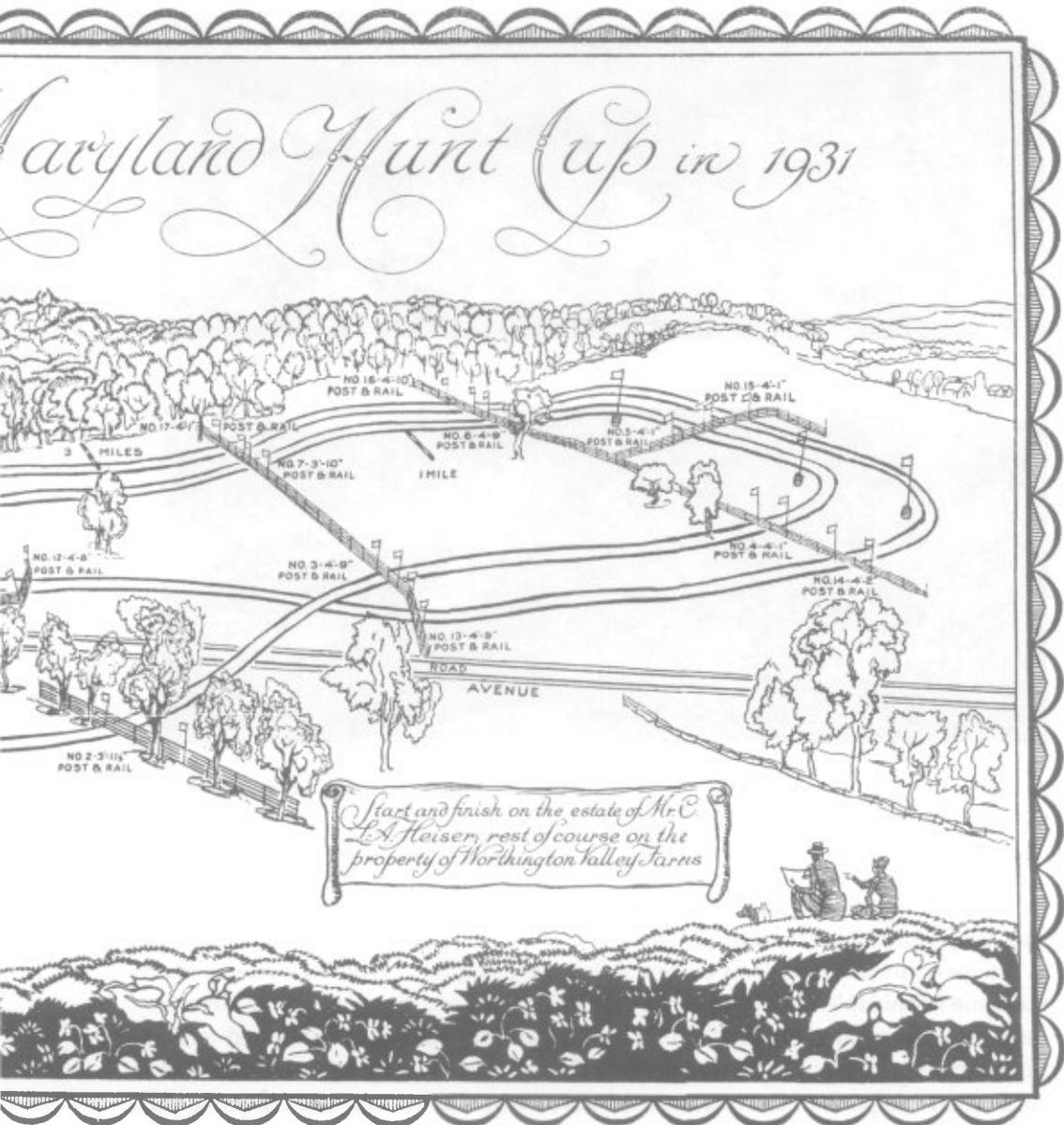


The Maryland Hunt Cup trophies, a challenge trophy on the left and the silver tankard engraved with the Maryland coat of arms on the right. (*The Maryland Horse.*)



Map of the 1931 Maryland Hunt Cup Race. From Stuart Rose, *The Maryland Hunt Cup* (New York, 1931.)

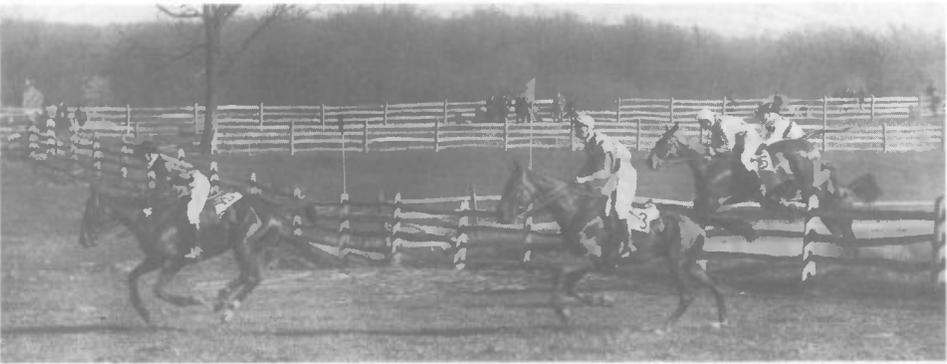
suggested that the natural arena of the Worthington Valley property of G. Bernard Fenwick offered the perfect setting for both competitor and spectator. The four-mile course, containing twenty-two plank fences topped with oak boards, provided a home for the race until 1919. That year landowners did not wish to keep the whole course in grass, and the committee reluctantly moved back to Hampton for the 1919



Start and finish on the estate of Mr. C. A. Fleiser, rest of course on the property of Worthington Valley Farms

and 1920 runnings. The 1921 race was conducted over Five Farms, the home of Stuart Olivier in Lutherville (now the site of the Baltimore Country Club).

Finally, in 1922, the committee was able to establish the course permanently in the same Worthington Valley setting where it is run today. Thomas H. Disney surveyed the present course and put up concrete markers to show the permanent



Action at the 1920 Maryland Hunt Cup, held at the Hampton estate of John Ridgely, Jr. (Courtesy of Tom Voss.)

location of each of the turning flags and also the start and the finish. The survey also established the official height, position, and description of each jump.

The permanent course was designed for real galloping. While the fences were the same formidable dimensions that they had been from the outset, gone were the deep ditches, streams, railroad embankments, and similar hazards that had caused unavoidable problems in the early years. Except for 1943–45, when the race was suspended and parts of the turf were turned to crops, the course has remained the same for seventy years.

Complaints have been made that the race is too long, the jumps too dangerous, and the pace too grueling. Yet the committee has held to its original desire that this race be something special in the world of steeplechasing. As Stuart Rose explained, “Since its inception in 1894, the Maryland Hunt Cup committee has resisted all attempts (and there have been many) to modify the stiff course, to affix wings to the jumps or otherwise to alter the normal line of hunting country over which the race is run.”⁵ (Today the greatest threat to the location of the course comes from urban sprawl; pressed by an industrial park on the east and housing developments on the

west, Tufton Avenue, which the horses must cross twice, carries more and more vehicular traffic. Rumors are constant that this road will become a four-lane cross-county highway.)

The Maryland Hunt Cup committee has resisted change, but the event has survived for a century because change as been allowed in special circumstances. By the time the Maryland Hunt Cup competitors went to the post for the second running, the conditions of the race already had begun their evolution. In 1895 the race was opened to "horses owned and ridden by members of recognized Hunt Clubs of Maryland and to horses owned and ridden by residents of Maryland not members of Hunt Clubs, upon approval of the committee."⁶ The weight to be carried by the horses was set at 160 lbs. For eight years the Maryland Hunt Cup remained totally local in character and unchanged. But as the race became better known, adjustments seemed appropriate. In 1900 the weight was increased to 165 lbs., where it has remained ever since. In 1903 the field of participants was extended to "owners and riders who are members of recognized Hunt Clubs in the U.S. and the Dominion of Canada, who are acceptable to the committee."⁷ Six years passed before an "outsider" braved the local competition. In 1909 Miss Frances Fell of Philadelphia sent her horse Sacandaga to Maryland, and the big chestnut carried off the prized silver tankard.

In 1913 Ross W. Whistler, one of the race's founders, put up a challenge cup to go to the owner who won the race three times, not necessarily with the same horse. Although Princeton and Garry Owen won the race three times each early on, the Whistler Challenge Cup was not awarded until 1940, when Mrs. Read Beard retired the first prize with Blockade. Since that time challenge cups have been retired by Stuart S. Janney (owner of Winton), Mrs. William Clothier (owner Pine Pep), Mrs. Mary Stephenson (owner Jay Trump), Redmond C. Stewart, Jr., (owner Haffaday and Ben Nevis II), and Mrs. Miles Valentine (owner Cancottage).

Twenty-eight entries faced the starter in 1915, representing not only Maryland and Pennsylvania interests but owners from New York and Virginia, as well. Won by Allan Pinkerton's Talisman under a sparkling ride by Jervis Spencer, Jr., the 1915 contest must be considered a turning point in Hunt Cup history because it clearly established the race's national status.⁸ Seven years later the Maryland Hunt Cup joined the National Steeplechase and Hunt Association, which governs the running of all major steeplechase races in the United States. Because of the unique quality of this race, the Maryland Hunt Cup committee stipulated that it retain discretionary control over the design of the course as well as approval of the riders.



Racing over fences had evolved from the English and then colonial American sport of foxhunting, with foxhunter pitted against foxhunter across natural hunting country. The Civil War brought chaos to all kinds of sporting life in the South, especially in the border state of Maryland and in Virginia, where so much fighting took place. The breeding of fox hounds ceased; horses were commandeered for



J. Fred Colwill accepts the world-famous Maryland Hunt Cup after winning the April 1939 event aboard Blockade (son of Man o' War), owned by Mrs. E. Read Beard. Mrs. Beard's daughter, Miriam Beard, holds the trophy at right. (*The Maryland Horse.*)

military use; racing and foxhunting became nearly extinct. Years went by before those sports and the way of life which accompanied them were once again part of the rural experience.

At the Hunt Cup's inception in 1894, hunt racing in America was in its infancy.



Painting of Blockade and his groom by Herbert D. Stitt, 1940. (Courtesy of Stiles Tuttle Colwill.)

There were no set rules, and the early races were highly informal events with little in the way of records kept or press coverage. The first organized Maryland steeplechase had been run at Pinlico on 28 October 1873 for a purse of \$875.⁹ Other early race meetings had been held on Long Island, at Rose Tree near Philadelphia, at Deep Run near Richmond, and at Radnor, Pennsylvania. The Elkridge Fox Hunting Club organized in 1878 and the Green Spring Valley Hunt Club in 1892. Their hunting countries bordered each other, many people hunted with both packs, and competition naturally ensued.

It was and has remained, however, a neighborly competition. “The swell Elkridgers, the Melton Mowbrays of Maryland and foxhuntingdom, frequently send some of their best riders to the Green Spring meets,” noted an early observer, “and a friendly rivalry is the result.”¹⁰ The Hunt Cup’s character drew comment in 1931, when a Boston periodical quoted Redmond Stewart as saying that “It is a tribute to hunting men that year after year a large number of gallant sportsmen ride over the difficult, stiff, 4-mile course for a simple silver trophy, and that a fine spirit of fairness is characteristic of the riders.”¹¹

Because the race has always been strictly an amateur event, the 1958 contest brought a new question before the Hunt Cup ruling body. Daniel Marzani wished to ride in the race. He had ridden steeplechase races as a professional but had been retired since 1952. After some deliberation, Bryce Wing, then committee secretary,

announced, "By letting him ride this year, we are not saying that the gates are now open to all professional riders. Each case will be decided on its own merits."¹²

By taking the individual approach, the Maryland Hunt Cup committee was then able to consider the nomination of Miss Kathy Kusner to ride Viking Stables' Whackerjack in the 1971 running. There was no question here of ability. Kusner was well-known in Maryland. She had ridden races successfully at the major racetracks; she had been a member of the United States Equestrian Team; she had been aboard numerous winners in the unsanctioned ladies' timber races at point-to-points; and she had worked with trainer Mikey Smithwick, schooling his best jumping horses.

The question was whether the race should be opened to women riders in general. The committee determined that Kathy Kusner would compete. She and Whackerjack finished sixth. Then in 1972 the committee reviewed the Kusner decision and expressly forbade women to ride in the Maryland Hunt Cup. As committee member Frank A. Bonsal, Jr., himself a former winning MHC jockey, explained, "We wouldn't want some nice young woman to go out on a bad horse and get beaten up for life."¹³ While such an idea was accepted in 1972, by 1979 the committee recognized the changing climate and agreed that their policy would revert to what it had been previously: owners and riders acceptable to the committee. This policy allowed them both latitude and full control.

In 1980, riding Cancottage, Ms. Joy Slater won the Maryland Hunt Cup, the first woman to do so. Just to be sure, the pair repeated their winning performance in 1981. It was an all female team inasmuch as Cancottage is owned by Slater's grandmother, Mrs. Miles Valentine, and was trained by her mother, Jill Fanning. "As far as women having a secure place in the Hunt Cup," Slater wrote in her autobiography, "I couldn't help but get the feeling that for me to win it once was all right as anything can happen once—as a fluke. But twice in a row is a bit too much. . . . In any event, I guess the place of women riders in the Maryland Hunt Cup—and in steeplechasing in general—is getting pretty secure."¹⁴ (Cancottage is one of a handful of horses to win the Maryland Hunt Cup three times—no horse has won more than three races; unfortunately, injury compelled Slater to give up the third ride, and Charlie Fenwick was aboard when in 1983 Cancottage retired the challenge cup for Mrs. Valentine.)

In the decade following two more women have joined the august group of winning riders. Elizabeth Pearce McKnight won on Tong in 1986. Sanna Neilson won in 1991 on Fat Chance Farm's Tom Bob (owned, it seems fitting, by Russell and Joy Slater Carrier, and trained by Russell Carrier) and in 1993 on Landslide Farm's Ivory Poacher.



Ivory Poacher's victory in 1993 brings to mind an element that sets the Maryland Hunt Cup apart from all other races. Although acclaimed internationally (since 1972, the first three finishers of the Maryland Hunt Cup automatically qualify for



Michael Lyne's sketch of the action at one fence in the 1966 renewal, won by Jay Trump, at far right. Jay Trump also won the 1963 and 1964 events. Mountain Dew, second from left, was victorious in 1962, 1965, and 1967. (Courtesy of Mrs. Michael Lyne and J. Fife Symington, Jr.)

the English Grand National), the contest remains very nearly what it was in the beginning: a race between local foxhunters and one dominated for its one hundred years by the same families who founded it. Ann Stewart Fenwick, Ivory Poacher's trainer, grew up with the Maryland Hunt Cup as part and parcel of her heritage. Her grandfather, Redmond Conyngham Stewart, was the founder of the Green Spring Hunt Club, rode (and finished second) in the first Hunt Cup of 1894, and was a member of the first committee of the Maryland Hunt Cup Association. As a rider, Stewart compiled a MHC race record of one win, five seconds and three thirds. The single victory came in 1904 aboard a beloved family horse named Landslide. Ann Fenwick's first cousins, Redmond Stewart Finney and Jervis Spencer Finney, claimed the Landslide name for their family racing stable. The color of the Landslide racing silks remains those of Redmond Stewart, green and white halves. Jockey Sanna Neilson is Redmond Stewart's great-granddaughter, the daughter of Nina Stewart Strawbridge, and Ann Stewart Fenwick's niece. Ann's father and Sanna's grandfather, Redmond Stewart, Jr., rode in the Maryland Hunt Cup six times, but was never a winner. As an owner, however, he eclipsed them all with the great Ben Nevis II, victorious in the Maryland Hunt Cup twice, holder of the current track record, and the winner of the English Grand National, as well.

Thus the first encounter on 26 May 1894 began the pre-eminence of a family which, either by marriage or blood, can account for the winners of twenty-one Maryland Hunt Cups and literally countless other entries. John McHenry, astride Johnny Miller, was the first victor. Shortly thereafter, McHenry married Priscilla Stewart. Typical of a younger sibling, sister-in-law Ellinor Stewart reported to her mother, "Priscilla is looking well and pretty and Mr. McHenry has been here a great deal lately and is even forsaking the hunts and old Johnny Miller for a walk or a drive with 'Miss Stewart.'"¹⁵ Priscilla must have indeed possessed great charm to lure McHenry from his beloved brown hunter.

Finishing second in the inaugural, riding Tim Burr, was Ellinor and Priscilla's brother, Redmond Stewart. As was the practice before the advent of the automobile, Stewart's racehorse and hunter also pulled a high Tillbury cart and carried young Redmond to St. Thomas' Church, Garrison, where Stewart was principal of the Sunday School. Not so far behind the winner in 1894 came yet another Stewart, the eldest son, C. Morton Stewart, Jr., riding The Squire. The Squire was "a great bay horse with a white star on his forehead" and "a powerful temper and will of his own," according to Ellinor.¹⁶ The Squire, toting up one win and two seconds, competed in eight Maryland Hunt Cups, usually in the white and lavender silks of yet another brother, W. Plunket Stewart.

Perhaps the highlight of this period came in the 1898 running. The headline in the Baltimore *Sun* read, "Plunket Stewart on The Squire Wins the Most Coveted Trophy of the South."¹⁷ Sister Ellinor declared, "There was great rejoicing at Cliffholme that evening. In addition to The Squire's victory, Redmond on The Squire's half brother, Tom Clark, brought added pride and luster to the day, as after a brilliant ride, he brought the young horse a close second."¹⁸ Even the horses were related.

Not to be outdone, Ellinor Stewart subsequently married Frank Bonsal, the first master of the Harford Hunt Club. Bonsal rode in five Maryland Hunt Cups between 1899 and 1904. Although the best he could do was a seventh place in 1899, the senior Bonsal fathered Frank "Downey" Bonsal, who in the 1920s rode seven Maryland Hunt Cup entrants and notched victories in 1927 and 1928 aboard the brilliant jumper, Bon Master. Downey Bonsal rode his first race, the My Lady's Manor Point-to-Point near Monkton, at age fifteen and won. From then on, the high-spirited jockey rode more than one hundred timber races with great success, and later became one of the nation's top trainers of flat racehorses.

A gap opened in the Stewart-Bonsal domination after the 1930s while a war was fought and the next generation grew up. Then in 1955 Frank A. Bonsal, Jr., rode his first Maryland Hunt Cup and finished third on a horse named Philstar. This third generation Hunt Cup rider made a total of four trips around the course and came in a winner in 1956 with Hugh O'Donovan's gorgeous grey, Lancrel.

Meanwhile, almost from the outset, there existed an intense rivalry for the race between the Maryland contingent and their contemporaries just north of the Mason-Dixon line. Some of this zeal was no doubt bolstered when Plunket Stewart, victor of 1898, married a Philadelphia belle and moved to Unionville, Pennsylvania, to establish Mr. Stewart's Cheshire Foxhounds. For four years, between 1909 and 1913, Pennsylvania entries emerged victorious. Various Yankee contenders won and lost over the next generation, but by 1948 the Pennsylvania Stewart connection came on strong once again.

Plunket Stewart married the widow of R. Penn Smith, and Mrs. R. Penn Smith's daughter, Nancy, married John Hannum III. Mrs. Hannum has long hunted her late stepfather's hounds in the Unionville country and her sights have just as long been set on the Maryland Hunt Cup to the south. Hannum rode in the Hunt Cup four times, coming in second in both 1950 and 1951. One son, R. Penn Smith



Crompton "Tommy" Smith poses on Simple Samson after winning his first Maryland Hunt Cup in 1961. In 1963, 1964, and 1966 he won aboard Jay Trump, and in 1965 Smith and Jay Trump triumphed in the English Grand National. (*The Maryland Horse.*)

Hannum, has ridden in the famous race over a dozen times and carried away three first-place trophies—twice aboard his mother's Morning Mac, in 1970 and 1973, and most recently aboard Charles Bird's Fort Devon in 1976. Brother Jock Hannum has also ridden in the race numerous times, as has sister Carol Hannum's husband, Bruce Davidson, famous as an Olympic gold medal winner in three-day eventing.

The Fenwick family, aside from supplying the ground the race is run on, also has had great influence in the race since the early years. In 1909 Bernard Fenwick started Precise in his only Maryland Hunt Cup as a rider. Six years later Fenwick owned and entered a horse named Induction, but the horse fell. Fenwick had better luck in 1920 with the good mare, Margery Jacque, which placed third. In the next generation, Bernard Fenwick's son, Charles, married Rosalie Bruce, daughter of Howard Bruce, the Elkridge foxhunter who in the 1920s had come to much prominence with the formidable Billy Barton (a rogue off the racetrack, this horse made six jump starts in the United States including one Maryland Hunt Cup triumph, and finished second in the 1928 English Grand National). Charles Fenwick is the current secretary of the Maryland Hunt Cup Association.

Charles and Rosalie Fenwick's son, Charles, Jr., is one of the nation's leading riders

and trainers of steeplechase horses. Spanning the last twenty years, he has won the Maryland Hunt Cup five times—the same number of wins as Jervis Spencer, one less than the record of six. He won the Cup in 1977 and 1978 then in 1980 reached the height of his riding career thus far; crossing the Atlantic with the big gelding Ben Nevis II, he won the 1980 Grand National at Aintree, England. Not one to miss many opportunities, Charlie also won the Hunt Cup in 1979 on his mother's horse, Dосdi, again in 1983 on Mrs. Miles Valentine's Cancottage, and once more in 1987 on Arthur Arundel's Sugar Bee.

Bringing the story a full circle, Charlie Fenwick, Jr., married Ann Stewart, daughter of Redmond Stewart, Jr. Their three children—Beth, Charlie III, and Emily—are veteran race riders themselves, although none to date has tackled the Maryland Hunt Cup.

In discussing the Fenwick family, the influence of Charlie's uncle, the late H. Robertson Fenwick, cannot be overlooked. This superb trainer and MFH of the Green Spring can be credited with developing Lancrel, the 1956 winner; his own hunter, Fluctuate, winner in 1959 and 1960; owner/rider J. W. Y. Martin's Early Earner, winner in 1972; and the famed Jay Trump, winner of three Maryland Hunt Cups and the first American owned, bred and ridden horse to triumph at Aintree (1965).

In between all the cousins and relations of the Stewart clan fits the Fisher family, another group of Marylanders to whom the Maryland Hunt Cup is *the race* to win. Janon Fisher, Jr., came on the Maryland Hunt Cup scene with his first and only ride in 1922. Fisher set the pace until the ninth fence when Rumor hooked his knees and went down. Fisher's renown was not to come through his prowess as a jockey, but by way of his extraordinary knowledge as a horseman. The late Suzanne White Whitman, a noted equestrian and herself descended from Maryland Hunt Cup winners, exclaimed, "Janon Fisher was a Master of Masters. He knew hounds, horses, country and people like a book. His knowledge was a gift."¹⁹

Janon Fisher developed and trained Mrs. Read Beard's Blockade, winner of the Maryland Hunt Cup in 1938, 1939, and 1940. Ridden by Fred Colwill, Blockade set a course record that stood for twenty-two years. Fisher started twelve of his own horses in renewals of the Hunt Cup and gave opportunities to ride to countless young jockeys, among them P. D. Reid, Phil Fanning, Laddie Murray, Mikey Smithwick, and, of course, his own son, Janon Fisher III.

This long and brilliant career culminated in the 1960s with Mountain Dew. Called by many the "timber horse of the century," he was all Fisher: born, bred, owned, trained, and ridden by the Fisher family. An elegant brown gelding, Mountain Dew established a phenomenal record of eight Maryland Hunt Cup starts: three wins, three seconds, and one third. His only trip out of the placings was his last race in 1968, when, going for an unprecedented fourth victory, in the lead only one fence from home, Mountain Dew bowed a tendon. Retired from racing, the gallant horse recovered to become the favorite foxhunter for Fisher's daughters.

In the next two years, another Fisher won the Maryland Hunt Cup with Landing Party. Also a homebred, Landing Party was owned, ridden and trained by Janon



Picknicking at the Hunt Cup has become its own tradition. This photo captured observers of a cool but sunny running in about 1945. (*The Maryland Horse.*)

Fisher's nephew, Dr. J. R. S. Fisher. Dr. Fisher's wife, Dolly O'Donovan, is the granddaughter, daughter and sister of Maryland Hunt Cup participants. J. H. O'Donovan's Garry Owen was the second horse to win the Maryland Hunt Cup three times—in 1901, 1902, and 1907. In 1993, the Fishers' son Jack finished second on his mother's Revelstoke. A steeplechase trainer as well as a rider, Jack Fisher is married to Sheila Williams, granddaughter of yet another distinguished Hunt Cup participant, Stuart S. Janney, Jr.

The nephew of Jervis Spencer, Janney's first Maryland Hunt Cup victory came in 1935 aboard Mrs. Austin Wadsworth's Hotspur 2nd. After winning the 1942 renewal with his own horse Winton, Janney entered the Marine Corps, and his wife, Barbara, kept Winton in shape by foxhunting the horse. Janny's victories in 1946

and 1947 aboard Winton gave him a total of four victories and retired the Redmond C. Stewart challenge trophy (Stewart had died in 1936).

The history of important Maryland Hunt Cup families can hardly be written without including the Elders. Robert Elder was third on Sixty in the first running. He came back to win on the same mount in 1895 and to finish second in 1896. Robert's brother George picked up the banner with a win aboard Little Giant in 1897. Nephew Horace White rode in 1913 and 1914, and cousin Arthur White from Virginia won with Oracle II in 1921. Then add in a notable twenty Maryland Hunt Cup rides and five victories for Jervis Spencer, whose mother was George and Robert Elder's sister, Elizabeth. Elder grandnephew Charles White triumphed in the Hunt Cup race twice aboard Capt. Kettle, in 1933 and 1934. White's niece, Suzy Whitman, married Hall of Fame jockey, A. Patrick Smithwick, who rode in the Maryland Hunt Cup in 1947. Paddy's brother, D. Michael (or Mikey), holds the record for Hunt Cup victories with six, and Paddy's son, Patrick, Jr., in 1968 rode a Janon Fisher homebred, Moonlore, owned by Fisher daughter and former MFH of the Green Spring Valley Hunt Club, Katharine Fisher Jenkins. Mikey's son, D. M. "Speedy" Smithwick, Jr., has also competed in recent years, riding Body Music, trained by Charlie Fenwick, Jr.



Three clans, the Stewarts, the Fishers and the Elders, account for over two-thirds of the first-place finishers in the Maryland Hunt Cup since 1894, yet these people could hardly have won the race without a very special horse. It is the love of horses that binds owners, trainers, jockeys, and the Maryland Hunt Cup.

Jacob Ulman, one of the initiators of the race, observed that "the original idea of the Maryland Hunt Cup was to find the best hunter in Maryland suitable for use in the country (principally Baltimore and Harford counties) hunted by the Elkridge hounds and the Green Spring Valley hounds."²⁰ In the first years of the race, however, the lineage of the competing horses never appeared in the record. Often sire and dam were simply unknown. In any case horsemen considered equine heritage less important than individual performance. All the early horses were ridden regularly to hounds by their owners. Some also had been driven; Princeton, the first horse to win the Maryland Hunt Cup three times, regularly pulled the buggy for the family of owner W. J. H. Watters, Jr. Some entrants had even been put to light farm work. Many appeared with success at local horse shows.

But if early riders rode their favorite hunters, by the 1920s the race required horses "of the highest class, speed, and bred to stay."²¹ Very few non-thoroughbreds are entered in the modern Maryland Hunt Cup. Through the years, Maryland and Pennsylvania have continued to supply most of the contestants, equine as well as human, in the race. Virginia horses have threatened from time to time, notably Troublemaker in 1932, Welbourne Jake in 1937 and Sugar Bee in 1987.

Of the Pennsylvania horses, a recounting of Hunt Cup history would be sorely lacking without mention of three-time winner (1949, 1950, 1952), Pine Pep. This

wonderful animal carried his owner, Mrs. William Clothier, in the Pickering Hounds hunt field before his first start and victory in 1949, providing young Mikey Smithwick with his second Maryland Hunt Cup. Going off as the favorite in 1950, Pine Pep gave Smithwick yet another triumph, his third in a row. In 1951 bad luck struck as Bomber fell at the eleventh fence, and Pine Pep fell over him. The 1952 race, run in a heavy rainstorm, gave evidence of Pine Pep's versatility; he trailed the field until the seventeenth fence, when he forged ahead and won easily.

Although American horses have been willing to try for the English Grand National, few totally foreign entries have attempted the Maryland Hunt Cup, and no foreign team has been victorious. When the renowned English jockey and trainer Fred Winter (trainer of Jay Trump for the 1965 Grand National victory) was questioned as to why this was true, he answered only, "I wouldn't dare."²² Following the success of British-bred Ben Nevis II and Cancottage, a number of imported horses have attempted the great race. In 1985 American owner Peter Thompson sent out Priest Rock, complete with his champion British amateur rider Paul Webber; they finished seventh. In 1990 Mike Johnston of Great Britain flew his horse, Newnham, over to Maryland the week before the race, along with his jockey, Simon Andrews. This pair had won the foxhunter's race over the Grand National course—they only got as far as the fourth fence of the Maryland Hunt Cup. More recently, Irv Naylor has piloted the likes of Irish-bred Kevino, who finished fourth in the 1992 running.

The English Grand National is, of course, world famous, broadcast via television satellite to more than one billion people each year. After winning both races, Charlie Fenwick reflected, "There is really little difference. I don't think there is a single fence in the world as difficult as The Chair [a Grand National obstacle], but the Maryland Hunt Cup jumper must be just that precise the whole way around. You can't make a mistake in the Maryland Hunt Cup."²³

Surprisingly, even with the apparent necessity of thoroughbred breeding for Maryland Hunt Cup horses, the average time has not shown great variation since the days of Blockade more than fifty years ago. In 1926 the intrepid Billy Barton was considered amazing when he won the race in 9:09-3/5. Then in 1938 Blockade racked up an astounding time of 8:44. This record stood for twenty-two years, until 1960, when Fluctuate broke it by 1/5 second. The current record time is held by Ben Nevis II, who in 1978 won the Maryland Hunt Cup over hard, dry ground in 8:33-3/5. Ben Nevis is known as a phenomenal speed horse and holds several other records on the flat, as well as over fences. The second-fastest time on record is 8:34-4/5, set in the soft going of 1992 by Sheppard-Worrall Stable's superb jumper Von Csadek.

As the pace has increased, it is gratifying that the percentage of failures to finish has not risen. In fact, those who fail to finish the race lately have been slightly fewer than in the early runnings. The consensus seems to be that modern Maryland Hunt Cup entries are carefully selected by their owners. They appear to be of special quality, capable of running faster and jumping better than their predecessors. Does this selectivity mean that the cherished tradition of the fox hunter has been lost?

The background of the modern competition would indicate the contrary. Owners, trainers, and riders agree that foxhunting remains the preferred means to give the Maryland Hunt Cup horse the variety and experience it needs to be successful in this particular event. In the 1993 field of ten, Nick the Plumber, Snow Maker, Pleasant Sea, Sea Speed, Ballybranogue, the winner Ivory Poacher, and Bold Seven all were veterans of the hunt field. Sidney Watters, writing for *The Southern Spectator* in 1937, wrote, "It takes a stout-hearted man and a stout-hearted horse to go the course, whether finishing first or last."²⁴

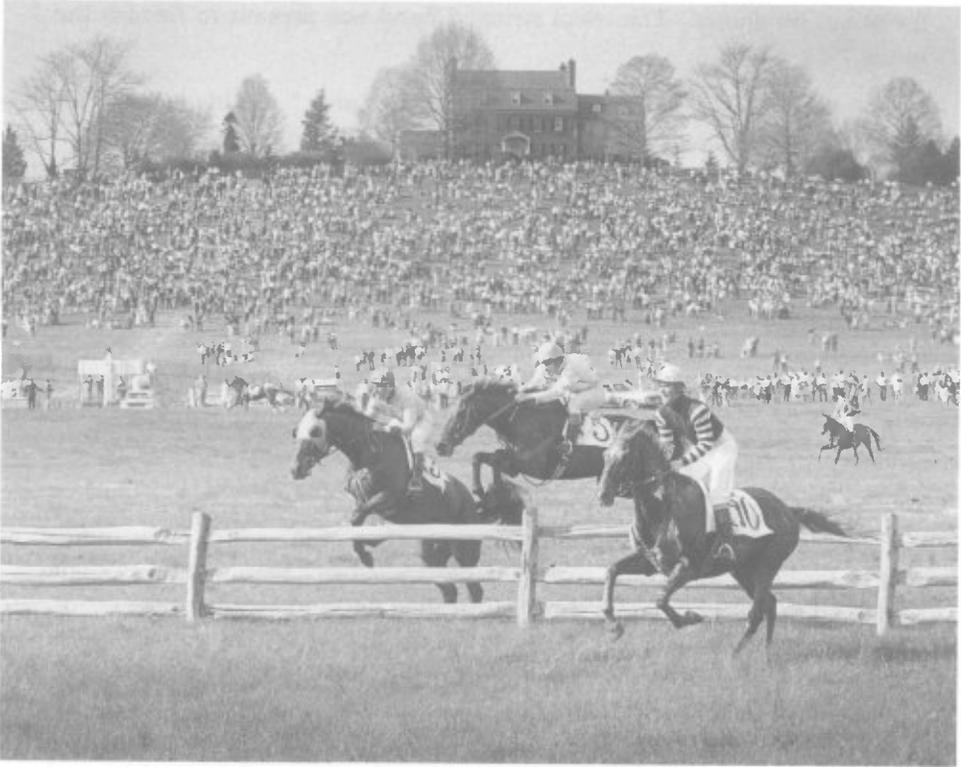
Economics is another area where the details of the Maryland Hunt Cup, if not the philosophy, have been altered as conditions warranted. Summarizing the guiding principle, Jacob Ulman said that in 1895 the Hunt Cup Committee determined "that the race should be run over the natural hunting country, and be strictly an amateur event and in no sense ever be commercialized—not even to the extent of charging admission, justifiably believing that there was a sufficient number of sportsmen to help us defray the necessary expenses."²⁵ From 1898 to 1972 the only prize winners received was the silver tankard, the Maryland Hunt Cup itself. But the race was only twelve years old when a group of owners and riders petitioned the committee to institute both a "money prize" and a permanent course. The committee agreed on a permanent course but turned down flat the concept of monetary award. In 1925, the suggestion of a \$25,000 purse was proposed and rejected just as quickly. In 1938 the committee decided against the suggestion of professional jockeys and cash prizes but agreed that weight for age and maiden (non-winner) allowances would be in keeping with their basic premises.

By 1972 the economics of racing a modern Maryland Hunt Cup horse became clear. Gone were the days of Benjamin Belr, who between 1925 and 1935 sent eleven different horses to start in the Maryland Hunt Cup. (Belr won the race with Burgoright and Brose Hover, but the longed-for third victory eluded his grasp.) Reluctantly, the committee agreed to offer a purse of \$6,000, 65 percent to go to the winner, 20 percent to second place, 10 percent to third place, and 5 percent to fourth. The purse for the 98th running of the Maryland Hunt Cup was \$30,000, not an inconsiderable sum, but a far cry from \$30 million baseball contracts. A recent commentator describes the purse as a necessity to be faced, nothing desirable but necessary for the race's survival.²⁶

Still, the ruling body remains unalterably opposed to any kind of commercialization of the Maryland Hunt Cup. The green and gold flags, first flown in 1897, are the only form of decoration, and now as then, the presentation of the coveted cup takes place on the bed of a hay wagon. As Charles C. Fenwick, committee secretary, explained, "We are only interested in a proposal which will increase the purse without compromising the integrity of the race or infringing on the landowners."²⁷



Joining horses, owners, trainers, and riders, spectators add the final but integral element in the greatness of the Maryland Hunt Cup. First and foremost a spec-



The leaders in the 1972 Hunt Cup race, with the grounds of Snow Hill offering spectators a rewarding view. The winner, Early Earner, ridden and owned by J. W. Y. Martin, at left; J. Fife Symington, Jr.'s Handsome Daddy, ridden by Jack S. "Jay" Griswold, center; and Macbeep, ridden by C. J. Meister, Jr., on the right. (*The Maryland Horse.*)

tacular sporting event, the Maryland Hunt Cup nevertheless from the beginning has exuded an aura of fashionability. Early on, alongside a full accounting of the running of the race itself, newspapers and magazines depicted the social aspects of the event in great detail. After the 1911 running of the race, the *Baltimore Sun* spoke of "visitors entertained":

Wonderful gowns and gorgeous specimens of the millinery art worn by nearly 1000 women, who dress as stylishly for an event in the valley as the English and French women do when they journey to Longchamps to witness the running of the Grand Prix de Paris, constituted a most attractive feature. . . . Preceding the running of the chase many luncheons were given by residents of the valley. Their guests included many persons from out of town who came to Baltimore to spend the day. Mr. George Ewing gave a luncheon at which many Baltimoreans were present. At the Elkridge kennels Mr. Ross Whistler entertained a large number of friends at lunch. Following the race a dinner was given at the Green Spring Valley kennels and covers were laid

for about 60 guests. The usual stringed band was present to furnish the music.²⁸

There followed a story entitled "Society Out in Force," subtitled "Fair Women Handsomely Gowned Witnessed the Sport," which described other social events that day as well as a long and detailed summary of the clothing worn by the feminine race goers. Mrs. Horatio W. Whitridge, for example, was attired in a "black and white checked tailored suit and big heliotrope hat and black lace bow in front." Mrs. Ernest Levering wore a "dark blue tailored suit, and black hat with white wings," while Mrs. Charles E. Rieman sported a "green motor coat, and a black hat with collar of white willow plumes."²⁹ The paper described literally dozens of outfits.

Interest in such splendor had not declined five years later, when the *Baltimore American* repeated the headline, "Society Out in Force," and portrayed the scene breathlessly:

Society attended the Maryland Hunt Cup race yesterday in full force, and there were many visitors from out of town. Most of them arrived by motor and as far as the eye could reach the road was black with machines. The woods on the hill in back of the barn furnished the grandstand for the ladies. To reach it they climbed a fence and crossed a stream. . . . Many of the ladies carried folding chairs which could be stuck in the ground, unfolded, and behold, an excellent seat at an advantageous spot from which to view the race. The day was ideally warm and many had to remove their coats while crossing the field. They wore modish sport suits, many of them white, and others in orange and coral shades, with sport hats to match.³⁰

The paper faithfully itemized the couture of dozens of women. The *Sun* that same Sunday carried similar minutia under the heading, "Varied Costumes Worn," observing that "the Maryland Hunt Cup steeplechase is one of the most fashionable events of the year, attracting a number of prominent out-of-town guests, in addition to the Baltimore contingent."³¹ At length the paper listed each wearer and her costume.

Reporters also noted the presence of bookies, who "were on hand to care for those wishing to back their choice. They did a splendid business from the time the odds were posted until an hour after the finish."³² (Although this form of entertainment was popular and highly patronized for many years, wagering on the Maryland Hunt Cup is illegal under present-day law.)

As the years went by, newspapers tended to give the race most attention in the sports pages, but the society columns continued to laud the "Smart Set" and the lifestyles of the rich, if not so famous.

For thousands of people, year after year, to throng to the country for one race that takes less than ten minutes speaks eloquently of the unique appeal of the Maryland Hunt Cup. Whether it is 85 degrees and beautiful, or, more frequently, 50 degrees and rainy, Maryland Hunt Cup day has always been the scene for luxurious picnics and high spirits.



Redmond Stewart's Ben Nevis II won the Hunt Cup in 1977 and 1978 and the English Grand National in 1980. His record time over the Worthington Valley course (8 minutes, 33 ³/₅ seconds) still stands. Now twenty-six years old, Ben Nevis is retired at the Butler farm of his rider, Charles Fenwick, Jr., who has won the Hunt Cup five times. (*The Maryland Horse.*)

Yet in the late 1970s and 1980s rowdiness posed a greater threat to the continuation of the Maryland Hunt Cup than all the difficult fences, the question of approved riders, and the varied opinions on the giving of money prizes combined. "There is great irony," declared an editorial in the *Maryland Horse* in the spring of 1974, "in the fact that the continuity of the Maryland Hunt Cup is being threatened by young white Marylanders who have no interest whatsoever in timber racing."³³ In recent years, strict parking and admission procedures have discouraged those who come just for the "field party" and to make trouble. Devotees who had forsaken their Maryland Hunt Cup day are packing the family 4x4 with their children and their grandparents, their fried chicken and deviled eggs to enjoy the fete once more.

The numbers swell when the sun shines, but the race goes on whatever the weather delivers. Such is the spirit of this event that race goers turn out in cold or fog or even pouring rain. Some have parents or grandparents who attended that first Maryland Hunt Cup in 1894. Others, like the late Duke of Windsor who married a Baltimore debutante, come a long distance because of local connections, or, like movie actor Tab Hunter, because of a love for horses.

Sentiment surrounding the Maryland Hunt Cup is almost mystical—a rite of spring in Maryland.

NOTES

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3. *The Sportsman*, 9 (no. 4, 1931): 6.
4. Redmond Conygham Stewart speech to Maryland Hunt Cup Committee, personal notes, undated, Stewart family collection.
5. Rose, *Maryland Hunt Cup*, p. 50.
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The 1973 Preakness. Secretariat, the eventual winner on the rail, has turned into the home stretch. (Maryland Jockey Club.)

At the Track: Thoroughbred Racing in Maryland, 1870–1973

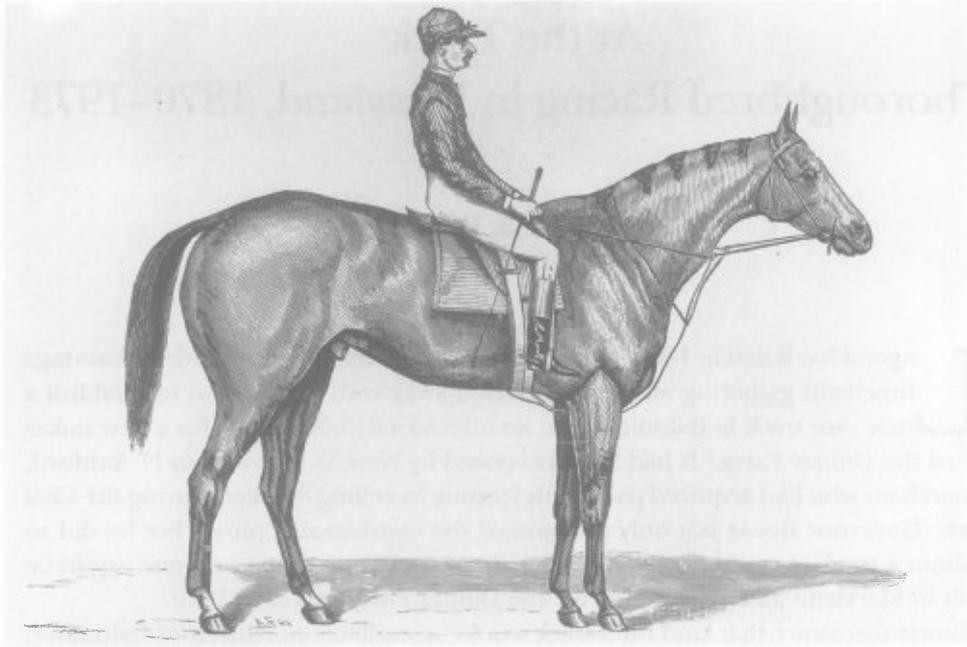
JOSEPH B. KELLY

Legend has it that in 1868 Maryland governor Oden Bowie attended a Saratoga luncheon gathering and got so carried away with enthusiasm to establish a new race track in Baltimore that he offered a \$15,000 purse for a new stakes called the Dinner Party. It had been proposed by New Yorker Milton H. Sanford, a merchant who had acquired part of his fortune by selling blankets during the Civil War. Governor Bowie not only guaranteed the considerable purse, but he did so without a track to run the race on. He assured the group that a new one would be built in Maryland and be available for the Dinner Party Stakes in 1870.

Bowie was aware that land for a track would be available northwest of Baltimore, in an area known as Pimlico. It had originally been settled by an unknown Englishman who hailed from somewhere near Olde Ben Pimlico's Tavern, London. The enterprising Englishman had "plowed up a circle on the property and called it a racetrack." He disappeared after a few years, and horsemen who had raced informally on Charles Street avenue "took hold of the place and put many improvements on it."¹ Then in 1866 the Maryland Agricultural Society, which had been holding annual fairs at a race course near Huntingdon Avenue and 25th Street for more than twenty years, became interested in moving to the Pimlico area: the Huntingdon Avenue car line ran its rails directly across the race course. Through the influence of William Devries and E. Law Rogers, the General Assembly in 1867 incorporated the Maryland Agricultural Society and appropriated \$25,000 for purchase of about seventy acres at the Pimlico site. Despite other subscriptions, the society was unable to raise enough capital to equip the place properly and in December 1869 it leased the grounds to the Maryland Jockey Club for ten years at the annual rent of \$1,000. The Agricultural Society retained the use of the grounds for its fairs for one week annually.

On 14 May 1870 the Maryland Jockey Club met at Barnum's Hotel in Baltimore, famous as a haven for Southerners and sportsmen, to plan a fall race meeting and elect Governor Bowie president. Not surprisingly, a number of persons prominent in the business, professional, and social life of Baltimore were also elected as officials of the rejuvenated club, which had originated in Annapolis in 1743. Washington Booth and Edward Lloyd served as vice presidents, James L. McLane as secretary,

Mr. Kelly for many years covered horse racing for the *Washington Star* and *Baltimore Sun*. He and his son, Jacques, are working on a book that will explore the sport in Maryland history.



The great horse Preakness, owned by Milton Sanford and winner of the Dinner Party Stakes at Pimlico in 1870. (Maryland Horse Breeders Association.)

Henry Elliott Johnston (succeeded by John S. Gittings) as treasurer, and J. D. Kremelberg and F. M. Hall as race stewards. Executive committeemen included Devries, Dr. J. Hanson Thomas, Thomas H. Morris, Jacob Brandt, Robert Garrett, Edward Patterson, F. Raine, George Small and F. B. Loney.



All thoroughbreds trace their ancestry to three foundation sires in early-modern England—the Darley Arabian, Godolphin Arabian and Byerly Turk. Named for their owners (Thomas Darley, Lord Godolphin, and Capt. Robert Byerly), these three stallions had been brought to Britain from the Mediterranean in about 1700 for their unusual speed and stamina. The thoroughbred soon established itself, in the words of a modern Maryland horseman, as “the aristocrat of the equine species.” The thoroughbred

gives evidence of his breeding by speed, courage, elegance of form and symmetry, the softness of thin skin, prominent veins, and expression. No other breed possesses quite the combination of bone, tendon, muscle and—above all—the heart and speed of the Thoroughbred. It is his ‘will to win’ that sets apart the Thoroughbred from all other equines.²

The Darley Arabian turned out to be the most successful sire, and some of his most famous sons and daughters found their way to Maryland.

Thoroughbred racing under the sponsorship of the Maryland Jockey Club opened in grand style at Pimlico on 25 October 1870. Pimlico was Maryland's answer to the fashionable tracks at Saratoga, Metairie near New Orleans, and in Kentucky. Twelve thousand people attended the first day's races at Pimlico, where the original grandstand was topped by three spires and the scene was dominated by the elaborate Victorian clubhouse. The second day of the 1870 meeting turned out to be one of the more significant in the history of the Maryland Jockey Club because on 26 October the long-awaited Dinner Party Stakes, carrying a purse of \$18,500, was run. Horse racing is sustained by upsets, and the unanticipated horse won the Dinner Party. Described by afficiandos as a cart horse, the colt Preakness, sired by the famed Lexington, won—to the disgust of the favorite's backers, carrying the colors of Milton Sanford. Preakness, the English Jockey William Hayward up, ran the two miles in 3.47 1/2. A street adjoining Pimlico was named for the rider. In 1873 the Maryland Jockey Club proposed a new three-year-old stakes race and decided to name it the Preakness (the race Preakness had won was often referred to as the Dixie race, and so the Dinner Party Stakes eventually became the Dixie, Pimlico's oldest stakes event).

The first Preakness with a \$1,000 purse was run on Tuesday, 27 May 1873, drawing seven starters from an original list of twenty-one nominees. The crowd was entertained by the uniformed Fifth Regiment Band, which played selections from *Martha*, *Il Trovatore*, and other operas. The Preakness was contested at a mile and a half, with now ex-governor Oden Bowie's Gatesby the favorite. Survivor, owned by John Chamberlain, took the lead with a half mile to go and drew away to win by ten lengths, a margin of victory that has never been bettered in 118 runnings.

The significance of the first Preakness Stakes escaped most racing fans and the *Baltimore Sun*, too, which concentrated on the fact that the meeting was the first spring racing at Pimlico. "Those who had seen Pimlico only in the red and yellow tints of autumn, or remembered its clinging mud and biting winds were surprised to see it in the bright verdure of May," said the *Sun*. "The general verdict was therefore more favorable."³ Even more notably, the first Preakness featured a



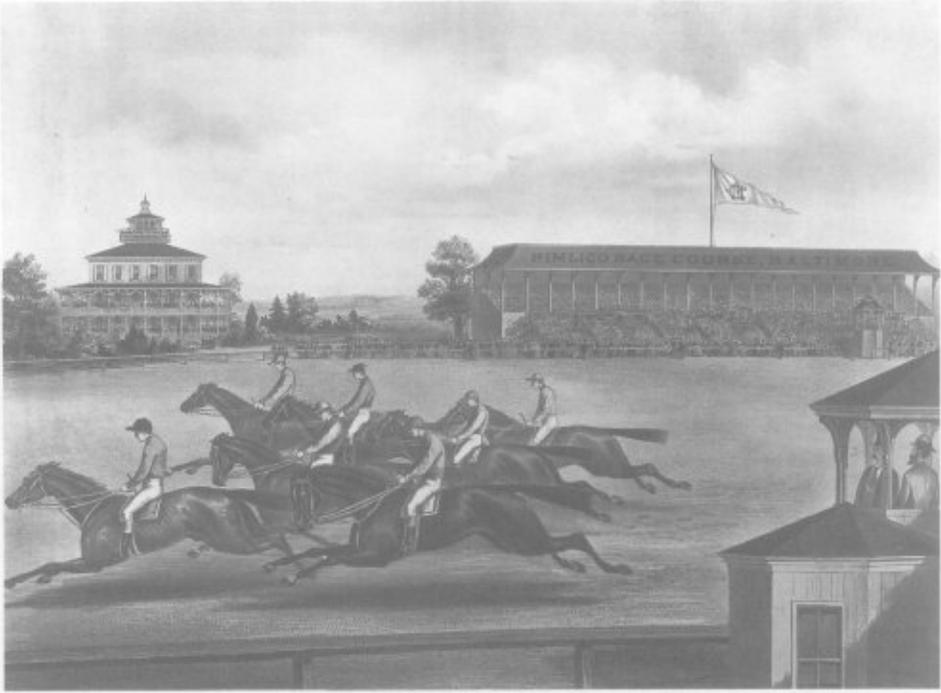
Governor Oden Bowie, whose derring-do brought the Pennsylvania Railroad to Washington, D.C., and major stakes racing to Maryland after the Civil War, c. 1870. (Maryland Horse Breeders Association.)

“French Mutuel” machine. The invention of Pierre Oller of Paris, this contraption printed \$5 tickets and supplied racing with the betting term *pari-mutuel*. The machine provided the number of tickets sold on each horse so that the holders of tickets on the winning horse were paid in proportion to the number of tickets sold. The novel form of betting—it had been introduced at Pimlico the previous fall—was well received. Up to then, wagering consisted in participating in an auction or pool for the desired horse or betting with bookmakers, who shouted their odds and provided a receipt once the bettor accepted an odds quote. Oller’s crude machine became the forerunner of the commercial Totalisator and computers, which determine payoffs on all forms of complicated multiple wagering.

In the 1870s the Maryland Jockey Club at Pimlico enjoyed what amounted to a “golden age.” Racing in Baltimore attained new stature, competing with the sport in New York, Louisiana, Kentucky, and Illinois. In 1876 tobacco mogul Pierre Lorrillard won the race with his colt Shirley, the first successful favorite at even money odds to finish first in the history of the race. Credited with inventing the tuxedo at his Tuxedo Park Club in New York, Lorrillard owned the Rancocas Stud Farm in New Jersey, the second largest in America at the time. Lorrillard supplied the horse Parole in what was advertised as the “Great Sweepstakes at Pimlico” and run 24 October 1877.

Three horses started. The overwhelming favorite was Ten Broeck, regarded as unbeatable (he had won eight of eight starts in the west as a five-year-old and six of seven the previous season). Tom Ochiltree, winner of the 1875 Preakness, and Parole challenged him. Congress adjourned for the race and chartered a special train. A crowd of perhaps twenty thousand persons witnessed the event. The Kentuckians bet heavily on Ten Broeck. Virtually everyone overlooked Parole, but Lorrillard and his retinue of admirers accepted all offers. Parole won by four lengths. Lorrillard collected a fabulous sum, hundreds supposedly went bankrupt, and the Maryland Jockey Club profited handsomely. Its share of betting proceeds went toward a new spur line from the Western Maryland main line, west of the grounds (it opened in 1881, making it possible to ride a train from Baltimore’s Hillen Station near City Hall to Pimlico for a round-trip fare of fifty cents).

The Lorrillard name continued to be heard at Pimlico, but the emphasis shifted to Pierre’s brother George, who also had assembled a powerful racing stable. His horses swept five straight Preakness events from 1878 through 1882. Duke of Magenta started what has become known as the “Lorrillard years.” Harold, Grenada, Saunterer and Vanguard Guard, followed in order for George Lorrillard. Those five years of quality fields in the Preakness enabled the race to be acclaimed as an American classic and to be compared with England’s Epsom Derby. Much of the credit for the sustained success of the Lorrillard horses went to trainer Robert Wyndham Walden, who maintained Bowling Brook Farm at Middleburg, Maryland. In all, Walden recorded seven Preakness winners from 1875 to 1888, a record never surpassed. When he died in 1905, the *New York Herald* called him “the most successful trainer of Thoroughbreds in America.”



Pimlico Race Course, Baltimore. Lithograph after a drawing by Conrad Ludloff. A view of the famous race course dating from about 1875. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Unhappily, Pimlico lost its bloom. George Lorillard grew ill and in 1883 sold off his stable. Heavy rains canceled the first day of the 1883 meeting. That year and next the Preakness deteriorated into unappealing contests, each one attracting only two starters. Competition from new tracks in New Jersey and New York thus took their toll. Interest surged a bit in 1887, when William Jennings's three-year-old colt Dunboyne captured the Preakness. Jennings owned Glengar Farm, then on Smith Avenue near Pimlico; he walked his horses to and from the track (the Jennings Handicap now run each year at Pimlico commemorates this local horseman). In 1888 Walden's Refund won the Preakness in a mismatch. The following year the great stakes race was virtually a walkover. Oden Bowie, loyal to the cause, provided his colt Japhet, which lost badly. Bowie announced that the meeting had been a financial failure, as well. Baltimore racing fans had discovered a far more appealing way of wagering: The telegraph carried race results to what were called "poolrooms" operated by bookmakers who provided comfortable armchairs and instant payoffs to the winners. Then in July 1889 the Washington Jockey Club purchased ground for a track near Benning, Maryland—an excellent location near Washington which the Maryland Jockey Club had considered. On 7 August, after a lengthy meeting, the Maryland Jockey Club declared there would be no fall race meeting at Pimlico.



Spectators at Pimlico, c. 1900, their carriage horses apparently grazing nearby. (Maryland Historical Society.)



Pimlico was not abandoned. The Maryland Jockey Club maintained its club house there, and Governor Frank Brown attempted to install harness racing. The Pimlico Driving Club was formed and the trotters experienced two years of prosperity “with the largest membership that ever subscribed to any new racing association,” according to the *Baltimore American*.⁴ Then trouble beset the harness operation. Fire destroyed the grandstand in 1894. In 1895, 1896, and 1897 the Pimlico Driving Club sponsored steeplechase and flat racing there. Neither was of a major variety, but there is record of Max Hirsch, later to become a noted trainer and horseman, riding at Pimlico in 1896. In the spring of 1898 another use was found for Pimlico—it became Camp Wilmer after the outbreak of the Spanish-American war. Troops of the First Maryland Brigade marched to the track to begin training for duty in Cuba. Camp Wilmer disappeared and in 1900 a new group called the Maryland Steeplechase Association formed under the direction of New Englander William R. Riggs and Ral Parr. The steeplechase association conducted racing at Pimlico from 1900 through 1903.



The old clubhouse at Pimlico with cupola and the weathervane traditionally painted in the winner's colors after the Preakness, 1941. (Maryland Jockey Club.)

In 1904, led by Riggs, the Maryland Jockey Club resurfaced and conducted a seven-day fall meeting at which a young trainer, James E. Fitzsimmons (later known as “Sunny Jim,” he trained horses until he was past the age of ninety), was the standout horseman.⁵ That year William R. Hammond purchased the tract at Pimlico for \$70,000 and made the property available to the Maryland Jockey Club. As the revival at Pimlico continued, New York tracks fell siege to reformers, who in 1908 obtained a law barring betting in the state. While sad news in New York, the statute greatly helped Maryland racing, which afterward could attract important stables and expand its number of racing days.

Riggs's major objective at Pimlico was to restore the Preakness Stakes to its high level. The race had gone north after Pimlico shut down in 1889—one year staged at Morris Park, in New York, then run at the Gravesend track in Brooklyn through 1908. For many years these sixteen runnings of the Preakness remained hidden, like buried treasure. When the Maryland Jockey Club restored the Preakness at the 1909 meeting at Pimlico, the wayward Preakness races were ignored; they were not counted as previous runnings. (Only in 1948 did David F. Woods, Pimlico's publicist, announce that he had found fifteen “lost” Preaknesses.) The first Preak-

ness at Pimlico in twenty years was run 12 May 1909 at a mile distance and was captured by Effendi, a colt owned by W. T. Ryan.

Two events that day contributed to Pimlico tradition. Before the Preakness an unidentified bugler, caught in the excitement of the moment, began playing "Maryland, My Maryland" at the bandstand. Other musicians joined the impromptu performance, to the delight of the crowd. Playing "My Maryland" as the horses parade to the post became a Preakness ritual. Painting of the weathervane that then topped the old Clubhouse cupola in the colors of the winning Preakness owner also dates from that race.⁶

The New York reform movement, which also carried to Illinois, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Rhode Island, produced a boom in Maryland. Owners, trainers, and major stables moved to the state as betting increased to produce larger purses. The Maryland Jockey Club prospered, and new promoters looked at other sites for additional tracks. Maryland was on the brink of expansion that would make the state a major thoroughbred area. First came a track superbly placed on the Baltimore and Ohio main line at Laurel. A Florida promoter, H. D. Brown, sold the project to farm and estate owners in Laurel. "Land was cheap there and the entire infield was bought for \$500," recalled one resident. "It was also marshy and covered with sassafras tress and blackberry bushes which had to be cleaned out."⁷ After a grandstand was built, automobile races were staged to interest the public. Laurel opened in 1910 with informal racing for thirty days. A requirement was that a four-county fair was to be held at the same time. The corporate name of Laurel became the Maryland State Fair, Inc. Laurel officially moved onto the Maryland Thoroughbred scene on 13 October 1911, joining Pimlico as the second major racing spot in the state. Laurel's debut did not go unnoticed; within three years the original investors sold out to James Butler, a New York grocery entrepreneur, who signed Matt J. Winn of Kentucky Derby promotional fame as general manager.

Soon after Laurel's opening, Maryland had a third mile track, this one on the banks of the Susquehanna River at Havre de Grace. Edward Burke, president of the Bookmakers Association, headed the Harford Agricultural and Breeders Association, which founded the new track. Havre de Grace opened in late August 1912. Significantly, the 132-acre site was situated near the Pennsylvania Railroad's main line between Washington, Philadelphia, and New York; the race course also lay within easy cab distance of the Baltimore and Ohio's rail line serving the same cities. Maryland thoroughbred racing enjoyed boom times.

In the spring of 1914 the Southern Maryland Agricultural Association, directed by veteran track officials James F. O'Hara and Gadsen Bryan, opened a half-mile track at Upper Marlboro and within a few months had a mile track ready in the pine woods at Bowie, about twenty miles from Washington, D.C. The wood used in the grandstand, which accommodated three thousand persons, was cut from trees on the isolated site. The first meeting at Bowie was run in opposition to Laurel's, some ten miles away, without a license from the (New York) Jockey Club, which wielded supreme authority before the creation of a state racing commission. After the so-called "outlaw" meeting, the Jockey Club in 1915 reinstated Bowie and formally

allotted it racing dates formerly used by the Benning track in Washington. Known as a country track and popularly referred to as the "track in the pines," Bowie benefited from Washington and Baltimore Electric Railroad tracks that ran through its grounds until 1935. Afterward the Pennsylvania Railroad built a spur to the track from its Washington-to-New York main line.

With four mile-race courses in operation by 1914, Maryland offered the country's racing stables an attractive circuit and a chance to compete for purses without shipping horses great distances. Maryland moved near the top in American racing. Laurel gained national headlines with two memorable match races. On 18 October Omar Khayyam, the Kentucky Derby winner, and his rival three-year-old Hourless, owned by August Belmont, met in the American Championship Stakes. Omar Khayyam, foaled in England, had been the first foreign bred horse to win the Derby. A crowd of twenty thousand turned out to see the match. Edward B. McLean donated a gold trophy as an added prize to the \$10,200 purse. Hourless, trailing his rival for most of the way, rallied to win by a length. Sam Hildreth, a noted trainer who saddled Hourless, called the match "the most remarkable horse race I have ever seen."⁸ A year later, two of the season's top two-year-olds met at Laurel in a match. Eternal beat Billy Kelly by a head, the proceeds of the race being donated to the Red Cross.

Despite the Maryland Jockey Club's conservative approach to racing (authorities at Churchill Downs in Louisville were far more flamboyant), Pimlico was the dominant track in Maryland, and the Preakness vied with the Kentucky Derby as the most prestigious race in the country. In the spring of 1918 the Maryland Jockey Club raised the Preakness purse to \$15,000, thus equalling that of the Kentucky Derby. That year the field filled with twenty-six entries, and the Jockey Club decided to run the race in two divisions rather than split the advertised purse. The idea of a split Preakness caught on with the public. The *Evening Sun* expressed the enthusiasm:

For years Maryland has held its own in the Thoroughbred horse world, while major league ballclubs and other attractions have passed away, but never has any track in the state endeavored to set aside one day as the most remarkable of the season and make sportsmen all over the world realize there is still some of the old racing spirit left.⁹

To add to the color, the club opened the infield to the public at no charge (today it costs \$20 per person). As a result the largest crowd in Preakness history witnessed A. K. Macomber's English-bred War Cloud win the first section of the Preakness after finishing fourth in the Kentucky Derby. Jack Hare, Jr., led most of the way to capture the second half.

The Maryland Jockey Club had a problem that year with the new Preakness trophy, the Woodlawn Vase, a superb piece of Tiffany silver. Thomas Clyde, a director, had given it to the Maryland Jockey Club a year earlier. The thirty-four-inch trophy dates from 1860 and had been buried for safe-keeping during the Civil War. With two Preakness winners in 1918, the club decided to hold the trophy until the next year.



The Bowie track in 1928. A field of horses breaks from what is believed to be the first experiment with a starting “gate” in the U.S. (Courtesy of Jacques Kelly.)

Winning owners retained the vase for a year from 1919 until 1953, when Alfred G. Vanderbilt’s *Native Dancer* won and Mrs. Vanderbilt refused to accept responsibility for the trophy. Thereafter the winning owner received a replica. Now insured for \$1 million, the original resides at the Baltimore Museum of Art and, heavily guarded, goes to Pimlico each year at Preakness time.



After World War I the Maryland Jockey Club stunned the racing world by raising the Preakness purse to \$30,000 and thereby making it the richest race in the country. A dozen three-year-olds went to the post in 1919, including *Sir Barton*, the Kentucky Derby winner. Although the Preakness was held only four days after the Derby and *Sir Barton* had spent much of the time on a train riding from Louisville to Baltimore, the chestnut colt owned by Commander J. K. L. Ross won again (a Canadian, Ross maintained a thoroughbred farm in Maryland, on the site of the former Free State harness track near Laurel). That season *Sir Barton* also captured the Belmont Stakes to become the first of eleven horses—to date—to win what in the 1930s became known as the Triple Crown.

The good fortune of the Maryland Jockey Club continued into 1920. Four years before, August Belmont II had bred the mare *Mahubah* to *Fair Play*. The result was *My Man o’ War*, a striking colt that became the most important horse in America over the next thirty years. He had a Maryland connection. Belmont’s secretary, Adolphe Pons, was an expert on bloodlines who advised the *Mahubah-Fair Play*

match. Pons eventually established a farm in Harford County near Bel Air. He called the farm Country Life, and today it is the oldest continuously operated breeding establishment in the state, run by his son Joseph and grandsons Josh, Andrew, Michael, and their families.

My Man o' War became simply Man o' War, the name being changed by Samuel Riddle after he bought the colt as a yearling at a Saratoga auction for \$5,000. The Maryland Jockey Club and the Preakness received a tremendous boost when Riddle decided that Man o' War would not start in the Kentucky Derby but instead make his three-year-old debut in the Preakness. The Preakness immediately became the race of the year. Man o' War had enjoyed a scintillating year as a two-year-old, winning eight of nine starts and in the Sanford Stakes at Saratoga losing to the appropriately named Upset only because he was blocked. Riddle wintered Man o' War on Maryland's Eastern Shore at his farm in Berlin. The colt grew stronger and powerful looking. At the Preakness his fame preceded him; a crowd of twenty thousand people came just to watch him work out, pushing down a fence to get a better look. On race day a classy field lined up against Man o' War—one of the contenders being Upset. Despite carrying 126 pounds, Man o' War brushed off his opponents easily. "He won the Preakness but it was not a race," wrote Joseph J. Quinn in the *Sun*, "only a performance." Man o' War never lost another race and was retired for breeding after his three-year-old season. He lived to be thirty; his death in 1947 made the front pages of newspapers across the country.

In the Roaring Twenties the Maryland Jockey Club raised the Preakness purse to \$40,000 (1921) and then, the following year, to \$50,000—a level maintained until 1933, when it fell back to \$25,000. In flush times the fat purse enabled Maryland racing to stay in step with the pace-setting Kentucky Derby. Powerful New York stables dominated the Preakness during the 1920s. Harry Payne Whitney, son of the navy secretary and railroad mogul William Collins Whitney, had his well known Eton blue and brown colors carried to victory by Broomspun (1921), Bostonian (1927), and Victorian (1928). Harry Whitney bred and owned six Preakness winners, having taken the classic earlier with Royal Tourist (1908), Buskin (1913), and Holiday (1914). Not until 1968, when Calumet Farm recorded its seventh victory, did Whitney's mark fall. Whitney was the ultimate sportsman, excelling in polo and yachting while substantially increasing his \$25 million inheritance.

Members of the Maryland Jockey Club and racing fans became familiar with the names of such millionaires. Rivaling Whitney at Preaknesses during the twenties was the New York real-estate tycoon Walter J. Salmon, who owned Mereworth Farm in Kentucky and gained three Preakness victories. His horse Vigil beat the eventual Derby winner, Zev, in 1923; Display won the Preakness in 1926, Dr. Freeland in 1929. The Preakness of 1924 was notable in that it was won by a filly, Nellie Morse, the last of four females to capture the classic. That year also marked the adoption of the Jockey Club's weight-for-age rule, by which three-year-old colts carried 126 pounds and fillies 121 (the rule has been followed since 1924). Nellie Morse, who carried 121 pounds, was owned by H. C. Fisher, the cartoonist who drew the "Mutt and Jeff" comic-page feature.



Racing in the snow at Bowie, c. 1960. Opened in 1914, Bowie continued racing until 1985. It is now a training center. (Courtesy of Jacques Kelly.)

Racing at Laurel, Havre de Grace, and Bowie did not match the excitement at Pimlico with its Preakness and Dixie Handicap (revived in 1924), but the sport prospered and the quality increased. Laurel introduced the Selima Stakes in 1926 to honor a famed imported mare of colonial days. William DuPont Jr.'s Fair Star won the first running. The Selima developed into one of the nation's foremost stakes for two-year-old fillies and continues to be run at Laurel. At Havre de Grace in 1920, Man o' War, carrying 138 pounds, won the Potomac Handicap. Bowie welcomed Equipoise to become racing's "Chocolate Soldier" for his racing bow on 7 April 1930. In 1927 Bowie's grandstand and clubhouse burned, but the track rebounded by building a concrete and steel stand and clubhouse (it is now a training center). In 1921 Pimlico established the Pimlico Futurity, a two-year-old stakes whose \$40,000 purse made it the richest two-year-old race in the nation at the time (transferred to Laurel in the 1960s, it is still run annually).

During the Depression three horses won the Preakness on their way to capturing the Triple Crown. In the spring of 1930 Maryland fans anticipated the appearance of Gallant Fox, a horse raised at Belair in Prince George's County—an estate that first had gained prominence in Maryland racing during the eighteenth century. All reserved seats at Pimlico were sold in advance as a field of eleven took the track.



Challedon, 1939 Preakness winner. Foaled near Frederick, Maryland, Challedon may have been the greatest Maryland-bred horse. He was voted national champion in 1939 and 1940. (Maryland Jockey Club.)

Up on Gallant Fox was Earle Sande (of writer Damon Runyon's poem, "A Handy Guy Like Sande"). Sande had taken a near-fatal spill in 1924 and now hoped to launch a comeback. Gallant Fox's trainer was the same "Sunny Jim" Fitzsimmons who had first gained notice at Pimlico in 1904. That day Sande called on all of his skill to guide Gallant Fox to a three-quarter length victory at Pimlico. A week later (in 1930 the Preakness was run before the Derby) Gallant Fox also won at Louisville. He then captured the Belmont at New York and the Triple Crown. The "Fox of Belair" later enjoys another distinction; he is the only Triple Crown winner to sire a Triple Crown victor. In 1935 his son Omaha (also raised at Belair and trained by Fitzsimmons) duplicated the feat, except that he won the Derby a week before his triumph in the Preakness. Two years after Omaha, Man o' War's son War Admiral (also owned and bred by Samuel Riddle) outgamed Pompoon, the runner up in the Derby, in a long stretch battle won by a head. War Admiral became the third triple Crown winner of the decade.

In 1939, despite the rain on Preakness day, Pimlico provided an all-Maryland party. Johnstown, the eight-length winner of the Kentucky Derby, was heavily favored to become the third winner of the decade for William Woodward and his



The Preakness crowd seemed to be ignoring the showers in 1939 when Maryland-bred Challedon captured the classic. (Courtesy of Jacques Kelly.)

Charles Howard, upset War Admiral. The big winner was the Maryland Jockey Club, whose members that year elected Vanderbilt president.

Sadly for Maryland racing fans, Vanderbilt diminished his part at Pimlico in 1940 to run Belmont Park, but the years following his lesser role nonetheless were the stuff of pleasant memories. Before the decade ended four Triple Crown winners ran in the Preakness, and Free State racing continued to flourish. Maryland racing took on the appearance of English and Irish turf seasons. In addition to Pimlico and the “milers”—Laurel, Havre de Grace, and Bowie—there was popular racing at county fairs. This colorful circuit started with five-day meetings that became two-week events. Cumberland, in far-western Maryland, began a racing schedule in 1921, following the second “half-mile,” Marlboro, which opened in 1914 (Timonium in Baltimore County had started in 1881). Hagerstown first staged its county-fair meetings in 1929. Bel Air, with a three-quarter-mile track, joined the minor circuit in 1937.

These small tracks raced during the summer each year, encouraging racing fans to pack picnics and get on the road. Eventually, however, economics caught up with the minor operations. It cost money to maintain high purses, attractive grandstands, and adequate stable areas, with the track producing income two weeks out of the year. Cumberland closed in 1951. A year later Bel Air was finished (a shopping mall now occupies the site). Hagerstown hung on longer but in 1970 lost out to racing competition in nearby West Virginia. Political maneuvering enabled the



Count Fleet gallops down the stretch before thirty thousand fans on Preakness Day, 1943. Trailing the field is New Moon, who just reached the finish line, stopped, and headed for the barn, winner of \$2,000 because he ran. (Maryland Jockey Club.)

Marlboro track to purchase the Hagerstown track's eighteen days, but it shut down in 1972.

Pimlico continued to play the dominant role in Maryland through the 1940s. Despite the war in Europe, the sports world in May, 1941, was enchanted by Whirlaway—a three-year-old from Calumet Farm, owned by baking-powder scion Warren Wright. Whirlaway won the Derby by eight lengths, and a packed crowd at Pimlico saw him stage a famed rally. Last for a half mile, the colt passed the entire field in what seemed an instant and won easily. His rider, Eddie Arcaro, went on to capture a record six Preakness victories but said aboard Whirlaway he thought he was riding a tornado. Two years later Count Fleet, owned by John D. Hertz, the Chicago cab company owner, swept the Derby, Preakness, and Belmont.

Wartime travel restrictions and gasoline rationing threatened to shut down racing in 1944, compressing Maryland's extensive schedule into one track, Pimlico. Several trolley lines passed Pimlico, so war workers from the shipyards and industrial plants could take full advantage of the expanded schedule. In January 1945 the War Mobilization Board ordered a halt to horse racing, but in May, with victory in Europe, the ban was lifted. Pimlico reopened for one day, 16 June, to run not only the Preakness but also the Dixie, the Pimlico Oaks, the Jennings Handicap, and the Pimlico Nursery Stakes. Sports writers called it the greatest one-day program in Pimlico history. Polynesian, sire of Native Dancer, won the Preakness in an upset.



Interior of the clubhouse at Pimlico, c. 1945. (Maryland Jockey Club.)

The postwar years produced top entertainment at Pimlico. In 1946 Derby-winning Assault from the Texas-owned King Ranch won the Preakness on his way to the Triple Crown. In 1947 Faultless provided the unstoppable Calumet Farm with its third Preakness in six years. Calumet was winning races all over the country and found easy pickings at Pimlico with its stakes-a-day schedule. In 1947 Baltimore's channel 2, WMAR, produced its first live telecast from Pimlico (it featured James McManus or Jim McKay, later of ABC network sports, and Joseph B. Kelly, *Sun* sports writer).

Horse racing and Maryland were prepared for another major celebration at the 1948 Preakness. Calumet's sensational two-year-old, Citation (the horse had made his debut at Havre de Grace), had demonstrated such superiority that he was all but conceded the Triple Crown. After beating out his stable mate Coaltown in the Derby, Citation was running out of challengers when he reached Pimlico for the Preakness. Only three other horses started; Citation galloped to an easy victory at odds of ten cents to the dollar. The \$2.20 for two payoff was the shortest in history until Spectacular Bid equalled it, winning the Preakness in 1979. Citation, another

son of the highly productive Calumet stallion Bull Lea, took the Belmont, became the eighth Triple Crown winner, and later was named Horse of the Year.

Despite the promotional advantage of having four Triple Crown winners appear in a span of eight years, racing at Pimlico faced hard times by the end of the decade. The postwar boom fizzled, causing serious reductions in attendance at other Maryland tracks as well. Tracks rapidly changed hands. Havre de Grace had suffered financially for several seasons due to competition from New Jersey (racing at Garden State had opened during World War II). Havre de Grace's founder and directing head, Edward Burke, had died in 1946. Maryland National Guard General Milton A. Reckord became president of "The Graw" the following year. After a disastrous race session in 1950, Havre de Grace's stockholders, meeting in January, 1951, decided to sell out for approximately \$1 million.¹² The track grounds eventually went to the National Guard, and the Maryland Racing Commission re-distributed the track's twenty-five annual racing dates to the three surviving major tracks. A month earlier, the Maryland Jockey Club ended rumors about the impending sale of Laurel (which it had acquired in 1947) by announcing that the track had been sold to Morris Schapiro, a Baltimorean who owned and operated the Boston Metals Marine Wrecking business. This development took place after the Maryland Jockey Club, whose principals included Alfred Vanderbilt, ran into political and other opposition to their plans to close Pimlico and concentrate Maryland racing at Laurel. Not long after, as the economic downturn continued, negotiations opened for the sale of Pimlico. Late in 1952 brothers Herman and Ben Cohen of Baltimore, who had been extremely successful in businesses ranging from steel production, home building, and television-station ownership, bought Pimlico for \$2.2 million. "We bought some wooden stands, well deteriorated, and not too much more," Ben Cohen said. Ben, who was later to win the 1965 Belmont Stakes with his three-year-old Hail to All, had started in the thoroughbred business by buying two yearlings in 1950. He gave them as a Valentine present to his wife Zelda, explaining that he had found something she couldn't return.¹³

Bowie was also heavily involved in the racing news in the early 1950s. An internal squabble among its owners had thrown the track into receivership under M. Hampton Magruder. New York financier Donald Lillis bought controlling interest in the track in 1952. Larry MacPhail, the baseball entrepreneur, was hired to run Bowie, but within a few months Lillis personally took over the track in the pines. Within two years, three of four major Maryland tracks had changed hands, and the other was closed down permanently. (Timonium, which the Maryland Jockey Club had bought in the 1940s, survived only because friends of the track raised enough money selling small-denomination shares of stock; it now conducts ten days of racing that coincide with the annual State Fair.)



Among new managements, Laurel took the initiative. Schapiro announced plans for a novel race, the Washington D.C. International, designed to bring together the



In this Runyonesque photograph, horses are trained in breaking from the gate at Laurel in March 1951. (Photograph by Freddie Kraft from the Jacques Kelly collection.)

best horses in Europe against America's top contenders. All horses were to be invited to run, with free transportation offered to European stables. The first running was set for the fall of 1952 at Laurel. Most observers thought the race would collapse because of travel disadvantages for the foreign horses. Fortunately for Laurel and Schapiro, the American horses did not dominate as generally predicted. England's Wilwyn captured the first International on the grass course (the three domestic horses in the field of seven finished second, fifth, and sixth). The race soon became famous the world over, and after five runnings the United States had won only once.

Pimlico's new management surveyed the future for the Maryland Jockey Club and raised the Preakness purse back to the \$100,000 level for 1953. The Cohen family received an unexpected dividend. Native Dancer, owned and bred by Alfred Vanderbilt, was hailed as a potential Triple Crown winner after he roared through his two-year-old campaign, going nine for nine in 1952. In the spring of 1953 Native Dancer starred on black-and-white television because his gray coat made him easy to spot in a race. He was called the galloping ghost of Sagamore, a reference to Vanderbilt's Baltimore County farm, where the colt was raised. Native Dancer entered the Kentucky Derby unbeaten. In that race he suffered some traffic

problems in a roughly run contest and settled for second, beaten by a head by a long shot, Dark Star. Despite the loss, his many followers could not wait for revenge in the Preakness in Baltimore.

A three-week interval between the two races that year ensured that anticipation built high for the rematch. Pimlico's management opened the infield to accommodate the crowd. When the gates clanged open for the Preakness, Dark Star took the early lead but faded after a mile. Native Dancer charged to the front, joined in a long stretch drive by Jamie K. with Eddie Arcaro up. Native Dancer and Jockey Eric Guerin won by a neck. His backers had wagered freely, and they roared their approval—even though a two-dollar ticket paid a scant \$2.40. It remains one of the best remembered Preakness runnings.

Despite the success of their first Preakness, the Cohen brothers strongly considered merging their newly acquired track's dates with Laurel to combine eighty days of racing at one site. A bill to provide for the merger of Pimlico and Laurel was fought by the Bowie track management and in 1956 met defeat in Annapolis. Thereafter the Cohens dropped plans of leaving Pimlico and concentrated on improving the old Baltimore track.

While Pimlico and Laurel's new managements prospered, Bowie's new owner introduced the \$100,000 John B. Campbell Stakes—the richest Maryland Handicap race, designed to attract top horses around the country. It succeeded; in 1955 Alfred Vanderbilt's Social Outcast won, beating among others C. V. Whitney's Fisherman, which had captured the Washington International the previous year. In 1957 Lillis made a significant decision when the three-mile tracks were mired in a prolonged battle over favorable racing dates. All three wanted competition-free racing days and more favorable weather dates. Lillis broke the logjam by announcing that Bowie would venture into February dates and run nearly all its yearly dates before the arrival of spring. Laurel and Pimlico quickly accepted the solution, amid predictions Bowie was headed for financial disaster. Bowie opened 12 February that year and sailed through the entire forty-day meeting without a weather interruption. Wagering averaged more than \$1 million a day, making Lillis look like a genius. But next year a mid-February blizzard closed the track for a week. Some older horseplayers are still talking about their experiences that day. But Bowie was resilient, drawing large crowds, many commuting from New York and Philadelphia to the only race track running in the East. Winter racing pioneered by Bowie continued to be profitable and changed the face of Maryland's sport. In 1963 the champion Kelso won the Campbell Handicap. Two years later, Bowie fans watched Kauai King capture the Governor's Cup on his way to victories in the Kentucky Derby and Preakness. In 1968 Dancer's Image won the same race at Bowie and then took the Derby (he was disqualified from the purse a year later on an illegal medication infraction).

Modern Maryland racing rated national attention. Laurel, which had introduced a showplace clubhouse and turf club three years after the Schapiro purchase, basked in the spotlight. Management negotiated a coup in 1958, when it obtained two Russian horses to run in the International race at the height of the Cold War. Racing



By the spring of 1959 when this photograph was taken, part of the old wooden stands at Pimlico had been replaced by the steel and concrete building in the center. Remaining were the jockey quarters and an office, later replaced, in the foreground. (Maryland Jockey Club.)

fans were entranced at the prospect of seeing riders and horses from Russia. A Laurel record crowd of 40,270 jammed the track on 11 November. The race produced maximum excitement. An American horse, Tudor Era, finished first but was disqualified to second in favor of Australia's Sailor's Guide. Ballymoss, an Irish horse which had won the prestigious Arc de Triomphe a month earlier in Paris, ran third. The two closely observed Russian horses finished sixth and tenth. The Russian contingent was not discouraged, for horses from the Soviet Union returned to Laurel for the next six years, winning two third-place finishes in the International. Another high spot at Laurel was known as the Kelso years, 1961-64. The star thoroughbred owned by Mrs. Richard C. duPont of Chesapeake City was five-time national champion. Racing against hand-picked horses from around the world, Kelso, who preferred a dirt track to grass footing, nevertheless finished second three times on the Laurel turf in the International and finally at age seven, won the classic, setting an American mark for a mile and a half.

The new management at Pimlico restored the old Victorian clubhouse, collected a fine library, and established a National Jockeys' Hall of Fame. The Cohen brothers in the early 1950s also tore down the old wooden stands, replacing them with

concrete and steel, and built a modern clubhouse containing dining rooms, theater-type seats, an indoor paddock, jockeys' quarters, and administrative offices. By design or bad luck, the face of the track further changed in the 1960s. In June 1966 fire completely destroyed the Victorian wooden club house, which may have provided racing jargon with the phrase "clubhouse turn." Pimlico's old barns along Pimlico Road came down in 1968 to make way for ten brick and masonry structures. Meantime, Pimlico attracted the top stables in the country for its stakes races. In 1965, when Fathers Image won the Pimlico Futurity, the gross purse totaled \$213,900, the richest race ever run in Maryland. The Preakness purse amounted to \$195,200 in 1968, making the Maryland three-year-old event the richest in the Triple Crown. The first \$3 million betting total in state history was recorded the next year on Preakness day at Pimlico.

While Pimlico, Laurel, and Bowie maintained high quality horse racing, farms devoted to the breeding and raising of horses spread throughout the state. Maryland horse breeders in 1929 had formed the first breeders association in the nation, and it set the a pattern for a number of other states. Signers of the association's original articles of incorporation included Louis McLane Merryman, Dr. J. Fred Adams, and Janon Fisher, Jr. Breckinridge Long, assistant secretary of state during World Wars I and II and former ambassador to Italy, served as the first president. Major Goss L. Stryker, who was on the original board, ruled as secretary-treasurer for thirty-six years until his death in 1971. Humphrey S. Finney, who left his native England to come to America as a young man and eventually settled in Maryland, was named field secretary and general manager of the organization, which in 1936 began publishing a monthly magazine, the *Maryland Horse*. Finney edited the journal and played a major part in the development of the organization.

The breeders group blazed a trail in the racing industry. In 1962 the Maryland Horse Breeders Association was instrumental in the passage of landmark state legislation that set aside one-third of 1 percent of each dollar bet at the tracks for a Maryland Fund. The fund provides bonuses to those winners of Maryland races which are Maryland-bred horses. The legislation passed over the objections of the tracks; it made breeders in the state less dependent on the largesse of track operators. In the 1920s there were fewer than twenty thoroughbred breeding farms in the state. By 1958 the number had increased to 250 farms.

One Maryland breeding farm became known around the world, mainly due to the phenomenal stallion Northern Dancer, a Canadian-bred horse that spent most of his life at Windfields Farm in Cecil County near Chesapeake City. Northern Dancer had a strong Maryland bond. Sired by Neartic, his mother Natalma was a daughter of Alfred Vanderbilt's Native Dancer. Small but agile, Northern Dancer won the Kentucky Derby in 1964, recording the first two-minute time in history. He captured the Preakness but lost the Triple Crown, finishing third in the Belmont. Later that year he sustained an injury and was retired for breeding in Canada. In his second crop, he sired Nijinsky II, which at age two became an undefeated champion in Europe, horse of the year at three, and England's first Triple Crown winner in thirty-five years. Northern Dancer's owner, Edward P. Taylor, reasoned



The Victorian era Pimlico clubhouse, built in 1870, remained the oldest structure in U.S. racing until it was destroyed by fire in 1966. Here, c. 1955, thoroughbreds hit the “clubhouse turn,” a term Pimlico contributed to racing lore. (Maryland Jockey Club.)

that the stallion would do much better outside Canada at a location that afforded access to the best American mares. Northern Dancer arrived at Windfields late in 1968, and demand for his blood soon became phenomenal. Whenever one of his yearlings was led into an auction ring, a bidding war erupted. In 1970 Taylor syndicated Northern Dancer into thirty-two shares at \$75,000 each, retaining twelve shares. Eventually the French government offered to buy the stallion for \$40 million (the offer was refused). In time, fifty-four of his yearlings sold for more than \$1 million. (In November 1990 Northern Dancer died at Windfields, where he is buried.)



In 1970, the year Pimlico celebrated its centennial, no horse since Citation twenty-two years earlier had won the Triple Crown, and some turf observers wondered if there would ever be another winner. Then Secretariat arrived on the scene. He was son of Bold Ruler, Preakness winner in 1957. Born in Virginia, at Mrs. Penny Tweedy’s Meadow Stable, he made a large part of his mark in Maryland.



Maryland governor Marvin Mandel presents the silver Woodlawn Vase to Mrs. John Tweedy (center) after Secretariat's 1973 Preakness victory. At right stands winning jockey Ron Turcotte. (Maryland Jockey Club.)

A gleaming copper-colored animal, he captured the Laurel Futurity (the former Pimlico Futurity) as a two-year-old in 1972 and went on to become Horse of the Year. In 1972 the powerful colt won the Kentucky Derby in the fastest time ever recorded (1 minute 59 and 2/5 seconds), swept to a magnificent victory in the Preakness (the Preakness that year attracted a record crowd of 61,657 and betting near \$4 million), and then captured the Belmont Stakes by a record thirty-one lengths.

Secretariat arguably raised thoroughbred sport to its highest level; in a sense he reinvented racing. He re-focused attention on good blood lines. His unprecedented appearance on the covers of *Time* and *Newsweek* registered a breakthrough in popular awareness of the sport, nationally and internationally. His son, Risen Star, won the Preakness in 1988, the year before the great stallion's death. Space-age racing refinements like multiple simulcasts and TV reruns distract from the sport's center, which Secretariat reinforced—the durability and nobility of the thoroughbred in raw competition.

NOTES

1. *Baltimore American*, 13 January 1895.
2. Joseph B. Hickey, Jr., "The Thoroughbred: Maryland's Heritage," in Virginia Geiger, ed., *Maryland Our Maryland: From the Maryland Our Maryland Symposium at the College of Notre Dame of Maryland* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1987), p. 254. Hickey for many years served as general manager at Windfields Farm, Chesapeake City, Maryland.
3. Joseph J. Challmes: *The Preakness: A History* (Severna Park, Md.: Anaconda Publications, 1975), p. 19.
4. *Baltimore American*, 13 December 1895.
5. *Baltimore News-American*, 22 September 1904.
6. Challmes, *The Preakness*, p. 43.
7. *Baltimore Sun*, 9 April 1961. The newspaper quoted Mrs. James Clark, Sr.
8. Samuel C. Hildreth, *The Spell of the Turf* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1926), p. 208.
9. Challmes, *The Preakness*, p. 50.
10. *Thoroughbred Times*, 26 November 1993, p. 2.
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Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

Peach Cultivation in Maryland

TOM McLAUGHLIN

*There's a land and it ain't California
Where I'll park myself no more to roam
The people down there call it Delmarva
Still to me it's just my home sweet home
So take me to the shores of old Virginia
Or Delaware or sunny Maryland
And when you get there just leave me anywhere
Because I know I'll find a welcome hand
On the good ole Eastern Shore
On the good ole Eastern Shore
From the Ocean to the gates of Baltimore
Where good folks stick together like good folks ought to do
They took the sun from sunny south and stole the climate too
and cherries hey! and berries say!
They've got them like you never saw before
They've got the sweetest peaches there that ever could be found
They fall right off the tree and then get up and walk around
On the good old Eastern Shore
On the good old Eastern Shore
They've got so much you couldn't ask for more¹*

Written in song and lore, the Delmarva peninsula has long been recognized as an agricultural region growing superior fruits and vegetables. Part of the lore includes the myth of the bountiful harvests and fabulous wealth made from peach harvests. This essay traces the course of peach production from colonial times and also focuses on the Harrison Orchards of Berlin, Maryland as an example of a successful peach enterprise.

The Spanish first introduced the peach into North America in the 1500s. The Indians became so attached to the fruit they planted it throughout its growing range.

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An orchard of three hundred trees was discovered near Douglas, Michigan, by settlers in 1834. Early colonists and botanists at first thought the "Indian Peach" native to North America.² One of the earliest recorded peach orchards in Maryland, located on the Wicomico Creek, consisted of eighteen bearing peach trees and a nursery stock of 360 trees. The plants grew on the estate of Col. George Dashiell in 1749.³

Thomas Robinson planted one of the first peach orchards on the Western Shore in 1800. The Anne Arundel concern harvested peaches for the distillation of brandy. Early attempts at grape cultivation had failed, leaving the peach as a major source of alcohol. Accomack County boasted a peach enterprise on the Eastern Shore. Established in 1814, it consisted of twenty thousand trees which produced fifteen gallons of brandy per one hundred trees and sold for two dollars per gallon. Major Cassidy planted fifty thousand trees along the Sassafras river in 1830 on land deemed to be "worn out" from over-cropping. In an effort to revitalize the land, he had debris from his warehouses spread over the orchard. A Philadelphia grain merchant by trade, he used his ships and wagons to get the fruit to market.

In 1842 Maj. Phillip Reyboldt of Delaware City planted an orchard of fifty thousand trees in Kent County. Others, including Richard Seamans of Ceilton, planted smaller orchards. The years from 1845 to 1865 witnessed the expansion of orchards along the water ways and as far as two miles inland in the first district of Cecil County, all of Kent County, and major portions of Queen Anne's County. As railroads united the peninsula, peach trees soon lined the tracks in the inland counties, for dependable transportation would get the peach to market blemish free.

Peach harvests during the period became erratic at best. Yellows, a virus, devastated the trees, and brutally cold winters destroyed young trees and buds. Between 1853 and 1867 only six crops were brought to harvest, frost having destroyed the rest. Sold at local markets, the peaches became an additional source of income for farmers.⁴

At the conclusion of the Civil War, emancipation removed the principle source of workers for the fields. Large farms needed new crops that were less labor intensive than tobacco. Eastern Shore farmers, having heard rumors that there was a fortune to be made in peaches, looked north to Delaware. The idea seemed good because the trees could be grown on worn out land and did not require the capital for fertilizer.

Farmers, whose land adjoined the water ways became the first to plant orchards. Peaches could be harvested and sent to Baltimore to be canned or sold fresh. Railroads pushing through the peninsula opened up the New York market via Philadelphia. Peaches could now reach markets in less than a day.

In the early 1870s, expectations for good crops and fast money fell short. Disease struck the 1871 crop in June, and a local paper reported that large peaches left at the office were a rare treat.⁵ The following year, growers, again predicting a large crop, made arrangements to ship peaches to Boston. Unfortunately the crop was a failure from Felton south to Crisfield and only half the normal harvest from Felton

north. But misfortune kept the price of peaches high and successful farmers made huge profits.⁶

Poor harvests, failing orchards in Kent and Queen Anne's counties, and an insect infestation on the lower shore combined to devastate the 1873 and 1874 crops. Attention focused on peach growing practices in New Jersey as opposed to the peninsula. The head of the peninsula growers' association urged peach farmers to diversify. Prices again remained high for those who successfully brought a crop to harvest.⁷

In 1875 the largest harvest in history saw over eight million baskets of peaches shipped. Arrangements were made to sell peaches in Pittsburgh and Chicago via the railroad. By mid-August, commission men dumped crates of peaches into the rivers and Chesapeake Bay as the market became saturated. Prices in New York dropped from the normal \$1.00-\$1.25 per basket to 15-20 cents. In desperation growers attempted to ship peaches to Liverpool, but fifteen tons of ice loaded into a steamer to cool the peaches melted by the time they reached Newfoundland. The captain and crew placed ten additional tons of ice into the holds in an effort to save the cargo. Two days from England the temperature in the holds reached ninety degrees as tons of peaches rotted. Not one peach survived the journey.⁸

One of the major problems in peach production on the Shore is the fluctuation of temperatures due to the influence of the ocean. Temperatures in January and February can become very warm, causing the fruit trees to bud out. Then in March or April a frost kills the buds and destroys the peach crop. A warm January followed by severe frost in March destroyed the 1876 harvest. Seventy-five percent of the peach farmers went bankrupt as no profits were realized from the previous year. A major surge of yellows, increased railroad charges for shipping, and low prices caused the Delaware Fruit Growers Association to recommend the destruction of orchards and diversification of farms in 1877. Sussex and Kent County farmers cut down and burned peach trees, converting the land to corn and wheat.⁹

Throughout 1878, after a spring cold snap, the destruction of orchards continued in Delaware and Maryland. Canneries in Bridgeville and Dover closed. The orchards around Salisbury and Princess Anne, transformed into strawberry fields, became the beginning of the huge berry industry which spread south into Somerset. Mass harvesting of formerly useless black gum trees in the wetlands occurred as millers made strawberry baskets. Small peach orchards remained in Wicomico and Somerset counties as only one-tenth of the normal peach crop was harvested peninsula-wide.¹⁰

In 1879 the invention of a new drying system allowed farmers to dry the fruit on the premises and reap greater profits. The system reduced the use of baskets and cut railroad shipping costs. A basket of fruit could be shipped for twenty-five cents while the same basket filled with dry fruit cost seven cents.¹¹

Due to the erratic harvest of Delmarva peaches, investors planted orchards in Ulster County and New York's Hudson Valley. The first harvest failed because of a mild December and January and then a cold snap in February. The 1880 season



Apple trees in full bloom with snow on the ground in the Castle Hill Orchard. (Worcester County Library.)

saw a large harvest in Queen Anne's County, a fair one in Kent County and failure in Somerset and Wicomico counties. Caroline and Talbot counties had full crops.¹²

A severe cold wave hit the peninsula in the winter of 1881. Temperatures dropped to twenty degrees below zero. The only trees to produce peaches were grown near salt water. Worcester county produced a good crop, but the peninsula now faced competition from Georgia as trees planted in that state five years before began to bear fruit.¹³

Killing frosts in Worcester County, sleet and ice storms in mid-April in Delaware, and a glut of the late Troth varieties caused farmers to cut down more orchards and move to other crops. The center of the peach growing industry shifted from central Delaware to Queen Anne's and Kent County by 1883.¹⁴ Farmers again experienced the discouragement inherent in growing peaches in 1884, as a large harvest kept prices low. Meanwhile, peach trees planted in the Hudson Valley in New York yielded their first harvest. Fortunately for Eastern Shore farmers, the *New York Times* said of the crop, "a worst tasting and puny lot was never before grown."¹⁵

The head of the Delaware Peach Growers Association nevertheless recommended that farmers cut still more trees down to raise the price of peaches. Sam Townsend, a respected grower, had never cut his down and refused, and his adamancy coupled with rumors that New England had paid high prices for the crop set off a craze of

peach tree planting. Delaware farmers along with Queen Anne's and Kent County concerns started planting thousands of acres in peach trees. The demand for trees was so great nurserymen could not keep pace with orders flooding the market.¹⁶

Joseph G. Harrison, born in Sussex County, first dealt in cattle and sheep before turning to the lumber business after the Civil War, when logging became a profitable venture to re-build the nation. On 10 June 1885 Harrison purchased nine acres of land in the town of Berlin in the vicinity of the railroad station. Already well versed in peach cultivation, he and his sons Orlando and George began the cultivation of peach trees. Delaware and the peninsular northern counties of Maryland had recently experienced a wave of the dreaded virus "yellows." The disease, known since 1806, made sweeps through the peninsula, ruining orchard men and causing wild fluctuations in prices. Cutting down the orchard and allowing it to lay fallow for a few years proved to be the only method of control. Replanting the devastated orchards and the then-current planting craze provided a demand for young peach trees. Cultivating peach trees during the 1880s included purchasing seeds from North Carolina, Virginia or Georgia for \$2-\$5 per bushel, and it took 10-15 bushels to cover one acre. Harrison's investment of \$3,000 for land plus approximately \$675 for seed indicates a very substantial commitment to the farm.¹⁷

Farmers dug rows four feet apart and planted the seeds separated by two or three inches. They then covered them with soil using a rake or their feet. Cold weather then cracked the seed allowing it to germinate in the spring. In August, two boys and a man made up a budding team. The first boy raced ahead and stripped the tree. The budder made a T-shaped incision into the tree and inserted the twig. The second boy then tied the twig to the tree with a cloth. The tree was ready for sale and shipment the following spring.

The care of the orchards took many hours and much labor. Orchards had to be plowed often to keep the weeds down. Orchard men spread 200-500 pounds of phosphate and 50-75 bushels of wood ash per acre in the spring. The blacksmith shop provided iron which, spread at the base of each tree, provided a needed nutrient.

Pesticides had not yet been invented, and farmers employed many unique methods of pest control. On the theory that electricity in the air caused the dreaded yellows, farmers fought back by hanging metal objects in trees. The borer, an insect which penetrated the inner bark and sap wood, caused extensive damage to the trees. Nurserymen pulled the caterpillar out of the hole, cleansed the wound with carbolic acid and then plugged the wound with flowers of sulfur. The curculio beetle deposited her eggs in slits chewed into the peach in April and July, causing peaches to drop to the ground and rot. The farmer and his helpers placed a sheet under each tree and shook them off. They then sprayed slacked lime over the trees. Workers combated bark lice by painting the trees with a mixture of slacked lime, tar, and whale oil. Rabbits and deer often stripped young trees of bark, and farmers used rifles to control them.

Before the peaches ripened, workers began to migrate into the area. They came from the alms houses, hospitals, and other places where the homeless spend the



Peach harvest at the Harrison orchards. (Worcester County Library.)

winter. Farmers hired them to pick by the day with a meal of salt pork and johnny cake as a part of their wages. Organized into gangs of fifteen with a captain, each man picked about seventy bushels per day. Each gang was followed by a wagon drawn by four horses or mules attended by three men. They loaded 90–100 bushels per wagon and then unloaded them at the sorting house or station. By 1884, twenty thousand migrant workers flooded the Peninsula earning \$1 per day.¹⁸

Graders sorted the peaches according to their quality. Fruit destined for lengthy shipment had to display a full form, shape, and firmness. Local market peaches showed signs of ripening yet were firm. Cannermen demanded the peaches be full and ripe but not soft, while evaporators and distillers turned the rest of the crop into dried goods and brandy. Peach packaging and shipping demanded a good eye and skill. Sorters selected the largest, well-colored, and unblemished fruit for fancy. Wrapped in tissue with the grower's logo, these fruits commanded the highest prices. Packing crates holding two dozen peaches awaited the small, less colored ones, yet still blemish free, for grades one and two. The rest proceeded to the distillery or the evaporators.¹⁹

Workers transported the crop to the railroad station, where they loaded the fruit bound for Jersey City. The trains usually arrived at 2 A.M., and buyers opened the doors to examine the fruit. Bidders started purchasing a minimum of one hundred cases at a time. The new owners loaded the fruit onto wagons and distributed it to vendors in New York City. The commission men purchased the fruit for about forty cents per basket and re-sold it for \$1.25–\$1.50 per basket in the city.²⁰

Nurserymen always set aside a part of the farm for developing new species of fruits which would ship better, survive adverse weather conditions, make a larger fruit, and affect the timing of the harvest. In 1900 the Harrison Orchards introduced Frances, which followed the popular Elberta harvest by two weeks and ensured high prices. It also presented the Delaware, noted for its size and shipping qualities, the Waddel, because the developer assured farmers it would survive a late frost, the Carmen because of its bruise-free thick skin, and the Victor peach tree because it claimed to be ready for harvest in late May.²¹

The peach planting craze as well as a winter that saw several days of below-zero weather and killed the newly sown trees provided the Harrisons more business. The 1886 crop was light, subsequently prices were high for that year, and some farmers made huge profits. This money was used for planting more orchards. Over four million new trees were planted on the peninsula between 1885 and 1887. The size of orchards doubled in Queen Anne's and Kent County while farmers laid out large groves along the Nanticoke River.²²

The years between 1889 and 1891 would be the death blow for the peach industry on the peninsula. The yellows virus began a major sweep through Delaware and moved south. The winter of 1889 was so severe the crop was a total failure. Only orchards closest to large bodies of water produced fruit. The failure of the corn crop, used as a hedge against peach crop failures, drove farmers into bankruptcy. Auctions became common as farmers could not meet the interest on their loans. Competition from Georgia peaches was also a factor. In 1891 desperate farmers glutted the market with immature and spoiled peaches, causing the *New York Times* to remark that the best peaches were from Georgia. The once proud reputation of the peninsula orchards was all but ruined.²³

Migration of the peach crop from the peninsula to Western Maryland began in 1890 when an experimental orchard planted in 1885 on land thought worthless produced a large, profitable harvest. Prior to this effort, John A. Nicodemus planted a small orchard in 1875 in Edgemont. His efforts successful, and he expanded to sixty acres. The price of land was low and the winter weather fluctuations were not as prevalent as on the shore. Peach fever spread throughout Washington County, lower Pennsylvania, the Cumberland Valley, and Frederick throughout the 1890s as yellows remained on the Peninsula to ravage the orchards while warm winters and cold spring frosts harmed the peach buds.²⁴

Other factors would also cause the demise of the peach industry. Lack of systematic distribution and careless attention by the majority of growers to the assortment and packing of the fruit caused more problems for the local industry's reputation. In 1898 the *Baltimore Sun* reported that a large crop of Georgia peaches had arrived and that the Georgia peach was king.²⁵ Between 1900 and 1910 the number of peach trees on the peninsula declined by 45 percent as San Jose scale and yellows ravaged the orchards.²⁶

The Harrison peach concern benefited in many ways by the wild fluctuations of peach fortunes. The planting craze on the peninsula from 1885 to 1889 provided an immediate market for young trees. The planting of orchards in Western



A tractor demonstration in a Worcester County orchard, working against time and efficiency. It cultivated one acre of orchard in nineteen and one-half minutes.

Maryland, the expansion of peach concerns in Alabama and Georgia, and the sowing of orchards along the Great Lakes provided a huge market for trees. Climate also influenced the success of the Worcester County firm. Located only a few miles from the ocean, moderating temperatures prevented the spring freezes often associated with peach failure. Major competition in the peach business on the peninsula had been significantly reduced, leaving the Harrison concern with a greater share of the market. The Harrisons also diversified their orchard products. They grew apples and other fruits along with peaches to mitigate possible financial loss from the yellows.

The Harrison business established a time-table for the cultivation of peaches. Pruning was performed in January, spraying for San Jose scale in early March, and fertilizing in late March. Cultivation took place in mid-March with a disc harrow and as needed until July, keeping the soil crust soft. Men were hired to look for the peach borer, dig it out, and destroy it. Spraying for rot and brown rot continued until 10 July except for later varieties.²⁷

Harrison also marketed the peaches himself. Instead of relying on commission men, he traveled to Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston to assess the demand and make sales. Using this method, he avoided the commission men and the risks of the New York commodities market.²⁸ Finally, the Harrison concern

took great care in picking and packing the peaches to avoid bruising. Only top quality peaches were sent to market in refrigerated cars, being ready twenty-four hours before packing.²⁹

The success of the Harrison Orchards can be demonstrated by the expansion of the enterprise. The Sam Hastings Farm, which Harrison acquired in 1897, devoted twenty-four acres to apple and peach orchards while fifteen acres grew nursery stock. The Dirickson Farm, purchased in 1898, consisted of twenty-five acres in nursery stock while thirty-five acres remained in woods. The Cyrus W. Davis Farm, procured in 1899, contained over one hundred acres in apples, peaches, and nursery stock.³⁰ Between 1900 and 1920 the business acquired 2,380 additional acres of land.³¹

By the late 1800s farmers had planted over three million peach trees in Maryland alone.³² The Harrison Orchards became so successful in marketing their peach trees that they branched out into apple and pear trees. The large Victorian homes being constructed around the nation provided a market for ornamentals, and the Harrison family introduced Norway Maples, Silver Maples, and Lombard Poplars.³³ An indication of the magnitude of the business can be seen in the size and location of the orders. For example, Harrison sold eight hundred strawberry plants to a concern in Pennsylvania, shipped twelve thousand plants and trees to Alabama, and sent seventy-five thousand peach trees to an account in West Virginia.³⁴

The enterprise did much to improve the economy around Berlin. The concern opened a basket factory to make baskets for the strawberry crop, and as the season progressed, for peas, peaches and apples. A wheelwright shop and canning factory opened in the early 1900s, providing additional places of employment. By 1910 most of the citizens of Berlin were employed by Harrison Orchards.³⁵

The Harrison brothers encouraged investors into Worcester County by offering to sell them the trees, land, and a maintenance contract on the orchards for a period of five years. After the five-year period, the contracts would be renegotiated and the Harrison group would sell and market the peaches for a percentage of the profit. Investors formed companies with names like Friendship Orchards and Nassau Orchard company. George and Orlando Harrison, sons of Joseph G. Harrison, owned several of the orchards in their own right. George Harrison owned Redlands and Cambridge orchards while Orlando had orchards in West Virginia.³⁶

The Harrison family also sponsored huge promotions to sell the investments. On 31 July 1913, fifteen hundred people feasted on chicken, hams, and watermelons. Guests rode special trains to Berlin, toured the orchards, and listened to the virtues of planting peach trees. Many of the members of horticultural societies and organizations attended this extravaganza.³⁷

The business continued operations when, shortly after the stock market crashed in 1929, the firm mortgaged the entire operation to Union Trust in Baltimore for \$200,000. The firm reorganized in 1934, and control of the orchards went to a board of directors consisting of representatives from the bank, creditors, and one from the orchards. The price of land rose until by 1943 it was the highest it had ever been for several years, and the bank ordered the firm sold at auction on 9 December 1943.³⁸ The Harrison family bid successfully for only nine of the

twenty-nine properties auctioned during the three-day affair. They continued in the fruit business until the early 1960s, when the exploding chicken interests on the shore made it more profitable to grow soybeans and corn than the more labor-intensive peaches.

NOTES

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3. Land Records of Somerset County liber A/folio 49, Research Center for Delmarva History and Culture, Salisbury State University, 82.13.11.

4. *New York Times*, 9 February 1881; "Peach Culture," *The Land We Love* (1867), 3:264.

5. *Salisbury Advertiser*, 13 August 1871; *New York Times*, 24 July 1871.

6. *New York Times*, 21 June 1872.

7. *Ibid.*, 25 July 1873; 20 May, 15 August and 26 September 1874.

8. *Ibid.*, 5 and 19 July, 7, 19, 21, and 27 August and 3 October 1875.

9. *Ibid.*, 18 April 1876; 11 and 25 July, 4 August 1877.

10. *Ibid.*, 2 and 29 April, 6 August 1878.

11. *Ibid.*, 5 May 1879.

12. *Ibid.*, 7 February, 30 April, and 17 July 1880.

13. *Ibid.*, 29 March, 18 April, 2 May, and 7 August 1881.

14. *Ibid.*, 25 and 27 April, 3 May, and 16 August 1882; 4 May 1883.

15. *Ibid.*, 10 and 22 August 1884.

16. *Ibid.*, 3 May 1885.

17. Worcester County Land Records: Courthouse, Snow Hill, Maryland (hereinafter referred to as WCLR) FHP liber 12, folio 599.

18. "Among the Peaches," *Harper's*, 41:515-16; *New York Times*, 28 August 1884; *Snow Hill Messenger*, 25 August 1888, reported 128 tramps jailed in Dover and blamed the problem on the peach growers.

19. I am indebted to John Black, *The Cultivation of the Peach and the Pear on the Delaware and Chesapeake Peninsula* (Wilmington, Del.: James and Webb Printing Co., 1886).

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21. *J. G. Harrison and Sons Catalog* (Salisbury, Md.: White, Hearn and Cooper, 1900), herein after referred to as *Catalog*, pp. 16-20.

22. *New York Times*, 2 April and 14 May 1886; 13 March and 2 May 1887.

23. *Ibid.*, 4 May, 7 July, 1890; 2 August 1891.

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25. Irving W. Walker, "Peaches," *Transactions of the Peninsula Horticultural Society* (Wilmington, Del.: A. P. Whitaker, 1895), pp. 34-35; *Baltimore Sun*, 1 August 1898.

26. W. G. Dawson, "Report on Peaches," *Transactions of the Peninsula Horticultural Society*, 1910, p.131.
27. Orlando Harrison, "Peach Culture on the Peninsula," *Transactions of the Peninsula Horticultural Society*, 1914, pp. 39-40.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-42.
30. WCLR FHP liber 8 folio 577; FHP liber 13, folio 51; FHP liber 12, folio 235. See also "Auction Sale of Harrison Nurseries" located in the Pitts Collection, Worcester County Library, Snow Hill, Maryland.
31. WCLR FHP liber 16 folio 39; liber 17 folio 604; liber 16 folio 414; liber 18 folio 334; liber 18 folio 264; liber 25 folio 317; ODC liber 5 folio 107; liber 5 folio 458; liber 4 folio 241; liber 12 folio 391; SMC liber 56 folio 491; ODC liber 19 folio 520; liber 34 folio 570; ODC liber 42 folio 434.
32. H. P. Gould, "Observations on Peach Growing in Maryland," *The Maryland Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 72* (March, 1901), p. 132.
33. *Catalog*, 1900, pp. 28-34.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 10, 16.
35. *Snow Hill Messenger*, 25 May and 20 July 1895; Berlin Tax Record Book, Snow Hill Library, 1903; U.S. Census 1900 and 1910.
36. Inventories, Sales and Debts, Snow Hill Court House, PJ 5 /f 142-142 and PJ 11/128-31; Orlando Harrison, *The Place to Invest in Fruit Growing* (privately printed, 1915); WCLR ODC liber 7 folio 391.
37. The MacFarland Publicity Service, Harrisburg, Pa. 1913.
38. Chancery Records, Snow Hill Courthouse, No. 5160.

Book Reviews

From Gentlemen to Townsmen: The Gentry of Baltimore County, Maryland, 1660–1776.

By Charles G. Steffen. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993. Pp. 209. Illustrations, maps, tables, appendices, notes, index. \$35.00.)

In his introduction, Steffen states that his purpose was to study the gentry of a county, as opposed to the gentry of a province, and that Baltimore County was a good choice for such a study. He defines gentry as those people who owned the largest personal estates at the time of their deaths. Steffen determined the estate value of every decedent in Baltimore County from 1660 to 1776, adjusted the estate value for price inflation, and then selected the richest 10 percent of decedents for the period before 1690, and then for every decade until 1776. Out of 1,810 inventories studied, 181 individuals were labelled the economic elite. While the process has yielded a satisfactory sample, this reviewer wonders if it might not have been more indicative of personal wealth to determine how much was left for distribution to the heirs after all claims on the estate had been settled.

Chapter 1 discusses the formation of Baltimore County and comparison to some of the other counties. A number of factors combined to discourage rich men from settling in the county at this time, and Steffen calls the county a “dead end” as far as the wealthy were concerned. Factors of slaveholding, church membership and service in the Assembly are examined. Writing in an enjoyable style, the author devotes much of the chapter to a discussion of some of the notable—and notorious—inhabitants of the county.

In chapter 2, “The Open Elite,” the author discusses the function of the county court, the provincial assembly, the upward mobility of the clergy and the downward mobility experienced by the children of the gentry. The latter lived well, but not as well as their parents had. Interspersed throughout the chapter are discussions of the careers of individuals.

Steffen discusses the colonial work force—made up of slaves, indentured servants, tenants, other servants and artisans—in chapter 3. The author not only examines leases and tax lists, but uses a day book from 1748 showing how tools were distributed among the various quarters of Northampton, the Ridgely estate.

Prices of land and slaves, sizes of tracts sold, falling mortality rates, and the reluctance of the elite to leave all of their property only to the oldest son are the subjects of chapter 4. Wills and deeds of gift were examined to enable the author to reach his conclusions.

Steffen traces the rise of the merchant community in chapter 5. Many of the early merchants began their careers as factors for London companies. Their careers in the shop, their political activities, the kinds of goods they sold, and their difficulties in collecting debts are discussed.

Chapters 6 and 7 deal with the established church and the role of the clergy, and the rise of Baltimore Town. The preaching, the tempers and the conflicts of clergy with their vestries and parishioners, and the spiritual guidance provided by many of the pastors all come under Steffen's scrutiny, and fascinating reading the chapter makes! In the chapter on Baltimore Town, Steffen presents a graph showing the decline in ownership of lots of the town commissioner and the Carroll family, and the increase in ownership of lots by private individuals. Steffen goes on to discuss how the protest movement against imperial policy created antagonism between the Baltimore merchants and the established gentry families.

Throughout his book Steffen has displayed his painstaking research among all kinds of colonial records, and he has included charts, graphs, and maps to explain his findings. Throughout his book he has included biographical sketches of the people whose activities provide the basis of the charts and statistics, and he has written in an informative manner that is interesting to read. Both academics studying the economy of colonial society and students of local history alike will find the book enjoyable and enlightening.

ROBERT W. BARNES

Perry Hall

Traders and Transports: The Jews of Colonial Maryland. By Eric L. Goldstein. (Baltimore: The Jewish Historical Society of Maryland, 1993. Pp. 75. Notes, illustrations, appendix, bibliography, and index. \$7.50.

This is a masterly, well researched little book that has been long overdue. The early Jews of Maryland were only documented in scholarly fashion after the Jew Bill (1828) was passed. Before that, it was hard to take a census. Now Mr. Goldstein has done what no other Maryland Jewish historian had the knowledge or get-up-and-go to do. He has gone to the authority, the Transport Office (responsible in 1700 England for the transport of criminals) and the Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England. He has also researched in the authoritative and accurate publications of the Maryland State Archives and the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati, as well as the works of Rabbi Jacob Marcus and even the Public Record Office in London.

With one deep sneeze he has blown away all the fables. The only previous responsible history of the Maryland Jews was that of Blum, published in 1910 and dealing almost entirely with Baltimore Jewry, all of who were, according to Blum, fine fellows. Now we find that their predecessors were thieves, harlots, and forgers. They were tried in various courts of the king and usually given the choice of hanging, being jailed, or transported. Not much of a choice. Some of the crimes seemed to be only slightly heinous such as stealing a hat. Picking pockets seemed to be as severely dealt with. And perjury brought fourteen years servitude.

The author has dug up a number of interesting characters and stories. One is that of Ferera who preceded the legendary Lumbrozo. Ferera was driven from Maryland by the infamous Navigation Act. One Philip Alferino was the master of

Plain Dealing in Talbot County (by marriage). Mr. Goldstein produces a sizable Jewish settlement in Frederick, traders on the frontier, all of whom drifted down from Pennsylvania. The care and scholarship of the book is impressive. No detail of footnoting, documenting, or credit is overlooked. It is the most valuable piece of Maryland Jewish history this reviewer has ever encountered.

The only readers who may be shaken by the book are descendants of early Maryland families. With the shortage of women, and the high mortality of both men and women, it is highly possible that the Blood of the Prophets is in the veins of the descendants of the Original Colonists, to a small degree.

ARTHUR J. GUTMAN

Baltimore

The Blue Hills of Maryland: History Along the Appalachian Trail on South Mountain and the Catoctins. By Paula M. Strain. (Vienna, Va.: Potomac Appalachian Trail Club, 1993. Pp. viii, 307. Illustrations, photos, maps, sources. \$14.00 paper.)

Paula M. Strain courageously tackles the rich historical endowment of Maryland's storied Blue Ridge from its most advantageous perch: the Appalachian Trail. To her and her comrades of the Potomac Appalachian Trail Club, and its parent Appalachian Trail Conference (bless them), we owe a considerable debt of gratitude for binding the region together with their inviting mountaintop pathway.

Without question South Mountain constitutes the state's historical spine. First of its kind, this book describes in agreeable detail the myriad variety that unfolded on its blue-green slopes and throughout its adjacent valleys. Here, too, one fully grasps the mountain's embodiment of Maryland's crossroads of the Civil War, its premiere attraction. Virtually every conceivable point of interest is enthusiastically embraced without hesitation or bias.

Bearing much in common with Thomas F. Hahn's *Towpath Guide to the C&O Canal* (9th ed. [Shepherdstown, W. Va.: American Canal and Transportation Center, 1991]), this work seems overly ambitious in scope and suffers accordingly. Sites on Catoctin Mountain are too far afield to be relevant and the reader is repeatedly drawn away from South Mountain to consider peripheral events. The implication is that the Appalachian Trail also courses Catoctin Mountain, implied in the title as well. Unlike Hahn's survey, the principal tour artery is frequently shoved into the background.

While well-documented essays on various subjects rivet attention, treatment afforded other sites wanders into dubious oral tradition, a staple of the region. For this the author can be only partially blamed. Folklore, mythology, and tall tales do not constitute history and have no place in this study, however scarce hard research sources may be. These perennial stumbling blocks inevitably litter one's path when plowing through a pervasive Blue Ridge dichotomy, prurient redneckdom versus religious zealotry. Here history adopts suspiciously elastic boundaries, urging extreme caution in assimilating "facts" gleaned exclusively from local sources. Many investigators have been stung in this way, this reviewer not excepted. Though the

author may be faulted for limited research, she merely falls prey to fabricated sources that are difficult if not impossible to erase. For example, through familiarity this reviewer experienced an involuntary wince when again confronted with the infamous "Prather letter" (pp. 88-89). For the record, this popular fiction has been conclusively traced to its dishonorable creator who is, incidentally, named in the book.

Torn between a tour guide and a regional history survey, this work seems undecided on what it wants to be when it grows up. Its otherwise excellent maps lack labeled roads, sites are not keyed thereon, site descriptions occasionally digress to near replication of their sources, and an index is disappointingly absent. Annotation and rudimentary directions are also in order. But mature it definitely should, given a chance for a revised second edition entailing serious rewrite, editing and proofreading.

What we have here is splendid raw material for a definitive field guide to South Mountain's much sought after historical legacy anchored to the ever popular trail, an educational and recreational tool long looked for by thousands. Year-round visitation to the region has skyrocketed recently, making a guide of this depth an overdue necessity. Whether they come on foot or by auto, visitors urgently require in-depth site interpretation not currently furnished by government agencies. Once again ATC personnel step in to fill the void.

Using the Hahn model, *The Blue Hills of Maryland* should most certainly be refined to compliment its subject in format, clarity, and insight. A tall order this may appear, but it is easy to envision periodic, updated editions of increasing utility and popularity akin to the *Towpath Guide*. In better arranged form, this work undoubtedly should become a highly desirable standard.

But in refinement, certain elements should be retained. The author paints her pictures with a deeply human touch, casting each historical setting in contemporary context. Her survey could easily suffice as a preservation blueprint or a testimonial to lost heritage. Even in flawed form this book covers much ground previously ignored by more academic works. We are also treated to a rare discourse on the history and mechanics of the trail clubs themselves, long guilty of under-selling themselves. One readily acquires deeper respect for these stoic guardians in their often lonely endeavors.

The author apparently shouldered this task alone without benefit of critical analysis or assistance from experienced, supportive eyes. Given the complexity of its subject matter, a cooperative effort might have avoided some of its blemishes. Local historians, cited in the sources, should be consulted for periodic updates derived from ongoing research. In counterpoint, South Mountain scholars would do well to forward new data and publications to the author or to AT offices at Harpers Ferry. Be that as it may, *Blue Hills* is an admirable companion on any field trip. It fits the hand well and is the next best thing to a warm-blooded tour guide, a commodity in short supply on South Mountain.

Historians, educators, librarians, hikers, and day-trippers should seriously consider adding this volume to their bookshelves, though it will not dwell there for long.

Few slices of Maryland heritage are as liberally seasoned. It is fervently hoped that this work will mature into a meticulous, reliable classic for years to come.

TIMOTHY J. REESE
Burkittsville

The Money Crop: Tobacco Culture in Calvert County, Maryland. By Sally V. McGrath and Patricia J. McGuire. (Crownsville: Maryland Historical and Cultural Publications, 1992. Pp. 64. Glossary. \$8.95.)

This slim volume is a cooperative effort which combines oral history and contemporary photography to portray the culture of tobacco in Calvert County. Tobacco has been an essential part of southern Maryland's economy for more than three centuries. That way of life as well as the buildings and artifacts associated with it are fast disappearing under waves of suburbanization. Thus the photographs and oral history aim at preserving a life style as well as a landscape of vernacular buildings.

The process of growing and marketing tobacco is followed from preparing beds through marketing the crop. *The Money Crop* shows tobacco culture largely as it is in the late twentieth century, although there is some mention of earlier times. It preserves the present for the future. Yet much of tobacco cultivation is a timeless process little changed over the centuries. Tools and techniques are much the same as in the colonial past. Although modern machines help, it is still labor intensive, and as the photograph on page 23 shows, there is still considerable risk from bad weather.

Many interesting traditions, such as the use of turkeys to keep down tobacco worms, are recounted here, and the glossary is very helpful. The layout and choice of photographs and graphic materials was clearly done with great care. This reviewer's only negative comment involves the quality of some of the photographs, which are quite gray. In all, those involved in this project are to be congratulated on a job well done. It is hoped that this volume on the tobacco crop will encourage similar projects that bring together photography and oral history to preserve vestiges of Maryland's traditional culture.

BAYLY ELLEN MARKS
Catonsville Community College

Lost Baltimore: A Portfolio of Vanished Buildings. By Carleton Jones. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993. Pp. xvi, 289. Illustrations, index. \$34.95.)

Lost Baltimore is a new presentation of Carleton Jones's *Lost Baltimore Landmarks: A Portfolio of Vanished Buildings* (Baltimore: Maclay & Associates, 1982). The author offers "a look at what we once had," in the form of small images (reproduced from photographs or prints) and brief descriptions of one hundred or so buildings, in

order to “redress some of the balance in favor of our eclectic and loving designers of centuries past” (p. xvi). Almost half of the buildings treated are commercial in nature; the balance is drawn from civic/educational, domestic and religious spheres. The chronological organization arranges the material into Colonial, Federal, Antebellum, High Victorian and “Golden City” categories; essays introduce each section. The short essays should not be read as stylistic synopses of Baltimore’s architectural history. They were based, after all, on only a part of the evidence. A descriptive paragraph places the building (whose street location is given) in the contexts of its use and urban setting. The dates of building and demolition are provided, as is the name of the architect, when known to the author.

Many of the buildings in *Lost Baltimore* disappeared as a result of the aggressive urban clearance activity of this century, as Jones points out. The book begins its coverage in the first decades of Baltimore Town and extends through the building boom of the early nineteenth century (itself a destructive force upon the first phase of Baltimore building) and the fires of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Much was lost and replaced before our time; that is not necessarily cause for mourning—it is the way of cities. The author does not denigrate the new, to his credit, nor does the nostalgic element dominate the book as is the case with other titles in the Lost genre. Jones does not overreach; he does entertain and inform.

The buildings included range in function and pretension. Familiar examples appear, such as the town’s first courthouse, in existence from 1768 to 1810 on Calvert Street at the site of the Battle Monument; together with monuments less well known, such as the Maryland State Tobacco Warehouse of 1848, located at Conway and South Charles streets, pulled down about 1970. The building descriptions include references to other buildings of similar or comparable style and place a particular building in its local context on the street.

Lost Baltimore is valuable for its collection and presentation of buildings we can know now only through pictures and text. The book is likely to hold its interest over the long term and be complementary to past publications, such as Richard Howland and Eleanor Spencer, *The Architecture of Baltimore: A Pictorial History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1953), and John R. Dorsey and James D. Dilts, *A Guide to Baltimore Architecture* (Centreville, Maryland: Tidewater Publishers, 1981), and to publications to appear later in this decade, e.g., the Maryland volume in the Oxford University Press series, *Buildings of the United States*.

Lost Baltimore displays the author’s engaging, informal style to advantage but is not helped by a casual and somewhat perfunctory editorial approach. All of this may be fixed. The introductory text—written for the 1982 publication and essentially unchanged for 1993—does not cite the important Howland and Spencer or Dorsey and Dilts works by name but leaves the reader to guess. Indeed, this book includes no bibliographic information at all: its value would have been enhanced with a list of additional readings in the book and journal literature, at the very least. The points Jones makes in his essays could be driven home by reference to illustrative examples. Instead, the reader is left to take the statements at face value, which sometimes makes them appear to be little more than the author’s own likes and dislikes. The

visual impact of the reproduced images is milder than one would want, except for the strong title page spread and chapter beginnings. The illustrations are rarely dated. Institutional sources of illustrations are listed; "all other illustrations are from period publications." Why not give the reader a simple citation to allow pursuit of more information about a building of interest? Some publications in the genre, such as William Dendy, *Lost Toronto* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978) or James M. Goode, *Capital Losses: A Cultural History of Washington's Destroyed Buildings* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), include maps, useful for placing the lost buildings in their urban context; *Lost Baltimore* offers no maps. Jones indicates that Dorsey and Dilts's excellent guide is up-to-date, a claim that the authors themselves would not now make. And Jones could well have cited *Baltimore's Past: A Directory of Historical Sources* (Baltimore: Baltimore History Network, 1989) and the Robert G. Merrick Archive of Maryland Historical Photographs at the Maryland State Archives, in partial answer to his own lament of the lack of either an index or a central repository of significant prints and photographs holdings. These miscues are correctable in future editions.

The publisher has used for dust jacket copy a quotation from a review of the 1982 version of this title, suggesting that by studying the illustrations and text architects and city planners could avoid the tragic destruction of Baltimore buildings. That might possibly be the case, but better for all of us to enjoy the book for what it surely is: a lively and useful collection of images and descriptions of Baltimore buildings that continue to fascinate us even after they are gone.

WILLIAM B. KELLER
 Milton S. Eisenhower Library
 Johns Hopkins University

Black Baltimore: A New Theory of Community. By Harold A. McDougall. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993. Pp. x, 244, notes, index. \$34.95.)

In his first book, Harold McDougall, director of the Law and Public Policy Program at Catholic University of America, argues persuasively that Baltimore's black "base communities" comprising small peer groups of informal leaders, public interest advocates and organizers, clergy, and petite entrepreneurs are in the forefront of the struggle to make the kinds of meaningful contributions that have baffled for decades city hall and the local market forces. McDougall makes a careful study of primarily western Baltimore community interaction and identifies a number of structural challenges and successes that have confronted this black community. He relies heavily on snatches of Baltimore's history, neighborhood interviews, newspaper articles, and urban policy analysis to construct his "new theory of community" focusing on Baltimore's experience.

This work is addressed both to students of Baltimore's history as well as to those interested in urban policy and lays bare what the author considers to be the long chain of circumstances that have culminated in large sectors of the African-American community in Baltimore experiencing unemployment, low wages, menial work, high

rents, excessive crime, drug use, and alcoholism. McDougall divided the volume into a prologue and nine chapters. He defines “vernacular culture” as the particular way of life that evolves from the gender roles, home life experiences, local community organizations, and institutions including the neighborhood churches. The first two chapters examine the historical struggles that have impacted on Baltimore’s black community as a whole. McDougall chronicles the rise and achievements of Baltimore’s black churches and early black leaders in the face of segregation and identifies shortcomings of the civil rights movement in creating rising expectations in Baltimore’s African-American community. Chapters three and four provide valuable insights into particular circumstances that developed after the passing of civil rights legislation in the 1950s and later. He focuses on urban renewal as it relates to housing and employment opportunities. Chapter four introduces the less well known community work accomplished by Baltimore’s cadre of fiercely independent neighborhood-level action groups and programs. McDougall bases his community action theory on their activities and hangs his highest hopes on their ability to solve many of the city’s ills.

The book examines the benefits and limitations of the election of Baltimore’s first black mayor, Kurt Schmoke, acknowledging that by this period in the city’s history, the “black and white middle class achieved a measure of success while the conditions for the city’s large black poor and working class have gotten worse” (p. 117). In the final three chapters, the author deals with the efforts of planners and activists to seek creative solutions for reducing crime, drug use, unemployment, and improving the city’s education system. In these chapters McDougall hammers home his view of the value of “the base communities” in all attempts at rebuilding the social and physical infrastructure of Baltimore, neighborhood by neighborhood.

McDougall warns that many of the uneasy alliances that presently exist between government officials, church leaders, community organizers, and nonprofit foundation executives are to be expected, but that further and additional reliance on the neighborhood “vernacular strengths” are essential for success in dealing with the challenges facing the entire Baltimore metropolitan area. A critical segment of McDougall’s argument is his glowing assessment of the most successful neighborhood-level networking techniques used by a number of organizations, including Project Nehemiah, Baltimore United in Leadership Development Coalition (BUILD), Maryland Alliance for the Poor (MAP), and the Women Entrepreneurs of Baltimore (WEB). Consequently, the overriding value of this work is illumination of the contribution of these community-oriented organizations, whose collaborative work has gone on largely unheralded. This book should be read by anyone who wishes to capture the spirit of community organizations in contemporary inner-city Baltimore.

GLENN O. PHILLIPS
Morgan State University

Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery. John Michael Vlach. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993. Pp. xviii, 236. Black and white photographs, illustrations, notes, index. \$37.50 cloth; \$18.95 paper.)

The past two decades have produced several important studies which have changed perceptions of the reality of the African-American experience in the South. By drawing directly from original sources, and assisting the reader to extrapolate within an historical context, these works have provided new and vital information for socio-cultural interpretation as well as historic site preservation and management. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese's brilliant analysis *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (1988) illuminated reality through letters, diaries, and oral histories.

John Michael Vlach selects a different, yet equally valid approach. His detailed reading of the physical world inhabited by slaves, using the incomparable files of the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) at the Library of Congress, supplies critical insight to a neglected aspect of vernacular American landscapes and architecture. Vlach has consolidated the vast holdings of HABS into a readable, appetite-whetting selection of examples, broken down by function and community. His book makes accessible, in one volume, a significant beginning to factual understanding of the African-American built environment for those of us charged with the preservation of slave buildings and associated landscapes.

Vlach himself admits to creating only a beginning analysis of this phenomena, a sketch for a later oil painting which may "more fully summarize the whole saga of the southern plantation." However, his is a well-developed sketch, with particular detail reflected in black over white. Especially poignant is a short chapter related to smokehouses. Vlach reminds us that for the slaves who had little else, food equalled power. This reminder links us to the first chapter and Vlach's valid assertion that "the foremost spatial statements were the extensive vegetable gardens." His brief discussions of Southern foodways, the importance of preserved meat to the plantation diet, and common pilferage by the slaves, are juxtaposed with a striking description of the dark, filthy, and smoky interiors where some slaves spent a majority of their lives.

The reality of serving at the Big House as opposed to working in the fields is another area Vlach brings into sharp focus with some success. Many sources portray house slaves as the elite, in closer contact with the master and his family and in a position to be directly rewarded with hand-me-downs, gratuities from houseguests, or extra food. After all, Mr. Ridgely purchased a riding horse for a personal servant, Bateman, and many accounts for slave shoes and clothing can be located in Hampton's archives, including special uniforms for coachmen and house servants. However, domestic labor in the age before machines was back-breaking work with multiple priorities and constant complications. House slaves were on call twenty-four hours a day, and directly under the eye of the master or mistress. By contrast, field work, although back-breaking, was more routine and constant, distanced from constant scrutiny, and with time off after dark. Field slaves, living at some distance

from the Big House, might more freely influence their immediate environment and create some small measure of cultural identity.

It is in the admittedly impossible task of creating a whole picture of this incredibly complex subject in one volume where some misinterpretations may arise. The description of Hampton, for example, lacks the diversity and overwhelming contrast between grandeur and pathos which can be provided by a thorough study of documents and artifacts as well as the HABS photography and drawings. Hampton National Historic Site is only a remnant, representing the Big House, gardens, and immediate dependencies, with a few remains of the "Home Farm," on sixty acres. The Hampton estate, however, once consisted of 25,000 acres, in multiple farms and plantations spread out over many miles. Each farm had its own overseer and staff, directly answerable to Mr. Ridgely for results. These farms interacted and supported each other; one farm would supply pork, beef, wheat, or corn, while another might provide shoes for the workers, apples and nuts from orchards, limestone from quarries, or trained thoroughbreds for race meets. More than three hundred slaves participated in all of these endeavors. Additionally, the Ridgelys owned several large iron works, and many of the slaves and indentured servants labored there in conditions that are uncomfortable to relate today. Are the other brief narratives Vlach provides to accompany his architectural overviews somewhat incomplete? Do they portray the *essence* of life in a particular community?

Also less discernible are the nuances of grey: The lack of adequate presence of that elusive third group, free artisans and professional estate workers. This is an integral part of the architectural picture of plantations which should have been roughed in. Overseers were not an isolated contingent. At Hampton, for example, white professional gardeners, doctors, cooks, and horse trainers lived and worked in a twilight environment closely linked to the African-American slave population. A gardener's cottage was situated at the end of a row of slave cabins; the cook lived in a space adjacent to quarters for house slaves; the home farm overseer resided some distance from the mansion on the hill, in the midst of activity, next to barns, craft shops, the dairy and several slave quarters. Ironically, the overseer's house, greatly enlarged by 1830, had been the Big House prior to 1783 when the mansion was begun. Other communities of slaves, freemen, and day laborers, were established throughout the non-contiguous 25,000 acres. These environments, well-apart from the mansion, were even more complex than the new, fuller picture Vlach has provided.

Also, does a photograph of a building taken more than a half-century after its use by slaves convey the drama which once surrounded it, even with the addition of narrative fragments from folklife studies? Should Vlach's thesis have been limited to an architectural analysis with a discussion of the specific choices the builders made to accommodate particular features and functions? Vlach's discussion of barns is excellent, relating regional differences as well as northern influences, particularly as regards Pennsylvania and Maryland. Should his one volume have concentrated solely on an overview of the structures within the community of buildings? Should a discussion of this community have added iron foundries, blacksmith shops,

furniture and textile production, grain mills, shoe making enterprises and other such features familiar to scholars of Hampton and other slave properties?

Finally, was the planters' system of architectural manipulation truly responsible for the slaves resistance to owners' demands? Or, was it rigid discipline and unrelenting work which created the "troublesome property?" Whether an imposing palace constructed and furnished by royal governors in Williamsburg, or a Big House high on a hill with large rooms and overpowering furnishings, these centers of influence did intimidate, and did serve their function within the built environment. Constructed not only according to fashion's dictates, but to symbolize stability in a new and changing world, these symmetrical, solid houses were the culmination of the American dream for wealthy white males. The contrast between these structures and their subsidiaries was intended, and is still effective in other guises. A courthouse, state capital, or even a mansion, can still overwhelm us, may still visualize power, law and order, or so-called refinement. Unfortunately, as Professor Vlach points out, "most planters were doomed to fail; the only acceptable level of success was great success."

I agree with Professor Vlach's conversion of personal pride in work well done to a sense of achievement and even psychological ownership. It is also important to delineate and recognize regional African-American identities and social solidarity. An assertion of territorial appropriation is valid; however, land and property remained under the control of the master. At Hampton the home farm was converted to a picturesque village during the 1840s. New stone buildings were constructed for animals and slaves, not necessarily for their comfort but so the owners could look out over their landscape and be aesthetically comforted. The "prettiness," was set in an idealized landscape. The harsh reality of slavery was therefore disguised, and in the eyes of the Ridgelys and their peers ameliorated. Within these structures, whose images survive in the HABS files, life remained a struggle. The buildings and amenities contrived for slave welfare, were, as Professor Vlach maintains, a kind of propaganda.

Facile speculation aside, this is a solid piece of documentation which forcefully illuminates a neglected yet pivotal aspect of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century reality. Professor Vlach is to be commended for using the HABS format to bring so much into focus, and for striving to analyze the critical implications implicit in the way in which the African-American environment was built and functioned. His book provides an opportunity to better comprehend a distant and distinctly different world.

LYNNE DAKIN HASTINGS
*Hampton National Historic Site
National Park Service*

An Evening When Alone: Four Journals of Single Women in the South, 1827–67. Edited by Michael O'Brien. (Southern Texts Society. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993. Pp. xvi, 460. Genealogical charts, notes, index. \$35.)

These previously unprinted diaries of four nineteenth-century women introduce the first of a projected series of volumes whose purpose is to make accessible primary source materials "important to understanding the culture of the American South and its expressive life" (p. xi). Gathered into one volume since each is too short for publication as a book, these impeccably edited diaries represent women of varied situations. Although the subtitle suggests a unifying theme or status for the writers, their singlehood, as their editor acknowledges, is varied. Two are young and soon will marry; one, a Northerner, is a governess; one is an aging, then aged spinster, struggling under the burden of raising six children, offspring of her late sister.

The first and last are of the same generation—Elizabeth Ruffin of Virginia and Ann Lewis Hardeman of Mississippi. Yet we meet them at different passages in their lives—Ruffin, barely twenty, with auspicious prospects before her; Hardeman, forty-seven to sixty-four, inured unhappily to dependency on a kindly brother. But differences of temperament separate these journals more than their disparity in age. Ruffin is wry, ironic, coyly playful. To Hardeman all of life is earnest, her diary a refuge for addressing her god, for confessing her sins of ill-temper, her worries concerning the children in her care. Doubtless this seriousness had prompted her dying sister to leave with her, not their feckless father, the charge of raising their numerous brood.

The third diarist, Jane Caroline North of South Carolina, was born a generation later. Like Ruffin, she grew up fatherless, though both were from affluent families. She was a belle, flirtatious, yet shrewd about the social backgrounds and prospects of the men who flocked around her and of people she met in travels to the resort spas of western Virginia and Northern tourist sites. Both Ruffin and North kept travel journals, though Ruffin's earlier at-home diary is also included. Ruffin never imagined women of such independence as she saw in Philadelphia: "I believe they do two-thirds of the business in the whole city, never saw such indefatigable creatures" (p. 75). North, accompanying relatives, visited institutions—for the Deaf and Dumb, for boys and girls of "improper conduct" (p. 195); her account of Baltimore detailed shopping ventures.

What was it like to travel in 1827? Ruffin, accompanying a half-brother, looked on, amused, at his search for knowledge and suffered under difficulties of the road. From Baltimore they traveled to Bedford Springs, which we know on the Pennsylvania Turnpike. They left after a one o'clock breakfast, "the earliest meal I ever eat," and "bumped over the worst of roads to Hagar's Town" seventy miles in one day. She admired the handsome buildings in this town of four thousand, even more the next day's trip by twenty-passenger stage "over the best turnpike in the U. S" to Frederic-Town (pp. 103–4)—early testimony for the National Pike.

If we understand Southern life better through what surprises these women in the North, we see the South from a Northern perspective in the second diary, 1835–37,

written on the Selma plantation in Mississippi. Who wrote it is a mystery, except that she came from Pittsburgh, claimed French background, and eked out a lonely life as governess, her major pleasure her birds and a garden.

"I have been very angry this day," the journal begins, "and I am ashamed of it, it happens so often, that I must watch myself closely, it is very wicked indeed, especially as it is my duty to bear patiently with ignorance, or stupidity" (p. 107). Was it her pupils about whom she complained? The diary gives little sense of them. More likely she erupted over the interference of another single woman, an officious spinster—sister of the deceased first wife, who was inherited as a dependent by her widower, then by his second wife, the widow who hired the diarist. The former's meddling—"if she knew . . . about any thing but driving the little negroes in the yard, and their mothers in the kitchen . . ." (p. 149), and of course the diarist—is unendurable.

For the single woman, this is a precarious economy, living "upon the breath of another, her very existence . . . depending on beings upon which she has no control" (p. 137). Yet surely difficult too for those who shouldered that very dependency.

VIRGINIA WALCOTT BEAUCHAMP

Greenbelt

Civil War Newspaper Maps. By David Bosse. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993. Pp. x, 162. Notes, appendix, bibliography, index. \$34.95.)

The old adage that a picture "is worth more than ten thousand words" might well apply to readers attempting to follow a written account of a battle or military movement with a contemporary map. Certainly those published in various newspapers during the Civil War offered a vividness and an "immediacy" that "no other cartographic source" rivaled (p. ix). By 1861 the public had become accustomed to graphics in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and *Harper's Weekly* and accepted the practice of making news more visual as "a legitimate source of information." With the war maps now added to that interest, and when newspapers began printing them to supplement their correspondents' reports, their editors quickly discovered an "enormous public audience" (p. 2). Their sketches, as David Bosse notes, "formed a vital link between the war and the public" (p. 7). Before the battles ended, some 2,046 maps, with the *New York Herald* leading the count with 708, appeared in various papers.

Editors encouraged their correspondents to submit maps along with their reports, for as they indicated, "though they may be but hastily and rudely drawn, they will be of great value" (p. 7). Despite working under adverse conditions on the battlefield, the necessity of rushing their reports to their editors, and the resulting occasional inaccuracies, Bosse maintains that "most newspaper battle plans are remarkably reliable" (p. ix) and "interpreted complex events remarkably well" (p. 49). In most cases authorship remained anonymous to protect the correspondent from military reprisals. Gen. Joseph Hooker attempted to force attribution, while Sherman sought to ban reporters from his lines. Critics claimed that such publica-

tions provided the Confederacy with dangerous intelligence. Yet, a number of army officers cooperated and provided them to reporters in the hopes of advancing their careers. In terms of bias Bosse contends that they “remained essentially neutral by being descriptive rather than dogmatic,” although some subjectivity can be seen in omissions as well as inclusions of units (p. 50). Unpopular officers, such as Gen. George Meade in 1864, felt the sting of omission by being ignored. Occasionally map captions could express editorial ridicule, such as in the case of one showing Gen. John Pope’s withdrawal across the Rappahannock River.

By the time of the Civil War, advanced technology enhanced newspapers’ quality and their ability to reproduce illustrations. The steam-powered rotary printing press greatly increased productivity; the development of papier-mâché or wet-mat provided a cheap method of reproduction; while engraving firms provided wood blocks with improved designs and appearances. Fortunately for readers the newer printing techniques provided a quantity of cartography which “far surpassed that of any previous American war” (p. 3).

David Bosse’s *Civil War Newspaper Maps*, superbly printed by the Johns Hopkins University Press, is a most welcome study of a source “largely ignored” by students and scholars of the Civil War. What Bosse presents is a fascinating and interesting commentary on the use of maps in bringing the war closer to the general public and their value to historians. He divides his book into two sections. In the introduction he examines the function, importance, and craftsmanship and technical advances in their publication, while in the Atlas he succinctly analyzes some forty-six maps in more detail and in context with the military engagement or situation. They are well selected and are chosen from a number of prominent newspapers, principally the New York papers and the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, *Daily Missouri Republican*, and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. He chose the specific maps “primarily to illustrate the manner in which newspapers informed the Northern public” and which provided “details not found on any other maps of the war.” Bosse’s very fine work should, as he hopes, “prompt researchers to make fuller use of this overlooked primary source” (p. 50).

RICHARD R. DUNCAN
Georgetown University

Southern Women: History and Identities. Edited by Virginia Bernhard, Betty Brandon, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, and Theda Perdue. (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1992. Pp. 203. Index. \$29.95.)

Elizabeth Bacon Custer and the Making of a Myth. By Shirley A. Leckie. (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993. Pp. xxiii, 419. Notes, bibliography, index. \$26.95.)

Just as the black contribution to American history has been ignored except for token individuals, the contribution of women, too, has been ignored but for a few. Thus there has arisen a “monolithic” view of the American woman’s experience. In the South especially women have been relegated to the shade of an all-embracing

myth of gentility. Recently emerging facts, however, suggest that few Southern women's lives conformed to the myth.

Although the first volume, based on the first Southern Conference on Women's History held at Converse College in South Carolina in 1988, does not aspire to present a comprehensive narrative history of Southern women, it represents a praiseworthy attempt to penetrate the silence and suggests the outlines of future revisionism.

The first of the nine essays presents a synopsis of recent polemics within Southern women's historiography; and of the remaining eight, four deal with white women and four with either black women or, in the case of Lillian Smith, a white woman atypically committed to racial equality. Chronologically they range from 1676 to the mid-twentieth century.

A sound interpretation of the condition of women in the South necessarily depends upon the testimony of women themselves. But surviving personal narratives are sparse, primarily because so many black slave and poor white women lacked the time and the education to produce them. Although some elite women left behind diaries and letters, the male scholars charged with writing the nation's history have tended to ignore them. For blacks, again, the situation is worse, for even when black women were capable of leaving a written record, they were often leery of donating their papers to manuscript repositories.

Court records, an invaluable resource, are used by Susan Westbury to examine the role of women in Bacon's Rebellion and by Kathy Roe Coker to demonstrate to what degree many South Carolina women in the wake of the Revolution were casualties of confiscation and banishment, even though they generally were not considered loyalists themselves but rather victims as the wives of loyalists. That some of the women who participated in Bacon's Rebellion were called whores Westbury attributes to gender conventions that associated unfeminine political behavior with sexual promiscuity.

Darlene Clark Hine in "Rape and the Inner Lives of Southern Black Women," uses autobiography and oral history to substantiate her theory that many black women migrated north from the South not only in search of respect and economic security but also to escape the threat of rape by white as well as black males. To mask their vulnerability, they constructed a "culture of dissemblance." In addition, Hine faults researchers of rape among slave women for considering only the damage done to the self-esteem of the black male while ignoring its effect on the victim herself.

Cheryl Thurber in her essay on the Mammy Image—typified by the character played by Hattie McDaniel in *Gone with the Wind*—concludes that there is scant evidence for mammies in the antebellum period or even during Reconstruction. Instead the real expansion of mammy mythology coincided with Progressivism, the New South movement, and the later phases of the Confederate Lost Cause movement.

Again making use of oral history, Kent Leslie reconstructs the life of Amanda America Dickson (1849–1893), who despite her birth as a mulatto slave in Hancock

County, Georgia, lived the fairy-tale life of an elite white lady under the protection of her wealthy, white, slaveholding father.

Roseanne V. Camacho's essay on "Race, Region, and Gender in a Reassessment of Lillian Smith," an outgrowth of her 1992 Brown University dissertation, is perhaps the least successful of the nine since it presupposes more knowledge of the psychology of Smith's career than the nineteen-page essay can provide. While recognizing Smith's uniqueness as an outspoken white critic of racism, Camacho maintains that her humanitarianism sat upon a bedrock of traditionalism that sanctioned the domination of men over women. Viewing her life as a conflict between her "creative daemon" (p. 158) and her conscience, Smith herself dubbed this paradox her Mary/Martha split.

Mary Martha Thomas, examining the ways in which Alabama women belatedly joined the campaign for woman suffrage, concludes that their most powerful obstacle was the widespread notion that the vote for women challenged the separation of the male sphere of the public world and the female sphere of the private world. Elizabeth Turner, focusing on the cause of suffrage in Galveston, Texas, detects similarities to and differences from the research of Thomas in Alabama. Arguing like Thomas that Texas suffragism stemmed from Progressivism, Turner establishes that its greatest impulse came not from WCTU members who sought to impose temperance but from upper-class club women who sought opportunities for themselves and who united with men of their own class to force the modernization of the South.

Switching from South to North but spanning the same postbellum period as the majority of essays in *Southern Women: Histories and Identities* is Shirley A. Leckie's exemplary biography of Elizabeth Bacon Custer, who in the pursuit of her goals struggled with the same gender constraints as her Southern counterparts. Libbie was eight years younger than George Armstrong Custer and both were living in Monroe, Michigan. Libbie's father was a Connecticut-born judge who looked down on Custer as the son of an unintellectual blacksmith (born, incidentally, in Cresap-town, Maryland). But Armstrong's brilliant Civil War career eventually swayed the judge, and the couple were married in 1864. Libbie's mother had died when the girl was twelve, which Leckie pinpoints as the beginning of her knowledge that the pity evoked by bereavement can serve to manipulate people.

Leckie, who coauthored a biography of Custer's contemporary, Gen. Benjamin Grierson, is thus equipped to draw parallels, as when she cites Grierson (who proudly commanded a black regiment during the Civil War) as one military man who, unlike Custer, urged strict adherence to treaty terms and prompt payment of promised annuities as the solution to the "Indian problem." When Libbie complained of being frightened of the black soldiers billeted close to her lodging, Leckie again contrasts her fear by noting the absence of such bias in the correspondence of Grierson's wife.

After the Civil War, Custer resumed service in the 5th Cavalry in occupied Texas, where Libbie was both charmed and repelled. She noted with disbelief that slave trading still persisted in some parts of the state. George, however, had his own

prejudices and wrote to Libbie's parents that black suffrage made as much sense as "elevating an Indian Chief to the Popedom of Rome" (p. 81). After Texas, Custer received command of the newly formed 7th Cavalry and went to Kansas. The following year he was court-martialed for visiting his ailing wife without permission and for improper conduct that probably included overmarching his men and using public vehicles for personal business.

Returning to the 7th Cavalry in 1868, he led an attack on Black Kettle's camp on the Washita River, dealing a heavy blow to the Cheyenne. Custer took as captive the "exceedingly comely squaw" Monahsetah. According to Captain Benteen who hated his commanding officer, Custer lived openly with his captive, an allegation borne out by testimony from Cheyenne Indians. By their account, Monahsetah considered herself Custer's wife and may have given birth to his child. If Libbie knew of this, she countered it masterfully in her third book *Following the Guidon* (1890) by portraying Monahsetah as a sort of Dona Marina or Pocahontas, a noble savage who used her lore to assist the white hero.

Libbie received word of her husband's death on the Little Bighorn at Fort Abraham Lincoln in Dakota Territory more than a week afterwards. Americans were embarrassed by the massacre and for comfort cherished the heroism of the little regiment pitted against the savage horde.

As Varina Howell Davis would do some fifteen years later in order to be close to publishers who were deciding the fate of her husband's controversial career, Libbie moved to New York soon after Armstrong's death. New York was "the one place in my small world where women who are rightly disposed and who know what they are about, can enjoy a great degree of the sweet freedom and independence which in other places is accorded only to men" (p. 215). For several years she served as secretary at the Society of Decorative Arts, which sought to create "breaches in the invisible wall of prejudice and custom" which kept "wellbred women" (p. 216) from earning a living by offering classes in decorating ceramics, ecclesiastical vestments, and tapestries. A British expatriate and hack writer named Frederick Whittaker who felt that Custer was the victim of the army's under-estimation of Indian strength sought Libbie's cooperation to use their personal correspondence and hurriedly composed a biography of Custer. By 1882 most Americans perceived her husband as Whittaker had presented him, but because Libbie found his writing style not to her taste, she decided to write her own book.

When *Boots and Saddles* appeared in 1885, it contained nothing critical of Custer nor did it refer to any of the controversies that had dogged his military career. Instead she attributed his defeat to corruption among Indian agents, superior arms among the Indians, and inferior arms among the soldiers. Although most reviewers found her book appealing, an Englishman writing for the London *Academy* observed that any widow's account of her husband is bound to be biased and reminded readers that Custer had in 1868 defeated and killed Black Kettle who was a friend to whites and on this occasion was traveling to receive his annuity.

Custer students and researchers will appreciate the author's fifty-nine pages of precise and engaging endnotes, and military enthusiasts will be pleased to learn that

Leckie does not shrink from covering the details of the last stand and has included three fine maps.

Apparently for Libbie the glory of being the widow of a hero offset the negative value of remaining single for she did not consider remarriage. Her idealization of George Armstrong Custer held sway over public opinion until her death in 1933 four days before her ninety-first birthday. Only with Libbie out of the picture did Custer biographers feel free to begin the task of sorting out fact from fiction, a task that continues to this day.

In one sense it seems unfair to employ the standards of our own time to accuse Libbie Custer of what we now perceive as myth-making or to fault her for not moving beyond her conditions as wife and widow. Or to chastise Amanda America Dickson for failing to choose autonomy as a black woman when offered the chance for a life of luxury, or Lillian Smith for her Mary/Martha split. Yet how can we avoid repeating the confusions of the past if the faultiness of our predecessors' logic is not exposed, identified, and understood? Shirley A. Leckie and the nine essayists of *Southern Women: Histories and Identities* have given us some impressive data and persuasive insights to assimilate.

JACK SHREVE

Allegany Community College

Hunting Lieutenant Chadbourne. By Jim W. Corder. (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1993. Pp. 169. Notes. \$24.95.)

At first glance, it seems that Jim Corder sets his sights too low. His curiosity was piqued by a historical marker commemorating Fort Chadbourne, a long-abandoned fort near San Angelo, Texas, then fueled by the discovery at a local museum of artifacts belonging to one Lt. Theodore Lincoln Chadbourne, an 1846 casualty of the Mexican-American War. Later, a friend guided Corder to a brief entry in a register of West Point graduates. Corder, intrigued by Chadbourne's odd combination of obscurity and public commemoration, set out to discover more about the man behind the plaque, a search, it would seem, of no more than antiquarian interest.

Yet *Hunting Lieutenant Chadbourne* is as much the story of Corder's quest as it is of Chadbourne's brief life, and it is as much a meditation on alienation from and connection with the past as it is a work of history. Corder's hunt, which serves as his narrative line, never took him outside of Texas—at least not in person. In imagination and spirit, however, Corder traveled to Chadbourne's hometown in Maine, to West Point, to upstate New York (where Chadbourne was briefly stationed), and to archives and private homes in Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Iowa, and the nation's capitol.

More importantly, Corder's search took him on a journey through two very different mental worlds. His own English professor's world, marked as it is by intense skepticism about the possibility of shared pasts and objective reality in written texts, led him to question his motives in searching for the real Lieutenant

Chadbourne and to despair at times of finding anything except a mirror of his own personality. Fortunately, the hunt for Lieutenant Chadbourne took Corder into the far less lonely world of one Susan Miles, executive secretary of the Tom Green County, Texas Historical Society. Miles, a civic-minded volunteer, had tenaciously pursued Chadbourne forty years before Corder's encounter with the Lieutenant. As Corder read through Miles' voluminous correspondence, he developed a sense of kinship with his predecessor, who had succeeded in compiling a surprising amount of information about Chadbourne. She also located and brought to her local historical society a number of letters written by the elusive lieutenant. When Corder finally turned to the letters (having chosen to exhaust other avenues of inquiry first), he discovered what Miles knew all along: that the ultimate impossibility of recovering more than a fragment of Chadbourne's life did not preclude the possibility of forging a real connection with the long-dead Chadbourne. In Chadbourne, Corder discovered a person "with no trace of deceit or rancor . . . He is a gentle, funny, honest, strong young man, with a wide-ranging capacity for care" (p. 157). Much the same could be said of Corder, who succeeds in cultivating not only his own but also his readers' capacity for compassion, empathy, and human understanding.

Hunting Lieutenant Chadbourne cannot be labeled as "history," but it speaks to the concerns of professional historians and antiquarians alike. Corder meets the alienating thrust of postmodern literary and historical inquiry head on, turning it to more humane purposes by focusing on the interplay of reality and subjectivity rather than on subjectivity alone. Genealogists and antiquarian historians will find in this book an uncommonly lucid testament to the spiritual and communal meaning of their endeavors. All will find a disarmingly simple and engaging tale of one man's partially successful search for truth.

JAMES D. RICE
Loyola College

Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers & Torchbearers, 1941-1965. Edited by Vicki L. Crawford, Jacqueline Anne Rouse, and Barbara Woods. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993. Pp. ix, 290. Illustrations, index. \$50.) [Originally published: New York: Carlson Pub., 1990, in series: Black women in United States history; v. 16.]

This collection of essays represents a celebration of the key role that women played in the civil rights movement. All seventeen pieces were initially presented at a conference in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1988, which itself grew out of the recognition that women have been under-represented in both scholarly and commercial descriptions of the movement. The essays focus on the "trailblazers," those "whose heroic acts initiated specific events," and the "torchbearers," those "who continue to carry on the struggle for reform" (p. xiii). Among those highlighted are Ella Baker, Septima Clark, Fannie Lou Hamer and other female Mississippi activists. The collection also includes discussions of the ways that women helped pave the way for

the civil rights upheaval of the post-World War II years and of the different ways that female activists have looked back upon these years.

While the editors acknowledge that “women had a multiplicity of roles” and that “not all experienced it [the movement] in the same way” (p. xvii), several themes stand out. First, most of the authors show that there was nothing new to the prominent role that women played in the civil rights movement, since African-American women have had a longstanding tradition of activism. Put another way, black women were in the forefront of the struggle for freedom and equality prior to the civil rights years and continued to be so during them. Second, the prominence of women in the movement, both in terms of their numbers and leadership, stands out especially when the subject is examined from the community perspective. Hence while women like Ann Devine or Jo Ann Gibson Robinson received little national attention, in the Mississippi Delta and Montgomery, Alabama, respectively, their significance cannot be underestimated. Third, one of the reasons women were so important to the movement was that they were responsible for transmitting many of the tools that were instrumental to the success of the freedom struggle, such as songs and networks for mobilizing protests. Lastly, while studies written from the national perspective tend to emphasize the political and legal objectives and achievements of the movement, these essays tend to support Clayborne Carson’s hypothesis that personal empowerment was a more important goal.

For students of Maryland history, the most important essay is Annette K. Brock’s, “Gloria Richardson and the Cambridge Movement.” While Richardson gained national prominence during the early 1960s for her leadership of the civil rights movement in this volatile Eastern Shore community, she has subsequently received very little attention. Brock seeks to rectify this by exploring Richardson’s background, her views, and the history of the movement in Cambridge itself. Brock’s essay is at its strongest when describing the protests of 1963. Acting as head of the Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee, Richardson initiated a series of non-violent direct action protests that culminated in riots, an agreement negotiated by the Kennedy administration, and a referendum on whether to amend the town’s charter so as to ban racial discrimination in public accommodations. The essay is at its weakest in critically analyzing these events and Richardson’s role. How is it that Richardson, who came from one of Cambridge’s most elite black families, was able to forge strong links with poor and working class blacks? Did Richardson’s militancy serve the black community well? And if so, how?

Indeed, the collection tends to evade raising some of the tougher questions; it lacks the critical edge that the best historical scholarship often brings with it. Too many of the pieces primarily chronicle their subject’s stories without hooking them into broader historical themes. And too often the analytical judgements offered are not supported, rather they are merely asserted. For example, several of the essays emphasize that deprivation and deep spirituality helped produce strong female leaders in Mississippi. While this is certainly true in the case of some Mississippi women, these same factors did not produce the same results for others. Anne Moody’s mother, for one, was just as religious and deprived as Ann Devine, Unita

Blackwell, or Fannie Lou Hammer, yet her poverty constrained her activism, and her spirituality kept her out of secular affairs.

Probably the most insightful essay in the collection is Carol Mueller's "Ella Baker and the Origins of 'Participatory Democracy.'" Mueller's piece stands out because it moves well beyond presenting a concise biography of her subject to a specific discussion on the keys to understanding Baker's philosophy. Mueller effectively weaves information on Baker's childhood in a small town and her experience as an organizer during the depression into a broader understanding of Baker's advocacy of participatory democracy. In doing so the reader not only learns about Baker's views but begins to understand their origins.

These criticisms notwithstanding, the book in general is a very welcome addition to the literature on the civil rights movement and women's history. Clearly, before we can critically assess the role that Richardson and other women played in the movement, we must first give them their rightful place in the history books. To this end, we owe the organizers of the Atlanta conference and the editors of this collection a special thanks. Indeed, I suspect that as time passes we will see this collection as a springboard toward a better understanding not only of the role that women played in the civil rights movement but of the movement itself and the course of American democracy.

PETER B. LEVY
York College

Distinguished Shades: Americans Whose Lives Live On. By Louis Filler. (Ovid, Mich.: Belfry Publications, Inc., 1992. Pp. vii, 278. Notes, index. \$24.95 cloth; 12.95 paper.)

There is one American characteristic which peculiarly annoys sophisticated Europeans. It is our seemingly unquenchable thirst for progressivism—that is, to reform, to uplift, to muckrake, to stamp out this or that budding immorality, to wit: second-hand cigarette smoke. We began it with the American Revolution, so we said. In *Distinguished Shades*, Louis Filler undertakes to document this national taste for doing not just good but for doing better. His method is to call up the more thoughtful "shades," mostly of Americans beginning before the Revolution and continuing into the 1970s. These voices from beyond the grave, he insists, have something to tell us—something durable, something instructively progressive. He uses only minimal quotations, turning instead to word portraits of his own which sketch in contemporary backgrounds, then offer brief descriptions of the subjects. Fully fifty-six "shades" are thus resurrected.

Right there the trouble begins. Fifty-six portraits, however glowing, defy easy comprehension. Consequently, the theme tends to wander off occasionally as if it is unconvinced it is itself safely astride the prescribed progressive track. What we get here is a mildly interesting glimpse of some two hundred years of progressive American thinkers, mostly journalists and public figures. One by one, Mr. Filler furnishes the reader his thumbnail etchings—with fifty-six entries, he can hardly do

more than etch—of people who looked about them inquiringly at the American social questions of their day and responded, upliftingly, with answers.

Slavery, inevitably, draws anguished attention from contemporary blacks not often heard from, notably the Baltimore native Frances (Watkins) Harper, daughter of free Negro parents. An odd portrait presents Sylvester Graham, he of the graham cracker: he sought “symmetry” between bodily functions and religion. Women’s rights offer a more substantial field, as do the fiery questions embedded in free speech v. “Comstockery.”

Socialism, communism, and the Roosevelt New Deal are inspected from several vantage points. So with the ideological split among Republicans, forced apart in the 1940s by Thomas E. Dewey. The book closes on a quizzical piece about Merrill Moore, a man somewhat uncomfortably strung out between twin careers in psychiatry and sonnet writing.

People discussed seemingly offer, by their inclusion, more promise than these pages deliver. They are certainly widespread from well known—Samuel F. B. Morse, Woodrow Wilson, Norman Thomas, and Steven Vincent Benét—to the obscure—Gustavus Vassa, Rheta Childe Dorr, and Frank Parsons. Edwin L. Godkin, of the lectures, appears, as does Theodore Dreiser, of the daring novels. Known and unknown, these faces emerge blurred by prolixity and fuzzy writing.

The collection is dedicated to Allan Nevins, “master historian of his generation—friend and guide to historical reconstruction.” Reconstruction this volume undoubtedly is. Just how historical is debatable.

BRADFORD JACOBS
Baltimore

Historic House Museums: A Practical Handbook for their Care, Preservation, and Management. By Sherry Butcher-Youngmans. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. Pp. vi, 269. Notes, appendix, bibliography, index. \$38.00.)

The history of historic house museums seems ironic to those who study them or read of their statistics. They are the fastest growing type of museum; in the past thirty years a new house museum was born on the average of one every three days. And yet this most popular form of education about our historical past is accomplished primarily by volunteers and amateurs on scant budgets. Today 65 percent of all historic house museums have no full-time paid staff, and more than half operate on budgets of less than \$50,000. These statistics underlie the unfortunate fact that the quality of historic house museums is uneven. *Historic House Museums: A Practical Handbook for their Care, Preservation, and Management* is now available to ensure better results for those who follow its advice. Sherry Butcher-Youngmans has written a manual specifically for those struggling administrators, staffs, or volunteers who routinely face the challenges and obstacles of the disadvantaged museum site. The stated goal is “to examine the universal problems and offer practical, inexpensive, and easy-to-accomplish solutions to increase the professionalism of these museums and close that great gap between the more professional

historic house museums and the struggling, less recognized institutions so commonly found across this country" (p. 8).

The author tackles an ambitious, and timely, subject in this book. She manages, as William Alderson notes in the preface, to deal "effectively with theory and practice, philosophy, and reality" (p. vi). That balance defines its success. In a relatively small space the book combines both a comprehensive outline and detailed how-to techniques. While each reader might wish for more detail in several places, the book aims at a large audience: boards of directors and administrators; curators and gift shop managers; maintenance staff and security guards; paid staff and volunteers. At the small site in particular, the book benefits the single administrator who might very well wear all of these hats. Intended for non-professionals, this is good remedial reading for professionals as well.

The book covers six general subjects in ten chapters. Administrative matters fill the first two chapters following an introduction. Chapter 2 focuses on the basics of organizing and governing, including definitions, documents, roles, policies and procedures. Chapter 3 offers a useful help reference section which provides a national and somewhat regional glimpse at information networks, funding sources, professional organizations, useful publications, academic education, and professional training courses. These subjects are far from comprehensive but serve as a starting point for the uninitiated. The short appendix supplements this chapter, offering a list of organizations, funding agencies, regional conservation centers, and volunteer organizations. Of more importance, however, is an admirable bibliographic reference section at the end of the book arranged by chapters.

Chapters 4 and 5 treat the collection subjects. In chapter 4, general aspects of management policies and ethics are followed by detailed sections on registration, documentation and cataloging. Actual examples help explain these steps in an understandable, concise manner. Chapter 5, treating the storage and conservation of collections, documents the techniques and equipment used on all types of materials and objects. Line drawings clearly illustrate certain storage techniques in this section. Throughout the book ample black and white photographs illustrate a variety of house museums and supplement the corresponding text.

Three chapters deal with the actual structure of the museum. Chapter 6 covers the interior and one of the last frontiers of house museums: the environmental control of interiors. Although this is a hotly debated subject for professional conservators, the explanations of the issues of relative humidity and temperature control will introduce this crucial topic to laymen. Other subjects treated in this chapter are light, lighting sources, pest and insect control, and the movement and handling of objects. Chapter 7 offers procedures and techniques for cleaning interiors, from the general to specific materials. Exterior maintenance is the subject of chapter 8. Cyclical maintenance, regularly scheduled inspections, and sensitive material replacements comprise one of the most overlooked aspects of house museums. Too often careful planning and good sense stop at the end of a preservation or restoration phase, and the building begins a long decline into deferred maintenance.

Two of the final three chapters offer practical advice on commonly shared concerns: security and the need for volunteers. Museum security entails guarding the building and its contents, making the building and site safe for visitors, creating a disaster plan, and planning for the prevention, detection and suppression of fire. A chapter on volunteers acknowledges them as the backbone, and sometimes the entire body, of most museums. This chapter treats the recruitment, training, evaluation, and retention of different types of volunteers.

Potentially the strongest chapter is entitled "Telling the Story: Interpreting the Historic House." The subject matter is undoubtedly strong. The ambitious treatment is unbalanced; however, with some subjects adequately addressed and others barely mentioned. Interpretive programs, historical research, studying the house and its contents for interpretive clues, and restoring period interiors deserve much more space and discussion than allotted. The fine line of do-it-yourself versus finding the right professional help needs much more clarification. Self-conducted investigation suggestions are dangerous directives which might ruin crucial evidence better left for professionals. Other parts of this chapter cover alternative exhibits and teaching techniques, training for interpreters, physical accessibility, gift shops, and public use of the site. The author unfortunately skirts the aspect of restoration altogether, stating "this book presupposes the historic house has been restored" (p. 146). Restoration is a central issue of many historic house museums. Neglecting its discussion leaves out some of the most important recent trends in house museums, especially those of interpreting small sites. Closing the gap professionally necessitates a discussion of restoring the physical interpretations of older projects, of interpreting the process in addition to the product as a means of education and fund-raising, and of the importance of accurate details as the equivalent of documented facts. The omission of these important trends leaves this comprehensive overview incomplete.

Despite the omissions, the need for expansion, and the issue of when to involve a professional, this is an important and welcome book. It offers an almost complete ideal process and manual for the typical historic house museum board, director, or staff in search for the right thing to do. The information is well researched and up-to-date. Its advice is sometimes cursory and sometimes complex, sometimes mundane and sometimes sophisticated. It does not raise all the questions or provide all the answers, but it comes close to covering all the basic issues. The author addresses many fundamental points which have seemingly been overlooked, ignored, or neglected at most sites. It deserves a reading by all historic house museum people. If only a fraction of the historic house museums in the country implemented most of the proper procedures in this book, our country would experience a welcome revolution in public history and our historic houses would be much better safeguarded for the future.

TRAVIS C. MCDONALD, JR.
Jefferson's Poplar Forest

Books Received

The third edition of *Queen Anne Goes to the Kitchen* was published in October 1993, and has been updated in a number of ways by the Episcopal Church Women of St. Paul's Parish of Centreville, Maryland. The result is a refreshing collection of traditional feasts and modern creations. Included in this eclectic cookbook are details on a Biblical Herb Garden and illustrations inspired by artwork found within St. Paul's Church. Also to be found on these pages are brief capsules of parish history.

Tidewater Publishers, \$17.95

Maryland children now have three recently published books concerning their state's history from which to choose. Geared for a variety of age groups, each work provides history and details of what Maryland life was like in the past.

The World Turned Upside Down: Children of 1776 is an illustrated history of an Annapolis family during the Revolutionary War. A well-written book for young children by Ann Dowsett Jensen, this slim volume presents images and details on how the life of the Sands family was altered by the war. Maps and a glossary are included.

The Sands House, \$5.95

Maryland, Its Past and Present, an educational book by Richard Wilson and Jack Brinder, introduces upper elementary students to Maryland's history, geography, government, and contemporary life. Black and white photographs and illustrations and simple text make this work manageable for students. "Things to Do" which follow each unit provide more opportunities to think and learn.

Maryland Historical Press \$17.75

Judith Logan Lehne, a former resident of Baltimore, has turned a tale of the feared rag collector who steals children in the night into a novel for young adults called *When the Ragman Sings*. Young Dorothea, growing up in post World War I Baltimore, must come to terms with the changes occurring all around her, as well as her own fears.

HarperCollins, \$14

Notices

UNDERGRADUATE ESSAY CONTEST

The Education Committee of the Maryland Historical Society announces its fifth annual undergraduate essay contest. Papers must be on a Maryland subject and make use of primary sources. Deadline for submission is 15 June 1994. Please send papers to the Education Department, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201.

MARITIME HISTORY CONTEST

Sponsored by the maritime committee of the Maryland Historical Society and the University of Baltimore Education Fund, this contest promotes scholarly research in the field of Maryland maritime history. Papers should rely on primary sources and not exceed six thousand words in length. In preparing their essays, authors should follow the contributors' guidelines published in the spring 1989 issue of *Maryland Historical Magazine*. The deadline for submission will be 28 May 1994 with the winners announced in the fall of 1994. Cash awards are given to the authors of the top three papers, and winning entries will be considered for publication in *Maryland Historical Magazine*. Participants must submit four copies of their work to the Maritime Essay Contest, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201. For further information, call Catherine Rogers at (410) 685-3750.

RARE BALTIMORE IMPRINT DISCOVERED

The second work known to have been printed in Baltimore has been discovered in the Marylandia Collection of the McKeldin Library at the University of Maryland at College Park. Entitled *Poor Robin's: Being an Almanack . . . for the Year of our Lord 1766*, this work was printed by Nicholas Hasselbach. Originally a printer in Philadelphia, Hasselbach moved to Baltimore and established its first press in 1765. This discovery opens the door for more research on the printing presses of Baltimore. For more information, contact Tim Pyatt, Curator of Marylandia and Rare Books, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland 20742-7011.

SPRING EVENTS AT SNOW HILL, MARYLAND

The Snow Hill area attractions, which include Furnace Town Historic Site, the Julia A. Purnell Museum of History, the Mt. Zion One Room Schoolhouse Museum, and river cruise boat *Tillie the Tug*, offer a wide variety of entertaining and

educational activities this spring. Their full calendar includes a revolutionary war encampment with over seventy British and American re-enactors and a public dig series in which volunteers participate in an archeological dig. For more information or a complete schedule, please call Kathy Fisher at (410) 632-2032.

MARYLAND SHEEP AND WOOL FESTIVAL

Billed as the largest event of its kind in the country, this non-profit festival allows visitors to view and participate in activities such as spinning and knitting, lamb-tastings, and a shearing competition. It will be held on 7-8 May 1994 at the Howard County Fairgrounds in West Friendship, Maryland. For more information, call (410) 531-3647.

1994 WARD WORLD CHAMPIONSHIP WILDFOWL CARVING COMPETITION

This annual competition and show is wildfowl carving's most important weekend. More than one thousand carvers will compete for cash and prizes. The show will be held on 22-24 April 1994 at Ocean City, Maryland's Ocean City Convention Center. For a World Weekend Guide call the Ward Museum of Wildfowl Art at (410) 742-4988.

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES PUBLISHES *THE ROAD WEST*

A new teaching unit designed to introduce the geography student to the study of maps, mapmakers, and movement of people was recently published by the National Archives. *The Road West* involves a student in reading a full-scale facsimile of an 1846 map of the Oregon Trail, providing information on latitude and longitude and topographical features of the landscape, as well as personal notes. For ordering information, write the National Archives Trust Fund, P.O. Box 100793, Atlanta, Georgia 30384.

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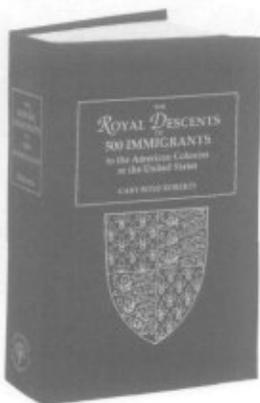
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- * ELLIS, DONNA, and STUART, KAREN. *The Calvert Papers Calendar and Guide to the Microfilm Edition*. 202pp. Illus. 1989 \$17.95 (\$16.15)
- * FOSTER, JAMES W. *George Calvert: The Early Years*. 128pp. 1983. \$4.95 (\$4.45)
- * GOLDSBOROUGH, JENNIFER F. *Silver in Maryland*. 334pp. 1983. \$30.00 (\$27.00)
- * HAW, JAMES; BEIRNE, FRANCIS F. and ROSAMOND R.; and JETT, R. SAMUEL. *Stormy Patriot: The Life of Samuel Chase*. 305pp. 1980. \$14.95 (\$13.45)
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