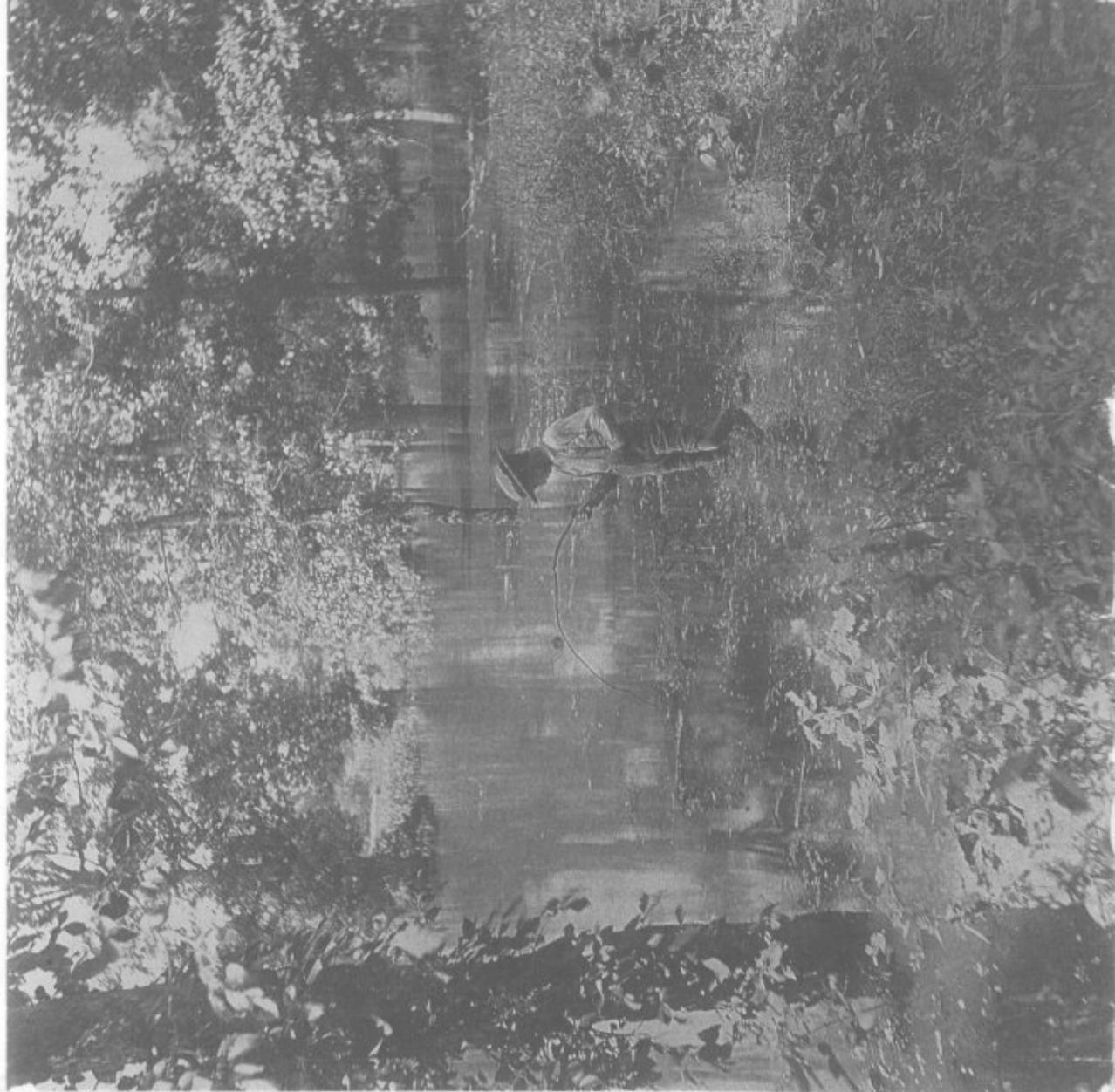


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THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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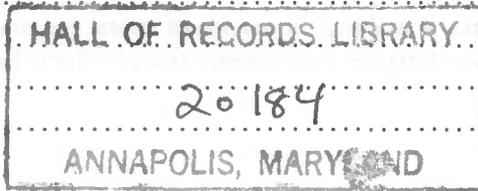
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Don't Know Much About Hist-o-ree . . .

“As Montesquieu put it in *Spirit of the Laws*, ‘The tyranny of a prince in an oligarchy is not so dangerous to the public welfare as the apathy of a citizen in a democracy.’ Nor, we could add, so dangerous as the zeal of a citizen who is ignorant of the past.” This is found in *Lessons from History: Essential Understandings and Historical Perspectives Students Should Acquire*, published in 1992 by the National Center for History in the Schools.

The Center is the heart of a national network of distinguished history scholars, teachers, and educators who have worked for over seven years to define the historical understandings that should be the goals of teaching in our schools. The Center has important things to offer as we confront the horror of Oklahoma City and the apocalyptic, paranoid strain in American politics (Richard Hofstadter’s coinage).

Pogo had it right back in the 1970s: “We have met the enemy and he is us.” Self-styled militiamen and G. Gordon Liddy will not cause the Republic to implode, but we should be worried about the simplistic antigovernment bombast that suffuses our airways. Honest debate over the role of government is as old as *The Federalist*, but today’s ether is steamy with half-baked opinions laced with innuendo and demonization.

When we forget that *we* are the government, with collective responsibility for fixing what is wrong, and when every issue is reduced to angry confrontation, we deprive ourselves of fair debate about the quality of the society we want.

Consider this: “Lacking a collective memory of important things, people lapse into political amnesia, unable to see what newspapers are saying, to hear what is in (or left out of) a speech, or to talk to each other about public questions. A historical education should prepare us for times of trouble, when we are tempted to put aside inefficient democracy and to lash out, to exclude, or to oppress others. Why have past societies fallen or survived, turned ugly or retained their humanity? Citizens need to know and to be able to tell each other, before it grows too late, what struggles and sacrifices have had to be accepted, what comforts given up, to keep freedom and justice alive. Historical knowledge and historical perspective ward off panic, cynicism, self-pity, and resignation.”

That too is from the Center’s *Lessons from History*. The passage reminds us that citizenship means making thousands of moral judgments over a lifetime, decisions that depend on learning much more than William Bennett’s McGuffeyesque val-

ues. Our children must learn to think critically about American and world history and to test rhetoric with logic and deep understanding.

In 1994, the Center published *National Standards for United States History: Exploring the American Experience*, a book of brilliantly conceived lesson plans for grades 5 through 12. Lynne V. Cheney, head of the National Endowment for the Humanities (provider of some seed money for the Center) in the Bush administration and once a warm supporter of the Center's work, including the earlier *Lessons from History*, suddenly cast a cold eye. Then she uttered an anti-Center sound bite at the height of the election campaign. There was too much Ku Klux Klan and not enough Thomas Edison in *National Standards*, she said, ignoring the fact that the independent teams that developed teaching strategies for the book had created far more useful materials than *lists* of this or that.

Don't let it stand (to borrow a Bush locution). Do something to subvert sound-bite culture. *National Standards* is a spur to imaginative classroom work and an antidote to ignorant zeal and apathy. It costs \$18.95 plus \$5.00 for shipping and handling. Address National Center for History in the Schools, University of California, Los Angeles, 10880 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 761, Los Angeles, CA 90024-4108. Buy a copy, read it with growing hope, then give it to a history teacher or a school. It's not too late to help the next generation think more clearly than ours.

E.L.S.

Cover

Mardela Springs

This timeless image speaks of long and lazy, quiet afternoons on Maryland's Eastern Shore, wading and fishing under a canopy of shade to escape the heat of a summer day. Located between Vienna and Salisbury in Wicomico County, Mardela Springs once drew tourists from across the state who came to sample the healing waters of the springs. After traveling the Nanticoke River by steamer to Vienna, and then riding by stagecoach to the nineteenth-century health spa, guests stayed at a large, white-framed Victorian hotel where they could walk the footpath through the woods to the octagonal pagoda that served as a springhouse. On the wide porches and spacious lawns of the hotel, the citizens of Mardela Springs joined their guests for political rallies, annual meeting days, and fireworks displays on the Fourth of July. The tradition begun more than a century ago continues, as summer spreads over the Old Line State, and Marylanders pack their bags and travel to the Eastern Shore.

P.D.A.



United States Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas (right front) challenged reporters to hike the C&O Canal in March 1954. This highly publicized campaign drew public attention to the recreational potential of the canal and helped save it from being converted to a motor parkway. (Courtesy National Park Service.)

Shootout on the Old C. & O. Canal: The Great Parkway Controversy, 1950–1960

BARRY MACKINTOSH

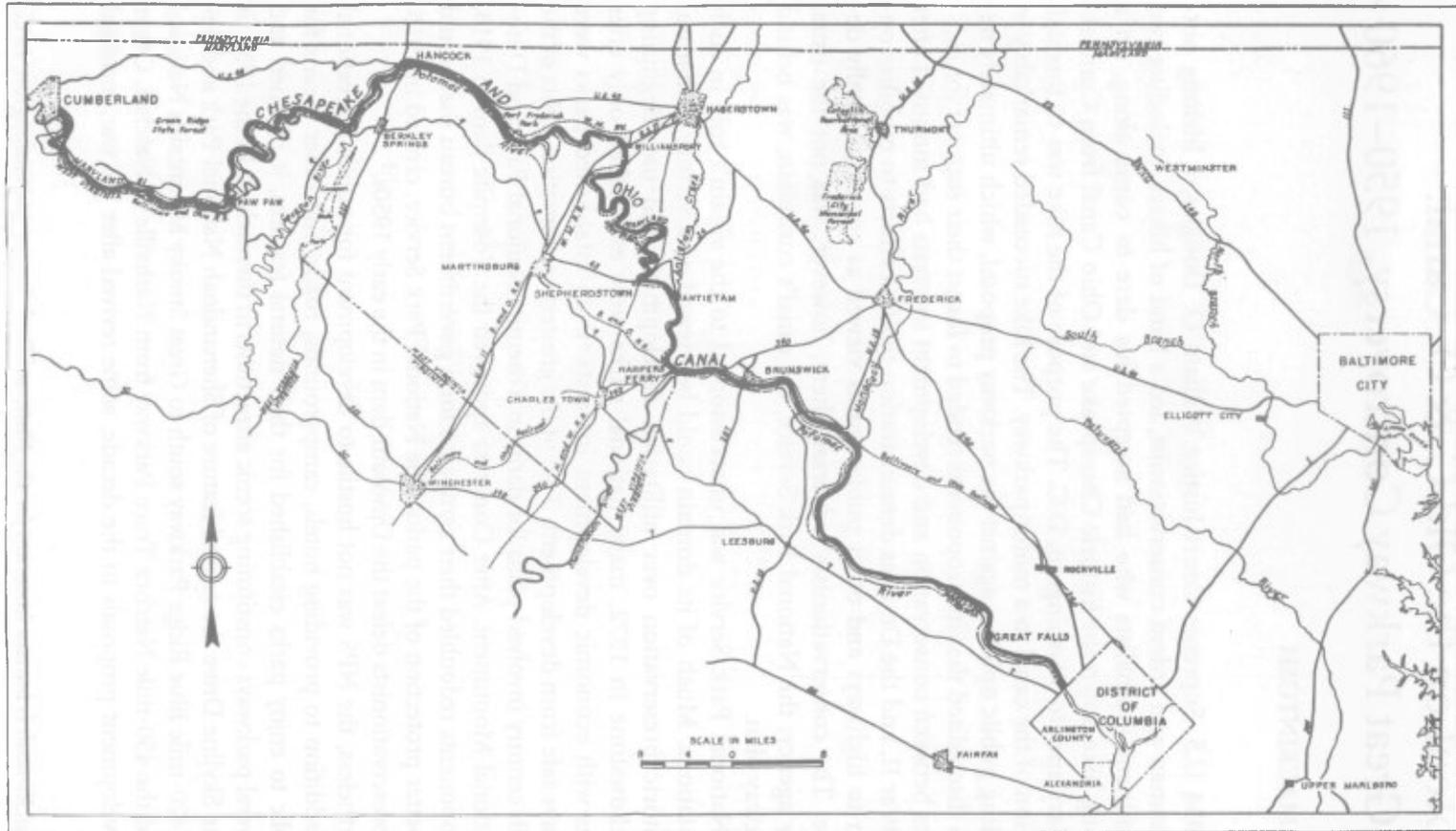
In 1954 U.S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, a lifelong outdoorsman and ardent conservationist, led a band of hikers, including two prominent journalists who had accepted his dare to come along, on a week-long hike down the historic Chesapeake and Ohio Canal from Cumberland, Maryland, to Washington, D.C. The purpose of the hike was to forestall conversion of the canal to a motor parkway. The hike succeeded remarkably in marshaling public opinion against the parkway proposal, which ultimately became so discredited that its proponents tended to forget their support for it.

Battles between conservation and development interests had mounted after World War II, and the Douglas demonstration typified efforts to mobilize opposition to highways and other public works viewed as environmentally destructive. The conservationists' adversary here, however, was not the usual highway agency; the National Park Service, the canal's custodian, was behind the parkway plan.

The National Park Service was unaccustomed to the villain's role in such confrontations. Much of its domain could be viewed as a victory of natural and historic preservation over utilitarian development and use. Beginning with Yellowstone in 1872, many national parks were established only after struggles with economic development interests. Even established parks were not always safe from development. Two of the greatest conservation fights of the twentieth century involved plans for dams in Yosemite National Park and Dinosaur National Monument. After Congress approved the Yosemite dam in 1913, park proponents redoubled their campaign for a government bureau that would assure better protection of the parks. The National Park Service, created in 1916, helped preservationists defeat the Dinosaur dam in the early 1950s.¹

Nevertheless, the NPS was not hostile to development for public recreational use. In addition to providing hotels, campgrounds, roads, and other means for the public to enjoy parks established for their natural features, it planned and built several parkways constituting scenic attractions in themselves. In the 1930s it made the Skyline Drive the central feature of Shenandoah National Park and began the 470-mile Blue Ridge Parkway south to Great Smoky Mountains National Park and the 450-mile Natchez Trace Parkway from Nashville to Natchez. Other NPS development proposals of the decade, some revived after the war, included

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Construction of the C&O Canal began in 1828 and by 1850 it stretched 185 miles from Washington, D.C., to Cumberland, Maryland. The canal operated until 1924, when a flood and more efficient rail service forced the waterway to close. (Courtesy National Park Service.)



C&O Canal Lock 13, Cabin John, before the lockhouse was razed for construction of the Capital Beltway's Cabin John Bridge in 1961. (Courtesy National Park Service.)

parkways from Washington, D.C., to Gettysburg and Williamsburg, an Appalachian parkway extending the Skyline Drive–Blue Ridge Parkway to Maine and Georgia, and a Mississippi River parkway.²

These proposals enjoyed broad public support in the era before the Interstate highway system and other limited-access highways commonly eased auto travel, but they encountered opposition from those who preferred nature roadless. Conservationists organized the Wilderness Society in 1935 partly in reaction to the Blue Ridge and Skyline Drive projects, which they viewed as environmental intrusions.³ Their appeal was muted during the Depression, when such projects provided much-needed unemployment relief, but during the postwar boom their stance won more converts. When the NPS advanced its Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Parkway plan in 1950, it faced the most vigorous challenge yet from its traditional allies.

The parkway concept appeared to the NPS the only practical solution to the problem of conserving the land occupied by the canal in anything like its natural condition for public enjoyment. The alternative favored by Justice Douglas and his fellow conservationists did not become feasible until more than a decade later. The parkway advocates may be faulted for their inability to foresee the future, but not for their logic at the time the concept was introduced.



B&O representatives George Nicholson and Roger B. Hartz with Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, 1938. The railroad's controlling interest in the canal allowed for its two-million-dollar sale to the federal government. The Civilian Conservation Corps maintained the canal until the New Deal program ended during World War II. (Courtesy Washingtoniana Division, District of Columbia Public Library.)

A Long Strip of Real Estate

The picturesque but unprofitable C&O Canal, nearly 185 miles long, was built alongside the Potomac River between Washington, D.C., and Cumberland, Maryland, between 1828 and 1850. Outpaced and ultimately acquired by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, it discontinued operation in 1924. In 1938 the B&O, deeply indebted to the federal Reconstruction Finance Corporation, sold the derelict, flood-ravaged canal to the government for \$2 million. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, who also headed the Public Works Administration, justified its acquisition and partial restoration as a Depression relief project. The National Park Service assumed custody of the canal, and the Civilian Conservation Corps carried out most of the rehabilitation work under NPS supervision. By the end of 1940 they had restored and rewatered the lower twenty-two miles of the canal with its twenty-three locks between Georgetown and Seneca, Maryland, for recreational use.

America's entry into World War II a year later brought an end to the CCC, on

which the NPS had continued to rely for canal maintenance. In October 1942 another Potomac flood undid much of the recent restoration work. There was then little prospect of restoring more of the canal; maintaining a waterway along its lower twenty-two miles would be trouble enough. What, then, was the NPS to do with the 162 miles of the canal from Seneca to Cumberland?

This long strip of real estate was virtually unmanageable for park purposes. While the lower canal was buffered by lands being purchased for the George Washington Memorial Parkway under a 1930 act of Congress, the upper portion enjoyed no such protection. The NPS held only the narrow right-of-way acquired by the canal company, averaging about 230 feet in width and seldom extending much beyond the towpath embankment on the river side and a like distance on the berm or inland side. Between the canal and river was much private land used for homes, summer camps, and agriculture. Other private development lay hard against the berm. Because the canal company had made little effort to maintain the right-of-way after navigation ceased in 1924, encroachments by squatters and neighboring owners were common. In places farmers had run fences across the dry bed and towpath so their livestock could cross to and from the river.

Making this part of the canal suitable for public enjoyment would require acquisition of the riverside land and enough land on the berm for a scenic buffer. But the NPS had no authority to acquire more land above Great Falls, and even if it gained such authority, Congress was not inclined to appropriate money for the purpose. Additional lands would have to be purchased and donated by the state of Maryland—a remote prospect unless Maryland could be enticed by some compensating federal benefit.

Even if the right-of-way were cleared of private intrusions and the necessary lands acquired, the dry canal was unlikely to attract enough recreational use to justify its maintenance as national parkland. Hikers, bicyclists, birders, and others who might enjoy the upper canal in its ruined, overgrown state constituted a small and silent minority in those years.⁴

As if these circumstances were insufficiently challenging to the C&O's custodians, there loomed also the possibility that long stretches of the canal would disappear from view. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers was surveying the Potomac River basin for flood control and other improvements, and at the beginning of 1945 it proposed a system of fourteen multiple-purpose reservoirs on the Potomac and its tributaries. Construction would begin with a 119-foot-high dam just above Great Falls, which would flood an area extending north nearly to Harpers Ferry, West Virginia (and impound the Monocacy River past Frederick, Maryland). Next would come a 105-foot dam at Chain Bridge, flooding the Little Falls area almost to Great Falls. Later Potomac dams would be built just below Harpers Ferry, flooding the lower town and back past Shepherdstown, West Virginia; at Rocky Marsh Run above Shepherdstown, flooding to Williamsport, Maryland; at Pinesburg above Williamsport, flooding to Hancock, Maryland; and above Little

Orleans, Maryland, flooding to Paw Paw, West Virginia. Such prominent canal features as the Monocacy and Antietam aqueducts would be inundated along with seventy-eight miles of the towpath.⁵

The National Park Service officially opposed the corps plan. The reservoirs with their drawdowns would poorly serve public recreation, Associate Director Arthur E. Demaray declared, while "the adverse effects of the dams on Federal park properties would greatly outweigh any possible benefits."⁶ At a public hearing in Washington in April 1945, only three persons out of more than one thousand attending spoke in favor of the plan; opposing speakers included most members of Congress from the affected area.⁷ The opposition sidetracked the plan, but the concerns that had prompted it remained. Pressure for dams was sure to resurface.

Maryland in Mind

If the canal corridor was to be maintained as parkland in the face of these challenges, a development plan was needed that would persuade Maryland to acquire and donate more land, promote substantial public use, and entail enough public investment and support to deter future reservoir plans. Devereux Butcher, executive secretary of the National Parks Association, returned to the idea of canal restoration. "It seems to me that one of the surest ways to keep the would-be dam builders of the Potomac licked is to repair the canal and develop it as much as possible for recreation," he wrote the superintendent of National Capital Parks, the NPS unit overseeing the canal.⁸ With good reason, however, NPS officials viewed this as infeasible. They turned instead to the parkway concept.

A parkway road paralleling the canal as far as Great Falls was an integral part of the George Washington Memorial Parkway development plan. In 1935 planners with the National Park Service, the National Capital Park and Planning Commission, and the Bureau of Public Roads had considered its extension upriver, but they opposed locating such a road on or alongside the canal.⁹ Soon after the NPS acquired the canal in 1938, Under Secretary of the Interior Harry Slattery advised Senator Millard E. Tydings of Maryland that "a scenic highway along the route of the canal" was not contemplated; rather, it was "the general plan to preserve the area [above Seneca] for recreational usage and for the conservation of wildlife."¹⁰ After the flood of 1942, however, official sentiment began to shift.

Concerns about floods and other civic problems in Cumberland made preservation or restoration of the upper canal increasingly unlikely. In May 1941 the Maryland General Assembly had asked Congress and the secretary of the interior to convey the former canal company lands within Cumberland to the city for flood protection, highway construction, and "the elimination of conditions, within the canal basin, detrimental to the health and comfort of the



Washington Evening Star reporters Rudy Kauffmann and Elwood Baker with Abbie Rowe and Donald E. McHenry of the NPS canoed the restored canal in 1940. Much of the work done between Georgetown and Seneca washed out during a Potomac River flood in 1942, forcing the NPS to consider other plans for the rest of the canal. (Courtesy Washingtoniana Division, District of Columbia Public Library.)

citizens of said City.” Two miles of the canal would be converted to a road connecting with the local airport; another two miles would become a riverside drive joining State Route 51.¹¹

The NPS opposed the land transfer, citing Corps of Engineers plans for a levee along the upper portion of the canal and the uncertain state of its own plans. With the 1942 flood in mind, however, NPS officials were more receptive to such proposals. When Cumberland’s city attorney met with National Capital Parks superintendent Irving C. Root in June 1943 to advocate a parkway drive along the entire canal to Cumberland, Root was willing to consider it.¹²

In late 1945 the corps advanced its plan for flood protection for Cumberland and neighboring Ridgeley, West Virginia. The dam that had fed the upper seventy-eight miles of the canal would be removed, precluding the rewatering of that section; a levee would bury the last mile of the canal and towpath; and the grade of a former canal basin would be raised. Arthur Demaray sought Secretary Ickes’s approval to cooperate with the corps on the project, noting that it “would provide much usable recreational land not subject to inundation.” With respect to the overall canal property, he wrote: “It is be-

lieved that the 23 miles of restored canal should be ample to disclose to the visiting public the historical aspects of the canal, and also should be ample to actively maintain as a recreational area. The restoration and maintenance of a greater area would involve great expense. The canal property between Seneca and Cumberland, Maryland, has possibilities for use as an easy grade, highly scenic parkway and many other park uses.”¹³

Ickes, who generally disliked road projects in national park areas, was unenthusiastic. “When we acquired the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal property I thought that we were buying it as a canal and not as a right of way for a road,” he replied. But Ickes left office in February 1946, and Demaray responded to Oscar L. Chapman, the acting secretary. The canal, he wrote, would cost an estimated \$10 million to restore and at least \$300,000 per year thereafter to maintain—sums unlikely to be provided by Congress. In the absence of restoration, there was no justification for opposing the flood control project, particularly as it would improve recreational opportunities in Cumberland. A parkway to Cumberland had not been decided upon but must be considered as an option. Chapman agreed.¹⁴

The canal parkway readily attracted support in western Maryland, an economically depressed region served by few good roads. Representative J. Glenn Beall, the congressman representing the area, introduced legislation for a feasibility study of the proposal. Chapman recommended enactment of the bill in a letter to the House Public Lands Committee: “Above Seneca the canal has been so seriously damaged that it is believed that its restoration for strictly recreational purposes by the Federal Government would prove too costly. A cursory study would indicate that it might be feasible, however, to construct a scenic highway along the route of the old canal from Great Falls to Cumberland, Md. . . . The Potomac, with its many picturesque rapids and lake-like pools walled in by wooded mountainsides, constitutes a scenic wonderland now hidden from the eyes of the millions of Americans who could enjoy its inspirational beauty if it were opened to their view through the establishment of the proposed parkway.”¹⁵

Beall’s bill passed the House and Senate without debate and was enacted June 10, 1948. It authorized \$40,000 for a “joint reconnaissance study” by the NPS and the Bureau of Public Roads “to determine the advisability and practicability of constructing a parkway along the route of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, including a report of estimated cost.”¹⁶

The institutional commitment to the parkway concept foreordained the study’s outcome. The NPS-BPR report, transmitted to Congress in August 1950, declared that a parkway would be both practical and advisable if the state of Maryland would donate additional land for the right-of-way. It would provide a suitable approach to the nation’s capital, permit recreational developments along its route, and enable full benefits to be realized from the federal investment in the canal property. It would also contribute to civil defense, be-

ing a controlled access road "well into the mountains with the assurance of rapid uninterrupted traffic in time of need."¹⁷

The paved road would be twenty-four feet wide with eight-foot shoulders. For twenty-two of the thirty-two miles between Great Falls and Point of Rocks and for the last three miles at Cumberland there would be two roadways, straddling the canal where possible. The report minimized the extent to which the canal above the rewatered section would be obliterated, but the accompanying drawings showed the road running atop it for much of its length, being diverted to one side primarily at locks. The road would go over all the canal aqueducts and through the Paw Paw Tunnel.¹⁸

In addition to serving recreational users, the parkway was expected to attract much ordinary traffic seeking to bypass such congested centers as Frederick and Hagerstown, Maryland. But it was justified primarily in terms of its scenic, historical, and recreational attributes—sometimes in purple prose:

The embers of past historic conflagration still smolder along the path of the canal and would glow anew with the first stir of public interest. The scenery runs the full cycle from tranquil wide waters and pastoral river slopes to the greater excitement of the winding, twisting river palisades and ultimately the scale of the mountain valley. This retinue of interests holds attraction for the tourist camper, the sportsman and the day outing party in all degrees from the novice to the sophisticate.

The environment of the canal and river immediately generates in one an enthusiasm to see these 170 miles of delightful scenery unfolded on parkway terms. The incentive to link together the many discoveries that have been made is like the desire often experienced and universally understood to transform the black and white of printed words to a production in full color.¹⁹

The report cited the "well-established policy in the development of parkways of this character" of states acquiring and donating the needed lands. About a hundred acres per mile had been found necessary and obtained in this manner for the Blue Ridge and Natchez Trace parkways. The federal government already held about twenty-eight acres per mile along the canal, requiring a lesser commitment by Maryland to make up the balance of some 11,900 acres. "The additional lands . . . are not of an expensive character and it should not be difficult for the State to acquire them," the report stated.²⁰

The cost of the road was estimated at \$16,162,000. The project would also restore lockhouses and other canal features, rewater three more canal segments, and construct a new park headquarters and museum at Cumberland. The grand total came to \$17,107,700.²¹

Walter S. Sanderlin, a history professor who had published his dissertation

on the C&O, summarized the canal's history in an appendix to the report. He endorsed the parkway project as "best adapted for the achievement of such varying objectives as the provision of recreation areas, the preservation of selected canal structures as historic sites and the protection of the inherent beauty of the valley." NPS chief historian Ronald F. Lee and three of his colleagues joined in the endorsement.²²

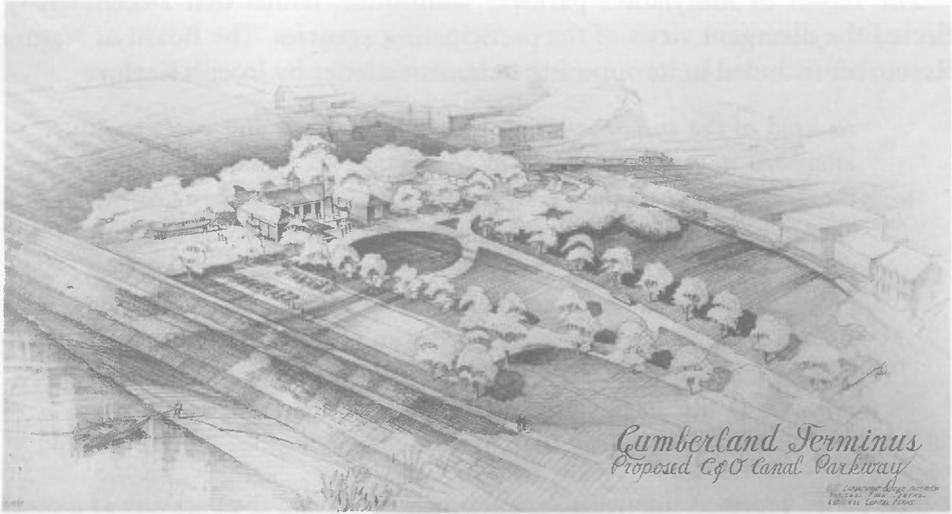
Legal authority was now required for the NPS to accept the needed lands from Maryland. Representative Beall introduced another bill that would authorize donations "sufficient to increase the present parkway width to an average of one hundred acres per mile for the entire length of the parkway." Again with Interior Department support, the bill slid unopposed through Congress to become law on September 22, 1950.²³ In effect, Congress had approved the parkway. Only then were dissenting voices raised.

The Opposition Appears

On October 30 the conservation director of the Izaak Walton League of America informed NPS assistant director Conrad L. Wirth that some of the league's Maryland members were "quite incensed over the proposals of the National Park Service to build a road, or highway, along the C. and O. Canal," believing that "the area could serve a far greater value if kept in a natural state." National Capital Parks superintendent Edward J. Kelly defended the bureau's plan:

In recommending the construction of a parkway along this route, the National Park Service does not feel that it has violated the principle of conservation for which it has long stood. Under existing conditions, many miles of the canal right-of-way are now inaccessible for policing and fire protection, and use of the river and Federal properties is limited largely to private individuals and clubs, many of which have little regard for the wildlife and natural features of the area. The construction of the proposed parkway under National Park Service policies governing the conservation of natural and historical features would result in a minimum disturbance of the area, and would at the same time make this 160-mile strip of park land accessible for adequate protection and conservation, and provide the necessary funds therefor.²⁴

The National Parks Association assembled a special committee to review the parkway plan. It criticized the plan for inadequate attention to natural values but did not reject the basic concept: "The committee recognizes that it would be difficult if not impossible to obtain funds from Congress to develop the C and O Canal for increased recreation unless a unified plan of certain feasibility is presented. . . . The parkway proposal represents such an overall plan, and



The 1950 design for the Cumberland terminus of the proposed C&O Canal Motor Parkway was part of the NPS plan for the recreational, scenic, and historic enjoyment of the canal. (Courtesy National Park Service.)

suitably modified, might enable funds to be obtained that could be used to improve present conditions and arrest deterioration.”²⁵

The ball was now in Maryland’s court. In May 1951 the General Assembly directed the State Planning Commission, the Board of Natural Resources, and the State Roads Commission to study the parkway proposal and the contribution that would be required from the state. A joint committee composed of I. Alvin Pasarew of the State Planning Commission, Joseph F. Kaylor and Ernest A. Vaughn of the Board of Natural Resources, and Joseph D. Buscher of the State Roads Commission was formed. National Capital Parks associate superintendent Harry T. Thompson served as NPS liaison to the committee. Strongly committed to the parkway, Thompson took Vaughn and others on a trip along the canal and vigorously promoted the project at every opportunity.²⁶

Vaughn, director of the Maryland Game and Inland Fish Commission, and Kaylor, director of the Department of Forests and Parks, lost no time in voicing their opposition. They argued that parkway construction would destroy wildlife habitat, that the completed road would present a serious hazard to wildlife, and that NPS regulations would keep hunters from reaching the Potomac.²⁷ At bottom, they were unhappy about losing state control over the lands bordering “Maryland’s river.”

In June 1952 the Board of Natural Resources voted to oppose the parkway as interfering with state plans for developing forests, parks, and recreation areas and improving wildlife habitat along the Potomac. Rather than having Maryland acquire more land for the NPS, it wanted the NPS to transfer its property above Great Falls to the state.²⁸

The report of Maryland's parkway committee, issued that December, reflected the divergent views of the participating agencies. The Board of Natural Resources included in its opposing statement a letter by Joseph Kaylor:

As head of the authorized park agency in the State and one who is interested in recreational uses by Marylanders, I cannot say I think the development of the Parkway would benefit the citizens of our State. On the other hand it becomes a very questionable project which could unload on the nearby Maryland countryside many people from the District of Columbia who would create problems such as we have not been confronted with in the past. Rather than buy the land to be turned over for a Federal Park at a cost which is excessive at the present time, let us use the same funds to put our own State Parks and Recreation Areas in order.²⁹

The board repeated the negative arguments, depicting the parkway as a costly barrier to hunting and industrial development. Again appealing to anti-Washington sentiment, it cast the issue in terms of "whether we are to have an expanded State program in parks and recreation areas, or to have ones developed and controlled by the Federal government causing us to be overrun by a new group who will overflow into nearby Maryland to further add to our problems."³⁰

The State Planning Commission and State Roads Commission collaborated in a somewhat more positive statement. "While this new parkway . . . is not as important as other roads in the over-all highway planning of Maryland, if it could be secured by the State of Maryland merely by the State furnishing the right of way and the Federal government defraying all construction costs, it would . . . be a very worthwhile investment," they declared. But they could not firmly support it without a better estimate of the land cost. They also called for further consideration of water resource development and other recreational options along the Potomac such as would be provided by dams and reservoirs.³¹

While many in Frederick and Hagerstown opposed the parkway, fearing a loss of business from the bypass, support from Hancock to Cumberland remained strong. In a strategic retreat, Thompson and his Maryland allies now proposed to build the road only along the sixty miles between those points—at least at the outset. Between Great Falls and Hancock the canal would be developed as a "walking parkway."³²

Thompson continued to work energetically to win support in Maryland for the modified plan. In February 1953 he visited Annapolis with a staff lawyer to help Maryland assistant attorney general Joseph Buscher draft a parkway land acquisition bill, introduced in the General Assembly by Senator Robert Kimble. "I think I have done all I can to help resolve the problem favorably," he wrote J. Glenn Beall, now a U.S. senator, on March 3. "If we could just persuade our friends in Annapolis, who represent Montgomery, Frederick, and

Washington Counties, to attach an amendment to Senator Kimble's bill which would provide for the acquisition of the lands needed for the walking parkway between Hancock and Great Falls, it would be a successful day."³³

As enacted on March 27, the bill authorized up to \$350,000 for land acquisition only between Hancock and Cumberland. No other lands were to be acquired "unless and until the Congress of the United States shall have enacted legislation providing permanent easement rights for the use of water from the Potomac River to the State of Maryland, its political subdivisions, its industrial business units and its citizens," and no lands were to be conveyed to the United States until the State Roads Commission had assurance that the parkway would be built.³⁴

Senator Beall and Representative DeWitt S. Hyde of Maryland had already introduced the desired legislation in Congress, and it was enacted on August 1. It required the secretary of the interior "to grant perpetual easements, subject to such reasonable conditions as are necessary for the protection of the Federal interests, for rights-of-way through, over, or under the parkway lands along the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, now or hereafter acquired," for specified utility purposes.³⁵

The way now appeared ready for at least the sixty-mile parkway beyond Hancock. But there were dissenters from even this scaled-down scheme, which would affect the remote, highly scenic stretch of canal through the Paw Paw bends. Irston R. Barnes, president of the Audubon Society of the District of Columbia and nature writer for the *Washington Post*, had still advocated restoration of the whole canal in a January article:

The prescription for the C. & O. Canal is obvious. The people of the valley have a priceless asset in the national park status of the canal. Let the National Park Service acquire the private lands between the canal and the river. Let the canal be restored as a highway for canoes, and perhaps for a few of the old barges. Let the towpath become a country lane for hikers and cyclists. Restore the canal and its locks and lockhouses to their nineteenth-century usefulness. Provide an abundance of small camp sites at intervals of a few miles, equipped with safe drinking water, Adirondack shelters, fireplaces, and simple sanitation facilities. Prepare the lockhouses as hostels for winter use. . . .

A limited number of access roads to the canal would allow the motorist to escape from traffic and enjoy, but not destroy, the quiet beauty of the river country.³⁶

Anthony Wayne Smith, a CIO attorney active in the National Parks Association, followed in April with a "Potomac Valley Recreation Project" proposal along the same lines, and the D.C. Audubon Society called a meeting at the

home of Mrs. Gifford Pinchot on May 7 to mobilize opposition to the parkway. There Smith attacked the NPS plan, charging that as soon as the parkway was built from Cumberland to Hancock there would be pressure to continue it to Great Falls. The group voted to form the Potomac Valley Conservation and Recreation Council, with Barnes as chairman, to fight the parkway and promote conservation objectives for the valley.³⁷

Barnes further sounded the alarm in that summer's *National Parks Magazine*, the journal of the National Parks Association. His article, "Historic C & O Canal Threatened by Road," was sympathetic to the management problems facing the NPS. "In these circumstances it is not surprising that the National Park Service pitched upon the highway as a solution to secure the land between the canal and the river, to secure greater public utilization of the area, to guard against damage by damming, or being split up by secondary and purely local uses," he wrote. But he faulted the NPS for a lack of imagination in presenting a suitable plan for preservation and recreational development: "The threat to the C and O Canal lies in the proposed construction of a motor highway from Cumberland to Hancock, and in the hidden plan to extend that highway all the way to Washington. That the threat is now upon us must be ascribed to the mistaken planning and misplaced zeal of the National Park Service itself. The only way to save the canal is through wide and vocal opposition to the plan, and thus to extricate the Service from its own commitments."³⁸

Reinforcing the "hidden plan" suspicions, Thompson continued to distribute copies of the 1950 parkway report. Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. reviewed it along with Barnes's article. "The adverse criticism of the C & O Report . . . seems to me on the whole well founded," he wrote Wirth. "A high-speed thoroughfare for automobiles . . . would, I am sure, be a wasteful use of a great recreational opportunity presented by the Canal property. I hope it can be headed off."³⁹ Wirth's response, drafted by Thompson, insinuated that the prominent landscape architect had been misled by the opposition:

By no stretch of the imagination could a street wide strip of land that has been used for 75 years as a commercial trafficway be considered a wilderness as has been suggested by those who advocate the development along the lines of the National Parks Magazine article which insofar as I can determine advocates the return of the old historic canal to the land with a disjointed and completely unmanageable spotting of recreational facilities along it. . . . I am sure you realize that a program of sufficient magnitude to attract the support of great numbers of people is absolutely essential for the protection of the Potomac River from future dam projects which have been sponsored by the Corps of Engineers on several occasions in the past. I think it safe to say that the Corps of Engineers will not rest their proposals to dam the Potomac River so long as there is

potential current in it. As a practical matter we in the park world must be braced to protect the park values of the river with the most forceful arguments at our command and in my opinion the proposals of Mr. Smith are woefully weak in this respect.⁴⁰

Thompson disclaimed any hidden agenda to extend the parkway below Hancock. But another letter from Wirth to a longtime NPS supporter suggested otherwise: "We fully intend to protect the C & O Canal and its historic values; however, the river drive into Washington from Cumberland is most important for the protection of the Potomac River from future dam projects of the Corps of Engineers. . . . I am inclined to believe that [the 1950 plan] went a little too far, however, minor adjustments can be made in it which will, in my opinion, do what the conservationists and the historians want us to do, and at the same time provide a parkway approach from the west to Washington."⁴¹

Wirth, a member of the National Capital Planning Commission, encouraged support for the parkway there and within the broader National Capital Regional Planning Council. The *Washington Post* responded with a favorable editorial on January 3, 1954. Judging the canal "no longer either a commercial or a scenic asset," it viewed the NPS plan as a good way to make the Potomac Valley accessible to sightseers, campers, fishermen, and hikers. "The basic advantage of the parkway is that it would enable more people to enjoy beauties now seen by very few," it concluded.⁴²

The Douglas Challenge

The editorial became a classic because of the opposing response it elicited. The January 19 *Post* carried an evocative and challenging letter from Justice William O. Douglas:

The discussion concerning the construction of a parkway along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal arouses many people. Fishermen, hunters, hikers, campers, ornithologists, and others who like to get acquainted with nature first-hand and on their own are opposed to making a highway out of this sanctuary.

The stretch of 185 miles of country from Washington, D.C., to Cumberland, Md., is one of the most fascinating and picturesque in the Nation. The river and its islands are part of the charm. The cliffs, the streams, the draws, the benches and beaches, the swamps are another part. The birds and game, the blaze of color in the spring and fall, the cattails in the swamp, the blush of buds in late winter—these are also some of the glory of the place.

In the early twenties Mr. Justice [Louis D.] Brandeis traveled the canal and river by canoe to Cumberland. It was for him exciting adventure and recreation. Hundreds of us still use this sanctuary for

hiking, and camping. It is a refuge, a place of retreat, a long stretch of quiet and peace at the Capital's back door—a wilderness area where we can commune with God and with nature, a place not yet marred by the roar of wheels and the sound of horns.

It is a place for boys and girls, men and women. One can hike 15 or 20 miles on a Sunday afternoon, or sleep on high dry ground in the quiet of a forest, or just go and sit with no sound except water lapping at one's feet. It is a sanctuary for everybody who loves woods—a sanctuary that would be utterly destroyed by a fine two-lane highway.

I wish the man who wrote your editorial of January 3, 1954, approving the parkway would take time off and come with me. We would go with packs on our backs and walk the 185 miles to Cumberland. I feel that if your editor did, he would return a new man and use the power of your great editorial page to help keep this sanctuary untouched.⁴³

Merlo Pusey, the editorial's author, and Robert H. Estabrook, the editorial page editor, responded on January 21 with another editorial, titled "We Accept":

Mr. Justice Douglas wrote in a most charming manner about the beauties of the Potomac River and the old Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. . . .

Our idea, and that of at least some of the sponsors of the proposed C & O parkway, we are sure, was not to make the littoral of the Potomac an artery of traffic. It is not the place for motorists in a hurry. Rather, the parkway is designed to make the area accessible in the way that the Skyline Drive has made the delights of the Blue Ridge Mountains accessible to many thousands of people who otherwise would have never been able to enjoy their vistas, to hike their trails, or to camp in their unspoiled woods and meadows. . . .

We are pleased to accept Justice Douglas's invitation to walk the towpath of the old canal. . . . But it is only fair to warn the Justice that we are already familiar with some parts of the beautiful country that will be traversed. We are sufficiently enthusiastic about it to wear some blisters on our feet, but we do not believe that this backyard wilderness so near to Washington should be kept closed to those who cannot hike 15 or 20 miles a day.⁴⁴

News of the impending hike excited conservation leaders and outdoorsmen from near and far. More than two dozen prepared to join much if not all of the trek, including Olaus J. Murie, Bernard Frank, and Howard Zahniser of the Wilderness Society, Sigurd F. Olson of the National Parks Association, and Irston Barnes. The Wilderness Society and Potomac Appalachian Trail Club

organized and provided logistical support for the hike, receiving full cooperation from the NPS notwithstanding their differences over the parkway development. Thompson met with Douglas and detailed the chief naturalist of National Capital Parks and a U.S. Park Police corporal to accompany and assist the hikers. His cooperative posture reflected no change of heart, however. "I doubt seriously if they will convince too many people by the demonstration that the canal should be preserved only for the hikers," he wrote the editor of the *Cumberland Times*.⁴⁵

The B&O Railroad provided a special car to carry Douglas's party and press representatives from Washington to Cumberland on March 19. Senator Beall greeted them upon arrival. A dinner with appropriate oratory ensued at the Cumberland Country Club. The next morning the party were transported to begin the hike at Lock 72, some ten miles down, thereby skipping the unsightly and odoriferous remnant of the canal nearest the terminus. The Potomac Appalachian Trail Club trucked their heavy equipment and prepared most of their meals, and sportsmen's clubs along the route provided overnight accommodations.⁴⁶

Heading south to Washington, the hikers reached Seneca after seven days on the towpath and spent the night at an Izaak Walton League clubhouse nearby. That evening they organized the C&O Canal Committee to pursue their objectives, with Douglas as chairman. On the next and last day, March 27, the hikers were met by large crowds as they neared Washington. At Lock 6 near Little Falls they were greeted by Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay, Thompson, and other NPS officials. Below Lock 5 they boarded the mule-drawn *Canal Clipper* and floated into Georgetown.

The hike was well publicized, as its organizers intended. Aubrey Graves, country life editor of the *Post*, had joined Pusey and Estabrook to report for their paper, and George Kennedy covered the hike for Washington's *Evening Star*. Associated Press accounts, network radio and television news broadcasts, movie newsreels, and illustrated stories in *Time* and *Life* magazines informed readers across the nation of the canal, the event, and the controversy.

Estabrook and Pusey, whose editorial had triggered the hike, followed with another on March 31. While not abandoning the parkway concept, they now proposed some significant modifications:

In one important respect we have changed our minds. The 1950 plan . . . called for a parkway along the towpath, and in some places along the bed, of the old Chesapeake & Ohio Canal. Apart from the desirability of leaving some areas in their natural state, this would be a much bigger undertaking than we had supposed. The amount of fill required to make the canal bed usable would be enormous. . . .

At the same time, there are a number of scenic sectors where a parkway would do little harm and would be an attraction for persons who do not have the stamina for long hikes. . . . Existing roads, such

as Maryland Route 51 and River Road, would form the nucleus for a parkway in some areas. In others a parkway could be built along the top of the bluff to give beautiful panoramas without disturbing the canal and towpath preserve.⁴⁷

The next month Justice Douglas sent Secretary McKay the preliminary recommendations of his C&O Canal Committee. They did not differ greatly from those in the latest *Post* editorial. From McKay's warm and conciliatory reply, there seemed few if any differences between the current government program and that of the conservationists. "I was delighted to find that the suggestions presented by your committee so closely parallel those of this Department in so many particulars," he wrote Douglas. He called the government's parkway plans "quite preliminary" and promised full consideration of the committee's views as planning proceeded.⁴⁸

With his Western Maryland political base in mind, Senator Beall meanwhile continued to press for action on the parkway above Hancock as previously planned and supported by the state. "The Republican Administration and the Republican Congress should receive the credit for starting construction on this project," he wrote McKay in late April. The secretary thereupon solicited President Dwight D. Eisenhower's support: "Every precaution will be taken to insure that the parkway will not be destructive of the canal where it can be avoided. Senator Beall and I are quite anxious to get the planning work done between Cumberland and Hancock so that when funds are available this section can be started on whatever plan is approved without too long a delay." Based on this letter, Beall announced that McKay had approved the parkway.⁴⁹

This did not square with the conciliatory posture adopted toward the conservationists, and the NPS diplomatically disavowed Beall's claim. In correspondence with Olaus Murie, Conrad Wirth distanced himself from the parkway plan, noting that it had been prepared before he became director. "I have purposely held up any action on it because of the opposition to it until I can look into it personally," he wrote.⁵⁰

Vocal public sentiment ran strongly against the canal parkway in the months after the Douglas hike. Among numerous protests received by the Interior Department and the NPS was an eloquent and insightful one from Irving Brant, a longtime conservation activist. "The one word that applies to every aspect of the canal today is *intimacy*," Brant wrote. "There is intimacy in the canal itself, in its towpath, its old locks and lockhouses, in the trees that overlay it, in its relationship to bluffs and river, in the wildlife one finds along it. A motor parkway would destroy this utterly."⁵¹

In January 1955, responding to the preponderant opposition and his own doubts, Wirth appointed a committee to restudy the development of the canal from Great Falls to Cumberland. Chaired by Ben H. Thompson, chief of the NPS Division of Cooperative Activities, the committee included Harry

Thompson, NPS chief naturalist John E. Doerr, NPS chief historian Herbert Kahler, Thomas C. Vint, chief of the Division of Design and Construction, and Lloyd Meehean of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

At their initial meetings the members considered Anthony Wayne Smith's Potomac Valley Recreation Project proposal and the recommendations of Douglas's C&O Canal Committee. Harry Thompson discredited the idea of building the parkway above Hancock on the bluffs back from the canal, noting that this would entail many expensive bridges and much higher land acquisition costs. Ben Thompson noted that the existing roads paralleling the canal elsewhere lacked the essential character of a scenic recreational parkway and could not properly serve as such. There was agreement that a feasible and genuine parkway would have to accord generally with the 1950 plan.

The committee toured the canal from Cumberland to Harpers Ferry in March, then tried to decide whether the 1950 plan should be pursued. Harry Thompson remained its strongest advocate, declaring it necessary to "serve a full cross section of the public" and arguing that "anything less than a multi-purpose or embracing theme of development would not . . . be acceptable to the legislative authorities in the State of Maryland." If the parkway were dropped, he thought the NPS should dispose of the canal above Seneca. Vint was less enthusiastic about the parkway but saw no way of obtaining the needed lands without it. "Unless some means can be found to find a source of funds for land acquisition on the ideal basis, I would favor continuing with the parkway plan," he declared. "In the long run the important thing is to keep the river bank in public ownership."⁵²

With Meehean abstaining, the three remaining committee members formed a bare majority against the parkway. Echoing Irving Brant, they saw the road as destroying "the intimate character of the canal-river strip," whose values were "of the foreground type, which can best be enjoyed by activities that bring the user into intimate contact with nature and the historic structures, as contrasted with the background or grand scale type of landscape values that can best be enjoyed by motoring." They advocated improving and maintaining the towpath as a trail for both hiking and bicycling, rewatering as much of the canal as possible, and varying the treatment of the unwatered sections.⁵³

Not surprisingly, the committee's recommendations did not satisfy Senator Beall and the western Marylanders who were counting on a new road beyond Hancock. Pressures from that direction led Wirth himself to conduct another inspection of the area in early 1956. At the end of February he met with Secretary McKay, Beall, and Representative Hyde. The result was official endorsement of a Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park with a separate parkway connecting Route 51 near Paw Paw with Long Ridge Road near Woodmont.⁵⁴ Ben Thompson presented this solution at Harpers Ferry in April to a group marking the second anniversary of the Douglas hike. Inasmuch as it favored basic elements of the C&O Canal Committee's plan, it was



Interior Secretary Douglas McKay greets Justice Douglas at the end of the hike. Merlo Pusey of the Washington Post stands at left; Harry Thompson of the NPS looks on at right. (Courtesy National Park Service.)

well received by that audience. In an editorial, the *Washington Post* also approved the NPS plan to preserve the canal intact and build the scenic parkway “well back from the canal.”⁵⁵

Initial efforts to win congressional approval for the national historical park were unsuccessful, even after the costly parkway component was dropped in 1960. Opposition from Potomac dam advocates and Maryland state park and hunting interests held firm through much of the next decade, and Congress remained reluctant to purchase land for parks until the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 earmarked certain federal revenues for the purpose. These and other factors delayed enactment of the legislation authorizing the present national historical park until 1971.⁵⁶

Meanwhile, the canal parkway controversy was not entirely over. Although the road along the canal between Great Falls and Cumberland was dead after 1955, plans for a parkway road along the restored canal below Great Falls—part of the George Washington Memorial Parkway—remained active. By 1955 most of the land for this section had been acquired, and the House of Representatives approved funds for road grading. Encouraged by their recent

success, some of those who had opposed the canal parkway now lobbied to block this project.

In this case, however, the parkway foes were fighting a losing battle. The road had been planned for a quarter-century, and the federal and state governments had each provided some \$715,000 to acquire nearly 1,500 acres for the project in Maryland. Work on the Maryland leg of the George Washington Memorial Parkway began in 1957 and was largely completed by 1965. Renamed the Clara Barton Parkway in 1989, this parkway is a useful and attractive road, providing access to the canal and glimpses of its scenic and historic features for many who might otherwise miss them. Visually and audibly impinging on the canal for most of its length, it also serves to illustrate how the C&O Canal Parkway might have affected much longer stretches of the canal had not public sentiment been mobilized so effectively against the National Park Service.

The canal parkway concept might have succeeded in the 1930s when the unemployment relief benefits of large-scale public works projects tended to outweigh their environmental costs. In the early 1950s, a parkway seemed the only means of conserving the Potomac riverbank for public enjoyment. Douglas's vision of a roadless park could not be achieved until the 1970s. The C&O Canal Parkway was a good idea when proposed. Not for another two decades would new circumstances and changed attitudes permit a better idea to prevail.

NOTES

1. For discussion of various conservation battles, see Mark W.T. Harvey, *A Symbol of Wilderness: Echo Park and the American Conservation Movement* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994).
2. Barry Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System* (Washington: National Park Service, 1991), 46, 54–55.
3. Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 206.
4. This background is documented in Barry Mackintosh, "C & O Canal: The Making of a Park," unpublished National Park Service report, 1991, 1–49.
5. U.S. Department of War, Office of the Middle Atlantic Division Engineer, "Public Notice Relative to Proposed Improvement of Potomac River and Its Tributaries," January 1, 1945, copy in files at Chesapeake and Ohio National Historical Park headquarters, Sharpsburg, Md. (hereinafter C&O Canal NHP).
6. Letter, Demaray to Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, March 28, 1945, files C&O Canal NHP.
7. Memorandum, Demaray to Francis S. Ronalds, April 4, 1945, files C&O Canal NHP.
8. Letter, Butcher to Irving C. Root, December 21, 1945, Administration, Maintenance, and Protection file 1460/C&O-5, National Capital Parks, Washington National Records

Center, Suitland, Md. (hereinafter file 1460/C&O, WNRC).

9. Memorandum, Malcolm Kirkpatrick to Thomas Vint, April 24, 1935, C&O Canal file, Office Files of John F. Nolen, Jr., National Capital Planning Commission, Record Group 328, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

10. Letter, Slattery to Tydings, January 23, 1939, C&O Canal file 650.03, National Capital Parks, National Park Service, Record Group 79, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereinafter C&O file 650.03, RG 79).

11. House Joint Resolution 8, May 29, 1941; memorandum, Irving C. Root to Newton B. Drury, October 13, 1941, C&O file 650.03, RG 79.

12. Letter, Newton B. Drury to Charles M. See, October 30, 1941, C&O file 650.03, RG 79; National Capital Parks staff meeting minutes, June 2, 1943, file 1460/C&O, WNRC.

13. Memorandum, William G. Hayward, P. E. Smith, and Merel S. Sager to Irving C. Root, October 24, 1945, file 1460/C&O, WNRC; letter, Col. John M. Johnson to Root, October 25, 1945, *ibid.*; memorandum, Demaray to Ickes, December 11, 1945, *ibid.*

14. Memorandum, Demaray to Chapman, March 6, 1946, containing Ickes quotation and Chapman's approval signature, *ibid.*

15. H.R. 5155, 80th Congress; letter, Chapman to Rep. Richard J. Welch, March 21, 1948, in H. Rept. 1684, 80th Congress.

16. *Congressional Record*, 94:4636, 6763; Public Law 80-618, U.S. *Statutes at Large*, 62:351.

17. U.S. Congress, House, *Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Report*, H. Doc. 687, 81st Congress, August 16, 1950, iii-iv.

18. *Ibid.*, 15, 34.

19. *Ibid.*, 30.

20. *Ibid.*, 41-42.

21. *Ibid.*, 40, 80-84.

22. *Ibid.*, 52; memorandum, Rogers W. Young to Ronald F. Lee, May 12, 1950, file 1460/C&O Canal, C&O Canal NHP.

23. H.R. 8534, 81st Congress, May 17, 1950; letter, Dale E. Doty to Rep. J. Hardin Peterson, August 7, 1950, in H. Rept. 2834, 81st Congress; *Congressional Record*, 96:12920, 14667; Public Law 81-811, U.S. *Statutes at Large*, 64:905.

24. Letter, Robert O. Beatty to Wirth, October 30, 1950, file 1460/C&O Canal, C&O Canal NHP; letter, Kelly to Beatty, November 3, 1950, *ibid.*

25. Quoted in Irston R. Barnes, "Historic C&O Canal Threatened by Road," *National Parks Magazine*, 27, no. 114 (July-September 1953): 136.

26. S.J. Res 14 approved May 7, 1951, *Laws of Maryland 1951*; State of Maryland, "Report of the Joint Committee on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Parkway," December 1952; memorandum, W. Drew Chick to Harry T. Thompson, June 25, 1951, file 1460/C&O Canal, C&O Canal NHP; memorandum, Thompson to Ben H. Thompson, July 25, 1951, *ibid.*

27. Memorandum, Chick to Thompson, June 25, 1951, file 1460/C&O Canal, C&O Canal NHP.

28. Letter, Pasarew to Chapman, January 3, 1952, in State of Maryland, "Report of the Joint Committee," 25; letter, Chapman to Pasarew, February 13, 1952, *ibid.*; *ibid.*, 42-43.

29. State of Maryland, "Report of the Joint Committee," 50.

30. *Ibid.*, 53.

31. *Ibid.*, 61–63.
32. Letter, Thompson to Alvin Pasarew, February 9, 1953, file 1460/C&O, WNRC.
33. Letter, Thompson to Beall, *ibid.*
34. S.B. 211, *Laws of Maryland 1953*.
35. Public Law 83-184, August 1, 1953, U.S. *Statutes at Large*, 67:359.
36. Irston R. Barnes, "C&O Canal Proposed as Recreation Park," *Washington Post*, January 11, 1953, clipping in file 1460/C&O, WNRC.
37. Dora A. Padgett, "Report on a Meeting Called by the Audubon Society of the District of Columbia, on May 7, 1953, at the home of Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, 1615 Rhode Island Avenue, Washington, D.C., at 8 P.M.," *ibid.*
38. Irston R. Barnes, "Historic C&O Canal Threatened by Road," 135.
39. Letter, Olmstead to Wirth, August 13, 1953, file 1460/C&O, WNRC.
40. Letter, Wirth to Olmstead, October 20, 1953, *ibid.*
41. Letter, Thompson to Leonard E. Kolmer, November 1953, *ibid.*; letter, Wirth to Harlan E. Kelsey, September 9, 1953, *ibid.*
42. "Potomac Parkway," *Washington Post*, January 3, 1954, 24.
43. Reproduced in Jack Durham, "The C&O Canal Hike," *The Living Wilderness*, 19, no. 48 (spring 1954): 2.
44. *Ibid.*, 3.
45. Letter, Thompson to William Hunt, March 18, 1954, file 1460/C&O, WNRC.
46. Durham, "The C&O Canal Hike"; W. Drew Chick, Jr., "Report of Justice Douglas—*Washington Post* Hiking Trip Along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, March 20–27, 1954," C&O Canal NHP.
47. "C&O Canal: A Report," reproduced in Durham, "The C&O Canal Hike," 23–24.
48. Letter, Douglas to Douglas McKay, April 22, 1954, file 1460/C&O, WNRC; letter, McKay to Douglas, May 4, 1954, *ibid.*
49. Letter, Beall to McKay, April 27, 1954, *ibid.*; letter, McKay to Dwight D. Eisenhower, April 30, 1954, *ibid.*; Beall press release, May 9, 1954, *ibid.*
50. Letter, Wirth to Murie, April 15, 1954, *ibid.*; Wirth note on memorandum, John Nolen, Jr. to Wirth, May 13, 1954, *ibid.*
51. Letter, Brant to McKay, June 14, 1954, *ibid.*
52. Thompson and Vint memorandums accompanying "Progress Report of Committee Making a Study of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal," July 1, 1955, C&O Canal NHP.
53. *Ibid.*, 4, 17.
54. "Statement by Conrad L. Wirth, Director, NPS, Concerning the Proposed Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Historical Park and Parkway, Maryland, for Presentation to the State of Maryland Board of Natural Resources, March 19, 1956," C&O Canal NHP.
55. "Potomac for the Future," *Washington Post*, May 1, 1956, 24.
56. For these events see Mackintosh, "C&O Canal," 81–102.



"The Burning of the Henry Webb & Co. Warehouse," 1827, oil on canvas attributed to Nocolino V. Calyo. The Union, Washington, and Mercantile fire companies responded to this fire at the corner of Howard and Franklin Streets. Baltimore's independent companies often competed with one another when racing to the scene, frightening citizens and fueling the city's "Mobtown" reputation.

Mayhem in Mobtown: Firefighting in Antebellum Baltimore

AMY SOPHIA GREENBERG

Before 1858 there was no professional firefighting force in Baltimore. All fires were fought by volunteer companies who dragged large hand-pump fire engines to the city's frequent conflagrations. In Baltimore, as in other American cities in the two decades before the Civil War, volunteer firemen often fought more than fires. A British visitor to the city in 1855 observed that Baltimore's fifteen fire companies were "jealous as Kilkenny cats of one another, and when they come together, they scarcely ever lose an opportunity of getting up a bloody fight. They are even accused of doing occasionally a little bit of arson, so as to get the chance of a row." By the 1850s these violent firemen were as much a cause for alarm among urban citizens as they were a source of relief at fires. Baltimore's firemen shot one another, burned down their own firehouses, and engaged in riots for more than two decades.¹

This article examines the disorderly history of the Baltimore Volunteer Fire Department, perhaps the most violent fire department in the country, demonstrating the extent of violence in the department and the internal and external efforts to restrain the volunteers. We shall observe the transition in the public's opinion of the volunteers and show how and why the press and citizenry finally decided in the late 1840s, after firemen had been rioting on and off since 1834 without serious condemnation, that the volunteer fire department was a grave threat to public safety. Public behavior and civic order were indeed reconfigured in Baltimore in the last decades before the Civil War.

Historians of Philadelphia and New York have described volunteer fire departments that steadily grew more violent in the early nineteenth century. In both cities, "perfectly respectable" departments were altered by the coming of industrialism and population growth. The departments came under the control of working class rowdies, who engaged in increasingly violent expressions of competitiveness until an exasperated public had no choice but to replace them. Bruce Laurie has written that in Philadelphia in the 1830s "intercompany rivalries were still relatively benign." A decade later they had developed into "brutal clashes between warring white traditionalists." By the 1850s arsonists were burning down rival fire houses, and firemen preferred shooting at one another rather than fighting with more primitive and traditional weapons, like brickbats or fists.²

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The experience of Baltimore's Volunteer Fire Department was somewhat different. Unlike Philadelphia, Baltimore had no Benjamin Franklin to set the tone for its eighteenth-century department, and troubles in Baltimore started earlier than in other cities. Between 1763, when the Mechanical Fire Company was formed, and 1782, when a group of firemen split off and formed the Union Fire Company, there was peace in Baltimore. The motto of the second company, "In union there is strength," quickly became ironic for the department as a whole. According to an early source, "rivalry sprung up between the two companies," and the disaffected met in 1785 to form a third company, which, "with a view of reconciling all the then difficulty," took the name Friendship.³

War-whoops and Conflagrations

By the 1830s Baltimore had earned the appellation "Mobtown" because of its frequent riots, some of which originated within the fire department. Fire company ledgers document serious troubles among the volunteers, including a battle between two companies at the scene of a fire, and other scenes of disorder, among them shootings and arson.⁴

A first attempt at establishing order was made in 1831 when the Baltimore Association of Firemen was formed. In December 1833 a more formal compact was made between the fifteen fire companies then existing "for the purpose of curbing 'irregularities,' as Mayor William Stewart was pleased to term certain acts of the companies."⁵ The charter of the newly formed Baltimore United Fire Department established a convention of delegates with the power of passing laws for the better regulation of fire companies, and with the special task of settling disputes between companies. This convention theoretically provided "the means of checking and keeping under proper control the emulation existing among firemen, which at times has run into excess."⁶

Despite such attempts at control the violence worsened. Although fights seemed always to center around the firehouse, or fire itself, firemen pointed to outsiders as the cause of the violence. Newspaper reports of these incidents also imply that outsiders pretending to be firemen were responsible, not actual firemen. "The alarm of fire sounded to the peaceable citizens as a war-whoop, and the scene of conflagration was the scene of riot, if not invariably of bloodshed. Gangs of disorderly blackguards, adopting the names of some of our fire companies, would marshal themselves under ringleaders, and armed with bludgeons, knives, and even fire-arms, fight with each other like hordes of savages."⁷

In 1834 arsonists torched the firehouse of the Howard Company. The infuriated members recommended to the other companies in the department that they close their engine houses until the city was able to provide them security from the street gangs believed to be responsible for the trouble. During the next year the houses of the Union and Liberty Companies were also set on fire. Riots occurred almost weekly. "When shall we be able to pass a Sabbath day

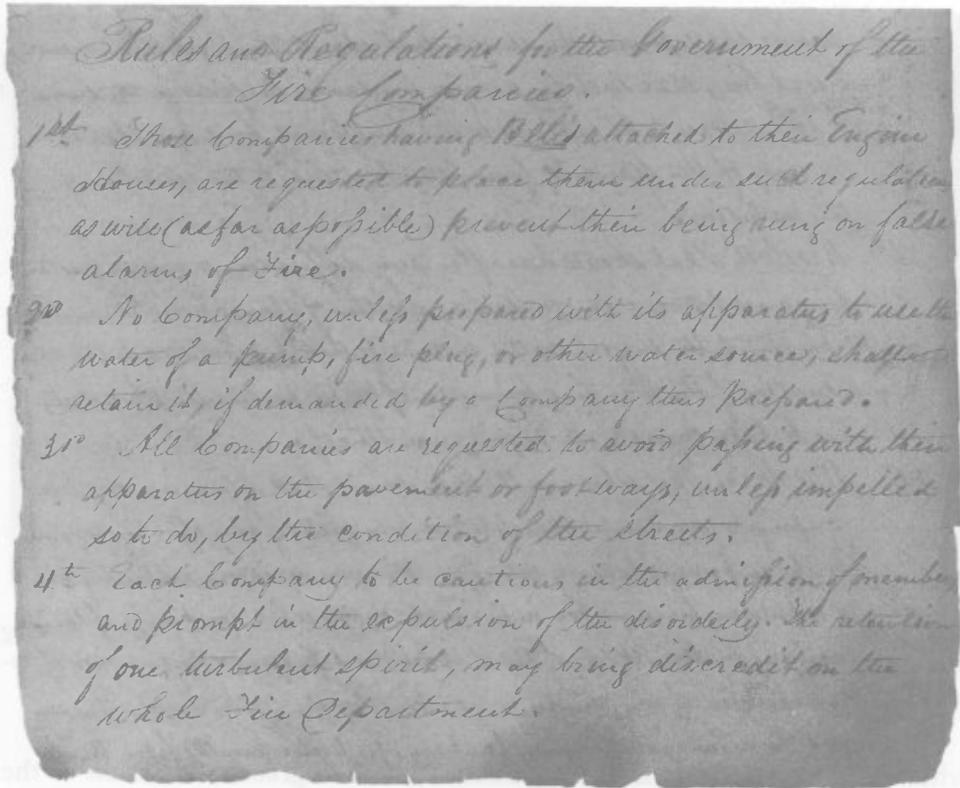


With courage and glory behind them, city firefighters battle the flames. This romantic drawing graced Baltimore Fire Insurance Company policies in the 1840s. (Baltimore Fire Insurance Company Records, MS.1276. Maryland Historical Society.)

without being called upon to record some act of disgraceful violation of the peace, some daring outrage amounting almost to bloodshed?" asked the *Baltimore Sun* after one of these riots. "Not, we fear, until the originators of these riots, the master spirits who excite the evil passions of gangs of thoughtless, unruly boys, and lead them on step by step from simple brawls to riot, arson, and murder, receive their just dues." The *Sun* did not suggest that these master spirits might be firemen.⁸

Firemen maintained that they were blameless in these doings, but nevertheless fire companies began internal reforms. Company members signed pledges that they would discontinue the use of "ardent spirits at fires," would "refrain from giving any cause of offense to the members of any other company," and would always remember "the honour of the company" of which they were members, and the "character of the Firemen of Baltimore."⁹

Much of the problem lay in this concept of "honor." It was unclear whether honor would be better served by fighting or not fighting. The ledger of the Mechanical Company in 1839 commends the Independent Fire Company for attacking the Patapsco Company (the Mechanical Company's particular enemies) because of the latter company's "continued disorderly conduct, and the low character of the man of fellows of which it is composed—a disgrace to the Fire Department of Baltimore."¹⁰ In the eyes of the Mechanical Company's firemen it was acceptable for an honorable company to attack a company made "dishonorable" by its own fighting.



Rules and regulations of the Baltimore United Fire Department, set down in 1833 by representatives of fifteen independent companies, attempted to mediate disputes and bring order out of the rivalry and violence. (Maryland Historical Society.)

The Volunteer Fire Department Standing Committee also considered honor a legitimate reason for fighting. "It will not be maintained that any company should remain quiet and permit itself to be taunted, insulted, or mistreated," the committee stated.¹¹ In fact, members of the committee were not above such concerns themselves. According to fire company notes, in 1840 a fracas was instigated by one of the members of the committee whose "taunts and vociferous noises," were sufficient to start a riot on a "most beautiful and moonlit night!"¹²

Tacit recognition of the need to fight explains in part the great number of disputes brought before the standing committee. In the highly charged and competitive world of antebellum firefighting, insults were in abundant supply. The first years of the committee, between 1834 and 1840, saw an astounding array of cases, from relatively minor infractions involving racing, or one company throwing water upon another, to serious threats, bludgeonings, stealing, and "general outrages by firemen." The United Fire Company ran its hose carriage into the Washington Company's engine. Was it deliberate? Unclear. Was it reason for a fight? Yes. Was the threat "to split your head open" made by a member of the Colum-

bian Company simply high spirits, or an insult to the member of the Deptford Company against whom it was made?¹³

The committee members' failure to curb violence is attributable in part to ambivalence. They recognized that sometimes fighting was justified, and they were firemen themselves. They rarely reached any conclusions. Subcommittees were often appointed to look into disputes, but evidently did not report back. Even when evidence was forthcoming, the committee was loath to lay blame within the department, or pronounce any serious punishment, perhaps out of concern for the department's public image. The same parties appear and reappear with similar complaints. The New Market company, generally considered to be a "bad lot," was accused of "using implements and carrying clubs and weapons not required by their duties, and frequently applied to purposes subversive of the public peace." In a particularly vicious battle against the Union Fire Company in 1838, New Market members (or their "runners") killed two men. Yet no punishment was meted out, and the firemen continued fighting. The committee wailed:

It was reasonably expected that two victims were sufficient to sacrifice to the demon of misrule and disorder, and that the melancholy fate of these two gentlemen would have calmed the violence of the most turbulent spirits. But the hope, reasonable as it appeared, was fallacious. Riots, turbulence, disgraceful conduct and personal violence have since repeatedly occurred. The name of the fireman has almost become a badge of obloquy, and an emblem of disorder.¹⁴

Even firemen who condemned "disgraceful" companies took lurid pleasure in the violence of others. "The Patapsco and Friendship came in collision and ended in a glorious fight," the secretary of the Mechanical Fire Company wrote in 1840.¹⁵

Far into the 1840s the press refused to name the source of rioting among the firemen. Perhaps the otherwise capable job they were performing at a series of large fires allowed them some degree of absolution. In 1835, during an enormous riot occasioned by the failure of the Bank of Maryland, in which a mob attacked its social and economic superiors, firemen were actually a major force in controlling the riot. On several occasions during the two-day confrontation the firemen were attacked by the mob while trying to save the property of the mayor (also a director of the bank) and other distinguished citizens. Afterwards the firemen volunteered their services as watchmen or temporary police officers.¹⁶

So firemen took on the public persona of dispellers of riots, a role naturally incompatible with their own riotousness. In 1838 the *Baltimore Sun*, in an attempt at exoneration, suggested a different source of the troubles, elaborating and expanding on the favorite excuse of the firemen. About the weekly riots plaguing the city, the newspaper wrote that:

It would be perhaps a matter of some difficulty, to arrive at the true causes. For a long time . . . the jealousies existing between the fire companies of the city, were supposed to be the active causes which led to the many and disastrous results. This opinion, however, is nearly exploded. . . . We say the cause is this: Baltimore City, like all other large places, contains some five or six dozen flash fellows—fancy rattlers—men who are a sort of half and half—who dress with more ease than grace, and now and then with more grace than ease: a species of nondescript, being neither professional men, mechanics, or laborers—a something, nothing, a kind of wandering beings.

After elaborating on the details of these “Confidence Men,” the article revealed their fiendish intentions. Intent upon fighting, “according to their own conception, a sort of civil drubbing, which some particular man, or set of men, has, in some way earned,” their intention is, via rumor, conveyed “to the various engine houses (at most of these in the evening are collected large gangs of half grown boys), they hear of the coming battle with the greatest joy, and off they scamper to the battle ground.” The writer concluded that it was the responsibility of parents and masters to keep children and apprentices at home late at night, and that no one under the age of twenty should be allowed to collect in gangs or at engine houses.¹⁷

So firemen escaped for a time the charge of inciting riots, as well as the equally serious charge of corrupting youth. It is true that outside agitators helped incite firemen’s riots at this time and in later decades. According to fire company minutes, individuals in the crowd would shout inflammatory things at the firemen, or throw bricks and stones at them during or after fires. Often fights originated in political disputes between Whig and Democratic political clubs which met at the privately owned firehouses or at taverns near the firehouses. Still, firemen were not the innocent victims of rowdiness and political difference. “Disgraceful fights,” in which “axes, torches, knives and pistols freely used,” were attributed by firemen to their brethren, as well as to “rowdies” who might or might not be connected to the department.¹⁸

Disgraceful rioting. . . . The Vig[ilant] carriage was seized by a party of rowdies, who threw their hose in the Falls. The Columbia Carriage was likewise seized and partially destroyed. Beautiful Conduct!! Brick bats flew like hail, pistols were fired in every direction, there is now no safety for those that are well disposed, something must be done or the department will be in the hands of these rowdies completely!¹⁹

“What Can the Matter Be?”

In the 1830s, and into the 1840s, times of violence as extensive as any in the history of Baltimore’s department, firemen generally escaped condemnation for

rioting. John Thomas Scharf, in his *Chronicles of Baltimore*, published in 1874, alluded to the 1838 riot but asserted that rioting by Baltimore firemen started in 1847. Firemen played no role in his scathing critique of the various riots of the turbulent 1830s and early 1840s,²⁰ perhaps because firemen of this period were rarely identified in reports of riots at fires and false alarms.

On the infrequent occasions upon which arrests were made, the criminals were reported to be “youths not believed to be firemen” and unidentified belligerents.²¹ Clearly, many of these individuals, arrested or not, were firemen. An especially disgraceful fight occurred on Easter Sunday in 1844, after a false alarm. The ledger of a fire company commented that on this occasion an “Easter morning trial of apparatus turns into a fight in which members of all companies participated.” The *Baltimore American* stated conservatively that its reporters “observed a general melee going on, but as to who was at fault, or who were the belligerents, we could not ascertain.”

The city government continued to look for a solution. An ordinance passed in 1838 made the intentional injury of a fireman a crime punishable by a month’s imprisonment.²² In 1844 further legislation attempted to reform conditions by banning minors from the companies, limiting provisions to the companies, and placing the power of forming new companies in the hands of the mayor and city council.²³ The companies again attempted internal reforms, agreeing among themselves not to riot, nor to steal or destroy each other’s equipment, and proposing to drive boys away from the engine houses. They also continued to petition the mayor for the presence of more police officers at fires.²⁴

A combination of internal reforms and the new “minor law” worked to banish the boys, and the riots, for a time. Between 1840 and 1844 the Fire Department Standing Committee investigated ten major cases a year; from 1845 to 1850, when the committee stopped functioning, the number dropped to between one and four cases a year. This may mean that firemen stopped bringing grievances before the ineffective board, but reports of fire riots are also far less common in the *Baltimore Sun* in 1845 and 1846, and in fire company ledgers as well. The secretary of the Mechanical Company commented with some amazement in April 1845 that the recent legislation “is found fully to effect the object for which it is designed—scarcely a boy is seen with any of the Reel Suctions. . . . A most admirable regulation and calculated to do away with the broils and riots which have disgraced the Fire Department for so long past.”²⁵ Two fire company ledgers reported no riots at all in 1846.

The summer of 1847 saw a renewal of difficulties, “riots, and constant rows between the Independent and New Market companies,” apparently originating in a trial of machinery between the two companies. The mayor, taking quick action, closed the two houses in June for two months. The virus was not containable, unfortunately. The Mechanical Company’s secretary commented a few weeks later that, although “the rioters are within the New Market, United, Watchman and Independent [Companies] . . . the Independent and

New Market apparatus are now locked up, but it does not appear that this fact has much effect in stopping disturbances."²⁶

In September the Mechanical Company decided to accept minors into the company again because of the "failure" of the minor law. "It is in the power of each company to regulate the conduct of its members, and to prevent altogether the running of improper persons to fires with its apparatus . . . sufficient to effectually prevent the recurrence of scenes, which at most every fire, or alarm of fire, so disgrace our city and cast opprobrium on the character of volunteer firemen." Perhaps it was only a coincidence that later that same month rioting had become "so bad that it is dangerous for peaceable persons to go to fires, for fear of being shot, or knocked down by a brick."²⁷

After the two-year hiatus in disorder of 1845–1846, the Baltimore press became far less sympathetic to the firemen. In an article titled "Firemen's Riots—What Can the Matter Be?" the *Baltimore Sun* scorned the excuses it had accepted two years before.

We find bonfires built in some remote section of the city, merely to cause an alarm and draw the firemen together for the purpose of a fight, and have seen the apparatus of certain companies taken out when there was no alarm and run into a section of the city where a collision was most likely to take place. The apparatus on these occasions were drawn by men, full-grown men, partially equipped, and we have heard words of defiance and insult belched forth through the horns of directors. When a collision occurs, however, we have every assurance given that those who participated in them are half-grown boys, and not members of the companies.²⁸

The article went on to recommend that the mayor "exercise every power with which he is vested, to put a stop to these scenes of riot and blood-shed." Another article noted skeptically that "it certainly seems strange that these rioters, if not members of the companies they run with, should be allowed to take out their apparatus."²⁹

Apparently public opinion was turning as well. The Mechanical Company Collecting Committee decided in December 1847, for the first time, not to request funds from the neighborhood, due to "the impression which may have been made on the public, by the rioting of several Companies in the city." Instead, they "had better defer it until peace and harmony was restored."³⁰

Baltimore fire officials, who had convened in special sessions in September 1847 to discuss the riots, declared finally in late October that "nothing less than an entire and thorough change in the organization of the whole Fire Department will effectually remedy the evil and prevent entirely the recurrence of the disgraceful scenes which have so recently disturbed the peace and quiet of the city."³¹ By late 1848 another person had died, and at least five observers

had been injured by the flying bricks, missiles, and bullets, which marked the firemen's battles. The mayor again closed a number of the most troublesome houses, but found the members of the companies unwilling to return to work on the occasion of a tremendous fire, producing more bad press and bad feeling for the volunteers.³²

Expressive and Recreational Rioting

Press reaction aside, the period of peace of 1845–1846 in Baltimore, “when arrests of minors were made, all rioting among firemen ceased, and there were not near so many fires as now,” as one fireman put it, offered Baltimoreans a breathing period in which to reexamine their assumptions about the rioting that was endemic to their city.³³ There was much to contemplate: a *general* pattern of rioting dating back to the 1830s. There were frequent riots that did not involve the firemen, some staged by unhappy segments of the population to protest ills in society. Such rioting was both expressive and recreational, to borrow Michael Feldberg's terms. The Bank Riot of 1835 and two other riots in a two-year period clearly expressed the protesters' sense of economic or political injustice. An 1840 attack by “a large party of rowdies with the New Market and United companies . . . on a crowd of Whigs assembled at the Patriot office,” offers another example of expressive rioting. “Several pistols were discharged by the Whigs but no one was killed . . . great political excitement between the Whigs and Democrats, threatening riot and bloodshed.”³⁴

Other rioting in Baltimore involving rowdies (and sometimes firemen) appears to have been recreational, in that it reinforced the solidarity of groups but did not express any larger dissatisfaction with the status quo. Those riots in which the firemen took part (according to their own records) were therefore easy for the public to blame on other troublemakers, and the confidence man or outsider figure served this purpose well. Firemen could not be expected to be in control in an environment where no one was in control. If boys ran with the fire machines and knocked each other's heads in with bricks, well, they might have done as much elsewhere just as easily. The firemen blamed the police for not keeping order and in fact had to act as police to protect public order during the Bank Riot. It was difficult for the public to sort out blame when police failed to arrest participants in riot after riot.³⁵

Starting in 1846 there is evidence of a dramatic decline in the number of riots not related to firefighting. Virtually no reports of riots without firemen can be found in the newspapers of the late 1840s. The link between riots and the firemen probably became clearer in the period of relative fire department calm (1845–1846). As a result, all later riots were more easily attributable to the firemen, and solutions to the general problem of rioting were perceived as relating to the fire department.³⁶

In fact, rioting among firemen had only marginally worsened. Individual riots

of the late 1840s in Baltimore were particularly violent, and for a period in 1847 firemen battled each other weekly, but there had been especially violent battles in 1835 and 1840, and extended series of battles throughout the two decades. Rioting appeared to Baltimoreans to be worse in the late 1840s, not necessarily because it *was* more serious, but because there was no longer a background of lawlessness to blur its edges. "Mobtown" may have been an appropriate description of Baltimore in the 1830s, but by the late 1840s, Baltimoreans were looking for a more dignified sobriquet.

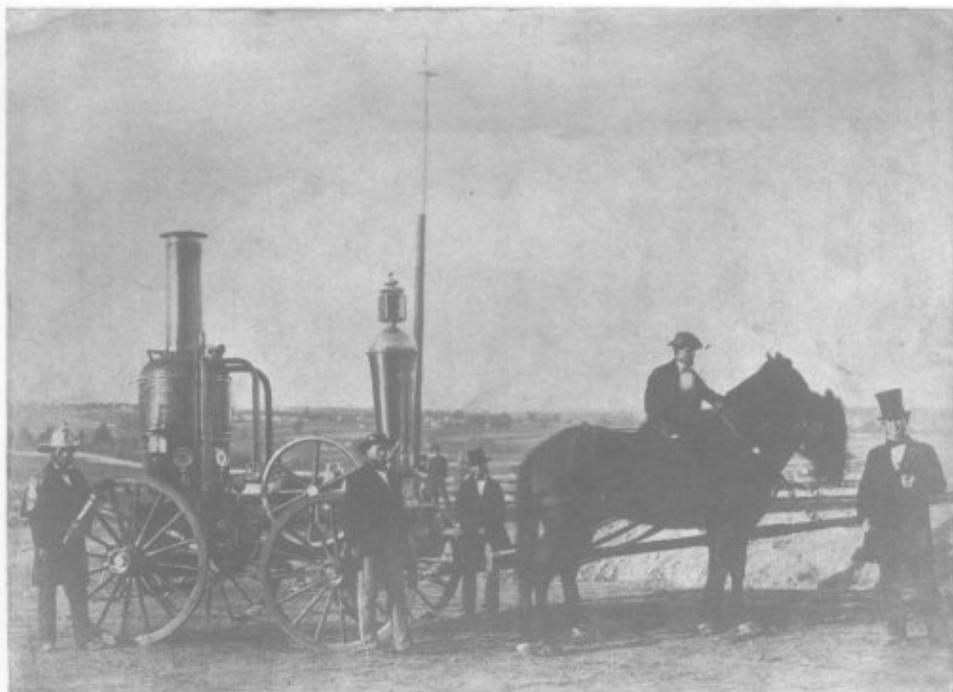
Firemen were also perceived to be rioting more often because they were more likely to be identified as rioters in newspaper reports in the late 1840s. Fights involving firemen were labeled "riots" more often than in earlier years. "A Riot and Brutal Murder," in 1849, is actually the story of a barroom brawl involving perhaps four people, all of whom unfortunately belonged to fire companies, and one of whom was stabbed to death.³⁷ A post-fire disturbance a week later was saved from becoming "a riot of considerable extent" by the "efficient and extraordinary efforts" of the police.

The companies passed up Baltimore Street, where several collisions took place, participated in by men who were with the above companies, who all stopped at the corner . . . when a brick was thrown by a man alongside of the Watchman suction . . . striking a member of the United company, named Theodore Hindes, and inflicting a severe wound on the back part of the head. . . . Andrew Reed, of the United was also struck with a hose pipe, on the forehead by a man with the Watchman suction. . . . The very moment that manifestations of disorder appeared, [the police] were on the spot amidst the uproarious crowds that filled the street, and regardless of danger or injury promptly arrested the offending parties.³⁸

This event would hardly have merited a paragraph in the 1830s, but back then the police would not have taken preemptive action, and the melee would have taken its own course, either dissipating, as such events often did according to fire company records, or developing into a full-fledged riot.

What is clear from this passage is the new interest and demand for order in Baltimore, focused on preventing disorder, not simply controlling it, and enforced in Baltimore, as in other cities, by growing numbers of professional police. Police expenditures in Baltimore more than doubled between 1850 and 1855, and by 1856 an expanded and centralized Baltimore police force was on the streets in uniform, reflecting and legitimating their growing semi-military status in the city. In 1849 the mayor of Baltimore divided the city into fire wards to which the individual companies were then assigned. They could leave their designated wards only with permission of the mayor.³⁹

These moves against the firemen in 1849, one by the police at a disturbance,

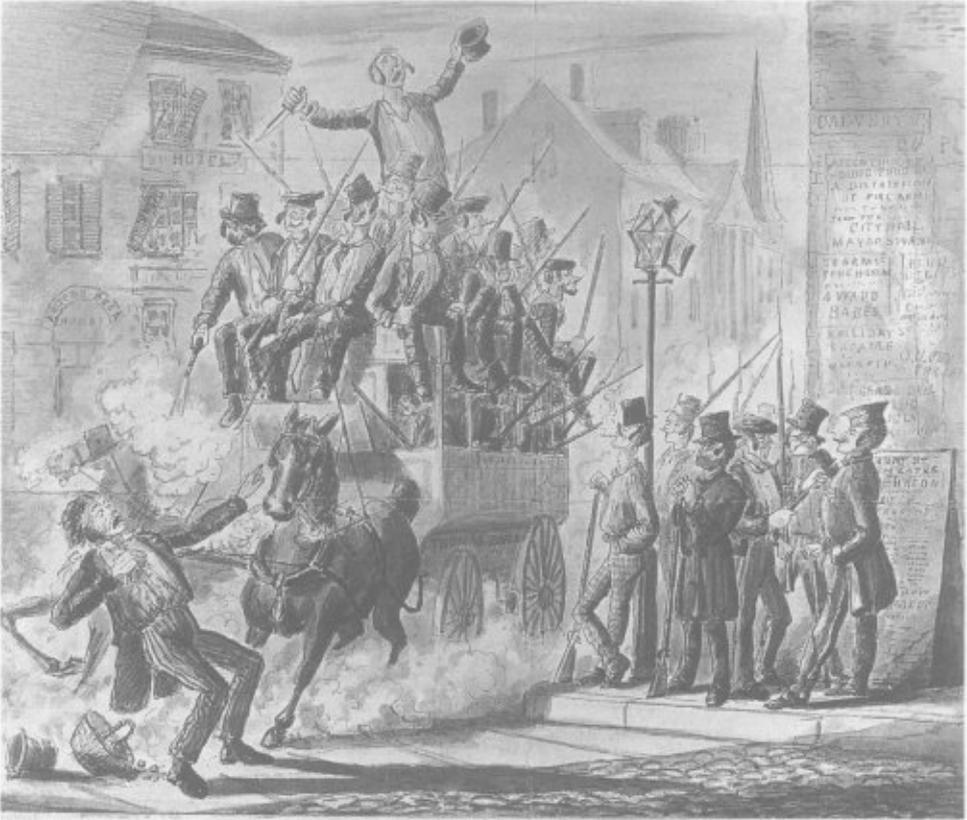


The Comet, 1858, owned by the Vigilant Fire Company and purchased with funds raised by neighbors. The following year the city organized a paid fire department, and the independent companies disbanded. (Maryland Historical Society.)

and one by the mayor, helped convince the public that a non-violent fire department was non-violent because it was externally controlled, not because of any internal restraints. In fact, the police were utterly unable to control a truly riotous crowd, whether made up of firemen or others, as was made clear in the election riots of 1856–1859, perhaps the most violent election riots in United States history. The perception that the police alone could provide control helped them to widen their own sphere of influence and to legitimize, starting in the mid-nineteenth century, ever increasing numbers of police and expenditures.⁴⁰

There is no evidence of any firemen's riots or other major public disturbances by the firemen from 1850 to 1855, although there were a great number of false alarms and fires, averaging almost one of each per day in 1851. Two or three minor attacks by one company on another are documented in the company ledgers, but these events do not seem to have resulted in major injuries or to have attracted the attention of the newspapers.⁴¹

Still, this does not seem to have improved the standing of the fire department because the public viewed them as having come under greater police control; that they were more orderly reflected increased police effectiveness. The press portrayed it this way, commenting, when a serious riot broke out in



A cartoonist's version of Know-Nothing political violence in the municipal elections of 1858. Although thugs and rowdies participated, many members of the Know-Nothings or American Party were young businessmen. (Maryland Historical Society.)

August 1855, that for some time “there has been every indication of a serious struggle between them [the New Market and Mount Vernon companies], though they have been kept in check by the police, who were always on the watch, in consequence of the anticipated rupture. Notwithstanding their vigilance, however, they have, at last, succeeded in their disgraceful designs.” The results were indeed disgraceful—one fireman killed by a member of his own company (who was attempting to kill a policeman), a young bystander and former fireman killed with a shot to the breast, three other men injured, and the crowd at large, “armed, and for the most part, incessantly firing.”⁴²

Two further riots closed out the violent career of the Baltimore Volunteer Fire Department—on election days in 1856 and 1858. The years 1856 to 1859, a period of Know-Nothing party hegemony in Baltimore, saw a renewal of violence in the form of election riots which neither political party was willing or able to stop. The reputation of the fire department had sunk so far by the time of these riots that a complete reversal of reporting is evident. While in the

1830s and early 1840s firemen were often above suspicion in melees in which they played a leading role, their final years were marked by riots in which their role was exaggerated. In the mayoral election riot of 1856 the New Market Company played primarily a defensive role in one battle of what was actually a series of simultaneous riots, all fought with firearms, all across the city. Members of two Know-Nothing political clubs, the "Rip-Raps" and "Plug-Uglies" attacked the house of the Democratic New Market Engine Company for two or three hours "unchecked and unheeded, by apparently any efficient show of police force," with "muskets, shotguns and blunderbuses." "It was a most surprising spectacle for a civilized community," stated the *Baltimore Sun*. Two men died in this battle, and at least five others in the riots which occurred in other parts of the city. The New Market Company was highlighted in the *Sun's* coverage of the riot.⁴³

The less bloody but still shocking election riot of 1858 was singular in that firemen appear to have had nothing to do with it despite the assertions of some historians since. Perhaps a form of Promethean justice is served by the volunteer firemen receiving credit for one last riot in their final year, after so many years of discord.⁴⁴

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10. *Mechanical Fire Company Records, 1839–1845*, September 15, 1839, box 4, MS. 584, MdHS.
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30. *Mechanical Fire Company Register of Alarms and Fires, 1846–1865*, December 2, 1847, box 5, MS. 584, MdHS.
31. Forrest, *Official History*, 76.
32. *Mechanical Fire Company Register of Alarms and Fires, 1846–1865*, October 22, 1847, box 5, MS. 584, MdHS; *Independent Fire Company Records, 1838–1847*, vol. 2, September 27, 1847, December 10, 1847, MS. 478, MdHS; Forrest, *Official History*, 77.
33. *Baltimore Sun*, September 23, 1847.
34. *Mechanical Fire Company Records, 1839–1845*, November 3, 1840, box 4, MS. 584, MdHS.

35. Feldberg, *Turbulent Era*, 55–83. Other major “expressive” riots in Baltimore in 1834 included an earlier “first” Bank of Maryland riot in March 1834, and a Whig-Democratic political riot in April of the same year, neither of which involved the fire department. See also Carl E. Prince, “The Great ‘Riot Year’: Jacksonian Democracy and Patterns of Violence in 1834,” *Journal of the Early Republic*, 5 (1985): 1–19.
36. Scharf mentions a riot between rowdies and the *Baltimore Clipper* in 1848, after the result of the election for sheriff had been ascertained. *Chronicles of Baltimore*, 528.
37. Based on an examination of riot reports in the *Baltimore Sun* from 1834 to 1858; *Baltimore Sun*, February 6, 1849.
38. *Ibid.*, February 12, 1849.
39. Forrest, *Official History*, 67. In 1850 the police cost the city \$110,102, in 1855, \$232,629; Gary L. Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 156, 210. On uniforms see “The Re-Organization of the Police and Night Watch,” *Baltimore Sun*, November 29, 1956. The nineteenth-century expansion of police and their duties has been well documented by historians. See Rodger Lane, *Policing the City: Boston 1822–1885* (New York: Atheneum), 1975; Eric Monkkonen, “From Cop History to Social History: The Significance of the Police in American History,” *Journal of Social History*, 15 (1982): 575–591.
40. Baker, *Ambivalent Americans*, 133. Baker points out that the police stood by passively at election riots.
41. *Union Fire Company Records*, vol. 4, 1850–1855, MS. 856, MdHS.
42. *Baltimore Sun*, August 20, 1855.
43. *Ibid.*, October 9, 1856; Cassidy, *Firemen’s Record*, 43–45; Scharf, *Chronicles*, 570–571; Baker, *Ambivalent Americans*, 129.
44. Forrest, *Official History*, 78–79. That “the elections year after year became less and less free from intimidation and terror,” as Forrest claims, cannot be attributed to the firemen.



Patriotic symbols of the new republic reflected a sense of growing nationalism in the years following American independence. (Maryland Historical Society.)

The Wonderful Lady and the Fourth of July: Popular Culture in the Early National Period

JEAN B. RUSSO

In 1790 a young Philadelphia woman named Anna Maria Brodeau married physician William Thornton of the British West Indies. After Thornton, the successful contributor to a design competition for the new capitol to be built in the Federal District, was named a commissioner for the federal city, the couple moved in 1794 to Washington where they set up housekeeping. Anna Maria began to keep a diary of her life in the new city¹ that was forming in the ten-square-mile district ceded by Maryland and Virginia.

Many of Thornton's activities were domestic and solitary in nature: she sewed, knitted, quilted, and drew for her own amusement.² She read domestic and European newspapers and magazines, novels, travel accounts, and plays. A great portion of her time was spent in visiting or in entertaining visitors who came for dinner (a midday meal) or for tea (an evening meal) or both; the entertainment often included songs played on her pianoforte, or the gatherings might feature hired musicians and dancing. Her husband and his friends passed many hours playing backgammon, or went off together to attend the races at courses laid out in Washington and in Alexandria. Larger groups assembled for balls held at taverns in both Washington and Georgetown; for theatrical performances, both at Georgetown College (1789) and by touring companies; and for band concerts on Capitol Hill. Thornton's daily routines were often broken by excursions of one kind or another. Parties were made up to go out to Great Falls to see the progress of the Pawtomack Canal company or to view the bridge at Little Falls. In May a group traveled to the construction site of the President's House to be weighed on the scales in use by the workmen, and in December they ventured down to Mr. Tayloe's to see "chimney pieces of artificial stone" that were waiting incorporation into Octagon House. In July they received an invitation to "a fish feast at the Little Falls" to celebrate the Fourth of July. At other times, Thornton visited the Capitol to hear the president address the Congress or to listen to the congressional debates. And on February 22 she attended ceremonies held in honor of George Washington, who had died the previous year and whose birthday was commemorated at services in both Washington and Georgetown churches.

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THE
 HUMOROUS HISTORY
 OF
TOM JONES,
 A FOUNDLING :
 CONTAINING
 AN ACCOUNT OF THE BENEVOLENT
Mr. ALLWORTHY ;
 AND THE FOX-HUNTING
SQUIRE WESTERN, &c. &c.
 Interspersed with many curious Love-Particulars
 BETWEEN MR. JONES,
 AND THE
 BEAUTIFUL MISS SOPHIA WESTERN.

The whole comprehending such entertaining scenes,
 both in high and low life, as are seldom met
 with in any history of the kind.



PRINTED FOR AND SOLD BY
F. LUCAS.—BALTIMORE.

1813.

Tom Jones ranked among the favorite novels read by Marylanders. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Thornton had earlier worked on her own memorial, a scrapbook of material about Washington.

The varied activities recorded in Anna Maria Thornton's diary provide a good overview of the forms of cultural activity in the decades after the Revolution. The diary needs to be combined with other evidence, however, before we can assess the prevalence of various activities, the segments of the population involved in their pursuit, and the broader significance of the different components of popular culture. For those purposes we can draw upon other diaries, letters, and account books as well as newspaper advertisements and evidence from inventories to make that assessment, bearing in mind that all print sources are necessarily biased toward the more affluent and literate groups within the population.

As the Thornton diary clearly reveals, many of the pastimes in which Marylanders participated were based in the home, some involving individuals or small groups and others encompassing larger social gatherings. They ranged from reading, card playing, games, and musical entertainment to receptions and dances. Reading as a form of amusement, rather than a religious activity, may have been more broadly based than we might at first assume. Even among the poorest group within the population—those with less than £50 of personal property—nearly half of the estates owned books.³ The men appraising these estates generally identified the books only as “some old books” or “a parcel of old books,” but there is no reason to assume that the parcel contained only a Bible or other religious works. In some instances, the contents are identified as a “large Bible and some books” or a “dictionary, Prayer Book, Family Physician and 6 old books,” suggesting that the unnamed books could well be works of fiction or other reference works. Among the wealthier groups, the percentage of book owning rose, reaching 100 percent among the very wealthiest group, those with more than £1,000 of personal property (a group that represented less than 5 percent of the population).

What types of books did these Marylanders own? Rarely are specific titles listed for the poorer owners, but John Logan did possess a six-volume *History of the United States*, Elizabeth Browning included a *History of the World* among her books, Samuel Clayton owned five volumes of the English magazine *Spectator*, and John Duncan a volume entitled *Memoirs of Signor Gaudentio di Sucri*. Among the book owners with larger collections, practical works dominated; reference works such as dictionaries, law books, medical guides, arithmetic books, and gardening handbooks made up the bulk of many collections. But Marylanders at all social levels were also reading the classics of Greek and Roman literature, histories of the French Revolution, the *Tatler* as well as the *Spectator*, the poetry of Alexander Pope and John Milton, biographies of Napoleon Bonaparte and Charles XII of Sweden, novels like Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* (which Anna Maria Thornton read), *Tristram Shandy*, and *Tom Jones* as well as the plays of Shakespeare.

What of the other domestic pastimes: cards, games, and music? The inventories suggest that enjoyment of those activities was far more restricted than were the pleasures of reading. Only five households, all among the wealthiest, owned a piano, and just ten included even a fiddle among their possessions, although poorer households were among the owners of fiddles. Other instruments included harps, drums, lyres, guitars, flutes, horns, and bagpipes, but households having any musical capability numbered only seventeen, just 3 percent of the total. Thus, while more than 50 percent of households owned books, only 3 percent had musical instruments. Marylanders, then, were more likely to pass their evenings listening to someone reading aloud than they were to enjoy a musical performance. Thirty households owned card tables, while eleven could enjoy a game of backgammon. Smaller numbers yet could play games such as cribbage, checkers, or chess. Other amusements included shuffleboard, painting, billiards, and shuttlecocks, but less than 1 percent of families owned equipment for playing any of the games or for painting. Reading, then, was the leisure activity that enjoyed the most widespread participation within the family.

Games of chance, such as the backgammon games played by William Thornton and his friends, were more likely to take place in the setting of a tavern than they were to be played in the home. Drinking and the social activities that accompanied it—cards, billiards, backgammon, and gambling—were masculine entertainments that were commonly tavern-based. The account books of Jesse Richardson, a merchant of Easton, Maryland, record charges to his customers for pints of spirits served them in the billiard room of the tavern across the street, just as local tavernkeepers purchased most of the packs of cards that he sold.⁴ Samuel Davidson, whose increasing deafness forced his retirement in 1790 from a successful career as a Georgetown merchant, passed part of his days playing whist and backgammon at Suter's tavern in Georgetown, and recorded his winnings and losses monthly in his ledger.⁵ Betting was an activity in its own right; merchant John Morsell bet on the outcome of an election for director of a Georgetown bank and Samuel Davidson won four beaver hats from Thomas Beall in a wager on the inclusion of Georgetown within the Federal District.⁶

Another masculine activity, the fox hunt, was also based upon the tavern. Easton fox hunts assembled at Mr. Lowe's tavern, and the gentlemen attending were requested to leave their names at the bar so that dinner could be provided for them upon their return.⁷ As an activity that required both ownership of a suitable horse and the leisure time to participate—the hunts were often scheduled on weekday mornings—fox hunting was clearly an activity of the gentry, not the common man. Horse races, however, apparently drew from all social classes and attracted women as well as men. The Reverend Cutler, who attended the meeting in November 1803, noted in his journal that the spectators numbered between “three and four thousand, black, white, and yellow; of

all conditions from the President of the United States to the beggar in his rags, of all ages and of both sexes, for I should judge one-third were females.”⁸

Although primarily providing an arena for male socializing in societies that lacked public assembly halls and theatres, taverns also served as the venues for entertainments that drew women and even children. Dances and balls, theatrical troupes, musical groups, and traveling performers all brought townspeople to the taverns. Taverns in Georgetown, Washington, and Easton, for example, served as the settings for dancing assemblies, to which the gentlemen of the town subscribed with the ladies as their invited guests. Samuel Davidson in the 1780s paid not only his own subscription but also that of Pierre Charles L’Enfant, creator of the capital’s street plan. Davidson eventually wrote off the expense, noting in his account book, “knowing you to be a pitiful dirty fellow and very poor, I give up the debt.” During the winter season, assemblies would be held as frequently as once a week. Gentlemen who did not know how to dance could attend Mr. Curley’s dancing school, receiving twenty-four lessons for six dollars a quarter. Those who could not assemble during the day could take part in evening classes for four dollars.⁹

The long room at Mrs. Doyle’s tavern in Georgetown in 1795 served as the setting for Mr. O’Duhigg’s dancing classes but was the auditorium for musical performances as well. In May a chamber music concert followed by a ball was held there, while the following month witnessed a harp concert, again followed by a ball; tickets for both performances were one dollar each.¹⁰ Theatrical performances attracted audiences more frequently than did musical evenings. In 1794 the Maryland Company, the troupe of William McGrath and his wife, settled in Georgetown for the winter season. A typical evening offered a performance of *Richard II*, an address by Mr. McGrath, an interval of hornpipe dancing, a song by a Mrs. Fitzgerald, and a two-act comedy. The company was back in Georgetown in the summer of 1795, offering similar programs at the same price of seventy-five cents a ticket.¹¹

Slack Wire Dancing and Other Diversions

Theatrical companies and musical concerts were not the only evening entertainments available to residents of the region’s towns. As new settlements were formed and grew in the aftermath of independence, they encouraged the appearance of traveling troupes of entertainers, who could now be assured of finding audiences as they made their way through the countryside. One such performer was John Rannie, a ventriloquist who announced that he would appear on June 1, 1803 in Solomon Lowe’s “large room” in Easton, with magic, knife swallowing, and “ground and lofty tumbling” as well as ventriloquism. In August he respectfully informed “the ladies and gentlemen of Washington and Georgetown that he has arrived for the first time in this place and intends displaying his ventriloquistic powers.” In February of the following year, he

NEW THEATRE.

The Public are requested to take notice that the doors of the Theatre, will open at half past Five and Curtain rise at half past Six o'Clock precisely.

ON FRIDAY, October 9, 1795,

WILL BE PRESENTED,

An OPERA, in three Acts, Translated from the French of BAUMARCHIS, by George Colman, Esq. called,

The Spanish Barber;

OR,

THE FRUITLESS PRECAUTION.

Count Almaviva,
Doctor Bartholo,
Basil,
Lazarillo,
Argus,
Tallboy,
Alcade,
Notary,
Rosina,

Mr. Moreton.
Mr. Green.
Mr. Warrell.
Mr. Harwood.
Mr. Darley junr.
Mr. Francis.
Mr. Mitchell.
Mr. Warrell junr.
Mrs. Oldmixon.

To which will be added, a MUSICAL ROMANCE, in three Acts, taken from the French, called

THE PRISONER.

As performed at the Theatre Drury-Lane London, with the greatest applause.

Marcos, (the Prisoner.)
Bernardo,
Pasquel,
Roberto,
Lewis,
Narcisso,
Clara,
Theresa,
Nina,
Juliana,

Mr. Marshall.
Mr. Darley junr.
Mr. Warrell junr.
Mr. Harwood
Mr. Moreton.
Master Warrell.
Miss Broadhurst.
Miss Wilkms.
Mrs. Marshall.
Miss Solomon,

(With New Scenery and Decorations.)

The Scenery designed and executed by Mr. Milbourne.

The Music and Accompaniments, with the original Overture, composed by Mr. Attwood
††† BOX, One Dollar—PIT, three fourths of a Dollar.

Places for the Boxes to be taken at the Office in the front of the Theatre, on the days of performance from ten in the morning till three in the afternoon.

No admission without Tickets, which are to be had at the Office of the BALTIMORE TELEGRAPHE, at JAMES RICE'S Book-Store, the corner of South and Market-streets, and at the OFFICE adjoining the THEATRE.

Ladies and Gentlemen are requested to send their servants to keep places at Five o'Clock and direct them to withdraw, as soon as the company are seated, as they cannot on any account be permitted to remain.

No Tickets to be returned, nor any person admitted behind the scenes, on any account whatever.

VIVAT RESPUBLICA!!!

Theatrical performances attracted large audiences and offered a variety of shows to the public. (Maryland Historical Society.)

advertised in the Easton newspaper, the *Republican Star*, that he had just left Philadelphia and was on his way to Easton with new performers, where he would appear on Wednesday evening, direct from a show in Centreville.¹² He could thus travel down the peninsula from Philadelphia, stopping in Chestertown, then Centreville and Easton, perhaps Cambridge, before crossing the Bay and making his way to Georgetown.

The same issue of the *Republican Star* advertised a similar evening of entertainment by Mr. Duff and his wife. The program would include magic, slack wire dancing, balancing, a display of philosophical apparatus with a variety of scenes, and a three-character farce, with Duff playing two of the characters and his wife the third. The wire dancing included backward and forward movement on the wire, sitting, kneeling, standing on one foot while playing the violin on the back of his head, playing the fiddle while lying on his back, and beating the tambourine in full swing. Lest the evening's entertainment be thought purely frivolous, Duff assured the *Star's* readers that he would explain "many maneuvers that will serve as a good lesson to the morals of Youth, against the pernicious destructive consequences generally attending on gaming, etc.," these being the more usual pastimes of the tavern in which he was appearing.¹³

Children, without the promise of moral instruction, were also solicited as part of the audience for a display of the Sajou Brown, "a wonderful animal from South America," on view from nine in the morning to nine in the evening for one week at Solomon Lowe's tavern. The animal was advertised as ten years old and eighteen inches high, able to understand and immediately obey any instruction from his keeper and to perform "many astonishing tricks, very diverting to gentlemen and ladies," as well as to the children admitted at half price.¹⁴ Residents of Washington had been similarly entertained by "the Learned Pig," on view at Conrad and McMunn's Tavern. The animal could read, tell time, distinguish colors, add, and subtract.¹⁵

In addition to supplying an audience for traveling performers, the growth of towns also made possible a new diversion in the form of sight-seeing, one already seen to have figured prominently in the activities of the Thorntons and their friends. The more sparsely settled rural environment of earlier times had offered entertainment in the form of extended visits to the plantations of kin and friends—a practice that continued into the early national period and beyond—but the greater concentration of population in towns and improvements in transportation made possible brief excursions undertaken solely for their entertainment value. For example, Samuel Davidson paid twenty-five cents for a tour of Henry Foxhall's foundry in Georgetown and also traveled by carriage to see the bridge at Little Falls.¹⁶ The availability of carriages for hire in the growing towns was another development that facilitated such sightseeing.

Davidson also patronized the various forms of traveling entertainment. In 1804 he paid another quarter to view the mammoth ox on display in Georgetown and in one month in 1807 paid a dollar to see the "wonderful lady,"

twenty-five cents to see the “wonderful horse,” and twenty-five cents more for the waxworks. (To put Davidson’s expenditures into perspective, in that same month he also subscribed ten dollars for the victims of a fire in Fredericksburg, Virginia.)¹⁷ Lawrence Levine, in *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*, argues that the upper classes in American society, seeking to protect themselves from the hordes of immigrants arriving in the late nineteenth century, developed their own form of culture with distinct rules and systems of behavior.¹⁸ Critics have challenged Levine’s argument on a number of grounds, and its validity cannot be proven simply from the evidence provided by one period of American history. Nevertheless, the clues left from the early national period lend some support to Levine’s overall thesis. This article draws on sources that document most clearly the culture of the elite: those who wrote diaries, left account books, and read newspapers. And yet the pastimes that they reveal—in the form of traveling exhibitions like that of the wonderful lady or the Sajou Brown or the talking pig—suggest that the elite of the early national period did participate in and enjoy cultural activities that in a later day would no longer appeal to the upper classes.

Icons of Union

The activities of the Thorntons, Davidson, and their compatriots also speak directly to a second theme particularly relevant to the early national period: the development of a sense of nationhood through the use of symbols that exemplified the Union. In some cases, the symbolism represented an adaptation of traditional practice. The toasts that Virginia governor Alexander Spotswood and his Knights of the Golden Horseshoe drank when they first crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains in the early 1720s—to the royal family and other symbols of the empire—became toasts to the heroes and virtues of independence when Montgomery County residents celebrated independence in April 1783. At an “elegant dinner” and ball held at the courthouse, the guests drank thirteen toasts, one for each state in the Union. They feted the United States in Congress, General Washington and the northern army, General Greene and the soldiers of the southern army, the French royal family and the alliance with France, three French officers who fought with the American forces, the French and American ministers at Paris, Governor Paca and the state of Maryland, those who gave their lives “in defense of liberty,” the hope that literature, philosophy, and all the arts and sciences would meet with assistance and encouragement from the Maryland legislature, and, finally, the “truly virtuous and patriotic ladies of America, who rejected luxuries and even conveniences of life, for the salvation of their country.”¹⁹ Thus old cultural forms—such as toasts—were being adapted to new purposes.

A similar process occurred with ceremonies for the Fourth of July. The holiday was celebrated in 1795, for example, by a gathering of over one hundred

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M. R O U S S E L,
 D A N C I N G - M A S T E R,
 Lately from Philadelphia,

HAVING had the Honour to dance upon the Stage of the New Theatre, before the Ladies and Gentlemen of this Place, informs the Public, that he intends to open a Dancing-School in Baltimore, on Monday next; where Subscriptions will be received, at Mr. *Wall's*.

Those Ladies and Gentlemen who would not choose to attend the public School, will be waited upon at their own Houses, by the Public's

Most humble, and most obedient Servant,

Rouffel.

Baltimore, June 12, 1782.



B A L T I M O R E : Printed by M. K. G O D D A R D.

Dancing masters accomodated everyone with classes available for men and women during the day or evening hours. Lessons were also provided in the home if desired. (Maryland Historical Society.)

men on the banks of Rock Creek, who enjoyed a dinner prepared by the proprietor of the Washington Tavern and marked the occasion with fifteen toasts. Again, the subjects feted reflected the ideals of the nation in the second decade of independence. Remembrance of the day itself, the Congress of 1776, the soldiers who fought for independence, Washington as both military leader and president, the federal government, and the French and Dutch allies of independence—all looked back to the Revolution. Toasts to the free use of the ocean, freedom of the press, a well-organized militia, inland navigation, security, trade, and justice on the inland frontiers, and rapidity of growth and harmony among all parts of the city of Washington reflected the concerns of a developing country striving to maintain a balance between competing state interests and between warring parties in Europe. The final toast once more remembered the ladies, wishing for the daughters of America an education “adapted to the rights of the sex and the native dignity of rational nature.”²⁰

Entertainments like fireworks and parades often retained most of their tra-



E'n. Shore General Advertiser.
EASTON, Tuesday Morning
February 28, 1804.

The Council of the State of New-Jersey, passed on the 14th instant, the proposed amendment to the Constitution, for electing President and Vice-President—yeas 5.—nays 5.

THE LAST NIGHT.
EXHIBITION,
which has excited the admiration of the most enlightened minds in the Capitals of Europe and America.
 At Mr. Prince's Long Room, this evening, Tuesday, the 28th instant,
Mr. DUFF,
 Will do himself the honor to inform the Ladies and Gentlemen of Easton, that he has fitted up large and new arrangements of operations, which, he trusts, will be highly interesting to every spectator, and afford a higher degree of amusement than any ever attempted in this place.
 Mr. Duff, will exhibit a great variety of *Philosophical and Magical Deceptions and Experiments, by Magnetic Attractions, calculated to secure the admiration of every beholder.*
 He will perform numerous operations, which, for their singularity have commanded the admiration of many eminent philosophers, who took delight in the study of combination and influence over the imagination, by artful attractions and experiments interspersed with Logic.
 He will perform new and improved arts of a Balance Master, with the wonderful art of Balancing two Balances at once. He will also Balance Perpendicular, Triangular, and Bow Balancing.
ALSO,
Slack Wire Dancing.
 By exhibiting many extraordinary feats, which have had unbounded applause from the curious. He will walk backwards and forwards on wire; also sit down on it; go on his knees on it; stand on one foot and play the violin on the back of his head; lay on his back and play the fiddle: and beat the tamboreen in full swing.
A curious Philosophical Apparatus.
 Above one hundred figures as large as life, in brilliant colors, viz.—A sea engagement between two hostile Fleets. A grand representation of the Emperor of Morocco's horse going to parade.

(Courtesy Maryland State Archives, Special Collections, Republican Star, Easton, Maryland, MSA M2801.)

ditional form while nevertheless absorbing some patriotic symbols. In August 1803, for example, citizens of Easton were invited to attend a fireworks display that promised Chinese fountains, horizontal and vertical wheels, a nest of serpents, and a yew tree of brilliant fire, among other panoramas. But the concluding presentation was to be a tree of liberty with rays extending twelve feet in all directions and seven five-point stars in its branches.²¹ All citizens would be entertained and instructed by the display: children were to be admitted at half price and a shed would supply seats for the ladies, with "every care . . . taken to preserve decorum."

A similar infusion of old forms with new symbolism had taken place as early as 1788 with the celebration of the ratification of the new Constitution by the Maryland convention. The citizens of Baltimore marked the occasion with a large parade, in which groups of artisans marched by trades, carrying banners and emblems that symbolized their crafts. In this respect, the parade was a continuation of a long-standing European tradition of artisan assemblages. But the parade of April 1788 adapted this traditional form to a new purpose, the celebration of the republic. The bakers' flag displayed thirteen loaves; the ropemakers' wagon was pulled by thirteen laborers and carried a spinning wheel operated by thirteen workmen; the house carpenters constructed a tower of thirteen stories, arches, and pediments.²² The iconography of the republic thus assumed a prominent role in the craftsmen's imagery.

Veneration of Washington

A far more powerful symbol of the new nation than the toasts of Fourth of July celebrations or tree of liberty fireworks or the use of thirteen figures existed in the person of George Washington himself, as the embodiment of the nation and its independence. Wilbur Zelinsky

argues in *Nation into State: The Shifting Symbolic Foundations of American Nationalism* that "The most remarkable symbolic feat of the Revolution was the invention virtually instantaneously . . . of a full-blown, national hero," George Washington.²³

The veneration accorded Washington by his fellow citizens was manifested forcefully in a variety of ways. Mention has already been made of Anna Maria Thornton's scrapbook of George Washington and of her attendance at the ceremonies commemorating Washington's birthday in 1800. But Thornton was far from alone in her enthusiasm for George Washington. Samuel Davidson in 1803 subscribed to "Washington's History" and the following year bought a two-volume *Life of Washington*. He paid five dollars in the same year to attend a Washington's anniversary ball and purchased a ticket to a similar event in 1809.²⁴ Eastern Shore residents read and responded to solicitations for purchase of the *Life of General Washington* in a nearly full-column advertisement by a Philadelphia publisher.²⁵ Thomas Dawson, for example, owned four books when he died in 1813: a small Bible, a small *Golden Treasury*, Simpson's *Pleas*, and *Washington's Life*. Robert Lloyd Nichols's larger library included Marshall's five-volume *Life of Washington*. Hugh Sherwood, owner of another large library, also had a five-volume biography of Washington as well as a large gilt-framed portrait of Washington's family among the dozen pictures that he owned. Appraisers, in fact, noted portraits of Washington even more frequently than they listed biographies. Of the sixty-one estates with any prints or pictures, at least seven included portraits of Washington.²⁶ John McLain, for one, owned eight pictures: six small prints representing the Prodigal Son, one of "Solomon's Tumble," and a print of "Washington's likeness." Dr. John Elbert decorated his home with portraits of himself and his wife, and one of

the storm rages, but like bubbles on the sea when the commotion subsides will sink to rise no more. You may have further claims to my services—they shall be rendered in due time.

Yours, &c.

JOHN YOUNG.

Denton, Caroline, August 18, 1803.

Artificial Fire Works.

The Ladies and Gentlemen of Easton, and its vicinity, are respectfully informed that a Grand Display of

FIRE WORKS,

will be exhibited in an inclosure prepared for that purpose in the suburbs of Easton, *THIS EVENING, August 23, 1803* if fair, if not, it will be postponed till Saturday evening next; if unfair on that evening, it will be further postponed to Tuesday, the 26th inst. as it will be impracticable to perform except the weather be good. This collection will far exceed any thing of the kind ever displayed in this part of the country, in point of magnitude and brilliancy.

The subscriber hopes to meet with that encouragement from a generous public, that will indemnify him for his labour and expense, as well as to enable him to repeat, and vary the performance.

The evening's Amusement will consist of the following Pieces

1. Chinese Fountain.
2. A large Vertical Wheel.
3. A Nest of Serpents.
4. 1 Chinese Wheels.
5. The Yew Tree of Brilliant Fire.
6. A Pot of Sissons.
7. A large Horizontal Wheel.
8. 2 Chinese Vertical Wheels;— which will stop, and reverse their motion.
9. A Pot of Argrettes.
10. A Tour-Balloon.
11. An Air Balloon.

To conclude with the TREE OF LIBERTY, which will spread its rays about 12 feet in every direction, and will shew through its branches seven fix'd five pointed Stars.

Sky rockets and Roman candles, will be let off at the commencement, and at intervals, during the evening. The whole will be accompanied with the best music that can be procured.

A shed with seats, will be provided for the accommodation of the ladies, and every care will be taken to preserve decorum.

* * * Price of admittance 50 cents. Children half price.

Tickets to be had at the Strat Office; at Dr. Stevens's Apothecary's Shop; at Mt. Lowe's tavern; and at the place of performance.

NICHOLAS W. EASTON.

Easton, August 23, 1803.

Easton and Baltimore Packet.

(Courtesy Maryland State Archives, Special Collections, Republican Star, Easton, Maryland, MSA M2800.)

General Washington. James Shaw owned only two pictures, one of himself and one of the President.²⁷ Upton Beall of Montgomery County, Maryland, purchased a number of items from the estate of his brother Lewis but made only one selection of books, another of the five-volume sets of the *Life of Washington*, still in his possession when he himself died fifteen years later.²⁸

A Georgetown tavern in 1795 solicited customers by the "Sign of General Washington," harking back, interestingly, to Washington's role as military leader during the war for independence rather than evoking his current role as president.²⁹ Easton too had its own Sign of General Washington tavern a few years later.³⁰ In urban centers, the elite annually celebrated Washington's birthday from no later than the early 1790s. Militia members and others like Samuel Davidson assembled for dinners and balls, as did the gentlemen of Georgetown in 1796, meeting at Mr. Sewall's for dinner in honor of Washington's birthday, followed by an "elegant ball at Union Tavern."³¹ The greatest outpouring of adulation for Washington was occasioned, however, by his death in 1799. A memorial service held in Easton on the following February 22 was attended "by the greatest concourse of people that every assembled here," according to the local paper. The town's citizens gathered at noon on the court house green, from which they marched a few blocks to the vacant lot intended as the site of the Episcopal Church. The parade was led by a company of light infantry, followed by militia officers and troops, civic officials, and townsmen, all marching two by two. After prayers and a sermon, the company paraded back to the court house where they were dismissed.³² Similar services took place in Washington (attended by Anna Maria Thornton) and in Georgetown as well as in other cities and towns across Maryland.

In examining various aspects of the popular culture of the early national period—its domestic forms, the importance of the tavern for masculine pastimes, the new forms of entertainment made possible in an increasingly urbanized society, and others—it is the pervasiveness of the ideology of the republic that remains the most striking feature of the popular culture of this period.

NOTES

1. Allen C. Clark, "Dr. and Mrs. William Thornton," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, 18 (1915): 151, 161.
2. "Diary of Mrs. William Thornton, 1800–1863," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, 10 (1907): 88–226. The activities noted took place in 1800.
3. Based on 610 inventories recorded between 1790 and 1820. Talbot County Inventories, 1790–1820, Maryland State Archives.
4. Chancery Papers Exhibits, Jesse Richardson Ledgers A, B, C, 1789–1794, MdHR #1549, 1550, 1551, Maryland State Archives, passim.

5. Samuel Davidson, Ledger B, 1789–1810, MMC 2144, Library of Congress.
6. Chancery Papers Exhibits, J. L. Morsell, Georgetown and Bladensburg, Day Book, 1795–1800, MdHR #1584, Maryland State Archives and Davidson, Ledger B, f. 67.
7. *Republican Star*, January 10 and March 20, 1804, M2801, Maryland State Archives.
8. As quoted in Wilhelmus Bogart Bryan, *A History of the National Capital*, Volume 1, 1790–1814 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914), 610.
9. *Georgetown Weekly Ledger*, May 1, 1790, #1, Library of Congress.
10. *Columbian Chronicle*, May 12, 1795 and June 2, 1795, #111, Library of Congress.
11. *Ibid.*, February 25, 1794, June 23 and June 30, 1795, #111, Library of Congress.
12. *Republican Star*, May 31, 1803, M2800, Maryland State Archives; *Washington Federalist*, August 1, 1803, #115, Library of Congress; and *Republican Star*, February 21 and February 28, 1804, M2301, Maryland State Archives..
13. *Republican Star*, February 28, 1804, M2801, Maryland State Archives.
14. *Ibid.*, November 9, 1802, M2800, Maryland State Archives.
15. *The National Intelligencer*, February 4, 1801, #3033, Library of Congress.
16. Samuel Davidson Day Book, 1801–1810, #1244, Library of Congress.
17. *Ibid.*, March 31, 1804 and October 31, 1807, Library of Congress.
18. Lawrence A. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988) passim, esp. chap. 3, 169–242.
19. *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, April 22, 1783, Maryland State Archives.
20. *Columbian Chronicle*, July 7, 1795, #111, Library of Congress.
21. *Republican Star*, August 23, 1803, M2800, Maryland State Archives.
22. Charles G. Steffen, *The Mechanics of Baltimore: Workers and Politics in the Era of the American Revolution, 1763–1812* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 92–93.
23. Wilbur Zelinsky, *Nation into State: The Shifting Symbolic Foundations of American Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).
24. Samuel Davidson Day Book, 1801–1810, #1244, Library of Congress.
25. *Republican Star*, November 9, 1802, M2800, Maryland State Archives.
26. Most appraisers did not identify the contents of the pictures they listed. Of the seven estates for which descriptions of all pictures were recorded, four included portraits of Washington.
27. Talbot County Inventories, 1790–1820, Maryland State Archives.
28. Montgomery County Records, I/121, 1812 and Q/2, 1817, Maryland State Archives.
29. *Columbian Chronicle*, May 26, 1795, #111, Library of Congress.
30. *Maryland Herald and Eastern Shore Intelligencer*, January 21, 1801, Maryland Historical Society.
31. *Columbian Chronicle*, February 24, 1796, #111, Library of Congress.
32. Dickson J. Preston, *Talbot County: A History* (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1983), 150.



Models in hard hats at the construction site for One North Charles in April 1962. The Bethlehem Steel promotion stunt touted the virtues of steel-frame buildings. One Charles Center (under construction at upper left) used the equally popular method of reinforced concrete. (Courtesy American Trading and Real Estate Properties, Inc.)

Renaissance Rivalry in Baltimore: One Charles Center vs. One North Charles

MICHAEL P. MCCARTHY

During the first week of April 1962, Baltimoreans strolling along Charles Street during lunchtime were treated to an unusual sight. Young women models from the Patricia Stevens Studio, in construction worker outfits complete with hard hats, were handing out booklets on the “ABC’s of Steelwatching.” The idea was a promotion stunt of Bethlehem Steel, which was providing the frame for One North Charles—or the Blaustein Building as it was frequently called—then under construction at the southeast corner of Charles and Fayette Streets.¹

One North Charles was to be the corporate headquarters for the Blaustein family, whose companies included Crown Central Oil and American Trading and Production Company, which was in ship-building (tankers), oil refining and exploration, and real estate. The Blausteins were also major stock holders of the American Oil Company (Amoco), which the Blausteins had founded in 1910. They had been marketing innovators in the dawn of the automobile age, with many “firsts” to their credit, among them the first anti-knock gasoline—which made possible the use of high compression engines—and the first pump that permitted motorists to see how many gallons they were buying.²

In 1962, One North Charles was in the midst of a real estate war on Charles Street. Diagonally across the street on the northwest corner of Charles and Fayette was another office building under construction. This was Mies van der Rohe’s One Charles Center, the first office tower going up in the Charles Center urban renewal project. Both buildings were part of the city’s downtown renaissance. One North Charles, however, was outside the boundary of the Charles Center. It was also competing with One Charles Center for many of the same tenants since the Blaustein Building had space beyond the needs of its own companies.

As it turned out, both buildings managed to fill their floors, a significant psychological boost to the downtown renewal effort, which soon moved into its second phase of transforming the Inner Harbor. By 1980, with the opening

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of Harborplace, planners from around the country—and indeed the world—were coming to Baltimore to learn more about turning downtowns around.

But in the early 1960s it was by no means obvious that Baltimore's ambitious plans would be a success. Indeed many felt the rivalry between One Charles Center and One North Charles was a calamity that might jeopardize the entire downtown renewal program. It is a complex story that deserves revisiting after three decades.

The opening of the Commercial Credit Building, at St. Paul Place above Saratoga Street, is a good place to begin our narrative. This was the first big commercial office building to go up in Baltimore since the 1920s. More important, it was an instant success as a business proposition. The Commercial Credit Company quickly rented out its extra space, demonstrating that tenants were willing to pay a bit more for space in a brand-new building. It also suggested that more modern offices might be a way of saving downtown Baltimore.

From the mid-1950s on, the explosive growth of suburbia affected the central business district, in retailing especially.³ Most of the department stores followed shoppers to the suburbs with branch stores, some of them free-standing but most in the malls that seemed to sprout everywhere. Overall the department stores in the main downtown district at Howard and Lexington were still holding their own. Sales had not yet fallen precipitously and were down only 7.5 percent between 1950 and 1957.⁴

The specialty stores were much harder hit. Many were unable to afford the shift to the higher rents at the malls, and they watched helplessly as their customer base eroded. Long a home for upscale shops, North Charles street saw its vacancy rates soar to 32 percent in the first four blocks between 1953 and 1957. Nearby blocks on Lexington had a rate of 19 percent. Even on Howard Street the specialty shops were in trouble, with a vacancy rate of 32 percent between Baltimore and Lexington streets.

Problems with retailing notwithstanding, the other major component of the central business district—its office market—remained surprisingly strong. The class-A office buildings enjoyed an impressive 99 percent occupancy rate, due in part to the fact that no big office buildings had been built during the Depression and World War II. A survey indicated that Baltimore businessmen liked working downtown and would be inclined to stay if there were plenty of up-to-date office facilities.⁵ To be sure, a few companies were opting for the suburbs. But it appeared that an aggressive campaign to build more new offices might combat the suburban flight before it got too far underway.⁶

This was the reasoning behind the decision to build Charles Center, which was to include a hotel, a theater, some shops, and handsome plazas, but whose heart was the modern office space in the eight office towers in the original plans that were officially presented to the city on March 27, 1958.⁷ Charles Center was to be an area of twenty-two acres bounded by Saratoga, Charles, Lombard, and Liberty Streets, a declining wholesale and light manufacturing

district between the main retail shopping area at Howard and Lexington and the financial district that had its center around Baltimore and Calvert to the east. The project was the creation of the Planning Council, a private agency that worked closely with city officials. The Planning Council was funded by the the Committee for Downtown (1954) and the Greater Baltimore Committee (1955), two business groups that were organized to meet the growing problems confronting Baltimore's downtown. In effect Charles Center was to become the new center of downtown Baltimore, with new office buildings and workers who might also breath new life into the nearby retail district.

A federal office building was supposed to have started off the Charles Center project, but disagreements between the city and federal officials over a site brought unexpected delays. The Charles Center Management office, which worked with the Baltimore Urban Renewal and Housing Agency (BURHA), decided instead on a tenant office building as a first project. The prospectus called for a twenty- to twenty-five-story building with approximately 250,000 square feet of office space located on Charles Street, between Lexington and Fayette, on the site of O'Neill's department store, which had closed in 1954. The competition was open to all qualified developers. The prospectus was made available in November 1959, and proposals were due on March 1, 1960.

A Convincing Case

Thomas L. Karsten, a senior executive at American Trading and Production Company (Atapco), followed all of these developments with a good deal of interest. For years, Karsten had been trying to convince his boss Jacob Blaustein that it was an opportune time for a new office building to house Atapco's various companies and make some money on rental space, as the Commercial Credit Company had done with its new building. In January 1958 Karsten in fact had his eye on the southwest corner of St. Paul and Lexington, where the Commercial Credit Company had originally intended to build. The Commercial Credit Company had run into trouble assembling a parcel of lots there because one of the owners refused to sell. But Karsten felt the available lots were more than adequate. He was also convinced that there would be little trouble in renting out the extra space, especially if theirs was the next new building to go up.

But Karsten was even more interested in Charles Center and the O'Neill site in particular. In April 1956, over a year before any planners showed an interest in the neighborhood, Karsten urged the Blausteins to buy O'Neill's. In his view it was a good location for a new corporate headquarters that would serve as an "effective prestige symbol." Atapco would also be assisting "in the needed redevelopment of the downtown area."⁸ In May 1958, shortly after the Charles Center plan had been formally announced, Karsten tried again. The city soon would be condemning the property, he told Jacob Blaustein, and that would mean public bidding that they might not win. Better to buy the

property now directly from its owners and agree to develop the site "in conformance with the Charles Center plan."⁹

Blaustein did not accept these recommendations. He was not sure exactly where he wanted a new building, and up to then his company had never been involved in downtown real estate development. To be sure, the Blausteins were experienced landlords, with two major office buildings downtown: the Davison on Charles Street across from O'Neill's and the American Building at Baltimore and South Streets. But the process of assembling and clearing a site and then putting up an office building was new to Blaustein, and understandably he worried about all the real risks.

In November 1958 Karsten prepared another memo for Blaustein entitled "Reasons for Proceeding," in which he urged participation in the Charles Center project. He mentioned again the success of the Commercial Credit Company Building and the apparent demand for more office space. Karsten also noted that "There is every reason to believe that Charles Center will become a reality."¹⁰ He felt it would be in their self-interest to go in as developers, because the new office buildings in Charles Center would provide stiff competition for older buildings like the American and Davison. The Blausteins might very well lose tenants—and, indeed, even the Blaustein employees might want to move into modern air-conditioned office space. It made no sense, in Karsten's view, to pay rent "to an unrelated landlord when that same rent could be used to finance a profitable and prestigious asset for Atapco and the Blaustein family."¹¹ This time Karsten succeeded; Jacob finally gave his approval to go ahead with preliminary planning. His son Morton, who had a doctorate in chemistry and worked with the family businesses, was especially interested in the project. All the final decisions were still up to Jacob, but Morton became the family member most involved in working with Tom Karsten.

The Charles Center officials were happy to learn the news. They had been courting the Blausteins for some time. The Blausteins had been the first prospective developers to get a formal presentation back in November 1957. The planners had hoped that they would take sponsorship of not just a building but the entire first phase of the project, which would include the blocks north of Baltimore Street. The Blausteins did not seriously entertain that idea, but they flirted with co-sponsorship for a while in the early months of 1959 when James R. Rouse approached them. At the time Rouse was in the early stages of his real estate development career, having completed several malls, among them Harundale and Mondawmin, and he was looking for a bigger project. Initially Rouse had wanted to try the project alone with the financial support of David Rockefeller and New York's Chase Manhattan Bank. But despite much wooing, no deal was made. Rouse then turned to the Blausteins as possible partners.

Karsten and Morton Blaustein met with Rouse a few times, but these talks also went nowhere: they were uncomfortable with Rouse's desire to have his firm handle the management of the project and, because they had other real



Long a landmark at the corner of Charles and Lexington Streets, O'Neill's department store closed its doors in 1954. This became the site for One Charles Center. (Courtesy Maryland State Archives, Marion E. Warren Collection, MSA SC 1890-140-17.)

estate diversification ideas, they did not want to get too committed financially to Charles Center.¹² An office building but not more than that—this was the decision they made. Rouse also turned to individual projects, and the Planning Council's early hopes of finding a project sponsor never materialized.

The Blaustein-McCloskey Partnership

As for the Blausteins, the talks with Rouse no doubt made them increasingly aware of how little experience they had in real estate development and how much they needed a big construction company on their team, preferably one with some experience in office buildings. They found what appeared to be an ideal partner in McCloskey & Company, a big Philadelphia family firm with lots of McCloskeys (father Matt, sons Matt and Tom, and wife Helen on the board of directors) running the company.¹³

McCloskey & Company built nearly everything, from churches and schools and hospitals to department stores and factories and apartment buildings. The firm was then completing the new Social Security Administration Building in

Woodlawn and other federal offices in Washington and Detroit. It was also intimately familiar with downtown development as a builder-investor in Philadelphia's Penn Center project, which was similar in many respects to Charles Center. The McCloskey firm came into the deal as equal equity partners, giving an option for the Blausteins to buy out their interest in the future—an agreement the Blausteins found attractive since it meant less money up front and full ownership if the building proved successful.

More experienced in construction than development, the McCloskeys let the Blausteins feel the project would be their building rather than a joint ownership. The Blausteins enjoyed being treated like clients. They proved to be demanding ones, but most of the disputes were over issues of insuring a high quality building, which the McCloskeys also wanted. The partnership proved to be a friendly one based on mutual respect between the two principals, both of them hard workers who enjoyed the influence that came with business success.¹⁴ Matt McCloskey was a power broker in Philadelphia politics and an Irish insider like fellow Philadelphian Jack Kelly, who would help bankroll John F. Kennedy's 1960 presidential campaign. Jacob Blaustein was also a prominent politico. Over his long career—he died in 1970—Blaustein served five presidents, from Roosevelt to Johnson, in various advisory capacities.

As part of their preparation for the project, the Blausteins commissioned the highly regarded New York real estate consulting firm of James Landauer Associates to do a market study. Overall the findings were optimistic about the potential for new office space in Baltimore, but there were doubts about whether the immediate demand would be as great as the Charles Center boosters claimed. The Landauer report concluded that an expensive luxury office building might scare off prospective tenants because it would require average rentals approaching \$6.00 a square foot to make the building a profitable investment. The market seemed ready only for rents that did not exceed \$5.25 per square foot, which is what a less expensive building would require.¹⁵

The Landauer report recommended an office tower similar to those in Philadelphia's Penn Center, 666 Fifth Avenue in New York, or the Universal Building in Washington D.C. These buildings might "leave something to be desired in design, construction and management, but are developed to give a good return on equity, rather to be classified as a top-flight institutional or monumental buildings."¹⁶

The Blausteins decided on a less expensive building that would fall in the \$8–10 million range rather than around \$12 million for one that would require the higher rents. Given the findings of the Landauer report—which was consistent with the Blausteins' own view of the Baltimore market—it made sense to show some caution. Costs could be trimmed on luxury items like marble and fancy fixtures, but there would still be all the conveniences and amenities that businessmen expected in a new office building, such as air-conditioning, automatic elevators, and the latest in telephone systems. In short, a less expensive building by no means meant a cheap one.

The Blausteins showed good judgment in their selection of Marcel Breuer as their architect. A member of the German Bauhaus group before coming to America in the 1930s, Breuer was a well-known modernist who made imaginative use of stone and concrete in his designs. These included the United States Embassy in the Hague; the UNESCO headquarters building in Brussels, and administration and library buildings for Hunter College in New York. Like Frank Lloyd Wright, Breuer was interested in taking design inside, and his fashionably spare furniture decorated many of his homes. It was in this latter role as a residential architect that Breuer met Karsten, who successfully pushed his candidacy for the One Charles Center commission. A few years earlier, Breuer had done a home for Karsten in suburban Baltimore, and Karsten had high regard for his ability. "I frankly think that Breuer's office is the kind of office we ought to work with," Karsten said in a memo to Morton, in which he summed up what proved to be winning arguments.

It is small enough so that ours would not be just another job in the office. Yet with sixteen registered architects, all of them graduates of top flight schools and most of them graduates of Skidmore, Owings and other such firms, it is large enough and competent enough to meet our requirements. Moreover, any work coming out of that office will have been designed, as I can testify by my own experience, by Breuer himself. The net result and the one which I hope we are interested in seeking would be an office building which achieves architectural distinction within the amount budgeted. Based upon everything I know about Breuer, this should be possible.¹⁷

In its prospectus, BURHA had spelled out in great detail exactly what it wanted in the office building in terms of area, height, office and retail space. It also provided models of how prospective buildings might look and how they might use the adjacent open areas. It was clear that a fairly narrow rectangular building, with its greater length running east to west, was the only structure that could fit on the site, given other restrictions. But what the facade would be and how the finished building would look were big questions that were left for the architects to decide.

In December 1959, Breuer, Karsten, and Morton Blaustein met with David A. Wallace, the planning director of the Charles Center project, and his staff. The aim of the meeting was to provide Breuer with a first-hand introduction to the planners and the planning and architectural concepts that had gone into design of Charles Center. Wallace was impressed by Breuer and his comments on the plans and building possibilities. He complimented Morton on being "a rare client who brings his architect" into the preliminary stages of a development proposal and hoped that they would submit a proposal.¹⁸

At the meeting Morton said they were still making up their minds about the



Marcel Breuer's design for One Charles Center. The precast concrete facades and recessed windows were characteristic of his style; so was the sculptural use of concrete, as seen here in the tree-like columns on the plaza side. (Courtesy American Trading and Real Estate Properties, Inc.)

project, but by that time the Blausteins had more or less decided that they would go ahead. Working closely with the Blausteins and the McCloskeys—president Matthew H. McCloskey and vice-president William K. Stewart were the principals most involved in the project—Breuer provided the design for a handsome concrete and limestone building with deeply recessed windows, which were something of a Breuer trademark.

Under the proposal the developers would buy the site as a pay-back to the city for its acquisition expenses since Charles Center was largely a privately financed development operation in its early phase. (More government funds became avail-

able later on.) The price was \$800,000, which was the lower figure of two appraisals received by BURHA. Hunter Moss, a prominent real estate consultant who had worked on the Landauer report, was an advisor to the Blausteins at this time. Before moving to Florida in 1959 to open an office in Miami, Moss had been the first chairman of the GBC's Planning Council, and he kept in touch with his many Baltimore friends.¹⁹ From those contacts, Moss heard that \$870,000 had been the upper appraisal figure. BURHA was not encouraging any upward bidding on the site price, and Moss felt that, though price would not be a critical factor, a higher bid would be a good strategic move.

"There is a great sentiment for a local bidder to be accepted," Moss said in a letter to Karsten.²⁰ If all aspects of their proposal were equal to those of the other applicants, a higher bid on the site would provide BURHA with a "better reason than sentiment or personal desire." He suggested an offer close to \$870,000—but not that exact amount since he had received the information in confidence. The Blausteins picked \$876,000 as their gesture of goodwill. On March 1, 1960 the completed proposal went to the Charles Center project offices, which were being rented from the Blausteins in their Davison Building at 101 North Charles. No doubt the Blausteins thought the landlord arrangement appropriate because they increasingly thought of One Charles Center as their project, understandable given all the courting from the city since Charles Center had been first discussed. The Blausteins had always prided themselves on being strong civic supporters of Baltimore. Now they were doing it again, with what they assumed to be a winning proposal.

From the vantage point of the Charles Center officials, the matter appeared a bit differently because of another set of priorities. Clearly they were happy to get a proposal from the Blausteins—indeed, in the early phases of the development discussions, one proposal would have been sufficient. But in the fall of 1958, BURHA had decided to open the competition to all bidders. The Blausteins had grumbled about that at the time, complaining to J. Jefferson Miller, head of the Charles Center development office, and Walter Sondheim Jr., the chairman of BURHA.²¹ But the policy was not changed, no doubt because it promoted a more impartial selection process.

Five other developers including James Rouse joined the Blausteins in submitting proposals. After months of worrying about whether they would have any developers at all—the doubts about the Charles Center project were not just confined to the Blausteins—city officials were ecstatic about having so many. The decision to hold a competition had turned out to be a good one from the viewpoint of city officials. It offered the opportunity to pick from a variety of architectural designs. More important, the competition opened the prospect of a better return for the city in terms of taxes since a more expensive building provided a higher property assessment.

Enter Mies van der Rohe

The Blausteins had gambled and lost. The winner was Metropolitan Structures of Chicago—a well known national developer, which up to then had specialized in apartments. The firm bid only the set price of \$800,000 for the site, but it planned a \$12 million building, which was the top price tag in the competition. The architect was none other than Mies van der Rohe, who was better known than Marcel Breuer, and indeed was at the height of his career with the recent success of his Seagram Building in New York (1958), a sleek glass tower which the planned One Charles Center resembled.

Other factors were in play. The Architectural Review Board that made recommendations to BURHA (which in turn made the final decision) liked Mies's design a bit more than Breuer's. The Blausteins had requested more changes in the prospectus guidelines than any of the other developers, all of which meant more potential problems for BURHA if it awarded the project to the Blausteins. But it was a tax assessment aspect that provided BURHA with the strongest argument for awarding the contract to Metropolitan Structures. The Chicago firm had a reputation for high quality buildings, and Mies was known for his expensive designs. With the help of free-spending clients, Mies had managed to push the final costs of the Seagram Building to a pricey \$32 million. No doubt Baltimore officials hoped the same might happen since high-priced buildings meant higher assessments and a better deal for the taxpayers, who were underwriting some of the costs of site acquisition and clearance. That scenario did not happen—Mies brought his building in on budget—but it still was the most expensive building in the competition and provided the best tax return.

The Blausteins finished a close runner-up in the review process. They took the news in shocked disbelief, in large part because they had become overly confident that theirs was the strongest proposal from a hometown developer, which indeed it was. All the encouragement from city officials notwithstanding, however, there was nothing in the prospectus or BURHA guidelines that said anything about a preference for a hometown developer.

Perhaps because of their relative inexperience at that stage in the development business, the Blausteins seemed unaware of the clout and ability—and chutzpah—of Metropolitan Structures, which had not paid much attention to negative market studies or penny-pinching. Karsten and the Blausteins complained bitterly to city officials and even tried to get Mayor J. Harold Grady to overturn the decision, all to no avail.

By the middle of June Karsten was more philosophical about the outcome and urged the Blausteins to put the episode behind them. As Morton put it in a letter to his father relating Karsten's view, "There comes a time to get off a dead horse and devote full time and attention to productive matters."²²

William Stewart of McCloskey & Co. had already suggested a backup plan

that called for purchasing an available site outside Charles Center and proceeding immediately with an office building at least the size they had projected for “their” site, designated as Area Number 7, in Charles Center. The McCloskeys would join them in the venture, Stewart said. As for the timing, Stewart felt the Blausteins could “adequately explain such a move in terms of our pressing need for 100,000 square feet of office space for our own purposes and our inability to wait until the second site in Charles Center might be offered.”²³

The idea was an especially attractive to the Blausteins. They wanted a new building, and they wanted one soon. Charles Center was out as a possible location for the reason that Stewart alluded to, namely that shortly after the decision on One Charles Center the Charles Center management office said it would wait until that building was completed and rented before it offered a site for another big rental building of the sort the Blausteins wanted.

But even if a site had been available, it was unlikely that the Blausteins would have been interested. To be sure, the One Charles Center decision still rankled, but the next site that was most likely to become available—area number 1 at the north end adjacent to Saratoga—did not appeal to them nearly as much as had the area number 7 site, the former being a less central location in relation to the office district. The Blausteins also had decided that they did not want to deal with all the regulations for developers in the Charles Center project.²⁴

Where if not Charles Center? Here the Blausteins met with some extraordinary good luck. The Hecht Company had closed its Hub store on Charles Street in 1959, and that prime piece of property across the street from One Charles Center was on the market. The price was also right—down from around \$73 a square foot to \$50 a square foot by the fall of 1960, with the owners anxious to sell. The Blausteins offered \$48 a square foot, and in October they had the site for a total purchase price around \$ 1.3 million.²⁵

This was far more than they would have paid for the One Charles Center site, which went for \$30 a square foot. But, though smaller (26,000 square feet compared to 31,000), the Hub site could be divided into *two* parcels, which is what the Blausteins decided to do, reserving the south end for what became the site of their W. R. Grace Building (1969) and using the north end for One North Charles.

The Blausteins had every intention of retaining Breuer as their architect, to provide a building that would approximately the same size as One Charles Center in terms of office space but a few floors taller because the One North Charles site was smaller. But problems soon developed between the McCloskeys and Breuer over the design. Breuer wanted to do a reinforced concrete building as he had planned for One Charles Center. The McCloskeys preferred steel-frame buildings, and they argued that steel would be more appropriate, given the need for a tall building on a small site. To keep their partners happy and get the project moving, the Blausteins let Breuer go. Karsten was given the task of calling his old friend. He took the news “very wonderfully,” Karsten told Morton, “commenting that it of course did not come as a complete surprise.” Breuer in fact said he had



Demolition of the Hecht's Hub store on the east side of Charles Street between Fayette and Baltimore Streets in 1961. The Blausteins used the north end (on left) for One North Charles and the south for the W. R. Grace Building (1969). (Courtesy American Trading and Real Estate Properties, Inc.)

been beginning to wonder himself whether or not he could continue on the job because of all the problems he was having with the contractors.²⁶ The Blausteins readily accepted the McCloskeys' choice for Breuer's replacement, no doubt because they picked the highly capable Vincent F. Kling, a Philadelphia architect who had worked with them on Penn Center projects. Kling was comfortable with the preference for steel framing, and he designed a sleek skyscraper that complemented the other newcomer across the street.

Expression of Faith

When the Blausteins purchased the Hub property, the *Baltimore Sun* praised the move as "an expression of faith in the future of downtown." In the newspaper's view, "Nothing could be better for the state of downtown than the development of a brisk and informal rivalry in urban renewal between Charles Center itself and what might be called Charles Periphery."²⁷ In a letter on behalf of the Greater Baltimore Committee, Robert B. Hobbes, the vice chairman, told Jacob Blaustein that the GBC was gratified at his "expression of



A wrecking crew starts work on the roof of the Hub in June 1961. Blaustein executive Thomas L. Karsten holds a press conference at left. (Courtesy American Trading and Real Estate Properties, Inc.)

faith in downtown Baltimore” particularly “in view of your understandable disappointment in connection with the Charles Center development.” Hobbes described Blaustein’s plans as “but another demonstration of your constant efforts to make this a better city.”²⁸

Off the record, the Charles Center backers were less enthusiastic. William Boucher III, then executive director of the GBC, remembers the angry reaction of the usually unflappable J. Jefferson Miller, the head of the Charles Center development office, when Miller got the news in a phone message.²⁹ (As a retired Hecht Company executive, Miller may also have taken it as something of a personal affront that the Hub site was being used to challenge Charles Center.) Certainly the Charles Center officials had hoped that their project would trigger investment nearby. But they had not wanted results too soon. One North Charles would be competing directly against One Charles Center. The Blausteins also had an edge in the race for tenants since they could count on their own companies to fill approximately 20 to 30 percent of their office space. Between 60 and 70 percent was considered a break-even occupancy percentage of a new building at opening. One North Charles appeared to have decided advan-

tages against One Charles Center, which had no guaranteed tenants.

The Blausteins were not shy about twisting the arms of others who fell into what realtors call a “captive” market: companies that wanted to do business with the Blausteins. The Van Sant Dugdale advertising agency, for example, was offered the Crown Central Petroleum account—which had billings of \$500,000 a year—but only if the ad agency took a couple of floors in One North Charles. Otherwise the account would given to a New York agency, which would open an office in the building.³⁰

One Charles Center was also courting Van Sant Dugdale. Bernard Manekin, the head of its rental agency, and Bernard Wiessbourd, president of Metropolitan Structures, had already met with Robert E. Dalger of Van Sant Dugdale and made an offer that the ad agency had tentatively accepted.

But Karsten, who had been on the American prosecution team at the Nuremburg Trials after World War II, combined charm with a formidable presence. He went after Dalger in a politic fashion. Yes, Karsten said, Manekin and Wiessbourd were including a lot of extras, but their rent was higher. Karsten preferred not to “indulge in various kinds of giveaways,” as he put it, but rather to give the tenant “a fair break” on partitioning and the assumption of existing leases and the like.³¹ “This latter course was more advantageous for the tenant because his lower rental over the term of the lease would more than offset the concessions given by a building such as One Charles Center,” he pointed out. And Van Sant Dugdale would also get the Crown account, which was “an obvious plum.”³² With selling like this on Karsten’s part, it was little wonder that the advertising agency moved into the Blaustein Building.

Bethlehem Steel, supplier for One North Charles, was also a target of Karsten’s marketing campaign. Bethlehem was already renting 12,300 square feet of space in the Commercial Credit Building to serve its many local facilities, among them the big Sparrow’s Point plant and Key Highway ship repair yards. But Karsten thought he could get Bethlehem to move, given a common practice in the steel business of occupying space in a client’s building. McCloskey told Karsten that he did not think it necessary to give Bethlehem the job in order to get them as tenants since he was already buying between \$10–12 million in steel a year from Bethlehem; in fact his company was Bethlehem’s biggest customer in the eastern United States. McCloskey preferred to give the work for One North Charles to U.S. Steel because it was “their turn.”³³ Karsten persisted, however, and McCloskey acquiesced, getting Bethlehem to meet a price he had already negotiated with U.S. Steel. Karsten then went after Frank Rabold, who handled rental decisions from the home office in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. A meeting in August 1961 was arranged between Karsten and Rabold in the McCloskey & Company offices in Philadelphia, with William Stewart present.

Rabold told Karsten and Stewart he was receptive to the idea. In the months of negotiations that followed, however, it was clear that Rabold was reluctant to act, in large part because Bethlehem had recently moved into the Commer-

cial Credit Building offices. In January 1962, Rabold told Karsten that he estimated the total costs in making the change would run to around \$100,000, which he could not justify "as a matter of ordinary business prudence."³⁴ But Karsten finally got his tenant. By February 1963 the Commercial Credit Building was looking for more space for its own use, and its management was willing to take some of Bethlehem's and let Bethlehem find renters for the rest. Apparently no longer concerned about the other moving costs, Rabold told Karsten that "Bethlehem can be ready to move at any time."³⁵ The steel firm signed a long-term lease for space in the Blaustein Building in July.

In his dealings with Karsten, Rabold also had been concerned about higher rentals, as indeed were many other prospective tenants, a problem for both the Blaustein Building and One Charles Center. (However much Baltimore businessmen said they wanted more modern offices, they proved reluctant to pay for them.) Space also went slowly because Baltimoreans were not used to renting from floor plans, as was the frequent practice in bigger cities like New York. They preferred to wait until a building was completed. This provided an added incentive to sign them up as quickly as possible. It also encouraged the builders to provide a model office as soon as possible. One Charles Center ran a bit ahead of the Blaustein Building in its construction, and it was the first to have ready some office space to show tenants. In commenting on the all the crab cakes, cold turkey and ham, and other catering goodies going up the open-air elevator in June 1962, the *Baltimore Sun* noted: "It was the first time in anyone's knowledge that completely furnished offices (private office, assistant's office, conference room, secretarial area, etc.) have been displayed in a building far from finished."³⁶

In terms of space, both buildings had special assets. One Charles Center, for example, had more space on each of its floors, making it more attractive to larger firms that wanted to keep all employees together. The smaller floor areas of the Blaustein Building, on the other hand, made that building more appealing to firms needing less space. With its own companies as tenants, the Blausteins took an early lead in the race for occupancy, causing some understandable worry on the part of Metropolitan Structures, which as early as 1961 went to the GBC for reassurances that it would receive assistance in tenant recruitment as originally offered.

The Blausteins vehemently opposed any preferential treatment to their rival. In their view One North Charles was contributing to downtown renewal just as much as One Charles Center. Boucher of the GBC tried to point out that One Charles Center was part of a plan and their building was not. His logic notwithstanding, the Blausteins kept up their campaign and even persuaded the GBC in July 1961 to maintain official neutrality. But in April 1962, as the tenant race heated up and Metropolitan Structures still found itself behind, the GBC reversed itself and reaffirmed its earlier support for the Chicago developer.³⁷ This provided a considerable boost to One Charles Center. In 1964,

or within a year of completion, both buildings had over a 90 percent occupancy. That year the Urban Land Institute held a conference in Baltimore to showcase Charles Center as an example of a successful development project. One North Charles was treated as participant if not a partner.

The Blausteins took a good deal of pride in One North Charles. So too, apparently, did the McCloskeys, who provided without charge more than \$195,000 in changes that the Blausteins requested during construction. The items included changing the plaza planter boxes from rectangular to circular (\$3,848.60); stainless steel rear panels for the elevator cabs (\$8,029.00); plaza snow melting equipment (\$16,000); modifications of window treatment on the twenty-fifth floor (\$15,115.00); and major changes in the main entrance canopy (\$27,784.00).³⁸ The Blausteins hoped that their building would win an award, perhaps of the type given by the local chapter of the American Institute of Architects. It was “obviously going to be handsome and impressive in every way,” Morton noted. But he also recognized that they might be “one-upped” by the competition across the street because of Mies van der Rohe’s reputation.

This possibility is driven home to me each time that I read a news article or editorial commenting on the handsomeness of One Charles Center, despite the fact that no one really thinks it is a good looking building; its proportions, of course, are well conceived and quite striking—but there can be no real doubt that in overall appearance—considering proportions, uniqueness of concept, color, etc.—our building is far superior.³⁹

Morton was hardly an impartial observer, but his assessment was accurate enough. One Charles Center was not a particularly original Mies building—in fact, everyone recognized that it was something of a knock-off of his design for the Seagram Building. As for One North Charles, Kling had made imaginative use of space and incorporated some innovations such as use of steel plates with a porcelain enamel finish and a distinctive color (“a combination of sepia brown blended with bottle-green and Normandy grey,” as described by the architect) on the curtain walls.⁴⁰

As it turned out, the local chapter of the A.I.A. picked One Charles Center for the First Honor Award in the office category; One North Charles received an Award of Merit.⁴¹ No doubt the judging was influenced to some extent by the popularity of Mies. It was also unfortunate for One North Charles that it was completed in the same year as One Charles Center—even Morton admitted grudgingly to some of the virtues of the Mies building.⁴²

The supposed objectivity of architectural juries notwithstanding, the Blaustein building probably suffered from its controversial role as a rental competitor to One Charles Center. To be sure, the Blausteins had showed their faith in downtown by their new building, but they were surprisingly insensitive to its impact on the plans for Charles Center. This is evident in an



Jacob Blaustein speaking at the "Topping Off" ceremonies for One North Charles on August 6, 1962. (Courtesy American Trading and Real Estate Properties, Inc.)

episode that occurred early in March 1962 when plans were being made for the Center Club, a new businessmen's facility that would provide lunches and dinner. The Blausteins felt their new building should be considered as well as One Charles Center, again with the argument that it was artificial to draw an arbitrary line down the middle of Charles Street. At the time, One Charles Center had less than 30 percent of its space rented compared to 50 percent for the Blaustein Building, and everyone involved with One Charles was worried about the prospect of finding more tenants. Given the circumstances, it was not a politic moment for Morton Blaustein and Tom Karsten to push their club idea with a GBC committee. Morton in particular was annoyed at the chilly response of the committee members. There should be no distinctions between one side of Charles Street and the other, and the reasoning behind the support of Metropolitan Structures was unacceptable, he said.⁴³ Jerold C. Hoffberger, president of the National Brewing Company, disagreed. He did

not feel it was being unreasonable—Charles Center was important to the city and the club should be located there. Morton again demurred, saying that it was incredible to think that the club could be located only in Charles Center.

Unfortunately, at that point the discussion turned to matters of religion. Truman T. Semans, a partner in the Robert Garrett & Sons investment banking firm, said he believed the club would fail at the Blaustein Building because it was too identified with Jewish ownership. Morton pointed out that One Charles Center also had Jewish owners. Semans lamely replied that it was not so identified as such in the public mind. The meeting ended shortly thereafter, with Morton saying that he did not feel that there was any prejudice against him personally or his family, but it seemed there might be some against the Blaustein Building. And so anti-Semitism became a factor that the Blausteins later claimed as a reason for rejection of their offer.

Discrimination existed against Jews in some WASPish business circles in the period recounted here, but it would be far-fetched to say it was a factor in this case. As Morton himself pointed out, Bernard Weissbourd, the president of Metropolitan Structures, was Jewish. So was Jerold Hoffberger and many of the Charles Center officials, including Walter Sondheim Jr., the chairman of BURHA. Combating discrimination was one of the reasons that the Center Club was being created. Jews were not welcome as members of the Merchants Club, a popular and prestigious downtown businessmen's luncheon club on East Redwood street in Baltimore's financial district.⁴⁴

Morton's sensitivity to the issue of prejudice is understandable, however, given his active involvement with the American Jewish Committee. Jacob had also long been active in Jewish affairs. He served as one of the negotiators in the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, which resulted in West Germany's awarding over \$800 million to victims of Nazi persecution.⁴⁵

Jacob's father Louis had fled the pogroms of an earlier century, arriving in America from Lithuania in 1883. Many newcomers from Eastern Europe received a chilly reception from an older generation of German Jews who worried, with some justification as it turned out, about an increase in anti-Semitism in the United States. German Jews led the settlement house movement, which aimed at assimilation. This created some resentment among many Orthodox Eastern Europeans, who were intent on keeping their Old World ways.⁴⁶

The Blaustein family was proud of its Eastern European heritage, and Jacob in particular was proud of all his family had achieved in America. Unlike his father, who lived modestly in a Druid Hill apartment in Baltimore despite his wealth, Jacob had a two-hundred-acre gentleman's farm near Pikesville. He enjoyed putting his money to good use in charities as well as building his corporate empire. He was in the mold of the strong-willed oil man and might have been more at home in Houston or Dallas than in Baltimore. In any event, the Blaustein family background offers hints as to why they made such a good team with the McCloskeys. Like the Blausteins, the McCloskeys had come a long way from humble beginnings to hob-



The completed One North Charles (center left) as seen from Charles Center in 1964. One Charles Center is at far left. (Courtesy Maryland State Archives, Marion E. Warren Collection, MSA SC 1890-27-39.)

nobbing with the nation's elite, among them the Kennedys on the presidential yacht.⁴⁷ As Irish Catholics in Quaker Philadelphia, the McCloskeys were outsiders of a different sort, but they also knew about discrimination and competition. Perhaps the two families became partners with a bit of pleasant anticipation of a certain amount of constructive mischief-making ahead.

NOTES

1. Bethlehem Steel Company folder, Blaustein Building Files, American Trading and Real Estate Properties, Inc. Archives (hereafter cited as BBF).
2. For an extensive collection of newspaper clippings from the 1930s to the 1960s on the Blausteins and their companies, see the Blaustein and American Trading and Production Company (Atapco) Vertical Files, Pratt Library.
3. For the suburban growth in this era, see George H. Callcott, *Maryland & America, 1940 to 1980* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985); also Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634–1980* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 612–614, 792.
4. The main source of data in this section is from various reports in the files of the Planning Council (series 6) in the Papers of the Greater Baltimore Committee, Langsdale Library, University of Baltimore (hereinafter cited as GBC Papers).
5. See “Business Community Study,” series 6, box 2, GBC Papers.
6. Baltimore’s industrial base was still booming in the 1950s. It was little affected in those years by either the suburban movement or international competition.
7. The best general reference to the early planning of Charles Center is Martin Millspaugh, ed., *Baltimore’s Charles Center: A Case Study of Downtown Renewal* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 1964). Also useful is Archibald C. Rogers, “Charles Center, Baltimore,” *A.I.A. Journal* (March 1959): 30–40, and Katharine Lyall, “A Bicycle Built for Two: Public-Private Partnership in Baltimore,” *National Civic Review*, 72 (1983): 531–571. For the Baltimore experience in a larger context, see Carl Abbott, “Five Downtown Strategies: Policy Discourse and Downtown Planning Since 1954,” *Journal of Urban Policy*, 5 (1993): 5–27.
8. Karsten memo to Jacob Blaustein April 19, 1956, O’Neill Properties folder, Charles Center Files, American Trading and Real Estate Properties, Inc. Archives (hereinafter cited as CCF).
9. Karsten memo for file, May 15, 1958, Possible Blaustein Building-Memoranda folder, CCF.
10. Karsten memo to Jacob Blaustein, November 14, 1958, O’Neill Properties folder, CCF.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Morton Blaustein memo for file, April 23, 1959, Possible Blaustein Building-Memoranda folder, CCF.
13. Company information from Dunn & Bradstreet report dated October 4, 1959, in McCloskey—General Correspondence folder, CCF.
14. For the Blaustein-McCloskey relationship, see Morton Blaustein to Hunter Moss, June 14, 1961 and Moss to William Boucher III, June 19, 1961, series 6, box 20, GBC Papers.
15. “Charles Center Report for American Trading and Production Corporation, Baltimore, Maryland, 1959,” 66–68, CCF.
16. *Ibid.*, 67.
17. Karsten to Morton Blaustein, July 31, 1959, Architects folder, CCF.
18. Wallace to Richard Steiner January 6, 1960, series 6, box 20, General Correspondence folder, GBC Papers.
19. A gracious person and highly respected for his ability, Moss was called on frequently for consultant jobs in Baltimore. Ironically in 1962, he was hired by Metropolitan Struc-

- tures to help in their campaign to rent space in One Charles Center.
20. Moss to Karsten, February 10, 1960, Hunter Moss folder, CCF.
 21. Morton Blaustein memo for file October 9, 1959, Disposition Policy folder, CCF.
 22. Morton to Jacob Blaustein, June 17, 1960, Blaustein Building—Award of Area 7 folder, CCF.
 23. Karsten memo for file, May 24, 1960, General Correspondence folder, CCF.
 24. “Hecht Company Property—Advantages and Disadvantages,” memo dated September 30, 1960, Hub Proposal to Acquire folder, BBF.
 25. *Baltimore Sun*, October 10, 1960. The story claims the sale was “in excess of \$1,000,000.” Figures on land prices and bid in “Hecht” memo cited in note 25.
 26. Morton Blaustein memo for file, December 15, 1960, Breuer folder, BBF.
 27. *Baltimore Sun*, October 11, 1960.
 28. Hobbs to Blaustein, October 10, 1960, series 6, box 20, General Correspondence folder, GBC Papers.
 29. Author interview with Boucher, May 13, 1994.
 30. Boucher memo, February 6, 1962, series 6, box 20, General Correspondence folder, GBC Papers.
 31. Karsten memo to file, December 21, 1961 [Main Memo File], BBF.
 32. *Ibid.*
 33. Karsten memo to file, August 24, 1961 [Main Memo File], BBF.
 34. Karsten memo for file January 25, 1962 [Main Memo File], BBF.
 35. Karsten memo for File, February 19, 1963, [Main Memo File], BBF.
 36. *Baltimore Sun*, June 15, 1962.
 37. William E. McGirk, president of Davison Chemical Division of W. R. Grace and Company, was a member of the committee that approved the impartiality of the GBC. He was a tenant of the Blausteins and in the midst of discussions about a new office building for Grace at the time, so he may have been subject to Jacob’s influence. McGirk was not on the committee that reversed the GBC position in 1962.
 38. Kartsen memo to Jacob Blaustein, February 21, 1963 [Main Memo File], BBF.
 39. Morton Blaustein to John G. Rutkowski [Vincent Kling office], September 12, 1962, Kling folder, BBF.
 40. Draft of press release dated June 22, 1962, Kling folder, BBF.
 41. *Baltimore News-Post*, October 7, 1963. Clipping in Kling folder, BBF.
 42. The Hamburger Building (1963) also could have been a factor in the judging—it extended across Fayette Street and partially blocked the view of One North Charles from its best vantage point on West Fayette Street.
 43. “Report of the Blaustein Building Representatives Hearing with the [Downtown Club] Steering Committee,” series 6, box 18, GBC Papers.
 44. The Merchants Club later changed its membership policies. It closed in September 1989.
 45. *Baltimore Sun*, February 16, 1961.
 46. See Isaac M. Fein, *The Making of an American Jewish Community: The History of Baltimore Jewry from 1773 to 1920* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1971).
 47. For a McCloskey afternoon on the *Sequoia*, see Karsten memo for file March 23, 1962 (Main Memo File), BBF.

Interdisciplinary Inquiry

Greenbury Point: The Interplay of History and Ecology

GREGORY FELDMAN and M. STEPHEN AILSTOCK

History tells the story of human experience, which in large measure includes decisions based on environmental circumstances. Those choices change the environment and thus guide future decisions. Exploring the relationship between history as we traditionally understand it in an ecological context promises to broaden our definition of history and sharpen our approach to environmental problems. Greenbury Point near Annapolis offers an example of how natural conditions helped to shape Maryland history and in turn how historical decisions have dictated present ecological conditions.

In 1649 a group of Puritans set sail from Nansemond, Virginia, to establish the third settlement in Maryland on the peninsula now called Greenbury Point. Religious persecution led by the Anglican Governor Berkeley forced the Puritans to flee to Maryland where Lord Baltimore offered them any site they desired north of St. Mary's City,¹ the successful Catholic settlement that had been established in 1634. More than religious tolerance inspired Baltimore's generosity. He feared the burgeoning Protestant population's reaction if he did not offer their radical brethren a sanctuary, and there was the pragmatic need for settlers to exploit the riches of the colony. For their part, the Puritans were confronted with the major problem of choosing a site that best met their survival needs as defined by their experiences in Nansemond. Specific geographic features guided their search and the subsequent selection of a new settlement location.

The Puritans leaving Virginia were familiar with the temperate climate and abundant resources of the tidewater region. The Chesapeake Bay was bountiful and the land was easily converted to production of the major agricultural crops of the period. What the migrants now required was an unoccupied, protected area where these resources could be easily exploited.

The lower Eastern Shore of Maryland is a low-lying region surrounded by vast acres of marshes and swamps which make the higher interior uplands difficult of access. The upper Eastern Shore's best location—with well-drained fertile soils within a reasonable distance of St. Mary's City and the mouth of the Chesapeake—had already been settled by William Claiborne in 1631. Tidal

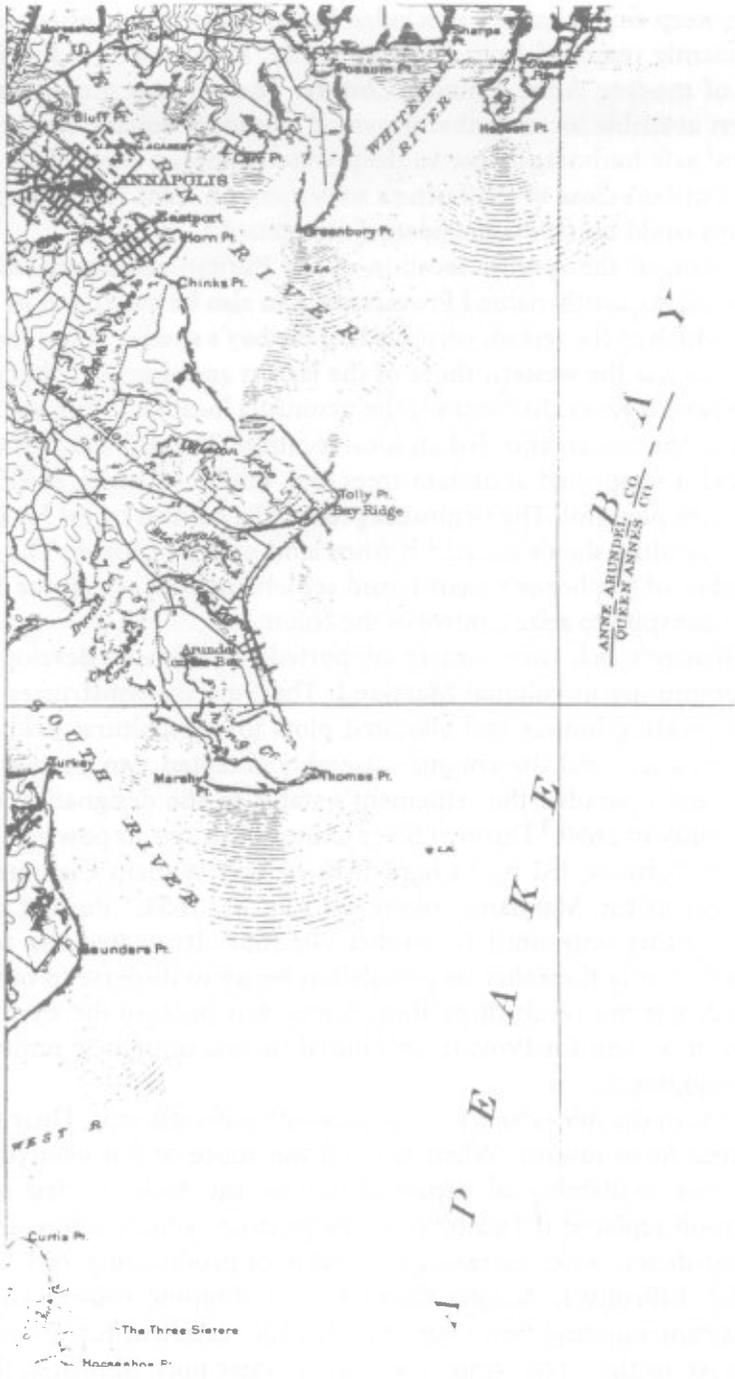
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marshes or steep embankments precluded harborage on the Western Shore, in areas sufficiently removed from St. Mary's City, as far north as the southern boundary of modern Anne Arundel County. The western shore at mid-Bay was the first available location that provided abundant aquatic resources, fertile soil, and safe harborage close to deep-water shipping lanes. This site also placed the Puritans close to Claiborne's settlement on Kent Island where Protestant troops could quickly consolidate if threatened.²

The selection of the specific location of the Puritan settlement on Greenbury Point, subsequently named Providence, can also be attributed to ecological factors. Much of the terrain surrounding the bay's smaller rivers was marsh and swamp as was the western shore of the largest and deepest tributary, now named the Severn River. In contrast, the peninsula located on the east bank at the mouth of the Severn afforded an ideal location. The soil was rich and well drained, and it supported abundant trees and wildlife. Finfish, shellfish, and waterfowl were plentiful. The peninsula provided a natural corral for livestock and its surrounding shoals secured it from land or sea invasion. The site was within eyeshot of Claiborne's Kent Island settlement with which the Puritans would later conspire to seize control of the colony.

The settlement's rich environment supported Providence's development as a major community in colonial Maryland. The Puritans constructed houses, shops, and meeting houses and allocated plots for agricultural fields. Providence was so successful the colonial assembly accepted two burgesses from Providence and upgraded the settlement's status to the designation of Anne Arundel County in 1650.³ During Oliver Cromwell's rise to power in mother England, the Puritans, led by Richard Bennett and William Claiborne, even seized control of the Maryland colony on July 22, 1654.⁴ Puritan rule was short-lived, lasting only until November 30, 1657. It marked the zenith of Providence.⁵ Shortly thereafter its population began to disperse to other parts of Maryland, not the result of political forces, but because the environment that was so important for Providence's initial success ultimately limited commercial development.

Settlements in the mid-1600s were of necessity self-sufficient. Their goal was survival, their focus inward. When survival was more or less assured, as evidenced by the availability of export materials, the focus shifted outward. Transportation replaced defensibility as the primary consideration. The colonists in Providence, while increasingly capable of producing goods for trade, encountered difficulty in linking themselves to shipping routes. The shoals immediately surrounding Greenbury Point, while excellent for defense, were not conducive to the establishment of a deep-water port. Similarly, the steep cliffs on the eastern bank of the Severn upriver of Providence, once valued for protection, became an obstacle for loading and unloading cargo. Not surprisingly, environmental factors were key to the placement of the Maryland colony's new economic center and the subsequent decline of Providence. With



Greenbury Point is the site of the seventeenth-century Puritan settlement of Providence. Abundant wildlife, rich soil, and fishing allowed the community to thrive, but features such as steep cliffs and shoals kept Providence from becoming a shipping center. (1904 Geological Survey, United States Department of the Interior.)

the technology of the time, it was a simpler task to create a port by filling the marshes of the Severn's southwestern bank than it was to dredge a channel through the shoals at Greenbury Point. Thus, the economic center was destined to be located at a site other than Providence. This center established on the west bank at the mouth of the Severn River became Annapolis.

The historical developments shaped by the region's environment were not without consequence to the ecology and subsequent history of Annapolis and the larger Broadneck peninsula that included Greenbury Point. When an economic center was needed environmental considerations dictated the location. Annapolis was set on a course profoundly different from that of Greenbury Point. In Annapolis the view of land value changed from what the land could produce to what structures it could support. The economics of investment make such a perception of the function of land virtually irreversible; it is axiomatic in land use planning that once built structures are almost inevitably replaced by other structures at a greater density. From an ecological perspective the effects are twofold. First, the natural environment is reduced by direct conversion. Second, anthropogenic impacts on the environment increase. In the Annapolis area the patterns of contemporary urban development and attendant ecological implications trace their origins to the choices made at the time of Providence's settlement.

In contrast, Greenbury Point retained its rural character, and agriculture persisted as the dominant use of land both at the Point and in adjacent areas of the Broadneck peninsula. The only substantial changes were in the acreage under single ownership and the types of crops produced.⁶ New technologies and farming practices provided the way to tend larger fields and the demand for food from the rapidly expanding population of nearby Annapolis made produce a more valuable commodity than either cotton or tobacco. The environmental implications of this land use were much different from that associated with the developing urban center of Annapolis. Agriculture alters ambient ecology in ways that are not so severe or irreversible, and the land remains available and subject to choice in management. Much of Greenbury Point remains in agriculture today as the result of one such choice. In the early 1900s the United States Navy required a large area of protected and undeveloped land for building an advanced communication facility employing radio technology. The Greenbury peninsula once again, as in the time of the Providence colonists, provided an ideal location. The land was purchased in 1909 and the Naval Radio Transmitter Facility was completed in 1918.⁷ During construction of the aerial and underground antennae array the site was superficially disturbed; however, upon completion most of the upland acreage was returned to agriculture. Ironically, the low-lying areas, now called wetlands, which were used as dumping grounds for refuse by Providence's residents and later for dredge spoils from the Annapolis harbor, have been recognized by the navy as having important ecological value. In 1990 the navy initiated a restora-

tion effort for these impacted areas. The restoration plan was constructed around the archival information preserved from the first hundred years of colonial occupation. It seems a good choice.

The dynamic relationship between the history of Greenbury Point and its ecology provides additional evidence that history and ecology are woven together to form the fabric of human experience. It is not a coarse fabric. Some relationships between resource availability and human decisions are so obvious that they can be attributed to cause and effect. The environment of Greenbury Point virtually guaranteed its selection as an early settlement site, the initial success of its inhabitants, and ultimately their inability to establish a major economic center. Yet there exists a multitude of more subtle circumstances whose unfolding sheds true insight to historians and ecologists alike. The framework of contemporary environmental issues confronting Annapolis, Greenbury Point, and the Broadneck peninsula was constructed by choices made in the seventeenth century, choices that determined the environmental issues and potential of each area. They are similar to choices still being made today—where to live, where to work, what to do. Perhaps, understanding the intimacy of history and ecology in areas such as Greenbury Point will enable us to make more informed choices for the future.

NOTES

1. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland: From the Earliest Period to the Present* (3 vols.; Hatboro, Pennsylvania: Tradition Press, 1967), 1:203–206.
2. Alvin Luckenbach, personal communication, May 1992.
3. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 203.
4. *Ibid.*, 214.
5. *Ibid.*, 228.
6. Land Office Records (Patents), Liber E.I. 2 Folio 499, Maryland State Archives.
7. Officer in Charge, Naval Radio Transmitting Facility, Annapolis, Report to Commanding Officer, Naval Communication Area Master Station LANT, “Secretary of the Navy Natural Resources Conservation Awards,” January 30, 1991, 8.

Portfolio

August H. Brinkmann was born in Hanover, Germany, in 1843. By 1870 he was living in Baltimore, where he had a bustle and shirtwaist manufactory on Hanover Street that fell victim to the great fire of 1904—a financial blow from which he evidently never recovered. After working briefly as a salesman, Brinkmann disappeared from city directories in 1907.

In happier times, he indulged his interest in photography. Striving for artistically pleasing compositions, he recorded friends and family and familiar places in and around Baltimore. In 1886 a photography club awarded him an album for “excellence of work.” The Maryland Historical Society has recently acquired this album. We publish here a selection of its images for the first time.

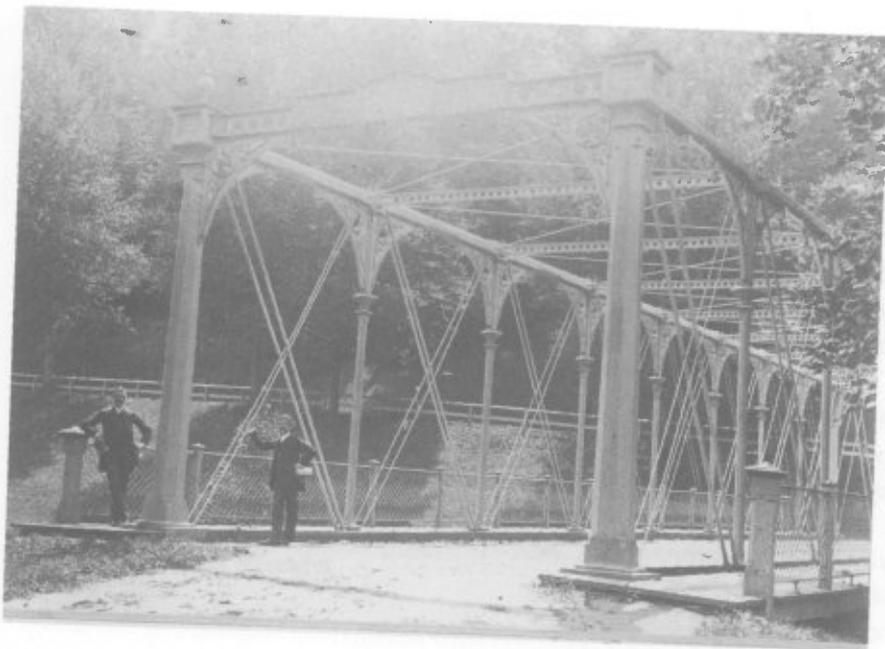
L.S.R.



Brightside, Baltimore County, 1886



Group at Brightside, 1886



Lake Roland Bridge, 1886

Lake Roland from Brightside, 1886





Farm on the Powhattan Road, 1887

St. Michael's, 1887





"Tramps," 1887

1887





Emory Grove Camp Meeting, Baltimore County, 1887

Baptism in Manassas, Virginia, 1886





"Cabin John's Bridge Party," 1886

Camels in Druid Hill Park, 1886





Relay House, 1886

Aquaduct near Relay House, 1886





Group at Brightside, 1886

Children with Goat Cart, 1887



Research Note

A Marylander at the Northwest Frontier

ROBERT W. SCHOEBERLEIN

Marylanders frequently have found themselves at far-flung points around the country, living and, unwittingly, writing their own parts in the nation's history. Their personal letters collectively speak volumes about local and national attitudes. The Maryland Historical Society, through its manuscripts collection, is the state's premier research repository for social historians of Maryland's past. This institution is also invaluable for the study of national history as well. The following is a selection of excerpts from the letters of a Harford Countian posted far from his home state in the Pacific Northwest in 1856.¹

James J. Archer's correspondence details six months of negotiations with Native Americans in that region. His candid comments, some perhaps atypical of what one would expect from a military man of his time, provide insight into American society's attitudes toward Native Americans, U.S. military policy, and familial relations in the mid-nineteenth century.

James J. Archer, the eighth of eleven children, was born in 1817. He passed his youth at the family home, known as "Rock Run," which stands within today's Susquehanna State Park. Graduating from the College of New Jersey (later Princeton) in 1835, Archer soon returned to his home state to study law at the University of Maryland, but the practice of law proved not to be a life-long career for this restless bachelor. On three occasions he accepted military commissions and ultimately served more than ten years in the field. Despite his official responsibilities in Mexico, in the Washington Territory, and finally as a brigadier general in the Confederate States Army, Archer sent a stream of letters to his family and friends back in Maryland. While in the Pacific Northwest, he directed much of his correspondence to his elderly widowed mother, Ann Stump Archer, letters from which these excerpts were selected.

On March 3, 1855, Archer accepted a commission as captain in the 9th U.S. Infantry. In December 1855 he journeyed from the East Coast, via Panama, to the Washington Territory. While there, he served under the command of Colonel George Wright. Wright, a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point (1818) and a career army officer, had prior experience with Native Americans; he had received a field promotion in 1842 "for meritorious courage, zeal, energy, and perseverance in the war against the Florida Indians" or,

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James J. Archer witnessed military negotiations with Native Americans when stationed in the Pacific Northwest in 1856. His letters to his Harford County family are preserved in the Manuscripts Division of the Maryland Historical Society Library. Seven years later, as a Confederate brigadier general, he was captured on McPherson's Ridge on the first day of the Battle of Gettysburg. He is pictured here in Confederate uniform. (Maryland Historical Society.)

as they are known today, the Seminole Wars.² Wright's assignment in 1856, as shown in Archer's letters, was peaceful negotiation.

Archer wrote from the central Washington Territory, an area mostly within what is now south central Washington state. Prior to Archer's arrival, Isaac Stevens, a former military man, had been appointed territorial governor in 1853. U.S. Army units were positioned as a security buffer between the Native American tribes and the white settlers arriving daily from the Oregon Trail. The lure of gold had prompted the westward migration of many Easterners. In May 1855, Stevens attempted to negotiate a land concession treaty with fourteen area tribes.

At the gathering known as the Walla-Walla Council, Stevens pressured the assembled bands to sign the document and resettle on reservations, but Kamiakin, a chief of the Yakima tribe, hesitated. As one witness recalled: "Mam-ia-kin [Kamiakin] was about the last to sign. . . . When he returned to his seat, his lips were covered with blood, having bitten them with suppressed rage."³ The "Sullen Chief," as whites called him, banded together a coalition of dissenting tribes. Within three months, attacks by both Native Americans and white settlers escalated into the Plateau Indian War of 1855–1858. During the early part of the conflict, most of the fighting occurred in the area between the Columbia and Yakima Rivers in central Washington Territory. The Archer correspondence details Colonel Wright's tribulations as he negotiated with the confederation of tribes under Kamiakin.⁴

Fort Vancouver, W[ashington]. T[erritory].

30th April, 1856

My dear Mother

I received Nannie's letter just after I had sent mine off—I do not think that a single one of my letters has been mailed here, I have always kept them on hand, open in order that you might have the latest possible dates, and have then either sent them by express to Portland, or given them to the Capt. of the Steamer or to some army officer going to California to be mailed at San Francisco. —Genl Wool, I am happy to say, has gone leaving behind not a single regret—I do not think that I ever knew a man more universally disliked—he neither has, or deserves to have a friend—for with all the vices I have ever heard of, except drunkenness, he has only the single quality of animal courage to save him from utter contempt.

Col. Wright left . . . on Monday—various opinions are entertained as to the prospect of his getting a fight—the popular opinion is that he will not, but I am very sure that he will.—He is going directly to the “Selah Fishery” on the Yakima river, which is after the Cascades, the most valuable salmon fishing in the country, and as the Indians depend chiefly on their stores of dried salmon, and the fishing season is near at hand, they will not, I think, suffer it to be occupied by us without a struggle.⁵

4th May, 1856

Capt. Bowman came down yesterday. . . . We gave Miss Isadora a party last night at which were a number of the Oregon belles.

Capt. Winder is here also on a visit from the cascades. He has finished a block-house, and will have completed [the] construction of his quarters in the country . . . when Mrs. Winder will join him [there]. Tell Nannie that Douglass is desperately in love with Miss Bowman and Owens with Miss Wright, but the ladies in the plentitude of their admirers seem quite indifferent to them.⁶

12th May, 1856

We have heard once from Col. Wright since he left . . . the Indians in considerable numbers were . . . hovering around the head of his column but had not molested him

On the day that Wright left . . . a small party of Indians stampeded the guard of a Volunteer camp . . . and captured 380 horses

We are daily expecting an express with news of a fight

The enclosed wild flowers I gathered to send to Nannie . . . are the wild currant and the yellow violet. . . . Mrs. Winder always enquires for her when a mail arrives as do all of her acquaintance here.

Camp on Naches River, 8th June, 1856

On the 15th May a little before daylight an express arrived from this camp with orders from Col. Wright for my company to proceed . . . up the Columbia river & report to Bvt. Lt. Col. Steptoe then in command at Ft. Dalles . . . to come prepared for a three month's campaign.

I set to work and had my company ready at the steam boat wharf in about four hours. . . . We arrived at Capt Winder's camp at Lower Cascades about sunset of the same day. . . . Owing to the great mismanagement on the part of the transportation company . . . we did not leave the upper Cascades until nearly sunset and arrived at the Dalles just at day dawn on the 17th two days earlier than I was expected —There we were delayed until the 23d waiting for the quartermaster to prepare his subsistence train of pack mules.

On the 23d we crossed the Columbia & encamped eight miles from the river on the banks of a stream. . . . There we remained all the next day for the supply train to come up —it was one of the pleasantest day I had spent since my arrival on the Pacific coast. . . . I had left all my books & papers behind fully settled . . . dismissed all care and looked only to the prospects of the coming campaign. . . . The morning was occupied with the bath and riding about to find the most commanding points of view. . . . My company was in fine spirits they amused themselves building bowers of the willow with which the stream is lined and like children pretending they were stores, Hotels, boarding houses, & c.

[After four days, covering over eighty miles] another dusty march of 12 or 14 miles brought us over high mountain plains to Col. Wright's camp on the Naches river . . . on the morning of the 29th —Here we have been ever since and are becoming very tired of it —I can not imagine how those officers who remain all day long and every day in the dusty camp manage to bear it —Carr and I every day after a plunge into the ice-cold water of the Naches . . . ride out over the hills and through the valleys. . . . We always add some one officer or other to our riding party . . . yesterday we took Major Haller with us. . . . the route was very rough. . . . but our indian horses are accustomed to the mountains, will descend the steepest and roughest path with safety —The tardiness of our progress was amply compensated by the the scenery. . . . At the point where the river breaks through its mountain barrier . . . stands a high rock of columnar basalt receding at its base so as to form a shallow cave where protected from the rain and wind we found a large number of Indian painting on the rocks rudely representing as I suppose the painters ideas of their dieties

Col Wright has been engaged during the week in building a bridge across the Naches for the transportation of supplies & the passage of the troops

We will probably cross the Naches day after tomorrow and we suppose that we will proceed at once across the Wenass to the Selah fisheries on the Yakima —Then no one except Col. Wright, if even he does, has any idea where he will take us —The Indians who were on the op[p]osite side of the river . . . whose chiefs had several interviews with Col. Wright suddenly decamped . . . no one

knows whether they have dispersed . . . or what their purpose is —Col Wright I think expects to conclude a peace with them without the process of conquering it.

[*Fort Dalles (1850) and Fort Cascades (1855) were situated on the Columbia River. Dalles, deriving its name from the dalles, the steep walls of a narrow gorge at this point on the river, sat on the south side, Cascades farther east on the north bank. Both played important roles during the wars of the region. The officer "Carr," who accompanied Archer is Lt. George Watson Carr; they both had served in the same regiment during the Mexican War. Carr, a Virginian, went on to become a Colonel in the 57th Virginia Volunteers, C.S.A.; he survived the Civil War and died in 1899.*]

Camp on Naches River, 20th June, 1856

The express-man has just arrived from Col. Wright —he stops here only long enough to change his horse before going on to the Dalles so that I will have time only to send you my love and tell you I am well

Col Wright who seemed determined to make a peace with the Indians had many interviews with their chiefs in which they at least those of them who came in (three Leschi Owhi and Tias disclosed themselves for peace —Tuesday was fixed upon for a grand council —Col. W. had a large bower erected . . . but they did not return —It was understood that unless they all came in at that time they would be severely dealt with.⁷

Camp on Na-chess River, W. T., 4th July, 1856

There does not seem to be any likelihood of a fight with the Indians —indeed a fight does not appear to be Col Wright's object; When he had an opportunity . . . he invited conferences and talked about peace with those of the Indian chiefs who came into his camp —all the time these "talks" were going on, they were making preparation to move their families & property to distant places of safety. . . . They were told . . . to bring with them Kamiakin and the chiefs of all the other hostile tribes, when the terms of a treaty of peace would be submitted to them but they failed to appear.

None doubted the sincerity of their declarations of desire for peace

Col. Wright commenced making ground preparations for their reception at the appointed time —He built a bower large enough for a Circus in which to hold his council but the Chiefs would'nt "come to the bower he shaded for them."

—They dispersed into small bands amongst the tributaries of the Yakima & Columbia to catch supplies of salmon and . . . dig the camus root —a small bulbous root which looks like an onion & tastes like the potatoe —bit funny to see Col. Wright, with infantry . . . as well mounted as the finest American cavalry . . . losing the golden opportunities in vain attempts to talk them into peace —it reminds me of some of my early efforts to catch robins with fresh salt

Camp on the Nachess, Washington Territory

18th July, 1856

On the 14th inst. I received letters from Henry and Mary bringing tidings from home. . . . I don't care how much things are going on as usual everything with which any of you are at all connected is of interest to me —you might on the same principle with-hold water from a wretch famishing with thirst because you had not an iced lemonade to offer him —Whatever happens here of importance . . . might be swallowed up by an earthquake without exciting as much interest in Baltimore as a political convention —you would hardly be willing to read the account in the newspapers.

Col. Wright is still on the Yakima talking to the Indians [—]at the last account some five or six hundred had surrendered themselves and were fishing quietly near his camp —Col. Wright is expected here on the 25th . . . he has appointed a meeting with the Kliketats who are now engaged in digging the Camus. —Our three companies here will go with him —Everything seems to indicate the establishment of peace with all the Indian tribes of this region who a short time since were combined for war —It is certain that there will at least be no fighting this summer.⁸

19th July 56

I was interrupted last night by the bugle call. . . . I envy Mary the satisfaction she must feel at having been able to do so much to soothe the last moments of Mammy Ginney [S]he deserved by her affection & devotion to all of us a great deal more of love & kindness than it could have seemed to her that she secured at least from me.

[The identity of "Mammy Ginney" is a mystery. Archer mentions her name in his previous letters from Mexico, but she neither appears in residence at "Rock Run" nor on the Harford County slave schedule in the 1850 U.S. Census. A free black woman between the ages of thirty-six and fifty-five was counted among the Archer household in the 1840 census.]

Camp on We-nass, 31st July, 1856

The Col. was in the enjoyment of the full assurance that he had established his reputation as a great Pacificator having made treaties with all the Indian tribes lately arrayed against him except Kamaiakin who had returned across the Snake river a few hostile fragments of tribes

—But . . . Gov. Stevens with his volunteers [are] in the field & acting without concert with Col. Wright & without respect to any terms . . . [if] the Indians . . . should . . . be attacked by the Volunteers it would have the effect & appearance of bad faith in Col. Wright.

Yesterday he received intelligence (I don't know how authentic) of a battle between two Volunteer companies and some Indians near Walla Walla who had always been friendly⁹

Camp on Yakima River, Washington Territory,
16th August, 1856

I have now been here over two weeks —it is much more pleasant than the camp on the Nachess, where every wind filled the air with clouds of dust

The Indians troubles seemed to be healed, and all the lately hostile tribes have at last come to terms. Many are of the opinion that it was necessary to have fought and severely beaten the Indians, before negotiating, in order to render the peace durable —I am strongly inclined to this opinion myself— However sufficient troops will remain in the country to prevent another combination of the tribes and ensure their good conduct.

Mine & (C) company, I am told, will remain here until 1st October

The prospect of spending the winter . . . is not regarded by the officers as a very delightful one —Covered up as we will be by deep snows —shut in our quarters for months together, and thrown entirely on our own resources for amusement, without books, papers or letters —those sweet messenger birds which now come so promptly from the far East to tell us how we are loved and remembered by all we love at home. . . . I do not despair. . . . I have many fresh recollections of the past that I have as yet scarcely ever recurred to

I can trace out the map of my wanderings & soujournings illustrated with pictures of a thousand home scenes, and thus will I be every evening in your midst, soothed and comforted by your affection. . . .

Ever affectionately yours, J. J. Archer

Colonel Wright's reputation as a conciliator did not last. In September 1858, he engaged the Native Americans in the battles of Four Lakes and Spokane Plain. These actions featured the kidnapping and use of Native American women and children as hostages, as well as the hanging of captured warriors. Kamiakin, though wounded, escaped to Canada. The colonel effectively ended the Plateau Indian War. Wright's forty-six year career was capped by his promotion in 1864 to brigadier general for "long faithful and meritorious service." Yet no heroic death or sizable pension awaited the scarred and seasoned veteran—he drowned in 1865, when his ship wrecked off the California coast.¹⁰

James J. Archer served with the 9th Infantry for six years. He did not participate in Wright's 1858 engagements. The previous month he had watched a wounded fellow officer die after being ambushed. Later, in November, Archer's command pursued several Native Americans who allegedly had murdered some white settlers. A non-hostile tribe assisted his soldiers in their successful mission. In May 1861, Archer resigned his U.S. Army commission and cast his lot with the Southern Confederacy.

He would never again see his family or his beloved "Rock Run." Commissioned as a brigadier general in the Confederate army, he was captured by Union forces at Gettysburg in 1863 and sent to the federal prisoner-of-war camp

at Johnson's Island. When exchanged, his health had seriously deteriorated. He died in Richmond on October 14, 1864.¹¹

NOTES

1. Other James J. Archer letters have appeared in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. See "A Marylander in the Mexican War: Some Letters of J. J. Archer," 54:408-422; "The James J. Archer Letters: A Marylander In The Civil War, Part I," 56:72-93, 125-149; "The James J. Archer Letters: A Marylander In The Civil War, Part II," 56:352-383. C. A. Porter Hopkins served as the editor on all four occasions.
2. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (2 vols.; Washington, 1903; repr.; Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1994), 1:1062
3. Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, *Indians of the Pacific Northwest: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), 138.
4. Spelling and punctuation remain unchanged.
5. Archer wrote from Ft. Vancouver (1849) on the Columbia River just north of present-day Portland, Oregon. Before receiving his commission, Archer lived at "Rock Run" with his mother, his sister Nannie, and several other siblings. The general of which Archer speaks is John E. Wool. Later, in what Archer no doubt regarded as a sadly ironic twist, Wool in 1862 commanded federal forces occupying Baltimore.
6. Charles S. Winder, a Marylander and West Point graduate (1846), later became a Confederate brigadier general. He was subsequently killed at the 1862 battle of Cedar Mountain. See Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary*, 1:1049.
7. Leschi (Nisqually tribe) and Owhi (Yakima tribe) led area bands in war, even boldly attacking the town of Seattle in January 1856. Both warriors later died at the hands of the U.S. Army. See Ruby and Brown, *Indians of the Pacific Northwest*, 163-164.
8. Henry and Mary were Archer's siblings. Eighteen fifty-six was a presidential election year; three national conventions met during a two-week period in June. Baltimore, though a perennial favorite for such events, did not serve as host.
9. Civilian volunteers acted independently of the U.S. army; unprovoked attacks against Native Americans sometimes occurred.
10. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary*, 1:1062. Wright's death is mentioned in Ruby and Brown, *Indians of the Pacific Northwest*, 161.
11. C. A. Porter Hopkins, "The James J. Archer Letters: A Marylander in the Civil War, Part I," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 56 (spring, 1961): 72-75, and "The James J. Archer Letters: A Marylander in the Civil War, Part II," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 56 (winter, 1961): 352-355.

Book Reviews

Bringing Back the Bay: The Chesapeake in the Photographs of Marion E. Warren and the Voices of Its People. By Marion E. Warren with Mame Warren. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994. 260 pages. \$45.)

Through Marion Warren's lens, the Chesapeake Bay and its people come to life in this beautiful and haunting portrait of a region poised between a timeless past and an uncertain future. We hear its people through the ear of Mame Warren, whose interviews retain the language and therefore the essence of life on the bay. The Warrens' purpose is to capture the bay, past and present, and to "intimate the possibility of its renewal." Together, father and daughter bring these elements together in what will surely come to be known as a masterpiece of Maryland history.

Marion Warren's concern for the ecology of the bay led him to become active in its conservation. He began what came to be known as the Bay Project in 1984, attending conferences and lobbying the legislature while pulling together photographs from the past and adding new ones taken during a year and a half long series of trips along the bay. Using the format that proved successful in *Then Again . . . Annapolis, 1900–1965*, Mame Warren applied her skills in oral history to the project and through hundreds of hours of interviews gleaned those phrases and sentiments that speak so simply yet eloquently of the Chesapeake.

Common themes in these voices span the miles from Virginia to Pennsylvania—hard work, endless days, and bitter winters spent harvesting oysters. Men work together, where the "water belongs to everybody." "All people are equal. . . . Oysters don't care who catches them . . . [they] come up for a black man as well as they will for a white man." The voices also fear the watermen's way of life is coming to an end with the decline of the oysters, fish, and crabs. Photographs taken forty years ago testify to the abundance of the past—boat decks piled high with oysters, rockfish half the size of the men who caught them, and crabbers weighed down with the catch of the day.

With that way of life also goes a culture that has sustained generations of Chesapeake watermen. Evenings around a warm stove in a general store used to be the scene of men-only gatherings until television intruded and "talk gave way to watching." Within a few years they had televisions at home and stayed there. The separation of men and women extended beyond the general store to the water, where until recently women did not work with their husbands but instead waited at home for them to return.

The Warrens' portrait of the Chesapeake moves from the water onto land and looks at the businesses that support watermen—boat-builders, sailmakers

and crab pot crafters. Taking another step inland to the tobacco and soybean fields, we see the sun-browned faces of migrant farm workers and those ever familiar summer scenes of roadside produce stands selling "lopes," tomatoes and Silver Queen corn. We travel upstream to the Susquehanna and Potomac Rivers that feed the bay and are reminded that all of these areas are dependent on the health of the Chesapeake.

Still, the prevailing thought is hope. Images of erosion on the Choptank are followed by photographs of neighborhood clean-up projects, Chesapeake Bay Foundation cruises, and the osprey's return to Assateague Island. Despite the intrusions of modernity, much of local life remains unchanged in camp meetings, festivals, county fairs, and church bazaars.

This journey through the watershed, with its aerial shots of the shoreline, panoramic views of open country and hazy wetlands, and intimate glimpses into private lives, is a gallery of Marion Warren's best work. It is also Maryland history in full dimension, thoughtfully crafted by interpretive artists wise enough to step back and let their subjects speak for themselves—the magic of Warren and Warren.

PATRICIA DOCKMAN ANDERSON

Baltimore

Never Just a Game: Players, Owners, & American Baseball to 1920. By Robert F. Burk. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994, 300 pages. \$34.95.)

Labor vs. management is an old and painful theme in this country: Nat Turner, the Baltimore & Ohio strike of 1877, the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory. In recent months, the standoff in major league baseball has threatened to bring the self-styled national pastime down to second or even third place, behind football and basketball, in spectator interest and esteem.

Robert F. Burk, whose *Never Just a Game* examines baseball's early difficulties in this regard, is a member of the new subset of socioeconomic historians in whose hard, clear gaze professional team sports are one more facet of—in his repeated phrase—the "entertainment business." Professor Burk, who is on the faculty of Muskingum College in Ohio, is the author of other works on U.S. business history. He likes watching a game, but doesn't accept baseball as just a parade of batting averages and won-lost percentages. "From the beginning," he notes, baseball's "on-field heroics and blunders" have been accompanied by "bitter off-field struggles between players and management over prestige, power, and profits."

With formation of the National League in 1876, the economic model became the cartel, with franchise holders pledged to respect one another's market territory and to crush outside challengers. As for labor relations, "in a unique form of industrial serfdom," the league imposed the infamous reserve

clause, which bound a player indefinitely to the "owner" with whom he first signed. Management further controlled—sometimes denied completely—"access to employment on the basis of sex, age, religion, ethnicity, and race."

The owners of "few if any other businesses could match" the paternalism and intrusiveness exercised by typical club management in a series of episodes known to sports-page readers nationally. The most common of frictions, inevitably, was the dispute over money. A familiar policy was the league-wide salary cap; sometimes the response to a decline in paid attendance was to cut individual player salaries, regardless of signed contracts. To objections from outsiders, the standard rejoinder was that baseball constituted "sport," not commerce.

From time to time, players rebelled. By 1885 a clandestine Brotherhood of Professional Base Ball Players was organizing. Its culmination was the startup of a third major, the Players' League of 1890. Despite having outdrawn its rivals (National League and American Association) the Players' League collapsed—several of its businessman backers, not realizing immediate profits, pulled out.

By 1900 the so-called Protective Association was active; Hugh Jennings and Bill Clarke, former Baltimore Orioles, were prominent in its brief existence. (It is little known today that one factor behind management's 1898 breakup of the famous Old Orioles was bad feeling in the players' clubhouse: they had been denied salary increases, after winning three pennants.) By 1912 one more futile union, the Players' Fraternity, was forming, with Dave Fultz, a former Oriole outfielder, as its lawyer-president. By 1920, when Mr. Burk's narrative ends, baseball had undergone its biggest scandal as Chicago White Sox players got back at a niggardly management by accepting money from professional gamblers, and baseball's owners had then given a federal judge with a pro-owner background the power to rule over the baseball industry.

Along the way, never a season went by without its off-field acrimony; Mr. Burk, drawing in part on the researches of colleagues, patiently assembles arrays of data and detail. He goes further, attempting to show that, particularly between 1880 and 1900, owners changed the game rules to hold down payrolls. (When offense improved, so in time would gate receipts—and wage-increase pressures. The trick was to stay ahead in the cycle. Some owners even favored setting up a Baseball Trust, like those in steel and oil.) Mr. Burk provides a series of charts. In the absence of most front-office ledgers and balance sheets, his statistics are not always unarguable; also, many an owner remained on the alert for a chance to bring down one or more of his fellows, and many a player was equally devoid of virtue.

Still and all, *Never Just a Game* is a thorough and convincing exposition of what was going on outside the foul lines of Major League Baseball, as between the bosses and the help, with the former having most of the advantage. Current owners, such of them as read, may not be pleased to know that Robert F. Burk is now at work bringing his study up to the present.

JAMES H. BREADY
Baltimore

The Records of the Virginia Company of London: The Court Book. Vol. I 1619–1622. Edited by Susan Myra Kingsbury. (orig. publ. 1906; reprint Bowie: Heritage Books, 1993. 636 pages. \$36.)

This volume contains the proceedings of Virginia Company between April 28, 1619 (the first meeting recorded in this book and held at Sir Thomas Smith's House in Philpot Lane, in London) and May 8, 1622.

The original edition opens with an introduction by the editor, who was instructor in history and economics at Simmons College. An introductory essay of some 115 pages discusses the character of the Virginia Company, the records of the company under Sir Thomas Smythe and the Sandys-Southampton administrations, various collections of documents housed in libraries in both England and the United States, and finally the fate of the original records of the company in the early years, many of which are believed to have been destroyed. What survives are transcripts and letters and documents that were in private hands.

The next part of the book is a chronological listing of extant records, beginning with "Reasons against publishing the Ring's Title to Virginia" (1600), through "A letter to the mayor of Salisbury concerning a college for Virginia" (1616), and ending with a "Letter to the . . . Privy Council" (1626).

The transactions of each meeting begin with a list of the members present, and from the first recorded meeting onward the reader meets a number of names familiar to Maryland and Virginia historians: Sir Edwin and Sir Samuel Sandys, Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir Thomas Wroth, Mr. John Wroth, and Sir Thomas Wilford, among others, are related to many of the early settlers of the Chesapeake region. The various meetings were concerned with the governing of the company, disputes among its members, the settling of the colony, and the welfare of the settlers.

Among the items of business was a message from King James I through Mr. Secretary Calvert that the king wanted a man suspected of stealing deer transported to Virginia. Later meetings included a discussion of collecting funds to establish a college in Virginia for the purpose of bringing infidels' children up into the true knowledge of God. At another meeting the members heard the petition of George Chambers on behalf of the inhabitants of Martins' Hundred, concerning some abuses offered to their corporation by the master and crew of a ship. In February 1622, the company discussed sending an usher to instruct the children in the free school that was being planned.

These volumes are packed with interesting information on the early history of Virginia and the problems of settling a new land. The publisher is to be commended for making this valuable source available to present-day researchers, but this reviewer regrets that a modern index was not included.

ROBERT BARNES
Perry Hall

The Jefferson Conspiracies: A President's Role in the Assassination of Meriwether Lewis. By David Leon Chandler. (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1994. 368 pages. \$23.00.)

Despite the seemingly clear-cut title of this book, David Leon Chandler ultimately points the finger not at our third president, Thomas Jefferson, as being the man behind the 1809 death of explorer Meriwether Lewis but at Major General James Wilkinson (1757–1825), the controversial commander of the U.S. Army and a Marylander born in Calvert County. Moreover, the title of the book should more properly be titled “The Wilkinson Conspiracies,” because Chandler goes into great detail showing how Wilkinson turned state’s evidence against former Vice President Aaron Burr in 1806 to hide his own complicity in a scheme to separate the western states from the United States. Apparently he also was trying to implicate Lewis in a similar “conspiracy” in 1809 to deflect a government inquiry into his questionable land dealings on the frontier as well as his traitorous dealings with Spain.

Certainly the death of Lewis, three years after the conclusion of his famous expedition with William Clark up the Missouri and Columbia rivers to the Pacific, has long been a mystery, and historians have vacillated between judging it suicide or murder. Lewis, a former private secretary and protégé of Jefferson, had been appointed by the president in February 1807 to be governor of Upper Louisiana, the northern part of the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 centered on St. Louis. At the time of his death in October 1809, he was on his way overland up the Natchez Trace to take his journals of the expedition with Clark to Washington, D.C. for publication—or, if Chandler is to be believed, to give evidence against Wilkinson. At an inn south of Nashville, Tennessee, in what until recently had been Chickasaw Territory, Lewis was shot in the head and chest and possibly had his throat cut.

Newspapers at the time labeled the death a suicide, a view echoed by Jefferson. Chandler maintains that the former president, out of office for eight months, accepted the suicide story in order to protect Wilkinson, whom he had found useful in maneuvering against Burr and in furthering U.S. claims to Spanish-held Florida and the southwest. It is no easier to accept this assertion than it is to sort out the story of Lewis’s death, which was never fully investigated and might have been suicide (Lewis had been depressed and ill), a simple robbery and murder (his servant was wearing the governor’s good clothes after his master’s mortal wounding), or a political murder. But, in the absence of hard facts, the author peppers his narrative with phrases such as “it is a very strange omission” and “it defies belief”—which do not aid us in solving the mystery.

Chandler, who died in January 1994, is the author of seven books, including works on Florida robber baron Henry Flagler, the Bingham dynasty of Louisville, and southern politicians. His credentials to write this book are thus not

negligible, despite his background more as a Pulitzer-prize-winning reporter than as a historian. (Readers, incidentally, should not confuse him with British military historian David G. Chandler.)

What is interesting in this complicated book is to focus on the neglected figure of General James Wilkinson, whom modern historians have proven was in the pay of Spain and who was given the code name "Number Thirteen" by his Spanish employers. Wilkinson was a man who did not hesitate to line his own pockets and otherwise act out of self-interest while supposedly working for the government of the United States. As Chandler writes, "He was a spy honored, promoted, and reconfirmed by three successive presidents while at the same time being the most highly placed traitor known to American history."

General Wilkinson held (and misused) power at a tender moment in U.S. history, when the western territories were being opened up, serving as commandant of the U.S. Army from 1796 into the War of 1812, when he was removed from his position after failing to capture Montreal. He was brought before a court-martial, his third in seven years, on charges of neglect of duty, unofficer-like conduct, drunkenness, and disobedience of a War Department order, but was acquitted yet again. He died in Mexico in 1825, apparently the victim of opium poisoning, nine years after the appearance of his self-serving autobiography, *Memoirs of My Own Times* (1816). He is a man whose career deserves reexamination, though as Chandler points out, many of the War Department documents related to Wilkinson are missing from the archives, presumably removed by the general, who was given free access to the files to allow him to prepare for his courts-martial.

CHRISTOPHER T. GEORGE
Baltimore

Producers Versus Capitalists: Constitutional Conflict in Antebellum America. By Tony A. Freyer. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994. 260 pages. Notes, index. \$37.50.)

The "moderately prosperous middling class of independent producers" (15)—the overwhelming majority of free antebellum Americans—take corporate capitalists to court in Tony Freyer's latest book. Focusing on Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, Freyer explains how producers used the values of the associational economy, political clout, and appeals to the constitutional ideal of checks and balances to restrain corporate power. While producers did not prevent the ultimate triumph of capitalist values, they strongly contested and limited corporate privileges in the areas of banking, taxation, eminent domain, and railroad accidents.

The political power of a producer majority obsessed with retaining local control, Freyer contends, impelled state politicians to pass legislation that pro-

tected producers and forced corporations to respect the public interest. Laws often favored in-state debtors over out-of-state creditors; taxes on corporations funded education and lightened the producers' tax burden; local authorities controlled tax collection; and local assessment procedures and court systems frustrated corporations in the exercise of eminent domain. In the case of railroad accident law, Protestant moralism emphasized individual responsibility for imprudent behavior, but corporations and their "workers were held to a higher standard" (195) of conduct that exposed railroads to expensive liability suits. Only slowly, Freyer thinks, did such legal and constitutional conflicts resolve themselves through the emergence of a free-labor consensus that accommodated waning producer values to the needs of corporate capitalism.

Freyer's book thus fits squarely within the moral economy versus market economy paradigm that dominates so much of the recent historiography on antebellum America. Freyer is surely right on his essential point: the rise of corporate capitalism was constitutionally contested. Americans were nervous about the power of corporations, and the expansion of markets threatened many local interests. Freyer usefully corrects other interpretations that posit an unhesitating public acceptance of the capitalist values that were supposedly rapidly enshrined in law. The chapters on eminent domain and railroad accident law, in particular, provide detailed analyses of the workings of the legal system that challenge facile notions about capitalist ascendancy. Still, many questions, like the varying *degrees* of producer resistance to capitalism, remain mostly unexplored. Freyer appeals to contemporary usage to justify labeling all free Americans except the poor and wealthy capitalists as "producers." Antebellum Americans certainly employed such imprecise language, but scholars ought not to mimic them. As Freyer occasionally admits, a class of producers, with common interests and a common group consciousness, did not exist. Constitutional disputes involved millions of individual Americans whose views were scattered along a spectrum that encompassed contradictory values. What he calls "pervasive social and political fragmentation" (165) was nothing other than the conflict *among* producers that makes Freyer's producer versus capitalist dichotomy a flawed construct.

Freyer sometimes strains to fit evidence into his interpretation. For example, were the citizens who tried to extract the maximum price for land condemned under eminent domain primarily interested in upholding producer values? Does a father's successful lawsuit against his son really display the "locally oriented associational market relationships that counterbalanced exploitative capitalist values"? (66). More broadly, in focusing upon one type of evidence, court cases that arose from intractable conflicts, Freyer risks overstating the depth and pervasiveness of the clash between capitalism and producer values. Although legal scholars and historians may find this book useful, it will not interest general readers or students of Maryland history. Freyer's writing is too often abstract, dense, and repetitive; slightly recast sentences

continually reiterate points. The phrase, “the constitutional ideal,” or its equivalents, for example, appears eighteen times in fifteen randomly-selected pages (137–51). A less heavy-handed approach and more attention to diversity among producers would have strengthened Freyer’s work.

ANTHONY GENE CAREY

Auburn University

An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape. Edited by Carl R. Lounsbury with editorial assistance by Vanessa E. Patrick. Prepared at The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. 444 pages. \$75.)

This is a valuable reference book, as valuable to persons involved in architectural research as a basic dictionary is to everyone. The editors quickly establish that “this glossary is rooted in a particular time and place: the old South in the period from the first settlement to the second quarter of the nineteenth century,” in contrast with “architectural dictionaries [that] define a timeless language of building” and deal with academic architecture, saying little about the kinds of buildings constructed by Americans in the colonial period. This work’s value is not limited to researchers in “the old South”; I believe it will prove valuable to architectural researchers north and west of the old South as well, wherever builders—and hence their traditions—descended from the British Isles.

According to the editors, “the terms selected for this glossary are limited to the English language except in the few instances where foreign words were adapted by English-speaking settlers” because of the reality that “the dominant political and social culture was English [in] the region encompassing Delaware in the north, Georgia in the south, and the newly settled western regions of Kentucky and Tennessee.” Maryland is well represented by references from church, court, civic, and private sources.

One prepublication announcement of this work identified it as a glossary of early building terminology of Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, confusing the editors’ boundary description of a region with a specific group of unrelated states. In their preface the editors define and carefully justify the region and the period. They describe the methodology used and acknowledge the many persons and organizations who have helped bring this book to publication.

They state their intentions, simply, to compile “explanations of common as well as unfamiliar architectural terms.” This is done outstandingly well in 415 pages of detailed definitions. Many words and phrases have several definitions. For most definitions dated references are offered to show the use of the word or phrase in original contexts. Numerous small illustrations embellish certain definitions. This book contains an excellent discussion of architectural development in early America, primarily domestic, from the first impermanent structures

through developing sophistication with permanent structures, the development of contracts for construction and, finally, the emergence of professional architects.

In a few instances a word used in an original context to identify the subject word should, itself, have appeared in the glossary. Some researchers undoubtedly will note omitted words and phrases or will take exception to a definition. These minor cavils in no way diminish the importance of this work. Knowing the extraordinarily helpful nature of the staff of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, I am sure the editors will welcome newly discovered words and phrases in American archives and consider newly interpreted definitions.

JAMES T. WOLLON JR.

Havre de Grace

The Confederate Republic: A Revolution Against Politics. By George C. Rable. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994. 428 pages. \$34.95.)

Rable brings together two rich fields of historical study, Civil War politics and republicanism, to argue that Confederate politicians primarily fought to "purify" government of partisan corruption. *The Confederate Republic* convincingly depicts a coherent Confederate political culture polarized by commitments to national unity and individual liberty. Rable argues that Confederate state and national politicians modeled their nation after 1760s republican theory. These politicians claimed that mass democracy and national parties valued Northern anti-slavery votes and the spoils of office more than the virtuous defense of Southern interests. In 1861 secessionists and cooperationists alike advocated non-partisan commitment to the public good as the only remedy for party conflict and democracy's potential for mob rule. Rable uses the construct of "Southern republicanism" to separate the myriad and confusing war-time Confederate factions into "those speaking for national unity and their libertarian opponents" (2). Jefferson Davis asked Southerners to abandon partisan and personal interest for the sake of national good while opponents like Georgia Governor Joe Brown criticized Richmond's centralizing tendencies as tyrannical threats to individual and community liberty.

This analysis yields fruitful insights into political decision-making in the Confederacy and makes sense of the "acrimonious and sometimes arid" debates over conscription and habeas corpus in the Confederate Congress (248). In a coherent narrative of the Confederacy's internal politics from 1861 to 1865, military events intrude only when they influenced political decisions, and international issues like European recognition of the Confederacy remain at the margins of this tightly disciplined analysis. Comparatively unstudied events like the Confederacy's elections receive skillful treatment as do state-federal relations and bids for state autonomy waged by Brown and North Carolina Governor Zebulon Vance.

Since the 1960s historians have applied republicanism to topics as diverse as the American Revolution, antebellum gender identity, and 1890s Populism. Aware of republicanism's elasticity, Rable identifies Southern republicanism as a specific "denomination" within the larger creed. For Rable, Southern republicanism meant strict adherence to conservative eighteenth-century beliefs in civic virtue and non-partisanship. He states that "in light of Confederate civil religion and orthodox republicanism, public virtue remained both the key to national survival and its greatest question mark" (253). Rable shows that Confederate politicians tried to forge a national identity out of American Revolutionary ideals.

A perennial criticism of republicanism as a tool of historical analysis is its inability to explain change. This criticism might well apply to *The Confederate Republic*. Americans in both sections expressed political ideas in terms inherited from the Revolution, but the definition of terms like liberty and virtue changed over time. Rable's Confederate politicians seem mired in the language and thinking of eighteenth-century political theory. Republicanism's static quality stems in part from Rable's focus on elite sources such as speeches, political correspondence, and newspapers. Rable admits that newspapers were in short supply during the war but asserts that they "shaped a political culture still dependent on the oral transmission of news and opinion" (133). How much did these expressions of liberty and national unity represent the thinking of the Confederate masses that fought the war and held down the home front? While wealthy slave owners ruled the fledgling republic, they relied on more numerous non-slaveowning whites for support. Class tensions over exemptions for slave owners and overseers informed stands taken by Confederate politicians on conscription as much or more than did the rhetorical parameters of classical republicanism. Similarly, the strivings of slaves for freedom did not find articulation in the *Charleston Mercury*, but they had a profound impact on Confederate political thinking as evidenced by Davis's March 13, 1865, decision to enlist black soldiers. Rable offers a useful exercise in ideological analysis and makes a consistent effort to trace changes in political thought. Yet his emphasis on elite writings undervalues the social forces that shaped Confederate politics.

The Confederate Republic will interest students of the Civil War South and republican ideology. Because Rable concentrates on Richmond and states occupied by Confederate forces, readers of Maryland history will find few references to their state. While readers may at times find Rable's dichotomy of liberty and national unity overly rigid, they will undoubtedly benefit from this thought-provoking interpretation of Confederate politics.

FRANK TOWERS
Clarion University

Defend the Valley: A Shenandoah Family in the Civil War. By Margaretta Barton Colt. (New York: Orion Books, 1994. 456 pages. \$35.)

In 1893, Robert T. Barton wrote, "after all this time I suppose you will think I ought to have forgotten these little incidents; and so I had, but as I write the memory of those long ago times comes back to me fresh and bright—full of sweetness and full of sadness—and on the tide there seems to float these trifling things." In penning his memoirs of the greatest event in his life, Barton explained to his son, "I tell them to you so that you may know my life and its incidents, great and small, just as the current ran on" (introductory page).

And, thus, Margaretta Barton Colt takes Barton's story and crafts a fascinating history of two Southern families in the crucible of America's bloodiest war. Robert T. Barton and his younger brother, Randolph, both wrote their wartime recollections in the 1890s, and they form the central portion of *Defend the Valley*. Using those two reminiscences as a base, the author (the great-granddaughter of Robert) then added dozens of contemporary letters from other family members. As a result, Colt is able to tell the story of the Bartons and Joneses—two families united by marriage—and their lives during the Civil War.

The war had a devastating effect on the Barton-Jones clan. Of the six sons of David W. Barton and Fannie L. (Jones) Barton, all of whom fought for the Southern cause, two died in the service and another succumbed shortly after the war from illness caused by his wounds. Several other close family members also gave their last full measure for the Confederacy. The letters and memoirs provide a poignant account of the war's terrible toll on the South's middle class.

The book also contains other welcome nuggets of information for readers interested in daily life during the mid-nineteenth century. Colt located wonderful accounts of how Southerners coped with the Union occupations of the lower Shenandoah Valley, morale on the home front in the face of adversity, and how the families recovered after the war. While *Defend the Valley* revolves around the Civil War, it has a broad appeal. Colt's work should be read by readers interested in American military and social history. In addition to such facts as the precise dates of Winchester's occupation by both Union and Confederate forces, the book provides excellent insights into the relationships of men and women in the 1860s, among families in general, and even among masters and slaves.

For those interested in Maryland history, there are several references to family members imprisoned in Baltimore during the war. A letter from a Mrs. John Hanson Thomas of Baltimore in 1862 to Randolph Barton of the Stonewall Brigade imprisoned at Fort McHenry reveals the close affinity that many Marylanders felt for the South. After the war, Randolph, the youngest of the Barton brothers, settled in Baltimore. A prominent city lawyer and chairman of the Baltimore City draft board during World War I, he died there in 1921.

There are other comments in the letters about Maryland troops stationed in Winchester during the war.

Drawn to her family's story as a little girl, Colt reflects in this book her love of history and her own family heritage. She composed a moving story of the war in the Shenandoah Valley; a tale greatly aided by charts showing the family lineage, maps, notes, and brief sketches of those who served in the Confederate army. Colt also uncovered numerous rare photographs and illustrations of the family members, their homes, and wartime scenes. *Defend the Valley* is a valuable addition to our knowledge of American life.

The life that the Bartons and Joneses knew in the Shenandoah Valley is long since gone, ravaged by a terrible war and the passage of time. Bulldozers now threaten the fields in which those Southerners walked, farmed, and fought. *Defend the Valley* brings those families back from their graves so that we may learn about their world. In writing his memoirs, Randolph Barton noted: "I am aware that nothing has occurred in my life or may occur which makes it differ much from the lives of millions who have come and gone and been forgotten, and will come and go and be forgotten, unless it was that I belong to a generation upon whose heads fell the awful scourge of civil war" (3). Margaretta Barton Colt ensures that Randolph's story, his brother Robert's, and those of dozen other kinfolk are not only remembered but treasured.

KEVIN CONLEY RUFFNER
Washington, D.C.

Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia. By Ervin L. Jordan Jr. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995. 312 pages. \$67.50 cloth; \$18.95 paper.)

In recent years, historians have chronicled the numerous ways in which white southerners responded to the experience of the Civil War. What is not so well documented are the roles, activities and collective memories of African Americans during the "war between the states." Suffice to say, "the record of America's greatest internal crisis, the Civil War, is incomplete" (1). Drawing upon a wealth of primary sources in *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, Ervin Jordan makes an attempt to help fill this void by assembling and recording the lives of African-Americans in the state of Virginia from 1860 to 1865.

Virginia was the center of attention during the Civil War. Not only was it the capital of the Confederacy, but it had more blacks and an older practice of slavery than any other state. "The experience of Afro-Virginians—slave and free, home front and battlefield, Confederate and Union—epitomized the war's major issues" (xi). Upon examining such experience, Jordan divided his book into two parts. Part One is concerned with the roles blacks played in the

war. In Jordan's own words, "this narrative seeks to show African Americans as human beings who took an active part in Confederate Virginia" (xi). Part Two "examines wartime civilian and military roles defined by and for Afro-Virginians: as free blacks and slaves within a disintegrating society, as body servants taken to war, as soldiers and spies choosing to serve on both sides" (xi).

In many ways this work represents a respectable achievement. Jordan seems to have uncovered almost every source that bears on his subject and judiciously sifts the evidence, painstakingly establishing precise details of events and personalities. Yet despite this tremendous effort, the author does not share any new interpretations, and his analysis more often than not is weak. Jordan's attention to details in this study is both a strength and a weakness. His meticulous recounting of events in many instances takes away from his analysis. A more sustained analysis of the issues would, no doubt, give the reader a better understanding of the reasons why—and the degree to which—blacks participated on the Confederate side. In writing about the past, a historian has two primary responsibilities: first, to ferret out as far as possible what happened and then interpret the facts and second, to discover larger contexts and to draw wider conclusions. Jordan has performed the first half of the job in a workmanlike, even admirable fashion, but at times seems scarcely aware of the other half.

Whatever its deficiencies, Jordan's work is a unique and useful source for historians. The fifty-plus pages of notes, appendices, and bibliography are exhaustive, compelling, elucidating, and informative. They explore and provide a foundation for breaking down old and establishing new paradigms about the Civil War. The richness of Jordan's sources engages the reader in many of the fundamental realities of African-American life and culture during the Civil War. Jordan's book definitely contributes to Civil War historiography and should be consulted by scholars as well as general readers.

MERLINE PITRE

Texas Southern University

Southern Agriculture During the Civil War Era, 1860–1880. By John Solomon Otto. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994. 182 pages. \$49.95.)

In recent decades, much of the scholarly research on topics that once fell under the heading "economic history" has been split between the departments of economics and history. Research emanating from the former emphasizes mathematical theories and the use of esoteric statistical techniques, while that coming from the latter is heavy on deconstruction and raising class consciousness. In contrast to these trends, John Solomon Otto's informative volume, *Southern Agriculture During the Civil War Era, 1860–1880*, pleasantly reminds us that there are academic historians who still write about economic and social is-

sues without using either mathematical equations or the word “gender” as a verb.

The volume’s five chapters cover three distinct historical eras: the antebellum, war, and postwar periods. The first chapter begins with a history of the westward migration of the southern population during the antebellum era. The author then links the geographic characteristics of the South, including climatic and soil conditions, with the economics of producing the region’s most important crops. While experienced scholars and others well read on these subjects will find little new material and few novel interpretations here, others will find a respectable and concise summary of antebellum southern agriculture. In particular this chapter would be useful to readers interested in a succinct description of the production of southern staples.

In chapter 2 Otto turns to southern wartime agriculture and here makes his most important contribution. As he points out in the book’s preface, classic volumes on both antebellum and postbellum southern agriculture have already been written, but the war’s immediate effects on southern agriculture remain relatively unexplored. Otto synthesizes a number of well known secondary works with some interesting primary sources to illustrate how the South’s antebellum agricultural advantages in export staples turned into disadvantages during the war. Yet the conversion from cotton to provisions was extraordinary by any metric, and to the extent southern defeat had economic roots (and I realize this is very much a debatable proposition), they lay in the failure of the distribution network rather than the actual production of food.

The remaining chapters link the military and political consequences of the war with subsequent changes in southern agriculture and the postbellum southern economy. The narrative of this relationship between political issues and agricultural production indicates that a more harmonious arrangement between Republicans, former Confederates, planters, freedmen, and the army might have been possible had conditions in the immediate post-war years not been so dismal. In addition, Otto documents how Republican programs of internal improvements to promote economic development led to property taxes, which may well have contributed to both a slow agricultural recovery and an accelerated resurgence of the Democrats. With respect to the transition of freedmen from slaves to tenants, Otto repeatedly refers to a “shortage” of agricultural labor, a situation that reflected the uncertainty inherent in the radically altered labor markets of the postbellum era. While the freedmen groped about for land, credit, and economic freedom, planters either hesitated to pay the market wage for free labor or they were unable to pass the higher costs of agricultural production along to consumers. As a result of these and other circumstances, the production of most southern staples remained below their prewar levels for many years.

Overall Otto offers fine summaries of antebellum southern agriculture and the Civil War’s immediate effect on agriculture in the Confederacy. In addition he links the early chapters on those subjects to a number of important

postbellum issues. Military, political, and social historians unfamiliar with agricultural change during and following the war will find Otto's original research, sources, and synthesis quite useful. Agricultural and economic historians, who are more likely to be familiar with the sources and key arguments, particularly those relating to antebellum and postbellum agriculture, will probably find the volume less valuable, though they may still find some of Otto's original sources interesting. Finally, students of both southern history and the Civil War will find this volume to be a valuable source of references and a useful guide to agricultural aspects of those fields of study.

LEE A. CRAIG

North Carolina State University

The Perils and Prospects of Southern Black Leadership: Gordon Blaine Hancock, 1884–1970. By Raymond Gavins. (1977; Durham: Duke University Press, 1993. 236 pages. \$15.95 paper.)

When this book first appeared in 1977, Raymond Gavins accurately observed that very little has been written "on Southern black ideologies and strategies in the age of segregation" (189). Since its original publication (this is the first paperback edition of the book) numerous fine works on the African-American experience during this era have appeared. The key to this work lay in its title. Gavins is more interested in the perils and prospects of Southern black leaders than he is in Hancock himself. By examining Hancock, a native of South Carolina who spent most of his adult life as a professor at Virginia Union University in Richmond, Gavins seeks to explore and develop the ideology and strategies adopted by the Southern black intelligentsia during the first half of the twentieth century.

This group understood the dangers of pushing for desegregation too hard and too fast. They had first hand experience with oppression—one of Hancock's earliest memories was of the Phoenix (South Carolina) riots of 1898, in which an "undetermined number of blacks died" (6), and lacked the luxury of militancy afforded black leaders who lived in the North. Hence, while they admired W. E. B. Du Bois, they often stopped short of adopting his views or strategies. Yet their own success, escaping poverty and attaining college and post-graduate degrees—Hancock earned his M.A. in sociology from Harvard—along with their democratic ideals, often rooted in their Christian callings (Hancock was an ordained minister) prodded them to reject accommodation to segregation as advanced by Booker T. Washington. As a result, they straddled between Washington and Du Bois, seeking to resolve what Gavins refers to as the central dilemma of their generation: "how to end segregation and ensure integration without abandoning the ideals of African-American identity, independence, and unity or alienating essential help from liberal whites" (vii).

Hancock himself was not a great thinker nor a mass organizer. His value lay in his ability to popularize the ideas of others and in his longevity. Although he never published a book, he wrote thousands of columns, presented even more lectures and served as a role model to his students and other black Southerners. He gained a degree of fame through his "Double Duty Dollar" plan, whereby he called for blacks to help themselves by spending their money in their own community. He gained even further recognition by playing a seminal role in organizing a convention of Southern black leaders during World War II in Durham, North Carolina, which, in turn, paved the way for the formation of the Southern Regional Council, a moderate interracial organization that was formed in 1944 and still exists today. In his demeanor, Hancock lay somewhere between the folksy Vernon Johns, whom Taylor Branch beautifully describes in *Parting the Waters*, and the erudite E. Franklin Frazier. Ultimately, although Gavins is loathe to admit it, Hancock was not nearly as influential as either one of them.

Indeed, probably the greatest flaw in this book lay in Gavins's reluctance to explore more fully Hancock's lack of influence and impact. This would not have involved more material on Hancock's thoughts or a lengthier description of Hancock's personal life (of which there is very little). Rather it would entail a broader analysis of the structural constraints that all black leaders faced from the moment of emancipation through World War II. Increasingly marginalized economically and politically, they enjoyed little power or success, regardless of the strategies they adopted. I suspect that Gavins was reluctant to develop such an analysis because, as is the case with most biographers, he wishes to make the most of his subject's accomplishments.

While Hancock's life does not shed direct light on the African-American experience in Maryland, readers can use this book in conjunction with other case studies of Southern leaders, communities and events, to arrive at a better understanding of the state's past. Most importantly, the book raises questions as to the Southernism of Maryland. Hancock viewed himself as a Southern black leader who sought to develop a Southern black strategy. He had relatively little contact with black leaders in Maryland, except insofar as the Baltimore-based *Afro-American* was one of his sharpest critics. Gavins does not explore why this was the case but it suggests that the African-American experience in Maryland was somewhat unique, not Southern enough to be integrally part of Hancock's world, but Southern enough to suffer directly from the sting of segregation.

PETER B. LEVY
York College

Books in Brief

Johns Hopkins University's Maryland Paperback Bookshelf now adds to its growing list of titles *The Tuesday Club: A Shorter Version of The History of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club* by Dr. Alexander Hamilton. As one of the founding members, Hamilton acted as record keeper for this gentlemen's club. A group of eight met for the first time on May 14, 1745, and the club quickly became a meeting place for colonial Maryland's most distinguished residents and visitors. Editor Robert Micklus has pared Hamilton's original records of the club's meetings to just 368 pages. The full three-volume published work (also edited by Micklus) is available through the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia.

The Johns Hopkins University Press, \$16.95

The latest in Daniel Carroll Toomey's growing list of valuable contributions to Maryland history is an exceedingly useful little monograph issued last fall in time for the dedication of the Maryland State Monument on the Gettysburg Battlefield. Entitled *Marylanders at Gettysburg*, it includes a short, Maryland-oriented sketch of the battle, a list of Maryland casualties (surprisingly long for the small number of state troops engaged), descriptions of the Maryland monuments, and a map showing where to find them. Anyone planning to visit Gettysburg and the stunning new state monument—Mr. Toomey wrote the inscription—should take his book along.

Toomey Press, \$11.95

Author Robert H. Ferrell, who has written a number of books on Harry S. Truman, offers a fresh interpretation of this president's story in *Harry S. Truman: A Life*. His absorbing work explains how our thirty-third president progressed from local politics in Missouri to the presidency. A special focus on Missouri's political history makes this book a valuable addition to other Truman studies (including David McCullough's magisterial work, *Truman*).

University of Missouri Press, \$29.95

Negotiated Authorities: Essays in Colonial Political and Constitutional History gathers together sixteen essays by prominent colonial historian Jack P. Greene. In his work, Greene discusses the nature of authority and constitutional development in colonial British America.

University Press of Virginia, \$19.95

Volume 88 of *Maryland Historical Magazine* (1993) contained selections from the letters of Randallstown resident Edward Spencer to Anne Catherine

Bradford Harrison of Talbot County. Editors Anna Bradford Agle and Sidney Hovey Wanzer have now published a fuller edition of these letters, with accompanying family history and photographs. Entitled *Letters to Miss Bradford Harrison from Edward Spencer: Love and War in Maryland, 1860–61*, the correspondence reveals the tender courtship of Edward and “Braddie” during the growing turmoil of the Civil War. Edward Spencer’s original letters and other writings are now part of the special collections at the Milton S. Eisenhower Library of Johns Hopkins University.

Privately Published

The editors of *Documentary History of the First Federal Congress 1789–1791* announce the publication of Volumes XII and XIII. These tomes cover the debates in the House of Representatives, second session, from January to August, 1790. A list of subjects debated as reported by contemporary newspapers, and an explanation of sources used, are included in Volume XII.

The Johns Hopkins University Press, \$75.00 each

In *Landmarks: Islands in Time*, Maryland author Sylvan Shane connects places in Maryland like the Roland Park Water Tower and the Maryland Penitentiary to certain periods in his life. His reminiscences tell the tales of a young man growing up in Baltimore. This book also connects these “islands in time” to popular songs and news events of different time periods.

Lowry & Volz, \$12.95

In *Revolutions Revisited: Two Faces of the Politics of Enlightenment*, author Ralph Lerner presents an examination of how Enlightenment thinkers defended and shaped the emerging democracy in America. The extended essay focuses on the different ways that Benjamin Franklin, Alexis de Tocqueville, and Edmund Burke attempted to further individual and social enlightenment in post-revolutionary times.

University of North Carolina Press, \$19.95

The third edition of the *AIA Guide to the Architecture of Washington, D. C.* is now available for tourists, residents, and everyone with an interest in the landmark buildings of our nation’s capital. Author Christopher Weeks has made a number of changes and improvements to the 1974 edition, and over four hundred structures are now described. In addition to information on location and an updated photograph, the entries include lively commentary on building use, original architects, and significant structural renovations. The guide, which is arranged around seventeen walking tours, provides maps of the most well-known areas throughout the city.

The Johns Hopkins University Press, \$19.95

To those in the field of folklife studies, questions concerning the best methods to protect cultural heritage can be overwhelming. In *Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage*, sixteen scholars address such questions and challenge the division of heritage into nature, the built environment, and culture. Editor Mary Hufford, a folklife specialist at the Library of Congress, outlines the ways that heritage protection policies have changed in the United States through the years.

University of Illinois Press, \$14.95

The Salmon P. Chase Papers, Volume 2, holds the correspondence of this political leader from 1823 to 1857. Chase, a native of New Hampshire, became a well-known figure in national politics and played a prominent role in the antislavery movement. He corresponded with notable public figures such as Frederick Douglass, Martin Van Buren, and Charles Sumner. Over two hundred letters that illuminate both his personal life and details of public policy during his time are collected in this second volume.

The Kent State University Press, \$35.00

Adventurers, Cavaliers, Patriots: Ancestors Remembered holds the collected writings of a large number of members of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland. In the book, each author offers the biography of her colonial ancestor. In addition to these "ancestor vignettes," a list of all members of the National Society of the Colonial Dames in the State of Maryland is included. This paperback is available for purchase at the Mount Clare Mansion Museum Shop.

The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the
State of Maryland, \$15.75

Held Captive by Indians: Selected Narratives, 1642–1836 was first published in 1973. A revised edition of this collection of accounts of Native American captivities is now available for readers from the University of Tennessee Press. The are presented alongside those of eighteen other narrators and represent different times, genders, and geographical locations. Maps, biographies of the narrators, and printing histories are included. Editor Richard Van Der Beets provides a new preface that addresses reasons behind the increased scholarly interest in such captivity narratives.

University of Tennessee Press, \$18.95

J.M.P.

Notices

Tenth Annual Maryland Historical Magazine Prize

Each year, the Publications Committee of the Maryland Historical Society offers a \$350 prize for the most distinguished article to appear in *Maryland Historical Magazine* during the previous year. The prize for the 1994 volume goes to David Milobsky for his essay, "Power from the Pulpit: Baltimore's African-American Clergy, 1950-1970," which appeared in the Fall issue. Mr. Milobsky is a graduate student in history at Johns Hopkins University.

"Tim's Black Book" Donated to MHS

Edward Tilghman Paca Jr., a resident of the Eastern Shore, recorded in a single pocket-size volume the details of his life while in the Confederate army. Excerpts of his diary, edited by Edmund C. Paca, appeared in the Winter issue of *Maryland Historical Magazine*. The Manuscripts division of the Maryland Historical Society is pleased to announce the acquisition of this original diary. The generous donation came after the publication of the diary excerpts. This document will soon be available for research, and the Manuscripts staff wishes to thank the donor for providing others the opportunity to use Tim Paca's Civil War diary for research and education.

St. Thomas Church's Anniversary

1995 marks the 250th anniversary of St. Thomas Church of Croom, Maryland. In honor of this celebration, tours of the Church and cemetery will be given from 1:00 P.M. to 4:00 P.M. on the first Saturday of each month, through October. Please call the Church office at (301) 627-8469 to make reservations or for more information.

Tidewater Archaeology Dig

People of all ages are invited to Maryland's first capital to become archaeologists for a day! On the weekend of July 29-30, 1995, visitors can sift through dirt to discover buried treasures from Maryland's past. Behind-the-scenes tours of the Archaeology Site and Laboratory are also scheduled. For more information, please call 1-800-SMC-1634.

1995 Decorator Show House

The Beeches, a 1925 waterfront estate outside of Easton on Maryland's Eastern Shore, is the site of the Historical Society of Talbot County's 1995 Decora-

tor Show House. This annual fundraiser showcases the talents of area interior designers in each room of the house. Tours will be given throughout the month of June. For more information call (410)822-0773.

Summer at Snow Hill, Maryland

Dancing under the stars, a series of mini-concerts, an archaeology dig, and guided nature walks are only a few of the entertaining and educational events on Snow Hill's summer schedule. For more information, please call the Snow Hill Area Chamber of Commerce at (410) 632-0809.

History Conference at Frostburg

On September 21-23, Frostburg State University will host a conference on the cultural legacy of World War II. Topics include women in the work force, popular culture, and postwar family structure. Admission is free. For more information, please write to John Wiseman at the History Department, FSU, Frostburg, Maryland 21532-1099.

Grants for Irish-American Studies

The Irish American Cultural Institute announces the availability of grants ranging from \$1000 to \$5000 for scholars of all disciplines whose work examines the Irish-American experience. Topics that focus on the Irish in the Midwest or in New York are especially encouraged. The deadline for proposals is August 15, 1995. For further information write to the Irish American Cultural Institute at 2115 Summit Avenue, #5026, St. Paul, Minnesota 55105.

Teaching Tolerance Educational Kit

The Southern Poverty Law Center now offers its curriculum kit, *The Shadow of Hate: A History of Intolerance in America*, to schools across the nation. This educational kit chronicles the legacy of prejudice toward numerous groups including Native Americans, African Americans, religious minorities, and immigrants. Video, text, and illustrations are accompanied by a teacher's guide. A copy will be sent free of charge to middle and high school principals and college history department chairs upon written request. For more information, write to the Southern Poverty Law Center at 400 Washington Avenue, Montgomery, Alabama 36104.

Agricultural History Society

This organization, which encourages interest in diverse aspects of agricultural history, extends its invitation to both individuals and institutions to become members. The society sponsors an annual conference and publishes a

journal that focuses on topics relating to rural life, such as the rise of agribusiness, women in agriculture, and the use of pesticides. For membership information, please write to Lowell Dyson, Executive Secretary Treasurer, at the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Room 928, 1301 New York Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20005-4788.

African-American Colonial History—Call for Papers

A symposium on African-American Colonial History will be held at Morgan State University in October 1995. The event will be co-sponsored by the Carroll Park Foundation and the history department of MSU. Its purpose will be to establish consensus on a methodology for interpreting colonial African-American history at the Mount Clare/Carroll's 100 historical park being planned in Southwest Baltimore. Those interested in participating are asked to submit papers to the Carroll Park Foundation, P.O. Box 16261, Baltimore, Maryland, 21220-0261, by August 15, 1995.

J.M.P.

Historic Trees of Maryland: A Series



JEFF GOLDMAN

This majestic English elm (*ulmus procera*), known as the Douglass Tree, stands in a small plaza at the intersection of Sharp and Hill Streets in south Baltimore, a short walk from Oriole Park at Camden Yards. On October 24, 1878, Frederick Douglass, then marshal for the District of Columbia by appointment of the Hayes administration, spoke at a political rally that drew between 2,000 and 3,000 black and white citizens to the plaza, which had been named Hermitage Square for the Tennessee home of Andrew Jackson upon the seventh president's death in 1845. The Douglass Tree, with diameter of fifty-seven inches and height of seventy-three feet, is judged to be more than 125 years old. It was threatened in 1977 when I-395 was under construction, but was saved by the intervention of "homesteaders" who were restoring the Otterbein district in which it stands. Today the tree is under the care of the Baltimore City Arborist and the watchful eyes of Otterbein residents. It is listed in the historic section of the Baltimore Notable Tree Register. (From notes supplied by Marion Bedingfield, Baltimore Forestry Inspector.)

Readers are invited to submit photographs and notes on historic trees for this series.

Maryland Picture Puzzle

Challenge your knowledge of Maryland history by identifying the location and date of this World War I housing project in Baltimore County. What neighborhood is this?

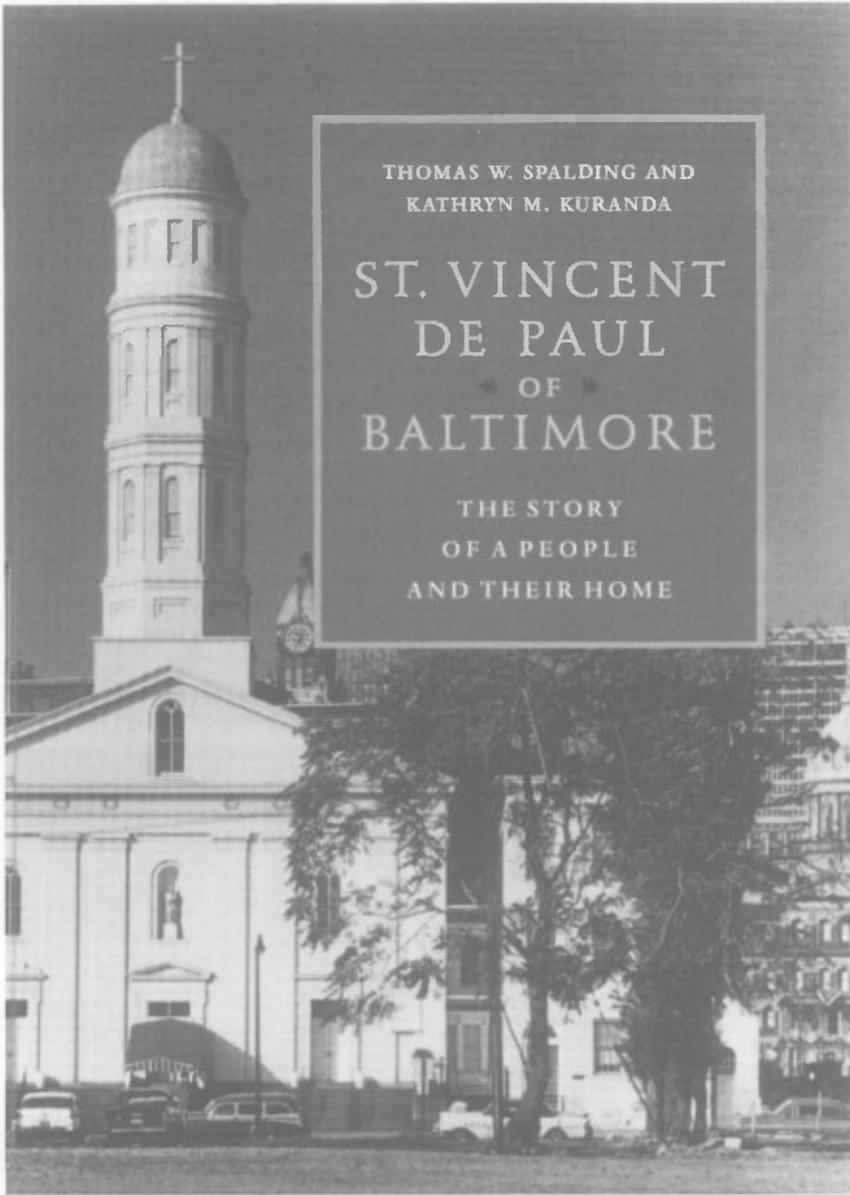
The Spring 1995 Picture Puzzle shows the old Main Building at the Maryland School for the Deaf in Frederick, which was designed by Baltimore architect William F. Weber and built in 1875. The building is shown here as it was being dismantled in 1967. The photograph was taken by Mr. W. R. Smith of Doubs in Frederick County.

Our congratulations to Mr. William Holifield, Mr. Raymond Martin, Mr. Percy Martin, and Mrs. William A. Rowe Jr., who correctly identified the Winter 1994 Picture Puzzle.

Please send your answers to: Picture Puzzle, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201



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