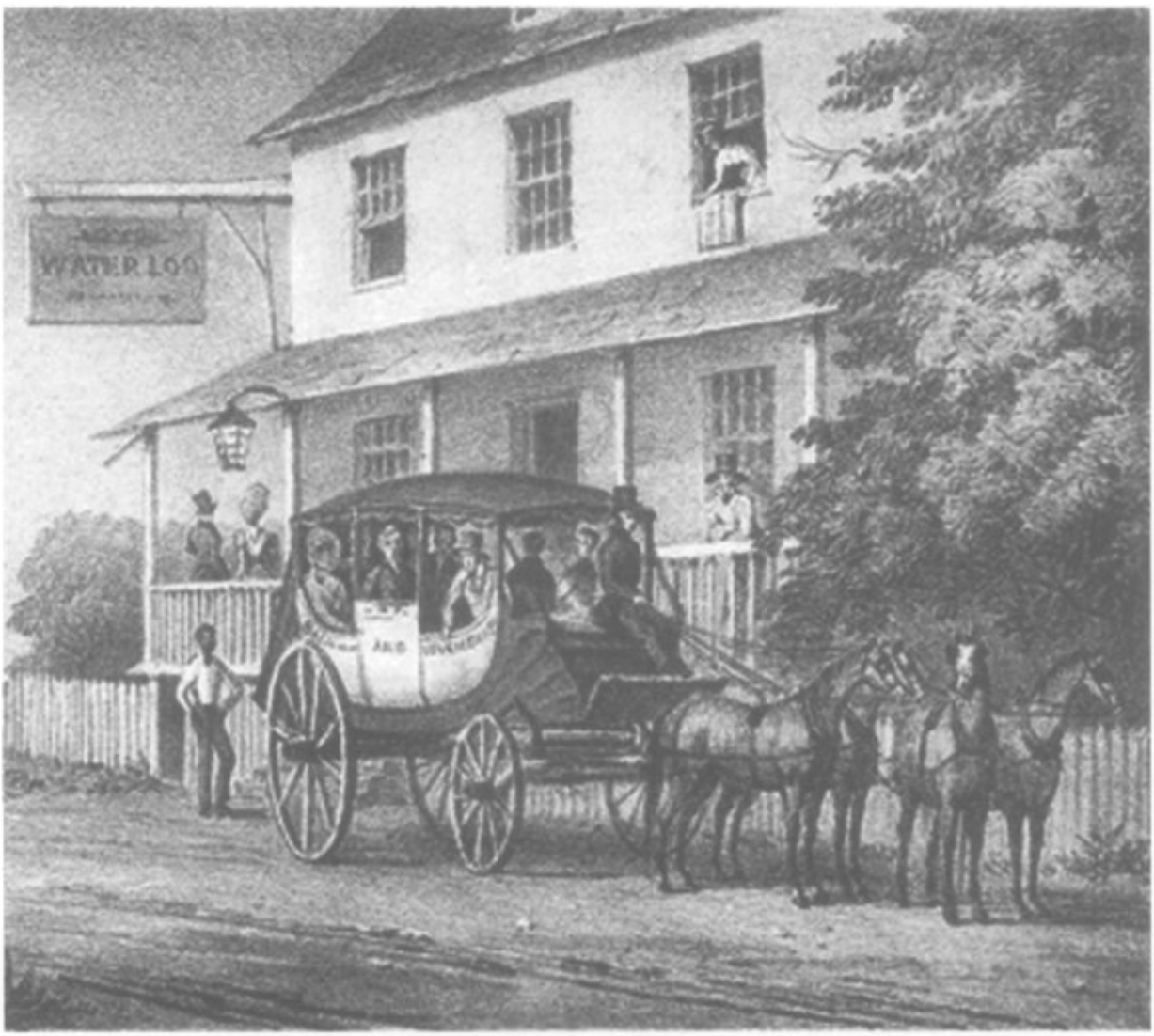
Summer 2003

MARYLAND
Historical Magazine



The *Maryland Historical Magazine* welcomes submissions from authors and letters to the editor. Letters may be edited for space and clarity. All articles will be acknowledged, but only those accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope will be returned. Submissions should be printed or typed manuscript. Address Editor, *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland, 21201. Include name, address, and daytime telephone number. Once accepted, articles should be on 3.5-inch disks (MS Word or PC convertible format), or CDs, or may be emailed to rcottom@mdhs.org. Guidelines for contributors are available on our Web site at www.mdhs.org.

ISSN 0025-4258
 Published as a benefit of membership in the Maryland Historical Society in March, June, September, and December. Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and/or *America: History and Life.* Periodicals postage paid at Baltimore, Maryland and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: please send address changes to the Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201. Printed in the USA by The Sheridan Press, Hanover, Pennsylvania 17331. Individual subscriptions are $24.00. (Individual membership in the society with full benefits is $45.00, family membershp is $60.00.) Institutional subscriptions are $30.00 per year, prepaid.

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VOLUME 98, 2 (SUMMER 2003)

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World Opinion

"I am willing to love all mankind, except an American." While the sentiment might at first evoke thoughts of world opinion circa 2003, that particular blast emanated from the pen of Samuel Johnson in 1778. At the time, of course, he was not alone in disliking Americans—more than half his country felt the same way, as did approximately a third of our own. Over the next decades, numerous Europeans journeyed to the new republic to see whether a land filled with unmannered, uncultivated, brawling, rapacious, self-interested provincials could survive. More than a few stopped by the junction of the Patapsco and the Chesapeake for a closer look.

Baltimore was a fast-growing town of nineteen hundred houses, fifteen thousand whites, six or seven thousand slaves, and nineteen hundred shops when Ferdinand-Marie Bayard visited in 1791, but the French officer was unimpressed. The wharves, he noticed, were "constructed of trunks of trees. When the tide falls it exposes a slime which gives off foul vapors. . . . There are no public or private buildings which are better than second rate."

Thomas Twining, exploring from Britain, quickly fixed upon southern barbarism. When not dueling or betting on cockfights, southerners practiced eye-gouging. One Virginian staying at the Indian Queen in Baltimore showed Twining how gouging was accomplished, and when Twining later returned from Georgetown and Alexandria the hotel's proprietor congratulated him for having retained both his eyes.

Richard Parkinson tried farming here at the turn of the nineteenth century but gave it up and went home. "Upon the whole," he groused, "America seems to me to be a most proper place for the use to which it was first appropriated — namely the reception of convicts." In 1818, Baron von Klinkowstrom arrived in Baltimore by stagecoach. The "unattractive" houses and "gloomy weather" were enough to put anybody off, let alone a sophisticated Scandinavian, but things rapidly got worse. "On top of everything we got a drunken driver at the last station who drove insanely over the slippery roads. He did not fail to stop at every other tavern along the road to replenish, so that when we arrived at Baltimore he was so drunk that I, sitting next to him, took the reins in order to protect life and limb. . . . Tired and frozen I arrived in Baltimore . . . in time to stop at the best hotel in town, the Indian Queen." The hotel's staff of forty slaves shrewdly managed the dinner table. Klinkowstrom complained of "the haste at meal times . . . ten or eleven courses were served in rapid succession. A man could hardly sample one course before another was served." The reason, someone explained, was that the staff ate what the guests did not. No one was going to put one over on the

worldly Klinkowstrom, so he went to see for himself. Sure enough, "Once I came down to the Negro dining room directly after dinner and found them leisurely consuming with great delight the almost untouched dishes which had been served on the table d'hote."

In 1830, Frances Trollope, mother of British novelist Anthony, complained that Baltimore's theatres were closed and that going to plays was apparently unfashionable here. "The cause, I think, is in the character of the people. I never saw a population so totally divested of gayety; there is no trace of this feeling from one end of the Union to the other. They have no fetes, no fairs, no merrimakings, no music in the streets, no Punch [and Judy], no puppet-shows." In other words, we worked too hard then, too.

By the time Matilda Charlotte Houstoun made the trip to Baltimore by rail from Philadelphia some years later, little had improved. "A more uninteresting road, a more uncomfortable conveyance or, altogether, a more tiresome journey I never witnessed. . . . The sun blazed into the cars, which . . . are all windows and are moreover totally deficient in blinds. The long-bodied carriage was crammed with people who, one and all objected to the admission of fresh air, and evidently enjoyed the oppressive heat of a red-hot stove placed in the centre of the carriage." Houstoun went to Barnum's Hotel in Baltimore, and took her meals in the women's dining room. Her colleagues at the dinner table were pretty and charming enough, she allowed, but their manners were atrocious. Elbows planted squarely on the table, using knives and two-pronged forks, the American ladies delighted in spearing oysters—much larger then than now—and swallowing them whole. Houstoun was aghast. "It matters not that the hand is small and delicate and the mouth one of the most beautiful in the world," she huffed, "that they are so only serves to render the atrocity of the deed more apparent and striking. . . ."*

History, as they say, is all about perspective.

R.I.C.

Cover

The Waterloo Inn, 1827

This first stage service, from Baltimore to Washington, stopped at the Waterloo Inn, where passengers rested and enjoyed a good meal. The building stood where present-day Md. 175 intersects U.S. Route 1. The inn enjoyed a fine reputation among frequent travelers and offered such amenities as hot baths in individual rooms—until July 3, 1835, when fire destroyed the building. The *Baltimore American* reported that although travelers had saved the furniture, this well-known landmark "was entirely destroyed." *(Maryland Historical Society.)*

P.D.A.

*Quotations fromRaphael Semmes, *Baltimore as Seen by Visitors, 1789–1860.*

Joseph Hopper Nicholson (1770–1817), son of an affluent and influential Eastern Shore family, served Maryland for twenty-one years, as an artillery commander at Fort McHenry, political leader, and Court of Appeals judge. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Joseph Hopper Nicholson: Citizen-Soldier of Maryland

SCOTT S. SHEADS

In the annals of late eighteenth-century Maryland, few tidewater families contributed more to the early republic than the Nicholson family of the Eastern Shore. As merchant-farmers, attorneys, naval officers, captains of trade and of public office, they served in the transition from colonial allegiance to serving a new nation. In 1928 judicial author and judge Carroll T. Bond described Joseph Hopper Nicholson as "another one of those half forgotten personalities who wait by the way to reward historical investigation."[1]

In this, the first narrative biography of Nicholson (1770–1817), one may appreciate the significance of his contributions to the early republic, the many state and national political events in which he played a role, and his influence among some of the most famous personages of his era. Perhaps this article will open the door to an overdue recognition of this gentleman, statesman, and citizen-soldier as well as his family's contribution to Maryland history.

The passing of Joseph Hopper Nicholson on March 4, 1817, ended the life of one of the most distinguished citizens of Maryland's Eastern Shore. Nicholson gave twenty-one years of exemplary public service during a crucial period in the history of his native state and the nation. His leadership in the Jeffersonian Party, as Chief Judge of the Sixth Judicial District of the Maryland Court of Appeals, and his role during the War of 1812 alone should have guaranteed him a more prominent place in Maryland history. It was, after all, Nicholson, commander of an artillery company at Fort McHenry, who published his brother-in-law Francis Scott Key's poem "The Defense of Fort McHenry," now known as "The Star-Spangled Banner."[2]

Joseph Hopper Nicholson's paternal Maryland lineage began with his great-grandfather William Nicholson (1665–1719), born in Berwick-upon-Tweed, England, and later a resident of Annapolis, where he married Elizabeth Burgess (1687–1716) in 1704 and fathered five sons whom he sent to England for a formal education. One son, Joseph Nicholson Sr. (1709–87), known as "the Colonel" returned to America and settled in Chestertown on the Chester River on Maryland's Eastern Shore. Joseph Sr. engaged successfully as an English merchant captain in the tobacco and grain trade, a profitable livelihood of fortune that allowed him, in 1732, to wed Hannah Smith (1708–65) in Kent County. The couple raised seven sons and purchased property on High Street and built a home that stands today

Scott S. Sheads, a National Park Service ranger-historian at Fort McHenry, is currently working on a history of Fort McHenry Military Prison during the Civil War.

Home of Joseph Nicholson Sr. (1709–1787), located on High Street, Chestertown. The house is known today as the White Swan Tavern. (photo by the author.)

and operates as the White Swan Tavern bed and breakfast inn. As the family export trade prospered, so did Britain's policies and taxation regarding American colonial trade. With other merchant-landowners, Joseph Sr. became involved in the anti-British politics of the colonial government and offered his services in the militia during the Revolution where he earned his sobriquet as "Colonel." He later served as High Sheriff of Kent County.[3]

In September 1781, with the British army besieged at Yorktown, Nicholson informed Maryland's governor that "in all human probability Lord Cornwallis has nearly finished his career." To support the American army, Nicholson and others set about procuring "abundant & permanent supplies of provisions for the Fleet of our Allies & our combined forces" to be sent down the Chesapeake. Two years later, on December 23, 1783, when General George Washington resigned his commission in the Maryland State House, which was then serving as the seat of the American Congress, it is likely that Nicholson witnessed the occasion. In 1782, the Colonel had introduced an act to the state legislature for the founding of Washington College in Chestertown, and he later served on its board of directors with the school's namesake himself.[4]

Joseph Nicholson Jr. (1733–1786), the Colonel's eldest son, chose politics, unlike his brothers James (1736–1804), Samuel (1743–1813), and John (1756–1844), all

of whom served with distinction in the Continental and United States Navies. James commanded three Continental Navy ships, the Virginia (1776), Defense (1776), Trumbull (1778), as well as the ceremonial barge that carried Washington in 1789 to his presidential inauguration in New York City. Samuel served with John Paul Jones on the *Bon Homme Richard* and later took the first command of the U.S. Frigate *Constitution* in 1798. John, who commanded the Frigate *Hornet* during the Revolutionary War, had three sons (John B., Joseph James, and William Carmichael) who later served during the War of 1812. Their combined naval careers placed the Nicholsons prominently in the early annals of the American navy.

By 1757 "gentleman and attorney" Joseph Jr. had been admitted to the Kent County Court. On July 28, 1757, he married Elizabeth Hopper (1739–1806), of Queen Anne's County, and the couple had eight children. The eldest of the three sons and two daughters born to Elizabeth and Joseph, Joseph Hopper Nicholson, the subject of this biography, was born on May 15, 1770, and grew up in a politically well-connected family with respected ties to military society.[5]

By 1782, as Queen Anne's County's population and commerce expanded, the General Assembly voted to relocate the county seat from Queenstown to a more central location, the future town of Centreville at the head of Corsica Creek. The site of the new town stood on land Elizabeth Nicholson had given the county, a portion of the Chesterfield estate inherited from her grandfather, William Sweatnam. Her son, Joseph, served as one of the seven commissioners who laid out the town.[6]

In the summer of 1792, at the age of twenty-two, Nicholson introduced himself in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* as "one of the counselors to the Eastern Shore Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery [and the Relief of Poor Negroes and Others Unlawfully Held in Bondage]." In doing so he revealed his support for manumission; yet as a slaveholder he did not, like others of his time, go so far as to support abolition. Nicholson's announcement resulted from a petition he filed with Edward Harris, Associate Justice for Queen Anne's County. Nicholson claimed that Harris held two free black men without their consent. Harris countered that these "negroes were not entitled to their freedom." The justice then suggested that Nicholson "let the petition fall though. . . . I will make you a compliment of four or five guineas and, if that is not sufficient, I will double it." Nicholson responded indignantly to this "offer of a bribe," and the two exchanged a volley of letters in the press. As was customary in eighteenth-century letters to the newspaper, both used literary pseudonyms until mid-August, when Nicholson disclosed his true name and charged Harris with attempting to close the petition that would have freed these men from "the rigors of slavery." The location of Nicholson's final petition remains unknown.[7]

On October 10, 1793, twenty-three-year-old Joseph Hopper Nicholson married Rebecca Lloyd (1773–1847), daughter of Colonel Edward Lloyd (1744–96) and

Elizabeth Tayloe (c.1750–1825) of Annapolis. The ceremony was performed at Wye House in Talbot County, home of the Lloyd family. The young couple, it seems, established residence at Elizabeth Nicholson's Centreville farm "Chesterfield" (circa 1772) on Corsica Creek, a navigable tributary of the Chester River.

During Nicholson's residence the Chesterfield farm spanned 268 acres near Centreville. The family lived in a large two-and-a-half-story brick dwelling and tended a garden. The Corsica Creek land extended to the Chesapeake, a distance of five miles, and was "well adapted to the growth of wheat, corn, and tobacco, with a valuable apple orchard and other fruit trees," as well as timber and waters that furnished an abundance of fish, oysters, and wildfowl. Nearby Queenstown served as the overland terminus of the post road from Philadelphia that then continued by water to Annapolis. As early as 1798, Nicholson was the sole tenant of Sarah Betton's brick town house on Centreville's South Liberty Street, probably utilizing it as temporary quarters and a law office until he removed himself and his family to Baltimore in 1806. In the eleven years between 1795 and 1806 the couple lost three of their young children, Edward Lloyd (1795), Joseph Hopper (1797–1801), and Elizabeth Hopper (1804–6). Three other sons survived. Edward Lloyd (1800–1848), and Joseph Hopper (1806–72) who became Maryland's secretary of state in 1838. James Macon, born in 1808, was named after Congressman Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina, a colleague of Nicholson's in Congress.[8]

Legislative Career

On November 9, 1796, Queen Anne's County residents elected Joseph Hopper Nicholson to the Maryland House of Delegates with James Brown, James Butler, and Charles Frazier. The first legislative bill that Nicholson supported, "An act for the encouragement of learning in the several counties of this state, and to establish a uniform system of education," passed on December 26, 1796. It called for the establishment of an academy for the liberal education of boys in each county, in which students would be instructed in the formal languages, arts, and sciences of the day. The assembly named Nicholson and six other Queen Anne's County men as directors to oversee expenditures, schoolmasters, buildings, etc. During his residence and public service, Nicholson served on several commissions for internal improvements in Queen Anne's County, among them the deepening of Corsica Creek and, in 1812, raising funds through a lottery for construction of a bridge over the Chester River at Chestertown.[9]

The most important legislation to arise during his tenure resulted from the French Revolution. The French government had extended suffrage to landowning mulattos in the French West Indies colony of Saint Domingue in 1791. Revolution erupted, and many of the outnumbered, mostly white plantation owners fled to American ports. This slave revolt caused great alarm in the United States and

dominated conversation in Baltimore coffee-houses, government, and tidewater plantations.

In 1797, while Nicholson served as House Speaker pro-tempore, Calvert County delegate Michael Taney, a Federalist, and father of future Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney, introduced a state constitutional amendment "to abolish all that part of the form of government which requires [owning] property as a qualification for voting or for office." Nicholson, in an open letter to his constituency in 1803, defended his opposition to the hotly debated measure, which gave free-born men, blacks along with whites, the right to vote after one year's residence in the county in which they intended to vote. "I never will consent to give them a participation in the government," he said of propertyless voters. "Many of us who are now living, might not, perhaps feel the evil, in all its extent, but we should entail a curse on our posterity, at which, every reflecting man must tremble." At the time it was a revolutionary idea that men without property could participate in political elections and have an active voice in government. Nicholson openly refuted the amendment with a reductio ad absurdum, suggesting that women and children be allowed to vote as well. Unexpected public opposition forced Nicholson and his colleagues to alter their position. In 1802, the Republican-controlled General Assembly supported a new amendment to the state suffrage law, the Confirmatory Act of 1802, allowing male citizens eighteen years old or older and residents, without property, to vote in local and state elections.[10]

In October 1798, with the Maryland congressional election returns, Federalist William Hindman, a supporter of the unpopular Alien and Sedition Acts, lost his seat to Democratic-Republican Joshua Seney. Seney, however, died on October 20, before he could take his seat, and in a special election, Joseph H. Nicholson defeated his Federalist opponent John Goldsborough of Talbot County by 234 votes. Nicholson's election to the Third Congress, from Maryland's Seventh Congressional District, representing Caroline, Queen Anne's, and Talbot Counties, foreshadowed the changing tides of local and national political events during Thomas Jefferson's presidential election. On December 2, 1799, after being sworn in at Philadelphia, Nicholson began serving the first of three consecutive terms in the U.S. House of Representatives.[11]

Nicholson's most enduring and remembered action during this period occurred during the presidential election of 1800. A tie in the Electoral College between Aaron Burr and Thomas Jefferson had thrown the vote into the House. During a snowstorm, the grievously ill Nicholson insisted on being carried from a small room into the House chamber, where he remained for seven days, without adjournment, to cast his ballot for Jefferson. His wife stayed by his side as physicians pleaded with him and others to suspend their balloting. Rebecca Nicholson replied, "Be it so, then, if my husband must die, let it be at the post of duty—no weakness of mind shall oppose his noble resolution." On February 17, 1801, as each

of the thirty-six ballots were cast, Nicholson with Rebecca's help wrote the name and cast a crucial deciding vote— "Jefferson."[12]

The election of 1800 gave the Jeffersonian Party control of both the executive and legislative branches of government, with the Federalists retaining power in federal judgeships. Indeed, not a single Republican served as a federal judge, thus setting the stage for debates that resulted in one of the landmarks of American judiciary law, Marbury vs. Madison. Jefferson feared that the Federalists would use the courts to their advantage. During the last days of the Adams administration, Congress passed the Judiciary Act of 1801 that reduced the number of Supreme Court Justices from six to five and set up sixteen circuit courts, thereby increasing the number of judges and judicial officials such as marshals and clerks. This enabled Adams to make appointments to insure Federalist control of the courts after he left office. The Republicans' interpretation of the act was that the Federalists were attempting to weaken the state governments and secure positions in favor of a stronger central government. On January 8, 1802, Jefferson asked Congress to repeal the act. In the debates that followed, Nicholson supported his party with a thirty-four-page speech calling for repeal. On March 8, the Republican majority in Congress repealed the act of 1801 and on April 29 passed a new judiciary act, restoring to six the number of Supreme Court justices, providing one session a year for the Court, and establishing a system of six circuit courts, each to be presided over by a Supreme Court justice.[13]

Following the election, the president's congressional lieutenants—Nicholson, John Randolph of Virginia, and Samuel Smith of Maryland—began to engage in a growing rivalry for the leadership of the House. By 1803, Smith had been elected to the U.S. Senate. Nicholson, who apparently did not possess the ability necessary for the post, left John Randolph as Jefferson's voice in the House. The leadership dispute remained a factor in a growing personal enmity between Nicholson and Smith.[14]

Amidst the drama of congressional debates that lend so much to historic intrigue, other matters of personal economic interest occupied their talents as farmers and administrators. In February 1803 a bipartisan assemblage of forty-two congressmen, including Nicholson, entered into a Committee of Correspondence to organize an American Board of Agriculture for "the general diffusion of practical knowledge in agriculture and domestic manufactures" with Secretary of State James Madison as its president. [15]

Two highly publicized legislative investigations led to impeachment proceedings in 1804. Nicholson presided as one of eleven committee managers, with John Randolph of Virginia, to oversee the trials. The first investigation began in January 1804, when the House of Representatives charged John Pickering (1738–1805), Judge of the U.S. District Court of New Hampshire, with exhibiting "loose morals and intemperate habits" that dishonored his position as a judge and resulted in his removal on March 12, 1804.

The second concerned Samuel Chase, an outspoken Somerset County native and a Federalist. In 1776 he had signed the Declaration of Independence and later became an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. The House of Representatives charged Chase with alleged partisan conduct unbecoming a judge and charges of "arbitrary and oppressive conduct" five years earlier in his conduct during the sedition trials of John Fries and James Callendar. Impeached by the House in 1804, Chase was acquitted of judicial bias in the U.S. Senate on March 1, 1805, and resumed his seat on the bench. Nicholson had doubts concerning Chase's impeachment, for the trial was rife with enmity. However, the case established the precedent that political differences were not grounds for impeachment. Nicholson's conduct, given that he had been considered to take Chase's place on the Supreme Bench, won the admiration of his associates and of the president.[16]

One of Nicholson's last achievements in Congress was as Chairman of the House Select Committee as he prepared an appropriation bill for the construction of additional gunboats in response to Jefferson's message to Congress on November 8, 1804. On March 2, 1805, the bill was enacted and of the twenty-five authorized, Gunboats Nos. 137–145 were built in Baltimore and later defended the city during the War of 1812.[17]

An insight into Nicholson's character was revealed in a letter to Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith, the brother of Senator Samuel Smith, in regard to kinsman William R. Nicholson, a midshipman killed in a duel in 1805. Nicholson requested that the victor be in no way punished. "However reprehensible the practice of dueling may be . . . it is one of those evils, which is consequent upon society and most frequently proceeds from the noblest feelings of the heart. Before it can be stopped, the state of society itself must change; and till then, human laws and human punishments will be vain."[18]

The Nicholson Resolution

In February 1806, shortly before resigning his congressional seat, Nicholson introduced a House bill that became known as the "Nicholson Resolution," the first of several Non-Importation Acts that resulted in the Embargo Act of 1807. The resolution prohibited importation of specific British goods such as paper, brass, tin, glass, beer, etc., all of which "ought to be prohibited by law from being imported into the United States" as benefiting Great Britain's economy to the detriment of the United States. Congress passed the resolution, effective November 15, 1806, in an attempt to force Britain to relax its rigorous ruling on maritime trade and the impressment of sailors from American ships. The measure proved ineffective, and on December 22, 1807, Congress replaced it with the even more unpopular Embargo Act of December 22, 1807, a much stronger measure that forbade all trade to and from American ports.[19]

On June 22, 1807, as Congress debated and as gunboats to protect the eastern

seaboard were under construction, H.M.S. Leopard engaged the U.S. Frigate Chesapeake and boarded her. The subsequent impressment of four American sailors, including John Strawhan of Centreville, brought the United States to the brink of war with Britain. Nicholson was among those who called for war on behalf of the maritime rights of American seamen. In January 1808, Congress reinstated the Nicholson Resolution and extended it to inland waters and land commerce and also to halt trade with Canada. Strong New England opposition, however, forced its abandonment. Ultimately, in March 1809, the Non-Intercourse Act superceded the Embargo Act and allowed resumption of all commercial trade except with England and France. This failed, as did the experiment of an economic blockade that began with the Nicholson Act, all intended to bring pressure on both England and France.[20]

With a declaration of war imminent, the Nicholson family received appointments in the local Queen Anne's County militia. A nephew, Joseph H. Nicholson Jr. (1777–1819), served as captain, First Troop, Queen Anne's True Republican Blues, while brother James (1781–1820) served with the same unit as a lieutenant. William Hopper (1772–1815) served as a captain in 1807 and later, in 1813, as major in the 38th Maryland Regiment.[21]

After the initial talk of war had subsided, Nicholson mentioned to a family relative, Albert Gallatin, that "the public mind has been suffered to brood so long . . . that I fear its ardor is cooling down. Spirit enough is however left, to blaze, when the constituted authorities will blow the coals." As a result of the Chesapeake affair and economic issues that resulted in a depression along the eastern seaboard, Congress repealed Jefferson's "peaceful coercion" embargo in 1809 and substituted provisions limiting trade with Britain and France.[22]

In December 1805, with the impeachment trials concluded and his second term of office secured, Jefferson gave an informal dinner at the White House for his close political associates Senator John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, John Randolph, and Nicholson. It is likely that at this informal dinner, Nicholson began to test the political waters for a more financially lucrative position within the government. Supporting a wife and six children on his congressional salary of six dollars a day (less than $1,000 a year) proved difficult. In January 1806 the governor of Maryland offered him the position of associate judge of the Second Judicial District, but Nicholson declined the position with its annual salary of $1,400. On March 1, 1806, Nicholson resigned his congressional seat to take the appointment as Chief Justice of the Sixth Judicial District (Baltimore and Harford Counties) of the Maryland Court of Appeals. His resignation moved John Randolph to write, "I was not in the House when your letter to the speaker was read . . . [though] I paid it the willing tribute of my tears. God bless you Nicholson." Nicholson's brother-in-law Edward Lloyd of Wye House, filled the vacancy on December 3, 1806. Lloyd later served as governor of Maryland (1809–11) and as state senator

(1819–26).[23] On October 11, Jefferson offered the loyal Nicholson the post of Collector of Customs in Baltimore to fill the vacancy left by the death of Robert Purviance. Nicholson declined on October 14 and in a letter to Jefferson described his judicial appointment (for which he received $2,200 annually). "The office which I now hold is, indeed a laborious one, and the compensation totally inadequate to the service, particularly when considered in connection with the place to which my residence is confined by law. But while it gives me employment, it places me in one of the most honorable stations under the government of my native state."[24]

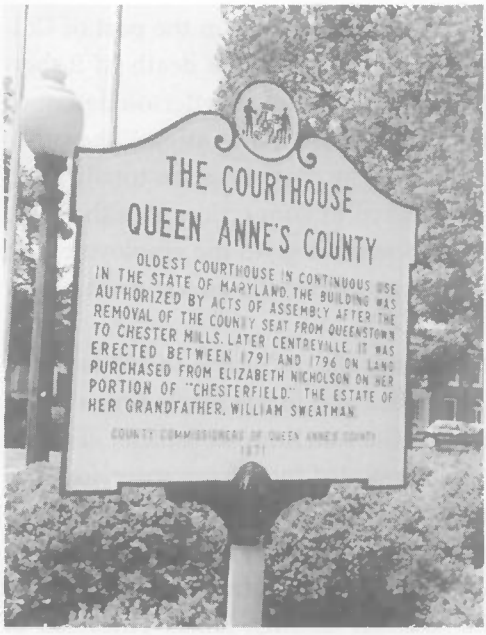
The six Court of Appeal judges met in Annapolis on June 9 to receive their commissions and take the Christian oath of office and immediately began to restructure and organize the court. They divided the state into six judicial districts, with a chief judge and two associate judges appointed by the governor for each district. Their new season began on June 10 at the Easton Courthouse for Eastern Shore cases and at Annapolis for the western shore issues on June 16. In addition to Nicholson, representing Baltimore and Harford Counties, the judges thus mentioned were Townley Chase of Anne Arundel County, James Tilghman of Queen Anne's County, William Polk of Somerset County, John Buchanan of Washington County, and John M. Garitt of Prince George's County.[25]

On September 23, by order of the governor, an election was held to fill the vacancy caused by Nicholson's resignation from the House of Delegates. On that day, a supporter using the pseudonym "A Forrester" from Queen Anne's County praised Nicholson in typically turgid prose in the Republican Star.

> As an orator, he was lucid, argumentative and energetic upon all occasions; but when self-convinced and his passions completely roused, he ascended above himself and was pure intelligence. At a single glance he could detect the most subtle and ingenious fallacies of his opponents — they trembled when he spoke, and were laid prostate in chains at his feet, by his overwhelming eloquence. Such was his firmness and patriotism, that when languishing on a bed of sickness, and his manly spirit almost ready to burst the shackles of mortality, he appeared at his post, and saved our country from the most gloomy, awful and horrid dangers. Take this man all in all, we shall not shortly see his like again.[26]

With his Baltimore residence established, Nicholson placed his farm "Chesterfield" on Corsica Creek up for sale in August 1810. His decision coincided with being elected on April 6 as the first president of the Commercial and Farmers' Bank of Baltimore. That same year, he joined the board of the newly constructed Maryland State Penitentiary in Baltimore.[27]

Nicholson's departure from Congress to pursue a judicial position in Mary-



Located on the grounds of the Queen Anne's County Courthouse, this marker describes the Nicholson's Chesterfield estate. The house at Chesterfield burned in 1908. Two other Nicholson homes, Providence (c.1750) and the Hill (1775), still stand within three miles of the courthouse. (photo by the author.)

land did not end his involvement with Washington politics. In 1809, U.S. Senator Samuel Smith made a bid for the Senate Republican leadership. Nicholson received a letter that year from Treasury Secretary Albert Gallatin asserting that Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith, brother of Samuel, had cashed bills of exchange drawn on his brother's firm of S. Smith and Buchanan, a company serving as agents for the navy's Mediterranean squadron. Nicholson, with kinsman Gallatin, attempted, through a House investigation, to implicate Smith's Baltimore shipping firm, as well as Smith and Buchanan, in the illegal use of government naval funds for private investment. The investigation, which furthered the life-long rivalry between Smith and Nicholson, proved unfounded. Smith, a popular Baltimore merchant and Revolutionary War officer, was re-elected to a second term as U.S. Senator from Maryland and later commanded Baltimore's defense in 1814.[28]

War with Great Britain

By the spring of 1812, with war again imminent, the Madison administration seemingly retreated from the embargo and subsequent Orders of Council. Its lagging military preparation for war prompted many to fear that public confidence in the Republican party would weaken. Nicholson, dismayed at the weakness of public support for a war loan in Congress, wrote despairingly to brother-in-law Gallatin: "The Apathy of the Nation is not yet thrown off and never will be. The small Subscription to the Loan is in Evidence, and a most mortifying one,

that we have no public Virtue left. The first Man of Talents and ambition who can press himself unto the presidential chair, will enslave us."[29]

On May 16, 1812, fifty delegates, with Nicholson presiding as chairman, met at Baltimore's Old Fountain Inn to present to President Madison an introductory preamble for war:

> We have assembled here to-night, for the purpose of determining whether we will give it our support in the mighty struggle into which [our country] is about to enter. . . . Is there an American sword that will not leap from its scabbard to avenge the wrongs and contumely treatment under which we have so long suffered? No, my countrymen, it is impossible. Let us act with one heart, and with one hand; let us show to an admiring world, that however we may differ among ourselves about some of our internal concerns, yet in the great cause of our country, the American people are animated by one soul and by one spirit."

All the delegates gathered that evening were connected by livelihood to the popular free trade and sailors' rights issues of the day. Foremost of the delegates were Hezekiah Niles, influential editor of Niles' Weekly Register, who reported the proceedings in his paper. Of the four resolutions adopted, one concerned the economic welfare of the delegates. Britain, Niles argued, "forcibly impresses our seamen, and detains them inhumanly in an odorous servitude—she obstructs our commerce in every channel . . . she has murdered our citizens within our own waters, and has made one attempt at least to dissolve the union of these States, thereby striking at the foundation of our government itself." Nicholson forwarded the committee's resolution to President Madison. Baltimore ranked as one of the largest and commercially viable port cities in the new nation, and it is likely that leading merchants and citizens supported and endorsed these resolutions that ultimately forced Madison to take action.[30]

Upon the declaration of war on June 18, 1812, Baltimore hastened to arms behind Major General Samuel Smith who organized the Third Division, Maryland Militia that included the 3rd Brigade of Baltimore City. Attached to this brigade was the 1st Regiment, Maryland Volunteer Artillery, consisting of ten companies who routinely drilled at Fort McHenry to be "trained to the defense of fortifications."

With British naval forces threatening Baltimore, Smith wanted assurances from the War Department that Fort McHenry's company of artillerists, less than sixty men, would be augmented by volunteers. The fort's commander, Major Lloyd Beall, had refused to quarter militia at the fort. "In God's name," Smith wrote Secretary of War John Armstrong, "order a sufficient number of artillerists to be embodied immediately. You know that citizens will (in case of alarm) be

occupied in the preservation of their families." An answer came from an unlikely source—Joseph H. Nicholson, Smith's old political nemesis.[31]

On May 8, 1813, Nicholson raised a company of fifty officers and men known as the Baltimore Fencibles, but the state commissions he desired for his officers were not forthcoming. In letters to the governor of Maryland and the secretary of war he criticized the state constitution which prohibited judges from receiving commissions. Nicholson stated that he "was unwilling to act with the militia, in as much as I might be subjected to numerous instances of disrespect from militia officers, who might have neither good sense nor good manners enough to overlook the circumstances of our not being commissioned." He applied therefore directly to the War Department to direct the new officer at Fort McHenry, Major George Armistead, to receive his company "to aid in its defense, whenever he apprehended an attack."[32] Under an act of February 6, 1812, Congress authorized that U.S. Volunteers "who may associate themselves for federal service, shall be clothed, armed and equipped at the expense of the United States." Nicholson reminded the secretary, "I fear you have forgotten your promise of giving me the opportunity of 'getting my head broke!' Major Armistead has not received the order, although he says he will feel great pleasure in obeying it." On July 27, Major George Armistead, received Nicholson's Baltimore Fencibles as U.S. Volunteers. He thus circumvented the state militia law and welcomed the additional men to his small sixty-man garrison.[33]

Joseph Hopper Nicholson was not the only Nicholson to take a part in the defense of Maryland. His brother William was now a major of the 38th Maryland Regiment from Queen Anne's County. In August 1813 he directed the defense of Queenstown before greater enemy numbers compelled his retreat to Centreville. His nephew Joseph H. Nicholson (1777–1819) served as a captain in the same regiment. Joseph Hopper Nicholson's fourteen-year-old son, Edward Lloyd, likely served in Captain Aquilla M. Usselton's artillery company at the battle of Caulk's Field, Kent County, on August 31, 1814.[34]

In March 1814, Nicholson, in addition to his duties as bank president and Court of Appeals judge, became secretary to a meeting of distinguished merchants, among them Captain George Stiles. Stiles proposed that a "steam battery," a sort of heavily armed catamaran, be built and financed through a $50,000 subscription. Although one, named the Demologos was successfully built and launched in New York, Baltimore's steam catamaran never left the docks and was scrapped by the end of the war due to insufficient funding and lack of interest.[35]

With the defeat of Napoleon in April 1814, Nicholson was among those who realized that the United States now stood alone against Britain. He commented to former congressional colleague and now naval secretary William Jones, "We should have to fight hereafter, not for 'free trade and sailors' rights,' not for the conquest of the Canadas, but for our national existence."[36] His own command represented

Following the American victory at Fort McHenry, the officers drank a toast and etched their names on Private Samuel Ettings' tin tankard. Ettings served in Nicholson's Baltimore Fencibles. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Baltimore's mercantile class, tradesmen, and bankers who were determined to defend their homes and who were trained in the science of early nineteenth-century artillery. The war had also unleashed a new enterprise, privately owned armed merchant traders or privateers being fitted out in Baltimore. Many investors and members of Nicholson's command stood to lose a great deal should the British capture Baltimore. Gilbert Cassard represented an influential French community, while other members such as privates Solomon Etting, and brothers Philip, Mendes, and Jacob Cohen, prominent merchants and lottery entrepreneurs, represented the Orthodox Jewish community. On August 3, Armistead requested the services of Nicholson's command with two other militia artillery companies. By August 19 the vanguard of the British expeditionary forces arrived in the Chesapeake and landed at Benedict, Maryland, prompting the governor to call the Third Brigade of Baltimore City into federal service.[37]

With Commodore Joshua Barney's scuttled U.S. Chesapeake Flotilla lying at the bottom of the Patuxent River to prevent its capture, the defeat of the American army at Bladensburg, and the burning of the capital on August 24, the remnants of the Maryland militia returned to Baltimore. Brigadier General William Winder, who had commanded the capital's defense, found upon his arrival that the command had been given to Samuel Smith. Winder, realizing the position in which the Bladensburg debacle had put him in, reluctantly relinquished his command.

Nicholson was in New York with his family when he learned that the British had arrived. He left on August 21 for Baltimore and met the returning Baltimore militia the day after the Bladensburg defeat. In a private letter to William Jones, Nicholson despaired, "Good God! How have we been disgraced? Our cursed militia have been coming in one, two, and three at a time, and all speak highly of their gallantry." On learning his former political adversary, Samuel Smith, was in command, Nicholson informed Jones of Smith's and John Stricker's "deliberate plan to surrender [Baltimore] without a struggle" and the need for "a commander who has nerve and judgment and if [British] General Ross had marched to this place instead of the Patuxent he would have been master of our city with less trouble than he had at Washington."[38]

Nicholson continued his protest to Secretary of State James Monroe who, following the resignation of Secretary of War Armstrong on August 29, assumed the duties of that department as well. Armstrong, in town at Nicholson's home, had resigned due to Washington politics and the subsequent American defeat at Bladensburg. "I wish to say one word about Baltimore," Nicholson told Monroe, continuing his attack on Smith.

> I pressed General Smith's total incapacity upon Gen'l Armstrong last summer. It becomes a matter of importance that the Government should look into this thing. Now that Gen'l Armstrong is out of the administration, there is not a man left in it, that Smith is not hostile to. If an attack is made he will have a theme for self applause which he will not fail to use. . . . His camp is filled with confusion, and is more dangerous to our citizens than the enemy. The troops are not organized; they will afford no protection, and had better be sent home than kept here as they are now. Gen'l Smith will boast hereafter that he sustained credit (the pecuniary credit) of the government [for saving Baltimore].[39]

Despite Nicholson's letters, the military and city leaders had elected his rival. As Armstrong departed for New York, Nicholson's company received orders on Sunday, September 10, to march to the fort, where they arrived at midnight. They found the cannon furnaces for heating balls producing red hot-shot. On Monday, September 12, having received news of the British landing, the Third Brigade engaged the British for two hours along the North Point Road before pulling back to the main defenses at Hampstead Hill (Rodgers' Bastion) and awaiting the British push forward the next day. At dawn, September 13, British warships commenced the bombardment of Fort McHenry. Inside the fort, Nicholson's volunteers kept vigil for twenty-five hours, while thunderstorms augmented the flash of bombs and rockets and added to the grandeur and terror of naval bombardment. At 2 P.M. two British mortar shells, moments apart, burst upon Nicholson's com-

Graves of Elizabeth and Joseph Hopper Nicholson, Wye House. (Photo by the author.)

mand, killing two men and wounding several others, and dismounting a twenty-four pounder gun. Nicholson remembered that "at least eighteen hundred shells" fell upon the fort.[40] A member of Nicholson's company recalled the conclusion of the attack, on the morning of September 14. "At this time [9 A.M.] our morning gun was fired, the flag hoisted, Yankee Doodle played, and we all appeared in full view of a formidable and mortified enemy." The bombardment on Fort McHenry had ended. Another member of the garrison wrote a friend in Boston his own congratulatory message. "I give you joy, my dear friend; after a tremendous conflict we have got rid of the enemy for the present. Baltimore has maintained its honor. It has not only saved itself, but it must tend to save the country by shewing Phila., New York and other cities how to contend against the enemy with spirit, bravery and unanimity, all of which have been shown in the memorable days and nights of the 12, 13, and 14 of September 1814."[41]

On September 16, a cartel vessel, held behind British naval lines during the bombardment, returned to Baltimore with Georgetown attorney Francis Scott Key who had witnessed the action. Key visited Nicholson at his home and it is to Nicholson's credit that the poem, tentatively entitled, "The Defense of Fort McHenry," was printed as a handbill on September 17, 1814. Nicholson wrote the introduction.[42]

Official reports praised Nicholson's company, "who vied with the regulars in a firmness and composure which would have honored veterans, and prove that they were worthy to co-operate with the regular artillery in defense of that impor-

tant post." Nicholson assumed the duties as aide to Armistead, writing dispatches. Earlier, he had requested General Winder's presence as an "officer in whose skill and judgment you can have confidence," for Armistead, he said, was "in a high state of delirium."[43]

On September 17, owing "to the severe indisposition of Major Armistead," General Smith ordered Commodore John Rodgers to take command of Fort McHenry. Armistead departed on the twenty-first, and Nicholson addressed a letter to James Monroe, expressing the hope that "the noble commander Major Armistead will receive the thanks and rewards of his government. . . . No man ever behaved with more gallantry, firmness and constancy . . . We were like pigeons tied by the legs to be shot at, and you would have been delighted to have seen the conduct of Armistead . . . I entreat you not to let him be neglected."[44]

Nicholson's letter was answered when Armistead received from President Madison, a brevet promotion to lieutenant-colonel dated from September 12. Armistead soon recovered and submitted his official report, mentioning Nicholson's command. "Among the killed, I have to lament the loss of Lieutenant [Levi] Claggett and Sergeant [John] Clemm, both of Captain Nicholson's volunteers, two men whose fate is to be deplored, not only for their personal bravery, but for their high standing, amiable demeanor."[45]

On Sunday, October 2, at the First Presbyterian Church, Reverend James Inglis rendered the final tribute to Nicholson's command and the First Regiment of Artillery. "The flag of the Republic waves on our ramparts; scattering from every undulation, through an atmosphere of glory, the defiance of the free, and the gratitude of the delivered." The services concluded the day's activities when Nicholson's command along with the regiment had contributed their labors in "tending their services on the defenses works" around the city. On November 11, Nicholson's command was discharged from federal service despite the presence of a small remnant of the British navy that remained in the Chesapeake until February 1815.[46]

The War of 1812 ended when President Madison signed the Treaty of Ghent on February 17, 1815. In March, the Battle Monument Committee adopted architect Maximilian Godefroy's design "to the memory of those who gallantly shed their blood in defense of the City of Baltimore." In July, Nicholson's officers donated one thousand dollars towards its construction, and on September 12 they attended the cornerstone laying. Godefroy employed company member John G. Neale, by profession a stone cutter, to build the monument.[47]

Nicholson died of unknown causes two years later, on March 4, 1817, at the age of forty-seven. His family laid him to rest at the First Presbyterian Burial Ground in Baltimore. His friend Hezekiah Niles wrote, "In the death of this gentleman the public has to deplore the loss of one of its wisest and most virtuous citizens; and his family and friends to mourn the departure of the best and kindest of men.

Remarkable from early life for his great moral excellence and elevation of character."[48] The family later removed Nicholson's remains to the Lloyd estate, Wye House Burial Ground, in Talbot County. Here, along with his wife Rebecca and an infant son, he lies in quiet seclusion.

NOTES

The author extends his appreciation to Nancy Bramucci of the Maryland State Archives for her help.

1. Carroll T. Bond, *The Court of Appeals of Maryland, A History* (Baltimore: Barton-Gillet Company, 1928), 104.
2. *Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, March 6, 1817; [*Easton*] *Republican Star & Eastern Shore Advertiser*, March 11, 1817.
3. Edward C. Papenfuse, et al., eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789*, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 2:613–15; Michael Bourne, *The Restoration of the White Swan Tavern* (Crownsville, Md.: Maryland Historic Trust, 1976).
4. William Hand Brown, ed., *Archives of Maryland*, 72 vols. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–1972), 47:473; Nicholson to Governor Lee, September 2, 1781, *Archives of Maryland* 47:473.
5. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day*, 3 vols. (1879; repr., Hatboro, Pa.: Tradition Press, 1967), 2:514–15; Frederick Emory, *Queen Anne's County, Maryland: Its Early History* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1950), 333–39; Papenfuse, *Biographical Dictionary*, 614–17.
6. Emory, *Queen Anne's County*, 333–39; Will of Joseph Nicholson, Queen Anne's County wills. Maryland State Archives, Queen Anne's County Register of Wills, C 1496–14, Box 9, Folder 37.
7. *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser,* June 14–October 25, 1792. In 1789, Maryland lawyers and philanthropists established the "Maryland Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of Poor Negroes and Others Unlawfully Held in Bondage." Based in Baltimore, they successfully protected hundreds of free blacks, in ownership cases brought before the courts, from "doubtful masters" and helped thousands more escape to free states north of Maryland. Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634–1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 168. Nicholson's place of residence is based upon correspondence with Thomas Jefferson. Nicholson likely took over responsibility for the farm after his father's death in 1786 and then sold it after his mother passed away in 1810. Thomas Jefferson Papers, Series 1, General Correspondence, 1651–1827, Library of Congress.
8. Gerson G. Eisenberg, *Marylanders Who Served the Nation: A Biographical Dictionary of Federal Officials from Maryland* (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, 1992), 162–63; *[Easton] Republican Star,* August 21, 1810, Nicholson-Lloyd Bible contains vital records of these and allied families. See Peter Hagner Magruder Collection, SC 252, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis.
9. *Archives of Maryland,* "An Act for the encouragement of Learning in Queen Anne's County," 192:340–42; "An Act for Erecting a Bridge over Chester River," 192:1313–1414; "An Act Improving the navigation of Corsica Creek," 192:389–90.
10. Scharf, *Maryland*, 2:609–11; *[Easton] Republican Star,* September 20, 1803.
11. Edward C. Papenfuse, "What's in a Name and Why Should we Remember?" Remarks at

theQueen Anne's County Historical Society Independence Day Celebrations. The Aspen Institutue, Quennstown, Maryland, July 4, 1998, Maryland State Archives; Emory, *Queen Anne's County*, 356–59.

12. Bond, *Court of Appeals*, 99–107; Scharf, *Maryland*, 601–3; as told by the reminiscences of Mrs. S. H. Smith in 1831, see Claude G. Bowers, *Jefferson and Hamilton: The Struggle for Democracy in America* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925), 502–3, 592–93; *Annals of Congress*, House of Representatives, 6th Congress, 2nd Session, 1029–30.

13. *Annals of Congress*, House of Representatives, 9th Congress, 1st Session, 451–52.

14. Frank Cassell, *Merchant Congressman in the Young Republic: Samuel Smith of Maryland, 1752–1839* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971), 111.

15. *[Easton] Republican Star*, March 8, 1803.

16. Jefferson to Nicholson, January 29, 1805, January 31, 1805 and February 8, 1805, *Annals of Congress*, 8th Congress, 2nd Session, 1061-1062; Jefferson to Wilson C. Nicholson, December 6, 1804, Jefferson Papers, Huntington Library, California.

17. Gene A. Smith, *For the Purpose of Defense: The Politics of the Jefferson Gunboat Program* (University of Delaware Press, 1995), 33; Dumas Malone, *Jefferson the President: First Term, 1801–1805* (New York: Little Brown, 1970), 441–42. The gunboats protected the narrow harbor entrance during the battle for Baltimore.

18. Christopher McKee, A Gentlemanly and Honorable Profession: The Creation of the U.S. Naval Officers Corps, 1794–1815 (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1991), 405

19. *Annals of Congress*, 9th Congress, 1st Session, 451, 769, 823. Nicholson's speech February 10, 1806, Congress adopted the bill on March 17, 1806. Commission May 25, 1810.

20. Cassell, *Samuel Smith*, 138–43.

21. William H. Nicholson to Lt. Colonel Thomas Wright, August 16, 1813. *[Easton] Republican Star*, August 24, 1814; Thomas Emory to the Editor, August 14, 1813, printed in ibid., August 17, 1813.

22. Nicholson to Albert Gallatin, September 10, 1807, Albert Gallatin Papers, New York Historical Society (hereinafter cited Gallatin Papers). See Bradford Perkin, *Prologue to War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), 144; *Annals of Congress*, 10th Congress, 1st Session, 1807–1808, 17:1083–1171.

23. Bond, *Court of Appeals*, 104.

24. Jefferson to Nicholson, October 11, 1806, and Nicholson to Jefferson, October 14, 1806, series I, General Correspondence, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

25. *[Easton] Republican Star*, August 21, 1810.

26. Ibid., September 23, 1806.

27. Ibid., August 7, 1810. The "articles of association" was printed in the *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, April 14, 1810. In 1810 the farm was sold to a William Turpin.

28. Cassell, *Samuel Smith*, 148–50.

29. Nicholson to Gallatin, May 12, 1812, Gallatin Papers; Roger H. Brown, *The Republic in Peril: 1812* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1971), 184.

30. Address by Joseph H. Nicholson, *Niles' Weekly Register*, May 16, 1812 and *[Easton] Republican Star*, June 5, 1812.

31. Samuel Smith to John Armstrong, April 9, 1813, Register of Letters Received, Office of the Secretary of War, RG 107, National Archives.

32. *Federal Gazette*, April 24, 1813. The state constitution required that office holders declare "their belief in the Christian religion." Members Solomon Etting and Jacob I. Cohen Jr., were Orthodox Jews and thus could not accept officers' commissions. In 1826 a state amendment lifted the restriction.

33. Nicholson to Armstrong, July 16, 1813, Register of Letters Received, Office of the Secretary of War, RG 107, National Archives; Armstrong to Armistead, July 27, 1813, "Letters Sent, Secretary of War, RG 107, National Archives. The commissioned officers of Nicholson's company were quartered within Fort McHenry.
34. Edward, at fourteen years of age, could only have served as a fifer or drummer, with his father's permission. Major William H. Nicholson to Lt. Colonel Thomas Wright, *[Easton] Republican Star*, August 24, 1813.
35. *Baltimore Whig*, March 8, 1814; Howard I. Chapelle, "Blockship and Catamaran," *Smithsonian Institution Bulletin*, 240 (1964): 144.
36. Nicholson to Jones, May 20, 1814, William Jones Papers, Welma Clarke Smith Collection, Pennsylvania Historical Society (hereinafter cited Jones Papers).
37. "Reminiscences of the bombardment of Fort McHenry, The Star Fort in September 1814," by Mendes I. Cohen, printed in the *Baltimore Sun*, May 8, 1879; Aaron Baroway, "The Cohens of Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 18 (1923): 369–73; Armistead to Smith, August 3, 1814, Samuel Smith Papers, Library of Congress.
38. Nicholson to Jones, August 28, 1814, Jones Papers; Anthony Pitch, *The Burning of Washington* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2000), 181.
39. Nicholson to Monroe, September 1, 1814, James Monroe Papers, Library of Congress (hereinafter cited Monroe Papers); Nicholson to Mrs. Albert Gallatin, September 4, 1814, Gallatin Papers.
40. Isaac Munroe to editor, September 17, 1814, printed in *The Boston Yankee*, September 30, 1814. See Scott Sheads, "'Yankee Doodle Played': A Letter from Baltimore, 1814," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 76 (1981):380.
41. George Douglas to Henry Wheaton, September 30, 1814, Wheaton Papers, John Hay Library, Brown University, Rhode Island.
42. F. W. Filby and Edward G. Howard, *Star-Spangled Books* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1972). This book remains the archival authority on the whereabouts of Key, Skinner, and Nicholson.
43. Nicholson to Winder, September 16, 1814, Winder Papers, Maryland Historical Society.
44. Nicholson to Monroe, September 17, 1814, Monroe Papers.
45. Armistead to Monroe, September 24, 1814, *Niles' Weekly Register*, October 1, 1814; *Baltimore Patriot & Evening Advertiser*, September 21, 1814; Monroe to Nicholson, September 21, 1814, Nicholson Papers, Library of Congress.
46. James Inglis, *A Discourse delivered in the First Presbyterian Church . . .October 2, 1814, Before the Lieutenant-Colonel, the Officers and Soldiers of the First Regiment of Artillery, #D B.M.M.* (Baltimore: J. Robinson, 1814); General Orders, General John Stricker, November 11,1814, printed in *Federal Gazette*, November 21, 1814.
47. Edward Johnson to Nicholson, July 29, 1815, and Maximilian Godefroy to Gentlemen of the Committee for the Monument, March 22, 1815, Maryland Historical Society.
48. Reminiscences of Hezekiah Niles, 1827, Fort McHenry Special Collection No. 40; *Baltimore American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, March 6, 1817.

The Pratt Street Riots Reconsidered: A Case of Overstated Significance?

ROBERT F. BAILEY III

Following the April 12, 1861, attack on the Union garrison at Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, President Abraham Lincoln called on northern militia to put down the southern rebellion touched off by his own election the previous winter. In answering the call of their president, the 6th Massachusetts regiment made one of the first attempts to pass through a southern city, Baltimore, on its way to defend the federal capital at Washington, D.C. In a routine attempt to change trains in while crossing the city, the regiment was attacked by a mob; the skirmish resulted in the deaths of at least four soldiers and twelve civilians. Fearful that the scene might be repeated if more northern militia attempt to pass through their city, Baltimore civic leaders, Mayor George W. Brown and Police Marshal George P. Kane, perhaps acting with the permission of Maryland governor Thomas Holliday Hicks, took drastic measures. The mayor and the police commissioner ordered the burning of railroad bridges north of Baltimore, belonging to the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore (PW&B) and to the Northern Central Railway (NCR). Telegraph wires were cut, and Washington was briefly isolated from the rest of the country.

The incidents on Pratt Street certainly caused the Lincoln administration concern, forcing it to face quelling both a "Mob Town" to its north as well as a rebellious Confederacy to its south. The burned railroad bridges were, however, another matter altogether. Considered treasonous by Washington, this act strengthened the Lincoln administration's resolve to prevent Maryland from deciding its own fate—though there was no guarantee that Maryland would vote to secede if given the option. On May 13, three weeks after the riot on Pratt Street, General Benjamin F. Butler and a column of Union troops, which included the 6th Massachusetts, occupied Baltimore and initiated a military occupation that lasted for the duration of the war. Order in Baltimore was enforced by the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, censorship of the city's newspapers, and trial by military commission. All citizens who expressed southern sentiments were subject to swift arrest and imprisonment. A number of Baltimore's leading citizens spent the first three years of the war incarcerated at Fort McHenry.[1]

Robert Bailey wrote this article while a senior at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County. It won second place in the 2002 Undergraduate Essay Contest.

Opposite: Detail from a contemporary engraving of the April 19, 1861 riot. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Given most Americans' sectional mentality during the spring of 1861, one must ask if people living elsewhere in the United—and Confederate—States considered the events in Baltimore significant. Because the Civil War's first casualties occurred on Pratt Street, they receive at least a paragraph of coverage in most comprehensive treatments of the war. In recent years, historians, most notably Frank Towers and Matthew Ellenberger, have attempted to explain the causes, scope, and implications of the riot. But attempts to examine the event from the perspective of those living in, say, New Orleans or Chicago have been lacking. In this essay, several of the nation's major newspapers will be examined in order to gain a better insight into the broader perspective of events in Baltimore.

Before Baltimore militia acting under orders of civic authorities cut the telegraph wires, news of the bloodshed flooded the nation's newspapers. Mid-nineteenth century America can be described as a print culture—during that period, Americans received their news largely by reading one of the hundreds of daily newspapers published throughout the country. Newspapers generally served three purposes: they conveyed basic news of events, provided a medium for public advertising, and gave editors a forum for political expression. Most news items were acquired from local reporters, who often but not always based their reporting on first-hand accounts. As technology improved, newspapers acquired stories by telegraph from reporters stationed in other cities. The extent of a newspaper's reporting network typically correlated with its size and influence. New York's newspapers had the most extensive network of reporters by the eve of the Civil War. Often papers, faced with time and space constraints of telegraph services, pooled their resources and formed associated press organizations in order to share information of news events occurring elsewhere.[2]

It was through these telegraph services that most Americans learned about Baltimore's Pratt Street Riots. Up-to-the-minute news writing was still in its infancy. Most newspapers simply published the telegraph reports in the order in which they were received, giving little effort to organize the information into a cohesive story. Events as reported told the story. If the news was exceptional, a small summary paragraph sometimes appeared at the top of the page along with headlines in larger, bolder fonts or capital letters to attract reader attention. Newspapers were in the business of making money, which led many to sensationalize and exaggerate in order to increase circulation. In the days following initial reports, the editor might offer some commentary. If the news was interesting enough, newspapers frequently reprinted the original story as it had appeared in the local paper the day after the event. For example, several days after the fact a number of papers reprinted either the *Baltimore Sun's* or the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser's* account of the Pratt Street Riots without changing a word.[3]

Despite this wide reportage, the attack on the 6th Massachusetts is one of the

most oft-cited and least understood events in Baltimore history. The importance and legacy of the Pratt Street Riots is far less clear than the New York City Draft Riots of July 1863, for example, whose subsequent investigation by the government left much for historians to ponder. In Baltimore's case very little was left behind beyond a handful of newspaper accounts and some biased and conflicting reflections from participants for historians to weigh. How many people took part in the melee? What percentage of the crowd simply watched? Exactly how many people were killed or wounded?[4] It is impossible to answer these questions with much certainty.

In recent years a debate has taken shape. Historians Barbara Jeanne Fields, Jean H. Baker, and Matthew Ellenberger argue that the number of active participants in the attack on the northern troops was relatively small—about 250. They contend that Maryland was primarily a moderate city, one in which extremes in public opinion were unfashionable and the incident on April 19 an aberration. Ellenberger contends that most Baltimoreans, having already paid in blood for control of the city's government during the elections of the 1850s, were unwilling to participate in further bloodshed, though many decried Lincoln's call to arms as an unwelcome radical action. Ellenberger writes that, "In Baltimore one found open public debates, lively street life, and the cautious, distinctly unradical sentiments of much of the population in regard to issues tearing the rest of the nation apart." Those responsible for the violence, according to Ellenberger, were a small group that had organized themselves the night before without the consent of city authorities.[5] On the other hand, historian Frank Towers maintains that active participants in the riot numbered into the thousands—8,000 to 10,000 by his own estimate. In "'A Vociferous Army of Howling Wolves,'" Towers points out that violent incidents took place in several parts of the city over a period of several hours. He concludes that the violence not only involved troops, police, and pro-southern rioters, but also Baltimoreans supporting the Union and those who held more moderate views. Towers credits the city's police force for keeping the casualties low. The police were in a unique position, according to Towers, because they could protect the northern militia while simultaneously being viewed as allies by the rioters.[6]

Neither side of this debate presents a convincing argument. Ellenberger accepts the estimated crowd size of 250 without question because the city's fifty-man police force was able to quell them with relative ease. However, Towers's sources are also flawed; the newspapers he cites may well have exaggerated their descriptions to excite readers, and his eyewitness accounts were written years after the fact. In addition, General Butler met almost no resistance when he occupied the city three weeks after the riots, which suggests perhaps that emotions within the city were not nearly as feverish as Towers contends, nor were secessionists nearly as strong.

The Sixth Massachusetts firing into the Pratt Street crowd, April 19, 1861. (Maryland Historical Society.)

One could argue that the very term "Pratt Street Riot" is a misnomer—at least by nineteenth-century urban standards.[7] It might not have been a riot at all, but a relatively orderly confrontation. Baltimore newspapers reported only a few sporadic incidents of looting, and in most of these cases the crowds were searching for weapons. Destruction of property seems to have been limited to a few railroad cars and a handful of storefront windows and doors. Unlike the New York Draft Riots, where casualties numbered in the hundreds, the melee on Pratt Street did not degenerate into wild pandemonium where underlying issues that had little or nothing to do with the initial conflict dominated the agenda.[8] Whether sixteen or, as Towers contends, twenty-eight people were killed, by Baltimore standards of the time the casualty rates hardly qualified as a bloodbath. In the civic election held four and one-half years earlier, on November 4, 1856, at least ten were killed and as many as 250 wounded when Democrats and Know-Nothings clashed at the polls.[9]

Perhaps most significantly, many of the records suggest that the crowds were relatively orderly with the semblance of a cohesive political aim—preventing the passage of northern troops to Washington. For example, the night after the riot, a large crowd marched down to the President Street Station in search of weapons. After they had broken a few windows, an employee appeared. "They [the crowd] demanded muskets which were said to be in the building, but were told that there were none there. If the crowd would appoint a committee they could examine the building and satisfy themselves. The committee was appointed, and satisfied that no arms were there, left."[10] No further destruction at the depot was reported. It is

difficult to tell whether this crowd had designs on taking up arms for the South, or whether they simply were looking for weapons in order to maintain order. But the fact that the crowd was orderly and well-behaved is revealing. Still, one should view this account with caution because the *Sun* (as well as the *American*) was desperate to uphold Baltimore's reputation and therefore might have skewed its account.

Another example of the Baltimore "rioters'" relatively calm and well-organized behavior can be found in the *Washington Evening Star*. On April 18, the day before the confrontation between the Massachusetts volunteers and Baltimore secessionists, a large pro-South crowd confronted a smaller group of Unionists at Holliday Street. According to the *Star*, the pro-South men began "hallooing and cheering for Davis and the Southern Confederacy. The Union men responded with cheers for Governor Hicks, General Scott, Major Anderson, Capt. Doubleday and the Union. Alternate cheers and groans were given by each party, while on the street there was assembled over five hundred persons." This confrontation failed to generate any physical violence, but later in the day some minor violence occurred when several pro-southern demonstrators stoned a regiment of Pennsylvania volunteers who were boarding trains at Camden Station. A mild scuffle also occurred late on the eighteenth between the two competing factions of citizens on Federal Hill, where several secessionists has hoped to fire volleys saluting the honor of the South. Again the *Star* reported that "several thousand people col-

Pratt Street, 1860. The Sixth Massachusetts volunteers disembarked at President Street Station, center right, and marched west toward Camden Station. (Detail from S. Augustus Mitchell Jr., Plan of Baltimore, 1860. *Maryland Historical Society.)*

lected, but no serious injury was inflicted upon anyone."[11] Despite the fact that emotions were running high, the participants appeared to have had no designs in starting a widespread, destructive riot but were more interested in making a concise political statement: northern troops intent on coercing the South back into the Union by violence would not be welcome in Baltimore.

For those living outside Maryland, how important and critical were the Pratt Street Riots? One could argue that the riots' little lasting impact outside of Baltimore. After the initial reports of violence, most of the country's newspapers did not single out the riots as a major event. In April 1861 the entire country seemed to be coming apart, and events in Baltimore appeared to only complement the nation's descent toward permanent disunion rather than being a significant contributor to it. The Lincoln administration was more disturbed by the actions taken by Maryland's leading political figures in the hours and days following the riots, and less concerned about the bloodshed on the Baltimore streets. The desperate act of burning the railroad bridges and Governor Hicks's calling of the special session of the Maryland legislature on April 22 (an action that, when compared with the Pratt Street Riots, has largely been forgotten) ultimately had much more significance. These acts prompted Lincoln to suspend the right of *habeas corpus* for the first time and set a precedent for controlling political dissention in the North that would last the rest of the war. Granted, one can point out that the riots inspired Brown and Kane to fire the bridges, but one could also argue that their political viewpoints were so strongly pro-southern that it is impossible to discern what sort of actions they might have taken had the riots not occurred.

Reactions of the Nation's Newspapers

Most newspapers during the mid-nineteenth century were both politically motivated and region-centric. Each paper's editor attempted to present himself as the voice of his political viewpoints and his city.[12] As a result, many papers tended to skew their coverage of events. An editor presented news in a manner that justified his political stance, and in a manner that presented his region in the most positive light. During the secession crisis, editors not only looked for ways to promote their political messages, many portrayed their cities as innocent victims of overly emotional or misguided neighbors. Perhaps nowhere was this trend more true, particularly in the case of the riots on Baltimore's Pratt Street, than in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington. Whereas the rest of nation's newspapers took only a limited interest in the events of April 19, papers in these three cities all gave it major coverage.

The *Baltimore Sun* and the *American and Commercial Advertiser* fit this region-centric mentality perfectly. Both aspired to larger circulation throughout the city, and both claimed to hold the views and opinions of the typical citizen. The fate of their city and state consistently worried the editors of both papers, and

Currier and Ives hand-colored lithograph with the caption, "The Massachusetts Volunteers fighting their way through the Streets of Baltimore on their march to the defense of the Nation's Capitol April 19, 1861. Hurrah for the Glorious 6th." Note the feral features and poses of the rioters. (Maryland Historical Society.)

so both appealed desperately for peace. Both papers also felt that Baltimore and Maryland had an opportunity to resolve the conflict so long as citizens did not allow their emotions to get the better of them. The *American* wrote on April 17, "Let us not hasten the onward march of anarchy. The future looks dark and threatening enough. Let us not add to the clouds that are lowing over our head by profitless contests among ourselves." [13] The *Sun* had been even more poignant two days earlier in its attempts to promote peace by recounting again and again the magnitude of misfortune, both politically and economically, that awaited Baltimore and Maryland if a Civil War occurred:

> Now is the time, instead of yielding to the impulses of passion and consenting to the bloody arbitrament of war, now is the time for every good citizen to use all his influence to stay the onset, push back the advancing and furious contestants, and insist upon a peaceful adjustment to the cause of strife. Failing in this, no man can conceive the terrible consequences that may ensue.[14]

The editorial was remarkably prophetic.

Still, the two Baltimore papers were by no means mirror images of one another. While both papers promoted a peaceful resolution to the secession conflict, regardless of whether the seceded states returned, the *Sun* was more willing to point fingers at those it felt were responsible for initiating the crisis. The *Sun* maintained a strong disdain for the Republican Party, often referring to its membership as the "black republicans," while at the same time appealing for the universal recognition of Southern Rights. Yet the *Sun* did not support Maryland's secession from the Union. The *American* felt that the simple act of pointing fingers was, in itself, unproductive. "No matter who is right or who is wrong—our business now is to avoid rancorous and riot-breeding discussions."[15] The *American* catered to the city's "business and commercial circles," and its editor was less interested in resolving the conflict that had led to the secession crisis than in deferring a solution to the crisis indefinitely—in the hopes that time would heal the wounds. A long-term, peaceful stalemate would allow the city's economic interests to conduct business as usual to the benefit of everyone.

The *Sun's* reaction to the melee on Pratt Street was predictable. After years of blaming the exploits of the American Party for Baltimore's unsavory reputation, the *Sun* was rudely awakened to the harsh reality that those who supported Southern Rights were just as likely to pick a fight. "It is with profound regret that we record this morning the scenes of bloodshed which took place in our city yesterday . . . regret that the sentiment of our citizens, which has been long repressed, should have been elicited in such a manner."[16]

Perhaps in an effort to save face, two days later on Monday, April 22, the *Sun* changed its tone by thanking Baltimore citizens for their improved behavior over the weekend. "The people of this city exhibited perfect unity of feeling and purpose." The editorial went on to thank Baltimore's prominent citizens for actively making preparations to prevent additional strife. Doubtless that was a reference to the burning of the railroad bridges—an action that was led by the city's upstanding citizenry. Yet, in a form of discretion that was atypical of nineteenth-century journalism, the *Sun* did not bother to define those preparations with any clarity. Despite editor Arunah S. Abell's inclination to oppose violent acts, he viewed the burning of the railroad bridges as a genuine attempt to sacrifice property to prevent bloodshed between people—which presumably would have occurred if more troops attempted to pass through Baltimore City. "We are gratified that the passage was not attempted, and sincerely trust that collision may be avoided in the future."[17]

The *American's* assessment of the riot is more intriguing. Rather than attempting to come to terms with the violent behavior demonstrated by the rioters as had the *Sun*, the *American* instead portrayed them as innocent victims:

> In view of the deplorable events of yesterday in our streets, in which our

> most quietly disposed and well-meaning citizens have been the first victims, we can only counsel all as Marylanders—as Baltimoreans—to endeavor to preserve the peace amongst ourselves if we would ever emerge form the frightful perils at last at our own doors.[18]

The *American* too pleaded with the city's citizens to behave themselves, regardless of how disruptive and difficult the situation might become:

> Remember that the good name of Baltimore must be preserved by the action of its own citizens, if it is preserved at all; and if suffer we must, let it not be said that, for *any cause*, we were found turning the bayonets against each other's breasts, but let us stand by each other to the end.[19]

Like the *Sun*, the *American* attempted to re-assure its readers that the city's leadership was taking responsible action to prevent further bloodshed. These actions were, at first, not defined, but it can be assumed that the *American* was, like the *Sun*, making an indirect reference to the burning of the railroad bridges. The next issue, on Monday, April 22, did present a synopsis of the major events that had occurred over the weekend, but its summary was celebratory and, not surprisingly, a skewed account. The *American* portrayed Mayor Brown as the hero of the hour after his "successful" meeting with Lincoln, who agreed to send no more troops through Baltimore "unless obstructed in their transit [to the capital] in other directions." The *American* also reported on preparations Baltimore citizens were making to engage Pennsylvania troops who were rumored to be gathering at Cockeysville. "Arms were sought and distributed, the volunteer soldiery assembled at their armories, the light artillery were drawn up in the streets, recruits were enrolled and hastily drilled, and the word of command was only waited for the march against the enemy." The *American*, despite its opposition to violent tactics, was pleased by the orderly manner in which the preparations were supposedly being made. Still, much to the editor's relief, a report that the troops were retreating back to Pennsylvania surfaced, putting a stop to city's the preparations and assuring readers that "quiet . . . prevailed in the streets last night."[20]

While the appearance of northern troops was generally repugnant to the Baltimore papers, two major Washington papers, the *Evening Star* and the *National Intelligencer*, welcomed them. Like the Baltimore papers, both the *Star* and the *Intelligencer* were eager to maintain the peace, but they saw in the presence of troops a means to meeting that end, rather than a factor that would escalate the conflict. Both papers downplayed the coercive purposes of the troops and emphasized that their presence was simply for the protection the federal capital. "The Government of the United States has a most undoubted right to defend itself from threatened attack, and to protect and preserve public property."[21]

Pro-Confederate Baltimore artist Adalbert Johann Volck saw a noble, protective, and heroic response in the Baltimore crowd. Note the confidence of the man near the anchor and the fearful faces of the retreating militia. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Neither the *Evening Star* nor the *Intelligencer* had much patience with their colleagues in Baltimore. The *Star* went so far as to write a scathing critique of the *Sun's* assessment of the secession crisis:

> "This paper [the *Sun*], which has all along been the organ of the disunionists in Maryland, sustaining them in all their acts of war on the Government, now, when at last the indignant patriotism of the country is aroused by the wanton attack on Fort Sumter, cries out "*Must there be war.*" "*Cannot peace be preserved.*" . . . It was all very well with the *Sun* while the war was all on one side; but now that a spirit of resistance in kind has sprung up on the side of the Government, which threatens to punish such acts of war, it whines out "*Must there be war.*" "*Cannot peace be preserved.*" [22]

Still, the *Star* expressed a desire to forgive, though not necessarily forget, the *Sun's* errant viewpoints if it would simply encourage southerners to cease resisting the authority of the federal government. The *National Intelligencer* went further to say that those who were pushing for a "peaceable secession," like the newspapers in Baltimore, would only succeed in "precipitating the whole land into the gulf of civil war."[23]

The Washington accounts of the riots contended that the attack on the 6th Massachusetts was premeditated and claimed that Mayor Brown himself was re-

sponsible for escalating the violence by being the first person to fire into the crowd. An anonymous letter published in the *Star* on April 23 stated, "This attack was premeditated; for soldiers had landed but a moment when the first of the series of unprovoked assaults commenced." The letter even went on to name names. "I think we are perfectly safe in tracing our bloody riot of today to the bad counsel of T. Parkin Scott, Wilson C. N. Carr, lawyer, and W. H. Cowan, the same. These men are all rabid secessionists, and prominent members of the National Volunteers—an organization composed of disunionists."[24]

Both the *Star* and *Intelligencer* reported the rumor that Brown had fired the first shot. The *Star* stated that "Mayor Brown himself was the first man to fire a shot, he having seized a musket from one of the soldiers, and shot dead one of the foremost of the mob. The Baltimore papers of this morning, however, are silent in respect to this action of the Mayor."[25] A similar account of that critical moment when the situation in Baltimore turned ugly was also reported in the *Intelligencer*, which emphasized that the troops were under strict order not to resist the crowd until the mayor himself opened fire.[26]

The News North and South

Of those examined, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* was the only major northern paper to spill a great deal of ink over the Pratt Street Riots. A strong unionist paper, the *Inquirer* did its best to review exploits of unionists anywhere, including Baltimore. Whereas the *Star* had reported that the competition between unionists and secessionists in Baltimore on April 18 had been a battle of relative equals (with secessionists actually holding a slight numerical edge), the *Inquirer* reported that "there are immense crowds on the street tonight, hurrahing for Hicks and the Union."[27]

In the days immediately following the riots, the *Inquirer* emphasized the cowardly nature of the attack on the northern troops. It even attempted to strike an emotional cord in its readers:

> With the troops came evidence of the "plug ugly" spirit of the boasted Monumental City [Baltimore], whose chivalrous sons exhibited their hospitality by assailing a poor negro-man, named BIDDLE, who attends the Pottsville Washington Light Artillery, as a waiter. He was struck on the right cheek by a stone, which inflicted an ugly wound. Had the Baltimoreans opposed the troops in armed array, there would have been something manly about their action, but for them to wreak their vengeance on an innocent negro-man, displayed a cowardly spirit.[28]

This quote was in reference to the Pennsylvania militia, who had experienced some mild resistance on April 18. The *Inquirer* demonstrated such a strong re-

gional loyalty that when the 6th Massachusetts encountered far stiffer resistance the following day the *Inquirer* was still so incensed by the minor scuffle involving the Pennsylvanians that it relegated the story of the Massachusetts men to a back page. When the *Inquirer* did report on the riot, it spent more energy recounting the experiences of a regiment of unarmed, left-behind Philadelphia volunteers who had arrived on the same train as the 6th Massachusetts than it did on the men who actually tangled with the Baltimore crowds.[29]

In order to present a better picture of the confusing situation in Baltimore, the *Inquirer* published several personal accounts of the riots from those who happened to have recently arrived in Philadelphia from Baltimore. Most of these accounts varied in their details of the riot, and they offer little new information. However, one account, published on April 22, did provide some interesting insights.

> The fact is that, a majority of the people are true to the Union and the Government. But the merchants on the one hand, and the dregs on the other, are Secessionists. The first class from interest, the other, because they are supplied with free whisky, and spurred on by those whose intelligence and social position ought to be a guarantee of their devotion to a Government under whose protection they have obtained the blessings they now enjoy. The great middle class of mechanics and traders are unwavering in their loyalty to the Government.[30]

The *Inquirer* did its best to demonize all those it suspected of being pro-South in their loyalties. Marshall Kane was a favorite target. He was characterized as being a "ring-leader" of several prominent secessionists who, according to the *Inquirer*, were plotting to kill President Lincoln's officeholders as well as "burning out the Union men." During the height of the riots, the *Inquirer* claimed that Kane's actions were completely motivated by secessionist loyalties.

> During the whole time, and for a half hour did this fearful riot continue, before Marshall KANE ventured to quell it. Indeed, he plainly showed himself an abettor in the affair by being on the ground ten minutes without making any effort to stop the progress of the riot. . . .
>
> Arrests were made by the police of many of the volunteers [who had escaped from President Street Station]. The municipal officers claimed that it was for the protection of the parties concerned that this action was taken. Our informant received a ball through his hat whilst these proceedings were going on.[31]

The *Inquirer* went on to opine, "The Union men are praying for help from the

North. A force of five thousand men sent to the help of the Union men, and who would overcome the police, would be enough to hold Baltimore and command Maryland."[32] The *Inquirer* also reported that "There is ample evidence also that ill-fated Baltimore has been subjected to sack and plunder by the mobs that assailed the United States troops, and that whatever may be said by the newspapers, the people most bitterly lament the frightful state of anarchy."[33] Worried over the fate of the Pennsylvania troops who had slipped out of President Street Station in order to blend into the crowd, the *Inquirer* reported on the fate of a couple of men found in a barn, one of whom had suffered a broken arm. In the emotional manner typical of northern newspapers during these angry weeks, the *Inquirer* boasted of the day the cowardly rebels would experience the power of the Union's resolve to make them see the error of their ways. In this case, the *Inquirer* suggested that the task of retaking Baltimore should be divided equally between Massachusetts and Pennsylvania men.

When one considers that not only were the railroad bridges between Philadelphia and Baltimore destroyed but that the telegraph lines were cut, the weight of the *Inquirer's* assessment disappears. After reading the *Inquirer* and the other northern newspapers, the Baltimore and Washington papers' repeated calls for calm and mediation appear very reasonable. It is likely that the *Inquirer* had little real information from Baltimore or Washington to report and that it was forced to resort to repeating rumors and accounts based on eyewitnesses who may have seen only a small portion of what was actually taking place. The *Inquirer* is therefore more valuable as a measure of the emotional strain evident in northern cities in April 1861 than it is a source of accurate information concerning the details of the actual events on the streets of Baltimore. Northerners were upset and determined to avenge Fort Sumter, and Philadelphians were doubly upset because their troops had been assaulted. "Maryland has grievously disappointed the hopes that had been entertained of her loyalty, and Governor Hicks, in yielding to the Secession terrorists, has exhibited a sad lack of nerve. Citizens of Philadelphia, though unarmed, have been murdered and assaulted in the streets of Baltimore."[34]

Many of the same emotional and political viewpoints found in the Philadelphia *Inquirer* appeared in other northern papers. The Pratt Street Riot occurred only seven days after the bombardment of Fort Sumter. News of Virginia's secession was reaching the northern editors at about the same time. Each northern state was undergoing a fiery wave of patriotism that not only brought forth massive civic rallies in each major city but also crowded hastily established army recruiting offices as each state governor vied to exceed his quota for volunteers. From all across the country, telegraph reports poured in about troops movements in Tennessee, recruiting efforts in neighboring states, and rumored Confederate attacks on federal arsenals and forts.

In this whirlwind of accelerating events, the excitement of the riot in Balti-

more was lost. Few northern papers gave it much more than a day's worth of exclusive attention, and then after communication with Baltimore and Washington was restored, most papers simply reprinted the accounts found in the *Sun* or the *American* without additional commentary. Also, it appears that many of the newspapers in the North, at least into the middle of the week of April 21–28 may have been dependent for their updates on the reports from Philadelphia. If that was indeed the case, clearly the assessments of other northern newspapers are as skewed as that of the *Inquirer*. After all, almost every northern paper that reported on the riot echoed the assessment of the *Inquirer* almost exactly. For example, on April 21, the *New York Herald* stated, "Our reports and rumors of the last twenty-four hours from Maryland seem to indicate a revolutionary frenzy in those two states which nothing but an exhaustive invasion can remedy."[35] The *Evening Journal* of Chicago even printed on April 24 that its update on the events in Baltimore was reported from Philadelphia.

Still, there was some direct commentary on the events in Baltimore, and, like the *Inquirer*, the editors essentially gave Baltimore an ultimatum to either side with the Union or face destruction. The *New York Herald* warned, "We admonish the good people of Baltimore, a spirit of fraternal solicitude, that another ruffianly or revolutionary demonstration or two in said city, like that of yesterday, may possibly result in the reduction of the city to the condition of Fort Sumter." The *Herald* then went on to say, "Instead of suffering from the evils of war, she [Baltimore] will only experience the cash benefits of a vastly increased transportation of passengers and freight through her borders to the theatre of war beyond her."[36] The *Chicago Tribune* wrote confidently, "We do not doubt that Baltimore will be properly and rigorously dealt with. . . . While they are on their way, the Baltimoreans will be amused by the approach of four thousand militia, three hundred [*sic*] and Sherman's battery of artillery, by the Northern Central Railroad."[37] Most papers chose to paint with much broader brushes and instead made commentaries similar to that of the *Illinois State Journal*: "Treason must make an unconditional surrender, and the ring-leaders must hang. To pursue another course would be to invite future violations of law, and future attacks upon the Government. Treason must be dealt with in such a way that it will not raise its deformed head."[38]

The newspapers of the South echoed the enthusiasm of their northern counterparts—except, of course, they favored secession. Southern papers, too, reported on the latest war movements and summarized the highlights of the civic rallies occurring on almost a daily basis in major southern cities. They also kept their readers updated on the latest happenings from Montgomery, Alabama, and from Washington. For a brief day or two news of the riot on Pratt Street actually captured the attention of many southern papers, and the news was well received. The initial reports from Baltimore, however, were greatly exaggerated, and as more

accurate details began to make their way across southern telegraph lines the incident quickly faded into the backdrop of other exciting events. Newspapers in Virginia were at this point still focusing most of their attention on the political situation in Richmond, and the Charleston papers remained enamoured with their city's recent bombardment and capture of Fort Sumter.

The most extreme example of an exaggerated report appeared in the New Orleans *Evening Picayune*. It stated that the Baltimoreans had taken prisoner the "Massachusetts Seventh Regiment" after "over one hundred were killed and wounded." According to the telegram, "Eight hundred improved arms also fell into the hand of the Baltimoreans."[39] The *Charleston Mercury*, which actually acknowledged the fact that the telegraph lines from Baltimore had been cut, mistakenly reported that a New York regiment had been attacked in Baltimore. Other papers did not suffer as egregiously when it came to receiving and reprinting misinformation. Still, like their northern colleagues, most of the southern papers published skewed accounts of the events happening in Baltimore. *The Charleston Courier* reported that in Baltimore "The excitement is most intense. The whole city has flown to arms. Martial law has been proclaimed, and the Southern Flag has been raised. The entire city has declared itself for States Rights and for the South."[40]

Southern papers treated the Pratt Street incident as if were a part of the inevitable, preordained order of events. After all, developments throughout the country in late April seemed to confirm in the minds of southerners that the "Second American Revolution" was indeed taking place and each pro-Confederate paper eagerly printed stories that supported that supposition. For example, most papers mistakenly reported that General Winfield Scott, Lincoln's commanding officer, had accompanied his home state of Virginia in rebellion. Because the events in Baltimore were as misunderstood in the South as they were in the North, southern newspaper editors, acting under the assumption that Maryland was poised to join the Confederacy, lavished praise on Maryland. The *New Orleans Bee* wrote, "Finally, Maryland, so long doubtful, and even disposed to side with the usurper and the abolitionist, suddenly awakening to a sense of duty, and exhibiting her ardent sympathy with the South by resisting even unto blood the passage across her soil of Northern invading hordes."[41] The *Picayune* romanticized that, "The people [of Maryland], as it appears, without regular organization, thronged out to resist the passage of troops meant to make war; and the same scenes—on a larger scale—were reacted on the 19th of April, 1861, which were acted on the 19th of April, 1775, in Massachusetts."[42] In the same manner that "Remember the Alamo" had been used in the Texas War for Independence, the *Memphis Daily Appeal* encouraged its readers to "*Remember the Baltimore.*"[43]

Southern papers published as well letters from those who claimed to have had intimate knowledge of the developments in Baltimore. In a letter to the *Charles-*

ton Mercury, John Kettlewell wrote, "Baltimore had covered herself with glory. . . . We fought the enemy on the streets, for a mile and a half, with stones, bricks, pistols, hammers and *fists*; drove one part to Washington, the largest part back to their homes, and have about one hundred prisoners." The fact that the 6th Massachusetts's intended destination was Washington seems to have been lost on Mr. Kettlewell. Still, he went on to say, "There were deeds of courage done yesterday that were never surpassed on earth. They can be done again. We have lost several heroic citizens, but the seed of the martyrs never grew so fast before."[44] Eyewitnesses told the *Richmond Enquirer* that, "The citizens of Baltimore displayed the utmost bravery—and nothing but the presence of the Mayor at the head of the column, with the full police force, prevented the citizens of Baltimore (although entirely unarmed) from driving that abolition ruffians back."[45]

How important were the Pratt Street Riots to those not directly involved? Did those living outside Baltimore consider the riots an event contributing to the imminent clash between North and South? The answer would appear to be that, although the riots initially attracted considerable interest, they quickly dropped out of the national spotlight and had only minimal impact. Editors subordinated the riots to their real purpose—reporting matters of interest in their region. In the North, the Pratt Street Riots were soon lost in the feverishly excited atmosphere—the *rage militaire*—that characterized that region in the weeks immediately following the attack on Fort Sumter. In the South, exaggerated reports initially caused the riot to make headlines, but as the details surfaced the editors quickly lost interest in the incident. Only the major papers in Baltimore, Philadelphia and Washington gave the riots any considerable attention. The Baltimore papers made an effort to defend the rioters' actions and the maneuvers taken by the city's civic leaders to prevent further bloodshed. Washington papers took an opposing view by arguing that the presence of federal troops would help ensure peace rather than exacerbate the situation. In Philadelphia, the *Inquirer* was so incensed by the attacks on northern troops, particularly those from Pennsylvania, that its editors eagerly sought more details that confirmed the gravity of the "unjust" acts committed by the Baltimoreans and their leading politicians.

The importance of the Pratt Street Riots in the greater scheme of the Civil War was relatively minor. The actions of the municipal authorities following the riots, not the riots themselves, caused the Lincoln administration to authorize the occupation of Baltimore in early May 1861 and the subsequent suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*. Though newspaper editors in the spring of 1861 had no way of knowing the magnitude of human life that was to be lost in the following four years, they were not impressed by the reports of the "Vociferous Army of Howling Wolves." They quickly moved on and reported on other things taking place throughout the nation as it quickly lurched its way to civil war.

NOTES

An earlier version of this article appeared in *UMBC Review, Journal of Undergraduate Research and Creative Works*, 3 (2002): 54–74. The author would like to thank Ruthanne Doetzer for her editorial assistance.

1. Numerous studies have covered the Pratt Street Riots in detail. Key among them are: John W. Hanson, *Historical Sketch of the Old Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, During Its Three Campaigns in 1861, 1862, 1863, and 1864* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1866), 20–57; George William Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861: A Study of the War* (1887; repr., Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); B. F. Watson, *Addresses, Reviews and Episodes Chiefly Concerning the "Old Sixth" Massachusetts Regiment* (New York, 1901); Frank H. Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War, 1861–1865* (Philadelphia, 1913), 26–47; Daniel Carroll Toomey, *The Civil War in Maryland* (Baltimore: Toomey Press, 1983), 10–13; Matthew Ellenberger, "Whigs in the Streets? Baltimore Republicanism in the Spring of 1861," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 86 (1991): 23–38; Frank Towers, "'A Vociferous Army of Howling Wolves': *Baltimore's Civil War Riot of April 19, 1861*," *Maryland Historian*, 23 (1992): 1–27; Towers, ed., "Military Waif: A Sidelight on the Baltimore Riot of 19 April 1861," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 89 (1994): 427–46; Lawrence M. Denton, *A Southern Star for Maryland: Maryland and the Secession Crisis, 1860–1861* (Baltimore: Publishing Concepts, 1995), 55–116; Eric Mills, *Chesapeake Bay in the Civil War* (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1996), 16–22; Kevin Conley Ruffner, *Maryland's Blue and Gray: A Border State's Union and Confederate Junior Officer Corps* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 34–37; and Scott Sumpter Sheads and Daniel Carroll Toomey, *Baltimore During the Civil War* (Baltimore: Toomey Press, 1997), 12–27.

2. The first associated press group, the New York Associated Press, was founded in 1849. Brayton Harris, *Blue and Gray in Black and White: Newspapers in the Civil War* (Washington: Bradford Brassey, Inc., 1999), 7.

3. There were only a handful of telegraph services available and only one message could be sent at a time over each service. Therefore, whenever major news events occurred there were often crunches at the telegraph offices as several reporters vied for the privilege of sending his report first.

4. Sixteen is the commonly accepted number.

5. Matthew Ellenberger, "Whigs in the Streets?," 25–27, 33; and Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland During the Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 53–54.

6. Towers, "'A Vociferous Army of Howling Wolves'," 24–26.

7. It would be interesting to further explore the origins of the term "Pratt Street Riot." It would seem logical that northerners are responsible for coining this phrase, and, indeed the Philadelphia *Inquirer* does refer to the excitement in Baltimore as a "riot." I am inclined to believe that southerners would have dubbed this event the "Pratt Street Massacre." After all, one could safely assume that the twelve killed in the conflict would have been labeled as "victims" or "heroes."

8. Iver Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

9. Towers, "Violence as a Tool of Party Dominance: Election Riots and the Know-Nothings, 1854–1860," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 93 (1998): 11. Towers, "'A Vociferous Army,'" 25. Towers contends that more than twenty-four civilians were killed and about fifty were wounded.

10. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, April 20, 1861.
11. *Washington Star*, April 19, 1861.
12. A political stance did not necessarily equate to affiliation with a political party. For example, the *Baltimore Sun* never formally allied itself with any political party, but its editorial staff did express convictions similar to those of the Constitutional Union Party. See Harold A Williams, *The Baltimore Sun, 1837–1987* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 3–7, 37–39.
13. *Baltimore American*, April 17, 1861.
14. *Baltimore Sun*, April 15, 1861.
15. *Baltimore American*, April 17, 1861.
16. *Baltimore Sun*, April 20, 1861.
17. Ibid., April 22, 1861.
18. *Baltimore American*, April 20, 1861.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., April 22, 1861.
21. *National Intelligencer*, April 19, 1861.
22. *Washington Star*, April 22, 1861.
23. *National Intelligencer*, April 22, 1861.
24. *Washington Star*, April 23, 1861.
25. Ibid., April 22, 1861.
26. Immediately after hearing reports of bloodshed on Baltimore's streets, Mayor Brown went to Camden Station and then hurried up Pratt Street to meet the battered 6th Massachusetts. Brown hoped that by placing himself at the head of the volunteers, the crowd would be deterred from continuing their assault. Several policemen took positions beside the troop columns in order to create space between the soldiers and crowd. Initially, this proved effective in reducing the resistance, but as the troops made their way further down the street, the mob grew more violent than it had before. According to several witnesses, Mayor Brown himself grabbed a musket from a member of the militia and fired into the crowd in an attempt to quell them. Brown, however, later contended that he never fired a weapon, but claimed that a one point during the melee a boy had handed him a recently discharged musket. He claimed the sight of him holding smoking weapon lead to false rumors. See See Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April*, 48–49, 51; Hanson, *Historical Sketch of the Old Sixth*, 38.
27. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 19, 1861.
28. Ibid.
29. In addition to the 6th Massachusetts, which occupied the PW&B's first thirteen cars, the train also included fresh recruits from Philadelphia. The Pennsylvanians were in civilian clothes and were, for the most part, unarmed. See Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War*, 28
30. Ibid., April 22, 1861.
31. Ibid., April 20, 1861.
32. Ibid., April 22, 1861.
33. Ibid., April 23, 1861.
34. Ibid.
35. *New York Herald*, April 21, 1861.
36. Ibid., April 20, 1861. This statement was prophetic because, according to Joseph Arnold, after Baltimore suffered economically for the first year or so of the war, she had actually benefited quite handsomely by 1865.
37. *Chicago Tribune*, April 22, 1861.
38. *Illinois State Journal*, April 23, 1861.

39. *Evening Picayune*, April 20, 1861.
40. *Charleston Courier*, April 20, 1861.
41. *New Orleans Bee*, April 22, 1861.
42. *Evening Picayune*, April 22, 1861.
43. *Memphis Daily Appeal*, April 20, 1861.
44. *Charleston Mercury*, April 27, 1861.
45. *Richmond Enquirer*, April 23, 1861.

Alfred M. Mayer

Physics and Fly-Fishing: The Remarkable Career of Baltimore's Alfred Marshall Mayer, 1836–1897

JOSEPH F. MULLIGAN

Number 29 West Franklin Street was part of a fashionable section of Baltimore, Maryland, in the early days of the nineteenth century. One of the city's prominent sons, Alfred Marshall Mayer, was born there on November 13, 1836, the son of Eliza Caldwell Blackwell and Charles Frederick Mayer, a successful lawyer whose family had immigrated to Baltimore from the German city of Ulm, which was where Albert Einstein would be born in 1879.[1] Among the six children born to Eliza and Charles were four boys and two girls. One girl died at age two. One of the boys, Lewis, became, like his father, a lawyer, and a second son, Charles Frederick, although a gifted civil engineer, could never succeed in life because of excessive drinking.

The other two boys, Francis Blackwell (1827–1878) and Alfred Marshall, were stunned by their father's response when they confessed that they did not want to become lawyers, frustrating the elder Mayer's plans that they follow in his footsteps. Charles Mayer basically disowned the two when Francis, or Frank as he was known, chose to be an artist, and Alfred decided to be a physicist.[2] Thus, despite their parents' relative wealth in nineteenth-century Baltimore, the need for money was a constant refrain in the many letters exchanged between the two brothers.

Alfred Mayer attended private schools for his early education, and then St. Mary's College on Paca Street, at that time the preparatory school run by the French Sulpician Order of the Catholic Church. The school trained priests who then provided for the religious needs of Catholics from Ireland and Germany, then flocking into the United States in large numbers. In 1852 the college accepted only those students who intended studying for the priesthood—a policy that excluded the non-Catholic Alfred—so Alfred left school at age sixteen and never after that time received any further formal education. He took a job as a machinist's helper for a Baltimore mechanical engineer and spent much time learning to use the tools in the workshop, discovering that he could draw beautiful blueprints for the company's construction projects. Many years later, when he was teaching and doing research in physics and tackling the intricacies of the serious fisherman's world, these well-honed abilities would be immensely useful to him.

Dr. Mulligan, now retired, founded the UMBC graduate school in 1968. A dedicated scholar and prolific author, he lives with his wife in Salisbury.

Alfred's childhood saw many important advances in science. In 1846 the first Secretary of the newly founded Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. was Joseph Henry (1797–1878), one of a mere handful of American scientists known throughout the world for his contributions to physics research. Henry was a close friend of the Mayer family, and whenever the distinguished luminary made a trip to Baltimore he insisted on climbing the three steep flights of stairs in their Franklin Street home to see young Alfred's latest demonstration or experiment. Henry would have a profound effect on Alfred's life. In the opinion of a Mayer biographer, Henry "apprehended the brightness, the alertness, the originality of the Baltimore student, and accorded him that sympathetic recognition which constitutes the greatest stimulus that a young man can receive."[3]

Much in his job as machinist's helper interested the young Mayer. He relished learning about the working of metals, new tools, and techniques that he later put to excellent use. For a few years in the early 1850s he also worked as assistant to analytical chemist, Dr. Campbell Profit, at the University of Maryland medical school in downtown Baltimore. There he amassed knowledge about practical chemistry and the use of chemicals in research and classroom demonstrations. In 1855 he published his first scientific paper, "On a New Apparatus for the Determination of Carbonic Acid."[4] These years gave Mayer an introduction to both physics and chemistry and filled in some of the gaps in his abbreviated education.

In 1856, Alfred Marshall Mayer was appointed (apparently on the recommendation of Joseph Henry) Assistant Professor of Physics and Chemistry at the University of Maryland. Mayer remained in that position for three years but was unhappy that the faculty lacked others in his discipline, colleagues who might have furthered his knowledge of the field. He once told another faculty member that the first physics lecture he ever heard was the one he gave to his first class at the Baltimore campus in 1856.

In 1859, Mayer was appointed Professor of Physical Science at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri. Here again he was discontented. Westminster had a physics faculty but not the equipment necessary for the research he was anxious to do. It was at Westminster that he saw the sectional conflict forming between the North and South and his leanings seemed to veer toward the Confederate cause. After two years his stay at Westminster ended. The outbreak of war decimated the college's enrollment, and the school no longer needed him as a full-time science instructor.

Mayer returned to Baltimore, but home was not as he had remembered it. His parents strongly supported the Union cause and vehemently opposed Alfred's pro-southern views. Like many divided Maryland families during these tumultuous times, the Mayers had their own personal conflicts. Anxious to avoid further heartache within his family—potential strife with his uncle, Brantz Mayer, the second president of the Maryland Historical Society, who had enlisted in the

Union Army—Alfred decided it was in his best interests to leave the country and do research in France.[5] He arranged in 1863 to study with the highly regarded French chemist and physicist Henri Victor Regnault (1810–1878) at the Collège de France. Regnault was a very careful experimenter who obtained precise and accurate values for many important physical quantities. Unfortunately, he did not have the mathematical background to put his measurements together into some sort of meaningful theoretical pattern. In this respect his influence on Alfred was both good and bad. He made Mayer an excellent *measuring* physicist but did not make him a better mathematician or *theoretical* physicist. Although Mayer did take some coursework in physics, mathematics, and physiology in Paris, for the rest of his career he was so programmed to making precise measurements of various physical quantities, in that regard probably outdoing his mentor, he never succeeded in putting those results into any sort of unified theory. At that time there were fewer than one hundred academic American physicists, and they did not contribute to physics anything like the world-class work being done by Europeans.[6] While abroad, Mayer traveled to other universities, laboratories, and scenic places but seems to have spent less than a year actually working in Regnault's laboratory.

In 1865, after the Civil War had ended, Mayer returned to the United States and took a position as Professor of Physical Science at Pennsylvania College of Gettysburg, now Gettysburg College. Again, Mayer complained about the lack of space and equipment to do meaningful research, but he was happy to receive from Gettysburg the only degree he ever obtained: an honorary Doctor of Philosophy.

The year 1865 continued to be happy for Mayer, especially in December, when he married Katherine Duchett Goldsborough of Frederick, Maryland, whom everyone called Kitty. Their bliss was short-lived. The family was soon shattered by the death of their first children, twins, who lived only three weeks. In April 1868, when their son Alfred Goldsborough was born, Kitty was unable to recuperate and died on May 2.[7] A year later, Mayer married Maria Louisa Snowden. Each of their three sons died in childhood.[8]

In 1867, Mayer was appointed Professor of Physics and Astronomy at Lehigh University in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. There, because Lehigh was an engineering school, he finally had some up-to-date research equipment available and began to publish articles in the research physics journals, especially the *American Journal of Science and Arts,* America's only real research journal in physics which was sometimes called "Silliman's Journal," after its long-time editor and one of the original founders of the National Academy of Sciences, Benjamin Silliman.[9] The journal was read by most American physicists, but did not receive much attention from the prominent European physicists of the day. At Lehigh Mayer moved his interest in physics research from sound and light to electricity, magnetism, and heat, perhaps because he had begun to wonder anxiously if research with intense

light and sound sources might cause eye and ear problems for him later in life, as indeed they did. Mayer also showed early signs of cardiac difficulty.

The Lehigh administration handed Mayer the responsibility of planning and equipping an astronomical observatory at Lehigh, for which the necessary funds had already been raised by a generous donation from Mr. Robert Sayre. Mayer became so fascinated with astronomy that he led an expedition to photograph the total solar eclipse at Burlington, Iowa, on August 7, 1869. His group produced a set of forty-two "perfect photographs" at exposures of 0.002 seconds, five of which were during the eighty-three seconds of totality, i.e., the time period of the earth's total eclipse of the sun.

His very successful years (1867–71) at Lehigh brought Mayer to the attention of the new administration at the well-endowed Stevens Institute of Technology in Hoboken, New Jersey, just across the Hudson River from Manhattan, on a beautiful piece of property along the river's edge. When the members of the Stevens administration invited Alfred to organize and chair the Physics Department at Stevens he jumped at the opportunity. Stevens had the resources and the ambition to become one of the foremost engineering schools in the nation. The new institute also had substantial research under way and an abundance of modern research equipment for use by faculty and students alike. Mayer decided first to concentrate his research efforts on sound waves and acoustics and gradually became known as *the* expert on sound and acoustics in the United States.

Mayer remained at Stevens for twenty-six years, until his death in 1897. He liked the stimulus of being near New York City, with its cultural and industrial activity. He also was able to add to his meager professor's salary by consulting and lecturing in the largest and best-known city in the nation. But now a partial vision failure required that he cease laboratory work on light and color, and he spent much of 1874 in England, where he made friends of a number of British physicists, who entertained him lavishly, discussed their research with him, and found him to be a congenial and interesting colleague.

Alfred Marshall Mayer as a Physics Teacher

On October 28, 1899, Dr. Henry A. Rowland (1848–1901) of the Johns Hopkins University delivered the presidential address to those physicists who attended the second annual American Physical Society meeting in New York City. He singled out four American physicists, all deceased before 1899, for special praise: Benjamin Franklin, whose work on electrostatics revolutionized mankind's understanding of electricity; Count Rumford, whose experiments revealed the nature of heat; Joseph Henry, who might have contributed more fully to the progress of physics if he had published his scientific results before assuming the head position at the new Smithsonian Institution; and Alfred Marshall Mayer, for his contributions to our knowledge of sound, acoustics, and magnetism. Rowland's choice of

Mayer on his list of important American physicists meant that his opinion of him was considerable. And yet, this same Alfred Marshall Mayer evokes not a word of praise or even awareness of his name from present-day American physicists.

Mayer delighted in teaching physics. He especially enjoyed devising "simple, entertaining, and inexpensive experiments for the use of students of every age," as one of his best-known books is subtitled.[10] He was also a great influence on the teaching of physics in America in the latter part of the nineteenth century by way of his masterful development of useful instruments and devices, often written up in the *American Journal of Science and Arts,* the *Philosophical Magazine,* and other reputable journals. His diagrams were always clear and his emphasis not merely on developing instruments like an overhead projector, but other instruments that could be adapted for research projects. Of course, Mayer had the advantage over other American physicists of two years' experience in a machine shop in earlier days and two years as an assistant to the Professor of Chemistry at the University of Maryland Medical School in Baltimore.

At the end of the nineteenth century new problems were arising for physics and therefore physics instruction. Support for physics that had been so prevalent in the eighteenth century dwindled. People now lost interest because physics had become too mathematical and difficult for middle-class members of the public, and benefactors, to appreciate. Even the major private universities—Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Johns Hopkins—despite adequate resources, produced few strong scientists. The problem might have been the lack of respect for scientists not only on the part of ordinary, reasonably well-educated people but on the part of college and university administrators as well. Most college and university presidents, vice-presidents, and deans were chosen from the ranks of men trained in the humanities, including languages, philosophy, and theology. Even though they often had a broad outlook on science, they did not understand that scientific equipment was as necessary for a scientist as books for an institution's library. As a consequence, scientists were always fighting for money for equipment and supplies to use in their laboratories, both for teaching and research, and were disappointed to find that their deans and vice-presidents did not always agree with the importance of these needs. Additionally, although a fair number of good, if not great, physicists worked in American universities, they suffered from the dearth of better trained colleagues in their physics departments to provide help and inspiration.

This situation brings up a most important point in Mayer's makeup and emphasizes his calling as a teacher. The difference between Mayer and contemporaries such as Albert Michelson (1852–1931), Henry Rowland, and J. Willard Gibbs (1839–1903) is that these scientists saw what the important problems really were and tackled them with all the energy and ingenuity they possessed. Mayer, on the other hand, never attempted to solve a truly important physical problem. He was

realistic enough to see that excessively strenuous research work might be too much for his heart to bear. Perhaps, too, he saw that, with his somewhat spotty educational background, he was really not up to the job of solving a truly important and difficult research problem in physics.

Most of Mayer's papers grew out of demonstration experiments he had performed for his classes, and he published fifty-four scientific papers during his twenty-six years at Stevens Institute. This is a laudable publication record for any physicist, especially one who was mostly self-taught and had little real training in the field. The few outstanding physicists in America, who were more interested in their own research than they were in teaching, tended to look down on Mayer's concentration, sound and acoustics, as "softer" fields and therefore not worthy of their attention. For Alfred Mayer, these subjects were legitimate parts of physics and deserved concentrated research. In any event, most of his articles were limited in length and did not create any great flurry of interest, at least not in the United States.[11]

Mayer's fine qualities as a teacher were a great love of physics and enthusiasm for teaching the subject; the ability to write clearly on the blackboard and to bring to life the significance of the words written there; the clarity of his development of the material; and finally, his drawing of diagrams and graphs on the blackboard that were beautifully done and greatly appreciated by his students. In addition, he was an excellent demonstrator, as long as he had the necessary equipment for a striking classroom demonstration. All these virtues made Mayer an outstanding teacher of physics. He was bright, enthusiastic, lively. He was able to present to a class the results of other, better-known (usually European) physicists' research in an interesting, often spellbinding fashion. He designed his own original equipment to demonstrate the effects he thought important and wanted his students to imprint firmly in their minds. In his words: "Youth soon become enamored of work in which their own hands caused the various actions of Nature to appear before them, and they find a new delight in a kind of study in which they receive instruction through the doings of their hands, instead of through the reading of books."

Alfred Marshall Mayer as a Research Physicist

An excellent machinist, trained in analytical chemistry, and a skilled draftsman as the diagrams in his articles and books clearly reveal, Mayer dearly wanted to become a successful research physicist and hoped to be one of the leaders in American science, which was badly in need of more leaders. In that he failed. Lacking proper training, he made only modest contributions to physics research.

There were other reasons for Mayer's failure to become a truly great physicist. For one thing he devoted enormous, even excessive, time and energy to preparing his physics classes, taking time away from his research. This was understandable,

given the lack of support for pure science on the part of academic administrators and even the American public when Mayer was trying to establish himself as a research scientist. Other problems were intrinsic to Mayer's character and approach to physics. First of all, he was isolated in departments where, for the most part, he was the only physicist, with all the administrative work this entailed. He probably experienced little give and take with respect to physics questions, for Mayer often had only himself to consult and so had no way to interact with other equally talented physicists, at least on his home campus.

A deeper and more serious problem was that Mayer lacked a theoretical bent, which was a reflection of how physics was practiced in America at that time. The most popular scientific fields were natural science (mostly biology), geology, and meteorology. Theoretical interpretation of results and speculation about those results were not considered necessary. Most American physicists at that time were collectors of data, not creative theorists.[12] As a result, Mayer never reached the stature of a well-trained physics professor because that was not what the average American physicist desired. He delivered his scheduled lectures and made sure his students appreciated them but never struggled to achieve something truly worthwhile in the realm of research.[13]

Mayer was elected a member of the National Academy of Sciences in 1872, probably again on Joseph Henry's recommendation, was a member of the American Philosophical Society and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and a corresponding member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. In the October 1878 issue of the *American Journal of Science*, Mayer published a paper on floating magnetic needles embedded in corks and acted on by a powerful permanent magnet suspended above the water on which the small magnets floated. He demonstrated that as the number of needle magnets floating on the water surface increased, only a certain number of magnets would form stable configurations in a ring around the attracting large electromagnet suspended in the air above the surface of the water.[14] This immediately led British physicists such as Lord Kelvin to speculate whether something similar was going on inside atoms. If atoms consisted of a heavy, positively charged central nucleus, surrounded by rings of negative electrons, this would explain the similar chemical and spectroscopic properties of atoms with the same number of electrons in their outer shells. J. J. Thomson (1856–1940), who between 1897 and 1899 measured the charge and mass of the electron, took up the same idea and performed many involved calculations to find out whether these two similar ideas about floating magnets and atoms were in quantitative agreement.[15] Of course it was soon discerned that these ideas were not similar at all, since the floating magnets had only two degrees of freedom, while the electrons in atoms had their full three degrees of freedom.

Nevertheless, the frequent references to Mayer's work by physicists of the stat-

Alfred Marshall Mayer, sportsman. (Syracuse University.)

ure of Kelvin and J. J. Thomson made Mayer's work better known in England and on the Continent than here at home. It should be remembered that Mayer's experiment started out, as many of his contributions to research did, as a demonstration of an interesting physical fact, not as a piece of research. This was also true of most of Mayer's published papers: they developed from experiments, many quite ingenious, that were important vehicles for capturing the interest of students and increasing their enthusiasm for physics. This case was of great importance, for it led other physicists to apply his results to the extremely vital problem now urging the development of modern physics: the structure of the atom.

Except for this prominent 1878 publication of what is Mayer's best-known paper, that year was unforgettably depressing. Henri Regnault died in Paris on January 19, and Joseph Henry passed away in Washington, D.C. on May 13. In addition, Mayer's father, his brother Charles, and uncle Brantz Mayer died. Thus, in this short space, Mayer had lost the two closest colleagues who had supported his career along with immediate family members. In saluting Joseph Henry, Mayer said, "His best eulogy is an account of his discoveries; for a man of science, as such, lives in what he has done, and not in what he has said, nor will he be remembered

for what he has proposed to do." Two years later, when the American Association for the Advancement of Science invited Mayer to deliver a Memorial Address on Joseph Henry, he spoke on "Henry as a Discoverer," in the Sanders Theater at Harvard University on August 26, 1880, before the assembled members of the association, an occasion illustrative of his stature among American scientists: they considered him to be a good physicist and a disciple and close friend of Joseph Henry.[16]

A Second Career

There was one very unusual period in Mayer's life: the interruption of his physics research during the decade of the 1880s when he suddenly turned completely to a very serious involvement in hunting and fishing in the woods and streams of northern America. Nothing in the Mayer Archives housed at Syracuse University provides a completely satisfactory explanation of this move. Could he have been advised to experience a healthier life in the outdoors than he could cooped up in a factory town like Hoboken? Mayer had already rebelled against the Stevens' policy that its faculty live in the city by residing in the countryside at nearby Maplewood. Whether it was the death in 1878 of the two people he admired most in his life, disillusionment at the reception his research had received from other American physicists, or constant problems with his health, Mayer seems to have abandoned physics research for almost the entire decade following this sad period. Leaving his career, he became an avid fisherman and hunter, something he had enjoyed greatly as a youth.[17]

He wrote articles on these subjects for magazines and edited a collection of articles in a book entitled *Sport with Gun and Rod in American Woods and Waters*, to which he contributed articles on the "Shot Gun" and the "Blow Gun."[18] His knowledge of physics was evident in his explanation of these types of hunting weapons. Armed with a near passion for rediscovery of the outdoors, and ready to enjoy every minute of it, Alfred suddenly was having the time of his life. In 1884 he invented a new type of fishing rod with which he won first prize at the Amateur Minnow Casting Tournament of the National Rod and Reel Association.

In this happy decade, Alfred Mayer made some valuable contributions to the lore of hunters and fly-fisherman. In the preface of *Sport with Gun and Rod* Mayer evoked his love for the life it depicts:

> An impulse, often irresistible it seems, leads man away from civilization, from its artificial pleasure and its mechanical life, to the forests, the fields and the waters, where he may have that freedom and peace which civilization denies him. If this be not so, then why is it that the man of affairs as well as the man of leisure feels again the joy of his youth as he bids farewell to his office or his club, and seeks the solitudes of the woods and the plains? . . . He will

> undergo all sorts of bodily discomforts — coarse food and rough bed, the wet and the cold, — and yet be happy, because for a little spell he is free; in other words, he has, for the time, become a civilized savage.
>
> He will learn how few are the real wants of a happy life in the midst of uncivilized nature. His troubles, if he carries any with him, will vanish; time will seem as of as little value to him as to the savage, and like all true sportsmen and "honest anglers," he will return to his home with a calmed spirit and a contented mind.

Return to Stevens

In 1890, Mayer moved back to Hoboken and resumed active physics research. In 1894 he published his ninth paper in a series with the general title *Researches in Acoustics*. This important paper contained a section on "The Law connecting the pitch of a sound with the duration of its residual sensation," which architects and designers of concert halls and auditoria considered of great value in their difficult task of building halls that allowed all seats in the room to receive clear, uncluttered sound, and the audience to experience a good balance between the different sounds produced by the various instruments and human voices on the stage. Baltimore's acoustically brilliant Joseph Meyerhoff Symphony Hall is undoubtedly a result of the research along lines pioneered by Alfred Marshall Mayer.

In the same year, 1894, he produced a paper that enabled him to demonstrate that an audible Beat or Difference Tone was produced between two sounds so high in frequency (above 20,000 Hz or cycles-per-second) that they were separately inaudible to the human ear. Still he was able to demonstrate at the August 13, 1894, Oxford meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science that an audible Difference Tone could be heard by an audience when these two inaudible frequencies were played at the same time.

This finding again demonstrates Mayer's approach to physics. He was not prone to speculation or the creation of mechanical models of reality; for him, reality in the physical universe meant what could be seen, heard, touched, and therefore measured precisely and accurately. This approach to laboratory research by means of a vacuum pump or a laboratory scale was the same approach he applied to fly-fishing by means of a perfectly honed fishing rod.[19]

On July 13, 1897, Alfred Mayer died in Hoboken at the age of sixty-one after a long and painful illness. In early 1897 he had suffered a stroke that resulted in a partial paralysis of his body, and he had had heart problems in his early years. In an 1897 issue of *Science,* W. LeConte Stevens published an article praising Mayer. "The characteristics of the gentleman . . . were born in him. . . . Those who were favored with his friendship need no reminder of his generosity, his ready sympathy, his quick insight and hearty appreciation, his enthusiasm verging sometimes

almost upon that of boyhood." Stevens then indicated the obstacles Mayer had to overcome in dedicating his life to science:

> He dwelt in an atmosphere essentially unfavorable to the spirit which directed his work, for nowhere in the world can there be found so high a degree of general civilization conjoined with so small a degree of general appreciation of pure science as in America. This may be said with full recognition of the abundant rewards here accorded to science successfully applied in industrial fields, and of the rich endowments given by wealthy individuals to some of our educational institutions. But the man who advances theoretical science in America receives not a tithe of the recognition given to the inventor who puts on the market a merchantable device which pleases the multitude. Professor Mayer would have done his scientific work to better advantage in France or Germany. But be that as it may, we who knew him in his work must now know him only in memory.[20]

During the nineteenth century, Alfred Marshall Mayer enjoyed a much wider reputation in Europe than he did in his native country. His demonstration equipment was highly praised by people of the caliber of Lord Rayleigh, J. J. Thomson, and Lord Kelvin, and inquisitive laymen derived a great deal of pleasure from his popular lectures, especially if they were accompanied by some of his famous demonstrations. Physicists in America were far behind their colleagues in Europe, and some years had to elapse before the Americans could catch up. In this catch-up process, Mayer played a small, but pivotal role, setting before his students and before his followers an ideal that American physicists would gradually approach, and finally surpass, as the twentieth century commenced. Mayer's situation, and that of science itself in nineteenth-century America, is recast beautifully in I. Bernard Cohen's essay in *Paths of American Thought*: "The failure of American science in the nineteenth century was not so much the lack of individual men of high order as the failure to produce the conditions under which a true scientific tradition could become established at all. And it is precisely the nature of such questions, lying in this *terra incognita* of the social history of science that causes the sciences in nineteenth-century America to be of greater interest and concern than would be warranted by the sum of the contributions to the advancement of science made by Americans during that century."[21]

NOTES

1. Charles Mayer had been married from 1819 to 1822 to Susan Theresa Pratt, who had two children, both male. She died after the birth, in 1822, of her second child, who passed away the following year.

2. Frank Mayer never married and did most of his painting in Annapolis. He also spent some time with the Indian tribes in the Midwest, and wrote a book that contains some magnificent drawings of Indian ceremonies and dances. He had a hard time supporting himself and was accustomed to say that he had only two problems in life: money and women.
3. W. LeConte Stevens, "Alfred Marshall Mayer," *Science* (August 20, 1897): 261–69 (quote, page 262).
4. Alfred Marshall Mayer, "On a New Apparatus for the Determination of Carbonic Acid," *American Journal of Science and Arts*, 19 (1855): 422–23.
5. Brantz Mayer (1809–1878) had enlisted at the beginning of the war. Later, as president of the Maryland Historical Society, he spent a considerable amount of time in Mexico doing historical research. There was at least one other supporter of Alfred in the Mayer family, Alfred's brother Lewis, to whom Alfred sent, on April 24, 1861, a strong letter referring to the then American president as "that black Republican fanatic Lincoln."
6. This is based on a statement by Robert V. Bruce that in 1896: "Fewer than 75 Americans called themselves physicists, and only about 20 of these published regularly." See Bruce, *The Launching of Modern American Science* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), 249.
7. Mayer was disappointed that son Alfred Goldsborough did not follow him in physics. (One is reminded of Charles Frederick's ire at his sons, Alfred and Francis, not following him into law.) Alfred Goldsborough became fascinated with biology and then turned naturally to anthropology where he made a successful career and assisted the renowned Harvard naturalist Louis Agassiz on his many trips of exploration. He died in 1922.
8. It was evident that Alfred simply could not manage alone and needed the help and succor of a wife. He wrote a letter to his first wife's mother explaining his need to remarry so soon after her daughter's death.
9. The author of an obituary notice for Alfred Marshall Mayer in the *Physical Review* (1897): 118–21, signed his name simply as "S." This was probably for Benjamin Silliman (1779–1864) himself.
10. Alfred Marshall Mayer, *Sound: A Series of Simple, Entertaining and Inexpensive Experiments in the Phenomena of Sound for the Use of Students of Every Age* (New York: The Century Co., 1888).
11. The most important books published by Alfred Marshall Mayer include *The Earth a Great Magnet*, a lecture delivered before the Yale Scientific Club on February 14, 1872 (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1872); "Lecture Notes on Physics," *Journal of Franklin Institute*, 1869: *Light*, with Charles Barnard (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1877); and *Sport with Gun and Rod in American Woods and Waters* (New York: The Century Co., 1883).
12. Alexis de Tocqueville had, in 1831, pointed out that "this new nation [America] required nothing of science but its special application to the useful arts and the means of rendering life more comfortable." He then went on to generalize further by writing: "In aristocratic ages science is more particularly called upon to furnish gratification to the mind; in democracies, to the body." Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 2 vols. (repr.; New York: Vintage Books, 1960), 46.
13. Mayer was much more successful in presenting designs for new physics equipment, and in describing what they would look like, than he was in presenting any precise data obtained with his new equipment. Frequently his research was the result of a demonstration experiment he had designed and built for an introductory textbook in physics. Hence, for Mayer, there was always a close connection between teaching and research.
14. One of the more recent publications on Mayer's floating magnets is H. A. M. Snelders, "A. M. Mayer's Experiments with Floating Magnets and their Use in the Atomic Theories of

Matter," *Annals of Science,* 33 (1976): 67–80. "Through his experiments Mayer made a significant, although small, contribution to the theory of atomic structure." (From the introductory "Summary.")

15. Sir Edmund Whitaker wrote in his famous two-volume *History of the Theories of the Aether and Electricity* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), 21: "In attempting to picture the way in which the negative electrons would dispose themselves, Thomson was guided by some experiments with magnets which had been made many years earlier by Alfred Marshall Mayer of the Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken." Thus, Alfred Mayer was still remembered many years after he completed his pioneering work with floating magnets.

16. Alfred Marshall Mayer, *A Memorial of Joseph Henry* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880), 475–508. Mayer then added to his address, "I have said that it was a duty of affection for me to speak to you about one who was my beloved friend."

17. During this sojourn from his research, Mayer found himself temporarily a free spirit and returned with improved health and more vigor when he finally moved back to Hoboken in 1890.

18. (New York: The Century Company, 1883). *The Scientific American* referred to it as "one of the finest books on outdoor sports that has ever been produced." Don Johnson, curator of the Fishing Museum in Camden, Maine, told me a few years ago that of all the books in the small, special-subject library the book Mayer edited was the one most often requested. He ventured the opinion that this was due to the quality of the articles it contained and, perhaps more important, to the drawings of fish and wildlife. Mayer was not the artist for many of these drawings, but as editor doubtless played an important role in choosing the illustrations. His interest in scientific illustration probably can be traced back to his drafting experience in the old Baltimore machine shop in the early 1850s.

19. Mayer's most active research periods in physics were the years 1872–80 and 1890–97. His best remembered research contributions to physics were his floating magnet experiments which were more highly praised in Great Britain than in America. Mayer was always conscious of being a professor of physics at one of the best endowed engineering schools in the United States. He was somewhat out of his element in such a situation, however, since he was not really an engineer but a physicist.

20. W. LeConte Stevens, "Alfred Marshall Mayer," *Science* (August 20, 1897): 269. Despite the coincidence of names, Stevens was not a member of the Stevens family that so generously endowed Stevens Institute of Technology.

21. I. Bernard Cohen, "Science in America at the End of the Nineteenth Century," in Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and Morton White, eds., *Paths of American Thought* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1963), 167–89 (quote 188–89).

Park Visions in Conflict: Baltimore's Debate Over the Leakin Bequest

MICHAEL P. McCARTHY

J. Wilson Leakin was a Baltimore lawyer and philanthropist who lived with his sister in a brownstone near Mount Vernon Place.[1] When Leakin died in 1922, he left many bequests, including $200,000 for a summer home for the president (which Congress declined). A major gift went to Baltimore's Peabody Conservatory for its building and endowment funds.[2] As for the city itself, Leakin gave it a new park in the form of downtown properties at North Howard and West Fayette Streets that were to be sold to provide the funds. Leakin's will left to the city all the decisions as to the location and type of park. The only stipulation was a waiting period of five years before the city sold the buildings, primarily because of existing leases with tenants. The Depression struck before the city got around to selling the properties. As prices for real estate plummeted, Baltimore decided to continue to rent the properties, with the income going to the bequest until the market brightened. That happened in the late 1930s. By then the value of the Leakin estate, in property and accrued interest, was around $250,000, which was deemed to be more than enough for a park purchase.

What Kind of Park?

In the nineteenth century, New York's Central Park, whose first section opened in 1858, was considered the ideal public park. More than eight hundred acres in size, it was designed by Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux.[3] It had spacious lawns and shady paths for strolling, a lake for boating, a zoo for family outings, and until the 1930s even a flock of sheep to add a bucolic touch and trim the grass. Baltimore's Druid Hill Park, opened in 1860, was nearly as big (over six hundred acres) as Central Park. It had the same design elements, and it kept a flock of sheep until 1945. Although not necessarily so intended by their designers, these parks found themselves primarily serving the middle-class neighborhoods that grew up around them. In the twentieth century park planners sought to rectify that by providing more greenery in the inner-city neighborhoods; they also looked to the metropolitan periphery, to save woodlands in what was then the dawn of suburbia.

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In his 1939 report, Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. recommended purchasing these woodlands in West Baltimore to create Leakin Park. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Druid Hill Park, c. 1900. The park kept a flock of sheep until 1945. (Maryland Historical Society.)

From the first news of the Leakin bequest, the park board and the city council wanted to do something for the city residents, and youngsters in particular. To be sure, there was Patterson Park, which was spacious enough at more than one hundred acres. It had started out in 1827 as a traditional landscaped park. At the turn of the century a fieldhouse and several play areas were added when more land was acquired. This was a wonderful asset for the youth of Highlandtown, Canton, and other nearby neighborhoods on the east side.[4] But a similar facility was badly needed to serve the west and south side. Yet once the search began, the members of the city council could not agree on a location. As a result, they decided on using the Leakin bequest to create several playgrounds instead of a big park, their argument being that this would serve more neighborhoods in the city. This new approach brought a protest from Leakin's sister, who claimed her brother had wanted one park.[5] She took the city to court, and a circuit court judge agreed with her that Leakin's will referred to a "single park and not a collection of small, unconnected plots of land located in different sections of the city."[6] The city appealed to the state supreme court, but to no avail. Use the bequest for a single park or lose the money, a judge in Annapolis ordered.[7]

Once again the city council considered the possibilities for a single park, including waterfront sites. All presented problems. A park at Cherry Hill in South Baltimore, for example, would cost more than three thousand dollars an acre for the sixty-acre site after all the land acquisition and improvements—a total of about $180,000, which sum the committee felt would strain the trust's resources.[8] The committee concluded that it could find no feasible locations to meet that goal of an inner-city park—development costs were too high, particularly in built-up

Patterson Park, c. 1893. These fashionable ladies are standing at the base of Observation Tower. The recently restored tower is better known as the the Pagoda. (Maryland Historical Society.)

neighborhoods where land would have to be cleared. The city council now began to look at sites for a woodland park, but it could not reach any agreement. At this point it called in an outside consultant.

The city chose Frederick Law Olmsted Jr., the son of the Central Park planner. The younger Olmsted's Baltimore connection had begun in the 1890s with his work for the developers of the new suburban neighborhood of Roland Park, which is now a part of north Baltimore. He blended the project into the woodlands and hills in such a skillful way that Roland Park became a showcase for suburban design. Baltimore invited him back to do a survey of its outer park possibilities. His report (1904) became the guide for acquisitions; the first purchase of parkland,

Leakin's bequest allowed the city to purchase Dead Run Valley, two hundred and forty acres adjoining Gwynn's Falls Park. (Maryland Historical Society.)

along the Gwynns Falls in West Baltimore, came from one of his recommendations. Olmsted sought to create an arc of parks around the city, similar to the pioneering "Emerald Necklace" that his father had designed for Boston back in the 1870s.[9] And in 1926 Olmsted returned to update the master plan.

To settle the Leakin debate, Olmsted had been invited by Theodore Marburg, the president of the Municipal Arts Society, the civic group that had commissioned Olmsted's earlier park reports. Olmsted had served as a consultant in the early 1930s in another council dispute, over the Orleans Street viaduct, which was a major construction project on the east side of downtown. Marburg hoped that Olmsted could also find a solution to this similar "turmoil" in the council.[10] Olmsted certainly came as a distinguished mediator. In addition to all his park planning and work on new suburbs, among them Forest Hills and Palos Verdes, he had been a member of the commission that restored L'Enfant's plan for the Washington mall in the early 1900s. He also had a strong interest in conservation and had served for decades as a consultant with the National Park Service.[11]

In its preliminary work the city council park site committee had picked a tract called Dead Run Valley on the west side, near the city limits.[12] The two hundred forty acres were part of the estate of Thomas Winans, a nineteenth-century businessman who made a fortune in railroad building in Russia. Heavily wooded, with steep sloping walls that dropped down to a meandering stream, Dead Run, the valley was a lovely spot and secluded, also, like a canyon in Colorado. The valley adjoined the Gwynns Falls parkland that Olmsted had recommended in his

1904 report.[13] Olmsted also liked Dead Run Valley. In fact in his 1926 report he had urged the city to buy it if it came on the market, saying that the land was "considered by all who view it as one of the very best bits of scenery near Baltimore."[14]

But Olmsted approached his consulting job with an open mind about all sites, including those in the inner-city. He had been the architect in charge of the additions at Patterson Park.[15] His firm, with his brother John in charge of the project, had done similar work, on a much larger scale for the South Park Board in Chicago.[16] Many of the parks had fieldhouses that also served as community centers, with meeting rooms as well as gyms, and Olmsted saw them as a planning "ideal." He also believed an inner-city park in Baltimore was "a wholly appropriate use" of the Leakin bequest because the need for it was greater than for a woodland park.[17] After visiting all possible sites, however, Olmsted concluded that there was not enough available open land in the inner-city for a park of any suitable size. Morever, the cost of clearing to create a site would be too high. Olmsted also noted that the population density of the inner-city was declining as more residents moved to new rowhouse neighborhoods nearer the city limits. Spending money on an inner-city park would be an "extravagant and futile gesture."[18]

Dead Run Valley was an "entirely appropriate" choice, Olmsted said, given the lack of inner-city alternatives.[19] He had also inspected all the other woodland possibilities and thought the valley a bargain with an asking price that the bequest could easily meet. At the same time, Olmsted recognized that Dead Run Valley

Gwynn's Falls Park, the city's first woodland park, 1912. (Maryland Historical Society.)

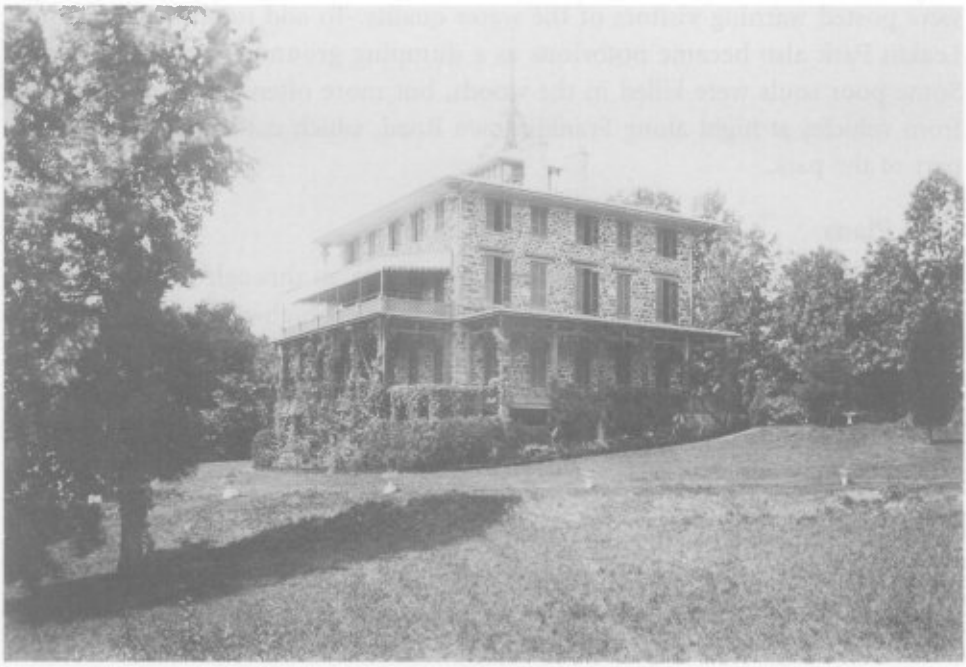
would not be able to serve the role of the inner-city park that the council had initially wanted, nor would it be a traditional park like Druid Hill. In fact daily usage at Dead Run Valley would have to be kept low because the property "cannot normally be subjected to very intensive continuous use . . . without rapid deterioration of the landscape values which are their prime justification."[20] This was a very different kind of park indeed, but Olmsted looked on the bright side. Fewer visitors, he said, would be an advantage because low use would mean low maintenance costs, and this might be important, given the uncertainty at the time about how much money the Leakin bequest, or the city, would be able to provide.[21]

The Early Years

The city acquired Dead Run Valley in 1940.[22] Seven years later it was offered the rest of the Winans estate, on a plateau above Dead Run Valley. The seventy acres included the three-story, twelve-room, summer house "The Crimea."[23] A Planning Commission committee inspected the property and came away impressed because this part of the estate was level and cleared, which meant it was "readily available for sports and recreation."[24] Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro Jr., a resident of Little Italy on the east side of downtown, had opposed the purchase of Dead Run Valley during the debate in the 1930s, and he opposed it now. Indeed, he even suggested to the Board of Estimates that the existing parkland should be sold, and the money used for something closer to downtown.

Upset at the mayor's views, the director of Baltimore Area Council of the Boy Scouts of America told him that eighteen thousand boys and adults were involved in scouting in the city and suburban counties, and Leakin Park had been for years "one of the chief gathering places."[25] D'Alesandro also heard from Father Martin W. Flahavan, the director of the high school division of the Catholic Youth Organization (CYO) for the Archdiocese of Baltimore. Four thousand boys and girls in CYO programs in West Baltimore visited Leakin Park. Yes, it was "used mainly for picnics and outings," Flahavan said, "but don't you think this is of some consideration?"[26] The mayor even got an invitation to tour the park on horseback from Malcom B. Tebbs, a wealthy attorney who had a seventy-acre estate near Leakin Park. This "is the only practical manner in which it could be properly viewed," Tebbs offered. The ride would be worth it, he said, to see the park's "sound value and natural beauty, which, in my opinion, is second to none not only in Baltimore City, but I feel that I could include the entire state of Maryland."[27]

With a controversy on his hands, D'Alesandro decided to defer to the wishes of the Park Board and the Planning Commission, both of which wanted to expand the park. The city bought the rest of the estate, at a cost of nearly $154,000, with the funds coming from the Leakin Trust that was still generating income from its investments. The plateau (or Crimea, it was called) got ball fields, but Leakin Park remained primarily a woodland preserve for hikers and riders, many of the latter



The city purchased the Crimea, Thomas Winans' summer estate, to create Leakin Park. (Maryland Historical Society.)

renting or boarding their horses at the Belvedere Riding School on Ingleside Avenue near the park. By the early 1950s there were enough riders in Leakin Park for two informal clubs. They used it for various activities, like a spring "treasure hunt" ride in 1953, when twenty-five riders searched the trails for prizes.[28] In 1956 the riding school was torn down to make way for an access road for the new Social Security Administration complex in nearby Woodlawn, but the Park Board built a new stable and leased it to the former owner of the riding academy.

Even with the riders and hikers, Leakin had few users compared to parks like Druid Hill and Patterson, which were more accessible and had more facilities. Leakin found itself becoming something of a neglected stepchild within the city's system. Maintenance was scant; fallen trees blocked paths; trails were overgrown. The recreation areas were also neglected, and particularly so the Bloomingdale Oval area near Gwynns Falls, where erosion and flooding were a problem. Picnic tables would be swept downstream and not replaced, complained one park user.[29] The park also had problems with sewers that ran through both Gwynns Falls and Dead Run Valleys. The line along Gwynns Falls was a combined storm and sanitary sewer designed to permit overflow into the stream bed. This was supposed to occur only during heavy storms, but in some instances the overflow was found to be continuous. The sewer line in Dead Run Valley leaked into the stream, and signs

were posted warning visitors of the water quality. To add to all the indignities, Leakin Park also became notorious as a dumping ground for murder victims. Some poor souls were killed in the woods, but more often bodies were thrown from vehicles at night along Franklintown Road, which cut through an isolated part of the park.

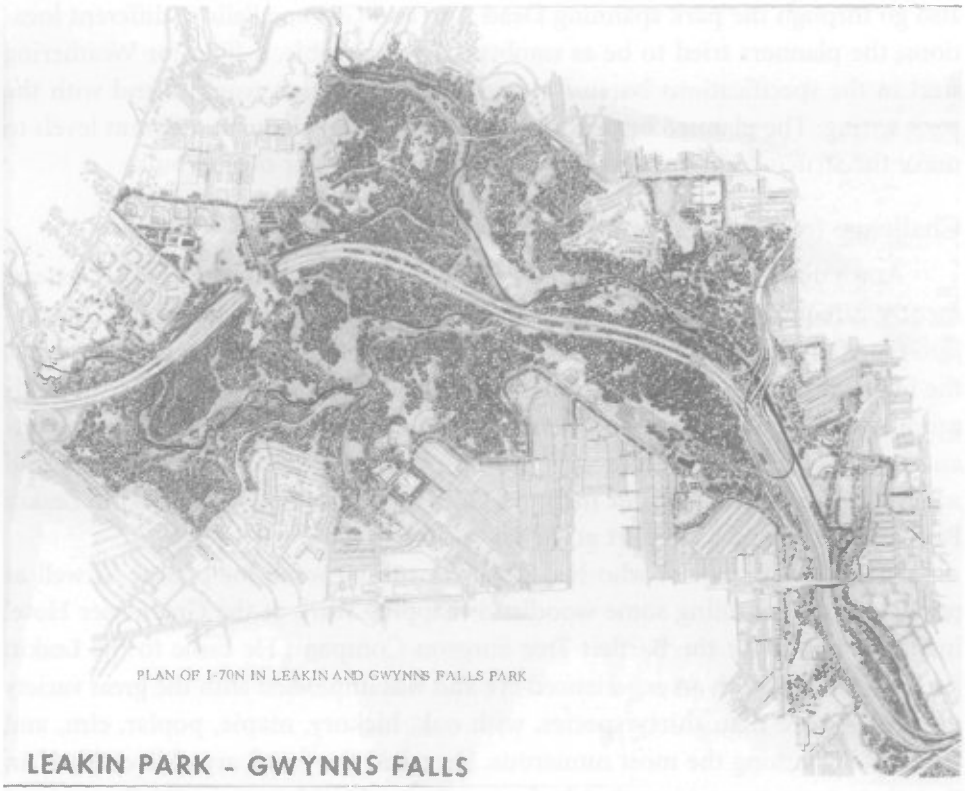
New Plans

In the 1960s planners decided to put Interstate 70 through Leakin Park and adjacent Gwynns Fall Park. This was part of the new highway system being created by the Interstate Highway Act of 1956.[30] In the original plans for a highway through Baltimore, which dated back to the 1940s, the route was to go along Edmondson Avenue, but it was shifted northward because so much new housing and so many retail businesses had sprung up along Edmondson Avenue in the decades after World War II. At the time, the decision was not controversial. As the Citizens Planning and Housing Association (CPHA) pointed out, it was preferable to knocking down all the new houses on the west side. The CPHA cited examples in San Francisco, Philadelphia, and other cities where roadways were compatible with a park setting.[31]

The federal government would give $4 million for park improvements in return for the land taken for the right-of-way, about a hundred acres or 10 percent of the total acreage in the combined Leakin and Gwynns Falls Park that would be transversed. Picnic areas would be increased from four to twelve, with new ones "seeded" throughout the park. Some would be in recreational areas, so families could spend all day in the park if they wanted to; some in woodland areas close to nearby neighborhoods to encourage use by residents; and some along the valley streams. Picnic areas were cheap to create, a planning report noted, yet they provided "an opportunity for extensive use of the park."[32] Planning consultant F. Elwood Allen said Leakin was a "forgotten park" that saw "only token use." In his view, the reason was "the fact that the park has not been developed with the type and number of facilities to appeal to the recreational interests of individuals and families."[33]

The trail system in Dead Run Valley would also be expanded, with many short loops for the casual strollers who could complete a walk in twenty minutes "at average pedestrian speeds." More residential use from the surrounding neighborhoods would also be encouraged by adding "connector trails" down into the valley where they would link up with the existing trails. To improve safety, lighting would be installed along the main trails and the principal connector routes.[34]

Other new facilities included a large, heated swimming pool with an inflatable cover that would afford year-round use. This was to be built in the Sloman Playground area on the northwest near the Crimea fields. Six new tennis courts and two parking lots for 250 cars were also planned for that area. At nearby Windsor



A 1970 land-use map showing the proposed route of the interstate expressway through Leakin and Gwynn's Falls Parks. (Courtesy of the Greater Baltimore Committee Collection, Langsdale Library, University of Baltimore.)

Estate, a hundred-acre property that had been added in 1969, there would be a day camp with an activity building and dining hall, as well as ball fields. This would be a year-round day camp for inner-city children, for recreation and also for the encouragement of "a greater understanding and appreciation of ecology and nature."[35]

To be sure, an expressway was also going through the park. In the early planning stages, the route was along the south side of Dead Run Valley, with the canyon wall serving as a sound barrier for nearby neighborhoods. When residents said that they wanted it deeper into the park, a city commission was created to deal with the issue. After several reports and much debate, a more northerly route was in fact chosen. This would also preserve Dead Run Valley and most of the prime woodlands, which were also on the south side.

A northern route, however, would run through the Crimea play area. The planners came up with the idea of a tunnel, a relatively simple cut-and-fill project, two hundred yards in length. Instead of dividing the playing fields, the expressway would now be underground and out of sight. With the bridges that would

also go through the park spanning Dead Run and Gwynns Falls at different locations, the planners tried to be as unobtrusive as possible, calling for Weathering steel in the specifications because it had a rust color that would blend with the park setting. The planned bridges also had the east-west lanes at different levels to make the structures more graceful and to minimize their overall bulk.

Challenge from the Environmentalists

At a public hearing on February 18, 1969, an environmental impact assessment was requested by George Scheper, a member of Movement Against Destruction (MAD), which opposed the expressway.[36] Although not required at the time, the highway planners, who included staff at the Interstate Division office in Baltimore as well as the design team, were willing to have one. They hired as a consultant Robert H. Giles Jr., an associate professor in the department of forestry and wildlife at Virginia Polytechnic Institute. Giles spent a week in September in Leakin Park and submitted his report at the end of the month.

Giles was an arborist who had done consulting work for private as well as public clients, including some woodland mapping work at the Greenbrier Hotel in West Virginia for the Bartlett Tree Surgeon Company. He came to the Leakin Park assignment with an experienced eye and was impressed with the great variety of trees—more than thirty species, with oak, hickory, maple, poplar, elm, and beech being among the most numerous. He called the forest area "diversified," in that there were some areas that had never been cleared, some partially cut, and others cleared for pasture or farming and then grown back again, with stands of trees from fifty to seventy years old. There were also other second growth areas, of more recent age, with dense stands of saplings on the edges of the park. The latter he said, "offer no particularly valuable esthetic or park opportunities at present." Giles was most enthusiastic about the older trees, some of them over two hundred years old with "such worthy character that they now far surpass those groves preserved in some states as 'big tree forests.'"[37]

As for the impact of the expressway, Giles said it was not going to affect water quality in the park's streams since they were already highly polluted from run-off and sewerage. (He watched sewerage flow into Gywnns Falls in the vicinity of Hilton Avenue.)[38] The cutting of elms along the expressway route would have an adverse effect because many of the trees were infected with the Dutch Elm disease, and the beetles carrying the disease would move to other elms.[39] All the elms in the park would not necessarily die, he said, given variables like tree vigor and the level of infection. Elms also made up less than 10 percent of the trees in the park. As for their loss—if indeed the disease did spread—Giles said the elm "plays no unique role in maintaining the health of an otherwise vigorous forest stand. It will be vigorously replaced."[40] Giles also said the park's main woodland area, located well south and west of the expressway's route, would not be subject to any cutting

at all. The park's birds and small mammals would not be endangered. Winter salt would kill some vegetation along the roads, but this was not significant. In sum, the section of the report containing Giles's field observations concluded the expressway would be intrusive but not necessarily cause major damage.

In his introduction and summary, however, Giles was outspoken in his criticism of expressways. They are a menace to man and his environment; they pollute, they divide neighborhoods, they take too much land. Wilderness parks in particular should be saved from expressways because they "can provide environmental relief from the gaudy monoculture of a man-dominated urban community."[41] The best park is, he said, a "natural" park, and even modest development plans like those proposed for Leakin were a threat.

It might seem surprising that the planners had hired someone with such strong views against their project. The expressway design team, however, was something of a contentious group, with architects and social scientists as well as engineers. The idea had been proposed in 1966 by Archibald C. Rogers, a Baltimore architect and a founding partner of the RTKL firm at a time when the Interstate Highway project was beginning to run into serious opposition in Baltimore, as it was elsewhere, particularly with sections of the Interstates that ran through cities. Rogers contacted Nathaniel Owings, of the architectural firm Skidmore Owings & Merrill, who in turn persuaded Lowell Bridwell, the head of the Bureau of Roads, to let Baltimore try the team approach as a model for other cities.[42]

The team was created in 1967 with federal funding. It did not work well, since many of the academics and architects harbored doubts about the merits of a road through the park. One of the doubters on the team apparently contacted Giles, who remembers only that it was an architect, who was "very involved, not unreasonable, just deeply interested and concerned."[43] Even if Giles had been picked for his views, it could be argued that it would have been hard to find an ecologist in the late 1960s who did not think much the same way, given the growing concern for the environment that Rachel Carson's indictment of pesticides in *Silent Spring* (1962) both influenced and reflected.[44]

The Giles report marked the turning point in the expressway debate. Protest groups like the Movement Against Destruction (MAD) used the views in the introduction and summary in their battle for public opinion. Many civic agencies also began to reconsider their position on the expressway. CPHA, the planning and housing group that had endorsed the expressway in 1960, became a zealous opponent. It used the federal Environmental Policies Act (1970) to win a delay from Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe in the fall of 1971. Leakin Park, "by its every nature, is uniquely irreplaceable," CPHA said in its appeal.[45]

A few months later, the Sierra Club joined CPHA in a law suit against the federal government. In its brief the Sierra Club argued it had a right as a national organization to be involved because its members in the Baltimore area, some six

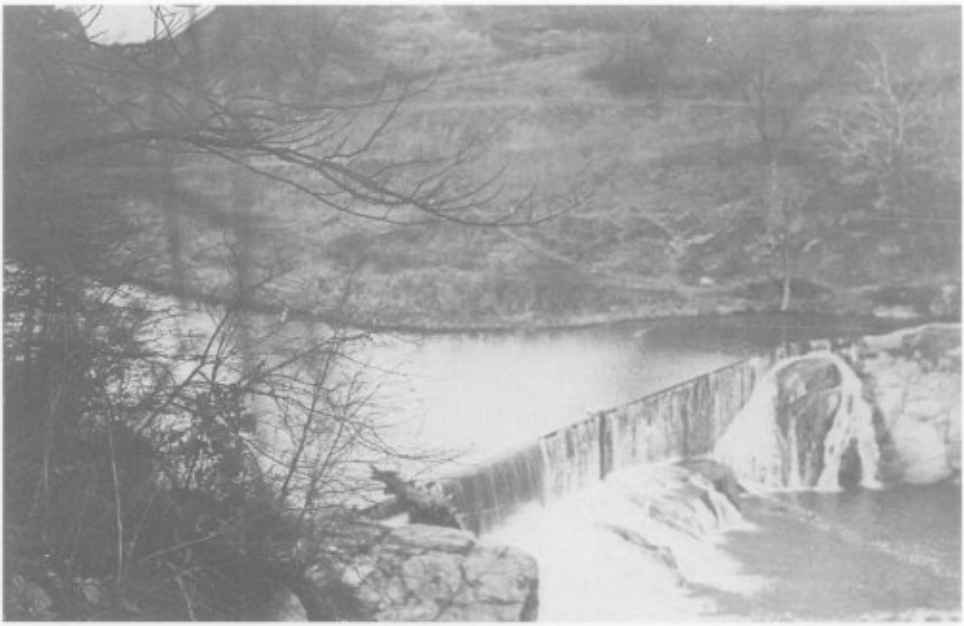
hundred in number, hiked in the park. Another group that filed a suit was the Volunteers Opposing Leakin Park Expressway, which as an acronym, VOLPE, spelled the name of the beleaguered transportation secretary. MAD also filed environmental suits. These were unsuccessful, but they gave the "no roaders" more time to win over the city council. Delays brought more delays, and the expressway project was finally abandoned in the early 1980s as federal funding ran out.

Whose Park Is It ?

For the park planners, the episode was a frustrating experience. They believed the expressway and the park could co-exist, and indeed that Leakin would be a better park as a result of the federal funding. Roger E. Holtman, who had done much of the work on the design, winced at a *Baltimore Sun* editorial that said paving paths would make the park too "urban." This was nonsense, Holtman retorted; they would make the park better for everyone, as would the overall design that had the approval of the city's parks department. In Holtman's view, the new park plan presented an opportunity to provide "recreational facilities of the highest standards," for west Baltimore.[46]

George L. Jude was an African American businessman and chairman of the Planning Commission. Jude agreed with Holtman on the needs of the west side.

Carroll Park, c. 1910. (Maryland Historical Society.)



Olmsted urged the city to purchase woodland retreats such as Gwynn's Falls for an outer park system. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Many blacks were moving into neighborhoods near the park.[47] Historically, they had enjoyed little access to the city's parks. In its report for the years 1916–18, the Children's Playground Association included a photograph of black children playing in the street at Bayard and Ward Streets in Southwest Baltimore. The caption stated that this was the only playground for the children "although this spot is within a stone's throw of Carroll Park."[48] By the 1920s blacks had gained the use of tennis courts and a swimming pool at Druid Hill Park, albeit segregated from the white-only facilities. An integrated tennis match in July 1948 led to arrests and a protest that eventually ended official park segregation in 1955.[49] Even in the 1960s blacks were not particularly welcome in most of the city's parks. In many respects, Leakin Park offered new possibilities. Jude pointed out that eighteen thousand school children, most of them black, lived within walking distance of Leakin Park. "There seems to be a misunderstanding of the manner in which a city park should be used," Jude said. Without the development plans, Leakin will remain underused. "But I'm really afraid that is what some people prefer."[50]

In fairness, opponents criticized the expressway more than the plans for expanding the park's use. There was some elitism, however, in the worries about the woodlands and all the new trails. Swimming pools, more tennis courts, and picnic areas were also not seen as necessary by members of the Sierra Club and other hikers. In their view, Leakin was primarily a wilderness park, which indeed it was,

Clifton Park, c. 1910. The city carved this spacious, multi-purpose park in Northeast Baltimore from land that once belonged to Johns Hopkins' summer home, Clifton. Baltimore purchased the land from the Hopkins trustees in 1895. (Maryland Historical Society.)

and one that could take only limited use, as Olmsted had pointed out in his report in 1939. But would more trails be detrimental to the woodlands, or would they simply make them more accessible to more residents of Baltimore? That issue was not really explored.

There were two ideal kinds of parks, Olmsted wrote in his 1939 report. One was the neighborhood park, which provided easy access and facilities for all ages, "in surroundings as refreshingly pleasant and attractive as it is possible to provide."[51] The other was the woodland park that should be "notable for its exceptional natural landscape beauty of a sort very keenly enjoyable, in a quite leisurely way, by many kinds of people, who will come to it even from considerable distance."[52] Given his work at Patterson Park, Olmsted certainly would have praised the idea of increasing usage. At the same time, he had devoted a good deal of his career to preserving woodlands, from suburban greenbelt parks to forest tracts in rural California. He probably would have shared the worries of many others about the expressway's impact on the park's ambiance and air quality, both of which could have been adversely effected even though the road was taking only a relatively small amount of park land.

In recent years a one-mile loop for children has been added to Leakin's trail system. The main trail through the park is being improved. The Carrie Murray

Outdoor Education Campus runs education programs for school children.[53] Bloomingdale Oval, now renamed Leon Day Park in honor of a Negro Baseball League star in the era before integration, has also gotten a facelift. These projects have been funded by the city and state, as well as by private foundations like the Parks & People Foundation and the Trust for Public Land. In a sense the new activities reflect an on-going tug-of-war over mission, but a wilderness park can also serve the community.

NOTES

1. The author would like to thank Rebecca Gunby, archivist of the Baltimore City Archives, for her help in locating many of the documents used in this article. A few years ago the archives moved from downtown to an industrial park in Woodberry, where there is plenty of free parking. They are a treasure-trove for researchers and ably administered.
2. *Baltimore Evening Sun*, August 18, 1936.
3. For Olmsted and Vaux, see Witold Rybczynski, *A Clearing in the Distance: Frederick Law Olmsted and America in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1999) and Francis R. Kowsky, *Country, Park and City: The Architecture and Life of Calvert Vaux* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
4. Baltimore Board of Park Commissioners, *Public Parks of Baltimore No. 2 Patterson Park* (1927).
5. *Baltimore Evening Sun*, February 9, 1938.
6. Ibid., March 22, 1938.
7. *Baltimore Sun*, June 30, 1938.
8. W. W. Emmart [chairman of Leakin Park subcommittee] to Mayor Howard W. Jackson, May 8, 1939, Box 127, file 2446 (hereafter Leakin Park file), Olmsted Papers, Library of Congress. Copied files in the Archives of the Friends of Maryland's Olmsted Parks and Landscapes, Baltimore.
9. Cynthia Zaitzevsky, *Frederick Law Olmsted and the Boston Park System* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).
10. Marburg to Olmsted, June 1, 1939, Leakin Park File, Olmsted Papers.
11. Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. died in 1957 at the age of eighty-seven. See Edward Clark Whiting and William Lyman Philips, "Frederick Law Olmsted—1870–1957—An Appreciation of the Man and his Achievements," *Landscape Architecture*, 48 (April 1958): 145–51.
12. Ibid.
13. For a brief but useful overview of the history of the west side parks, see *A Natural Legacy: Baltimore's Gwynns Falls and Leakin Parks* (1986). It was prepared by students in the American Studies program at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, to accompany a photography exhibit. The faculty sponsor was Edward W. Orser.
14. Baltimore Department of Public Works, *Report and Recommendations on Park Extension for Baltimore to the Board of Park Commissioners* (1926), 46.
15. The actual design of the fieldhouse was in the hands of Wyatt and Nolting, a prominent local architectural firm. A swimming facility was also created in a section of the park's lake. See "Twelfth Annual Report (1905) of the Free Public Bath Commission," Baltimore City Archives.
16. For a detailed account of these parks, see Joan E. Draper, "The Art and Science of Small

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17. Olmsted to Marburg, July 12, 1939 (hereafter cited as "Olmsted Report"), 4–5, file 243, Papers of Mayor Howard W. Jackson, Baltimore City Archives.
18. "Olmsted Report," 6.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., 3.
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22. *Baltimore Sun*, June 8, 1940.
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25. Robert H. Heistand to D'Alesandro, June 10, 1947, ibid.
26. Flahaven to D'Alesandro, June 6, 1947, ibid.
27. Tebbs to D'Alesandro, August 7, 1947, ibid.
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33. Allen to Philip Darling, October 23, 1963, Papers of the Baltimore Planning Department, series 3, box 17, file 24, Special Collections, Langsdale Llibrary, the University of Baltimore.
34. Ibid., 26.
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37. Giles, "An Ecological Study of the Influence of a Highway on Leakin Park and Vicinity" (September 1969), series 7a, box 1, MAD Collection, University of Baltimore.
38. For the water pollution, see also Ira L. Whitman, "Physical Conditions in the Streams of Baltimore and their Relation to Park Areas. A Report to the Departments of Recreation and Parks, and Public Works." (December 1966), Baltimore Department of Recreation and Parks.
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44. See Roderick Nash, *The Rights of Nature*: A *History of Environmental Ethics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989); also Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the*

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49. The demonstration was held just before the Democratic National Convention in that presidential election year, in an effort to push the cause of civil rights.
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51. "Olmsted Report," 4.
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ANNE S. K. TURKOS and JEFF KORMAN, COMPILERS

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Bibliographers must live with the fact that their work is never finished. Please notify us of any significant omissions so that they may be included in the next list. Send additional items to: Anne S. K. Turkos, Archives and Manuscripts Department, Hornbake Library, University of Maryland, College Park, Md. 20742.

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Book Reviews

Behind the Backlash: White Working-Class Politics in Baltimore, 1940–1980. By Kenneth D. Durr (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003. 294 pages. Notes, bibliography, index. $55.)

American labor historians rode atop a wave of exciting scholarship in the late 1970s and 1980s. Inspired by the groundbreaking work of E. P. Thompson, left-leaning graduate students and young professors dug deep into the cultures and work experiences of U.S. workers and conveniently found evidence of authentic class-consciousness and radicalism. By the late 1980s, however, the wave receded. Efforts to synthesize the plethora of local studies birthed by "new labor historians" foundered. Then, led by David Roediger, a new generation of racially minded historians emerged to argue that far from nascent radicals, American workers better resembled reactionary racists—clinging to an exclusionary "whiteness" to the abject detriment of black, Asian, and Hispanic workers. Quickly, images of bigotry and reaction replaced the romanticized version of American laborers, barely two decades old.

Fortunately—if Kenneth Durr's *Behind the Backlash: White Working-Class Politics in Baltimore, 1940–1980* is any indication—we are witnessing the emergence of a more balanced, sophisticated approach, free from the determinism of both the "whiteness" orientation and the "new labor history." Depicting the gradual alienation of Baltimore's white working class from the liberal political order forged initially by the New Deal, Durr steadfastly resists reducing the narrative to one emphasizing race as the controlling factor. Instead, borrowing from the sensitivities of the new labor history, the author assiduously portrays a white, working-class culture constructed around community and neighborhood. Baltimore's workers jealously guarded their hold on security—proudly scrubbing the marble steps outside rowhouses, devoutly attending neighborhood churches, and subscribing to a certain "blue-collar Babbitry" (82). Although embracing industrial unionism and the Democratic Party of Franklin Roosevelt, a decidedly anti-elitist, parochial "populism" best characterized the politics and outlook of working Baltimoreans.

The upheavals of the late 1950s and 1960s—beginning with the civil rights movement—severely tested the foundations of the "workers' paradise" of Baltimore's postwar era. In response, workers increasingly adopted "rights" language in defense of community and "social conservatism." Throughout, Durr insists the backlash involved "more than sheer race hatred" (84). Indeed, a host of threats, including blockbusting real estate agents, unresponsive city officials, rising

crime rates, and even the caustic pronouncements of Baltimore native Madalyn Murray ("row houses breed row minds"), all contributed to a sense of community under siege and mounting resentment of liberalism.

Already during World War II, an influx of southerners seeking industrial jobs in Baltimore began reshaping the outlook of the city's working class. As so-called "hillbillies" assimilated into the city's working class, southern populist politics and racial presuppositions melded with surfacing resentments in ethnic, working-class neighborhoods—hence the enthusiasm expressed by many Baltimore workers for Alabama Governor George Wallace's several presidential campaigns. While acknowledging race as a force provoking anger and driving white workers to support Wallace and later Spiro Agnew, Durr is at pains to situate the issue within the larger context of a close-knit, humble, hardworking community under mounting stress. It was the "dignity and respect" Wallace showed for the anxieties and concerns of working peoples—pressures frequently dismissed by mainstream liberals—rather than unfettered racism that endeared the southern governor to northern working voters (122).

By the 1970s blue-collar "blacklash" morphed into community action focused on defending neighborhoods against a plethora of outside menaces from court-ordered busing to interstate highways threatening to carve up neighborhoods. By the early 1980s, the sense of alienation evolving into activism bred a new phenomenon: the Reagan Democrat, although not an accompanying full-scale political realignment.

Durr's sensitivity, indeed sympathy and admiration, for Baltimore's embattled white working class is palpable throughout the book. While de-emphasizing racism, the work is hardly a "whitewash." The author acknowledges the bigotry very much present in the lives of working Baltimoreans, yet carefully places it in context. His discussion of the inequities accompanying the imposition of affirmative action on Baltimore's dockworkers is particularly sagacious.

Although the extent to which Baltimore's workers might offer a microcosm for understanding the nationwide experience of urban workers during the postwar period is not quite clear, this study certainly compares favorably to those of Thomas Sugrue and Arnold Hirsch. Indeed, in his determination to understand the complex motives and factors "behind the blacklash," Durr's work stands alone atop the growing scholarship examining the postwar urban experience.

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The Soul's Economy: Market Society and Selfhood in American Thought, 1820–1920. By Jeffrey Sklansky. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. 326 pages. Notes, index. Cloth, $45; paper, $19.95.)

During the nineteenth century the independent producer society of the early American Republic was threatened by the rise of industrial capitalism, and this important development was accompanied by a transformation in American social thought. Jeffrey Sklansky describes this intellectual shift as the repudiation of classical political economy and the rise of social psychology as the predominant mode of social scientific analysis in the United States. Accompanying this shift was a concomitant transformation in the notion of selfhood: political economy's autonomous self, his nature rooted in "rational willpower and productive labor" (14), was displaced by social psychology's social self, fashioned by "culturally created desires, habits and mores" (3). Covering a century of intellectual history, Sklansky's book clearly traces the impact that changes in market society had on American thought and persuasively argues that the shift from political economy to social psychology was not the "unambiguous advance upon outdated ideals" (4) that his historical subjects, and some modern scholars, seem to have believed.

The topic of American selfhood and its relationship to a developing industrial capitalist society is not a new one, and neither are Sklansky's historical subjects. The writers that he considers—seventeen in all, grouped into six chapters—include many of the usual suspects of American intellectual history: Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry C. Carey, William Graham Sumner, John Dewey, Thorstein Veblen, Lester F. Ward, Horace Bushnell; Margaret Fuller; George Fitzhugh; Henry Hughes; Henry George; William James; G. Stanley Hall; Simon N. Patten; Edward A. Ross.; Thomas M. Cooley; and Charles H. Cooley. Readers familiar with any of these historical figures will probably find little to surprise them in Sklansky's biographical sketches or textual exegeses. However, this book's chief importance lies in the author's ability to trace a common thread running through the thought of this diverse group of intellectuals, and his analysis of the explanatory limitations of the shift from political economy to social psychology.

A central argument of *The Soul's Economy* is that American intellectuals rejected classical political economy because they concluded that its basis in Lockean natural rights and Smithian competitive self-interest was largely responsible for the divisive competition and class conflict that beset industrializing America. Political economy's sovereign individual, they said, "stood behind the consuming race for riches that impoverished rather than enriched modern society" (228). The earliest critics, Transcendentalists like Ralph Waldo Emerson and Horace Bushnell, offered a romantic individualist alternative to political economy, asserting the primacy of spiritual rather than economic relations and adopting a notion of independence that relied on psychological rather than material self-

reliance. The main intellectual current traced in Sklansky's book, however, drew on the ideas of French sociologist Auguste Comte, and sought to formulate a social science that was a study of a "community of values and norms" (75), and stressed evolutionary change rather than revolutionary struggle. In this project, many of the central tenets of political economy—natural law, natur-al rights, the foundational character of reason and productive labor, and the concept of economic man—were rejected outright as divisive and dangerous, or were reformulated in a manner that made the individual the product rather than the basic unit of the social process.

Sklansky argues that the renunciation of political economy served, for some of these intellectuals, as little more than a rationalization for the increasingly obvious gap between rich and poor, propertied and propertyless. He demonstrates time and again how a critique of the language of individualism and class conflict coexisted with an accommodation to the obvious inequalities of market society. Important to his argument, however, is that even those who sought to critique industrial society and ameliorate inequality still rejected political economy as an analytical tool. So, while Gilded Age intellectuals Henry George and William Graham Sumner approached social problems from the political left and right, respectively, they both avoided political economy's class analysis and "were united by a shared belief in the fundamental identity of interests between labor and capital" (134). Even as scathing a critic of market society as Thorstein Veblen rejected economic man and class struggle in favor of a model of social selfhood and cultural assimilation. The problem, as Sklansky astutely observes, was that while these increasingly professional social scientists were denying the relevance of political economy and focusing on new questions of social identity, the growing concentration of ownership and power meant that actual societal conditions were more amenable than ever to class analysis. Although he is no unreconstructed materialist, Sklansky laments the lack of discussion about economic inequality, both among the social scientists that are the subject of his book, and among some modern scholars, whom he takes to task for their "ironic reading of economic history" (4).

Like many intellectual historians who focus on a small, select group of subjects, Sklansky leaves himself open to questions about countervailing tendencies that he might have neglected, and about the broader cultural significance of his findings. While he concedes that he is concerned with tracing but a "single thread" (11) of American thought, he might have rendered his readers a service by pointing them in the direction of intellectuals who opposed the trend that he uncovers. Perhaps more disappointing is his failure to follow through on one of his early strands of thought. The chapter on Transcendentalist thinkers contains a section on Margaret Fuller and her psychology of gender, but Sklansky does not examine gendered social science or selfhood in subsequent chapters. The important femi-

nist economist Charlotte Perkins Gilman was heavily influenced by one of Sklansky's other subjects, Lester Frank Ward; Gilman and her groundbreaking work, *Women and Economics* (1898), might profitably have been incorporated in this book. Similarly, we are treated to an interesting analysis of southern antebellum thought in the works of George Fitzhugh and Henry Hughes, but are left wondering whether a distinctly southern social science survived the Civil War.

These quibbles aside, *The Soul's Economy* is an impressive book that makes an original contribution to our understanding of American selfhood, the emergence of professional social science, and the intellectual theorizing that accompanied America's shift from a "producer" to a "consumer" society. Sklansky's command of a substantial body of work is impressive, and his ability to synthesize and recapitulate clearly the ideas of others means that this book can profitably be read both by specialists in the field, and by those seeking an introduction to an important period in American intellectual history.

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The Naval War of 1812: A Documentary History. Volume III. Chesapeake Bay, Northern Lakes, and Pacific Ocean. Edited by Michael J. Crawford. (Washington, D.C.: Naval Historical Center, Department of the Navy, 2002. 874 pages. Illustrations, maps, appendices. Cloth, $70.)

Having had the fortune to make use in my own research of the earlier two volumes of the Naval Historical Center's *The Naval War of 1812: A Documentary History*, which appeared in 1985 and 1992, it is a great pleasure to welcome the third volume of this unique series of documents related to the war with the British that took place 1812–15. The new installment of the series is sure to prove an invaluable resource for scholars of the War of 1812. Moreover, for persons interested in Maryland and Chesapeake Bay history, this is probably *the* volume that will create the most interest since it covers among other things the three-week span including the British capture of Washington, D.C., on August 24, 1814, through their failed attack on Baltimore on September 12–14, 1814. These were the stirring events that helped give our nation a new identity and a poem by Francis Scott Key that would later form the lyrics of the national anthem, "The Star-Spangled Banner."

This is not to say that the earlier volumes of *The Naval War of 1812* have no interest for our region, indeed they most definitely do. Vol. I covers the events leading up to the war, the ship-to-ship battles of the latter half of 1812, and the privateering successes of Baltimore hero Captain Joshua Barney, who would play a major role in 1814 and in the third volume now under review. Thus also high-

lighted in the initial volume of the series is the *Chesapeake–Leopard* affair of June 1807 when H.M.S. *Leopard* stopped U.S.S. *Chesapeake* off Norfolk, Virginia, to apprehend four sailors that the British claimed were deserters. That event, which caused anti-British feeling and resentment in the American press, almost led to war five years before the declaration of war in 1812. It resulted in the calling out of the militia in Baltimore and Norfolk, which helped with the organization of the militia of Maryland and Virginia ahead of the coming conflict, an important point when we remember that the defense of the region was largely left to the citizen-soldiers from the states bordering the bay.

Volume II, devoted to the events of 1813, is important for printing the British dispatches describing the spring operations of Rear Admiral George Cockburn in the upper Chesapeake Bay, including his raids on Frenchtown, Havre de Grace, and Fredericktown and Georgetown. The failed June 22, 1813, British attack on Norfolk, Virginia, at Craney Island under Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren is covered as well as the sack of Hampton, Virginia, three days later across the James River. Commodore Barney's plan to mobilize a flotilla to fight the British in the bay is discussed as well as a failed American attempt to use Fulton's torpedo (actually a floating mine) to blow up a British warship off the Chesapeake capes. A British probe up the Potomac in July should have been warning that Washington, D.C., would be a target a year later.

The raids that the British conducted in 1813 in the Chesapeake Bay, destructive though they were, provided a mere taste of what would occur in 1814. As documented in Volume III, the intruders would begin the year with more pillaging and burning of tidewater farms and communities, apparently all in a vain attempt to get the Americans to draw off U.S. troops that threatened British interests in Canada—a move that arrogant Secretary of War John Armstrong refused to make. Meanwhile, President James Madison allegedly made the remark that he could not spare troops to defend every man's turnip patch. This apparent indifference of the Madison administration to the sufferings of the people of southern Maryland in particular, who were subject to repeated British raids, would have the effect of causing westward emigration from which southern Maryland has not fully recovered to this day.

Volume III begins specifically with letters in early 1814 between Secretary of the Navy William Jones and Captain Charles Gordon of U.S.S. *Constellation* (6–15). The frigate was still blockaded in the Elizabeth River, as she had been in 1813, and Gordon hoped to either sneak the frigate out from its imprisonment or, in the event of a British attack, to help defend Norfolk, as the sailors of the frigate had in the prior June. (Although no further attack would occur at Norfolk, U.S. Navy men and U.S. Marines would help harass a British squadron that forced the capitulation of Alexandria in late August and also performed the vital service of

helping the militia and U.S. Army regulars in the defense of Baltimore in September.) British blockade duties in the Chesapeake and plans for Commodore Barney's flotilla are then documented (15–37).

The British would experience a significant change of command when Vice Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane replaced the ineffectual Admiral Warren as chief of the British North American naval station in spring (38). The United States could expect a more vigorous campaign from the enemy under this new naval commander. One of the first things Cochrane did was to issue a proclamation on April 2 promising freedom to refugee slaves or else the option to fight in British uniform (60). This was a significant development. The previous year, escaped slaves had flocked to the British and perhaps as many as 3,000–5,000 former slaves would make their way to the British in 1813–1815 and were transported out, mainly to Nova Scotia. Around two hundred able-bodied male former slaves would be trained as "Colonial Marines" at a British fort on Tangier Island, Virginia, in the lower bay. These men would fight with distinction for the British in engagements from late May through the fall of 1814.

It was to attack the British fort on Tangier Island that Commodore Barney's flotilla of some eighteen gunboats and row galleys sailed south from Baltimore in May 1814 (58–59). Unfortunately, inclement weather and a British squadron forced the commodore to seek refuge in the Patuxent River. Barney fought battles with the British off Cedar Point on June 1 (76–82) and in St. Leonard's Creek on the Patuxent on June 8–10 and 26 (84–91, 121–128). Incidentally, the Patuxent battles are well illustrated with sketch maps from Barney's papers as well as maps reproduced from Donald G. Shomette's book *Flotilla*. The chosen illustrations and maps throughout the volume are enlightening and useful.

This series of battles on the Patuxent preceded the major "British invasion" of mid-August when four British regiments under Major General Robert Ross, freed from duties in Europe during Napoleon's exile on Elba, arrived in the bay (189). The new British force amounted to some 4,500 available men once two battalions of Royal Marines and a naval brigade were added, around twice the number of the troops available to the British in the Chesapeake in the previous year, so a serious threat to the security of the region.

The initial objective of this invasion force, however, was not either Washington or Baltimore but to destroy Barney's flotilla, which was achieved on August 22 when the commodore's sailors blew up the Chesapeake Flotilla on the upper waters of the Patuxent east of Upper Marlboro on orders of Secretary of the Navy Jones (194–198). This led to the British attack on Washington, D.C., when a reluctant General Ross was persuaded by the zealous and piratical Cockburn to attempt to capture the U.S. capital. The assembled documents on the Battle of Bladensburg (August 24) and the sack of the Washington (August 24–25), given from the American and British points of view, are invaluable and enlightening

(198–228). The American defending force of some six thousand, mainly militia, under Marylander Brigadier General William H. Winder, did not perform well at Bladensburg. After an initial stand, the militia fled before the veteran British troops, leaving a wag to dub the event "The Bladensburg Races." The one bright spot was the stand of the some two hundred sailors and 130 U.S. Marines under Barney, manning a battery near the gates of present-day Fort Lincoln Cemetery. The report of Barney, who was seriously wounded, captured, and paroled, is among the documents included (207–8).

The mass of documents on events at Baltimore is equally impressive and will show why, after the mortal wounding of General Ross on September 12 in a skirmish with militiamen prior to the Battle of North Point, new British Army commander Colonel Arthur Brooke, who had sustained some 150 casualties at North Point, was forced to withdraw. The British were faced by American defenses on Hampstead Hill (Patterson Park) manned by some sixteen thousand Americans, with earthworks bristling with some one hundred cannons as against minimal artillery as part of their force. Despite a plan to make a night attack and effect a flanking maneuver up the Bel Air Road and enter Baltimore from the north, Brooke received the news from Cochrane that the Royal Navy had failed to capture Fort McHenry. The British Army man had little choice but to withdraw to the ships at North Point (259–304).

The section of the book dealing with the Chesapeake theater publishes documents in relation to the region straight through the spring of 1815. In fact, there was a British presence in the bay until February 1815 when news of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent reached the region. It is a mistake to think that the American defensive victory at Baltimore ended the British threat to the region. Indeed, the British continued to raid small communities in the southern bay, and commanders at Baltimore feared a return of the enemy and kept militia in the entrenchments protecting the city through the fall of 1814.

In addition to the sumptuous documentation of events in the Chesapeake Bay arena in 1814–1815, the third volume of *The Naval War of 1812: A Documentary History* contains two other major sections. Printed are the essential documents on the naval war in the Northern Lakes theater (369–706) and in the Pacific theater, where U.S.S. *Essex*'s cruise is well documented (707–82). Since these theaters involved the participation of U.S. Navy men from Maryland, these sections of the book should also prove of great interest to students of this state's role in the war. In total, this volume of *The Naval War of 1812* publishes documents crucial to an understanding of the War of 1812 as it impacted upon Maryland and the Chesapeake Bay region.

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Working Cures: Healing, Health and Power on Southern Slave Plantations. By Sharla M. Fett (Chapel HIll: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. 290 pages. Illustrations, map, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $39.95, paper, $18.95.)

In her introduction historian Sharla M. Fett explains that her book picks up where Todd Savitt's classic *Medicine and Slavery* ends. Focusing on the experiences of how slaves themselves understood sickness, healing, and health, Fett brilliantly succeeds in taking Savitt's cue and in so doing charts new terrain in the burgeoning field of slavery and medicine.

From examinations of how slave health factored into the selling of slaves on the auction block to rich descriptions of how slaves understood the complex relationship between healing, herbal remedies, and spiritual intervention, Fett powerfully demonstrates how health and healing permeated through all aspects of life on southern plantations. Each chapter, in turn, explores a different dimension of how slave health was defined, contested, and understood among both the slaves and members of the slaveholding South. For example, topics, such as African voodoo and conjuring, which are often given cursory glances by historians of this period, receive critical attention in *Working Cures*. Drawing on anthropological and cultural theories, Fett rigorously interrogates how conjuring and voodoo—to which she finds references in slave narratives and oral testimonies—had an important meaning among slaves about their health. No longer will historians be able to overlook references to these practices without taking into full consideration Fett's analysis of the complex relationship between healing and spiritual power.

Furthermore, by examining the cultural, religious, and health connotations that conjuring and herbal medicines had for enslaved men and women, Fett brilliantly uncovers the lost and, at times, muttered voice of slaves in the historical record. In other words, references to slave health are seldom mentioned in plantation records, and when slave testimonies do appear in the historical record and slave's voices emerge, claiming spiritual power or conjuring as the cause of illness, the plantation owner dismisses such claims as irrational and immature thinking. By broadening both temporal and geographic parameters of her analysis, Fett, however, traces how people of African descent from the seventeenth century forward connected spiritual power to illness. And, in so doing Fett situates the slave's remarks about the connection between illness and spiritual power within this context, revealing the competing ideological understandings of health and introducing yet another site of confrontation between slave and master.

In addition to emphasizing the centrality of health and healing during slavery, the other grand achievement of her study is her focus on how healing was a gendered enterprise. By revealing the interconnection between sickcare and women's work, Fett argues how healing overlapped with the domestic responsi-

bilities of cooking, cleaning, and laundering. Although cooking, measuring, and mixing household remedies was an extension of female domestic labor, administering the treatments was also the responsibility of enslaved women. Considering the nature of antebellum remedies, Fett reminds us, this often meant that doctoring slave women had to contend with vomiting, secretion, or bleeding. Additionally, sickcare was gendered work due to the proximity of plantation hospitals to the homes of enslaved women. Fett explains how planters purposely constructed sickhouses close to the slave quarters yet near enough to the overseers house; plantation records further reveal that bondswomen assumed the major responsibilities and had the most conspicuous presence in plantation hospitals.

Overall, Fett unleashes a dazzling array of sources that powerfully document the ways in which enslaved men and women understood health and healing and in so doing disrupts our understandings of slave life, the relationship between master and slave, and, more broadly, nineteenth-century conceptualizations of medicine. Although her contributions are certainly an important intervention into the historiography, Fett makes a claim about slave resistance to white medicine in both the preface of the book and in Chapter 6, "Danger and Distrust," but unfortunately does not substantiate the claim with enough solid evidence. She relies heavily on secondary sources to make these claims, which is certainly allowable, but references to slave resistance to white medicine as articulated by Eugene Genovese in *Roll Jordan Roll* or Todd Savitt in *Medicine and Slavery*, books that she footnotes, are minute details of their larger arguments. Moreover, their evidence is scant. Genovese quotes only two sources and is more concerned with the ways in which black doctoring was impugned by plantation owners than slave resistance to white medicine.

The topic of slave resistance to white medicine is a seductive and compelling idea, yet it demands more analytical rigor and, most importantly, more evidence. The danger of making such an argument—Although it certainly seems logical—is that it posits a dichotomy about medicine and slavery that could potentially obfuscate the moments and details when doctors, masters, and slaves negotiated medical treatment.

Provocative, insightful, and brilliant, *Working Cures* is a must-read for students of the South, slavery, and the history of medicine. Sharla Fett's documentation and analysis of health and healing on plantations will serve as a model for generations of scholars to come.

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Union Soldiers and the Northern Home Front: Wartime Experiences, Postwar Adjustments. Edited by Paul A. Cimbala and Randall A. Miller. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2002. 524 pages. Afterword, contributors, index. Cloth $50.00; paper $25.00.)

Study of the Civil War's impact on civilians is a relatively young endeavor. Stories of men, women and children, gleaned from letters and diaries, military and pension records, telegrams, business records, and articles in their local newspapers, have added new dimensions to our understanding of that conflict beyond the traditional domains of military operations and politics. The editors of *Union Soldiers and the Northern Home Front* have assembled a broad collection of essays examining recruitment, the role of civilian organizations in the northern war effort, and, at the end of the conflict, the task of reintegrating into society many thousands of physically and psychologically wounded men, many just at the threshold of adulthood.

Many, though not all, historical and literary treatments of the Civil War have portrayed the southern soldier and his family sympathetically. This volume counters that weary romanticism of the southern cause to expose the humanity of northern enlistees and conscripts and the responses of their loved ones and communities. Here is long-needed light on the vast social infrastructure that supported the Union war effort in often unseen but vital ways.

Part One, "Filling the Ranks," presents three case studies of local troop recruitment, two in Pennsylvania and one in Iowa. Carol Reardon's study of the 148th Pennsylvania and Centre County contains eerie parallels to our time, looking at issues of loyalty, opposition and exploitation of war by cynical politicians furthering their careers. Russell Johnson's analysis of community-based enlistment incentives in Dubuque, Iowa (which avoided the draft by meeting its quotas) challenges a common notion that—at least in this small town—poor men fought the Civil War for benefit of the rich. Mark Snell contrasts enlistees and conscripts in York County, Pennsylvania, and his portrait of York—a pro-Union, Democratic stronghold full of anxiety at the prospect of slavery's demise because of the consequences for the local labor market—reveals the complex array of northern attitudes toward the goals of the war.

The second part, "Northerners and Their Men in Arms," illuminates the inextricable links between the home front and military operations. Earl Hess probes the desire of civilian men and women to absorb the nature of war by recounting their visits to battlefields and hospitals; he includes excerpts from letters of Sarah Rosetta Wakeman, who enlisted in a New York regiment as a man and survived combat in Louisiana. Hess notes that these civilian experiences failed to ignite in the American political consciousness an enduring opposition to war (though Vietnam might be exempted from this thesis).

Patricia Richard's essay, "Listen Ladies One and All": Union Soldiers Yearn for the Society of Their "Fair Cousins of the North," yields grand cocktail-party fodder: "Personal ads" are no twentieth-century peccadillo but a tool Civil War–era men and women used to find each other. Her introduction to Victorian standards of courting and mating is spiced with examples of "wanted correspondence" placed in newspapers by men and women who exchanged "cartes-de-visite" as prelude to more serious pursuit. Richard notes that the leap year of 1864, when social convention permitted women to propose marriage, saw a threefold increase in ads placed by women over the prior year.

Essays by Michael Bennett and David Raney address several understudied religious and secular organizations vital to supporting the troops. Bennett discusses the contrasting attitudes toward religion held by soldiers and sailors; the former marched to war "with Bibles in their pockets," while sailors were "prone to throw their Bibles aside." The navy, he claims convincingly, failed to "save Jack" by abandoning religious trappings available to the soldier, such as regular services and chaplains, in favor of a more streamlined navy—reinforcing bad shipboard behavior fueled by long absences from home with little or no mail communication. Into this breach leaped the U.S. Christian Commission (USCC), which wisely recognized the need to ameliorate the hard life of the sailor rather than show him the road to salvation. Bennett's description of the USCC at work is masterful.

David Raney describes a curious strategy for the USCC—providing soldiers alcohol for medicinal purposes, complete with biblical rationale from Proverbs: "Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish." Raney recounts the competing missions of the USCC (religious) and the United States Sanitary Commission (assisting the army's medical infrastructure), their failure to collaborate in areas where both were active, and the start by the USCC of a lending library spawned by its Bible-distribution program. The impressive four-year statistics summarizing the deeds of the almost five thousand civilian USCC delegates are testament to the organization's pervasiveness and influence on the conduct and outcome of the war.

The complexities of postwar adjustment warrant more study, and the theme of Part Three, "From War to Peace," obliges. Lesley Gordon's work on the 16th Connecticut regiment, drawn from six diaries, examines the struggle of these men to find meaning in their captivity in Andersonville. Though Union prisoners could sometimes earn freedom by taking an oath of allegiance to a Confederacy eager to rid itself of sickly men, this opportunity was nobly declined by the 16th Connecticut. Frances Clarke's "Honorable Scars" explores nineteenth-century cultural attitudes toward combat amputees and suggests that many Civil War amputees—unlike similar victims of later wars—accepted their sufferings as measures of devotion to nation and family. Clarke draws on an analysis of one hundred amputee pension files to assess attitudes about crude prosthetic devices, discovering that most amputees took the money and didn't run—accepting a "commutation" fee in

lieu of a device. Clarke offers great trivia: In 1865 a philanthropist sponsored a contest for "Left-Armed Soldiers of the Union" to induce clerks who had lost their right arms to resume their livelihoods as left-handed scribes.

Megan McClintock (who died before publication) addresses the war's impact on marriage and the pension system's transformation of private matters into public policy by adjudicating claims by war widows and other dependents. She demonstrates how this social welfare policy helped drive federal expansion into areas heretofore in the provenance of the state—a harbinger of today's debates between federal power and states rights.

Two essays address the experiences of African-American veterans seeking their places in postwar America. Earl Mulderink discusses how black veterans in New Bedford, Massachusetts, used the war to strive for equality. Their efforts included establishment of a black Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) post, participation in parades, and creation of memorials. Donald Shaffer explores African American participation in the G.A.R.—both in their own organization and in the larger "white" version, which they were entitled to join—and their ensuing efforts at equality. He explains how warming relations between Union and Confederate veterans stymied black efforts at integration, and how black veterans "tried to revive the wartime alliance" with whites by praising white war heroes such as Robert Gould Shaw, commander of the black 54th Massachusetts Regiment, though one wonders if this was shrewd policy or merely a consequence of their respect for this white officer. Dana Shoaf concludes the section with a discussion of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, a large, little-known veteran's organization eclipsed by the better-known G.A.R. "MOLLUS" was criticized for restricting membership to officers, their male descendants, and other civilian VIPs.

Edited collections often suffer from uneven writing and coverage, but keen editorial eyes give this book a consistently smooth style. *Union Soldiers and the Northern Home Front* illuminates the importance of integration of battlefield and home front and examines motivation for service and the uses of memory to achieve postwar social goals. Most of its essays offer thorough documentation sweetened by excerpts from letters, diaries, and newspapers—the voices of that time. We are in the debt of these editors and their contributors for reminding us that the study of war is incomplete without insights into the communities and social institutions that enabled the warriors.

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American Catholic Lay Groups and Transatlantic Social Reform in the Progressive Era. By Diedre M. Moloney. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. 267 pages. Introduction, illustrations, notes, index. Cloth $49.95; paper $19.95.)

In this comprehensively researched and well-crafted monograph, Dierdre Moloney analyzes a variety of Catholic lay reform movements on the national level in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although previous historians have linked the emergence of Catholic reform to the development of a Catholic middle class, Moloney also considers the context of Protestant and secular Progressive reforms, the "new immigration" of Catholics from southern and eastern Europe and the controversy over "Americanization" of immigrants, the sometimes contested relationships between clergy and laity, and the influence of European organizations and ideals. Considering "ways in which class formation, gender ideology, and ethnic identities intersected in social reform efforts" (3), Moloney provides a nuanced analysis of Catholic temperance, rural colonization and port assistance programs, charitable associations, settlement houses, and women's organizations.

Moloney sets the stage for her study by describing the Columbian Catholic Congress, organized by laymen at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, where key issues such as Americanization, the role of the laity, including women, African-Americans, and converts in the church, were discussed. She analyzes how Catholic reformers were influenced by Pope Leo XIII's 1891 encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (which condemned socialism but also urged fairer treatment of workers) and compares and contrasts Catholic and Protestant reforms. In addition to assisting their coreligionists, Catholics hoped to improve the image of their faith and defend it from Protestant proselytizers.

Throughout the book, Moloney analyzes the development of Catholic reforms, their transatlantic contexts, interrelationships among various reform movements, and how they were mutually reinforcing. According to Moloney, "Irish Americans stressed the connections between temperance, Irish nationalism, and the American labor movement . . . these three issues were complementary and had similar constituencies" (44). Indeed, many reformers were active in several movements. Temperance reformers attempted to define a position of respectability, counter stereotypes of intemperate Irish immigrants, improve the image of the Catholic church, and resist Protestant proselytizers. Moreover, in contrast to the stereotype of the dour "Puritan," they cultivated a masculine sociability, replete with torchlight parades, sporting events, boat rides, and marching bands. Women remained marginal in total abstinence societies; their "prescribed role . . . was primarily to exert influence upon their male relatives at home" (62).

Like temperance reformers, Catholics who sought to aid new immigrants

were motivated by the fear that new arrivals would abandon their faith and also by the desire to improve the status and image of the church. Colonization programs to settle immigrants in rural areas and programs to assist immigrants at urban ports were organized along ethnic lines, and Moloney notes the influence of developments in Europe, notably Irish nationalism and opposition to Catholicism in Germany under Otto von Bismarck. She demonstrates that "an international network of reformers . . . worked on a range of social issues from immigration assistance to temperance to charitable efforts, by adapting models to suit particular circumstances in the United States" (110). Rural colonization and Irish nationalism were linked and also had ties to urban port programs. Some reformers were active on both sides of the Atlantic. By the 1880s port assistance programs were established in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. After World War I, the National Catholic Welfare Council's centralized port program and Immigration Bureau "greatly eclipsed local programs" (114).

Progressive era trends towards centralization, bureaucratization, and professionalization were also evident in Catholic lay charities and settlement work in the late nineteenth century. In the 1840s, American chapters of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, an international charity that originated in France, were formed. Vincentians believed that the poor were equals and that charity spiritually benefited both givers and recipients. In Europe most members were elite, educated young men, while in America they were "skilled workers striving for respectability or middle-class status" (126). Emphasizing friendly visiting and family preservation, Vincentians became a model for other Catholic reforms. Responding to Protestant and secular settlements, Catholics created their own. Unlike other reforms, the clergy and hierarchy were reluctant to support settlement work, reflecting ambivalence toward such an expanded role for laywomen. Catholic founders of settlement houses were, like their Protestant counterparts, usually single, wealthy women, and the programs they established were quite similar. However, they differed in being a religious minority hoping to garner more respect for their faith and resist Protestantism and secularism. Moloney analyzes in depth two Catholic settlement houses: the Madonna Center in Chicago, that aided Italian immigrants, and St. Elizabeth's Settlement in St. Louis, founded by the German Central Verein and one that attracted German and Eastern European immigrants. Although most Catholics opposed measures such as Prohibition, the proposed Child Labor Amendment, and compulsory school attendance, St. Elizabeth's sought government intervention for individual cases. Thus, there was "no clear Catholic consensus on the relationship between lay charity and social action and its relationship to the state" (161–62).

Catholic women's groups shared a maternalist orientation with their Protestant counterparts; however, Catholic reformers based their "activist domesticity" (180) on European, rather than American Protestant, models. According to

Maloney, "rhetoric surrounding women's roles . . . reflected an ambivalence about the values accompanying the rising economic and social status of many Catholics" (171). Indeed, single wage-earning women were portrayed as morally superior to wealthy, frivolous married women. This image recognized the economic necessity of immigrant women's employment, fostered an image of respectability, and provided a critique of materialism. Yet there were significant differences between Catholic organizations. The Boston-based League of Catholic Women had an upper-class leadership, favored assimilation, and were closely supervised by Cardinal O'Connell and his assistants. In contrast, the Catholic Women's Union was primarily middle-class, drew on German culture, reforms, and women's organizations and occasionally challenged the clergy and hierarchy. The creation of the National Council of Catholic Women "signaled a move toward centralized authority and significantly more hierarchical control" (202).

This book will be helpful to scholars, students, and general readers interested in the history of religion, social reform movements, women and gender, ethnicity, and the Gilded Age and Progressive Era. Moloney uses a variety of manuscript and published primary sources and demonstrates an admirable command of the secondary literature in several historical specialties. Short biographies of leading Catholic reformers and well-chosen illustrations enhance the book. Documenting how Catholic reforms continued after World War I, she argues that "a fuller understanding of the Progressive movement requires that historians expand the chronological boundaries of that era" (8). Considering the transatlantic context of Catholic social reform, gender, ethnicity, social class, respectability, the complex interrelationships among organizations and comparing them with their Protestant counterparts, Moloney provides a valuable synthesis.

Sandra Strohhofer Pryor
Old Dominion University

Southern History Across the Color Line. By Nell Irvin Painter. (Gender and American Culture. Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002. 247 pages. Introduction, notes, index. Cloth $37.50; paper $17.95.)

Nell Irvin Painter wants to end the segregation of southern history. Believing that historians still study the South "as though people of different races occupied entirely different spheres," she wants to integrate history by looking "across the color line" (2). Painter's profound observation, all too true even in recent southern history, inspires this collection of six essays. At their best, the essays in *Southern History across the Color Line* provoke the reader with new insights. Unfortunately, the book also suffers from a few of the defects collected essays often have.

The first four essays in the volume provide the most refreshing material. In them, Painter uses psychology and feminist analysis to re-examine the history of

slavery, rape, sexual abuse, and interracial sex in the nineteenth-century South. Using psychological studies of abuse, Painter emphasizes aspects of slavery often overlooked by historians. Because slavery depended upon violence, slavery created conditions of both physical and psychic abuse. Indeed, Painter concludes, the institution created opportunities for masters to abuse women across the color line (not necessarily in the same way). By using feminist techniques to analyze the "secrecy and self-deception" of diarists, Painter reveals an ugly world where sexual abuse was the rule rather than the exception (37).

The most powerful part of these chapters probes the consequences of masters' ownership of their female slaves. Using Gertrude Thomas, a planter's wife, Susan Petigru King's fictional Lily (from an 1855 novel), and Linda Brent (fugitive slave Harriet Jacobs' pseudonym), Painter shows how the sexual dynamics of slavery oppressed women across color and class lines. Slavery objectified women of all races and classes, Painter contends, leaving them to struggle against adultery and the patriarchy that "allowed men the run of women of both races" (105).

Although the first four essays flow together well, the last two of the volume do not seem to fit. Appearing fifth is a long piece, "Hosea Hudson: The Life & Times of a Black Communist," which departs from the first four. Granted that studying a black communist may well cross the color line of southern history, and granted that Hudson was the subject of Painter's first book (and also was a valued friend, as she points out), this chapter fails to develop the themes expressed in the previous four. Closer in subject to the first four essays, the last piece in the volume critiques Wilbur Cash's *The Mind of the South*. Disappointingly, however, this analysis offered little fresh insight, instead serving up the predictable conclusion that Cash did not produce effective history. The inclusion of these two essays highlights one of the usual problems with a collection of essays, that of organizing diverse works into a reasonably unified whole. Painter's last two works here detract from the unity of the first four chapters.

Yet the disappointment of the last two chapters should not obscure the value of this book. The first four essays cohere well and offer the reader valuable, provocative insights into southern, and Maryland, history. One need not agree with Painter's conclusions to see that she has opened up new fields for study and debate. By refusing to separate the effects of slavery on women by the "color line," she has shown the pernicious effects of slavery on all southerners. By using journals and novels in fresh, innovative ways, Painter has shed light on particularly ugly aspects of slavery that many historians have ignored or, worse, swept under the rug. Her desire to treat southerners, white and black, as occupying the same historical space, leads her to view the South with more impact, more insight, and more illumination. The highest praise of a historian is that she makes readers think about history in a new way; parts of Painter's book will do just that for most.

Painter's insights will change the way future historians of Maryland and of the South attempt to construct a truly biracial southern history.

Christopher M. Paine
Lake Michigan College

The Great Catastrophe of My Life: Divorce in the Old Dominion. By Thomas E. Buckley. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. Notes, appendix, bibliography, index. $59.95 cloth, $19.95 paper.)

Divorces in the Old South were almost as rare as modern books on this subject. Those unhappy souls who sought to end their marriages in the decades prior to the Civil War faced an arbitrary legal system, communal criticism, and lingering religious opposition. Virginia was exemplary—the state's lawmakers did not grant courts complete jurisdiction over divorces until 1851. Before that time, disgruntled spouses were forced to petition the state legislature directly. The 583 resulting divorce petitions offer a harrowing view into the lives of battered wives, angry cuckolds, abandoned spouses, and other desperate folk.

Thomas E. Buckley's systematic study of these petitions presents a unique perspective on Southern families. A professor of American religious history at the Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley and a faculty member at the Graduate Theological Union, Buckley divides his book into three sections. The first describes the larger political, legal, religious, familial, and communal contexts surrounding the divorce petitions, especially in terms of the state's conservatism. The second explores the reasons for which petitioners sought divorces, from interracial adultery to physical abuse. The third contains an extended case study of Sally McDowell Thomas's controversial divorce from Maryland governor Frank Thomas, revealing the inner conflicts inherent in the divorce process. As this structure makes clear, this is not a book about lawmakers and legislation. Buckley outlines the legal framework clearly, but he consistently keeps an eye on the families involved.

Amidst the tales of catastrophe, he interweaves several notable conclusions. First, men and women petitioned for divorces in about equal proportions, and they both faced high rates of legislative rejection. Further, petitioners came from nearly every social class, not just the elite. And while many cases affirmed the advice found in prescriptive literature and pastors' sermons, Buckley demonstrates that local standards were the ultimate authority for communities in the Old South. Most surprisingly, Buckley breaks with other studies of American divorce by refusing to cast his tale as a march toward modernism. He grants that the number of divorce petitions had increased by mid-century, as the older strictures against divorce were loosening slightly. But he argues that the legislature's concurrent transfer of absolute divorce jurisdiction to local courts drew upon

older, English canon law precedents and made legal separations even more difficult to obtain, rather than easier.

Though persuasive, this latter thesis points to the book's primary difficulty—its unbending focus on Virginia. Even while invoking English common and ecclesiastical law traditions, Buckley only hints at how divorce practices in England, and indeed the rest of America, were evolving in comparison. The legislative petitions that serve the core of this study so well also seem to restrain its boundaries. Still, Buckley does make a few fascinating links with the findings of modern psychologists, especially in terms of abusive husbands and battered wives. Additionally, the book features a detailed appendix and a thorough bibliography to help readers make their own connections.

This fine work, published in association with the American Society for Legal History, reminds us of the raw experiences behind the laws. From Virginia's shattered marriages, the author has fused an insightful, human history.

Ryan K. Smith
Library of Virginia

Subversives: Antislavery Community in Washington, D.C., 1828–1865. By Stanley Harrold. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003. 294 pp. Essay on Sources, index. $24.95 paper.)

In his new book, Stanley Harrold continues the work he began in *The Abolitionists & the South* (1995). Harrold wants to broaden the discussion of American abolitionism from its focus on the North to include the slave states, especially the Upper South. His choice to examine what he calls a biracial "subversive community" in D.C. is a good one (12).

Although slavery's defenders were remarkably successful in protecting the institution in the antebellum federal government based in Washington, Harrold contends that slavery was vulnerable within the city itself and in the surrounding areas of southern Maryland and northern Virginia. Harrold asserts, "The formation of a subversive antislavery community in Washington and its vicinity depended on two things: the desperate efforts of African Americans to preserve their families and the arrival of Northern whites who were willing to assist them" (13). African Americans in the D.C. area resisted the restrictions placed on them and tried to undermine the institution, as a whole, and as it affected their individual family members and friends. This resistance included working for manumission, purchasing relatives where possible, even in extreme cases fleeing to the North, or assisting those who tried to do so. They did not struggle alone, however. In addition to the small numbers of area businessmen and religious groups who opposed slavery, nineteenth-century Washington D.C. was different from much of the South in that it housed a population of northern-born antislavery politicians, lobby-

ists, and members of the press, able to view slavery, and interact with enslaved African Americans.

Harrold contends that for personal, moral, and symbolic reasons, between 1828 and 1865, these Washington-area black and white antislavery men and women, supported and influenced by Northern activists, struggled for emancipation in the city at great risk to themselves. Despite slavery's legality, white racism and general support for the institution, and the threat of mob violence or jail time, Harrold convincingly asserts that this subversive biracial community of Washington abolitionists made some headway in these nearly forty years.

Harrold places free and enslaved black efforts "in behalf of freedom . . . at the community's core" (36). He describes a D.C. antislavery community based "on physical proximity and on a shared opposition to slavery" (36) that overcame (to some extent) the pressure of the pro-slavery climate, as well as surmounting the rather significant differences in culture, education, class, and experience with slavery that separated the black and white subversives themselves.

The book examines some of the specific approaches that Washington subversives took to undermine slavery in the 1840s, from the "underground railroad" network set up by Northern abolitionist journalist Charles Torrey and ex-slave Washingtonian Thomas Smallwood in the early 1840s, to an emphasis on purchasing slaves about to be separated from their families in the mid 1840s by Torrey's replacement, William Chaplin, to the attempted escape of 77 slaves on the *Pearl* in 1848. Although subversive activities in D.C. in the 1850s were limited by the diversion of northern antislavery money and attention to the Free Soil and Republican parties, and by the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law, Harrold indicates that the biracial community persisted in challenging slavery, as demonstrated by the school for young African American women run by white New Yorker, Myrtilla Miner, and by the continued escape or purchase and manumission of Washington-area slaves such as the Weems family. The latter's story illustrates the continued clandestine actions in the 1850s of a network connecting northern antislavery activists to the subversive community in the nation's capital. Harrold contends that the presence of a subversive community in D.C. had an impact on much more than just the city itself. For example, the kidnapping of free blacks, the mistreatment of slaves, their sale away from family members, and even escape attempts prompted significant debates about slavery in Congress, and inflamed rhetoric in both sections.

The Civil War—with the influx of many black refugees to D.C., and the increasingly mainstream character of abolitionist ideas—resulted in the success of many of the goals of the subversive community, but also in the destruction of the conditions that had created the biracial group. Most prominently, the previously muted tensions between activist whites and blacks emerged as whites began to view blacks as "clients rather than allies" and blacks began to reject any "subservient relationship to antislavery whites" (251).

Most of Harrold's primary sources consist of antislavery memoirs, eulogies, correspondence and newspapers, all of which, arguably, are biased toward exaggerating the accomplishments, the subversiveness, even the existence of this biracial Washington community. But Harrold asks that readers take these sources, and the oft-dismissed proslavery charges of biracial collusion, more seriously. Harrold is reconstructing a community that had to hide its very existence most of the time, yet he demonstrates convincingly that there were numerous successful interactions between antislavery whites and blacks in D.C. during these years.

Although historians have spent a lot of time and space discussing slavery as it was debated in the Capitol and White House, Harrold provides a view of the District of Columbia as a unique place in which slavery and antislavery forces clashed in more intimate and individual settings, yet in fights that represented and affected political and social issues important to the nation as a whole. He has also rescued from obscurity black and white women and men who fought against slavery in significant ways. Harrold's work will be useful to anyone interested in the history of slavery and sectional conflict in Maryland, the Upper South, and the nation.

Jeffrey W. McClurken
Mary Washington College

Charles Carroll of Carrollton: Faithful Revolutionary. By Scott McDermott. (New York: Scepter Publishers, Inc., 2002. 352 pp. Notes, index, illustrations. $24.95.)

In this biography of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the only Catholic signer of the Declaration of Independence, Scott McDermott offers an overview of the signer's life from his birth in 1737 until his death in 1832 at age ninety-five. McDermott presents a reasonably accurate sketch of the main outlines of Carroll's life, focusing primarily on his political career and devoting only briefer sections to his early years and the final three decades of his life.

McDermott makes extensive use of Carroll's papers at the Maryland Historical Society and is at his best when he draws upon these sources. Using this correspondence, for example, he explores and offers some astute observations about the complex relationships between Carroll and his domineering father and between Carroll and his own son, Charles Carroll of Homewood. Unfortunately, however, McDermott's work is weakened by a propensity to present, uncritically, material from outdated and unreliable secondary works, a penchant for repeating unsubstantiated anecdotes, and a tendency to reach dubious conclusions. For example, McDermott casts the 1773 First Citizen-Antilon newspaper debate between Carroll and Daniel Dulany Jr. as a Catholic v. "apostate" struggle rather than a conflict between the political outsiders, the Popular Party and the proprietary faction—despite the fact that the majority of First Citizen's supporters and

political associates were not Catholic and the issue had nothing to do with Catholicism. Moreover, if the Dulanys had ever been Catholic (an assertion for which he offers no evidence), Dulany Sr., had certainly converted to Anglicanism by 1722 when he served in the Maryland House of Delegates, which would hardly qualify his son, "Antilon," as an "apostate." McDermott also tells us that Carroll took care not to break up slave families, and oversaw their religious instruction. Carroll's journal pertaining to Doughoragen Manor, his principal plantation, between 1792 and 1802 reveals that while Carroll sometimes sold slaves in family groups, he also routinely separated and sold individual family members. Nor does his journal or any of his correspondence ever suggest any concern for the religious lives of his human property.

McDermott also has a fondness for farfetched, unsupported anecdotes which, while he does identify them as such, add nothing to our understanding of Carroll. Thus, at the time of the *Peggy Stewart* affair in Annapolis (Maryland's version of the Boston Tea Party), he places Carroll on the dock advising the ship's owner to "set fire to the vessel" (111). McDermott has no qualms about repeating this highly unlikely scenario, despite the fact that an eyewitness account of the event does not place Carroll at the scene.

Even more problematic are McDermott's often questionable conclusions. Carroll and Benjamin Franklin were both members of a 1776 Congressional mission to Canada, and Franklin subsequently went to France to negotiate the French alliance. Therefore, Carroll, a Catholic who had been educated in France, "surely" (138) discussed the matter with Franklin, and McDermott implies that he was somehow responsible for bringing about the alliance. Another peculiar interpretation involves the death of Carroll's wife, Molly, in 1782. According to an eyewitness account, she "went willingly, saying 'that her God called & she must go & wished to be with him'" (189). Inexplicably, McDermott interprets "him," not as God, but as Carroll's recently deceased father, thereby forcing on Carroll the "melancholy truth that his wife preferred to join *his father* [emphasis added], rather than remain with her husband and children" (189). The fact that Carroll did not express any grief is taken as evidence of his "anger" at her preference, and of the fact that his grief was therefore "inexpressible." As a final example, Carroll claimed (in 1817, more than 40 years after the fact) that he had devised Maryland's indirect method of electing senators in 1776. Because this method resembles the electoral college method of electing the president that was incorporated into the U.S. Constitution, McDermott credits Carroll with that achievement, although there is no evidence to support this assertion. These are not isolated examples. The book abounds with weak evidence, unproven allegations, and implausible reasoning.

The author's overall thesis, a reinterpretation of both Carroll and the American Revolution, is unconvincing. According to McDermott, the American Revo-

lution involved a "reinvention of Catholic political thought" (68), and he makes the truly remarkable observation that "of course, the American structure of government bears a resemblance to the Catholic Church, with its monarchical pope, its senatorial cardinals, and its bishops united with the laity" (70). The underlying thesis seems to be that somehow the Revolution was really a Catholic event, but unfortunately the revolutionaries, "most from unorthodox religious backgrounds," distorted the Catholic theoretical underpinnings of the Revolution "generally in the direction of individualism" (68). Today, "Americans still live with the consequences of these distortions" (68), which have led to the rise of "numerous new 'rights,' such as the 'right' to an abortion, a divorce, or contraception, which are destructive of the common good and contrary to natural law" (41).

In conclusion, the serious scholar interested in Charles Carroll of Carrollton would be far better served by the recent biography of the Carroll family, *Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland: A Carroll Saga, 1500–1782*, by Ronald Hoffman and his associate Sally D. Mason, published by the University of North Carolina Press in 2002 for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture.

Mary Clement Jeske
Charles Carroll of Carrollton Papers

Books in Brief

Ronald Hoffman and Sally D. Mason, with Eleanor S. Darcy, have edited a three-volume collection of Carroll family correspondence. *Dear Papa, Dear Charley: The Papers of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 1748–1782* documents Carroll's journey from boyhood to national prominence as the only Roman Catholic signer of the Declaration of Independence. The letters, published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, span half a century of colonial Maryland life.

University of North Carolina Press, $75 cloth

Historians over the past two decades have written extensively about slave women and plantation mistresses, but have largely neglected the lives and labors of ordinary southern women—white, free black, and Indian. *In Neither Lady nor Slave: Working Women of the Old South*, editors Susanna Delfino and Michelle Gillespie pulled together the work of thirteen historians who delved into women's involvement in the market economy of the antebellum South. Their efforts include studies of nurses, nuns, iron workers, basket weavers, prostitutes, and teachers. The result is a book that brings yet more women's stories into the complex fabric of the nineteenth-century American South.

The University of North Carolina Press, $55 cloth, $19.95 paper

Daniel K. Richter's acclaimed *Facing East from Indian Country* is now available in paperback. The author's study, in which the native populations stay at the center of the European colonization narrative overturned traditional interpretations of immediate conquest. This book won the 2002 Louis Gottschalk Prize in Eighteenth- Century History and judged a finalist in the 2002 Pulitzer Prize in History.

Harvard University Press, $15.95 paper

Sullivanesque: Urban Architecture and Ornamentation is a lavishly illustrated visual and Historical tour of modern American design. Sullivan, credited with inspiring the Chicago School and the Prairie School, wove intricate ornaments such as animal and garden themes, into his façades. Author Ronald E. Schmidt's comprehensive study includes dozens of black and white, and color, photographs as well as an inventory of the architect's Chicago buildings.

University of Illinois Press, $50 cloth

Letters to the Editor

Editor:

This is about Geoffrey Footner's article, "Impact of Redesigning and Rebuilding U. S. Frigate *Constellation* in 1812, 1829, and 1839 on Currently Held Theories Concerning Her Age," which appeared in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* 97:4 (Winter 2002.) Perhaps unusual for a non-biographical subject, my name appears nineteen times in the essay's text.

In 1991, I was a member of a small, interdisciplinary team of historical investigators from the Navy's David Taylor Model Basin that discovered new, clear, and simple evidence which, we believed, permanently resolved the notorious question about the age of the sloop USS *Constellation.* We found that the *Constellation* displayed in Baltimore today is an 1853 sloop-of-war built near Norfolk to an entirely new design, containing a small amount of hull material from the old frigate of the same name. Repairs performed on the frigate *Constellation* in 1812, 1829, and 1839 had no impact whatsoever on the sloop *Constellation* exhibited today. Since the 1991 publication of our official 200-page technical report called *Fouled Anchors: The* Constellation *Question Answered,* we have contributed several more journal articles and have continued collecting information about the two *Constellations.* Our report and our other articles referenced in this letter may be found on the World Wide Web at www.dt.navy.mil/cnsm/faq.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* article is a zealous crusade against our 1991 *Fouled Anchors* findings and it seeks to re-establish, we believe inappropriately, a 1797 connection between today's ship and Baltimore. Riddled with dozens of technical and factual errors, inaccurately represented opposing views, significant transcriptional mistakes, muddled scholarly citations, fudged technical illustrations, and poor historical and naval architectural methodology, a detailed criticism of the article would require more space than the piece itself. The essay is paralleled by a recent book by the same author, *USS* Constellation: *From Frigate to Sloop.* We have published a review article of that book in the June 2003 issue of *Naval History* magazine. I limit my comments here to Mr. Footner's article and a selected few of the largest errors which affect its conclusion.

The article begins with a mistake. It states, "According to Wegner, Congress authorized the new *Constellation* under the Acts of April 29, 1816 and March 3, 1827" (424). I have neither said nor written that. The article cites our *Fouled Anchors* report, pages 66, 134, and 135. Page 66 of our report relates to the acts of 1816 and 1827, but it does not state that the sloop was authorized by any act of congress. Curiously, pages 134 and 135 do not pertain to the subject at all, even in the most remote sense. The essay frequently misunderstands opposing views and,

in this instance, by misstating our findings it assails a straw man.

Although semantics contribute relatively little to our understanding of the age of the present *Constellation*, much of the article revolves around the meanings of the word "rebuild." The 2002 article applies a meaning which is broad and widely inclusive. We, and some other scholars, earlier had chosen a more precise and restrictive definition. Both meanings are valid and have historical precedence. We always have been forthright in explaining our definition of "rebuild" and we recognize the different definition sometimes used in the essay. The essay also acknowledges that there is a difference in definitions (423). Regardless, the article inappropriately applies its own broad meaning to our specific usage and makes it appear that we are faced with a dilemma. The "dilemma" is but another straw man.

The article's purpose, plus its serious repeating lapses in logic suggest that the author began with the conclusion, and then sought, interpreted, and sometimes adjusted evidence to support the predetermined goal. Putting the cart before the horse leads to a logical fallacy called "circular reasoning" (also called "begging the question") which pervades the article at all levels. It is a serious and large-scale error in craft rarely committed by experienced modern historians, and apparently it has eluded editors who have endorsed the piece. Circular reasoning means that the conclusion is first assumed to be true and then the evidence which is used to prove that conclusion is validated by the conclusion itself. In other words, the conclusion proves itself. Since almost any premise can be supported using this technique, it is not an appropriate and fair method of argument.

Circular reasoning is avoided during an investigational approach because it discourages constructive skepticism and objectivity, it creates a blindness toward contradicting facts, and it encourages a tendency to see neutral, ambiguous, or non-existent evidence only in ways that support the desired outcome. Examples of all these defects may be found in the article.

Under the spell of circular reasoning, what seems to be a reasonable assumption of undocumented events to an author may be conjecture based on the anticipated conclusion. Reflecting this fallacy the article frequently portrays conjecture as fact. Historians are obliged to clearly identify what is factual and directly supported by the documentation, and what is conjecture. This is not carefully done in the article. Repeatedly phrasing conjecture as fact makes the essay seem much more authoritative and conclusive than it really is. It is difficult to detect unless one is familiar with the evidence cited, or not cited, to support such statements. If words like "maybe" and "perhaps" were consistently employed when required in the article, the reader would have a better appreciation of the large amount of conjecture used to support the essay's predetermined conclusion.

Some may notice that the article's end notes contain very few references to the types of genuine technical documents one would expect to find which would sup-

port the article's central contention that the ship's underwater hull lines were altered in 1812, 1829, and 1839. According to the book related to this article (173) and as suggested in the essay itself (430–31, 433,) supposedly dozens of original letters, reports, drawings, calculations, work orders and logs, labor reports, supply requisitions, and offset tables are "missing" from various public and private archives and from time periods spanning half a century. Of course, these important records are "missing" only if the article's conclusion is presupposed to be true. Since "the dog ate my documentation," what remains? Bereft of any of the primary records one would expect to find in order to arrive at the conclusion, the article must resort to second-class evidence, which is inferential at best. Much of this is interpreted through circular reasoning too.

Reinforced by the title of the essay itself, the goal of the article is to prove that the frigate *Constellation* was "rebuilt" in 1812, 1829, and 1839 (424). The article means that the underwater hull lines of the ship were changed during each event, that the frigate's hull incrementally became more sloop-like each time, and that the sloop today is architecturally and materially the frigate modified. Despite the essay's self-proclaimed success (439–40) the goal is not met. The idea that the frigate was incrementally modified into the sloop is not new. All of the 1797 proponents have utilized some variation of the concept since it was first introduced in an article appearing in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* in March 1961.

The first dry dock in the United States was commissioned in 1835 and prior to that time American warships in home waters were repaired afloat, careened (rolled on their sides in shallow water,) or by hauling them up on building ways. Repairs afloat were limited to piecemeal replacement of individual framing timbers while the hull planking remained intact and watertight. The underwater shape of the ship could be retained, but not changed. Due to the dangers of deformation or collapse, structural changes to the hull generally were never done to a careened ship. In a scholarly article published in *American Neptune* in 1992 we established that in both 1812 and 1829 *Constellation* was repaired afloat and careened and that the ship's underwater shape could not have been altered. Mr. Footner's book states that frigate *Constellation* never fully left the water between her launching in 1797 and her first dry docking in 1835 (161) and agrees that the ship was repaired while afloat and careened in 1812 and 1829. However, neither the article nor the book offers a clue about how *Constellation*'s underwater lines could have been changed under those conditions. Clearly, they were not changed. The article fails to meet its goal on several points and this is one of them.

The essay states (440) that, "Neither revisionist, Howard Chapelle nor Dana Wegner, provide in their research compelling, documented arguments to support their conclusions that the navy never redesigned and, therefore, did not rebuild U.S.S. *Constellation* in 1812, 1829, and 1839." Since we wrote and documented in 1992 that *Constellation* never left the water during the 1812 and 1829 repairs, and

therefore the lines could not have been changed, stating that we provided no documentation to support our argument is questionable. All of our Navy writings have been meticulously documented and all of them offer specific and ample evidence that the frigate's underwater hull lines were not changed before her demise in 1853.

On pages 437 and 438 the article introduces the three survey drawings of the hull of the frigate *Constellation*. These interrelated drawings (NARA 107-13-4A&B) have been well-known since before 1970 and have always been a major impediment to those who claim the underwater hull lines of the ship were deliberately altered between 1797 and 1853. The drawings are inscribed Norfolk, January and February 1853. None of the drawings are vaguely labeled, "Norfolk, then either January or Feb. 1853" as stated in the article on page 438. Our contention has been that they were drawn at the time written on the drawings—only a few months before the frigate was broken up and her timbers were auctioned. The 1853 hull survey drawings match the frigate's original 1797 lines, and they do not match the current ship's lines. Thus, the frigate's lines were not altered before her demise in 1853 and the sloop today bears no architectural relation to the old frigate. We think the hull survey drawings deny the article's incremental rebuild hypothesis and therefore the article's conclusion is flat wrong.

Although it is entirely conjectural, the essay says the hull survey drawings were drawn in 1839, resurrected from the Norfolk shipyard files, and in 1853 they were sent to the chief constructor in Washington. Though it was not at all practical, the article suggests the chief constructor used these drawings to draft the sloop's lines. The essay does not offer any documentary evidence to substantiate the pivotal claim that they were drawn earlier than 1853. Other than circular reasoning, the only real proof offered by the article that these drawings were drawn in 1839 (and not 1853) is that the handwriting in the title blocks of the survey drawings matches the handwriting on another drawing known to have been made in 1840 (438). The article declares this important point to be true, but it does not offer the reader an opportunity to see for himself. When the handwriting is compared, we think they are very much different. One is pen-lettered, the other is cursive. We have published the handwriting samples in *Naval History* magazine and they are available for examination. Further, the central survey drawing is drawn on linen drafting cloth. Linen drafting cloth was first patented in 1846 and was not publicly introduced until 1851. These drawings could not have been made in 1839, and no earlier than 1851. The 1853 date is accurate. The survey drawings show that the underwater shape of the frigate *Constellation* was not changed in 1812, 1829, and 1839 and, on a second point, the article's central premise (and title) is false.

Our conclusions and our evidence were published in 1991, detailed in 1992 and 1995, and are unchanged. Little has been added, and nothing needs to be reinter-

preted in light of Mr. Footner's article and book. Our evidence has been simple and straight forward, and perhaps forgotten. There are existing original plans and offsets describing the frigate of 1797 which can be contrasted to the same original records for the sloop of 1853. There is the hull survey showing that the frigate's underwater lines were not changed before 1853. There are the designer's 1853 half model, computations, offsets, and multiple original drawings documenting three consecutive stages of independent hull design for the new sloop in 1853, from concept to completion. The half model would not have been made if sloop *Constellation* were not a completely new design in 1853.

All of this evidence is exactly what one would expect to find for a new ship design. Nothing essential is missing. Our evidence is not a complicated chain of events. It is not inferential or conjectural. It does not require adjusting dates, lengthy explanations, nor convoluted definitions and excuses. It is tangible, simple, direct, and it speaks volumes for itself. It is precisely *this* type of genuine technical evidence which, according to the article, is "missing" from the historical records that allegedly document what was done to the ship during her 1812, 1829, and 1839 repairs. Logically, the documents are not "missing." They never existed. More likely, the ship's lines were not altered in 1812, 1829, and 1839, Mr. Footner's article is on the wrong track, and today's *Constellation* has no physical or architectural relation to the frigate of 1797.

We believe old *Constellation* was repaired in 1812, 1829, 1839 and a number of other times, but the underwater lines of the frigate were not deliberately altered before her demise in 1853. We do not believe that a significant amount of timber or any hull form was transferred from the frigate to the sloop. We believe that the ship today is a new vessel, demonstrating a new design independent from the frigate of 1797. The ship displayed in Baltimore today does not have a physical existence before 1853.

In conclusion, I would like to add that Colonel Howard I. Chapelle, whom the article spares few words lambasting, died in 1975. Mr. Chapelle was a naval architect, boat builder, and author of eleven major books. In the 1930s he was supervisor of two regions of the federal government's Historic American Merchant Marine Survey, later an officer in the Army Transportation Corps, a Guggenheim Fellow, a founder of the journal *The American Neptune*, consultant on historic water craft for the United Nations, and curator, senior historian, and historian emeritus at the Smithsonian Institution. Most American maritime historians recognize that, despite his relatively few and well-known shortcomings, we owe much to Mr. Chapelle's pioneering efforts in the field. For my name to be so frequently associated with his in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* is an honor.

Dana Wegner
Curator of Ship Models
Department of the Navy

Notices

Author in search of source material

For a biography of Dr. Alexander Hamilton (1712–1756) of Annapolis, I am interested in any letters or personal papers about his family that may be in private hands. His wife was Margaret Dulany. They had no children and she subsequently married William Murdock of Prince George's County. Alexander had a brother, Dr. John Hamilton (1696–1768) of Prince George's County. John's only surviving child, daughter Mary, married John Smith before 1738 and they had at least nine children, including sons John Hamilton Smith, Gavin Hamilton Smith, William Hamilton Smith, Richard Hamilton Smith, as well as Philomen, Alexander, and Gilbert Smith. Material by or about any of these people would be of interest. Please contact Elaine Breslaw in care of the magazine.

Calls for papers

The Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture invites proposals for participation in a workshop, "Object Relations in Early North America," on the material world in early North America (to 1820). The workshop is part of the "Apprehending the Material World in Early Modern Britain and America" conference scheduled for May 20–21, 2004 at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The deadline for proposals is October 1, 2003. Address submissions to Christopher Grasso and Karin Wulf, OIEAHC, P. O. Box 8781, Williamsburg, VA, 23187-8781. For further information contact edgras@wm.edu or wmqbr@wm.edu.

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, the W.E.B. DuBois Institute for Afro American Research, Harvard University, the Museum of Afro-American History in Boston, the National Park Service, the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, and Suffolk University invite proposals for papers and panels for a conference on "New England Slavery and the Slave Trade" scheduled April 21–23, 2004, in Boston. The Colonial Society plans to print a volume of selected proceedings from the conference and therefore asks for papers that have not been published elsewhere. The deadline for submissions is September 1, 2003. Please send a brief description of the proposal to John W. Tyler, Editor of Publications, Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, MA 02108. For additional information contact jtyler@groton.org.

Library Company of Philadelphia

"The Atlantic Economy in the Era of Eighteenth-Century Revolutions" is the

Program in Early American Economy and Society's annual conference theme, scheduled for Friday, September 19, 2003, at the Library Company of Philadelphia, 1314 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA, 19107. Registration is free and open to anyone with an interest in the topic. Participants may register online at www.librarycompany.org and are invited to read the papers that will be posted on the PEAES webpage after August 1.

Baltimore Museum of Industry

Six ten-minute videos examining major Maryland industries are being produced and permanently installed in galleries at the Baltimore Museum of Industry. The videos combine oral history interviews with moving and still images and feature machining, food processing, needle trades, pharmaceuticals, banking, and printing industries. Interactive DVD equipment makes it possible to link the oral history interviews in their entirety. Contact Paul Cypher, 410-727-4808.

Jewish Museum of Maryland

"Small Town Jews: A Traveling Interpretive Exhibition," presents the first scholarly examination of the efforts of Maryland's Jews to adapt to small town life in the state. The exhibition will travel to eight communities where local residents will supplement the exhibition with original historical materials from their areas. Contact Karen Falk, 410-732-6400

Historic St. Mary's City Foundation

"Once the Metropolis of Maryland: The History and Archaeology of Maryland's First Capital" is an introductory exhibit that traces the founding of the colony in 1634, its growth as a thriving metropolis, and the eventual demise of St. Mary's City as Maryland's first capital when the government moved to Annapolis in 1695. The exhibit is at the Historic St. Mary's City Museum. For additional information contact Silas Hurry, 240-895-4973.

Maryland Historical Magazine

Contributors' Guidelines

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

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

MANUSCRIPTS. Please submit a dark, clear, typed or computer-printed manuscript, double-spaced on high quality, standard-sized (8 ½" x 11") white paper, leaving ample margins on all sides. Authors are invited to send floppy disks with printed copy. Please do not send faxed copies (particularly of book reviews). A stamped, self-addressed envelope will ensure the return of your submission. Because articles normally go to an outside referee for a blind evaluation, we ask that they arrive in duplicate, with the author's name on separate title pages.

Follow *The Chicago Manual of Style* (14th edition, 1993). In writing dates, the *MdHM* uses the form month/day/year. For questions about spelling and hyphenation, consult *Miriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* (tenth edition, 1997).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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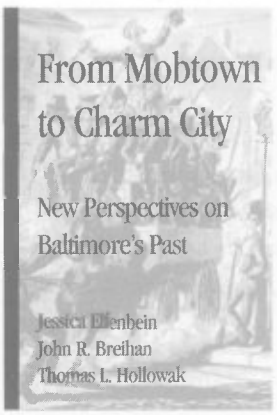

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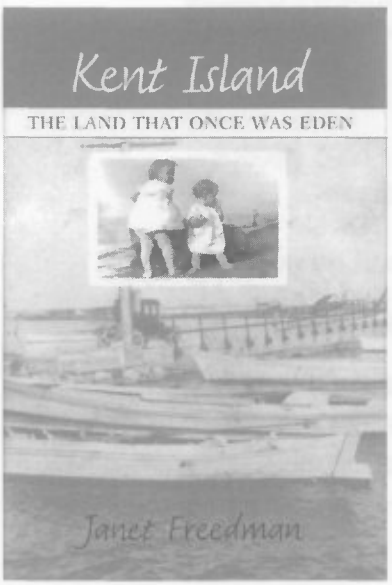

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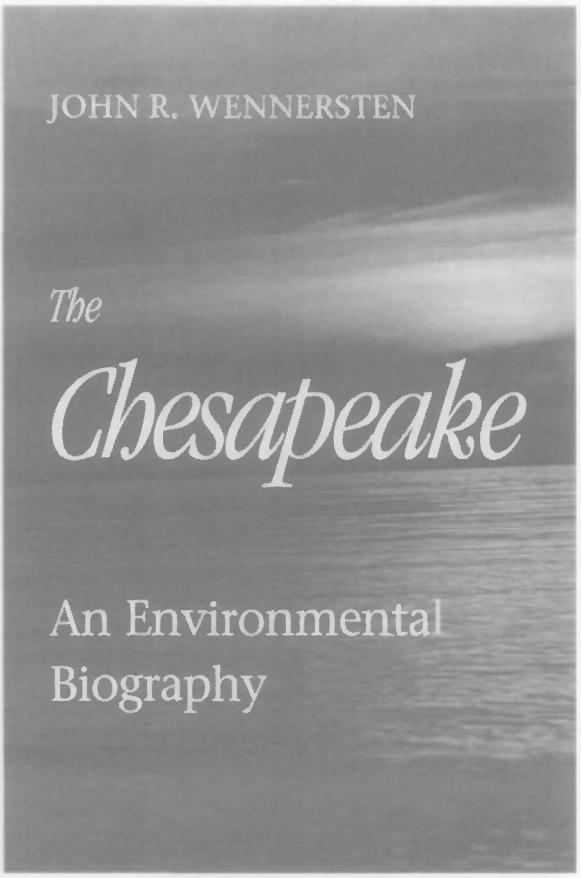

The health of the Chesapeake Bay has once more come to public attention. Former Senator Charles McC. Mathias has called for a policy review to reevaluate efforts to save the bay, and Baltimore's WJZ-TV has recently concluded a week-long report on the bay's condition. Much of the concern stems from the fact that current policies have not been effective, and that increasing population pressures on the Chesapeake are largely responsible for its decline. Both are themes developed in John R. Wennersten's thoughtful and stimulating, *The Chesapeake: An Environmental Biography*. The editors recommend this book to all residents of the Chesapeake region as a starting point for understanding the impact of human agency on our most prized natural resource.

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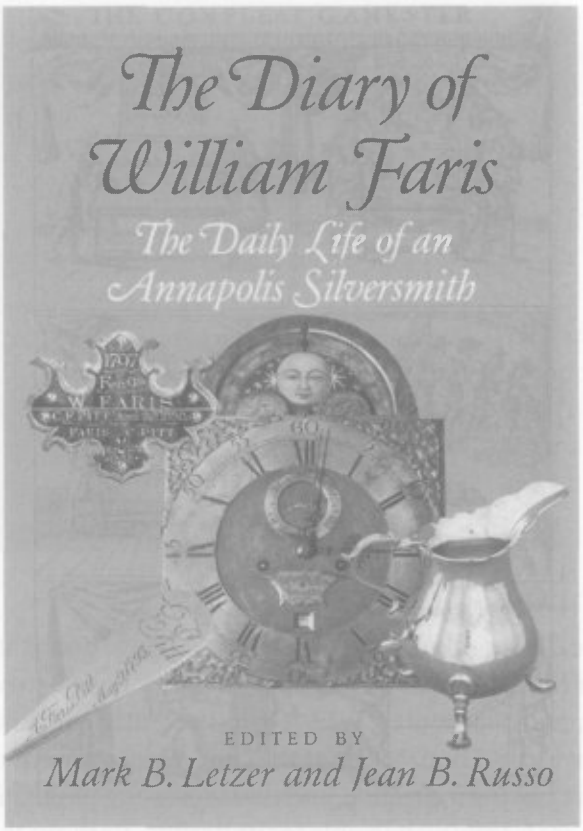

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