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CONTENTS

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Editor's Corner: For the first time in many years our lead piece is not an article but a primary source. This particular document has an interesting (and one must admit problematical) provenance. How many such Civil War memoirs lie in family trunks waiting to be rediscovered anyone might guess. We wish to thank Nancy D. West for her work in copyediting the Stone "diary"—a formidable job.

Cover design: Col. Bradley Johnson rallies the 1st Maryland (C.S.A.) at an engagement near Boatswain's Creek, Virginia. Wash drawing entitled "Waiting in Line of Battle," by William L. Sheppard, 1867. (Maryland Historical Society. Gift of Mrs. Frederick M. Colston.)

The "Diary" of John H. Stone First Lieutenant, Company B, 2d Maryland Infantry, C.S.A.

Edited by THOMAS G. CLEMENS

The letters presented here were written by John H. Stone to his sister, Sallie, while he was serving in the Confederate army. The letters cover Stone's activities during the thirteen months from June 1862 through July 1863. Although Stone called the letters his "diary," the entries are broken up into letters, each one beginning with "My Dear Sister" and ending with "Your affectionate Bro, John." Since Stone used the term diary, the editor will do the same.

The dedication on the first page is dated 1862, but this is misleading. As stated on the last page of the manuscript, Stone actually rewrote the diary in 1895. In fact, Stone calls the it "a correct transcript of notes taken from my diary, which was captured from me by Lt. Col. Ed B. Sawyer of Vermont, who after a lapse of 32 years has returned the little volume."[1] This diary is not the original, but a later copy of it. There is no way of knowing how much editing Stone did in transcription since we do not know if the original notes or the diary exist. Questions may arise as to how and where Sawyer captured the diary, how he located Stone to return it and why, and why Stone copied it over.

Col. Edward B. Sawyer did command the 1st Vermont Cavalry Regiment, but left no record of how he may have acquired Stone's diary. Stone was never taken prisoner during the war so the diary could not have been taken from him personally. Most likely it happened during the retreat of Lee's army from Gettysburg. The 1st Vermont seized some Confederate baggage wagons of General Ewell's corps, to which Stone's unit was attached, on 6 July 1863.[2] It was common practice for officers' baggage to be carried in wagons, usually one per regiment. A fellow officer in Stone's regiment wrote that Yankees captured his valise and clothing during this retreat, and perhaps Stone's diary met the same fate.[3] Colonel Sawyer was absent from his regiment on 6 July 1863 and did not rejoin it until 10 July, but he could

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Professor Clemens, a frequent reviwer in these pages, teaches American history at Hagerstown Junior College.

have received the diary as a trophy from another officer, either then or after the war.

How and why Sawyer returned the diary presents another mystery. Although Sawyer was active in several reunion organizations, Stone did not belong to any. Neither the records of the 1st Vermont Survivors association nor Vermont newspapers mention any ceremony in which Sawyer returned anything to anyone.[4] Around the turn of the century aged veterans restored many captured flags, North and South, to their original owners. Many wartime mementos were traced to their sources and returned. It may have been this expression of reconciliation that motivated Sawyer to locate Stone and return the diary. Sawyer left no clues about his motives or methods of locating Stone, and Stone never explained how he got it back. I have found no evidence that shows Stone belonged to any veterans' organizations, so it is not likely that Sawyer met him at a reunion. Since Stone's sister was still living in Baltimore, it is possible that Sawyer located Stone through her.

What I have used here is a photocopy of Stone's handwritten transcription. I received this copy by chance, from my brother, David Clemens. In 1976 when he was hired at Huntington Public Library in New York, he found the diary copy in his files, left behind by the previous librarian. I have corresponded with the librarian who left the diary in the files, but he does not remember who donated the copy to the library. I have also placed advertisements in the local newspapers in Huntington in hopes I could locate the original donor, but I have not met with any success. Conceivably, the diary is a fake. Stone, caught up in the nostalgic writings of his peers, may have decided to "invent" this diary using other Maryland Confederate diaries as a basis. Some latter-day enthusiast might have written it from scratch. I sincerely doubt that it would be worth anyone's time to forge this extensive a work, however; it would require too much research and offer very little prospect of profit. In a few places, especially the Gettysburg passages, Stone's wording is similar to other sources' description of events. Whether or not this was a deliberate embellishment of his original notes is impossible to know without seeing the original diary. While I do not think the diary is a forgery, I feel compelled to mention this evidence so that the reader may make his or her own decision.

After I received the copy in 1976, I began doing some preliminary research. I am convinced the diary is authentic. Stone was reasonably accurate and wrote with a degree of first-hand knowledge. I have compared his diary handwriting against a letter in the National Archives which was written by Stone, and obviously the same person wrote both specimens.[5]

In order to ensure the accuracy and authenticity of Stone's diary, I tried to corroborate many of its details with other sources. The Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, private letters, other diaries, and newspapers all confirm many of the events that Stone mentions, although not without

some discrepancies. Most of the dates of events are confirmed by other sources, but occasionally Stone was inaccurate. Some of this error can be attributed to the way Stone continued to make entries without specifying a date. Other times he is just plain wrong. Whether these errors are new or repeated from the original diary, I cannot determine. Usually the date is only off a day or two, and sometimes the date is correct but not the day of the week. I have left the dates in the diary as Stone wrote them and noted errors only where they affect the significance of the event in question.

Some of the punctuation is unclear in the photocopy of the diary I used to write this article. Commas look like periods, or random spots on the photocopy show up as commas. Since Stone does not use a clear capital letter, it is hard to determine where a sentence ends or begins. I have edited the diary in accordance with principles set forth in the fall 1987 issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (see p. 241).

One other distinction should be made before reading the diary. The Confederate Maryland infantry units were known by several different names. The 1st Maryland Regiment existed from May 1861 until July 1862. After that time another Maryland infantry unit was formed and became known as any of the following: the 1st Maryland Battalion, the Maryland Battalion, the 2d Maryland Battalion, and the 2d Maryland Regiment. These names were used in various official correspondence as well as other sources, making research quite confusing. Here I will use the various names at different times, as does Stone, but with the exception of the 1st Maryland Regiment, all names refer to the organization that served from August 1862 until the surrender in 1865. All references to the 1st Maryland Regiment will be noted as such.

John H. Stone was born on 12 August 1832 in Charles County, Maryland. He was the fifth child and second son of Joseph and Sara Stone. His father, a tax collector for Charles County, owned a large tract of land called Locust Hill. By 1840 Joseph and Sara had six children and owned sixteen slaves.[6] In April 1846 Joseph Stone died "from a long and painful illness, leaving a wife and several children."[7] Shortly afterward Sara Stone remarried, and the two youngest children, John and Sallie, were assigned guardians by the Orphan's Court.[8] John stayed with his uncle, the guardian appointed by the court, for a few years, but eventually went to live with his older brother. This brother, Joseph, was married and owned a farm in Doncaster, a town near Port Tobacco. In 1860 Joseph was the owner of sixteen slaves, and John owned one slave; they both listed their occupation as farmers. Sallie was living with an older sister, serving as a governess for her children. Just before the war began, Sallie married James H. M. Burroughs, a resident of the same county. Burroughs was in the shipping business and owned a schooner. They were married in Baltimore, but whether they returned to Charles County to live is unclear. They did reside in Baltimore after the war.[9]

It is obvious from his writings that Stone was of the Roman Catholic faith. Since Charles and St. Mary's counties were the earliest settlements of the Catholic founders of Maryland, it is not surprising to find a large number of Catholics in the area. In 1860 the Catholic church was the second largest in Charles County.[10] Unfortunately, a fire destroyed most of the records of Catholic parishes in the county, so there is no record of Stone's religious background. His high degree of literacy suggests that he had a good education. At the outbreak of hostilities in 1861 he was a bachelor, probably jointly farming a modest-sized farm with his brother. Francis Leonard Higdon, whom Stone mentions as a friend, lived nearby. Higdon was a teacher, also a bachelor, and lived in Newport, not far from Doncaster.[11] Higdon also went off to war and was in the same regiments as Stone.

Probably because they owned slaves, Stone's family was sympathetic to the Confederacy. As far as can be determined, only John left the area to fight, but most of southern Maryland was secessionist, and his family likely approved of his enlistment. The fact that he writes to Sallie would support this theory. Sallie's husband was arrested in 1861 on suspicion of smuggling goods to the Confederacy. Stone, like many young Marylanders in Confederate service, frequently wrote of his desire to "liberate" his native state. He several times noted his hope soon to be marching toward Maryland and was obviously eager to drive the occupying federal troops from it.

Stone never mentioned any of his family in the diary except Sallie, to whom he wrote all the letters. Since Sallie was the only other child who lived with a guardian, and she and John were the two youngest children, they might have had a closer relationship with each other than with their other siblings. It is also possible that Stone wrote other letters to his brother Joseph which have not been preserved. Years after the war, when John retired from business, he went to Baltimore and lived with Sallie, her husband, and a son named John H. Burroughs.

Shortly after the war ended, Stone went back to Charles County to settle the title to some land his father had owned. A deed in the courthouse has John's signature on it as well as those of Sallie and James Burroughs, Joseph Stone and his wife, and another of John's sisters. This signature on the deed offers the only evidence that Stone ever returned to Charles County after the war.[12] Stone's obituary stated that he "was connected with the Wheeler and Wilson Sewing Machine Company in Norfolk and other Southern cities for a number of years."[13] He died on 6 January 1907 from complications with a broken hip. Sallie's son John admitted Stone to the hospital and must have handled the burial as well, as the tombstone reads, "To my Uncle."[14]

1862

This diary of passing events notes from time to time as circumstanses will permit is dedicated to my Sister Mrs Sallie M Burroughs, By her brother John H Stone, 1st Lieutenant Co "B" 2d Maryland Battalion C.S.A.[15]

On the 15th of June 1862 "Co I" of the 1st Maryland Battalion of Infantry, was mustered out of the Confederate Service, the time for which they had enlisted having expired.

On the following day I together with the most of my Companions, left Staunton for Richmond Virginia where we arrived on the 18th. After remaining in the latter city two weeks, F. L. Higdon and myself concluded to visit our homes in Charles County Maryland, to see our friends and note the changes which had taken place during our absence of the past 12 months.[16] Accordingly on the 3d day of July started from Richmond.

At the close of the first day, we stoped at Mr. G D Pollards, where we were kindly entertained for the night.[17] Early the next morning he agreed to convey us to Loretta [Lorretto] & for which we paid him three dollars and a promise exacted of us to bring him a sack of salt on our return from Maryland. The idea of a person carrying a sack of salt for 30 or 40 miles was so absurd that we readily agreed to comply with his request. At that time salt was quite scarce in V.a & worth almost its weight in gold. To avoid any such trouble, we wisely concluded not to return that way. Arriving at Loretta we learned the bridge had been burned, so we hired a boat and crossed the River. From thence we proceeded to Oak Grove. We called on Mr. Reed who kindly transported us across the Potomac, landing us about midnight at Mr. Joseph I Wills.[18] We enjoyed his hospitality until Sunday evening when we resumed our journey homeward distant 16 miles. After four hours rapid walking we arrived home about sunset, much to our relief & the joy of our friends. We had anticipated a pleasant time, but fate decreed otherwise.

On the following Saturday a Regiment of Federal Cavalry arrived in Port-Tobacco. They immediately posted a line of pickets a considerable distance from the vilage, thereby cutting off all communication from my friend Higdon, who was at that time in another portion of the county. As I could not communicate with him and believing it unwise for me to remain at home I concluded to return to Virginia. At sun-set I bade adieu to friends and started for Cob neck where I arrived about midnight. Not being familliar with the road I traveled a considerable distance out of the way, but at last reached Mr. I Semmes' home and after a refreshing sleep I was again ready to resume my journey.[19] The first thing needed was a boat in which to cross the river. Fortunately I had not long to wait. Meeting Capt Shorter I made known to him my situation and he agreed to land me on the Virginia shore if I would give him $20 which I paid in gold.[20]

Whilst waiting for the night to set in I was joined by two former comrades, James Dorsett and Tom Green who like myself had concluded it unwise to remain on the Maryland side of the River. They had also been in the Confederate Service one year.[21]

Corp. Francis Leonard Higdon. Higdon served in Company I of the 1st Maryland Infantry, C.S.A. with Stone. His uniform and rank appear to date the photograph to the first half of 1861. (Courtesy of Mrs. Elanor Higdon, Newburg, Md.)

When darkness overshadowed the water, with muffled oars we started on our risky trip. I say risky because we had to pass in sight of & near by a United States revenue cutter commanded by Captain Andrew Frank an individual well known to myself & who at that time would be only too glad to gobble us up.[22]

When halfway over the river we were near being run down by a sailing vessel going rapidly under full sail & a fair wind.

After four hours hard rowing we reached the Virginia shore opposite Cob neck much to our relief both in mind and body.

Feeling much too exhausted to proceed farther we concluded to rest until daylight. So we passed the remainder of the night sleeping soundly under the branches of a wild-cherry tree.

Before the sun rose we were in search of the nearest farmhouse which we soon found & had the good luck to get breakfast.

From thence we traveled on to Oakgrove, on to Sparton [Sparta], Port Royal & thence to Ashton, at which place we took the cars from Richmond where we arrived at 3 oclock P.M. completely worn out by our long and teadious travel. A battle between General Jackson & Pope is daily expected & troops are being sent forward as rapidly as possible.[23] You will hear from me later on. Until then good by. As ever I am your devoted brother, John.

Richmond, July 30-62

My Dear Sister

If my preceding letter has been dull reading you must be charitable, as my chances for noting passing events have been very few, but I hope as I proceed, to be able to make this a more interesting letter. General Lee has promised that General Jackson will be in Maryland within the next sixty days, in that event something more exciting

will surely transpire. I hope his prediction will be verrified. The weather here is intensely hot & no show for a change.

August 6th. Today 200 Confederate prisoners arrived in camp, having been exchanged.[24] They complain of the bad treatment of the Federal soldiers who guarded the prison more especially of the Officers who had charge of the Prison.

Yesterday I had quite an adventure. Feeling warm & tired I concluded to rest a while in the Capitol square. I had been seated but a short time when a girl appearently about 14 years old made her way towards me & took the adjoining seat. From her limping gait I concluded her shoes did not fit comfortably. Being questioned as to cause of her limping, she informed me she could not get shoes to fit consequently was compelled to have them made to order. She then said I have put water in them to make them larger. She also informed me that she wore No 1. I replied if she would keep them on until dry the water would do some good in the way of making them larger. She then informed me she was a member of the Dickson family of Texas. Her parents being dead she was living with a friend who did not treat her kindly, would not allow her to use sugar in her coffee although she had purchased it with her own money. After conversing with her a while longer I took my departure. Just as I was about starting, she wished to know if I used tobacco, being informed that I did she requested me to give her a chew. I handed her piece after biting of[f] a piece she remarked I do not chew because I like tobacco, but merely as a past time. Then I concluded that it was time to leave.[25]

During the past 3 days I have been trying my hand at peddling goods brought over by my friend Higdon. I succeeded beyond my expectation. I found ready sale for pins at seventy five cents per paper. Quinine 13 dollars per oz, knit goods sold at fabulous prices but selling goods without a permit was too risky & I declined to continue at it. I will now turn my attention to the cause for which I left my home in Maryland. How I may succeed I know not but no matter what the result - maybe you will soon hear from me.

As ever your loving Bro John.

Camp Maryland Richmond Va

My Dear Sister

Having concluded to resume my military duties, I had an interview with my friend, Capt. J. Parren Crain of St Mary's County M-d.[26] By our united efferts we succeeded in enlisting 75 men, 38 from St Mary's & 37 from Charles co Maryland. We then had an election of officers which resulted in the Election of Crain as Captain & myself as 1st Lieutenant & Chas. Wise & James Wilson as 2d & 3d Lieutenants.[27] This election being over we appointed C Craig Page as Orderly Sergant, we are now in Camp Marylond as you have noticed at heading of this letter.[28] My time has been fully occupied in providing Quarter Master & Commissary stores for the men. If an officer wishes to gain the respect & confidence of his men, he must provide for their creature comforts, this I shall endeavor to do regardless of my own comfort. As we wish to be one of the best drilled commands in the service, we drill 3 or 4 hours

Map of the Shenandoah Valley accompanying the report of Gen. Thomas J. Jackson, C.S.A. in *The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 1861-1865*, ser. 1, vol. 12, part 1, p. 709.

daily except Sunday. Captain Crain being absent I shall remain in Capt. Our men are enthusiastic & anxious for the fray.

September 10. To-day Co's "A & B" received orders to report at Charlottesville. After two days delay awaiting transportation we left Richmond. Arriving at Gordonsville we were delayed one hour by some unknown cause. From there we proceeded to our present encampment.

At night we were entertained by General A P. Hill's wife, who played & sang for our benefit. My Maryland being the piece most enjoyed.[29] There has been a friendly contest between Co A & B, as to which should be the senior Company both having been mustered into service on the same day. It was at last settled by ballot & won by Captain Murray, which here after will be known as Co "A & ours as Co B"[30] To-day

I met a woman of two complexions, white & black. Her hair is short & kinkey like the negro. Her face & feet are black. Her hands & body white. This slave is a wonderful freak of nature. Perhaps in a few years she will be black or white.

Sunday September 14th. At ten oclock to-day I received orders to proceed to Gordonsville to obtain transportation for Co A & B to the Rapid Ann River. At 12 oclock I arrived there, attended to orders and returned to charlottesville in time for dinner. On Tuesday we received orders to proceed to Gordonsville & there await the arrival of Companies C. D&. E. Last night for the first time this season Captain Crain, Lt Wilson & myself slept in the open air. About midnight we had to run for the cars to avoid a drenching rain.

Sept 17th. Early this morning we started for Culpeper distant 30 miles. Not being able to obtain seats in the cars we climbed on top and rode safely to our destination.

As ever your affectionate Bro Jno

Camp Maryland Near Winchester[31]

My Dear Sister,

Since my last letter we have undergone a long & tedious march of 60 miles. On last Saturday we received marching orders & on Sunday Sept 21 we started for Winchester, Virginia. After marching 15 miles we went into Camp at Woodville. At sunrise the next morning we resumed our march. We had proceeded but a few miles when the line was halted & a bountiful breakfast was furnished by a wealthy old gentleman who resided near the road. After giving him 3 cheers & a tiger for his kindness we moved on.[32]

At midday we halted at Washington & rested for 3 hours. When we again resumed our march passing through a small village near Flint Hill, one mile beyond which we encamped for the night.

Early the next morning we resumed our march for Front Royal where we arrived at 2 oclock. After dinner we again moved on. At South Anna River we had a bad time crossing. The bridge having been washed away we had to cross over in small boats. This caused much delay. At the South Anna there was neither bridge or boats so we forded the stream with little difficulty, after proceeding 3 miles we encamped for the night.[33]

Early the next morning we resumed our march & by 3 oclock arrived at Winchester, hungry & tired, having nothing to eat since the day before. Having roamed about the city in search of something to eat & finding nothing we returned to Camp. We soon had a plentiful meal of Beef, Bread & Coffee to which we all did ample justice.

Sept 29. To-day General G H Stewart [Steuart] paid us a visit & suggested that we parade the streets of Winchester, so on the following morning, with colors flying & drums beating we did the town to the apparent delight of all who saw us. The parade over we returned to camp to get a much needed rest & sleep.[34]

To-day Lt Murray, Lt Wilson & myself have been detailed as a Court Martial to try members of Co A for stragling on the march from Culpeper to Winchester.[35]

The three companies C D & E having arrived an election for Major has been ordered & Capt J R Herbert was elected on the first ballot.[36] I am now officer of the day & must remain in Camp. Nothing of much interest has transpired.

The men are getting tired of Camp duty & are anxiously awaiting a change. We seldom see a newspaper until it is over a week old. Yesterday I was again detailed for guard duty. Having but 3 prisoners confined, had a quiet time.

For several days we have had much rain which causes much annoyance, in the way of wet clothes. Many of the men are destitute of blankets & tents. Consequently they are much exposed in inclement weather. I expect to go to Richmond in a few days to provide such things as we need. Provisions are scarce around Winchester. Yesterday a Lady presented us a fine lot of sweet meats & it is needless to say we enjoyed them.

General Longstreets corps has just passed through Winchister in a drenching rain storm. Poor fellows they are to be pittied, wet to the skin and no change of clothes but such is the fortune of a soldier.

Man that is born of woman & enlists in Jackson's Army, has but few days to live, short rations & much hardtack, sleeps but little & marches many miles.

To-day Capt Crain & Lt Wilson have gone into Winchester, being a lone I have passed a quiet day. The forenoon was pleasant but as evening advanced rain commenced falling, & towards night the atmosphere was quite cold.

October 20th As anticipated last night was a very cold one, I think winter has set in. To-day we have been exercising in the skirmish drill & before returning to Camp we had a sham battle. It was quite exciting. I stormed the fortifications, behnd which Capt Crain & his men were posted. I suceeded in Capturing the Captain & many of his men. I then retired in good order taking my prisoners with me to Camp.[37]

October 23d Yesterday our Battalion paraded the streets of Winchester, admired & applauded by all who saw our movements. Maryland men move with more life than any troops in the Army.

We have returned to Camp & are trying to keep warm by huging the fire, but it is a fruitless job. My bed of straw look quite inviting so I will turn in for the night.

As ever your affectionate Bro John

October 24-1862

My Dear Sister,

To-day a Priest visited our Camp. It is needless for me to say he is a welcome visitor. Tomorrow he will hear confessions & say Mass. This will give the Catholic's of our Regiment an opportunity of attending to their religious duties, which they have not had an opportunity of doing during the past 2 months. At 10 oclock to-day Mass was celebrated in the Old Stone Church in Winchester.[38] I had the happiness of

being present. Owing to the rain but few others except the soldiers attended. Soldiers do not mind rain.

"Died in Camp"

October 25th Today we lost the first member of "Co B." After an illness of nearly two months, Private Samuel Jamison breathed his last.[39] His death was caused by inflamation of the bowels. His death was so quiet, that those who were watching by his bed side did not note the moment of his death. He received the last sacrament just before his death. R.I.P.

Last night was anothe[r] cold night, ice made in a warm tent. Thus you can form some idea of the kind of weather we have up here in the mountain.

This morning the sun rose warm giving promise of a pleasant day, which I hope will be verrified.

October 29th Thus far the day has been a quiet one. At four oclock "Co B" was ordered into Winchester for guard duty. We had been on duty but a short time when we were called on to quell the riots that were going on in several sections of the City. When soldiers get too much whiskey into their head, they are generally hard to manage, so we were kept quite busy until midnight making arrests & conveying the prisoners to the lock up. I should have said Jail.

October 31st Early this morning we were relieved by Co E commanded by Capt J W Torsch.[40] I immediately returned to camp with my company to get a much needed rest & sleep.

Nov 2d Today being Saturday we had no drill, but the men were kept busy getting things in order for Sunday's inspection. Near the close of day we received orders to post pickets on the Romney & Pewtown [Pughtown] roads to prevent a surprise from the enemy. Accordingly two pieces of the Baltimore Light Artilery was posted in one of the fortifications in Winchester, & thus guard the approaches to the city from the North & West.[41] At this time all is quiet.

Nov 3d To-day being Sunday we had our usual inspection.[42] After that I attended Mass, & had the pleasure of hearing a fine sermon by the same Farther who said Mass in our Camp a few days since. Few of the Catholics fail to attend Divine service when an opportunity presents itsself.

Nov 5. We have just returned to Camp having been on duty in the city. We made several arrests, among them one woman. The weather is now clear and Cold.

Nov. 7th Yesterday I was detailed for double duty as Officer of the Day & Guard. About midnight I was relieved & returned to my tent. If you have noted carefully

the events chronicled you see I have done my share of duty. I have just drank a cup of hot Coffee & will now turn in & will hope to enjoy a sound sleep until morning.

November 9th At eight oclock this morning snow commenced falling & still continues at this time 8 P.M.[43] The weather is very cold & there will be much suffering to night as many of the men are without shoes & blankets & fewer still have any tents to shield them from the intense cold, but on the contrary many will take the frozen ground for a bed & the snow for a covering. I have extended to as many as I can find room to share my tent. A few accepted, others prefering to sleep in their huts made of straw & brush. Yet I know they will be uncomfortable for I am none too warm in my tent.

November 10. Yesterday 100 Federal prisoners arrived in Camp. There is rumor in Camp that we are soon to travel for parts unknown to us at this time. Should this prove to be correct I will advise you in my next letter, but these reports are so frequent & unreliable, we are learning to place little or no reliance in them. As ever your loving Bro John.

Camp Winchester Nov. 12 1862

My Dear Sister,

We are still at Winchester, the order to break Camp, if ever given, has been revoked & the anticipated battle did not take place consequently all is quiet in Camp. Owing to Sickness Captain Crain has gone to Strasburg, & Lieutenant Wilson being absent on duty, leave me but one assistant, Lt Wise.

November 13 The weather at this time is delightful. Many of the men have abandoned the idea that Camp will be broken & are preparing for winter quarters. I have just purchased a Sibly Stove. As you have not seen one I will describe it. It is named after General Sibly who invented it. It is made out of sheet iron & looks like an inverted funel. I gave 3 dollars for it & would not sell it for twice 3$. It is quite light, easily carried from place to p[l]ace when needed.[44]

November 16th As usual on guard to-day.

November 17. I was at Mass in the forenoon. Remained in camp afterward.

November 19. During the past two days we have had considerable rain. To-day the sun shines. Yesterday an order was issued by General Jackson prohibiting the men from visiting the city without a pass from General Stewart [Steuart] countersigned by the Col commanding. This order was not issued any too soon, as many have abused the priverlige granted them. To-day "Co B" goes on duty in the City. We anticipate a peasant time as few passes have been granted. As previously stated we had but little trouble, as the Irish Brigade was also on duty.[45]

Tomorrow they leave for the Main Army & then our troubles begin. All of the Army have been ordered from Winchester leaving no troops except the Md Battalion & have been transfered to General Jones Command. Now we are or expect to be foot cavalry in the true sense of the word.[46] Last night about midnight I was called up & instructed to hold my company in readiness to repel an anticipated attack from the enemy. Fortunately for them & us they did not put in an aperance & we are on duty as usual in Winchester.

November 25. Will long be remembered by the citizens of Winchester for on this day an order was issued to search all houses suspected of having contraband goods. Soon all was commotion.

By 10 oclock 40,000 dollars worth of manufactured tobacco was in the hands of the soldiers & by four oclock it was stacked in one huge pile & at 5 oclock the torch was applied. In less than one hour it was but a pile of ashes.[47]

Nov 26. All is quiet in camp. Last night the Yanks charged our Cavalry picket, wounded one & captured five. During this engagement a terrible storm passed over Camp. Did little damage.

November 29. About midday I was instructed by Major Herbert to take a detail of ten men and proceed up the Romney Road seven miles or more if necessary, in search of two horses that had been stolen. When I reached McFarland's house I found the stolen horses. I took charge of them & returned to camp just in time to bring up the rear of our Battalion which had been ordered out to assist our cavalry. The enemy succeeded in capturing seven of our men. After the surprise we drove them back quite a distance. Later on we returned to Camp.[48]

December 4th. For several days much excitement has prevailed in Camp. To-day the Federal Cavalry made another attack on our cavalry. We were immediately ordered out on the Berryville Road to meet them, but finding them in too large numbers for our small force, we retreated to Strasburg distant 18 miles from Winchester.[49] At 3 oclock in the morning we went into Camp having marched all night. After remaining there 3 days we returned to Winchester. On our return to Winchester we had to wade through snow knee deep. Arriving in town we quartered in a few deserted buildings. Having no fire we suffered much from the cold weather. On the following day Major Herbert procurred for us more comfortable quarters. We are now having comparatively a nice time. We have but little to do. Drill one hour each day & do guard duty one day in six. Last evening I paid a visit to a Lady friend & spent a couple of hours pleasantly. You can form some idea of the kind of weather we have to endure when I tell you, ice makes in our room each night although we keep fire all night.

Xmas is fast approaching. I have several times wished I could spend that day at home with my friends, but as I know this can not be I must content with myself & wish all a merry Xmas & happy New Year.

Early yesterday we received orders to pack up and proceed to Front Royal. After marching several miles we halted for the night. Next morning we received orders to march to Strasburg. We arrived there about 4 oclock. After being there two days we moved our camp two miles from Strasburg out on the Capron spring road, we immediately set to work & made ourselves comfort-able. How long we are to remain no one knows, perhaps only a day or two.

December 19. As anticipated we have received orders to proceed up the Valley pike as far as General Jone[s]'s camp. Where ever that may be. Proceeding to this unknown place we found to our great disappointment, that the General had proceeded us up the pike. At night encamped near Woodstock. General Jones learning that the enemy was advancing on Strasburg ordered us to proceed down the pike to Mount Jackson, there we Encamped for the night, hungry & tired. Early the next morning we proceeded down the pike to New Market & there encamped for the night. When the Yanks made their appearance at Strausburg they captured the few men we had left there.[50] These men were suffering from sore feet. During this continued marching Xmas has come & gone forever. We could do no better. As ever your affectionate Bro John

1863

New Market January 1st 1863

My Dear Sister

To-day another year of suffering & blood shed & should this bloody strife continue, sad will be the homes of many, but let us trust in God to end this unholy war.

Early this morning we received orders to cook 4 days rations. This means a long & teadious march is before us.

January 2d At sunrise the Battalion moved out of Camp. After a march of 20 miles, Halted for the night. After posting sentinals, we turned in for the night in order to be prepared for the next day.

January 3d At seven Oclock we resumed our march. We had proceeded about 3 miles when a Courier arrived with instructions to Major Herbert to bring on his men as rapidly as possible, but as we had to cross the river frequently we made but slow progress. Arriving at the West Branch of the Potomac we encamped for the night as we supposed, but scarcely had we built fires, when the order to fall in was given & we resumed our march until we met General Jones & after crossing the same river 3 times in 3 miles we halted for the night wet & hungry.

January 4th To-day we advanced to within five miles of Moorfield [Moorefield, West Virginia].

In the mean time General Jones had received information that the enemy had been strongly reinforced, prudently withdrew his troops & at 3 Oclock we retraced our steps across the mountain. On the 6th day we arrived in Camp completely worn out.[51]

January 15. On the 12 I was ordered to proceed with my Company & 3 wagons to Keller's flour mills located 3 miles beyond Woodstock.[52] At seven in the morning I left Camp with fifty four men. After seven hours rapid marching we arrived at the mills. In a short time I had the wagons loaded & started back to camp. When three miles from the mill we halted for the night having marched 31 miles. Early on the following morning we started for our Camp where we arrived in time for supper. Many of the men suffered considerably from the long march.

January 17. We are now comfortably located but how long we will remain here is yet to be learned.

Having nothing much to do I concluded to make myself a pair of pants a garment I was much in need of. I finished them before night & consider them well made & a good fit. So much for my early training. To-day being Sunday we will have our usual inspection. We are still in camp because the snow is too deep for us to travel & many of the men have no shoes. We had orders to move, but thanks to the snow the order was revoked.

Captain Crain is expected to return to camp to-day he has been absent on sick leave since the middle of October.

Jan 25th. To-day we received 3 days rations with orders to cook at once & be ready to move early in the morning. When we had cooked two days rations, we were notified that should we not finish in time the deficiency would be made up by hardtack & beef.

There was much excitement in Camp this morning owing to an Election for Lieutenant Colonel having been ordered.

At 8 oclock we commenced to ballot, on The Second count Major Herbert was declared Elected Lt Col. & Capt W. W Goldsborough was elected Major.[53] After a ringing speech from our new Col we prepared to leave Camp & started down the valley Pike.

At 4 oclock we arrived at Edenburg [Edinburg, Virginia] where we encamped for the night. Early the next morning we received orders to return to our old camp. After sleeping in the snow for two nights we were anxious to return, although we knew we would have to wade knee deep through the snow. After breaking a track for seven miles we reached Mount Jackson. From there we had good marching until we reached camp in good order but much exhausted.

February 1st. This month has set in with a fearful snow storm. The snow is now two feet deep & is still falling. The weather is now the coldest I have experienced since

I have been in Virginia. I have just made myself a Walnut clothes chest & intend to bring it home if I succeed in keeping it in my possession. You see I am a carpenter as well as a tailor. Many of Burnside's troops are deserting & coming into our lines.[54] From ten to fifteen arrive daily & if this continues much longer his fighting strength will be considerably reduced. At the present time we have but little to do except Eat, smoke &, sleep.

February 10. Yesterday we had our usual snow storm. Late in the day turned to rain & hail. Having nothing much to do I concluded to change my coat from sack to frock. In two days I completed the job. Now I have a coat & cape which I can remove at pleasure.[55] We have a second edition of the previous snow storm with rain & hail. Before one snow melts another follows thus keeping the earth covered with a white mantle.

February 15th We have just had our usual Sunday inspection.

We have just received orders to proceed to Woodstock. We were soon on the road. At night we went into camp 2 miles from Edenburg [Edinburg] & 19 miles from New Market, our old camp.

The enemy are near by, but whether they will give battle remains to be seen. I am now officer of the day. I was up at 3 oclock this morning & have been on duty since. A little sleep will not do me any harm. A rumor is going the rounds of the camp to the effect that we are going to have a brush with the enemy, but grape vine telegraph is never reliable. More snow to-day. Capt Crain returned to camp to-day having been absent four months.

I was much surprised this morning to find 12 inches of snow on the ground. Being detailed as officer of the guard, I was compelled to get up at 4 oclock in the morning much against my inclination. You see I do not get more than my share of rest, but I do not complain.

February 22. This being Washingtons birth day we had the pleasure of listening to a fine address delivered by Lieutenant J B Franklin of Annapolis.[56]

February 23 This morning the sun rose warm & bright giving promise of a fair day.

February 25 Yesterday a messenger arrived in Camp bringing the startling news that the enemy had driven in our picket. Col Herbert immediately ordered Major Goldsborough to take co's A. B. & C & proceed down the pike as far as Woodstock, but before the order could be executed the long role [roll] was sounded, then all was commotion in Camp.[57] In a few minutes we were on the road, after marching 4 miles in the direction of the Enemy we halted & awaited further orders. An hour later General Jones arrived & ordered us to Remain in our position for the present. He then proceeded down the pike with about 300 Cavalry. One hour later he encountered the enemy seven hundred strong. Succeeded in repulsing them

capturing about 200 which he brought into camp, many of them being covered with mud from head to foot. The pursuit extended about ten miles. This being accomplished we were ordered back to camp where we slept undisturbed for the remainder of the night.[58] I will now close this letter, but promise to let you hear from me again in a short time. As ever your affection. Bro John

March 1, 1863

My Dear Sister,

Nothing of much interest has transpired since I closed my last letter. During the morning rain commenced falling. High winds and clear cold.

We have just received orders to strike tents and be ready to move at a moments notice. Finding the report that the Enemy were advancing false, orders to pitch tents was given. This means we are to remain a while longer in our old Camp.

March 2d I am officer of the guard have been on duty six hours. A fearful snow storm prevailing all the while. At midnight the storm subsided and the stars shone brightly. The remainder of the night was clear but intensely cold. I have confined in the guardhouse a man named William Smun who was captured within our lines & supposed to be a Spy. He is heavily ironed & closely guarded. His irons are examined every two hours to see they are secure. Although believed to be an enemy I have compassion on him & see that he is as comfortable as circumstances will permit. He was captured last spring but escaped from Jail. I am sure he will not escape a second time.[59]

March 5. Weather cold and clear.

March 6th Snow & rain all day.

March 7. Rain in the morning. Rain at night with prospect for clearing.

Mch 8 Clear in the morning rain at night. Thus you see the weather is anything but pleasant. The suny South is a misnomer. It should be Snow & Rainy South. This Valley is an uncertain place as regards to Weather. Snow one day, rain the next & then clear. Yesterday four young Ladies visited our Camp to view the parade & guard mount.[60] Whilst the parade was going on their horse took fright, ran off & smashed their wagon. Later in the evening the Ambulance was utilized in conveying them home.

March 16th The past few days have been warm & pleasant. I had scarcely pen[ne]d these lines when snow, rain & Hail commenced falling & from appearances may continue for some time.

March 18. For the past few days we have been moving like the pendulum of a clock. First up & then down the Valley. In fact we have accomplished but little. March &

counter march has been the order. This I presume has been done for some good purpose & will develop in time. If we could but read the future (which is wisely withheld) we would do many things quite different.

March 25th This day has been set apart by P[r]esident Davis as a day of fasting & prayer.[61] There has been a great deal of fasting but I fear little praying. We fast more or less each day simply because we cannot get the food to eat. This morning on this same fast day we received orders to march up the valley for a lot of pig iron. Surely they are not going to feed us on iron, the hard tack is tough enough.[62] At 6 oclock A.M. agreeably to previous orders, we started on our journey. At 4 PM halted at Edenburg having traveled 24 miles & as usual I was detailed as officer of the guard. At nine oclock I retired for the night & slept soundly until one in the morning when I was awakened by rain falling on my face. Finding I could not sleep I folded up my blankets & sat by the fire until morning. At six oclock the order to fall in line was given. In a few minutes we were on our way back to Camp, where we arrived in good condition having marched 54 miles in 36 hours rain falling all the way back to Camp. Being much exhausted from our long march we had no inspection today. The weather has been clear & warm, something unusual. Adieu for the present. John.

New Market Va April 1, 1863

My Dear Sister

To-day being all fools day both officers & men have been the subject of much fun. The days are growing longer & as we have but little to do the time passes slowly. Ere long we expect to have more to do than we can conveniently accomplish.

Provisions are becoming scarcer in the Valley. Thinking you might like to know how things sell here I will state a few articles. Flour $20 per Barrel, Corn Meal $25 per Barrel. Bacon 1.75 per pound. Potatoes $8 per bushels Butter $2 per pound. Dried Apples 50 cents per quart Green apples $30 per bushels Peas & Beans none to be had. Cabage 50 cents a piece. Onions scarce sugar $1.25 per pound Coffee $4 lb Black peper $4 per pound Soda $4 per pound. Washing soap small cake $1.00. Cloths out of sight Cap $10 Coat $125 Pants $50 Vest $20 Boots $50 Shoes $15 to $30 Wollen shirts $20 Maryland buttons $1 Drawers $5 Blankets $30 each Coffee Pot $3 Tin plates $1 each Tin cups 50 cents each, needles $5 per paper, Pins $1 per paper. These are the prices asked & received in the Valley of Virginia.[63] As ever your loving Bro Jno.

April 2d 1863

My Dear Sister,

Nearly all the Ladies we meet are dressed in black. This shows how fatal has been the Federal bullets. Scarcely a family but what has lost one or more. Either Husband, Father or Son gone down to an untimely grave. To-day Capt Gwynn & myself visited Moor's Cave. It is narrow & deep & about 600 feet long.[64] Finding nothing of special interest we returned to camp just in time for dinner, our appetites being whetted

by our travels to & from the Cave. After dinner I enjoyed a smoke, after which we had company drill. Near the close of day a dark cloud arose indicating more bad weather, but fortunately for us the wind changed & the storm passed off in another direction.

April 3d This had been an unusual day for this latitude, but towards night the air changed from warm to cold & as usual the night was cold. Good Friday has passed some observed it, many did not. By dispensation we are allowed to eat meat on Friday, but not good friday. Yesterday & to-day we had no drill. The weather was cold & stormy. Yesterday a member of Captain Goldsborough['s] company, was taken with a congestive chill & died in a few hours. He was a member of the Catholic church.

Easter Sunday April 5.

At one oclock last night snow commenced falling & continued until Sunrise this morning.

At seven oclock this morning I started for Harrisonburg for the purpose of getting a coffin & a Priest to bury our deceased Comrade. Arriving there I was informed that Father Bixio was absent in Staunton.[65] After making all arrangements I returned to Camp. At 4 oclock the funeral took place & Whalen was intered under a large oak tree near the parade ground.[66] Two hours after a race was made between two horses one owned by Lt Blackstone [Blackistone] the other by Lt Dorsey of the Cavalry.[67] The race was run over a portion of the same ground over which the funeral had just passed. This was too bad for men professing christianity. In vindication of our holy riligion, neither of them are Catholic. And this on Easter Sunday.

April 6th All quiet in camp weather clear & Cold. High Winds. As usual we drill twice each day. Yesterday April 5 drill was omitted.

April 11. For several days quiet has prevailed. We are expecting soon to move camp but where none seems to know. The impression is into Maryland but I have heard that so often & each time been disappointed I begin to think we may never reach there, but these reports are generally followed by a move in some direction. Orders for a long march received. About night Father Bixio arrived in Camp to the great joy of the Catholic portion of the Battalion.

The Early part of Monday night was consumed in hearing confessions. Early Tuesday morning Mass was celebrated on an Altar built by myself & a few others. Col Herbert gave up his tent to Father Bixio. The Altar was rather rough as we had to build it out of unplaned plank, but when covered had quite a neat appearance. About 75 received Holy Communion. The following day Father Bixio heard the confessions of those who being on duty could not go the first day. That night we received orders to pack wagons & be ready to move at a moments notice. The Federals are reported to be moveing in large numbers toward our Camp. Arriving

at Shenandoh River & finding it too much swolen to ford in safety they turned back & I am mighty glad they did as I was much opposed to turn out in such a rain storm to meet any one.[68]

April 16. We are still under marching orders. Nothing disturbed Camp yesterday.

April 18. All quiet in camp & no drill to-day.

Sunday April 19. To-day is the Anniversary of the Battle of Baltimore. When the citizens attempted to prevent the 6th Massachusets from passing through the city.[69]

We had quite a fire in camp to-day. It burned rapidly for a while, but was extinguished by hard work of the men after a total loss of one jacket one blanket one musket & one cartridge box. Total value $50. No insurance.[70] At last we have received orders to prepare for a ten days march. I will leave the result as the subject of my next letter. Until then Goodby. As ever your Affectionate Bro John.

On the move Tuesday April 21. 63

My Dear Sister,

At six a.m the drum sounded Revelle [reveille] & in a few minutes we started down the valley pike as far as Spata [Sparta, Virginia] there we took the road to the left arriving at Koutzs [Cootes'] store we encamped for the night. At sunrise next morning we resumed our march crossing the Shannadoah [Shenandoah] river fifteen times we halted near the foot of the mountain. Next morning we again resumed our march up the mountain & then down on the other side & after crossing a river twenty six times we encamped within four miles of the City of Moorfield [Moorefield]. Next day at 8 oclock we resumed our march & halted near the city. "Co B" was detailed to guard the city. The citizens received us kindly & did all in their power to make our stay agreeable. They would receive no pay for the meals they furnished us. My headquarters was in the Court house.[71]

Sunday April 26th. At ten Oclock 86 Federal prisoners arrive in Camp under a Covalry [cavalry] guard. They were captured by General Jones after a stuborn fight, near Moorfield.[72] On Monday morning we broke Camp & started on our homeward trip. When 3 miles on the road we were ordered back to repulse the Enemy who report said were persuing us.[73] This report like many others proved to be untrue. After this we continued our march to near Petersburg where we encamped for the night. On the following morning we resumed our march going by way of Franklin.

During the day we met a boy on an ox with two bags of meal. We enjoyed the novel way of transporting his provision home from the mill. At 4 Oclock we reached the top of the mountain, from which we had a beautiful view of the surrounding Country for at least 100 miles. Shortly after we commenced the descent rain commenced falling & continued until we reached the plain below. After clearing up for a while it set in & continued all night causing us anything but pleasure. Early the next morning we resumed our march crossing & recrossing that same old stream

26 times. We went into Camp near Harrisonburg. Thus ended our march of 160 miles over one of the roughest roads in West Virginia.[74] I trust we will have a few days rest. Will inform you in my next letter of the result so Good by until then. As ever your affectionate Bro John.

Harrisonburg May 10 -

My Dear Sister

As promised in my last letter I will give you the results of my trip to Richmond & back to camp.

May 1. On this day I received orders to convey the Prisoners Captured at Moorfield, to Liby [Libby] prisin at Richmond Va.[75]

Detailing 18 men from my own company & 18 from other companies I started with 92 Prisoners all told. Reached Staunton at 5 oclock May 2d having marched twenty five miles. As no train could be had we encamped on the hill just out of the city. The following day being Sunday and no trains moving we remained in Camp until Monday morning. When we took the first train to Charlottesville & there changed cars for Lynchburg. When about 30 miles from charlottesville two trains collided, by which our engine was somewhat damaged. After consuming two hours repairing the damage we proceeded on but at a slow rate of speed, arriving at Lynchburg at 11 o clock that night. I marched prisoners to the Provo Martial office [Provost Marshal] turned them over to Lieutenant Robert Shinn where they remained until 6 PM the next day.[76] Having provided quarters for my men, I repaired to the Hotel where I remained during my stay in that city. At 6 PM I started in a drenching rain for Richmond. At midnight we changed cars at Burkeville, & after an uneventful run of six hours reached our destination Richmond with our full number of prisoners & men. Arriving at Liby Prison I turned the Federal Prisoners over to Capt Hunter who had charge of the Prison department.[77] When taking leave of them they feelingly thanked me for the uniform kindness shown them on the march, which they received whilst in my charge. I acted to-wards them & I would wished to be treated had I been in their custody. They assured me, Should the fate of war ever place me in their keeping I would receive none but the kindest treatment. After discharging this duty I dismissed my men until the following day.Late in the evening the following day we started back to Camp. After many disappointments in the way of transportation I arrived at Harrisonburg Completely broken down from our fatiguing journey. I immediately reported the result of my trip & was discharged.

May 12. Moved Camp to-day about 3 miles down the Valley Pike.

May 14. Weather warm & dry. quiet prevails in camp, but always a calm before a Storm. We expect to hear startling news before many days. For the past few days we have done but little except drill a short while each day. The weather is intensely hot. At 3 oclock we received orders to go to Strasburg on picket duty, Strasburg is fifty miles distant from our present Camp. We fully expect a skirmish with the enemy before returning if we ever return. Our boys are anxious for the fray.

No rain up to this writing, although much needed. Prospects good. In obedience to orders we started for Strasburg where no doubt an active picket duty awaits us. As the Enemy are in strong force nearby My company being on duty in Harrisonburg I have been detailed to remain in camp in charge of the sick who have been left. This is the first time I have been absent from my company since we were mustered into service.

Another month has passed & we are but little nearer to our native state than we were four months ago. We have just received orders to be ready to move early in the morning when Capt Crain shall arrive from Harrsonburg. I will inform you of the outcome of this last order, in my next letter. As ever your affectionate Bro John

On the Move June 1 - 63

My Dear Sister

At 12 o clock to-day Captain Crain with Co B" arrived from Harrisonburg where they had been on duty. After resting two hours we started on our march, & at sunset Encamped at New Market. After breakfast at New Market we continued our march to Woodstock.

Early Wednesday June 3d Lieutenant Murphy Aide to General Jenkins, arrived in Camp with instructions for us to hurry up as the Enemy was advancing.[78] Early the next day we reached Fisher Hill having marched 45 miles in less than two days. No Enemy. General Jenkins is now commanding the Confederate forces in the Valley. To-day a review was ordered. After some delay the line was formed comprising Infantry, Cavalry, & Artiliry. All told about 3000.[79] After the review we returned to Camp much exhausted from standing so long in hot sun. Later in the day we held an election for Corporal. The candidates were Wm F. Wheatly brother or nephew of Miss Kate Wheatly of Charles Co & J F Duke from St Marys County. After the third ballot Wheatly was declared elected & [an]other election then held for Company Commissary in which Charles was again victorious having Elected Fred Groves over Bond of St Marys.[80]

June 6. We are near the enemy & expect soon to be much nearer. To-day is the Anniversary of the battle of Harrisonburg in which Captain M S Robertson was killed in the battle with the Pennsylvania Buck Tail 1862, and how soon our trial will begin none can tell.[81] Captain Robertson was detailing to me the future pleasure he would have after we should be mustered out of service. This was just one hour before the fatal bullet pierced his body killing him almost instantly. One hour before his death I warned him of the uncertainty of the future but to improve the present as that alone was his.

The weather is warm. Crops are suffering for want of rain. Yesterday we received order[s] to advance but General Lee has countermanded the order.

General Bradley T Johnson has been assigned to command all of the Maryland troops in the Valley.[82] We are now encamped at Oak Grove. The woods is full of locust one cannot sleep on account of their perpetual singing. Early today we moved

down the Valley to Cedar Run & at 10 Oclock commenced skirmishing with the Enemy.

June 14 To-day we had quite an engagement & we were quite fortunate having lost but 4 men. Early on the 15th we stormed the Enemy who were entrenched behind the Earth works in the City of Winchester. We Captured 5000 prisoner 27. cannon, several thousand stand of small arms & a vast quantity of Commissary & Quartermaster stores. After the fight I was on duty until night.[83] Early the next morning we left Winchester & moved in the direction of Maryland. When about 5 miles out from Winchester Our Command was transfered to General Geo H Steuart[']s 3[rd] Brigade[84]

I will close now for the present but will in my next detail our trip into Maryland. As ever your affectionate Bro John.

On the road Home June 16 1863

My Dear Sister

We have started for My Marylond. After halting a short while at Smithfield moved on & Encamped near Shepherdstown where we remained one day.

June 19. Forded the Potomac river water waist deep. Current very rapid. Raining quite fast. When we crossed the canal General Stewart [Steuart] dismounted & kissed the ground, at sight of which the men sent up one long loud shout for My Maryland.[85]

We then marched to Hagerstown where we encamped for the day & night. Whilst in Hagerstown I visited Judge Richard H Alvey who kindly suppyed [supplied] us with tobacco.[86] Our command did picket duty whilst there.

June 23. We are now in Pennsylvania h[a]ving passed through Newberry, Greencastle, Mercersburg & encamped near McConnelsburg. Early the next day started for Chambersburg, passed through Loudon & St Thomas.[87] At each place the inhabitants seemed much astonished at seeing so many soldiers. Some expressed the belief that nearly the entire world had turned out to pay them a visit. At night we encamped near Chambersburg. Leaving the last named city we passed through Scotland, Shippensburg & Encamped near Upton. On the following day we continued our march passing through several small towns & went into camp at Holly Spring about 4 miles from Carlisle, where we received orders to make ourselves comfortable.[88] One hour later the long role [roll] was sounded, we were instructed to be ready to move early the next morning.

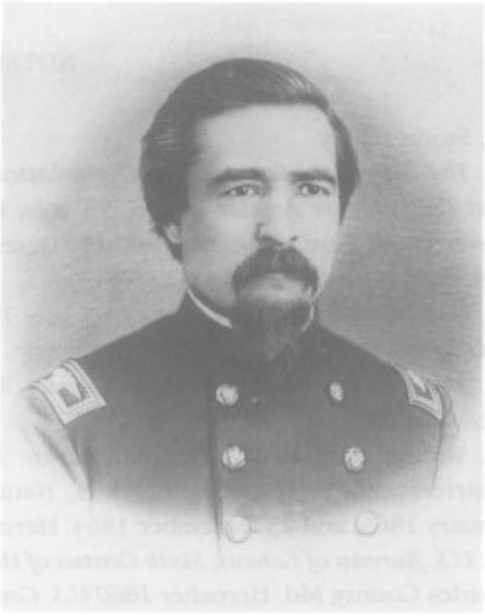
July 1. In compliance to orders early in the morning we were on the road as we supposed, to Carlisle, but when we reached the pike the Command Head of column to the Left was given then we knew we were retracing our steps to some unknown point.[89] The day proved to be a very warm one. About 1 oclock the sound of battle reached us. A few minutes later a Courrier arrived with orders to hurry up. The men, though considerably broken down by the long marches cheerfully responded & in

The Battle of Gettysburg. Steuart's Brigade assaults Culp's Hill on the morning of July 3, 1863. Engraving by A. C. Redwood, 1884. (Prints and Photographs, Maryland Historical Society.)

a few minutes we were moving papidly [rapidly] to the field of battle, which proved to be Gettysburg.

About 4 oclock we met many prisoners who were being taken to the rear, many of them being badly wounded. Also many of our men wounded. It was I assure anything but a pleasant sight. We hurried on and soon reached the battle field, at least a portion of it. Side by side could be seen the Gray & Blue, streched cold in death. On we marched until we crossed the rail road track near the depot, by this time the first days battle was virtually over.[90] By eight oclock we were in line of battle with picket line well advanced. In this position we remained until 4 oclock July 2d. at which time the signal gun was fired and then we commenced our advance. We knew not the fate that awaited many of us that night & the following day. Scarcely had we reached the creek that runs by the foot of the mountain when we were fired upon by the Enemy who were Ambushed near by. Four of Co B" fell wounded and many others along the line. The fire was returned by the left platoon of my company. This caused the Federals to retreat rapidly up the Mountain side closely followed by our own troops. The fighting then commenced in reality and continued until 10 oclock at night, by which time we had driven them out of two lines of fortifications. In this night engagement we lost many killed & wounded. The Enemys loss must have been much worse than ours.[91]

The worst was to Come. At early dawn on the morning of the 3d the slaughter began & continued to rain shell & shot until about 4 Ock P.M. when the fighting was practically over. So terific was the strife, that scarcely a leaf or limb was left on the surrounding trees.



Col. Edward B. Sawyer, 1st Vermont Cavalry, U.S.A., the man who, according to Stone, captured his diary and returned it to him after the war. (National Archives, 111-BA-780.)

At times one could feel the earth tremble, so fearful was the Cannonading. After having made arrangements for the burial of the dead & the caring for the wounded who had to be left in the Enemys lines, we prepared to return to Virginia. Time will never tell the number killed at Gettysburg.[92] On the morning of July the 4th we left that bloody field & wended our way back to the Potomac. I had little to eat until we reached Hagerstown, from the effects of which I was nearly played out. Arriving at the Potomac & finding no Pontoons we had to wade the Potomac, which was up to our arms & running quite swift. Scarcely had we gotten over when the Enemy who had been following us opened fire on us which was returned by our battery which had the effect of causing them to retreat.[93]

The foregoing chapters are a correct transcript of notes taken from my diary which was captured by Lt Col Ed B Sawyer of Vermont, Who after a lapse of 32 years, has returned the little volume.[94] After we returned to Virginia I decided to keep no more notes of events which might occur, so thus ends my letters.[95] I am ever your affectionate Bro John

In toil and battle for four long years,
I did a soldier's duty;
When pleasure Called I closed my ears
And turned my eyes from beauty.
The wanton's tale of boasted bliss,
I heard but near believed it;
So back I've brought that parting kiss
as pure as I received it.

John H Stone 1895

NOTES

1. Stone's diary.

2. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (4 ser., 73 vols. in 128 parts; Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), ser. 1, vol. 27, part 1, p. 994, part 2, pp. 309, 322. Hereafter cited as *O.R.*

3. G. G. Gwillette to his mother, 17 July 1863, near Darkesville, Va. (Erick Davis Collection, Baltimore).

4. Minutes of the 1st Vermont Cavalry Regiment Reunion Meetings, Lanpher Memorial Library, Hyde Park, Vt.

5. Letters received by the Confederate Adjutant and Inspector General and Quartermaster's Offices, 1861-1865, National Archives, Washington, D.C., 13 January 1865, and 23 December 1864. Hereafter DNA.

6. *U.S. Bureau of Census, Sixth Census of the United States, 1840*, Hilltop District, Charles County, Md. Hereafter *1860 U.S. Census*.

7. Port Tobacco *Times*, 23 April 1846.

8. Orphan's Court Records, Charles County, 1850, estate of Joseph Stone.

9. *1860 U.S. Census*, Hilltop District, Charles County, Md.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Land Records, 1868, 1870, Charles County, Md.

13. Baltimore *Sun*, 8 January 1907.

14. Death Certificate, John H. Stone. Baltimore City Bureau of Vital Statistics; gravestone, John H. Stone, Cathedral Cemetery, Baltimore.

15. Sallie was the youngest child of Joseph and Sara Stone. She was married to James H. M. Burroughs on 6 February 1861.

16. Francis Leonard Higdon had formerly taught school in Charles County and was mustered out of Company I as a sergeant. Orphaned at an early age, Higdon was raised by his uncle, Leonard Farrell. In 1860, Higdon was listed as living in Newport (Orphan's Court Records, Land Records, Charles County, Md.). See also *1860 U.S. Census* and service record, F. L. Higdon, DNA.

17. In 1860 G. D. Pollard owned a farm in Caroline County, Va., a town about twenty-five miles northeast of Richmond (1860 U.S. Census).

18. Stone was wrong. There was never a bridge across the Rappahannock River at Loretto. Joseph Wills, a farmer, lived in Thompkinsville, Charles County, Md. *1860 U.S. Census*.

19. There were several Semmes families living near Cob Neck, now known as Cobb Island (ibid).

20. Capt. Shorter was most likely William Shorter, a resident of Cob Neck and owner of a bay vessel (ibid).

21. James Dorsett and Tom Green also had served in Company I, 1st Maryland Regiment. Green had been a corporal and Dorsett a private; neither enlisted in the 2d Maryland Infantry (Compiled Service Records, DNA).

22. This revenue cutter probably was attached to the Potomac River flotilla. Captain Andrew Frank had just been transferred on 10 July to the U.S.S. *Stepping Stone*, a light-draft river steamer. Frank may have known Stone through Frank's activities suppressing rebel sympathizers in Southern Maryland. Frank also had been involved in impounding the schooner Remittance, a vessel belonging to Stone's brother-in-law, James H. M. Burroughs, who was accused of smuggling contraband materials. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies* (30 vols.; Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1869) 4:640-41, 678-79; 7:563.

23. The battle Stone expected did take place at Cedar Mountain, Va., but not until 9 August 1862.

24. In July 1862 the first formal prisoner-of-war exchanges took place at Aiken's Landing, Va. By 1 August Confederate prisoners from Ft. Warren in Boston had been released at Aiken's Landing, and Stone probably referred to these men. (*O.R.*, ser. 2, 4:83-84, 291-95, 394-95).

25. Stone may have had an encounter here with a practitioner of the "oldest profession." Many "virtueless women" inhabited the public places in wartime Richmond; meeting one on a bench in the Capitol Square would not have been unusual. See Bell I. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1943), pp. 53-54.

26. James Parren Crane was a native of St. Mary's County.

27. Charles Wise and James Wilson, the other two officers, were also from Southern Maryland; Wise had served in a militia company with Crain before the war. See Roster of Officers of the Maryland Militia, St. Mary's County, 1860, Maryland State Archives.

28. C. Craig Page is difficult to identify. One source, W. W. Goldsborough, *The Maryland Line in the Confederate Army, 1861-1865* (Baltimore: Kelly, Piet, and Co., 1869), never listed him as sergeant. Another source, Clement A. Evans, ed., *Confederate Military History*, vol. 2, (Atlanta: Confederate Publishing Co., 1889), lists Phillip Reeder as first sergeant and Craig as first sergeant later in the war. Craig's service record does not prove conclusively when he was promoted. He was killed in action 19 August 1864.

29. Mrs. Kitty Hill, wife of A. P. Hill, accompanied her husband from Richmond in late July but evidently took temporary residence in Charlottesville while her husband fought at Cedar Mountain, Second Manassas, and in the Maryland campaign. See James I. Robertson, Jr., *General A. P. Hill, The Story of a Confederate Warrior* (New York: Random House, 1987), pp. 99 and 152.

"My Maryland" was a song written to appeal to the people of Maryland to secede from the Union. It was popular with Confederates in general and Maryland Con-

federates in particular. Harry Wright Newman, *Maryland and the Confederacy* (Annapolis: n.p., 1976), pp. 153-56.

30. Captain William H. Murray of Anne Arundel County was commander of Company A of the 2d Maryland. The contest for seniority between him and Crain was very serious; command of the unit would be decided by seniority. Crain appealed to several people to decide the dispute; all ruled in favor of Murray. Still unsatisfied, Crain appealed to General William E. Jones, who suggested they draw lots. Murray won, and the dispute was ended (Goldsborough, *Maryland Line*, pp. 85-86).

31. Camp Maryland was one mile west of Winchester on the Romney Pike, present-day U.S. Route 50. The Marylanders were camped near the home of Col. Angus McDonald, whose wife, Corneilia, recorded in her diary, "The Maryland Line is camped near us and we see them every day." See Corneilia McDonald, *A Diary with Reminiscences of the War and Refugee Life in the Shenandoah Valley 1860-1865* (Nashville, Tenn.: Cullom and Ghertner, 1934), p. 96.

32. A "tiger" was a type of exclamation added to the end of a traditional "three cheers" to show added appreciation.

33. Stone obviously erred in naming these rivers. The two rivers that join at Front Royal are the North and South forks of the Shenandoah. The Marylanders were stationed on the banks of the South Anna River, a few miles north of Richmond, during the winter of 1863-64. Perhaps Stone confused the two names in his memory.

34. General George H. Steuart had been assigned to command the northern Shenandoah Valley with his headquarters at Winchester on 21 September 1862. His suggestion that the Marylanders parade the town may have been a means of determining their suitability for a provost guard that Steuart was forming. Steuart was charged with the responsibility to "keep perfect order and quiet throughout the neighborhood" (*O.R.*, series 1, vol. 19, p. 614).

Steuart was an officer in the U.S. Army for many years before the Civil War. At the outbreak of the war he resigned his commission and soon was serving in the 1st Maryland Infantry. He was promoted to brigadier general and commanded a brigade in Jackson's Valley Campaign. He had been wounded at the battle of Cross Keys and was just returning to duty. See McHenry Howard, *Recollections of a Maryland Confederate Soldier and Staff Officer under Johnson, Jackson, and Lee* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkens, 1914), p. 178.

35. Lt. Clapham Murray was the younger brother of Capt. William Murray of Company A. Clapham was a second lieutenant in the same company. This court martial indicated the high level of discipline in the Maryland Battalion (Compiled Service Records, DNA).

36. Maj. James R. Herbert was from Howard County and had served in the 1st Maryland Infantry as a captain. He was later elected lieutenant colonel and was wounded at Gettysburg. He survived the war and later became a general in the Maryland National Guard and police commissioner of Baltimore. See Robert Krick, *Lee's Colonels* (Dayton, Ohio: Morningside Bookshop, 1979), p. 174.

37. The sham battle and skirmish drill were common training techniques for new troops.

38. The priest whom Stone mentions was probably Father Michael Costello from the Catholic church in Harpers Ferry. Sacred Heart Church in Winchester was a mission of St. Peter's for some time before and during the war. The church could have been either Sacred Heart, built of stone and standing on a hill at the end of East Street (it was used by occupying troops as a stable and was burned in 1864) or the Old Stone Church on Piccadilly Street in Winchester, which was not used for regular services and was demolished during the war. (*Catholic Directory*, vol. 61, p. 34, Catholic Archives, Baltimore; Lacina and Thomas, *History of Sacred Heart Parish* [Winchester, Va.: n.p., 1953], pp. 23, 58; Quarles R. Garland, *The Churches of Winchester, Virginia* [Winchester, Va.: Farmers and Merchants National Bank, 1960], pp. 46-58).

39. Samuel Jamison does not appear on any rosters of the Maryland Battalion, nor does he have a compiled service record in the National Archives. A grave in the Maryland section of the Stonewall Cemetery in Winchester reads "S. Jameston, First Maryland Battalion, October 25, 1862." Why he is not listed on any rosters is a subject for speculation. See also Kurtz and Ritter, *Roster of Confederate Soldiers Buried in Stonewall Cemetery, Winchester, Virginia*, pamphlet, Handley Library, Archives Room, Winchester, Virginia.

Jameston tombstone, Stonewall Cemetery, Winchester, Va.

40. Capt. John W. Torsch was mustered in as captain of Company E earlier that year. By the end of the war, he was the senior officer left in the battalion and commanded it at Appomattox. (Compiled Service Records, DNA).

41. The Baltimore Light Artillery was also known as the 2d Maryland Artillery. It was assigned to General Steuart to strengthen his garrison forces that fall (Goldsborough, *Maryland Line*, p. 285).

42. The regulations at the time called for weekly inspections of all the men and their equipment (*Revised Regulations of 1861*, Richmond, 1861).

43. Other sources indicate that the first snow of 1862 occurred on November 7, not November 9 (Manuscript and typed copy of a diary of Julia Chase, 1861-65, Handley Library, Archives Room, Winchester, Va., entry for 7 November 1862).

44. The Sibley Stove, invented by Henry H. Sibley, an officer of the First U.S. Dragoons who resigned to take a commission in the Confederate Army, was described as "an air-tight cylinder 30 inches tall with an 18 inch base. It had a hinged door and weighed 30 pounds, although 25 and 18 pound models were patented also" (Les Jensen, "Sibley's Tent," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, January 1982, pp. 38-39).

45. The Irish Brigade was actually the First Battalion of Virginia Infantry. Unlike the majority of Confederate units, these troops were not volunteers "for the war" but were considered "regulars." They maintained a high standard of discipline and were often used for provost duty. See Lee Wallace, Jr., *A Guide to Virginia Military Organizations 1861-1865* (Richmond: Virginia Civil War Commission, 1964), p. 206.

46. Gen. William E. "Grumble" Jones, formerly of the U. S. Mounted Rifles and a native of Virginia, was appointed on 10 November 1862 to command a cavalry brigade consisting of five Virginia cavalry units. He died at the Battle of Piedmont on 5 June 1864.

47. No official documents mention the order to destroy contraband goods at this time. Possibly Jones foresaw the abandonment of Winchester and wanted to prevent these saleable commodities from falling into Union hands.

48. This skirmish was the result of a reconnaissance by Union cavalry from Chantilly to Berryville, Va. The Union cavalry attacked Col. E. V. White's cavalry on the Berryville Pike but were repulsed with the help of the Marylanders (Manuscript and typed copy of a diary, Mrs. Hugh Holmes Lee, Handley Library, Archives Room, Winchester, Va., entry for 29 November 1862).

49. This retreat was in response to the Union reconnaissance-in-force from Harpers Ferry under the command of General John Geary. Geary was sent to determine the strength of the Winchester garrison. He reported he was able to march into Winchester unopposed since Jones and his men had retreated to Strasburg. Geary shortly returned to Harpers Ferry, allowing Jones to reoccupy Winchester (*O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 21, p. 34).

50. This precipitous retreat down the valley was necessary to avoid Gen. Gustave P. Clusseret's cavalry brigade that was sweeping in from Moorefield. Clusseret saw an opportunity to cut off Jones and nearly succeeded. When the Union troopers arrived in Strasburg they captured twenty Confederates, evidently those Stone referred to as having sore feet (*O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 21, pp. 701, 786-87).

51. Stone described Jones's first Moorefield raid, a dismal failure. Jones placed the blame on poor maps and his artillery. For the hardships the Maryland infantry endured on this march see William Murray to his mother, 10 January 1863, near Edinburg, Virginia, Maryland Historical Society.

52. The Keller Mill was on Mine Run, in the Powell Valley of the Massanutten Mountains. Stone and his group did some rapid marching to cover the distance, twenty-five miles, in the time he specified. See John W. Whayland, *History of Shenandoah County* (Strasburg, Va.: Shenandoah Publishing House, 1927), pp. 181-82.

53. In January 1863 William W. Goldsborough joined the Maryland Battalion with a company of men he had raised. Since this took the number of companies up to six, a higher ranking field officer was allowed. Herbert was elected lieutenant colonel, and Goldsborough major. Goldsborough was from Talbot County and had served in the 1st Maryland (Goldsborough, *Maryland Line*, p, 89).

54. Stone probably quoted newspaper statistics reflecting the Confederate optimism following Burnside's disastrous Fredericksburg campaign and his infamous Mud March. Morale in the Union Army of the Potomac was at an all-time low and desertions were prevalent.

55. A sack coat was a loose-fitting garment that fell straight from the shoulders with no waist seam. It was a popular civilian garment, very similar to a modern sports

coat, although slightly longer. To make one into a frock coat was quite a task. A frock coat had a tight-fitting tunic that was joined at the waist with a loose skirt extending below mid-thigh. The detachable cape was not typical of officers' frock coats, unless he was speaking about his outer coat. It should be remembered that officers were allowed a wide latitude in dress since they were not issued clothing by the government. Although there were dress regulations to follow, most officers tended to suit themselves with whatever garments taste and budget permitted. See Frederick P. Todd, *American Military Equipage, 1851-1872* (3 vols.; Providence, R.I.: Company of Military Historians, 1974), 1:57.

56. Lt. James B. Franklin was from Annapolis. First lieutenant of Company D, he was later captured and imprisoned for the duration of the war (Compiled Service Records, DNA).

57. The Long Roll was a drum beat used to signal all troops to prepare to meet the enemy.

58. The skirmish that Stone described was precipitated by Captain Bond of the Maryland cavalry. A large Union cavalry force was lured into an ambush and severely routed. General Jones's report of the action praised the Maryland Infantry for their prompt reaction and eagerness for action (*O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 25, part 1, pp. 28, 33).

59. I have found no mention of William Smun in *O.R.* or other sources.

60. Stone referred to a ceremony in which the men who are going on guard duty, and sometimes the whole force, parade in front of the officer of the day and the officer of the guard, who inspect them. The guard mount was the maneuver by which these men were marched to their guard-posts (War Department, *U.S. Army Revised Regulations of 1861*, pp. 58-61).

61. By General Order No. 46-1863 President Jefferson Davis set aside Friday, 27 March as a day of fasting and prayer.

62. The march to get pig iron from Edinburg was detailed in an account one of Stone's comrades printed in 1929. John G. White recalled that a large number of wagons accompanied the men to Liberty Furnace, southwest of Woodstock at the foot of Three-Mile Mountain (John Goldsborough White, "A Rebel's Memoirs of the Civil War," Baltimore *Sunday Sun*, 19 and 26 May and 2 June 1929. See also Maj. George B. Davis, et al., *The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War* (1891; New York: Crown Publishers, 1978, repr.), plates 92-94.

63. Officers were required to furnish their own clothing and food. With prices inflated, it is hard to imagine that Stone was able to survive on his pay as a first lieutenant, $90 a month. Conditions worsened as the war progressed; by 1865 flour was $1,000 a barrel in Richmond. Of course, these are prices for Confederate money; Yankee greenbacks or gold were much preferred currencies.

64. Capt. Andrew J. Gwynn was from Prince George's County, and commanded Company F. He was wounded at Peebles' Farm and was paroled at the end of the war (Harry Wright Newman, *Maryland and the Confederacy* [Annapolis, Md.: n.p., 1976], p. 287; Goldsborough, *Maryland Line*, pp. 86, 87, 130, 142). Moor's Cave is known today as Melrose Cave. It is located six miles north of Harrisonburg, Va.,

a few hundred yards off Route 11. The cave has the names of Civil War soldiers carved on its wall. See Dr. John W. Wayland, *History of Rockingham County* (Dayton, Va.: n.p., 1912), pp. 400-401.

65. Father Joseph Bixio was a Jesuit from Holy Trinity Church in Georgetown, Washington, D.C. (*Catholic Directory*, vols. 61, 64, pp. 48, 175).

66. The dead soldier, Whalen, does not appear on any rosters of the Maryland Battalion. Since Goldsborough's Company G had just joined in January, he may not have been officially mustered into the Confederate service.

67. The two officers who offended Stone's dignity were from the 1st Maryland Cavalry. Lt. Henry C. Blackistone, third and later second lieutenant of Company B of that unit, was killed on 3 June 1864. The other officer was First Lieutenant William H. B. Dorsey of Company D, who survived the war (Compiled Service Records, DNA).

68. April 11 was a Friday. The Union movement was a scouting mission from Winchester. On 12 and 13 April Col. Warren Keifer and a small force of infantry and cavalry marched to the North Fork of the Shenandoah River. They returned to Winchester without incident (*O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 25, part 1, p. 142).

69. Stone referred to the 19 April 1861 riot. See George William Brown, *Baltimore and the 19th of April 1861* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1887), p. 53.

70. I have found no references to soldiers being able to insure their equipment. Normally a soldier would pay for the damaged goods unless he could prove he was not negligent (*Revised Regulations of 1861*, Richmond, 1861, pp. 170-72).

71. Stone described Jones's second raid on Moorefield; Richmond 1861, pp. 170-2. Other sources confirm the report of a strenuous march and the difficulty of fording flooded streams. See Goldsborough, *Maryland Line*, p. 90, and Charles William McIvar, "Chew's Horse Artillery Battery Diary" (unpublished manuscript, Handley Library, Winchester, Va.).

72. The prisoners were Captain Martin Wallace and eighty-three men of Company G, 23d Illinois Infantry. They were captured by Jones and sent back to Harrisonburg with Colonel Herbert and the wagon train (*O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 25, part 1, p. 123).

73. When the column had proceeded one-half mile from Moorefield, Colonel Herbert, reported that "shots were fired and a citizen reported that Union troops were in the town. I ordered Major Goldsborough to send a company back to check the advance of the enemy. The company reached the hill where our camp was, but seeing no enemy, soon rejoined the column" (*O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 25, part 1, p. 123).

74. General Jones and the cavalry continued on to raid through West Virginia, destroying several railroad trains and inflicting damage to several towns (Goldsborough, *Maryland Line*, p. 173).

75. Libby Prison was an old warehouse that had been converted into a prison. It stood on the corner of 20th and Carey streets in Richmond and was used mainly for interning officers. The enlisted men Stone took there were probably processed through Libby and sent to another camp in Richmond, Belle Isle.

76. A search of all available records does not show any Robert Shinn or any name like it serving in Lynchburg at that time.

77. A glance at a map shows that Stone took a roundabout way by rail to reach Richmond. The reason for this route was probably that the shorter route, the Virginia Central Railroad, recently had been damaged by Union cavalry. Union General George Stoneman's cavalry, as part of General Joe Hooker's plan, circled behind Confederate lines and temporarily cut the railroad lines to Richmond. Probably the repair work was still in progress at the time Stone made his journey.

78. Gen. Albert G. Jenkins had been in command of a cavalry brigade in the upper Shenandoah Valley until this time. He and his brigade were ordered to move down the valley and concentrate his forces near Strasburg. There is no record of General Jenkins having an aide named Murphy (Sanford C. Kellog, *The Shenandoah Valley and Virginia, 1861-1863, A Study, [New York: Neale Publishing Company, 1903]*, p. 102; *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 25, part 2, p. 820).

79. Actually Gen. Isaac R. Trimble had been assigned to overall command of the Valley District, and Jenkins was his subordinate. The review allowed Jenkins to inspect his entire force of about 2,500, although Stone estimated it at 3,000 men.

80. Why this election was held is not clear. There may have been vacancies in those positions or a new policy may have been implemented. William Wheatly was from the town of Duffield, in Charles County. John H. Duke, from St. Mary's County, would end the war imprisoned at Point Lookout. Thomas F. Groves was also captured later in the war, and James O. Bond died of disease within a year (Compiled Service Records, DNA).

81. Capt. Michael S. Robertson was the commander of Company I, 1st Maryland Infantry, Stone's company. He was from a "wealthy and old Charles County family." The battle to which Stone referred was the Battle of Harrisonburg, part of "Stonewall" Jackson's Valley Campaign of 1862. See Bradley T. Johnson, "A Memoir of the First Maryland Infantry," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 10 (1882): 105-8.

82. Bradley T. Johnson of Frederick was formerly colonel of the 1st Maryland Infantry. He had been assigned to several administrative posts in Richmond and temporary command of an infantry brigade in Jackson's corps, but his real desire was to recruit a force of Marylanders for the Confederacy. Early in June the Confederate government granted permission for the Marylanders to elect a colonel to head all the Maryland forces in the Valley. Johnson was elected to this post and hurried to join his men. He did not reach them until after the climactic Battle of Gettysburg, when there was very little left of his command. Stone referred to him as General Johnson, a rank that Johnson did attain later in the war, perhaps another indication of Stone's writing these letters after a period of time had elapsed (Goldsborough, *Maryland Line*, p. 92).

83. The Battle of Winchester was the first full-scale battle for the 2d Maryland, and it performed well. Official sources listed three men lost in the engagement from

Stone's company and for the regiment nine wounded and one captured (ibid., p. 97).

84. In a letter dated 22 June 1863, Lee wrote to Ewell asking him where the Marylanders were, adding, "I intended them to guard Winchester." Although Lee may have intended that the Marylanders remain in Winchester, Ewell did not. In his report of the campaign he wrote, "At Winchester the 2nd Maryland was attached to Steuart's brigade, with which they served gallantly throughout the campaign." This brigade mustering 2,500 effectives, was a consolidation of several diminished regiments, the 1st and 3d North Carolina and three Virginia regiments—the 10th, 23d, and 37th. See *Wartime Papers of Robert E. Lee*, Clifford Dowdey, ed. (New York: Bramall House, 1961), p. 525; *O.R.*, ser. 1, vol. 25, part 2, p. 830.

85. According to Goldsborough, Steuart not only kissed the ground, he "turned 17 double somersaults, stood on his head for 5 minutes and whistled 'My Maryland' all the while" (Goldsborough, *Maryland Line*, p. 98).

86. Richard H. Alvey, a Hagerstown lawyer, had been arrested in 1861 as a known Southern sympathizer. A native of St. Mary's County, Alvey in 1846 had worked as a clerk in the Charles County Court. Since Stone's father was a tax collector and his will was settled in court, it is possible that the younger Stone and Alvey were acquainted. A member of Stone's company, James A. Alvey, may have been a relative. See Thomas J. C. Williams, *History of Washington County, Maryland* (Hagerstown, Md.: The Mail Co., 1906), pp. 304, 314, 419.

87. Steuart's brigade was detached from Ewell's corps to gather supplies and animals from the towns that Stone named. Upon reaching Chambersburg, they were reunited with the rest of their division under General Edward Johnson.

88. All records of the campaign indicate that the Marylanders camped about three miles west of Carlisle at the McCallister farm. There is a town south of Carlisle named Mt. Holly Springs, but there is no record of any Confederate troops camping there. Stone may have confused the location on the map when he wrote the letters. See Wilbur S. Nye, *Here Come the Rebels* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965), pp. 122-23; Edward Coddington, *The Gettysburg Campaign* (Dayton, Ohio: Morningside Bookshop, 1979, repr.), Jacob Hoke, *The Great Invasion* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff and Sons, 1959), pp. 147-52.

89. The wording here, as well as for the next few lines, is almost a direct copy of Goldsborough's version in the 1869 edition of his book. Since Stone rewrote these letters at a later date, he may have taken advantage of Goldsborough's work. See Goldsborough, *Maryland Line*, pp. 148-53.

90. The Marylanders crossed through Gettysburg on Carlisle Street and went into a line of battle on the Hanover Pike, near the extreme left of Ewell's line (W. W. Goldsborough, "With Lee at Gettysburg," Philadelphia *Record*, 8 July 1900).

91. Steuart's men succeeded in driving the few Union defenders out of a section of breastworks on the east end of Culp's Hill, the right of the Union line. Most of the troops in this area had been withdrawn to bolster the Union left, and so Stone and the Marylanders had a relatively small force in front of them. Goldsborough

estimated that 100 men were lost in this attack, including Colonel Herbert, who was seriously wounded (Goldsborough, *Maryland Line*, p. 165).

92. The decision to send Steuart's men against the summit of Culp's Hill on 3 July was most unfortunate. By that morning the Union lines were heavily defended, and the attack was hopeless. One of the defenders, Gen. Thomas L. Kane, remembered that "The Confederates attacked at 3:30 A.M., arms at the shoulder shift, dressing to the left to fill in the gaps left by the galling musketry. Many died in our lines, chiefly members of the crack First and Second Maryland Regiments of Stewart's [*sic*] brigade." See Thomas L. Kane, "Account of Gettysburg," Peter Rosenthal Papers, Brake Collection, U.S. Military History Institute, Carlisle, Pa.; John R. Boyle, *Soldiers True: The Story of the 111th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry and of Its Campaign for the Union, 1861-1865* (New York: Regimental Association, 1903), p. 128.

As for the Confederate viewpoint, Steuart was moved to tears and said, "Someone else must be responsible for the loss of those brave men. I followed orders!" (Winfield Peters, "A Maryland War Hero," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 29 (1901): 247-49).

Losses for the battalion are cited in several sources, none of which agree. The *O.R.*, vol. 27, part 1, p. 341, reported 25 killed and 119 wounded. The monument on Culp's Hill to the 2d Maryland lists 52 killed and 140 wounded. The Brake Collection, U.S. Military History Institute, lists 144 total casualties.

93. Stone was compressing events here somewhat; the retreat to the Potomac River took several days, and they waited several more days for the flood to recede before they could cross. Steuart's Brigade did not cross the river until July 14, and there is no mention of a Union attack following the crossing. There was fighting at another area of Lee's lines, but the 2d Maryland was far from any of it.

94. Edward B. Sawyer was colonel of the 1st Vermont Cavalry; see introduction.

95. Stone continued to serve the battalion, and since Crain was now the senior captain, Stone would again have temporary charge of Company B. He was "severely wounded in the left thigh" on 3 June 1864 at the battle of Cold Harbor. At the end of the war, while he was still recuperating, he received a request from his old commander, Bradley T. Johnson, to join him at the Salisbury, North Carolina, prisoner camp. There is no evidence Stone ever went there, and no record of his surrender (Compiled Service Records, DNA).

MARYLAND HISTORY BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1989: A SELECTED LIST

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INTRODUCTION

From 1975 on, the *Maryland Historical Magazine* has published regular compilations of books, articles and doctoral dissertations relating to Maryland history. The following list includes material published during 1989, as well as earlier works that have been brought to our attention. For recent publications in genealogy and family history, see the *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin*.

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:

Peter H. Curtis
Marylandia Department
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University of Maryland at College Park
College Park, MD 20742

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Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

The Constables' Lists: An Invaluable Resource

JEAN E. RUSSO

The Somerset County tax lists from 1722 through 1759 provide a wealth of information for historians of colonial Maryland.[1] These tax lists represent the surviving record of a poll tax levied on every white male over the age of fifteen and every black of both sexes over fifteen. Sheriffs collected the taxes to cover the costs of provincial government as well as the various expenses of the county court, which included, among other things, bounties for wolf, bear, and squirrel's heads, charges of maintaining indigent residents, payment of jurymen, and per diem expenses for judges. At the fall court session judges calculated expenses for the past year. Dividing this figure by the total number of taxables determined how much tax each person had to pay. The head of every household was responsible for his own levy and for the taxes due for his dependents and slaves. As each constable made the rounds of his hundred, he kept a list, organized by household, of the people who were taxed.[2] Because the courts fined household heads if they did not inform the constable of every dependent, these lists presumably provide an accurate record of the taxable population for each year.

In some instances, the Somerset County tax lists provide information about nontaxable members of the population as well. Heads of household who were exempt from taxes appeared on the lists if they had taxable dependents. For example, if a householder died when his sons were over sixteen but under twenty-one, and hence not legally of age, or if his estate included slaves, his widow would be named on the list as responsible for the tax, although she herself was exempt. Similarly, ministers were untaxed, as were men disabled by disease or age. In 1734, for example, Boaz Walston

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Table 1: Surviving Somerset County Tax Lists

1722	Partial	1734	Complete	1747	Partial
1723	Complete, poor condition	1735	Complete	1748	Complete
		1736	Complete, poor condition	1749	Complete
1724	Complete			1750	Complete
1725	Partial	1737	Partial	1751	Complete
1726	Missing	1738	Complete	1752	Partial
1727	Complete, poor condition	1739	Complete	1753	Complete
		1740	Complete	1754	Complete
1728	Missing	1741	Missing	1755	Missing
1729	Missing	1742	Missing	1756	Complete
1730	Complete	1743	Complete	1757	Complete
1731	Partial	1744	Complete	1758	Missing
1732	Missing	1745	Partial	1759	Partial
1733	Complete	1746	Complete		

only had to pay a tax for himself, his dependent Arthur Davis "being Sick [having] Lost the Use of his Limbs."

Unfortunately, as table 1 reveals, not all of the Somerset tax lists from the early eighteenth century have survived, nor are all the lists complete. From the extant lists, it is possible to trace people across the period. By supplementing the tax list records with information from a variety of other sources, we can construct tentative biographies of many individuals who lived in Somerset County in the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

The Somerset County tax lists constituted the primary source for a study I conducted of persistence and migration in eighteenth century Somerset. This article will explain how I extracted relevant information from the lists and illustrate some of the problems encountered in the process. For the purposes of my analysis, I constructed biographies of 225 individuals in a sample population. I searched for each individual in the tax lists, in order to determine the span of time that person lived in Somerset. When I had established tentative end-dates for these individuals, I assembled information from other extant records, such as wills and inventories, to determine whether each end-date indicated migration out of Somerset or death in the county.

Reliance on the tax records as the main source of evidence resulted in several problems, not the least of which was uncertainty about the identity of people over time. Those people with distinctive and unusual names, such as Finch Jones, Caesar Godwin, and George Phebus, proved relatively easy to locate. Often, however, the preponderance of certain Christian names such as William, John, George, and Thomas, especially in connection with common surnames like Williams or Adams, made it very difficult to trace an individual from one record to the next. In addition, several of the oldest families tended to pass on the name of their founding father to successive

generations. This repetitive naming practice creates problems for the historian who has to determine if one particular George Truitt was the son of James, William, John, Job, Philip, or George, all of whom were sons of the first George Truitt in the county and each of whom named one son after his father. Sometimes the constable who compiled the tax lists left clues by referring in his records to "George son of George" or "George son of Philip." Clearly he too had trouble keeping track of the various branches of the Truitt family.

The problem of identification exists even for members of smaller families. Frequently a constable would label an individual as "junior" or "senior," thus providing potentially helpful tools for family reconstruction. The application of these qualifiers was not limited to a direct father-son link. John Smith, Jr. might not necessarily refer to John Smith, Sr.'s son but perhaps to his nephew or a younger cousin. In other words, these qualifiers serve more as an indication of a generational relationship than as evidence of a filial link. The prevalence of certain names and the lack of consistent descriptive qualifiers forces the historian to make some educated guesses when tracing people across forty years of tax lists.

One method which proved helpful in identifying individuals with common names involved using their slaves or dependents as a guide. For example, in 1724 William Turpin appeared in Manokin as a dependent in the household of John Turpin. William continued to be a dependent in John's house until 1736, when he appeared as a householder, now identified as "son of John." His only dependent at this time was the slave Mingo, who had been one of the three slaves owned by his father. From 1738 until 1744 William remained on the lists as a householder. In these years he paid taxes for the slaves Coffee, Toby, and Frank as well as for Mingo. In addition, in 1743 and 1744 he also had dependents Joshua and Nehemiah Turpin, who were his brothers. In 1745 William disappeared from the Manokin list; and Hannah Turpin, John's widow and William's mother, assumed responsibility for the taxes for her sons Joshua and Nehemiah, and for the three slaves, Coffee, Toby, and Frank, but not for Mingo. Nor did Mingo appear in any of the other Turpin households in Manokin. As William Turpin did not reappear in Manokin in subsequent years, and as there was no record of his death at this time, I initially concluded that he had left Somerset. Examination of the 1745 lists for the other hundreds revealed that a William Turpin appeared in Annamessex in that and subsequent years. This information alone would not have been sufficient evidence that William, son of John, had in fact stayed in the county, as there were at least four other William Turpins in the area at the time. This particular William, however, owned five slaves, one of whom was Mingo. Thus, by using the information provided by the tax lists about slaves and other dependents, I was able to identify the William Turpin in my sample on every available list from 1724 to 1757.

Inventive and completely unstandardized spelling interacts with frequently illegible handwriting to compound the identification problem further. Spelling of uncommon names tended to be phonetic and varied greatly from year to year. Joseph Wyatt, for example, appeared sometimes as Joseph Woight, Joseph Weight, or Joseph Wait. Variations on the name "Sullivan" included Sylivan and Silivean, while "Surman" underwent almost every imaginable vowel change, including Serment, Shurman, Sarman, and Sirmon. Generally speaking, with a little creativity, one can link people despite erratic name changes, particularly if one reads the names aloud. Some links may go unnoticed, however, if irregular spelling was combined with poor handwriting.

Details gleaned from additional sources can then be used to supplement the basic facts provided by the tax lists. Probate records, primarily the wills and inventories of decedents' estates, provided the most comprehensive information about wealth, property, kinship, and, most importantly, death. In addition, parish records, in which the rector of each parish in the county recorded births, deaths, and marriages of people in his congregation, supplied a limited amount of relevant information. Unfortunately, most of these records, which could be extraordinarily useful in determining the life span of Somerset's inhabitants, either were incomplete or have not survived from this period.

Extant levy lists also contain additional information about some members of the community. Levy lists primarily recorded the county's expenses, for which the court, as the administrative agency, levied taxes. When appropriate, levy lists also reported income as well as expenses. These records thus provide a glimpse into other aspects of Somerset life besides birth, taxes, and death. For example, levy lists included a record of the payment of fines for various offenses, such as swearing oaths, drunkenness, fathering or bearing illegitimate children, breach of the Sabbath, and fornication.

Because people appeared on the levy lists in a variety of capacities, these entries help to establish the position of individuals in the community. Levy lists recorded payments to county officials, particularly jurymen and judges. Each man was paid fifteen pounds of tobacco for every day that he either served on a jury or presided as a judge. Furthermore, levy lists recorded the subsidies paid by the court to the men who operated ferries across the major rivers in Somerset. Occasionally various individuals received payment for such tasks as surveying the site of a new town, repairing the court house, or building a gallows.

Land records and proprietary debt books constitute the final source used in this study to supplement the tax lists. These records provide information about land ownership, whether by recording sales and purchases or quitrent payments owed to the proprietor. The governor of the colony appointed a quitrent collector for each county, who kept records of the size, location, and name of the various tracts of land, who owned the land, and

how much rent the owner paid. As it was in the proprietor's interest to collect all the rent due him, these lists provide a fairly reliable record of land ownership.

When I had determined end-dates for the 225 individuals in my sample population, using only the tax lists, I searched the supplementary sources for further information about these people. I sought to determine whether the end-dates as they occurred in the tax lists indicated death or migration. In many cases the evidence provided by these additional sources resolved questions raised by the tidbits of information available in the tax lists.

Probate records proved particularly useful in this respect, as they supplied reasonably accurate death dates for many individuals. This information served to clarify not only familial relationships, but also the abrupt appearances and disappearances of "duplicate" names in the tax lists. For example, according to the tax lists John Burbridge maintained a household in Bogerternorton Hundred as early as 1722. At this time his sole dependent was Edward Burbridge. In 1723, however, Edward became an independent householder and John was joined by John "jr.". John jr. continued to reside in John sr.'s household until 1727, when "John Burbridge" (without any qualifier) paid tax as an independent householder who had no dependents. John remained alone in the hundred until 1740, after which time records for Bogerternorton are unavailable.[3] From the tax lists alone, it is unclear whether John jr. migrated or died, or if John sr. migrated or died. Fortuitously, probate records supply the missing information. From both an inventory and a will we learn that John Burbridge, a weaver, died in 1727. His will, furthermore, identifies both Edward and John jr. as his sons. Thus, the supplementary sources facilitate an understanding of the transition of household responsibility from father to son. Without such external data the evidence provided by the tax lists would be ambiguous at best.

Information regarding death dates and kinship ties also explains apparent gaps in the tax lists. The available Nanticoke lists from 1722 to 1727, for instance, include James Bowtcher as an independent householder. After 1727 James disappears from the lists, only apparently to reappear in 1733. Although such lapses are not uncommon, in theory they require explanation, as the lists should be complete in each year. Often the explanation can be found in the external sources. In this case the probate records yielded the information that James Bowtcher died in 1728, leaving an estate valued at £50.15, a widow, and a young son. It is this son, also named James, who appears on the 1733 list, having come of age.

Similarly, the levy lists' record of expenses shed light on one segment of the population whose presence in the county might otherwise have gone unrecorded. Many of these lists identify "objects of charity" who either received money directly or were cared for by another member of the community, who was then reimbursed by the court for his expenses. In

addition, when "objects" died, the court covered the cost of their burials. Because these people were not taxed, the levy list might be the only record of their presence in the county. For example, John Hill disappeared from the tax lists after 1735. The levy lists for 1736 and 1737 have not survived, but the list for 1738 recorded a payment to Col. Henry Ballard for "John Hill and his wife objects." John Hill's benefactors continued to be paid until 1752, when the court compensated John Leatherbury for "keeping and burying John Hill."

Interesting problems arose when a formal record of death existed for people who were not on the tax lists for years prior to their purported death date. As the case of John Hill demonstrates, other sources could help explain this discrepancy. For two of the people in my sample, however, there exists neither evidence from the tax lists nor evidence from any other source to confirm their presence in Somerset during the entire period. Probate records indicate that James Bluer (also spelled Blewer and Blower) died in Somerset no later than 1744. Bluer, who left an estate worth £130.64, was survived by a widow, a brother, and a nephew, to whom he left the bulk of his estate. The tax lists reveal that Bluer lived in Nanticoke, where he paid taxes for himself and two of his five slaves in 1737 and 1738. Unfortunately, no documentation links this James Bluer to the James Bluer included in my sample, who lived as a dependent in Wicomico in 1724 and 1725. Although the fact that Bluer is not a common surname leads me to suspect that it is in fact the same person, this cannot be proven. Furthermore, even if the James Bluer who died in 1744 was the James Bluer in my sample, the fact remains that there is no evidence that he lived in Somerset between 1725 and 1737. It is entirely possible that Bluer left Somerset in 1725, perhaps after he had completed a period of servitude, and then returned prior to his death. Even if this were the case, he still must be treated as an emigrant, for all the evidence indicates that he did migrate, albeit temporarily.

A similar problem existed for another member of my sample, but in this case evidence suggested that the person should not be considered an emigrant. Again, according to the probate records, Bryan Gilligan died in Somerset in 1744. Unlike James Bluer, Gilligan was not a wealthy man by any standard. His estate amounted to a mere £8.37, he was unmarried, and he had no kin in the county. During the period in which he appeared on the tax lists, from 1723 to 1731, he lived as a dependent in Manokin, first with Alexander Hall, then with Robert Carney. So far, nothing indicates that he remained in the county after 1731 except the record of his death. His inventory reveals that nearly all of his estate, with the exception of seven bushels of corn, one ax, and one hoe, consisted of lengths of imported material and pieces of clothing, including such unusual items as silk handkerchiefs, gloves, and garters. This evidence suggests that Bryan Gilligan was a peddler. If this were the case, he may have been transient enough to

have escaped taxation without actually leaving the county. Indeed, he may not have stayed in any one household long enough for that household's head to be responsible for his tax. In addition, he may have been exempt from the tax simply because he was too poor, although he was never listed on the levy lists as an object of charity. Thus, because there is some reason to believe that Gilligan was in Somerset consistently prior to his death, I did not include him in the emigrant group.

The type of information supplied by the tax lists analyzed in my study represents only one aspect of the resource that these lists constitute. Despite the gaps and omissions, the tax lists provide a tremendous amount of raw data useful for studies of demography, household formation, kinship networks, settlement expansion, and utilization of labor, to suggest only a few. The lists must be used with care and in conjunction with other types of records, but they provide the basis for rewards to the historian equal to the rewards that they provided for colonial governments.

NOTES

1. Somerset County Tax Lists, 1722-1759, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis. The information presented in this paragraph and the next about the tax lists is based on my personal work with the records and on conversations with Lois Green Carr and Jean B. Russo.

2. In 1666 the Lord Proprietor of Maryland established by proclamation Somerset County as the region between the Nanticoke River and the Virginia border. As population increased the county's justices of the peace divided the area into first six, and later nine, units called hundreds. Each hundred had its own constable who was an agent of the county court and sheriff who assisted in keeping the peace. The hundred was the unit for taxation, with each constable collecting the tithes due for every taxable. These hundreds took their names from the geographical landmarks of the region, which in turn were named after the Indian tribes that originally inhabited the area. The first six hundreds included the areas of earliest settlement, Annamessex and Manokin; areas to the north of these initial settlements, Monie, Wicomico, and Nanticoke; and the region to the south and east, Pocomoke, which lay along the Virginia border. The county court further subdivided the eastern portions of these hundreds into three additional jurisdictions sometime before the end of the seventeenth century. The new hundreds were named (from north to south) Baltimore, Bogerternorton, and Mattapany. Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset on he Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1935), pp. 67-72.

3. In 1742 the Provincial Government separated the three oceanside hundreds, Baltimore, Bogerternorton, and Mattapany, from Somerset and established a county government for this region, now called Worcester County. Regrettably, extant records for the new county are not as extensive as those for Somerset.

Middling Planters and the Strategy of Diversification in Baltimore County, Maryland, 1750-1776

LOGAN C. TRIMBLE

Though our understanding of colonial agricultural practices in the Chesapeake has expanded greatly in the last few decades, questions remain about classwide trends and the day-to-day struggles of certain colonists. In particular, middling planters—those whose financial status kept them in the middle ranks of colonial society—occupy an ambiguous position in colonial American studies. Less is known about them than about wealthy planters and poor whites because diaries and travelers' notes rarely mention their accomplishments and economic strategies. Many scholars have argued that they were upwardly mobile tobacco planters who simply did not make it to the elite ranks of society, and that therefore the difference between middling planters and big planters was simply a matter of scale.[1]

Evidence suggests, however, that many middle-rank planters preferred economic security to economic mobility and that they pursued fundamentally different investment strategies than did the big planters. Unwilling to depend on the unpredictable tobacco industry, these family farmers embraced agricultural diversification even though it demanded hard labor and reduced the likelihood of making large profits. By planting wheat and corn, middling planters avoided risking all on a single staple.

This is a study of Maryland planters whose financial status at death placed them in the economic middle of the colonial population. I examine the median 10 percent of the 779 Baltimore County, Maryland, decedents whose probate inventories were recorded during the years 1750-1776.[2] In other words, 45 percent of the people whose estates were inventoried between 1750 and 1776 were wealthier than the group in this study, and 45 percent were poorer. The data about middling planters presented here serves two purposes. First, it shows that probate inventories can yield information on

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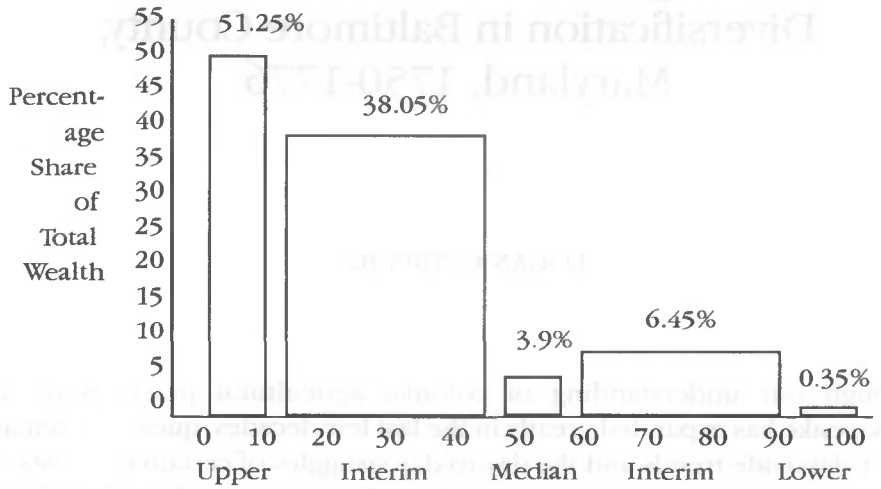
Mr. Trimble, an honors graduate of Murray State University, now owns a construction company in Paducah, Kentucky.

Figure 1: Wealth Distribution at Time of Death. Baltimore County Decedent Grouping, 1750-1776.

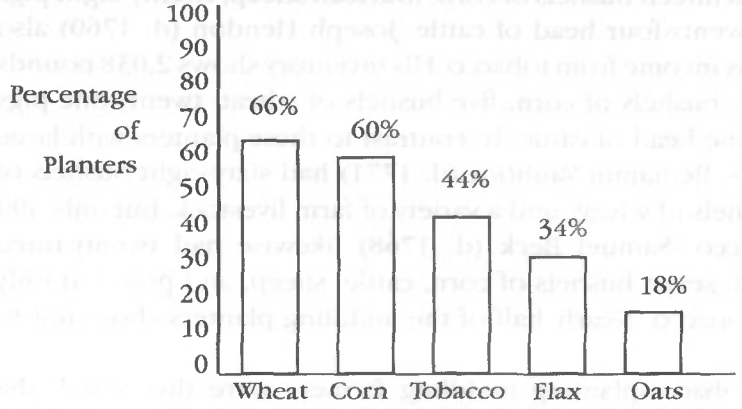


a variety of topics relevant to the study of Maryland history. Second, it sheds light on some neglected subjects in Baltimore County's agricultural history.

My discussion would be stronger if it were based on a comparative analysis of the middling planters and the wealthy and poor colonists of Baltimore County. Preliminary research suggests that factors peculiar to the poor and the wealthy make that comparison difficult. The colonial lower class simply did not own enough marketable crops for us to make inferences about their agricultural activities. Wealthy planters, on the other hand, had to supply food for large slave work forces; they made such extensive use of their tobacco crop (using it for private loans and to pay debts) that an analysis of their agricultural activities would depend too much on each planter's specific circumstances to be useful in the context of this study. Where possible, however, I have included pertinent information derived from the inventories of the wealthy planters.

Limited tobacco production, agricultural diversification, and livestock ownership distinguished middling farmers from large tobacco planters and made the humbler class a stable group. By the 1770s Great Britain imported about ninety-six thousand hogsheads (approximately forty-eight million pounds) of tobacco a year from Maryland and Virginia. Pound for pound, North American grain exports were less than one-fifth of this figure, and the economic return of grain was less than one-tenth the economic return of tobacco.[3] Nevertheless, the middling planters of Baltimore County actively participated in the grain market. As figure 2 shows, 66 percent of the fifty middling planters grew wheat, 60 percent grew corn, and 44 percent planted tobacco.

Figure 2: Agricultural Diversification among Fifty Middling Planters, Baltimore County, 1750-1776.



Only three of the fifty middling planters (6 percent) raised tobacco as their single staple market crop, while seven of fifty (14 percent) specialized in wheat and two of fifty (4 percent) grew corn as their single staple crop. By comparison, a survey of the wealthiest 5 percent of the population of Baltimore County shows that the majority of the big planters during the 1750-1776 period had vast holdings of tobacco (five thousand to twenty-five thousand pounds). Less than a third of the large planters grew wheat and corn, and none of the wealthy planters surveyed specialized in either wheat or corn.

Conceivably, middling planters began to reduce their dependence on tobacco in the first half of the eighteenth century. Between 1700 and 1740, plantation slaves displaced many white immigrants when they took over the routine tasks of tobacco planting. Around 1740, when native-born slaves came to dominate the southern labor force, many semi-skilled and unskilled whites were forced into land-lease agreements and tobacco sharecropping.[4] Some determined planters at the bottom of white society still rose to become middling planters and apparently decided not to compete directly with the great tobacco planters. They became primarily interested in mixed agriculture and livestock, which they believed furnished a safer livelihood than tobacco.

Although middling planters were cautious about tobacco, they still raised it; they simply did not depend on it as a single source of income. Their tobacco crops varied greatly (the ratio was as high as seventeen pounds of tobacco to one pound of another crop). An examination of the largest tobacco producers among them underscores the extent of diversification. Of the planters considered in this study, John Parker (d. 1777) held the largest quantity of tobacco. His inventory shows 4,335 pounds (the average holding was 1,631 pounds). Parker also had 100 bushels of wheat, twenty-

four sheep, thirty-five pigs, and nine head of cattle. Walter James (d. 1751) was another large tobacco producer. His inventory lists 2,452 pounds of tobacco as well as fifteen bushels of corn, fourteen sheep, twenty-eight pigs and hogs, and twenty-four head of cattle. Joseph Hendon (d. 1760) also derived part of his income from tobacco. His inventory shows 2,038 pounds of tobacco, thirty bushels of corn, five bushels of wheat, twenty-one pigs and hogs, and nine head of cattle. In contrast to these planters with large tobacco holdings, Benjamin Vanhorn (d. 1771) had sixty-eight bushels of corn, fifteen bushels of wheat, and a variety of farm livestock, but only 400 pounds of tobacco. Samuel Beck (d. 1768) likewise had twenty-three bushels of wheat, seven bushels of corn, cattle, sheep, and pigs, but only 726 pounds of tobacco. Nearly half of the middling planters chose not to grow tobacco.

Because the tobacco-planting middling farmers were diversified, the fluctuations in tobacco prices throughout the eighteenth century had less impact on them than on other planters. Lower-class farmers, who grew tobacco in the hope that the profitable crop would lift them out of poverty, were at the mercy of big planters who controlled shipping and marketing. Even large planters could lose their slaves to creditors and find it difficult to obtain additional loans if the price of tobacco dropped for two or three years in a row. The fortunes of the rich and the poor depended on unstable tobacco prices. In contrast, diversified agriculture offered middling planters market crops, food for their families, and feed for their livestock.

Corn was a principal part of the diet of the planters and their families and the primary food given to slaves. Corn yields were high in the Chesapeake: twelve or more bushels per acre were common, and exaggerated colonial accounts claimed fifty to eighty bushels per acre. According to modern estimates, a farm hand could produce an average of eighty to one hundred bushels of corn. The estimated yearly corn consumption per person in the mid-eighteenth century was fifteen bushels, meaning that on average, one farm hand could supply corn for five of six people.[5] For the twenty-four middling planters in Baltimore County whose corn crop yields were recorded, the average planter produced enough corn for seven people. Even though the small planters considered in this study had high yields of corn, the availability of land limited their total output. Since about eight acres were likely required to produce one hundred bushels, Baltimore County's middling planters primarily raised corn to feed their families and livestock.

On the other hand, an acre of wheat yielded approximately ten bushels of grain. In the 1760s in Baltimore County, one hundred bushels of wheat brought twenty pounds while corn returned only seven pounds ten shillings per hundred bushels. The twenty-nine middling planters in Baltimore County whose inventories recorded wheat produced an average of forty-three bushels each. Wheat appears to have been the crop that middling

planters most often used to supplement their income. They could sow it in September and October before the corn harvest and after the tobacco harvest. By the time the wheat was ready to harvest—in June and July—they had already planted the other crops. Even though the work was always difficult, planters could thus spread their farming tasks more evenly throughout the year.6

Rather than rely on one staple crop, then, most middling planters diversified. Of those in Baltimore County whose inventories listed crops, 70 percent raised two or more staples. William Kimble middling planters. 1761) exemplified the diversified planter. His crops included 909 pounds of tobacco, twelve bushels of wheat, eighteen bushels of corn, and six pounds of flax. The variety of Kimble's tools suggests that he was also experienced in carpentry. He owned a drawing knife, frow, handsaw, hammers, and a parcel of lumber. Kimble's livestock included forty-two pigs, ten head of cattle, and one ram.

As the last example makes clear, middling planters—whether raising wheat, corn, tobacco, oats, or flax—were not entirely dependent on any single staple or on a combination of staples because most planters also held a variety of livestock. Peter Butler (d. 1773) had ten sheep, thirteen pigs, and twelve head of cattle in addition to his 2,340 pounds of tobacco. Michael Diskins (d. 1767), the second largest tobacco producer in this study, held 2,698 pounds of tobacco, sixteen sheep, ten pigs, and fourteen head of cattle. Francis Divers (d. 1773) had 100 bushels of wheat, 100 bushels of corn and fodder, a parcel of hogs, fourteen sheep, and then head of cattle. William Wheeler (d. 1773) harvested several crops, including 100 bushels of corn, 110 bushels of wheat, four bushels of beans, and four bushels of rye; he also kept nine sheep, six head of cattle, and eight hogs.

Figure 3: Livestock Ownership among Fifty Middling Planters in Baltimore County, Maryland, 1750-1776.

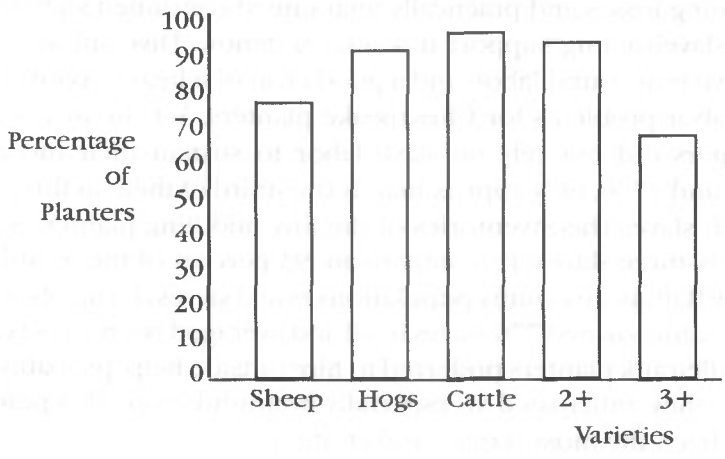
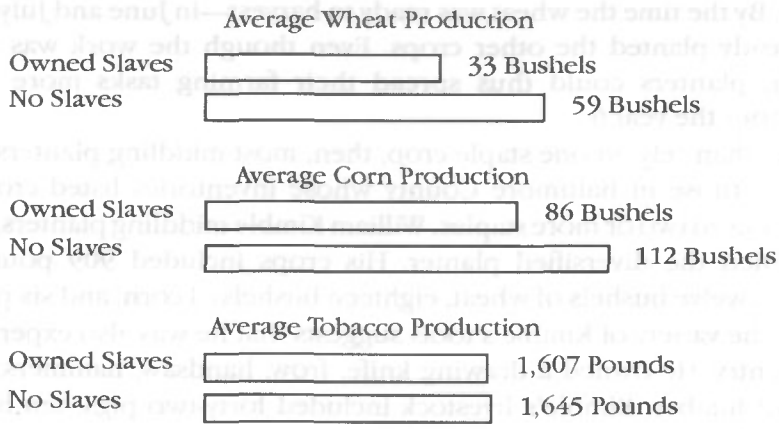


Figure 4: Crop Differences among Fifty Middling Planters in Baltimore County, Maryland, 1750-1776



More than 98 percent of the middling planters raised livestock in addition to crops. Average holdings in each category of farm animals were considerable. As shown in figure 3, 92 percent of the middle-rank planters owned at least two varieties of livestock, and 70 percent owned three or more varieties.

Cattle were the most popular; the 98 percent of middling planters who had them averaged ten head each. Hogs and pigs followed cattle in frequency of ownership (88 percent), with an average holding of eighteen. The third most frequently recorded farm animal in the inventories was sheep (74 percent), with an average holding of eleven head.

When livestock ownership and diversified agriculture are taken into account, middling planters may appear highly mobile; one could argue that they sought to join the wealthy planter class by maximizing profits wherever possible. Yet a more plausible interpretation is that their commitment to mixed agriculture and livestock was a conservative strategy that lessened the risk of farming losses and practically guaranteed continued stability.

Data about slaveholding support this interpretation. Diversification required extensive year-round labor, and a good crop of wheat or corn could pose serious labor problems for Chesapeake planters. Yet the majority of middling planters did not rely on slave labor to sustain their incomes. Between 1750 and 1776, only approximately one-third of them in this study owned an adult slave. The inventories of the fifty middling planter estates listed only thirty-three slaves. By comparison, 93 percent of the wealthiest 5 percent of the Baltimore County population owned slaves during the same decades; the wealthy owned 770 slaves in all and averaged twenty-one each. Evidently, middle-rank planters preferred to hire outside help, probably day laborers, when they anticipated an especially bountiful crop. This practice seems to have been the most economical strategy.

Slaves had such a minor effect on the income of the middling planters that the people who purchased them seem to have been more concerned with easing the demanding work load than with increasing income. There was no noticeable difference in the choice of crops or livestock between the middling planters who owned slaves and those who did not, and, as figure 4 indicates, owning slaves did not increase production. In fact, middling planters with slaves produced less wheat, corn, and tobacco than the planters without them.

Wheat yields for slave-owning planters averaged thirty-three bushels—little more than half the average for other planters (fifty-nine bushels). Corn yields for planters with slaves averaged 86 bushels in contrast to 112 bushels for planters with no slaves. Tobacco production was nearly equal for those who owned slaves and those who did not; the former averaged 1,607 pounds, the latter 1,645.

Historians have argued that large Chesapeake planters diversified crops during the mid-eighteenth century but that small and middling planters continued to concentrate on tobacco production throughout the colonial period. Paul G. E. Clemens shows that the nature of agricultural activities differed greatly from region to region.[7] Planters on the lower Eastern Shore shifted from tobacco to wheat later and more gradually than Western Shore and upper Eastern Shore planters, who lived nearer to newly established wheat centers such as Philadelphia. By the 1760s, Philadelphia merchants had expanded grain markets in New England and the West Indies. The growth of these food markets eventually caused the widespread shift from tobacco to wheat in the Chesapeake.

Despite regional variations, evidence suggests that small and middling planters took the lead in agricultural diversification. Gregory A. Stiverson has suggested that large slave populations impeded diversification because wheat and other grains were less labor-intensive than tobacco.[8] Small planters who had few or no slaves could shift to wheat in response to market demands, but planters who had large labor forces could not abandon labor-intensive tobacco production.

The case-by-case fluctuations in the quantity of tobacco produced by the middling planters reflects their decision not to depend on tobacco rather than their inability to harvest the crop. Most of them did not evince the self-promoting materialism characteristic of the tobacco-planting elite. Many of the planters in this study sustained their way of life without slavery and appear to have been quite adept at attaining a fair income by expertly managing their farms and hiring outside labor only when needed.

Furthermore, middling planters established markets for their surplus crops locally and in the colonial cities. Since most of the planters in this study lived near fast-growing Baltimore Town, they likely sold their crops there. Those who lived in the more rural areas of Baltimore County were

able to pursue a strategy of diversification without being overly burdened by transportation costs because they could take wheat and corn to any number of grain merchants scattered throughout the region.

NOTES

1. See I. A. Newby, *The South: A History* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), pp. 49-50. Most works contain only a reference to the middling planters. Major works dealing with colonial agricultural practices and topics related to this study include: Lorena S. Walsh, "Urban Amenities and Rural Sufficiency: Living Standards and Consumer Behavior in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1643-1777," *Journal of Economic History*, 43 (1983): 109-19; Edward C. Papenfuse, Jr., "Planter Behavior and Economic Opportunity in a Staple Economy," *Agricultural History*, 46 (1972): 297-311; and Aubrey Land, "Economic Base and Social Structure: The Northern Chesapeake in the Eighteenth Century," in *Class and Society in Early America*, ed. Gary B. Nash (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970), pp. 117-33. Land surveys class structure in the 1690s and 1750s by studying inventory records from all Maryland counties and by grouping estates according to value. The planters in the £100-to-£500 group most resembled the group treated in this study. They made up 21.7 percent of all the estates in Land's study.

2. Baltimore County Inventories, vol. 1-11, 1750-1776, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland. I define a middling planters as any individual whose inventory listed crops, several types of farm tools, or a combination of the two.

3. See Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (repr. New York: Random House, 1937), p. 353; and Jacob M. Price, "The Transatlantic Economy," in *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era*, eds. Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), pp. 27-29.

4. Lois Green Carr and Russell R. Menard, "Immigration and Opportunity: The Freedmen in Early Colonial Maryland," in *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society*, eds. Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1979), pp. 206-8.

5. Carville V. Earle, *The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650-1783* (Chicago: Department of Geography, University of Chicago, 1975), p. 127.

6. Ibid., pp. 127-28.

7. Paul G. E. Clemens, *The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore: From Tobacco to Grain* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1980).

8. Gregory A. Stiverson, *Poverty in a Land of Plenty: Tenancy in Eighteenth-Century Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), p. 101.

A MARYLANDER'S EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF PORT ROYAL, SOUTH CAROLINA, 7 NOVEMBER 1861

ALEXANDRA LEE LEVIN

Robert W. McCleery, a native of Frederick, Maryland, experienced a career filled with action in his comparatively short life. Born 29 June 1832, he was the son and grandson of Frederick architects of distinction.[1] On the maternal side McCleery was a grandson of Captain Elisha Beall, a Revolutionary War stalwart who served in the Maryland Flying Camp, First Battalion.[2]

Robert McCleery was to have been educated for architecture, a family profession, but he favored engineering and other scientific studies. When about twenty-one years old he went to Baltimore and obtained employment with Hamilton Easter, a drygoods firm on Baltimore Street. While there he continued his engineering studies and on 2 August 1855 was commissioned a third assistant engineer in the United States Navy.[3] With the introduction of steamships into navies, engineers were essential.

Two years later McCleery was ordered to the U.S.S. *Fulton*, then attached to the Home Squadron cruising in the Gulf of Mexico and in Nicaraguan waters.[4] On 8 December 1857, the *Fulton* landed marines at Greytown, Nicaragua, and demanded the surrender of General William Walker and his filibusters. Walker, a colorful character from Nashville, Tennessee, two years earlier had "colonized" Nicaragua with fifty-seven followers at the request of the hard-pressed leader of a revolutionary faction. After capturing Granada, Walker was "elected" president of Nicaragua in July 1856. The United States had previously recognized the new regime. But a combination of hostile Central American states and the violent opposition of Cornelius Vanderbilt, whose transit company controlled Walker's supply lines, resulted in Walker's defeat. After Walker and his filibusters surrendered, the *Fulton*, with Robert McCleery aboard, took them from Greytown to the squadron flagship.

On 25 March 1858 McCleery wrote to his brother, Perry, from Havana, Cuba:

Ms. Levin has published often the magazine. She now is at work on Maryland in the Federalist period.

A note on the back of this photograph is dated September 8, 1863 and reads: "Robert McCleery Chief Engr. U.S.N. on S.F. DuPont's flagship Wabash in attack on Port Royal." (Courtesy of Mr. Martin Urner, Hagerstown, Md.)

This harbor at the present time presents quite a warlike appearance; nearly the whole of that Spanish fleet that was to have taken Mexico is here. They are generally very fierce vessels in appearance, but carry very light guns in comparison with ours or the English. They would make fine prizes to the Yankee vessels in the event of a war with Spain. It seems to be the general opinion among the Yankees that Cuba must, will and shall be ours.[5]

On 23 September 1858 McCleery was warranted as second assistant engineer aboard the U.S.S. *Water Witch*.[6] For some years Paraguay had been discriminating against and ill-treating American citizens. Since our government's diplomatic demands had secured no satisfaction after a U.S. steamer had been fired upon, a naval force of nineteen ships and 2,500 men under Commodore William B. Shubrick was assembled in the La Plata River to back up diplomacy with force. Leaving the rest of the squadron near Rosario, in Argentina, the *Water Witch* and the *Fulton*, with Commodore Shubrick and diplomatic representatives aboard, steamed up the river to Asunción, the capital of Paraguay, where they obtained a treaty settling the matter in hand and other items then in dispute.

Following the Confederate attack on Fort Sumter in April, 1861, McCleery was attached to the steam frigate *Wabash*, the flagship of Commodore Samuel Francis DuPont, commander of the important South Atlantic Blockading Squadron. That fall the navy assembled a fleet of seventy-five vessels—the largest commanded by a U.S. naval officer up to that time—and on 29 October the expedition sailed from Hampton Roads, Virginia, to Port Royal Sound, an inlet between St. Helena Island and Parris Island on the north and Hilton Head Island on the south. Broad River poured into the sound, which was guarded by Forts Beauregard and Walker. The expedition sought to reduce the Confederate forts.

Early in the morning on 7 November the *Wabash* and the *Susquehanna* closed with the forts, other federal ships moving into range. Soon the advantage in maneuverability steamships had over land-based artillery became evident. During the engagement, the *Wabash* alone fired 888 shells. The fortunes of the Confederate forces worsened rapidly after noon. Their ammunition ran low, and shortly before two o'clock the last detachment at Fort Walker fled. At 2:45 P.M. the flagship signaled a cease fire, and the men aboard ship soon cheered as a Union flag appeared over the abandoned fort. The fleet had suffered severe damage, although no ships had been sunk. Most of the firing had been aimed at the *Wabash*, the squadron leader and largest vessel. The next day eight Union dead were buried on Hilton Head, while twenty-three sailors lay wounded aboard ship (the Confederates lost fifty-two men).[7]

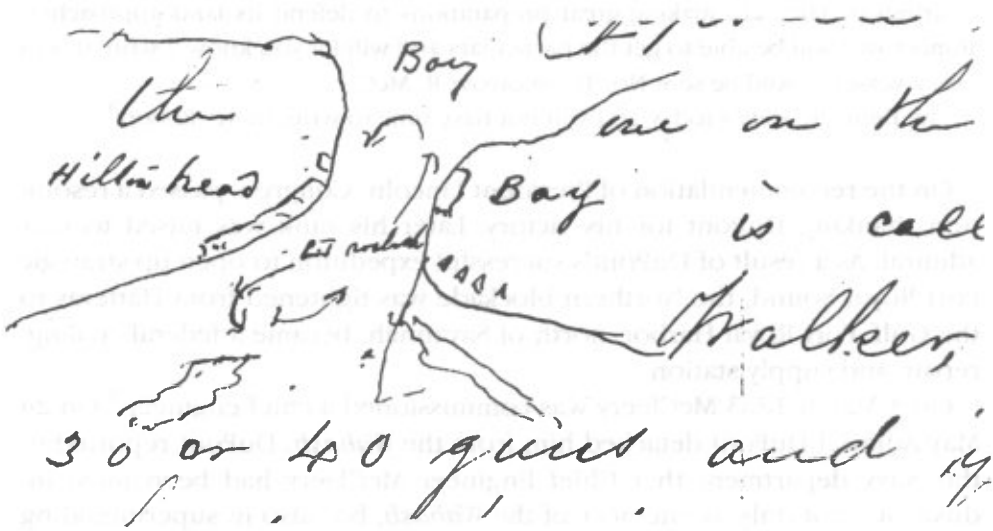
On 8 November Robert McCleery wrote to his brother in Frederick describing the fray:

"Wabash" Nov 8th 1861
Port Royal Bay, S.C. 1 A.M.

Dear Bro:

It is with the greatest pleasure that I can address a few lines to you informing you of our complete success up to this time. We went in and fired the first shot at 9:30 yesterday A.M. and continued until 3 P.M. at which time the enemy left their batteries, some who had been fighting without pants & coats left them behind in their hurry to get away. I obtained a very handsome sword from one of our men belonging to one of the seceshers which I intend to keep as a memento of the occasion.

We are now very busy landing the soldiers, 10 or 12,000 in number. I think now they will be all in their quarters on shore.



A fragment of McCleery's letter to his brother showing the movement of the Wabash while sweeping in front of the Confederate guns at Port Royal.

On our way to this place we encountered a very severe gale which separated the fleet and for two nights we were very anxious about the safety of one third of the vessels, after arriving off this place we waited three days for the vessels to come in and also for moderate weather. The U.S. Steam Transport *Governor* was lost and I believe 20 of the men. It is a wonder that more were not lost in her as she was a very frail vessel. I believe one of the ferry boats is missing. She may have put back to Hampton Roads. You will be able to get all the particulars from the papers as we have a reporter from each of the N.Y. journals who will give an account of all that occurred, and more too.

I regret to state that we lost one man & had 3 wounded, but when I state that we ran within 600 yds. of their batteries giving them every chance, it is very surprising that many more were not. I expected we would have lost between 1 & 200 men on our vessel. We had some pretty hard work as we led the squadron. There were two batteries opposite each other. The one on the left at Hilton Head is called I think Fort Walker, had between 30 or 40 guns and if their men had not deserted their guns would have given us a great deal of trouble. They do not fight well. The direction of the arrows in the sketch will show you the direction of the Wabash and all the rest followed. When we came opposite the Batteries we would give them broadside after broadside, landing many of the shell[s] in their midst.

We have four or five prisoners on board but cannot get any information from them. They were guilty of one thing which we were all very much ashamed of. They had the hospital flag flying over one end of their battery, whereas you know that in civilized warfare the hospital is never fired at. It looked white featherish and contemptible.

I suppose we will remain here during the winter, i.e. if the army should establish itself here. It is thought we will send a large body of troops here ready to attack Charleston. They are making great preparations to defend its land approaches. Tomorrow I will be able to get the particulars and will let you know. I write this in case a vessel should be sent North tomorrow. R. McC.

The Bienville leaves today, so I will not have time to write more. Robert[8]

On the recommendation of President Lincoln, Congress passed a resolution thanking DuPont for his victory. Later his rank was raised to rear admiral. As a result of DuPont's successful expedition to open up strategic Port Royal Sound, the Northern blockade was tightened from Hatteras to the Gulf. Port Royal Harbor, north of Savannah, became a federal coaling, repair, and supply station.

On 3 March 1863 McCleery was commissioned a chief engineer.[9] On 24 May Admiral DuPont detached him from the *Wabash*. DuPont reported to the Navy department that Chief Engineer McCleery had been most industrious not only as engineer of the *Wabash*, but also in superintending the constant repairs required by the different vessels of the squadron. This he had done in a manner to merit DuPont's high approbation. Since the hot

season of the year was beginning, the admiral felt that McCleery, overworked and absent from home for five years, should have some relaxation. He was granted a month's leave.

On 1 June McCleery was ordered to special duty at Philadelphia, and while there he fell victim to sunstroke during a severe hot spell. A Philadelphia newspaper carried a notice of his death at age thirty-one:

> Since breaking out of Rebellion he has distinguished himself on many occasions for his intrepid bravery and unflinching devotion to the cause of his country, and his sudden demise has cut short a career that gave brilliant promise for the future. . . .[10]

Robert McCleery's remains were conveyed to Frederick, where he lies buried in Mt. Olivet Cemetery.

NOTES

1. His parents were Robert and Rebecca Beall McCleery; his grandparents included Henry (1750-1819) and Martha Ritchie McCleery. Albert C. Ritchie, later governor of Maryland, was a distant relative..

2. Elisha Beall (1745-1837), son of Nathaniel and Ann Murdoch Beall, was born in Rock Creek Parish, Prince George's County. He was commissioned first lieutenant on 27 July 1776. He married Jane Perry of Frederick, Md.

3. Robert W. McCleery, 9 August 1855, Baltimore, to Charles W. Welsh, Washington, D.C. See RG 45, Office of Naval Records, Abstracts of Officers' Service Records, Acceptances of Commissions, 1855, nos. 2650 and 114, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter DNA).

4. Ibid., No. 2650, 4 September 1857.

5. Perry Beall McCleery (1822-1887) was an officer of the Frederick County National Bank for 37 years.

6. Office of Naval Records, 2805 & 2931, DNA. McCleery was promoted 21 July 1858; on 9 September 1858 he was detached from *Fulton* and sent to *Water Witch*.

7. On the Battle of Port Royal see Virgil Carrington Jones, *The Civil War at Sea, January 1861-March 1862* (3 vols.; New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1960), 1:276-83.

8. Letter owned by Martin J. Urner of Hagerstown, who also owns McCleery's sword. That McCleery was short is confirmed by the fact that his sword had a twenty-six-inch blade while under 1862 regulations a taller man wore a sword with a twenty-nine or thirty-inch blade. This sword had been carefully sharpened. Officers' swords, a badge of office, were not designed for cutting and slashing, but Robert was prepared to repel boarders (Urner to author, 23 May 1989).

9. RG 24, Records of the Bureau of Naval Personnel, 181, DNA.

10. Philadelphia *Inquirer*, 17 September 1863.

Book Reviews

The Proprietorship of Maryland: A Documented Account. By Vera Foster Rollo. (Lanham: Maryland Historical Press, 1989. Pp. x, 394. Appendices, illus., bibliography, index. $49.75.)

Vera Rollo has put together a collection of documents relating to Maryland's history, connected by a narrative that describes the lives of the six Lords Baltimore and of Henry Harford, together with an account of the Harford family in England. Some documents, such as the charter of Maryland and the will of Frederick Calvert, sixth Lord Baltimore, have been available to historians for some time, but the Estate Act of 1781 has been unknown to American historians until Rollo found a reference to it in the Bodleian Library, Oxford University. After several attempts to locate it in published sources she was able to obtain a microfilm copy of the original act, which had never been published. She has included the act in its entirety in her book, including notes on the personalities and legal practices of the day.

Chapter 5 discusses Frederick Calvert's efforts to break the entail on his estate in Maryland so that Henry Harford, his illegitimate son, rather than legitimately born descendants of the Calverts, could inherit the property.

Subsequent chapters deal with attempts by John and Louisa [Calvert] Browning to contest Frederick Calvert's will, Henry Harford's trip to Maryland in 1783, the abduction of Henry's sister Frances Mary by Robert Morris, their marriage abroad and its subsequent annulment, and her later marriage to the Hon. William Frederick Wyndham. The book ends with an account of the Harford, Browning, and Wyndham descendants of the Calverts and a summary of the author's discoveries and conclusions. In view of the recent observance of the hundredth anniversary of the Maryland Historical Society's acquisition of the Calvert Papers and the recent publication of a catalog of those papers, this book is an important contribution to the history of Maryland during and after the life of Frederick Calvert, sixth Lord Baltimore.

ROBERT BARNES
Perry Hall, Maryland

A Stitch in Time: The Four Seasons of Baltimore's Needle Trades. By Philip Kahn, Jr. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1989. Pp. ix, 243. Photographs, Illustrations, bibliography, index. $25.00.

"Needle Trades" sounds at first like the activities of isolated tailors and seamstresses, but Philip Kahn, Jr., demonstrates that the profession was built on the mass production of many garments and items at a time, by craftsworkers who multiplied their output by every technique available in their age. American-made textiles had

been manufactured in bulk from 1808 onwards. Not until the 1860s were there workshops large and small where tens and hundreds of men's suits were cut and assembled by specialized workers who produced standardized sizes. Clothing became big business in Baltimore.

As the second generation in his family to have worked in the needle trades, the author speaks as an insider who understands the endless complexities of assembling the many parts of clothing into a wearable whole. The local industry was almost always an immigrant's story, with the first wave of tailors, mainly Irish and non-Jewish Germans, soon joined by German Jews, later in the nineteenth century by Jewish immigrants from the Russian empire, and still later by Italians. The later immigrants found both opportunities and exploitation. Many of the mass producers started in business cutting a few suits in the back room of a grocery store. Many of the penniless immigrants put in eighty-hour weeks in crowded sweatshops. Some of the exploited workers managed to save their money and become small-scale producers and employers themselves. The word "sweatshop" earned a bad name in the 1890s, when thirty or forty people lived and worked in ordinary row houses producing piece-work for the large distributors. But "sweating" originally meant a form of cost-control where a manufacturer hurried his "outside" suppliers for the maximum output at the lowest possible cost; otherwise, the gains of mass production would disappear, leaving the product uncompetitive. The industry was always afflicted with seasonal variations and the vagaries of fashion. The most successful companies invested in large loft buildings and provided their personnel with well lighted work areas. Such heavy expenditure increased overhead costs but allowed more mechanized methods, insofar as any of the tedious handwork could be eliminated. Even when machines could be used to cut eighteen sleeves at a time, the industry remained heavily labor-intensive, and the most successful owners rarely reaped the large fortunes of steel men and railroad magnates. Baltimore's most successful entrepreneur was a wholesaler, Jacob Epstein, who in 1930 retired in a position to collect art and endow museums.

Kahn chronicles the gradual disappearance of the German-Jewish immigrants as they became complacent and less innovative, giving way to Eastern European family groups. Even under corporate names, the trade was usually a family affair, and few joint-stock companies survived for long periods as did the Union Manufacturing Company, the thread and weaving works at Oella (1808-1882). The companies were too dependant on the ingenuity and drive of a few individuals. Like so many local industries, the needle trades gradually became the subject of industrial archaeology rather than the financial pages. Higher labor costs driven upward by unionized workers started the squeeze, and foreign competition completed the process. In the 1960s the youth cult undermined the demand for men's suits (one company risked everything on Nehru jackets and soon plummeted out of business). Men were going hatless, and the umbrella was in decline. The loft buildings so well designed for their purpose closed up, one by one, through the 1960s and 1970s. Eventually the lofts became condominiums and offices. The few firms that survive have become

true corporations with adequate capital, retail outlets, heavy advertising budgets, and newer plants outside the urban core.

Philip Kahn knows how this vast and arcane industry functioned; he sorts out the personalities, ethnic variations, and the peripheral products, ranging from umbrellas and straw hats to buttons, suspenders, ladies' cloaks, babies' caps, and B.V.D.'s (an authentic Baltimore item when poet e.e. cummings wrote, "from every B.V.D., let freedom ring"). *A Stitch in Time* is a glimpse at a golden age of a fascinating technology. It is well illustrated with fashion statements of other eras (why doesn't the beautiful middie blouse stage a comeback?) and there are staggering statistics, tons of overalls, and more than a few flashes of understated humor.

JOHN W. MCGRAIN
Baltimore County Office of Planning and Zoning

Annapolis on the Chesapeake. By Arthur Pierce Middleton and N. Jane Iseley. (Annapolis: Historic Annapolis, Inc., and Legacy Publications, 1988. Pp. 80. $39.95 cloth, $24.95 paper.)
The Annapolis Book. (Annapolis: Platinum Publishing, 1990. Pp. 112. $10.95.)

These books capitalize on Annapolis as historical entity, the first as a pure play and the second as a hybrid. Both attempt through essays by Arthur Pierce Middleton to document town development, but Annapolis on the Chesapeake is truer to that purpose. In each instance the Chesapeake Bay serves as an important prop, but in *The Annapolis Book* the water is more valuable simply as a picture source to celebrate sailing, shellfishing, training midshipmen, and other activities on the estuary. The first book integrates historic descriptions and visuals in a thematic treatment that gives a sense of historic development. The second is intent on filling multiple roles, only a small part of which is to explain Annapolis's history.

Annapolis on the Chesapeake succeeds on several levels. Middleton's text briefly outlines the major points in city growth and ties Annapolis to state and national events. An authority on the colonial period in Maryland, Middleton published the classic study *Tobacco Coast* forty years ago. Here, in a different context, he explains the reasons for the town's founding in 1695 as the provincial capital was removed from St. Mary's. He concentrates on the revolutionary and early national periods, when Annapolis played a more significant role than later in the nineteenth century. Interweaving political and economic developments, Middleton's narrative touches cultural topics as well, such as popular entertainments or gentlemen's clubs. Finally, his essay also describes the work of Historic Annapolis, Inc., in preserving the town's architectural gems. The photographs of N. Jane Iseley are carefully crafted and printed in superb color on quality paper. The 112 photos are widely diverse in topics, ranging from the obligatory great homes to public buildings and to row homes of Cornhill Street. Her interior shots are especially valuable for their detail. The captions contain substantial additional information regarding both the buildings and their owners. There are several arresting aerial views, and the endpapers display a Sachse lithograph and historic map of the town. This is a handsome volume

that celebrates the preservation record of Historic Annapolis. It would make a fine gift for anyone who appreciates the eighteenth-century air that one still breathes when visiting regions of the city.

The Annapolis Book is a tourist guide for travel services or chamber-of-commerce distribution; it gives weary visitors something to take home for further light reading. Its appeal for local citizens lies in its calendar of events and directories of services and shopping. By combining color shots of modern scenes and historic photos, it provides something for everyone. The use of historic motifs reaches the heart of the Annapolis experience: the statehouse, naval academy, pleasure and workboats, shellfish, and some of the prominent examples of buildings on the historic register. Nevertheless, *The Annapolis Book* produces little insight into the historic processes that formed the city. It is pleasant enough but fails to correct an inherently commercial character. Mercifully, advertising copy from more than thirty different sponsors has been relegated to the last pages.

The descriptive text is in every case sparse except for the portion of Middleton's above-mentioned essay, abbreviated for this volume. It is a bit incongruous in that this book is mainly a guide to the festivals, boat shows, shopping, lodging, and other tourist information.

The thirty-five color photographs have been carefully presented. There are several historic black-and-white pictures, but all of them have been previously published. At least eight pictures have no captions. The book attempts to interpret Annapolis by using history as a sentimental backdrop for a quaint and scenic port on the Chesapeake. If you enjoy beautiful aerial sunsets with billowing spinnakers, it is a book worth thumbing through.

Sadly, neither volume contains any notes, bibliography, or index. In the first book there is no table of contents. Those are necessities if the authors expect their books to be widely used.

NEAL A. BROOKS
Essex Community College

North Baltimore, from Estate to Development. By Karen Lewand. (Baltimore: Baltimore City Department of Planning and the University of Baltimore, 1989. Pp. 72. Maps, photographs. $10.00.)

One might generally assume that any attempt to cram several centuries of regional history into a mere seventy-two pages would be doomed to failure, especially when many of those pages are more than half given over to photographs and maps rather than text. In the case of *North Baltimore, from Estate to Development*, that assumption would be correct—and for reasons that go even beyond Karen Lewand's efforts to heap too many grains of sugar onto much too small a spoon.

Lewand's intent is commendable—to grace the transformation of the territory delineated by the city line on the north, North Avenue on the south, the Jones Falls on the west, and Herring Run and Harford Road on the east from its bucolic beginnings as an area dominated by country estates and small agricultural or mill

villages to its present status as an almost totally urbanized tract containing an amazingly disparate array of residential, commercial, and institutional forms.

Lack of coherent organization, however, and the omission of unifying structure help thwart the clear realization of that intent. Subtitled *Baltimore Neighborhoods, a Community Fact Book*, it is much too merely that: a fragmented, chaotically presented examination of each individual neighborhood in North Baltimore—and there are eighty-six of them!

Possibly overwhelmed by a superabundance of data, possibly too constrained by lack of space, Ms. Lewand seems like a person who, unwilling or unable to complete a jigsaw puzzle, is content to look at each piece, describe it, then toss it back into the box. Needless to say, comprehension and readability suffer greatly.

But problems don't stop there. Readability also suffers because of inattentive editing, which resulted in the inexplicable inclusion of boring repetitions—inexplicable, that is, unless it was never intended that the book be read cover-to-cover, but only episodically, depending on which neighborhood a particular reader might be interested in studying. Be that the case, some sort of "reader's advisory' should have been offered at the beginning.

A few examples might be in order, since these repetitions are surely the book's most annoying feature. Daylight houses—"characterized by two stories, each two rooms deep, allowing daylight to reach all areas of the building" (p. 45)—are defined at least four times. Oriole and Union Parks and the Baltimore Municipal Stadium are given several (two of them conflicting) discussions. On page 25 the author states that Fr. James Joseph Dolan erected an orphans' home west of Charles Street "primarily for the homeless Irish children whose parents had died during the crossing from their famine-plagued homeland." Four pages later, in the context of an entirely different neighborhood, she explains—as if for the first time—that Father Dolan built "a home for orphaned children from Ireland, many of whom had lost their parents en route to America or upon arrival here."

If readability suffers in the pages of this work, so does credibility. One reads, for instance, that Gilman School was "the first private day-school for boys in the United States" (p. 16). It wasn't, as school spokesmen themselves confirm. One reads that there are several fifteen-story apartment houses in the Village of Cross Keys (p. 18). Simple roadside observation proves there is only one. And one reads that architect Pietro Belluschi was a member of Baltimore's RTKL Associates (p. 19). Never!—although he and the local firm did collaborate on the Church of the Redeemer, the project here under discussion.

Although the book's many photographs give rich glimpses of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century life in North Baltimore, a reader will encounter misspellings and misinformation in a few of their captions.

Then there are the maps. For a reader who is not already intimately familiar with North Baltimore, they are nearly useless. Street names are faintly printed, and, in many cases, they are obliterated by the thick, solid rules used to outline neighborhood boundaries.

It is truly lamentable that the countless hours of research that were so obviously devoted to the creation of this book did not result in a more readable and trustworthy volume. As it stands, the Lewand effort is a bounteous provider of dates and names—names of land grants and their recipients, estates and their owners, developments and their developers—all of which may be viewed as valuable leads by future researchers.

But only at one's peril should one accept them as gospel truth simply because they have been published in *North Baltimore, from Estate to Development*.

JAMES F. WAESCHE
Baltimore, Maryland

Guide to the Records of Montgomery County: Genealogical and Historical. By Eleanor M. V. Cook. (Westminster, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1989. Pp. 92. Index. $10.00 paper.)

Several guides to Maryland county records have been published in the past few years. The need had become obvious for comprehensive studies of local statistics in various archives and research centers. Both professional and amateur researchers now have a complete catalog of information on county, state, and federal records concerning Montgomery County residents.

This publication follows Eleanor Cook's *Guide to the Records of Your District of Columbia Ancestors* (Family Line, 1987) and uses the same format. The first pages orient the reader to the history, divisions, and jurisdictions of the county. Cook then goes on to describe the types of information available to the researcher. These go far beyond the usual probate, land, and marriage records. A glance at the index will show that the book contains the location and scope of church and cemetery records, military information, newspapers, directories, maps and atlases, town records, and manuscript collections.

In the preparation of this book, Cook visited all the repositories. Not only are the holdings of the county courthouse and state archives cataloged, but also those of the various libraries and institutions. Older churches were contracted for the existence and dates of records. Cook suggests where to look for yet more sources of information.

It has been found, unfortunately, that even the employees of an archive are often unaware of the existence and extent of some of their holdings. Be assured that this book is a complete and exact description of the location, form, and content of these records.

JANE C. SWEEN
Montgomery County Historical Society

A Great and Good Man: George Washington in the Eyes of His Contemporaries. Edited by John P. Kaminski and Jill Adair McGaughan. Madison, Wisconsin: Madison House, 1989. Pp. xi, 244. Notes, index. $19.95.)

As documentary editing has solidified its position within the historical profession, a welcome development has been the increasing concern of editors to republish a variety of materials, drawn from disparate, sometimes obscure sources. The charge, which had some bite twenty years ago but which has become increasingly tiresome with repetition, that documentary editing is simply the celebration of the "Great White Fathers" has little currency today. And even with such an archetypal "Great White Father" as George Washington, the expanding range of sources tapped by editorial projects reveals much about the political and cultural dynamics by which he attained that eminence. If it is right that we pay attention to the "lower orders" and recover the voices of the inarticulate so also is it necessary that we understand the ways in which the governors obtained the consent of the governed. It is this point which is implicitly addressed by *A Great and Good Man*.

In *A Great and Good Man*, the editors have assembled a sampling of contemporary responses to George Washington at five key episodes in his political and public career: his resignation from the army, his decision to attend the Constitutional Convention, his election as first President, his tours through the states, and his final retirement. The eighty-seven documents selected range from private letters and diary entries, newspaper editorials and other pieces (especially poems) created for public occasions, to such delightful ephemera as acrostics in which the first letter of each line, when read vertically, spells out George Washington ("G eneral! immortaliz'd by virtuous fame!" [p. 137]). These selections, written by both the famous—such as Lafayette—and the anonymous, are buttressed with selections from Washington's own writings (including the Farewell Address) which reveal both his public stance and private state of mind at each point. The editors introduce each section with a brief headnote to provide background and set the scene. Except for giving the provenance, they include relatively little annotation of the documents themselves.

These documents, aside from the light they shed on specific decisions and incidents, make clear that the symbolic status of Washington and his character was not a fabrication of later generations but was constructed by Americans even as he lived his life. In a complex dialectic between individual and citizenry, the people of the young republic created in Washington the exemplification of national unity and virtuous citizenship. Paralleling and supported by the creation of the persona of Washington was the creation of a nation. Washington was a not-unknowing participant in this process; he knew the myth and how to play the role of Cincinnatus as well as anyone. Even so, Washington must have been taken aback and awed at the amount of moral and political weight that Americans wanted him to carry. As early as 1791, inaugurating a familiar image, a Virginia school teacher wrote: "We are thy children—let thy fancy trace, / In us, the congregated, rising race—" (p. 185). The very presence of Washington induced a feeling close to religious awe: "Strange

is the impulse which is felt by almost every breast to see the face of a great good man—sensation better felt than expressed" (p. 196). And a Keene, New Hampshire poet skirted blasphemy when he wrote "He's deify'd, exalt him high, / He's next unto the Trinity" (p. 144). It is some measure of the man that Washington, while bending to the role demanded of him, recognized the danger of giving in to an adulation which bordered on deification. As Gouvernour Morris correctly realized, Washington was an "able Charioteer" (p. 92).

In their preface, the editors maintain that Washington the myth—the "cherry-tree chopper and the dollar thrower" (p. vii)—has subsumed Washington the man and symbol. The documents they have collected here help to recapture the powerful emotions which Washington generated among his countrymen, and by doing so they enhance our understanding of the political culture of the new nation. It is a useful supplement and adjunct to the *Papers* of George Washington.

DAVID C. WARD
Peale Family Papers
Smithsonian Institution

Documentary History of the First Federal Congress of the United States of America, March 4, 1789-March 3, 1791. Vols. 4-6: Legislative Histories. Edited by Charlene Bangs Bickford and Helen E. Veit. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986. Pp. lxxvii, 2,191. Illustrations, notes, index. $37.50, $42.50, $37.50.)

Until recently many obstacles confronted researchers of early congressional history. Work on that subject involved painstaking examination of dispersed manuscript and newspaper collections or defective nineteenth-century editions of legislative records. Only thirty years ago the clerk of the House of Representatives needed special authorization (House Resolution 281, 86th Cong., 1st sess., 3 June 1959) to release microfilm of early records to a documentary editing project for research purposes. During the precedent-setting First Federal Congress, unofficial stenographers, working for New York and Philadelphia newspapers, recorded debates in the House of Representatives. The only records of Senate debates, which were closed to the public, are private diaries kept by senators, of whom William Maclay of Pennsylvania was the most notable.

The Documentary History of the First Federal Congress project, launched in the mid-1960s, aims to bring together in a modern comprehensive twenty-volume edition all of the pertinent official and unofficial records. The project's first three volumes covered the *Senate Legislative Journal* (1972), the *Senate Executive Journal* and *Related Documents* (1974), and the *House of Representatives Journal* (1977). The project has published *The Diary of William Maclay and Other Notes on Senate Debates* (1988) as volume 9. Volumes 4 through 6, the *Legislative Histories*, make easily accessible the records of public legislation that Congress considered, including acts finally passed, bills not enacted, and joint resolutions. Private acts, however, are excluded from these volumes and will appear with

petitions in a later volume. The three volumes are continuously paginated, with an excellent analytical index (at the end of volume 6) that expedites research.

For some 182 pieces of legislation, organized alphabetically, the editors provide the texts as enacted and/or proposed and amended, a chronological calendar of proceedings, and supporting documents such as reports from congressional committees and cabinet secretaries. The texts are transcribed literally with only a few exceptions that are fully explained in the editorial statement. Amendments and emendations in the documents are indicated by canceled type, interlineations, and annotations. The chronological calendars provide a guide to the sources and summarize the legislative history of each bill or resolution. The calendars are based on the *Senate Legislative Journal*, the *House Journal*, and other records in the National Archives. The editors explain that their "primary goal was to document, in the clearest possible form, the evolution of the legislation, rather than simply to reproduce the archive of available source material" (p. xii). Those who have worked with early congressional records should appreciate the editors' chosen mode of organization.

Among the major and minor legislation documented in these volumes, readers will find the Judiciary Act of 1789 and the laws establishing the executive departments of the new federal government. Here are the founding documents of Alexander Hamilton's Federalist financial policy: the Funding Act of 1790 and the Bank Act of 1791. Maryland's debts were lower than those of seven out of the thirteen states covered by the Funding Act. Here, too, is the legislation proposing constitutional amendments that came to be known as the Bill of Rights. In this edition readers can easily trace the development of the Bill of Rights through the various stages from the states' proposals, through amendments, to conference committee reports, to the version that Congress sent to the states for ratification.

Maryland's congressional delegation was understandably active in formulating the Residence Act of 1790, that established the federal capital. In the House, William Smith unsuccessfully boosted Baltimore as the capital site. In the Senate Charles Carroll of Carrollton proposed several amendments to the Residence Act, including the provision that accepted Maryland's donation of territory that became the District of Columbia. Carroll also chaired the Senate select committee that reported the Patents Act of 1790, and this edition presents his annotations on the bill as it came from the House.

Congress has commendably now made its early records available for research and publication. Congress, the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, and the George Washington University are also to be commended for their continued support of this project through an era of threatened federal budget cuts. The editors and the Johns Hopkins University Press are to be congratulated for making accessible these critical documents of congressional history.

THOMAS A. MASON
Indiana Historical Society

Revolution to Secession: Constitution Making in the Old Dominion. By Robert P. Sutton. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989. Pp. xii, 284. Illustrations, appendix, notes, index. $39.50.)

One of the more compelling tales in the history of the early American republic takes Virginia from the Declaration of Independence and the American Revolution to Secession and Civil War. Across those years Virginia suffered the great declension that saw it fall by the wayside as leader in everything from population to national politics. Divided between east and west at the Blue Ridge, Virginia embodied the national conflict between south and north. surely the tale can profitably be told in terms of the constitutional fight, latent throughout the era and manifest in the conventions of 1829-30, 1850-51, and 1861, as political Virginians sought to give competing meanings to the promise of the state's first constitution, that of 1776. Large slaveholders in the east contested with the yeomen of the west over the ground rules of state politics (restrictions on voting rights and, in particular, the basis of legislative apportionment) in order to tilt the playing field one way or another as regarded substantive issues: the burdens of taxation, the security of slavery, and the funding of internal improvements and public education.

This slim volume seeks to take that approach to tell that story. In chapters 1, 3, and 5 Robert P. Sutton sets the stage for each convention that he studies—those of 1776, 1829-30, and 1850-51. In turn, chapters 2, 4, and 6 take the reader through the conventions. An epilogue offers a summary and conclusions more than it takes the story on down through the Secession Convention of 1861. The 156 pages of text are followed by a 72-page appendix, designed to provide a reference source of biographical sketches of all members of the three conventions under study.

One regrets that book and author have not better met expectations, given the author's considerable industry and aspirations and the book's lengthy gestation. Sutton's sympathies and language are reminiscent of historian Claude Bowers, who celebrated political democracy as something that ought surely to extend to common folk provided they were white men. The clue is that the terms "adults," "families," "population," and "adult white males" (e.g., pp. 56 and 108) function as synonyms; racial or sexual modifiers rarely appear before the nouns that characterize Sutton's actors. In the spirit of Bowers he proves sensitive to the needs and wishes of the white men of western Virginia but romanticizes those noble folk, identifies with their agenda, and insists that what they sought was a government "responsive to the will of the people" (p. 154).

Various statements will mislead readers. For example, Sutton misstates the 1830 provisions on reapportionment and scarcely notices the 1851 restrictions on emancipation. After an analysis that proceeds from class and region, he says that western spokesmen objected to "white supremacy" (p. 154) when he means "planter domination." Straining to contrast the social structures of east and west, he writes that in Lancaster County 99 percent of all "families" were in agriculture, and 99 percent of these owned slaves. The fact is that 74 percent of all white

households in that eastern county (and 21 percent of free black households) owned slaves. Moreover, 5 percent—not 90—owned at least twenty.

This monograph, perhaps more than most, offers entertainment value. In the appendix we find, for example, that John Blair was appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1788—though the president who appointed him did not take office until the following year. Reportedly born only in 1833, Edgar Snowden appears to have been a precocious politician (he was a delegate to the convention that met in 1850) as well as a prodigious progenitor (by that year he was already married with nine children). Green B. Samuels, though he was actually buried in 1859, died, we find, only in 1863; in 1850 he had become a member of the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals, replacing Briscoe Baldwin, who, we learn elsewhere, stayed on the court until he died in 1853. (The truth is that 1850 is the year Samuels became a member of the constitutional convention whose handiwork, ratified in 1851, established the popular election of judges that led to his victory in May 1852, just days after Baldwin, too ill to be a candidate to succeed himself, died.) The bibliography lists a dissertation carrying the comprehensive title "The Virginia Railroads 1528-1860."

Sutton's bibliography is up-to-date. He cites Alison Freehling's *Drift toward Dissolution*, for example, and Craig Simpson's *A Good Southerner* (though that one by its subtitle). And yet it is a fateful fact that neither author appears anywhere in the notes. As it is, a chapter by Freehling remains the best treatment of the convention of 1829-1830, and Simpson, in a chapter and an (uncited) article, offers the best analysis of its 1850-51 successor. But, despite its shortcomings, Sutton's book as an overview provides a concise guide to the intrastate politics of Virginia from the rebellion against Great Britain to that against the North.

PETER WALLENSTEIN
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

Science and Medicine in the Old South. Edited by Ronald L. Numbers and Todd L. Savitt. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989. Pp. xii, 370. Index. $37.50.)

Science and Medicine in the Old South is a collection of fifteen essays, the first six discussing science and the last nine medicine. In them the authors attempt, with considerable success, to explain the distinctive aspects of southern science and medicine. The essays originated from papers presented at symposia held by the University of Mississippi's Center for the Study of Southern Culture. The strength of this collection lies first in the way it which the essays adhere to the two main themes, and second in the manner in which the authors, in their differing interpretations, demonstrate the complexity of the problem of explaining why, and to what extent, the antebellum South was unique.

In chapter 1 Ronald L. and Janet S. Numbers assert that the South lagged behind the Northeast in science by almost every measurable criterion—publications, number of scientific journals and societies, and percentage of scientific leaders. While many historians have laid the blame for this upon slavery, the Numbers suggest that

slavery actually may have encouraged science, and that the real culprit was the agricultural orientation and lack of urban centers in the South. In chapter 2 Thomas G. Dyer traces the history of the University of Georgia and maintains that the University's emphasis upon science compared favorably with a select group of fifteen colleges and universities in New England and the Middle Atlantic states. Lester D. Stephens in chapter 3 presents a history of scientific societies in the South, a history which to this reviewer confirms the traditional view of southern science; William K. Scarborough in chapter 4 argues that individual plantation owners in the South made significant contributions to the development of scientific agriculture, although he concedes that they had little success in communicating their ideas to their fellow southerners, most of whom consisted of slaves and illiterate whites.

In chapter 5 Charles B. Dew, by an intensive study of iron manufacturing in Virginia, demonstrates conclusively that, over and above discouraging the immigration of skilled free labor, slavery had an inhibitive effect upon technology. The role of religion in discouraging science is discussed in chapter 6 by E. Brooks Holifield. He maintains that the South accepted the eighteenth-century assumption that scientific studies would substantiate the truth of revealed religion.

The remaining chapters discuss medicine in the Old South. Whatever may have been the case with science, southern medicine did differ from that of the North—the only question is the matter of degree. K. David Patterson points out that slavery, aided and abetted by poverty and the southern climate, brought three formidable diseases from Africa to the South—falciparum malaria (a highly fatal form), hookworm, and yellow fever. James H. Cassedy suggests that slavery and land exhaustion discouraged white immigration. John Harley Warner maintains that regional differences were characteristic of all nineteenth-century medicine. In emphasizing the distinctive features of southern medicine, he claims that southern physicians were reacting to problems within their own profession and seeking to improve their self-image. Margaret H. Warner asserts that the chief stimulus to public health in the South arose from the recurrent yellow fever epidemics. Mental health care in the South is the subject of Samuel B. Thielman's chapter; Elizabeth B. Keeney discusses domestic medicine; Elliott J. Gorn shows the African influences on black folk medicine' and Todd L. Savitt concludes with a discussion of slave health.

The quality of the essays is excellent, although several of the best of them, those by the Numbers, Hollifield, Warner, and Savitt, are reworkings of previously published articles or books. The picture emerging from these studies is that the South did lag behind in science and that in certain aspects southern medical practice did differ from that in the North. As is true with all major historical questions, there is no single explanation for these differences. Slavery and the plantation system, climate, lack of urban centers, rural isolation, and other factors all contributed. Yet even in those essays which emphasize other elements, the theme of slavery seems to recur. The editors are to be commended for producing a well rounded and readable collection of essays on their topic.

JOHN DUFFY
University of Maryland

Invisible Poets: Afro-Americans of the Nineteenth Century. By Joan R. Sherman. (2nd ed.; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989. Pp. 328. $9.95.)

Until more of America's African-American poetic voices have been reclaimed, the search for the forgotten, ignored, "invisible" singers of the past will continue. It must be said, however, that the second edition of Sherman's *Invisible Poets* goes far in helping us to recover and to reclaim what James Weldon Johnson so aptly calls our "Black and Unknown Bards."

From the outset, the author affirms that since African-American poets and their achievements have been ignored or distorted, her book "is offered as a partial and preliminary corrective towards total and realistic appraisals of the black artists' contribution to American literature" (p. xvii). Sherman is on target in both the titular statement and in the above quote, for the African-American as a creator of literary art is a concept with which mainstream America is still struggling, and the result has been that early black poets, like contemporary black artists, have been ignored by mainstream critic/scholars. Sherman, then, is correct when she suggests that her work is offered as a "corrective," and she is to be applauded for initiating a systematic recovery process for these forgotten voices.

Originally published in 1974, Invisible Poets discusses the lives and critiques the poetry of 26 of the 130 African-American poets who wrote during the 19th century. The format is simplistic but effective. The author devotes a chapter to each poet by first providing biographical information and then critically evaluating the poet's works. Sherman's appraisals are honest. She points out the poets' weaknesses and applauds their creativeness. Where a poet is shallow or trite, where technique is weak, where diction is hackneyed or forced, the critic says so without apology. However, where there is originality of thought, creativeness, or good craftsmanship, Sherman tells us forthrightly. She evaluates the poets in terms of their milieu, and she also evaluates them in terms of the national creative effort. Looking at the twenty-six poets in the broader context of American letters, many of their works, taken individually, would be too minuscule to warrant research, but collectively the poets do make a statement about their existence in America. Furthermore, if these poets were not evaluated, their place in American letters could never be determined.

While the poets are, for the most, part minor, Sherman discovered that their poetry "is American in subject, versification, and attitude" (p. xx). And she boldly affirms that in this body of poetry "there is scarcely a trace of those qualities commonly assigned to the Negro folk temperament...such as peasant irony, sensuousness, tropic nonchalance, primitive rhythms, or emotional raciness" (p. xx). In essence, the African-American poets of the nineteenth century were as American as any other ethnic group in that they were occupied with themes and subjects that reflected the realities of their lives in America. Sherman discovered too that the African-American poets shared with their mainstream counterparts "refined sentiments," "Christian piety and morality," "musicality," and "an affectionate nostalgia for a simple, homely, rural life."

Of the twenty-six poets, six were and still are familiar to most students of Afro-American literature. They are George Moses Horton, Frances E. W. Harper, Charlotte Forten Grimké, James Monroe Whitfield, Albery Allson Whitman, and Daniel Webster Davis. Of the six, Horton and Harper are the most prominent. The other twenty poets are familiar to serious students of African-American letters, but they are not widely known to the general public.

The discussion of the poets is informative; however, scholars will find the various appendices extremely helpful as research tools. The bibliographical essays, for example, shed light on Sherman's unearthing of her sources. "Bibliographical Essay I" discusses the research tools available to scholars, and "Bibliographical Essay II"—the only major edition to the 1974 text—discusses the research that has been done during the fifteen years between the first and second edition of the text. This information is notable because it demonstrates the interest Sherman generated in 1974, and it proves that the volume continues to be seminal. Three other appendices list the other 104 poets that were not discussed in the body of the text and explain the amount of available information on each. Such information is invaluable to researchers, for it directs them to specific subjects for further research. And indeed, as Sherman has pointed out, much research by outstanding scholars has been done since the publication of her original text. If there is a weakness in this text it is that there is no pulling together of the information in a concluding chapter. However, it must be observed that much of what might have been in a concluding chapter is found in the introduction.

It is true that critics such as Nick Aaron Ford, Arthur P. Davis, Sterling Brown, Arna Bontemps, Benjamin Brawley, James Weldon Johnson and Richard Barksdale have evaluated some of the poets in Sherman's study. It is also true that while these poets might not have been anthologized in mainstream texts, many of them have appeared in anthologies of black literature by African-Americans. However, no scholar prior to Sherman has studied, systematically, so many early African-American poets. Sherman has been meticulous in her research, recovering poems from unexpected sources, and she has been judicious in her assessments. Her scholarship makes *Invisible Poets* a very important contribution to African-American and to American letters.

RALPH RECKLEY, SR.
Morgan State University

Black Prophets of Justice: Activist Clergy Before the Civil War. By David E. Swift. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989. Pp. xv, 384. Notes, index. $35.00.)

David E. Swift, professor emeritus of religion at Wesleyan University, has written the biography of six Northern black clergymen. Samuel Cornish, Theodore Wright, Charles Ray, Henry Highland Garnet, Amos Beman, and James W. C. Pennington were members of an elite: all were ministers to black congregations within the predominantly white Presbyterian or Congregationalist denominations; all were

recognized as preachers of rare eloquence; and, whether self-taught or college trained, each bore the imprint of deep learning. *Black Prophets of Justice*, however, looks beneath these laudable commonalities and argues that these black clergymen embodied the conviction that the spiritual release of the Gospel message demanded with it social and political liberation.

This study details the lifelong struggle of these representative ministers to win social reform. Convinced that a just God stood behind them in their efforts, these clergymen persevered without the promise of immediate success. Undaunted, they worked on many fronts—fighting institutional racism, laboring to strengthen the sense of identity between the nation's scattered black community, and exhorting African-Americans to godly living and self-betterment.

The religious commitment of these men led them to a broad and varied career as social activists. Seemingly every issue of the freedom movement drew the sharp attention of at least one of these ministers. They worked in such specific fields and careers as journalism, abolitionism, the sheltering of fugitive slaves, as well as black education, and—encircling these activities—the ever present push for social and political rights for African-Americans.

They were often innovative in their efforts to achieve these goals. As journalists and editors of the first black newspapers these clergymen focused their energies on revealing the racial motivation behind the American Colonization Society, whose aim was the deportation of freed slaves back to Africa. Through newsprint, lectures, and sermons these ministers also became instructors of African history in order to battle the lie that African-Americans were culturally inferior to whites. Swift also details the political conventions organized by these ministers to urge for black political rights. One of the many strengths of this book is the author's ability to gather the disparate activities of his subjects and present them in their coherent unity.

Despite their zealous efforts these clergymen saw scant reward for their efforts. They were, in the short term, heroic failures. David E. Swift, however, is careful to avoid this narrow view. The grand theme of *Black Prophets of Justice* is, in essence, that these six clergymen assisted unknowingly in laying the cornerstone of more successful twentieth-century African-American movements such as the NAACP.

This work is therefore an important contribution to the ongoing discussion of black activism in antebellum America. *Black Prophets of Justice* is well suited for the professional scholar or the educated general reader. The author's skillful research is deftly crafted into a smooth, graceful narrative. All will benefit in reading this stirring group biography.

PETER M. OSTENBY
The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Statement of Sugar Made in Louisiana, 1844, 1845-46. By P. A. Champomier. (Morgan City, La.: Roland R. Stansbury, 1987. Pp. xvii, 94. Index. $15.00 paper.)

This little pamphlet, privately published by the secretary of the Morgan City Archives Commission, has been compiled primarily for the use of genealogists and consists of a listing of the names of sugar planters in the parishes of southern Louisiana and the amount of their sugar production in the three years from 1844 to 1846. It is a convenient but limited tool for historians and could not be used alone. Yet, for anyone doing research on the nineteenth-century Louisiana sugar industry, the existence of Champomier's work and the research behind it should be noted.

Pierre Antoine Champomier, the publisher notes in a letter to the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, was "a New Orleans Sugar Broker, [who] compiled a series of statistical trade journals beginning in 1844 and ending in 1863. To compile these trade reports, Champomier traveled throughout the sugar producing parishes of Louisiana and interviewed the planters. He listed the names of the planters in the precise order of location on the Mississippi River, bayous and back concessions in each parish." These planters, the publisher continues, "ranged from the very wealthy, to the very poor." Most of this information is also contained in an introduction he appends to the statistics, though not the useful knowledge that the planters are listed in order of location. He reprints an article from the (New Orleans? Morgan City?) *Times-Democrat*, 8 May 1910, which features Champomier's journals. That writer laments that Champomier was unable to record the number of slaves who worked on these plantations, to which the historian of slavery would heartily assent. Probably that kind of information could be found in other sources or worked out from a combination of sources, including the one at hand. But it would be nice if it were simply listed along with sugar production, a consideration which underlines the importance of this and similar publications. Designed for others, they simplify the job of professional historians and caution against a too-often-adopted "holier than thou" attitude. One could wish that their number increase.

As useful as anything else in this publication, certainly for historians but for others as well, is a listing of research institutions where more information on Champomier's "Statement of Sugar Made in Louisiana" can be found. Of course, if Stansbury saw his way clear to publish all this material, he would find a grateful, if limited audience.

DANIEL C. LITTLEFIELD
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Judah P. Benjamin, The Jewish Confederate. By Eli N. Evans. (New York: Macmillan, 1988. Pp. 469. Illustrations. $24.95.)

Two prior biographies of the man termed "the brains of the Confederacy" treated Benjamin in the context of American history and the Civil War; Evans intended a

reinterpretation examining Benjamin as a southern Jew thus posing questions about the effect of his heritage upon his role in the Confederacy.

Evans, like Benjamin, a Jewish lawyer from the South, labors the intensity of anti-Jewish sentiment among politicians, generals, and journalists of the Civil War years as an influence shaping Benjamin's cloaking his own thoughts and feelings in secrecy. Evans's own political experience as a speechwriter in the Lyndon Johnson White House may have given him some insight into the travails Benjamin faced, but he erred in thinking that the circumstances at Gettysburg would provide understanding of Saigon. Lacking Benjamin's expression of views or rationale, Evans conjectures about the significance of available evidence. The accuracy of his conclusions is subject to some question.

The dilemma of the southern Jew in the nineteenth century is the author's concern. He explores the effect of Benjamin's Jewishness on the relationship with Jefferson Davis and his wife, Varina Davis, who was Benjamin's great friend and admirer. Her own writing left the clearest pictures of his great impact on her husband and on the Confederate cause. Evans states his intent to examine the evolving attitudes of both men toward slavery and whether those views affected the war's outcome. The emphasis of the book, however, is on the enigmatic intellect of Benjamin, who, as Evans notes, argued many years before the war that a Louisiana court should not "recognize one standard of humanity for the white man and another for the Negro." Was this Benjamin's real view, or was it simply the forensic effort of an ingenious advocate?

Born in St. Croix when it was a British colony (a circumstance to have great importance when he fled to England), Benjamin was brought by his impoverished parents to Charleston. Their Sephardic lineage and the elder Benjamin's interest in the new Reform Judaism may account for many things, including that the family library was ample and Judah devoured it. A family friend arranged for him to go to Yale University, but he left after two years apparently because of a gambling scandal. He began a new life in New Orleans where he found work with a notary. His unlimited energy, ambition, and ingenuity led to his admission to the bar, marriage into a Roman Catholic Creole family of means, and rapid advancement in the law and in politics. He authored a digest of Louisiana cases which brought notice and prominence, important friends, and modest riches; his social charm and oratorical skills attracted clients and statewide fame.

As his career blossomed, his marriage cooled, so Benjamin bought a plantation and its slaves to please his wife. She soon tired of playing hostess and moved to Paris with their daughter. Judah stayed, returned to law, and served in the state senate. While he never denied his Jewishness, he did not practice it after leaving Charleston. Evans tells how once when trying a case in Baltimore a paper was prepared for the signature of "Judas Benjamin," at which he exploded, "My God, man, is not Judah Jew enough!" Evans narrates the instances of anti-Semitic attacks on Benjamin during his political years, both in political confrontations and in the press, and wonders at their effect on his personality.

From Louisiana to the United States Senate (the first acknowledged Jew there and the first named to the Supreme Court, an appointment which he declined), Benjamin enjoyed Washington and the national scene. In the Senate he was the spokesman for southern moderates, but as Jefferson Davis's most trusted aide when the Confederacy was established, he became sequentially Attorney General, secretary of War, and Secretary of State. His task was to entice England and France to the southern cause in return for the cotton they sorely needed, but Union diplomacy and Britain's need for Northern wheat, underscored by the probability of the South's defeat, ensured England's neutrality. France declined to act alone. Late in the war, Benjamin risked his position and safety (with Davis's advance knowledge) before a Richmond crowd of 10,000 in calling for a Confederate emancipation proclamation to permit blacks to join General Lee's dwindling army in return for their freedom. The responses, however, were too little and too late for any effect.

Civil War buffs especially will gain new insights on urban life in those times from the thoroughly researched descriptions of Richmond in 1862-65. Here was the stage for the drama played by Jefferson Davis, often ill, generally besieged by political demands and military insufficiencies, leaving much of the Confederacy's operations to Benjamin, while Davis dealt with the hapless war effort.

As the South fell, Benjamin fled in disguise while Davis headed toward Texas in hopes of making a last stand. The gripping tale of Benjamin's tortuous flight to England, starting as a clerk at age fifty-four to study law, his admission to the bar, and startling success as a barrister may be Evans at his best. Benjamin was forced to turn again to writing for a living, and he produced a treatise on the law of personal property in the mercantile world of England, France, and America. Known as *Benjamin on Sales*, it became the standard text for many decades and lifted him once again to prominence, prosperity, and acceptance in the professional and social world of England. His success in international law elevated him to be a Queen's Counsel, and as Gilbert and Sullivan said, "the briefs came trooping gaily."

Benjamin burned all his papers before he left Richmond and then again when he fell ill and retired to die in Paris, causing Evans to spend nine years in research and writing the elusive narrative. The book is constructed largely from letters to Varina and to his sister, Varina's biography of her husband, and from conventional sources and prior biographies. Varina bridged the gap between the rural, military husband she loved and the urban intellectual Benjamin she admired. Evans found ample material in the notes of the earlier biographers, including the four-year case from Benjamin's New Orleans era of the heirs of John McDonogh, who bequeathed a large part of his estate to establish schools for the poor in New Orleans and Baltimore. The fruitless effort to break McDonogh's will went all the way to the U. S. Supreme Court, but Benjamin's loss was Maryland's gain. Press reports confirmed Benjamin's renown as an eloquent advocate and appellate lawyer, a skill which served him well in the U. S. Senate and the courts of England.

The recounting of Benjamin's life almost results in a joint biography of Davis and Benjamin, for a third of the book deals with the four Civil War years. Evans's method,

however, is justified in making this new evaluation of the man whose life was pivotal in the march of the Jewish community in the social and political history of the United States. This fascinating biography still leaves unanswered questions about the role and impact of his reluctance to leave any personal papers, essays about the Confederate cause, or explanations of the actions he took on behalf of President Davis. The book will appeal to lawyers, students of the Confederacy, and American Jews who have heretofore lacked the perspective that Evans employs so well.

ROBERT L. WEINBERG
Baltimore, Maryland

Working with Carter G. Woodson, the Father of Black History, a Diary, 1928-1930. By Lorenzo J. Greene. Edited by Arvarh E. Strickland. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988. Pp. xxxii, 487. Index. $29.95.)

This "diary" was written by Lorenzo Johnston Greene—an eminent American historian—whose death in 1988 ended more than sixty years of a great mind dedicated to the study of African-American history. Professor Greene, a native of Connecticut, was born in 1899, soon after the United States Supreme Court had sanctioned the segregation of blacks and whites. His birth during the nadir for black people and his intellectual achievements made Professor Greene unique. His life is somewhat enigmatic for America: Greene achieved enormous success during an era when most blacks were illiterate and impoverished, yet he could not have escaped the badges of slavery. This book presents his systematic appraisal of the years 1928-30.

The volume is much more than a survey of black life during the final years of the 1920s. It is a portrait of Greene, told by his commentaries as he conducted field research for the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, by his mentor and friend Dr. Charles H. Wesley, president of Wilberforce University in Ohio, and by Greene's editor, Professor Arvarh E. Strickland. Greene's teachers and family, who recognized his precocious ability, advised him to study medicine or law, prestigious occupations in American culture, and Greene matriculated at Howard University, intending to go on to medical school. But his professors and advice from a physician friend influenced his decision to study history.

Greene completed his formal graduate training at Columbia University. He has written numerous publications including his doctoral dissertation and first book, *The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1776*. Certainly Greene's personal genius and his training in history made him a competent chronicler for the Association. His insightful findings and offer a platform for discussing the past, present, and future of African-Americans in the United States.

The title of this book, *Working with Carter G. Woodson, The Father of Black History*, promises more than it delivers on the author's work with Dr. Woodson. This diary is mostly about Greene, and reveals the maturation of the author during his association with Woodson. When the inexperienced Greene began his assignment with the ASNLH in 1928, he felt overwhelmed: "God grant that I may summon

every ounce of energy to vindicate my extended training! If I fail, I have studied, sacrificed, and labored in vain" (p. 11). He then described Woodson as despotic, czaristic, eccentric, and opinionated. Certainly Woodson, (based on the opinion of Wesley and from Greene's account of the experiences of Alrutheus A. Taylor, a Woodson protege), appraised himself highly, making him appear aloof and dictatorial, especially when dealing with subordinates. As Greene matured, however, he developed an amicable professional relationship with Dr. Woodson.

As field researcher for the ASNLH, Greene worked in the District of Columbia and major cities in Virginia, Maryland, and New York. He examined such subjects as segregation, education, black women, and the black church. Modern-day ministers might be embarrassed by some of his conclusions. Greene considered their predecessors largely uneducated men who were motivated by self interest and concluded that most ministers were woefully inadequate to lead congregations. He believed "Daddy Grace," pastor of the United House of Prayer for All the People, was among the worst. Greene discovered the House of Prayer unwittingly. Surprised by the "screaming . . , jumping . . , [and] stamping of feet," he felt sorry for the parishioners: "the wild shouts and muttering of these people awoke in me a profound feeling of pity" (p. 160).

An elitist, Greene criticized professional and lower class blacks. While in New York, engaged in "a discussion on the Negro" with a few black professionals, Greene played devil's advocate. "I called the professional class—lawyers, doctors, teachers, etc.—parasites" (p. 65). Greene recommended that more blacks go into business, thinking that an economic foundation was necessary for race progress. When he later encountered uneducated blacks aboard a train in New York City, he made scathing comments about the "Negroes who acted disgracefully. Embarrassed me, yelled, ran from coach to coach, laughing boisterously, drinking, fussing, and passing coarse jokes. Ought to have been in a cattle car....I'd segregate them myself" (p. 66). Certainly Greene was not cruel. As a young progressive scholar, he was frustrated by the status of his people.

Students of women's history will be pleased by Greene's impressions of the women's movement. He met Bethune-Cookman College president Mary McLeod Bethune when he attended a meeting of the Federation of Negro Women and considered her a charming woman. On the whole, he thought that black women were more progressive than black men. "What pleased me so was the forward-moving program which they are espousing and carrying out. The Negro male certainly has every reason to envy this organization composed of members of the so-called weaker sex" (p. 255).

Working with Carter G. Woodson, the Father of Black History is a fine publication which describes a few years from the segregation era in American history. In addition to illuminating black life and society, Greene identifies black leaders such as Howard University dean Kelly Miller, Emmett J. Scott, who had been Booker T. Washington's secretary, and Elks president J. Finley Wilson.

This book also describes the maturation of Greene, a young historian who consistently demonstrates in this volume the historian's craft: he read extensively,

thought critically and analytically, and wrote, as this "diary" attests, daily. Professor Greene's monograph is thus useful on many levels, including social and religious history and historical research. It is an excellent reference for laymen and professionals who are interested in the black experience during the era of segregation.

STEPHEN MIDDLETON
North Carolina State University

The Limits of Judicial Power: The Supreme Court in American Politics. By William Lasser. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1988. Pp. 354. Index. $32.95.)

This book discusses the power and vulnerability of the Supreme Court by examining it in periods of crisis. Professor Lasser concludes that the Court's power to resolve these political crises was limited but that its institutional position was never in serious danger. He argues further that the resolution of those crises makes it unlikely that a similar political crisis will arise again, and this makes the Court more powerful and active on controversial issues today.

More than half the book is devoted to three major crises in the Supreme Court's existence—the *Dred Scott* case, the Reconstruction era, and the New Deal court. Within the limits imposed by space, these sections provide a splendid overview of the legal issues before the Court and the political reaction to its decisions. Lasser makes both the politics and the law clear.

Those three crises reveal the Court under its greatest stress. Critics attacked the Court for obstructing necessary federal laws and succeeded in reversing or limiting the effect of the decisions which were the focus of their attack. These were periods of national debate over fundamental political principles quite unlike the usual broad consensus that typifies American political debate. Lasser writes that during such periods of "critical realignment," the Court is least capable of playing an effective role.

Although the Court could not control the outcome of these political cataclysms and was vilified for attempting to do so, Lasser claims that the Court itself was never in danger. His analysis of *Dred Scott* and Reconstruction politics relies heavily on Stanley Kutler's *Judicial Power and Reconstruction Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968). Kutler's revisionist view attacked the conventional wisdom that the Court's political vulnerability during the Reconstruction era made it a timid, weak institution. Kutler argued that the advantages of the Court's institutional role always outweighed the negative reaction to particular decisions. Thus, critics attacked the decisions of the Court, but not the Court itself.

Lasser expands Kutler's thesis to the New Deal and into the modern era. He adds a new dimension of political theory to explain the past and to suggest a significant shift in the modern era. Lasser argues that the groups most critical of the Court's decision needed to preserve the Court's traditional role in judicial review. "The policies advocated by Lincoln, the radical Republicans and Roosevelt required a strong national government and depended on a broad interpretation of the federal

government's powers under the Constitution" (p. 258). Only the Court could legitimate such powers, so it was important to capture the Court as an ally and not to destroy it.

The survival of the Court as an institution results, at least in part, from its inability to maintain its decisions in the face of sustained and overwhelming popular opposition. When that opposition prevails, usually through new appointments to the Court, its very success becomes a reason to support the Court. Lasser suggests that the futility of any attempt by the Court to resolve political crises during periods of critical realignment makes the effort unwise. Thus, *Dred Scott* made the Court a target of Republican scorn as a tool of the "slave power." If the Court finds itself unwittingly caught in the middle of a political crossfire during a period of critical realignment, Lasser urges retreat. For example, in *Ex parte Milligan*, the Court held that military courts cannot convict a civilian where the civil courts are open and functioning. The decision was relatively uncontroversial when it was announced but became the center of a storm of controversy by the time it was published because intervening political events placed the scope of military power at the center of Reconstruction policy. The Court then acted cautiously to extricate itself. *Ex parte McCardle* raised a challenge to part of the Congressional Reconstruction program. Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase delayed decision until Congress passed legislation depriving the Court of jurisdiction. Chase then held that the Court had no jurisdiction to decide the case which had already been argued before it, a decision Lasser praises as "an act of great vision and statesmanship" (p. 253).

Lasser reconciles his praise for Chase's discretion with his view that commentators have overestimated the vulnerability of the Court by arguing that periods of "critical realignment" are rare and that they are unlikely to arise in the future. He states that the power of the modern Court is deceptive because it has distanced itself from those issues capable of creating full-scale crises which would reveal the limits of its political strength. According to Lasser, the resolution of the slavery issue after the Civil War meant that fundamental divisions in American politics centered on economic policy. This was settled by the New Deal. Thus, Lasser says that "the Court's role in policing the broad contours of federal policy has decreased almost to the vanishing point" (p. 264).

Lasser examines the decisions of the modern era which have provoked political responses—decisions on segregation, free speech, reapportionment, school prayer, criminal procedure, busing remedies, and abortion. He even discusses the debate on judicial review between then Attorney General Edwin Meese and Justice William Brennan as well as the rejection of the nomination of Judge Robert Bork to the Supreme Court. This discussion of the modern era compresses a great deal, and some statements need further explanation. Lasser refers to *Reed v. Reed*, for example, as "a landmark decision calling for heightened scrutiny of laws that discriminate against women" (p. 209). Although heightened scrutiny of gender distinctions may have been implicit in its decision, the Court did not acknowledge there that it was doing anything new. Lasser also blunders by citing Justice Byron White's dissent in *Miranda* for the proposition that the Court should not make new

law and new public policy (p. 192). In fact, White said that the Court must make new law and new public policy. He criticized the requirement that police give a suspect a specific warning on the grounds that it was bad policy and not a fair exposition of the text of the Constitution. For the most part, however, the treatment of the decisions of the modern era is accurate and well done.

According to Lasser, the modern Court has expanded its role at the expense of state rather than federal power. Decisions on state issues have forced disappointed groups to respond on a national level, but such issues have not yet been the central focus of a national political campaign. Critics of many of these decisions are impassioned, but there has been no real clear wave of public demand within the electorate or Congress to reverse them. The institutional barriers in the decentralization of power in Congress allow symbolic gestures and doom substantive ones. *Roe v. Wade* is the only major decision of the modern era that seems in serious jeopardy.

Having acknowledged the Court's power, Lasser finds that the Court is neither willing nor able to govern alone. It operates in a close relationship with the other branches, and its decisions are always subject to moderation through the appointment process. The book does not propose a new agenda for the Court, but seeks to clear away the mistaken assumptions of judicial vulnerability that have distorted discussions of the proper role of the Court in the past.

DAVID S. BOGEN
University of Maryland School of Law

The Jekyll Island Club: Southern Haven for America's Millionaires. By William Barton McCash and June Hall McCash. (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1989. Pp. x, 251. Photographs, maps, list of club members, notes, index. $35.00.)

From its formation in 1886 to its demise in 1948, the Jekyll Island Club off the coast of Georgia included some of the country's most wealthy families in its membership. *The Jekyll Island Club: Southern Haven for America's Millionaires* is a history of the exclusive winter resort.

Employing a chronological rather than a topical approach, the authors' coverage ranges from a chapter on the formation of the club to chapters focusing on the "eras" of prominent club leaders such as Henry Hyde, Charles Lanier, Frederick Gilbert Bourne, Walter Belknap James, Walter Jennings, and J. P. Morgan. Meticulously delineating the rise and fall of the famous club, as well as how the club weathered major historical events such as World War I, the authors piece together the story from a variety of sources including extant club records, newspaper accounts, and diaries, as well as the correspondence of club officers, members, and employees. In addition, the book is nicely illustrated with over 240 photographs, and it includes a list of members from 1886 through 1947.

Given the absence of a history of the club and the paucity of published information, the authors have done a commendable job of reconstructing the chronology

of the illustrious organization, particularly the development of the club house and various private cottages. Nevertheless, the chronology, while fastidiously developed, is often quite tedious to read. This reviewer yearned for some discussion of overriding themes or trends—some way to sort out the important from the trivial. A chapter focusing on elegant leisure is one of the more compelling chapters in the book because it gives some sense of the real life on the island. Other chapters come close but are limited by the tendency to recount developments rather than analyze or explain them. For example, when describing society on the island during the World War I years, the authors quote extensively from the letters of Kate Brown, tutor to the children of Valentine Everit Macy. The discussion of Brown's awe at the extensive socializing of the elite in their secluded retreat is interesting but would be more enlightening with more discussion of the motivation for the club members' behavior and more attention to the complex relationships between the Jekyll Island Club and social stratification in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Likewise, other questions come to mind when reading the book. In a period of conspicuous consumption, why did members—mostly northerners from large urban cities such as New York and Chicago—band together to form a club on a rather primitive southern island nearly two miles from the mainland? What were the alternatives? Was the fact that the club was on an island significant? Were the members merely separating themselves from an upwardly-mobile middle class at home, or were they communing with their peers to maintain social ties, or both? The authors note that women members were involved on a fairly even par with men and that their involvement increased in the 1920s and 1930s. What was the significance of this involvement? Although full answers to these and other questions about society on the island would be beyond the scope of this particular book, more attention to such concerns would have added a beneficial dimension.

In short, the authors of *The Jekyll Island Club: Southern Haven for America's Millionaires* have given a thorough chronological history of the club, and it is amply illustrated with photographs. Casual readers interested in Jekyll Island will find the material interesting, although sometimes a bit tedious. Historians will find that given the available sources, the book presents a reasonable overview of the history of the club, but that this overview is limited by its authors' approach. Social and cultural historians should find that the book suggests many opportunities for further study of the Jekyll Island Club in the context of society and culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

PATRICIA C. CLICK
University of Virginia

Storytellers: Folktales & Legends from the South. Edited by John A. Burrison. (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1989. Pp. vii, 269. Notes, bibliography, index, photographs. $29.95.)

Since the late 1940s, when Benjamin Botkin's eight volumes of regional American folklore for general readers were published, folklorists have complained mightily

and frequently about the liberties taken in the popularization of the American folktale. In fact, the commercial success of Botkin's books exacerbated existing tensions within the field between academic scholars and folklore popularizers to such an extent that folklorists for the past forty years have shied away from the publication of work for general readers, in fear of the same sort of controversy and professional censure that Botkin endured, and have left the business of publishing folktales largely to people less qualified. The succession of poorly chosen and edited folklore collections that have passed through the nation's bookstores ever since has verified the abiding demand for anthologies of tales and the reluctance of folktale scholars to reach beyond the academy. Pantheon Books' current *Fairytale and Folklore Library* series has helped to change this chemistry, but until now there has been little in print to reveal how the growing field of folklore studies might enlighten and improve the commerce in folktales.

John Burrison's book is an important step forward in this regard. *Storytellers* sets a new standard for the identification and presentation of American folklore and in so doing may exert the most positive influence on how Americans view and comprehend their oral traditions since Botkin's time.

Burrison's collection is state-of-the-art in several respects—carefully edited, elegantly printed, and extensively reinforced by supporting references on each of more than 250 tales. More importantly, Burrison follows a new approach to the organization of these tales that has been honed by Canadian folklorists, particularly those working at Laval University in Quebec, but heretofore underutilized by American scholars. This approach is one of circumspection—the employment of several different points of view from which a body of texts are illuminated. Burrison enables the tales in *Storytellers* to reveal themselves in a series of smoothly shifting contexts, including the storytelling event, variations on particular themes, change in a single story over time and multiple tellings, and the artistry of master storytellers. These contexts have been used individually to frame several recent folktale collections, but the net effect of their multiple use in *Storytellers* is often dazzling.

Any good story, of course, speaks for itself, and ought to. The trick is to bring all of this critical apparatus to bear upon the tales without overwhelming or concealing them. What Burrison does is alter the angles from which we perceive the texts and thereby present them in a way that heightens the respect we have for them as cultural—as well as beautiful—things. This is no small accomplishment, given the number of failed attempts and timid shortfalls that may be measured against *Storytellers*, and one that is made all the more remarkable for the graceful ease with which each tale, page, and section reveals itself. The book's success should consequently be measured not by the labor invested in absorbing it (which seems slight), but by the expanded sense of oral tradition imparted in the guise of entertainment-by-browsing.

Despite its considerable strengths the book is not without its faults. Some of what *Storytellers* imparts is skewed in emphasis, including the promulgation of an image of the American South that is more proper to roadside attractions than serious

scholarship. This generalized image of "Southland" derives in part from the over-extension of the texts, which were collected by students at Atlanta's Georgia State University over the past twenty years. The stories these students collected lack the range and cultural variety to adequately speak for the American South, or for even the six-state sub-region Burrison calls the "Lower Southeast."

Storytellers is a collection of stories told with few exceptions by Georgia residents to GSU students between 1965 and 1980. The tales Burrison selected for the book concentrate upon "older, rural-based narratives that best characterize the region as it once was and that are in the greatest danger of disappearing as the South becomes more like the rest of the country" (p. 3). The editorial selection of stories that "best characterize" the fading south bathes the collection in an artificial romanticism that is about as pleasant (and necessary) as a heavy shot of cheap magnolia perfume. This scent is reinforced by twenty-six photographs sprinkled throughout the book that depict scenes typically—as in stereotypically—southern, but bear no substantive relationship to the text. Only seven of the pictures were taken in Georgia, and nine of the remaining nineteen are not identified by place at all. In view of the obvious care that went into the production of the photographs and the expense of printing them, their role in the book as a whole seems unusually slight. The design of the book is so aesthetically fine that the photographs are hardly required to "break up" the flow of print, but there seems to have been no other reason to include them; none of the editorial care evidenced in the text seems to have been given to selecting or placing the prints. In three cases the correspondence between the images projected by photographs and text on facing pages is especially awkward; one wonders, for example, what Reverend James H. Mull, who tells six stories on his ministerial peers, thinks of the exaggerated pose of an unidentified rooftop preacher that appears amid his words.

In his excellent introduction Burrison argues persuasively for the use of phonetic spelling as a way of underscoring the fundamental orality of the stories that comprise the book, but *Storytellers*'s phonetic style fails to differentiate the local and regional dialects used by various tellers. Instead, these variations in phonetic style reveal categorical distinctions between sources of tales and racial voices that undermine the book's objectives by creating a false comparison between the well-spoken and the poorly-spoken.

Given the fact that the Georgia Folklore Archive—the institutional name for the GSU students' cumulative collections—is the proprietor of all of the original texts and tapes, these inconsistencies in phonetic style not attributable to cultural factors are especially disturbing. For example, the wealth of texts available and Burrison's good arguments for the strengths of the spoken word make it difficult to understand why ten of the stories are derived from written sources. Granted, these sources are stories that high school students were presumably asked to write from recollection, but they and another dozen texts that appear in "perfect" (non-phonetically-spelled) English stand out, particularly in comparison with six tales presented in unusually heavy dialect. In general, stories in the book told by blacks and especially black speech as presented by white tellers, are highly exaggerated in their phonetic

spelling, while stories that white collectors recorded from kin are only lightly stylized.

One of the strengths of the collection, and a reassurance of its honest voice, is the high number of stories students collected from parents, grandparents, and other close kin; a more consistent reliance on this natural monitor, or the grouping of stories family members tell on each other, might have used the tool of phonetic spelling to raise cultural and linguistic issues closer to the book's central argument.

Mostly, though, Storytellers finds common ground for its many voices and helps readers to observe the weave of place, family, occupation, and heritage in traditional speech. Burrison's innovative approach to a difficult task should encourage other, perhaps more timid, folklorists to give the stories they study a public voice.

CHARLES CAMP
Maryland State Arts Council

Encyclopedia of Southern Culture. Edited by Charles Reagan Wilson and William Ferris; Associate Editors Ann J. Abadie and Maryl L. Hart. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1989. Pp. xxi, 1634. Illustrations, indexes. $50.00.)

When the history of the twentieth century is written, it will be seen that the invention of air conditioning had a major effect on human civilization. According to this massive new reference tool, this was nowhere more true than in the southern United States. The installation of air conditioning meant that workers could operate more efficiently in factories and made possible the whole Sunbelt phenomenon. It also led people to spend more time indoors and alone, whereas previously the southern lifestyle had been noted for its gregarious outdoor activities. Here citizens had gathered to socialize with friends and family, passing on history, traditions, and stories.

But recently it has been felt that this region's history and traditions are being misunderstood or lost to the ravages of time and modernization. This encyclopedia endeavors to correct this situation, and to provide an easily accessible storehouse of knowledge about the South. It investigates and celebrates all facets of the rich and varied texture of southern culture; "Literature," "Ethnic Life," and the "Mythic South" are all covered within these pages. The writing is sound, scholarly, and frequently humorous.

It should be expressly noted that blacks are not ignored or treated as a separate culture (although there is a section on "Black Life"). Instead, the editors state that blacks make up a substantial part of southern life and culture, and their many contributions are integrated into every section of the book.

If it is true that the South is a state of mind as much as, if not more than, a geographical region, then the fact that Maryland is regarded as being on the fringes of the South does not lessen the book's interest to Marylanders (even though Baltimore and Maryland do not appear in the General Index). Many citizens of the Old Line State consider themselves to be southern; they have in the past and they

will continue to do so in the future. What is important here is the competent analysis and discussion of the cultural trends and issues that Maryland shares with the other southern states. As examples, the "Language" section includes an entry on the "Chesapeake Bay Dialect." Horses and hunting are covered, and the "Urbanization" section relates that in 1940 Baltimore was the largest southern metropolitan area, while Washington, D.C., held that honor in 1980.

The encyclopedia was sponsored by the Center for the Study of Southern Culture at the University of Mississippi at Oxford, deep in the heart of William Faulkner country. Some 800 experts labored for ten years to research and write about the odd and ordinary aspects of southern culture. The 1,260 signed essays are grouped in twenty-four sections rather than by an alphabetical arrangement; approximately 250 biographical entries are included. At the end of each entry there is a brief bibliography and cross references. Photographs are included, but the book would have been improved with more maps, charts, and a chronology.

This work complements but does not replace *The Encyclopedia of Southern History* (edited by David C. Roller and Robert W. Twyman. Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1979); *Encyclopedia of Religion in the South* (edited by Samuel S. Hill. Macon and Atlanta: Mercer University Press, 1984); or *The Encyclopedia of the South* (edited by Robert O'Brien, with Harold H. Martin. New York and Oxford: Facts on File Publications, 1985). Just to underline the quality of the item under review, none of the three volumes mentioned above contained a separate entry for barbecue or the quote that Coca-Cola is "the Holy Water of the American South."

The creation of this work has received a lot of publicity; an interesting article on its production can be found in the September 1989 issue of *The Smithsonian*. At eight and one-half pounds it makes an excellent purchase at $50. One finds many smaller but costlier books that contain less information than the *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*. This fine encyclopedia is an essential addition to any library or personal southern history collection.

DANIEL K. BLEWITT
Milton S. Eisenhower Library
Johns Hopkins University

Books Received

Carrollton Manor, the second tract laid out in the future Frederick County, was surveyed in 1723 and tenanted at least from 1734. Tracing the early pioneers, however, can be difficult. Few of the recorded leases reveal much about the tenants, many of whom were men of very modest means. In *Moravian Families of Carroll's Manor, Frederick County, Maryland*, George Ely Russell provides a good deal of information, at least with respect to the English Moravians. He has pulled together documents from several repositories. Some have been reproduced in facsimile; most have also been transcribed. Included are muster rolls and rent rolls, maps and plats, as well as numerous manuscripts—baptismal records, letters, diaries, narratives—relating to the founding and administration of the short-lived English congregation established on Carrollton from 1768 to 1772. Thereafter many of the Moravians moved to Wachovia, North Carolina, an event Russell also carefully documents. The final section consists of a biographical directory of twenty-four families compiled both from the material included in this volume and from wills, deeds, and court records. Although the documents printed here pertain only to a small congregation, they are detailed and, one suspects, largely complete. The fact that so many of the original records are reproduced—though not always with the clarity one could wish for—provides the researcher with an opportunity for checking spelling, dates, and relationships. This book should be of considerable interest to genealogists and those working in the local history of Frederick County. Available from the press, 709 East Main Street, Middletown, Md. 21769.

Catoctin Press, $18 paper

Vera Foster Rollo, active author, aviatrix, and proprietress of the Maryland Historical Press in Lanham, publishes all manner of interesting books, most recently one of her own entitled *The American Flag*. Beginning with the ancient origins of ensigns and the Indians' use of feathered standards, it discusses Continental colors and then the development of the Stars and Stripes. Further chapters cover state flags, nomenclature, and proper flag care. Nicely illustrated and designed for children, the volume should be in every school library.

Maryland Historical Press, $5.95 paper

The Baltimore County Genealogical Society has completed volume 6 in a series of guidebooks to Baltimore cemeteries, *Mt. Olive Cemetery*. This Methodist church burial ground, located at the junction of Liberty and Old Court roads, dates to the early nineteenth century. The compilators have arranged the booklet alphabetically by section and provided an index.

Family Line, $7 paper

Notices

Fifth Annual *Maryland Historical Magazine* Prize

In 1984, as part of the state's 350th anniversary, the Publications Committee of the Maryland Historical Society established an annual award of $350 for the most distinguished article to appear in a given volume of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. A panel of judges has awarded the 1989 prize to Lorena S. Walsh, research scholar associated with Colonial Williamsburg, for her "Rural African Americans in the Constitutional Era in Maryland, 1776-1810," which appeared in the winter issue.

Parker Harris Prizes Awarded

The Genealogy Committee announced the winners of the Sumner A. Parker and Norris Harris prizes for the best genealogical works received for consideration for the years 1987 and 1988-89.

First place for the 1987 Parker prize for the best genealogical publication on a Maryland family was awarded to *The Derr Family, 1750-1986*, 1989.

The Harris prize for the best source record book on Maryland for 1987 was awarded to Ruth T. Dryden for her three publications: *Land Records of Somerset County, Maryland*, 1985; *Land Records of Worcester County, Maryland, 1666-1810*, 1987; and *Land Records of Wicomico County, Maryland, 1666-1810*, no date. Kenneth F. Hodges' *The Hodges of "Green Hill", Montgomery County, Maryland*, 1988, took first place for the Harris prize in 1988.

Maryland Newspaper Project Plans

Over the next year staff members of the Maryland Newspaper Project will be visiting county and local historical societies, as well as other sites all over Maryland which have newspaper collections, to catalog their holdings. When the Project completes its work in mid-1991, a complete guide to all newspapers ever published in the state (about 1,800 titles) and the locations of all existing issues which are held at sites open to the public will be produced. On completion the guide will be published. The Maryland Newspaper Project is partially funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, and is based in the Marylandia Department of the University of Maryland at College Park Libraries. The Project's Assistant Director and Cataloger, Beverley Geer-Butler, is responsible for the day-to-day operation of the program. She can be reached at 301/454-3035.

ANTIQUES BY THE SEA

This major antique show and sale will be the forty-sixth annual show sponsored by the Episcopal Church Women of St. Paul's By-The-Sea. The event, held in Ocean City, Maryland, will take place 10-13 August 1990 and include such items as jewelry, silver, crystal, china, porcelain, furniture, and rugs. An attendance of 5,000 people is expected. Admission is $3.00. For more information contact Margaret H. Sunderland, 858 Ocean Pines, Berlin, Maryland 21811.

CALL FOR PAPERS

The 1991 annual meeting of the Oral History Association will be held 10-13 October 1991 at Snowbird, near Salt Lake City, Utah. Proposals for papers, panels, and speakers, particularly on such themes as women, ethnic topics, and the region of the American West, should be sent by 1 December 1990 to Jay M. Haymond, Utah 84101. The 1990 annual meeting will be held 8-11 November 1990 in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Contact Richard C. Smith, OHA Executive Secretary, 1093 Broxton Avenue, #720, Los Angeles, California 90024.

SEEKING FERDINAND VON MUELLER LETTERS

A comprehensive edition is being prepared of the correspondence of Ferdinand von Mueller, Australian botanist, explorer, and first director of Melbourne's famous Botanic Gardens. He exchanged letters with leading scientists of his day, with government officials, and with interested men and women from all walks of life. Any person with knowledge of letters to or from Mueller, Mueller photographs, or book inscriptions is asked to contact Ms. Sara Maroske, Department of History and Philosophy of Science, University of Melbourne, Parkville 3052, Victoria, Australia.

IN PURSUIT OF THE *HELEN A. MILLER*

Seeking any information on a ship called the *Helen A. Miller*—built in Baltimore in 1851 by William and George Gardner and owned by J. Henderson, then of 77 Pratt Street in Baltimore. Please write M. A. Seymour, 21 Corston Village, near Bath, BA2 9AW, England.

Maryland Picture Puzzle

Test your knowledge of Maryland history by identifying this Baltimore scene. Where was the photo taken? What building is being constructed? When did this happen?

The spring 1990 Picture Puzzle shows a view of the Hood monument taken from the corner of Liberty and Baltimore Streets looking south onto Hopkins Place. The photograph dates from the years immediately following the statue's erection in 1911. In 1962-63 the statue was moved to its present location in Preston Gardens across from Mercy Hospital.

The following persons correctly identified the winter 1989 Picture Puzzle: Mr. John R. Orrick; Mr. Albert L. Morris; Mr. Paul William Wirtz; Col. J. A. M. Lettre; and Mr. Raymond Martin.

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Maryland Historical Magazine

Published Quarterly by the Museum and Library of Maryland History

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* KEY, BETTY MCKEEVER. *Oral History in Maryland: A Directory.* 44pp. 1981. $3.00 ($2.70)
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* MANAKEE, HAROLD R. *Indians of Early Maryland.* 47pp. 3rd printing,1981. $3.00 ($2.70)
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* MARKS, LILLIAN BAYLY. *Reister's Desire: The Origins of Reisterstown . . . (Reister and allied families).* 251pp. 1975. $15.00 ($13.50)
* *Maryland Heritage: Five Baltimore Institutions Celebrate the American Bicentennial.* Ed. by J. B. Boles. 253pp. Illus. 1976. (soft cover) $7.50 ($6.75) (hard cover) $15.00 ($13.50)
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* News and Notes of the Maryland Historical Society. $2.00 an issue.
* *(Peale Family) Four Generations of Commissions: The Peale Collection of the Maryland Historical Society.* 187pp. Illus. 1975. $4.00 ($3.60)
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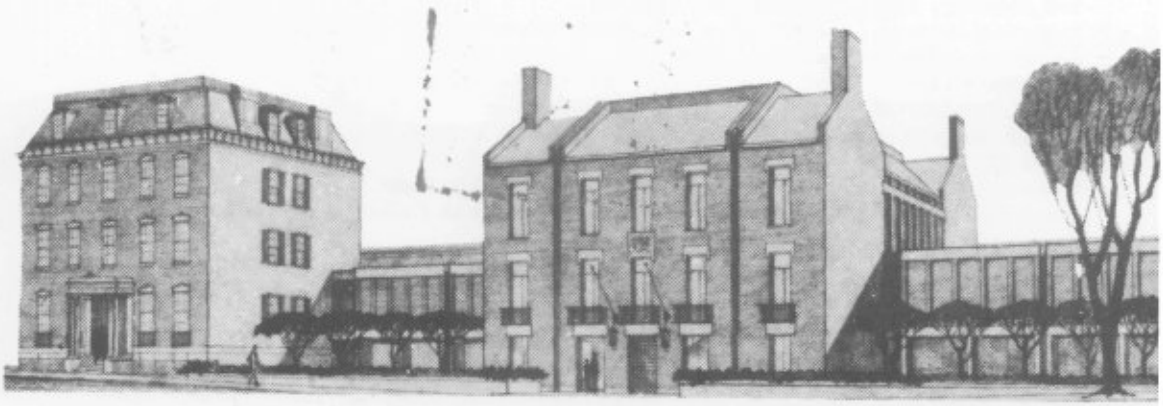

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