Winter 1995

MARYLAND
Historical Magazine

Maryland Historical Magazine

Vol. 90, No. 4, Winter 1995

ISSN 0025-4258
 Published as a benefit of membership in the Maryland Historical Society in March, June, September, and December. Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and/or *America: History and Life.* Second class postage paid at Baltimore, Maryland and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: please send address changes to the Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201. Composed by Publishing Concepts, Baltimore, Maryland,and printed in the USA by The Sheridan Press, Hanover, Pennsylvania 17331. Individual subscriptions are not available. Institutional subscriptions are $24.00 per year, prepaid.

MARYLAND
Historical Magazine

VOLUME 90, 4 (WINTER 1995)

CONTENTS

Non compos mentis?

Recently a member of the Maryland Historical Society confided to the director of the Society her suspicion that the editor of this magazine is incompetent because he requires such a large supporting staff. I've assayed my faculties and concluded that I ought to be good for at least a few more issues. But, more important, this incident prompts me to tell you why this magazine's masthead lists fifteen names and, incidentally, a little about how we put this publication together. When I took the helm as a semi-volunteer at the beginning of this year I felt that all of the individuals who help with the magazine (some for many years) should be recognized publicly. **Robert Cottom**, who holds a Ph.D. in history from the Johns Hopkins University and who writes and publishes books in Baltimore, handles our typography, design, and production and coordinates with our printer, Sheridan Press. He devotes an enormous number of hours to the magazine four times a year—distinguished work for journeyman fees. He is truly our Mr. Wizard of computer skills. If he did not exist, we would have to invent him. **Patricia Anderson** works for the magazine four times a year as a free lance. She is a student at Towson State University, a professional genealogist, and a skilled researcher in archives around the state. Patricia's involvement has made possible this year a great enlargement of the illustrative content of the magazine (we hope you've noticed). She receives a small fee for her energetic work with each issue—well below minimum wage, I fear, given the hours she puts in. Hers is a true labor of love for the subject.

All others on the masthead are staff members with full-time jobs at MHS or volunteers. **Jessica Pigza** is assistant curator of manuscripts. By arrangement with the chief librarian at MHS, Jessica gives a quarter of her time to the magazine in the key role of managing editor. She keeps our schedules and records, knows where everything is, and generally acts as a nerve center for internal and external communications. **Jeff Goldman** is the full-time staff photographer for MHS, a busy and demanding post. He assists us four times a year with his high-quality photographic prints of illustrations that have been selected to accompany our articles, and occasionally, as his time allows, with the creation of a special picture. **Laura Rice**, curator of the MHS Prints and Photographs Division, helps us continually with advice and searches. She had a strong hand in the pictorial sections (Portfolios) published this year. As a free lance, that is, outside her full-time job at MHS, she prepares the annual index for the magazine (viz. pages 517–529 of this issue). **Angela Anthony** works full time as assistant curator of prints and photographs at MHS. Her contribution is to research and keep track of our Maryland Picture Puzzles—no small task considering the popularity of that feature.

Robin Coblentz, **Christopher George**, and **Jane Lange**, all busy with profes-

sional editorial careers, are invaluable volunteers who read and correct our proofs and offer constructive suggestions. Chris George has been further helpful in 1995 by arranging for selected bookstores to carry the magazine. The four regional editors, **John Wiseman**, **Jane Sween**, **Pegram Johnson**, and **John Wennersten**, are likewise volunteers who act as listening posts in their respective regions of the state. They refer contributors to the magazine and in a couple of cases have acted as guest editors for individual issues. **Robert Brugger**, immediate past editor of the magazine, has served this year as a volunteer consultant, a happy circumstance that has been an aid to continuity. So, if our masthead looks to you like *Time*'s or *Newsweek*'s, you now know that it really just lists some dedicated individuals who help out as they can when they can.

Wow, I *think* I got all of this about right. Look, Ma, no hands. On to the next issue!

E.L.S.

Cover

The Army of the Severn

The Just Government League's Army of the Severn left Baltimore for Annapolis on a cold January morning in 1914 to petition the Maryland legislature for women's voting rights. Led by Edna Story Latimer, the suffragettes' walking tours became popular across Maryland, as they fanned out from Baltimore, through a network of county chapters, to the far corners of the state. This grass-roots effort attracted press attention, drew crowds of curious onlookers along the tour routes, and generated support for voting-rights reform. In 1919 Congress approved, and a year later the states ratified, the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which granted women the right to vote, ending a struggle that had begun at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. In this seventy-fifth anniversary year the *Maryland Historical Magazine* honors these Maryland women and their efforts to bring equal suffrage to the Old Line State. (*Maryland Suffrage News*, August 22, 1914.)

P.D.A.

Thomas Sully's portrait of Eliza Ridgely, painted in 1818. The artist's idealized expression of femininity reflects the subject's social position and education. (Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)

Eliza Ridgely and the Ideal of American Womanhood, 1787–1820

ROBERT WILSON TORCHIA

Thomas Sully's *Lady with a Harp: Eliza Ridgely* is one of the most famous American portraits of the nineteenth century. Commissioned by Eliza's father Nicholas Greenbury Ridgely (1770–1829), a wealthy wine and grocery merchant whose likeness Sully painted in 1820, this full-length and over life-size Grand Manner portrait was painted at Philadelphia during the first three weeks of May 1818 for a fee of five hundred dollars.[1] Shortly thereafter it was exhibited to the general public at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Art's seventh annual exhibition.[2] The fifteen-year-old Eliza, clad in a fashionable white short-waisted satin Empire gown,[3] is shown in the act of tuning a harp. Her graceful form blends harmoniously with the luxuriously furnished interior and the background of a panoramic landscape. Seemingly oblivious to the viewer's presence, she holds a key in her right hand and plucks a string with the left while simultaneously depressing a pedal with her foot. Her remote expression suggests no concentrated musical effort as she pensively listens to the chord reverberating throughout the room.

To most modern viewers, including some art historians, the *Lady with a Harp* is a saccharine image. Jules Proun finds it typical of Sully's "sleek, occasionally sentimental, prettified images of boneless figures,"[4] and to Wayne Craven it typifies Sully's female portraiture by being "idealized in the sweet, peaches-and-cream concept of feminine loveliness and elegance."[5] William Gerdts more accurately writes that it "exemplifies both the style of Sully's art and his interpretation of the female subject at its fullest and best," which he defines as "true idealization, constructed according to Sully's own ideal of femininity which is, in turn, a version of the admired one of the age."[6] Wendy A. Cooper, examining the *Lady with a Harp* within its sociological context, views it as one among a number of images and objects that reflect early nineteenth-century attitudes toward the education of women.[7] Her research points the way to a new interpretation of the painting.

The idealization, ultra-refinement, and exaggerated femininity of this image were carefully orchestrated to be emblematic of Eliza's exceptionally high so-

Dr. Torchia, a specialist in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sculpture and painting, is working on a catalogue of the Maryland Historical Society's collection.

cial position, and the specific type of education she received. Eliza's comely figure and demure persona reflect norms of female decorum that had been established by late eighteenth-century British authorities on the education of women. Her expensive but austere dress echoes the Reverend John Bennett's admonitions that "finery is seldom graceful," and "neatness is the *natural* garb of a well ordered mind, and has a near alliance with *purity* of heart." To him a properly attired woman was distinguished by her "elegant simplicity."[8]

Sully's emphasis on Eliza's red cheeks would have been recognized by early nineteenth-century viewers as a manifestation of ideal femininity. Bennett advised young ladies to "let the fairness of your complexion be only that of nature, and let your rouge be the crimson blush of health, arising from temperance, regularity, exercise, and air."[9] Eliza's aloof quality brings to mind Dr. John Gregory's statement that "one of the chiefest beauties in a female character is modest reserve, that retiring delicacy, which avoids the public eye, and is disconcerted even at the gaze of admiration."[10] Sully depicted Eliza as the embodiment of the "extraordinary charms" that an early American writer claimed for Philadelphia womanhood: "A sweet and interesting expression of countenance, a wholesome ruddiness of complexion, blended with a skin delicately fair, a form graceful and majestic, with a deportment of the most perfect ease."[11]

A close examination of the social issues behind the *Lady with a Harp* demonstrates that it conveys an almost propagandistic message. At the time of Sully's painting of Eliza American women were the subject of unremitting abuse from British critics who denounced them for being unsophisticated, ignorant, and devoid of the social graces. Although the portrait presents Eliza as the successful product of a British-influenced boarding school education and accents her mastery of music, by the time it was painted many Americans had come to regard those accomplishments as undesirable and inappropriate.

Eliza Eichelberger Ridgely (1803–1867) was the only child born to Ridgely and his wife Eliza Eichelberger, who died three days after the birth of her daughter. Eliza's father spared neither effort nor expense in her education. At the age of thirteen she was sent to a Philadelphia boarding school for young women, Miss Lyman's Institution, where the headmistress later described her as "amiable, talented, and respectful."[12] There Eliza studied deportment, natural history, botany, grammar, literature, French, drawing, singing, dancing, and took piano and harp lessons. Ridgely carefully monitored his daughter's progress, and urged her by letter not to neglect drawing, French, and music.[13] In June 1817 he purchased a harp for Eliza from Sebastian Erard in London, and among his papers ninety-six bills for music lessons survive, along with many others for harp repairs and strings.[14] The instrument in the portrait is not the harp Ridgely imported from London, but it is an accurate delineation of a European single-action pedal harp to which Sully evidently had access in Philadelphia.[15]

Eliza enchanted Lafayette with her virtuosity on the harp and command of

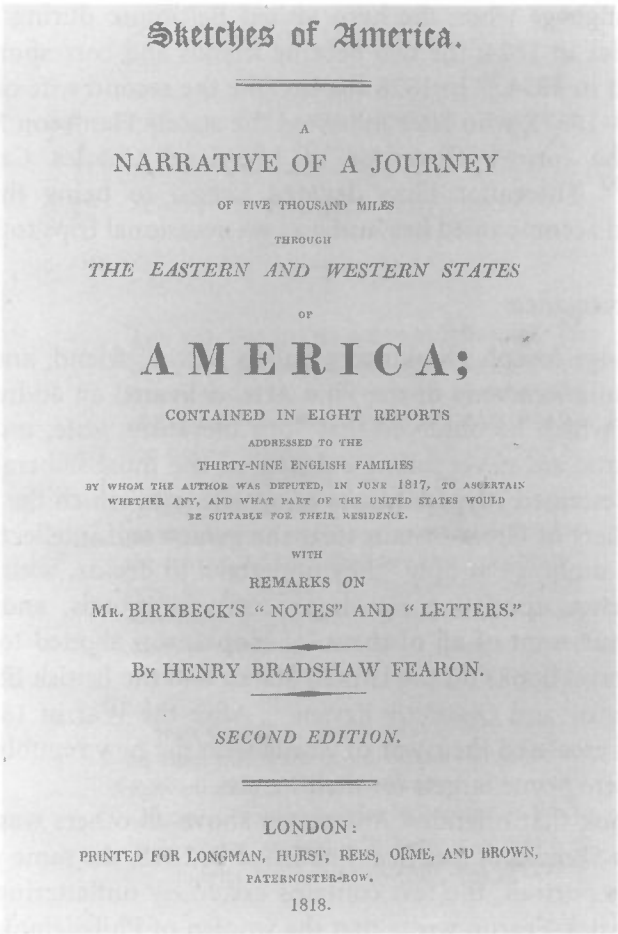
the French language when the hero visited Baltimore during his triumphal tour of America in 1824; the two became friends and corresponded regularly until his death in 1834.[16] In 1828 she became the second wife of John Carnan Ridgely (1790–1867), who later inherited the stately Hampton Mansion from his father, the former Governor of Maryland Charles Carnan Ridgely (1760–1829).[17] Thereafter Eliza devoted herself to being the mistress of Hampton, and accompanied her husband on occasional trips to Europe.[18]

Fastidious Arrogance

In 1810, Judge Joseph Hopkinson, Sully's patron, friend, and president of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, delivered an address to that organization in which he observed that "our literature, taste, morals and progress in the arts, are never failing subjects of the most illiberal sarcasm and abuse," and described "the fastidious arrogance with which the reviewers and magazine makers of Great Britain treat the genius and intellect of this country." He took umbrage at how "they undertake to decide, with the most disgusting insolence upon our learning, literature, morals, and manners, or rather upon our want of all of them."[19] Hopkinson alluded to a number of widely-read travel books on the United States, and the British literary journals *Edinburgh Review* and *Quarterly Review*.[20] After the War of 1812 writers for these journals escalated their war of words with the new republic, and American women were prime targets for their insults.

The one book that offended Americans above all others was Henry Bradshaw Fearon's *Sketches of America*. Published in 1818, the same year that Sully painted Eliza's portrait, the text contains extremely unflattering appraisals of American females. Fearon wrote that the women of Philadelphia did not possess "the English standard of health—a rosy cheek . . . their color is produced by art, but for which disgusting practice, many of them might pass for beautiful." Scandalized to discover that even Quaker women indulged in "rougeing,"[21] he reported that although American women averred that they "combine the excellencies of the French and English character, without the defects of either," he detected neither influence. With obvious condescension he asked, "Could American ladies be content to despise instead of copying the vanity of their countrymen, and take a few practical lessons from the English female in the management of domestic concerns, and the cultivation of their minds, then, indeed, their fine forms might become peculiarly interesting,—at least to a man of sense."[22] In his summation of the "American female character" Fearon wrote that "in mental pursuits it would appear at present but little advanced," and he lamented "the extreme attention to mere personal ornament, and the universal neglect of either mental or domestic knowledge."[23]

Other British writers had reached much the same conclusions. Charles William Janson allowed that American women were chaste, but displayed "the



Sketches of America.

A

NARRATIVE OF A JOURNEY

OF FIVE THOUSAND MILES

THROUGH

THE EASTERN AND WESTERN STATES

OF

AMERICA;

CONTAINED IN EIGHT REPORTS

ADDRESSED TO THE

THIRTY-NINE ENGLISH FAMILIES

BY WHOM THE AUTHOR WAS DEPUTED, IN JUNE 1817, TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER ANY, AND WHAT PART OF THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE SUITABLE FOR THEIR RESIDENCE.

WITH

REMARKS ON

MR. BIRKBECK'S "NOTES" AND "LETTERS."

By HENRY BRADSHAW FEARON.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1818.

Sketches of America *(1818) by Henry Bradshaw Fearon, one of many British writers who criticized American women as lacking gentility. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

pertness of republican principles" that made them devoid of "the blushing modesty of the country girls of Europe, that will answer a familiar question from the other sex with the confidence of a French Mademoiselle."[24] Thomas Ashe, who favorably compared the indigenous Indians to "the fallen race who now inhabit America," condemned the women of Lexington, Kentucky, for not having "any pretensions to that chaste and elegant form of person and countenance which distinguishes our countrywomen and other ladies of Europe. The absence of that irresistible grace and expression may be attributed to their distance from improved society, and the savage taste and vulgarity of the men."[25]

Lieutenant Francis Hall observed that women in the New World were "scarce in proportion to the demand, in a country, where all men marry, and marry young, consequently they are not called upon to make great exertions to

captivate." He noted that "female accomplishments . . . are cultivated upon a principle of vanity, to imitate the ladies of Europe; but they seldom enrich the understanding, or give elegance to the manners. . . . The ladies fall into the mistake of confounding fashions with manners, and think they import Parisian graces with Parisian bonnets." Hall attributed their lack of charm to the predominant religion "of that sour Calvinistick kind which would damn St. Cecilia for a 'pianoforte playing strumpet.'"[26]

The agriculturalist Richard Parkinson, who had been a friend and frequent guest of Eliza's future father-in-law Charles Carnan Ridgely, approvingly quoted the words of an unidentified Canadian traveler who found "everywhere the want of education and hypocrisy . . . the women only studying, not how to please, but how to rule, to be applauded as political oracles, or reverenced as religious saints."[27] The former Quaker Morris Birkbeck described American women as "not remarkable for sprightliness of manners. Intellectual culture has not yet made much progress among the generality of either sex."[28]

In 1816 the American literary magazine *Port Folio*, which now had an avowed editorial priority "to repel, with becoming indignation and scorn, the impudent and unfounded assertions of foreigners, touching the supposed inferiority of Americans,"[29] published a translation of a Latin play that had been performed by the senior students at London's elite Westminster School. In a work that was unusually abusive even by British standards, one of the characters claimed that "bundling"—an obscure New England custom—was universally practiced in America, and with mocking credulity described that it occurred "without any infraction of female modesty; and the chaste maiden, without any deception, but with right good will, ventures to share the bed with her chaste swain."[31]

Smarting with Resentment

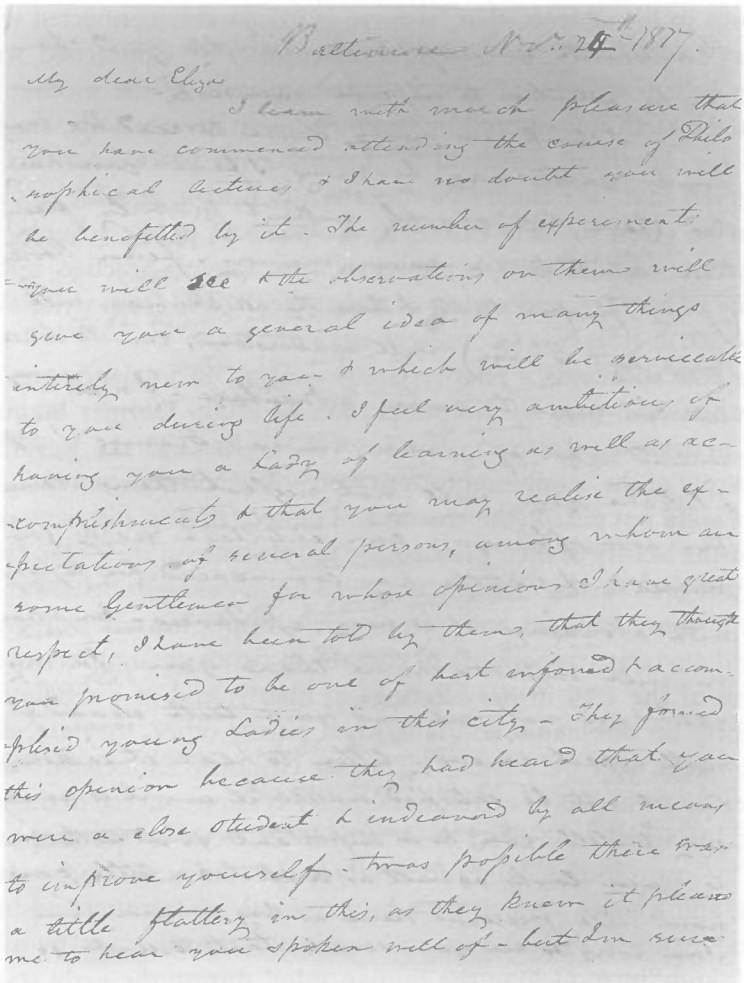
Educated Americans were acutely aware of the insults heaped upon their national character and womanhood. One can estimate the effect such writings had by reviewing the content of a fictitious conversation from Robert Waln Jr.'s *The Hermit in America on a Visit to Philadelphia*. The author induced one Mr. Atall to embark on a lengthy and vehement denunciation of the slanderous statements "book-making travellers" had made about women. With obvious sarcasm he sought to explain the Abbe Rolin's claim that "at twenty years old, the women lose the color and complexion of youth; at thirty-five and forty, they are wrinkled and decrepid," by quoting Hall's observation that American women regularly indulged in the "odd habit of taking a small quantity of opium every morning." Before singling out Charles William Janson and other English writers for criticism, Mr. Atall took issue with a Frenchman, specifically Jean Pierre Brissot de Warville and his contention that American women were prone to consumption because they were "fond of excessive

This unattributed nineteenth-century American portrait of Nicholas Greenbury Ridgely hangs at Hampton National Historic Site. Ridgely believed a boarding school education would provide his daughter Eliza with the skills for social success. (Photograph by Jeff Goldman.)

dancing; heated with this they drink cold water, eat cold unripe fruits, drink boiling tea, go thinly clad in winter, and give no attention to sudden changes of weather."[31]

Even in 1819, when Waln's book was published, Americans were still smarting with resentment at comments French authors had made some thirty years earlier. No wonder that when the New York attorney John Bristed sought to refute the opinions of these writers, he categorically stated that "in no country under the canopy of heaven do female virtue and purity hold a higher rank than in the Union. . . . Our American ladies make virtuous and affectionate wives, kind and indulgent mothers; are, in general, easy, affable, intelligent, and well bred; their manners presenting a happy medium between the too distant reserve and coldness of the English, and the too obvious, too obtrusive behaviour of the French women."[32] When Sully's early patron Robert Walsh published a meticulously researched and argued rebuttal to British misrepresentations about the United States in 1819, the book was praised by Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and John Quincy Adams, and Walsh received an official vote of thanks from the Pennsylvania legislature.[33] In the same year Washington Irving wrote a brief and eloquent essay devoted to the same subject.[34]

One curious manifestation of Ridgely's parental concern for his daughter's personal habits can also be viewed within the context of this pervasive American defensiveness in the face of British asperity. Throughout the spring of 1818 he constantly admonished Eliza to have her teeth cleaned. Two years earlier "Benevolus" had published an article in *Port Folio* advocating the importance of maintaining good teeth. After reciting all of the hygienic and cosmetic reasons for dental care, he wrote: "If any thing else is wanting to inculcate at-



Baltimore Nov. 24 - 1817.

My dear Eliza

I learn with much pleasure that you have commenced attending the course of Philosophical lectures & I have no doubt you will be benefitted by it. The number of experiments you will see & the observations on them will give you a general idea of many things entirely new to you & which will be serviceable to you during life. I feel very ambitious of having you a Lady of learning as well as accomplishments & that you may realise the expectations of several persons, among whom are some Gentlemen for whose opinions I have great respect, I have been told by them, that they thought you promised to be one of best informed & accomplished young Ladies in this city - They formed this opinion because they had heard that you were a close student & indeavored by all means to improve yourself - twas possible there was a little flattery in this, as they knew it pleased me to hear you spoken well of - but I am sure

Nicholas Greenbury Ridgely wrote to his daughter Eliza on November 24, 1817, encouraging her to succeed in music, art, and language. (Maryland Historical Society, MS. 1127.)

tention to the teeth, it is that certain European Travellers have considered bad teeth as a national defect in the United States."[35]

"Equal Partakers with Ourselves"

The question of instituting systems of female education and establishing norms of deportment were great national concerns. The issue was especially crucial to Americans who were considered intellectually—and even biologically—inferior to Europeans by their British detractors. The successful cultivation of well-bred and properly educated women was critical to the future of the developing nation, one in which it was recognized, as Hopkinson had

pointed out in his address, that "woman is inseparably connected with every thing that civilizes, refines, and sublimates man."[36] Concerned Americans turned to British writers for advice. This emulation of the mother culture's educational system was noticed by Fearon who, in his usual disparaging tone, ridiculed the American penchant for imitating the practices of his country, and observed that "the theory of education is British, at least so far as that name can be given to mere externals; the plans of public schools, mode of study, and the authors used, being taken from English practice, but without the solidity of enquiry, and variety of assistance derived from writers and professors, which characterize our present establishments."[37]

Female education was a relatively new concern in England, one that had been stimulated in part by the publication of Philip Dormer Stanhope, the Earl of Chesterfield's *Letters to His Son* (1774). In 1793 the Reverend John Bennett wrote of the "contemptuous neglect" of educating women in England, "as if they were not gifted with reason and understanding, but were only to be valued for the beauty of their persons, for the elegance of their manners, or the symmetry of their forms."[38] Bennett viewed Enlightenment Britain as the ideal locus for a more rational and democratic attitude toward women: "In an happy, and enviable temperature of climate, in riches of commerce, in the improvement of the arts, in the blessings of liberty, and of a religion purified from bigotry on one hand, and fanaticism on the other, they are, doubtless, equal partakers with ourselves."[39] Thomas Gisborne enunciated "three particulars, each of which is of extreme and never-ceasing concern to the welfare of mankind, [on which] the effect of the female character is most important." In addition to "contributing daily and hourly to the comfort of husbands," family members, and friends, women were instrumental "in forming and improving the general manners, dispositions, and conduct of the other sex, by society and example," and "in modelling the human mind during the early stages of its growth, and fixing, while it is yet ductile, its growing principles of action."[40]

Ornament and Accomplishment

The presence of the harp in Eliza's portrait, its most prominent iconographic feature, had important antecedents in British aristocratic portraiture. In 1801 Lawrence had tried, unsuccessfully, to dissuade a woman from having one in her full-length portrait on the grounds that "the Harp—tis so commonplace. There's an inundation of them in the Exhibition all strumming St. Cecilias disgracing themselves and the Painters all for the love of Mr. Erard."[41] Sully may have been familiar with similar portraits by the two British artists he had met during his year of study in London, namely Sir Thomas Lawrence's *Queen Caroline and the Princess Charlotte* (1802, The Royal Collection, St. James Palace, London), and Sir William Beechey's *Miss Jane Reade* (ca. 1813, Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas).[42] Like Eliza Ridgely, the sub-

jects of these paintings are shown standing and tuning their instruments. Harpists perform seated, however, as in John Singleton Copley's allegorical *Mrs. Richard Crowninshield Derby as St. Cecilia* (1803–04, private collection). Sully had already used the harp in his half-length of *Angelica Livingston* (1815, Senate House State Historic Site, Kingston, New York), and again in the *Mlle. Adele Sigoigne* (1829, Julliard School of Music, New York); the latter sitter was both a musician and the mistress of a Philadelphia school for women.[43]

In 1820 an American writer opined that the harp was "the finest of all—the grand enchanter—the Prospero among these imprisoned spirits of sweet sound. Its richness, expressiveness, comparative facility of execution, capability of being kept in order by oneself, extreme portability, and, though last not least, in woman's eyes, its grace of form, raise it to unapproachable superiority." For a woman "to appear at advantage at the harp, a certain appearance is indispensable. . . . no where does a good figure look better, nor a bad one worse."[44] Sully was well aware of the necessity of maintaining propriety in such images whose appeal came dangerously close to being sensual. While visiting London to paint the young Queen Victoria in 1837, he saw Lawrence's *Mrs. Francis Robertson* (ca. 1800, Tate Gallery, London), and made a note of his reaction to it: "One of Lawrence's early pictures of a lady at full length, resting on a harp. A discredit to his name. She looks like a vulgar loose person."[45]

Beyond being a decorative device, the harp serves as a direct allusion to Eliza's mastery of music, and her pose may have been derived from an illustration of the Muse Erato in George Richardson's *Iconology* (London, 1779).[46] In the British system of female education music was an "elegant" or "ornamental accomplishment" along with needlework, the study of foreign languages, and drawing, the areas in which Eliza's father urged her to excel. The harp's presence thus indicates that she was the successful product of Miss Lyman's Institution, a type of boarding school based on British models that had begun to proliferate in the United States during the early nineteenth century.[47] Although society belles were expected to attain proficiency in these subjects, some social critics on both sides of the Atlantic thought them frivolous. This ambivalent attitude manifested itself in a conversation from Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), when Miss. Bingley remarked that "a woman must have a thorough knowledge of music, singing, drawing, dancing, and all the modern languages, to deserve the world," to which the stern Mr. Darcy replied, "and to all this she must add something more substantial, in the improvement of her mind by extensive reading."[48]

From their inception the ornamental accomplishments had incurred the opprobrium of certain writers. The Reverend John Bennett had associated them with the evils attendant upon sending girls to boarding schools: "When they are of an age to discriminate, and lay in a stock of ideas, we send them to a boarding school to learn what? Music, dancing, accomplishments, dissipation and intrigue—every thing but solid knowledge—every thing but humil-

Dr. Benjamin Rush (1745?–1813) of Philadelphia. This engraving was made by David Edwin from a Thomas Sully portrait of 1813. Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, suggested that European standards of education were not relevant to American women. (Maryland Historical Society.)

ity—every thing but piety—every thing but virtue!"[49] Bennett later changed his mind and opined that the ability to play a musical instrument was "a very desirable acquisition in any woman, who has the time and money enough to devote to the purpose, for it requires no inconsiderable portion of both." Provided that she had the time and money to play, advantages were to be gained from entertaining and inspiring tranquility in friends, and to "harmonize your mind and spirits, in many of those ruffled or lonely hours, which in almost every situation will be your lot."[50]

Thomas Gisborne complained that the "ornamental accomplishments occupy the rank and estimation which ought to have been assigned to objects of infinitely greater importance." Owing to the "natural peculiarities of the female character," the accomplishments were often "a source of formidable temptations" and permissible only when restrained by reason and Christian moderation. They should only be studied when the pupil was "thoroughly impressed with a conviction of the real end and use of all such attainments; namely that they are designed, in the first place, to supply her hours of leisure with innocent and amusing occupations; occupations which may prevent the languor and snares of idleness, render home attractive, refresh the wearied faculties, and contribute to preserve the mind in a state of placid cheerfulness." Second, these skills enabled a young woman to "communicate a kindred pleasure . . . to her family and friends."[51] A more prohibitive Thomas Broadhurst took a dim view of the accomplishments because "an exclusive cultivation of the fine arts, as those of music, painting, and poetry, has a tendency to generate vanity, and to call forth and inflame the selfish passions." He lamented that the prevailing system of female education was "too much calculated to kindle a spirit of self-love and vanity in the juvenile bosom," and that

emphasis on such studies would "feed immoderately the love of applause in the breasts of their respective votaries."[52]

The same issue was debated in the United States. In 1787 Philadelphia's eminent Dr. Benjamin Rush wrote a pamphlet to endorse the "Young Ladies' Academy," an institution based on the concept that "the education of young ladies, in this country, should be conducted upon principles very different from what it is in Great Britain, and in some respects different than from what it was when we were part of a monarchical empire."[53] One of the main reforming features of the new academy was that it was not a boarding school, which many viewed as a stimulus to immorality, and students remained living with their parents. Rush was convinced that emphasis on ornamental accomplishments inevitably led to decadence and moral laxity. Although he approved of singing, some of his harshest strictures were devoted to instrumental music, which he dismissed as being "by no means accommodated to the present state of society and manners in America."

Furthermore, instruments were expensive, the tuition charged by teachers extravagant, and countless hours were wasted by the necessity to practice. Such wastefulness led Rush to speculate on "how many useful ideas might be picked up in these hours from history, philosophy, poetry, and the numerous moral essays in which our language abounds, and how much more would the knowledge acquired upon these subjects add to the consequence of a lady, with her husband and with society, than the best performed pieces of music upon a harpsichord or a guitar!" After marriage women had no time for such frivolities, and "their harpsichords serve only as side-boards for their parlours, and prove by their silence, that necessity and circumstances, will always prevail over fashion, and false maxims of education." Rush did allow that a woman of exceptional talent and wealth, who was unencumbered with domestic duties, could pursue the study of an instrument.[54]

Eliza's proficiency in French would also have met with Rush's disapprobation for many of the same reasons that he rejected instrumental music. Most "truly valuable" French books had already been translated, and "the English language certainly contains many more books of real utility and useful information than can be read, without neglecting other duties, by the daughter, or wife of an American citizen." Teaching young American women to speak foreign languages would lead to a situation where "our language and pronunciation [would] be enfeebled and corrupted by a flood of French and Italian words."[55] The education of women was a serious matter with important social ramifications. Rush predicted a time in the future when America would succumb to European manners and vices, when woman's "idleness, ignorance, and profligacy will be the harbingers of our ruin," from which "a train of domestic and political calamities" was certain to follow.[56] Thus "the cultivation of reason in women, is alike friendly to the order of nature, and to private as well as public happiness."[57]

Americans were reluctant to abandon their efforts to emulate the British system of female education, so Rush's anglophobic essay had little immediate effect. In the middle of the second decade of the nineteenth century, they, like their British predecessors, began to reevaluate the situation. In 1816 "Florepha" wrote to *Port Folio* to suggest that "if young ladies, instead of being flattered for their personal beauty, their musical voices, and their skill in dancing, or in beating the keys of a piano, were praised and admired in proportion as they excelled in the modest and affectionate duties of daughter, and sister, they would make better wives and mothers, and the world would have less reason to complain of female frivolity."[58]

In 1818 a writer for *Analectic Magazine* reviewed Major General Pillet's controversial *Views of England* (1818). He quoted the French officer's opinion that even though English females "are destitute of grace, of taste, of style," and "it may be said that an English woman has two left hands," he preferred the simplicity of their attire to "all the gorgeous flowing finery of the Parisian girls." This statement prompted the reviewer to indulge in a brief diatribe aimed at the women of his own country. Females "who are above the necessity of labouring, are, for the most part, brought up among us in America, with an utter ignorance and disregard to every species of domestic usefulness and economy. The true reason why there are such swarms of our blooming damsels withering in the streets of our cities, and such an alarming crop of old maids by brevet," was that prospective husbands were scared away by the prospect of having to support their extravagant habits. The reviewer urged American women "to begin the study and practice of a well regulated economy—to think sometimes of saving as well as spending—and, above all, to dress according to their means and situation." By doing so they would attract "prudent and reflecting young men" and "bring and receive blessings in the state to which reason and nature have assigned the performance of woman's duties, and the enjoyment of her happiness."[59]

A month later a response to these strictures appeared in *Port Folio*. Accustomed to having her sex "traduced and misrepresented by foreigners," "Constantia" was indignant that these criticisms had been written by an American and published in an American literary magazine, but was stimulated to offer some observations: first, after completing their studies at age fifteen girls were so burdened with domestic duties that they had no time to read and continue to improve themselves; second, it was a "great error" that "without regard to taste, talents, or circumstances, they must learn drawing, dancing, and music." Conceding that these were "agreeable accomplishments" for the wealthy and talented, she posed a rhetorical question: "Are the most favored ever compensated for the enormous expense of time and money that must be consumed to obtain but a moderate degree of skill, in music especially?" Like Rush, "Constantia" concluded that these ornate accomplishments were "absolutely useless," because after marriage women had no leisure time to pursue them, and

Wash drawing from a sketchbook, ca. 1825, Maryland Historical Society, presented by Ellen Gilmor Buchanan.

that grammar, geography, and history were more practical subjects.[60]

In 1817 a writer for *Analectic Magazine* summarized the current state of female education in America when he observed how "many useful schools, under the tuition of well educated ladies, have been established in our cities: but we have to repeat the standing complaint, that they are devoted in too many instances, to the mere ornamental parts of education. . . . Mere ornament is a thing of nought; and if the system of female education goes on the course it has now taken, the daughters of our fair countrywomen may make good musicians, good dancers, and good frolickers,—but we are afraid they will never make good wives."[61]

Rustics and Grandees

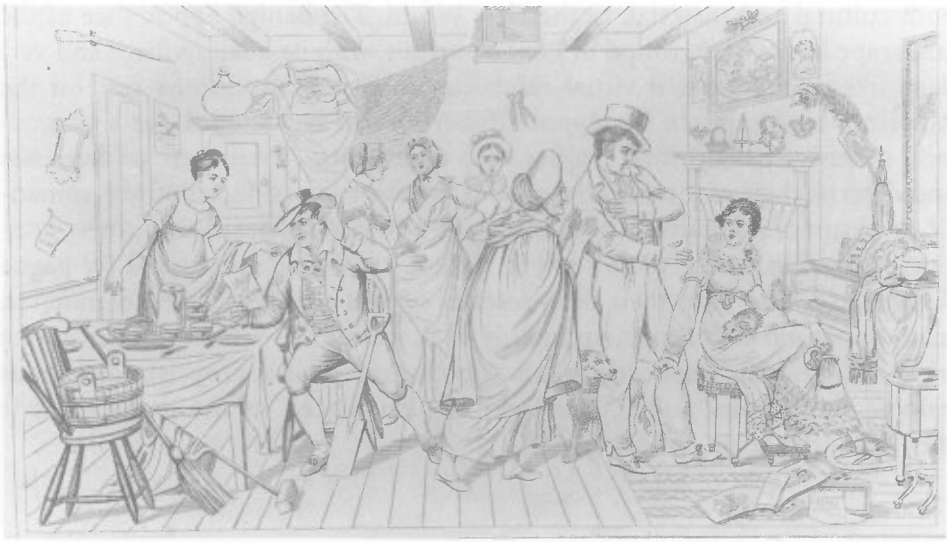
Images almost exactly contemporary with Sully's *Lady with a Harp* provide visual manifestations of each side of the debate. Disillusionment with boarding schools and the accomplishments were the subjects of two engravings after aquatints by John Lewis Krimmel that appeared in *Analectic Magazine* in 1820, accompanied by lengthy explanatory texts by James Maxwell, the magazine's

Departure for a Boarding School, *engraving by Charles Goodman and Robert Piggot after John Lewis Krimmel, published in* Anectic Magazine, *2 (November 1820).*

editor. The *Departure for a Boarding School* represents a "young damsel in unadorned and rustic simplicity, but in the moment of departure for the boarding school, to which she is destined by the mistaken pride and foolishness of her parents—for the purpose of refinements of a city education." *The Return from a Boarding School* represents the "metamorphosis effected by the ill-advised experiment": seated before her new piano, attired in an Empire dress, with drawings scattered about her feet, the former country lass has been converted by her education into a grandee who spurns her former suitor. Maxwell noted how "Her foot on the overturned spinning-wheel, indicates her contempt for the morning occupations of former days, now laid aside in favor of the piano."[62] These two illustrations demonstrate the effects of a boarding school education on a rustic middle class family who, unlike Ridgely, could ill afford the tuition, but the newly instilled airs and pretensions of the pupil were insufferable in any class of female.

Quite a different perspective on the accomplishments appears in a watercolor and pencil drawing from a sketchbook (ca. 1825, Maryland Historical Society) that probably once belonged to the noted Baltimore art collector Robert Gilmor Jr. [63] At a genteel social gathering in an elegantly appointed European salon, a harpist sits before her instrument, while another woman to her right plays a piano. Although not deliberately polemical like Krimmel's illustrations, the way these ladies harmonize perfectly with their fashionable, refined environment, indicates a tacit approval of their musical skills.

Despite the raging debate over the suitability of having a young woman



Return from a Boarding School, *line engraving by unknown engraver after John Lewis Krimmel, published in* Analectic Magazine, *2 (December 1820).*

learn to play a musical instrument, the harp continued to appear in portraits of accomplished American women, most notably in James Peale's *Ann Thompson* (1819, private collection), Charles Bird King's *Mrs. John Quincy Adams* (ca. 1822, National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C.), George Cook's *Mrs. Robert Donaldson* (1832, The Brooklyn Museum), and two decades later in James and Robert Boyle's *Jane Ball Shoolbred* (ca. 1840, Gibbes Art Gallery, Charleston, South Carolina).

Nicholas Greenbury Ridgely must have been cognizant of the debates concerning the important social issue of female education, and the fact that he sent Eliza to a Philadelphia boarding school and personally encouraged her to perfect the ornamental accomplishments, especially music, indicates his approval of values that were rapidly becoming outmoded in his time. Little is known about Ridgely except that he was a civic-minded individual who in 1810 served on the board of managers that supervised the erection of Baltimore's Washington Monument.[64] His immense fortune made him the American equivalent of a European aristocrat; the British critics had made a point of noting that the population of the United States mostly comprised European immigrants from the middle or lower classes who were in desperate financial circumstances, and that the consequent absence of a titled class was yet another sign of our inferiority. This portrait can be interpreted as a visual refutation to the multitude of foreign criticisms against American womanhood, and all the negative qualities about American culture that such slights implied. It represents the successful transplantation of the greatest European refinements,

both cultural and material, to the New World. The benign appearance of the landscape in the background of Eliza's portrait, with its quaint village and verdant trees, constitutes a visual refutation to British aspersions cast on the American landscape. In his *Appeal,* Robert Walsh had singled out a particularly offensive passage that typifies such comments: "Even their wildernesses and deserts, their mountains, lakes, and forests, will produce nothing romantic or pastoral; no 'native wood-note wild' will ever be heard from their prairies or savannahs; for these remote regions are only relinquished by pagan savages to receive into their deep recesses hoards of discontented democrats, mad, unnatural enthusiasts, and needy or desperate adventurers."[65] Given the portrait's symbolic implications, it was both ironic and appropriate that it was painted by Thomas Sully, "the American Lawrence," in the romantic style then fashionable in London.

NOTES

1. Edward Biddle and Mantle Fielding, *The Life and Works of Thomas Sully* (Philadelphia: Wickersham Press, 1921), 259. In a letter dated August 5, 1818 (Ridgely Papers, Maryland Historical Society, MS. 692.1), Sully advised Ridgely that the painting would be delivered to Baltimore by Rembrandt Peale who would also varnish and hang it; on October 1, 1818, Peale docketed this letter, acknowledging that he had received $500 for the portrait and $55.25 for the frame. Sully alluded to the portrait in his "Journal" on July 14, 1818: "Elizh. Ridgely, of Baltimore. Whole length port. & frame sent to her father at Baltimore."
2. It was identified in the catalogue *Seventh Annual Exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts* (Philadelphia: John Bioren, 1818) as no. 112, "Full Length Portrait of a Young Lady of Maryland."
3. The dress is identified and discussed in Alice Morse Earle, *Two Centuries of Costume in America* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1903), 1:793.
4. Jules David Proun, *American Painting, From Its Beginnings to the Armory Show* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1980), 58.
5. Wayne Craven, *American Art, History and Culture* (New York: Brown & Benchmark, 1994), 144.
6. William Gerdts, "Natural Aristocrats in a Democracy: 1810–1870," *American Portraiture in the Grand Manner: 1720–1920* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1981), 35.
7. Wendy A. Cooper, *Classical Taste in America 1800–1840* (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1993), 266–268.
8. Reverend John Bennett, *Letters to a Young Lady on a Variety of Useful and Interesting Subjects,* 4th American edition (Worcester, Mass.: Thomas & Andrew, 1798), 140–141.
9. Ibid., 143.
10. Dr. John Gregory, *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters* (Boston: John W. Folsom, 1791), 16.

11. "The Ladies of Philadelphia," *Port Folio*, 4 (1810): 604.
12. Quoted in Bess Paterson Shipe, "Eliza Eichelberger Ridgely, the 'Lady With a Harp'," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 77 (fall 1982): 231.
13. Nicholas Ridgely to Eliza Ridgely, November 24, 1817, and February 14, 1818, Maryland Historical Society, MS 1127.
14. Erard (1752–1831) was a celebrated maker of pianos who greatly improved the double-action pedal harp. The receipt for the harp and miscellaneous bills are preserved in the Ridgely Family Papers, Maryland Historical Society, MS 692.
15. Roslyn Rensch, *The Harp* (New York: Frederick Praeger,1969), 132.
16. See "Lafayette's Letters to Eliza Ridgely of Hampton," ed. James W. Foster, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 52 (September 1957): 233–244.
17. Sully's portrait of the former governor, painted in 1820, is owned by the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and his portrait of Eliza's husband, painted in 1841, is in the Hampton National Historic Site Collection.
18. For additional biographical material and an account of Eliza's activities at Hampton, see Lynne Dakin Hastings, *A Guidebook to Hampton National Historic Site* (Towson, Md: E. John Schmitz & Sons, Inc., 1986).
19. Joseph Hopkinson, *Annual Discourse Delivered before the P. A. of the F. A. on the 13th of November, 1810* (Philadelphia: Bradford & Inskeep, 1810), 17–18.
20. The best known example of this genre is Frances Trollope's *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (London: Whittaker, Treacher, & Co., 1832), which falls beyond the chronological scope of this study.
21. Henry Bradshaw Fearon, *Sketches of America. A Narrative of a Journey of Five Thousand Miles through the Eastern and Western States of America* (London: A. Strahan, 1818), 170.
22. Ibid., 173–174.
23. Ibid., 380. These quotations are from a copy of *Sketches of America* owned by the Library Company of Philadelphia. The marginal notes that two early readers inscribed next to these passages demonstrate their indignation at the contents. The allegations that Philadelphia women used rouge prompted the responses "a stinking lie," "untrue," "they are painted by God," and "*Lie.* What a spite this Fearon seems to have against the Quakers." Next to Fearon's conclusion about mental pursuits appears "What a damned lie."
24. Charles William Janson, *The Stranger in America* (London: Albion Press, 1807), 87.
25. Thomas Ashe, *Travels in America* (London: John Abraham, 1808), 4, 171–172.
26. Lieutenant Francis Hall, *Travels in Canada, and The United States, in 1816 and 1817* (London: A. Strahan, 1818), 180–181.
27. Richard Parkinson, *A Tour in America in 1798, 1799, and 1800* (London: T. Davidson, 1805), 2:656.
28. Morris Birkbeck, *Notes on a Journey in America, from the Coast of Virginia to the Territory of Illinois* (London: Severn & Redington, 1818), 81.
29. *Port Folio*, 1 (January 1816): 89.
30. "British Abuse of American Manners," *Port Folio*, 5 (May 1816): 401.
31. Robert Waln Jr., *The Hermit in America on a Visit to Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: M. Thomas, 1819), 152–154. The French travel books Waln quoted were Claude C. Rolin, *Nouveau voyage dans l'Amerique septentrionale, en l'annee 1781* (Paris, 1782), and Jean

Pierre Brissot de Warville, *Nouveau voyage dans les Etats Unis de l'Amerique septentrionale, fait en 1788* (Paris: Buisson, 1791); both books were translated into English and printed in the United States.

32. John Bristed, *The Resources of the United States of America* (New York: Abraham Paul, 1818), 423.

33. Robert Walsh, *An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain Respecting the United States of America* (Philadelphia: William Brown, 1819). Sully's 1811 portrait of Walsh is owned by the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

34. Washington Irving, "English Writers on America," in *The Sketch-Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* (New York: C. S. Van Winkle, 1819), 101–119.

35. "On the Advantages of Good Teeth," *Port Folio*, 1 (January 1816): 23. Janson, *The Stranger in America,* 444, ascribes the premature loss of teeth in Americans to their penchant for eating Indian meal.

36. Hopkinson, *Annual Discourse,* 34.

37. Fearon, *Sketches of America,* 368.

38. Reverend John Bennett, *Strictures on Female Education in Four Essays* (Philadelphia: W. Spottswood, 1793), 2.

39. Ibid., 23.

40. Thomas Gisborne, *An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex* (London: T. Cadell & W. Davies, 1797), 12–13.

41. Quoted in Martin R. F. Butlin, "Lawrence's Portrait of Mrs. Francis Robertson: Some New Letters," *Burlington Magazine*, 99 (January 1957): 27.

42. Other portraits that feature the harp are Robert Edge Pine's Sir Henry Bridgeman, Fifth Baronet, Later First Baron Bradford, and His Family (date unknown, collection of the Earl of Bradford), John Russell's *Miss Emily de Visme (Lady Murray),* a pastel that was engraved by W. Bond in 1795, Jean-Jacques Hauer's *Lafayette and Madame Roland Drawing a Plan for the Festival of the French Federation* (1791, The Museum of Art, University of Michigan), and John Francis Rigaud, *The Fourth Earl of Abingdon and His Family* (1793).

43. Biddle and Fielding, *The Life and Works of Thomas Sully*, no. 1588, 272.

44. "Choice of Musical Instruments for Females," *Port Folio*, 10 (September 1820): 92.

45. The *Robertson* portrait is listed in Kenneth Garlick, *Sir Thomas Lawrence. A complete catalogue of the oil paintings* (New York, 1989), no. 684, 259; Thomas Sully, "Journal," entry of December 12,1837.

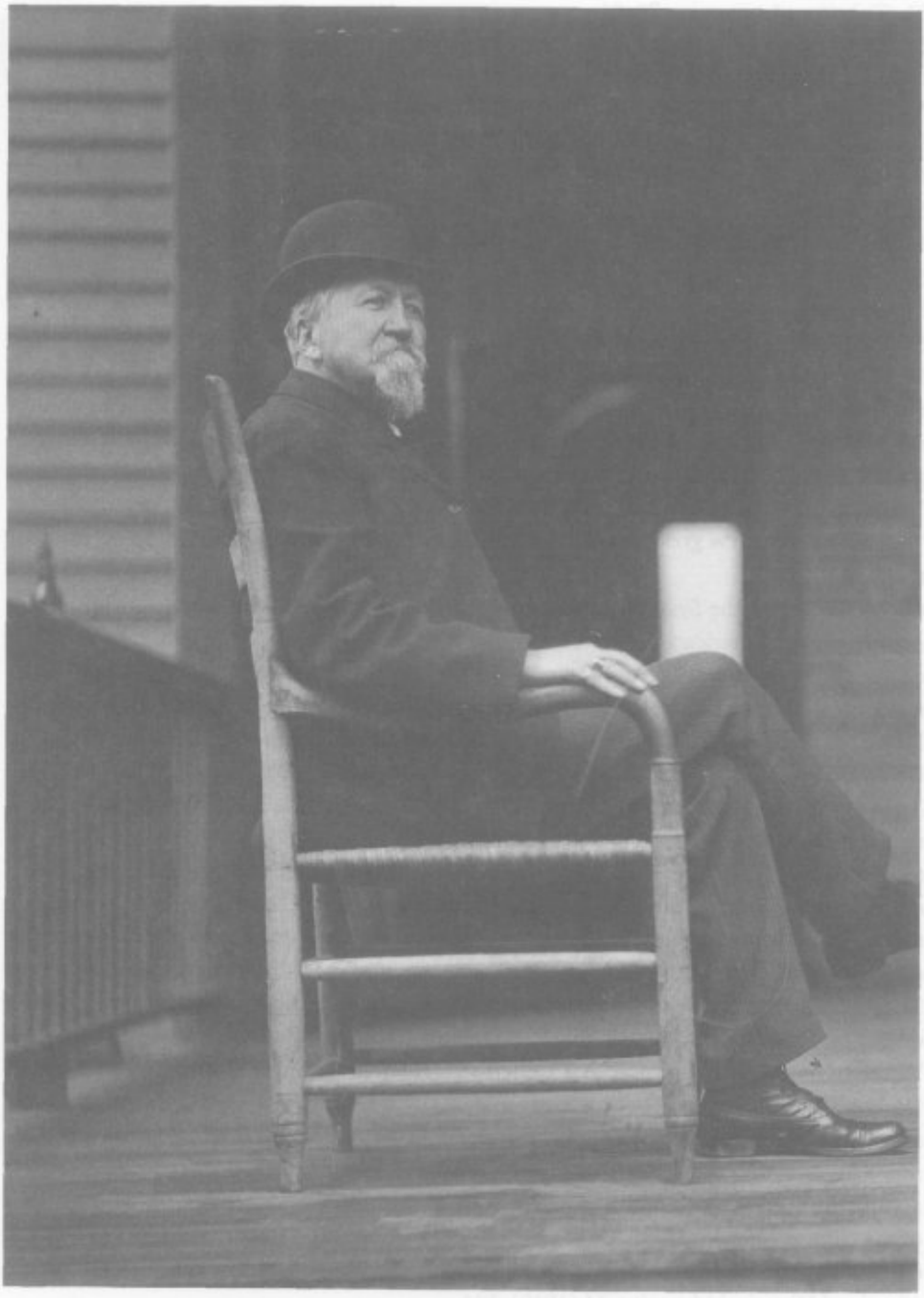
46. Norine S. Hendricks, "Thomas Sully's Lady with a Harp, a Portrait of Eligibility," unpublished paper delivered at the Twenty-Third Annual Session of the Middle Atlantic Symposium in the History of Art, April 3, 1993, at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C..

47. For an account of the boarding school phenomenon in the United States see Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States* (Lancaster, Pa: The Science Press, 1929), 1:329–459.

48. Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice,* Oxford ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 34.

49. Bennett, *Strictures,* 25. For his objections to boarding schools such as the one Eliza attended, see his Chapter 4, "Reflections on the dangers and insufficiency of Boarding

Schools, considered as a mode of female education," 72–83.
50. Bennett, *Letters to a Young Lady,* 135.
51. Gisborne, *An Enquiry,* 79–81.
52. Thomas Broadhurst, *Advice to Young Ladies, on the Improvement of the Mind, and the Conduct of Life* (London: Richard Cruttwell, 1809), 14, 104.
53. Benjamin Rush, *Thoughts upon Female Education Accommodated to the Present State of Society, Manners, and Government, in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Prichard & Hall, 1787), 5.
54. Ibid., 15–17.
55. Ibid., 17–18, 22.
56. Ibid., 22.
57. Ibid., 25.
58. *Port Folio,* 5 (November 1816): 379.
59. "The Truth Respecting England," *Analectic Magazine,* 12 (September 1818): 185–186.
60. "Defence of American Women," *Port Folio* 4 (October 1818): 278–279. The anonymous writer's arguments betray the influence of Rush, as does her choice of a nom de plume; Rush, *Thoughts upon Female Education,* 21, cited the example of Constantia, who "rescued from paganism" her son Emperor Constantine, to prove the statement that "there have been few great or good men who have not been blessed by wise and prudent mothers."
61. "A Review of the Systems of elementary Education in the United States: with a brief Account of the American Colleges," *Analectic Magazine,* 9 (April 1817): 290.
62. *Analectic Magazine,* 2 (November 1820): 421, and 2 (December 1820): 507–508; Krimmel's illustrations and the texts that accompany them are reproduced in full in Milo M. Naeve, *John Lewis Krimmel: An Artist in Federal America* (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 1987), 111–114; see also Anneliese Harding, *John Lewis Krimmel: Genre Artist of the New Republic* (Winterthur, Del.: The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1994), 200–203.
63. Traditionally identified as ""Robert Gilmor's Sketchbook," this set of eighteen wash drawings was given to the Maryland Historical Society in 1922 by Gilmor's great-great-niece, who attributed them to the noted collector. In his unpublished discussion of the sketchbook J. Hall Pleasants, "J. Hall Pleasants Studies in Maryland Painting," nos. 3262–3279, Maryland Historical Society, questioned the attribution and noted that the drawings "depict Continental, doubtless French, scenes." Both Anna Wells Rutledge, "Robert Gilmor, Jr., Baltimore Art Collector," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery,* 12 (1949): 39, and Cooper, *Classical Taste in America,* 38, fig. 15, reproduced this particular sketch and identified it as by Gilmor. It is possible that the sketches were executed by Gilmor's nephew Robert Gilmor III of Glen Ellen, but it is more likely that they were made by an unknown French or English amateur artist around 1825, and formerly constituted part of the Gilmor collection.
64. William D. Hoyt, Jr., "Robert Mills and the Washington Monument in Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 34 (1939): 144.
65. "Actual Condition of the United States," *British Review, and London Critical Journal* (May 1919), quoted in Walsh, *An Appeal,* 291.



Brigadier General Bradley T. Johnson, principal organizer of Maryland troops in Confederate service. After the Civil War he served as a leader of veterans' organizations and monument commissions, perpetuating the ideals of the Lost Cause. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Lost in the Lost Cause: The 1st Maryland Infantry Regiment (C.S.)

KEVIN CONLEY RUFFNER

The image of Confederate soldiers from Maryland grew in stature in the decades after the Civil War. While the exact number of Marylanders in the Confederate military is uncertain, estimates range up to 25,000 men who took up the Southern cause in the years between 1861 and 1865. On the other hand, the number of Union Marylanders was easily double that figure, even excluding conscripts, foreigners, and black soldiers.[1] The role of Union Marylanders tends to be discounted today, however, while that of Confederates is perhaps overdramatized. One thinks of Confederate Marylanders in a romantic sense; the elite of the state, representing the first families of Maryland, driven from their homes by hostile invaders. These men dedicated their lives and fortunes for the South, embellishing the ideals of the Lost Cause.

In part, Confederate veterans themselves fostered this perception after the war in an effort to recast the state's role in what they spoke of as the War for Southern Independence. Southern veterans groups in Maryland, for example, far outnumbered their Union counterparts. These veterans ensured that posterity would remember their efforts and not that of the Union Marylanders. There are far more Confederate monuments and statues in Maryland today than Union memorials. Bradley T. Johnson, one of Maryland's best known Confederate generals, served as the state's most influential proponent both during the war and after. In addition to Johnson's volume on Maryland for Clement A. Evans's *Confederate Military History*, W. W. Goldsborough's *The Maryland Line in the Confederate Army* (originally published in 1869 and expanded in 1900) continues to influence readers interested in Maryland's role in the Confederacy.[2] The artifice of the Lost Cause, as portrayed by Allen C. Redwood (a veteran of a Maryland unit) and William Ludwell Sheppard, also spurred public awareness of the "Maryland Line," a term which by 1900 had assumed almost mythic connotations.[3]

The historical record is less kind to the Maryland Line. The term itself harkens to the hallowed days of the American Revolution, but, unlike the Continental Army, the Maryland Line fulfilled little purpose as a tactical element in the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia. Even its proponents were more concerned about the Maryland Line as a symbol to rally Marylan-

Dr. Ruffner is a staff historian with a federal agency. His study of Maryland junior officers in the Civil War will be published by the Louisiana State University Press.

ders to the Confederate banner than as an actual troop unit. Only briefly in late 1863 and early 1864 did soldiers of the Maryland Line ever serve together and that was in winter camp. By the end of the Civil War, the Maryland Line consisted of a small force of one infantry battalion, two cavalry battalions, and four artillery batteries.

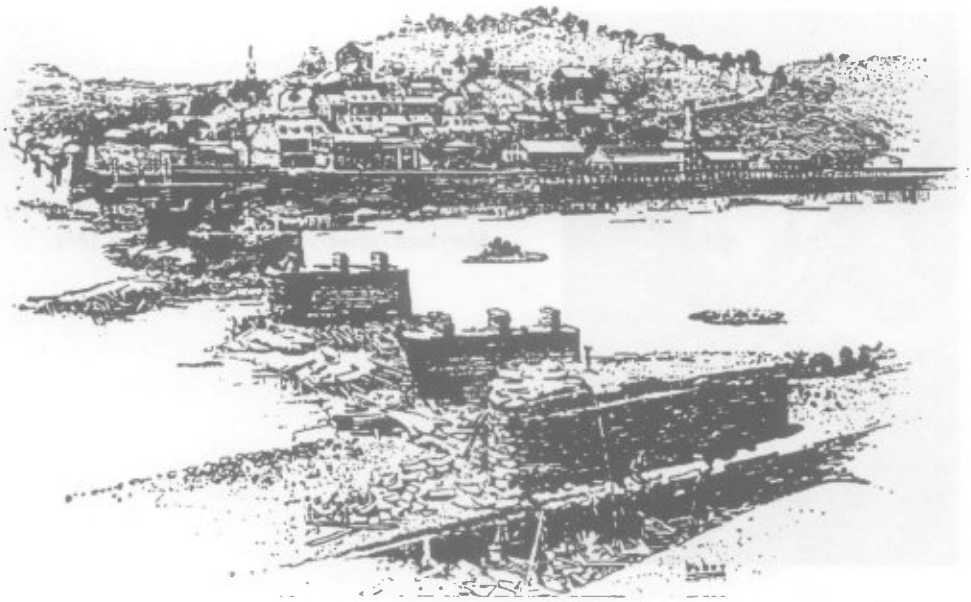
The failure of the Maryland Line, as a tactical element and as a symbol, can be directly attributed to a series of events that transpired at the beginning of the war. The bitter dissolution of the 1st Maryland Infantry Regiment (C.S.) in 1862 marred Maryland-Confederate relations, destroyed the state's premier military formation, and cast a shadow over Maryland's true devotion to the South's struggle for independence. The failure of Marylanders to rise en masse against the North during Lee's first invasion of the state in September 1862 occurred virtually on the heels of the disbandment of Maryland's largest military body. Just as the regiment fell apart, many southerners reconsidered their hospitality to the large Maryland refugee population in Virginia in the face of dwindling resources and increasing hardships.[4] While other Confederate Maryland units later organized, Southern enthusiasm for the state and its affairs ebbed after 1862 and never fully recovered.

What were the causes of the disbandment of the 1st Maryland and what impact did this action have on the nascent Maryland Line?[5] The disbandment, as will be seen, resulted from disagreements within the organization and did not reflect any intrinsic dissatisfaction on the part of Confederate officials. Ironically, Maryland Confederates proved their own worst enemies in their efforts to form a Maryland Line, despite gallant conduct on such battlefields as First Manassas, the Shenandoah Valley campaign, and the Seven Days battles around Richmond.

Choosing Sides

The attack on Federal troops at Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor in April 1861 ignited the war that few Marylanders wanted. With the secession of the upper South, the U.S. government could ill afford to let Maryland slip into the hands of Confederate sympathizers. Control of the state by the Union army was fundamental to the security of Washington, D.C., and the importance of the state's railroads forced Marylanders, however ambivalent they were about the war's causes, to choose sides. Within days after Fort Sumter's surrender, Union troops entered Baltimore, where they met a violent reception. It appeared that Maryland would join its Southern sisters in the new Confederate States of America. The Maryland legislature soon dashed these hopes as Union forces, under Benjamin Butler, occupied Baltimore in full force in early May. Maryland's window of opportunity to leave the Union effectively closed as soon as it opened.

The state's failure to join the Confederacy in the spring of 1861 forced



Harper's Ferry, Virginia, 1861. Bradley T. Johnson assembled eight companies of Maryland soldiers here and at Point of Rocks, Maryland, a month after the Confederate attack on Fort Sumter. (Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, *1883.)*

Southern sympathizers to flee in the face of growing Union forces. Bradley T. Johnson led the first group of Marylanders from Frederick to Virginia on May 8. He established a camp of rendezvous for exiled Marylanders who wished to join the Confederate service. Johnson, formerly the chairman of the state's Breckinridge Democratic faction, intended that his volunteer company of western Marylanders gather "around it such Maryland men as could be collected together, to form a body which should try to represent the ancestral honor of that old Line, which before them, in another Revolution, had illustrated the fame of the State." Others indeed followed and by May 18 Johnson had eight Maryland companies at Point of Rocks and Harper's Ferry.[6]

Meanwhile, J. Alden Weston, a Baltimore merchant, recruited Marylanders in Richmond as a skeletal battalion composed of pre-war Baltimore militia and volunteer veterans. The companies in Richmond and northern Virginia provided the foundation of the 1st Maryland Infantry Regiment (C.S.) which the Confederate government formed on June 16. Prior to the regiment's organization, however, the separate companies needed to elect officers and muster into Confederate service. As with virtually every Confederate unit at the commencement of the war, this was an uneven process, but the mustering of the Marylanders into Confederate service proved even more divisive than most other Southern volunteer companies. Lieutenant Colonel George Deas swore the men of Companies A and B, commanded by Captains Bradley T.

Arnold Elzey was commissioned colonel of the 1st Maryland Infantry by Jefferson Davis in 1861.

Johnson and Charles C. Edelin, into Confederate service for the period of one year at Point of Rocks on May 21. The following day at Harper's Ferry, Deas mustered the remaining companies into Confederate service for the duration of the war. That Deas enrolled the various companies of the 1st Maryland for different terms quickly became a bone of contention. Many of the soldiers at Harper's Ferry believed that they too had enlisted for only twelve months despite the fact that they had signed their names beside the statement "for the war" on various muster rolls and enlistment papers.

The confusion over enlistment terms increased after the disbandment of three of the Harper's Ferry companies and the drafting of additional companies. Three original companies, under Captains Frank S. Price (the original Company C), Thomas H. Holbrook (the original Company F), and Henry Wellmore (the original Company H), disbanded for lack of personnel by mid-June. In their place Captain J. Louis Smith formed a new Company F at Harper's Ferry while three companies from Richmond under the commands of Captains Edward R. Dorsey, William H. Murray, and Michael S. Robertson, joined the 1st Maryland as Companies C, H, and I, respectively. Dorsey and Murray's men arrived in Winchester, the regiment's temporary camp, on June 25 while Robertson's company remained in Richmond until late August. This gave the new regiment a total strength of eleven companies—one shy of the regulation twelve—while Captain J. Lyle Clarke's Maryland company in Richmond ended up in the 21st Virginia Infantry Regiment.[7] To confuse matters even further, the three Richmond companies had also enlisted for just one year, the standard enlistment period for all state volunteers in 1861.

Governor John Letcher of Virginia initially appointed a Marylander and Regular Army officer, Francis J. Thomas, as colonel and adjutant general of the Maryland volunteers in Virginia on May 17. His appointment, however, met resistance from the Maryland officers at Harper's Ferry who preferred to elect their own chain of command and serve under Maryland's, not Virginia's, flag.[8] By June 8, the Virginia governor relented and transferred control of the Maryland troops to the new central government. President Jefferson Davis, in turn, commissioned Arnold Elzey as colonel of the 1st Maryland, George H. Steuart as lieutenant colonel, and Bradley T. Johnson as major on June 16. Unlike most Confederate regiments, the 1st Maryland had two field grade officers, Elzey and Steuart, with West Point training and Regular Army service.

The officers of the 1st Maryland imbued the unit with a sense of discipline and perfected its training in the manual of arms. Randolph H. McKim, a private in Company H, told his mother in the summer of 1861 about his unit's activities:

> You would like to know how I spend a day here. The bugle sounds at half past four and then we go out and drill till six. Then we get breakfast, wash and get ready for drill again at nine o'clock. Then we drill an hour and a half or two hours. Then sleep, or write a letter, or clean up camp, or wash clothes, or put the tents in order. Then get dinner ready — drill again in the evening (the whole regiment together, battalion drill) at five o'clock. Dress parade at 6.30 P.M. Then supper. Soon after, at nine o'clock, the tattoo sounds and roll is called; then at 9.30 come three taps on the drum and all lights must instantly be extinguished.[9]

The experience of many Marylanders in the pre-war Regular Army, militia, or volunteer companies attracted attention on the parade field. When a drillmaster from the Virginia Military Institute tried to put Company C through the School of the Soldier, Captain Edward Dorsey said to the cadet, "let me give you a sample drill of my company." Dorsey began to issue commands to his company, many of whom had been members of various Baltimore volunteer units. The young drillmaster was so impressed that he went to the camp's commandant and reported, "I cannot teach those Baltimore boys anything."[10]

The training of the Maryland regiment proved invaluable on July 21 when the regiment rushed onto the battlefield at Manassas after forced marches and a lengthy train ride from the Shenandoah Valley. The 1st Maryland swept the Union right flank at Chinn House Ridge, enveloping in turn the enemy's main line at Henry House Hill. The Yankees fled in panic from the field. In one of the forgotten moments of the war (compared to the famous appelation earned by Thomas J. Jackson at Manassas), President Davis hailed Colonel Elzey, in the presence of Generals Pierre G. T. Beauregard and Joseph E. Johnston, as

"the Blucher of the day" [referring to the great Prussian field marshal of the Napoleonic era]. For his bravery, Davis promoted Elzey to brigadier general and Steuart took over command of the 1st Maryland.[11]

The battle boosted the morale of the Marylanders. Private Somerville Sollers described the mood in a letter from Company H's camp at Fairfax Court House:

> We are in fine spirits & look upon the recognition of the Confederacy & the redemption of Md. as a Sure thing. We are still encamped here expecting orders every day to march. We have nothing to complain of, but our rations, which are miserable, driving us very often to the Hotel to eat by which our funds are nearly all gone. This is evidently something wrong in the Commissary Department of our Reg. Our Colonel has promised to took into the matter & I hope this will be a change for the better. . . . We received our uniforms a few days ago, gray pants & jackets & we look as gay as you please. Our's (Capt. Murray's Company) is the best in the Reg. numbering now 90 men — all gentlemen.[12]

Terms of Service

Fighting the Yankees proved an infrequent experience in the fall and winter of 1861. The 1st Maryland, like all Confederate units in northern Virginia, battled other enemies: disease, boredom, and the elements. The long winter generated unrest in an army that had not yet developed its own *esprit de corps.* The high caliber of the Maryland enlisted personnel, ironically, contributed to unrest within the regiment. One mess section in Captain Murray's Company H provides a glimpse as to the social standing of the regiment's soldiers. Randolph McKim, a private, graduate of the University of Virginia, and a candidate for the ministry in the Episcopal Church, shared duties with several other enlisted men with laudatory backgrounds: McHenry Howard, a Princeton graduate; Wilson Carr, a Baltimore lawyer; John Bolling, also a graduate of the University of Virginia; William Duncan McKim, a Harvard graduate; and George Williamson, a gentleman educated in Europe.[13]

All of these men joined the Confederate army as privates for a short war. When victory proved elusive, they grew weary of enlisted life, with its many menial tasks. Marylanders, both officers and soldiers, soon agitated for promotions, transfers to other companies where duties were supposedly better, or for discharges from the army completely. To compound the problem of these frustrated volunteers, the terms of service for several of the companies would expire as soon as the spring of 1862. Faced with the utter disintegration of the army just as Union forces prepared to attack Richmond, the Confederate government instituted the Bounty and Furlough Act in December 1861 to en-

McHenry Howard, grandson of James McHenry and John Eager Howard, served with the 1st Maryland Infantry during its short term in Stonewall Jackson's Shenandoah Valley campaign of 1862. (Maryland Historical Society.)

courage soldiers to reenlist for two more years in exchange for a bonus of $50 and sixty days' leave.[14]

The act, rather than helping to preserve the army, fomented rivalry and disorder in the ranks. In the case of the 1st Maryland, the Bounty and Furlough Act raised a number of questions as to which soldiers were eligible to reenlist and, if signed up again, whether they could organize new companies and transfer to different branches of the service. Frank S. Price, who commanded the first Company C when he was dropped in the summer of 1861, protested in March 1862 about the inequalities of the new act in a letter to the secretary of war:

> If any one among those who were mustered in at Harper's Ferry, as members of the 1st Maryland Regiment, has the right to re-enlist and become entitled to the $50 bounty, has not every one, who enlisted on the same conditions, the same right? This has been practically denied. Some have been re-enlisted while others have been retained on having enlisted for the war. Again, can those who are refused the privilege of reenlisting claim and obtain the $50 bounty, and if they cannot, is not a manifest injustice done them? If they are provided with the $50 bounty without the form of re-enlistment, are they not recognized, according to the act controlling the cases as re-enlisting, and entitled to join other companies, or another arm of service than that which they were? My simple object is to see the rights of all protected?[15]

Lieutenant Colonel Johnson (his new rank after Colonel Elzey's promotion to brigadier general) raised the issue of the period of enlistment of Companies A and B with officials in Richmond. In January 1862 he wrote to Lieutenant Colonel Deas at the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, reminding Deas (who had enlisted the companies of the 1st Maryland into service the previous May) that both Companies A and B had joined the army for only one year. At some point after the two companies prepared their rolls, the Confederate War Department inadvertently changed the enlistment terms to three years' total service. Johnson asked that army authorities correct this oversight, a move which would have a good effect on the Maryland regiment.[16]

The two companies, indeed, accepted the terms of the act as did a handful of men from other companies.[17] Company B's reenlistees took their leaves while Captain Edelin, their commander, proceeded to Richmond for additional recruits in early February 1862. At the end of his leave, Edelin refused to return to the 1st Maryland and took his company to North Carolina to serve as heavy artillery. Now faced with a new predicament, Johnson protested Edelin's actions in a letter to the War Department and commented that the 1st Maryland was "the only nucleus for a Maryland force in the army. All the men [who] belong to it are doubly precious for we have no resources to recruit from—thus to scatter it, must destroy it."[18] Though Edelin's company finally returned to the regiment later, in June 1862, his actions foreshadowed further troubles in the 1st Maryland.

In the meantime, the Confederate Congress, under pressure from Maryland politicians and military officers, relented and passed "An Act to Authorize and Provide for the Organization of the Maryland Line" on February 15, 1862. The act called for the voluntary enrollment of all Marylanders now scattered throughout the army "into one or more brigades." After Colonel Steuart protested that the new act had little effect without an order from the War Department authorizing commanders to transfer Marylanders to the Maryland Line, the army issued General Orders Number 8 on February 26. This order stipulated that Marylanders in other Confederate units throughout the South had permission to transfer to the 1st Maryland, which would serve as the cadre for the Maryland Line. The government also promoted Colonel Steuart to brigadier general to command the Maryland Line, a move which elevated Bradley T. Johnson to colonel.[19]

Two months later, General Steuart reported to George W. Randolph, the secretary of war, that the formation of the Maryland Line had met with "very little success" due to the reluctance of commanders to release Marylanders from their units to the new organization. Steuart remained hopeful, however, that "within a few weeks all can be assembled and ready to take the field. The First Maryland Regiment, being the largest body of Marylanders, could serve as the nucleus, and all the rest be ordered to report there immediately." Despite the fact that Marylanders were not subject to conscription, the general

*Confederate Secretary of War Judah P. Benjamin received a high volume of letters from Maryland soldiers protesting enlistment policies. (*Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, 1883.*)*

observed that "they are, almost to a man, anxious to serve the Confederate States." Steuart then cited the psychological importance of the Maryland Line:

> As Maryland is not represented in Congress nor an acknowledged State of the Confederacy, one great object which will be attained in forming the Maryland Line will be its representing the State. It will serve as a rallying point for all Marylanders, and will be constantly increased by men coming over from Maryland. It will serve also to keep up the spirits of our friends in Maryland by letting them know the State is represented by an organized and constantly increasing military body in the Confederacy.[20]

In mid-April, only days before General Steuart wrote to Randolph about the status of the Maryland Line, the Confederate Congress passed the First Conscription Act. While the government called for the draft of white males between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five, the same legislation permitted the army to discharge non-residents of the Confederacy—a clause that allowed many Marylanders to demand their release from the Southern army or to avoid military service altogether.[21] Realizing that the government's conflicting orders affected the well-being of the Maryland Line, the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office issued new orders in early May that strengthened the army's implementation of the Maryland Line act. General Steuart, in turn, established a special recruiting depot in Richmond to facilitate the arrival of new recruits for the 1st Maryland.[22]

Colonel Johnson still faced the problem of reorganizing the four other com-

panies in the regiment which had also enlisted for only one year. In late April, he ordered Companies A, C, H, and I to hold elections and reorganize for the war. Company B, Edelin's command, was still absent in North Carolina at this point. While Company A elected new officers, the other units refused to reorganize under any circumstances, claiming exemption from military service under various clauses of the Bounty and Furlough Act and the new conscription law. Colonel Johnson communicated this imbroglio to the War Department and warned that "there are now I think, ten thousand Marylanders in service, certainly from six to eight thousand. If any of them are exempt, all are, & they will everywhere claim their discharge, & thus the Government lose valuable soldiers at the crisis of the war, disorganizing many companies & Regts whose soldiers will fail to perceive the justice of exempting Marylanders from military service, when they are held."[23]

Despite the regimental commander's protests about releasing Marylanders from the army, the Confederate government allowed Company C to disband at the expiration of its term of service in mid-May. Colonel Johnson, deeply frustrated at this event, formed the regiment on May 17 and emphatically pointed in the direction of the enemy as the company fell out from formation. A member of the company, Private George H. Weston, recorded the scene in his diary:

> Our muskets all stacked. Our knapsacks, cartridge boxes etc. etc. etc. all lying on the ground in order, ready to be delivered up when called for. Groups of our former companions in arms are around us, bidding a last adieu. Here & there can be seen men going to & fro with cooking utensils & blankets that we have thrown away. We are about to be mustered out in an hour when we will take the turnpike for Gordonsville. Happy are we, of our release, for as a company we have seen as hard, yes even harder service than any co. in the 1st Md. Regt.
>
> 1/2 past 9 The regt ordered into line to move off but before doing so, Col. Johnston [sic] read our Muster rolls & discharged us from service. Never did I feel so glad as when I stacked my gun on the parade ground of the 1st Md. Regt. for the last time. Not because of my hatred of the corps, nor the men (for I intend going into the service again), but from the utter hatred & dislike I have for our field & staff officers.[24]

When Colonel Johnson released Company C, he appealed to the men of the other companies to stay in the army while he tried to clarify the situation with the War Department. His appeal notwithstanding, the Maryland regiment suffered from a spate of desertions. Other soldiers who refused to perform duty had to be arrested. Many soldiers apparently disliked Colonel Johnson and distrusted him. Private Weston even complained that the commutation

money for his clothing "had been stopped by our mean Col Bradley T. Johnson & Lt. Col. E. R. Dorsey.[25]

The Brothers' War

At the opening of the spring campaign in the Shenandoah Valley, Johnson found his regiment "sullen and unhappy."[26] In the midst of this demoralization, the 1st Maryland (C.S.) engaged the 1st Maryland Infantry Regiment (U.S.) at Front Royal on May 23, 1862. In a battle that has come to symbolize "the brothers' war," the Confederate Marylanders drove the Union Marylanders from the town, resulting in the capture of nearly all of the Federal troops. It was a quick and easy victory for the Marylanders in gray, although Colonel Johnson had doubted whether his troops would follow him into action. When he received orders from Stonewall Jackson to advance his regiment, Johnson told his men that he would refuse to lead dissatisfied troops. He then beckoned his men to return to Maryland. "Boast of it when you meet your fathers and mothers, brothers, sisters, and sweethearts. Tell them it was you who, when brought face to face with the enemy proved yourselves . . . to be cowards."[27]

Johnson's impromptu speech rallied his regiment. Men pleaded to be thrown into the fight. One Maryland soldier wrote, "Col. Johnson made us a very inspiring speech, in which he reminded us of our friends confined in the dungeons of Fort Warren. When he finished a shout rent the air and off we went under the impression that Baltimore was our destination."[28]

The Shenandoah Valley campaign proved to be the highpoint of the 1st Maryland's short military career. The Maryland troops participated in the liberation of Winchester, where, an enlisted man wrote, "our regiment was the first in town, and such wild demonstrations of joy and delight was depicted on the faces of every one, especially the ladies is inconceivable." John Eager Post, a private in Company H told his mother, "I really thought they were going to hug us."[29]

After heavy fighting at Cross Keys, the 1st Maryland rejoined the Army of Northern Virginia with Jackson's men and participated in the engagements around Richmond.[30] Despite the problems that he had encountered earlier in the spring, Colonel Johnson grew optimistic when he learned that new companies of Maryland volunteers would soon join the 1st Maryland. While he discharged the men of Companies H and I upon the expiration of their enlistments in June, fresh volunteers in the form of Captain Edmund Barry's company arrived to replenish the ranks. Assigned as the 1st Maryland's third Company C, Barry's men joined the regiment just as Captain Edelin's Company B trickled back following its sojourn in North Carolina. Captain Murray, whose Company H had just disbanded, also appeared to be quickly recruiting for a new unit. Altogether, Johnson still had seven companies in his regiment at the time of the fighting around Richmond.

Colonel Johnson's hopes were quickly dashed after the defeat of General

George B. McClellan's army on the Peninsula. With the conclusion of active campaigning, the old complaints of the enlisted men of the regiment came to a head. After moving his camp from Richmond to Charlottesville, Johnson planned to recruit new members for the regiment and to establish the headquarters of the Maryland Line. Soldiers of the four remaining "war companies," however, were in no mood to remain as a part of the 1st Maryland. Twelve men from Companies D, E, F, and G petitioned the secretary of war for their release on July 18. They maintained that they had enlisted for only a year's service and, having performed their duty, they desired their discharge.[31]

The beleaguered regimental commander once again refuted these claims and provided the War Department with testimonials from company officers in early August that substantiated the fact that the disaffected companies had enlisted for the war. Colonel Johnson, quite upset with the conduct of his men, also railed against the intrigues of Maryland refugees in Richmond and the Confederate government's overall unsupportive stance of Maryland's troops in Confederate service. "The four new companies [D, E, F, and G] all remained conten[t]ed as far as I know until the period of re-enlistment & furlough," Johnson told Secretary Randolph.[32] The Bounty and Furlough Act, however, spurred great consternation as many officers and men sought to raise new units. One of these men, J. Alden Weston, had actually commanded the ad hoc Maryland Battalion in Richmond at the outbreak of the war.

Weston's command was broken up to provide companies for the 1st Maryland. Colonel Johnson believed that Weston harbored resentment against him over this. "There a small discontent was sedulously nurtured by parties in Richmond, of whom a man named Weston who kept a store in Pearl St. actually sent up a Muster Roll to prevent re-enlistments in the Regt. & to secure the men after their present term."[33] Weston, in fact, had received permission from the secretary of war in April 1862 to raise his own cavalry battalion.[34] But in the eyes of the colonel of the 1st Maryland, Weston tried to raise a unit by drawing recruits from the members of his regiment.

Colonel Johnson vehemently denied that his officers had committed any fraud when the various companies mustered into service. He informed the secretary of war that he had convened a general court-martial to try those cases where soldiers of the 1st Maryland had refused to perform their duty. Johnson expressed the outlook that the legal proceedings would determine the validity of the claims presented by the soldiers in their petition to the secretary of war. "I hope in a few weeks," Johnson informed Randolph, "to go into the field with at least 300 men & could do it easily but for the disgraceful intrigues & discontent of the Md refugees in & about Richmond."[35]

Despite the promise of the secretary of war to dispatch an officer to conduct an inquiry into the peculiar state of affairs in the 1st Maryland, the War Department in Richmond continued to receive appeals from individual soldiers of the regiment for discharge. Private John O'Neill of Company D, for exam-

ple, asked the adjutant general on August 4 for his release from the army to take care of his family in Baltimore. The enemy threatened to confiscate his house for back taxes and other debts. Unable to offer a rebuttal to these claims because his attorney sat in a Federal prison, the Maryland soldier faced uncertain prospects. "If I can gain a discharge," O'Neill wrote, "I could obtain a situation & relieve the wants of my relatives."[36]

"Could Anything Be More Humiliating?"

As the litany of complaints and requests for discharge from the 1st Maryland mounted, the Confederate government lost patience with the Marylanders. On August 11, 1862, the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office issued special orders to do away with the regiment. Then, because "doubts have arisen with reference to the terms of service of the men of the First Maryland Regiment," the War Department "ordered that the said regiment be disbanded, and members thereof, with all other natives and adopted citizens of Maryland desirous of enlisting into the service of the Confederate States, are invited to enroll and organize themselves into companies, squadrons, battalions, and regiments, the officers of which are to be elected. The organization will hereby be known as the Maryland Line."[37] With a couple of pen strokes, the Confederate government eliminated Maryland's largest military organization in its army—two days after the bloody engagement at Cedar Mountain and a little over two weeks before Second Manassas (Bull Run).

The haste in which the Confederate government cast the regiment aside disheartened many Marylanders. Corporal Washington Hands of Company D commented that the order caught the regiment by surprise. "Could anything be more humiliating?" he asked.[38] An article in a Richmond newspaper also expressed shock at the fate of the 1st Maryland. "The Regiment is disbanded," wrote a columnist in the *Daily Enquirer* in late August. "The work of twelve months, of 'our Friends at Richmond,' has succeeded! The only organized, recognized body in the Southern Confederacy is wiped out; and now Maryland stands—unrepresented."[39] This argument emphasized the effect of outside agitators on the disbandment of the regiment as opposed to the unit's own internal discord.[40]

The loss of the 1st Maryland was a bitter blow to the proponents of the Maryland Line in the Confederate army. The state now had only four small artillery batteries in military service with the South and it would be months before two new units, the 1st Maryland Cavalry Battalion and the 1st (later 2nd) Maryland Infantry Battalion, could be raised from new volunteers and veterans of the old 1st Maryland Infantry Regiment. The concept of the Maryland Line quickly became infeasible and, in fact, remained dormant for over a year.

The Confederate War Department confronted yet another problem following its hasty dismissal of the 1st Maryland. What would the government do

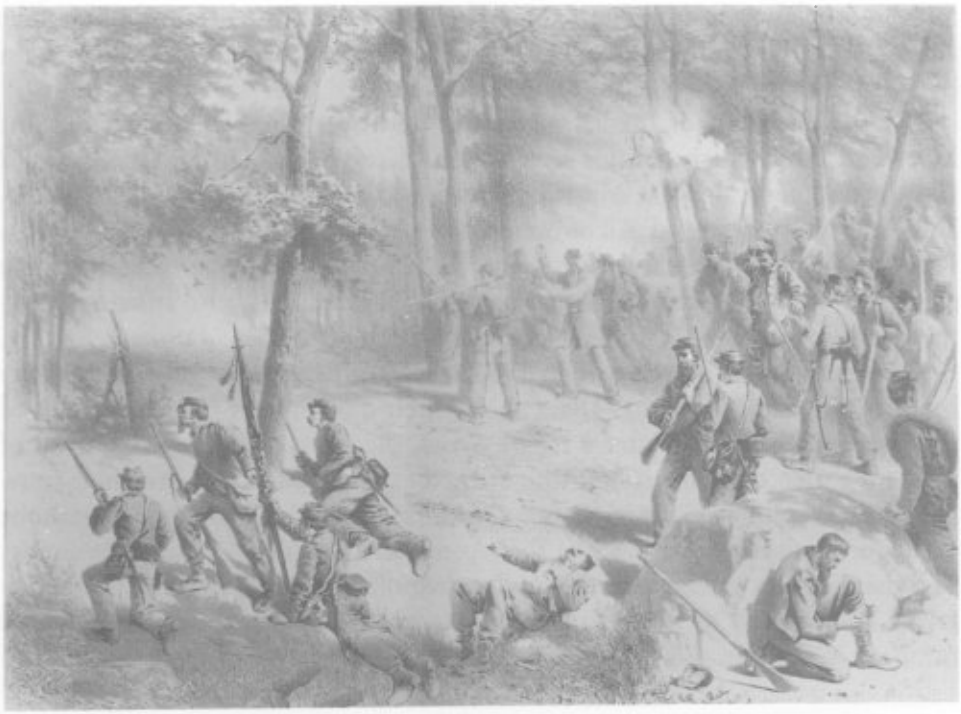
with so many officers and enlisted men who now had no position in the army? Cut off from home, these Marylanders had few opportunities to make a living in the war-torn South. Somerville Sollers for one, who had just re-enlisted when the regiment disbanded, traveled to visit his family in the deep South. He recounted his trip in a letter to his mother. "I cannot express to you in words the kindness with which we were recd, not only by our relatives, but strangers, being Marylanders, was a sufficient passport, & we were feasted by the old people, & so smiled upon by the fair ladies, that the expiration of our furlough was most unwelcome tidings."[41] His reception was probably most uncommon. Many Marylanders who settled in Richmond found it far less hospitable.

Most of the regiment's enlisted men eventually rejoined the army in the new Maryland units that formed in the fall of 1862 or with other companies already in the service. The officers of the 1st Maryland, however, had a more difficult time getting reestablished after the regiment's disbandment. Colonel Johnson, Captain William W. Goldsborough of Company A, and the acting adjutant, Lieutenant George W. Booth, followed the main army and served as volunteer officers during the Second Manassas and Sharpsburg (Antietam) campaigns. Colonel Johnson, however, did not receive a formal assignment with the Army of Northern Virginia until the summer of 1863 when he assumed temporary command of an infantry brigade whose commander had been wounded at Gettysburg.

Junior officers also experienced problems after the release of the 1st Maryland. Second Lieutenant William Key Howard of Company D eventually enlisted as a private in the 4th Virginia Cavalry Regiment. Several months later, Howard began a letter-writing campaign with the secretary of war to be reinstated as an officer because he claimed that his company had been illegally disbanded. Howard even had his wife and mother urge the Confederate army to promote him, but these efforts failed and he remained in the ranks until the end of the war.[42] Likewise, Edward C. Deppish, a lieutenant in the 1st Maryland's Company G, rejoined the army as a substitute in 1862 and served with the 1st Virginia Cavalry Regiment until his capture two years later.[43]

The Confederate War Department continued to receive pleas from officers of the 1st Maryland until the last year of the war. For example, Second Lieutenant Joseph H. Stewart bombarded the government for a commission in the Confederate Regular Army after he had enlisted in the 1st (later 2nd) Maryland Infantry Battalion in 1862. A former cadet at West Point (dismissed for poor grades and "deficient conduct"), Stewart eventually received a lieutenancy in the army in 1864 although the army failed to assign him to a command. He eventually resigned in order to accept a clerkship in the Treasury Department in Richmond, claiming that he could not live in the capital on a lieutenant's salary.[44]

Prompted by the numerous letters from unhappy officers of the 1st Maryland, the War Department issued new regulations and admitted that the regi-



The 2nd Maryland Infantry Battalion (C.S.), successors to the disbanded 1st Maryland Infantry Regiment (C.S.), charged Culp's Hill at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863. (Maryland Historical Society.)

ment had been improperly disbanded. The special orders directed that the regiment's officers "will remain in commission and reassemble and recruit their company without delay." While several former officers of the 1st Maryland attempted to rejoin the army under this guise, the order was clearly unenforceable and had no impact on the leadership structure of the successor Maryland organizations. It simply represented a futile measure on the part of the Confederate government to soothe the hurt feelings of the Maryland officers left in the lurch after the 1st Maryland's disappearance.[45]

The loss of the 1st Maryland affected more than just the officers and enlisted men who were thrown out of the army. The Confederate army experienced a massive reorganization in the spring and summer of 1862 with unit elections, transfers, and re-enlistments. Through all of this, which was traumatic for commanders and troops alike, the War Department refused to drop units from the rolls. In the Army of Northern Virginia, the 1st Maryland Infantry Regiment proved to be the most notable exception when it broke up in August 1862. In addition to the 1st Maryland, several Maryland companies in Virginia regiments also refused to reconstitute during the spring of 1862. Consequently, the War Department also permitted these units to leave the service.[46]

So, at a crucial point in the war, Maryland troops appeared to be inconsistent allies just as the Confederate government forced other southerners to remain in the service.[47]

The disbandment of the 1st Maryland destroyed the core of the nascent Maryland Line, which did not recover until late 1863 when the 1st Maryland Cavalry Battalion and 1st Maryland Infantry Battalion (later the 2nd Maryland) had fully organized. All of these units and others, such as Harry Gilmor's Partisan Rangers (the 2nd Maryland Cavalry Battalion) suffered from the same teething problems in 1863 and 1864 as the 1st Maryland Infantry Regiment did in 1861 and 1862.[48] Other units, such as the 1st Maryland Battery, underwent a divisive civil case in 1864 when unit members sued their commander, Captain William F. Dement, for their discharge at the completion of three-year enlistments. After a lengthy trial, the court granted virtually all of Dement's men discharges from the army on the grounds that they had completed their military obligation and could not be retained for service without their permission on the basis of their pre-war domicile.[49] Slowly but surely, Maryland's units in Confederate service dwindled as much from their own internal disharmony as from Yankee bullets or the abundant diseases that ran rampant in the war.

Too Little, Too Late

Much more than their Southern brethren, Marylanders in Confederate service were troublesome. Considering their small numbers, the War Department invested considerable time in matters pertaining to the 1st Maryland and the Maryland Line. At the behest of Colonel Johnson, the Confederate government finally reconstituted the Maryland Line in October 1863. Six months later, the army again authorized the transfer of Marylanders from other units to the revived Maryland Line. George P. Kane, Baltimore's former police marshal and a friend of the Maryland Line, supported the Confederate government's action. "This would secure," Kane said, "the three great elements which a Maryland organization has always lacked so far—viz.: concentration, harmony, and an *esprit de corps* of purpose and principle."[50] Kane's hope, alas, proved infeasible—a case of too little, too late. The time for a Maryland Line, which appeared most fortuitous in 1862, was no longer realistic in 1864. The failure of Maryland to rise up against the Federal occupying force during the Sharpsburg (Antietam) campaign bitterly disappointed the state's Southern advocates. Colonel Johnson, who served briefly as provost marshal of Frederick in September 1862, realized that the loss of his regiment affected more than just the army's order of battle. He believed that "had the First Maryland regiment been with Jackson in Frederick during the three days he was there it would have filled up to two thousand men." According to Johnson, "thousands wished to enlist. Every one asked 'Where is the First

Veterans of the 2nd Maryland Infantry at the dedication of the Confederate monument on Culp's Hill, Gettysburg, 1884. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Maryland?' The disappointment and chagrin at finding it disbanded was extreme. They had no Maryland organization to rally on. . . . they had no time to get together and organize companies, select captains and choose officers."[51] By the time the Army of Northern Virginia invaded Pennsylvania in 1863, with two Maryland battalions and several artillery batteries in its ranks, Maryland had lost its enthusiasm for the Confederate cause.[52]

Colonel Johnson (later promoted to brigadier general in the summer of 1864) continued to blame Maryland schemers in Richmond for the loss of the 1st Maryland. These men, in Johnson's words, "inflicted a more deadly blow on the interests and future chances of the State than Hicks, Winter Davis, and Bradford combined."[53] A more circumspect examination of the 1st Maryland reveals a regiment with divergent personal interests and ambitions which conflicted with the Confederacy's greater national goals. Members of the 1st Maryland, holding lofty views of individual liberties and states rights, refused to submit to the loss of their freedom. The embattled Confederate government, which could ill afford to entertain such niceties, nonetheless granted privileges to the Marylanders that it denied to soldiers from other states. While there is no doubt that many Confederate Marylanders were courageous and noble soldiers, their efforts and sacrifices on such battlefields as First Manassas, Cross Keys, Gettysburg, and Cold Harbor ultimately proved especially barren. The disintegration of the 1st Maryland Infantry Regiment in 1862 had far-reaching consequences, none of which were positive.

NOTES

1. The debate over the number of Maryland soldiers in the Confederacy as opposed to the Union is found in Daniel D. Hartzler, *Marylanders in the Confederacy* (Silver Spring: Family Line Publications, 1986), 1–2.
2. Clement A. Evans, gen. ed., *Confederate Military History*, vol. 2: *Maryland*, by Bradley T. Johnson, 17 vols. (Atlanta: Confederate Publishing Company, 1899; reprint ed., Wilmington: Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1987); W. W. Goldsborough, *The Maryland Line in the Confederate Army* (Baltimore: Guggenheimer, Weil and Company, 1900; reprint ed., Gaithersburg: Olde Soldier Books, 1987).
3. Mark E. Neely, Jr., Harold Holzer, and Gabor S. Boritt, *The Confederate Image: Prints of the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 214–216.
4. As an example of hostility to Marylanders, see Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Refugee Life in the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964), 43–45.
5. This article is partly derived from Kevin Conley Ruffner, "Border State Warriors: Maryland's Junior Officer Corps in the Union and Confederate Armies" (Ph.D. diss., The George Washington University, 1991). The author presented a paper on morale among soldiers in the Maryland Line at the April 1994 meeting of the Society for Military History.
6. For general histories of the 1st Maryland, see Goldsborough, *The Maryland Line*, 9-81; Lamar Hollyday, "Maryland Troops in the Confederate Service," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 3 (1877): 130–139; hereinafter *SHSP*; Bradley T. Johnson, "The Maryland Line in the Confederate Army," *SHSP* 11 (1883): 21–26; and William M. Rommel, "A History of the First Maryland Confederate Infantry Regiment 1861–1862," (M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, 1979).
7. The assignment of Clarke's company to a Virginia regiment is often cited as a bureaucratic error on the part of the Confederate War Department. It appears, however, that Captain Clarke specifically requested his company's assignment to the battalion that eventually composed the 21st Virginia Infantry Regiment. Clarke's, Dorsey's, and Robertson's companies in Richmond were part of a rough battalion under the command of Major J. Alden Weston. Prior to the disbandment of this unit and the transfer of the three Maryland companies, Captain Dorsey and fifty-three members of the "Weston Guard" petitioned to keep Weston as major. For further information, see Goldsborough, *Maryland Line*, 160; Captain Clarke to General Robert E. Lee, July 4, 1861, Record Group 109, Records of Virginia Forces, National Archives microfilm publication M998; and undated petition in RG 109, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Muster and Pay Rolls for Maryland Units, National Archives and Records Administration.
8. The opposition to Thomas is discussed in Goldsborough, *Maryland Line*, 11–14.
9. Randolph H. McKim, *A Soldier's Recollections: Leaves from the Diary of a Young Confederate* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1910), 46–47.
10. Newspaper clippings from the *Baltimore Telegram* assembled by Samuel Z. Ammen entitled "Maryland Troops in the Confederate Army from Original Sources" (original scrapbook in possession of Elden E. Billings, copy furnished by Ross M. Kimmel), 59.
11. Winfield Peters, "First Battle of Manassas," *SHSP* 34 (1906): 170–178; Johnson,

"Memoir of First Maryland Regiment," *SHSP* 9 (1881): 481–483; Goldsborough, *Maryland Line,* 21–27; Johnson, *Maryland,* 54–56.

12. Somerville Sollers to Meme, August 4, 1861, Lucy Leigh Bowie Collection, MS 1755, Maryland Historical Society.

13. McKim, *A Soldier's Recollections,* 51. McHenry Howard discusses this same mess in McHenry Howard, *Recollections of a Maryland Confederate Soldier and Staff Officer under Johnston, Jackson, and Lee* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1914), 64–65.

14. For a discussion of the impact of the 1861 act on the Confederate army, see Kevin Conley Ruffner, "Before the Seven Days: The Reorganization of the Confederate Army in the Spring of 1862," in William J. Miller, ed., *The Peninsula Campaign: Yorktown to the Seven Days,* vol. 1 (Campbell, Calif.: Savas Woodberry Publishers, 1993), 46–69.

15. Price to Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of War, March 3, 1862, Letter 57-P-1862, RG 109, Letters Received by the Confederate Secretary of War, 1861–1865, National Archives microfilm publication M437 (hereinafter cited by LSOW and letter number).

16. Johnson to Deas, January 21, 1862, Letter 60-J-1862, RG 109, Letters Received by the Confederate Adjutant and Inspector General, 1861–1865, National Archives microfilm publication M474 (hereinafter cited by LAIGO and letter number.) See also Johnson to Deas, February 4, 1862, Letter 107-J-1862, LAIGO.

17. See "List of Men in the 1st Md. Regt. who have Re-enlisted," February 8, 1862, in RG 109, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Muster and Pay Rolls for Maryland Units, NARA.

18. Johnson to General Samuel Cooper, April 10, 1862, Letter 292-J-1862, LAIGO.

19. For Steuart's correspondence with the War Department and a copy of General Orders Number 8, see U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* Series IV, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880), 946–947, 953–954, 1120–1121.

20. Ibid., 1102–1103.

21. For an example of another impact of the 1862 Conscription Act, see Kevin Conley Ruffner, "Civil War Desertion from a Black Belt Regiment: An Examination of the 44th Virginia Infantry," in Edward L. Ayers and John C. Willis, eds., *The Edge of the South: Life in Nineteenth-Century Virginia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 79–108.

22. Broadside announcing Special Orders 107, Paragraph 20, Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, May 9, 1862, in RG 109, Entry 143, Box 89, Orders and Circulars Issued by Minor Commands, 1861–1865, Maryland Line, NARA.

23. Johnson to Captain T. O. Chestnut, April 29, 1862, Letter 370-J-1862, LAIGO.

24. Entry, George H. Weston Diary, May 17, 1862, Volume 3, 377, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University.

25. Ibid., entry for May 13, 1862.

26. Johnson, "Memoir of First Maryland Regiment," *SHSP* 9 (1881): 53. For example, on May 8, Company E petitioned the Confederate government for their release from service. The soldiers claimed that "many of our officers now hold positions which they are utterly incompetent to fill." A copy of this petition can be found in Soldiers of Company E, 1st Maryland Infantry Regiment (C.S.) to Secratary of War George W. Randolph, May 8,

1862, in RG 109, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Muster and Pay Rolls for Maryland Units, NARA.

27. Robert G. Tanner, *Stonewall in the Valley: Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson's Shenandoah Valley Campaign, Spring 1862* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1976), 211.

28. Rosamond Randall Beirne, ed., "Three War Letters," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 40 (December 1945): 291.

29. Ibid., 292.

30. For an interesting account of the regiment's service in the Valley, see Robert H. Cushing to mother, June 13, 1862, in Robert H. Cushing Collection, Folder 3, Special Collections 931, Maryland State Archives.

31. Petition to Secretary of War Randolph, July 18, 1862, Letter 429-L-1862, LSOW.

32. Johnson to Secretary of War Randolph, August 3, 1862, Letter 295-J-1862, LSOW.

33. Ibid.

34. Weston to Secretary Randolph, April 11, 1862, Letter 204-W-1862, LSOW.

35. Johnson to Secretary Randolph, August 3, 1862, Letter 295-J-1862, LSOW.

36. Private John O'Neill to General Samuel S. Cooper, August 4, 1862, Letter 85-0-1862, LAIGO.

37. *Official Records,* Series IV, vol. 2, 42.

38. Washington Hands Civil War Notebook, 77, MS 10,361, University of Virginia.

39. The unsigned article by "W" describes the history of the 1st Maryland and its efforts on many battlefields. "We have served the Confederacy since May 1861, well and faithfully," the author concludes. See "The First Maryland Regiment," *Richmond Daily Enquirer,* August 25, 1862.

40. In later years, George W. Booth, a first lieutenant and acting adjutant of the 1st Maryland, acknowledged that the "thirst for position on the part of certain prominent Marylanders who were in Richmond," combined with overall dissatisfaction within the regiment, contributed to its demise. See George Wilson Booth, *Personal Reminiscences of a Maryland Soldier in the War Between the States 1861–1865* (Baltimore: publisher unknown, 1898; reprint ed., Gaithersburg: Butternut Press, 1986), 57–58.

41. Sollers to mother, July 30, 1862, Bowie Collection, Maryland Historical Society.

42. Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers who Served in Organizations from the State of Maryland, RG 109, National Archives microfilm publication M321, for William K. Howard, 1st Maryland Infantry (C.S.) See also Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers who Served in Organizations from the State of Virginia, RG 109, National Archives microfilm publication M324, for William K. Howard, 4th Virginia Cavalry. Hereinafter cited as CSR, name, and unit.

43. CSR, Edward C. Deppish, 1st Maryland Infantry (C.S.) and 1st Virginia Cavalry Regiment, NARA.

44. Stewart to Jefferson Davis, December 1863, Letter 2817-S-1863 LAIGO, and CSR, Joseph H. Stewart, 1st Maryland Infantry (C.S.); and 2nd Maryland Infantry (C.S.), NARA.

45. As an example, see John J. Lutts and John Cushing, Jr., to the secretary of war, April 22, 1863, Letter 201-L-1863, LSOW.

46. The following Maryland companies in Virginia service were disbanded in 1861–62

upon the expiration of terms of service: Company H, Washington Volunteers, of the 7th Virginia Infantry Regiment (originally served with the 1st Virginia Infantry Regiment) on April 26, 1862; Captain J. Lyle Clark's Company B, Maryland Guard, of the 21st Virginia Infantry Regiment on May 23, 1862; Company C, the Beauregard Rifles, of the 1st Virginia Artillery Regiment (formerly with the 1st Virginia Infantry Regiment) on November 13, 1861; Company G, Lanier Guard, 13th Virginia Infantry Regiment on May 28, 1862; and Company H (2nd), Maryland Zouaves, 47th Virginia Infantry Regiment on June 15, 1862. One exception to the Maryland soldiers receiving discharges from Virginia units appears to have been Company B, Baltimore Artillery, 9th Virginia Infantry Regiment. For details about unit changes, see Lee A. Wallace, Jr., *A Guide to Virginia Military Organizations 1861–1865*, rev. 2nd ed. (Lynchburg Va.: H. E. Howard, 1986).

47. Other border state units experienced similar problems as the Maryland units when faced with reenlisting for the war. The 1st Kentucky Brigade actually refused to perform duty in the fall of 1862 although their commander, Brigadier General John C. Breckenridge, persuaded them to reenlist for an additional three years. The Confederate government kept all of the Kentucky units in the service despite considerable dissatisfaction on their part. William C. Davis, *The Orphan Brigade: The Kentucky Confederates Who Couldn't Go Home* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), 129–134.

48. For the difficulties of the Gilmor's Battalion, see "'More Trouble than a Brigade': Harry Gilmor's 2nd Maryland Cavalry in the Shenandoah Valley," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 89 (Winter 1994): 388–411.

49. Further information on the legal case of the 1st Maryland Battery can be found in *Official Records*, Series IV, vol. 3, 545–547, 550–551; *Richmond Daily Examiner*, September 28, 1864, and *John William Ford Hatton Diary*, Library of Congress.

50. General Orders Number 38, AIGO, reforming the Maryland Line is found in *Official Records*, Series IV, vol. 3, 507; Kane's quote is found in *Richmond Daily Examiner*, March 16, 1864.

51. Johnson, "Memoir of First Maryland Regiment," *SHSP* 10 (1882): 221–222.

52. Gilbert G. Guillette, an officer in the 1st (later 2nd) Maryland Infantry Battalion, complained to his mother about the reaction of Marylanders during the Gettysburg campaign. See Gilbert G. Guillette to mother, July 17, 1863, Erick Davis Collection. Typescript copy of this letter provided to the author by Thomas G. Clemons.

53. Johnson refers to Maryland politicians, such as Governor Thomas H. Hicks, Representative Henry Winter Davis, and Governor Augustus Bradford, all of whom supported Maryland in the Union.

John H. Kester at the dedication of the newly restored C&O Canal in 1992. Kester is a ninth-generation descendant of Charles Polke, who operated an Indian trading post on this spot in what is now Hancock, Washington County. (Photograph by Rick Dugan, courtesy Hagerstown Herald-Mail, *September 20, 1992.)*

Charles Polke: Indian Trader of the Potomac, 1703–1753

JOHN G. KESTER

After waiting a quarter of a millennium, history took an hour at Hancock, Maryland, one sunny September morning in 1992 for the first ceremonial recognition of Charles Polke, whose trading post and base of operations stood for two decades in the first half of the eighteenth century at the northernmost bend of the Potomac, where Little Tonoloway Creek flows into the great river in what is now the city of Hancock. It is Maryland's narrowest point, less than three miles from north to south. To open a restored section of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal at that spot, the National Park Service in September 1992 invited six-year-old John H. Kester, a ninth-generation descendant of "the famous Indian trader."[1] The site—no remains of Polke's building have been discovered—is now part of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historic Park.

Such recognition is uncommon because Charles Polke and his family typify an elusive quarry for historians: the handful of Indian traders who built toeholds always a distance beyond the established settlements, and spent most of their time even deeper in the wilderness, among the Indians with whom they exchanged manufactured goods and liquor for skins and furs. Early precursors of settlement, they seldom put enduring roots in any single location, instead moving farther and farther west, generation by generation, throughout the eighteenth century. As they moved on their traces faded and memories dimmed. But they deeply affected the economy and culture of the Appalachian frontier, and with diligence bits of their active and dangerous lives can be traced and assembled—in Charles Polke's case, not only in surviving public records, but even in the recollections of George Washington.

The markings of Charles Polke's trail are small and scattered, and tantalizing in what they omit. Reconstruction of his life and his family's resembles the task of an archaeologist shaping a prehistoric skull from a few incomplete pieces of bone. What can be discovered about Polke has not until now been collected in one place, and some published references to him have contained serious errors.[2] The documented fragments allow glimpses of an adventurous Marylander who has been almost as concealed to history as he must have been to the eye when moving through dense untraveled forests.

Mr. Kester, a Washington attorney, is a direct descendant of Charles Polke.

Charles Polke's life personifies Maryland's own early-eighteenth-century movement, from settlements clustered on the protected shores of the Chesapeake Bay, to a province extending its writ to the distant mountains far to the west. When he was born in 1703 in Somerset County on the Eastern Shore Maryland had only one county, Prince George's, organized west of Anne Arundel County and Baltimore. By the time of his death, fifty years and many miles later, colonization was catching up: his will was probated in Frederick County, which had been erected five years earlier after a petition of which he was one of the signers. Not long afterwards, in 1776, the Polke settlement came under yet another new government, Washington County. But by then the Polke family had gone. Wanderlust persisted in his children, who left Maryland behind and in their father's pattern pressed still farther beyond the edge of civilization, not stopping finally until a generation later and hundreds of miles away in Indiana.

An Eastern Shore Family

When Charles Polke was born two generations of his family already had lived on the Eastern Shore. He was the third child and second son of William Polke[3] and his first wife Nancy Knox. (Among their descendants was James Knox Polk, Charles Polke's great-grandnephew, who in 1845 became the eleventh president of the United States.) Charles Polke's grandparents, Robert Pollock and Magdalene Tasker, were Ulster Irish of Scottish heritage who sometime prior to 1680 had sailed from County Donegal or County Derry to land at Damned Quarter—subsequently bowdlerized to Dame's Quarter—in Somerset County on the Eastern Shore. Robert Pollock had served in the army of Oliver Cromwell, and after the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660 restrictions on the Presbyterians in Ulster had mounted. Their family, including their fourth child William, came to America with them.[4] William received several grants between 1725 and 1735 in Somerset County from the Lords Baltimore, proprietors of the Maryland colony.[5] He inherited the family home, White Hall, which was still standing in the late nineteenth century.[6]

Charles Polke was born, probably at White Hall, about 1703. Sometime in the 1720s his mother died and his father remarried. Soon afterward, Charles and his older brother William, probably having received an advance of their inheritance,[7] left the Eastern Shore and set out for the western frontier, which at the time was not far west of Philadelphia. It appears that they went together to the vicinity of Carlisle, and probably stayed there for several years. Charles Polke's name appears on the 1724 and 1726 assessment rolls for Conestoga Township in Chester County, which in 1729 became part of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.[8] That borderland in those days was claimed by both Pennsylvania and Maryland, a dispute not settled until the 1760's with the acceptance of the Mason-Dixon Line as Maryland's northern border.[9] In Charles Polke's mind he may not have left Maryland.

One of the well established trails leading farther west was the "Conestoga Path," an Indian trail which began near Carlisle at the Susquehannock Indian village of Conestoga. From there it descended to the Susquehanna River, then southwesterly through York County, Pennsylvania, and then down to Maryland, fording the Monocacy River near Frederick, and proceeding westward along the Potomac.[10] Polke very likely traveled along that route to trade with the Indians.

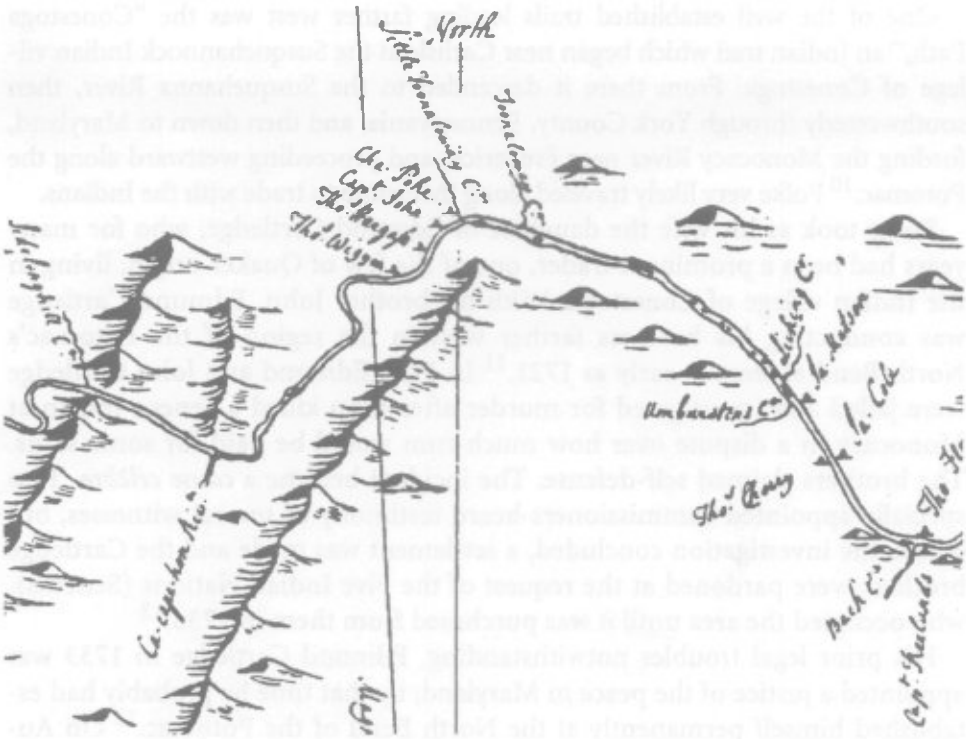
Polke took as his wife the daughter of Edmund Cartledge, who for many years had been a prominent trader, one of the few of Quaker origin, living in the Indian village of Conestoga. With his brother John, Edmund Cartledge was conducting his business farther west in the region of the Potomac's North Bend at least as early as 1721.[11] In 1722 Edmund and John Cartledge were jailed and investigated for murder after John killed a Seneca Indian at Monocacy in a dispute over how much rum would be paid for some skins. The brothers claimed self-defense. The incident became a *cause célèbre.* Two specially appointed commissioners heard testimony of several witnesses, but before the investigation concluded, a settlement was made and the Cartledge brothers were pardoned at the request of the Five Indian Nations (Senecas), who occupied the area until it was purchased from them in 1736.[12]

His prior legal troubles notwithstanding, Edmund Cartledge in 1733 was appointed a justice of the peace in Maryland; by that time he probably had established himself permanently at the North Bend of the Potomac.[13] On August 4, 1734, Charles Polke, who it may be surmised had worked with or in proximity to Edmund Cartledge, was married to Cartledge's daughter Christian at the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia.[14]

Trading Post at the North Bend

After several years probably spent as a trader moving back and forth between Conestoga and the west, Charles Polke left the Carlisle area (as would his brother William many years later[15]) and in the early 1730's set up trading operations at the northernmost point of the Potomac, at the junction of Little Tonoloway Creek. The location was well selected. It lay along the route of travelers on the Conestoga Path and the Potomac, and also was not far from the subcontinental divide and the Monongahela River, which flowed northward to the Ohio River and the unsettled west. Charles Polke most likely was located at the North Bend at least by 1734, because a Maryland listing of Indian traders that year includes his name.[16] According to one historian, "The earliest trading carried on by Virginia [*sic*] traders with the Indians in the upper Monongahela Valley of which there seems to be any knowledge was in the 1730's by Charles Poke."[17]

The occupation of an Indian trader was not to stay at home. He was a traveling dealer and salesman, and Polke's territory extended far on the other side of the Appalachians, down the Monongahela valley and probably into what



A detail from "A Plan of the Upper Part of the Potomack River" by Benjamin Winslow, 1736. Charles Polke's home appears on the Potomac River at Little Tonoloway Creek, at the site of present-day Hancock, Maryland, (Courtesy of the Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.)

became Ohio and perhaps Kentucky as well.[18] In the surviving accounts of travelers who stopped at Polke's house, it is striking how many noted that he was not there when they called. Typical is a deposition by one Nathanial Springer that referred to a journey in 1747 "to trader Charles Poke's house, and finding the trader not there, was told by his woman the way to go."[19]

Whether Polke was present or not, his house at the North Bend appears to have been a stopping place for travelers and a busy, perhaps rowdy, establishment. At least it did not receive three stars from German Moravian missionaries who sought shelter. One of them wrote of a visit in March 1747 (n.s. 1748):

> In the evening I came to the last house, that of an Indian trader [Polke], beyond which there was no house for forty miles. It was a very disorderly house. The man was not at home. I asked the Lamb to protect me and it was done.
>
> On March 15–26, I arose early, being very glad and thankful to the Lord for having delivered me from this house. The Saviour gave me grace to speak to several people, who had conducted themselves very badly the night before.[20]

George Washington recorded a stop at Polke's trading post in his journal on March 20, 1747. The fifteen-year-old Washington traveled with Lord Fairfax's surveying party as they mapped the Valley of Virginia. (Maryland Historical Society.)

The same author described the traveling conditions in the area:

> From Jonathan Haeger to *Colonel Chrassop* [Cresap], where the North Branch of the Patowmak is crossed to enter Virginia, is a distance of some seventy miles, mostly over mountains. In the first thirty miles to "*Charly Poak,*" one meets a house now and then, but for the last forty miles, from Charly Poak's to Colonel Chrassop's, no house nor water can be found. Now if Br. Joseph would start from Charly Poak's early at three o'clock and for the first few miles take a guide along until he had found the only right path, he could then easily reach Colonel Chrassop's that day and would not have to remain over night on the way.
>
> The road is a single narrow path, frequently hardly recognizable, partly because traveling is not very frequent there, and partly because the path is blocked with trees and overgrown with grass and weeds. A person has to be very careful lest he take a cow path. The angels will certainly do their part.[21]

Another Moravian, Brother Leonhard Schnell, recorded his impressions in his journal on October 30, 1749:

> In the evening we arrived, cheerfully, at the house of *Carl Bock* [German rendition of name], with whom we stayed over night. An English school master was also there who was especially friendly. . . . Otherwise there was much confusion in the house during the whole night, because all kinds of young people were there, among whom whiskey circulated freely.[22]

Charles Polke could authentically claim that "George Washington slept here." Indeed, Washington, when a youth of fifteen, was a member of a party surveying the Valley of Virginia for Lord Fairfax. The young Virginian wrote in his journal for March 20, 1747 (n.s. 1748):

> *Sonday* 20th finding y. River not much abated we in y. Evening Swam our horses over and carried them to Charles Polks in Maryland for pasturage till y. next morning.
>
> *Monday* 21st We went over in a Canoe and travell'd up Maryland side all y. Day in a Continued Rain to Collo Cresaps right against y. mouth of y. South Branch about 40 Miles from Polks I believe y. Worst Road that ever was trod by Man or Beast.[23]

Polke's Journeys

Although there are few reports of finding Charles Polke at home, there are several that spotted him deep in the wilderness. He often traveled to the west and north, dealing with Indians in the valley of the Monongahela River, which joins the Allegheny to form the Ohio at what later became Fort Pitt. An account written just two generations from Polke's time describes the activity along the rivers and streams.

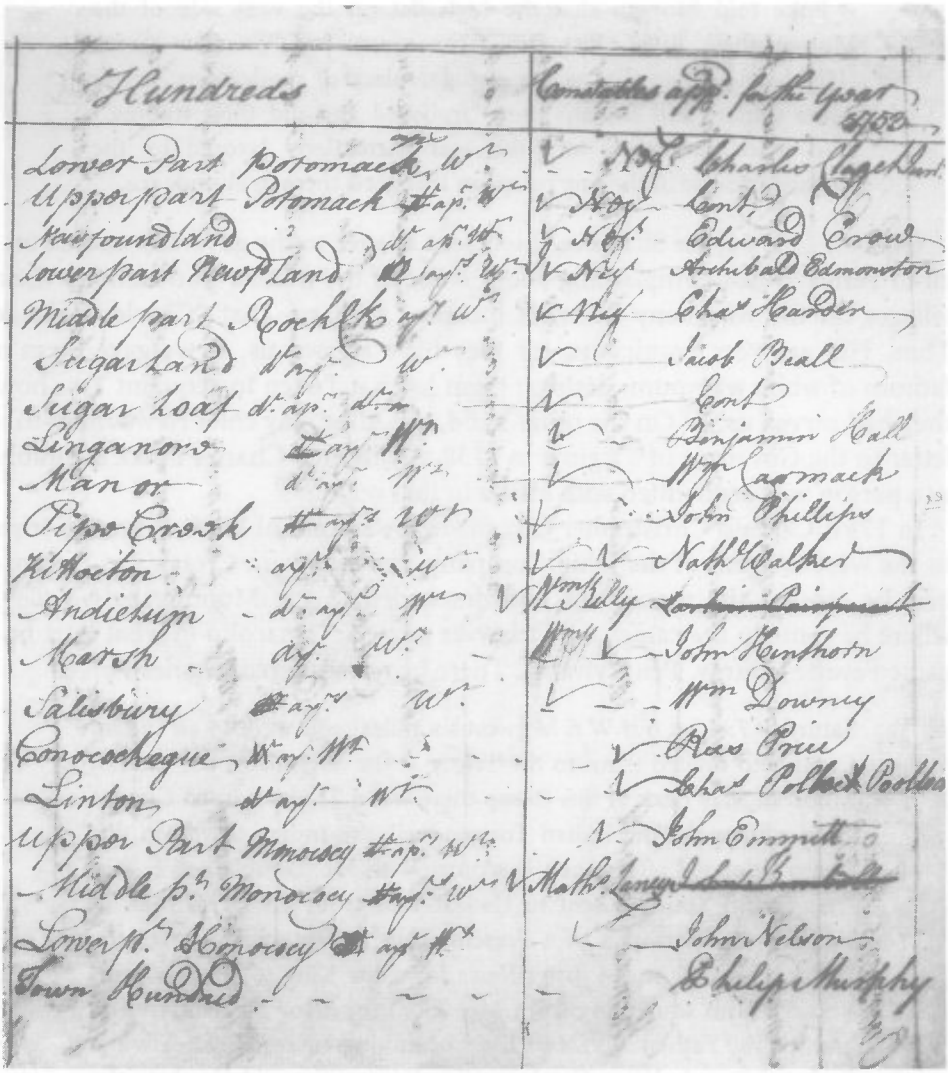
> Rev. Henry Morgan told this writer that his grandfather, Stephen Morgan, said that the famous Indian-trader, Charles Poke, told him that when he was first to the head of the Monongahela, in 1731, panthers, buffalo, wolves, elk, beaver, deer, and bears, were very numerous, and that Indians from the lower Allegheny and upper Ohio rivers were constantly in the woods, except in the dead of winter, hunting and trapping, and trading "skins with the white traders at their hunting-camps and meeting-places." Poke told Stephen Morgan that the traders took their skins (pelts) from there to Shannopin's Town (this Delaware Indian town was located at now Pittsburgh), and from there by packhorse to Philadelphia, and later to Croghans' Post (near present Harrisburg, Pennsylvania), and, still later (beginning in the 1740's), to Winchester, Virginia.

> Poke told Morgan that the high flat on the west side of the Monongahela River, just above the mouth of Paw Paw Creek (Highlawns, Rivesville) was a popular place of rendezvous, where white traders and Indians met, "frolicked and did their trading." This place, according to Poke, was particularly favored by the Indians because of the fine pawpaws that grew there in abundance.[24]

On May 1, 1734, the Shawnee chiefs sent a letter to the governor and Council of Pennsylvania complaining about some of the traders who came to their villages on the Allegheny River. It included a charge that "Charles Poke & Thos. Hill are very pernicious; for they have abused us, & we gave them a fathom of white wampum, desiring them by that Token to acquaint You how they had served us."[25] On the other hand, the Allegheny chief Newcomer, in a letter to the Governor of Virginia in 1738, mentioned Charles Polke favorably as a person well acquainted with affairs in that region.[26]

In 1751, Captain Christopher Gist made the second of his well-known trips to the west as agent of the Ohio Company. Leaving from Cresap's in December, he crossed the mountains and descended to the Monongahela Valley, where he came to the camp of a Delaware named Nemacolin in what later became Fayette County, Pennsylvania. There he encountered Charles Polke.

> Saturday 7.—Set out W 6 M [west six miles] and went to an Indian Camp and invited them to the Treaty at the Loggs Town at the full Moon in May next; at this Camp there was a Trader named Charles Poke who spoke the Indian Tongue well, the Indian to whom this Camp belonged after much Discourse with Me, complained & said "my Friend You was sent to Us last Year from the Great Men in Virginia to inform Us of a Present from the Great King over the Water, and if You can bring News from the King to Us, why cant You tell Him something from Me? The Proprietor of Pennsylvania granted my Father a Tract of Land beginning eight Miles below the Forks of Brandy Wine Creek and binding on the said Creek to the Fork and including the West Fork & all its Waters on both Sides to the Head Fountain—The White People now live on these Lands, and will neither let Me have Them, nor pay Me any Thing for Them—My Father's Name was Chickoconnecon, I am his eldest Son, and my Name is Nemicotton—I desire that You will let the Governor and Great Men in Virginia know this—It may be they will tell the great King of it, and he will make Mr Pen or his People give Me the Land or pay Me for it—This Trader here Charles Poke knows the Truth of what I say, that the Land was granted to my Father, & that He or I never sold it, to which Charles Poke answered that Chickoconnecon had such a grant of Land, & that the People who lived on it could get no Titles to it, for that it was now called Mannor



Polke's life as an Indian trader kept him on the edge of the wilderness and often beyond the borders of civilization, yet he also held positions in local government. In 1746 he became constable of Linton Hundred in Frederick County. (Maryland State Archives. MdHR 6826-2.)

> Lands—This I was obliged to insert in my Journal to please the Indian.[27]

Petitioner and Constable

Distant as he was from organized settlements, Polke was not beyond the spreading reach of civil government, in which he participated both willingly and by compulsion. In 1740 Edmund Cartledge died, probably while living

near or with the Polkes, leaving an estate valued at £107.[28] Cartledge's administrators soon obtained a summons "against Charles Pock of the said [Prince George's] County to show Cause why he Detains and Conceals the Effects of Edmund Cartledge late of Prince George's County aforesaid."[29] The sheriff could not find Charles Polke to serve the order until the following year,[30] but after he succeeded Charles Polke appeared to testify in court on May 12, 1741. There he denied "that he hath any Effects of the Deceased except an old Saddle and old Gun which was brought to his House since the Death of the said Deceased and sundry Horses which are mentioned in a Deed now produced which were made over to this Deponent by the Deceased for Services done. . . ."[31] After two other witnesses[32] testified that they had no knowledge of any concealment, the case was discontinued.[33]

In less contentious matters, Charles Polke in 1742 signed a petition to Governor Thomas Bladen of Maryland asking to have Frederick County erected out of the western portion of Prince George's, as six years later it was.[34] In 1749 he was appointed to oversee construction of a road from Fifteen-Mile Creek to Great Tonoloway Creek.[35] Three years later, shortly before his death, he was appointed to be constable for Linton Hundred of Frederick County.[36]

Locating the Trading Post

Although no trace of Polke's trading post remains, its location is clearly and consistently marked on several early maps of the North Bend area. In 1736, Benjamin Winslow surveyed and mapped the upper Potomac, showing on his map the settlers living there at that time.[37] Winslow was acting on behalf of Lord Fairfax and a commission appointed for the Crown by Sir William Gooch, the Governor of Virginia, to establish the boundaries of the enormous grant held in Virginia by Lord Fairfax, which extended between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers all the way west to the head of the Potomac.[38] Winslow's is the earliest map of the region to show any inhabitants.[39] It shows "Cha. Poke" living on the west side of Little Tonoloway Creek where it joins the Potomac.[40] Very similar is a 1737 map by William Mayo, who was assigned by the same commissioners to prepare a map incorporating on a larger scale the work of Winslow and others who had surveyed parts of the Fairfax domain.[41] Finally, the famous map of Virginia published in 1755 by Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson indicates persons who were established on the upper Potomac. At the North Bend (at Little Tonoloway) the name "Pope," appears. This surely was a printer's error, the location being identical to Polke's, and there being no record of a Pope family living in the area.[42]

A land sale by Charles Polke, of "Polke's Meadows" to William Hynes was recorded for 1750,[43] but by its description it almost certainly was not the Polke dwelling, but rather some other parcel in the area which Polke owned. His establishment was enough of a landmark that in 1754, the year after

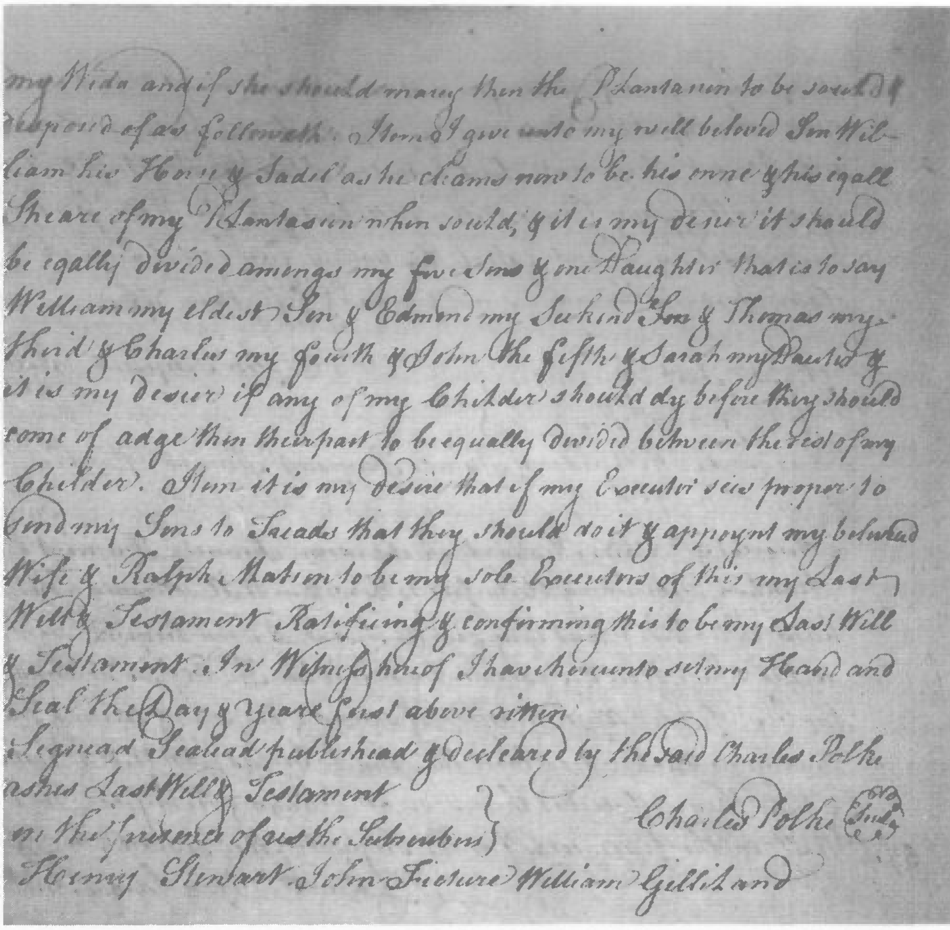
Polke's death, a surveyor reported to the governor of Pennsylvania "that he verily believes the Temporary Line [of the Maryland-Pennsylvania border] if extended will strike the River Patowmack near the Northern Bend where Charles Poke did live."[44] Only one person lived farther up the Potomac than Polke: in a fortified house forty miles to the west, as young Washington noted, resided Colonel Thomas Cresap, an ambitious entrepreneur, land speculator and principal of the Ohio Company, called by some Pennsylvanians "the Maryland Monster."[45]

The motorist gliding on I-70 from Frederick past the North Bend country at Hancock and on to Cumberland and points west, can little appreciate how perilous that country was when Charles Polke was there. Historian Dale Van Every provides an account of the economic and physical dangers that Polke and his fellow traders faced.

> To the man without capital who was bold enough to take great risks the Indian trade offered the best possible hope swiftly to gain a fortune. It was a unique commercial institution in that it operated almost entirely upon credit. Manufacturers and merchants in England shipped goods on credit to merchants and factors in Philadelphia who in turn furnished them on credit to the individual traders who packed them to distant Indian towns to exchange for skins and furs. In most areas competition was active, making it necessary to extend this credit system even to the Indian customer. He was advanced goods in the fall for which he was expected to pay in the spring by the delivery of furs he had taken during the winter. In seasons when all went well there were handsome returns to everybody concerned. The profits to the traders were sometimes enormous. But the risks were always enormous. The risk to his goods in transit by storms, forest fires, robbery, and such miscellaneous accidents as an overturned canoe was constant. Any sudden contraction in the inflated credit system, due to a threat of war or a shift in Indian alliances, meant his instant ruin. Beyond every property risk was the personal risk to his life. By the very nature of his undertaking he must venture deep into the Indian country where he was completely at the mercy of his Indian customers. Ordinarily Indians were hospitable to traders, for they realized that regular visits by many traders meant more competition and cheaper prices. But international rivalries often interfered with this self-serving tolerance. Both English and French traders were forever inciting their Indian friends to pillage or murder their rivals.[46]

Polke's Descendants

All six of the children of Charles Polke and Christian Cartledge Polke were


my Wida and if she should marry then the Plantasion to be sould &
dispous'd of as followeth. Item I give unto my well beloved Son Wil-
liam his Horse & Sadel as he claims now to be his owne & his eqall
Sheare of my Plantasion when sould, & it is my desier it should
be eqally divided amongs my five Sons & one Daughter that is to say
William my eldest Son & Edmond my Sekind Son & Thomas my
third & Charles my fourth & John the fifth & Sarah my Dauter &
it is my desier if any of my Childer should dy before they should
come of adge then their part to be equally divided between the rest of my
Childer. Item it is my desire that if my Executor sees proper to
Send my Sons to Tracads that they should do it & appoynt my beluvad
Wife & Ralph Matson to be my sole Executors of this my Last
Will & Testament Ratifieing & confirming this to be my Last Will
& Testament. In Witness hereof I have hereunto set my Hand and
Seal the Day & yeare first above writen
Signed Sealed published & declared by the said Charles Polke
as his Last Will & Testament
in the presence of us the Subscribers } Charles Polke (Seal)
Henry Stewart John Ficture William Gilliland

Fragment of Charles Polke's will of 1753, bequeathing his estate to his widow and five minor children. (Maryland State Archives, MdHR 40,285-1.)

still minors, ranging in age from seven to seventeen, when he died at the age of about fifty in the spring of 1753.[47] Exactly how long the Polke family remained based at the North Bend after that is not certain. By the mid-1760s, after the French and Indian War had ended in 1763, at least some of Charles Polke's sons had moved farther west and down the Monongahela River to the area of Fort Pitt (now Pittsburgh). Charles Polke's widow apparently was remarried within three years to Ralph Matson, probably a neighbor,[48] who had been appointed with her to be executor of Charles Polke's will.[49] The exact date of her remarriage, whether she ever moved away, and where she died have not been discovered. An account of an Indian raid in 1756 reported that "we found Ralph Matson's house burnt down, and several hogs and sheep killed."[50] She and Matson remained in the area until at least 1765. A June 23, 1758 letter from Maryland Governor Horatio Sharpe to General Sir John St.

Clair, discussing the building of a road from Fort Frederick to Cumberland, complained that "Had Ralph Matson of whom you take not the least notice been prevailed on to come hither much time would have been saved for you well know I am not in the least acquainted with the Road proposed."[51] Both that Christian Polke was married to Matson and that they continued living in Maryland is evidenced by a statement witnessed at Linton Hundred December 2, 1765 by Thomas Polk—one of her sons—which describes a violent altercation in which participants later "came to the House of Ralph Matson" where "Christian Matson asked" about the welfare of a child whose paternity had been the focus of the dispute.[52]

Many years later, in a deed dated March 3, 1779, Christian Matson and Edmund Polke, another son, together conveyed to George Brent one hundred acres along the Potomac called "Hawthorne's Rest," lying about 210 poles from the mouth of Tonoloway Creek. By that date some of the Polke sons already were living on Cross Creek, a tributary of the Ohio River in the southwestern corner of present-day Pennsylvania; it was an area claimed by both Pennsylvania and Virginia, which had established rival county boundaries and governments.[53] The deed was recorded in Maryland three months after execution, and the payment was stated to be £250 "current money of Pennsylvania."[54] Not long afterward, about 1782, most of Charles Polke's children once more gave up their homes, and journeyed down the Ohio River on a flatboat to a new, alluring and dangerous land. There is no record that their mother went with them.[55]

Charles Polke and Christian Cartledge Polke are known to have had six children, all born at the North Bend of the Potomac, of whom at least four emigrated down the Ohio River to the West.

Sarah Polke Piety (b. 1736) was married about 1769 to Austin Piety, a British army officer stationed at Fort Pitt. In 1770 he took her along with his detachment on a mission to Kaskaskia, on the Mississippi River opposite St. Louis. There in 1770 their son Thomas Piety was born; the child has been claimed to have been the first white American child born in the vast region that became the Northwest Territory.[56] But when the Revolution came in 1776, Piety abandoned his wife and family and returned to England.[57] She then lived with her brothers and traveled with them to Kentucky, where she died near Bardstown in 1835 at the age of ninety-nine.

William Polke (b. 1738), although living at the time of his father's death in 1753, may have died as a young man. He does not appear in later records, and Edmund, his younger brother, signed the 1779 deed of the Maryland property.

Edmund Polke (b. 1740) by 1765 was living near Fort Pitt, where he was married to Mary Fultz. By 1776, before the frontier was open, he and his brother Thomas already were staking claims in Kentucky.[58] During the Revolution he served as major and second in command of the Fourth Battalion, Washington County (Pennsylvania) Militia.[59] About 1782, after earlier visits,

he, his sister Sarah Piety, and his brothers Thomas and Charles went west permanently. They traveled by flatboat down the Ohio River to the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville), settling near Bardstown in what later became Nelson County, Kentucky. Edmund Polke died in 1825 near Smithville, Kentucky. He and his wife had ten children, some of whom moved on to settle and hold public offices in the new state of Indiana.[60]

Thomas Polke (b. 1742) settled with his brothers in Nelson County, Kentucky, at Polke's Station (later called Burnt Station after Indians destroyed it), where he was married to Lucy Abell, a widow with children from a previous marriage. It is believed that he had no children. He held many positions of leadership in Nelson County, Kentucky, where he died in 1807.[61]

Captain Charles Polke (b. 1744), a figure at least as prominent as his father, was actively involved for many years in warfare with the Indians and in civil offices on the frontier in the Midwest. A certificate he provided to Thomas Jefferson on the origins of Dunmore's War of 1774 was included by Jefferson in his *Notes on the State of Virginia.*[62] In the Revolution he commanded a company of militia in General George Rogers Clark's Illinois Regiment of Virginia troops, who conquered the Northwest Territory for the new republic.[63] He was married to Delilah Tyler of Virginia. In 1782, soon after they arrived in Kentucky, his wife and four of their children were carried off by Indians, and eventually taken to the English headquarters at Fort Detroit. With the cooperation of the English he was able to obtain their release the following year.[64] He served as a judge and a member of the Kentucky House of Representatives, then moved in 1806 to Knox County, Indiana, near Vincennes, where he died in 1823 leaving many descendants.[65]

John Polke (b. 1746) received a grant on Raccoon Creek in Washington County, Pennsylvania, in 1774.[66] It is likely he was the John Polke who served in Captain James O'Hara's Independent Company of regulars stationed at Fort Pitt, and was killed September 27, 1777, in the Indian ambush called Foreman's Defeat.[67]

By the time the village of Hancock, Maryland, was established at the North Bend about 1789,[68] memories of Charles Polke and his trading post were already fading. He and his wife and children lived at the leading edge of the frontier, and, as the frontier moved westward, they preceded it. Eventually some of his grandchildren put down permanent roots, but when they did so it was far on the other side of the Appalachians. Charles Polke left no physical monuments. But by reaching into the interior of the continent when there were no roads and little safety, he and a few others set the stage for permanent settlers who soon followed and filled the boundaries of Maryland. It was he who first brought the beginnings of commerce and hospitality to the North Bend of the Potomac, where the less adventurous could later take up what he had begun.

NOTES

The author expresses gratitude to Ralph H. Donnelly and Marian Golden of the Hancock Historical Society for their help and encouragement, to James A. Flatness of the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress, and to the National Park Service.

1. Polke was so termed in Glenn D. Lough, *Now and Long Ago: A History of the Marion County Area* (Fairmont, W. Va.: Marion County Historical Society, 1969), 34; see also ibid., 80.

2. Lough, *Now and Long Ago,* conflates Charles Polke with Polke's son Charles, e.g., 20, 35, 135, 342, as unfortunately have others: e.g., Kenneth P. Bailey, *Christopher Gist* (Archon Books, 1976), 162 n.5; Lois Mulkearn, ed., *George Mercer Papers* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1954), 509; William M. Darlington, *Christopher Gist's Journals* (Pittsburgh: J. R. Weldin & Co., 1893), 140–41. The identity of Polke's wife has also been misreported. See note 14, *infra.*

3. The name was usually spelled "Pollock" or "Pollok" in Ireland and previously Scotland, "Polk" by the North Carolina and Tennessee branch of the family (descendants of Charles' brother William), and "Polke" by the branch in Maryland and Kentucky, who eventually also dropped the final "e." Charles Polke's name appears in contemporary records spelled also "Poak," "Poke," "Pulke," "Pock," and even "Bock."

4. See generally W. H. Polk, *Polk Family and Kinsmen* (Louisville: n.p., 1912); L. Welch Pogue, *Pogue/Pollock/Polk Genealogy as Mirrored in History* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, Inc., 1990), 387–89; Mrs. Frank M. Angellotti, *The Polks of North Carolina and Tennessee* (Columbia, Tenn.: James K. Polk Memorial Ass'n, 1984), based upon her article in *New England Hist. & Gen. Reg.,* 77 (April, July, October 1923): 133, 213 and 250, and 78 (Jan., Apr., and July 1924): 33, 159 and 318. The earliest recorded grants of land in Maryland to Robert Pollock or Polke were in 1688. See Peter Wilson Coldham, *Settlers of Maryland 1679–1700* (Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co., 1995), 134. The Polks were selected as representatives of the "Irish Ascendancy" by David Hackett Fischer in his *Albion's Seed* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 644–45, 649.

5. Polk, *Polk Family and Kinsmen,* 62–63, 203–204.

6. See William M. Polk, *Leonidas Polk: Bishop and General,* vol. 1 (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., new ed,. 1915), 3–4.

7. Neither Charles nor William received bequests in their father's will, which was probated in 1740. See Polk, *Polk Family and Kinsmen,* 204-205.

8. Gary T. Hawbaker and Clyde L. Groff, *A New Index: Lancaster County, Pennsylvania Before the Federal Census,* vol. 4, part 2, (Hershey, Pa.: Gary T. Hawbaker, 1985), 29, part 1, 42. Lancaster County was formed out of Chester County in 1729.

9. See generally William A. Russ, Jr., *Pennsylvania's Boundaries* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical Association, 1966); Judith St. George, *Mason and Dixon's Line of Fire* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1991).

10. See William B. Marye, "Patowmeck Above Ye Inhabitants," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 30 (March and June 1935): 1, 117.

11. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography,* 60 (April 1936): 110–11. Edmund Car-

tledge appears on the Chester County tax rolls throughout the period they have been preserved, 1718–1726. Hawbaker & Groff, *A New Index*, part 2, 6-7, part 1, 8. He received a warrant for four hundred acres near Conestoga dated October 1, 1717. See Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911), 173.

12. Marye, "Patowmeck Above Ye Inhabitants," 117–120.

13. Court Proceedings, Prince George's County, Md., Book S, 504 (1733).

14. John B. Linn and William H. Egle, eds., *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, 9 (Harrisburg: E. K. Meyers, 1890), 12, 57. The record of marriages spells the groom's name as "Pulke." The author is grateful for discovery of this previously unnoticed marriage record to Mrs. Helen Pollock Chaney; see her letter of January 13, 1977, on file in Genealogy Division, Indiana State Library, MS. Pam. 929.2, P No. 1. W. H. Polk incorrectly guessed Christian Polke's maiden name to have been Matson, and that Ralph Matson (in reality her second husband) had been her brother. Polk, *Polk Family and Kinsmen*, 206, 356. The same error has been repeated in later works that appear simply to have accepted W. H. Polk's surmise as authority. E.g., Angellotti, *The Polks of North Carolina and Tennessee*, 4. Further evidence that Christian Polke was indeed Edmund Cartledge's daughter is that her second son was given the name Edmund, a name not theretofore appearing in the Polke-Pollock family, and consistent with the custom of naming the second son after the maternal grandfather.

15. William Polke and his wife Margaret Taylor had eight children, all born in what became Cumberland County, Pennsylvania. Then in 1750 they left Carlisle for a new frontier. According to one account, "He intended to go west to the Ohio, but the Indians were in an ugly mood and he turned south, going to the back country of North Carolina." James Polke, "Some Memoirs of the Polke, Piety, McCoy, McQuaid and Mathes Families," *Indiana Magazine of History*, 10 (March 1914): 83, 85; see also Polk, *Polk Family and Kinsmen*, 48. William Polke and his family settled in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, "west of the Yadkin," where he established the branch of the Polk family that later extended also to Tennessee, and of which James Knox Polk, his great-grandson, was one member. Two of William Polke's sons (and Charles Polke's nephews) were prominent in the Revolution, Thomas as a brigadier general and Charles as a colonel.

16. *Colonial Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, p. 425.

17. Lough, *Now and Long Ago*, 91.

18. For a description of the hardships and adventure of the Indian traders' lives that questions the character of many of them, see John Arthur Adams, "The Indian Trader of the Upper Ohio Valley," *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, 17 (September 1934): 163. See also Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*.

19. Lough, *Now and Long Ago*, 17–18.

20. William J. Hinke and Charles E. Kemper, eds., "Moravian Diaries of Travels Through Virgina [*sic*]" *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 12 (July 1904): 55, 65.

21. Ibid., 79 (emphasis in original; footnote omitted).

22. William J. Hinke and Charles E. Kemper, eds., "Moravian Diaries of Travels Through Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 11 (October 1903): 113, 117 (emphasis in original).

23. "A Journal of my Journey over the Mountains began Fryday, the 11th of March

1747/8," in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Diaries of George Washington 1748-1799,* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925), 6-7. Quoted also in T. J. C. Williams, *History of Frederick County Maryland,* vol. 1 (L. R. Titsworth & Co., Folger McKinsey, ed., 1910), 21; see also J. E. Norris, ed., *History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley* (Chicago: A. Warner & Co., 1890), 61–62, 68 (1890).

24. Lough, *Now and Long Ago,* 34–35; see also Norris, *History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley,* 101.

25. Samuel Hazard, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives,* 1 (Philadelphia: Joseph Severns & Co., 1852), 425.

26. William P. Palmer, ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* (R. F. Walker, ed. 1875), 1:231–32.

27. Gist's Journal, December 7, 1751, reprinted in William M. Darlington, *Christopher Gist's Journals,* 70; see Bailey, *Christopher Gist,* 50.

28. As late as 1739 Edmund Cartledge appeared as surety on a bond in Prince George's County, which at that time included the North Bend. Md. Prerog. Ct., Testamentary Proceedings, vol. 31, 28. Edmund Cartledge's estate was administered there beginning in 1740. His administrators executed their bond April 7, 1740, and an inventory made May 21, 1740 was filed November 25, 1742. Prince George's Co., Register of Wills, Admin. Bonds, Box 11, Folder 10; Prince George's Co., Register of Wills, Inventories, vol. DD1, 170–71; Md. Prerog. Ct., Testamentary Proceedings, vol. 31, 92; Md. Prerog. Ct., Inventories, vol. 27, 267; Testamentary Proceedings, vol. 31, 362.

29. Ibid., 132.

30. Ibid., 140, 150, 157.

31. Ibid., 184.

32. Ibid., 157.

33. Ibid., 184. No record of the actual disposition of Edmund Cartledge's estate has been found. The final inventory has a notation at the end by the Deputy Commissary, "No relations or creditors in this province known," but this does not appear to be a reference to heirs. Prince George's County, Register of Wills, Inventories, Book DD1, 170–71 (1742); Md. Prerog. Ct., Testamentary Proceedings, vol. 27, p. 267.

34. *Maryland State Papers,* No. 1, Black Books 3:9, para. 454, reprinted in Grace L. Tracey and John P. Dern, *Pioneers of Old Monocacy* (Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co., 1987), 370. In 1776 the location at the North Bend became part of the new Washington County.

35. C. E. Schildknecht, ed., *Monocacy and Catoctin,* vol. 2 (Westminster, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1989), 211.

36. Frederick County Court, Minute Book, November Court 1752, 21 ("Cha. Pollock"), MS. 1-40-13-5, 6826 MdHR; Frederick County Court, Minute Book, March Court 1753, 2, MS. 1-40-13-5, 6826 MdHR. A superseding list of constables replaced him, reflecting his death in 1753. Id., second, 1.

37. Benjamin Winslow, "Plan of the upper Part of Patomak River called Cohongorooto." The original is at the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore.

38. For an account of the survey, see James W. Foster, "Maps of the First Survey of the Potomac River, 1736–1737," *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (2d Ser.), 18 (April 1938) 149; see also Fairfax Harrison, *Landmarks of Old Prince William,*

Vol. 2 (Richmond: 1924), 618; Fairfax Harrison, "The Northern Neck Maps of 1737–1747," *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (2d Ser.), 4 (Jan. 1924): 1. A dispute over title to the Fairfax grant led to one of the greatest cases of United States constitutional law, Martin *v.* Hunter's Lessee, 1 Wheat. 304 (1816). The location of the head of the Potomac remained for many years in controversy, for it determined the western border of Maryland; the issue was not settled until this century, by the Supreme Court of the United States. Maryland *v.* West Virginia, 217 U.S. 1 (1910).

39. There is an earlier map, ca. 1721, probably prepared by Philemon Lloyd and in the collection of the Maryland Historical Society. See Marye, "Patowmeck Above Ye Inhabitants," 1.

40. See facsimile in John P. Dern, "The Upper Potomac in 1736," *Western Maryland Genealogy,* 2 (April 1986): 86, and in Foster, "Maps of the First Survey of the Potomac River."

41. Wm. Mayo, "A Map of the Northern Neck in Virginia, The Territory of the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax; Situate betwixt the Rivers Patomack and Rappahanock." The original is in the British Public Record Office in London (Colonial Office, Virginia, 8). See Foster, "Maps of the First Surveyr" 154.

42. See also Frederick County Land Records, Deed Book B, 582 (mortgage dated June 17, 1752 by Thomas Harges to John Darling for a tract upon the Potomac River adjoining Charles Polke's land on the mouth of Little Townalloway Creek). An earlier map by Peter Jefferson and Robert Brook showed Charles Polk at the North Bend. Public Records office, London, Board of Trade Maps, vol. 12, no. 16, referred to in Mulkearn, *George Mercer Papers,* 509.

43. Frederick County Land Records, Deed Book B, 350, MS. 1-38-6-1, 7876 MdHR (deed dated February 16, 1750) (100 acres "standing . . . near Little Tonallaway about a mile from Potomack River"). The deed was from Polke alone and not his wife. Thomas Cresap was a witness.

44. Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, *Pennsylvania Colonial Archives,* vol. 5 (Harrisburg: Theo. Penn & Co., 1851), 760.

45. See Kenneth P. Bailey, *Thomas Cresap: Maryland Frontiersman* (Boston: Christopher Pub. House, 1944). Thomas Cresap was one of the appraisers in 1740 of Edmund Cartledge's personal estate. Prince George's County, Register of Wills, Inventories, Box 13, folder 4; Md. Prerog. Ct., Inventories, vol. 27, 267.

46. Dale Van Every, *Forth to the Wilderness* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1961), 53–54.

47. His will was executed March 19, 1753, reciting that he was "very sick & weak of Body," and was probated June 20, 1753. MS. 1-51-9-9, 40,285-1 MdHR. Frederick County, Maryland, Wills, Book A1, 71 (1753) MS. MdHR. The will is also recorded in Washington County, Maryland, Wills, Book 1, 337. An inventory of his personal property is found in Md. Prerog. Ct., Inventories, vol. 58, 99 (January 27, 1754), MS. 112-1-2, 1165 MdHR.

48. One James Matson is shown as a settler farther down the Potomac on Winslow's 1736 map and could possibly have been her second husband rather than Ralph Matson. Ralph Matson, however, was close enough to Polke that the latter's will made him co-executor, and other evidence, as noted, confirms his being her second husband.

49. The later will of Thomas Polke, her son, made a bequest to Ralph Matson, to whom it

referred as a "brother." See Will Book A-2, Nelson County, Kentucky, 1014 (1807). This could have been a son of her husband Ralph Matson—either a half-brother or, much more likely, a stepbrother.

50. *Maryland Gazette,* Annapolis, March 11, 1756.

51. William Hand Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland,* 9 (Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, vol. 2) (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1890), 211; see also ibid., 209.

52. *Archives of Maryland* (Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, April 15, 1761–September 24, 1770), 32 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1912), 156. The child had been "carried to the House of Ralph Matson," where a justice of the peace took it and later allegedly ordered and performed a marriage, resulting in a complaint to the governor. See ibid., 131–33, 173. Ralph Matson is mentioned in other 1765 documents as well. See ibid., 110.

53. A certificate executed by Charles Polke's son Charles in 1799, and reprinted by Thomas Jefferson states that the younger Charles was living at Cross Creek in 1774. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia,* William Peden ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 241. Cross Creek rises in western Pennsylvania and enters the Ohio River near Wellsburg in what is now the northern panhandle of West Virginia.

54. Washington County Land Records, Book B, 27–30, MS. 1-60-1-2, 9613 MdHR. The deed may have settled a disputed land title; John Hawthorn (or Hauthorn) had received in 1740 a patent which described the same tract as "near or on Potomac River and on or near Connalaway Creek whereon a certain Charles Polke had made some improvements." Patent signed by Governor Samuel Ogle, Nov. 6, 1740, L.G.B., 235–37, MS. MdHR.

55. W. H. Polk states that "[s]ome of the Matsons" were on the journey. *Polk Family and Kinsmen,* 206.

56. James Polke, "Some Memoirs," 90–92.

57. Ibid.

58. See affidavits of Thomas Polke, Aug. 31, 1799, recorded in Nelson County, Kentucky, Deed Book 5, 628, 629.

59. Thomas Lynch Montgomery, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives,* 5th Ser. 4. Part 2 (Harrisburg: Harrisburg Pub. Co. 1906), 417; ibid. 6th Ser., 2, 62, 129, 147.

60. His daughter Hannah married Adam Guthrie and was mother of James Guthrie, who was Secretary of the Treasury from 1853 to 1857 under President Franklin Pierce. Edmund's son the Rev. Charles Polke of Perry County, Indiana, founded many Baptist churches in early Indiana, including one attended by Abraham Lincoln's parents. Another son of Edmund, Thomas Polke, was a judge and early leader of Perry County, Indiana.

61. See his will in Nelson County, Kentucky, Will Book A-2, 1014 (executed September 15, 1804, proved November 9, 1807).

62. See note 53 above.

63. Records of his service under Clark are reprinted in Margery Heberling Harding, *George Rogers Clark and His Men: Military Records 1778-1784* (Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 1981), 66–68, 160–63. See also National Archives, MS. Microfilm, Ser. M881, Roll 1086, No. 631.

64. See generally Logan Esarey, "Indian Captives in Early Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History,* 9 (June 1913): 95, 96–109; William Bruce, Memoirs of the Bruce Family, *Indiana Magazine of History,* 23 (March 1927): 63.

65. Unfortunately, his grave today is marked by a U.S. government bronze plaque, added many years later to commemorate his Revolutionary War service, which confuses him with a different Captain Charles Polk, who was a distant cousin commanding a company from North Carolina. Oaktown Cemetery, Oaktown, Knox County, Indiana. For a sorting out of three different Charles Polks, all distantly related, all of whom were officers in the Revolution, see Bell Merrill Draper, Revolutionary Records, *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine,* 47 (August 1915), 76. Captain Charles Polke has also sometimes been confused with his father, the Indian Trader. See note 2.

66. Raymond M. Bell, "Virginia Land Grants in Pennsylvania," *Virginia Genealogist,* 7 (July–September 1963), 102, 105.

67. See Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777–1778* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1912), 301, 302.

68. See Ralph Donnelly, "Origin of the Town of Hemcock," *Hancock News,* January 30, 1991.

Baltimore women offered water and refreshment to Union soldiers en route through Baltimore in the early days of the Civil War. (From The Soldier in Our Civil War *(New York: G. W. Dillingham, Co., 1885.)*

A Fair to Remember: Maryland Women in Aid of the Union

ROBERT W. SCHOEBERLEIN

On April 19, 1861, civilians savagely attacked the 6th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry on Pratt Street in the heart of Baltimore. Four soldiers died and scores were seriously wounded. In reaction, many northern newspapers called for martial retribution against the apparently secessionist populace of Maryland's largest and most important city. Sarah Mills, a Baltimore resident, was moved to write to a relative in the North. Her letter subsequently appeared in the *Boston Transcript*. Addressing head-on the negative perception of Baltimoreans, the Massachusetts-born Mills wrote:[1]

> I assure you there are many more loyal men and women in this city than many at the North are willing to believe. . . . When this war for Constitutional government against anarchy and violence, is ended in triumph, and end it will, then you will find that Baltimore will have a record of heroism to show that may serve to hide in part at least her blushes for the crimes of her unworthy sons.[2]

Baltimoreans loyal to the Union rallied to the aid and comfort of United States troops within their city throughout the Civil War. Often it was women, prompted by compassion, benevolence, and patriotism, who led soldier relief activities. Their efforts achieved their fullest expression in 1864 in the Maryland State Fair for U.S. Soldier Relief, or as it is more commonly known, the Baltimore Sanitary Fair.

The role of Maryland's Unionist women in the planning, fund-raising, and execution of this event has been insufficiently recognized. The downplaying of the benevolent efforts of Baltimore Unionists, and of women Unionists in particular, in the historiography of the Civil War is based on three factors that have prevented a balanced presentation of Baltimore's war-time societal dynamics. First, Confederate bias flawed the narratives of most nineteenth-century local histories that depicted Baltimore in the Civil War. The narratives of J. Thomas Scharf, the Baltimore journalist who as a Confederate soldier had been captured and was awaiting trial as a spy when the war ended, greatly shaped subsequent local and general histories of the city. A recent appraisal of Scharf's Civil War writings points out that his "logic twisted" as his work re-

Mr. Schoeberlein is a Baltimore writer and a manuscripts archivist at the Maryland Historical Society.

Two views of the U.S. Army General Hospital at Camden Station, 1864. Above, the south side of Camden Street. The hospital building at far left flies the Union flag. President Lincoln entered Baltimore at the B&O terminal, center right, to attend the Sanitary Fair. (Maryland Historical Society.)

flected "the bitterness [he] carried with him after the defeat of the South."[3] Scharf often minimized details of Unionist activities or omitted them altogether.[4]

A second factor is the lack of comprehensive research into Baltimore's complex social history during this period. Scholars tend to overlook the Monumental City[5] or to concentrate only on the April 19 riot and its aftermath. Too often the riot provides to general historians a shorthand for characterizing the population as favorable to secession and marginalizing the wartime activities of Baltimore Unionists.

Last, there is the general problem of archival research into the contributions of women in our history through the nineteenth century. Most archival holdings over-represent the papers of upper-class native males and traditionally exclude less socially prominent, immigrant, and minority women. Through careful study of scarce primary resources, however, including period newspapers and organizational reports, Unionist women's roles begin to emerge from the milieu of a divided citizenry that was Civil War Baltimore.

Wounds, Water, and "Little Necessaries"

The benevolent actions of female Baltimore Unionists at the outbreak of the Civil War were mostly individual small-scale efforts. Women readily drew upon their domestic skills in providing compassionate gestures to U.S. volunteers destined for Southern battlefields. Nursing care, the sewing of useful clothing articles, and the provision of food and refreshment were immediate concerns. In the aftermath of the April riot, Adeline Tyler, an Episcopalian deaconess, aided two injured Massachusetts volunteers. "These wounded men remained under Mrs. Tyler's hospitableness for a number of weeks, — fully a month . . . receiving tender and judicious nursing."[6] In May, as the first Maryland Union regiments started to enlist, "ladies began their efforts by making [h]avelocks and other little necessaries."[7] Unitarian women of the First Inde-

The north side of Camden Street opposite the B&O terminal. The army hospital. also known as the National Hospital, is at right. (Maryland Historical Society.)

pendent Church gathered to sew articles and produce bandages for the U.S. military hospitals; their sewing circle had constructed clothing for the city's destitute for the previous twenty-two years.[8] Sometimes thirsty Union volunteers changing railroad stations were greeted and offered water by women. In one such incident, at Franklin Square in west Baltimore, "some of the neighbors supplied [members of an unnamed New York Regiment] with cold water, and after drinking hugely they re-formed and took up the line of march."[9] On another occasion, one soldier noted, "in several places women, generally Negroes, came out with pails of water."[10]

During the summer of 1861 Baltimoreans inaugurated their first formalized relief efforts for U.S. soldiers. On June 28 thirty-two gentlemen banded together and pledged their own funds to create the Union Relief Association.[11] While men were nominally in charge, the inspiration for the effort "had its origin among a few [unnamed] benevolent ladies."[12] The association's first task was distribution of bread and cold drinking water to regiments on the march between city railroad stations. By September 2, with private donations solicited from Baltimoreans, the organizers had rented two warehouses and fitted them with kitchen and dining facilities. Women volunteers assisted in the organization's efforts by, "preparing delicacies and clothing for the soldiers."[13] Three years later, in April 1864, "upwards of one million" individuals, including captured Confederate prisoners of war and refugees from the South, had been fed by the organization.[14]

The association did not limit its efforts solely to providing meals; the dining hall connected to a fifty-bed hospital. Women, in their traditional care-giving role, spearheaded the organization's nursing aid effort. In the fall of 1861, the *Baltimore American* reported that "the ladies of the Union Relief Association are assiduous in their attentions to the invalids, and they cheer their bedsides with many nice little dishes."[15]

The Ladies Union Relief Association, a formally organized auxiliary, first appeared on October 1, 1861. Mary Johnson, the fifty-nine-year-old wife of Reverdy Johnson, U.S. senator from Maryland, served as its first head. Emily

Streeter, whose husband Sebastian F. Streeter later led the State of Maryland's soldier relief efforts, performed the duty of supervisor of rooms. While this association primarily focused its activities at the National Hospital near Camden Station, similar women's groups eventually formed at all seven Baltimore U.S. military care facilities.[16]

Women ran the site kitchen, assisted the nursing staff, fulfilled special requests for soldiers, sewed hospital garments, distributed reading and writing material, and, occasionally, organized concerts and other recreational activities. Annual reports of the association show that the women became increasingly proficient in their duties as time progressed, but success did not necessarily bring clinical detachment. Late in 1862, reflecting upon her ward experiences, association executive Sallie P. Cushing wrote: "It makes me so sad to go to the hospitals, and also see the soldiers going around on crutches — it is a melancholy sight, we will be a nation of cripples before this war is over."[17]

Some women chose not to confine themselves purely to relief and nursing work. They organized and orchestrated patriotic activities within Baltimore. Historian Jeanie Attie points out that "denied masculine means of political expression, women everywhere turned to public, symbolic ways of demonstrating their nationalism."[18] Flag presentations to Union volunteers, often prompted by neighborhood women's groups, took place frequently during 1861. Newspaper stories tell of gifts of silk U.S. flags to military units from Maryland as well as other states of the Union.[19] "The ladies of South Baltimore" placed "a splendid National flag" into the hands of the 2nd Maryland on June 26; on September 10 women from East Baltimore presented a flag to the 7th Maine before a crowd of over three thousand.[20] On a later occasion, thirty-four young women (representing the number of states in the Union before the war), each dressed in white, replete with red, white and blue sashes, added to the pageantry of a presentation ceremony.[21]

This pattern of benevolence and patriotism was reflected in the actions of Baltimore Unionist women throughout the Civil War period. The organizational skills engendered by women's pre-war benevolent efforts in their churches, previously focused on providing food, clothing, and nursing care to the destitute, were easily redirected to the Union cause. Soldier relief activities provided a socially acceptable outlet for the female in her accustomed role of care provider and expressed, and perhaps expanded on, the Christian virtue of charitable work. On the other hand, patriotic displays to Union volunteers, such as flag presentations, served as the loyal women's response to the insults directed to U.S. soldiers by secessionist sympathizers in the city. These symbolic political expressions by women stretched the boundaries of the traditional "domestic sphere" propounded in *Godey's Ladies' Book* and other popular publications of the day. Drawn inexorably into the political landscape of the time, Maryland's Unionist women expressed their philosophical stance unequivocally by meaningful acts of benevolence rather than by the thrust of swords.

A Fair in Baltimore

The 1864 Baltimore Sanitary Fair provided a large-scale means for Unionist women to combine their benevolent and patriotic impulses. Other cities across the Union, such as Chicago and Boston, had successfully produced such events. Proceeds from urban fairs had swelled the coffers of the U.S. Christian and the U.S. Sanitary Commissions, the two major national relief organizations for the Union armed forces. The idea of holding a Maryland fair to raise funds for these organizations first arose in Baltimore in the fall of 1863. Two members of the Ladies Union Relief Association, Ann Bowen and Fanny Turnbull, are credited with the initial promotion of the event.[22] Ann Bowen, the thirty-six-year-old recording secretary, "a South Carolinian & yet a very strong Union Person," proposed the idea.[23] Her spouse, a Unitarian minister, served as chaplain of the National Hospital where he "devote[d] all his leisure time, in fact all his time to the soldiers."[24] Discussing the possibility of a fair with association vice-president Fanny Turnbull, the Maryland-born wife of a city dry goods merchant, Bowen initially wanted the proceeds from the event to be earmarked solely for the Sanitary Commission. But further deliberation among these women, joined by Harriet Hyatt, who was active in the U.S. Christian Commission's local branch, enlarged the focus of the fair to include the latter organization. Hyatt, a native Marylander and "a whole-souled Union lady, who ever since the breaking out of the rebellion has given her whole efforts to the cause of loyalty," had devoted herself to relief efforts at military camps in Baltimore as well as nearby battlefields.[25]

A series of women's organizational meetings occurred in December 1863. Evidently no minutes have survived so only scant details of the proceedings are available. For the first meeting on December 3, the organizers "invit[ed] all Union Ladies in Baltimore" to gather at the Baltimore residence of Fanny Turnbull. Nothing is known of these initial deliberations. We do know, however, that prior to a second meeting that occurred on December 10 attendance by county women was encouraged. At this second gathering the group adopted three recommendations that subsequently appeared in the *Baltimore American:* first, that Maryland counties and towns set up committees to define and organize local participation in the Baltimore Fair; second, that the event be held during Easter week 1864 (it was later scheduled to begin on April 19); and third, that a list of items wanted for sale at the fair be made up so that the public might be solicited for donations. Men were encouraged to assist in gathering the articles but evidently had no active involvement in these initial organizational steps. By the third meeting on December 19, seventy-six women had banded together to shape and promote the relief fair.

The members of the initial fair committee were drawn primarily from white, upper middle class, merchant households of the Baltimore area.[26] Wives of lawyer's composed the second largest group. A sample of over half of

Augusta Chambers Eccleston Shoemaker (1833–1907) sought donations for the Sanitary Fair from Harford County businessmen. (Courtesy of Sally Shoemaker Robinson.)

the women revealed their median age to be forty-five years. Most were Maryland-born; however, a few came from states both north and south. Few foreign-born women participated in the early planning stage. No African-American women have been discerned. Numerous Unitarians and Quakers, Episcopalians, and Methodists have been identified as organizers. The large Unitarian participation may stem from the presence of many northern immigrants within the congregation and the local church's own progressive stance regarding women's rights and duties.[27] Only two single women appeared on the committee. E. E. Rice, age unknown, served as the president of the women's association connected with the Newton University [military] Hospital. A number of other women had similarly been involved in soldier relief work. Elizabeth Bradford, the governor's wife and later fair committee chair, would frequently go by carriage from her Cross Keys home to visit soldiers at Camp Tyler on Charles Street. Mary Pancoast already served as the treasurer of the Ladies Union Relief Association. Both Sarah Ball and Sarah Applegarth had nursed wounded soldiers on western Maryland battlefields.[28]

The organizers embraced both promotion and fund-raising measures used by earlier sanitary fairs. At some point in December 1863, Ann Bowen, Harriet Hyatt, and Abbey Wright attended Boston's fair, presumably to gather ideas on which to model Baltimore's event.[29]

Early popular appeals sought to generate widespread publicity while building momentum for the women' efforts. Fair solicitations ranged from circular leaflets to newspaper advertisements. On December 18, one day before the third organizational meeting, thousands of circulars went out to newspapers

and individuals. "Fancy articles" were requested but "even an ironing-holder, quilted of old calico will be acceptable to us."[30] Notices in the *Baltimore American* provide evidence of neighborhood organizational appeals to fellow citizens. Both the "Loyal Ladies of North Baltimore" and the "Ladies West End Union Association" asked for "donations of money" and "useful, fancy or ornamental articles" for sale at the fair.[31] The fair committee also actively sought donations of money and contributions of salable items from throughout the United States. Adams Express, a transfer company, generously gave free transport for all goods coming to Baltimore.

The women did not shrink from direct written appeals. Ann Bowen wrote to William Whittingham, Maryland's Episcopal bishop and a staunch Unionist, to request six of his autographs and photographs to be raffled off at the fair. When his pictures did not arrive, she asked if he would sit for his portrait, explaining that "in my ardent zeal for the cause which you love so much, I dare to do [what] at other times would simply be impertinence."[32] Augusta Shoemaker addressed a Harford County businessman in a more temperate tone: "The women of Maryland, intend holding a fair . . . and I now write to ask for a contribution. . . . I ought not to be surprised at an unfavorable response . . . but nevertheless think it my duty, to make every exertion in every way to further this object."[33]

Items for sale and monetary donations soon began to flow into the fair offices. Women involved in relief activities at military hospitals around Baltimore gathered to prepare items for their respective tables. "The Ladies of these societies, to the number of fifty to seventy each, meet weekly . . . at an early hour in the evening and go to work in earnest — some in cutting out clothes, silks and other goods . . . others, preparing the work, and many diligently engaged in plying the needle.[34]

"Ladies of the Baltimore County Association for State Fair" regularly published lists of donors in the city newspapers. Money, along with random gifts of goods, such as cloth or china, was soon forthcoming. Harriet Archer Williams, a coordinator for the Harford County effort, received from friends and neighbors hand-made steel garden hoes, a box of hams, donations of money and foodstuffs. In addition, she forwarded "one box contain[ing] $47 worth of fancy articles" and three others which held "eatables for the lunch tables."[35] Unusual items also found places on the fair tables. A Mr. Kennedy from Hagerstown in Washington County offered "a whole parcel of little trifles made of Antietam Battlefield wood—some from the little church so famous on that terrible day."[36] Kennedy and his wife had ministered to Union soldiers after the battle and had hosted the wounded Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., in their home for several days.

Publications served as fund-raising supplements to the organizing effort. Elmira Lincoln Phelps, the driving force behind one project, solicited short stories and poetry from noted authors and personalities throughout the Un-

ion. The persistence of the fair's corresponding secretary was quite formidable. On one occasion, having received a check in lieu of a manuscript, she respectfully expressed shock and remarked that "it deemed like asking for bread and receiving a stone."[37] She politely reaffirmed her request, even suggesting a certain item from the prospective male contributor. Phelps, the seventy-one-year-old former principal of the Patapsco Female Institute and a noted author in her own right, served as the editor of *Our Country — In Its Relations To The Past, Present and Future: A National Book.* This volume, dedicated "to the Mothers, Wives and Sisters of the Loyal States" contained works that celebrated the Union as well as two essays that advocated a wider sphere for women. A second book, entitled *Autographed Leaves of Our Country's Authors,* contained facsimile reproductions of autographed manuscripts that included Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. Baltimorean John Pendleton Kennedy, whose introduction appeared within, purchased five copies "as I may find occasion to distribute them."[38] Even low-priced pulp works were produced for additional revenue. The anonymous *Incidents in Dixie,* which detailed life in Confederate military prisons evoked sympathy for Union prisoner-of-war relief efforts.[39]

Benefit performances, lectures, and other activities in Baltimore and elsewhere helped to boost the association's coffers. John T. Ford, the Washington theater owner, donated the entire proceeds of one night's entertainment from his Holliday Street location in Baltimore.[40] Speaker of the House Schuyler Colfax traveled to Baltimore to deliver a lecture on the "Duties of Life" with all profits going toward the state fair effort.[41] A "Tableaux Vivant" was scheduled for the last three nights of the fair's final week; these tableaux, depicting scenes from historical and literary works such as "Henry the VIII," were performed by costumed members of the fair committee with reserved seating at one dollar per person.[42] Out in western Maryland, Allegheny County citizens held a band concert which netted over 500 dollars for the women's effort. In Harford County, a lecture on "Books" brought an additional forty dollars. Successful fund-raising proved essential to the overall success of the fair effort.

Portents and Trepidation

Unfortunately, the Baltimore organizers faced great competition from other cities holding similar events. The New York Metropolitan Fair partially overlapped Baltimore's while Philadelphia's gathering was slated for just weeks later in June. John H. Eccleston, a former Marylander living in Philadelphia, commented in writing on Baltimore's chances for soliciting donations from that city: "Touching the matter of subscription . . . here, for *your* fair — I don't think you will succeed very well; for they are getting one up [here] . . . the beggars are out in all directions, and men are buttonholed and made to listen to speeches so long, that the donations come as a sort of 'ransom money' for being let go."[43] Nevertheless, donation lists in various periodicals attest to

the generosity of a limited numbers of non-Marylanders, even some Philadelphians.[44]

From the beginning the fair organizers had guarded expectations for the overall financial success of their event. There were three cautionary factors. Committee members feared that the women's household responsibilities, combined with the scarcity of goods in a wartime economy, would keep women from extending themselves. Thinking of the tasks involved, the organizers perceived that "many domestic women may hesitate . . . their own domestic duties demand all their attention; and that, moreover they have nothing to spare in these 'hard times'."[45] As one woman confided to her spouse: "[the fair] is a secondary consideration with me I assure you. I must first attend to home duties & all that calls upon me here. Whatever I can do that will not interfere in the least with them will be cheerfully done."[46] The anxiety over the possible lack of female participation brought the active solicitation of men to supplement the cause. "Lady officers were at first selected, but as the enterprise appeared too formidable for their unassisted labors, it was agreed that a number of gentlemen should be chosen" to provide aid.[47] Actually, the true extent to which men lent their labor is unclear. William J. Albert, a leader of the Unconditional Union Party in the city, eventually served with Elizabeth Bradford in co-chairing the event. There is some evidence of active fund-raising by men.[48] Members of Baltimore's all-male Union Club volunteered as honorary marshals and traffic coordinators at the fair site. Yet, a review of the club minutes for the several months prior to the event reveals no evidence of planning for the fair.[49] While newspaper listings show the existence of parallel committees, the women alone received the final plaudits in the local press.[50]

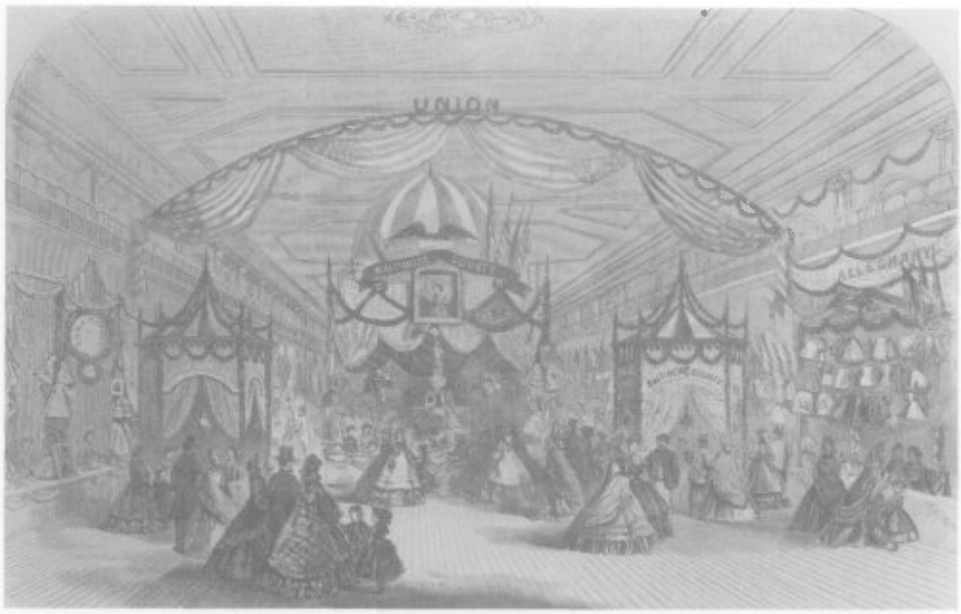
Another reason for the women's conservative expectations was fear that the organizations that would benefit from the fair's proceeds might not elicit sympathy from all loyal Marylanders. The financial allegiance of many might rest more with local soldier relief efforts—those geared specifically to Maryland volunteers and their families, rather than with the seemingly impersonal bureaucratic agencies outside the state. Referring to the Sanitary Commission, the historian Lori Ginzberg observes that "people were suspicious of an organization that seemed to absorb enormous amounts of money and still cried out for more."[51] The *Baltimore American* opined that the combination of ineffective workers and "occasional waste and loss" had unfairly caused "censorious persons [to] disparag[e] the efforts of these noble institutions."[52] Yet, even the editor of the fair's privately printed souvenir newspaper, *The New Era*, in his closing issues, featured a lengthy column of suggestions for improving both national relief organizations.

The greatest danger to the success of the fair was simply the division of Maryland's citizenry into loyalist and secessionist factions. Several southern counties with large secessionist populations, namely St. Mary's, Charles, Som-

William J. Albert (1816–1879) was a founder and later president of the Union Club. As co-chairman of the Sanitary Fair he hosted President Lincoln and other dignitaries at his Mount Vernon Place townhouse (Maryland Historical Society).

erset, Caroline, Wicomico, and Queen Anne's, sent no official delegations. As the Eastern Shore diarist Samuel Harrison wrote, "Sentiment in this state is so divided — and so many of those who are accustomed to spend money are disloyal . . . it can not be reasonably expected that this fair should produce near as much as it would [if] this state [was] united in sentiment."[53] Union military administrators, as well as Baltimoreans themselves, long recognized the alliance of their city's wealthy with the Confederate cause. General John Adams Dix commented on this situation in Baltimore in the summer of 1861: "The Secessionists [are] sustained by a large majority of the wealthy and aristocratic." Now in 1864, neither years of restrictive military measures nor the acerbic effects of war could induce renewed loyalty. On the very eve of the fair, the *Baltimore Clipper* made a dire prediction: "It is not expected that the proceeds of this fair will equal those of the Northern cities . . . whose society is not thronged with enemies of the Government."[54]

Despite lowered expectations, the fair remained for loyal Maryland women a spectacular means for expressing their Unionist devotion. They appear to have relished the opportunity. Channeling their energies, the women successfully mobilized thousands of fellow Marylanders, as well as sympathetic out-of-state parties, behind the cause of U.S. soldier relief. Remarkably, they accomplished their organizational task in just over four months. As the April 18 opening ceremonies approached, hundreds of women converged upon Baltimore to prepare their display stands. For some fifteen days, until the closing speeches on May 2, the city witnessed a welcome diversion from the gray drudgery of wartime life. The Baltimore Sanitary Fair brought color, pomp, and gaiety to city streets as it provided a splendid occasion for expressing patriotism.

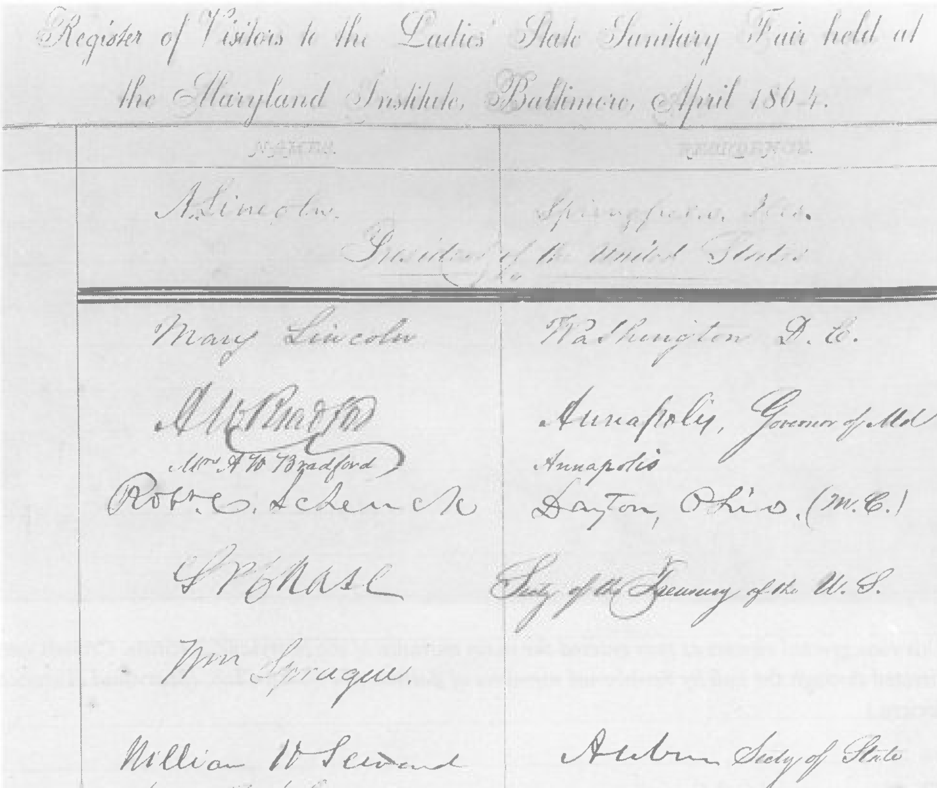


This view greeted visitors as they entered the main entrance of the Maryland Institute. Crowds were directed through the hall by beribboned members of Baltimore's Union Club. (Maryland Historical Society.)

The Long-awaited Event

Acting on a resolution of the City Council, Mayor John Chapman issued a proclamation asking businesses to close at noon on April 18. Tradesmen, excepting a few ardent secessionists, generally complied. The fortunate pupils at the city's public schools likewise enjoyed a half-day off. The frenetic pace of city life came virtually to a stand-still as a grand military parade with over three thousand soldiers commenced at 2:00 P.M. Starting at Monument Square, the column, nearly a mile long, wended its way through the heart of the business district as the 8th New York and 2nd U.S. Artillery bands played for an estimated 30,000 persons lining the streets. Over four hundred of the original members of the 1st Maryland Cavalry, which had included four companies of Baltimoreans, veterans of Stoneman's Raid, Brandy Station, and Gettysburg, rode proudly in formation.

The throngs of spectators "not only repeatedly cheered . . . but from the windows of residences ladies crowded all the available space, waving their handkerchiefs and display[ing] the National Banner."[55] A second parade featured three thousand black soldiers in new blue uniforms, their gold buttons glinting in the brilliant sunshine of the temperate day. Constituting a portion of Maryland's volunteer "Colored" regiments, the new enlistees were "huzzahed on their way to the front by the white population."[56]



Register of Visitors to the Ladies' State Sanitary Fair held at the Maryland Institute, Baltimore, April 1864.

NAMES	RESIDENCE
A. Lincoln	Springfield, Ills. President of the United States
Mary Lincoln	Washington D.C.
A W Bradford	Annapolis, Governor of Md
Mrs A W Bradford	Annapolis
Robt C. Schenck	Dayton, Ohio, (M.C.)
S P Chase	Secty of the Treasury of the U.S.
Wm Sprague	
William H Seward	Auburn Secty of State
Anna M. Seward	
Stoeckl	Minister Plenipoty from Russia
Fr. Gerolt	" " Prussia
Blondeel van Cuelebrouck	" " Belgium
L. de Geofroy	Secty of Legation " France
Edw Piper	" Minister Plenipotentiary from Sweden
Com. Joseph Bertinatti	" Italy
M. M. Lisboa	" Brazil
F L Barreda	Peru
Ra. Asta-Buruaga	Chile
L. Molina	
F. G. Asta-Buruaga	Chile.
Barreda	Peru

The fair register was presented to visitors by Mrs. Caroline Tome of Port Deposit. President Abraham Lincoln entered his name on April 18, 1864. His wife's signature and those of foreign ambassadors appear beneath the president's. (Courtesy Milton S. Eisenhower Library, the Johns Hopkins University, MS.328.)

At the invitation of the women organizers, President Lincoln agreed to preside over the opening ceremonies at the fair. His appearance in Baltimore held symbolic importance for city Unionists, and perhaps, to himself. For loyal citizens it offered both a chance to display their devotion to the man who embodied the Union and to cast off doubts about Baltimore's predominant political sympathy. For the president, coming to Baltimore offered an opportunity to make amends for a past indiscretion. In March 1861, en route to his inauguration, Lincoln had secreted himself through Baltimore's dark streets in response to rumors of an assassination plot. He was already held in low regard by many for his affiliation with the Republican Party, which was perceived as antithetical to the South, and some residents regarded the president-elect's furtive action as an affront to their city's honor; even some Unionists expressed bewilderment. Later, the president "was convinced that he had committed a great mistake."[57] By opening the Maryland fair, Lincoln had an opportunity to mitigate his earlier slight and express his confidence in the city's national loyalty.

Upon his arrival at Camden Station at 6:00 P.M. on April 18, the president was "loudly cheered by the people" at the depot.[58] After a stop at co-chairman William J. Albert's home in Mount Vernon Place, a short carriage ride conveyed the honored guest to the fair site, the freshly painted and refurbished great hall of the Maryland Institute on East Baltimore Street at Market Place.[59]

Taking his arm, Elizabeth Bradford led the president to the speaker's platform amid the "waving of handkerchiefs and continuous cheers."[60] His speech concerned the tragic massacre of black U.S. troops at Fort Pillow, but the chief executive's presence was clearly more significant than his words. Surveying the audience of three thousand Baltimoreans, and, perhaps, reflecting on the city's past hostility toward him and Union soldiers, Lincoln remarked that "the world moves. . . . Blessings upon those men who have wrought this great change, and the fair women who have sustained them."[61] The Unionists' enthusiasm, Maryland's recent movement toward emancipation, and the remarkable setting of the relief fair provided ample evidence for the president's perception of change. At the ceremony's conclusion, "large numbers of ladies and gentlemen made a rush for the privilege of shaking hands with the President."[62]

The fair site appeared at its peak of splendor on the night of Lincoln's visit. A thousand flickering gas lamps made the great hall's rectangular space "one grand flood of light."[63] In the center, just behind the speaker's platform, rose the Floral Temple. Trimmed with wreaths, festoons of evergreens, and flowers of every hue, this octagonal, domed structure rose over thirty feet in height. Inside the temple a gently cascading fountain held numerous varieties of fragrant water flowers within its basin. The White House gardens in Washington, through the good offices of Mrs. Lincoln, furnished a continual supply of fresh flowers.[64] At either end of the building stood large ornamental arches "gaily decorated with national flags, and surmounted by jets of gaslight."[65] The arch

just inside the main entrance was literally emblazoned with "the word 'Union' in large letters of fire" while another featured a five-pointed star. The remaining space, around the perimeter and in the center, housed the lavish display tables of the participants. With red, white, and blue a favored color scheme, U.S. flags, carved eagles, framed portraits of Union heroes, and evergreens predominated the decor. Suspended above the Baltimore County tables, opposite the main entrance, an allegorical depiction of "the Goddess of Liberty" vied for the fair-goer's first attention. Elsewhere, war relics, including items made by Union prisoners of war held at Richmond's Libby Prison, were prominently exhibited.

Displays and activities of a non-patriotic nature, as well as refreshments, offered light-hearted diversion. The German Ladies Relief Association featured a tableau from the Grimm Brothers' fairy tale "Old Woman in the Shoe." Just left of the main entrance, a masked fortune teller tempted the milling crowds with her mystical powers. The Fish Pond, with mirrors for "water" and potted ferns lining its "bank," captivated anglers of all ages with the chance to haul in "a big one." With a rustic fishing pole one could hook a small prize package containing, perhaps, a knitting needle, a ring, or a small doll.[66]

Refreshments of cold mineral water or iced lemonade could be purchased at Jacob's Well, a source that never went dry, where false painted flagstones and potted palms harkened to its biblical antecedent. Famished fair-goers could enjoy a hot meal in the New England Kitchen where capped women, garbed in the style of their grandmothers, cooked over an open hearth. A writer for the *Baltimore Sun* thought that "to the younger generation it will be an object of curiosity."[67] At 4:00 P.M. each day Aunt Mary's kitchen corner featured a children's tea party with plenty of fresh-baked cookies.

For the more culturally inclined, and those whose wallets escaped the temptations of the main hall, a fee-for-admission fine arts gallery on the third floor featured paintings culled from local and northern private collections, with subjects ranging from the poetic to the patriotic. Yet, amidst the gold-leaf frames of the tasteful room, the prominent display of a large silk United States flag served as a reminder of a secondary purpose of the event: Baltimore Unionists sought to expunge the black memory of the riot in 1861 by replacing it with an outpouring of Unionist devotion on its third anniversary. Embroidered in the flag's field were the words "April 19th, 1864 — May the Union and Friendship of the Future obliterate the anguish of the Past." The flag's seamstress, Christie Johnson, offered an explanation of her work. "We have wrought this field in needle-work in weaving paternal love with every silken thread, and writing out our fidelity to the whole Union, with every stitch,"[68] she said. Miss Johnson later presented the flag to the people of Massachusetts.

Lincoln toured the main hall for two hours with an entourage of fair officials and Washington dignitaries. An association member at the "German Ladies" stand, costumed as "the Old Woman in the Shoe," presented a beautiful

bouquet to the president and "was kissed by him in return."[69] Though most tables also offered gifts of flowers, the Baltimore County contingent proffered an expensive vase. The Central Relief Association bestowed a prize afghan, valued at a hundred dollars, as a gift for Mrs. Lincoln. While viewing the Fish Pond, "the president seemed half inclined to bait a line and try his skill."[70]

The president's party left the fair around 11:00 P.M. and returned to the Albert mansion, where the president was feted with "a handsome supper at midnight."[71] The Chief Executive boarded a train for Washington the next morning, this time departing from Baltimore's Camden Station in full daylight. Speaker Schuyler Colfax, who had accompanied the chief executive to the fair, believed Lincoln "was delighted with his visit & really wants to come again."[72]

Though the press of the war prevented the president from returning, other special guests frequented the Maryland fair throughout its term. On April 20, Mary Todd Lincoln visited the hall, accompanied by Robert Garrett, president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. Garrett presented the First Lady with a "magnificently worked sofa cushion" and the Knitting and Sewing Circle gave her "a very handsome vase of wax flowers."[73] A number of foreign ambassadors also made the trip to Baltimore with Mrs. Lincoln. Treasury Secretary Salmon P. Chase, with his son-in-law, Senator William Sprague of Rhode Island, toured the fair three days later. Secretary of State William Seward, with some thirty diplomats in tow, enjoyed a baked bean supper in the New England Kitchen before wandering about the displays on April 28. Perhaps the most special guests were recently released Union prisoners of war brought in from the city's military hospitals. Their emaciated condition, on daily view in the New England Kitchen, was a stark reminder of the importance of relief efforts. The kitchen staff, "fed and comforted . . . those martyrs to our great cause, and monuments of Rebel inhumanity."[74]

The attendance of ordinary Marylanders ultimately determined the overall success of the two-week event. To facilitate the movement of citizens, railroads and steamship companies offered reduced rates to Baltimore. The *Baltimore American* reported that "hundreds were present from the counties and many will arrive this week."[75] Henry Shriver, a Carroll County farmer, noted that "Mrs. Zimmerman, sis Kate & Louis started for Baltimore to go to the fair" on April 19.[76] In the fair's opening days the city dailies wrote of the presence of immense numbers. The *Sun* suggested to its readers that the curious visit during the day since "at night the crowd is so dense that it is impossible to see anything to say nothing of the discomfort of passing through the throng." Though some no doubt heeded this advice, one fair-goer still noticed "a great many persons" on the night of April 21. The fair organizers increased the regular ticket price from twenty-five to fifty cents because "the immense multitude . . . demonstrated the necessity as well as the propriety of the measure."[77]

Though daily attendance figures were not published, presumably the number of fair-goers decreased as purchases depleted goods available in the

exhibits. Harriet Archer Williams brought back to her Harford County home, for the astonishing sum of nine dollars, two canes "made from a tree shattered by a shell at Gettysburg, a lamp shade for [the] parlour, a pretty little picture of Liberty, a book [Phelps's National Book] . . . a needle case & a Fayal basket."[78] Donations of money and goods of all kinds continued to arrive throughout the fair's run. Thirty-six residents of Carroll County signed a subscriber's sheet pledging amounts that ranged from a dime to five dollars.[79] Some Maryland concerns, as well as out-of-state companies with branch offices in the city, contributed considerable sums. The Oyster Packers of Baltimore donated $1,150 to the cause; the Northern Central Railroad, Adams Express Company, and the Norfolk Steamboat Company gave $1,000, $500, and $300, respectively. The City Passenger Railway Company pledged an amount equal to the proceeds of April 20, a mid-week workday, a gesture that added $1,190.13 to the coffers.[80] The editor of *The New Era* donated $1,000 of his paper's proceeds. City craftsmen proffered their handiwork. Shyrock & Sons, cabinet makers, gave furniture valued at $200 while A. McComas donated an elaborately worked rifle; a vote by fair-goers, at fifty cents per ballot, determined which Union general would win that prize. Hugh Sisson's marble works provided eleven pieces of statuary for raffle. Clearly, loyal Marylanders gave whatever they could. The "Ladies of Howard County" auctioned a cord and a half of firewood with a pledge of personal delivery by the donor. The New England Kitchen brought in about $500 in sales each day of the fair.

Success, Modest but Respectable

Despite the apparent solidarity of the state's loyalist population, the Maryland Fair can be termed only a modest financial success compared with similar events in 1864. The net proceeds were just over eighty thousand dollars.81 In contrast, the New York and Philadelphia fairs each cleared over a million dollars. Yet, when compared to all similar soldier relief fairs, the Maryland total was respectable. Chicago's fair in December 1863 "netted between $86,000 and $100,000"; Boston's, held in the state whose militia first answered Lincoln's call to put down the rebellion, garnered but $146,000.[82] Both Illinois and Massachusetts possessed larger and much less philosophically divided populations.[83] Competition for donations from other cities clearly affected Baltimore's net result, but economic realities in a city that had practically been under martial law since 1861 and divisions among Maryland's citizens were probably the largest factors in limiting the financial success of the Baltimore fair. Maryland Unionists, nonetheless, regarded their efforts to be fruitful. At the closing ceremonies on May 2, Governor Augustus Bradford stated that "success is not to be estimated merely by its financial results, but by the wholesome moral influences it has exerted . . . it has brought together loyal women . . . and served to show that American patriotism is confined to no climate, nor indigenous to any

Almira Hart Lincoln Phelps (1793–1884) contacted leading personalities in the North for literary contributions to her fund-raising book. (Maryland Historical Society.)

particular soil."[84] The press singled out the organizer and participants for their devotion. The *Baltimore American* lauded "the noble women of Maryland who have labored so long and so well . . . [they] deserve all praise and honor."[85]

Unfortunately, few documents exist to help us assess the women's own perception of their efforts. A reminiscence by Elizabeth Blanchard Randall provides a rare illuminating example. Randall, who supervised the Anne Arundel County effort, spent several days away from her husband, children, and other responsibilities to prepare her stands. Upon his arrival in Baltimore on April 24, her husband "found her very happy as she had been the whole week taking charge of two tables."[86] Mrs. Randall received both the approval and encouragement of her spouse in her soldier relief activities. Apparently supportive of her volunteer work in Annapolis, as she recalled years later, "he insisted on my taking part in an immense fair to raise funds for the Sanitary commission, to which the Ann Arundel table, of which I had the management, was able to contribute $1000."[87] Mrs. Randall's reluctance to take more personal credit for her actions may stem from the fact that her memories were included in her complimentary biographical sketch of her deceased husband, a successful Maryland politician. Yet, even in her modest comments, one can detect the pride of her accomplishment at the fair.

The Maryland fair did succeed in fostering both a benevolent and patriotic spirit within the state's loyal populace. Even before the event ended, Baltimore's African American community expressed an interest in holding a similar fair for the sake of their own sons in uniform. "We have heard them express impatience at being held in dependence on their white brethren, in this matter" *The New Era* reported.[88] Fanny Turnbull and Elizabeth Albert,

the wife of the fair's co-chairman, went on to found the women's Baltimore branch of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, serving as president and treasurer, respectively. Each also served later as an officer in organizations caring for the orphans of Union soldiers. Maryland Fair organizers accounted for two of the seven officers of the Shelter for the Orphans of Colored Soldiers as well as six of eight of the Union Orphan Asylum. To the latter organization, which was "under the management of ladies exclusively," many women connected with wartime relief efforts continued contributing their time and money, even holding small-scale fund-raising fairs throughout the 1870s.[89] The moral influence and organizational example of the women who organized the 1864 fair permeated Baltimore's Unionist society. As perhaps the ultimate compliment to them, a group of Baltimore's formerly secessionist women, renowned in wartime for both open and clandestine devotion to the Confederacy, organized their own large-scale fair for general relief in the South in 1866. With the sanitary fair as their model, they also held their event in the great hall of the Maryland Institute—with an art gallery and some stands bearing the same names as had appeared at the Unionist fair in 1864.

An article in the book *Our Country*, edited by Elmira Lincoln Phelps, summed up the motives and hopes of the women who organized the Maryland State Fair for U.S. Soldier Relief.

> Never again during our life can such opportunities for noble deeds present themselves for women. . . . The female who administers to the dying necessities of the soldier . . . does she not, through her sympathetic nature, expose herself to heart-wounds more cruel to be borne than the sabre's gash or the fatal shell? If, therefore, there are women sighing to distinguish themselves and seeking for ambitions worthy their abilities,— to-day they have abundant opportunity for both, and history is waiting to write out their meritorious record.[90]

The women of the sanitary fair were barred in their time from the formal political process but managed nevertheless to adapt their traditional domestic skills to meet a large-scale organizational challenge and to make a profound statement of moral and benevolent import in a time of crisis—a political act of no small measure. Enhanced societal and political roles for women lay years ahead in the lives of their granddaughters, but for their own era their great soldier relief fair was indeed a triumph of women's spirit and ability.

NOTES

1. 1860 U.S. Census records for Maryland reveal both Sarah and her husband as Massachusetts-born. James Mills was a Baltimore based dry goods commission merchant and senior partner of Mills, Mayhew & Co.
2. News clipping from the *Boston Transcript* of May 9, 1861, signed "Mrs. J. H. Mills," presumably as an attribution; this paper printed Sarah Mills's letter of May 6, 1861, that described post-riot Baltimore. Adeline Tyler Papers, MS. 1450, Maryland Historical Society (hereinafter MHS).
3. Patricia Dockman Anderson, "Laying the Foundations: Herbert Baxter Adams, John Thomas Scharf, and Early Maryland Historical Scholarship," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 89 (summer 1994), 178.
4. See Robert Schoeberlein, *Baltimore in 1861: A Case Study of Southern Unionism* (M.A. thesis), University of Maryland-Baltimore County, 1994. Scharf neglected to mention the protective actions of city Unionists on April 19, 1861, in defense of Pennsylvanian militia members in his *History of Baltimore City and County.* Inexplicably, their efforts appear in Scharf's *History of Philadelphia.*
5. Gary Larsen Browne wrote and published a small history of Civil War Baltimore with very limited distribution. Other cities have generated more comprehensive studies. J. Matthew Gallman's *Mastering Wartime: A Social History of Philadelphia During the Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990) is a singular achievement for a specific Northern city.
6. Adeline Tyler Papers, MS. 1450, MHS.
7. Undated newspaper clipping (ca. 1861), Dielman-Hayward File, MHS Library.
8. Rebecca Funk, *A Heritage to Hold in Fee, 1817–1917* (Baltimore: Garamond Press, 1962), 21. Unitarian women, allegedly prompted by a sermon delivered in Baltimore by the Rev. Henry Bellows, a Unitarian minister and executive with the U.S. Sanitary Commission, initiated their relief efforts during the summer of 1861.
9. *Baltimore American,* May 27, 1861. This incident occurred within two weeks after the arrival of the U.S. military in the heart of Baltimore.
10. Rice C. Bull, *Soldiering: The Civil War Diary of Rice C. Bull* (San Rafael, Calif.: Presidio Press, 1977), 7.
11. Marcus Denison, *A Brief Account of the Origin and Services of the First Union Relief Association of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Wood Printers, undated; ca. 1865), 1–2.
12. Undated newspaper clipping (ca. 1861), Dielman-Hayward File, MHS.
13. *Report of the First Year of the Ladies Union Relief Association of Baltimore* (Baltimore: W. M. Innes, 1862), 3.
14. Denison, *A Brief Account,* 2.
15. *Baltimore American,* October 16, 1861.
16. *United States Christian Commission: Third Report of the Committee of Maryland* (Baltimore: James Young, 1863), 163.
17. Sallie P. Cushing to "Dear Aunt," November 2, 1862, Josephine C. Morris Papers, MS. 190, Maryland Historical Society.

18. Jeanie Attie, "Warwork and the Crisis of Domesticity in the North," in Catherine Clinton & Nina Silber, *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 254.
19. Examples of presentations in 1861 can be found in the *Baltimore American,* July 24, September 28, December 24; *Baltimore Sun,* November 6; *Baltimore Clipper,* July 11, 22, 25, 26; Harrison Journal, June 18 entry, MS. 432.1, MHS; these occurrences appear almost on a daily basis by year's end (in the Unionist press).
20. *Baltimore American,* June 26, September 11, 1861.
21. Ibid., September 28, 1861.
22. *United States Christian Commission: Third Report,* 191–198.
23. Sallie P. Cushing to "Dear Aunt," November 3, 1862, Josephine C. Morris Papers, MS. 190, Maryland Historical Society. Ann Bowen's mother was Caroline Howard Gilman (1794–1888), a native of Boston who settled in Charleston, S.C., where her Unitarian husband presided over that city's Second Independent Church. Mrs. Gilman was a noted writer and editor (*Dictionary of American Biography,* 7:298).
24. Ibid. Charles J. Bowen, the rector of Baltimore's Second Independent Church, had resigned his position to enlist as a full-time military chaplain.
25. *Baltimore Clipper,* April 23, 1864.
26. A list of organizers' names appeared in the *Baltimore American,* December 18, 1863. I used this list to compile demographic information on the women. The combination of an 1863-1864 Baltimore Directory search, plus information garnered from the 1860 U.S. Census, revealed the socio-economic identity of two-thirds of the fair's initial organizers. Their husband's occupations were as follows: merchants, nineteen; lawyers, nine; bankers, five; grocers, manufacturers. and ministers, four each; other occupations included transportation executive, principal, teacher, clerk, real estate agent, and bookkeeper.
27. Funk, Heritage to Hold, passim. See also George W. Burnap, *The Sphere and Duties of Woman,* 3rd ed. (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1851), 190–219. Burnap, pastor for over twenty years, believed women "should enjoy education, personal liberty, equal rights of marriage, and the equal distribution and security of property."
28. Rev. J. N. McJilton, *Report of the Committee of the Christian Commission in Charge of the District of Maryland* (Baltimore: Jas. Robinson, 1862), 7.
29. *The New Era,* May 2, 1864.
30. *Baltimore American,* December 22, 1863.
31. Ibid., February 5, 1864.
32. Mrs. C. J. Bowen to Bishop William Whittingham, February 23, 1864, Vertical File, Maryland Episcopal Diocesan Archives (herinafter cited as MDA).
33. Augusta C. E. Shoemaker to A. J. Lewis, April 9, 1864, Shoemaker Family Papers, MS. 1973, MHS.
34. *Baltimore American,* February 12, 1864.
35. H. H. Williams to "Dear Husband" (Lewis J. Williams), April 11, 1864, Archer-Stump-Williams Family Papers, MS. 1948, MHS.
36. T. H. Kennedy to Augusta C. E. Shoemaker, March 11, 1864, Shoemaker Papers, MS. 1968, MHS.
37. Mrs. A. H. L. Phelps to Bishop William Whittingham, December 21, 1863, Unindexed

Correspondent's File, MDA
38. April 18, 1864 entry, *John Pendleton Kennedy Journal* (Microfilm Edition), MHS.
39. *Incidents in Dixie; being Ten Months Experience of a Union Soldier in the Military Prisons of Richmond, N. Orleans and Salisbury* (Baltimore: James Young, 1864). The front cover reads: "Published for the benefit of the Maryland State Fair" (MHS Library).
40. *Baltimore American,* February 12, 1864.
41. Ibid., April 5, 1864.
42. Ibid., March 29 and April 25, 1864.
43. J. H. Eccleston to Augusta C. E. Shoemaker, March 4, 1864, Shoemaker Family Papers, MS. 1973, MHS.
44. *The New Era,* April 26, 1864; see also *Baltimore American,* April 20, 1864.
45. *Baltimore American,* December 22, 1863.
46. H. H. Williams to "Dear Husband," February 27, 1864, Archer-Stump-Williams Family Papers, MS. 1948, MHS.
47. United States Christian Commission, Third Report, 192.
48. *Baltimore American,* April 15, 1864.
49. A review of the meeting minutes in the Union Club Record Books (MS. 855, Maryland Historical Society) revealed no mention of the Maryland fair.
50. *Baltimore American,* May 2, 1864. The prominent front page coverage given by the *Clipper* rarely mentioned men at all.
51. Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 167.
52. *Baltimore American,* April 15, 1864
53. April 20, 1864 entry, Harrison Journal, MS. 432.1, MHS.
54. *Baltimore Clipper,* April 18, 1864.
55. *Baltimore American,* April 19, 1864.
56. *The New Era,* April 26, 1864.
57. Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years, Vol. I* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1939), 84.
58. *Baltimore American,* April 19, 1864.
59. *Baltimore Sun,* April 19, 1864; *Baltimore American,* February 14, 1864.
60. *Baltimore Sun,* April 20, 1864
61. Ibid.
62. *Baltimore American,* April 19, 1864.
63. *Baltimore Sun,* April 19, 1864.
64. Ibid., April 21, 1864.
65. *Baltimore American,* April 20, 1864.
66. There are no detailed descriptions of the Fish Pond in Baltimore newspapers. Baltimore's version most likely was similar to those of other sanitary fairs of the time. A description of the Providence, R.I., pond appears in H. A. Coggenshall to Mrs. Tilghman, February 3, 1864, Shoemaker Family Collection, MS. 1968, MHS.
67. *Baltimore Sun,* April 19, 1864.
68. *The New Era,* April 26, 1864.
69. *Baltimore American,* April 20, 1864.

70. Ibid.
71. April 19, 1864, entry, *John Pendleton Kennedy Journal* (Microfilm Edition), MHS.
72. Miss Matthews to Augusta C. E. Shoemaker (with postscript comments by Schuyler Colfax), April 19, 1864, Shoemaker Papers, MS. 1968, MHS.
73. *Baltimore American,* April 21, 1864.
74. Ibid., May 2, 1864.
75. Ibid., April 20, 1864.
76. April 19, 1864, entry, Diary of Henry Shriver, Shriver Family Papers, MS. 2085, MHS.
77. April 21, 1864, entry, Diary of Dickinson Gorsuch III, Gorsuch-Mitchell Papers, MS. 2733, MHS.
78. H. H. Williams to "Dear Husband," May 28, 1864, Archer-Stump-Williams Family Papers, MS. 1948, MHS.
79. Subscriber's list, n.d., (ca. 1864), Shriver Collection, MS. 750, MHS.
80. *Baltimore Clipper,* April 23, 1864.
81. *U.S. Christian Commission: Third Report,* 195; and Charles J. Stille, *History of the Sanitary Commission* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1866), 548.
82. Ginzberg, Women and the Work of Benevolence, 167–168.
83. Benjamin J. Wattenberg, *The Statistical History of the United States* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976), 27, 29. 1860 state population totals: Maryland, 687,000; Illinois, 1,712,000; Massachusetts, 1,231,000.
84. *Baltimore American,* May 2, 1864.
85. Ibid.
86. April 24, 1864 entry, Diary of Alexander Randall, Alexander Randall Diaries, MS. 652, MHS.
87. Life-sketch of Alexander Randall by Elizabeth Blanchard Randall, Blanchard-Randall-Philpot Papers, MS. 2824, MHS.
88. *The New Era,* April 26, 1864.
89. Wm. J. Albert to Robt. B. Beach, May 1, 1872, Union Orphan Asylum Record Book, MS. 857, MHS. A review of entries reveals the names and activities of the women.
90. *Our Country . . . A National Book* (Baltimore: J. D. Toy, 1864), 259. Quotation is from "Women of The Times" by Mrs. C. B. W. Flanders.

Oral History (World War II)

Bill Moore and the Last Enemy Plane

DONALD T. FRITZ

Clarence A. (Bill) Moore, a native of Baltimore[1] and a U.S. Navy aviator with Air Group 31, operating from the *USS Belleau Wood*, shot down the last enemy plane of World War II. Organized in May 1943 at the Naval Air Station at Atlantic City, New Jersey, Air Group 31 made naval aviation history both for its outstanding military record overall and Moore's decisive action on August 15, 1945. The young pilots of Air Group 31 saw their first action in January 1944 in an attack on Roi Island in the Marshalls. The group was then attached to the *USS Cabot* CVL-28,[2] part of Task Force 58. By the autumn of 1944, when Ensign Moore joined the unit, Air Group 31 had already established an impressive record among carrier groups, having destroyed 147 enemy planes in the air and sunk 46,000 tons of Japanese ships.

Late in 1944, the group was detached from the *Cabot* and, after completion of additional training for new pilots, was reformed under the leadership of Commander Bruce S. Weber and attached to the *USS Belleau Wood* CVL-24. The torpedo squadron of the group was under the command of Lieutenant John Bowen. During World War II the *Belleau Wood* accumulated as heroic a record as a light aircraft carrier could achieve. She took a direct hit from a kamikaze, which resulted in ninety-two deaths and many other casualties, survived a vicious typhoon that split an accompanying cruiser in half, and launched thousands of raids at such historic battles as Iwo Jima, Okinawa, Leyte Gulf, and the Philippine Sea. Stationed in Japanese waters in June 1945, the *Belleau Wood*, by then part of Task Force 38 under Admiral William F. (Bull) Halsey, began operations in July against the mainland of Japan.

Moore and the other pilots of Air Group 31 struck Kumagaya airfield in the Tokyo area as well as inland airfields, ports, and railroad facilities at Hokkaido, Honshu, and Kyushu. Their methods were unorthodox in that the pilots themselves often selected targets to bomb. Flying over much of Japan, they searched for military and industrial targets, most frequently moving locomotives and large commercial ships. Their attacks included a series of strikes against the battleship *Nagato*, docked at the Yokosuka Naval Base, and an-

Mr. Fritz, a graduate of the Johns Hopkins University in history, a Navy veteran, and a retired businessman, is a professional tour guide in Baltimore.

Ensign C. A. (Bill) Moore in the cockpit of his Grumman Hellcat. (Courtesy Bill Moore.)

other series against the Japanese fleet in Kure Harbor, including the battleships *Ise* and *Hyuga* and the carrier *Aoba*. Multiple direct hits were scored on these important ships, but even with 500-pound bombs little damage was inflicted on the sixteen-inch armor plate of the *Ise*.

Finally, on August 10, 1945, came the long-awaited announcement by the United States government of Japanese peace-feelers. In the five days following the announcement the men of Air Group 31 felt mounting strain and tension as the end of the war seemed imminent. Just the day before the government's announcement, Nagasaki had received the second atomic bomb. On the afternoon of August 10, the carrier *Wasp* (the second ship to bear that name) shot down a Japanese plane that splashed into the sea within sight of the *Belleau Wood*. The men of Air Group 31 wondered if this might be the last Japanese plane to be downed. Then, on August 13, twelve Japanese planes attacked the fleet and were shot down in the immediate vicinity of the *Belleau Wood*, though none by Air Group 31.

Working through a Swiss legation, the Japanese government asked for peace

terms with certain provisions and reservations. The news spread quickly throughout the *Belleau Wood,* where the consensus of the men was that the defeat of Japan should be decisive, without conditions or qualifications.

Soon orders were issued for organization and training of landing parties for the anticipated occupation of the Japanese mainland. The *Belleau Wood* continued air strikes and sweeps against heavily defended targets, primarily the electronics industry at Kawasaki, twelve miles south of Tokyo. After these raids, American pilots reported seeing far more enemy planes on the ground than was normal. Some burned quickly when strafed, indicating that they had been fueled and were ready for action. Possibly the Japanese were planning one last attack. On a single day during the five-day period of anxious waiting, ninety planes on the ground were damaged or destroyed by pilots from the *Belleau Wood.*

Bill Moore's early training was at Pensacola, Florida, Great Lakes Naval Air Station in Illinois, and Hollister, California; additional training with Air Group 31 was provided in Hawaii, Guam, and Manila. By August 1945 Moore was a division leader with the rank of lieutenant (j.g.). Looking back fifty years to the events of August 15, 1945, he recalls how the day began.

> The morning strike on which we were sent was intended to destroy the final source of electrical power for the entire Tokyo area. Sometime after taking off we received orders to return to the carrier. By that time other pilots in our group had already shot down twelve enemy planes. Our radio communication informed us that the war was officially over, and we were instructed to dump our rockets, bombs, and auxiliary fuel tanks.

After all planes had landed safely on shipboard the carrier's crew burst into spontaneous celebration. Many men fired their weapons into the air (fortunately, no passing American aircraft were struck by the happy carrier personnel). But less than an hour later, its planes refueled, Bill Moore's flight of Air Group 31 was ordered aloft to fly patrol at 10,000 feet as cover for the fleet. There were doubts that all Japanese units had received word of their government's surrender.

In the afternoon word was received from command center to look out for a "bogey" (an enemy plane) approaching the fleet at 12,000 feet. His senses heightened, Bill Moore's immediate response was to gain altitude so he would be in position to strike the enemy plane from above. The jubilant mood of the morning was now forgotten. Moore recalls the moment.

> My plane seemed to be the liveliest that day, so I was the first to reach 12,000 feet and the first to sight and vector in on the single enemy plane. From all appearances he was preparing to make a kamikaze attack on the *Belleau Wood.* Had he received word the war

Air Group 31 planes dropping supplies to Allied prisoners-of-war in Japan. At the end of the war, the Japanese government was instructed to mark POW camps. (Courtesy Bill Moore.)

> was over? I had no way of knowing. Admiral Halsey's instructions issued following announcement of the end of the war sprang to my mind. He specifically ordered that all Japanese snooper planes be shot down "not in a spirit of vengeance but in a friendly fashion." Since I was the only pilot within attack range I made my decision and proceeded as ordered. Flying my Grumman F6F [Hellcat] I attacked from above and hit the target with bursts of all four guns. The enemy's fuel tanks exploded and it was all over.[3]

Today, Moore says, he still feels a sense of pride at having played so prominent a part in protecting his ship.[4]

After cessation of hostilities Air Group 31 dropped reading materials, medical supplies, and food to soon-to-be-liberated men at prisoner-of-war camps, which the Allied command had instructed the Japanese to mark clearly. The *Belleau Wood* landed occupation forces after entering Tokyo Bay and later made three "magic carpet" voyages across the Pacific to bring troops home from the Pacific theater. For his meritorious service Moore received in the name of the president of the United States the Gold Star in lieu of a second Air Medal Citation, signed by Rear Admiral T. L. Sprague, Commander, Carrier Division Three, U. S. Pacific Fleet.

Forty-four years passed before Bill Moore received information from U.S.

Navy aviation sources that kamikaze *Judy*, heading to attack the carrier *Belleau Wood* on that long-ago afternoon in August 1945, the last day of the war, was the last enemy aircraft shot down in World War II.[5] A lifelong Marylander thereby holds a unique place in the records of the twentieth century's mightiest conflict.

NOTES

This article is based on the author's interviews with Bill Moore, starting in June 1990, and on entries in a published history of Air Group 31 that was privately published after the war for members of the unit.

1. Moore, raised in Baltimore, is a graduate of Forest Park High School and the University of Maryland. After the war, he worked for forty-six years as a district plant manager for the Bell Atlantic Company (then the C&P Telephone Company). He and his wife Betty have three daughters and six grandchildren and live in the Reisterstown area.

2. The *Cabot* is now moored at the Riverwalk quay in downtown New Orleans as part of that city's Economic Development Project.

3. Moore's memory of Halsey's oddly worded order was remarkably good in our interview. In William F. Halsey and Jay Bryan III, *Admiral Halsey's Story* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1947), 272, Halsey recalled his order as: "Investigate and shoot down all snoopers, not vindictively but in a friendly sort of way."

4. Correspondence between Moore and the editor of *The Hook*, a naval publication, October 17, 1989.

5. Oral history memoir sponsored by American Airpower Heritage Foundation, May 12, 1990, at the CVC 24 (*USS Belleau Wood*) reunion in Williamsburg, Virginia.

Book Reviews

April '65: Confederate Covert Action in the American Civil War. By William A. Tidwell. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1995. 280 pages. Appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $30.)

The assassination of President Abraham Lincoln in April 1865 is perhaps one of America's greatest unresolved mysteries and continues to attract attention 130 years later. In recent months, a court ruled against exhuming John Wilkes Booth's grave in a Baltimore cemetery to determine if the remains buried in the forgotten plot could be identified as Lincoln's murderer. Coming on the heels of this controversy is a new book which raises a host of fascinating questions about Booth's role within the framework of clandestine Confederate operations against the North.

Seven years after the publication of *Come Retribution: The Confederate Secret Service and the Assassination of Lincoln* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1988), that book's principal author, William A. Tidwell, expands on the themes of his earlier work. In *April '65: Confederate Covert Action in the American Civil War,* Tidwell uses fresh information to elaborate on the funding of Confederate operations and the overall organization of the secret service in the South. His research is thorough and sheds further light on this murky aspect of the Confederacy's struggle for independence.

Tidwell, a veteran of American intelligence during World War II and the Cold War, presents the thesis that the Lincoln assassination was the final act in a series of actions taken by the Confederate government to strike at the upper echelon of the Lincoln administration. In making this assertion, Tidwell in his two books runs smack into the concept of a romantic war and "personality cults" which have built up over the decades after Appomattox. That the Confederate government, including such figures as Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, and John S. Mosby, could undertake such operations runs counter to our images of these southern archetypes.

While Tidwell's second book, like his first, relies upon numerous conjectures, they are not unreasonable. He has filled in a number of gaps and his research, with the assistance of James O. Hall (one of the co-authors of *Come Retribution*), is an important contribution to our knowledge of Confederate monetary transactions and budgeting. Likewise, Tidwell explores here in greater depth the movements of Colonel John S. Mosby's partisans in northern Virginia and on the Northern Neck during the spring of 1865. The author places the small skirmish at Burke Station on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad on April 10 (the last engagement of the war in Virginia) in a new light. Maryland readers will also be interested to learn about a similar action in St.

Mary's County on April 15—a fight that Tidwell frames within the context of Booth's escape through southern Maryland.

April '65, like *Come Retribution*, is an important contribution to the study of the Civil War and Lincoln's assassination because it brings to light new sources of information. Tidwell has mined the vast resources of the National Archives and the Library of Congress as well as other institutions. The Confederate records on microfilm, such as the complied service records, provide an endless array of details—information that is all too often neglected by historians. While he has not found the "smoking gun" that definitely links Confederate leaders with Lincoln's assassination, Tidwell's research offers food for thought in this century-old mystery.

KEVIN CONLEY RUFFNER
Washington, D.C.

At Peace with All Their Neighbors: Catholics and Catholicism in the National Capital, 1787–1860. By William W. Warner. (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1994. 320 pages, $29.95.)

This is a welcome addition not only to the history of American Catholicism but also to that of the national capital. That Roman Catholics played a significant role in the life of the nation in the revolutionary and early national periods has been amply demonstrated at the national but not at the local level. In the District of Columbia, which included the national capital and Georgetown, the latter receiving as much attention in this work as the former, Catholics made civic and commercial contributions out of all proportion to their numbers. In the first two years of the capital's municipal government, for example, the mayor, chief judge, president of the Board of Aldermen, president of the Common Council, five of twelve council members, marshal of the District, clerk of the court, and city administrator were all Catholics. This was not simply the result of an unusual set of circumstances. Similar statistics are supplied by the author for almost the first fifty years of the capital's existence.

At the same time the prominence of Catholics in the civic and commercial life of the growing city was not lost upon the politicians who came to Washington from every state with a variety of presuppositions that often included an anti-Catholic bias. Washington Catholics did much to assuage such prejudices. This point is also made in another recent history, which should be read in conjunction with Warner's: Morris J. MacGregor, *A Parish for the Federal City: St. Patrick's in Washington, 1794–1994* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1994). While MacGregor is better in his coverage of this interaction, Warner is superior in the attention he gives to the network of Maryland Catholic families that constituted the core of the Catholic community of the federal city. He succeeds, in fact, to a greater degree than most in

sorting out the different Carrolls, Brents, Fenwicks, and members of other leading families with the same given names. At the same time he describes the close association of the Maryland families with such Irish ones as the Hobans, Barrys, and Doyles. James Hoban, for example, architect of the White House, married a Sewall, a family that had intermarried with the early Calverts.

One of Warner's more interesting revelations is the degree to which these aristocratic Maryland families were involved in the earliest nativist movement in the District (and the nation). The Brents were prominent as founders and publicists of the Native American Association, particularly John Carroll Brent at a time he was finishing the first biography of Archbishop John Carroll begun by his uncle Daniel Brent.

This reviewer, however, was left wondering about the role of trustees, so important in American Catholic history of the early national period. There is a fleeting allusion to a single action taken by the trustees of Trinity Parish of Georgetown but none to those of trustees of the parishes of Washington. If such did not exist, it is a matter of historical moment. Even more was the reviewer puzzled by the almost total absence of any consideration of party politics. The party leanings of Robert Brent, for example, the man chosen by Thomas Jefferson to be Washington's first mayor, a position he held for ten years, is never mentioned. It would again be a matter of historical moment to know the extent to which these Washington families conformed or deviated from the patterns of Federalist and later Whig affiliation on the part of the great majority of the Maryland Catholic gentry.

This is a well researched work that supplies ample evidence for the author's contention that the national capital is greatly indebted to the Catholics of the District, whose civic sense and commercial enterprise, often to their financial detriment, went far to sustain the federal city in a period when its future on the Potomac was much in doubt.

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

History of My Own Times or, the Life and Adventures of William Otter, Sen. Comprising a Series of Events, and Musical Incidents Altogether Original. By William Otter; Richard B. Stott, ed. (Emmitsburg, Md., 1835, repr. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995. 244 pages. Appendix, notes, index. $14.95 paper, $39.95 cloth.)

It's difficult to escape history in western Maryland. Civic boosters and ordinary citizens assiduously promote an awareness of the region's past, whether by helping to maintain a phenomenal number of historical sites or promoting tourism and real estate. Yet western Maryland inspires relatively few publications and exhibits outside of local presses and museums. *History of My Own Times,* however, comes from an important university press and has already in-

filtrated college classrooms across the United States. This alone makes it unlike most other books on western Maryland. Its contents make it unlike any other book on the region.

Otter began his life in England in 1787, served on a whaler and in the Royal Navy as a youth, then joined his family in New York City. He apprenticed as a plasterer but ran away to Philadelphia before his term expired. A self-proclaimed journeyman, over the course of many years he gradually worked his way across the southern counties of Pennsylvania, settling finally in Emmitsburg, Maryland. There he worked on buildings at St. Josephs and at Mount St. Mary's College. His work, which took him throughout western Maryland, also included a job on the Schley house in Frederick Town, now occupied by the Frederick County Historical Society.

But *History of My Own Times* is not a travelogue, family memoir, record of public events, or bucolic memoir of olden times. Instead it consists mainly of a series of "sprees," Otter's term for the humiliating and often violent practical jokes and other escapades that evidently gave meaning to his life. Few readers will share Otter's sense of humor. A summary of just a few of the less disturbing episodes gives some idea of his tastes: he found it immensely entertaining, in one episode, to throw lime in the eyes of a pet baboon kept by an innkeeper, laughing uproariously as the poor creature launched into an angry and bewildered rampage around the tavern. In another memorable "spree," Otter and his companions broke up services at a black church, whipping the men and women alike with knotted ropes and cows' tails with bullets tied into the ends. In Otter's world even courtship provided an opportunity for putting something over a fellow creature: he eloped with a fourteen-year-old girl after assassinating the character of his two closest rivals for her affections and then misrepresenting his own station in life.

It would be comforting to think of Otter as an aberrant individual, but in fact his book tells us a great deal about everyday life in the early republic. In some important ways Otter lived a relentlessly normal life. He worked his way from apprentice to journeyman to master plasterer, he stayed with his wife as they raised a brood of children, and he rarely fell afoul of the law (this in a period when even such luminaries as Francis Scott Key were prosecuted for assaults). Moreover, his "sprees" usually involved other conspirators, and bystanders often joined in Rabelaisian laughter at the plight of Otter's latest victim.

The world of Otter's "jolly fellows" closely resembles the "rough culture of canal workers" described in Peter Way's recent article on working-class culture in antebellum America ("Evil Humors and Ardent Spirits: The Rough Culture of Canal Construction Laborers," *Journal of American History*, 79 (1993): 1397–1428). Yet there's an important difference: Way emphasizes the desperate nature of unskilled manual laborers' lives; Otter was a highly skilled master craftsman. Moreover, men from the upper ranks of society often joined in his sprees. Otter's sprees weren't desperate attempts to survive a des-

perate situation, they were manifestations of early modern and even medieval world views in which sensitivity to the pain of others could not be taken for granted. One is reminded of the public vivisections of living animals in seventeenth-century London—events attended not only by medical students but also by paying customers from the upper ranks of society. Here Otter's autobiography contributes to another interesting historical debate: when, where, and why did modern "humanitarian" sentiments take root? Obviously not among Otter's associates before 1835! But as editor Paul Stott points out, early nineteenth-century reform movements may well have polarized society, leading Otter and his ilk to progressively more outrageous pre-humanitarian behavior in a reaction against the assault on the less orderly values of their world. In this interpretation, Otter begins life in the mainstream but by 1835 finds himself part of a subculture under siege.

William Otter's *History of My Own Time* is a riveting, disturbing window into the world of rural artisans in the early republic. Paul Stott's thorough, thoughtful, and sometimes brilliant editing and commentary greatly enhance the text. Local historians, students, and academics will love it and hate it all at once, while the old families of Frederick County will either cringe to find their ancestors in league with Otter or sigh with relief at their absence from the *History*. One final note: readers who become repelled by his sense of humor or numbed by his seemingly endless succession of sprees should persist to the end, for the narrative ends with a bang—and an interesting twist.

JIM RICE
Central Washington University

Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century. Edited by Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert. (United States Capitol Historical Society. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994. 733 pages. Contributors, index. $79.50 cloth, $22.95 paper.)

The 1982 book *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, by Neil McKendrick, et al., flatly refuted long-held explanations of the Industrial Revolution by positing that no revolution could have occurred in industry unless it first was preceded by a revolution in consumer demand. Since its publication, scholars have battled endlessly over whether the developments in advertising, marketing, and acquiring in the eighteenth century genuinely amounted to a revolution.

Regardless of which side one chooses to take, the fact remains that by the middle of the eighteenth century, northern Europeans and American colonists were generally living with more objects in the house than did their parents, who in turn had more than their parents. The collection of twelve essays in *Of Consuming Interest* makes a notable addition to the growing bibliography of works exploring the forces of the consumer revolution, including the types of goods

that were acquired, and the impact it had on varying socioeconomic classes.

This large but approachable book gives eloquent and weighty substance to the importance that material objects have as markers for reading societal changes. This book should become a standard in material culture studies, which, despite several decades of emergence as a viable field of inquiry, still is sniffed at by more traditional historians as "pots and pans history."

The scope of this book is perhaps one of its most rewarding aspects. Not too narrowly focused in terms of thesis or region, the essayists cover a wide territory. Kevin Sweeney examines the high-style vernacular of the colonial elite, the population most susceptible to the consumer revolution. Richard Bushman charts the development of advertising and shopping through the century during which time the public ceased accepting what the few shopkeepers foisted upon them and evolved as discerning consumers.

Some essays present new perspectives on consumerism, showing the parallel improvements in the quality of life during the century. Karen Calvert's look at the role of fashions; Cynthia Adams Hoover's examination of music and theater; Nancy L. Sturna's discoveries on the awareness of leisure and sport, and Barbara G. Carson's research on leisure travel all focus on the fact that the consumer revolution resided within a larger context of an overall improvement in life for nearly everyone in the eighteenth century. The basis of the consumer revolution goes far beyond matched tea sets and cheap printed cottons.

Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh present a strong essay on changing lifestyles and consumer behavior in the Chesapeake, based on some 7,500 probate inventories. The strength of statistical, quantifiable evidence lends great weight to the demonstrable fact that in the seventeenth century the wealthy lived similarly to the poor and marked their wealth by having more land or more silver as opposed to larger houses, matched sets of chairs or porcelains, or libraries of books. The eighteenth century witnessed a growing divide as different classes acquired more types and numbers of material goods, and each stratum worked hard at Veblenesque emulative spending. This and several other essays have a strong concentration on the Chesapeake region of Maryland and Virginia and give this book an attractive local interest.

One of the most valuable aspects of the book is that the editors did not choose only essays espousing a particular party line. Edward A. Chappell's exploration of housing and living standards finds that a trend for housing improvements and rebuilding did not occur markedly until the early nineteenth century. Similarly, David D. Hall finds surprising little revolution in book-buying and reading, a trend also noted by Margaretta M. Lovell, who explores paintings. As Chappell observes, this may cool the heady "consumer revolution" factions since an overall improvement in housing may be more reliable "than chamber pots and dressing boxes."

The two concluding essays wrap the assemblage together. T. H. Breen makes a fascinating connection between a rising consumerism and the awareness of

the power of the consumer which permitted the effective deployment of various non-importation acts by Americans gearing for yet a different revolution. This is followed by Cary Carson's exhaustive and eloquent concluding essay which asks why demand took such an upsurge in the eighteenth century when, amazingly, it was virtually unknown two centuries before. His conclusions are meticulously thought out and far too complex to relate here. However, one word of wisdom from Carson: arguments over which revolution, consumer or industrial, drove the other—a chicken and egg issue—are specious. The point remains that, to varying degrees, consumers on all levels enjoyed expanded choices in this seminal century, and our world has never been the same since.

STEPHEN E. PATRICK
Curator, Belair Mansion, Bowie, Md.

The Forerunners: Dutch Jewry in the North American Diaspora. By Robert P. Swierenga. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994. 480 pages. Illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $37.95.)

Historians and genealogists will appreciate the generally thorough research and comprehensive treatment in what the author calls "the first history of Dutch Jews in the United States." General readers may find the statistical tables of local populations and lists of names and occupations to be somewhat tedious.

The author reports the names and numbers of persons who resided in various wards, and at various intervals usually consistent with census enumerations, in Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, and the several so-called Great Lakes Frontier cities from Buffalo in the east to Chicago in the west. The author leaps from Chicago to San Francisco, concluding that "Dutch Jews in the Midwest were a transient lot [who] amalgamated into the larger German community." Indeed, this reviewer wondered how the author accurately differentiated Dutch Jews, whose names are often easy to identify, from families named Levy, Frank, Hamburger, and other German-sounding names.

Swierenga relies on familiar resources for most of his facts concerning Baltimore Jewry, and he cites the well-known families of Hartogensis, Nyburg and others known to have Dutch origins, but also many suspected to be of German origin. A serious lapse in his research, however, and somewhat curious, is the failure to cite Eric L. Goldstein's *Traders and Transports: The Jews of Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore; The Jewish Historical Society of Maryland, 1993), so ably reviewed in an earlier issue of this magazine by Baltimore historian Arthur L. Gutman. While Goldstein's work deals with much earlier immigration by English criminals, both Goldstein and Swierenga relied on the editing expertise of Marc Lee Raphael of the College of William and Mary, who is editor of the quarterly *American Jewish History.* The failure to mention the earlier work is strange indeed when it is inconsistent with Swierenga's claims about early Dutch immigrants.

Other language in the book creates an apparent favoritism or slant for the proposition that Dutch Jews played the leading role in the development of the Jewish community across the land. Without question there were numerous educated and cultured Dutch immigrants who contributed in a significant way to Jewish life; however, even by Swierenga's figures, the number of immigrants was small. His effort to magnify their contribution is laudable but misplaced.

Both the text and the tables provide ample evidence that Dutch Jews constituted the largest share of Jewish technical and crafts persons, as distinct from those in merchant and trading occupations. Jews were primarily urban dwellers, both in Europe and in this country. While Jews were engaged in husbandry and related skills in Europe, most remained in the urban centers. While the Dutch had their share of peddlers and small shopkeepers, it is to their credit that the Dutch, almost exclusively, were the cigarmakers, the skilled jewelers, watchmakers and other craftspersons. The German and Polish immigrants tended toward the clothing and needle trades, as well as the small shopkeeper and similar trades; Dutch immigrants entered these fields later.

Tables of occupational trades in 1870 reveal that 46 percent of Dutch Jews were engaged in skilled and semi-skilled trades, and only 42 percent were in the trading occupations. Within a few years, with the arrival of Eastern European Jews, most Jewish workers would be found in needle trades, stores and shops, the beginnings of the teaching and theater professions, as well as other occupations.

The book contains six chapters, examining New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, New Orleans and the group of Great Lakes Frontier cities from Buffalo to Chicago. The author then moves on to San Francisco, mentioning only casually, if at all, the important Jewish centers in Savannah, Charleston, and Richmond, and many smaller ones in the Midwest. It is possible, of course, that the number of Dutch Jews in other centers just did not warrant the research, or sufficient data was not available to justify an attempt to document the lives of such people.

The author highlights the religious orthodoxy and scholarship of outstanding Dutch clergy in the Jewish communities, especially in New York and then in the West. He asserts that the Dutch Jews clung to orthodoxy longer than their "German" brethren who leaned toward the modernity of Reform Judaism. The later immigrants (1870–1915) were increasingly secular in religion, socialist in politics, and technicians or professionals in their occupations.

As a "first" in examining Dutch immigrants and their American lives, the books performs a valuable service. It points out that the Dutch blended into American Jewry and were scarcely visible as a group by the end of the nineteenth century; in two generations, the author maintains, they lost first their Dutchness, then their orthodoxy. This book attempts to preserve their contributions to American life.

ROBERT L. WEINBERG
Baltimore

The South through Time: A History of an American Region. By John B. Boles. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1995. 542 pp. Index. $33.)

Almost thirty years ago, the late David M. Potter complained that it was the task of historians of the South to come to terms with a region "whose boundaries are indeterminate, whose degree of separateness has fluctuated historically over time, whose distinctiveness may be in some respects fictitious." (Potter, *The South and the Sectional Conflict,* 182) The task may well be beyond the ability of any scholar to accomplish, but John Boles, professor of history at Rice University and managing editor of the *Journal of Southern History,* has made a heroic and largely successful attempt.

Boles has plunged boldly into what is arguably the most fought over and fastest changing area of American history today, and has produced a story that should enlighten not only undergraduates and general readers—his intended audience—but also scholars whose work does not deal specifically with the history of the region. Boles's account ranges from the "First South" of the American Indians to the South of Bill Clinton, Ross Perot, and Jesse Helms. In spite of its scope, it is both highly detailed and richly interpretive. It confronts a range of issues that will occupy the attention of scholars well into the future: the nature of slavery and its impact on contemporary race relations; the role of women both before the Civil War and after; the origins of Jim Crow; the efforts of reformers from populists to progressives to Freedom Riders to make the South more prosperous or more efficient or more humane; the impact of the Great Depression, World War II, and the crusade for civil rights.

Boles is most effective when he is dealing with the area he knows best—the social history of the South before the outbreak of the Civil War. He has made exceptionally good use of the work of scholars who have devised new and ingenious ways to look at society from the bottom up, and to recreate the lives of ordinary southerners—yeoman farmers, artisans and industrial workers, poor whites, women of all classes and both races. This analysis of southern society is only one of many highlights in an extended discussion of the period Boles labels the "National South," the years between the collapse of Britain's control over its southern colonies and the failure of the Confederate bid for independence from the Union.

In any text whose scope is as far-reaching as this one, weaknesses are all but unavoidable. Most of them fall into Boles's discussion of the twentieth-century South. For the most part, his writing is clear and straightforward and even humorous, a characteristic that few writers of textbooks have managed. He weaves analysis into his story without interrupting the narrative flow, at least until he reaches the South of the 1920s and 1930s, when the organization of his material falters. In his handling of the events of those two critical decades he moves from the efforts of the New Deal to solve the section's overwhelming agricultural problems, back to race relations before the turn of the

century, and then forward to the southern literary renaissance. In the process, he overlooks the impact of the Depression and the New Deal on southern industry. His survey of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s is perhaps the most effective portion of the book, but by neglecting to follow up his discussion of the success of the crusade for black civil and political rights with an analysis of the failure of economic and social reform, he leaves the story incomplete and his reader with a overly optimistic impression of race relations in the South today.

Nevertheless, the strengths of this splendid survey of southern history far outweigh its weaknesses. It provides the general reader with a detailed, readable, up-to-the-minute introduction to the history of the region and the teacher of undergraduates with the best possible text. No reader who has even a passing interest in the topic should pass it up.

J. HOLT MERCHANT
Washington and Lee University

Between Justice and Beauty: Race, Planning and the Failure of Urban Policy in Washington, D.C. By Howard Gillette, Jr. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. Pp. 297. Introduction, bibliography, notes, index. $32.95.)

As the bankrupt and incompetent government of the District of Columbia is slowly taken over by the U.S. Congress, the city of Washington, as distinct from the capital of the nation, has again come to national attention and a number of quick-study articles and books have appeared on the subject. Most of these pay scant attention to Washington's history. A few paragraphs or several pages mentioning Pierre L'Enfant, "Boss" Alexander Shepherd, and the McMillan Commission suffice as a historical introduction. For those who want to understand the real historical background of the present crisis, there are, of course, Constance McLaughlin Green's monumental volumes published in the early 1960s, *Washington: Village and Capital, 1800–1878* and *Washington: Capital City, 1879–1950.* Her two-volume history is a grand historical work of the old school: sweeping, monumental, and elegantly written, but tending toward a chronological encyclopedia. Green's history certainly reflects her acute awareness of the city's long-standing and deep division between the gleaming federal core area and its wretched African-American slums, but this dichotomy gets a bit lost in her huge narrative of the city's history. Not so for Howard Gillette, who makes the two Washingtons the central theme of his excellent study. *Between Beauty and Justice* fills the large gap between the present-minded journalistic books on Washington and Green's Olympian tomes. Because it is more clearly analytical in its focus (and Green's volumes are now almost twenty-five years old), Gillette's book offers new insights and perspectives that are of fundamental importance for anyone trying to understand the current urban and racial problems of the Washington area.

As the title indicates, this is not a full-scale history of Washington. Rather, it is a thoughtful analysis of the long-term relationship between the federal government and the city of Washington, which it created as a seat for its operations. The tensions in that relationship have been enormously compounded by its racial dimension. As part of a sectional compromise, the capital was placed in Maryland, a small slave state, across the river from Virginia, the largest slave state in the Union. With land ceded from Maryland, the Congress had free reign to construct any sort of physical plant and socio-economic structure it wished. On the physical planning side, it made a strong start. L'Enfant's great plan for a monumental city is still thrilling to see today—filled out with fine buildings, plazas, and monuments which symbolize the noble dreams of the American republic. Gillette shows, however, that the magnificent creation we see today was only partly the result of L'Enfant's plan. Most of it was salvaged in the twentieth century out of the bits and pieces which an indifferent Congress had lying around the city at the end of the nineteenth century, and it was a major struggle to build what we see today.

On the economic and social side, the federal government's interest was almost totally lacking. Gillette analyzes the halting attempts made by the Congress in the 1820s to promote the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, a project which might have given the city a reasonable economic base, but when the more imaginative and enterprising Baltimoreans developed their famous railroad, the C&O became almost instantly outflanked and added little to Washington's economy. Baltimore boomed while Washington languished as "more of an unkempt village rather than the grand capital city" (2). The federal government failed the city in small as well as large projects. Street paving, lighting, and sewers were either spotty or non-existent for most of the nineteenth century, and there was no attempt to oversee or regulate the development of the city's commercial districts or housing. Large and elegant public buildings and the fine homes of the wealthy sat around the corner from miserable alley dwellings inhabited increasingly by poor African Americans.

Excluded from all employment in the federal government and almost all the better jobs in the private sector, Washington's free African Americans were, in economic terms, little better off than the city's slaves. The chapter on the Civil War era focuses on the great conflict between the city's pro-southern white majority and the increasingly radical Republican Congress seeking to end slavery and give to Washington's African Americans civil and political equality. When the question of black suffrage was put to a vote of the city's white electorate in 1865 they voted 6,591 to 35 against it. Congress ignored this referendum and black males gained the vote in 1867. Partly as a result of the war, and also because of the freer local atmosphere created by the Republican civil rights legislation, freedmen flocked into Washington and their percentage in the city began to rise steadily. However, as radical Republicanism faded, the whites reasserted their control and in the 1870s Congress took control over

the local government partly because the district's white residents and southern congressmen preferred congressional rule to a local government in which they would have to share power with black voters. Gillette's chapters on the 1890–1930 era are especially important and insightful in describing the great renaissance of physical planning in Washington begun by the McMillan Commission and the almost total absence of social reform or slum renovation pleaded for by the city's charity leaders. Since almost all of the city's poor and ill-housed were African Americans, most white residents saw no need to improve their slums or lives. Neither of the national parties did either. The two Washingtons grew even farther apart. The district's planners saw the black slums mostly as convenient sites for new federal buildings. The New Deal did begin a program to replace the disgraceful alley dwellings with more sanitary public housing, but, as Gillette makes clear, by 1940 the basic divide between Washington's 187,000 (mostly) poor blacks and the 474,000 more affluent whites was little changed from what it had been in 1865. The District of Columbia remained the nation's capital with a monumental core of federal buildings and parks surrounded by the racially segregated southern city of Washington. Over the next thirty years this comfortable, white-dominated city was transformed and stood on its head. Racial restrictions on housing fell, the schools were integrated, and in 1974 a new local government for the district was created by Congress. By the end of the 1970s its mayor, Marion Barry, who had been elected by a racially mixed coalition, seemed to symbolize a hopeful new future for the old southern city. Unfortunately, as Gillette explains very well, this era also witnessed a tangled web of bad planning decisions, most of them made by federal officials rather than the new local government. These decisions were often based on the old "monumental city" planning aesthetic rather than the new socio-economic realities of Washington or the wishes of most residents. These sweeping "improvements," along with the continuing influx of black residents ill-prepared to cope with city life, contributed to the growing withdrawal of white residents from the city. The gigantic expansion of both government and civilian employment in the suburbs made Washington an increasingly poor, crime-ridden and fiscally fragile place. As the city began to move into an advanced stage of social and economic pathology in the 1980s and 1990s, its government began to fall apart. Mayor Barry, like the ethnic bosses of the nineteenth century, turned attention away from his own horrendous personal and administrative shortcomings by increasing appeals to African American solidarity rather than multi-racial coalitions or efficient government—a tactic which got him reelected mayor but accelerated the white (and middle-class black) flight out to the suburbs. In the wake of the ensuing fiscal crisis, which began in 1993, the district government has virtually collapsed, replaced by a federally appointed board of financial overseers and increasingly drifting back under congressional control. This at a time when federal budgets are all being greatly reduced.

This is an historical study, so the author is very brief and modest in offering suggestions for the future. Nevertheless, by simply framing the background of the current problems he has rendered a valuable service, not only to people interested in Washington, D.C., but to those concerned about the future of Baltimore. After all, much of the "inner harbor versus the neighborhoods" argument in Baltimore sounds much like the controversy over Washington's "monumental core" and its surrounding black neighborhoods. Therefore, Marylanders have a double duty to read and ponder Gillette's fine book.

JOSEPH L. ARNOLD
University of Maryland, Baltimore County

Jefferson and Madison: Three Conversations from the Founding. By Lance Banning. (Madison: Madison House Publishers, Inc., 1995. 258 pages. Notes, index. $27.95.)

The infant years of the United States were precarious at best as the young country and its leaders formulated their experiment in democracy. Revolutionary statesmen Thomas Jefferson and James Madison faced the challenge of fusing human nature and government into a working model of democracy. By 1789 the new Constitution replaced the Articles of Confederation, and the founding fathers now worked toward ratification. Through the conversations in this book, the indefatigable philosophic energy of the founders comes to life as Jefferson and Madison sift, sort, shuffle, and reshuffle the complex layers of eighteenth-century democratic theory into the working document that serves as the basic manual for American government.

These conversations between Jefferson and Madison are in fact essays, first written by Pulitzer Prize nominee Lance Banning as a series of lectures sponsored by the Center for the Study of the American Constitution. Professor Banning presents his impressive intellectual history of the founding with enviable ease, weaving the documents and letters of Jefferson and Madison into his text, alternately explaining and questioning their thoughts while managing to keep his interpretations within the context of the era. The author also proves himself skilled at letting his subjects speak for themselves and guiding the reader through what could easily be intimidating subjects: the Bill of Rights, public property and public debt, and public spirit.

The first essay looks at Madison's and Jefferson's discussions by letter on the necessity of a federal bill of rights as amendments to the Constitution. Were the rights guaranteed by state governments enough, or should the federal government also protect its citizens? Both men feared a central government that would have any power to encroach on individuals, a valid concern in a world of monarchs and kings. The debate over a federal bill of rights continued until the Federalists adopted the strategy of the Massachusetts state convention

which ratified the Constitution "while recommending certain changes." Madison's tactic of refusing all changes until ratification allowed the document to survive what certainly would have been total revision by the states before it had a chance to become law. Their view of limited central power and state supremacy serves as a reminder that the country in 1789 was a union of states and would not be a nation until the end of the Civil War.

The next essay treats the subject of public property and public debt, and rings with the Jeffersonian ideal that "the land belongs to the living." Professor Banning explains that inheritance in the new country was not a birthright as it was in England, and that there would be no laws of primogeniture or entail to keep productive working men from being landowners. Jefferson also denounced public debt, believing no generation should leave debt for the next. Debt lasting longer than the present term would bring taxation "and in its train wickedness and oppression." This section casts Jefferson as the theorist and Madison as the pragmatic, eager to learn and then apply these ideals to the new government.

The last essay opens with the words of both men on public spirit and rebellion. Jefferson's "a little rebellion now and then is a good thing . . . ," and Madison's "if men were angels, no government would be necessary," are often taken out of context. Placed in their original sphere, they are expressions of democratic theory. Twentieth-century Americans sometimes forget that the founding fathers tied freedom and basic rights together with a duty to serve their government. Little rebellions would keep citizens involved, and because men are not angels those same citizens will also watch their government and its leaders.

The conversations between Jefferson and Madison end halfway through this book. The second half is a collection of the documents referred to in the text. Having these papers at hand is convenient and serves as an easy reference point for the reader.

This work is a successful, thoughtful journey through the minds of Jefferson and Madison during a pivotal point in the growth of the United States. Through these conversations we can understand the philosophy behind the democratic principles of government that are so basic to the American way of life. We are also reminded that government is a result of where we've been as well as where we want to go.

PATRICIA DOCKMAN ANDERSON
Baltimore

His Soul Goes Marching On: Responses to John Brown and the Harper's Ferry Raid. Edited by Paul Finkelman. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995. 372 pages. $65.00 cloth, $19.95 paper.)

Paul Finkelman has brought together a collection of short studies, mostly by

younger scholars, on the impact, or as he puts it, the "responses" to the Harper's Ferry raid and to the trial and execution of John Brown. The book is comprised of a brief but excellent preface by Professor Finkelman, a thoughtful piece by the estimable Bertam Wyatt-Brown that provides a historical and historiographical context and serves as a useful introduction to the book's nine essays on the impact of the Harper's Ferry raid on various groups of supporters and opponents, North, South, and foreign. All of the essays are at least interesting, and some of them, like Finkelman's on how Northern antislavery forces "manufactured" a martyr, are a good deal more than that. James O. Breedon's meticulously researched essay on the secession of southern medical students from Philadelphia medical schools seems at first too narrowly focused but in fact uses this minor incident to take the pulse of opinion North and South. The concluding essay, by Charles Jayner, author of the magnificent *Down by the Riverside*, attempts to put John Brown's raid, execution, and apotheosis in a broader context by employing anthropologist Victor Turner's concept of social drama to explicate Brown's "passion" in the light of American and indeed Western myths and values. It is a thought-provoking piece of work, but perhaps a little too neat to compel conviction.

Ironically, the overall impression one takes away from this very good book is not the importance of John Brown's life and death, though the key role of the whole affair in bringing about the Civil War is certainly reinforced. Instead one finds one's mind reaching back to James G. Randall's long-ago strictures about a "blundering generation" that led the nation into a bloody but avoidable Civil War. Randall complained about the frequency of elections that never let the sectional pots stop boiling, and of ambitious and short-sighted politicians who snatched at partisan advantage in every crisis. The story revealed here is very like that. To politicians of every stripe—northern abolitionists, Republicans, northern and southern Democrats, Constitutional Unionists, Fireaters, and Governor Wise of Virginia, who for political reasons executed a man he believed to be insane—the first impulse was to cover their respective hindquarters and then check the political winds to see which way this tragedy would cut with the voters and how it could be turned to partisan advantage. Right or wrong, sane or crazy, old John Brown believed in something and was willing to sacrifice himself for it. He is the only hero in this book.

JOHN G. VAN OSDELL
Towson State University

Books in Brief

In the 1890s, John J. McGraw and his teammates, the Baltimore Orioles, dominated the game of baseball with a combination of intimidation and talent. McGraw, known to be a famous umpire-baiter, later put his winning strategies to work as the manager of the New York Giants, and became a well-known figure in popular culture. In *My Thirty Years in Baseball,* John McGraw shares baseball stories, his opinions of the players of his day, and thoughts on dozens of other topics. The chapters of this book originally appeared as a series of newspaper articles, and were published under one cover in 1923. H. L. Mencken called McGraw's work "the life story of a man of salient and charming personality, told simply, honestly, and winningly." Bison Books now offers a rather muddy reprint with a new introduction.

University of Nebraska Press, $12.95

St. Paul's Church, Kent, was established in colonial Maryland in 1692. This congregation now proudly presents to readers *A Tricentennial History of St. Paul's Church, Kent,* edited by Davy H. McCall. The history, written by a number of parishioners, chronicles three centuries of activity and provides details on the generations who have worked together for their parish. Further information on the book may be obtained by calling the church office at (410) 778-1540.

St. Paul's Church, Kent, $10.00

A new study of British soldiers' experiences in eighteenth-century America is now available from the British press, Picton Publishing. *Escape in America* focuses on those British soldiers who were captured during the American Revolution but managed to escape. Author Richard Sampson examines how Americans dealt with questions of how to handle these prisoners of war. This publication is distributed by Anglo Books, P.O. Box 575, Salem, South Carolina 29676.

Picton Publishing, $30.00

A Maryland Paperback Bookshelf edition of *The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789–1994* is now available. This book, which first appeared in 1989, examines the history of the Archdiocese in the context of the evolution of religious culture and Roman Catholicism in the United States. For the 1995 edition, author Thomas Spalding added an epilogue covering the years 1974–1994. This book has been brought to publication with the generous assistance of a grant from the Xaverian Brothers.

Johns Hopkins University Press, $18.95

Maryland author Clara Ann Simmons has written a new children's book in which she chronicles the history of the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis. *The Story of the U. S. Naval Academy* is written for students in grades four through eight, and uses lively text and over sixty illustrations to explain why a training school was needed for naval officers, how the school began at an old Army fort, and how it has grown in this century. The easy-to-read hardback volume also acquaints readers with the campus in Annapolis.

Naval Institute Press, $16.95

From Seminary to Parish: A History of the Holy Family Catholic Church, 1890–1994 tells the story of one hundred years of a Catholic parish in Davidsonville, Maryland. Author Patricia Holland discusses the important role of the Marists in the early development of this church, and the parish community that grew and thrived there. The history includes a time line, photographs, and drawings. Further inquiries about this book may be directed to the parish office at (410) 269-0586 or (301) 261-7399.

Eastwind Publishing for Holy Family Catholic Church, $20.00

Mary Sue Pagan Latini is a food historian and volunteer at the 1840 House, Baltimore City Life Museums, where she demonstrates open hearth cooking in the house kitchen. In *At the Hearth: Early American Recipes,* Latini shares dozens of recipes that she has found to be part of America's colonial and pioneer history. Each entry provides instructions for preparing the food by "hearth method" as well as by "modern method," and includes information on the history of the dish.

American Literary Press, $14.95

From the Cannon's Mouth: The Civil War Letters of General Alpheus S. Williams was first published jointly in 1959 by the Detroit Historical Society and Wayne State University Press. Alpheus Williams was a 51-year-old brigadier general of volunteers in the Army of the Potomac. His letters to his daughters discuss the people and events that have become most famous in Civil War history. Bison Books now presents a reprint of this volume which was edited by Milo M. Quaife.

University of Nebraska Press, $15.00

Kenneth W. Rendall, a rare and historical documents dealer, has written a new book for both novice and expert collectors of manuscripts. In *History Comes to Life: Collecting Historical Letters and Documents,* the author discusses why people collect, how to identify a forged document, and what popular areas of collecting are today. The attractive volume also includes hundreds of reproduced autographs, examples of rare documents, and a bibliography for further reference.

University of Oklahoma Press, $29.95

Donald M. Kington, a retired U. S. Army colonel, has written what appears to be the first account of the Citizens Military Training Camps, which operated throughout the country (at the instigation of General John J. Pershing) from 1921 to 1940, in *Forgotten Summers.* CMTC activities at Forts Meade, Hoyle, and Howard in Maryland are covered in this paperback book, which combines social history of the times with military history. Fort Howard housed one of the few CMTC camps for African-American candidates in the days before the military services were racially integrated. The publisher is located at Box 167, 3739 Balboa Street, San Francisco, California 94121.

Two Decades Publishing, $18.95

Born in Germany, the artist John Lewis Krimmel (1786–1821) immigrated to Philadelphia in 1809, where he worked until his accidental death by drowning. America's first genre painter, his work exerted a profound influence on William Sidney Mount, George Caleb Bingham, and Thomas Eakins. Anneliese Harding's *John Lewis Krimmel: Genre Artist of the Early Republic* provides a thorough examination of his stylistic development and sources of inspiration, paying particular attention to the contents of his seven sketchbooks at the Winterthur library in Delaware. The author discusses Krimmel's visit to Europe between 1816 and 1818, and analyses the effects that experience had on the paintings he executed after reutrning to America. This well-illustrated volume contains much new information, and must be regarded as the standard work on the artist.

The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Inc., $60.00

JMP

In the Mail

In the Fall 1995 issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (376), Ms. Betty Bandel expresses surprise that Bernard Bailyn's work is not cited in the bibliography of my book, *The Price of Nationhood: The American Revolution in Charles County* (1994). Please note that my "Select List of Sources" includes only primary, documentary sources and bibliographic aids, not secondary works. The "Notes" section includes full citations to all sources I utilized in writing the book. References to Bailyn's work, for example, appear on pages 314-315.

Jean B. Lee
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

The recent issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (Fall 1995) contained very interesting articles on a variety of subjects. The article "The Feuding Governors: Andros and Nicholson at Odds in Colonial Maryland" by Christopher T. George was especially interesting. However, I was puzzled by the author's statement on page 339 that "Lord Howard of Effingham, the man named as governor-general, never visited Virginia, a circumstance that was common among Virginia's royal governors prior to the American Revolution."

I was under the impression that Lord Howard of Effingham had been in Virginia and had enjoyed the pleasant climate of Rosegill in Middlesex County, the large home built by Ralph Wormeley. Though thoroughly disliked for his political positions which were contested by the Burgesses, he was able to conclude a treaty with the Five Nations at Albany in which the Indians agreed to "keep away from the English settlements in Virginia and to stop their attacks on the Indians friendly to that Colony." (Richard L. Morton, *Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: published for the Virginia Historical Society by the University of North Carolina Press, 1960), vol. II, 314–317.

In Mary Newton Stanard, *The Story of Virginia's First Century* (Philadelphia: Lippincott & Company, 1928), 303, the author states: "In October 1688 Governor Effingham told the Council [of} 'being in Accomac last summer.'" I could mention other references but that would be redundant. Perhaps these authors are incorrect, but since there are quite a number of them I am led to believe that Lord Howard of Effingham did come to Virginia and on the whole made himself thoroughly disliked. No doubt the Virginians were glad to have him return to England and his place taken by Lieutenant Governor Nicholson.

Florence Bayly DeWitt Howard
Wheaton MD

Notices

Restoration of Baltimore's Battle Monument

The War of 1812 Consortium is working with Baltimore's Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation (CHAP) to restore the monument built to honor those killed in the Battle of Baltimore during the War of 1812. This monument is located on Calvert Street in downtown Baltimore, and its image appears on the city's seal. The structure, which today shows signs of age and abuse, was executed by sculptor Antonio Capellano from a design by Maximilian Godefroy. CHAP has surveyed the structure, and seeks city, state, and federal funds as well as private donations to restore the Battle Monument and initiate a long-term maintenance program. A rededication of the restored monument is scheduled for September 12, 1997. To find out more about this restoration effort, write to War of 1812 Consortium, c/o The Star Spangled Banner Flag House and 1812 Museum, 844 East Pratt Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21202.

U.S. Naval Institute Photograph Contest

The U.S. Naval Institute invites entries for its 34th Annual Naval and Maritime Photograph Contest. The contest is open to both amateur and professional photographers, and cash prizes of $500, $300, and $250 will be awarded to the photographers of the top three entries. In addition, fifteen Honorable Mention winners will each receive $100. Photographs must pertain to a naval or maritime subject and may be black and white prints, color prints, or color transparencies. Minimum acceptable print size is 5"x7" and transparencies must be in 35mm format. Each entry must include a separate sheet of paper with a caption and the photographer's name, telephone number, social security number, and address. Eligible photos are not limited to those taken this year, but must not have been previously published. The Naval Institute will publish the winning photographs in its April 1996 publication *Proceedings.* There is a limit of five entries per person, and entries must be postmarked on or before December 31, 1995. Photographs will not be returned unless accompanied by a stamped self-addressed envelope. Mail all entries to Naval and Maritime Photo Contest, U. S. Naval Institute, 118 Maryland Avenue, Annapolis, Maryland 21402-5035.

New War of 1812 Publication

Now being published quarterly in newsletter form is the *Journal of the War of 1812 and the Era 1800 to 1840.* This publication will carry articles on the War of 1812 and on social, architectural, military, industrial, and archaeologi-

cal topics relating to the first four decades of the nineteenth century. Additional features include book reviews and a calendar of related events. The next issue is due out on January 15, 1996, and new subscribers as well as contributors are welcome. For more information, write to Christopher T. George, Editor, *Journal of the War of 1812 and the Era 1800 to 1840,* c/o The Star Spangled Banner Flag House and 1812 Museum, 844 E. Pratt Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21202.

New York State Historical Association Award

The New York State Historical Association invites manuscripts for its 1996 award. The award consists of a $1500 prize and assistance in publication, and is presented each year to the best unpublished, book-length monograph dealing with any aspect of the history of New York State. Biographies of individuals whose careers illuminate aspects of the state's history are acceptable, as well as manuscripts dealing with arts or literature, provided that the methodology is historical. Works of fiction and works of article length are not eligible. Deadline for entries is January 20, 1996. Manuscripts (two unbound copies) and requests for information should be sent to Wendell Tripp, Director of Publications, New York State Historical Association, P.O. Box 800, Cooperstown, New York 13326.

Conference on Southern History

The Department of History at the University of Mississippi announces the 1996 Graduate Conference on Southern History, which will be held on March 8–9, 1996. The committee is soliciting papers concerning all aspects of southern history. Topics ranging from the colonial period to the present are welcome, as well as comparative studies. Deadline for submission is January 15, 1996. For more information, write to David Libby or Joe Wojak at Graduate Conference on Southern History, Department of History, University of Mississippi, University, Mississippi 38677.

Historic Natchez Conference

The Second Biennial Historic Natchez Conference will take place on January 30–February 3, 1996, in Natchez, Mississippi. The theme of this conference is "Reflections on the History of the Old Natchez District: Becoming Southern in Time and Place" and admission to lectures is free of charge. For more information, contact The Historic Natchez Foundation at (601) 442-2500, or P.O. Box 1761, Natchez, Mississippi 39121.

JMP

Historic Trees of Maryland (A Series)

This American holly (ilex opaca), firmly rooted beside the railroad tracks in the Cecil County town of Jackson, attracted the attention of Baltimore & Ohio vice president George M. Shriver as he traveled on the main line between Philadelphia and Baltimore in 1930. He arranged to buy the land and the tree for the B&O. Holiday traditions associated with this evergreen originated after World War II. For decorations, the B&O gathered 1,300 colored lights, 900 grapefruit-size ornaments, and a stainless steel star crafted in the railroad shop at Mount Clare. For the lighting ceremonies the company ran excursion trains carrying the B&O Glee Club and the B&O Women's Music Club. The groups sang carols around the tree. Holly sprigs appeared in the lapels of B&O employees. Passing trains reduced speed so passengers could observe the tree in its illuminated glory. Two Baltimoreans, Bertha Keiningham and Katherine E. Lucke, composed a holiday anthem in honor of the tree. Since 1972, Cecil County's Parks and Recreation Department has continued the holiday tradition with an annual lighting ceremony and day-long festival. (Maryland Historical Society.)

JMP

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

Maryland Picture Puzzle

Challenge your knowledge of northeastern Maryland by identifying the location and date of this image. What is all the commotion and which body of water is shown frozen? Send your answers to Prints & Photographs, Maryland Historical Society, 201 E. Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201.

The Fall 1995 Picture Puzzle depicts the Brown Veil Club, also known as the "Monument Street Girls," who, during the Civil War, sewed uniforms for local men who fled the city to join the Confederate army. Their most lasting contribution was setting James Ryder Randall's poem "Maryland! My Maryland!" to the music of "Lauriger Horatius," then changing the meter of the second and fourth lines of each stanza. Rebecca Lloyd Nicholson (standing right) convinced publishers Miller and Beacham to print the sheet music secretly, and employee Charles Ellerbrock substituted the music of "Tannenbaum, O Tannenbaum." Popular among Confederates, "Maryland! My Maryland!" became the official state song by act of the General Assembly in 1939. The group's most famous members, Hettie and Jennie Cary, fled to Richmond in 1861 and are not in this photograph. Shown standing with Nicholson is Henrietta Penniman Carrington; seated left to right are Sophia Sargeant, Alice Wright, Rebecca Gordon, and Ida Winn.

Congratulations to Raymond Martin, Percy Martin, and Karen O'Connor Williams, who correctly identified the Summer 1995 Picture Puzzle.

AA

Index to Volume 90

UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE™

Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation

(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1. Publication Title	2. Publication No.	3. Filing Date
MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE	0 0 2 5 - 4 2 5 8	11/15/95
4. Issue Frequency	5. No. of Issues Published Annually	6. Annual Subscription Price
Quarterly	4	$40.00

7. Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication *(Street, City, County, State, and ZIP+4) (Not Printer)*

201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201

8. Complete Mailing Address of Headquarters or General Business Office of Publisher *(Not Printer)*

Same

9. Full Names and Complete Mailing Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor *(Do Not Leave Blank)*

Publisher *(Name and Complete Mailing Address)*

Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Balto. MD 21201

Editor *(Name and Complete Mailing Address)*

Ernest L. Scott, Jr. 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201

Managing Editor *(Name and Complete Mailing Address)*

Jessica Pigza, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201

10. Owner *(If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereafter the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of the total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address as well as that of each individual must be given. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, its name and address must be stated.) (Do Not Leave Blank.)*

Full Name	Complete Mailing Address
The Maryland Historical Society	201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, MD 21201

11. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages, or Other Securities. If none, check here. ☐ None

Full Name	Complete Mailing Address

12. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates. The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for federal income tax purposes: *(Check one)*

☐ Has Not Changed During Preceding 12 Months

☐ Has Changed During Preceding 12 Months *(If changed, publisher must submit explanation of change with this statement)*

PS Form **3526,** October 1994 *(See Instructions on Reverse)*

13. Publication Name	14. Issue Date for Circulation Data Below
Maryland Historical Magazine	Fall 1995 (October

15. Extent and Nature of Circulation	Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Actual No. Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date
a. Total No. Copies *(Net Press Run)*	5585	5872
b. Paid and/or Requested Circulation (1) Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors, and Counter Sales *(Not Mailed)*	87	95
(2) Paid or Requested Mail Subscriptions *(Include Advertisers' Proof Copies/Exchange Copies)*	4949	4714
c. Total Paid and/or Requested Circulation *(Sum of 15b(1) and 15b(2))*	5036	4809
d. Free Distribution by Mail *(Samples, Complimentary, and Other Free)*	81	92
e. Free Distribution Outside the Mail *(Carriers or Other Means)*	43	119
f. Total Free Distribution *(Sum of 15d and 15e)*	124	211
g. Total Distribution *(Sum of 15c and 15f)*	5160	5020
h. Copies Not Distributed (1) Office Use, Leftovers, Spoiled	433	844
(2) Return from News Agents	12	8
i. Total *(Sum of 15g, 15h(1), and 15h(2))*	5585	5872
Percent Paid and/or Requested Circulation *(15c / 15g x 100)*	97.5	95.8

16. This Statement of Ownership will be printed in the Winter 1995 issue of this publication. ☐ Check box if not required to publish.

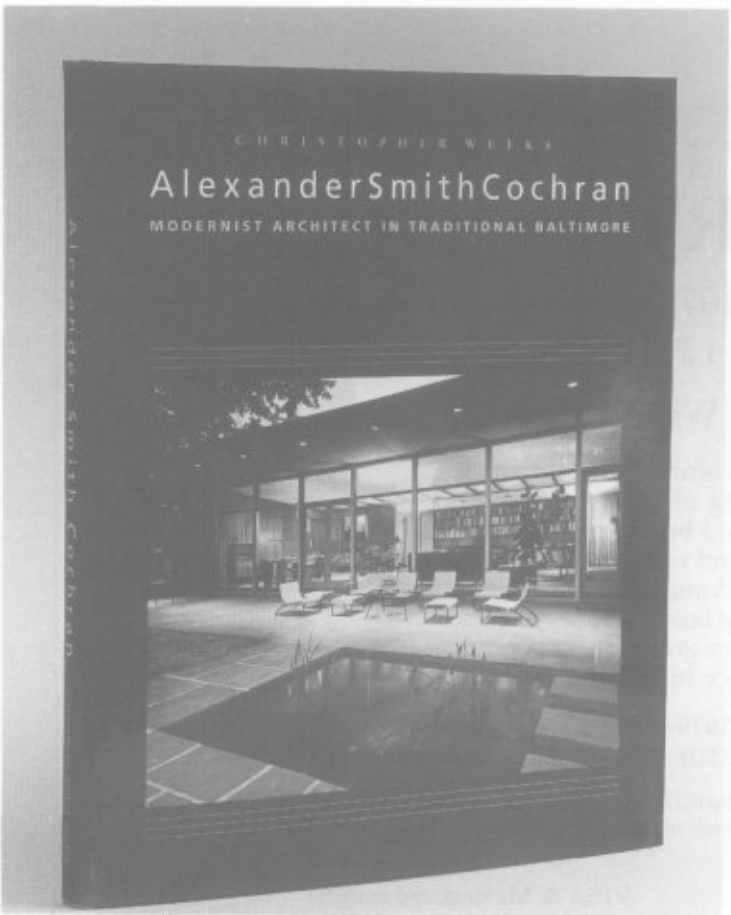
17. Signature and Title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager, or Owner — Date

11/15/95

I certify that all information furnished on this form is true and complete. I understand that anyone who furnishes false or misleading information on this form or who omits material or information requested on the form may be subject to criminal sanctions *(including fines and imprisonment)* and/or civil sanctions *(including multiple damages and civil penalties).*

New . . . from the

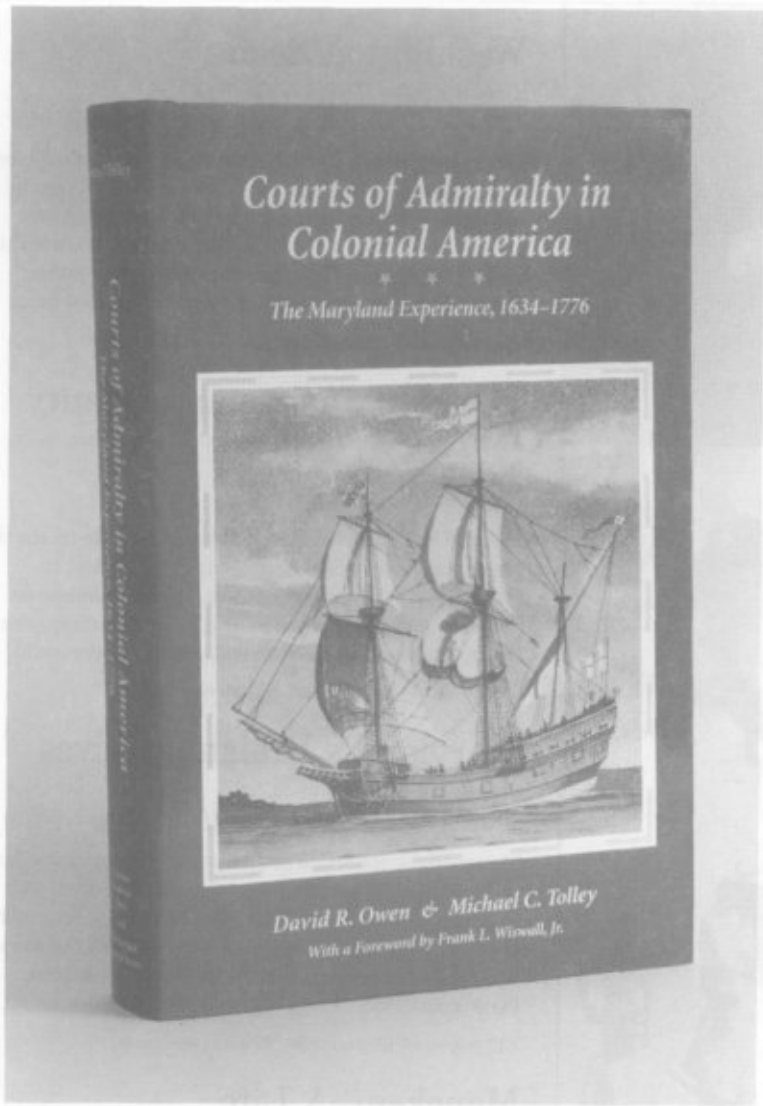
Maryland Historical Society



Alexander Cochran was influenced by Walter Gropius, Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Cobusier, and other modernists at Yale and Harvard. He returned to his native Baltimore determined to make a difference in both private and public design. In time, the power of his ideas helped change the face of his city and pointed the way to the famed renaissance of Baltimore's downtown in the 1960s.

Architectural historian Christopher Weeks combines a lively biography of this multifaceted man with a splendid photo gallery of Cochran's most interesting and important work.

184 pages Over a hundred photographs and architectural drawings $29.95

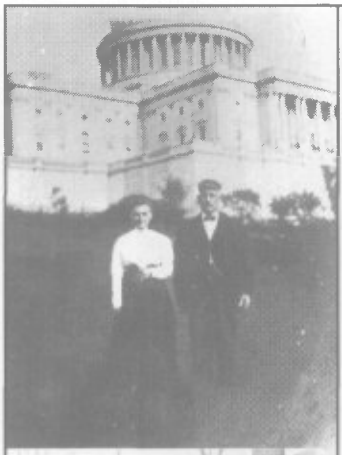


Based on extensive research on both sides of the Atlantic, this new book offers a compelling story for general readers and specialists alike. A deeply experienced admiralty lawyer (Owen) and a political scientist (Tolley) interested in American constitutional development collaborate in tracing the admiralty law system as it was transmitted from England to colonial America and showing how eighteenth-century experience in admiralty courts helped to shape the development of American law in the early years of the Republic.

456 pages Illustrated $45.00

Published by Carolina Academic Press in Association with the Maryland Historical Society

MHS members may order at the usual 10% discount from Publications Marketing, Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201. Please add 5% sales tax and $2.00 for shipping and handling. All other orders to Carolina Academic Press, 700 Kent Street, Durham, NC 27701



Washington Seen

A Photographic History, 1875-1965

Fredric M. Miller and Howard Gillette Jr.

Fredric Miller and Howard Gillette bring together more than 350 unique photographs from the Gilded Age to the Great Society. Throughout, the focus is not on streets and monuments but on the complex relationships among the *people* of Washington—men and women, black and white—and the way they worked and lived.

288 pages, 357 photographs, $35.95 hardcover

Between Justice and Beauty

Race, Planning, and the Failure of Urban Policy in Washington, D.C.

Howard Gillette Jr.

From 1790 to Marion Barry, Howard Gillette traces the ambiguous legacy of congressional involvement in Washington's urban development. Despite ambitious planning and generous spending, federal participation in Washington's affairs has proven largely unsuccessful.

256 pages, 35 illustrations, $32.95 hardcover

Maryland's Vanishing Lives

John Sherwood

with photographs by Edwin H. Remsberg

"A handsome collection of essays and photographs that celebrates . . . blue collars and skinned knuckles, the stubbornness and pride that led some to continue with trades they learned long ago, not caring that the world has long since passed them by."—David Nicholson, *Washington Post*

232 pages, 66 photographs, $25.95 paperback

Mencken: A Life

Fred Hobson

"A beautifully crafted, thoroughly entertaining and intellectually unsentimental book that even Mencken might find met his standards."—Jack W. Germond, *Baltimore Sun*

688 pages, 32 illustrations, $17.95 paperback

The Premier See

A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789-1994

Thomas W. Spalding

"A 'top of the line' book that belongs in the collection of every serious historian of the Free State. . . . Spalding's research is extraordinary and accurate."—Father Michael Roach, *Catholic Review*

624 pages, 57 illustrations, $18.95 paperback

Available at bookstores or from

The Johns Hopkins University Press

Hampden Station, Baltimore, Maryland 21211

To order, call 1-800-537-5487.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

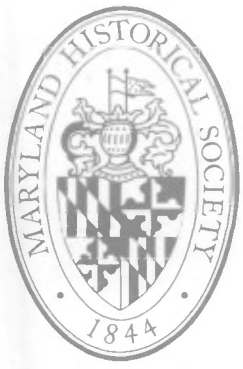
Selected Publications List

* CALLCOTT, GEORGE H. *Maryland Political Behavior.* 64pp. 1986. $7.95 ($7.15)
* *Chesapeake Wildfowl Hunting: Maryland's Finest Decoys.* 108pp. Color illus. 1991. (soft cover) $14.95 ($13.45)
* COLWILL, STILES T. *The Lives and Paintings of Alfred Partridge Klots and His Son, Trafford Partridge Klots.* 136pp. Illus. 1979. $12.95 ($11.65)
* COTTOM, ROBERT I. and HAYWARD, MARY ELLEN, *Maryland in the Civil War: A House Divided.* 128pp. Illus. 1994 $24.95 paper
* ELLIS, DONNA, and STUART, KAREN. *The Calvert Papers Calendar and Guide to the Microfilm Edition.* 202pp. Illus. 1989 $17.95 ($16.15)
* FOSTER, JAMES W. *George Calvert: The Early Years.* 128pp. 1983. $6.95 ($6.25)
* GOLDSBOROUGH, JENNIFER F. *Silver in Maryland.* 334pp. 1983. $30.00 ($27.00)
* GOLDSBOROUGH, JENNIFER F. *Lavish Legacies: Baltimore Album and Related Quilts in the Collection of the Maryland Historical Society.* 140pp. Color illus. 1994. (soft cover) $37.50 ($33.75) (limited, signed hard cover) $60 ($54)
* HAYWARD, MARY ELLEN. *Maryland's Maritime Heritage: A Guide to the Collections of the Radcliffe Maritime Museum.* 31pp. Illus. 1984 $5.00 ($4.50)
* KAHN, PHILLIP JR. *A Stitch in Time The Four Seasons of Baltimore's Needle Trades.* 242 pp. Illus. 1989 $15.00 ($13.50)
* KENNY, HAMILL. *The Placenames of Maryland: Their Origin and Meaning.* 352pp. 1984. $12.00 ($10.80)
* KEY, BETTY MCKEEVER. *Maryland Manual of Oral History.* 47pp. 1979 $5.00 ($4.50)
* KEY, BETTY MCKEEVER. *Oral History in Maryland: A Directory.* 44pp. 1981. $5.00 ($4.50)
* MARKS, LILLIAN BAYLY. *Reister's Desire: The Origins of Reisterstown . . . (Reister and allied families).* 251pp. 1975. $15.00 ($13.50)
* *MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINES.* $6.00 per issue.
* MEYER, MARY K. *Genealogical Research in Maryland—A Guide.* 4th Ed. 1992. $12.00 ($10.80)
* *(Peale Family) Four Generations of Commissions: The Peale Collection of the Maryland Historical Society.* 187pp. Illus. 1975. $9.95 ($8.95)
* PEDLEY, AVRIL J. M. *The Manuscript Collections of the Maryland Historical Society.* Supplemented by #13 390pp. 1968. $20.00 ($18.00)
* PORTER, FRANK W., III. *Maryland Indians Yesterday and Today.* 26pp. 1983. $4.95 ($4.45)
* POWER, GARRETT. *Parceling Out Land in Baltimore, 1632–1796.* 56pp. 1994. $5.00 ($4.50).
* RUSSO, JEAN B., *Unlocking the Secrets of Time: Maryland's Hidden Heritage.* 110 pp. 1991. $8.95 ($8.05).
* STIVERSON, GREGORY A. and JACOBSEN, PHEBE R. *William Paca: A Biography.* 103pp. Illus. 1976. (soft cover) $8.95 ($8.05)
* WEIDMAN, GREGORY R. *Furniture in Maryland, 1740–1940 in the Collection of the Maryland Historical Society.* 344pp. 1984. $37.50 ($33.75)
* WEIDMAN, GREGORY R. and GOLDSBOROUGH, JENNIFER F., *Classical Maryland 1815–1845: Fine and Decorative Arts from the Golden Age.* 185pp. Color illus. $37.50 ($33.80).

Members of the Maryland Historical Society may take the discounted price (10 percent) in parentheses above. Prices subject to change. All orders must be prepaid. Maryland residents add 5 percent state sales tax. Include postage and handling charge of $2.00 for the first item and $.50 for each additional item. *Address orders to:* Publications Marketing, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201. An annotated catalog of Maryland Historical Society publications is available on request.

Letters to the Editor are welcome. Letters should be as brief as possible. Address Editor's Mail, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201. Include the writer's name, address, and daytime telephone number. Letters may be edited for clarity and space.

The Maryland Historical Magazine welcomes submissions from authors. All articles will be acknowledged, but only those accompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelopes will be returned. Submissions should be printed or typed manuscript. Once accepted, articles should be on 3.5-inch (preferably) or 5.25-inch disks for IBM (or compatible) PCs or Macintosh. Preferred word-processing programs are Wordperfect 6.0 or Microsoft Word 5.1. Guidelines for contributors are available on request. Address the Managing Editor.



The Journal of the Maryland Historical Societ