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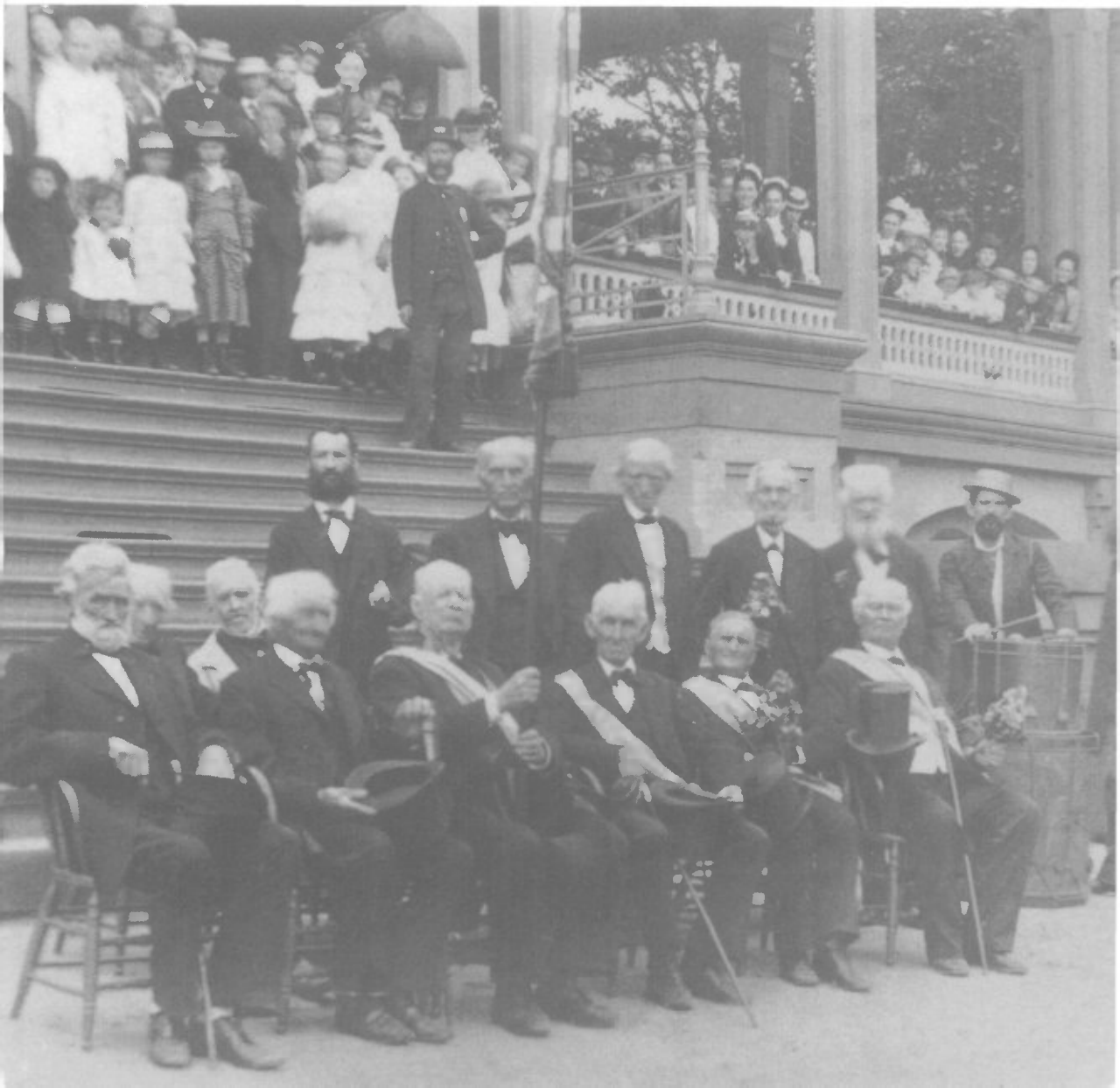
MARYLAND
Historical Magazine



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VOLUME 92, 3 (FALL 1997)

CONTENTS

Cover: The Old Defenders, 1880

Maryland's veterans of the War of 1812 posed for this photograph in Druid Hill Park during Baltimore's sesquicentennial celebration. The city's tribute to the Old Defenders preceded by nearly four decades the creation of Veterans' Day as an official national holiday. The *Maryland Historical Magazine* is proud to recognize all of the Old Line State's military veterans.

P.D.A.

Editor's Notebook

Reviews and News

As most readers of this magazine are aware, the Maryland Historical Society has a reinvigorated Publications Division that each year issues between two and four new books on Maryland and regional history. In calendar 1997, for example, the Society has released a chapter in local history, *Middling Planters of Ruxton, 1694–1850,* by Joseph M. Coale III, and the biography of an eminent nineteenth-century religious and scientific figure, *John Gottlieb Morris: Man of God, Man of Science,* by Michael J. Kurtz. Later this year the MHS will release *Builders of Annapolis,* by Norman K. Risjord. In the past, our books sometimes have been reviewed in this magazine. That policy I must now reluctantly discontinue.

Part of an editor's job is to do unpleasant things. (Thank heavens that is only *part* of the job.) In this case, to deny authors of books we publish the natural exposure they rightly expect appears doubly cruel because no other local vehicle exists. With the distinguished exception of James H. Bready's monthly column on local books and authors—and books and authors have no greater friend than Mr. Bready, anywhere—the *Baltimore Sun* has for the most part momentarily turned its back on local publishing. Furthermore, members of this Society have the right to know about our new books, and it has been pointed out to this desk that the magazine properly should be the vehicle to inform them. That argument finds no opposition here.

But to those who think this discontinuance unnecessary, perhaps priggish, I call your attention to the plight of the reviewer. As those who have done it know, reviewing books is hard work. It requires skillful criticism, elegant writing, and extensive knowledge of the field. These constitute a considerable burden, enough to bear without the extra weight of imposition from outside. Very simply, what is a reviewer to think when the publisher requests a review of the publisher's book in the publisher's journal? More importantly, what should serious people think when that review appears?

To these reasons not to review our own books I would add another: a strong concern for the reputation of this distinguished journal and the imprint of the Maryland Historical Society. The MHS is currently in a burst of growth, enjoying renewed strength, widening support, and marvelous creative energy. As its role in interpreting state history expands—and its publications list grows—there must be no doubt about its professionalism. For the sake of our authors, our reviewers, our members, and Marylanders everywhere devoted to their history, we must avoid at all costs even the faintest suspicion of manipulation.

We, the magazine staff that is, will therefore provide a new feature. MHS

Book Notes will appear from time to time when new titles warrant, as a non-judgmental description of recent MHS books. We will attempt to strike out adjectives. We will neither praise nor criticize but provide a full description of research methods, techniques, emphases, overall content, etc. Authors can rest assured that we will extensively promote and distribute their works for review in appropriate media. Reviewers can know that we ask naught but their honest opinions. Readers of this journal will get a better idea of a book's import and interest without wondering how a reviewer coped with a decidedly awkward situation.

We trust that readers, who expect the highest standards from this institution, will understand the reasons for this decision. We will implement this policy with books published by the MHS this year.

❑❑❑

We call your attention to the opening of the Thomas Stone National Historic Site at Stone's eighteenth-century residence, Haberdeventure, north of Port Tobacco. The house has been restored and will be administered by the National Park Service. The dedication will take place November 2, 1997, and the ceremony's keynote speaker is Jean B. Lee, whose article on Stone follows.

R.I.C.

Correction

We report a typesetting error in Richard Striner's review of *American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson*, by Joseph J. Ellis (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), on page 239 of the summer issue. The paragraph beginning, "Both Adams and Madison, in their different ways, . . ." is not indented and appears to have been written by the reviewer. In fact the prose is the author's. We regret the error and apologize to Mr. Ellis, Professor Striner, and the publisher.

Thomas Stone (1743–1787), youngest of Maryland's four signers of the Declaration of Independence, slipped into obscurity in the early nineteenth century. (Library of Congress.)

In Search of Thomas Stone, Essential Revolutionary

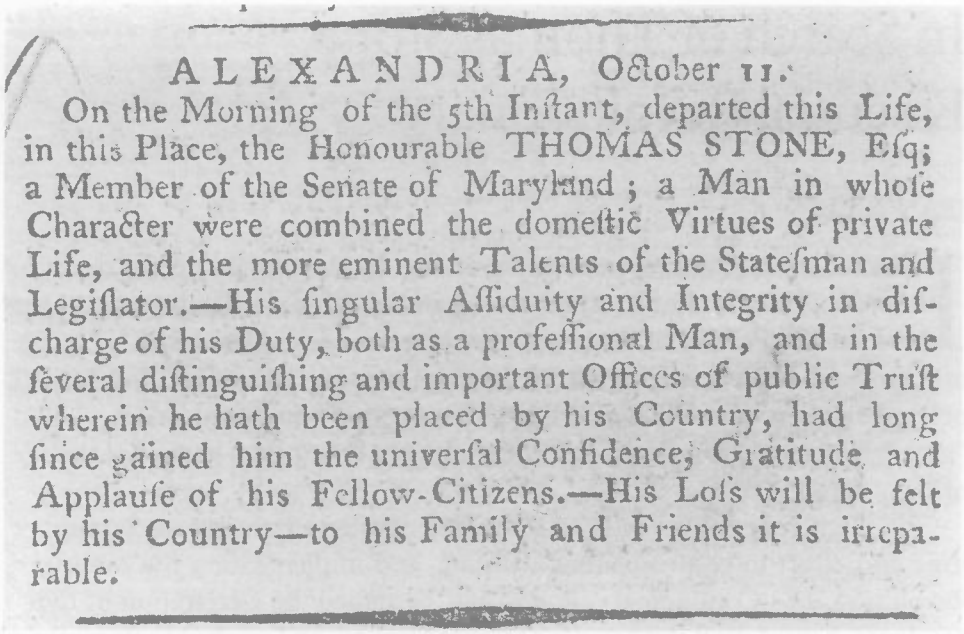
JEAN B. LEE

In October 1787, feeling weak and grieving deeply over the recent death of his wife, Thomas Stone waited at Alexandria, Virginia, for passage to the West Indies. Friends of the prominent Marylander expected that "a change of Climate & objects would better his health of body and mind," but he was pessimistic. In a farewell letter to his only son, Stone predicted that he would "not see you more." On October 5, still waiting to board ship, he died at the age of forty-four.[1]

Since entering politics in 1774, Stone had devoted a tremendous amount of time and effort to contemplating, defining, and implementing the American Revolution. As a Continental congressman, he signed the Declaration of Independence, helped draft the Articles of Confederation, and worked to strengthen the weak national government established under them. As a member of the Maryland Senate from its inception in 1777 until his death, he significantly influenced the transition from colony to state, from proprietary to republican government. In committee rooms and on the floors of Congress and the state legislature, occasionally in the press, he debated vital issues linked to creating the nation. More than once Stone also represented Maryland in negotiations with Virginia, most notably at the Mount Vernon Conference of 1785, which set in motion the process that led two years later to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. Although he did not fight in the War for Independence, he actively participated in the war effort, whether at home in his native Charles County, attending Senate sessions in Annapolis, or representing Maryland in the Continental Congress. Small wonder, therefore, that Stone's obituary not only credited him with "eminent Talents of the Statesman and Legislator," which "had long since gained him the universal Confidence, Gratitude and Applause of his Fellow Citizens," but also predicted that "His loss will be felt by his Country."[2]

The nation may have felt Stone's loss, but knowledge of his role in the Revolution soon faded from public memory. By the early nineteenth century only the sketchiest outline of his busy and productive career was available. Today, he remains Maryland's least known signer of the Declaration and also one of the nation's least remembered founders. This essay considers why Stone so quickly

Jean B. Lee is the author of The Price of Nationhood: The American Revolution in Charles County *(1994).*



ALEXANDRIA, October 11.

On the Morning of the 5th Inſtant, departed this Life, in this Place, the Honourable THOMAS STONE, Eſq; a Member of the Senate of Maryland; a Man in whoſe Character were combined the domeſtic Virtues of private Life, and the more eminent Talents of the Stateſman and Legiſlator.—His ſingular Aſſiduity and Integrity in diſcharge of his Duty, both as a profeſſional Man, and in the ſeveral diſtinguiſhing and important Offices of public Truſt wherein he hath been placed by his Country, had long ſince gained him the univerſal Confidence, Gratitude and Applauſe of his Fellow-Citizens.—His Loſs will be felt by his Country—to his Family and Friends it is irreparable.

Thomas Stone's obituary in the Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser, *October 16, 1787, noted a life of virtue and pubic trust. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

became obscure, a question related to broader issues of how the American Revolution was remembered from one generation to another. The essay also examines the construction, over the last two centuries, of opposing interpretations of Stone as a revolutionary. In the early nineteenth century, a narrative of inconstant authenticity, but great longevity, depicted a man ahead of his time in championing colonial rights. In the twentieth century, this narrative yielded to a scenario of a cautious, even reluctant patriot whose peers habitually overshadowed him. As this essay seeks to demonstrate, neither approach penetrates the life of a complex man who acutely and realistically assessed the potential dangers of Independence yet embraced it by July 1776, and who thereafter devoted much of his public life to the tedious but essential work of winning the war and creating stable national and state governments.

Descent into Obscurity

Among the fifty-six men who signed the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Stone was one of the youngest and earliest to die. Of the other Marylanders whose signatures appear on the document, William Paca died in 1799 at age fifty-nine and Samuel Chase in 1811 at age seventy, while Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who survived longer than any other signer, lived on into the Jacksonian era and died in 1832 at the age of ninety-five. To nineteenth-century ob-

servers, the longevity of many of the signers seemed remarkable. They had "lingered into an age beyond their own" and received an "earthly reward, that they should witness the gathering of the rich and peaceful harvest which they had sown in tears and blood." Stone, however, did not enter the age beyond his own. He died just as the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia—to which he had been elected but which he declined to attend—finished drafting a new frame of government for the United States. Therefore he never knew of the Constitution's ratification and implementation. He never knew whether Americans' daring experiment in self-government was doomed, as he and many others feared during the 1780s, or whether a viable political system would secure the Revolution proclaimed in the Declaration that bears his signature. He never gathered the "rich and peaceful harvest," and knowledge of his public career seemingly died with him.[3]

By 1818, many of the signers joined Thomas Stone as largely forgotten participants in the founding epoch. That year a Baltimore resident named Joseph M. Sanderson, whose father had fought in the Revolution, decided to reverse the descent into obscurity and elevate the signers' deeds to "the familiar topic of the day." He proposed publishing a collection of biographies, complete with engravings of their portraits and facsimiles of their signatures. In appealing for financial support from the public, Sanderson lectured his contemporaries as follows: "to revere their memories is a debt we in gratitude owe, and as descendants of illustrious parents, we cannot be backward in discharging it." For patriotism and profit, he was tapping into anxieties that the Revolutionary generation was yielding, in the words of Thomas Jefferson, to "a new generation whom we know not, and who know not us."[4]

The first edition of the *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence* appeared in nine volumes between 1823 and 1827 and is attributed not to Joseph Sanderson but to his brother and collaborator, John Sanderson of Pennsylvania. The *Biography* aimed at authenticity and comprehensiveness. Declared one advertisement, "in no work hitherto presented to the American public, is there so various and interesting a mass of information, public and private, relating to the history of our country."[5]

The entry for Thomas Stone, in the last volume, is peculiar. What is an unusually scant sketch begins with the observation that a few illustrious patriots were remembered only by family and friends. But since Stone's death nearly four decades earlier, "so many changes have taken place among his relatives and immediate friends, that there is no one able, or willing, to describe his particular habits, virtues or achievements, or to testify [to] the incidents of his short and unambitious life." Much of the sketch is devoted to filler, in the form of lengthy instructions to the Maryland delegates in Congress. Before the volume went to press, unnamed friends of the signer provided additional, more substantive in-

formation, and this the compilers included in a separate appendix. Even so, little was said about Stone's role in the Revolution, much less what he thought about it.[6]

Matching the dearth of biographical narrative was Stone's omission from one of the most famous paintings of a Revolutionary scene: John Trumbull's *Declaration of Independence,* which hangs in the rotunda of the United States Capitol. The artist completed this large canvas in 1818, the same year that Joseph Sanderson proposed the collective biography. Trumbull based the painting on a much smaller version that he had mostly finished in the 1790s, and for which he first executed or copied individual life portraits of members of Congress. Stone's likeness was not among them. By 1818 Trumbull might have sought out a life portrait that still exists, yet he did not. Therefore, although Stone participated in the founding moment, he is missing from the most famous visual image of it.[7]

Why did knowledge of the Marylander's life and achievements so rapidly fade? Were his early death and the subsequent unavailability of friends and family alone responsible, as the Sanderson sketch seemed to indicate? Although these circumstances surely loomed large in Stone's descent into near anonymity, two additional factors proved instrumental as well. Not least was his unassuming, even self-effacing personality. Writing from Philadelphia in May 1776, he volunteered that "I am not ambitious of elevated Station" and readily acknowledged that congressional colleagues with whom he disagreed "perhaps are wiser than myself." Such modesty seems appropriate in a man then ranked among the youngest, least politically experienced congressmen. But this unpretentiousness persisted even after he became a respected political leader and one of the ablest lawyers in Maryland. For example, in the last year of his life, while the Maryland Senate and House of Delegates were embroiled in a widely publicized controversy over paper money, Stone skillfully and fully defended the Senate—and himself—in a long essay published in the Annapolis and Baltimore newspapers. Having done so, he nevertheless hastened to confess "that I am ignorant of many things which I have endeavoured to know. And I should be wanting in candour not to declare, that every day's experience convinces me of the fallibility and weakness of my judgment." Here was a person utterly devoid of the loud, swaggering self-assurance of a Patrick Henry or the confident self-righteousness of a Samuel Adams. Contemplative, almost never given to dramatic statements or grandiose gestures, Stone was less likely than more flamboyant Revolutionary leaders to hold the attention of biographers and, through their writings, the public.[8]

Nor did Stone's personal papers make him an attractive candidate for biographical investigation. He neither wrote a memoir of his role in the Revolution nor arranged for the preservation of his papers. His son might have done both, as other sons of founders did, but Frederick Stone died of yellow fever in 1793, at the age of eighteen. A few letters are in the papers of George Washington,

James Monroe, and other contemporaries, but much of what Stone retained subsequently became scattered. A significant portion of the corpus, taken to Virginia, reportedly burned when the Union Army captured Richmond at the end of the Civil War. Nothing at all survives from Stone's childhood, little from the years before he became active in politics, and only a portion from his Revolutionary career, 1774–87.[9]

Of Thomas Stone papers known to be extant, the greatest number are at the Maryland Historical Society, the Maryland State Archives, and the Library of Congress. Passionate efforts of nineteenth-century autograph collectors, who tried to assemble sets of documents that each of "the fifty-six immortals" had signed, account for much of the scattering, but also for preservation. Because learned institutions and even a few businesses eventually acquired many signers' and other autograph sets, Stone material found its way, among other places, to historical societies in Maine, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, and Illinois; university libraries in Virginia, Connecticut, Indiana, and Michigan; a municipal library in Nebraska; a theological seminary in California; and even a brewing company in Wisconsin. The fragmentation of the original corpus of writings, together with outright destruction, explain why a full-length biography has never been written.[10]

Remembering a Signer

The appendix printed in Sanderson's *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence* (volume 9, 1827) laid the foundation for a narrative of Stone's life. Repeated countless times over the next 170 years, the sketch is a scenario of humble beginnings overcome through perseverance and hard work, of affectionate devotion to family, unwavering faith in God, and willingness to offer "time and talents . . . [when] called to the aid of his suffering country." For an expansive republic caught up in raucous individualism, rapid economic growth, and divisive sectional politics, the didactic intent of the narrative could not have been clearer. It placed before readers a man from America's heroic age, a man whose devotion to—and sacrifices for—nation and family not only deserved "our respect and public gratitude," but merited emulation.[11]

Stone emerges in the pages of the 1827 volume as a self-made man. A studious youth who lacked encouragement from his father ("a plain farmer"), the future signer pursued a classical education in Charles County, studied law in Annapolis, married Margaret Brown who brought to their union "only" £1,000 sterling, established a law practice "neither extensive nor lucrative," and bought a large farm where he settled his growing family ("the soil was thin"). After the "arduous" war years, he prospered and "his professional reputation rose to very distinguished eminence."[12]

The sketch also presents an accomplished legislator and pious, caring par-

ent. Here the narrative benefited immeasurably from the recollections of an unidentified informant who served with Stone in the Maryland Senate and characterized him as "most truly a perfect man of business"—intelligent, "clear and powerful" in his reasoning capacities, serious, mild-mannered, and both reserved and sociable. Few other men, the informant believed, "could commit their thoughts to paper, with more facility or greater strength of argument." The narrative gained even more substance with the inclusion of two of Stone's own letters, penned at highly poignant moments. In the first, he broke the news of the battles of Lexington and Concord, then told his wife, "Pray God preserve you, and bless our little ones. We are like to see times, which will require all our fortitude to bear up against." In the second letter, written with the premonition of imminent death, he poured out detailed instructions to his only male heir, "which I leave you as a legacy." The letter embodies a father's fervent wish that his son would ever be pious, morally upright, industrious, studious, and protective of his sisters, Margaret and Mildred. Above all, Stone advised Frederick, "do your duty to God in spirit and in truth . . . be assured he is always present," and "let your aim in life be to attain to goodness rather than greatness among men. The former is solid, the latter all vanity, and often leads to ruin in this and the next world. . . . I speak from experience."[13]

In addition to being largely silent about Stone's role in the Revolution, this first attempt to construct a biography contains significant factual errors and misrepresentations. Contradicting the scenario of humble beginnings, for example, both Stone and his wife belonged to prominent, propertied gentry families; Margaret Brown Stone's contribution of "only" £1,000 to the marriage actually constituted a sizable fortune; and Stone himself inherited a substantial patrimony. Furthermore, the sketch advances claims for which contemporary evidence is lacking, most importantly the assertion that Stone read law under Maryland's Revolutionary leader and first state governor, Thomas Johnson. From a nineteenth-century perspective, the account had an even greater flaw: it was mute about Stone's patriotism—except for an ambiguous, unsubstantiated assertion that, by *listening* to discussions of the Stamp Act crisis, his "political principles were fixed" and he subsequently harbored a "strong feeling of indignation" against the British government. Such a vague characterization paled before heroic portrayals of other founders, and of the Revolution itself.[14]

In the nineteenth century the United States experienced rapid continental expansion, dramatic economic and technological development, divisive sectionalism, explosive population growth, and the arrival of millions of immigrants who knew little of American history and institutions. Against this backdrop the Revolution functioned as a bedrock of patriotism, a touchstone of national identity, a unifying element in a centripetal society rushing headlong toward an uncertain future. Invoking the founding epoch for these purposes meant that its

immense complexity had to give way—be simplified, reduced—to symbols, maxims, and narratives about liberty, nationalism, and patriotism. Utilizing—and often mythologizing—the Revolution for fundamental principles reached its apex in the legend of Valley Forge, which recalled the truly horrendous sufferings of the Continental Army during the winter of 1777–78; in the cherry tree story and other tales that Mason Weems, the Maryland parson and itinerant bookseller, invented about George Washington; and in the Betsy Ross story, which one of her grandsons first told about 1870, and which falsely credited her with designing and sewing the first American flag. Whether true or false, such narratives served equally well in conveying ideals like virtue and patriotic self-sacrifice, which had always been strongly associated with the Revolution. These narratives helped forge, in Abraham Lincoln's words, "mystic chords of memory" that bound the American people to the nation.[15]

Signers of the Declaration of Independence understandably ranked among the exemplars of fundamental principles and ideals. But in being elevated, en masse, to paragons of patriotism, they tended to be reduced to uniformly prescient, unwavering, unerring advocates of colonial rights and American nationhood. How could it be otherwise when, according to a New England minister named Charles A. Goodrich, writing in 1848, "the statesmen and heroes of the revolution were raised up by the God of heaven, for the important and definite purpose of achieving the independence of America"? Momentarily ignoring Washington, Goodrich proposed that no revolutionaries "present themselves with more interest to the rising generation, than those who composed the congress of 1776," and whose "patriotism and constancy and courage . . . can scarcely fail of imparting a useful lesson to our readers." Robert T. Conrad, who in 1846 abridged the Sanderson opus to a one-volume edition that could be more widely and less expensively distributed, similarly exalted the signers, but with celestial imagery: "Their lives, like the orbs that constitute the milky way, are one stream of light; and the glass of the historian, as it pierces the dim lustre, only reveals stars which are brighter as each is watched and studied."[16]

If Thomas Stone was to remain an acknowledged member of the celestial pantheon, imagination would have to compensate where evidence was wanting. Or, where surviving evidence fractured the "one stream of light," revision would be needed. For the Marylander did not fit the unitary image of the signers then being constructed. No known source dating from the Revolutionary period establishes *any* occasion on which he spoke out against or otherwise resisted the Stamp Act, the Townshend duties on trade, or the Declaratory Act in which Parliament proclaimed its full supremacy over the protesting colonies. On the other hand, plentiful evidence from the spring of 1776 reveals that, although by then Stone strongly distrusted the British government, he anguished over what he regarded as a precipitous plunge into Independence.

In April of that year he candidly expressed both resolve in the face of "ministerial Tyranny" and desire for reconciliation and "Peace upon Terms of Security and Justice to America." In May, radical delegates in Congress, men like John Adams and Richard Henry Lee, pushed through a resolution not only advising that "the exercise of every kind of authority under the . . . crown should be totally suppressed, and all the powers of government exerted, under the authority of the people," but also recommending that colonies without "sufficient" governments should form them. At that point the Maryland delegation walked out because their instructions from the Provincial Convention, the extralegal assemblage at Annapolis that coordinated the colony's resistance to British policies, barred them from supporting any severance of imperial ties. Whereas Adams exulted in what he pronounced "the most important Resolution, that ever was taken in America," Stone was distraught.[17]

"The Dye is cast," he wrote shortly after exiting Congress. "The fatal Stab is given to any future Connection between this Country & Britain: except in the relation of Conqueror & vanquished, which I can't think of without Horror & Indignation." Fueling his distress were rumors that British emissaries, vested with authority to negotiate an end to the imperial crisis, might soon arrive. In addition, he knew that the momentous, uncompromising measure had passed with the support of only six or seven colonies (at least two others were not even represented in Congress at the time), and that Maryland and most other polities had not yet committed themselves to Independence. Hence, to Stone,

> Never was a fairer Cause, with more promising appearances of final Success ruined by the rash and precipitate Councils of a few men. . . . to strike a decisive Stroke & . . . when the Minds of Men are not prepared for such an Event, to cut the only Bond which held the discordant Members of the Empire together, appears to me the most weak and ill judged Measure I ever met with in a State which had the least Pretention to wisdom or Knowledge in the Affairs of Men.

He assumed that the Provincial Convention faced only two possible responses to the bold congressional move: "declare explicitly that you will go all Lengths with the majority of Congress or that you will not join in a War to be carried on for the purposes of Independency & new Establishments, and will break the Union or rather not enter into one for these Ends." Either response he considered dangerous and extreme.[18]

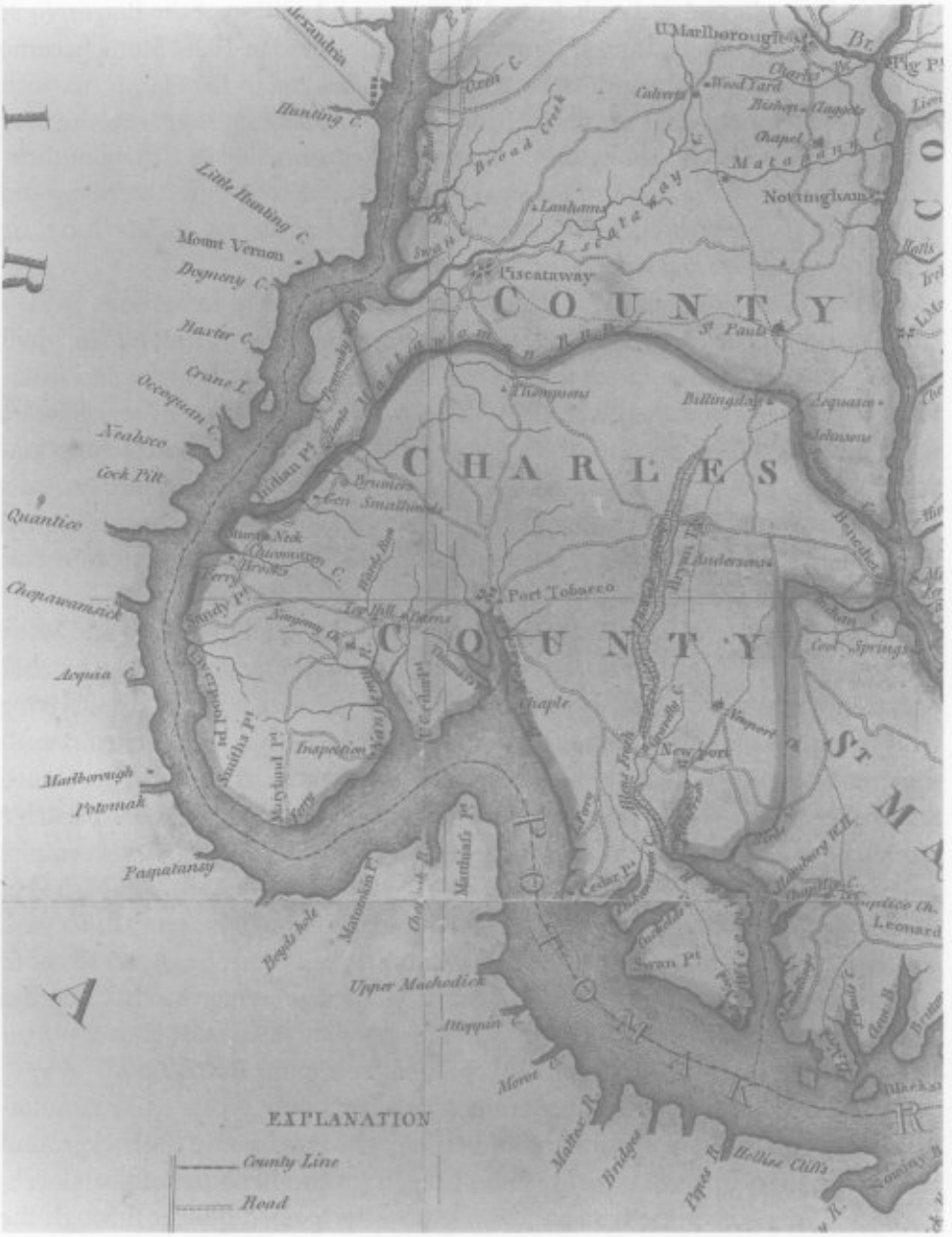
Nineteenth-century writers either knew nothing of, or ignored, Stone's dread of the mounting tide of Independence. No matter. They simply transformed him into an early, even impatient advocate of American rights and Independence. Once again, the Sanderson sketch established the dominant theme, which

other writers adopted and embellished. In the second edition of the *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence*, published in 1828, Stone became a man of consistent "patriotic devotedness" who reacted to the Stamp Act with the "ardent temperament of youth." In Congress, he allegedly *supported* the May 1776 recommendation about adopting governments outside of Crown authority, and chafed at the Provincial Convention's refusal to permit the Maryland delegation to support Independence. When freed to do so, in late June, he promptly voted for and signed the Declaration.[19]

Subsequent biographical sketches outdid Sanderson in hyperbole. Stone's "manly and independent conduct" and otherwise exemplary behavior "inspired hopes . . . never disappointed, that he was destined to be an honour and ornament to his profession and his country." The Marylander surely ran "several years in advance of a great portion of his fellow citizens, in his patriotic feelings and sentiments." A "true specimen of the very salt of the body politic," he "earned a rich and honourable fame, imperishable as the pages of history, lasting as human intelligence." By the centennial of Independence in 1876 the verdict was unanimous: Stone had early and consistently "espoused the cause of his country."[20]

After the sesquicentennial in 1926, however, the hyperbole dissolved and Stone reemerged as a cautious, even reluctant Revolutionary. Why the interpretive shift occurred is a mystery, but likely reasons include greater availability of his surviving writings and, even more, the transformation of Great Britain, archenemy in most nineteenth-century histories of the Revolution, into the staunchest ally of the United States after World War I. The latter development may have made more palatable Stone's hope, in 1776, that the colonies would not separate from the British empire unless they first exhausted all efforts at reconciliation. The Stone entry published in the *Dictionary of American Biography* in 1936 reads, "Although his sympathies were entirely with the colonists when the break with England came, he always seems to have favored a milder course than many of his fellow representatives" in Congress. This statement, paraphrased repeatedly over the last sixty years, created an opportunity for a fuller, more realistic appraisal of Stone's role in the Revolution.[21]

It did not happen. Instead, commentary has grown cryptic while simultaneously portraying a modest, unambitious man who remained in the background as Revolutionary upheaval swirled about him. In yet another biographical sketch, published in 1988, Stone is a shadowy figure who "passed quietly through the turbulent early years of this country's life, making only ripples in the political waters of his time." Adding visual impact to the most recent interpretive turn, a modern painting by Baltimore artist Stanislav Rembski, reproduced in the Maryland Bicentennial Commission's pamphlet on the state's four signers, shows them gathered around the Declaration and its primary author, Thomas Jefferson. Stone stands unimposingly at the rear of the scene, a small figure distant from the focal point of the painting.[22]



Charles County, Maryland, in 1794. (Maryland Historical Society.)

In sum, the narrative has come full circle in two centuries, from the obscurity that enshrouded Stone for decades after his death, to the early and ardent patriot of nineteenth-century accounts, to obscurity once again. This state of affairs need not continue, for an array of official records and private correspon-

dence yields a much broader, more penetrating account of his public life. His career merits scrutiny and reassessment because, beyond signing one of the nation's most sacred texts, Stone in his thoughtful way partook of his generation's greatest, most challenging task: creating a unique and viable nation. He dedicated his life to finding an orderly passage through the turbulent, uncharted waters of revolution, and if at times the voyage frightened him, in that he was typical of his generation. It is not an exaggeration to hold that his contributions, and those of men like him, were essential to founding the republic.

The Emergence of a Revolutionary

One can readily imagine Stone's life *without* the Revolution. His family enjoyed eminent respectability. Whereas most white Marylanders whose American roots ran back to the seventeenth century were descended from indentured servants, the Stone family had always belonged to the gentry. Thomas's great-great-grandfather, William Stone (ca. 1603–60), served as the colony's first Protestant governor and received from Lord Baltimore five thousand acres of Charles County land, named Poynton Manor, where Thomas was born in 1743. His great-grandfather and grandfather, John Stone (1648–97) and Thomas Stone (1677–1727), continued the lineage's political prominence and held important offices, including colonial legislator, county court justice, sheriff, and Anglican vestryman. This tradition of officeholding ceased in the fourth generation with Thomas's father David Stone (1709–73). Nonetheless, David, who reportedly "had the character of an honest upright & well desposed man," maintained the family's social position, for he owned nearly six hundred acres of land and more than fifty slaves, and he twice married daughters of local gentry families, the Hansons and the Jenifers.[23]

Thomas Stone enhanced the family's standing in colonial society. In addition to establishing a successful law practice, in 1768 he married Margaret Brown, heiress to a large legacy from her father Gustavus Brown (d. 1762), a Scottish laird, Edinburgh-trained physician, and Maryland magistrate and planter. No doubt with the aid of Margaret's fortune, Thomas in 1770 bought a 442-acre plantation called Haberdeventure, the first of many purchases that within a few years made him one of the largest landowners in Charles County. At Haberdeventure, in an attractive house completed about 1773, the Stones and their children, Margaret, Mildred, and Frederick, settled into the domestic and agricultural rhythms of southern Maryland. Slaves whom the couple inherited or purchased worked the land and tended to the needs of the household.[24]

Even without the Revolution, Thomas Stone stood a good chance of reclaiming his progenitors' tradition of civil officeholding. Through his maternal uncle, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, he had access to high proprietary circles

Margaret Brown Stone (1751–87) brought wealth and social standing to her marriage. (National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.)

from which emanated appointments to the courts, government administrative offices, and the Council that functioned as both upper house of the legislature and advisory body to the governor. Had the young lawyer wanted to test his popularity with the voters, his social standing made him a prime candidate for vestryman of his local parish of the Church of England. He might also have competed for one of four Charles County seats in the lower house of the Assembly, the House of Delegates, whose "popular" party often contested proprietary prerogatives.[25]

By the early 1770s Stone seemed destined for the proprietary, appointive track. At the time, loud debates over two issues attracted enormous public attention and rived Maryland politics: fees that proprietary officials charged for their services and, secondly, the salaries that Anglican ministers collected through levies on all taxpayers. In the latter controversy, Stone joined a team of attorneys engaged by the proprietary government for a widely watched case in Charles County. Arrayed against them was a legal team headed by leading members of the popular party, Samuel Chase and William Paca, who not only won the case but also tarred Stone and his colleagues with defending an odious clerical tax that allegedly violated the rights of Englishmen. And in the wake of the trial, Stone found that the county sheriffs, whose responsibilities included collecting attorneys' fees, refused to collect his. In early 1774 he told a creditor, "I have been

almost ruined this year by the scandalous conduct of Sheriffs towards me." Considering the way in which Stone first gained widespread public notice, his meteoric rise in Revolutionary politics appears astonishing.[26]

During the spring of 1774, in response to the Boston Tea Party, Parliament passed a series of laws subsequently branded the Coercive or Intolerable Acts. Although few colonists applauded destruction of the tea, many considered the British response—closing the port of Boston until the tea was paid for—draconian. Worse, colonists everywhere felt threatened because Parliament unilaterally altered the structure and powers of government in Massachusetts. The Coercive Acts galvanized resistance to British imperial policies. Across America during the summer months, extralegal meetings in towns and counties deliberated on the crisis and sent representatives to colony-wide conventions, which in turn elected delegates to the first meeting of the Continental Congress in Philadelphia that September. The organizational framework of revolution, which would carry the colonies to Independence and statehood, had been created.[27]

Against this backdrop of events, Thomas Stone vaulted into the front rank of the patriot leadership in Maryland. In June 1774, a popular meeting in Charles County elected him to the local committee of correspondence, charged with keeping abreast of political developments, and also to the first Provincial Convention at Annapolis. At the second convention the following December, called to consider recommendations from Congress, Stone supported a trade embargo intended to persuade the British to back down, and he helped lay the groundwork for a voluntary patriot militia. The December session also elected him to the Continental Congress. He was the first congressman from Maryland *not* to have sat in the legislature, and the *only* one without a strong anti-proprietary record and reputation. His lack of political experience also made him an anomaly when he entered Congress in 1775 and joined the likes of Thomas Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Franklin, and Samuel and John Adams.[28]

Why this stunning rise in Revolutionary politics? To argue, as did nineteenth-century filiopietistic histories, that Stone far outdistanced "a great portion of his fellow citizens, in his patriotic feelings and sentiments" cannot be persuasive in view of his service to the proprietary regime. Nor can his admitted competence explain why, at a time of mounting crisis, the Provincial Convention chose him, not a more politically seasoned man, to represent Maryland in Congress. His known moderation and contemplative stance surely proved attractive in a colony that would follow a cautious path toward Independence, but here again, more prominent men enjoyed similar reputations. Some other catalytic element must have propelled Stone along so rapidly, and I suggest that his election to Congress represented a not-too-subtle way in which patriot leaders courted Stone's uncle, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer. A protégé of Governor Horatio Sharpe, Jenifer had enjoyed a brilliant career as councilor, Provincial Court judge, and chief fiscal

officer of the colony. But he fell from grace politically after Sir Robert Eden succeeded to the governorship in 1769. By 1774 all trust between the two men had broken down, and Jenifer was guardedly cultivating connections with the patriots. Still, he was not yet prepared to quit the proprietary camp. Stone's election to Congress, therefore, may well have been aimed at drawing Jenifer into the patriot circle. If so, the strategy worked because he soon became active in extralegal politics. For him—and for the fifth generation of Stones in America—the Revolution amounted to a political renaissance.[29]

Stone joined Congress at a particularly tense and fateful moment. All along the route he traveled to Philadelphia in May 1775, people talked excitedly about the recent fighting between the King's troops and Massachusetts minutemen at Lexington and Concord. The bloodshed there, he feared, would reduce Britain and the colonies to a state "which no friend of either, ever wished to see" and might even dash all hopes for reconciliation, "a situation of affairs, which all thinking men must shudder at." Soon after he presented his credentials, Congress created the Continental Army and unanimously chose George Washington commander-in-chief.[30]

Stone's apprehensive reaction to Lexington and Concord revealed a deep, abiding commitment to reconciliation and peace. A year later he told Jenifer that "I wish to conduct affairs so that a just & honourable reconciliation should take place." Hence his dismay and anger in May 1776 when Congress, by no more than a bare majority of the thirteen colonies, recommended that *all* colonies throw off the authority of the Crown (and thereby abrogate their charters). He despaired then that "should the most reasonable Terms be offered preserving the subordinate relation of this Country to Britain[,] I much question if they would be accepted by the present haughty Temper of America." Even after voting for Independence, Stone briefly remained willing to explore any viable prospect for reconciliation. In the midst of the campaign of 1776 at New York, a campaign in which Washington nearly lost the Continental Army and Maryland troops suffered severe casualties in ferocious fighting, Stone spoke out in Congress in favor of one last effort at negotiating a settlement acceptable in both Britain and America.[31]

Never, however, did he favor settling at any cost. Peace had to be "upon Terms of Security and Justice to America," and "War, any thing is preferable to a Surrender of our Rights." Like many of his contemporaries, he suspected a British "ministerial Tyranny" and hoped that colonists would "not suffer ourselves to be lulled or wheedled by any deceptions" or "deceitfull" gestures toward reconciliation. Two months before Independence he worried that, if British peace commissioners appeared, their real purpose might be to sow divisions among the colonies, not redress their grievances.[32]

Several principles guided Stone through the difficult months before July 4,

1776. First, Americans must prepare to defend themselves against what he termed, in a letter to Washington, "the Calamities of War."[33] Second, the colonies needed to be united in anything so momentous as separating from the mother country. Third, before Maryland's Provincial Convention could possibly endorse rending of the British empire, the vox populi, the voice of the people, first had to be heard.

Amidst escalating warfare, Stone argued that "we must take Care to do every thing which is necessary for our Security and Defense," and he worked hard to realize that goal for his own colony. While attending the Provincial Convention during the summer of 1775, just after the American defeat at the Battle of Bunker Hill, and again during the winter of 1775–76, when a British fleet and Virginia's deposed governor Lord Dunmore threatened towns and plantations along the waters of the Chesapeake, Stone served on important committees that developed plans for putting Maryland "into the best state of Defense." Acting on the committees' reports, the convention instituted compulsory militia service and established what became the famous Maryland Line of the Continental Army. Stone helped draft measures for recruiting and regulating the troops. Back in Congress, he worked to procure arms and supplies for them and also passed military intelligence between Congress and his correspondents in Annapolis.[34]

Stone's second guiding principle—that "we should be pretty unanimous in a resolution to fight it out for Independance, the proper way to effect this is not to move too quick"— reflected his conviction that Independence could not possibly succeed unless supported by united colonies. Considering the broad spectrum of opinions, within and among them, about what should be done, the more radical members of Congress should rein in their zeal. Indeed, unless people had time for the thoughtful, unimpeded deliberation they deserved, colonial unity would prove chimerical. During his entire political career, nothing caused him more anguish than the "destructive Precipitancy" of more radical members of Congress during May of 1776. Their engineering of the recommendation to suppress all Crown authority—"a total absolute Independence," admitted a gleeful John Adams—violated the integrity of most colonies, including Maryland: they had not signaled readiness for this drastic step. Stone thought the recommendation a catastrophe, moreover, because it subverted possible peace negotiations and also because, if such negotiations failed, then "the General & almost unanimous Voice of America would have been for seperation [sic]."[35]

After the Maryland delegates walked out of Congress in protest, Stone confided that "I am distressed beyond the Bearing of a Man who has much more Philosophy than ever I was blessed with, by contemplating probable Events in this Country." Always ready to acknowledge his own limitations and possible errancy, he regarded his situation as "truly disagre[e]able—could I sit with the same happy Indifference I observe in others when matters of the last conse-

quence are in agitation or could I bring my mind to view with Apathy the destructive Tendency of Measures[,] or at least appearing to me so, which I can't prevent, or could I bring my Temper to bend to the Principles of those, who perhaps are wiser than myself, I should be less miserable."[36]

"Totally useless" in Congress, able only to offer "fruitless Opposition," he wanted to be recalled. "My feelings are too keen, my Concern for those whose happiness I wish to secure too exquisite & my Constitution too stiff to allow of my Continuance with tolerable Ease to myself," he complained. But in late May the Provincial Convention retained the entire Maryland delegation, along with instructions reiterating that "this convention is firmly persuaded that a reunion with Great Britain on constitutional principles would most effectually secure the rights and liberties, and increase the strength and promote the happiness of the whole empire, objects which this province hath ever had in view." The Convention also unanimously affirmed "the sole and exclusive right" of the people of Maryland to regulate their internal affairs. At stake was nothing less than whether authority and political momentum resided in the individual colonies or in Congress. For his part, Stone pensively wrote that "If our councils Could but be tempered with a proper Degree of moderation & attention to the Inclinations & even weaknesses of our people all would be well; but I think they will not [be] drive[n] & an Attempt to do such an injury to the feelings of freemen will have fatal Consequences."[37]

Soon Stone's personal struggle ended and he turned to embrace Independence. For by mid-June he concluded that "from every Account and Appearance the King and his Ministers seem determined to hazard every thing upon the Success of the Sword; with out offering any Terms to America which she ought to accept. . . . Peace & Security . . . seems not attainable in the present disposition of the ruling powers of Britain." He refrained from publicly advocating Independence, however, because of the third principle to which he adhered: only popular sentiment could determine Maryland's course. Although a resolution "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States" lay before Congress that month, Stone wrote on behalf of his delegation to ask that the Provincial Convention meet to consider "this decisive Measure." But first, its members ought "to collect the opinion of the people at large," for "we wish to have the fair and uninfluenced Sense of the People we have the Honour to represent."[38]

In quick succession, popular meetings, encouraged by Samuel Chase and other patriot leaders who had no hesitancy about pushing for separation, gave the impression that the colony was "verging fast towards independence." By the time the convention met at Annapolis in late June, Governor Eden was aboard a British ship bound for England, and eleven colonies (all except Maryland and New York) had authorized their congressional delegations to vote for Indepen-

dence. On June 28 Maryland became the twelfth to commit, but only on condition that "the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government and police of this colony be reserved to the people thereof." That sequence of events satisfied Stone. Shortly after Congress proclaimed Independence to the world, he exulted with uncharacteristic bellicosity, "May God send Victory to the Arm lifted in Support of righteousness, Virtue & Freedom, and crush even to destruction the power which wantonly would trample on the rights of mankind."[39]

The anguished struggle that culminated in those words can fully be appreciated only if we recover the world Stone inhabited. No European colony in the Western Hemisphere had ever successfully rebelled and established its autonomy. Would thirteen British colonies be the first? Certainly no European imperial power—monarchies all—would welcome an example of elected, independent governments rising along the western rim of the Atlantic Ocean. Even if Americans managed to prevail against the military might of Britain, could they establish stable polities? Conventional wisdom adjudged popularly controlled republics the least stable kind of government, prone to chaos and anarchy. Who could foresee the economic consequences of Independence? Within the empire the mainland colonies had achieved impressive rates of economic growth, but their economies were massively imbalanced between exported agricultural products and imported manufactured goods. How would Americans survive economically, especially with a war in progress? Finally, would rebellion against political authority generate social upheaval, too? Already New England Baptists had traveled to Philadelphia to protest state-supported churches, and Abigail Adams had admonished her husband to "Remember the Ladies" when writing laws for a new nation. Only in feigned jest did John Adams reply, "We have been told that our Struggle has loosened the bands of Government every where," among children, apprentices, Indians, and slaves, and now, he realized, among women.[40]

In addition to such enormous imponderables, alarming realities also confronted cautious men like Stone. However much they abhorred Britain's trampling on proclaimed colonial rights, they also worried about errant power closer to home, in Philadelphia. The aggressiveness and impatience of enthusiasts in Congress, their dismissal and even ridicule of positions different from their own, seemed all too threatening in a crisis, fundamentally, over where political power and sovereignty resided. Even before the resolution to suppress royal authority, Stone, again writing for his delegation, branded Congress's treatment of Maryland "cruel and injur[i]ous to the last Degree," to which patriot leaders in Annapolis responded, "We consider the Authority of the whole Province trampled upon and insulted (if not conspired against)."[41]

At the very moment when the colonies stood poised between an irretrievable past and a future laden with uncertainty and danger, Stone and like-minded men performed invaluable service. For how could the colonies assert, as they

had in Congress, a right to control their internal affairs without parliamentary interference if *some* colonies, also through Congress, tried to determine the course of all? Richard Henry Lee and others argued that, for those colonies whose elected patriot conventions had not endorsed separation, "advice" to cut imperial ties and create new governments should emanate from Congress. But that argument slighted the massive, revolutionary transformation underway in America, to polities originating in "the people." By insisting upon American unity that simultaneously respected the autonomy of individual colonies, by adhering to the principle that, in *each* polity, some kind of popular consent must precede Independence, Stone and other "cautious" patriots worked to ground the lofty rhetoric of the Revolution in actuality. In the process, they also raised one of the most vital issues the new states would confront, and one of the most enduring questions in our national history: what is the nature of the union of American states?[42]

Securing Independence, Defining Representative Government

During the rest of his public career, Thomas Stone frequently engaged the many questions that cascaded from the decision for Independence. He explored the meaning of the exhilarating yet inspecific words of the Maryland Declaration of Rights (1776), that "all government of right originates from the people, is founded in compact only, and instituted solely for the good of the whole." He helped define the structures and powers of the new political order and supported the war effort. Afterward he promoted economic development that, he believed, would link together the distant regions of the new country. Upon concluding that the national government created under the Articles of Confederation was much too weak, he worked to strengthen it. In sum, he participated in the most politically creative period in United States history and helped fashion the unique American system of republican government. He did these things primarily while occupying two offices: member of the Maryland Senate, the upper house of the legislature, from 1777 until his death in 1787, and Continental congressman in 1776, 1778, and 1784.[43]

Public offices imposed an immense drain on his time, energy, health, family life, and law practice. Although hoping that circumstances would enable him "to devote my whole time & Attention to the publick Service," he often found himself declining one responsibility in order to carry out another. For example, in early 1777 he interrupted his attendance at the inaugural meeting of the Senate in order to nurse family members at Haberdeventure. "I found it absolutely necessary to innoculate for the small pox to prevent my family receiving that very dangerous Disorder in the Natural Way," he explained, and "persons to attend the sick are not to be procured here which . . . necessitated Me to perform

Haberdeventure, the Stone family home in Charles County, housed Thomas Stone's extended family during the Revolution. (Library of Congress.)

that distressing Office—or expose them to sufferings which my feelings would not bear." The following year he returned to Congress in Philadelphia, but soon resigned with the explanation that "I cannot attend Congress so constantly as every Delegate ought to do, without giving up the Practice of the Law." A day later he took his seat in the state senate. In 1784, with Congress temporarily sitting at Annapolis, Stone again agreed to represent Maryland, but not before attending the Prince George's County Court where several clients "have [a] great part of their property at stake, in Causes there depending, in which I have been concerned and relied on as Counsel." Certain that the cases "will be struck off [the docket] or tried if it is known that I am not to be at Court," he insisted on stopping there before hastening to Congress. Some time later, having traveled to Annapolis to fulfill a legislative mandate to meet with representatives of Virginia, he came under attack for missing a session of the Charles County Court. Not surprisingly, when approached about taking an office under the Confederation government, he refused with these words: "A great part of my time is already devoted to the public Service as a Member of our Senate[,] the remainder is not sufficient to execute the Duties of my profession and give a proper Attention to the Variety of private and family Affairs . . . under my Care. Indeed, I am so pressed by a Variety of Business that I can scarcely execute any part of it as it ought to be done."[44]

Averse to "declining all public engagements" and frequently plagued with poor health, Stone tried to curtail his law practice, but with little apparent success. Clients sought him out, including Charles Carroll of Carrollton who pronounced him one of "the two best lawyers that practice in our courts of law." Others agreed. In Charles County alone, Stone represented clients in about half of the court cases during the 1780s. Practice in other counties and before the General Court in Annapolis and on the Eastern Shore also placed heavy demands on his time.[45]

Perhaps he would not reduce his law practice because it generated essential income. During the war years, he had assumed financial responsibility for not only his wife and children, but also four of his siblings and two nephews. His daughters spoke of the "Vicissitudes" of those years, during which, nevertheless, a "distressed & strug[g]ling Country claimed & enjoyed his services." With peace, Stone invested in more Charles County land, in the development of the upper Potomac River, and in a fine Georgian house at Annapolis, to which his immediate family moved in 1784. Economic depression soon left him feeling financially threatened, however. Pressed to cover expenses, he tried to sell off or hire out some of his slaves. In effect, they also paid a price for his involvement in public affairs.[46]

The principal offices Stone held were not filled by popular vote. Instead, under the Maryland Constitution of 1776 the legislature sent delegates to Congress, while a board of popularly chosen electors named fifteen senators to concurrent five-year terms. The Senate itself exercised what James Madison called "the remarkable prerogative of filling up its own vacancies within the term of its appointment." At a time when legislatures dominated state governments, Maryland's unique upper house was the most powerful in the nation. Indirect election and lengthy terms distanced it from both the public and the House of Delegates. Depending on one's perspectives, this arrangement either institutionalized "the moderation of a select few" and freed senators from unwise, transitory popular whims and pressures or, conversely, imprudently placed them beyond their constituents' control. Other states, in which voters balloted for the entire legislature, really had "two co-ordinate houses of representatives," according to an early historian of the Revolution. Stone took no official part in constructing the unusually independent body in which he served, nor any other provisions of the Constitution of 1776 and accompanying Declaration of Rights. His role in founding state government would be to build upon the architectural framework set forth in these documents.[47]

During his years in the Senate, it held twenty-two sessions lasting up to four months each and approved over eight hundred bills subsequently enacted into law. Some were crucial in establishing the new government, others vital to supporting the war that secured Independence. Stone showed keen interest in both

The dining and reception room of Haberdeventure. (Library of Congress.)

kinds of legislation. Individually or in committee, for example, he drafted bills to regulate the militia and recruit soldiers for the army, open the courts of justice, define the powers of the governor and his executive council, and ascertain which resolves of the defunct Provincial Convention should carry the force of law. In addition, whether persuasively opposing the claims of Henry Harford, Maryland's last proprietor, to compensation for his lost colony, or eloquently insisting that only attorneys who took the state's loyalty oath should be allowed to practice law, Stone worked to secure and preserve a revolution that he regarded as young and vulnerable. Said a colleague, "he would often take the pen, and commit to paper, all the necessary writings of the senate, . . . cheerfully, while the other members were amusing themselves with desultory conversation." This comment may explain why Stone often asserted the Senate's position on important measures and served on joint conference committees that resolved differences between the two houses. An extraordinary and unique sequence of events in 1780 highlighted his sometimes critical role in the legislative process. With the two houses deadlocked over the question of confiscating British property in the state, Stone resigned from the Senate and at once entered the lower house, having already been elected from Charles County. After actively participating in House proceedings for a week, he resigned, immediately gained reelec-

tion to the Senate, and then, in a joint conference committee, helped craft the confiscation law that resolved a protracted, acrimonious controversy.[48]

Beginning with its inaugural session in 1777, the Senate scrutinized *every* matter sent from the House and dissented to everything deemed objectionable. The journals of the two bodies are strewn with accusations and countercharges, bristling defenses of their respective positions and prerogatives, and satirical jousting reminiscent of the famous Tuesday Club of Annapolis. Close reading of their exchanges reveals that the Senate was less prone to rhetorical hyperbole and more careful about protecting civil liberties and property rights, even in wartime. In such matters Stone typically sided with the majority of his colleagues. Hence, in a message that he helped write, the Senate objected to a House bill requiring a loyalty oath, on the grounds that some parts seemed "so incautiously worded as to take away all freedom of discourse" from "a people jealous of, and well acquainted with their rights"; that "no government has a right to dive into the secret thoughts of subjects conforming their conduct to the known laws of the state"; and that the bill possibly indicated "an intention to shackle the liberty of the press, the freedom of which has ever been found the best security for the virtuous administration of government."[49]

Intense conflict between the two houses—conflict over such weighty issues as how best to support the war, whether paper money should be made legal tender in payment of all debts, and whether loyalists' estates should be seized for the benefit of the state—not only exposed substantive disagreements about proposed legislation, but also cast into bold relief some of the most important constitutional questions in Revolutionary America. In self-governing polities, what is the nature of representation? Whose interests should individual legislators represent and promote—people in their electoral districts only, or throughout the body politic? What, if any, kind of organized popular pressure on a legislature is legitimate? If the upper and lower houses disagree, is it proper for one to stir up popular passions in an attempt to influence the other? In sum, how may the people exercise their sovereignty? Throughout his senatorial career Stone grappled with such questions, until finally he stood at the center of debate.[50]

The House of Delegates understandably tried to position itself as more representative of the people, better attuned to their interests, and it gratuitously reminded senators that their constituents were "the people." Nor did the House hesitate to imply that, by failing to endorse its initiatives, the Senate endangered "the peace and safety of this state" and invited popular disapproval. In one testy retort written by Stone and two other senators, the upper house thanked the lower "for the attention shewn to our welfare, by your friendly admonition. We only wish it had been communicated free from those insinuations which are vainly calculated to wound our reputation." On another occasion the Senate declared its unwillingness to "sacrifice that liberty of deciding upon public ques-

tions, which, as free men and legislators, we have a right to enjoy and exercise." Such sacrifice would cause the upper house to "be degraded" from its "respectable station . . . into an useless and miserable appendage of the legislature." Despite sometimes intense and highly public attempts to construe the Senate otherwise, it never relinquished its claim of equally representing the people and promoting the public good.[51]

The most contentious constitutional issue that animated Maryland politics—and the one that placed Stone at the forefront of public debate—concerned whether one house of the legislature, if unable to bend the other to its will, could legitimately arouse the populace in an effort to break the impasse. As early as 1777, during a stalemate over loyalty oaths, the House ordered copies of its bill distributed throughout the state, while rhetoric published in the *Maryland Gazette* contended that the "senate are the *mediate,* and the house of delegates the *immediate* representatives of the people." If the two cannot agree, the people (actually, enfranchised males) must "approve the one, and condemn the other." Two years later, in the heat of debate over confiscation of British property, the House explicitly appealed to the public and taunted the Senate: "Our appeal is now made to our constituents. We are both bound by what they shall determine." Should those constituents side with the lower house, "we flatter ourselves your honours will not oppose the voice of your country." This unprecedented claim of a popular right, in effect, to legislate derived from a clause in the Declaration of Rights, which reads that "the right in the people to participate in the legislature is the best security of liberty, and the foundation of all free government." The claim, however, ignored the rest of the clause, which secured the people's right through frequent elections and enfranchisement of male property owners. It also ignored a clause in the Constitution of 1776, under which the Senate held "full and perfect liberty to exercise their judgment in passing laws" and could not "be compelled by the house of delegates" to pass any bill that senators judged "injurious to the public welfare."[52] Furthermore, impressionistic images of freemen instructing their representatives obscured crucial details, such as who could legitimately initiate the process, whether all enfranchised voters would receive notice of popular gatherings, who would set the agenda, and whether full, informed consideration of diverse viewpoints would be encouraged.

The simmering debate exploded across Maryland in 1787, at a time when disturbances ranging from a courthouse riot in Charles County to Shays' Rebellion in Massachusetts raised fears of popular excess as well as apprehension that, in the words of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, "our several Gov[ernmen]ts are on the eve of dissolution." The precipitating event was the Senate's unanimous refusal to agree to a bill to emit paper money, which would circulate at par with specie. While the lower house asserted that *only* an infusion of paper could relieve economic distress in Maryland, a skeptical upper house thought such a

course might ruin the state's already precarious public credit and, in addition, enable speculators (including Samuel Chase in the lower house) to pay their debts with grossly devalued currency. Unable to budge the Senate, the House in early January abruptly announced its intention to adjourn until mid-March, leaving unfinished such important business as appointing delegates to the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia. Immediately, the House also published a partisan appeal to the public which began as follows:

> We, your immediate representatives in the general assembly, think . . . that on all subjects that materially concern your welfare or happiness, you are to be consulted; and your opinions, freely and fairly delivered, ought to govern our deliberations. We also hold both branches of your legislature bound by your instructions, whenever you please to give them; on a diversity in sentiment between us and the senate, you alone are to decide, and to you only can there be any appeal.[53]

At that, the Senate eagerly joined in battle, convinced that "no part of our conduct can . . . justly subject us to the suspicion of having an interest separate from that of the people," the majority of whom would oppose the paper money bill if their views "could be *fairly* collected" (emphasis mine). In an address written by five senators including Thomas Stone, the Senate pointedly accused the House of Delegates of tending "to weaken the powers of government, and to disseminate divisions and discord among the citizens of this state, at a crisis, when the energy of the one, and the union of the other, are more than ever necessary." Branding unilateral appeals to the public unprecedented—and nowhere legitimated by the framers of the state constitution—the Senate argued that

> Every man of reflection will readily perceive, if this practice should prevail, that the public business will no longer be conducted by a select legislature, consisting of two branches, equally free and independent, calmly deliberating and determining on the propriety of public measures, but that the state will be convulsed upon every difference of opinion between those branches, respecting any question which either may think important.

Moreover, said the senators, nothing less than survival of the upper house as defined in the constitution was at stake. With many more members, the lower house enjoyed "greater opportunities of influencing the people, whose sense is to be collected." Called out into "large collected bodies" in which "even the most moderate are liable to be inflamed by declamation," given only a short time to consider complex matters, the public might easily succumb to the passions of

the moment and be "hurried into measures inconsistent with their real welfare."

> In consequence therefore of such appeals to the people, the senate will be deprived of that freedom of debate and decision, which the constitution meant to secure to that branch, and every benefit which might result to the state from that freedom, will be precluded. In such a situation, the powers of the senate would be annihilated, and although its name and semblance might remain, its real utility would cease.

In danger of annihilation, too, were minority rights. Foreshadowing James Madison's discussions of the tyranny of the majority, senators warned that if "the sense of a majority, however collected, is in all cases to govern, then there are no rights in this state which are secured against the opinion of such a majority."[54]

Hours after the Senate dispatched this lengthy address to the House on January 20, the legislature adjourned for three months. But first, without appealing directly to the people, the upper house ensured a public airing of its views by ordering one thousand copies of its message to be printed. The next day, according to an account written and published by Stone, senators still in Annapolis met at Mann's Tavern to consider how best to distribute the document, as well as "if any thing else was necessary to be done by the senators, *as individuals*, before they parted" (emphasis mine). They knew that House members were busy circulating, for freemen's signatures, printed forms telling the legislature to pass the paper money bill; the forms falsely alleged that the entire legislature invited the people's decision. In response, the unofficial meeting of senators approved a "proposition" to be distributed with the address to the House. Its wording did not explicitly instruct anyone; signers would simply affirm support for the existing form of government and opine that "each branch of the legislature ought to be free, and at full liberty to exercise their judgment, upon all public measures *proposed by the one to the other.*" Stone wrote the proposition.[55]

In the ensuing public debate, supporters of the House returned to first principles: "All *lawful* authority originates from the people, and their power is like the light of the sun, native, original, inherent and unlimited by human authority." The right of the people "to *judge* must . . . *perpetually* exist, and may be exercised on *all occasions.*" Senate supporters invoked provisions of the Maryland Constitution which delegated legislative authority, and some also argued that extraordinary circumstances alone justified popular intervention in a legitimate government: The "*practice* of appeal by either branch will be productive of considerable mischief, and will in the end destroy the constitution itself." "Until some fatal period shall arrive, when the ends of government shall be perverted, and liberty manifestly endangered, the people cannot constitutionally interfere with the deliberations of the senate."[56]

In private correspondence Stone vented his chagrin at the "great & perhaps dangerous divisions in this State" being created, he told George Washington, by the appeal to the public over the paper money bill. "The cool temperate & benevolent are seldom active upon internal differences in any Country—those who have more of the acid & fire generally take the lead, and are not unfrequently on the wrong side," he told his younger brother Michael Jenifer Stone. Believing that "a Majority of the people are not in favor of the Measures of the Majority of the Delegates," he nonetheless feared that proponents of paper money would exercise "much more industry" to create the appearance of a popular mandate.[57]

Stone thought it a gross distortion to frame the issue as a contest between the upper house and the people. If individual senators or the whole house "set themselves in opposition to the great body of the people of this state, I should think them rather objects proper to be confined for insanity than dreaded as tyrants," he scoffed. Hence his dismay when he was accused, in the pages of the *Maryland Journal*, of deceptively wording the proposition he had written at Mann's Tavern, so that signatories unknowingly endorsed a legislature "*independent* of the people." Unlike some of his contemporaries—Chase and Paca come to mind—Stone rarely rushed into print to debate his political adversaries. He wrote for public consumption only when feeling maligned and impelled to defend himself. Faced with the insinuation that he would dishonestly entice freemen to disclaim one of the most basic principles of the Revolution—popular sovereignty—he took up the pen to deny "that I ever designedly injured, or attempted to deceive, the people of this state."[58]

The proposition he drafted, Stone explained, was meant "not to affect the *rights*" but "to collect the sense of the people." Should the two houses "be left at liberty to exercise their judgements [sic] on measures proposed by the one to the other"? Or did constituents want to "introduce the practice of appeals, to oblige the dissenting branch, to accede to the measures proposed by the appealing branch"? A positive response to the proposition would stand "as a *direction* from the people to the *legislature*, and would restrain the *practice of appealing*." A negative response would necessitate development of fair, standard procedures for taking the public pulse. Furthermore, to avoid "the odium" of acting contrary to the public will, legislators henceforth surely would collect constituents' verdicts before deciding on "doubtful" bills. Although Stone thus accepted a popular right to adjudge the innovative practice the House was trying to institutionalize, he declined to state his views on whether voters, acting collectively, could rightfully enter the law-making process and instruct their representatives to pass specific bills. He nevertheless reminded Marylanders that the House of Delegates first approved the paper money bill, *then* appealed to the people. "*They* did not want instructions to regulate *their* conduct[;] the only sensible end to be answered, by obtaining instructions in favour of the measure, was to *oblige* the

senate" to accept a bill it had already unanimously rejected. Stone's resistance in 1787 to outside interference and to hastily destroying established constitutional arrangements, and his insistence on obtaining the fair and uninfluenced "sense of the people," echo the younger man, the Continental congressman of 1776.[59]

The struggle between the two branches of the Maryland Assembly threw into particularly stark relief the process underway in the new nation, a process of attaching the enormously powerful abstractions of Revolutionary rhetoric—liberty, rights, sovereignty of the people—to functional, stable governments, while at the same time articulating what those abstractions entailed and how they were to be exercised. Heavily freighting this process was widespread anxiety that the drafters of state constitutions—having abandoned the traditional checks and balances embedded in the British system of monarchy, aristocracy, and commons—had created polities far too vulnerable to popular pressure. This concern, combined with a veritable litany of enforced court closings, rioting, and even rebellion, convinced many observers that unless new mechanisms could be found to replace the checks and balances of the British system, the Revolution might end in chaos. "Liberty," warned James Madison, "may be endangered by the abuses of liberty as well as by the abuses of power."[60]

Before 1787 the search for "stable & firm Gov[ernmen]t organized in the republican form" occurred not at the national level but in the states. The intense struggle that Stone and his colleagues waged with the House of Delegates figured importantly in conceptualizing how a sovereign people, who alone could create a government, according to Revolutionary ideology, nevertheless lived under it. In the end, the lower house failed to establish a continuous, collective popular right to mandate law. Rights already constitutionally secured, especially petitioning and frequent elections, defined constituents' relationship with their representatives. At the same time, the Senate—by insisting upon *its* right under the state constitution to deliberate without interference from the lower house—offered a singular example of how one sector of a republican government could check another. In the estimation of Dr. David Ramsay—South Carolina legislator, Continental congressman, and historian of the Revolution—

> the senate of Maryland consisted of men of influence, integrity and abilities and such as were a real and beneficial check on the hasty proceedings of a more numerous branch of popular representatives. The laws of that state were well digested, and its interest steadily pursued with a peculiar unity of system; while elsewhere it too often happened in the fluctuation of public assemblies, and where the legislative department was not sufficiently checked, that passion and party predominated over principle and public good.[61]

When it came time to frame a new national government, soon after the controversy subsided in Maryland, its fifteen-member Senate provided the nation's only operational model for what became the upper house of Congress. Madison argued that "the people can never wilfully betray their own interests; but they may possibly be betrayed by the representatives of the people"; since Independence, all of the upper houses—except Maryland's—were "found to be no check whatever ag[ain]st the instabilities of the other branches." In Edmund Randolph's words, "Democratic licentiousness of the State Legislatures" reigned, and even the Maryland Senate "had been scarcely able to stem the popular torrent." In their opposition to the House of Delegates, said Madison, the senators "had with them the suffrages of the most enlightened and impartial people of other States as well as their own." Proponents of the Constitution also invoked the record of this one state to refute theoretical arguments that a federal senate, if elected indirectly for long terms, would abuse power and possibly drive the country into tyranny. On the contrary, "the Maryland constitution is daily deriving, from the salutary operation of this part of it [the Senate], a reputation in which it will probably not be rivaled by that of any State in the Union."[62]

Had Thomas Stone attended the Philadelphia Convention, he surely would have advocated a United States Senate modeled on the one whose constitutional underpinnings he had vigorously defended. Without question, he also would have supported a more powerful national government than existed under the Articles of Confederation. Shortly before the convention opened, however, he declined appointment, probably because of the ill health to which he and his wife soon succumbed.[63]

From Provincial to Nationalist

Stone's views on the nation and what kind of central government it required stemmed from a variety of experiences: his careers in Congress and Maryland politics, associations with men concerned about the fate of the Union, hopes for the economic development of the Potomac River valley, and involvement in negotiations with Virginia over jurisdiction of the river (and therefore commerce on it). In 1776 the young congressman worked to protect his state's autonomy from outside interference, not least by serving on the committee that crafted a central government so weak that it lacked authority to pass laws, tax, or implement its resolutions. By the mid-1780s, however, the seasoned politician had concluded that a dangerously impotent Confederation must be strengthened. In his passage from provincial to nationalist, Stone followed the same transit as countless other members of the Revolutionary generation.

After signing the Declaration of Independence, he continued attending Congress until the late fall of 1776. Delegates at that time were often preoccupied

with the dire military situation in New York following a massive British invasion, and Stone immersed himself in supporting the war. Besides serving on committees that dealt with augmenting and supplying Washington's army, establishing an adequate hospital department, and investigating military reverses in Canada, he transmitted intelligence to Annapolis and urged state officials that "it is of the last Consequence to collect a sufficient force to oppose the British Army." As thousands of Maryland troops passed through Philadelphia on their way north that summer, he scoured the city for smallpox-free quarters, medical supplies, and even a gun carriage. For the defense of Maryland he acquired fifty muskets, stored and packed them at his lodgings, and sent them to Annapolis with fifty barrels of gunpowder.[64]

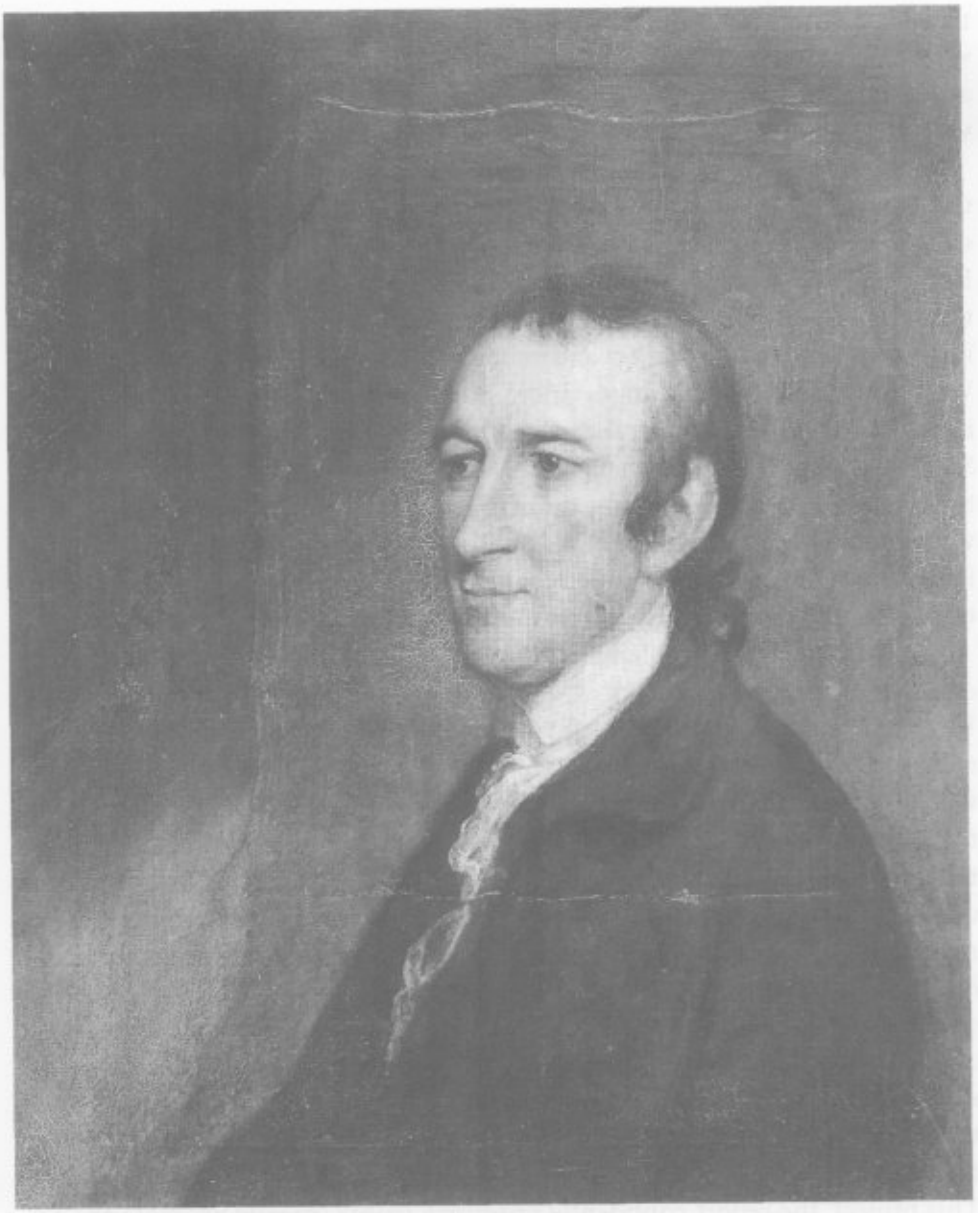
During these same months congressmen tried to design a charter of national government acceptable to the newly sovereign states. No record survives of the positions Stone took in the committee that reported on the Articles of Confederation in mid-July. However, his well known revulsion against outside interference in Maryland's internal affairs, together with points he made in floor debate, establish his advocacy of a union of autonomous states. Hence he opposed granting Congress "superintendency" over Indian affairs. More stridently, he contested the claims of Virginia and several other states to a huge slice of the North American continent: not only did military support from all states defend lands beyond white settlement, but "the small [states] have a Right to Happiness and Security" and "would have no Safety if the great [states] were not limited." Here Stone raised the key issue of western lands, which stalled implementation of the Articles until 1781. Only then, when Virginia relinquished its trans-Appalachian claims except for Kentucky, did Maryland become the last state to ratify the Articles.[65]

After 1776 Stone did not again devote intense effort to the work of Congress until 1784, and then only after its perambulations carried it to Annapolis. With his reputation for being intelligent and knowledgeable—as well as "honest & disinterested" in Thomas Jefferson's estimation, "a very upright sensible man" in James Monroe's—Stone quickly received appointment to many committees and often penned their reports. Never was he more engaged with the array of issues and problems confronting the nation. And whether considering domestic or foreign affairs, he was thinking continentally: by favoring commercial treaties that treated the United States "as one nation," passports devoid of fawning salutations to foreign princes, an ordinance that required republican governments beyond the Appalachian Mountains, state quotas of troops to protect the national domain, and congressionally supervised adjudication of interstate disputes.[66]

This is not to say that he ignored state interests. A committee report he wrote explicitly declined to acknowledge, on behalf of Congress, the applicability of the law of nations to individual states. He stood with the majority of southern

congressmen in voting against abolition of slavery in the western territories. And one senses his discomfiture as he justified why members of a committee to which he belonged had issued a warrant for the arrest, in Maryland, of an alleged leader of mutiny in the Pennsylvania Line, a mutiny that had sent Congress packing out of Philadelphia. He did not, indeed could not, appeal to any power of Congress. Instead, Stone rather self-consciously explained that, because state officials had been unavailable to apprehend the fugitive, "the Principle upon which the Warrant was issued was that in cases where Crimes of high and dangerous Nature had been committed . . . it was not only lawfull but the duty of every Citizen and body of Men independent of all possitive [sic] Authority to take the most effectual Measures for arresting the perpetrators and bringing them before the Constitutional Judiciary power for examination and Trial." (In this case the accused mutineer and the evidence against him were turned over to the General Court.) Absent such citizen arrests, Stone argued, Congress, with no police power of its own, "might at any time be broken up or destroyed before an adequate remedy could be applied." Here he tried to walk a fine line between respecting state authority and contravening it to protect the very existence of the Confederation government.[67]

Stone never again sat in Congress after it returned north in late 1784, but his service that year energized him, intensified his nationalistic thinking and concern for the fate of the country, and infused his writings with new confidence and authority. To James Monroe, whom he knew from Congress and trusted, he volunteered, "I am anxious to do every thing necessary to give Weight & energy to the fœderal Government." In letters written after completing his term, Stone spelled out his thinking on what the Confederation needed (power) and what threatened it most (myopic states, jealous of one another). It troubled him that unnamed "leading Men in America" were trying to "wrest from the fœderal government a power essential to the Safety of the Union," that is, the authority to raise troops, without which "Government can be neither protected or supported." He hoped that the states would abandon commercial rivalry and vest Congress with authority to regulate foreign and interstate trade, for "I now am of opinion that the inconveniences flowing from the want of such power in Congress overbalance the danger to be apprehended from the Abuse of it, and the sooner the power is conferred and partial impolitic State Regulations thereby defeated[,] the better it will be for the whole." These and other examples of fractious localism kept the central government "weak & unsettled." More than that—and here he revealed his deepest fear—"this Country from the want of Power in the Common Stead & Jealousy of the Several parts of the Union is extremely liable to that greatest of all Curses which can befall Mankind," civil war. Should it break out in America (something he thought distinctly possible), "once begun no bounds can be set to it."[68]



Portrait of Thomas Stone by Robert Edge Pine (1730–88), an Englishman who arrived in America in 1783. (Baltimore Museum of Art.)

Certain that both the source *and remedy* of the nation's ills resided in the states, Stone concentrated his efforts on the Maryland legislature. Its members he pronounced "well disposed to do every thing necessary to give dignity & Energy to the Continental Government," but their attention first had to be diverted "from the State Object to this which in my Opinion is much more impor-

tant." Refocusing was not easily accomplished amidst the paper money controversy and other issues agitating state politics, but in due course the assembly assented to empowering Congress to regulate trade and raise independent revenue with a 5 percent tax on imports. Stone vigorously advocated both measures.[69]

He also devoted many hours to one of the most enticing prospects in the Chesapeake region and, indeed, the entire nation: creating a magnificent watercourse into the heart of the trans-Appalachian West by making the Potomac River navigable from the fall line at Georgetown to its source near the headwaters of the Ohio River system, a distance of about 175 miles. Like George Washington, the plan's chief architect and publicist, Stone considered the transmontane West "an Object of great importance." Turning the upper reaches of the river into a busy highway for people and goods would "promote the wellfare of these States" and forge "a strong chain of connection" between the Atlantic coast and the interior into which, already, thousands of Americans were migrating. This vision could not be realized, however, unless jurisdiction of the river, a point at issue between Maryland and Virginia, was settled and, secondly, the most ambitious internal improvement project in the young republic succeeded.[70]

Jurisdiction was a problem because the southern boundary of Maryland, as defined in its colonial charter, extended to the Potomac's south shore, but the Virginia Constitution of 1776 claimed a right to "free navigation and use" of the river. In 1777 the two state legislatures appointed commissioners, including Stone, who tried but failed to achieve an understanding acceptable to both states. Once the Peace of Paris of 1783 recognized the trans-Appalachian West as United States territory and the pace of westward migration swelled, the issue assumed greater urgency. Pressure mounted further in November 1784, when interested parties meeting at Alexandria asked the two legislatures to charter a company that would clear the Potomac of obstructions and operate the waterway. Then, at the behest of the Virginia assembly, Washington and Horatio Gates traveled to Annapolis the following month, where they conferred with members of the Maryland assembly, Stone among them. Their report recommended that the legislatures charter the Potomac Company and contribute some of the funds needed to improve the river and build a road between it and the headwaters of the Ohio system. This project, the report confidently promised, would "greatly promote the political interests of the United States, by forming a free and easy communication with the people settled on the western waters." When the assembly instantly approved, Washington informed James Madison that "this State seem[s] highly impressed with the importance of the objects w[hi]ch we have had under consideration, and are very desirous of seeing them accomplished." The Virginia assembly promptly enacted the same legislation.[71]

Chartering the Potomac Company meant that the jurisdiction issue could no longer be ignored. In early January 1785, therefore, the Maryland assembly

elected Stone, Samuel Chase, Thomas Johnson, and Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer to meet with Virginia commissioners. Stone was confident. In transmitting the news to Washington he wrote, "I have no doubt but the Subjects of our Mission will be set[t]led to mutual satisfaction." A few days before setting out for the Mount Vernon Conference in March, he confided to Monroe, "this business ought to be fixed now that We are upon good terms when it is easily done." And so it was. More than that, the Virginia legislature thereupon proposed a meeting of representatives from all the states, to consider uniform commercial regulations—and thereby set in motion the sequence of events that led to the Annapolis Convention of 1786 and the Constitutional Convention of 1787. (The Maryland Senate blocked appointment of delegates to the convention at Annapolis on the grounds that Congress should exercise the power to regulate trade.)[72]

If 1784 and 1785 were years of intensifying, nationally oriented hope and effort for Stone, during 1786 he sank into despair. In the wake of Shays's Rebellion and what Madison termed "a spirit of insurrection" throughout the country, in the knowledge that attempts to strengthen Congress had failed for lack of concurrence from all thirteen states, and in the throes of the House of Delegates appeal to the populace over paper money—against all this Stone succumbed to agonized grief reminiscent of what he had felt in the spring of 1776. His worries tumbled from pen to page in a letter addressed to his brother Michael:

> I cannot shake of[f] the Pain which a View of our situation brings upon my Mind. Devoted to this Country and its Wellfare, I cannot rest while clouds appear to be gathering which threaten distruction to all that is valuable in it and [threaten] to level our Reputation and Glory to the Ground. Would to heaven my power was equal to my will[,] this should never happen. Divided and distracted from north to south, We afford a melancholy proof that Men even when left to themselves want the Wisdom Virtue & Temperance which is necessary to make them happy.

In the last sentence he abandoned, at least for the moment, a trust in the fundamental goodness and wisdom of the citizenry, which had sustained him at least since the tumultuous decision for Independence. That trust rested on his faith that "all men can distinguish clearly between Right and Wrong when not under the immediate influence of some seducing Passion," that "most Men have Sense enough to distinguish the proper Course in almost any Situation if they would give themselves time to Reflect," and that disinterested citizens, "having no motive to do wrong, and being bound to do right," would not likely err. In the spring of 1787, faith gave way to disillusionment.[73]

In what would be his final public letter, published the month before the

Constitutional Convention opened, Stone projected not the anguished energy that marks his pre-Independence correspondence but the weariness of a man nearing the end of his career and questioning whether the results justified the effort. Feeling "bound to live in, and anxious for the prosperity of, a country where those who ought to unite, are endeavouring to wound and destroy each other," and characterizing the office of senator as "much too arduous and weighty for my abilities . . . a burthen the greatest of my life," he longed to retire. Denying—incredulously—that he possessed power and influence, he virtually sighed, "I am not so vain to suppose that I can render services to the public in any degree equal to the sacrifice of quiet, health and interest, which necessarily attends the execution of public trust."[74]

By the time he penned these words, he had declined election to the Philadelphia Convention. Even if he had known that its members would abandon any pretense of shoring up the Articles of Confederation and, instead, draft an entirely new and much stronger framework of national government, Stone almost certainly would not have attended. After a painful and prolonged illness, his wife Margaret died in June 1787. Before he, too, died on October 5, he may have seen the text of the Constitution, which appeared in a Maryland newspaper at the end of September. If he did, no record of his reaction survives. Although yet another myth casts Stone as an antifederalist, surely it is wrong. His many dissatisfactions with the structure and functioning of the national and state governments, his deep fears for survival of the Revolution, and Marylanders' overwhelming support for the Constitution add up to compelling evidence that, had Stone lived, he would have endorsed the new federal system. One can imagine him doing so with the same words he used upon learning that the war was over and Great Britain had recognized American Independence: "our Country will be happy henceforth if properly governed."[75]

NOTES

1. Thomas Stone to Frederick Stone [early October 1787], in John Sanderson et al., eds., *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence,* 9 vols. (Philadelphia: R. W. Pomeroy, 1823–27), 9:332; Robert Fergusson to George Gray, October 12, 1787, Letter Book, 1787–88, Port Tobacco, Md., in the John Glassford and Company Papers, container 62, fol. 122, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; *Virginia Journal, and Alexandria Advertiser,* October 11, 1787.

2. Stone's public offices are listed in Edward C. Papenfuse et al., eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789,* 2 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979, 1985), 2:786–88 (hereinafter *Biographical Dictionary*). The obituary appeared in both the *Virginia Journal, and Alexandria Advertiser,* October 11, 1787, and the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser,* October 16, 1787. A brief notice of Stone's death was published in the *Columbian Magazine, or Monthly Miscellany,* 1 (October 1787): 734.

3. *Biographical Dictionary,* 1:199, 216, 2:635; Robert T. Conrad, ed., *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence,* rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Thomas Cowperthwait and Co., 1846), xxi. For vital statistics of the signers, see David C. Whitney et al., *Founders of Freedom in America: Lives of the Men Who Signed the Declaration of Independence* (Chicago: J. G. Ferguson, 1964), 26–29.
4. *Niles' Weekly Register,* 15 (December 19, 1818): 291; Thomas Jefferson quotation in Drew R. McCoy, *The Last of the Fathers: James Madison and the Republican Legacy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), xii.
5. Sanderson et al., eds., *Biography of the Signers,* quotation from 7:[vii]; Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography,* 20 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927–36), 16:337–38. Joseph M. Sanderson registered the first two volumes with the United States government and, in them, is identified as "proprietor" of the enterprise. John Sanderson's name appears on the title pages of volumes 1–5.
6. Sanderson et al., eds., *Biography of the Signers,* 9:151–69, 329–33; quotation on p. 154.
7. Irma B. Jaffe, *John Trumbull: Patriot-Artist of the American Revolution* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., for the New York Graphic Society, 1975), 318–19, 322.
8. Stone to [James Hollyday?], May 20, 1776, in *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774–1789,* ed. Paul H. Smith et al., 23 vols. to date (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1976–), 4:51–52 (hereinafter *Letters of Delegates*); *Maryland Gazette,* April 5, 1787, and the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser,* April 6, 1787, reprinted in Melvin Yazawa, ed., *Representative Government and the Revolution: The Maryland Constitutional Crisis of 1787* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 80–86. For indications of Stone's political reputation, see James McHenry to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, March 11 and July 4, 1785, and James Monroe to James Madison, September 12, 1786, in *Letters of Delegates,* 22:268, 496, 23:554. On his eminence as a lawyer, see Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Charles Carroll, Sr., May 17, 1778, in *Letters of Delegates,* 9:691, and John Ridout to Horatio Sharpe, August 18, 1784, Ridout Collection (SC 371), Maryland State Archives, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
9. *Maryland Gazette,* September 26, 1793; Justin Winsor, ed., *Narrative and Critical History of America,* 8 vols. (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1884–89), 8:453; Jean B. Lee, "Calendar of Papers of Thomas Stone (1743–87)," typescript available at the Southern Maryland Studies Center, Charles County Community College, La Plata, Md., and the Thomas Stone National Historic Site, La Plata, Md. Stone materials destroyed at Richmond were among the papers of Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer.
10. Lee, "Calendar of Papers of Thomas Stone"; Charles F. Jenkins, *The Completed Sets of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, 1925,* 2nd ed. ([Philadelphia?]: n.p., 1925), 2. Descriptions of the most important collections related to Stone are in Avril J. M. Pedley, comp., *The Manuscript Collections of the Maryland Historical Society* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1968), 277, and John R. Sellers et al., comps., *Manuscript Sources in the Library of Congress for Research on the American Revolution* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1975), 173. Correspondence with state officials is listed in Edward C. Papenfuse et al., comps., *An Inventory of Maryland State Papers,* vol. 1: *The Era of the American Revolution, 1775–1789* (Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1977).
11. Sanderson et al., eds., *Biography of the Signers,* 9:329–33. A sampling of works that repeat the 1827 account is Charles A. Goodrich, *Lives of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence* (New York: William Reed and Co., 1829), 351–57; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day,* 3 vols. (Baltimore, 1879; reprint, Hatboro, Pa.: Tradition Press, 1967), 2:235–37; Horace E. Hayden, *Virginia Genealogies* (Wilkes-Barre, Pa., E. B. Yordy, 1891; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1979), 175–76; Malone,

ed., *Dictionary of American Biography,* 18:84–85; Margaret Brown Klapthor and Paul D. Brown, *The History of Charles County, Maryland* (La Plata, Md.: Charles County Tercentenary, 1958), 77–79; and Whitney, *Founders of Freedom in America,* 214–15.

12. Sanderson et al., eds., *Biography of the Signers,* 9:329–31.

13. Ibid., 9:330–33, including extracts of T. Stone to Margaret Stone, April 28, 1775, and to Frederick Stone [early October 1787].

14. Subsequent editions considered Stone's political career. See John Sanderson, *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence,* 2nd ed., 5 vols. (Philadelphia: William Brown and Charles Peters, 1828), 4:129–50, and Conrad, ed., *Biography of the Signers* (1846), 612–20, which was reissued during the centennial of Independence as *Sanderson's Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence* (Philadelphia: Charles Desilver and Sons, 1876). For the Stone and Brown lineages, see *Biographical Dictionary,* 2:783–84, 786–89; Harry W. Newman, *The Stones of Poynton Manor* (Washington, D.C.: published by the author, 1937); and J. M. Toner, "A Sketch of the Life of Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown of Port Tobacco, Maryland," *Sons of the Revolution in the State of Virginia Quarterly Magazine,* 2 (1923): 12–15. Pursuant to the will of Margaret Stone's father, Dr. Gustavus Brown, her dowry amounted to £300 sterling plus interest from the date of his death (1762), as well as two slaves. Charles County Wills (C681), Lib. AD5, fols. 219–34, Maryland State Archives. Sanderson either was mistaken about the sum or estimated the dowry's worth as of a later date. Regarding the estate of David Stone (Thomas's father), the Sanderson informant claimed that a classical education was Thomas's only inheritance because his father's plantation, Poynton Manor, descended to another heir. However, David Stone also left an unusually large personal estate, including fifty-three slaves, which his widow and all surviving children shared. Final account of the estate of David Stone, 1778, Charles County Wills, Lib. AF7, fols. 169–70; see also memorandum of John Hoskins Stone and Thomas Stone, July 15, 1778, Edward C. Stone Collection of Autographs of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, Boston University, Boston, Mass. The quotation about Stone's political principles is in Sanderson et al., eds., *Biography of the Signers,* 9:154–55.

15. Insightful discussions of historical memory are David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), and Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Michael Kammen has written extensively on the construction of the memory of the Revolution in *A Season of Youth: The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978) and *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991). For Betsy Ross, see pp. 192n and 501 of *Mystic Chords;* for Weems, see Lewis Leary, *The Book-Peddling Parson: An Account of the Life and Works of Mason Locke Weems, Patriot, Pitchman, Author and Purveyor of Morality to the Citizenry of the Early United States of America* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Algonquin Books, 1984). The "mystic chords of memory" phrase is from Lincoln's first inaugural address.

16. Charles A. Goodrich, *Lives of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence; with a Sketch of the Life of Washington* (Hartford, Conn.: H. E. Robins and Co., 1848), preface; Conrad, ed., *Biography of the Signers,* xx.

17. Stone to Jenifer, April 24, 1776, and to [Hollyday?], May 20, 1776, and John Adams to James Warren, May 15, 1776, *Letters of Delegates,* 3:580–81, 4:46–53, 3:676, respectively; Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789,* 34 vols. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1904–37), 4:342, 358. The recommendation about forming adequate governments passed May 10; a preamble calling for the suppression

of all authority under the British Crown was attached on May 15.
18. Stone to [Hollyday?], May 20, 1776, *Letters of Delegates,* 4:47–49. Carter Braxton of Virginia thought that only six colonies voted for the inflammatory preamble, whereas James Allen of Philadelphia set the number at seven. Braxton to Landon Carter, May 17, 1776, ibid., 4:19; "Diary of James Allen, Esq., of Philadelphia, Counsellor-at-Law, 1770–1778," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* 9 (1885): 187.
19. Sanderson, *Biography of the Signers,* 2nd ed., 4:133–34, 138–39.
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35. Stone to Jenifer, April 24, 1776, and to [Hollyday?], May 20, 1776, *Letters of Delegates,* 3:580, 4:47; Adams to Abigail Adams, May 17, 1776, ibid., 4:17.

36. Stone to [Hollyday?], May 20, 1776, ibid., 4:49, 51.

37. Ibid., 4:51–52; Maryland Provincial Convention, *Proceedings,* 141–42.

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45. T. Stone to W. Stone, April 21, 1782, Stone Family of Maryland Papers, fol. 61; Carroll of Carrollton to C. Carroll, Sr., May 17, 1778, *Letters of Delegates*, 9:691; Ridout to Sharpe, August 18, 1784, Ridout Papers; Thomas Hanson deposition, May 5, 1800, Chancery Court Record 65 (1806) [S517], Maryland State Archives; *Maryland Gazette*, December 17, 1786. Stone frequently referred to his ill health. See, for example, letters to his brother Walter, March 30, May 24, and December 9, 1783, in, respectively, the Signers' Collection, John Work Garrett Library, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore; the Pequot Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; and the Louis Bamberger Autograph Collection, New Jersey Historical Society, Newark.

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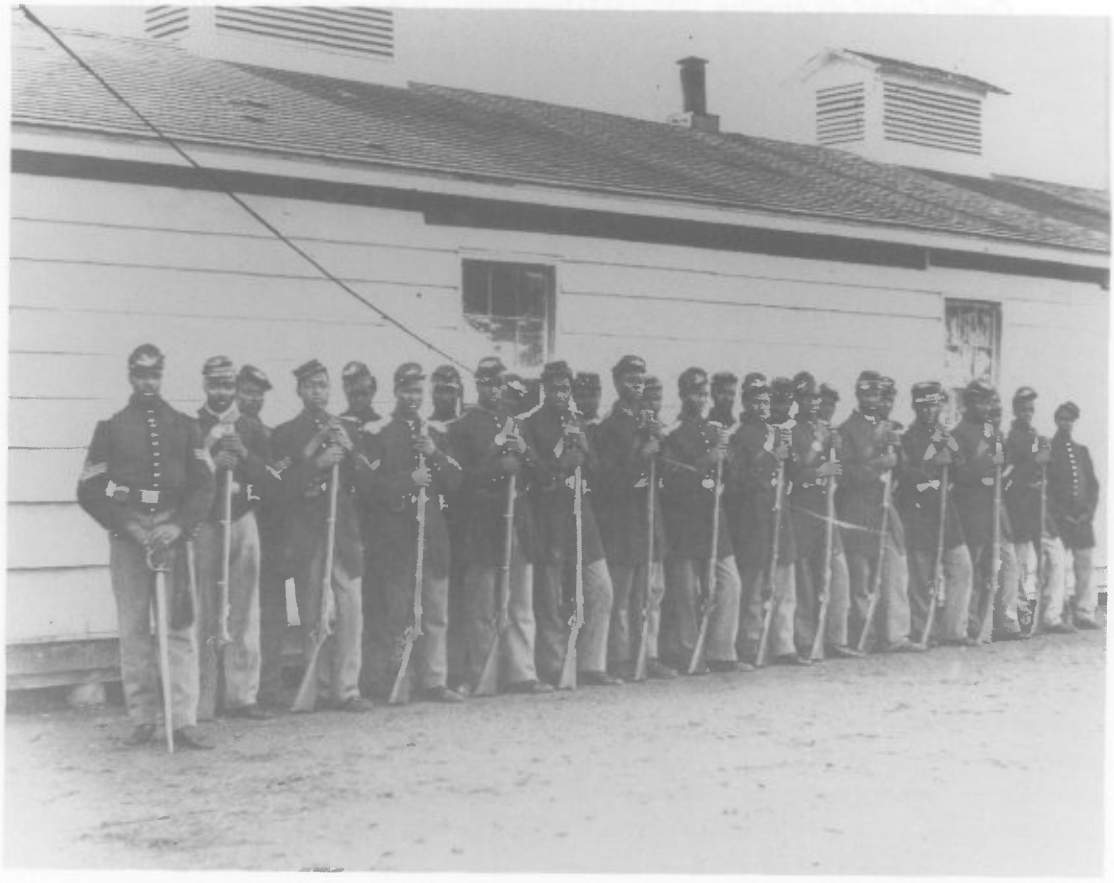

Company E, 4th U.S. Colored Troops. These men from Frederick and Carroll Counties had served as guards at Point Lookout prison and were veterans of the bitter fighting at Fort Fisher in North Carolina by the time this photograph was taken in 1865. After serving garrison duty in the South, they mustered out and returned home to an uncertain reception in 1866. (Library of Congress/Ross M. Kimmel.)

Blacks, Whites, and Guns: Interracial Violence in Post-Emancipation Maryland

RICHARD PAUL FUKE

In Maryland, as elsewhere in the South, the social and economic upheaval of Reconstruction was accompanied by gun-related violence, which in part shaped the social, economic, and political landscape.[1] The immediate postwar years saw a combustible mix of people and events when blacks and whites confronted each other amidst circumstances altered by emancipation. In rural counties, ex-Confederates frequently attacked freed slaves who often fought back. Blacks who moved to Baltimore met a hostile society ill-prepared to cope with their arrival and often intent on obstructing their progress. There, too, armed blacks and whites faced each other in a new environment, one defined by emancipation and shaped by growing industrialization and incipient ghetto life.[2] Behind the animosities lay deeply seated problems: the destabilization of the rural economy, the forced or voluntary migration of several thousand black workers to Baltimore, and the inability of the city's economy to absorb them readily. These sudden changes invited dispute, and, in the absence of peaceful alternatives, violence.

The means were readily at hand. Possession of firearms by both whites and blacks was, it would seem, widespread throughout the state. Tidewater whites were accustomed to guns as a normal accompaniment of rural life. Moreover, thousands of whites—rural and urban—had served in the Union and Confederate armies and returned with their weapons. During the war, too, many blacks acquired firearms for the first time.[3] Some of these, particularly muskets, came directly from the United States Army, in which ten thousand black Marylanders served.[4] In 1866, Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles estimated that in Baltimore alone more than five hundred blacks owned muskets purchased from the government.[5] After the war ended, black para-military regiments took to the streets of Baltimore with these and other weapons which—judging by the frequency of firearm-related altercations between whites and blacks—were readily accessible and often loaded. As a means of settling disputes either among themselves or against each other, blacks and whites both resorted to firearms with alarming frequency.[6]

Armed confrontation between whites and blacks occurred as early as 1863 when the federal government stationed several units of black troops in strategic

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positions near Washington to defend the capital and assist in recruiting black soldiers for the Union army. Opposed to the presence of these men, a delegation of St. Mary's County planters petitioned Abraham Lincoln. "Armed colored troops," they complained, "by their presence with arms in their hands, are threatening quiet people and producing great confusion."[7] That whites objected to black soldiers was related to the latter's interference with tidewater labor-management relations. Nevertheless, the undertone of concern registered at the presence of *armed* colored troops was obvious and continued after the war.

That was especially apparent in early 1865, when the bulk of Maryland's U.S. Colored Troops were mustered out of the Union army. Black veterans returning to their homes—primarily on the Eastern Shore and in southern Maryland—became particular targets of abuse at the hands of the many whites who had served the Confederacy. In January 1866, Maryland's John A. J. Creswell rose in the Senate to warn of "combinations of returned rebel soldiers [that] have been formed for the express purpose of persecuting, beating, and in some cases . . . murdering returned colored soldiers." In July of the same year, Freedmen's Bureau officer William L. VanDerlip added from southern Maryland, "There are large numbers of young men [here] who have served in the rebel army . . . [and who] threaten Negroes and any who may come here with a helping hand."[8]

Obviously there was more to white animosity than black ownership of guns, but that frequently served to motivate confrontation. On March 13, 1866, a black correspondent from Queen Anne's County told Oliver Otis Howard, Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, that "the returned colored soldiers are beaten, *and their guns taken from them.*" Three months later, bureau officer William VanDerlip described several incidents in Calvert County in which "white men without any legal authority visited the quarters of nearly all the freed people in the vicinity . . . for the purpose of *searching for arms.* Whenever a gun was found, they carried it away" (italics mine). In September, John Turton, sheriff of Prince George's County, seized weapons from blacks on the basis of fabricated orders "to take possession of all Government property found in the hands of colored persons."[9]

These were not isolated incidents. In August 1865 the *St. Mary's Gazette* called upon planters to form squads of vigilantes consisting of "as many active young men . . . as may be necessary" to keep order and claimed that "the peace and safety of our society demands the earliest possible re-enactment of the law . . . which [barred] the negro from the privilege of carrying murderous weapons." In March 1865, a Calvert County correspondent to the *Baltimore Gazette* complained that the federal government had "armed negroes to the teeth," and warned "if some steps are not taken to check [them], God only knows what will come next." In June 1867, a Talbot County resident suggested to the *Easton Star* that the General Assembly, reconstituted by Unionists after the Constitution of 1864, had permitted blacks to carry guns not "to protect their rights" but instead "to drive whites from the polls at the next election."[10]

Whites perceived real and present dangers in the possession of guns by blacks. One Talbot County observer saw signs of a black "revolution and insurrection." Another, in Queen Anne's County, voiced fear of a similar insurrectionary movement." "Let the people look well into this matter," he warned. "It forbodes evil to the community and should be watched." Even more moderate critics of blacks' behavior, such as the *Baltimore Sun,* saw danger in their use of guns and took pains to lecture them accordingly. In an editorial on August 10, 1867, the *Sun* claimed that "only the disorderly and ruffian element of white society is guilty of carrying . . . weapons," and warned blacks that by doing the same they lowered themselves to that degraded level.[11]

White observers emphasized the growing number of incidents in which blacks used firearms against whites. Particularly disturbing were those that threatened public order. In Baltimore in January 1866, a black man fired a number of pistol shots at a group of whites.[12] Two months later, in a disturbance at a Friendship church meeting, black soldiers shot and killed one out of a number of white assailants. Two black veterans were arrested.[13] In September, at a Methodist camp meeting at Hanover Switch, Anne Arundel County, black worshippers responded to whites' taunts and other irritants by firing at their antagonists.[14]

But blacks were not always the ones to fire first. In February 1866, in Hagerstown, twenty ex-Confederate soldiers, all armed, occupied a black school with the intent of scaring away its teacher. Blacks showed up with guns, but only after whites had made the first move.[15] In March of the same year, whites shot at a black teacher in Queen Anne's County.[16] In May, in Easton, a white gunman in broad daylight shot and killed a black man for no apparent reason, and in July, in Frederick, armed whites broke up a celebration among blacks, seriously injuring one of the participants.[17] Similar incidents took place in 1867. One particularly blatant attack occurred in July when a party of white Baltimoreans resolved to "clean out the niggers" working at Ely and Company's brickyard. They approached the grounds firing their pistols at black workers and retreated only when several of the latter, possibly to their assailants' surprise, returned fire.[18]

To a few, provocation by whites had reached such an extent that it invited the very object it feared. Reporting in August 1865 from southern Maryland, Seldon Clark of the Freedmen's Bureau warned that "unless some means is devised to secure simple justice from the planters . . . [blacks] will take the law into their own hands as the only means to protect themselves." "The negro would be less than a man," he argued, "not to resort to the *lex talionis* under such opposition with no other remedy provided."[19]

Clark, his fellow Freedmen's Bureau officers, and a handful of Unionist or Republican politicians vigorously defended blacks' right to possess firearms. Men such as Senator John A. J. Creswell, Judge Hugh Lennox Bond of the Baltimore Criminal Court, and Edward C. Fulton, editor of the *Baltimore American* added

Murder in Calvert County.

CALVERT COUNTY,
FRIENDSHIP, March 19, 1866.

Messrs. Editors Baltimore Gazette:

A few days ago two returned negro soldiers came to the residence of Dr. John Wilkinson, inquiring for certain gentlemen in the neighborhood who wanted labor. They spoke of them without using the Mr.; the Dr. called their attention to the fact; they at once used towards him the most abusive threats, and drew a revolver on him. He left them and got out a warrant for their arrest. This was put into the hands of officer Denton, who, with a *party comitatus*, proceeded to a negro meeting yesterday to arrest them As soon as the negroes discovered the officers, they drew their revolvers and commenced shooting. The officer's pistol missed fire, and one of the negroes drove a ball through the brain of one of our most estimable young men, Edwin Robinson, son of Mr. L. V. Robinson, of Salisbury, Maryland. He died last night. The negroes were arrested and taken to jail. The military has, to a very great extent, disarmed our people, and the negroes are armed to the teeth. Robbery is of nightly occurrence, and now murder is being accomplished. If some steps are not at once taken to check the negroes at once, God only knows what will come next.

PLEDS.

An account of racial violence in southern Maryland reported to the Baltimore Gazette, *March 22, 1866.*

their voices to those of the bureau in offering a clear and outspoken argument in blacks' defense. In 1866 the *American* responded sarcastically to those who opposed the possession or use of firearms by blacks. "When the armies of the Republic were disbanded," it explained, "a general order was issued . . . which permitted each person to purchase his musket. . . . The order neglected to say that *negro* soldiers should not have their guns, and they were, therefore, allowed to purchase [them]

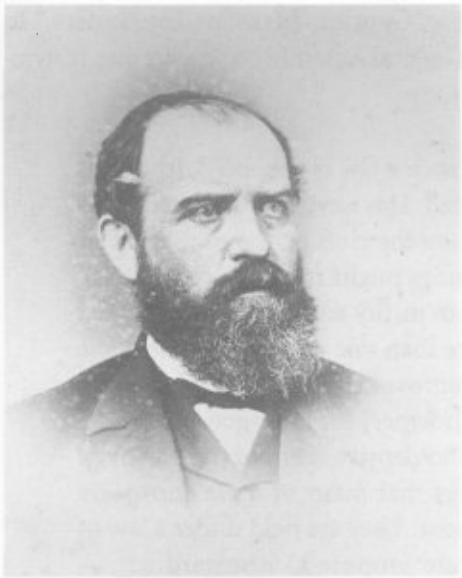
for money, just as if they had been Chinese, Gypsies, Turks, or Laplanders." In January 1867, in response to efforts in the General Assembly to revive gun restrictions, the *American* expanded its argument.

> We are at an utter loss to know why such a law is proposed. It was on the statute book once and was repealed. Has anything occurred since to demand its reenactment? Where are the riots or the massacres or even the atrocious murders? Such things might require a strict police law, but there is nothing of the kind to justify such a measure. . . . On the other hand, we have had on more than one occasion to chronicle assaults wanton, outrageous, and unprovoked upon . . . [blacks] by whites. Is it proposed to punish the [former] for their good conduct? Or have a set of base men combined to deprive them of the means of self-defense? . . . [We] must remember that many of these guns were [sold] to the negroes by the government. They are held under a law of the United States. Does the legislature propose to disregard it? . . . Besides, such a law affecting blacks alone is contrary to the Civil Rights Bill. Can the legislature afford to defy Congress?[20]

To this white minority, black Marylanders added their own voices. In November 1866, blacks in Elkton met to encourage members of their community to purchase guns. "Arm yourselves," one spokesman was said to have proclaimed bitterly, "with the rifle, the pistol, and the shotgun . . . not necessarily to kill men with, but as a useful aid in securing game." In October 1867 an anonymous black Baltimorean added a constitutional argument: "[Blacks] are citizens of the United States. As men, they are entitled to bear arms. They are entitled to protection . . . and are not to be called 'damned niggers' and kicked and cuffed along the street. . . . Unless men feel they have legal protection, they [must] indulge in self defense."[21]

The debate over blacks' possession and use of firearms reached a climax in Baltimore in the summer and fall of 1867. Two years earlier, recently discharged black soldiers sought entry into the regular state militia but were rejected. Between 1865 and 1867 the question of black enlistment in the militia came up a number of times in the General Assembly, but nothing came of it.[22] In the face of this rebuff, black veterans sought to establish their own militia. Using equipment—including muskets—purchased from the U.S. Army, they mustered in as many volunteers as they could find and set up several regiments within the city. Soon these organizations took to the streets, fully uniformed and armed.[23]

The first club or regiment to appear was the "Lincoln Zouaves, Corps d'Afrique," which in December 1865 and May 1866 served as honor guard at receptions for returning United States Colored Troops. Within a year, four other units had been formed. On April 16, 1867, the "Oakland Invincible Guards" marched in

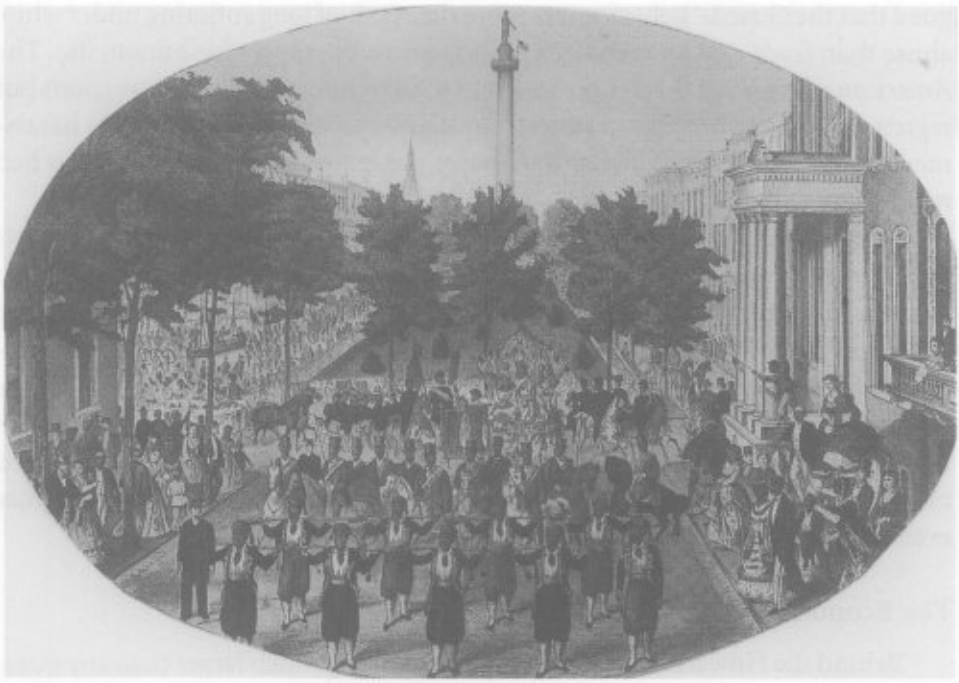


U.S. Senator John A. J. Creswell defended the right of black citizens to keep army-issue weapons. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Washington as a part of an emancipation celebration. On June 24, the "Hugh Lennox Bond Militia" held its first drill in Mount Vernon Hall, the Lincoln Zouaves' armory at the corner of Franklin and Howard Streets. On August 2, the "Henry Winter Davis Guards" held their first parade complete with five full companies and a brass band. Three weeks later, the "Butler Guards" of South Baltimore made their first appearance as the honor guard for a public lecture at the city's largest African Methodist Episcopal Church. By 1867 the Lincoln Zouaves and the Henry Winter Davis Guards boasted a membership of more than a thousand men each, and smaller units claimed at least two hundred. Crowds of black Baltimoreans lined the streets to watch these regiments on parade.[24]

There was more to it than brass bands and colorful uniforms; military activities of any sort—especially those with muskets—symbolized racial equality in a manner that was inescapably clear. At a mass encampment of black regiments in September 1867, Archibald Stirling Jr., a white Republican, told his audience: "The question of [equality] was settled when the soldiers, black and white, marched against the common enemy, laid down their lives and souls and ascended to the same God. The significance of our being here today is that it shows that colored men are ready to bear the duties of [full] citizenship."[25]

Few things could be better calculated to arouse the ire of Baltimore's white population, most of which was not Republican, than the sight of hundreds of armed blacks parading on the city's main streets. Such an open display of black aspirations touched a vital nerve, and whites' response to it was swift. In 1866 three



Rejected as members of the Maryland militia, black veterans formed their own units. The Lincoln Zouaves, shown here in a detail from an 1870 print commemorating the Fifteenth Amendment, counted more than a thousand members by 1867. (Maryland Historical Society.)

separate altercations between white onlookers and black regiments broke out, and in 1867 hardly a drill or march took place without some sort of violent confrontation. At a very early stage, in response to these incidents, blacks began to parade with their muskets loaded.[26]

By far the most dramatic incident occurred on the night of October 17, 1867, when the Butler Guards of South Baltimore encountered a hail of rocks and bricks. Predictably, a scuffle broke out between marchers and spectators, but this time several blacks broke ranks and fired shots into the crowd. The consequences were immediate and devastating as one of the balls killed a white man outright. Everyone was so shocked that the police had little difficulty in restoring order, but the "Howard Street Shooting," as it came to be called, seriously exacerbated what already had become a tense racial situation. In the event, the police responded quickly by prohibiting all daytime parades involving firearms except by the regular state militia, and all evening parades of any sort.[27]

Whites' response to the "Howard Street Shooting" was predictable. A minority sympathetic to blacks attempted to defend the actions of the Butler Guards. The *American* sought to place the shooting in the context of what had become a long series of racial disturbances accompanying black military parades and ar-

gued that the Guards' behavior was more the result of long suffering under white abuse than from any inherent lack of judgement or respect for human life. The *American* recognized the danger inherent in marching with loaded weapons but regretted what had become an almost "constant experience of late"—white harassment of black parades. If blacks were now dangerous, it was because whites had made them so.[28]

Most whites, however, reacted with outright hostility. The actions of the Butler Guards, they believed, clearly illustrated the danger of permitting blacks to possess, let alone carry, firearms and provided ample justification for revoking the privilege. White Baltimoreans subsequently applauded the police when they followed up their ban on parades with a concerted effort to confiscate all of the weapons and military trappings belonging to the Butler Guards. On October 18 the conservative *Baltimore Gazette* declared angrily that "Drilling with loaded muskets and full cartridges is a special privilege which should not be allowed negroes even in the day time."[29]

The Economics Behind the Violence

Behind the Howard Street shooting lay problems much larger than any question of privilege. At stake were broad issues of social and economic confrontation between blacks and whites central to Maryland's adjustment to post-emancipation race relations. Several factors contributed to this tension. Migration into the city by several thousand rural blacks in the months immediately after emancipation strained the resources of charitable agencies and community services. Jobs, while in the long run generally available, were often not readily so, and even under the best of circumstances the sudden arrival of new workers intensified the competition between whites and blacks, especially in semi-skilled trades. Increasingly crowded black neighborhoods experienced growing confrontation with whites who lived or worked in adjoining neighborhoods. To the latter, black Baltimoreans following emancipation constituted a much more visible minority than they had in the antebellum period, a change in perspective instigated by freedom, enhanced by rural migration, and exacerbated by fear.

For decades, free blacks had provided much of Baltimore's unskilled labor and had played an important role in several semi-skilled and even skilled occupations. Black men had worked as common laborers, draymen, porters, and oyster shuckers. Women had labored as servants and washerwomen or laundresses. Some men held jobs as semi-skilled hod carriers and brickmakers. Among the most skilled were ship caulkers. A few served both the white and black community as waiters, barbers, and caterers, and a small professional and business elite taught school, preached the gospel, and ran businesses within the black community. The Civil War sustained such activity, especially at the unskilled level, and the prospect of

ready employment at relatively high wages constituted an important part of the post-emancipation attraction of city life. Generally urban employment paid more than farm work, often three or four times as much, although rent and food were seldom included. From a yearly wage of $300 to $400, a steadily employed black laborer might count on $200 or $250 after room and board, a figure substantially higher than the net pay of a tidewater farmhand.[30]

On the basis of such figures, the situation looked promising. "The field of employment is great," declared the *Baltimore American* with apparently justifiable optimism. By 1868 *Woods' City Directory* counted 8,000 employed black heads of households, a 100 percent increase from four years earlier. More specifically, the number of laborers grew from 883 to 1,880, laundresses from 616 to 1,431, waiters from 350 to 662, porters from 294 to 421, draymen from 288 to 371, and cooks from 176 to 325.[31] Only a portion of blacks living in Baltimore appeared in the *Directory*, but such increases undoubtedly reflected growth in the total number at work in the city. "There are over thirty thousand colored people in Baltimore," maintained the *American* in October 1865, "They have or can have constant employment, for there is no lack of demand for the kind of labor which for the most part they can perform."[32]

But appearances were deceiving. Although many black migrants found employment immediately, the sheer numbers flooding the city denied everyone the same chance. Throughout the entire period, competition for steady work was stiff among migrants and from whites. Furthermore, many proved ill-equipped to find regular jobs at the best wages. Among hundreds seeking relief were a disproportionate number who were old and infirm, or women with dependent children. And even those who did find steady work, either immediately or eventually, were generally confined to jobs at the lowest level of the urban economy. Most rural blacks who sought their fortunes in Baltimore did so by swelling the ranks of its unskilled labor force.

No sooner had emancipation become law than Baltimore found destitute blacks everywhere on its streets and in its almshouse. "We find more suffering than we are able to alleviate," reported the Friends Association in Aid of Freedmen in January 1865. "It [is] impossible to afford relief to all . . . who make daily application."[33] In February the association called attention to the problem of "old women and young children . . . crowded into alleys and cellars, where their destitution has escaped public observation." They had been "cast out," the association explained, "by their unpitying and inhuman masters, at the most inclement season of the year, utterly unprovided for and helpless."[34]

At the same time, the Baltimore City Council expressed shock at the number of rural blacks seeking shelter in its Bay View Asylum almshouse. More were coming in "daily," and it was the council's opinion that the state legislature should pass a law forcing the rural counties to care for their poor. Indeed, the Bay View Asylum

reflected the dimensions of the problem throughout the period, for between 1864 and 1870 the number of black inmates constituted between 20 and 25 percent of its total residents, a figure much higher than anything experienced before. As early as January 1865, the city council reported "the increase is principally colored persons, who are daily admitted from the several counties of the State."[35]

Nor was it only the almshouse that suffered the pressure of black migration. On August 9, 1865, the *Baltimore Sun* addressed the presence of rural blacks "who are now loafing about the wharfs acquiring vicious habits, or obtaining the means of a precarious existence only by the few jobs they [can] procure." In June 1866 the *Gazette* added its concern. "The great influx of negroes in the city since emancipation has become a nuisance. . . . They come in to the city without the means of support, and many of them—too indolent to work in the country where their labor is needed—depend on what they can pick up to satisfy the demands of hunger." The *Gazette* pointed out that the city jail was as crowded with blacks as the almshouse and said that "Large accessions of negroes from the counties" were to blame. Six months later, the *Baltimore American* identified the same problem, attributing an increase in urban larceny to "the vast numbers of idle or unemployed blacks who have been thrown upon the public by the events of the past two or three years."[36]

Indeed, between 1864 and 1870 a growing number of blacks were charged with petty theft, assault, and disorderly conduct. The picture that emerged from the records of the Baltimore criminal court and the city jail was clearly that of a hard-pressed black community that ran afoul of the law much more than pre-emancipation black residents. Unable to cope with the increased case load, and hard-pressed to find additional jail cells, city officials dismissed most minor charges, apparently accepting them as an unavoidable consequence of substantial black migration.[37]

Neither public nor private agencies were capable of addressing the situation effectively. City-run charitable institutions were few. The Bay View Asylum accepted blacks as did the Marine Hospital, and municipal dispensaries issued medicine and drugs to the very poor of both races.[38] But most charities were entirely private or were private with some city support, and as such were under no obligation to respond to the needs of blacks. Apart from the almshouse, the Freedmen's Bureau, and the Friends Association in Aid of Freedmen, indigent migrants depended upon the generosity of the city's black community, which while doing the best it could with its own charitable societies, fell far short of mustering the support necessary for so many people.

In fact the white community was philosophically unprepared to do anything extraordinary to facilitate the arrival of rural black migrants. In an era wedded to laissez-faire, conservative Democrats and Radical Republicans alike refused to contemplate any action beyond the prevailing ideology of self-help. Municipal authorities throughout the United States had not yet recognized the need for modern

This woodcut from Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, *September 30, 1865, shows freedmen arriving in Baltimore. Entitled "An Everyday Scene," its unflattering portrayal of blacks by a staff artist was but a weak reflection of the hostility blacks encountered as economic competition with whites increased.*

city-funded social services. It did not occur to either the mayor or the city council of Baltimore that the sudden influx of so many people required both long and short-run planning. The city was prepared to offer some support to the utterly destitute, but beyond that it failed to move. As a consequence, black migrants moved into housing and jobs made available by the marketplace. They found what accommodation they could in already established black neighborhoods and work at what were generally the most menial and least desirable wage levels. Baltimore's post-emancipation economy grew sufficiently to absorb a large addition to its black work force, but in a pattern that would be repeated later in the nineteenth century and again in the twentieth, it forced them into the lowest categories of labor.[39]

Unskilled migrants were not the only group to suffer from the problems associated with an abundant supply of labor and consequent underemployment. Both the black professional and business elite and semi-skilled and skilled workers earlier had enjoyed a protected status of sorts assured by the need for their services and a recognition of their "place" in the static labor market of Maryland's strictly controlled slave and free black economy. That protection disappeared after emancipation. In the volatile atmosphere of the city's wartime and postwar economy

and race relations, blacks could no longer be sure of such "place" and confronted a new level of competition with whites.

Blacks in a number of occupations found themselves under particular pressure from whites after emancipation. Historically, whenever white Baltimoreans had feared black competition, they tried to restrict it. This had been the case especially with black stevedores and ship caulkers who had waged bitter struggles with white workers in Baltimore's dockyards on a number of occasions before the Civil War.[40] Moreover, emancipation did nothing to diminish whites' antagonism to blacks in such occupations. Indeed it contributed to its intensification as the arrival of so many rural migrants raised the specter of even greater competition.

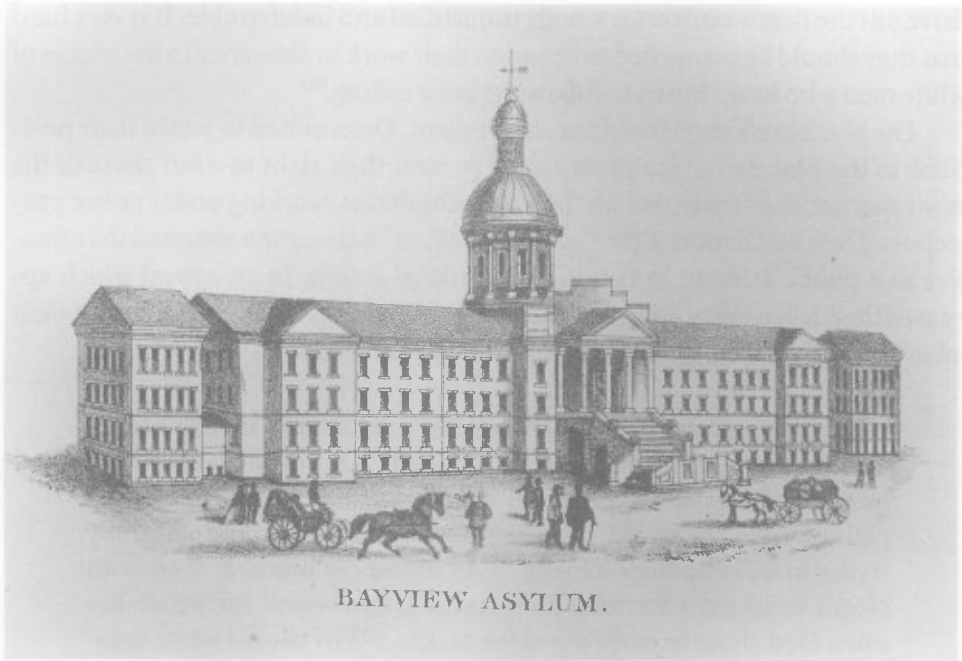
As early as November 14, 1864, representatives of several black labor organizations predicted trouble. In an open letter to the *Baltimore American*, they expressed:

> an indefinable apprehension of an antagonism on the part of white working men. [We believe] . . . it likely to lead not only to the repression of [our] efforts towards an honest maintenance, but to render our social position so uncomfortable as to result ultimately in driving us beyond the boundaries of our state.[41]

A case in point were the city's black oyster shuckers. On two occasions, the first in December 1864 and the second a year later, what the *Baltimore American* described as "an association of oyster shuckers, consisting entirely of colored men," struck several city restaurants for higher wages. In both instances they attracted widespread publicity and in fact reclaimed their jobs despite the efforts of proprietors to hire replacements, but neither strike was completely successful in winning higher wages.[42] Black brickmakers encountered similar difficulties. When several yard owners threatened to reduce wages, they went on strike and in the end were compelled to start their own company, the First Colored Brickyard Association, selling shares to the black community at five dollars each.[43]

All too often, violence accompanied economic competition. When the black oyster shuckers returned to reclaim their work, a riot ensued.[44] In November 1865 whites attacked black stevedores at work on the South Street Wharf and badly injured several.[45] In February 1866 white workers at the Union Dock prevented blacks from unloading ships, forcing police officers to intervene.[46] A month later, at Locust Point, black stevedores were again forced off the job, and in July 1867 black brickmakers at Ely and Company Brickyard were fired upon by whites intent on driving them off the grounds.[47]

Blacks protested such violence as best they could. An eyewitness to the November 1865 attack on the South Street Wharf stevedores addressed an impassioned plea to the *American* asking, "Is there no protection for the inoffensive colored men



Bayview Asylum sheltered large numbers of black refugees who migrated to Baltimore after the war only to find poverty and unemployment. (Maryland Historical Society.)

when they are pursuing the most humble walks of life [and seeking] a living for themselves and families?"[48] The platform of the State Colored Convention in December 1865 demanded that black Baltimoreans receive the "protection of the law" when pursuing their occupations.[49] Neither protest accomplished much. Within months of emancipation, white antagonism toward black workers in certain trades had become an established part of the Baltimore economy.

The most serious dispute between white and black labor involved ship caulkers and other dockyard workers in the autumn and winter of 1865–1866. On September 26, at the instigation of white caulkers at the Federal Hill Yards, white carpenters, joiners, and painters in East Baltimore struck to force the firm of John J. Abrahams and Son to fire its seventy-five black caulkers. The white workers timed their demand to coincide with the company's last minute efforts to complete repairs to the *Worcester* and *Somerset*, the twin flagships of the new Liverpool Steamship Line.[50]

Initial response to the strike was hostile. On September 28 the *Baltimore American* declared the question to be "whether the employers have a right to engage such persons . . . as they may think proper without respect to color, or whether they shall discharge . . . [black workers] at the bidding of others." The usually Negrophobic *Baltimore Gazette* was equally firm. "It seems to us that this effort to

drive out the negro caulkers is wholly unjustified and indefensible. It is very hard that they should be compelled to abandon their work in deference to the wishes of white men who have chosen to follow the same calling."[51]

The black caulkers refused to remain silent. Determined to retain their positions in the East Baltimore yards and to protect their right to a fair share of the labor market, they remained on the job at Abrahams, working under police protection. Then on October 2 the Colored Caulkers' Association assumed the offensive in a public attempt to counter the strikers' action. In an appeal which appeared that day in every Baltimore newspaper, blacks spoke out in defense of their jobs. "From the earliest period of shipbuilding in Baltimore," they argued,

> it has been our privilege to successfully conduct that branch of mechanics known the world over as "caulking." Our qualifications have given us an enviable reputation; our workmanship challenges competition with the world. . . . And now, whilst quietly and diligently trying to make an honest living . . . an unjust cry is raised: Away with Negro caulkers! Extermination! Annihilation!—and for what? Because God chose to make our skins dark. . . . Why should white organizations . . . suspend work, paralyze business [and] arrest the progress of commerce because a few colored men in this little corner of creation have a little business to themselves. . . . We ask to be "left alone." Let us work for those who will employ us. . . . [Let] us make an honest livelihood for the support of our families.[52]

The East Baltimore shipyard owners maintained their lockout until mid-October, but they were losing money daily and the strikers were as determined as ever. To make matters worse, some of the latter had found new jobs in the South Baltimore shipyards, and a few had established an independent operation in Canton with a number of lucrative contracts.[53] Finally, on October 25 the owners yielded to the strikers' demands, abandoning their previous position and agreeing to phase out all black caulkers by the spring of 1866. Henceforth they were to be hired only if there were no whites available.[54]

A week later, black caulkers from all the East Baltimore yards walked off the job and on November 7 met with black workers from every trade in the city. Together they expressed their disgust with Baltimore's white laborers. Laying the entire blame for the shipyard dispute at their feet, they declared:

> There do exist in the city of Baltimore certain organizations having for their object the extermination of colored labor. . . . We believe said organization[s] to be repugnant to the fundamental principles of a democratical government and a flagrant outrage upon the com-

> mon rights guaranteed . . . to all American citizens. . . . Said organizations are based on prejudice on account of color and the desire to monopolize and control the labor market. . . . We believe that the right to labor is sanctioned by all laws human and divine.[55]

It was a bitter defeat, one which angered black Baltimoreans and soured race relations in the city for years to come. The settlement, explained the *American*, gave white workers "all or nearly all that they contended for." Beyond the promise of some winter employment, black caulkers received nothing. As the *American* added later, "The days of Negro caulking are virtually over."[56] In fact the damage was far more widespread. According to one estimate, the widening strike had cost over a thousand black workers their jobs, only two or three hundred of whom were actually caulkers. After its reporter interviewed several black leaders, the *New York Tribune* explained that "extermination of [all] colored mechanics was openly declared to be the aim of their white rivals. . . . Very soon the strike threatened to become general . . . [and] the violence threatened to be extended even to hotel workers of the proscribed race."[57]

By 1870, the city's skilled trades employed few blacks. Most, especially the many migrants from the tidewater counties, remained unskilled, and their life, like that of their rural counterparts, was essentially a struggle to maintain subsistence. Most urban blacks found work, and no doubt with it a degree of autonomy, but remained assigned to the bottom of the city's economic ladder. All of this transpired within what was, by all accounts, a growing urban economy. According to observers, Baltimore did well during the war and postwar years, expanding both its commerce, industry, and population. By 1870, Baltimore was more than a cotton entrepôt and grain broker; industrialism was beginning to appear. An 1867 description of the city spoke enthusiastically of:

> its European lines of steamships keeping up constant communication with all the chief ports of our Union;—with its Railroads opening speedy and direct communication with every portion of the [country], conveying to them all the fabric and material of domestic manufacture and foreign commerce, and receiving in return the agricultural and mineral wealth of the whole [nation].[58]

To the extent that Baltimore's economy had room for several thousand additional unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, rural black migrants shared in such growth. But they did not enjoy what the *Baltimore American* identified as progress "commensurate with the demands of our rapidly increasing business." If anything, blacks' menial role as Frederick Douglass's "hewers of wood and drawers of water" was more starkly defined in 1870 than it had been six years earlier.[59] Far from opening

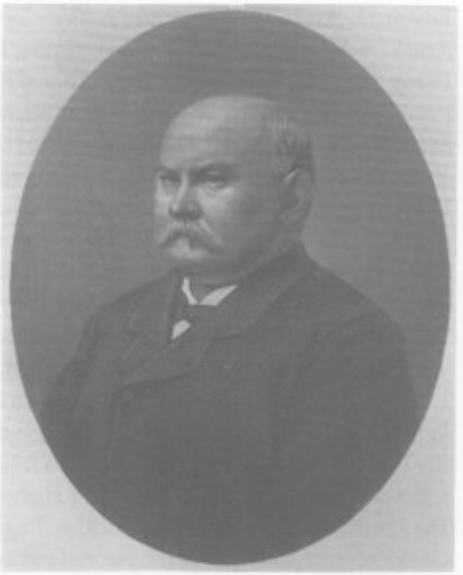
opportunities to blacks at all levels, the post-emancipation years witnessed a flattening of their profile in the greater Baltimore economy.

Such conditions provided the backdrop for interracial violence. Competition for jobs often led directly to physical confrontation, but more importantly, the broad demographic and economic changes in post-emancipation Baltimore, and the attitudes they engendered among whites, greatly heightened racial intolerance and distrust. Most urban whites attributed the economic plight of freedmen to flaws in character. "Very few, if any, of the negroes," explained the *Baltimore Gazette*, on November 3, 1865, "will settle down to steady and persistent work; many will not work at all; whilst the large majority prefer to alternate a little labor with a large amount of idleness and vagabondage."[60] More than a year later, state senator and soon to be governor Oden Bowie blamed emancipation for "greatly unsettling and demoralizing . . . that hitherto useful and contented class of labor," and concluded that a "retrograde, instead of advanced condition," awaited black labor.[61]

Given these attitudes and the philosophy on which they were based, it was almost inevitable that white Baltimoreans would respond as they did, and that violence would accompany that response. They viewed conflict in terms of blacks' "demoralized" state and attributed violent behavior as a natural accompaniment to an idle and degenerated people. The actions—martial and economic—of urban blacks threatened the peace and good order of the community and called for appropriate legislation and vigilant police protection. As for the individual black laborer, "[h]is habits are naturally shiftless and desultory," explained the *Gazette*, "and nothing short of subjecting him to a certain measure of control . . . can prevent him from becoming a burthen and an annoyance to the community in which he resides."[62]

The burden of such control fell to a police force that fully reflected community sentiments. Understaffed and poorly funded, the police responded vigorously to crises, but police officials shared the common view that post-emancipation black migration into the city constituted an invasion of sorts which should be resisted. "For some time past," warned Baltimore Police Marshal Thomas H. Carmichael in June 1866, "our city has been flooded with paupers . . . from other sections of counties. . . . The several watch-houses have, day after day, been filled with them. . . . I would suggest that you take some steps by which the nuisance may be abated, either by imposing a fine on those now bringing them here or by some other means your wisdom may suggest."[63]

The growth of racial antagonism in postwar Maryland was surprising in its degree but logical and predictable, once emancipation removed the restraints of slavery which had at once controlled the movement of the rural black population and defined, in the minds of whites, the relationship between free blacks and white society. The appearance of so many rural ex-slaves in their midst, often armed and willing to risk violent confrontations, frightened white Marylanders into thinking



Oden Bowie, who would become governor of Maryland, blamed emancipation for racial violence and the depressed economic condition of freedmen. (Maryland Historical Society.)

that the peace and stability of their state, and particularly Baltimore City, stood imperilled by a new class of residents who respected neither the value of labor nor the necessity for law and order. Steeped in mid-nineteenth century beliefs about hard work and upward mobility, whites were shocked by the unemployment and poverty they saw within the black community and were quick to ascribe such conditions to the moral shortcomings of its residents. Long accustomed to the presence of a stable free black population within the larger context of slavery, they were ill-equipped to recognize the implications of emancipation for both the city's traditional black community and rural blacks who were suddenly free to move in. What had developed over time into a carefully-crafted and defined relationship between free blacks and whites suddenly collapsed into confusion.

NOTES

1. For general comments on violence as a factor during the Reconstruction period, see Edith Abbott, "The Civil War and the Crime Wave of 1865–1870," *Social Services Review,* 1 (1929): 212–34; Richard Hofstadter and Michael Wallace, eds., *American Violence* (New York: Vintage Books, 1971), 16, 218–23; Herbert Shapiro, "Afro-American Responses to Race Violence during Reconstruction, *Science and Society* (Summer, 1972): 158–70; Richard Maxwell Brown, *Strain of Violence: Historical Studies of American Violence and Vigilantism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 9, 23, 27–28: Howard N. Rabinowitz, *Race Relations in the Urban South, 1865–1900* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 31–60; Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 231–80;

Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th Century American South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 141–84; George C. Rable, *But There Was No Peace: The Role of Violence in the Politics of Reconstruction* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1984); Herbert Shapiro, *White Violence and Black Response: From Reconstruction to Montgomery* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 5–29; and Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 119–23. Understandably, many historians who discuss violence as a by-product of social and economic change focus on the Ku Klux Klan and other manifestations of organized southern white intimidation of rural blacks. See especially, Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), and Ted Tunnell, *Crucible of Reconstruction: War, Radicalism, and Race in Louisiana, 1862–1877* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984), 185–202.

2. For a general history of emancipation in Maryland, see Charles Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution: Negro Emancipation in Maryland, 1862–1864* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1964), and Ira Berlin, Barbara J. Fields, Thavolia Glymph, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland, *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867,* Series 1, Volume 1, *The Destruction of Slavery* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 329–92. For a broader interpretation of the place of emancipation in nineteenth-century Maryland history, see Barbara Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985). For a discussion of white violence against rural blacks in Maryland, see Richard Paul Fuke, "The Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People, 1864–1870," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 66 (Winter 1971): 369–404, "Black Marylanders, 1864–1868," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1973), 121–52, "Planters, Apprenticeship, and Forced Labor: The Black Family Under Pressure in Post-Emancipation Maryland," *Agricultural History,* 62 (Fall 1988): 57–74; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 142–46; Ira Berlin, Stephen F. Miller, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland, *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867,* Series 1, Volume 2, *The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 494, 512, 541.

3. Before emancipation, slaves in Maryland had been denied the privilege of owning firearms and free blacks had been similarly restricted unless especially licensed by a county court. Section 73 of Article 66 of the Maryland Code of Public General Laws stated that: "No free Negro shall be suffered to keep or carry a firelock of any kind, any military weapon, or any powder or lead, without first obtaining a license from the court of the county or corporation in which he resides." *Maryland Code of Public General Laws [1860]* (Baltimore: John Murphy and Company, 1860), 464. This situation changed in the spring of 1865, when the Unionist-dominated General Assembly erased most of Maryland's black code. Along with hundreds of other restrictions on the activities of blacks, lawmakers repealed Section 73 of Article 66. See *Laws of the State of Maryland [1865]* (Annapolis: Richard P. Bayly, Printer, 1865), 305–7. As Governor Augustus W. Bradford explained, it was time for "modification in the terms of . . . [these laws]" and any other "alterations which the legislature might see fit to make" to facilitate the adjustment from slavery to freedom." See *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates, January Session, 1865* (Annapolis: Richard P. Bayly, Printer, 1865), Document A: *Message of Governor Bradford to the General Assembly of Maryland at the January Session, 1865* (Annapolis: Richard P. Bayly, 1865).

4. John W. Blassingame, "The Recruitment of Negro Troops in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 58 (1963): 20–29; *Baltimore American,* April 10, 1866; Howard K. Beale.

ed., *The Diary of Gideon Welles* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1960), 2:620. Union soldiers were permitted to purchase their muskets for 4–5 dollars apiece.

5. Beale, *Diary of Gideon Welles,* 2:620.

6. For a discussion of the widespread availability of firearms in the United States at the time, see Michael A. Bellesiles, "The Origins of Gun Culture in the United States, 1760–1865," *Journal of American History,* 83 (September 1996): 425–55.

7. *The War of the Rebellion; A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), Series 1, Volume 43, Part 2, 848. Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953–55), 6:530.

8. *The Congressional Globe, Containing the Debates and Proceedings of the First Session of the Thirty-Ninth Congress [1865–66]* (Washington: Congressional Globe, 1866), 339. William L. VanDerlip to W. W, Rogers, July 11, 1866, Record Group 105, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, District of Maryland, Book Records, Volume 48, "Letters Sent, Annapolis, June 28, 1866 to March 13, 1868," National Archives, Washington, D.C. Hereafter, Bureau records will be referred to as Record Group 105, followed by pertinent district, volume, or box information.

9. Charles A. Watkins to Oliver Otis Howard, March 13, 1866, RG 105, District of Columbia, Box Records, "Letters Received, Assistant Commissioner, September 1865 to October 27, 1866." William L. VanDerlip to W. W. Rogers, July 28, 1866, Record Group 105, District of Maryland, Box Records, "Letters Received, Assistant Commissioner, April 1866 to August 1868." William H. Wiegal to John E. Turton, September 24, 1866, Record Group 105, District of Maryland, Book Records, Volume 3, "Letters Sent, Assistant Commissioner."

10. Clipping from the *St. Mary's Gazette* enclosed in Seldon N. Clark to John Eaton Jr., August 21, 1865, State Papers [1865], Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Maryland. *Baltimore Gazette,* March 22, 1866 and June 27, 1867.

11. *Baltimore American,* June 27, 1867; *Baltimore Gazette,* June 27 and July 25, 1867; *Baltimore Sun,* August 10, 1867.

12. *Baltimore Gazette,* January 17, 1866.

13. Ibid., March 22, 1866; H. P. Jordan to Hugh L. Bond, May 21, 1866, Record Group 105, District of Maryland, Box Records, "Letters Received, Assistant Commissioner, April 1866 to August 1868."

14. *Baltimore Sun,* September 1, 3, 5, 8, 15, 18, 23, 25, October 20, 1866; *Baltimore American,* September 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 21, 24, October 19, 20, December 24, 1866; *Baltimore Gazette,* September 3, 14, 18, 26, 1866.

15. *Baltimore American,* February 9, 1866; *Baltimore Gazette,* February 14, 1866.

16. Charles A. Watkins to Oliver Otis Howard, March 13, 1866, Record Group 105, District of Columbia, Box Records, "Letters Received, Assistant Commissioner, September 1865 to October 27, 1866."

17. George J. Stannard to Oliver Otis Howard, June 5, 1866, Record Group 105, District of Maryland, Book Records, Volume 3, "Letters Sent, Assistant Commissioner."

18. *Baltimore Sun,* July 30, 1867; *Baltimore American,* August 1, 1867.

19. Seldon N. Clark to John Eaton Jr., August 21, 1865, State Papers [1865], Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Maryland.

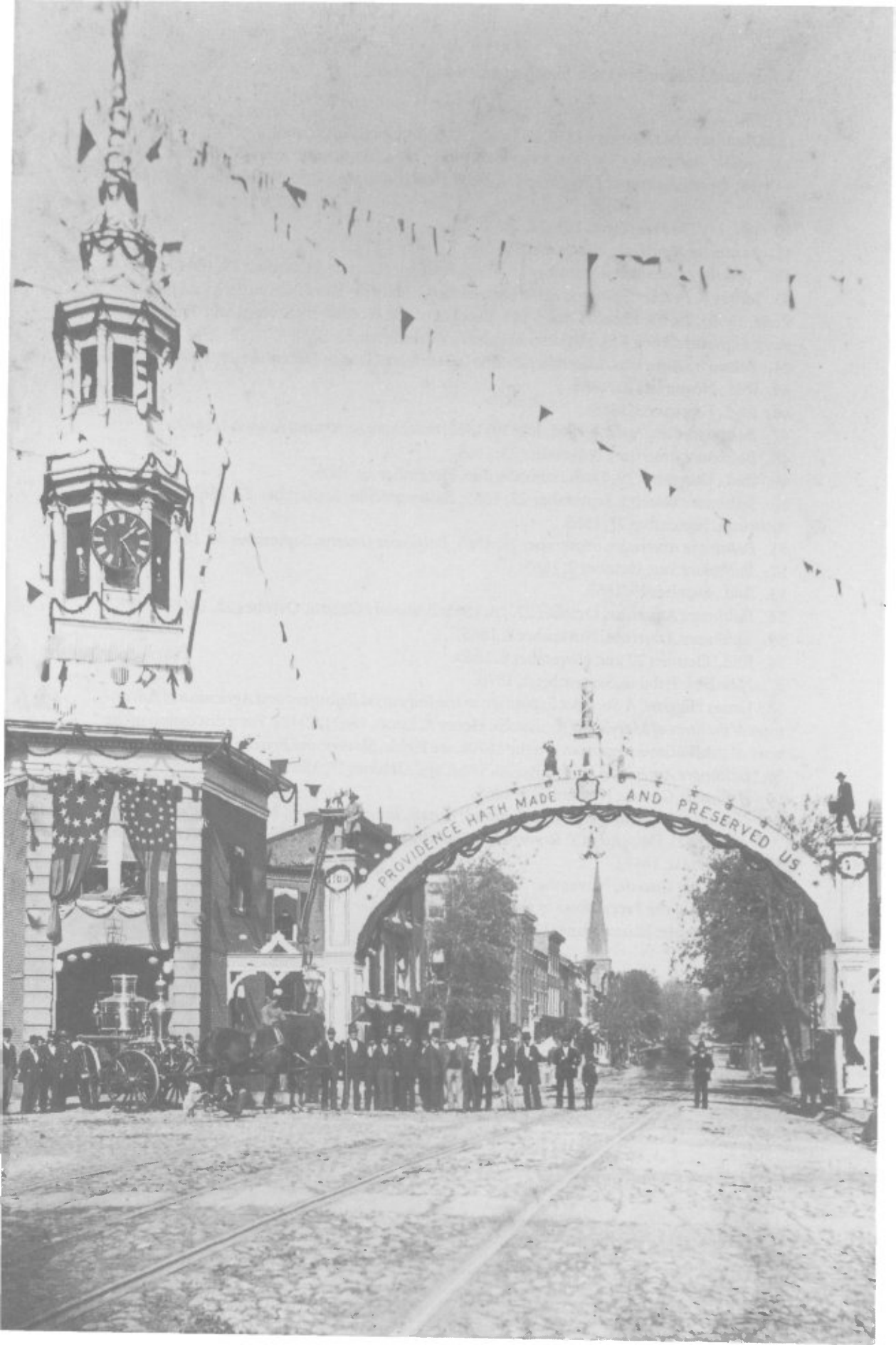
20. *Baltimore American,* April 10, 1866 and January 16, 1867.

21. *Baltimore Gazette,* December 3, 1866; *Baltimore American,* October 19, 1867.

22. Ibid., January 21, 1865, February 21, October 21, 1867.

23. See *Baltimore American,* December 14, 15, 1865, May 10, 11, 1866, April 5, 7, 18, June 24, August 3, 5, 27, 1867; *Baltimore Sun,* December 15, 16, 1865, May 10, 1866, April 16, 17, August 27, 1867; *Baltimore Gazette,* May 10, 1866.
24. *Baltimore American,* July 3, August 5, 26, 27, 1867, September 3, and October 18, 1867; *Baltimore Gazette,* July 3, September 3, October 18, 1867; *Baltimore Sun,* July 3, August 27, September 2, 3, 5, October 18, 1867.
25. *Baltimore American,* September 4, 1867.
26. *Baltimore Gazette,* May 10, August 18, 1866; *Baltimore Sun,* May 10, 1866; *Baltimore American,* May 10, 11, August 18, 1866.
27. *Baltimore American,* October 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 29, 1867; *Baltimore Sun,* October 18, 19, 21, 22, 26, 29, November 15, 1867; *Baltimore Gazette,* October 18, 19, 21, 22, 26, November 8, 1867.
28. *Baltimore American,* October 18, 1867.
29. Ibid., October 19, 1867; *Baltimore Gazette,* October 18, 1867.
30. James M. Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634–1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1921), 149–74; Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), 217–50; Fuke, "Black Marylanders," Chapter 6.
31. *Baltimore American,* November 4, 1864. *Woods' Baltimore City Directory, Ending Year 1864* (Baltimore: John W. Woods, 1865), 443–84; *Woods' Baltimore City Directory, 1867–1868* (Baltimore: John W. Woods, 1868), 564–626.
32. *Baltimore American,* October 18, 1865. In December 1866 the Freedmen's Bureau reported that the city's black population had risen at least 20 percent above the 1860 U.S. census figure of 28,862. See Report by W. R. De Witt, Record Group 105, District of Maryland, "Letters Received, Assistant Commissioner, September 1865–October 27, 1866." That most of these new residents had arrived since emancipation seemed evident to the *Baltimore American.* In the two years since its previous issue, the city directory recorded an additional 3,400 black householders, most of whom had families. See *Baltimore American,* July 31, 1867. The United States Censuses of 1860 and 1870 further marked the impact of blacks' migration to Baltimore especially from southern Maryland. The decade witnessed a dramatic shift in the black population of this part of the state as its numbers fell in every southern Maryland county but one. During the same period, Baltimore's black population grew by 11,660 people, an increase of unprecedented proportions. See United States Bureau of the Census, *A Compendium of the Ninth Census* (Washington, 1872), 10–11; United States Census Office, *Population of the United States in 1870, Compiled from the Original Returns of the Ninth Census...* (Washington, 1872), 163; Jeffrey R. Brackett, *Progress of the Colored People in Maryland Since the War* (Baltimore, 1890), 25.
33. Papers of the Friends Association in Aid of Freedmen, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Maryland.
34. *Baltimore American,* February 7, 1865.
35. *Journal of Proceedings of the First Branch City Council of Baltimore at the Sessions of 1864 and 1865* (Baltimore: James Young, 1865), 57 (January 4, 1865); *Baltimore American,* January 5, 1865; *Baltimore Gazette,* January 5, 1865; *The Ordinances of the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, Passed at the Session of 1866* (Baltimore: James Young, 1866), 353–54.
36. *Baltimore Sun,* August 9, 1865; *Baltimore Gazette,* June 2, 1865, and July 24, 1866; *Baltimore American,* February 21, 1867.
37. *Report of the Visitors to the Baltimore City Jail,* January 1865, January 1866, January 1867, January, 1868, January 1869, January 1870, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore.
38. *Report of the Trustees for the Poor.* January 1865, January 1866, January 1867, January

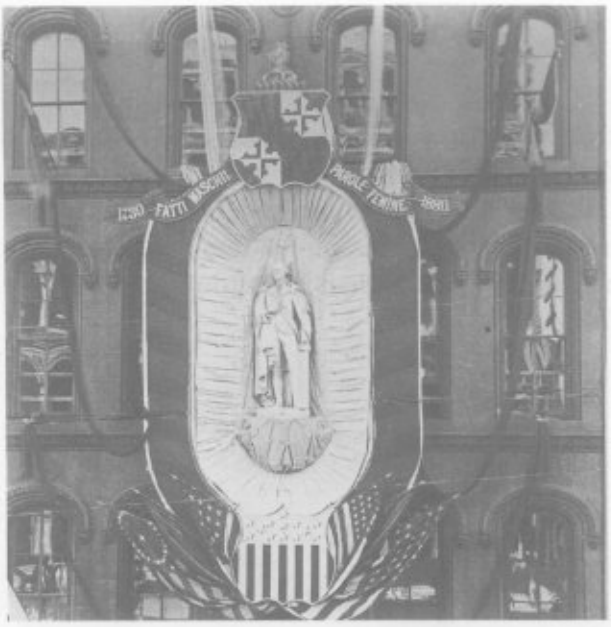
1868, January 1869, January 1870, Baltimore City Archives, Baltimore.
39. *Woods' Baltimore City Directory, Ending Year 1864* (Baltimore: John W. Woods, 1865), 443–84; *Woods' Baltimore City Directory, 1867–1868* (Baltimore: John W. Woods, 1868), 564–626.
40. Wright, *The Free Negro,* 149–74.
41. *Baltimore American,* November 14, 1864.
42. *Baltimore American,* December 28, 1864; *Baltimore Gazette,* December 29, 1864.
43. Jeffrey R. Brackett, *Progress of the Colored People Since the War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1890), 29, 37; Record Group 101, Records of the Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company, Signature Book 713, National Archives., Washington, D. C.
44. *Baltimore American,* December 29, 1864; *Baltimore Gazette,* December 29, 1864.
45. Ibid., November 23, 1865.
46. Ibid., February 5, 1866.
47. *Baltimore Sun,* April 2, 1866, July 30, 1867; *Baltimore American,* August 1, 1867.
48. *Baltimore American,* November 23, 1865.
49. Ibid., December 29, 1865; *Baltimore Sun,* December 29, 1865.
50. *Baltimore Gazette,* September 27, 1865; *Baltimore Sun,* September 27, 1865; *Baltimore American,* September 27, 1865.
51. *Baltimore American,* September 28, 1865; *Baltimore Gazette,* September 28, 1865.
52. *Baltimore Sun,* October 2, 1865.
53. Ibid., October 25, 1865.
54. *Baltimore American,* October 27, 28, 1865; *Baltimore Gazette,* October 28, 1865.
55. *Baltimore American,* November 8, 1865.
56. Ibid., October 27 and November 6, 1865.
57. *New York Tribune,* September 1, 1870.
58. James Higgins, *A Succinct Exposition of the Industrial Resources and Agricultural Advantages of the State of Maryland* (Annapolis: Henry A. Lucas, 1867), 90–91. For a discussion of the state of the Baltimore economy in the 1870s, see Fields, *Slavery and Freedom,* 169, 200–202.
59. *Baltimore American,* November 23, 1864, and October 18, 1865.
60. *Baltimore Gazette,* November 3, 1865.
61. *Journal of Proceedings of the [Maryland] Senate, January Session, 1867* (Annapolis: Henry A. Lucas, 1867), Document Y: *Report of the Committee on Labor and Immigration* (Annapolis: Henry A. Lucas, 1867).
62. *Baltimore Gazette,* November 3, 1865.
63. *Journal of the Proceedings of the First Branch City Council of Baltimore at the Session of 1866* (Baltimore: James Young, 1866), 646.


PROVIDENCE HATH MADE AND PRESERVED US.

Portfolio

The City of Baltimore's bicentennial celebration continues, and in recognition of this important anniversary the Maryland Historical Society is pleased to present additional photographs from the 1880 Sesquicentennial collection. In an age of large public gatherings and manifest civic enthusiasm, Baltimoreans decorated their homes and businesses, marched by the thousands in parades, honored their heroes, and supported the festivities.

P.D.A.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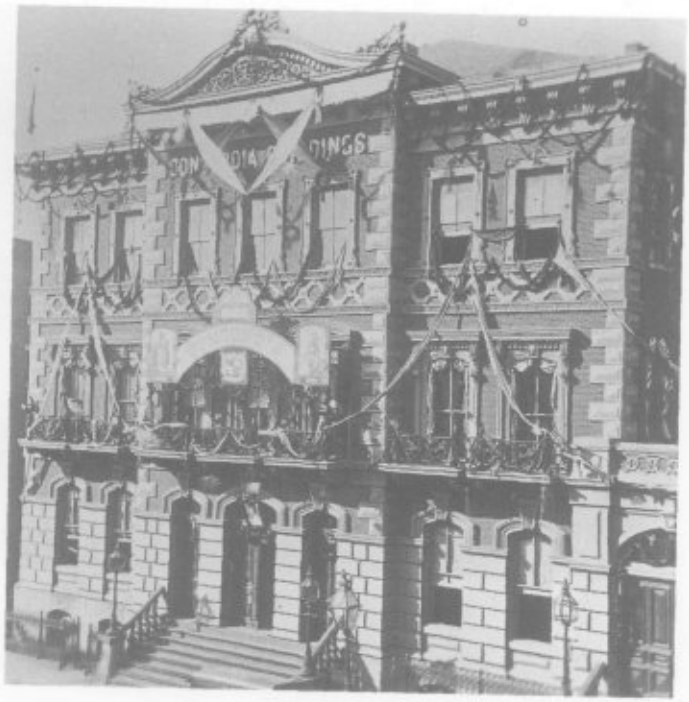

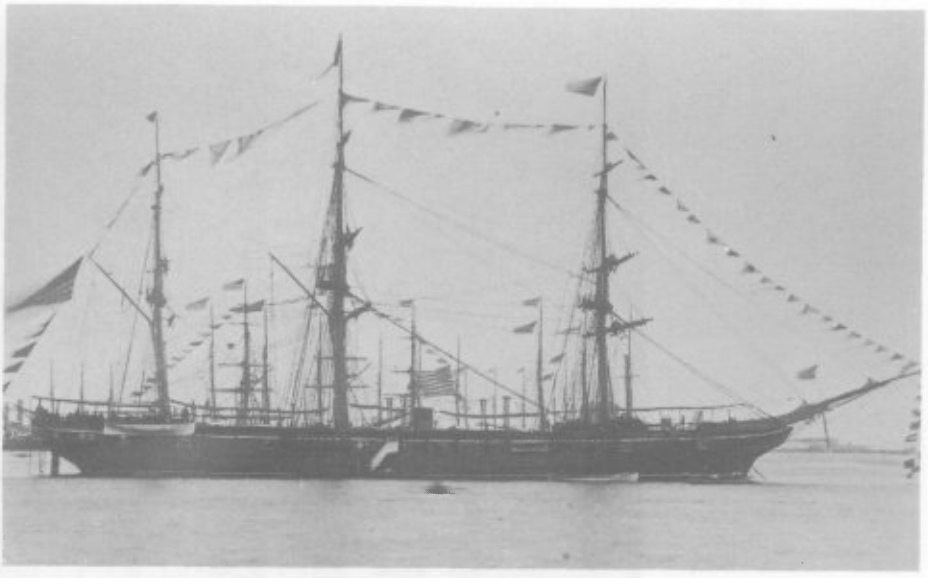

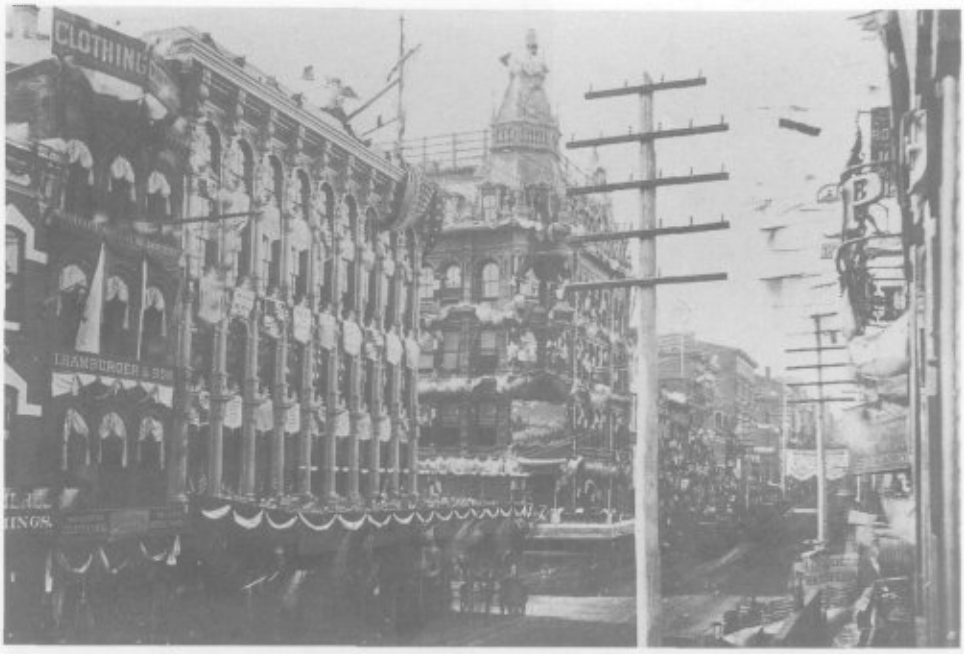
CLOTHING
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SHIRT FACTORY.
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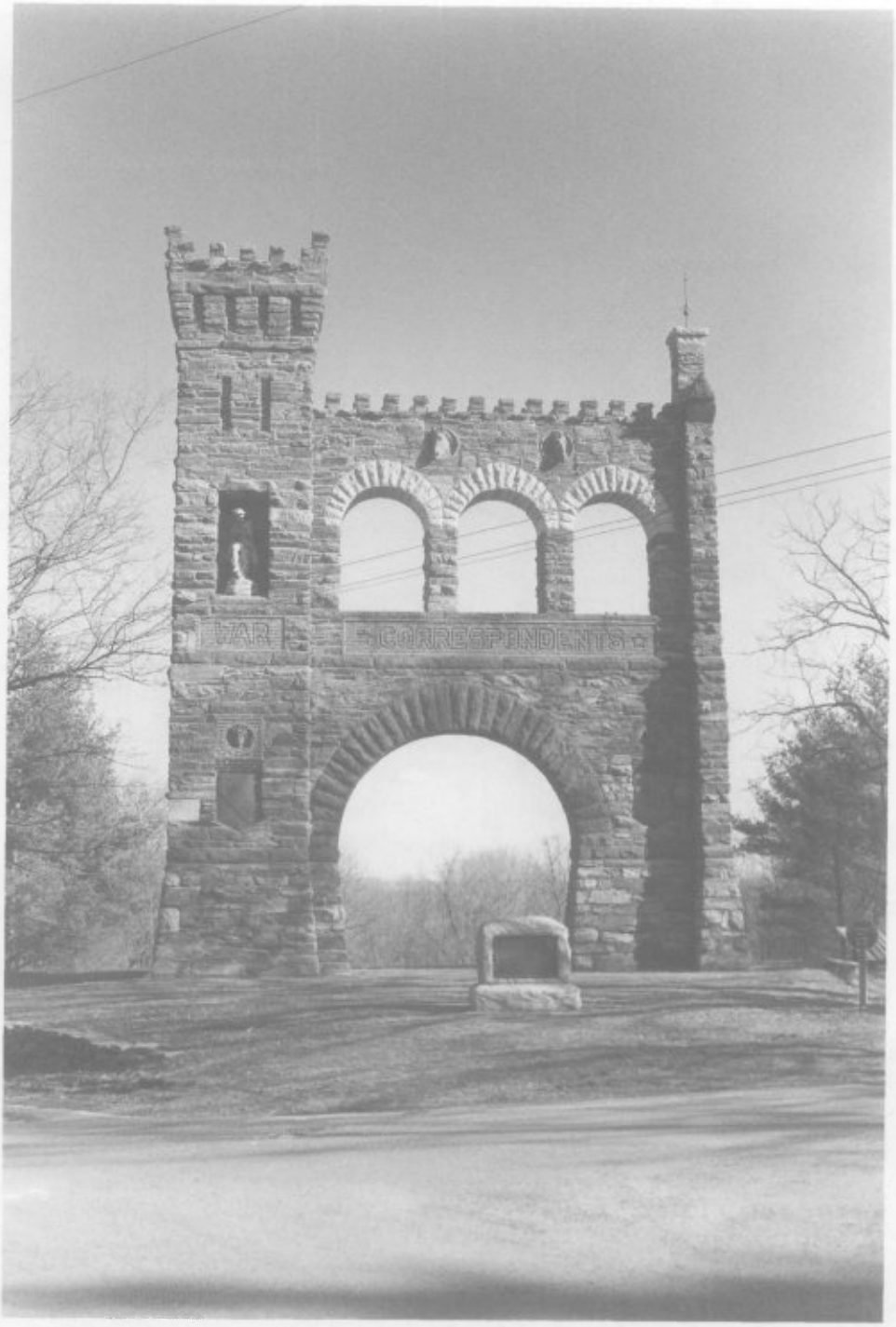

The War Correspondents Memorial Arch on South Mountain. In the foreground is a monument to the First New Jersey Brigade, which fought in Crampton's Gap in the Maryland Campaign of 1862. (Photograph by the author.)

One Man's Battlefield: George Alfred Townsend and the War Correspondents Memorial Arch

TIMOTHY J. REESE

One day in October 1884, the sound of a lone carriage abruptly broke the silence of Crampton's Gap in South Mountain. Holding the reins was a forty-three-year-old journalist and former war correspondent who had been touring the upper Potomac River valley in search of grist for his next novel. His labored ascent rewarded him with spectacular views of the Catoctin and Pleasant valleys to either side of this lofty, forgotten battlefield. Twenty-two intervening winters had all but erased the last vestiges of wreckage, leaving little to distract from the annual display of autumn color.

Smitten by the beauty and seclusion of the place, this wandering tourist resolved then and there to make it his own. To his surprise, while sketching the view from the eastern crossroad, he was engaged in conversation by a Dunker preacher.[1] The tourist inquired after the current land owner. "I first saw the land in Crampton's Gap, Friday, October 17, 1884, riding from Harper's Ferry in a buggy," he later recalled. "The next Monday, 20th, wrote to David Arnold inquiring the price. . . . Dec. 15th the deed was signed by Arnold and others and I received it December 18."[2] So it was that twelve acres of the venerable gap became the private literary retreat of George Alfred Townsend (1841–1914), more widely known as "Gath": newspaper columnist, author, poet, and erstwhile historian. Few men have been as misunderstood or as misunderstanding.

Townsend was born in rural Georgetown, Delaware, the son of an itinerant Methodist minister, and grew to manhood steeped in all the mystic trappings of the Delmarva peninsula. The boy well knew the Chesapeake region by way of his father's transient calling. By the time he entered his teens, his parents opted for a more sedentary life in Philadelphia, where George could obtain an education better than that available on the road. At school he quickly demonstrated a natural flair for composition, and after graduation from the Philadelphia High School in 1860 he was appropriately ensconced in the offices of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* as a reporter.[3]

The Civil War summoned him to the field—but not in uniform. When con-

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scripted, the budding journalist would somehow manage to scrape together $1,000 with which to purchase his exemption from military service. He served instead as a "special correspondent" for the *New York Herald,* a vocation admirably suited to his attributes and weaknesses. He accompanied the Army of the Potomac to the Virginia peninsula and into the Second Manassas campaign, but "Chickahominy fever"—any one of several water-borne afflictions that continually plagued the armies—sharply curtailed his career. Historians and journalists have written that Townsend first became acquainted with Crampton's Gap immediately after Second Manassas, while reporting McClellan's campaign in Maryland. In fact, he was on his way out of the country at the time.[4] After reporting the battle of Cedar Mountain on August 9, 1862, he left the field and sailed for Europe the day newspapers heralded news from Antietam. This trip, ostensibly undertaken to regain his health, evolved into an extended lecture tour. He spoke frequently, drumming up support for the Union cause, and not always before friendly audiences. He further occupied himself by writing for various British publications and seeing European capitals at his leisure.

After twenty-two months he returned to Virginia, this time as a correspondent for the *New York World.* Through instinct and a measure of luck, he dramatically scooped his newspaper rivals by filing a breathless, exclusive account of the battle of Five Forks, last of the major eastern engagements, courtesy of a personal interview with General Philip Sheridan.[5] Brilliant prose prompted his editor to assign Townsend to the Lincoln funeral and later to the trial and execution of the assassination conspirators. Here his name and reputation were solidly made.

In 1865 Townsend married his high school sweetheart, Elizabeth Evans Rhodes, who would become his cherished "Bessie." The following year she accompanied him on a return voyage to Europe where, as "Alf," he covered the Austro-Prussian War (Seven Weeks' War) for the *World.* Their first child, Genevieve, was born during their stay in Paris. With his star clearly rising, Townsend and his family returned home in 1867, and as the vaunted war correspondent he toured the country enthralling audiences with lectures on the momentous closing scenes of the Civil War.

From his Washington home Townsend began writing newspaper columns. Initially he wrote for the *Chicago Tribune* and *Cincinnati Enquirer,* but soon more than fifty papers carried his thoughts nationwide. He was not a syndicated columnist as that term is understood today—competing papers did not concurrently publish identical columns. Instead he wrote original pieces for every publication receptive to his submissions, each column's content unique to its carrier. Though no paper printed his columns more than twice a week on average, by today's standards the volume of his writing is astounding. His pithy dissection of contemporary politics and current events was one reason for his popu-

larity; meanness was another. Measured against his contemporaries, he employed what today we might label as "attack journalism," liberally resorting to outrageous insinuation and even outright viciousness. These elements nevertheless appealed to his readers' appetites and won him more devotees than enemies. Their avid loyalty eventually made him wealthy and famous, but certainly not great.

During this period he acquired his familiar pen name. Newspaper monikers were common during the war, and Townsend had grown weary of using his initials. Drawing upon his religious background, he added an "H" to "GAT," thereby invoking the Philistine city cited in II Samuel 1:20—"Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon," a solemn reminder of how the mighty have fallen.[6] It first appeared in the *Chicago Tribune* of July 3, 1869, beneath a column in which Townsend ground one of his favorite axes, a comparison of postwar Virginia with fledgling West Virginia. Thousands would eventually recognize the name "Gath" without ever knowing of George Alfred Townsend.

Townsend had already tried his hand at books, and there, too, he was successful. He had produced *Campaigns of a Non-Combatant* (1866), a summary of his wartime experiences, within a year of his marriage, and it remains to this day a familiar work to students of the war. Several cosmopolitan books reflective of his sojourn abroad followed. By far the most ponderously technical of these was *The New World Compared with the Old* (1869), but it sold 80,000 copies to a nation hungry for knowledge of the world stage.

A Man and His Mountain

That same year a passing incident sowed the seeds of Gath's future obsession. On October 14, 1869, President Ulysses S. Grant—accompanied by General William T. Sherman, various cabinet officials, dignitaries, and their ladies—took a weekend trip from Washington to Frederick, Maryland, and points west to view nearby battlefields. The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad provided a luxurious passenger car for Grant's use, and the former general received a hero's welcome at the Frederick Agricultural Fair where some twenty thousand well-wishers had gathered for the occasion. The next morning the presidential party set off on the National Road to visit the Soldiers' Cemetery at Antietam, dedicated just two years earlier. Exuberant crowds cheered him at Middletown, Boonsboro, and Keedysville. The party stopped briefly in Turner's Gap on the South Mountain battlefield where General Jacob Dolson Cox (now Grant's Secretary of the Interior) provided battlefield commentary on the ground over which he had led his Ohio troops. At the Antietam cemetery, Grant and Sherman were greeted with thunderous cheers and speeches; then the two old soldiers reverently walked among the whitewashed headboards. At length the presidential entourage re-

paired to its carriages amid more cheers and returned to Keedysville. A special train waited to convey Grant's party along the Hagerstown Branch (recently built in 1867) through Pleasant Valley to the B&O main stem and the return trip to Washington.[7]

Though he had known ahead of time that the president had planned the excursion, Townsend, then the Washington correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*, departed late and had to hurry to Frederick on the next train behind Grant's. At Frederick he rented a horse and trap and followed in Grant's wake along the National Pike. It soon became clear that Townsend was in no real hurry to see a president who was readily accessible in the capital; he was content to collect presidential impressions from local residents along the way. Like so many before him, Townsend was entranced by the region's pastoral beauty and thickly woven historical fabric. He arrived at Keedysville just as Grant's special train whistled out of the station, so he drove on to the cemetery for his own inspection. The next day he casually poked about the Antietam battlefield and, on his return trip to Frederick, looked into the fading scars the war had left at Turner's Gap. Upon his return to Washington, Townsend began to study the Maryland Campaign of 1862, seeking to better understand the intricacies and events which at that time were wholly unfamiliar to him. His next column—that with the seminal "Gath" signature—was a fluid though somewhat contorted discourse on historic sites that made scant reference to the president's itinerary. In that same column the heretofore obscure name of Crampton's Gap first appeared over his signature, though he had yet to visit or comprehend that secluded spot.

By coincidence, Grant had visited Antietam the day preceding the tenth anniversary of John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry. Throughout his war years in Virginia as an adolescent reporter, Townsend surely had listened time and again to an arresting marching song widely popular with the troops—"John Brown's body lies a moldering in the grave . . ." —and he had doubtless wondered what caliber of man could have inspired such apparently universal inspiration. In following Grant to Sharpsburg, he had entered Brown's theater of operations, a place where his fearful legacy still lay heavily on the land and where residents yet spoke of him with reverence, hatred, and fear.

In November of that same year curiosity again beckoned Gath westward, this time to visit Harpers Ferry and Charles Town. He devoted three days to ferreting out details of the 1859 raid, examining the ground, and inquiring after the acts, words, and current whereabouts and condition of its principal players, be they alive or dead. Here too, Townsend made the unbreakable link between Brown and Lincoln, each in his way an emancipator, filing away in his mind all the intimate nuances of a perceived passion play. He returned to Washington a different man.[8]

Townsend's quest had attained considerable momentum by the autumn of

1870, when he gave it uninhibited rein. For the second time he journeyed to Harpers Ferry, engaging a local black guide to aid him in even more closely tracking John Brown's well-recorded footsteps. On this trip he studied the Maryland side of the river—the railroad and canal, Sandy Hook, and the road winding beneath Maryland Heights—before penetrating the narrow defile between Elk Ridge and Red Hill where innocently lay the Kennedy farmhouse, wherein Brown hid his men, collected arms, and laid his plans.

While in the region he sought out David Hunter Strother—then living upriver in Berkeley Springs, West Virginia, and formerly of General George B. McClellan's staff—who was writing and drawing for *Harper's Weekly* under the pseudonym "Porte Crayon." A living witness to Brown's raid, Strother subsequently had made quite a hobby of it, and Townsend naturally wished to compare notes and study Strother's on-the-spot sketches. He found "Porte Crayon" to be "a gallant soldier of the Union" and, more importantly, a first-rate artist. Strother had "sketches of all Brown's party, drawn in various postures, at all the critical periods of the raid—with that nice characterization of which he is a master." He had sketched Brown's hostages, the militiamen who had rushed to the Ferry, "Jailer and Sheriff, guardhouse and courtroom and scaffold." Townsend made a thorough exploration of Harpers Ferry, Charles Town, and Winchester. Then, with his notes, he returned to Berkeley Springs and "puzzled how to make any consistent biography of the two sides of John Brown, his craziness and his deliberateness; his ragged band and their philanthropy; their ignorance and their heroism; their barbaric surprise of the peaceful town, and their lofty notion of a mountain republic, with predatory campaigns, school houses among the eagles, spoil and freedom, incendiarism and Christianity."[9]

Back home, Gath penned one of the longest pieces of his career, five and one-half columns in length, which appeared in the *Chicago Tribune* of December 27, 1870. It was a "re-statement" of the raid as he now understood and symbolized it with no small measure of hero worship. He even contrived to compare Brown with John Wilkes Booth in counterpoint. The finished product reads like a preliminary draft for the maudlin novel he would eventually write linking Brown, Lincoln, and Booth in one grand, melodramatic scheme. One element remained. He had yet to survey the site he had chosen for this epic drama: Crampton's Gap.

Until the 1880s, Gath largely restricted himself to the nonfiction side of writing, with occasional forays into historical essays and a few attempts at poetry. Deeply impressed by the mysteries of the region—ambiguities but recently resolved by war—he now attempted to convey his lessons via fiction. Predictably, he succumbed to a weakness common among those in his trade: his new-found wealth offered the opportunity to write the great American novel, or novels, which he envisioned along the lines of the popular "Waverley" series by Sir Walter

George Alfred Townsend, "Gath," in the 1890s at the height of his fame. (Maryland State Archives, SC 684.)

Scott. His first attempts at fiction embraced familiar subjects—*Tales of the Chesapeake* (1880) and *The Entailed Hat* (1884) both unfolded on his native Eastern Shore—but at no time did he pause in his stream of newspaper columns. (Townsend was said to have written approximately fifty million words before his death.)

While enjoying this seemingly endless string of modest successes, his fertile mind again turned to the stirring events of national upheaval he had lately reported to the public. His next novel would embrace the period from John Brown's raid to the Lincoln assassination, with an incidental romance thrown in for color. His characters would frequent the sites in Maryland he wished to illustrate, though he personally had not seen them during the war. The tale would commence at

Harpers Ferry and climax at Crampton's Gap and Antietam, which in his mind represented the symbolic reincarnation of Brown's righteous sword victoriously smiting the slaveholding legions and the springboard for Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. He would eventually entitle the novel *Katy of Catoctin or the Chain-Breakers* (1886) and thereby illustrate his tenuous grasp of events.

Gath had more or less always insisted that he would never pen descriptions of places he had not viewed firsthand, and to that end he put whip to horse in the fall of 1884, traveling the back roads for the third time to refresh his memory of Harpers Ferry. When satisfied with his observations there, he drove northward in the shadow of Elk Ridge to once more survey the Kennedy farmhouse where Brown had gathered his forces before descending on the unsuspecting U.S. arsenal. After crossing Pleasant Valley, Townsend made his first ascent into Crampton's Gap—now inseparably associated in his mind with the Ferry—and in so doing took the first steps in his retirement from the urban world of which he was so much a part.

Among the more noteworthy facets of Gath's personality is the rudimentary, almost childlike simplicity with which he regarded his era. He admittedly began the war with an open mind but finished it lamenting his having "written so much at twenty-five, and yet to have only drifting convictions."[10] Complex as war issues were, Townsend came to view them through the eyes of an abolitionist convert after the fact, as though he were nothing more than an impressionable youth susceptible to the victors' chronicle. Such adopted views led to a deep-seated hatred of southerners and their thwarted attempt at independence. To him the Civil War was little more than a moral crusade to banish the iniquity of slavery (still a popular notion), an appealing concept given his devout upbringing. But it left him ill-prepared for the pitfalls of historical fiction.

Less circumspect are conclusions Townsend drew from the outcome of the Crampton's Gap battle. His narrative contends that General William B. Franklin's Sixth Corps, spurred on by Lincoln's idealism, assaulted the Confederate force defending the gap with uncharacteristic alacrity though grossly outnumbered by a mountain-possessed foe, when the truth was actually quite the contrary. He revels in depicting a mountainside strewn with thousands of Rebel casualties, far in excess of actual losses, but inexplicably ignores the battle's strategic relevance to Harpers Ferry and Antietam. Even with allowance for the fictional nature of *Katy,* his conclusions, though based on history, convey impressions to the reader that are almost always wrong. Such is the dubious by-product when history is used to bolster an adopted political bias.

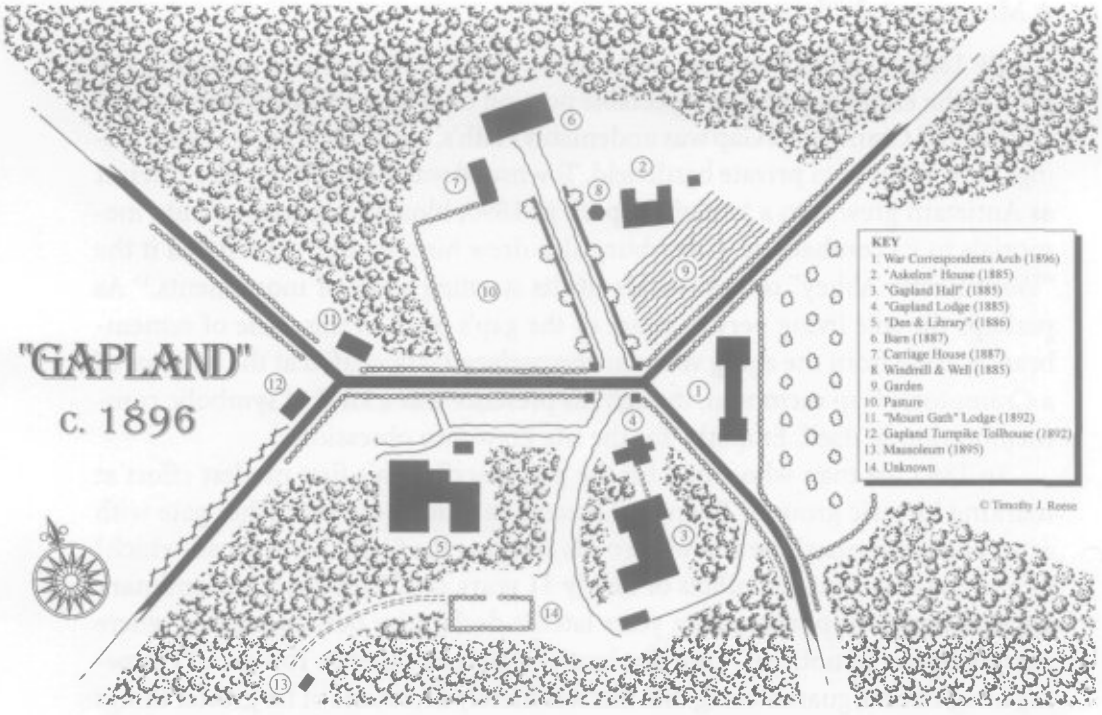
That was how Townsend saw the place upon his arrival the day following the John Brown anniversary. And no one would ever gainsay him because Crampton's Gap abided in primitive quietude, slumbering in blissful ignorance of its past importance, unknown and unseen by the larger world. The ground was now his

to do with as he saw fit, and he wasted little time in transforming it, bending it to his purposes as the living embodiment of his epic novel.

Gath's interest in the site coincided with a deeper personal need resulting from rapid advancement in his chosen career. By the 1880s, daily production of newspaper columns greatly curtailed his free time though he resorted to dictation to hasten the process. The hurly-burly life of a Washington press representative further distracted him. "The necessity of some place of retirement for even two or three days, while pursuing an extensive correspondence for the press . . . became apparent to me from the time I commenced to publish." In 1874 he moved to New York for an extended stay, "but the regular round of city promenades, dinners, clubs, bad weather and want of exercise and of original material" led him out of the city "every few weeks, often to places where my incentive had been the library." He returned to Washington because it was "the best center of information in the country," but he knew from earlier residence there that "in summer and parts of autumn it was very hot and unrefreshing taking the vitality out of a man." It was during this busy, restless, driven period of his life that he happened upon "an unoccupied spot in the South Mountain," six miles north of the Potomac in Maryland, "close enough to Washington to take breakfast [at] home and reach that city near 9 o'clock in the morning, or to stay all day in Washington and at 5:30 come home in time for supper after dark. Nothing disturbing was in the region; very little money was required to buy some ground in a gap which had stone and woods for building and for fuel."

He called the place Gapland, "in order not to give it any personality" and visited regularly to refresh himself, though it was more than a year before his family saw it. "To this place I added a little from time to time, members of my family making suggestions, and after four or five years of summer residence there, the family concluded that they had rather spend eight months in the country than divide the year between the country and the city. That settled the matter of the city house. I now was a countryman, but with my foot loose to go anywhere I chose." "The battlefield of Antietam is six or seven miles from me," he added proudly. "I live upon the field of action of Crampton's Gap, fought by the Sixth Corps in 1862 . . . three days before Antietam."[11]

Townsend's acquisition of Crampton's Gap created a problem: He intentionally consolidated and preserved the upper battlefield in historical context, albeit with a personal slant, but his construction projects were grossly invasive to the more sensitive portions of the ground. Between 1885 and 1892 he erected five habitable buildings and a like number of support structures with all the appointments necessary to sustain himself year-round. He gave the houses winsome titles: "Askelon," "Gapland Hall," "Gapland Lodge," and "Mount Gath." Significant among these was the "Den and Library" complex, his inner sanctum, the creative crypt from which emanated his prolific stream of writing and re-



Map of "Gapland," Townsend's estate on South Mountain. (Courtesy of the author.)

flection. These well-appointed precincts also housed his impressive trove of books, prints, statuary, bric-a-brac, and memorabilia, including souvenirs of the Harpers Ferry terrorist he so admired.

Bessie and the family joined him in his mountaintop lair in 1886. They, their servants, governesses, and assorted attendants—not to mention periodic guests—constituted a thriving family compound. Had the veterans of Crampton's Gap visited the site they scarcely would have recognized the field and woods for which they had gambled their lives. Virtually the entire gap, from ridge to ridge, was overlaid with some Townsendian contrivance or provision. Allowing some sensitivity to the hallowed nature of his ground, Gath removed as few trees as possible from the gap. Lower limbs were stripped away to enhance multi-directional views and to allow free play of the mountain air. All this eccentric splendor arose on the site of mortal combat. And though his displays enshrined a broad spectrum of historical figures, none held greater sway on Townsend's mind than John Brown. Had the bearded warrior made less of an impression, perhaps Gath would have pursued memorabilia more reflective of his battlefield home.

A Monumental Obsession

By 1892 "Gapland" had evolved into a private literary retreat spanning 110 acres—the entire gap and a respectable portion of Whipp's Ravine at its eastern approach.[12] Crampton's Gap was undeniably Gath's, but something was yet missing. Lord of his own private battlefield, Townsend watched with intense interest as Antietam grew into a battlefield park in 1890, blossoming with granite memorials to its combatants. Gettysburg also drew his attention—he styled it the "Westminster Abbey" of battlefields for its startling array of monuments.[13] As perhaps the sole living person aware of the gap's place in this cycle of remembrance, aside from the aging veterans themselves, Gath chafed at the absence of a Crampton's Gap memorial, though his presence was a kind of symbolic commemoration in itself. Empathy for the site grew into obsession.

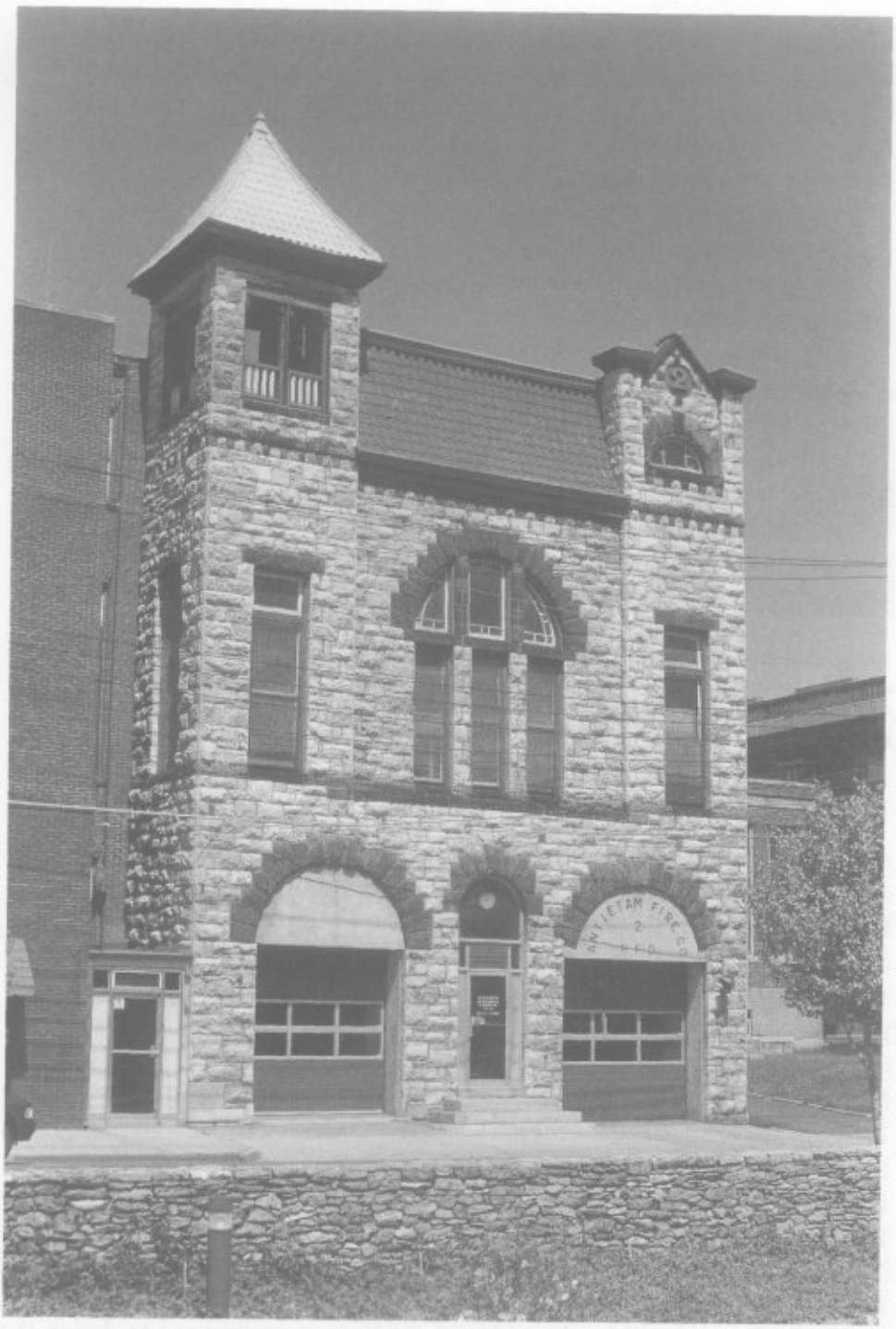
In 1893 the man who stood for the gap described his first modest effort at marking historic ground. Townsend erected "a guide post near [the] gate with arms of government blue and white cuffs carrying the Sixth Corps cross [which] names the environing conflicts of nearly 31 years ago." This roadside landmark appears faintly in photos taken years later, a declarative beacon planted where passers-by would notice it.[14] But diminutive signposts paled in Townsend's growing imagination, guaranteeing that this was merely a foretaste of far greater things to come. Gath had become an architectural hobbyist, divining his own novel habitat and the manner of its public presentation.

In his battlefield romance with the monumental concept Townsend naturally turned to those who had actually fought the battle and was deeply disappointed when he "tried to have Franklin's Corps erect a monument" only to discover that "they were unorganized."[15] The Sixth Corps had undergone so many reorganizations since Franklin's time that it is little wonder that consensus could not be found among its former members. Nevertheless, if the veterans of his battlefield would not erect their own memorial, he would act in their stead. His subsequent attempts put in motion what would become the culmination of Townsend's artistry in stone, albeit with a greatly altered theme.

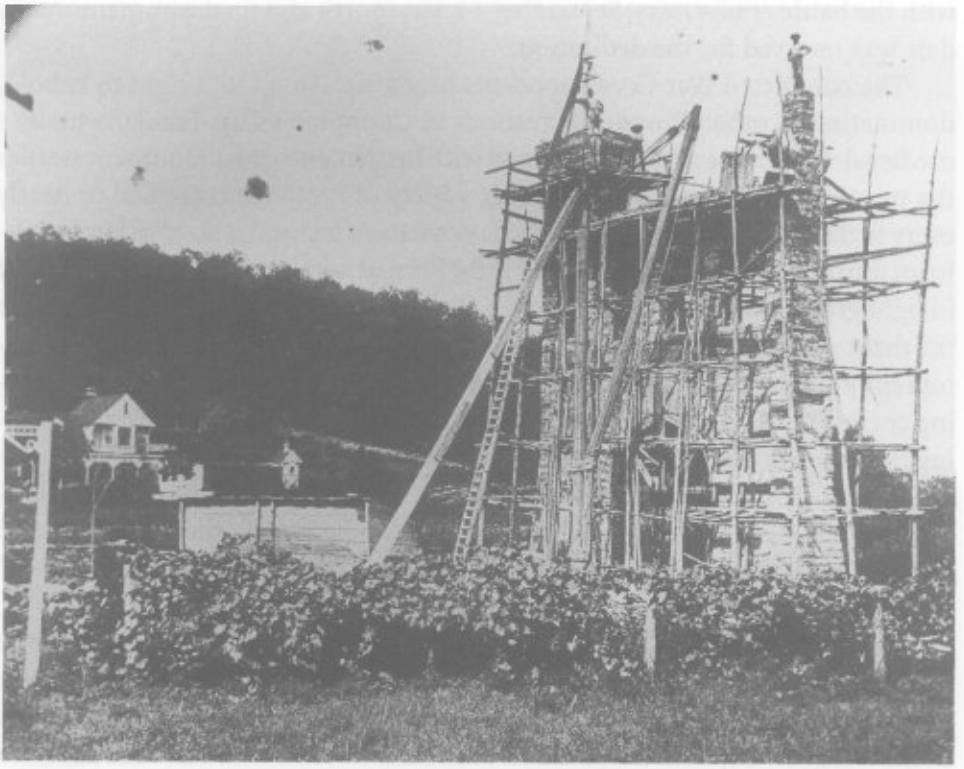
He next turned to his wartime newspaper comrades, soliciting subscriptions for the construction of a memorial to war correspondents. Word quickly spread through the network of editors and correspondents, and before long Gath had attained the money he initially thought the project would require. In time others not connected with the trade but foursquare behind the idea came forward to support it, including J. Pierpont Morgan, George M. Pullman, Joseph Pulitzer, Thomas A. Edison, and Lucretia Garfield (widow of another assassinated president), and numerous corporate sponsors, principally railroads and prominent newspapers. Each donor enthusiastically contributed $10 to $200, notable among these being a $25 remittance from William B. Franklin, the victor of Crampton's Gap.[16]

The B&O Railroad passenger depot at Hagerstown, Maryland. While seated in his carriage, Townsend visually superimposed the driveway arch onto the fire station across the street in creating the design for his monumental arch at "Gapland." (Collection of Carroll F. Spitzer, Hagerstown Roundhouse Museum.)

With sufficient funds in hand, Townsend turned his attention to the monument's design. Inspiration comes from odd quarters at times, and that certainly was the case at Gapland. As a matter of routine Gath changed trains at Hagerstown, taking the Pleasant Valley branch to Gapland Station when commuting to and from Washington. The B&O passenger depot at Hagerstown was a modest, single-story affair made of stone with a covered driveway to shelter passengers in their carriages. The driveway roof was supported by a horseshoe arch that Townsend in his frequent comings and goings came to admire. Across Summit Avenue from the depot stood the Antietam Fire Company Station No. 2, newly built in 1895, its stonework rising on one side in a medieval-looking belltower. To this day one can visually superimpose the depot arch on the fire station facade and recreate a striking likeness to Townsend's design down to the last detail, exactly as he admittedly envisioned it.[17] As he raised additional funds, Townsend turned over these simple rudiments—via a crude sketch scrawled while in transit to Gapland Station—to the latest recruit to his cause, John L. Smithmeyer, lately employed by the architectural firm commissioned to design the new Library of Congress building. Smithmeyer brought the conception up to professional standards, but Townsend's embellishments brought it to life.[18]



Antietam Fire Company Station No. 2, Hagerstown Fire Department. Built in 1895, the facade inspired the design for the War Correspondents Memorial. The bell tower at left was rebuilt in 1921. (Photo by author.)



The War Correspondents Memorial Arch under construction in the summer of 1896. "Askelon" house stands at left. (Maryland State Archives, SC 684.)

Townsend chose the obvious site for his creation: squarely within the eastern crossroad where it could be seen across the length and breadth of the Catoctin Valley, the spot where he had first stood to sketch the view in 1884. Building at the head of a steeply pitched ravine called for extraordinary measures. A platform had to be leveled and filled with five hundred cubic yards of stone and earth and revetted with stout dry walling. The monument itself was to stand on a three-foot concrete footing for stability, ten feet of its overall height underground. Its keystone weighed two tons.[19]

Now that the project was fairly under way, anticipation lent a festive air to the proceedings. Gath was of an inordinately commemorative mind, and he seems to have taken the inclination to excess in his building schedule. The day work began, January 30, happened to be his fifty-fifth birthday, in recognition of which he and Bessie entertained lavishly at their First Street, Washington townhouse.[20] At Townsend's order, actual construction of the monument's superstructure began on April 14, the anniversary of the day Lincoln was shot at Ford's Theater. Somehow he managed to ration the work so that completion would coincide

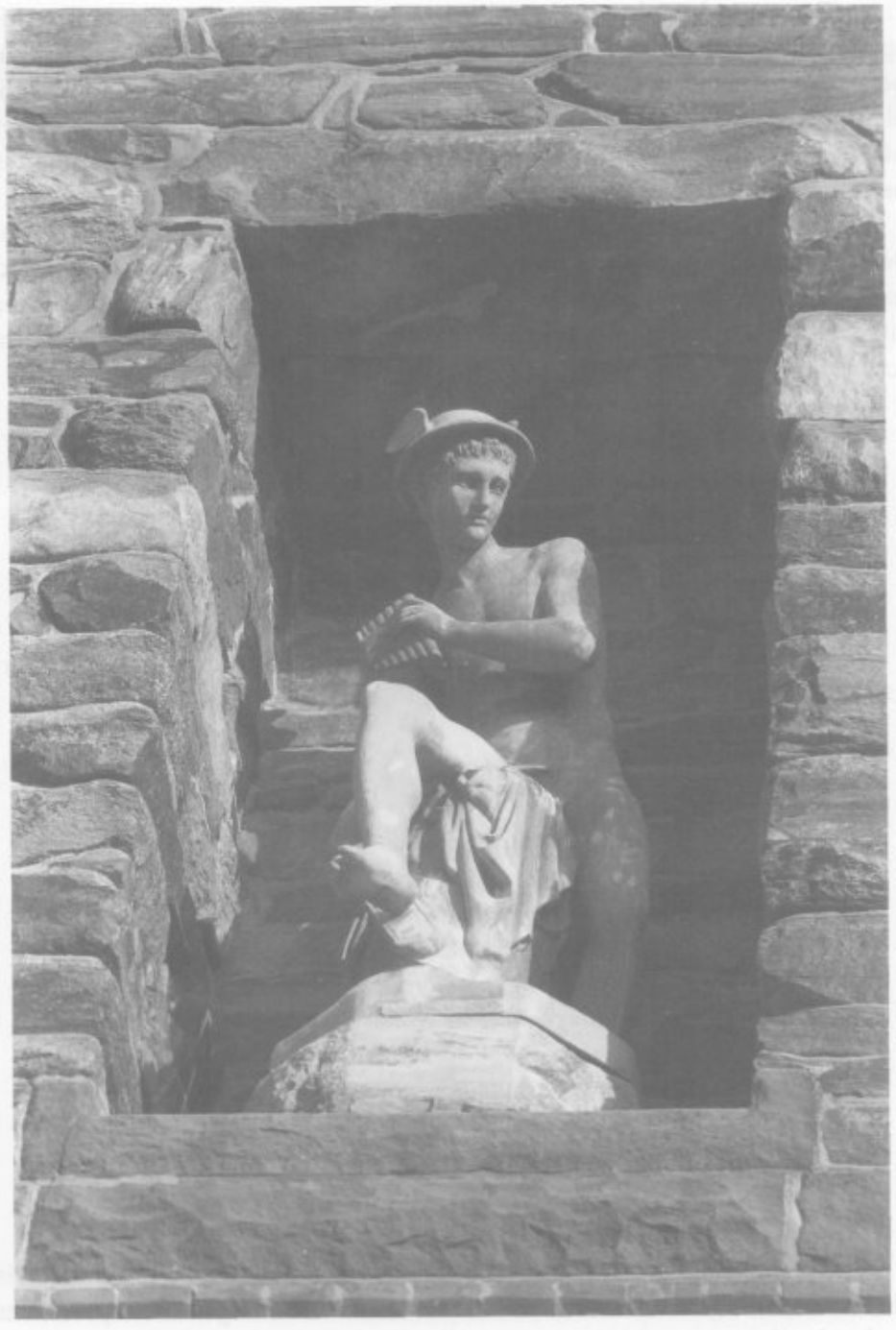
with the battle anniversary, September 14. His fourth and final commemorative date was reserved for the dedication.

The completed War Correspondents Memorial Arch was a sight to behold, dominating all other Townsend creations in Crampton's Gap. Fundamentally a medieval wall, gate, and tower crowned with battlements, the monument startles the unprepared eye with a bewildering variety of symbolism applied to nearly every surface. The main horseshoe arch rises sixteen feet and is lined in Hummelstown purple stone. Above this appear three Roman arches, nine by six feet, capped in light gray sandstone quarried on the Cedar Creek battlefield. These represent the three wartime news media: Description (written), Depiction (art), and Photography. Townsend initially contemplated placing oversize busts of outstanding correspondents within these arches but abandoned the idea on contemplating the jealousy that would surely follow. The arches are offset by two terra cotta horse heads. On either side of the main arch appear terra cotta representations of Electricity (at the time still a novel news conveyance via the telegraph) and Poetry. Beneath these are found plaques of like material bearing the words "Speed" and "Heed" in decorative lettering.

Prominently set into a large niche in the tower rests a cast-zinc statue of the demigod Orpheus (often mistaken for Pan or Mercury) who, according to Greek mythology, was beloved of the Muses, keepers of the creative arts. With their aid, so the tale goes, Orpheus descended into the underworld to retrieve his departed wife—perhaps a tortured Townsend corollary to the dangers faced by combat reporters. A panel running the width of the wall beneath the three arches proclaims "War Correspondents" in ornate brickwork. The less cluttered east wall, that facing the valley, displays two inset tablets bearing alphabetical lists of correspondents and artists. Including still others cited on the directory tablet (north face), a total of 157 newsmen are enshrined. Another tablet applied to the south face quotes noteworthy excerpts alluding to the reporting of warfare from biblical times to the Victorian era.[21]

Crowning the south battlement opposite the tower was a gold weathervane depicting a quill pen shattering a Roman sword, a Townsend icon in itself. Lightning struck it in 1942, damaging it beyond repair, but the National Park Service replaced the original with a faithful replica, which in turn became the target of clandestine rifle practice until reluctantly taken down for preservation.[22]

The entire monument measures fifty feet high by forty feet wide, dwarfing most of the battlefield monuments that preceded it elsewhere. A ten-foot flagpole (now gone) added to its overall height. Stonework from a quarry on the Cedar Creek battlefield seems to suggest in a roundabout way Townsend's fortunate association with Sheridan, master of that engagement. Horse heads imply the war correspondent's primary mode of transport, an inference reinforced by the horseshoe arch itself. Though nowhere specifically stated, "Speed" and



Orpheus, the memorial's cast-zinc sentinel, who, according to Greek mythology, descended into the underworld to retrieve his lost wife. In 1987 vandals toppled him from his familiar niche, smashing him to pieces on the ground. U.S. National Park Service officials contracted with Colonial Williamsburg technicians to affect repairs. He was reinstalled in May 1993. (Author's photograph.)

"Heed" seem to have been admonitions to writer and reader, words that still apply today. The gold weathervane proclaims Gath's strident philosophy—"The pen is mightier than the sword"—though it may also be taken to symbolize the blending of warfare and the written word. A Sixth Corps monument had been his original intent, and Townsend recalled the struggle for Crampton's Gap in one small, final touch—the cornerstone: "Sept. 14, '62–'96."

Commemorative tablets on the monument bear the names of his wartime peers, many of whom went on to far greater achievements. Gath's imperfect method of collecting names missed quite a few who rightly should have been cited, North and South. But for those who were overlooked, the dedicatory inscription fittingly summarizes their gifts to the ages:

> TO THE ARMY CORRESPONDENTS AND ARTISTS, 1861–65,
> WHOSE TOILS CHEERED THE CAMPS, THRILLED THE FIRESIDE,
> EDUCATED PROVINCES OF RUSTICS INTO A BRIGHT NATION OF
> *READERS* AND GAVE INCENTIVE TO NARRATE DISTANT WARS
> AND EXPLORE DARK LANDS. ERECTED BY SUBSCRIPTION 1896

Townsend could not resist adding a sample of his awkward poetry to underscore the arch's monumental passages:

> *O wonderous youth;*
> *Through this grand ruth*
> *Runs my boy's life its thread.*
> *The General's fame, the battle's name,*
> *The rolls of maimed and dead*
> *I hear, with my thrilled soul astir*
> *And lonely thoughts and fears*
> *To bind the conquering years,*
> *A battle ray through ages gray*
> *A light to deeds sublime*
> *And flash the lustre of my day*
> *Down all the aisles of time.*
>
> War Correspondents Ballad 1865

The grand irony of Townsend's colossal testament to Civil War newsmen is the unavoidable fact that no member of the "Bohemian Brigade" was present at the battle of Crampton's Gap or immediately afterward. This perhaps explains to some degree why the engagement is so misunderstood and underrated. Had one or more of these otherwise ubiquitous gadflies been on hand, considerable

explanation would have been in order on both sides of the firing line, and battle reports would have read quite differently.

Now it only remained to gather in the faithful for the dedication ceremony, to be held on the last of Townsend's anniversaries, that of the John Brown raid. Friday, October 16, 1896, dawned clear and crisp, with the mountain in full autumn foliage, bright sunlight dappling Gapland, and the stoic arch waiting to receive its admirers. An oversize Stars and Stripes billowed in the breeze above it, visible for miles, as Gath's special train from Washington disgorged its holiday host far below. Townsend had arranged to have a bugler and drummer on hand—furnished from Washington Barracks courtesy of the secretary of war—and this pair of uniformed sentinels stood at attention before the arch to greet the governor's carriage with martial airs.[23]

At 3:30 P.M., when all had assembled near the arch, the informal ceremony unfolded, more like a gathering of friends than a rigid observance. Governor Lloyd Lowndes addressed the party with all due solemnity, but it was Gath they had come to hear, and he did not disappoint. Many fervent ideas that had engaged his mind during his decade on the mountain now, as though built up to an intolerable degree, poured forth with cathartic force:

> Comrade Correspondents, Friends: Like the universe, this monument has evolved. Twenty years after the war one of the army reporters, still entranced with the campaign themes of his boyhood, found his way to this naked spot as the scene of a conflict he desired to use in a romance. Where he stopped and stood, an apparently unprofitable arrival to the laborers along the mountain side and the farmers in the valleys beneath him, now arises this memorial thirty-one years after the war.
>
> Its lesson to the neighbors around it is the profitableness of knowledge to any people, however they may undervalue these things. That uncommercial traveler found things to do: wells to strike, rocks to subdue, men to enlist, roads to create. The busy human head is also a farm, an engine and a shop.
>
> Twelve years of pleasant contention with nature and rusticity had multiplied objects in this old battle gap when . . . the apparition of this monument suddenly arose to the aging correspondent.
>
> This mountain sallyport was one of three lofty embrasures overlooking the Bannockburn of the war. As when [Robert the] Bruce, from Sterling Castle, looked down upon . . . "proud Edward's power, chains and slavery," there seemed to flash upon the late chronicler's vision the flaming pen of Abraham Lincoln writing in these hills the proclamation of liberty.

That president visited these battlefields, harangued the soldiery, spoke gently to the prisoners, persuaded the generals out of their sulking conservation and the vane upon this monument tells the sequel: "The pen is mightier than the sword."

Till the close of November last, 1895, no project of this subject for a monument had been born. Its immediate occasion was looking at the new government road between the lines at Antietam. The form of the monument sprang from admiration of some new stone structures at Hagerstown, an arch and a tower. Their cost seemed within the limit of encouragement which the friends of the press might extend to its veterans.

Commencing work the 14th of April, the anniversary of Mr. Lincoln's [fatal assault], we have in six months achieved our memorial and raise our flag upon it this thirty-seventh anniversary of the raid of John Brown from among these hills upon the arms and armorers at Harper's Ferry. Two anniversaries of wrath and blood, their order reversed, span the birth of this trophy to men who peacefully recorded the war. . . .

All who wrote and sketched the war are preserved here without discrimination. The movement of this fund has hardly aroused a comment; in two cases the desire was expressed by non-subscribers that Washington City was the better situation, but the men who clung to Washington in the war expressed not the campaigns and feats of the field.

The feudal form of this gate shows American liberty as it was with garrison and vassal, its portal pinched, jealous and flanked with sentry towers, and overhead the warder on the battlemented walk. Here between slave and free states . . . the spot of this monument afforded almost the only prospect of the light of the valleys and of homes to our runaway fellow-beings, along this uninhabited ridge. . . . Among these very ridges also hid the grizzly captain and his parti-colored band . . . and by night strode down to the armory below. Look westward through the notch of Solomon's Gap, where hardly five miles away John Brown began the war! Look east across the Catoctin range, but fourteen miles, where the chief justice lived and lies buried, who had announced the lasting rights of the old feudality! Look upon our monument and see the star spangled banner, which Judge [Roger Brooke] Taney's brother-in-law [Francis Scott Key] apostrophized over Baltimore in 1814, and which John Brown declared was the flag of his forefathers and he would have no other. The bolted gate and portcullis are shattered. The arch stands open to the light. The mountain roads are Freedom's.

The arch photographed from the southeast on Gapland Road at the time of its dedication. To the right is "Askelon" house. (Maryland State Archives.)

> Never before nor since was the activity of news and letters so much recognized by a government as in the great American war, and it is not with presumption, but after all the branches and particulars of the service have erected their trophies, that we unveil this, the only monument in the world, to the reporters of a war.[24]

At great length Townsend related the names and deeds of fellow correspondents who had risen to honorable stations in life. He then outlined his "war philosophy"—how the fourth estate had altered the war's prosecution by exposing military incompetence. For well over an hour he cited writers and artists within the context of wartime achievement. Throughout this journalistic sermon—probably the longest oration of his life—he spoke not one word on the battle for Crampton's Gap.

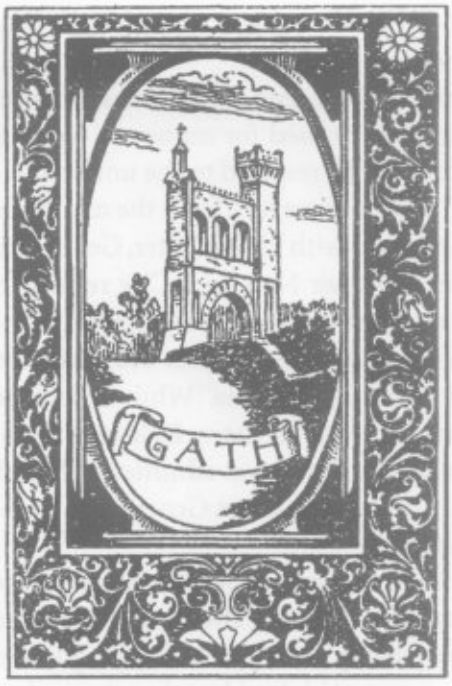
Having spent himself, Gath offered the podium to any dignitaries moved to address the throng. Some seized the opportunity to recount their thrilling war experiences, but most declined with the assurance that writing, not speeches, was their strong suit. A fair proportion of those supportive of the project were unable to attend for one reason or another but forwarded letters of greeting, twenty-five of which were read to the audience, including a letter of congratulation from William B. Franklin. Army musicians punctuated the speeches with

well-known melodies. As the shadows lengthened, the wife of *Washington Evening Star* editor Crosby S. Noyes sang a haunting rendition of "Tenting Tonight on the Old Campground," and with her last plaintive notes the ceremonies closed as casually as they had begun. Bessie provided lunch and dinner for the multitude, the latter meal served in the Den while Gath recited selections from his poetry.

By weekend's close Gapland was back to normal with a new monument silently standing vigil. For Townsend routine newspaper writing must have been anticlimactic after the festivities, but he returned to work with a will. He had reached the zenith of his fame. In 1899 he was nominated for the post of Librarian of Congress, an ideal end to a career one would think, but he was passed over, probably because he lacked sufficient political connections. The incident apparently caused not a ripple in his fast-flowing life.[25]

As a new century dawned, it never occurred to him that his estate and the arch had smothered out of existence the very event he first intended to commemorate. But the battlefield builders were still busy at Sharpsburg. In 1903 New Jersey appropriated funds for a state monument and several smaller markers to denote ground occupied by the First New Jersey Brigade on the Antietam field. One marker was reserved for Crampton's Gap, where the Jerseymen had truly made an indelible mark, and when approached by the state committee, Townsend tendered a site squarely in front of the arch, as though uncomfortably reminded of his altered objective. To this day it seems disproportionate—that such a small brigade marker is so dramatically overshadowed by a gigantic monument to the glory of men who never reported the Jerseymen's exploits, save what they gleaned second-hand. Clearly, not all the arch's symbolism was intentional.[26]

Be that as it may, Gath had suddenly ceased preoccupation with such things. On May 30, 1903, Bessie Townsend, Townsend's soulmate and Gapland hostess, passed away at their Washington home at the age of sixty-one and was buried near her family in Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia.[27] Her tombstone reads: "Beautiful, O My Love!" Her death shook Gath's imaginative world to its foundations and transformed him into a semi-invalid. In her absence life at Gapland dwindled to bare essentials. Townsend himself suffered from diabetes exacerbated by overwork, precluding his assumption of her former duties. Gapland Hall, their cheery warm-weather home, was closed, a place into which Gath now rarely ventured. He restricted his increasingly insular activities to the Den, where he could work year-round. Little by little the intricate Gapland fabric began to unravel. On September 22, 1904, Townsend deeded the triangular, twenty-eight-square-perch lot surrounding the arch to the United States "in consideration of perpetual care and preservation," tacitly admitting his inability to guarantee its future.[28] In so doing he relinquished the first portion of Gapland since its acquisition. Visitors came less frequently, but he continued writing.



George Alfred Townsend's bookplate. (Author's collection.)

Late in the summer of 1907 a *Baltimore Sun* reporter journeyed to Gapland to look in on Townsend and to belatedly publicize the arch and its mountain hideaway. Noting a "No Admittance" sign at the front gate, he nevertheless found within the traditionally warm Gapland welcome. Townsend answered every question put to him, perhaps with heightened reflection now that Bessie was gone. The reporter stepped into deserted Gapland Hall, marveling at Gath's flair for decoration, and returned to the Den somewhat saddened by the air of decline apparent in the author and his creations. Since Bessie's death, Gath had stoically maintained a brave front to stave off the grief that would never really leave him, searching in vain for a personal version of the Orpheus legend. He burrowed ever deeper into his writing, which was all that mattered now. And so the *Sun* reporter departed, leaving him to his endless task, satisfied that the journalists' hero was safely tucked away on South Mountain, out of harm's way, where all might emulate and worship him.[29]

Two years later another reporter, this one representing the *Washington Evening Star,* scaled the mountain to inform Gath that he had become the "dean of the cloth" upon the death of the Washington press corps' senior member. By now Gath had grown into a fascinating anachronism to those of his trade. The *Star* reporter, logically eager to place the crown on Gath's head, found himself in awe

of the man and his monument and extolled the venerable scribe to a new generation of readers. It was the last interview Gath ever gave.[30]

Having buried his grief in obsessive writing, Townsend neglected his finances and, for the first time in his life, found himself pressed for money to feed the ravenous demands of Gapland's upkeep. In 1909 he resorted to the unthinkable and sold his legendary library at auction.[31] Illness drove him from the mountain for the last time in the summer of 1911. He stayed with his daughter, Genevieve, and her husband, Edmund C. Bonaventure, at their New York City residence, incredibly churning out prose and poetry despite his physical discomfort. In late August he returned to Washington, vainly trying to reclaim his old existence, and was almost immediately hospitalized with "diabetes toes." While bedridden he continued to dash off historical verse descriptive of his native Delaware. Probably at Genevieve's urging, he returned to New York and was admitted to March Hospital for a thorough rest. By January 1912 he was back at Genevieve's home closing out several works prior to publication.[32]

Despite envisioning his own demise, Gath's work had become an end unto itself, as though the riot of image and conception crashing about his overstuffed brain demanded to be put on paper before being lost forever. Rallying under Genevieve's attentive care, he had no sooner cleared his backlog of projects when he dove into his personal memoirs, a daunting task considering the breadth of his experience. His newspaper column had long since made way for a new breed of newsmen, gifted far beyond Gath's antiquated, discursive style. In blissful self-absorption he lamented: "I hardly understand why I am not still wanted."

On a small scrap of paper, Townsend scrawled what is probably the last poem he ever wrote before the well-worn, honorable pen fell from his weary hand:

At 73
My last days slowly go
I would not have them stay
All that is past I know
This evening of day.
I had a long, strong romp
And am tired of play
Of playing fame and pomp
And feel I am but clay.
Come dark and damp and sod:
Humility is God.
Feb. 1, 1914
G.A.T.[33]

It must have been difficult for Genevieve to watch her father slowly work

himself to death, but when had anyone been able to dissuade the headstrong Gath from his labors? Predictably he took a turn for the worse and died quietly in his sleep on April 15, 1914. The cause of death was listed as general debility.[34] He had died on the forty-ninth anniversary of Lincoln's death, and he was laid to rest beside his beloved Bessie, contrary to his longstanding wish to be buried at Gapland. The pen name "GATH" appears prominently on his monument which, in recent years, has been violently vandalized. Gath's memoirs went unfinished, and high in Crampton's Gap his Den stood cold, dark, and deserted on the mountainside, never again to see its creator cross the threshold. Though the Townsend epoch was at an end, his memorial arch remained behind in what is now Gathland State Park as a silent reminder to succeeding generations of the man and his reverence for a forgotten historic site. It still mutely stands, a puzzling ambiguity to all who survey it, prompting the same repeated questions about a man, a battlefield, and how well we remember them.

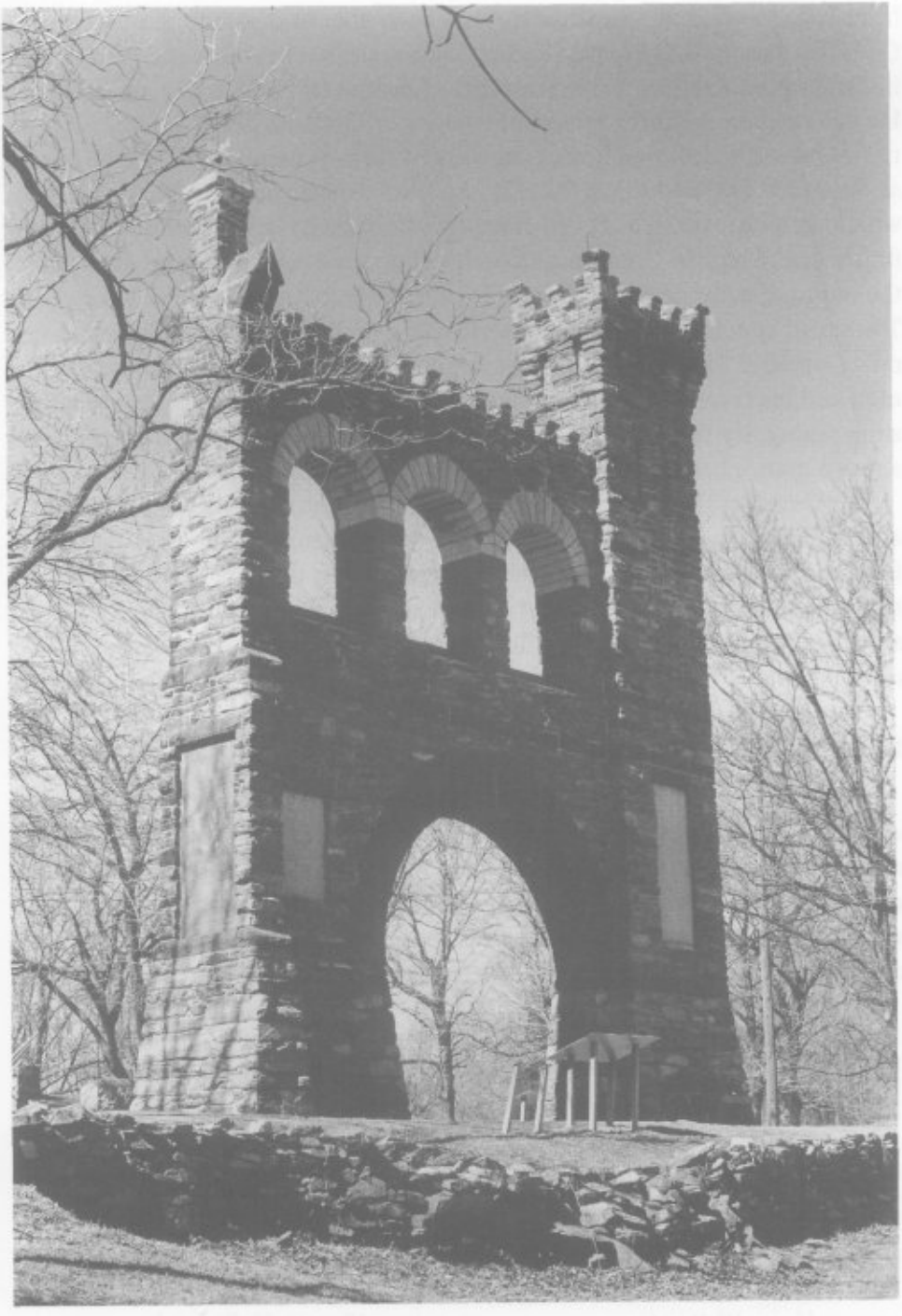
In October 1996, the memorial's centennial year, crowds again gathered around Townsend's soaring colossus to honor the man who honored the battlefield, the same man who inadvertently smothered it through years of scholarly neglect—an immutable statement in stone signifying a pivotal battleground and a shrine to Civil War journalism. Townsend and his monument—each uniquely one of a kind.

Remembering the Dead

Townsend compiled his roll of war correspondents and artists from memory and word of mouth, which resulted in an incomplete listing. Several names are misspelled; many have initials substituted for first names. Though the following rolls were transcribed from the tablets in verbatim order, first names are given where known to more accurately reflect those memorialized for the permanent record. The identities of some are lost to the ages.

Transcripts of Memorial Tablets, War Correspondents Arch: Directory of Army Correspondents Memorial [asterisk denotes names not found on main tablets]

Governor Lloyd Lowndes
George Alfred Townsend
John Hay
Richard C. McCormick
Edmund C. Stedman
Henry Watterson
Whitelaw Reid
Joseph B. McCullagh
Crosby S. Noyes
Nathaniel Paige
Edward W. Mealey
John L. Smithmeyer, Architect
James Henri Browne
**James Elverson*
**Francis H. Richardson*
**Victor Lawson*
**John G. Moore*
**Daniel Houser*



War Correspondents Arch from Whipp's Ravine, where it was a mountaintop beacon visible throughout the Catoctin Valley before trees obscured it from view. (Author's photograph.)

Army Artists [20]
J. A. Becker
Thomas F. Beard
S. E. H. Banwill
S. S. Davis
Frederick Dielman
G. Ellsbury
S. Fox
C. E. Hillen
E. B. Hough
J. F. Laycock
H. Bensanon
A. Berghaus
A. McCullum
W. B. McComas
E. F. Mullen
Fred B. Schell
William L. Sheppard
J. S. Trexler
G. F. Williams
William Waud

Southern [9]
Peter W. Alexander
Durant Daponte
Felix G. DeFontaine
Donelson C. Jenkins
George W. Olney
George Perry
James B. Sener
William G. Shepardson
Henry Watterson

Artists [16]
Matthew B. Brady
W. T. Crane
Felix O. C. Darley
Theodore R. Davis
Edwin Forbes
J. S. Jewett
Henry Lovie
Arthur Lumley
F. H. Mason
Larkin G. Mead
Henry Mosler
Frank H. Schell
David H. Strother
Alfred R. Waud
Henry Vizitelly
James E. Taylor

Army Correspondents [107]
Finley Anderson
James N. Ashley
Adam Badeau
T. Barnard
George W. Beaman
Henry Bentley
William D. Bickham
Albert H. Bodman
George C. Bower
H. N. Boynton
James H. Browne
Thomas M. Cook
Edward Cropsey
F. Crieghton
Lorenzo L. Crounse
E. Cuthbert
Nathaniel Davidson
William E. Davis
Edwin F. Denyse
John P. Dunn
B. D. M. Eaton
Charles H. Farrell

Solomon T. Bulkley
Aaron H. Byington
Sylvanus Cadwallader
S. M. Carpenter
Thomas M. Cash
Frank G. Chapman
Francis P. Church
William C. Church
George W. Clarke
John A. Cockerill
Charles C. Coffin
Richard T. Colburn
Joel Cook
Arthur P. Henry
Frank Henry
Volney Hickox
Adams S. Hill
George W. Hosmer
Edward H. House
Alexander Houston
Warren P. Isham
DeBenneville R. Keim
William H. Kent
Thomas W. Knox
Francis C. Long
P. T. McAlpine
Richard C. McCormick
Joseph B. McCullagh
William H. Merriam
John Norcross
Crosby S. Noyes
Galen H. Osborne
Bradley S. Osbon
Charles A. Page
Nathaniel Paige
Uriah H. Painter
Comte de Paris
A. Paul
Edward A. Paul
James C. Fitzpatrick
R. D. Francis
Thaddeus B. Glover
T. C. Grey
Charles H. Graffan
Charles G. Halpine
Charles H. Hannan
B. Harding
George H. Hart
John Hasson
John Hay
John E. Hayes
Leonard A. Hendricks
E. T. Peters
Henry J. Raymond
Whitelaw Reid
Albert D. Richardson
W. H. Runkle
Oscar G. Sawyer
William F. G. Shanks
Richard L. Shelly
George W. Smalley
Henry M. Stanley
Edward C. Stedman
Jerome B. Stillson
William H. Stiner
William Swinton
Richard H. Sylvester
Benjamin F. Taylor
George A. Townsend
Benjamin C. Truman
Henry Villard
J.H. Vosburg
Lawrence W. Wallazz
J. S. Ward
Sam Ward
F. Watson
E. D. Westfall
Franc B. Wilkie

NOTES

1. W. R. Hamilton, "A Famous Author's Home in the South Mountains: George Alfred Townsend's Beautiful Retreat at Crampton's Gap," *Baltimore Sun,* August 25, 1907. Based on an interview, this is the most specific personal account of Townsend's first visit to the site.
2. An original statement then in the possession of Townsend's grandson, George Alfred Bonaventure, cited in Ruthanna Hindes, *George Alfred Townsend: One of Delaware's Outstanding Writers* (Wilmington: Hambleton Printing & Publishing Company, 1946), 35. The deed is recorded in Frederick County Land Records, Liber GBO86, Folio 503.
3. Hindes, *George Alfred Townsend,* 17. Townsend graduated with the modern equivalent of a bachelor's degree. Several of his school compositions are extant.
4. Ibid., 20; Townsend, *Campaigns of a Non-Combatant, and his Romaunt Abroad During the War* (New York: Blelock & Company, 1866), 277–79.
5. George Alfred Townsend, "The Battle of Five Forks," *New York World,* April 4, 1865. It is worth noting that Townsend came upon Sheridan in camp the night following the battle when the latter had cooled off a bit after his scathing removal of one of his commanders. Decidedly apologetic for his violent outbursts, Sheridan was by then sufficiently calm to discuss the day's events with a newspaper correspondent, ordinarily an unrivaled source of irritation, a lucky stroke for Townsend.
6. Hindes, *George Alfred Townsend,* 29–30. Like other correspondents, Townsend used several pen names before settling on "Gath"—in his case twenty or more, including "Swede," "Johnny Bouquet," and an apparent favorite, "Laertes."
7. *Washington Evening Star,* October 15 and 16, 1869.
8. *Chicago Tribune,* November 15, 1869.
9. Ibid., December 27, 1870. Townsend, who never tired of dancing on the Confederacy's grave, had earlier lauded Strother in his *Chicago Tribune* column of July 3, 1869, the first signed "GATH," in which he indulged a favorite pastime, namely, the exultation of loyalist West Virginia at the expense of secessionist Virginia. Gath rarely missed an opportunity to elevate Virginia's loyal sons and praised Strother (1816–88), a native Virginian who had served the Union and who, incidentally, had adopted Townsend's profession. In Strother Townsend found the ideal combination of background and interest to feed his own growing obsession with the raid, someone who could furnish the requisite detail as Townsend invented a largely fictitious narrative.
10. Townsend, *Campaigns of a Non-Combatant,* 367.
11. George Alfred Townsend, "GATH, Talks About His Den," *Cincinnati Enquirer,* September 24, 1891.
12. A full citation of "Gapland" land conveyances, 1884–90, can be found in Frederick County Land Records, Liber JGW260, Folio 395, wherein all earlier acquisitions are cited. Lands were purchased from David Arnold, Joseph E. Claggett, Manasses J. Grove, John Violet, David L. Smith, Ezra Williard, Eliza Smith and David M. Whipp.
13. George Alfred Townsend, "Western Maryland," *Middletown Valley Register,* January 10, 1896.
14. George Alfred Townsend, "Home of Gath," April ?, 1893, Townsend Family Papers, Rasmussen Collection. This is another of Gath's descriptions of the estate giving details not found elsewhere. The author extends special thanks to Mrs. Dorothy (Bonaventure) Rasmussen of San Luis Obispo, California, for generously providing copies of rare documents in her collection. She is the great-granddaughter of George Alfred Townsend and keeper of his memorabilia.

15. Memoirs of George Alfred Townsend (unfinished), Townsend Family Papers, Rasmussen Collection.
16. "A Memorial to War Correspondents," *Washington Evening Star,* October 16, 1896. Though it did not cover all aspects of the ceremonies, this article—probably written by Editor Crosby S. Noyes, who was in attendance—is by far the most extensive and detailed newspaper account of the event. Judging by the content of this and other reports, it is clear that Townsend furnished hefty press releases to all regional newspapers, for many reports are virtually the same.
17. Hamilton, "A Famous Author's Home in the South Mountains." The B&O passenger depot at Hagerstown was razed in 1980 to make way for the new headquarters of the *Hagerstown Herald-Mail* at the corner of Summit Avenue and Antietam Street. Somehow it seems fitting that a newspaper would replace the depot, despite the loss to posterity.
18. George Alfred Townsend Papers, Maryland State Archives, Group 60, contains all papers relative to the arch's inception and erection including a blueprint of Smithmeyer's final design. In 1873 Smithmeyer joined forces with another noted architect, Paul Johannes Pelz, in submitting a competitive design proposal for the new Library of Congress building. Although they won first prize, and Smithmeyer was appointed project architect, work languished through a decade of political boondoggle. "When Smithmeyer refused to accept the substitution of a cement which he considered inferior to what had been specified, the contractor succeeded in having Congress abolish the commission." See the *National Cyclopedia of American Biography,* 25:424, and *Dictionary of American Biography,* 14:411–12. Smithmeyer was out of a job, though much of his design was retained. He and Pelz then went on to other, less time-consuming projects, allowing ample time for Townsend's comparatively modest requirements.
19. "The South Mountain Memorial," *Middletown Valley Register,* January 31, 1896; "A Memorial to War Correspondents," *Washington Evening Star,* October 16, 1896.
20. "Mr. Townsend's Birthday Celebrated," *Middletown Valley Register,* February 7, 1896.
21. Because of the arch's complexity, many inaccurate or misleading descriptions have appeared in print in attempting to define Townsend's embellishments. Some errors crept into Ruthanna Hindes's otherwise definitive narrative. See Hindes, *George Alfred Townsend,* 45–46. I have used all primary sources, scrupulously comparing them to the arch itself with the intention of clarifying many popular myths.
22. Historic Structures Report, Antietam National Battlefield Site, U.S. National Park Service, May 18, 1961, copy in Western Maryland Room, Hagerstown Free Library.
23. Townsend to Secretary of War, September 25, 1896, A.G.O. to Townsend, October 2, 1896, and A.G.O. to Commanding General, Department of the East, October 2, 1896, Document File, Box 331, Record Group 94, Office of the Adjutant General, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration. *Middletown Valley Register,* October 23, 1896.
24. "A Memorial to War Correspondents," *Washington Evening Star,* October 16, 1896, gives a generous but nevertheless edited transcript of Townsend's speech.
25. Hindes, *George Alfred Townsend,* 47. Relentlessly pursuing his point, Townsend again visited Charles Town, West Virginia, and the Maryland counties south of Washington, D.C., gathering hearsay evidence to support his tenuous connection between John Brown and John Wilkes Booth, the mainstay theme of *Katy of Catoctin.* Conclusions appear in his regular column in the *Cincinnati Enquirer* for October 18, 1896, two days after the dedication ceremony at "Gapland."
26. Winfield S. Price to John C. O'Connell, April 20, 1934, Reference Collection, Antietam National Battlefield.

27. *Washington Evening Star,* May 30, 1903; *New York Times,* May 31, 1903.
28. Liber STH267, Folio 367, Frederick County Land Records.
29. Hamilton, "A Famous Author's House in the South Mountains."
30. "Savoyard," "Dean of the Cloth," *Washington Evening Star,* February 26, 1911.
31. *Catalogue of the Valuable Private Library of George Alfred Townsend, "Gath," The Special Correspondent and Author of Gapland, Md., and Washington, D.C.* [auction sale pamphlet] (Boston: C.F. Libbie & Co., Auctioneers and Appraisers, 646 Washington St., 1909). Many of Gath's prized books were given to old friends as tokens of affection.
32. Hindes, *George Alfred Townsend,* 62–66.
33. Townsend Family Papers, Rasmussen Collection.
34. Hindes, *George Alfred Townsend,* 47; "Obituary: George Alfred Townsend," *New York Evening Post,* April 16, 1914; "G. A. Townsend, Journalist, Dead," *New York Times,* same date.

Book Reviews

Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790–1860. By Christopher Phillips. Blacks in the New World. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997. 376 pages. Notes, index. $60 cloth; $21.95 paper.)

By 1860 Baltimore was the third largest city in the United States, trailing only New York and Philadelphia. The city's growth proved nothing short of astounding; only a century earlier it had been but a crude hamlet struggling to find an identity. Although third in size, the city boasted the largest African-American community in the United States—almost 27,000—of which more than 90 percent were free. In eight chapters and a poignant conclusion, Christopher Phillips's *Freedom's Port* chronicles the remarkable evolution of Baltimore and provides the first book-length account of the city's antebellum urban black population.

Phillips, author of *Damned Yankee: The Life of General Nathaniel Lyon* (1990), describes how Baltimore's urban black population evolved from a combination of transient individuals, many of whom were recently freed, to a vibrant, predominantly free community plagued less by class and intraracial divisions than those of other comparable cities, such as Philadelphia, Charleston, and New Orleans. He argues that local and community conditions, including demographic makeup, social construct, gender roles, family structures, and occupations evolved collectively in a city often impacted by broader political, social, and economic influences.

Before 1830, Baltimore offered wonderful opportunities for slaves and free blacks alike. A prosperous economy allowed the city's black population to move into an wide array of jobs and to secure a degree of independence. The economic downturn of the 1830s and a heightened sense of racism, however, greatly threatened their position on the lower rung of the city's ladder. Baltimore's African Americans developed churches, schools, fraternal organizations, benevolent associations, and other social self-help institutions to preserve their freedoms. In fact, while the diversity of the city's black organizations indicated a structural maturity within the community, it also simultaneously demonstrated a serious cleavage in the city's social fabric, similar to that in comparable black urban communities. Fortunately for Baltimore, the division occurred later and was less divisive. Nonetheless, these corporate entities helped to clarify individual and community identities. They also served to define relations with whites of the same economic level. Most importantly, as Phillips maintains, during times of crisis such organizations protected their hard-won societal privileges from a

once-liberal white leadership. Baltimore's African Americans had forged a unified, although diverse, community.

As the antebellum period progressed, the ideological climate in Maryland made it almost impossible for African Americans to escape their enslavement. By the 1850s white hostility and racial intolerance threatened to reenslave all of Maryland's free Negroes. Although the city's black residents responded to the attacks by bonding together, and in the process created a racial identity and solidarity that provided the political muscle to overcome the hardships, the future appeared dim at best. During the decade Baltimore's free Negro population increased by only 1 percent, as opposed to a 41 percent growth during the 1840s. Meanwhile, the number of slaves decreased, while the white population increased by a third. Compounding the dilemma, an increasing number of poor European immigrants competed with the city's free Negro population for the few available jobs. Baltimore soon lost its status as a safe haven for Maryland's freedpeople and slaves.

Phillips's work, which contributes to the thesis that the American notion of race is an ideological construct based in historical—and in this case economic—circumstances, uses Baltimore's black population to demonstrate that the southern commitment to white supremacy was not unwavering. It was only after the city's African-American population matured and appeared as a threat did white Marylanders turn against them.

This insightful, thoroughly researched, and comprehensive study offers a compelling argument that deserves notice from scholars and general readers alike. An important contribution to the historical literature of slavery and the urban experience, it will undoubtedly join others, notably Gary Nash's *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720–1840,* as a most significant work.

Gene A. Smith
Texas Christian University

The Chief Justiceship of John Marshall, 1801–1835. By Herbert Johnson. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997. 352 pages. Appendices, table of cases, index. $39.95.)

This thorough and scholarly study of the great formative era of American constitutional law comprises part of a new series on the history of the Supreme Court under the general editorship of Professor Johnson, Ernest Hollings Professor of Law at the University of South Carolina Law School, former editor of *The Papers of John Marshall,* and a past president of the American Society for Legal History. Other volumes in the series published so far cover the Court before Marshall's accession, the chief justiceship of Melville Fuller (1888–1910),

and the Court under chief justices Harlan Fiske Stone and Fred Vinson.

As this volume demonstrates, the series will be enormously useful to readers who want more than popularized accounts of our legal past but are daunted by the massive, if definitive, volumes of the Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise *History of the Supreme Court*, to which Professor Johnson, along with George L. Haskins, contributed a study of the period 1801–15 totaling nearly seven hundred pages.

The Chief Justiceship of John Marshall is not always easy going, but attention to its threads of argument yields rich fruits. Johnson provides careful analysis of the major Marshall Court decisions, two of which, we should note, are *McCulloch v. Maryland* and *Brown v. Maryland*. The book also assesses the shifting and often treacherous political climate that conditioned these enunciations of constitutional doctrine and casts as much light as limited documentation allows us to cast on the inner workings of the Marshall Court.

But Professor Johnson is not content merely to travel this main road, as many studies are. Drawing on his unsurpassed knowledge of the period, he goes thoroughly into other areas of the law, besides constitutional, shaped by Marshall and his colleagues. There are extensive sections on admiralty law, commercial law, and real property. An entire chapter is devoted to international law.

Even better perhaps, Johnson gives us a fascinating picture (replete with statistical tables) of the laborious but essential work the justices performed while "riding circuit." Separate circuit courts of appeal were established in this country only in 1891, and until that time the justices of the Supreme Court served as circuit judges in the geographic areas assigned to them (in Marshall's case, Virginia and North Carolina). There, they teamed with federal district judges to hold trials. This unappetizing duty caused several of the early appointees to the Court to resign, and, as Johnson notes, was instrumental in former Chief Justice John Jay's decision in 1801 to pass up the appointment that went to Marshall. Yet in that earlier period, unlike generations to follow, circuit court duty brought members of the Supreme Court "into contact with the grass roots of American life" (137).

One might quibble with some aspects of the book's organization. Johnson chooses to separate the material in chapter two discussing "Politics and the Constitution in the Marshall Era" from the detailed discussion of constitutional and circuit court developments found in chapters four through six. This has its advantages, but it feeds a bit of a tendency toward repetition and in places introduces some confusion. An initial discussion of *McCulloch v. Maryland*, for example, on pages 73–75, presents the constitutional issues in the case rather sketchily, preferring at that point to concentrate on the pamphlet warfare following in the wake of *McCulloch*, a battle that pitted pseudonymously the great antagonists of early nineteenth-century American jurisprudence, Chief Justice Marshall and Spencer Roane, Chief Judge of the Virginia Court of Appeals and the man

Thomas Jefferson would have appointed chief justice. Johnson's discussion of the pamphlets is typically incisive, but full amplification of the constitutional dispute from which they flowed awaits exposition on pp. 142–47.

Similarly, there are four separate mentions of the hostility directed toward Justice William Johnson by his fellow South Carolinians because of Johnson's circuit court decision of 1823, which struck down a state law providing for the arrest of free black seamen found on board ships in South Carolina ports (33, 113, 133, 168). Clearly though, these are minor shortcomings of a superior work of scholarship.

As is well known, it was a Marylander who succeeded Marshall as chief justice in 1835. But another Maryland native, Gabriel Duval, served with Marshall as associate justice from 1811 to 1835, retiring because he mistakenly thought that Roger Taney would get *his* seat. Duval's influence on the Marshall Court is suggested by the fact that he was known as "the Silent."

MARK T. WHITMAN
Towson University

Amongst My Best Men: African-Americans and the War of 1812. By Gerard T. Altoff. (Put-in-Bay, Ohio: The Perry Group, 1996. 192 pages. One illustration, maps, notes. Available from Eastern National Park & Monument Association, P.O. Box 549, Put-in-Bay, Ohio 43456. $9.95 plus $2.25 shipping.)

The service of African Americans in this nation's wars prior to the Civil War is often overlooked. In this thin but impressive paperback, Gerard T. Altoff, U.S. National Park Service historian at Perry's Victory, Ohio, focuses on a forgotten aspect of our history. Altoff, who has studied Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry's use of black sailors in the victory over the British on Lake Erie on September 10, 1813, makes a logical author to write on this topic. As he notes, prior to the battle, Perry had written to Commodore Isaac Chauncey to complain about the men assigned to him. They were, he said, "a motley set, blacks, Soldiers, boys" (36). Yet in the end, he was glad to have his black sailors, praising them as men "who seemed to be absolutely insensible to danger" (40).

Unfortunately, it is not easy to know how many of the men who served in the U.S. Navy were African Americans. Altoff claims that "between 15 to 20% of all Navy crews were composed of black sailors" (52). Muster rolls, he notes, are incomplete and often do not list a sailor's race. Few black men are singled out in the contemporary records unless they came to attention through being casualties or because of conspicuous bravery. I know this myself from researching my own recent article, "Mirage of Freedom: African Americans in the War of 1812" (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 91 [Winter 1996]:426–50). Wishing to verify the service of George R. Roberts, a black seaman known from other sources to

have been a crewman aboard Baltimore-owned privateers, notably aboard Captain Thomas Boyle's *Chasseur,* I read through the logs of the famed privateer, the original "Pride of Baltimore." I could find no mention of seaman Roberts in Boyle's record of the voyage of the *Chasseur.* However, in the captain's report of the engagement with H.M.S. *St. Lawrence* on February 26, 1815, I found reference among the casualties to "Peter (black man), since dead." Except for this scant mention, knowledge that this black sailor died in the service of his country might have escaped notice.

In the absence of clear proof of the race of the sailors who fought during the war, Altoff asserts, "black seamen sailed on each and every U.S. Navy vessel that put to sea" (51). This may seem a precarious assertion until one realizes that Britain's infamous Dartmoor Prison to which captured American sailors were consigned had such a "large number of black inmates" that they were given their own prison block, ruled over by "Richard Seavers, a black sailor from Massachusetts" who stood "a powerful 6¢5² tall . . . a natural leader and former boxing teacher who ruled prison block four with an iron but fair fist" (55).

In contrast to the known service of American blacks at sea during the war, African Americans were mostly excluded from carrying arms in the state militias and the U.S. Army. The major exception to this rule was at New Orleans, where Major General Andrew Jackson actively encouraged "free men of color" to join the ranks of his army to defend the city. Jackson credited these African Americans with helping him to achieve his victory of January 8, 1815 over the British. As Altoff notes, Jackson wrote that the colored troops "were so anxious for glory that they could not be prevented from advancing over our breast works and exposing themselves." Indeed, the general said, these African Americans "fought like desperadoes" (159).

Gerard Altoff is to be congratulated for shining much-needed light on this neglected corner of our nation's history. His volume is a welcome addition to the burgeoning library on the War of 1812 as well as on African American history.

CHRISTOPHER T. GEORGE
Baltimore

The Evils of Necessity: Robert Goodloe Harper and the Moral Dilemma of Slavery. By Eric Robert Papenfuse. Transactions of the American Philiosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge, Vol. 87, Pt. 1. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1997. 160 pages. Appendix, illustrations, notes, index. $18.)

In *The Evils of Necessity,* we move from a portrait of a rebellious brat of the Revolutionary era, who denounces parental authority, to an accomplished south-

ern lawyer, who uses Federalist ideology to justify the gradual elimination of American chattel slavery. Robert Goodloe Harper (January 1765–January 1825) represents one of the prototypical Negro Colonizationists of his time, articulating a recognition of the moral paradox that "the foundation of our wealth" and American liberty was secured through the perpetuation of institutionalized slavery. (This study gives instant resonance to the overriding thesis of the frequently cited study by Edmund Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*).

The son of devout Presbyterians (Jesse and Diana Harper), Robert G. Harper, instead of advancing his slave-owning parents' staunch Calvinism, that "man was a sinful creature" from birth (1), reasoned that all men are born with a moral and spiritual sense that when cultivated leads him "to reject a passionate world of unthinking obedience and to pursue an educated life of rational self-interest" (5). On this position, Harper does not discriminate; he maintains that blacks and whites "come into the world in all respects alike, except in the colour of their skin, and the difference between them, . . . arises wholly from education" (9). Initially, for Harper, "education" is both the cause of racial inequality in the country and its solution. He writes, "Education bestowing improvements on some, which are withheld from others, creates the vast difference we perceive in the degrees of mental excellence" (9). Education was that privilege which separated the races, and so long as blacks were denied access to it, they would succumb to ignorance and to a baser life of "noise and riot and senseless mirth" (8).

As noted, "education" dominates Harper's earlier explanation of racial differences. But at times Harper displays an inconsistent stance toward black education, one which Papenfuse tries to downplay by grouping him in the moral camp with Quakers (33). Nevertheless, Harper realized that the natural ability of blacks to reason, ergo to learn, posed a potential threat to the nation. We come to learn that Harper's view on teaching slaves is closer to that of Alexander I of Russia than to American Quakers. Harper's thoughts on diminishing racial inequality resembled commonly spoken justifications by his contemporaries—Monroe, Jefferson, and Madison—for deporting free/freed blacks to an American-established colony in West Africa, as well as, ironically, pro-slavery arguments like those of George Fitzhugh in the mid-nineteenth century. In fact, Harper would eventually receive credit for giving Liberia its name (55).

In the end according to Papenfuse, Harper's solution to the gradual eradication of slavery is colonization, diffusion of the slaves throughout the nation, and possibly a civil war to stop the "cancer" of slavery from spreading. Harper, as a short-term U.S. Senator from Maryland in 1816, first endorsed "Negro Colonization" for standard reasons. Free blacks unduly influenced slaves "to elude . . . authority, by neglecting . . . work as much as possible, to withdraw . . . from it altogether by flight, and sometimes to attempt direct resistance" (60). Free blacks "could never hope to realize full equality with whites in American society," be-

cause of whites' "prejudices," and the "indelible mark" of the blacks' color (57). On this point, Harper pointed to Paul Cuffee to prove that even the most educated and economically and morally secure black would never be accepted by his white counterparts. Lastly, with Negro colonization, blacks would be "transplanted to a colony composed of themselves alone, [where] they would enjoy real equality: in other words real freedom," whereas, if they stayed in America, they would be "condemned to a state of hopeless inferiority and degradation" (61). Harper reasoned further that less psychologically anchored blacks, which to him were "the vast majority," would internalize their debasement, lose all "desire" for social uplift, and recoil into an "idle, worthless and thievish race" (58).

It is worth underscoring that Harper never seemed to have an exact feel for the pulse of black people: he thought that West Indian slaves, once imported to America, would reenact their revolutionary and insurrectionary behavior; and he thought black opposition to colonization would fizzle (63). When his predictions went sour, he never admitted to misperceptions and advanced new, equally erroneous excuses by blaming the subjects of his remarks for failing to realize his predictions. For instance, of blacks who opposed African deportation, Harper concluded that "many blacks were simply not 'intelligent' enough to discern the 'advantage of the undertaking'" (63). We definitely witness in Papenfuse's portrait of Harper a reification of white superiority. As his vision of American society continued to collide with the reality of America's chattel institution, Harper suggested another means to gradually end slavery: disperse the slaves. By spreading out mass slave populations, "their moral condition and qualities are improved" because their masters can provide "more means of [individual] instruction, intellectual, moral and religious: [and they] will be governed with more ease, and consequently less rigour." Slaves would benefit also from more direct "association with their masters . . . and equals of their masters." Harper added that this approach will eliminate "the moral evils to be apprehended from slavery" (66). The subtlety here is that slaves would grow in every conceivable way just from personal contact with their masters, who were inherently superior to them in every conceivable way.

Harper's advocacy of education included the creation of what he called "seminary farms." These schools would prepare Maryland's slave children to survive when they were relocated to Liberia (68). But the facilities, Harper insisted, should be set up in slave states, and all of its students—whether newly freed or free—would adopt a slave status. He contended that uniform legal status and slave residency would ensure discipline and prevent slavery from being undermined by learned blacks (70).

In this biography, we rarely learn what Harper's contemporaries thought of him. One knows that few southerners supported Harper's unmaterialized scheme for "seminary farms"; after all, the proposition involved not only educating blacks,

but also raising their moral character. At his death, Harper himself still owned twenty-seven slaves; this revelation causes one to question the sincerity of his scheme. Although unable to serve as an anti-slavery model, Harper epitomized the morally conflicted colonizationist (or as some would say in a word, a hypocrite).

The text of Eric Papenfuse's critical biography of Robert Goodloe Harper is only eighty pages. The book's remaining seventy pages consist of primary documents—four in all—which make up the "Appendices." That Harper's life may have lacked episodic diversity does not explain why the actual study of Harper's life and thoughts is so brief. The significance of this biography lies in its substantiation of earlier, well-documented secondary studies of colonizationists and those who proposed that slavery was a positive good and therefore a necessary evil.

As noted, this slender volume reprints four documents written by Harper. Because each one is frequently cited in the course of the text, I recommend that one begin by reading them first. Papenfuse has made generous assumptions concerning his readers' academic fortification in eighteenth-century Maryland history, and particularly about Robert Goodloe Harper (51).

Not to be slighted are Papenfuse's numerous footnotes, which frequently occupy at least one-third of a page. They are rich with references that at times support and at other times refute historical themes he highlights. Packed with secondary evidence—old and recent articles and monographs (which Papenfuse often annotates), and an assortment of primary sources, especially letters—the footnotes distinguish the archives in the Maryland Historical Society Library.

Angela M. Leonard
Loyola College

Sabres and Pistols: The Civil War Career of Colonel Harry Gilmor, C.S.A. By Timothy R. Ackinclose. (Gettysburg, Pa.: Stan Clark Military Books, 1997. 208 pages. $24.95.)

Harry Gilmor was the most famous Baltimorean to fight for the South during the Civil War. He enlisted in the Confederate cavalry as a private and, through his success at small-unit engagements and raids in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley, rose to the rank of colonel. For a while, he headed his own independent command of guerilla fighters who operated behind Union lines, and became one of South's most feared partisan leaders.

Although a skilled horseman and a crack pistol shot, Gilmor did not depend on brute force for victory. He became known for clever ploys that frequently enticed Federal troops to surrender without a fight. During one engagement, Gilmor, alone and on foot, stumbled into a group of twenty-five Union soldiers. Gilmor pretended that Confederate troops had hidden themselves in the sur-

rounding forest and shouted to his imaginary comrades, "Boys, don't fire! Don't fire! They'll surrender." The befuddled and apprehensive Yankees gave up.

Gilmor is a colorful subject for a biography. Oddly, with the exception of Gilmor's own 1866 memoirs, Timothy Ackinclose's biography is the first book-length account of Gilmor's career. For those interested in Maryland Civil War history, this volume is long therefore overdue.

Gilmor was one of eleven children born to wealthy Baltimore merchant and Harvard graduate Robert Gilmor III, who had strong business connections with the South. In 1861, twenty-three-year-old Gilmor joined a pro-southern militia company in Baltimore County, a move that led to his being tossed in jail for two weeks when Union troops occupied the state. In August 1861, Gilmor fled to Virginia and enlisted in a Confederate cavalry regiment, where he quickly distinguished himself for his abilities as a scout and for battlefield resourcefulness. In particular he had a knack for extricating himself from tight spots.

While most aristocratic Confederate officers preferred traditional, formal warfare with its gentleman's code of conduct, Gilmor exhibited a talent for modern "no holds barred" fighting. He favored irregular warfare, with its emphasis on dirty tricks, ambush, and surprise attack. In 1863, Gilmor was promoted to major and given command of an independent battalion of "partisan rangers" operating in the Shenandoah Valley and portions of West Virginia. Partisan rangers were assigned to work behind Union lines, disrupting Federal communications and supply. Gilmor recruited a number of southern-sympathizing Marylanders to work with his battalion, which was sometimes referred to as "Gilmor's Rangers."

Gilmor conducted one of his more impressive raids in February 1864, when he derailed a train on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad line near Kearneysville, West Virginia. He and his men subsequently were labeled as "highwaymen" in the northern press when train passengers testified that the raiders had robbed them of cash, watches, and jewelry. Gilmor protested his innocence, but the charges grew more serious when a Jewish merchant traveling near Woodstock, Virginia, complained that Gilmor's band had stolen $6,000 in gold, jewelry, and other items from him. Detectives found witnesses who implicated Gilmor in the disposal of the stolen property and with an attempt to cover up the crime.

Confederate authorities, including Robert E. Lee, expressed disgust with the incidents. The charges against Gilmor reinforced traditional southern beliefs that irregular warfare was vulgar and ungentlemanly. A few weeks after these two incidents, the Confederate government abolished its partisan ranger organization, although rangers continued to operate informally until the war's end. Gilmor was court-martialed but acquitted. He was allowed to resume command of his battalion, which was absorbed into the regular Confederate cavalry under the name of the 2nd Maryland Battalion.

Gilmor is best remembered in Maryland for his July 10–12, 1864 raid on the Baltimore area—which gave the city what was probably its worst invasion scare since the British attempt to take Fort McHenry in September 1814. The Baltimore attack was coordinated with a raid on Washington, D.C. by a small Confederate army commanded by General Jubal A. Early. Before trying to punch his way through the fortifications protecting the capital, Early ordered eight hundred Confederate horsemen—including Gilmor's battalion—to ride north to Baltimore, cut telegraph and railroad lines, and thereby isolate Washington. Near Cockeysville, Maryland, the Confederate force successfully cut the Northern Central Railroad line connecting Baltimore to Harrisburg. The task of reaching the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad, which ran from Baltimore northeast to Philadelphia, was more difficult.

Fearing that a southern force moving east of Baltimore would be cut off by the city's Federal garrison, Confederate commander Bradley T. Johnson ordered Gilmor to use his Maryland battalion for a lightning strike on the rail line. Gilmor galloped east to Harford County with twenty-eight hand-picked horsemen. On reaching the PW&B railroad line at Magnolia Station, he chased off guards, captured and destroyed two trains, and burned the railroad bridge over the Gunpowder River. Reports of approaching Confederate cavalry created chaos in Baltimore. Church bells rang in alarm. Panicked farmers from the suburbs drove cattle and horses into the center of the city for better protection. Banks removed cash and coin from their vaults and stashed the money on ships anchored in the harbor. Women with children crowded the railroad stations, desperately trying to buy tickets out of town. Volunteers rushed to man the city's fortifications. People huddled on street corners exchanging wild rumors. Then, to the consternation of his enemies, Gilmor retraced his route, slipped by Union cavalry patrols a second time, and easily escaped back to Virginia. The audacious raid disrupted critical rail traffic between Philadelphia and Baltimore for several weeks.

Gilmor's success as a raider ultimately led to his undoing. His activities caught the eye of General Philip Sheridan, the Federal commander in the Shenandoah. Sheridan deduced that the best way to incapacitate Gilmor's Rangers was to capture Gilmor himself. Sheridan assembled a team of spies and scouts who eventually tracked the rebel to a house Gilmor used as a hiding place near Moorefield, West Virginia. Under cover of a blizzard, a special contingent of federal troops burst into the house at dawn on February 5, 1865, and, for once, surprised Harry Gilmor. The fabled partisan ranger sat out the rest of the war in a Boston prison.

This biography is useful to the general public as a concise introduction to Gilmor's military career. Serious readers, however, may be disappointed. There is little in the way of new information or insight here; most of this book consists of well-known stories stitched together from familiar sources. The large number

of footnotes referring to such secondary sources as the Time-Life book series on the Civil War is disappointing.

It is a good sign that a biography of Gilmor has finally appeared. We may hope this volume will be followed by others offering fresher, and deeper treatments. The dashing raider deserves no less.

WALT ALBRO
Rockville

Uncommon Threads: Threads that Wove the Fabric of Baltimore Jewish Life. By Philip Kahn, Jr. (Baltimore: PECAN Publications, 1996. 324 pages. Photographs, notes, appendix, bibliography. $19.95.)

For the novice interested in the history of the Baltimore Jewish community, the author does a reasonable job of chronicling its development. For those looking for new revelations, the advice here is to keep looking. The book reads like a textbook, with names, dates, and places, that make one feel as though he is back in high school. A highlighter is a must to prepare for the test that will surely follow. Unlike a textbook, however, is the author's style of jumping back and forth in time within the same sections. I found myself thinking I had already read some of the material and, upon going back to previous sections, found indeed I had. It makes reading a chore.

On the positive side, Kahn's description of why and how German and Russian Jews immigrated to Baltimore is well documented. He also provides ample information regarding the evolution of neighborhoods, synagogues, and social services.

The author's lack of depth in describing economic and philanthropic developments is disappointing. It was surprising not to find more profiles of families involved in commerce. Rather, the author seemed to delight in deriding country clubs and their members. These stereotypical statements were repeated in several sections.

The history of Baltimore's Jewish community comprises the strength, the values and accomplishments of tens of thousands of individuals. While *Uncommon Threads* provides historical perspective, it is but the first step in understanding the richness and texture of a driven people.

SHELDON CAPLIS
University of Maryland, Baltimore County

Parties, Politics, and the Sectional Conflict in Tennessee, 1832–1861. By Jonathan M. Atkins. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997. 400 pages. Appendix, notes, index. $38.)

Jonathan Atkins contends that previous scholarship has "failed to consider political developments in Tennessee within the context of the state's distinctive political culture," to examine the role of economic conditions in shaping the state's party system, and to adequately look for the roots of the secession crisis (xiii). He asserts that antebellum Tennessee politics is best explained by an examination of the "ideology and party appeals" of Democrats and their opponents (xv). The term "sectional conflict" in the title refers both to the tension between North and South and to the friction between Tennessee's "grand divisions" (West, Middle, and East). Unlike other historians of Tennessee, however, Atkins rejects the notion that either of these conflicts were the dominant theme of the state's antebellum political debates. Rather, he contends that "the central concern for voters, as expressed through party competition, was the defense of liberty from the perceived assaults of demagogic politicians" (xiv). This conclusion is based on an impressive array of sources, including newspapers, legislative records, speeches, and personal correspondence of party elites.

Atkins argues that the notion of a "party" representing "the people" and fighting tyrants and despots remained the lens through which Tennessee voters viewed their political debates from Jackson's presidency through the election of Lincoln and the secession of the Lower South. The ideology of republicanism "played a vital role in shaping the course of Tennessee politics" (xv), and Atkins contends that Tennessee voters required their elected officials to preserve at least the "image" of a "defender of republican liberty" (14). While this shared commitment to republican liberty is consistent with that found in analyses of antebellum North and South Carolina politics by Marc Kruman (*Parties and Politics,* 1983) and Lacy Ford (*Origins of Southern Radicalism,* 1988), respectively, Atkins's emphasis on the importance of voters in shaping Tennessee political debate would be strengthened by a more systematic statistical analysis of election returns.

Atkins argues that Tennessee's two parties focused on national issues because of the divisive nature of state issues among Tennessee's "grand divisions" and the narrow margins of electoral victory. Presented and perceived as a struggle over the definition of republican liberty, Tennessee's party system developed out of opposition to Andrew Jackson's chosen heir, Martin Van Buren, and crystallized during the economic depression from 1837 to 1846 around debates over banking and the means of alleviating the state's suffering. Atkins's claim for the distinctiveness of Tennessee's political culture could be enhanced by more detailed comparisons with other states, especially on questions of voter participation and party conflict.

As slavery became an increasingly important national issue, Tennessee's parties integrated it into their republican-based ideology; parties competed to defend both southern rights and the Union, each asserting it was the only party capable of fighting the despots that would split the nation to gain more power. Jackson's strong stand against South Carolina's nullifiers left a strong antipathy in Tennessee's voters toward those that threatened the Union, including both northern abolitionists and southern fireeaters.

In line with Daniel Crofts' broader work on Upper South Unionists in *Reluctant Confederates* (1989), Atkins contends that following Lincoln's election and the Lower South's secession, Tennessee Whigs and non-slaveholding Democrats combined to form what they hoped would be a national Unionist party that would check Lincoln and the secessionists, defending the Union and southern rights from all "radical demagogues" (259). Lincoln's call for troops in the aftermath of Fort Sumter forced Tennesseans to choose between nation and region, splitting the state. Tennesseans viewed these choices, made according to the importance of slavery in their area, through the lens of republican ideology. To Western and Middle Tennessee—advocates of defending southern rights in a new nation—Lincoln's actions were those of a military despot, but to Eastern Tennessee—a Unionist stronghold—the secessionist state governor was the coercive tyrant. The war itself finally changed the central concern of Tennessee politics from a republican struggle against despotism to one for military victory.

Parties, Politics, and the Sectional Conflict is valuable for scholars of Tennessee history and those who study the political behavior of the Upper South through the secession crisis. The book is an intriguing addition to scholarship on the importance of republican rhetoric in southern party politics.

Jeffrey W. McClurken
Johns Hopkins University

Books in Brief

"The direction of the wind and the height of the seas"—along with oyster diseases and the price of soft crabs—mark the topics of conversation on the Eastern Shore's Smith Island. Paula Johnson's *The Workboats of Smith Island* describes the lives of the watermen and the workboats on which they rely for crabbing, fishing, and oystering on the Chesapeake.

Johns Hopkins University Press, $29.95

A reprint of Letitia Stockett's 1928 *Baltimore: A Not Too Serious History* has been released as part of the Maryland Paperback Bookshelf series from the Johns Hopkins University Press. Fashioned as a chatty walking tour of the city, the book includes historic photographs and local histories. The author notes, for example, that the wide Central Avenue near Little Italy was once a canal. The author also describes parks that have evolved from older estates, and includes a chapter on Baltimore Street before the Great Fire.

Johns Hopkins University Press, $15.95 paper

A detailed, practical guide to regional cycling has been produced by seasoned cyclist Mike High. His book, *The C&O Canal Companion*, includes drawings, maps, and photographs of the canal towpath and details points of interest along the way. Among the historic sites—Rowsers Ford, a river crossing used by Confederate cavalry general J. E. B. Stuart while en route to Gettysburg. Formally opened in 1850, the canal was closed in 1926 due to flooding and competition from the railroads.

Johns Hopkins University Press, $15.95 paper

Architectural historian Phoebe Stanton's *The Gothic Revival & American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840–1856*, has been re-released. The author explores the influence of the English Gothic Revival on American church architecture in the mid-nineteenth century. First published in 1968, the book is generously illustrated with drawings and photographs, and includes an index.

Johns Hopkins University Press, $ 25.95 paper

The Confederacy's Civil War campaign north of the Potomac is studied in B. Franklin Cooling's *Monocacy: The Battle that Saved Washington*. The author argues that the 1864 battle of Monocacy was decisive in Robert E. Lee's offensive against Washington, D.C., and pivotal in the course of the Civil War.

White Mane Press, $34.95

The Maryland State Archives and the Maryland Historical Trust have produced the first in a series of short works entitled, Studies in Local History. Thoroughly researched, written for a general audience, and released to coincide with the 300th anniversary of Annapolis, these booklets and those to follow will provide attractive windows into Maryland colonial history and the life of early Chesapeake communities. The first in the series, "*Doing Good to Posterity,*" by Edward Papenfuse (1995), details the move of Maryland's capital from St. Mary's City to Annapolis. The second, Al Luckenbach's "*Providence, 1649,*" examines the history and archaeology of the first European settlement in Anne Arundel County. The third booklet, "*From Paths to Plats,*" by Anthony D. Lindauer (1997), traces the early development of Annapolis, from 1651 to 1718.

Maryland State Archives

In early nineteenth-century Howard County, Maryland, residents fought community fires in so-called "bucket brigades." Finally, in 1888, the residents of Ellicott City formed a volunteer fire company, and author B. H. Shipley chronicles its development in *Remembrances of Passing Days: A Pictorial History of Ellicott City and its Fire Department.*" The book describes fire-fighting in Howard County through modern times, and includes a history of Ellicott City and Howard County.

Donning Company Publishers, $34.95

D.B.S.

Notices

Talbot County Heritage Weekend

On the weekend of October 4, 1997, the Historical Society of Talbot County will sponsor its first annual Discover Our Heritage Weekend. The theme for the event is the Federal Period. The weekend begins with a Friday evening speakers reception, and concludes on Sunday with a visit to Myrtle Grove, a Federal style townhouse. For information, contact the Historical Society of Talbot County, P.O. Box 964, Easton, MD, 21601, or call: 410-822-0773.

Pennsylvania Scholars-in-Residence Program Announced

The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission is inviting applications for its 1998–1999 Scholars-in-Residence Program. The program provides support for full-time research at any Commission facility, including the state archives and museum, and twenty-six other historical sites and museums. Residencies are available for four to twelve consecutive weeks between May 1, 1998, and April 30, 1999, at the rate of $1,200 per month. The program is open to scholars, professionals, and others conducting research on Pennsylvania history. For information and application materials, contact: Division of History, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Box 1026, Harrisburg, PA, 17108; 717-787-3034. The deadline is January 16, 1998.

Charles County Elderhostel Program

Beginning in September, Charles County Community College will offer an Elderhostel program focused on southern Maryland history. The program includes courses and tours of historic sites. Participants in the program will stay in the Loyola Retreat House, which overlooks the Potomac River, in Faulkner, Maryland. The cost for one week of courses, housing and meals is $380 per person. To register, call Elderhostel at 617-426-8056.

Carroll Papers Microfilm Guide Available in Digital Media

A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Charles Carroll of Carrollton Family Papers, 1651–1877 is now available on computer disk from the Maryland Historical Society. Call 410-685-3750, ext. 342 for prices and to specify desired word-processing format.

D.B.S.

Maryland Picture Puzzle

The summer 1997 Picture Puzzle proved to be a conundrum. The parklike setting misled many, and clothing on the figure in the foreground proved hard to date.

The photograph was taken by Bachrach Studios in 1868 at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis after Superintendent David D. Porter had ordered a post–Civil War beautification program. The photo shows how the grounds behind the midshipmen's quarters leading down to the steamer wharf were landscaped. Our congratulations to Mr. Percy Martin, Mr. Raymond Martin, and Mr. William Hollifield, who correctly identified it.

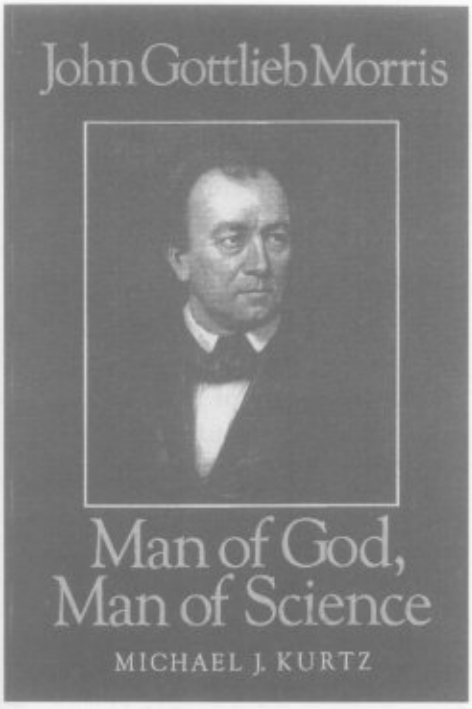
Test your knowledge of Western Maryland by identifying the location of this photograph from the collections of the Maryland Historical Society. Please send your answers to: Picture Puzzle, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201-4674.

New from the Maryland Historical Society!

A superb biography of an American religious and cultural leader and patriot

JOHN GOTTLIEB MORRIS: Man of God, Man of Science

By Michael J. Kurtz



Writer, lecturer, educator, churchman, scientist—John Gottlieb Morris's long, productive, and extraordinarily productive life mirrors the volatility and vitality of American culture from the early national period to the end of the 19th century. Morris played a key role in the development and direction of the American Lutheran Church and led the movement from German-language liturgy to English. He created the libraries of the Peabody Institute and the Maryland Historical Society, founded the Lutherville Female Seiminary (and the town of Lutherville), and was a major figure at Gettysburg College. Morris pioneered natural science in America and contributed significantly to the development of outstanding natural history collections, including the Smithsonian Institution's, and as an historian sustained for decades the Lutheran Historical Society and the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland.

Michael J. Kurtz is assistant archivist of the National Archives and a resident of Annapolis.

6 x 9, 216 pages, paper. Illustrations
ISBN 0-938420-58-5
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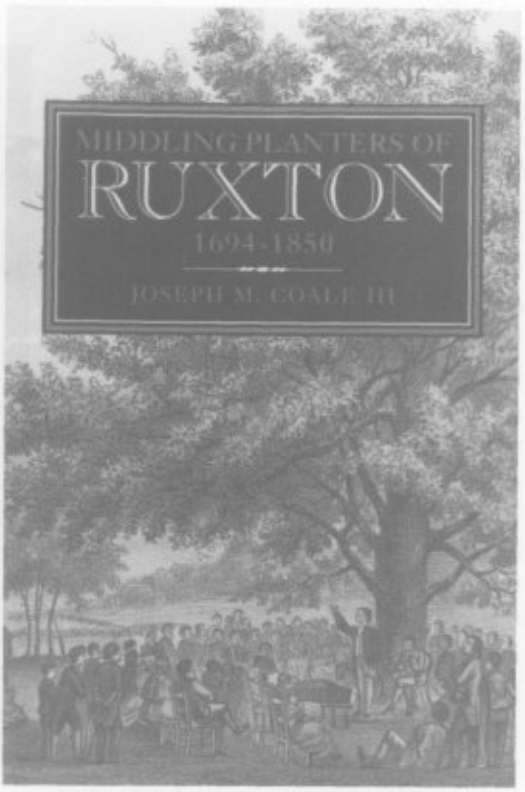
New from the Maryland Historical Society!

The early history of a quintessential mid-Atlantic Community . . .

MIDDLING PLANTERS OF RUXTON, MARYLAND 1694-1850

By Joseph M. Coale



For two centuries the area known today as Ruxton, Maryland, was identified by tract names such as Samuel's Hope, Hector's Hopyard, Bosley's Adventure, Young Man's Adventure, Hooker's Prosperity, and Beale's Discovery. Its early settlers were largely "middling" planters, economically situated between tenant farmers and the landed gentry of Maryland's Eastern Shore. By focusing on representative families, their tracts, and their descendants, Joseph M. Coale traces the history of this remarkable area from the colonial period through the Revolution to the early Industrial Revolution.

Ruxton, recognized its 300th anniversary in 1994. The story of this community just north of Baltimore City represents a microcosm of America's transformation from wilderness to settlement, from agricultural to industrial pursuits, and from rural to urban character.

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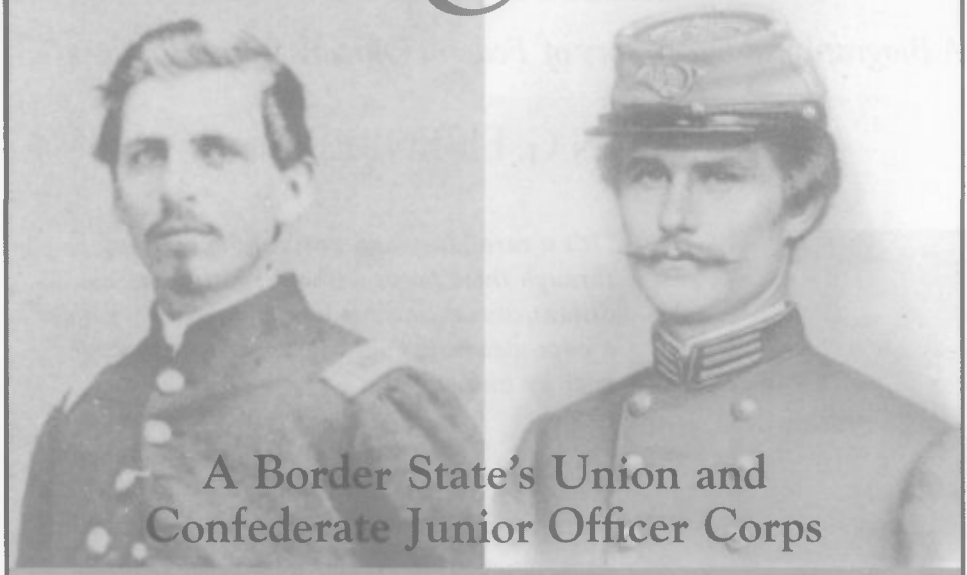
Thursday, October 9, 1997
5:30 – 7:00 P.M.

The Maryland Historical Society will devote the evening of October 9 to Maryland in the Civil War. Drawing upon research for his just-released book, *Maryland's Blue and Gray: A Border State's Union and Confederate Junior Officer Corps,* Kevin Conley Ruffner will examine the experiences of Marylanders who fought in the armies on both sides. The evening will begin with two concurrent thirty-minute workshops led by MHS curators. One workshop will highlight Civil War objects in our gallery; the other features material in our library collection. Participants will have the opportunity to view Civil War uniforms and broadsides not regularly on display and will receive useful information on how to preserve Civil War memorabilia. Enrollment in the pre-lecture workshops is limited to 20 people each and is available on a first come, first served basis.

After a light reception during which Dr. Ruffner will sign copies of his book, the lecture will begin at 6:00 P.M.

Admission is $7 for MHS members and $10 for the general public. Reservations are required and may be made by calling the MHS Box Office at 410-685-3750, ext. 372.

MARYLAND'S BLUE & GRAY



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KEVIN CONLEY RUFFNER

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The *Maryland Historical Magazine* welcomes submissions from authors. All articles will be acknowledged, but only those accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope will be returned. Submissions should be printed or typed manuscript. 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 or Microsoft Word. Guidelines for contributors are available on request. Address the Managing Editor.

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