Maryland Historical Magazine

Published Quarterly by the Museum and Library of Maryland History
The Maryland Historical Society
Winter 1989

Maryland Historical Magazine Vol. 84 No. 4 Winter 1989

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOLUME 84 WINTER 1989

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ISSN-0025-4258

 Published in March, June, September, and December. Second Class postage paid at Baltimore, Maryland and at additional mailing offices: POSTMASTER please send address changes to the Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201, which disclaims responsibility for statements, whether of fact or opinion, made by contributors. Composed and printed by The Sheridan Press, Hanover, Pennsylvania 17331.

Editor's Corner

In this special issue we welcome guest editor Elaine G. Breslaw, professor of history at Morgan State, Benjamin Quarles, emeritus professor of history at the same institution, and some of the many scholars who participated in the "Freedom Fettered" conference at Morgan State in October 1987.

Cover design: Charles Willson Peale, "Yarrow Mamout." Oil painting, 1819. Mamout, a former slave and Muslim, posed for this portrait when more than one-hundred years old. (Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

Guest Editor's Foreword

ELAINE G. BRESLAW

These six essays exploring the Maryland black experience from 1776 to 1810 were originally presented at a conference hosted by Morgan State University and the Maryland Historical Society in 1987 in celebration of the bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution: "Freedom Fettered: Blacks and the Constitutional Era in Maryland 1776–1810." In this attempt to understand the relationship of the African-American population to constitutional developments of the time, we choose to limit the studies to the years between the institution of Maryland's first state constitution, as well as the Declaration of Independence, and the year that historians have traditionally noted for the demise of voting privileges for free blacks in the state, 1810.

Very little is known about the structure of everyday life or the impact of constitutional and legal issues during that time on the African-American population in America generally and in Maryland in particular. Although a small state by today's standards as well as those of the constitutional era, Maryland's geographic, economic, racial, and ethnic variety is a fertile field for the beginning of such studies. The state reflects both the rural southern experience, with its dependence on slave labor, and the urban northern experience, where free blacks competed for work with immigrants and native white groups.

In spite of revolutionary rhetoric and the protections guaranteed under both state and federal constitutions, the period after 1783 became a time of worsening social, economic, and political conditions for the black population. For free African Americans a shift occurred in many states from free status with nearly full citizenship, to that quasi freedom John Hope Franklin described in *From Slavery to Freedom* (1947). For slaves in Maryland the revolution that at first promised so much ultimately led to a decline in economic opportunity and legal protection. These essays detail that decline and the reaction of the black community to its plight.

The research these authors have done—Lorena S. Walsh's study of the plantation work setting in particular—uniformly point to a more restricted life for slaves in the early republic. Nonetheless, opportunities for freedom existed. Robert L. Hall details the effects of the revolutionary impetus on Baltimore slaves who actively resisted their conditions by escaping to freedom. In various abolition societies, whites worked through the legal system on behalf of slaves. Kenneth L. Carroll and Anita A. Guy describe the uneven results. Within black communities, both free and slave, the authors also note the vitality of family and social life, of intellectual effort, and organized social activity. Free African Americans like Eastern

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Professor Breslaw, organizer of the "Freedom Fettered" Conference, recently published a scholarly edition of the *Records of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis, Maryland, 1745–1756* (Illinois, 1988).

Shoreman Thomas Carney, whom William L. Calderhead examines, took part in the revolutionary military effort. Another freeman, the astronomer-farmer Benjamin Banneker, left behind evidence that archeologist Rober J. Hurry has used in analyzing the quality of everyday life for an African American.

The conference that sparked the preparation of these essays was co-sponsored by the Morgan State University History Department, the Maryland Historical Society, the Maryland State Archives, and the Maryland Commission on Afro-American History and Culture. The Maryland Humanities Council and the National Endowment for the Humanities supported the program with generous grants. Additional funds were provided by the Houghton Mifflin Company and the Morgan State University Foundation. Dr. Benjamin Quarles, Professor Emeritus of Morgan State University, kindly volunteered to prepare an introduction to this special issue.

"Freedom Fettered": Blacks in the Constitutional Era in Maryland, 1776–1810—An Introduction

BENJAMIN QUARLES

In recent decades especially the study of the black American past has become more inclusive, bringing to light a company of individuals and groups hitherto overlooked or shunted aside. These newer approaches to United States history tend to regard the black American as a mainstream figure rather than as a backwater offshoot and to argue that the role of African Americans—whether passive or active—has been integral to this country's history. Earlier, if and when blacks appeared in the history books, they were molded into the background and seldom seen on center stage.

This freshly-minted collection of essays covers one of the increasingly investigated time spans in black-American history—the approximately one-third of a century from the ratification of the United States Constitution to the War of 1812. It was a period in which seminal questions as to the nature and content of the Constitution loomed large, and among the key issues to be resolved were those relating to race and color. Was the constitution proslavery or antislavery, and what was the legal status, if any, of the free black population? To what extent were the free states obliged to respect the racial laws and customs of the slaveholding states?

Maryland during this period was far from being a microcosm of the other slave states. Its agricultural Eastern Shore and southern sections required a black labor base, in contrast to the predominantly industrial northern counties, where black workers were less needful and hence less numerous. A border state, Maryland had a more cosmopolitan outlook, a more tolerant attitude, than her sisters to the south. In Maryland the clashing concepts of slavery and freedom were deeper and more widespread than elsewhere below the Mason-Dixon line.

In late-eighteenth-century Maryland those who were opposed to slavery found ways to express their convictions. In 1777 Quaker groups admonished their members not to own slaves, and in 1789 they played the dominant role in organizing the Maryland Society for the Abolition of Slavery. Bent on founding a school for blacks, this organization in 1789 established the African Academy in Baltimore in a building expressly constructed for that purpose. Clusters of antislavery societies were also found on the Eastern Shore and in the western counties. Their opposition to slavery was based largely on the doctrine that every human being was born free and should be equal in exercising political and legal rights.

Whatever their location, antislavery organizations met with strong local opposi-

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Emeritus Professor of History at Morgan State University, Dr. Quarles has published books on African Americans in the Revolution, the abolition movement, and the Civil War. His most recent publication, *Black Mosaic* (Massachusetts, 1988), collects some of his most important essays.

tion. The Maryland General Assembly routinely turned down their freedom petitions. Abolitionists had to endure ridicule and social ostracism in their communities, and they faced threats of bodily harm which, on occasion, were carried out. Small wonder then that some of the abolitionist organizations were short-lived; the Maryland Society for the Abolition of Slavery, for example, lasted only ten years.

In Maryland massive white opposition to the ideas of freedom and equality for blacks was variously motivated. It included the dominant white viewpoint that blacks as a race were genetically inferior and hence destined for subordinate status. These whites held that coming from a superior stock, they were ordained to rule over non-whites. Viewing history from the top down, they felt that black subordination was a sacred cause. In fine, they viewed slavery, and the control of blacks who were not slaves, as an inevitable consequence of a mandated white dominance. Maryland slaveholders made relatively little use of the biblical justification of slavery—that it had been practiced and hence sanctioned by the Hebrew fathers of the Old Testament.

In Maryland, as elsewhere in the South, slaves were regarded as property, and since the ownership of property was regarded as a necessary attribute of liberty, any attack on slavery was an infringement on the owner's exercise of freedom. Moreover, striking at slavery jeopardized the spirit of interstate comity and thus imperiled the unity of the new nation. A proslavery argument apparently not as widely used in Maryland as in the Lower South was the contention that the slaves were satisfied with their lot. Innately servile and submissive, docile and dependent, slaves belonged in slavery because it was their natural condition, and they knew it. Viewing their masters as father figures, these "Sambo" stereotypes wept when "ole massa" was lowered into the cold, cold ground.

The attitude of most white masters toward "free-negroism" was a mixture of fear and hostility. They regarded the free black as an anomaly, a third element in a society meant for two. A free black was a contradiction of the divine-right-white theory. Whites in general feared that free blacks would have a demoralizing effect on slavery as an institution, their presence making for slave unrest and discontent. The close relationships that developed between slaves and free blacks were disturbing to some of slavery's defenders. To the master class free blacks were also a problem because they were so numerous, the census of 1810 showing Maryland to have more free blacks than any other state in the nation. Hence in addition to being denied civil and political rights on a state-wide basis, the free black population also faced county restrictions as to the occupations they might aspire to, the jobs they might seek.

Slaves and free blacks had expected better treatment. In colonial and pre-Revolutionary War Maryland a more tolerant attitude toward blacks had been customary, the slave codes having been less rigid and the legal status of both slave and free blacks having been more permissive. Paradoxically, however, the slogans of freedom and equality invoked by the Americans against England during the war had a marked effect on the unfree and the dispossessed on the home front. Their services needed in one way or another on land and sea, these underlings had played a part on the battle front. Hence the Revolutionary War had spawned a more freedom-conscious breed of blacks. To head them off, the white ruling class aban-

doned the more tolerant racial views of an earlier and quieter time. Thus by 1800, the turn of the century, Maryland committed itself more explicitly than ever before to slavery and to a subordinate role for the free black.

Blacks in Maryland were dismayed at being considered as outsiders, not part of the body politic. But by 1800 they had built up a new detemination to press on for what they regarded as their rights. They had faith in the future. Unlike their seventeenth-century forebears, they were at home in America, having made the transition from African to African American. Moreover they knew that if they wanted their freedom, they would have to fight for it. Ever crisis-oriented, they also knew that once free they would have to fight to retain their hard-won liberties. But they remained unshaken in their belief that revolutions never go backward and that not all whites were enemies.

The outbreak of the Revolutionary War had given them their golden opportunity, their services on the battlefronts too badly needed to be by-passed. The Maryland Line made use of blacks, slave and free, to perform military labor assignments. Blacks played a major role as skilled workers producing munitions, as axemen marching with the soldiers, and as laborers repairing the roads.

Alone among the Southern states, Maryland authorized slave enlistments. In October 1780 the assembly ordered that an able-bodied slave might be accepted as a recruit provided he had obtained his master's consent. Seven months later the legislature decreed that free blacks were subject to the draft. Maryland's navy frequently used blacks as pilots, black pilots having navigated in bay waters for decades. Some of these wartime pilots were slaves, and some were free Negroes hired by the state. Many wartime slaves tried to win their freedom by flight to the British, the Chesapeake Bay tributaries being particularly inviting to the escape-minded.

As a result of the war the Maryland slave population developed a political awareness, a fresh outlook on their lot. Whether rural or urban, whether employed in the shipbuilding industry, the ironworks, on the tobacco plantations, or as domestics, these blacks in bondage were bent on seeking any available possibility for self-assertion and expression. No matter how kindly disposed the master and mistress, these slaves were accurately described as "a troublesome property."

Slaves had many ways of demonstrating their non-cooperative attitudes. Among other patterns of resistance they might work slowly and inefficiently, feign illness or pregnancy, steal from their owner, destroy property, set buildings on fire or take to their heels. Numbered among these Maryland fugitives were those who dreaded the possibility of being sold to the Lower South, where allegedly the lot of the slave was much harsher. In their spirituals the slaves sounded notes of protest and warning, focusing in one on Maryland's renowned Carroll dynasty:

> You mought be Carroll from Carrollton
> Arrive here night afo' Lawd made creation,
> But you can't keep the World from moverin' around
> And not turn her back from the gaining ground.

Though not all slave protest sprang from a desire to be free, an impressive number of these expressions of discontent were based on a slave's determination to

become his or her own owner. An eighteenth-century black could not yet look for aid from an underground railroad, but this lack only heightened an already-risky venture. Indeed judging by the runaway slave advertisements in the Maryland newspapers, the number of black fugitives soared dramatically during the fifteen-year span following the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. (And the Maryland of a later decade would be the birthplace and site from which the two most famous of all escapees would make their getaways—the black history immortals, Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman.)

Like the slaves, free blacks had their share of grievances. They too were regarded as biologically inferior and hence a threat to public peace if not carefully controlled. Slaveholders looked upon them with hostility, viewing them as responsible for slave unrest and even insurrection. In the state's heavily slave-populated tobacco counties free blacks were regarded with more than ordinary trepidation.

Deeming free blacks as possible subversives, masters took precautionary steps. In most Maryland counties a non-slave black had to carry a "Certificate of Freedom," an official document bearing such particulars as the bearer's name, age, physical characteristics, and whether or not he or she had been born free or had been manumitted, and if a freed man, the name of the owner who had freed him. A free Negro who had no visible means of support could be sent to jail.

Free blacks did not stand as equals before the law. They could neither sue whites nor testify against them. Barred from voting, they were politically impotent. County governments excluded them from a variety of jobs and occupations. Court decisions and legislative enactments imposed restrictions on black apprentices that did not apply to their white counterparts.

The federal government contributed to racial discrimination. Congress in 1790 restricted naturalization to whites and in 1792 limited enrollment in the newly created militia to "each and every free, able-bodied white male citizen." This latter law bracketed women with blacks, encouraging, during this early period of nationhood, the passage of state laws, not only against Negroes, but also against women, propertyless white adults, white servants, and everyone under age twenty-one. Restrictive laws and practices, however, were far more wide-ranging and long-lasting for free blacks than for whites. In Maryland, as elsewhere in the antebellum South, free blacks could be characterized as "slaves without masters" (to borrow the title of Ira Berlin's perceptive, in-depth study) as they tried to make their way in the encircling gloom.

Facing the handicaps visited upon them, free blacks as a class sought to chart their own course, sensing that resourcefulness was a sine qua non for those determined to overcome. Buoyed by their faith in the future and hope for a new day, they were bent on pressing onward to the degree to which their abilities extended and limited opportunities permitted. Reflecting their increasing sense of self-worth, these Maryland turn-of-the-century free blacks, unlike their predecessors, gave themselves surnames, thus indicating a budding sense of family pride, of having roots.

In their own upward struggle free blacks forged ties with the slaves. Among Maryland blacks, particularly in Baltimore, an inclusive bond of togetherness cut across status lines. In some occupations the two groups worked side by side. More

often than not, a black church congregation was a mixture of slaves and free blacks (with the church services held under the watchful eye of the required white observer). These churches were the bastions of black education, reflecting the common belief of upwardly mobile blacks that schooling in the three Rs was the key that would open many doors.

Free blacks formed clubs and benevolent societies that pledged themselves to come to the assistance of those in want or in distress. Baltimore was one of the leading cities in the nation in the number of such organizations. Contributors to these self-help programs ranged from the widow's mite contingent to the more affluent, including the skilled artisans and such seafaring types as the boatsteerers, mates, and captains, plus a smattering of ship owners.

Their resources limited and their opportunities circumscribed, free blacks knew the value of working together, of pooling their limited resources. They knew from experience that in union there was strength. This did not preclude the possibility, however, that an individual black might attract attention as a pathbreaker or an achiever. Fitting this exceptional-person role during this early period were Thomas Brown, Joshua Johnson (or Johnston), and Benjamin Banneker.

In 1792 Thomas Brown of Baltimore sought election to the Maryland House of Delegates, addressing a public letter "To the virtuous, free and independent electors of Baltimore-Town." To support his candidacy, Brown asserted that he had "been a zealous patriot in the cause of liberty during the late struggle for freedom and independence, not fearing prison or death for my country's cause." Brown lost his bid for a seat in the assembly but he may well have been the first black person to run for public office in Maryland, if not in the new nation.

An undisputable black first in his field, Joshua Johnson was a self-taught portrait painter. Listed as a "Free Householder of Colour" in the Baltimore city directories at the turn of the century, Johnson was born in Santo Domingo, from which he and his master had fled in 1793 following the outbreak of revolution there. Impressed by Johnson's paintings, Baltimore's well-to-do merchant class commissioned him to do family and individual portraits, over eighty of which are now traceable to him. A number of these are held by the Maryland Historical Society.

Benjamin Banneker, America's first black scientist of note, was a reputable mathematician and astronomer ("the man who loved the stars"). In 1791 he published the first of a series of yearly almanacs, sending a pre-publication copy to Thomas Jefferson, along with a letter courteously criticizing him for writing the Declaration of Independence while himself holding slaves. Jefferson, then secretary of state, sent a gracious, acknowledgement of the almanac and letter. A year later he recommended to George Washington that Banneker be appointed to serve on a presidential commission to lay out the projected national capital.

Blacks of lesser and local renown also played their part as role models in raising the level of aspiration among the rank and file. A measure of additional encouragement came from white well-wishers and church workers. In Maryland such sources of hope were needed more than ever after 1810, with black freedom becoming increasingly fettered. As a whole, however, free blacks of this period were of a mind to press on, faith in the future their guiding light. They believed that the egalitarian mood of the Revolutionary War period would never be wholly lost and

that America would eventually right itself and do justice to them and to the high principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the preamble to the Constitution.

The articles that follow are in the best tradition of scholarly endeavor, their style restrained and sober, their judgments grounded in objectivity, their conclusions carefully considered. Their authors furnish us with new versions (if not new visions) of a pivotal period in Maryland history, furnishing added evidence that the African-American role in Maryland's past, as in the nation's history, is deeply rooted, richly endowed, and imperishably vibrant.

Slave Resistance in Baltimore City and County, 1747–1790

ROBERT L. HALL

Although Benjamin Banneker, the nation's first African-American man of science, was born free in Baltimore County on 9 November 1731, his father and grandfather had been imported as slaves from Africa. Many other African Americans in Maryland lived, as Banneker himself put it in a 1791 letter to Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, "under that state of tyrannical thraldom, and inhuman captivity, to which many of my brethren are doomed."[1] In 1790 Baltimore County ranked fourth among Maryland's nineteen counties in the number of slaves, having 7,132 (which constituted 6.9 percent of the state's 103,000 slaves).[2] Slaves made up 23.1 percent of the county's total inhabitants. In the same year there were 927 free African Americans in the county, Banneker among them.[3] In 1820, fourteen years after Banneker's death, slaves still greatly outnumbered free African Americans in Baltimore County and constituted 20 percent of the county's total population.[4]

The aim of this essay is to enhance our understanding of the lives of Banneker's enslaved, African-American contemporaries in the greater Baltimore area. Since few eighteenth-century slaves anywhere in North America produced autobiographical narratives comparable to those written by such nineteenth-century Maryland fugitives as Frederick Douglass (Talbot County and Baltimore City) or James William Charles Pennington (born James Pembroke in Queen Anne's County and raised partly in Washington County), descriptions of slaves were usually filtered through the perceptions of white slaveholders or travelers.[5] The 171 newspaper advertisements for runaway slaves published in the Baltimore *Maryland Journal and Advertiser* and the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette* between 1747 and 1790 make no exception; they, too, recorded mainly the perceptions of white slaveholders.[6] Runaway ads, moreover, almost certainly dealt with only a small proportion of those resisting bondage. Yet the runaway notices that slaveholders placed not only offered detailed information, but also, as Judith Kelleher Schafer has argued, were "the most objective advertisement concerning slaves" because "the owner had nothing to sell; he wanted to furnish an accurate description of the fugitive so that he or she could be easily identified and returned."[7]

The historical value of newspaper advertisements for runaway slaves has been recognized for a long time. Beginning not later than 1916 with a relatively unadorned compilation in the first volume of Carter G. Woodson's *Journal of Negro*

Dr. Hall, assistant professor of history and Afro-American Studies at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, is co-editor of *Holding on to the Land and the Lord: Kinship, Ritual, Land Tenure and Social Policy in the Rural South* (Georgia, 1982).

History ("Eighteenth Century Slaves as Advertized by Their Masters"), these records of individual and group resistance to bondage have been known and occasionally utilized in reconstructing American social history.[8] In the 1940s Lorenzo J. Greene, a black historian associated with Woodson, thoughtfully analyzed runaway advertisements in two more publications.[9] Further analysis of such ads was sporadic until the late 1960s and early 1970s when, as the pace of contemporary black resistance and activism intensified, historians redoubled their efforts to find the roots of black activism.[10] Several scholars found these roots in resistance to, and especially flight from, slavery. W. E. B. Du Bois believed that the primary manifestation of black revolt was the running away of slaves. As Peter H. Wood has remarked, "no single act of self-assertion was more significant among slaves or more disconcerting among whites, than that of running away."[11] Lathan Windley has provided a convenient compilation of some of the raw materials dealing with runaways.[12] Although I will shortly let the advertisements speak, it probably does not suffice to say, as Windley did, that they "speak for themselves."[13]

What meanings do these raw materials contain? What do they reveal about the perceptions of slaveholders and of slaves? The 171 advertisements for runaway slaves escaping Baltimore City and County between 1747 and 1790 contain information about 182 slaves and provide suggestive and rich insights into such topics as the destinations and motivations of the fugitives, their personalities and occupational skills, their family ties, and their literacy. Other kinds of data also routinely found in these sources include the fugitives' names,[14] approximate ages, genders, heights, body builds, counties or places of origin, dates of escape, the amounts of reward offered, and, almost invariably, the kinds of clothes the runaways wore or carried with them when they ran off. Less routinely, but still with enough frequency to be of interest, the ads describe the occupational skills,[15] speech patterns, physical markings, and even hairstyles of the fugitives. Because few ads mention the runaways' marital status, notices tell us little about the effects of bondage on slave family life, particularly the possible relationship between marital status and escape.[16] Not unexpectedly, one detects seasonal variation in the frequency of running away, with bulges during the spring and summer months and a noticeable decline during the winter. One thing is certain: Baltimore County slaveholders who advertised for their runaway slaves clearly did not think all Negroes looked alike.

Runaways were overwhelmingly young and male. Roughly 84 percent of the 181 runaways in the Baltimore area for whom gender was indicated were male.[17] Ages were indicated for 112 of the 152 males (or 73.7 percent) and for twenty of twenty-nine females (69 percent). About 43.7 percent of the male runaways and 35 percent of the females were between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four when the advertisements were printed, and 75.8 percent of the male fugitives and 60 percent of the females were between the ages of fifteen and thirty-four. Table 1 summarizes the characteristics of the fugitives by age and gender.

Runaway advertisements complement other sources of information about the overseas slave trade to Maryland and about the African origins of the slaves who fled the Baltimore area. Expansion of Maryland's slave population began in the 1650s "with an abrupt acceleration in the middle 1670s."[18] Before the 1680s most slave immigrants were probably secured from Dutch merchants, and many of them

TABLE 1.
Runaway Slaves from the Baltimore Area by Age and Gender, 1745–1790

	Male		Female	
Age	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
under 10	(two children of unknown gender)			
10–14	2	1.7	1	5.0
15–19	15	13.3	4	20.0
20–24	34	30.4	3	15.0
25–29	21	18.8	1	5.0
30–34	15	13.3	4	20.0
35–39	9	8.0	5	25.0
40–44	9	8.0	1	5.0
45–49	3	2.7	1	5.0
50 & over	4	3.6	0	0.0
	112	100.0 (rounded)	20	100.0

SOURCES: Newspaper advertisements for runaway slaves in *Maryland Journal* and *Maryland Gazette* published between 1747 and 1790.

had been transshipped from the West Indies. But by the 1690s, the decade in which Benjamin Banneker's African grandfather was imported, most of Maryland's involuntary, black immigrants were probably being imported directly from Africa with no seasoning in the islands.

A review of population estimates for Maryland from 1704 to the first United States census in 1790 points to the need for further knowledge about a critical period in the growth of Maryland's black population. In 1708 Governor Seymour reported that a considerable number of the 4,657 slaves in Maryland had come from "Gambo and the Gold Coast."[19] Although in 1710 the 7,935 Maryland blacks constituted only 18.7 percent of the colony's total population, the black share in 1719 had climbed to 31.3 percent. While Maryland's white population increased 58.1 percent between 1710 and 1719, its black population experienced a net increase of 17,065, a steep 215.1 percent growth in nine years. Such a rise in black population must have been caused by a massive upswing in the number of African slaves imported into the colony. Unfortunately, few records for the period from 1709 to 1729 have survived, and "no meaningful reconstruction of slave imports is possible."[20]

According to Darold D. Wax, approximately 1,330 slaves were known to have entered Maryland between 1720 and 1749. The three "New Negroe Men," George, Dick, and Frank, who ran away from Colonel Tayloe's mine bank near Patapsco Falls on 21 May 1753, had probably been among them.[21] "New Negroe" and "Salt Water Negro" were terms applied to blacks shipped from abroad. The term "country-born" was used to describe slaves born on the North American mainland.[22] For the majority of the 182 fugitives no place of birth was given, but among the 22 percent whose places of birth were indicated, twenty-four were born somewhere in North America, one in Jamaica, and sixteen somewhere in Africa. African-born slaves were described variously in the advertisements as "New Ne-

groe," "salt water," "African," or "Guinea Negro," and one hailed from "the Hebo country."

For the period from 1750 to 1773 an estimated 6,841 slaves entered Maryland with more than 90 percent arriving directly from Africa. One of them was undoubtedly Jemmy, who ran away from Stephen Onion's ironworks in Baltimore County about the middle of June 1753. Benjamin Walsh, who signed the advertisement, described Jemmy as

> about 5 Feet 6 Inches high, of a Yellowish Complexion, pretty much Pock fretten, has been in the Country about 16 months, talks very little English, and has been the most Part of the said time cutting cord Wood; I am doubtful whether he can explain or even express his owner's name.[23]

Caesar, who fled the Baltimore Iron Works on the Patapsco in 1754, was another "New Negro Man" and was described by Richard Croxall as "very tall, and can speak but a few words of English." Cato, a five-foot-two-inch-tall adult African who fled in June 1778, bore unmistakable ritual marks from his initiation in Africa. "His face is marked," wrote his owner, John Brice, "as is customary with those of Africa, from whence he came when a boy."[24] As late as April 1786, three years after Maryland had outlawed the overseas slave trade, an occasional African-born slave like the twenty-eight-year-old Tom, who was the property of James Cheston and had run away from William Young of Baltimore Town, appeared in an advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette*.

The preponderance of slaves reaching Maryland directly from Africa testified to the importance of the trans-Atlantic slave trade in supplying a labor force in the eighteenth century. Buyers seem to have preferred "New Negroes" to slaves "seasoned" in the West Indies. Only one slave in the sample of Baltimore-area runaways was either born in or shipped from the West Indies. One of the major reasons for this distaste for "seasoned" blacks was the widespread and not entirely unfounded suspicion that wily West Indian planters were palming off "rogues" and incorrigible rebels on unsuspecting mainland slave buyers. Despite the overwhelming preference for slaves direct from Africa, "slaves from Central Africa, generally designated as 'Angola,' were held in low repute in the Chesapeake colonies."[25] Chesapeake planters seem to have preferred Africans from Senegambia and the Gold Coast. According to the historians Curtin, Feierman, Thompson, and Vansina, eighteenth-century slaves passing through (not coming from) Senegambia "came from the far interior and were largely Mande in culture."[26] To the extent that this surmise is true, Americanists attempting to understand the cultural baggage African immigrant workers brought to the colonial Chesapeake area would do well to immerse themselves in the ethnographic and travel literature that discusses the peoples the anthropologist George Peter Murdock referred to as the "Nuclear Mande."[27]

To say that the majority of Maryland's black immigrants during the eighteenth century were born in Africa is not, however, to say that the majority of the state's slave population was African-born. On the contrary, Allan Kulikoff and other recent students of the colonial Chesapeake region have argued that black populations in the upper South crossed the threshold of self-reproduction as early as the 1720s

and 1730s, something that happened several decades later in the South Carolina and Georgia low country serviced by the slave-trading port of Charleston.[28] Thus it is not surprising that the majority of the 171 runaway advertisements I have examined either make no mention of the fugitives' place of birth or describe them as "country-born."

Because such scholars as Stanley L. Engerman, David L. Eltis, and Richard H. Steckel have studied slave heights as possible clues to the nutritional status of black populations in Africa and the Western Hemisphere, I have also calculated the average heights of the slaves mentioned in the runaway advertisements.[29] Approximate height was indicated in feet and inches for 126 of the Baltimore-area fugitives (69.2 percent of the runaways discussed in this paper). In a few additional instances slaves were described more vaguely as "short, thick" or "short and well set."[30] Males twenty-one years old or older ranged from Will, who was thirty years old and five feet tall when he ran from George M'Candless in 1785, to Scipio, who, at six feet, two or three inches, was the tallest runaway of either gender in our sample (he ran from Richard Owings, who lived in Baltimore County near Westminster in Frederick County in 1790).[31] Although height was indicated for only nine of the sixteen African-born male runaways in the sample, Africans—averaging five feet, six inches—were slightly shorter than average American-born runaways (the sixteen country-born males averaged five feet, eight inches). The average height for the 8,978 adult males contained in a sample drawn from the coastwise shipping manifests of Mobile and New Orleans by Marilyn Coopersmith was five feet, seven inches.[32]

In many instances slaveholders indicated where they thought their runaway slaves were headed. During the Revolutionary War some fugitives sought British army lines. In 1779 Walter Wyle, who lived near Joseph Sutton's tavern in Baltimore County, suspected that his Tom "will get to the English if he can." Likewise, in August of the same year, Abraham Risteau suspected that the forty-year-old Jack "will (as he has before) attempt to get to the British army."[33] Both before and after the American Revolution, slaves born and raised in other counties or states were likely to return to their birthplaces as was Jack, "a Country born, middle aged Fellow" who ran from the Baltimore Iron Works on 23 July 1748. Richard Croxall said Jack "was brought up in Dorchester County, and 'tis likely will make that Way." In 1790, Jim, a twenty-six-year-old slave, six foot tall, ran away from Thomas Phillips near Captain Allen's mill about twenty miles from Baltimore on the Frederick Road. Since Jim "was formerly the property of Mr. John Davige and Mr. Wilkings, near Annapolis," Phillips believed that the fugitive "probably will make that Way." Similarly, when fifty-five-year-old Mingo ran from Aquila Hall of the Forks of Gunpowder River in Baltimore County in May of 1787 he was "supposed to have gone towards Wilmington, where he has a wife living with Mr. Charles Croxall, near that place."[34]

Although this paper emphasizes slaves fleeing from Baltimore Town and Baltimore County, there is evidence that many of the escapees may literally have passed hosts of others headed toward Baltimore. Some freedom-seekers made Baltimore their destination; others used it as a way station to Pennsylvania. A good many masters in outlying counties suspected that their runaways were headed for Balti-

more, where they might either gain passage on a sailing vessel or attempt to pass for free. In 1780 Elizabeth Kenner of Northumberland County, Virginia, sought the return of John Wiggins, a mulatto slave carpenter and sawyer. Kenner thought that Wiggins had gotten aboard John Turberville's vessel headed for Baltimore where "I suppose [he] intends to pass as a freeman." Thomas A. Reeder's "country born" waiter, Jerry, who got away from him in Anne Arundel County in November of 1781, was "well acquainted with Annapolis and Baltimore-town." Towerhill, who ran away from George Plater of St. Mary's County in 1786, "had eloped last fall, and was taken up in Baltimore, and then confined in jail; it is probable he may attempt to get to Baltimore again." Other slaves suspected of running toward Baltimore included Will Primus, a tall, slender man in his early twenties, who had "been seen about the neighbourhood of Annapolis within these three weeks, but it is probable he has by this time gone further, perhaps to Baltimore, as he has some acquaintances there"; Sam (alias Samuel Johnson, James Willis, and Samuel Perkins) who escaped from Peregrine Thorn of Charles County in 1785; Matthew, who ran from Basil Edelen of Prince George's County in 1785; Tony, who ran from Brice T. B. Worthington near Annapolis in 1786 and would probably "attempt to get to Baltimore and pass as a free man, from his colour"; George, a Charles County fugitive who was presumed to be again headed for Baltimore; and Jacob, who escaped in 1787 from William Johnson of Calvert County and was expected to "endeavour to get employ on board some vessel to Baltimore-town, as he is well acquainted in that town."[35] Numerous other examples could be cited.

Prominent among the traits frequently noted in runaway advertisements was the fugitives' speaking ability. As already indicated, those born in Africa often spoke little or very halting English. It is unclear whether Sue, the forty-five-year-old woman brought from South Carolina to Halifax, Virginia, to Baltimore Town, was born in Africa, but her owner, Samuel Worthington, said she "talks something after the Guinea dialect, and can read a little English." Others, such as Seth, who ran from Patrick Brannan's Baltimore County Free School in 1757, and Peter who ran from Bush River furnace in Baltimore County in 1762, were described as speaking "good English." A fugitive's literacy would usually be noted in advertisements. Mike, a twenty-four-year-old slave, ran from Peter Carroll, living near Joppa in 1762; "He can read," reported Carroll, "and, I believe, write a little." Peg, who ran from Benjamin Eaglestone at Patapsco Neck in 1777, was "very talkative, and can spell a little, which she is very fond of shewing."[36]

Any distinctive occupational skill or other talent possessed by a fugitive also made an appearance in runaway advertisements. The previously mentioned Seth, who spoke "good English," was also "a very great rogue, being well skilled in breaking Locks and Doors; when he is tied with a Cord he cuts it with his Teeth, so that a Prison can scarcely hold him." Jason, who ran away from Luke Trotten of Patapsco Neck in 1763, was expected to "endeavor to pass for a Sailor, as he has been for some Time by Water." Several runaways such as Dick, who ran away in 1764, and Simon, who ran from Charles Towson near Northampton furnace in 1779, were blacksmiths by trade. In 1789 Gustus ran from J. Carvell Hall, commander of a revolutionary militia company, with money and "a very extensive

SIX POUNDS REWARD.

RAN away from the Subſcriber, living near the Town of *Joppa*, in *Baltimore* County, in *May* laſt, a luſty well-ſet Mulatto Slave named *Mike* (but it is probable he will change it); he is about 24 Years of Age, has a large Face, a flat Noſe, wide Mouth, and much reſembles an *Indian* in Colour. He can read, and, I believe, write a little. His Apparel cannot be well deſcribed, as he had many Confederates in the Neighbourhood, who may have furniſhed him with Cloaths.

Whoever takes up the ſaid Runaway, and brings him home, ſhall have Four Pounds Reward, if taken in the County; and if taken at a greater Diſtance, and ſecured in any Goal, ſo that his Maſter may get him again, ſhall have Six Pounds Reward, paid by PETER CARROLL.

All Maſters of Veſſels are forbid to take him off at their Peril.

FIGURE 1. A typical runaway advertisement, this one from the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, 15 July 1762.

Acquaintance (particularly about Baltimore-Town)." He was also "very expert about Horses, and has always been accustomed to drive a Carriage."[37] Musically talented fugitives were not rare. Will, who ran from Baltimore's David Rees about 10 June 1782, was a musician who "plays well on the violin." He was one of six fugitives noteworthy for playing the violin or fiddle.[38]

The typical runaway advertisement contained elaborately detailed descriptions of slave clothing that usually began with the phrase "Had on when he went away. . . ."[39] The advertisement for Charles, who ran in 1763 from Nicholas Darnall who lived near the great falls of the Gunpowder, read:

> Had on when he went away, an Osnabrig Shirt, a Cotton Jacket, without Sleeves, patch'd with blue cloth before, a Pair of long Brown-roll Trowsers, Negro Shoes, and an old Castor Hat. He likewise took with him, a Cotton Jacket, a brown Cloth Ditto without Sleeves, half-worn leather Breeches, and two Blankets, one of strip'd Matchcoat, the other plain.[40]

Advertisers for runaway slaves also precisely described the identifying physical traits or marks of the fugitives. In 1789 polydactylism, a genetically transmitted trait, made Hannah easier to identify. "A short black well set negro woman" who was about twenty-seven years old and had run away from Ezekiel Hopkins in Baltimore County, she had "six toes on each foot."[41]

Although some of the physical markings were ritual scarification done in Africa or birth defects, most of the others resulted from work-related injuries or brutal

whippings. Missing or misshapen fingers or limbs were common. Harry, a thirty-year-old who had run away from John Cockey in Baltimore Town in 1789, had "lost the fire Finger of his right Hand, close to the Hand, by a Cider-Mill." Jim, who at six feet towered over most of his fellow slaves when he ran away from Thomas Phillips in 1790, had a left little finger that was "somewhat crooked, by the Cut of a Reaping-Hook." Deliberate whippings left other scars. According to a 1772 ad, a badly scarred carpenter and joiner who went by the name of Charles Harding had been "unmercifully whipped from his Neck to his Knees, which he says was by his former Master." Noting that his twenty-six-year-old fugitive, Anthony, "was of late the property of Colonel Robert Ballard, of Baltimore-Town," Samuel Lawrence, who lived near Little Pipe Creek, indicated that "he has some knots or welts on his breast and near his neck supposed to be occasioned by whipping." A whipping on 28 July 1783, was probably what inspired twenty-two-year-old Peter to run away from Robuck Lynch on the following night.[42]

Although the marital status of fugitives was seldom mentioned, at least one married couple fled together. On 5 June 1783, Sam, about forty-five years old, and Hagar, about thirty-five, ran away from Thomas Todd, who lived in Patapsco Neck in Baltimore County. "These Negroes," said Todd in his advertisement, "are Man and Wife, supposed to have Thirty or Forty Dollars and perhaps may pass for free Negroes." Masters advertising for fugitives recognized that slaves sometimes ran away to reunite with family members. In seeking the return of Allick, a stout, thirty-year-old biscuit baker who had probably secured a forged pass as a freeman, Samuel Smith and William Patterson acknowledged that "he had a Negro woman for a wife, named Barbara, belonging to Mr. Job Smith, who also ran away some considerable time since, and they may probably have got together." Evidence of family ties of a different sort is found in the 1783 advertisement for Nace, Aaron, and Moses, three brothers who ran away together from Baltimore County's Benjamin Nicholson. The ambidextrous Nace, the oldest of the three at twenty-five, knew "something of coopering." Moses, the youngest brother, was "a tolerable shoemaker," and all three could read. In August 1783 Esther, a thirty-four-year-old woman, ran away from Thomas Yates's house in Baltimore. The owner was informed that "she has a Daughter living in Berkley County, Virginia, and very probably may attempt going that way."[43]

A significant aspect of the resurgence of interest in African-American resistance that coincided with the fortieth anniversary of the 1943 publication of Herbert Aptheker's pioneering *American Negro Slave Revolts* is an intense desire to comprehend the extent and forms of black female resistance to slavery.[44] The twenty-nine female fugitives included in this essay constitute 15.9 percent of all the runaways studied. Among the youngest of any of the runaways in the sample (excepting two children under two years of age carried off by their mothers) was a fourteen-year-old woman named Hagar, who ran from her owner William Payne in 1766. She was, according to Payne,

> of a brownish Complexion, [with] remarkable long Fingers and Toes, has a Scar under one of her Breast, supposed to be got by Whipping: Had on when she went away, an Osnabrig Shift and Petticoat very much Patch's, and may now be very ragged, an Iron Collar about her Neck, which it is probable she has got off, as it was very poorly riveted. She is supposed to be harbour'd in some Negro Quarter, as her

> Father and Mother Encourages her in Elopements, under the Pretence that she is ill used at Home.[45]

One of the oldest women to flee bondage was Sue, who had been taken from South Carolina to Halifax, Virginia, before being brought to Baltimore Town early in 1780. She was forty-five years old when she ran from Samuel Worthington in 1783. Besides Bet and Hannah, the two slave women who ran away with babies under two years old, is the remarkable Margaret Grant, a twenty-year-old who appeared "to be big with child" when she fled. George Ashman, Jr., her owner, who lived near the Gunpowder meetinghouse, said she was "very short and well set, and . . . can read and write and cook, and can wash and iron very well; she says she was born in Charles-Town, in South-Carolina, and has been in Philadelphia and the island of Granada."[46]

The proximity of Pennsylvania, with its pockets of strong abolitionist sentiment, made Baltimore-area slaveholders insecure about their human property. As early as 1785, James Hutchings, a Baltimore slaveholder, complained that his Ned, who he believed had joined forces with "that long and old offender, and rape-committing villain, known by the name of Smith's Sam," had "taken asylum in the Pennsylvania State, under the cover of a law, fraught with great mischiefs and inconvenience to her sister States."[47] By 1820 many escaped slaves from Maryland and Virginia lived in nearby Pennsylvania. At least one of them, who called himself John Read, had been a slave of Samuel Griffith in Baltimore. Believed to have been the grandson of Muria, an African queen, Read had escaped Griffith in 1817 or 1818 and settled in Kennet Township, (near West Chester), where he married, fathered a child, and lived as a freeman.

On 14 December 1820 Griffith, having discovered the whereabouts of his fugitive, visited Read's home accompanied by his overseer, Peter Shipley, and two other men. When the gang tried to enter forcefully, Read shouted that he'd kill them if they came in. Then when the four white men tore the door off the hinges, Read yelled, "It is life for life." One of the men shouted, "Rush in, Shipley—damn the Negro, he won't shoot," but shoot he did. Griffith was killed, and Read clubbed Shipley so badly with the butt of a gun that the overseer died eight days later. The other two would-be captors fled the scene uninjured. The fugitive was tried on a charge of manslaughter and found not guilty by a jury, but, with the prosecutor in the first trial sitting as judge in a second trial, Read was sentenced to nine years in prison for Shipley's death. The historian Philip S. Foner has called this incident "one of the most important, if neglected, episodes in the history of black resistance to reenslavement."[48] The episode is also part of the story of the slaves' resistance to bondage in the Baltimore area during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. This essay is only a first step in beginning to tell that story.

Notes

1. Benjamin Banneker to Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, 19 August 1791, in Benjamin Brawley, ed., *Early Negro American Writers: Selections with Biographical and Critical Introductions* (1935; repr., New York: Dover Publications, 1970), pp. 79–83.

2. The three counties in 1790 having more slaves than Baltimore County were Prince George's with 11,176; Anne Arundel with 10,130; and Charles with 10,085.

3. Baltimore County's 927 free blacks constituted 2.4 percent of the county's inhabitants and 11.6 percent of all Maryland free blacks enumerated in the first federal census. See Tables 1.6 and 1.7 in Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland During the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 12–13.

4. Neal A. Brooks and Eric G. Rockel, *A History of Baltimore County* (Towson, Md.: Friends of the Towson Library, 1979), p. 227.

5. In 1845 Frederick Douglass published his well-known *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*. A detailed and interesting sketch of Pennington, including a description of his harrowing escape from bondage at the age of about twenty, is found in Richard J. M. Blackett, *Beating Against the Barriers: Biographical Essays in Nineteenth Century Afro-American History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), pp. 1–84. Pennington's autobiographical narrative, *The Fugitive Blacksmith or, Events in the History of James W. C. Pennington . . . formerly a Slave in the State of Maryland, United States,* was published in London in 1849.

6. Hereinafter the Baltimore *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* will be cited as *Maryland Journal* and the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette* as *Maryland Gazette.*

7. Judith Kelleher Schafer, "New Orleans Slavery in 1850 as Seen in Advertisements," *Journal of Southern History,* 48 (1981): 42, n. 39. As incredible as it may seem to us today, there was a time when historians had to be urged to use newspapers as sources for the history of slavery. William Thomas Laprade, in "Newspapers as a Source for the History of American Slavery," *South Atlantic Quarterly,* 9 (1910): 230–38, argued that previous writers on slavery had depended on biased travel narratives. See John David Smith's book on the historiography of slavery through Ulrich B. Phillips, *An Old Creed for the New South: Proslavery Ideology and Historiography, 1865–1918* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985) One of the most recent and most useful treatments of colonial runaway slaves is Marvin L. Michael Kay and Lorin Lee Cary, "Slave Runaways in Colonial North Carolina, 1748–1775," *North Carolina Historical Review,* 63 (1986): 1–39. Kay and Cary analyzed the characteristics of 134 runaways and compared them with runaways from South Carolina and Virginia during the same period. Kay and Cary argued that "newspapers are the richest source of information on runaways in every colony" (p. 6).

8. Woodson's yeoman work in collecting, preserving, and publishing what he termed "the records of the race" is nicely detailed in Jacqueline Goggin, "Carter G. Woodson and the Collection of Source Materials for Afro-American History," *American Archivist,* 48 (1985): 261–71; Goggin, "Countering White Racist Historiography: Carter G. Woodson and the *Journal of Negro History,*" *Journal of Negro History,* 68 (1983): 344–75; and Darlene Clark Hine, "Carter G. Woodson, White Philanthropy and Negro Historiography," *The History Teacher,* 19 (1986): 405–25. See also Goggin, "Carter G. Woodson and the Movement to Promote Black History" (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1984), and August Meier and Elliot M. Rudwick, "J. Franklin Jameson, Carter G. Woodson, and the Foundations of Black Historiography," *American Historical Review,* 89 (1984): 1005–15.

9. Lorenzo J. Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England* (1942; repr., New York: Atheneum, 1968), and Greene, "The New England Negro as Seen in Advertisements for Runaway Slaves," *Journal of Negro History,* 29 (1944): 125–46.

10. The fruits of this renewed interest in runaway slaves as part of the larger concern about patterns of slave resistance can be sampled in Gerald W. Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972); Elwood L. Bridner, Jr., "The Fugitive Slaves of Maryland," *Maryland Historical*

Magazine, 66 (1971): 33–50; Michael P. Johnson, "Runaway Slaves and Slave Communities in South Carolina, 1799–1830," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 38 (1981): 418–41; John D. Duncan, "Servitude and Slavery in Colonial South Carolina, 1670–1776" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 1971); Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974); Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade to Colonial South Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981); and Daniel E. Meaders, "South Carolina Fugitives as Viewed through Local Colonial Newspapers with Emphasis on Runaway Notices, 1732–1801," *Journal of Negro History,* 60 (1975): 288–319. See also, "Black Runaways," in Betty Wood, *Slavery in Colonial Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984), pp. 169–87, and Kay and Cary, "Slave Runaways in Colonial North Carolina, 1748–1775." For another approach to runaway slaves that does not rely on newspaper advertisements, see Charles H. Nichols, Jr., "The Case of William Grimes, the Runaway Slave," *William and Mary Quarterly* (3d ser.), 8 (1951): 556–58.

11. Wood, *Black Majority,* p. 239.

12. Windley analyzed advertisements for runaway slaves in "A Profile of Runaway Slaves in Virginia and South Carolina from 1730 through 1787" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1974).

13. Lathan A. Windley, *Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983), p. ix.

14. Although I have not done much with names in this pilot study, there is a richly suggestive literature on the social significance of African and Afro-American names. One of the pioneers in the systematic study of the names of black Americans, especially for the slavery era, was Newbell Niles Puckett. See Puckett, "Names of American Negro Slaves," in George Peter Murdock, ed., *Studies in the Science of Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), pp. 471–94, and Puckett, *Black Names in America: Origins and Usage* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1975). Two of the most recent and provocative studies of slave naming practices are John Inscoe, "Carolina Slave Names: An Index to Acculturation," *Journal of Southern History,* 49 (1983): 527–54, and Cheryll Ann Cody, "There Was No 'Absalom' on the Ball Plantations: Slave Naming Practices in the South Carolina Low Country, 1720–1865," *American Historical Review,* 92 (1987): 563–96.

15. Students of slavery disagree about the probable occupations of fugitives whose work was not listed in the advertisements. Kay and Cary counted all slaves listed without occupations as field hands ("Slave Runaways in Colonial North Carolina, 1748–1775," p. 8, n. 22).

16. Some of the general characteristics of colonial black families are discussed in Wood, *Black Majority,* chap. 5; Russell R. Menard, "The Maryland Slave Population, 1658–1730: A Demographic Profile of Blacks in Four Counties," *William and Mary Quarterly* (3d ser.), 32 (1975): 29–54; Mary Beth Norton et al., "The Afro-American Family in the Age of Revolution," in Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, eds., *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), pp. 175–91; and Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680–1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1986), pp. 352–80.

17. During the colonial period through 1775 78 to 82 percent of the runaways in South Carolina were male compared to 89 percent for North Carolina and Virginia. Between 7 April 1763 and the end of 1775, 87 percent of Georgia's runaway slaves were male (Wood, *Slavery in Colonial Georgia,* p. 172).

18. Darold D. Wax, "Black Immigrants: The Slave Trade in Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 73 (1978): 30–45.

19. Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1706–1708, 758, 760, reprinted in Elizabeth

Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* (4 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1930–1935), 4: p. 21.

20. Wax, "Black Immigrants," p. 32.

21. *Maryland Gazette,* 31 May 1753. A considerable number of the fugitives worked in area mine banks and ironworks. The leading expert on slave laborers in these industries in the Chesapeake region is Ronald L. Lewis. See Lewis, "Slavery on Chesapeake Iron Plantations Before the American Revolution," *Journal of Negro History,* 59 (1974): 242–54; Lewis, "The Use and Extent of Slave Labor in the Chesapeake Iron Industry: The Colonial Era," *Labor History,* 17 (1976): 388–405; and Lewis, *Coal, Iron, and Slaves: Industrial Slavery in Maryland and Virginia, 1715–1865* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979). See also Robert S. Starobin, "Disciplining Industrial Slaves in the Old South," *Journal of Negro History,* 53 (1968): 111–28 and Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970). Lewis found discontent and protest to have been chronic among slaves who worked coal and iron in Maryland and Virginia. More recently physical anthropologists have contributed to our understanding of the health of slave ironworkers. See, for example, J. Angel and J. Kelley, "Health Status of Colonial Iron-Worker Slaves," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology,* 60 (1983): 170–71.

22. The term "salt water Negro Man" is used in the advertisement for Solomon (*Maryland Journal,* 6 October 1778). For an example of the use of the term "country born," see *Maryland Gazette,* 31 May 1753.

23. *Maryland Gazette,* 4 October 1753. Walsh also placed an advertisement for Jemmy in the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* 6 December 1753. Some readers might presume that a "yellowish" complexion necessarily indicates both racial admixture and American origins, but such a conclusion ignores not only the wide variety of physical types found on the African continent since ancient times but also the considerable interbreeding among African populations that had taken place even before the beginning of the Atlantic slave trade.

24. *Maryland Gazette,* 22 August 1754. See also A. W. Reed, "The Speech of Negroes in Colonial America," *Journal of Negro History,* 24 (1939): 247–58. For Cato, see *Maryland Journal,* 30 June 1778.

25. Darold D. Wax, "Preferences for Slaves in Colonial America," *Journal of Negro History,* 58 (1973): 371–401.

26. Philip Curtin, Steven Feierman, Leonard Thompson, and Jan Vansina, *African History* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1978), p. 231.

27. George Peter Murdock, *Africa: Its Peoples and Their Culture History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959). See also P. E. H. Hair, "Bibliography of the Mende Language," *Sierra Leone Language Review,* 1 (1962).

28. Allan Kulikoff, "A 'Prolifick' People: Black Population Growth in the Chesapeake Colonies, 1700–1790," *Southern Studies,* 16 (1977): 396–424.

29. Trussell and Steckel found that female slaves born in the Caribbean were significantly taller than those newly arrived from Africa. U.S.-born slaves were taller still. See J. Trussell and Richard H. Steckel, "The Age of Slaves at Menarche and Their First Birth," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* 8 (1978): 477–505. Other available studies, G. Debian, "La nourriture des esclaves sur les plantations des Antilles Francaises aux xviie et xviiie siecles," *Caribbean Studies,* 4 (1964): 3–27; Stanley L. Engerman, "The Height of U.S. Slaves," *Local Population Studies,* 16 (1976): 45–50; David L. Eltis, "Nutritional Trends in Africa and the Americas: Heights of Africans, 1819–1839," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* 12 (1982): 453–75; Richard H. Steckel, "Slave Height Profiles from Coastwise Manifests," *Explorations in Economic History,* 16 (1979): 363–80; R. A. Margo and R. Steckel, "The Heights of American Slaves: New Evidence on Slave Nutrition and Health," *Social Science History,* 6 (1982): 516–38; and Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman,

"Secular Changes in American and British Stature and Nutrition," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* 14 (1983): 445–81.

30. Bob, who was about twenty years old when he ran from Robert Moore in 1783, was described as "a short, thick, full-faced Fellow" (*Maryland Journal,* 12 September 1783). Hannah, the polydactyl who fled Samuel Hopkins in 1789, was described as "a short black well-set negro woman" (*Maryland Gazette,* 14 May 1789).

31. *Maryland Journal,* 9 August 1785 and 6 April 1790. In 1790 George McCandless, Will's master, owned five slaves. See *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790* (Washington, D.C., 1907), p. 17 (hereinafter cited as *Heads of Families*).

32. The Coopersmith sample, as it is called by cliometricians, was drawn from the manifests of coastwise shipping housed in Record Group 36 in the National Archives and covering the years 1819 to 1860. Coopersmith used a technique that emphasized large manifests. Her sample contains the heights of 15,638 slaves (8,978 males and 6,660 females) drawn from 1,441 manifests from Mobile and New Orleans. The Coopersmith sample is described and summarized in Steckel, "Slave Height Profiles from Coastwise Manifests," especially p. 369.

33. *Maryland Journal,* 13 July and 24 August 1779.

34. *Maryland Gazette,* 27 July 1748, and *Maryland Journal,* 10 September 1790 and 15 May 1787. Aquila Hall also advertised for Charles, a nineteen-year-old man who ran away in May 1788, *Maryland Journal,* 29 May 1788. Hall had thirty-five slaves in his household in 1790 (*Heads of Families,* p. 32).

35. *Maryland Gazette,* 8 December 1780, 27 June 1782, 16 February 1786, 26 May 1785, 28 July 1785, 23 February 1786, 20 July 1786, 2 November 1786, and 1 February 1787.

36. *Maryland Journal,* 19 August 1783, and *Maryland Gazette,* 1 September 1757, 28 October 1762, and 15 July 1762 (Carroll also placed an advertisement for Mike in the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* 26 August 1762), and *Maryland Journal,* 5 February 1777.

37. *Maryland Gazette,* 1 September 1757, 1 December 1763, 29 November 1764, and 1 October 1779; and *Maryland Journal,* 28 July 1789.

38. Ben, although a shoemaker by trade, was described as "a good fiddler." Tom, who ran from Mr. Dulany's Plantation in the Fork of the Gunpowder, could "play on the fiddle." George (or Lot), who ran from John Cockey of Baltimore County in November 1779, was "a good fiddler, and very fond of playing on that instrument, and, what is remarkable, plays with his left hand." Joe, who escaped from the brig *Two-Sisters* on 5 March 1789, "took with him a fiddle" and Abram, a fourteen-year-old who ran in 1783 from Archibald Buchanan's plantation about twelve miles from Baltimore, "plays on the fiddle" (*Maryland Journal,* 6 October 1778, 10 November 1778, 16 November 1779, 13 March 1789, and 7 November 1783).

39. A more patient analysis and deeper knowledge than I possess of the terminology used to describe clothing in the eighteenth century would surely yield much enlightenment to economic historians. As an example, in a University of Chicago dissertation, "Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640–1860," Rolla Milton Tryon analyzed 863 newspapers advertisements for runaway servants and slaves in New Jersey between 1704 and 1779 using the following categories (pp. 91–92): (1) part of clothing designated as homemade, (2) none of clothing designated as homemade, (3) clothing made of buckskin, leather, or bearskin, (4) Osnaburg, and (5) Linsey-woolsey. I thank Franklin Mendels for bringing this material to my attention.

40. *Maryland Gazette,* 7 July 1763.

41. *Maryland Gazette,* 14 May 1789. Although polydactylism, is extremely rare, it

appears about six times more frequently among blacks than whites. See C. M. Woolf and N. C. Myrianthopoulos, "Polydactyly in American Negroes and Whites," *American Journal of Human Genetics,* 25 (1973): 397–404. Pompey, a "new negro man" who ran away from Alexander Garden, Jr., in South Carolina in August of 1752, was described as "a tall thin fellow and remarkable for having six toes upon one foot" (*South-Carolina Gazette,* 10 August 1752).

42. *Maryland Journal,* 1 September 1789, and 10 September 1790; *Maryland Gazette,* 16 July 1772; *Maryland Journal,* 12 October 1787 and 15 August 1783.

43. *Maryland Journal,* 10 June 1783, 22 January 1790, 18 July 1783, and 15 August 1783.

44. A seminal article by Darlene Clark Hine and Kate Wittenstein, "Female Slave Resistance: The Economics of Sex" was originally published in the *Western Journal of Black Studies* in 1979 and reprinted in Filomina Chioma Steady, ed., *The Black Woman Cross-Culturally* (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenckman, 1981), pp. 289–300. An interesting essay occasioned by a conference held on the fortieth anniversary of the Aptheker book is Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "Strategies and Forms of Resistance: Focus on Slave Women in the United States," in Gary Y. Okihiro, ed. *In Resistance: Studies in African, Caribbean, and Afro-American History* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986), pp. 143–65. Work in progress on female runaway slaves by Betty Wood and Shirley Jackson will add considerably to our understanding of this form of female resistance. For more general treatments of slave women that do not necessarily focus on the question of resistance, see Deborah G. White, "Female Slaves: Sex Roles and Status in the Antebellum Plantation South," *Journal of Family History,* 8 (1983): 254–58. The first major book-length study of slave women is White, *Ar'n't I a Woman: Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1985).

45. *Maryland Gaxette,* 2 October 1766. Payne also placed an advertisement for Hagar in the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* 6 November 1766.

46. *Maryland Journal,* 19 August 1783, and *Maryland Gazette,* 13 May 1773.

47. *Maryland Journal,* 6 September 1785.

48. Philip S. Foner, "The Two Trials of John Read: A Fugitive Slave Who Resisted Reenslavement," in Foner, ed., *Essays in Afro-American History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978), p. 10.

Thomas Carney: Unsung Soldier of the American Revolution

WILLIAM L. CALDERHEAD

More than two hundred years have passed since the Revolutionary War, and only recently have students of the conflict explored the social background of rank-and-file troops. Because virtually all units were predominantly white, most such work focuses on the white soldier. Yet his black comrade-in-arms—if in relatively small (5,000 total) numbers—was also an important participant.

Benjamin Quarles, Laura E. Wilkes, Luther P. Jackson, and other historians have pointed out that most blacks who served were free and that a preponderant majority of them were Northern. Among southern states, Georgia and South Carolina declared that black residents could not serve at all. Virginia was the most liberal slave state in its approach to blacks and the military. The Old Dominion not only encouraged free men of color to enlist but also freed those slaves who served the state in a military capacity.[1]

Maryland's policy evolved slowly, a function of need. Early in the war the state had no mechanism for recruiting slaves whatsoever. As for free blacks, Maryland in 1777 encouraged them to enlist and in 1781 included them in the state's military draft quotas. As a result perhaps as many as 250 free blacks had served by the end of the war. A limited number of slaves were also in uniform in 1780, but the state had no policy for granting them freedom.[2]

The most elite forces in which local black soldiers served were the Maryland regiments of General Washington's Continental Army, made up of the "regulars" whose exploits determined the fate of the nation.[3] In mid-1778 that army included 755 blacks in a total force of 13,000 troops. Maryland's share was ninety-five, or 13 percent of all black soldiers serving in the army. Only three states had larger black contingents: Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Virginia.[4] In numbers alone, Maryland more than held its own. But only troops of Virginia and Delaware fought as extensively as did soldiers of the Maryland Line. Their presence was felt on battlefields ranging all the way from New York to the Carolinas.[5] Thus, while the Maryland black force was only one-seventh of the national total, its contribution in terms of sustained combat over the five-year period of the war was greater than that of any other state except Virginia.

Who were Maryland's ninety-five African-American soldiers? The answer will never be known. Probably few could read or write. None, it would seem, kept diaries or wrote letters home. White soldiers who kept records, including official

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army accounts, either made no distinction in terms of color, or, if speaking of black soldiers, often referred to them without using their names.[6]

While the wartime experiences of most blacks can never be fully told, there are a few exceptions. One of these was a Marylander, Thomas Carney. In the absence of memoirs or written records of his life or Revolutionary War service, we have a lengthy obituary notice—describing in some detail his military exploits—which appeared in a Maryland newspaper at the time of his death in 1828. Unlike most obituaries of Revolutionary War heroes, this piece named the battles Carney had participated in and noted particular acts of bravery on two occasions.[7]

While this source presents a fair picture of Carney's military service, the same cannot be said for his early life. Although his year of birth (1754) is known, his place of birth is not (probably Queen Anne's County). Manumission records for Queen Anne's County in the twenty years prior to the Revolution make no mention of freedom being granted to anyone named Carney. He may have been born free.[8] He most likely engaged in farming, the common way of life for residents in general and for African Americans, both slave and free, in particular.

When in 1775 the Revolutionary War began, people of the Eastern Shore had mixed reactions. Although a majority supported the patriots' cause, a very sizeable minority became Loyalists and supported the cause of George III. Blacks in Maryland, as elsewhere, probably were ambivalent. Since the war did not promise to end slavery, the conflict was not theirs.[9] Young Carney's first response to the break with England likely was to do nothing. Nevertheless, blacks felt the impact of the war. Throughout Maryland the number of manumissions, rare in the prewar years, increased. So did the number of slaves seeking freedom by attempting to run away.[10] The British encouraged this effort when in 1775 Lord Dunmore, former governor of Virginia, urged slaves to flee their masters and join British military units as freemen. Partly as a response to this policy, Washington's army in early 1776 relaxed its stand on the recruitment of blacks.

Thomas Carney's reactions to these developments cannot be determined, but a dramatic occurrence in the summer of 1777 markedly changed his life. In late August a British fleet of 260 ships passed up the Chesapeake Bay to disembark General Howe's troops at the head of Elk Creek, a small stream near the Maryland-Delaware border. The entire populace of the bay recoiled in alarm. Residents of Annapolis began a hasty evacuation. Indentured servants and slaves were ordered back from the bay to places of safety.[11] Expecting a major battle on or near Maryland soil, Washington requested Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware to provide 2,500 volunteer militia to back up the Continental Army. Response was overwhelming. In the excitement, one patriot was accepted in spite of the fact that he was eighty-two years old.[12] So many citizens stepped forward in Maryland that there were enough muskets for only one-third of them. Although it was risky to send recruits forward without arms, General William Smallwood, who was in charge of recruiting, decided that the men should march anyway and obtain weapons upon reaching Washington's army—then encamped in southeastern Pennsylvania near the Maryland-Delaware line.[13]

While Maryland accelerated its recruiting efforts, the American army on 25 August fought and lost a major engagement at Brandywine Creek, a small Penn-

sylvania stream jusr ten miles above the Delaware border. Carney missed this battle. In September he apparently joined a militia unit from Caroline County and probably reached the army just in time for the Battle of Germantown on 1 October, when the British delivered the American army another defeat.[14] Carney's militia wing came up too lare ro be heavily engaged, bur it did meet rhe enemy and suffer some casualties. One of irs commanders, a lieutenanr colonel, was captured and was still awaiting prisoner exchange several years later.[15] The entire American army took heavy losses, about one-eighth of the troops engaged. Carney survived his baprism of fire unscarhed.

His next challenge would soon follow. With the arrival of winter, the American army went into encampment at Valley Forge. While a large majority of the soldiers were bivouacked at that spot, some units were detached and placed at strategic locations beyond the main camp, one of them a bend in the Delaware River near Wilmingron. Maryland and Delaware rroops were stationed rhere, and Carney was likely with this force. If so, his winter was not nearly as onerous as the Valley Forge experience.[16] Most Maryland rroops were billeted in or near Wilmingron in houses (leased from their civilian owners), and the troops here suffered only from lack of food. Duty was not very hazardous; rhe men spenr rheir time eirher on guard or with parties moving down the peninsula gathering supplies for Washington's main force. Since the Eastern Shore was home territory to Carney, there is a good possibility that he accompanied these foraging expeditions and also a likelihood that he may have been able briefly to visit his family during that winter season.

In the spring of 1778, for reasons we cannot know, Carney enlisted in the Conrinental Line.[17] He must have discovered advantages in militia service and, like other black soldiers, was no doubt attracted by the more professional posture of the regular troops. Late in the war, after conscription had begun, those troops were likely ro be foreign-born, most from the Brirish Isles. Of rhe narive Americans, probably half were born in Maryland. In age the Americans were younger, twenty-one years versus an average of twenty-nine years for rhe nonnarives. Ar twenty-four, Carney was halfway between these averages. Most were poor and many were former indentured servants. Their peacerime occuparions had been farming and laboring.[18] There may have been one or two other black soldiers in Carney's company. At least one of them we know to have been Adam Adams from St. Mary's County, who had enlisted in the First Maryland Regiment in 1778.[19]

In any event, Carney would have had no difficulty in finding companionship among other African Americans. Many officers had black personal servants. Headquarters maintained black cooks and other black workers. Carney's unit had constant contact with the civilian population, both white and African American. Carney certainly did not lack for friends among both races. His obituary notice spoke of his friendliness and emphasized the "cordial" nature of his personality. If he stood out in his company, however, it was not because of his friendliness or color, but from rhe fact rhar he was well over six feet rall and nored for his grear strength. Clearly in appearance and bearing he was quite different from the average soldier of the American Revolution.[20]

Whar was army life like for Carney? Surviving diaries demonsrrate that the American army, except for its winter encampments, was almost constantly on the

move. Many soldiers who had never strayed far from home in the prewar years now saw people and sights they had never seen before. For Carney, who most likely had lived a provincial existence, this experience was no doubt an enlightening one. But the frequent marches brought a problem. Adequate rations were not always available, and the men had to forage for themselves by buying or occasionally pilfering their own food.[21] Constant marches and temporary encampments also created the means, or the inducement, for desertion. Many of these attempts failed, and the guilty were punished either by whipping or hanging. To serve as a warning to the troops who had remained loyal, punishments were invariably carried out in front of the regiments that had been assembled to witness such spectacles. A final feature of military life involved weather. Drastic extremes in temperature were always disconcerting, and diarists invariably noted them in their accounts.[22]

In June of 1778, shortly before Washington moved his forces swiftly northward to intercept the enemy before it reached its base at New York City, Carney signed a long-term enlistment in the Seventh Maryland Regiment.[23] Black soldiers had few economic ties to the civilian world to dissuade them from long enlistments, which the army often rewarded with a lengthy furlough. If Carney received such a reward in early June, he was most likely on leave when the armies marched. This regiment was not a participant at the Battle of Monmouth or at the three minor engagements fought in the New York area in 1779.

For Carney and the Maryland Line, the locus of war next shifted south. In early 1780 American forces under General Benjamin Lincoln badly needed reinforcements defending Charleston, South Carolina. To aid them, Washington detached both brigades of the Maryland Line, numbering about 1,400 men, and ordered them southward. The troops marched from their winter encampment at Morristown, New Jersey, to the head of Elk Creek in northern Maryland. Here the troops boarded several dozen vessels and made their way 200 miles by water to Petersburg, Virginia. Disembarking, they marched southward by stages of from ten to twenty miles a day until they reached central North Carolina.[24] In August the two Maryland brigades, accompanied by militia reinforcements that brought their total to 2,400, fought a more powerful British force under General Cornwallis at Camden. Although the Americans were defeated and their commander Horatio Gates fled from the field, one group, the Second Maryland Brigade, commanded by Mordecai Gist and John Eager Howard, boldly held its ground. Two elements sustained them: unshaken courage and three convincing bayonet charges. Carney was a part of that force and, according to his obituary, "was among the first to charge."[25]

Although the American army had been defeated, it was not broken. Six months later, then under General Nathaniel Greene, it lured Cornwallis into battle at Guilford Court House. The fighting was fierce; again the bayonet was used effectively by both sides. In the fierce hand to hand exchanges Carney reportedly bayoneted seven of the enemy. His regiment matched this effort and earned the praise of a British historian who referred to it as the "finest regiment in the American army." But once again the Americans withdrew, suffering 270 casualties while inflicting 582. American losses were partly replaceable; British losses were not.[26]

While Cornwallis never returned to challenge Greene in the Carolinas, British

strongholds remained in the upland areas. For the remainder of 1781 Greene's small but efficient force busied itself with the task of reducing them. Due to the recent heavy fighting, the army's strength was down to a thousand men, half of them in the Maryland Line that included Carney and several other black soldiers. Before summer's end, Marylanders took part in two more hard-fought battles. The first was at Ninety-Six, a well fortified British post in western South Carolina. Although the Americans closely beseiged this fort and suffered 150 casualties in so doing, they failed to capture it and instead had to make a hasty retreat. Once again, Carney was conspicuous in the fighting. When his company commander, Captain Perry Benson, was seriously wounded, Carney lifted him onto his shoulders and carried him some distance to a place of safety where surgeons attended him.[27] Due to the intense heat (50 British soldiers would die of sunstroke that summer) and Benson's great bulk, Carney fainted from near exhaustion when he reached the surgeon's tent. His prompt action probably saved the officer's life. Benson never forgot this act of heroism, and the two men later developed a lasting friendship. The second battle that summer took place at Eutaw Springs, perhaps the bloodiest battle fought in the entire southern campaign. (When the state of Maryland celebrated the bicentennial twelve years ago, a poster commemorated the fighting at Eutaw Springs. Appropriately it depicted a black soldier charging with a fixed bayonet. Although the figure was only symbolic, it might well have represented Carney himself.)

The Revolution ended officially in January, 1783, but Carney remained in the army until November. Upon discharge he received a cash bonus and a bounty entitling him to one hundred acres of land on the frontier in western Maryland.[28] Like most Maryland veterans (92.5 percent), he probably sold his warrants for ready cash.[29]

After leaving the army he returned to Caroline County and quietly spent the rest of his life near the town of Denton. His name appeared regularly in the census statistics beginning in 1790 and ending in 1820, when he headed a household of four people. He lived not far from four other black families. After 1830 the only Carney listed in the Caroline County statistics was a white resident named William Carney. Whether he was a relative of Thomas Carney cannot be determined.[30] The former soldier lived comfortably enough until advancing age made it difficult for him to earn a living. Help then came from the state legislature. General William Porter, delegate from Talbot County, introduced a bill to grant Carney a modest pension. Although the assembly was generally reluctant to act on such matters, this measure in 1813 passed by a unanimous vote. Several years later Carney's financial status improved when he received an additional pension from the federal government.[31]

His remaining years were apparently quiet ones. His friendship with Perry Benson continued. Whenever Benson, who lived in Talbot County, visited Denton, he "invariably paid his first visit" to his brother-in-arms. Benson served as commanding general of the Talbot and Caroline militia, and on muster days he kept Carney "with him mounted on a horse at his side."[32] In 1824 when Lafayette returned to America to meet one more time with those who had served with him fifty years before, Benson (perhaps with Carney again with him) served as chairman

of the Eastern Shore Committee of Welcome. It would be pleasant to think that Carney helped to greet the Marquis, for that French general had always expressed great admiration for the black soldiers who had served in the Continental Line.[33] To Lafayette, Carney must certainly have been what he is to us today, an unsung hero of the American Revolution.

NOTES

1. Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961); Laura E. Wilkes, *Missing Pages in American History* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1970); Luther P. Jackson, "Virginia Negro Soldiers and Seamen in the American Revolution," *Journal of Negro History* (3rd ser.), 27 (1942): 247–87; William Hartgrave, "The Negro Soldier in the American Revolution," *Journal of Negro History* (2nd Ser.), 1 (1916): 110–31. Hartgrave (p. 127) presents a list of 755 blacks serving in the Continental Line in 1778, all but 230 of them in northern units; he adds, however, that the list did not include other state units or those troops who joined the army later. Jackson notes that perhaps 500 free blacks fought in Virginia units, along with a number of slaves; for the Virginia statute granting freedom see William Waller Hening, *Statutes at Large of Virginia* (Richmond: T. J. Johnson, 1845), 9:280.

2. Quarles, *Negro in the Revolution,* p. viii, notes that the change in attitude toward enlisting black soldiers in Virginia and Maryland followed upon the difficulty of mobilizing white manpower; not until 1781 were Maryland slaves allowed to enlist. See Edward C. Papenfuse and Gregory A. Stiverson, "General Smallwood's Recruits," *William and Mary Quarterly* (3rd ser.), 30 (1973): 117–32.

3. See Quarles, *Negro in the Revolution,* pp. 71–78, for evidence that blacks shunned militia service and preferred the security of the longer-service-enlistment time of the Continental regiments.

4. "Return of the Negroes in the Army, August 24, 1778," George Washington Papers, Library of Congress (microfilm reel 51). The seven northern states had 464 black soldiers and the southern 291. Maryland's share of the southern total was 95, or approximately one-third.

5. Washington's preferred policy was to employ local regiments in a given campaign. Maryland and Delaware, geographically in the middle, became moveable pawns.

6. Two of the best eyewitness accounts, especially for the Maryland and Delaware units, were those of Captain Robert Kirkwood and Sargeant William Seymour (both of Delaware), who gave detailed observations of events in 1777 and later. In spite of the presence of African Americans, neither observer singled out such soldiers in his commentaries. See J. W. Turner, ed., *The Journal and Orderly Book of Captain Robert Kirkwood* (repr.; Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1970), and "The Journal of William Seymour," Peter Force Papers, series 76, items 122–32, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, microfilm reel 42.

7. "A Soldier of the Revolution," *Niles Weekly Register,* 23 August 1828. The author is unknown. Files in the Maryland State Archives confirm Carney's army service record, and biographical sketches of officers such as Perry Benson, with whom Carney served, testify to his bartlefield exploits. See William Hand Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland* (72 vols. to date; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–), 18:310, 315, 352, 434, 485, 528, and Rieman Steuart, *A History of the Maryland Line in the Revolutionary War* (Baltimore: Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland, 1969), pp. 163–64, 167.

8. Carney's name does not appear in the 1776 Council of Safety census of Maryland (Maryland State Archives). Nor does it appear among manumission papers in the Queen Anne's County Court Records for 1755–1775 (See Land Records, Queen Anne's County, libers RTE (1755–59), RTF (1759–63), RTG (1763–67), RTH (1767–69), RTI (1769–72), RTK (1772–76), Maryland State Archives).

9. Quarles, *Negro in the Revolution,* pp. 79–83.

10. The Annapolis *Maryland Gazette* noted an increase in the incidence of runaway slaves once war was underway. See also Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, eds., *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of Revolution* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), p. 294.

11. Although Carney lived far enough from the bay not to have seen the British ships in person, the enemy sent foraging parties to places like Denton, and Carney may well have encountered these troops face to face. On servant evacuation see *Archives of Maryland,* 16:339.

12. *Maryland Gazette,* 11 September 1777.

13. *Archives of Maryland,* 16:354–357.

14. Carney's biographical sketch mentions that he fought at Germantown. Because there is no record of his being part of the regular army at this time, and because militia units kept poor records or lost them (forcing those who had served in that capacity to make special claims for compensation years later), we have no proof of service for this time. He almost certainly joined one of Smallwood's militia units and likely signed up for a three- or six-month term of service. For the problems that ex-militiamen had in getting credit for service, see John Dunn, ed., *The Revolution Remembered* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), pp. xv–xxii. Some of the Maryland militia had caught up with the army by mid-September, but Smallwood did not arrive until 27 September (*Maryland Gazette,* 2 October, 1777).

15. Luke Marbury of Prince George's County; See T. Claggett to General Mordecai Gist, 20 January 1781, Mordecai Gist Papers, Ms. #390, Maryland Historical Society.

16. The Carney obituary nonetheless noted that he "bore his share" of the sufferings of the army at Valley Forge.

17. *Archives of Maryland,* 18:192. Carney enlisted in the Fifth Maryland Regiment in May 1778.

18. For a statistical profile of a company of Maryland conscripts mustered in 1781, see Papenfuse and Stiverson, "Smallwood's Recruits."

19. *Archives of Maryland,* 18:78, 331, 522.

20. The average revolutionary soldier stood five feet, eight inches in height.

21. Kirkwood made constant reference to the shortage of rations and the theft of food in his orderly book. See his *Journal and Orderly Book,* pp. 47–273, and George Scheer, ed., *Adventures of a Revolutionary Soldier* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1962).

22. In late July 1777, as the army marched south through New Jersey, the heat was so intense that twenty-three horses being used to pull heavy cannon died from its effects (Kirkwood, *Journal,* p. 121).

23. A discrepancy occurs in Carney's enlistment records between April and June 1778. In April he appears as a "recruit" from Frederick County (he may have joined Frederick County's militia three months previously); in May he is noted as an enlistee in the Fifth Regiment, a possible deserter from the Fifth in June, and an enlistee in the Seventh that same month. Seemingly he transferred from one regiment to the next but like many soldiers neglected the proper paperwork. If so, this may account for the temporary listing of "deserter." See *Archives of Maryland,* 18:192, 197, 310, 345.

24. For a personal account of the march see "Journal of Sargeant Seymour," entries for April through August 1780.

25. "A Soldier of the Revolution."

26. Steuart, *Maryland Line,* p. 162; John S. Pancake, *This Destructive War: The British Campaigns in the Carolinas* (Birmingham: University of Alabama Press, 1985), pp. 184–86.

27. Steuart, *Maryland Line,* p. 164.

28. Apparently a fairly generous payment. See Jackson, "Virginia Negro Soldiers and Seamen," pp. 247–87.

29. See Papenfuse and Stiverson, "Smallwood's Recruits."

30. U.S., *1790 Census of Population,* Heads of Families—Maryland, p. 36; U.S., *1810 Census of Population,* Heads of Families, Caroline County, p. 190; U.S., *1820 Census of Population,* Heads of Families, Caroline County, p. 90; U.S., *1830 Census of Population,* Heads of Families, Caroline County, p. 279. William Carney (white) is listed as head of a household in which there are two free black females, ten to twenty-four years of age.

31. *Laws Made and Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Maryland* (Annapolis: Jehru Chandler, 1813), p. 246. In 1818 Congress provided pensions for all veterans in need of assistance. Unlike the 1832 law, the 1818 measure required little information concerning the veteran's status (Jackson, "Virginia Negro Soldiers and Seamen," p. 273).

32. "A Soldier of the Revolution"; Steuart, *Maryland Line,* p. 57.

33. Marian Klamkin, *The Return of Lafayette* (New York: Scribner's, 1976), pp. 89–91. During his visit Lafayette declared a hope that Baltimore's 4,000 slaves would soon be free.

Rural African Americans in the Constitutional Era in Maryland, 1776–1810

LORENA S. WALSH

African Americans living in rural Maryland between 1776 and 1810 experienced marked changes in their working conditions, in prospects for a settled family life, and in the ideological climate in which they had to survive. Little of their story has entered the written record, but one can reconstruct the outlines of their lives in the correspondence and plantation records left by slaveowners. This essay begins with an account of the differing experiences of slaves on six Maryland plantations and concludes with broader generalizations.

Jesse, George, Abraham, Bridget, Nanny, and about eight children were slaves on James Wilson's [?–1796] plantation in Somerset County in the late 1770s. The families of the slaves, like the Wilsons, had lived in the area for several generations.[1] Their experience was typical of close to half of Maryland's African Americans who in this period belonged to small planters who owned between one and ten slaves and also of a portion of another quarter of Maryland slaves who lived in groups of eleven to twenty on farms of middling planters. Most of the small planters and some of the middling ones still worked with their hands.[2] The Wilson slaves lived in two quarters located near Wilson's house and worked with their master, raising (as was typical of the area) a little low-grade tobacco, corn, wheat, livestock, small grains, flax, garden produce, and fruit, supplemented by timber-cutting in the winter. Everyone pitched in to clear new ground or to cut wheat, but during most of the year adult slaves normally had individual assignments—to plow or weed a patch of tobacco or corn, to cut a stand of timber, to sow a specified number of rows of wheat, to fence in a grain field, or, for the women, to milk cows and to spin wool and flax. While the women did some domestic chores, they usually worked in the fields alongside the men, and most of the youngsters joined their parents by the time they reached age seven. Although the slaves had learned some crafts, they spent most of their time farming; before the war Wilson usually hired local white artisans to make shoes, cloth, barrels, and tools.

Wilson closely supervised their work, holding each slave responsible for specified tasks. When planting wheat, for example, Abraham (later Jesse) and Wilson sowed alternating, carefully marked sections, and Wilson kept records of yields to see who was the better seedsman. Wilson was probably an easier man to work for than other masters. He tended not to dwell on his laborers' deficiencies and noted extraordinary achievements, as on 30 December 1772 when slave Bridget "began

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above 11 o'clock & put up 45 Pannell of fence 9 [feet] long, stakt & Ridered & was done before night afterward milkt the Cows." The slaves also enjoyed the unusual privilege of Saturday afternoon off to hunt, fish, or tend their gardens.

During the war Wilson and his slaves stopped tending tobacco, and the women spent more time spinning and weaving. Somerset County remained far away from any fighting but had access to supplies; no raids occurred and few shortages of cloth or salt were felt. Here almost everyone had relied more on mixed farming and on exploiting natural resources than had folk in more commercialized regions. Wartime meant doing a little more of one thing and a little less of another. When peace returned, Wilson and his slaves began to raise more corn and wheat. The work was more exacting than before, for Wilson had become interested in improving his farming techniques and was always trying new ways of plowing, seeding, and harvesting grain. Still, the pace of life, closely regulated by the seasons, changed little over the years, until in 1794 Wilson's health declined, and the men had to take over most of his workload. Wilson's impending death concerned the slaves since they would likely be divided among his heirs. Still, most could hope that they would not have to live too far away and would be able to maintain some contact with one another. One of them, Plainer, a mulatto, subsequently became a free man.[3]

In contrast, life was more difficult and family relationships more precarious for the slaves of another middling planter, Thomas Jones of Baltimore County [?–1812].[4] These folk lived in a rapidly expanding, commercialized area where urbanization and agricultural change offered some new opportunities but also presented perils. Jones operated a farm on Patapsco Neck from 1779 to 1788 with up to ten adult slaves and then moved to a smaller tract, Walnut Grove, where he farmed with three to six adult slaves through 1812. In 1779 the home farm work force consisted of an indentured servant and eight slaves. Juba, fifty-two, had been purchased from a slave ship by Jones's grandfather. He along with James, age thirty-eight, Peter, twenty-seven, Sam, twenty, Mount, seventeen, and two boys, Jack and Fairfax, did most of the farm work, while Chloe, forty-seven, tended the house. Other members of these families lived and worked on two other of Jones's Baltimore County plantations.

The slaves endured daily trials with Jones's irascible temper. A justice of the peace, Jones was away from home often enough that he normally employed an overseer on the home farm as well as at the quarters but was probably in the fields too often to suit the slaves. Unlike James Wilson, Thomas Jones, however, never dirtied his hands with manual labor. He merely told others what to do, and seldom could anyone do anything to suit him. Jones thought white craftsmen were lazy and demanded too-high wages. White laborers charged so much and did so little that by 1785 Jones resolved to rely on the slaves to harvest the wheat. Several of the overseers were fired for being "rascally" cheats or for "laziness and lying." Richard Blackett, the white servant, retaliated by running away at least eighteen times between 1779 and 1781. Jones's records suggest the slaves often worked harder than the hired whites, but whenever they made mistakes, Jones upbraided them for slovenly "negro work."

The slaves' schedule was a busy one. At one time or another all the men did

every sort of farm work, but normally one or two specialized in plowing and another in marketing produce in town. Most cultivation, aside from close weeding of corn, was done with plows. Plowing commenced in April and continued through November. The winter months were spent threshing grain, dressing flax, cutting firewood for home use and for sale in town, fencing, trimming the orchard, killing hogs, caring for newborn lambs, and doing odd jobs. In March they started a vegetable garden, cleaned the fields, burned the marsh to encourage early grass, and caught fish for sale in town. Work intensified in April when the ground was ready for plowing, and planting clover, flax, and potatoes. During May they continued gardening and plowing, planted corn, and washed and sheared sheep. Work was heaviest in June and July when they made hay, tended corn, pulled flax, and reaped wheat, barley, oats, and rye. August was devoted to plowing and hoeing corn, making a second crop of hay, preparing ground for grain, and threshing out wheat, barley, and rye for seed. In the fall the slaves sowed small grains and harvested peas, beans, potatoes, turnips, and hemp. Slaves cut corn tops and blades for fodder in September and gathered and husked the ears over the next two months. They also collected apples to make cider, fattened hogs, sowed timothy, broke flax, gave the marsh a final mowing, and plowed fields in anticipation of spring planting when weather permitted. Jones did not grow tobacco, but more than enough farm work remained to keep his slaves thoroughly occupied throughout the year.

Although some of the men learned some skills, they had little chance to employ them, except in assisting hired white craftsmen. And, while the slaves raised sheep for wool—along with hemp, flax, and cotton—the women and young girls made few textiles. Mrs. Jones was usually pregnant or nursing a baby, and with only one adult woman to help with domestic chores, little time remained for spinning and weaving. Once the men had broken the flax, most fibers were put out for processing. Since the family lived near Baltimore, they could easily hire cloth workers.

The war had little effect on the slaves' work routines or level of material comfort in the beginning. Jones did not alter the crop mix and was able to sell or barter produce in Baltimore for essential goods, so no one was stinted. The men who did the marketing must, however, have picked up news of wider happenings, and perhaps the slaves began to make plans. In 1781 when British raiders threatened, Jones twice moved his livestock to safer quarters and once evacuated his family. Four of the slaves used the second occasion to try to escape (perhaps to Pennsylvania) but they were caught no farther than Queen Anne's County and returned after spending some time in the Queen's Town jail.

Jones's temper alone may not have prompted the runaways. Like a number of big planters at this time, Jones chose to farm almost exclusively with men, usually keeping just one adult woman on the home place who probably did no fieldwork. Ruthlessly efficient, Jones kept only the hands essential to his operation, regardless of family connections. Women, other than one, and older girls were sent to work on the quarters, hired out, or sold. As boys reached adolescence, they too were either transferred to the outlying quarters or bound out. The apprentices never reappeared; either they were eventually sold to new masters or were manumitted when they completed their apprenticeships.

For a small farm, where there were never more than fifteen slaves and after 1789 only six to eleven, the amount of forced movement was extraordinary. In 1779 Jones was renting Nan, age thirty-seven, and her son Jack, three, to a sister who lived in Burlington, New Jersey, while nineteen-year-old Unity was hired out. That year another girl was bound out for thirteen years, and a six-year-old boy sent to Forrest Farm. In 1781 Jones moved thirty-five-year-old Alice and her children from Forrest, sold another woman, and bound Jack, seventeen, to a Cecil County carpenter for four years. Three years later Mount, twenty-two, and Alice, now thirty-seven, were sent to the second quarter, Gallipot, and Jem, forty-three, was hired to a neighboring planter. In 1785, when Jones' sister died, Nan and her son returned from New Jersey.

When Jones moved to his new farm in 1789, only Juba, now sixty-two, and Fairfax, twenty-four, were on hand to work. The rest of the slaves were sent to other farms. Some eventually came back as Jones needed them. Sam, thirty-three, and Milford, forty-one, for example, returned in 1795 when Juba became too feeble to work. Jones was also busy shifting the quarter slaves about. In 1792 he hired out Sam and a boy, Jack, for two years. Sam was sometimes an excellent worker but knew how to retaliate when Jones angered him. Sam did not want to live away from home and by the second year ran away from his employer so often that Jones gave up trying to hire him out. By 1796 Sam had become the main plowman. Angry again, he feigned illness throughout the spring planting season, an act that reduced Jones's intended crops by half. But by July Jones could report that "my Intention to send Sam to the Forrest has recovered him in point of health (a decitful Rascal)."

Meanwhile in 1795 Jones bought a new domestic, twenty-three-year-old Matilda along with her eighteen-month-old son George, from a Kent Island man, hired out a man from Forrest Quarter, and began arrangements that would mean eventual freedom for thirty-year-old Fairfax and his wife, Nan, now fifty-three. Fairfax, a carpenter, was allowed to work for wages in Baltimore. He kept some share of his earnings, and Jones agreed that he might buy his wife. Nan immediately joined her husband in Baltimore, and by the end of the year they were able to make good her purchase price of £45. Fairfax did not get off so lightly. Jones agreed to let him buy his own freedom for $600—$150 down and $150 per year until the balance was paid, "if he lives so long."

By 1801 Jones was ready to dispose of Matilda's son George, now seven, binding him to a millwright for nine years and another boy from the quarters was bound to a farmer for eleven years. Fifteen-year-old Dick was sent off to Gallipot, while Pippen, born at Forrest in 1781, and eleven-year-old Chloe were brought back to Walnut Grove. In 1807 Dick, now twenty-two, returned to the home farm where he worked through 1812. Between 1804 and 1812 an additional four boys and four girls were shifted from quarter to home farm and back again, while two men, Page, forty-four, and Abraham, twenty-seven, were first brought in from the quarters and then hired out. Finally, Matilda's daughter Sophia was permanently separated from her mother in 1805 when she was ten; Jones made a present of her to a granddaughter living in Rhode Island. In his will, Jones divided the remaining slaves between his wife and five children. Three others were to be hired

out for the benefit of other relatives. Jones chose to manumit only Joseph, a mulatto tradesman who worked for wages.[5]

Slaves who belonged to great planters (as well as those of more middling sorts like Jones) also faced growing insecurity in this period, sometimes from their owners' financial difficulties and sometimes from their success. Two Eastern Shore estates provide illustrations. Edward Lloyd IV (1744–1796) began farming in 1770 with sixty-four slaves inherited or bought from other family members.[6] He also inherited 40,000 acres in Maryland and Delaware, over 12,000 acres in Talbot County alone, and within a few years was operating a dozen farms. By 1773–1774 Lloyd had 250 slaves, most of them apparently purchased. Lloyd was one of the most successful planters in the Chesapeake, raising large crops of corn, wheat, and tobacco. Unlike many Maryland planters, he found ways to market crops and surplus livestock during the war and continued something close to full-scale production during the fighting. Lloyd realized handsome profits, in part because he, like Jones, employed rules of efficiency, in this case rules that disrupted the lives of many more African Americans. Lloyd reaped large harvests by farming with a combination of many men in their most productive years and some younger women who were healthy and not burdened with many children. His slaves worked extremely hard, producing some of the largest crops per hand ever recorded in the Chesapeake.

Most toiled primarily in the fields. Some worked as coopers, carpenters, tailors, wheelwrights and smiths, but only in coopering were the plantations self-sufficient. In the 1770s indentured servants did the gardening and finer finish work on houses Lloyd was building in Annapolis and in Talbot County. Free white men and women, hired either by the year or by the job, did most skilled work. Between 1770 and 1796 Lloyd employed nearly two hundred free white workers, who plied over thirty different crafts or trades. Only during the later years of the war did he depart from this pattern. When he could no longer buy sufficient cloth to clothe his slaves, he turned to raising flax and assigned a number of hands to spin and weave flax and wool. But once the war ended, the textile operation was dismantled, and most of the slaves returned to the fields.

Lloyd's slaves numbered about 300 by 1790, a size maintained until his death in 1796. Between seven and sixteen working hands were assigned to each of the outlying plantations, with a larger workforce only on the home plantation. Most of the slaves saw little of their master, being supervised by a cadre of overseers, overlookers of overseers, and business agents. As children grew up and the number of workers exceeded that which Lloyd considered optimal, he either sold some of the women along with their children, sold the children alone, or transferred youngsters to other quarters. Lloyd's slaves, especially the domestic servants, perhaps gained a certain reflected prestige from belonging to one of the greatest planters of the day. They were probably better clothed and doctored than most. But these advantages hardly compensated for the emotional toll of frequent family separations—all for the sake of efficient agricultural production.

In contrast, slaves on Henry Hollyday's (1725–1789) plantations in Talbot and Queen Anne's counties faced increasing insecurity because of their owners' financial distress.[7] The slaves had come either from Hollyday's family or his wife's, and they

grew in numbers from seven in 1750 to seventy-seven in 1783. During the 1760s they raised tobacco, corn, and wheat, but by the early 1770s were specializing in grains, perhaps benefitting a little from the booming profits they were producing. The Revolution changed all that. During the Stamp Act crisis, Hollyday had vigorously supported colonial resistance, but he did not approve a bid for independence. Both the Hollyday family and their slaves paid dearly for his convictions. Hollyday lost lucrative political posts and had to pay the treble tax Maryland levied between 1778 and 1782 against those who did not support the patriot cause. These burdens, together with finding money to pay substitutes in order to keep various relatives out of the army brought the family into dire straights. Had Hollyday's brother James—who supported the patriots—not helped out at critical moments, he probably could not have survived the war without selling some of the slaves. This prospect troubled him deeply, for unlike Jones and Lloyd, he had scruples about breaking up families.

Indeed the fertility of Hollyday's slaves was part of the problem. Between 1749 and 1774, on average, two babies a year were born in the quarters, offsetting deaths and ensuring a modest increase in the labor force. However, between 1775 and 1783, there an additional forty-seven babies were born. All the children did not survive, yet Hollyday was hard-pressed to maintain those who did, and he began to wonder how he was going to employ all of them once they reached working age.[8]

Hollyday's wartime letters show how hard the times could be for the whites. He did not write about and perhaps seldom considered his slaves' reactions. But they knew all too well the family's precarious financial situation and must have feared the consequences. They may have heard something of Hollyday's unpopularity with patriot neighbors from the slaves who made weekly trips carrying letters and produce back and forth between Henry's farm in Talbot and his brother James's home in Queen Anne's. Changes in work routines must have proved unsettling.

The years 1775 and 1776 were least pressing, for Hollyday was able to sell tobacco and wheat for uninflated currency. But by 1777 everyone began to feel the pinch. Unable to purchase adequate supplies, Henry had some slaves boil salt on the riverside to preserve the year's supply of meat. He had trouble finding buyers for his wheat and stood by helplessly as insects consumed the grain. Hollyday was also hard-pressed to unload depreciating paper money some creditors forced on him. Smallpox and camp fever broke out in the neighborhood, and the Hollydays feared both for themselves and for the slaves. Henry engaged a doctor to inoculate all his slaves at 20 shillings a head, but several died of smallpox before they could be immunized. By the next year the draft animals were suffering from a lack of fodder, making it difficult to harvest the crops, and in 1779 a number of horses succumbed to a contagious distemper. In 1780 dogs killed many of the sheep, while a late spring frost destroyed both wheat and clover. That year Hollyday repaed little more wheat than he had sowed and had to sell cattle in order to buy corn. The next year's wheat harvest was also poor, injured by scab and rust, and in 1782 drought destroyed most of the corn. One slave, Charles, ran off to the British, badly shaking Hollyday, who was still worrying about raids from enemy privateers—and more slaves running away—in 1783.

Fortunately the plantation was relatively self-sufficient even before 1775, which meant that both slaves and owner were in a better position than some to weather wartime shortages. They tanned their own leather; a slave made shoes; and they were accustomed to raising wool enough to make the slaves' winter clothing. The orchards provided an abundance of cider and brandy, while oysters from the Tred Avon River and fish James Hollydays' slaves caught in the Chester stretched scarce meat.

Still Anna Maria (Nancy) Hollyday, Henry's wife, and the African American and white women who worked with her, felt the strain. In addition to caring for nine children, she had to supervise growing of flax and cotton for lighter clothing, spinning and weaving of all the fibers, dyeing of homespun for the white family, and sewing and mending of clothes for all. Before the war the Hollydays had bought imported cloth and finished costumes for themselves, and Nancy had been able to hire local whites to spin yarn, weave cloth, and make clothes for the slaves. By 1777 the white hired workers were all occupied in making cloth for their own families. Thus Nancy, her older daughters, her housekeeper, and the overseer's daughter, who directed slave women and girls in spinning and weaving, were almost constantly occupied trying to keep everyone clothed. A feeling of disaster prevailed when dogs killed many sheep and wool for winter clothes was scarce or when the flax crop failed. In addition, Nancy attended to spinning candlewick, making candles, and the dairy. When bad weather destroyed the fodder, the milch cows sickened and supplies of milk and butter dwindled. Whatever food they could grow had to stretch as far as possible, and Nancy assiduously pickled cucumbers, beans, walnuts, and cabbage whenever she could get enough vinegar to preserve them.

Despite all her efforts, Nancy saw her children suffer. Henry explained to James in 1781 that they were increasingly isolated from society. Without proper clothing or pocket money, the youngsters could not comfortably associate with peers of their "own rank." Nancy's despair is doubtless reflected in Henry's plaintive letter of March 1780:

> I am now nearly at the end of my money, and almost at my wits end; my family, notwithstanding the 3 p[iece]s linen lately bought, being almost naked. Were you to see the patching & quilting of body linen among us you would be astonished. And indeed it gives me such heart aches as I have rarely felt before. I now see no means left of cloathing them but by breaking in upon my Land or Negroes.[9]

If the whites were wearing patched underwear, stinting themselves on salt, and eating oysters and greens in order to save money, the slaves surely had to make similar shifts, all the while fearing that some would be sold. Fortunately in 1785 a bumper wheat crop enabled the family to buy some imports. The Hollydays reentered the mainstream of local society as Henry became reconciled to the actions of his countrymen. Still his children would probably not have been able to retain the estate and keep the slaves together with no new infusion of capital. But when Henry's brother James, a bachelor, died in 1786, he left almost everything to Henry and the children, making it possible to employ all the slaves and attempt to keep families together.

Slaves in St. Mary's County on the lower Western Shore were also deeply affected by the Revolution. Some belonged to Nicholas Lewis Sewall (c. 1721–1800), a member of an old and well-connected Roman Catholic family.[10] In the early 1760s about fifteen adult slaves, also of long standing St. Mary's County families, grew tobacco, corn, and wheat under the direction of an overseer on "Mattapany Sewall" on the western bank of the Patuxent. Their first troubles came even before the war in 1774, when Sewall, chronically in debt, sold fifteen women and children to Prince George's and Frederick county planters. Though Sewall, unlike Henry Hollyday, sided with the winners, he too experienced trouble during the Revolution. With no markets for his crops, he had almost no income. The slaves continued to grow corn for food but stopped raising tobacco and wheat, turning instead to producing fibers; spinning and weaving; and making salt, cider, and brandy, enabling both workers and master to get by. Two men, Charles and Nat, opted for freedom and ran off to join the British, eventually ending up in Charleston, South Carolina, where they were recaptured in 1782 and shipped back home at a cost of £75. After the war when markets reopened, most of the slaves returned to producing tobacco and wheat, although some of the men became sailors on a trading schooner that Sewall had purchased. Sewall worked hard to recoup wartime losses, but nothing worked. He managed to stay afloat by borrowing more money and staving off old creditors, but both slaves and owner must have been deeply worried about the future. The slaves had reason to worry. Although Sewall's heirs inherited most of his debts, in 1799 he sold a man, his wife, and two children to a Georgia slave dealer.

Other St. Mary's County African Americans, slaves of Richard Boarman (?–1782), struggled for freedom for themselves and their children by other methods.[11] They, like their owner, were at least second-generation Maryland natives, living on the northern border of the county where tobacco was the predominant market crop. The Boarmans socialized, exchanged goods, and often engaged in cooperative enterprises with an extended family network of sisters, brothers, cousins, aunts, and assorted in-laws living nearby. The whites effectively cut costs by combining their slaves into larger work groups who could be supervised by a single overseer. Richard's field hands worked at various times with slaves of at least six other families, while carpenters, shoemakers, coopers, and a midwife worked for other members of the Boarman clan.

Between 1776 and 1780 Boarman, like Sewall, had few opportunities for trade; both whites and blacks turned largely to self-sufficient enterprises in order to survive. The slaves had been making cloth from the 1760s, and by 1777, after supplying plantation needs, they wove 265 yards of cloth for others. But in 1781, as the tobacco trade began to revive, Boarman and his family were quick to participate. They resumed production on their own farm, and stored and traded other men's crops.

A series of depositions taken in connection with several suits between 1767 and 1791 offer rare insights into race relations on the plantation.[12] When young, slave children often played with white children of similar age. When they grew older, African Americans and whites continued to work side by side, both taking pride in work well done. Religion as well as work provided a common bond, as some of the

slaves, like most members of the Boarman clan, were practicing Catholics. But despite many shared experiences, once blacks and whites became adults, race and bondage created an unbridgeable gap between them, promoting separate cultures in the great house and the quarters. Living standards, work routines, and family life assumed very different patterns.

Interconnections among the Boarman slaves were every bit as complicated as among the whites. Boarman's grandfather had begun buying African slaves in the 1680s, and over the years they and their offspring had been parcelled out among numerous family members in Charles and St. Mary's counties. Although families were often split, the owners lived close enough for the slaves to visit back and forth and maintain a strong sense of kinship and oral knowledge of family history. Part of that heritage was an intense desire for liberty. Over the years at least one family slave had run away to southern Virginia and another managed to purchase her freedom. Most remained in bondage, but they never forgot a fact that the Boarman clan may have chosen to ignore—many of the slaves were part white.

In 1763 two of Boarman's slaves, William and Mary Butler, began a suit against him that threatened the livelihood of his family and frightened slaveowners throughout Maryland and northern Virginia. The Butlers and between 120 and 300 other local slaves could trace their origins back to the union of "salt water negro" Charles and Eleanor Butler, a white servant of Boarman's grandparents. While the Boarman family had considered all Charles and "Irish Nell's" children slaves (they "lived and died slaves they working and living as such"), the Butlers maintained that descent from a free white woman entitled them to freedom. Richard retaliated with legal delays and by selling two of the Butlers' children in 1768, and the whole Boarman clan rallied to pool resources to cover legal fees. The Maryland Provincial Court finally heard the case in 1770 and declared William and Mary Butler (and by implication, all their mixed blood kin) free.[13]

The Boarmans' human property was momentarily secured when the colony's appeals court reversed the lower court's decision in 1771. Boarman died in 1782 still owning thirty-two slaves after giving others to a daughter. His personal estate was worth £1239 sterling constant value, but over two-thirds of it, £821, consisted of the slaves; long years of war had eroded other assets. Ann Boarman and her daughters inherited problematic legacies indeed, for in the more favorable climate of the early 1790s, various members of the next generation of the Butler clan succeeded in persuading Maryland judges that, on the basis of their ancestry, they were indeed entitled to freedom.

What generalizations can we draw from these and other plantation accounts that provide some glimpses, however fleeting and unintended, of the lives of rural Maryland African Americans between 1776 and 1810?

First are some immediate and material consequences of the Revolutionary War. Many civilians—ill-prepared to weather a trade cut-off—suffered from shortages of salt, medicine, shoes, and cloth, and doubtless most slaveowners stinted their slaves before themselves. Conditions were worst on the lower Western Shore, where trade was effectively blocked, and more favorable at the head of the bay and on the Eastern Shore, where some goods continued to trickle in and out.[14] Slaves were also exposed to greater risk of disease and death during the war—in the most extreme

cases from malnutrition and exposure to cold without adequate clothing—but especially from epidemics of smallpox, dysentery, and camp fever that broke out wherever troops were present. Some masters arranged for mass smallpox inoculations for their slaves. This must have been a frightening experience, although the risks were less than contracting the disease naturally. On the other hand, the routine inoculation of slave children that became more common on Maryland plantations after the war may have improved chances of survival for some youngsters.[15]

Next, slaves' work routines changed during the Revolution. Tobacco growers cut back drastically on their crops and for the first time assigned some prime hands to manufacturing and craft work. Many women learned how to spin and weave, and very likely more men worked at crafts in order to replace white artisans away at war. This experience would make it easier afterwards for some African Americans to find full or part-time employment, especially in towns. Ordinary field hands spent more time in self-sufficient activities such as gardening, hunting, and fishing, thus demonstrating they could survive with little help from their owners.

I would argue that there were other longer-term results, although in many cases I cannot document them.[16] For one, the Revolution must have provided a profound education for African Americans. First was an increase in knowledge about the geography of the new nation. Some slaves of elite masters travelled to distant places with owners who were serving in the Continental Army, in the Continental Congress, or in state government. Others learned the lay of the land transporting goods over long distances, while working in army or militia camps, or while serving as soldiers or sailors on state vessels or privateers. Still others who tried to run away, but failed, had many a tale to share with those at home—from Thomas Jones's slaves who only reached Chestertown to Nicholas Sewall's Charles and Nat who reached distant South Carolina. Along the way they encountered different sorts of people—townsfolk, black and white; British soldiers and sailors; middle colony men; and perhaps an occasional New Englander. Some friends and relatives did escape to distant places with strange names—Philadelphia, New York, Nova Scotia. Such information must have prompted even folk who had never gone any further from home than their feet could carry them to ask new and far-ranging kinds of questions.

Second was a political education. Before the war slaveowners had had no reason to discuss colonial politics or modes of government with their bondsmen and slaves little reason to be interested. In most cases the masters' laws were the only ones that counted. But when they started a revolution, masters had to explain to their slaves something about what they were doing and why, along with inconsistent admonitions that the slaves remain faithful and continue to do their duty. With whites in the process of changing the rules of government for themselves, African Americans had reason to learn about lawyers, courts, legislatures, and antislavery movements. These they too might utilize to change the rules in their own interest, and soon after the war some slaves began the attempt, often in quite sophisticated ways. The egalitarian political philosophy underlying the Declaration of Independence reverberated through the quarters and shortly found eloquent expression in petitions for freedom, like those of the Butlers. They could now appeal to universal natural rights and not just to the questionable generosity of their masters.[17]

Overlying these short-term events were longer-run changes in plantation agriculture that were profoundly important for rural African Americans. Beginning in the 1750s and 1760s agricultural diversification had begun to alter work routines. Before the Revolution only a few planters cut back production of tobacco. Instead they increased corn and wheat crops by substituting plowing for hoeing and made surpluses of other products by forcing the slaves to work longer hours throughout the year and more intensively in the offseason, previously a time of relative leisure. A partial switch from hoe to plow culture encouraged an increase in the division of labor by gender. The new crops and routines required new tasks that were both varied and often involved some degree of skill—sowing and mowing grain, plowing, harrowing, carting, ditching, lumbering, fishing, and milling, for example. These new jobs were assigned primarily to slave men. By the end of the century many men were performing a greater variety of tasks, and even on large plantations they sometimes worked on special projects by themselves or with only one or two mates and not always under constant supervision. The great majority of slave women continued to perform unskilled manual field labor—hand hoeing and weeding—more often without the help of their menfolk. The new jobs assigned to women (or the old jobs formerly shared with men) included many of the least desirable chores—building fences, grubbing swamps in the dead of winter, cleaning winnowed grain of weed seed, breaking up new ground too rough or weedy to plow, cleaning stables, and loading and spreading manure. On large plantations slave women's work was less varied than that of the men, and they often labored together in gangs under the direct supervision of an overseer.[18]

Adjustments of this sort allowed most tidewater planters to maintain stable farm revenues until the Revolution, usually at the expense of their slaves' already limited leisure time and especially at the expense of slave women. But during the war most markets were cut off, and farm revenues fell precipitiously for all but a few. Some planters suffered losses to British raiders. On almost all farms livestock herds were depleted, and everywhere farm buildings were in disrepair. The tobacco market began to recover in the mid-1780s, and many Maryland planters resumed cropping with a vengence. Most slave artisans were sent back to the fields, while their owners reverted to their pre-war practice of buying imported manufactures or buying from white artisans. Slaves again wore clothes of imported cloth rather than homespun. The onset of European wars in 1793 and the collapse of the French tobacco market dealt tidewater farmers a severe blow at the same time they faced increased competition from rapidly expanding western settlements. With the British West Indies closed to American-owned ships, a lively market for grain, timber, and livestock was lost. A shortage of specie hampered commercial transactions, taxes were high, and some planters still owed prewar debts.[19]

In response to these conditions, many more planters in the 1790s stopped growing tobacco and switched to wheat and corn as their primary cash crops. While wheat growers did better for a few years, many did not prosper in the long run. In an attempt to recoup wartime losses, slaveowners put many more laborers on tidewater lands and plowed up many additional acres for wheat, often without either short fallowing or any use of animal or vegetable fertilizers. With such extensive plowing, soil erosion began to take its toll, and in a brief period many

tidewater planters had mined the land of its remaining fertility. Suddenly there was a shortage of good land and an excess of labor. The tilt toward grains permanently altered the ratio of labor to land in the tidewater and dramatically changed labor requirements. Wheat, unlike tobacco, did not need great numbers of workers year round, and large growers could always hire extra labor during the bottlenecks. Another impediment to grain production before the war was a shortage of strong draft animals. As planters learned how to grow forage, they put more land into pasture and hay. This further reduced the acreage available for market crops and thus labor needs. Once they could count on animal power, planters needed fewer hoe hands.[20]

These changes all required smaller groups of specialized, highly trained workers. Some planters, like Thomas Jones and Edward Lloyd, began selectively selling or shifting slaves about because they were making good profits and hoped to make more. Others failed to prosper. Faced with the necessity of cutting costs, these slaveowners began to pay more attention to annual expenses—especially to the major expense of slave maintenance. With labor requirements declining and annual outlays difficult to meet, hard-pressed slaveowners decided they could no longer afford to maintain hands who were not essential to their current operations and especially to feed and clothe growing numbers of non-productive children.

Money remained to be made in the post-revolutionary Chesapeake, but recovery was uneven, and the major benefits did not always fall to the same groups who had enjoyed the lion's share before the war. Nonetheless the level of prosperity was sufficient to maintain the demand—and the price—of slaves. If some large tidewater slaveholders had more hands than they needed, piedmont and trans-Allegheny tobacco farmers; urban families and entrepreneurs; prospering small landowners; and planters' wives who were tired of milking cows, washing clothes, chopping wood and fetching water did not. Slave hiring, autonomous artisan work with a chance for self-purchase, apprenticing out of young slaves, sale of slave women as domestics, or sale to slave dealers from the lower south promised quick and profitable returns from "surplus" workers.

Declining labor needs in the postwar period coupled sometimes with financial difficulties, sometimes with financial successes, induced many slaveholders to pare down their labor forces. The method they chose—and hence the outcome for their slaves—depended upon individual circumstance. Either covetousness or desperation was likely to lead to hiring out, apprenticeship, and slave sales. Those whose consciences had been heightened either by revolutionary equalitarianism or by evangelical Christian equalitarianism might opt instead for selective or whole-scale manumission. Thomas E. Davidson's study of slaves manumitted on the Eastern Shore between 1776 and 1810 shows how planters combined moral or religious imperatives with expediency. Delayed manumission, which required male slaves to serve from five to ten years longer than female slaves, was common. Because able-bodied men were likely to remain slaves, their free wives and children were unable to function as independent households and had little choice but to serve as appendages to the planters' slave workforce. Planters relieved themselves of maintenance costs of women and children, retained the labor of prime-aged males, and had access to cheap seasonal labor as needed.[21]

Some slaves benefited from these changes. A few were manumitted while others bought freedom either through self purchase or the more radical act of running away. The majority who remained in slavery faced increasingly uncertain prospects. While a labor shortage existed in the Chesapeake (as was the case throughout the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century) and planters sought to pass on a viable labor force to each of their children, retaining all the slaves they might acquire through inheritance or natural increase made sense. Most African Americans remained in the family, and although often separated by splitting up among separate farm units and later among various heirs, they still had some hope of maintaining communication with their kinfolk. After the war they had a great deal more to fear than their owner's eventual death and the ensuing division of the estate as slaveowners became more preoccupied with short-term returns. Then slave families might be broken up at any time in the owner's life cycle, and the new owner was less often a relative or neighbor of their former master.

Shortly after the turn of the century, tidewater planters began to restrict the means they used to control the size of their labor forces. A new surge of racism, heightened by fear of widespread slave revolts, prompted legislatures to tighten slave codes and to restrict manumissions, while the cotton boom in the Lower South ensured a profitable, if morally questionable, means of disposing of surplus slaves. The consequences of more liberal attitudes in the immediate postwar years played no small part in these changes. In Maryland with no adjacent western lands to which planters could send surplus slaves and with wide-scale agricultural change underway, more than a few chose the option of freeing their slaves. Between 1755 and 1790 the number of free Negroes in Maryland increased almost 350 percent, to about 8,000, and in the following decade it again more than doubled. By 1810 almost a quarter of Maryland's blacks were free—a result both of individual efforts and of a changing economic structure.[22]

Notes

1. James Wilson Farm Account Book, 1770–1796, Ms. 915, Maryland Historical Society (hereafter MdHS).

2. Jean Butenhoff Lee, "The Problem of Slave Community in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake," *William and Mary Quarterly* (3d ser.), 43 (1986): 333–61, argues, persuasively I think, that more Maryland slaves belonged to small and middling planters than has been estimated by Allan Kulikoff in *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680–1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986).

3. Inventory of James Wilson, 7 July 1796, Somerset County Original Inventories, Maryland State Archives (hereafter MSA).

4. Thomas Jones Farm Books, 1779–1812, Ms. 517, MdHS. The farm books contain annual inventories of Jones's slaves, livestock, and tools; weather observations; a daily work record, sometimes by individual; a weekly record of pork consumption; sources of increase or decrease among livestock; and comments on daily occurrences including the behavior of the slaves and overseers, journeys Jones made, sales of produce, slave hiring or apprenticing, and the births of Jones's children.

5. Baltimore County Wills, WB no. 1, 268–70; Baltimore County Inventories, WB no. 28, 39–41; Baltimore County Administration Accounts, WB no. 20, 97, MSA. Jones's personal estate was worth £1620 sterling constant value.

6. The account of Lloyd's operations comes from examination of the Lloyd Papers, Ms. 2001, MdHS, including Lloyd Ledger 1761–63, 1766–87, 1789–91; Bond Book, 1761–1800; Memorandum Book, 1768–72; Lloyd Ledger, 1770–74; Day Book, 1770–74, 1779–80; Cash Book, 1774–89; Memorandum Book 1780–83; Tenant Book, 1787–1804; and Plantation Book, 1788–98. My analysis draws heavily on Jean B. Russo's prior work on Lloyd's operations. Her results are summarized in "A 'Model' Planter: Edward Lloyd IV, Talbot County, Maryland, 1770–1796" (paper presented to the Washington Area Seminar on Early American History, 1985).

7. Henry Hollyday Account Book, 1745–90, Ms. 454; James Hollyday Account Book, 1746–84, Ms. 454.1; Hollyday Papers, Ms. 1317, boxes 2 through 6; Hollyday Miscellaneous Papers, Ms. 1508, MdHS: James Bordley, Junior, *The Hollyday and Related Families of the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1962); Edward C. Papenfuse, et al. *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789* (2 vols.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), vol. 1. On the economy of the area see Edward C. Papenfuse, "Economic Analysis and Loyalist Strategy During the American Revolution: Robert Alexander's Remarks on the Economy of the Peninsula or Eastern Shore of Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 68 (1973): 173–95. For the situation of loyalists and neutrals see Richard A. Overfield, "A Patriot Dilemma: The Treatment of Passive Loyalists and Neutrals in Revolutionary Maryland," *MdHM* 68 (1973): 140–59.

8. Cash Book no. 4, Hollyday Miscellaneous Papers, MdHS.

9. Henry to James Hollyday, 21 March 1780, Hollyday Papers, box 4, ibid.

10. Jesuit Provincial Archives 161 A, B, and C, Georgetown University Library.

11. Richard Boarman Account Book, 1755–82, and loose papers, Thomas Papers, Ms. G176; Wills, 35, 333 [father]; 36, 491 [brother]; St. Mary's County Wills, 1777–91, 200–01 [self], MSA.

12. Petition of Mary Butler v. Adam Craig, 1784, Papers of the General Court for the Western Shore, 1787; Papers of the Court of Appeals, 1791, Box C, MSA. Court papers relating to this case have been assembled and analyzed by Phoebe Jacobsen, ibid.

13. Robert Carter of Nomini heard about the Butlers' freedom suit in July 1789 with some alarm. Nell Butler's posterity in Maryland was thought to number about 750 slaves. Entry of 17 September 1789, Robert Carter Letterbook, 1789–1792, Duke University Library.

14. Generalizations are documented in Lorena S. Walsh, " 'To Labour for Profit': Plantation Management in the Chesapeake, 1620–1820," manuscript in progress, sponsored by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

15. I have found no references to slave inoculations in plantation account books before the Revolution. Even some prominent gentry (for example, Robert Carter of Nomini and several of his children) were not inoculated until 1777. With many whites apprehensive about the procedure and reluctant to undergo it, the prospect must have been frightening for the slaves. The Hollyday correspondence for 1777 includes a fascinating account of mass inoculations in Talbot County. Similarly in 1782 Nicholas Lewis Sewall had all his slaves inoculated. Routine smallpox inoculations of slave children begin to appear in postwar plantation accounts. The practice was much more controversial in Virginia.

16. My conclusions are drawn from the plantation materials cited in the notes and others discussed in " 'To Labour for Profit.' "

17. The best discussions of African Americans' responses to the Revolution are Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North

Carolina Press, 1961), Quarles, "The Revolurionary War as a Black Declaration of Independence," in Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, eds., *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), pp. 283–301; and Ira Berlin, "The Revolution in Black Life," in Alfred F. Young, ed., *The American Revolution* (Dekalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976), pp. 348–82.

18. For documentation see Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "Economic Diversification and Labor Organization in the Chesapeake, 1650–1820," in Stephen Innes, ed., *Work and Labor in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), pp. 144–88; and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Rationalization of the Chesapeake Tidewater Labor Force, 1720–1820" (paper presenred at the annual meeting of the Social Science History Association, 1986).

19. For accounts of the period see Ronald Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics, and the Revolution in Maryland* (Balrimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); Berlin and Hoffman, eds., *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution;* Berlin, "The Revolution in Black Life"; Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes Towards the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), chs. 8–15; Duncan J. MacLeod, *Slavery, Race and the American Revolution* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1974); Perer Joseph Albert, "The Protean Insritution: The Geography, Economy and Ideology of Slavery in Post-Revolurionary Virginia" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1976); Paul W. Gares, *The Farmer's Age: Agriculture, 1815–1860* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1960); James F. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton, "Economic Change after the American Revolution: Pre- and Post-War Comparisons of Maritime Shipping and Trade," *Explorations in Economic History,* 13 (1976): 397–422; and Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves.*

20. Edward C. Papenfuse, "Planter Behavior and Economic Opportunity in a Staple Economy," *Agricultural History,* 46 (1972): 297–311; Lorena S. Walsh, "Land, Landlord, and Leaseholder: Estate Management and Tenant Fortunes in Southern Maryland, 1642–1820," *Agricultural History,* 59 (1985): 373–96; and Lorena S. Walsh, "Enlightened Pracrice or Egregious Blunder? Agricultural Change and rhe Chesapeake Ecology, 1650–1820" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Social Science Hisrory Association, 1988). Among contemporary travellers' accounts see William Faux, *Memorable Days in America . . .* in Reuben Gold Thwaires, ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1909 [London, 1823]), vols. 11 and 12; J. P. Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America,* Durand Echeveria, ed., (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964 [Paris, 1791]); Thomas Anburey, *Travels Through the Interior Parts of America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1923 [1789]); J. F. D. Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America . . .* (New York: Arno Press, 1968 [London, 1784]); William Strickland, *Observations on the Agriculture of the United States of America* ([London, 1801]; in *Collections of the New York Historical Society,* 83 (1971): 18–25; Isaac Weld, Jr., *Travels Through The States of North America* (New York: Johan Reprint Corp., 1968 [London, 1807, 4th ed.]); Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, eds., *Quebec to Carolina in 1785–1786, Being the Travel Diary and Observations of Robert Hunter, Jr. A Young Merchant of London* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1943); *Luigi Castiglioni's Viaggio, Travels in the United States of North America, 1785–87,* trans. Antonio Pace (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1983); and Johann David Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation,* Alfred J. Morrison, ed. and trans. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1968 [Erlangen, 1788]).

21. Thomas E. Davidson, "The Demography of Freedom: Manumussion Practices and the Shaping of the Eastern Shore's Free African American Population, 1776–1810," in this issue of *MdHM.* Cf. Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), ch. 2.

22. Berlin, "Revolurion in Black Life", p. 359.

The Maryland Abolition Society and the Promotion of the Ideals of the New Nation

ANITA AIDT GUY

During the formation of the republic natural rights philosophy—glorifying human equality and placing confidence in the power of reason to reform social injustice—inspired Americans and influenced attitudes toward slavery. Northern states gradually abolished bondage; those south of Pennsylvania passed less restrictive manumission laws.[1] Marylanders shared in this movement. Antislavery sentiment emerged in newspapers, religious denominations, and in the debates of the General Assembly. Despite the state's failure to abolish slavery, a more liberal manumission policy became law as a result of this agitation—much of it the work of the Maryland Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and the Relief of Free Negroes, and Others, Unlawfully Held in Bondage, which formed in Baltimore on 8 September 1789.

The Maryland Society could hardly have been more active for its day. It cooperated with local antislavery groups, endorsed the policies of a national consortium called the American Abolition Societies, and encouraged education for the "people of color." The Maryland Society petitioned the assembly to extend rights guaranteed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution to African Americans and, in the state courts, entered lawsuits on behalf of some slaves. Such petitions and "freedom suits" embroiled the society in state sectional differences—those between slaveholding and agricultural Southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore and, on the other hand, the nonslaveowning and commercial regions of northern and western Maryland.

According to the Maryland Society's constitution, members pledged to bear testimony against slavery, to spread the truth abroad, and in all ways assist fellow abolitionists. Each member paid dues of ten shillings or faced expulsion. A president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, four counsellors, an electing committee of twelve, and an acting (or business-affairs) committee of six supplied leadership. Counsellors handled freedom suits and stood prepared to comment on slavery legislation. The electing committee screened new members: "No Person holding a Slave as his Property" was admitted to the society, although slaveholding "Persons of legal Knowledge" were welcomed as "honorary counsellors."[2]

The society's white-male membership, while largely "gentle," was by no means exclusive or aristocratic. By 1797 there were 162 private members from Baltimore City, Harford, Baltimore, Cecil, Anne Arundel, Montgomery, and Frederick counties and the federal district. Seventy-five men residing in other states and

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England comprised the honorary associates, whose occupations varied. Several members were Quakers. Wealthier members were merchants such as Joseph Townsend, Philip Rogers, and Alexander McKim. Others included attorneys and physicians like Thomas Kill and Henry Wilkins. Upper-class elements possessed money and leisure time for philanthropic pursuits. Approximately one-quarter of the private members were artisans, some of whom held office. David Brown, a potter, secured the treasurership in 1797, when William Brown, a cabinetmaker, William Ruly, a shoemaker, William Ball, a silversmith, John Hayes, a printer, and James Morrison, a painter, assumed positions on the electing committee.[3] Occupied with earning a living, skilled workers typically had little time to correct social wrongs. Thus far, the tradesmen's participation in the society remains obscure.

Several highly visible Marylanders joined the society. In 1789 Luther Martin was appointed an honorary counsellor despite his being a slaveowner. Although on occasion he represented masters in freedom suits (as in *Rawlings* v. *Boston* in 1793), Martin also aided slaves and free African Americans with their legal problems. In the 1804 *Mason* vs. *Ship Blairlau* case, he procured Negro Tom's freedom and his $200 reward as a salvage crewman for the ship. Four years later Martin counselled a slave in *Negro Cato* v. *Howard.* Nathan Harris agreed to Cato's freedom in the 1790s, but repossessed him later. The Montgomery County Court ruled against Cato, but he was freed on appeal.[4] As state attorney general in 1781 Martin recommended clemency for a slave, Sam, who had "made a *full* and *voluntary* Confession" of burglary, without which there would have been no case. Nineteen years later Martin argued against mercy for an African American convicted of murder.[5]

Another prominent associate was Dr. George Buchanan. In his *An Oration on the Moral and Political Evil of Slavery,* delivered to the Maryland Society on 4 July 1791, Buchanan decried "the unnatural custom . . . of dragging the human race into slavery and bondage. . . ." He condemned the disastrous inhumanities that accompanied slavery and accused slave traders of provoking wars between African tribes to acquire captives. Buchanan denounced the abduction of Africans and disruption of their family life. He maintained that African Americans possessed numerous talents, needing only the opportunity to express them.[6]

Buchanan also pointed out the dangers of slavery to American society. Destruction followed the growth of slavery, he warned, because "slavery . . . destroys every human principle, vitiates the mind, instills ideas of unlawful cruelties, and eventually subverts the springs of government." It was, therefore, inconsistent with the revolutionary principle that all men were equal under God. Slavery, Buchanan argued, injured American commerce. Sailors died in the slave trade and other tradeable African products were ignored. Like other abolitionists, he believed in the profitability and effectiveness of free over slave labor. Buchanan contended that slaves were unproductive because they lacked the free man's concern for reputation, future employment, and ownership of one's tools.[7] Buchanan favored slave emancipation—if not immediately, then gradually, freeing children of one or two generations at a specified age. He urged the society to continue its valiant efforts and pursue a course guided by reason and not passion.[8]

Buchanan well represented the values of the society and its tone. It adopted his view that immediate or gradual abolition of slavery depended on public discretion. It employed calm, rational, and logical approaches to abolition rather than fanatical or wild statements and plans. Thus the Maryland Society reflected the Enlightenment's faith in human reason and fear of excess. It hoped to foster a constructive relationship with policy makers and citizens alike.

Granville Sharp, the English abolitionist who was an honorary member of the society, wished for greater boldness. Writing in 1793, he declared returning an escaped slave to his master illegal and denounced the cruelty of laws protecting slavery. To Sharp, the "unnatural crime" of the slave trade and slavery was "destestable, abominable, and damnable both to the souls and bodies of all that wilfully promote them!" Sharp blamed the colonial courts for the laws sustaining slavery and warned Marylanders of calamity and destruction if the practice continued.[9]

The Maryland Society worked closely with other state abolition societies to promote united action. Members also attended the annual American Abolition Societies conventions in Philadelphia, where they regularly assessed progress. At the first convention in 1794 the full organization pledged to meet "until . . . the liberty of our fellowmen—shall be fully and unequivocally established." The association finally settled on a policy of gradual abolition. Delegates favored the instruction of African Americans through literature, religion, morality, and various trades—thus creating useful black citizens. Each annual meeting appealed to the state societies, the state legislatures, and Congress to improve the African Americans' condition and end the slave trade. The 1794 convention's memorial to Congress resulted in an act that prohibited citizens from outfitting foreign vessels in American ports for the slave trade.[10] At the 1796 convention delegates lectured freedmen on proper behavior, suggesting that they attend religious services and acquire instruction in elementary schooling, useful trades, and farming techniques. Abolitionists urged free African Americans to be "diligent" in their respective callings and "faithful in all the relations" they bore in society.[11]

The Maryland Society actively promoted the abolition of slavery, a less restrictive state manumission policy, and the prevention of the exportation of blacks from Maryland. One month after organizing, the society petitioned the House of Delegates for the abolition of slavery. Lawmakers debated gradual or immediate emancipation without agreeing. Although sentiment for a more liberal manumission law emerged, Southern Maryland and Eastern Shore delegates prevented any change to the restrictive 1752 manumission act, which, for example, disallowed manumissions by word, written documents, or wills written immediately prior to death. Meanwhile the senate considered a measure for the gradual abolition of slavery and prevention of the out-of-state sale of slaves. This proposal met overwhelming resistance from tural and slaveowning interests in the lower house and divided sentiment among commercial and nonslaveholding members.[12]

In 1790 the society sent another memorial to the legislature. Its efforts produced a less restrictive manumission policy. Delegates from the Eastern Shore and northern and western Maryland pushed the measure through against tough Southern Maryland opposition, and the senate concurred. The new act permitted slaveowners "to grant freedom to, and effect the manumission of, any . . . slaves

belonging to such . . . persons, by . . . their last will and testament." Additionally, masters not in debt might bestow freedom on self-sufficient slaves under fifty years of age. Free African Americans and those freed in the future could not be exported from Maryland. Finally, the law instructed masters to care for ill and elderly slaves and eliminated the thirty-one-year servitude requirement for children of black and white parents in the 1715 and 1728 acts.[13]

The following year, when members of the society appealed to the lower house to prohibit the exportation of slaves altogether, rural delegates argued that such provisions interfered with property rights in slaves and undermined the slaves' acquiescence. The society again petitioned the assembly in 1794 and 1795.[14]

In 1796 the legislature passed another comprehensive bill, with the Eastern Shore favoring it and lawmakers from the rest of the state dividing over it. This law prohibited the importation of slaves into Maryland and the exportation of free blacks, but prevented African Americans from voting or testifying against whites as witnesses in freedom suits. Freedmen without means of support were obliged to give security for their behavior, or leave Maryland, or be sold for a term. Free African Americans were liable to prosecution for lending a slave a freedom certificate, enabling the slave to abscond. Finally, the law reaffirmed the 1790 act's provision eliminating the thirty-one-year servitude requirement for children of black and white parents.[15]

Encountering considerable ambivalence in the General Assembly, the Maryland Society through sheer persistence won a less restrictive manumission act and prevented the exportation of at least some African Americans. Doubtless the manumission bills passed and the gradual-abolition measure failed because one involved voluntary emancipation while the other would have mandated freedom that slaveowners in Southern Maryland and on the Eastern Shore steadfastly opposed. The assembly compromised satisfying slaveholders by perpetuating slavery and placating nonslaveowning and antislavery elements by removing some restrictions on voluntary manumission.

Besides petitioning the Maryland General Assembly, the society in 1791 appealed to Congress for the abolition of the slave trade and slavery. According to Joseph Townsend, some members hesitated and "were alarmed and Jealous" because the issue might "set the house of Representatives in a flame. . . ." The memorial declared that slavery corrupted morals, destroyed religion, debased the human character, and violated reason; the society requested Congress to prevent United States citizens from engaging in the slave trade and foreigners from outfitting slave trading ships in American ports. Finally, the petition demanded humane treatment for any slaves imported. American citizens, wrote Alexander McKim, "do not rest easy under the foul Stain that Lays on our natural Character, of Sanctioning and encouraging Slavery. . . ."[16]

In hopes of fostering science and education, the Maryland Society and its Pennsylvania counterpart assisted Benjamin Banneker in preparing his first almanac in 1790 and 1791. William Hayes, a Baltimore printer, agreed to publish it upon verification of the calculations. On land donated by an unknown member in 1796, the Maryland Society erected an academy for African Americans' education.[17]

The society's most controversial activity was its direct efforts to free slaves by

means of freedom suits. By 1796 it boasted that "138 persons have obtained their liberty through the Interposition of the Society. . . ." During the previous year the organization procured Thomas Williams's manumission for $200; between January 1796 and May 1797 sixteen additional people secured their freedom. The society returned a mulatto boy, William Bannister, to his parents after he was taken from the Eastern Shore to Georgetown. In another case, society member David Brown contacted the Pennsylvania Abolition Society about the imprisonment of a mulatto boy, John Grover, in the Baltimore jail. Brown received a certificate from Samuel Pancoast and Elizabeth Hall verifying Grover's freedom, thus preventing him from being sold for his jail costs.[18]

Sometimes whites resented such efforts. One controversial case in 1790 and 1791 involved Jonathan, the slave of Ezekiel John Dorsey of Baltimore County and David, the slave of Edward Dorsey of Anne Arundel. The society sheltered and assisted the slaves in their freedom suits. Consequently, the Dorseys accused it of prolonging the court proceedings and inflicting additional costs through trips the Dorseys made obtaining evidence to refute the slaves' testimony. The petitions were withdrawn twice and initiated again, thus increasing the Dorseys' costs. The court ordered the society to pay the Dorseys for the services of the slaves and court costs. The society refused, and the court could not compel them to pay.[19] The Dorseys next complained to the General Assembly. After an investigation, the House of Delegates Committee on Grievances and Courts of Justice asserted that the association "interfered in an improper, indecent, and unjustifiable manner" with the Dorseys' property rights. The society complained that it had received no opportunity to present its side of the story; it denied the Dorsey's charges of prolonging the case and argued that no investigation had determined whether the slaves' mother was free or a slave.[20]

In December 1791 the House of Delegates resolved that the Maryland Society's memorial was "indecent, illiberal, and highly reprehensible" and required the society to pay the Dorseys' costs before entering a second freedom petition. Delegates rejected a resolution declaring the society's existence unnecessary and its principles and actions "subversive of the rights of our citizens; and . . . repugnant to the laws and constitution of the state." Northern and western Maryland opposed such a harsh resolution.[21] Southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore supported censure.

After this pronouncement the society issued a defensive public appeal. Legislators, it said, had swallowed evidence its enemies had supplied; it resented being condemned without a hearing. The assembly's resolution was an attack on benevolence, humanity, and the common rights of man and thus on the spirit of the Revolution and Constitution.[22]

In November 1796 William Handy of Worcester County also complained to the assembly, claiming that he had been arrested and deprived of his slaves by the Maryland Society and Pennsylvania civil officers. The investigating House of Delegates committee found that Handy had indeed been "grossly injured in his person and property" by some Pennsylvania citizens and advised him to seek remedy with the federal government, since the incident involved another state. Delegates from Southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore approved the report, while the northern and western nonslaveowning counties opposed it. On reconsideration, all sections supported the report.[23]

The society mysteriously disappeared in 1798, all records abruptly ending with no account of its dissolution. The year before, in what perhaps was an appropriate conclusion, the society had reported triumphantly on its persevering effort to bring "the cruelty, Injustice, and Abhorance" of slavery before the public eye.[24] The society truly had upheld the equality of all men, uncovered the wrong of slavery, and promoted the improvement of humanity and justice. Nevertheless, it merely began the long fight that culminated in emancipation in Maryland sixty-six years later.

Notes

1. Monte A. Calvert, "The Abolition Society of Delaware, 1801–1807," *Delaware History* 10 (October, 1963): 295–320; Donald E. Everett, "Free Persons of Color in Colonial Louisiana," *Louisiana History* 7 (January, 1966): 22–23, 29, 31–32; Gordon E. Finnie, "The Antislavery Movement in the Upper South Before 1840," *Journal of Southern History* 35 (August, 1969): 320, 322–23, 326–28, 333–34; Benjamin J. Klebaner, "American Manumission Laws and the Responsibility for Supporting Slaves," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 63 (October, 1955): 443–53; Irving S. Kull, "Slavery in New Jersey," *Americana* 24 (October, 1930): 447, 458–64; Stephen B. Weeks, "Anti-Slavery Sentiment in the South With Unpublished Letters From John Stuart Mill and Mrs. Stowe," *Southern History Association* 2 (April, 1898): 93–97, 107–108; Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, 1976), pp. 17–31, 79–85, 90–91, 96–97, 101–103; Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, eds., *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), pp. xv, xvii, xx, 52, 277–78, 293; Clement Eaton, *A History of the Old South* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1975), pp. 109–110, 264, 301, 368–70; Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1968), pp. xi–xiii, 271–76, 291–304, 310–11, 315–16, 332–33, 343–49, 365–69, 573–81; Leon F. Litwak, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790–1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 3n, 5–14, 17–19, 171; Ulrich B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966), pp. 116–26, 128, 425–26, 493–94; and Arthur Zilversmit, *The First Emancipation: The Abolition of Slavery in the North* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), pp. 91–153, 157–67, 169, 173–89, 192–224, 227–29.

2. *Constitution of the Maryland Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and the Relief of Free Negroes, and Others, Unlawfully Held in Bondage* (Baltimore: William Goddard and James Angell, 1789), pp. 3–7. See also Jeffrey R. Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland: A Study of the Institution of Slavery* (1889; repr. ed., New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1969), pp. 52–53.

3. Other occupations represented were a saddler, hatters, bakers, boarding house managers, printers, a dentist, druggists, a bricklayer, a brickmaker, a cooper, tailors, a teacher, clock makers, blacksmiths, a carpenter, a ship captain, a rope maker, a notary public, tavern keepers, a harbor master, a scrivener, and a weighmaster. See American Abolition Societies (AAS) Convention of 1797, Maryland Abolition Society Report, 3 May 1797, Pennsylvania Abolition Society Papers, Pennsylvania Abolition Society Manuscript Collection, AmS 02, Microfilm No. XR 572:28, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (hereinafter cited as Pennsylvania Abolition Papers, HSP).

4. Paul S. Clarkson and R. Samuel Jett, *Luther Martin of Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970), pp. 166–67.

5. Luther Martin to Thomas Sim Lee, 19 February 1781, and Luther Martin to Governor Ogle, 26 August 1800, Luther Martin Photostats, Ms. 1751, MdHS.

6. George Buchanan, *An Oration on the Moral and Political Evil of Slavery Delivered at a Public Meeting of the Maryland Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and the Relief of Free Negroes, and Others, Unlawfully Held in Bondage. Baltimore, July 4, 1791* (Baltimore: Philip Edwards, 1793), pp. 7, 10–11.

7. Ibid., pp. 9, 12–14, 16.

8. Ibid., pp. 17–20.

9. Granville Sharp, *Letter from Granville Sharp, Esq. of London to the Maryland Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and the Relief of Free Negroes, and Others, Unlawfully Held in Bondage* (Baltimore: Yundt and Patton, 1793), pp. 3, 6–9, 11.

10. Philip Rogers to James Pemberton, 3 November 1789, and James Townsend to James Pemberton, 1 January 1791, Pennsylvania Abolition Papers, Committee of Correspondence, 1784–1795, Incoming, HSP; *Minutes of . . . a Convention of Delegates from the Abolition Societies Established in Different Parts of the United States, . . . on the First Day of January, 1794 . . .* (Philadelphia: Zachariah Poulson, Jr., 1794–1801), pp. 19, 20–28 (hereinafter cited as [*year*] *AAS Convention.*). See also *1795 AAS Convention,* pp. 9–17, 25, 29; *1796 AAS Convention,* pp. 9–10, 20; *1797 AAS Convention,* pp. 45, 51; *1798 AAS Convention,* pp. 8, 19; *1800 AAS Convention,* pp. 8, 17, 29; and *1801 AAS Convention,* pp. 37–39, 52.

11. *1795 AAS Convention,* pp. 23, 31; *1796 AAS Convention,* pp. 12–15; *1797 AAS Convention,* pp. 16–17.

12. *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates of Maryland* (hereinafter *VPHDM*) *November 1789,* pp. 9–10, 13–14, 20–21, 64–65, 78, 97–98, 103–105, 108, 121; *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland* (*VPSM*) *November 1789,* pp. 5, 10, 15, 17–18, 26, 34–35, 43–44, 46; *Laws of Maryland, November, 1789,* chap. 61; Thomas Bacon, ed., *Laws of Maryland with Proper Indexes* (Annapolis, 1765), Act of 1752, chap. 1; Ellen Hart Smith, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1942), pp. 266–70; Brackett, *Negro in Maryland,* pp. 53–55, 57, 60, 151–52; James M. Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634–1860* (1921; repr. ed., New York: Octagon Books, 1971), pp. 24, 54, 57–61, 64. See also Anita Louise Aidt, "Ambivalent Maryland: Abolitionist Activity in Maryland During the Revolutionary Period" (M.A. thesis, Georgetown University, 1980).

13. *VPHDM, November 1790,* pp. 11, 15, 17–18, 23–24, 26–27, 35–36, 40, 110; *VPSM, November 1790,* pp. 5, 8, 12, 52; *Laws of Maryland, November 1790,* chap. 9; Joseph Townsend to James Pemberton, 7 July 1790, and Joseph Townsend to James Pemberton, 31 October 1790, Pennsylvania Abolition Papers, Committee of Correspondence, 1784–1795, Incoming, HSP; Brackett, *Negro in Maryland,* pp. 54, 152, 184; and Wright, *Free Negro in Maryland,* pp. 58, 60–64, 66.

14. *VPHDM, November 1791,* pp. 19, 31, 38; *1795 AAS Convention,* p. 17; *1796 AAS Convention,* pp. 10, 22; AAS Convention of 1796, Maryland Report, 28 December 1795, Pennsylvania Abolition Papers, HSP; AAS Convention of 1797, Maryland Report, ibid.; Brackett, *Negro in Maryland,* pp. 57–58, 184. There is no public record that the society petitioned the assembly between 1794 and 1796, though society journals claim to have done so.

15. *VPHDM, November 1796,* pp. 42, 54, 64, 76, 82–83, 85–87, 92, 102–103, 110–11, 117; *VPSM, November 1796,* pp. 42, 47–48, 52–53, 58; Virgil Maxcy, rev., *The Laws of Maryland, with the Charter, the Bill of Rights, the Constitution of the State . . .* (3

vols.; Baltimore: Philip H. Nicklin and Co., 1811), 2: 1786–1800, Act of 1796, chap. 67; Brackett, *Negro in Maryland,* pp. 55, 60, 149, 153, 184–85; and Wright, *Free Negro in Maryland,* pp. 61, 66, 95, 111, 118–19.

16. Joseph Townsend to James Pemberton, 7 December 1790, and Alexander McKim to James Pemberton, 18 April 1792, Pennsylvania Abolition Papers, Committee of Correspondence, 1784–1795, Incoming, HSP; *Memorials Presented to the Congress of the United States of America, By the Different Societies Instituted for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery . . .* (Philadelphia: Francis Bailey, 1792), pp. 23–27. The Chestertown and Caroline County societies sent similar petitions; see Kenneth L. Carroll, "Nicholites and Slavery in Eighteenth Century Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 79 (1984): 129–32.

17. Silvio A. Bedini, *The Life of Benjamin Banneker* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), pp. 100–102; Benjamin Banneker to Andrew Ellicott, 6 May 1790, and Joseph Townsend to James Pemberton, 14 November 1790, Pennsylvania Abolition Papers, Committee of Correspondence, 1784–1795, Incoming, HSP; AAS Convention of 1796, Maryland Report, and Convention of 1797, Maryland Report, ibid.; *1796 AAS Convention,* pp. 21–22; *1797 AAS Convention,* p. 41.

18. AAS Convention of 1796, Maryland Report, and Convention of 1797, Maryland Report, HSP; William Zane to Joseph Townsend, 13 July 1795, and Edward Needles Memorandum on Runaway Yellow Boy, n. d., Pennsylvania Abolition Papers, Committee of Correspondence, 1784–1795, Incoming, Updated Incoming, ibid.; and *1797 AAS Convention,* p. 38.

19. *Extracts of the Minutes of the Maryland Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and the Relief of Free Negroes, and Others, Unlawfully Held in Bondage, Held at Baltimore, February 4, 1792* (Baltimore: William Goddard and James Angell, 1792), pp. 1–2.

20. Ibid., pp. 2–5.

21. Ibid., pp. 5–6.

22. Ibid., pp. 6–8; for additional information see *VPHDM, November 1791,* pp. 80–81, 91, 94, 102, 105–107, 121; Joseph Townsend to James Pemberton, 18, 22 August, 7 December 1790, and McKim to Pemberton, 18 April 1792, Pennsylvania Abolition Papers, Committee of Correspondence, 1784–1795, Incoming, HSP.

23. *VPHDM, November 1796,* pp. 37, 39–40.

24. AAS Convention of 1797, Maryland Report, Pennsylvania Abolition Papers, HSP.

Voices of Protest: Eastern Shore Abolition Societies, 1790–1820

KENNETH L. CARROLL

The earliest abolition society in the United States was established by Pennsylvania Quakers in 1774. Inactive during the American Revolution, the society revived in 1784 and three years later reorganized with an expanded membership that included Benjamin Franklin, the Marquis de LaFayette, Brissot de Warville, and other influential non-Quakers, as well as many Friends in other states. Named the "Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, the Relief of Free Negroes held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race," it counted six Marylanders in its 1787–1788 membership—including two Eastern Shore Quakers, John Needles of Talbot County and Joseph Wilkinson of Kent County. Shortly thereafter, from 1789 to 1792, a number of other abolition societies sprang into existence, stretching northward from Virginia into New England. It was near the beginning of this period that the first two Eastern Shore abolition groups were established: the Choptank Society and the Chestertown Society.[1]

The Choptank Abolition Society appeared in 1790, its membership at first concentrated largely in the upper part of Caroline County. It drew participants from three religious groups that were strongly opposed to slavery: Quakers of Tuckahoe and Greensboro meetings, Nicholites of Centre and Tuckahoe Neck meetings, and Methodists who were rapidly increasing throughout the whole area.[2] Attempting to increase its size and influence, the Choptank Society in the fall of 1792 placed an advertisement in the Easton newspaper announcing a meeting at the Methodist Meetinghouse and concluding with an invitation to others to attend. "As the Society is desirous of enlarging the object of their association," read the notice, "the company of such characters as are friendly to the Institution is solicited on the occasion."[3]

If Needles (a 1787 member of the Pennsylvania Society) was not already a member of the Choptank Society, he must have become active at this time, for he served as president of this group in 1793. Other officers in the 1790s included Methodists Edward White (vice-president), Charles Emory (secretary), Thomas White (office unknown), and Peter Harrington (member of the Acting Committee). James Harris, the great Nicholite leader, served as president in 1797. Seth Hill Evitts, also a Nicholite, was the delegate from the Choptank Society to the Fourth Convention of Delegates from the Abolition Societies assembled in Philadelphia in 1797, the only convention to which the Choptank body sent a delegate.

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Other than Jacob Boon and these seven Quakers, Nicholites, and Methodists, we cannot name with certainty the members of this small group, which in 1797 numbered only twenty-five members,[4] although we are able to guess at other possible participants by examining the names of Quaker, Nicholite, and Methodist witnesses to manumission records.

The Choptank group described itself as a "Society for promoting the abolition of slavery and for the relief of persons unlawfully held in bondage."[5] Its efforts focused on these two tasks. In September 1791 the Choptank Society petitioned Congress to end the slave trade. Antislavery spokesmen presented this memorial—along with those from other abolition societies in Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Western Shore of Maryland—in the House of Representatives in December 1791. Congress made no further progress, however, and the Pennsylvania Society soon published these petitions.[6]

The second major object of the Choptank Society was to obtain freedom for those "unlawfully held in bondage." The society hired lawyers to gain freedom for these blacks. Sometimes it was enough merely to commence—or even threaten—court action, in order to get the slaveholders to settle out of court and manumit their "bondsmen." The society believed that such a result was "far more desirable than to take them out of their possession by the force of Law." As an example the members reported the case of Dr. Nathaniel Potter and his brother William, who held as slaves a family that had some claim to freedom (originally from their grandmother). The Potters agreed to collect the evidence that could be obtained and then leave the matter to counsel to determine. The evidence "was Diligently Sought, though much Obscured by Length of Time." Because the evidence in favor of the slaves was doubtful, the society agreed to a compromise with the Potters—so that three adults were freed on 1 January 1797, and the five remaining members of the family, all minors, were to be freed when they reached the age of twenty-one.[7] Where cases were carried into the courts, the Choptank Abolition Society over a period of seven years was successful in winning freedom for the slaves in every case but one. The lost case, the society was convinced, was lost by the "Misconduct of a Principle Witness."[8]

The Choptank Society also believed that there was great need to "Exert our Utmost Efforts, Not only towards the Progress of that Noble Testimony that Declares the Equal Right of men, but also to Regulate the Conduct of those that have been Set free—to Stop the Mouths of those that Incline to Discredit that which Appears [?] against their Selfish views, and to Make them who have heretofore been Deprived of the Benefits of Education to become Useful Citizens, and thereby Make it Manifest that they [are] Capeable of Receiving of Civil and Religious Improvement."[9] Closely related to this aim was the society's decision to distribute copies of a message "to the free people of color from the Convention of 1796," which had been received somewhat belatedly. This address encouraged free African Americans to give "a regular attention to the important duty of public worship," to teach their children useful trades, to be diligent and just in all their dealings, to refrain from the use of "spiritous liquors," to avoid the "frolicking and amusements" that produced "habits of dissipation," to have their marriages legally performed and births and deaths in their families recorded, to save as much as

possible from their earnings for the benefit of their children in case the parents should die before the children were old enough to support themselves, and to learn reading, writing, and the "first principles" of arithmetic. Children should be encouraged "early and frequently to read the holy scriptures [since they] . . . contain, among other great discoveries, the precious records of the original equality of mankind, and of the obligations of universal justice and benevolence, which are derived from the relation of the human race to each other in a COMMON FATHER."[10]

Members of the Choptank Abolition Society were also active in encouraging individual slaveholders to free their slaves. The records of Caroline County show a steady stream of manumissions throughout the 1790s, many of them witnessed by known members of the Choptank body. If we knew the names of other members we would find the same thing to be true in Talbot County where the society had some activity (so much so, in fact, that in 1793 it was referred to as the "Easton Society").[11]

The story of the Chestertown Abolition Society is much the same as that of the Choptank body. It also seems to have started about 1790. Two of its leading members were Joseph Wilkinson (who had been a member of the Pennsylvania Society in 1787) and James Maslin, both of them Quakers who had freed their own slaves earlier. Other leaders included Dr. James M. Anderson, a dedicated Methodist leader, and Abraham Ridgely who was apprenticed to Dr. Anderson and who was converted to Methodism by Anderson. Still other members were Edward Scott, James Houston, and Daniel M'Curtin.[12] Here, too, members of the Society of Friends (which had already outlawed slaveholding) and Methodists (who in the 1790s had a strong antislavery testimony) cooperated in this ecumenical effort to do away with the slave trade and to bring freedom to those who had a legal right to it.

The Chestertown Abolition Society also drew up a petition for Congress on 19 November 1791—calling for the prohibition of the slave trade by American citizens, the prohibiting of foreign ships destined for the slave trade from being fitted in United States ports, and for the humane treatment of slaves in those states which still permitted such importation. This "memorial" was quite similar to those of the Choptank, Baltimore, and other abolition societies. Like the others it was presented and read in the House of Representatives on 8 December 1791, and then referred to a select committee.[13]

The Chestertown Society (also called the "Chester River Society" and perhaps the same size as the Choptank Society) appears to have had members in both Kent and Queen Anne's counties. It also tried to gain freedom for those who had a legal right to liberty but who were still held in bondage. In some cases the society succeeded in this endeavor, even finding some owners willing to manumit the slaves when legal action was either discussed or barely started. In one case, however, there was a complete lack of success. This was in the bizarre episode which involved Edward Harris, an associate justice of the Queen Anne's County Court. Harris, who is shown as possessing twenty slaves by the 1790 Census, held two whom the Chestertown Society believed had a right to freedom. The society therefore hired Joseph Nicholson, a young lawyer, to file a petition for the freedom of those two blacks. Harris told Nicholson that the society had no real case and suggested that the lawyer drop the case. Harris then added that he hated to see Nicholson lose the

remuneration that he would have received for handling this matter and appears to have offered him a sum of money so that it would not be a total loss for him. Nicholson viewed this offer as an attempted bribe and rejected it outright.

Before long the case became a *cause celebre,* with various Maryland newspapers entering into the dispute and partisans of each principal questioning the honesty and integrity of the other. William Paca, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, suggested that a three-man committee mediate the dispute. Nothing, however, was settled—either in mediation or in the newspapers. Eventually the two men agreed to hold a duel on the banks of the Potomac. Shortly before it was to take place Harris made one last attempt to clear himself of the bribery charge, saying that he knew Nicholson to be a man of such integrity that he would never have thought of making such a tainted offer. Nicholson by now was unsure of just how accurate or reliable his own recollection of the matter may have been. He therefore accepted Harris's plea of innocence, and the two sides put down their arms. Harris kept the two slaves, for there is no manumission record for either of them in the Queen Anne's County records; Nicholson went on to achieve some distinction in Congress and the legal world—serving as judge of the Criminal Court in Baltimore and then as a judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals.[14]

Both these small Eastern Shore abolition societies probably ceased to exist at the end of the 1790s, as did the Baltimore Society, which actually disbanded in 1798. Various reasons have been suggested for their disappearance: the death of such active leaders as Needles in 1795 and James Harris in 1799, failure in getting Maryland and the United States to move against bondage, and still other reasons. Yet the societies had some real success (no matter how limited in scope) and some influence in their communities. Antislavery lived on in the minds and hearts of individual Methodists and Quakers (who absorbed most of the Nicholites by 1800). New factors entered the picture—especially a rise in the kidnapping of free African Americans. After about 1801 seizures of free blacks in Maryland and their sale south into slavery increased.

Talbot County whites responded to this latest outrage—and proved the persistence of antislavery concern on the Shore—by forming a new abolition society in 1804. Joseph Bartlett (1781–1810), descendant of a family long opposed to slavery, was the main inspiration for this group. Young, dynamic, and dedicated, Bartlett provided the spark necessary for this development. At the beginning of July he met with Dr. Robert Moore, a fellow member of Third Haven Friends Meeting, to make arrangements for the setting up of a "First Day School" (patterned after the Sunday Schools which Robert Raikes had popularized in England late in the eighteenth century, for teaching illiterate adults to read and write). In this case, however, Moore and Bartlett had the needs of black children in mind. Since the building was not yet ready, the school's opening was postponed for a time.

A few days later, on the second Thursday of July, Bartlett attended Third Haven Monthly Meeting (the business session for its six Quaker meetings in Talbot and Caroline) and then dined at the house of Samuel Yarnall, his close friend and fellow-Quaker. Bartlett recorded in his diary late that evening that "I was Engaged about forming plans and procuring names for an Abolition Society. Our success [in

these two matters] far exceeded our expectations." Two days later he recorded being "much engaged in procuring names & making some necessary arrangements for a Society for the promotion of the good cause & freedom & equal rights" and having the first meeting of those interested at 4 P.M., when a committee was "appointed to draw up a constitution &c."[15]

A chief supporter and advisor in this development was Dr. Robert Moore, a 1789 convert to Quakerism and a strong believer in democracy, freedom, and equal rights. Bartlett reported that on Sunday, 27 July, he attended worship at Third Haven and afterward repaired to Dr. Moore's house on Washington Street. There he and Moore "assisted some men from Camden [Delaware], in detecting some kidnappers in order to restore to freedom a couple of Negroes for which purpose we obtained a writ of replevin from the office of the General Court & those humane men went immediately in pursuit of them." Three days earlier, Bartlett and some members of the "Abolition society" had met at Dr. Moore's house to consider the case of J. Nabb, listened to what he had to say on the matter, and then adjourned to make further inquiry into the matter. A week later the committee met again and deliberated at great length, finally deciding—since the evidence was not as strong as might have been hoped—to let Nabb continue to hold the young male "on condition of manumitting him to be free at the age of 25 years & also that he give a bond of not less than $500 for the forthcoming of the Negro at the expiration of that time."[16]

In the very midst of the Nabb case the "friends to humanity" met on a Saturday afternoon to read and approve the constitution, choose officers, and transact other business. The constitution of the Maryland Philanthropic Association, published in the Easton *Republican Star,* had been drawn up by William Meluy, Robert Moore, James Iddings, Charles Emory, and John Kennard, Jr. Moore and Iddings were the only Quakers on this committee. Samuel A. Harrison (the well-known Talbot County historian) who at one time knew the names of the committee members, seems to have forgotten their names when in 1874 he hazarded the belief that the entire constitution "was unquestionably drawn up by a Friend." Harrison also noted that a number of Quakers (whose names he marked with a +) signed the document, numbering at least ten Friends among the signers. Actually fourteen of the signers, just more than one-half, were Friends, while most of the rest were Methodists.[17]

Harrison was aware that the "primary favored object of the society was to extend relief to the colored people unlawfully held in Bondage: but the preamble indicates that the secondary object, which was not designed to be conspicuous, was affecting the public mind upon the subject of Slavery."[18] Had he known Joseph Bartlett's original desire to establish an abolition society Harrison would have been even stronger on this point. Choosing the less controversial name of "the Philanthropic Society for the Relief and Protection of Blacks and people of Color unlawfully held in Bondage, or otherwise oppressed," the society wrote this preamble to their constitution:

> [I]t having pleased the Creator of the world to make of one flesh all the children of men, it becomes them to consult and promote each other's happiness as members of the same family, however diversified they may be by color, situation, religion, or

different states of Society. Such commerce in the human species having been pernicious and disgraceful in every country in which it has been exercised, long experience has sufficiently attested its repugnance to sound polity, to good morals, to the rights of mankind, and to the sacred obligations of the Christian religion. The Free Constitution of the United States suffers violence by such illicit practices. Their fundamental principles declare the original and inherent equality of mankind. And on this broad and liberal basis stands our liberty and political happiness. And if the principle of Slavery were in itself justifiable, it is impossible to vindicate on rational grounds the illegal exercise of it. Many persons entitled to freedom by the laws and constitution of the several States are detained by fraud and violence. Every good citizen is deeply interested in the impartial administration of justice, and consequently in the prosecution of such illegal and unjust proceedings. The cultivation of the minds of those that may be emancipated, in order to eradicate the vices and habits of slavery, is an object highly worthy of public attention. Society has suffered injury and is in danger of suffering more from neglecting the education of black persons of color. Impressed with the importance of those sentiments the subscribers have associated under the title of the "Philanthropic Society for the Relief and Protection of free blacks, and people unlawfully held in bondage or otherwise oppressed.[19]

The officers elected on 28 July were William Meluy, president; Robert Moore, vice president; James Iddings, secretary; and Charles Emory, treasurer. The officers, therefore, came equally from Friends and non-Friends. The "Acting Committee," which functioned on "the spur of the moment" as well as conducting longer-term investigations, was composed of Patrick McNeal, Jonathan W. Berny, (both non-Quakers) and Quakers James Neal, Samuel Sharpless, and Joseph Bartlett. Two days after the constitution was adopted and signed and the officers and Acting Committee were elected, the committee met and chose Patrick McNeal as its chairman and Joseph Bartlett as its clerk (secretary).[20] Article eleven of the constitution, dealing with the function of the Acting Committee provided that

A Book shall be kept by the Acting Committee for the purpose of entering the names of those charged with practices contrary to the design of this institution, and the same shall remain open against him, her or them until closed by a report of the committee on the Case: and if it is discovered that any free black, or colored children, are kept without indentures, the names of the persons so holding them shall be entered as aforesaid and closed by the Committee's report that the case is lawfully settled; and if by indenture, they shall set forth the period of such indenture, and the condition therein contained.[21]

Joseph Bartlett's diary gives a glimpse into the wider activities of the committee. He recorded in early August 1804 that the committee summoned him to Easton from his country home about pursuing a Georgia man to "recover some blacks who it was supposed were entitled to freedom, but found the proof so vague that it did not afford encouragement to proceed." On 29 November he noted that he had been "engaged part of the afternoon in searching the records in order to establish the right of some people of colour" to freedom. On 12 April 1806, he wrote that he had that day been engaged "on an inquiry into the rights of some black people who appeared entitled to freedom, & were likely to be sold to a Trader—found but little evidence of helping the poor creatures, owing to the imperfectness of our laws." A happier result was listed for 30 August 1806: "I was engaged most of the

afternoon about the liberation of a black boy lately brought by J.M. from Virginia which was effected to my satisfaction."[22]

One 1805 experience moved Bartlett very deeply. Toward the end of June he had "some conversation with a negro in the possession of some traders in this infamous traffic who appeared to be entitled to freedom." Bartlett and Samuel Sharpless (a member of the Acting Committee) went to George Bromwell to find any information which might justify their proceeding to replevin him. They found that the case was very dubious if not "desperate," so that they had to "relinquish the prospect of reclaiming the poor fellow." This depressing development led to a cry from the heart as he wrote in his diary that evening:

> Ye [You] hard hearted wretches who thus sport with the liberty & happiness of your fellow creatures can ye not see that ye are adding fuel to a flame already too great to be easily quenched, & perhaps the time may be nearer at hand than ye are willing to believe when it will burst forth.
>
> And ye Legislatures & guardians of our rights how long will ye wink at these enormities & sit as idle spectators of a scene so horrible—To se[e] the tender ties of consanquinity & parental affection daily cut assunder by ruffians equal in depravity to the most inhuman canabals. Can you expect to escape the fate that most certainly awaits this devoted country if you do not interfere in behalf of the oppressed, the cruelly oppressed who are crying for Justice & their cry will be heard to the confusion of thousands.[23]

Sentiments of this sort had caused Bartlett and others to form the Philanthropic Society and then drew them to the quarterly meetings of the society. Bartlett reported that he, James Dixon, and Isaac Poits after dinner went to town to attend the 16 March 1805, meeting of the society, where he found most of the members present and saw that the business proceeded very orderly and "with considerable spirit." He noted that at this meeting several members were added and also that he was elected secretary to replace James Iddings, who had recently removed to Pennsylvania. Edward Needles and Samuel Sharpless accompanied them home for the evening meal. When recording his attendance at a meeting of the society in the late spring of 1806 he noted that once again some new members had been added.[24]

Some members of the Philanthropic Society were also active in organizing and supporting the school for African American children. Although there was an overlapping membership, the School Committee was a separate body. Only the names of Joseph Bartlett, Samuel Sharpless, and Dr. Robert Moore and his wife Mary have been preserved in connection with this school. Bartlett not only served on the committee but for a period gave almost every Sunday to the school, both before meeting for worship and in the afternoon. On 2 December 1804 he noted that after meeting he dined at home—only the third First Day "on which I have dined at home for more than 3 months past—which has in part been owing to my attention to the Black School." Even earlier, at the beginning of September, he had noted that he had been "employed in the school till 5 o'clock," reporting that the blacks in the school behaved "with remarkable order & decorum." In October he wrote that he was "much pleased with the behaviour & Progress of the children, indeed they appear extremely anxious to Learn, & when this is the case they cannot fail to be benefitted if they are properly attended to."[25]

This Philanthropic Society, started in 1804, was known as the Maryland Philanthropic Society. Probably there were two reasons for this title. It was the only such society in Maryland at that time, and it had some members in other counties (such as Isaac Poits of Caroline County). The society lost much of its impetus with the death of Joseph Bartlett in 1810 (at the age of twenty-eight), the earlier departure of some of its members to Baltimore, Philadelphia, Ohio, and Indiana, and the death of still other members.[26] How much longer than 1810 (if at all) it continued to exist—even with the new members it had attracted—is uncertain. Probably it had ceased to exist by the outbreak of the War of 1812.

In 1816, or possibly as early as 1815, still another abolition society, also going under the title of "Philanthropic Society" arose in Easton—this time under the presidency of Dr. Robert Moore. The secretary of the new body was Lambert Clayland, a Methodist who became a justice of the peace and also a judge of the Orphans Court for Talbot County. Other known members of this new group were James Neall (well-known Quaker cabinetmaker who had been a member of the 1804 Philanthropic Society) and William Wilson Moore (an Easton businessman and son of Dr. Robert Moore). A wave of kidnapping triggered the creation of this new body:

> The practice of kidnapping free negroes has become so frequent in these parts, that it appeared necessary to form an association for their protection, and some humane minds feeling a lively interest for that unfortunate class of the human family, have formed an association denominated, the "Philanthropic Society of Easton" for the protection of those born free, unlawfully sold for transportation, or held in bondage, as well as those entitled to their freedom at a given time or upon a contingency, who are so often cruelly torn from the bosom of their families, by avarice and the iron hand of tyranny.[27]

The new society attracted a number of outstanding members of the community and had some real success. Through carefully chosen agents in each county on the Eastern Shore, the Philanthropic Society of Easton collected signatures of the "most respected characters of each county" in order to persuade the legislature to revise the laws relating to blacks. Although one branch of the General Assembly, dominated by slaveowners, refused to go along with these suggested changes in 1816, there was no feeling of despair:

> Though foiled in our first endeavours, we feel a hope from the numerous calls upon the humane, that the minds of the members of our next Legislature will be induced to reflect on and consequently to see the necessity of enacting such laws as shall more effectually secure the rights of these oppressed people, and bring their persecutors to condign punishment. Reasoning thus, we are induced to hope that on this shore the rights of this people are more clearly seen than formerly.[28]

The Easton Philanthropic Society also noted the change for the better in the treatment of slaves in its area, as contrasted with their earlier situation: "The condition and situation of those who are slaves amongst us, heretofore kept in great ignorance, is considerably meliorated, and their treatment marked with more humanity than in times past, and it is now no longer creditable, but considered disgraceful, for a man to treat his slaves cruelly." Noting their society's commit-

ment to use "every effort legally within our power to loose the bands of the oppressed," the Easton group expressed its hope to the 1817 Convention of Abolition Societies that "every member of the societies represented in your Convention, will use his utmost endeavour with all diligence to promote the cause of the oppressed descendants of Africa."[29]

The Easton Philanthropic Society had a very active sixteen months to report on in 1818. Members had been "variously and actively engaged in promoting the grand object for which our association was instituted"—protecting blacks unlawfully held in slavery or entitled to freedom "at a given term or upon a contingency." The society again had petitioned the Maryland legislature for a revision of some laws relating to blacks and/or the "enactment of others more congenial to the principles of justice and the protection of this unfortunate class of people." As a result of the society's efforts along these lines it was able to report, with some satisfaction, that

> [W]e have so far succeeded as to procure that foul stain to be wiped from our statute book, which lodged a fellow man in prison, who could not at the instant produce his Certificate of freedom, and which if at length exhibited, could not regain his liberty without paying his own prison fees. Other laws have been passed enabling us with more ease to test the validity of purchases made of these unfortunate people, and giving us the power to enter houses and vessels bearing strong marks of suspicion.

The society also had petitioned Congress to change the law dealing with the clearance or entry of ships navigating American waters and to authorize custom officers to detain any ship or vessel "whose manifest did not satisfactorily point out the condition of the unfortunate victims that might be found on board them."[30]

The Easton enemies of slavery reported that their Acting Committee, "always vigilant in the discharge of its duties," had been "constantly engaged in seeking out objects requiring our assistance and protection." It also noted the difficulty it faced in Maryland:

> Located, as we are, in this State, the mass of whose citizens have not yet seen that justice demands of them the sacrifice that our brethren of the northern section of our country have made, it consequently requires no common effort of the human mind to sustain a sufficient portion of buoyancy, to bear us up against the powerful current of opposition that presents itself, and threatens at every surge the destruction of all our hopes. Although we are beset by many discouragements, yet we are strengthened by the knowledge of the fact that our cause is the cause of justice, and that it is not those who run well for a season only, that are enabled to gain the goal of their wishes: we therefore trust that our little band, by persevering in the duties alloted it, will at length overcome many of the difficulties which now present themselves, and be enabled to do much towards meliorating the condition of the hapless sons of Africa.

In spite of the powerful opposition to its work by the surrounding community, the Philanthropic Society was able to end its 1818 report on a note of cautious optimism:

> [W]e cannot but hope that our feeble efforts will pave the way to a more general good, as the numbers which have been released from the tyrannic grasp of hardened kidnappers, have caused them to become more circumspect in our vicinity. We hail, as an auspicious omen, the establishment of another Society similar to ours in one of

> our neighbouring villages, (Centerville) whose objects flowing as ours from philanthropic principles alone, we will trust have a considerable influence, in producing a more general sympathetic feeling for the miseries of the ill-fated descendants of Africa.[31]

Later references to the Philanthropic Society of Easton and its sister society organized in Centreville have not yet surfaced. It seems likely that both these groups survived into the 1820s, when they or their more aggressive members were absorbed by the newly created Maryland Abolition Society.

Notes

1. Wayne J. Eberly, *The Pennsylvania Abolition Society, 1775–1830* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1974), p. 224; William Frederick Poole, *Anti-Slavery Opinions Before the Year 1800* (Cincinnati: R. Clarke & Co., 1873), pp. 49–51.

2. Cf. Kenneth L. Carroll, *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1970), pp. 113–18, 120–44; "Maryland Quakers and Slavery," *Quaker History* 72 (1983): 27–42; *Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites* (Easton: Easton Publishing Co., 1962), p. 38; "Religious Influences on the Manumission of Slaves in Caroline, Dorchester, and Talbot Counties," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 56 (1961): 176–97; and William Henry Williams, *The Garden of American Methodism* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1984), pp. 57–87.

3. Easton *Maryland Herald and Eastern Shore Intelligence,* 4 September 1792. A copy of this newspaper is found in the library of the MdHS and is also available on microfilm in the Maryland Room of the Talbot County Free Library, Easton.

4. Concerning these members of the Choptank Society see Miscellaneous Papers of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, microfilm reel 27, "List of the Presidents of the Southern Societies, 1793" and "A List of the Abolition Societies in the US made on 8 mo 12 [17]94;" also a letter from "The Choptank Abolition Society to the Convention of Delegates Elected by the abolition Societies in the Several Parts of the United States," dated 26 April 1797, an original manuscript document found in the papers of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP). Cf. Kenneth L. Carroll, "Nicholites and Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 79 (1984): 126–33, especially pp. 129–32; *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Fourth Convention of Delegates from the Abolition Societies Established in different Parts of the United States, Assembled at Philadelphia, on the third day of May, One thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven* . . . (Philadelphia, 1797), p. 38. Jacob Boon, who served as treasurer in 1797, may have been either a Quaker or a Nicholite. Also note *Memorials presented to the Congress of the United States of America by the different Societies instituted for promoting the abolition of slavery, &c, &c in the states of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Abolition Society, 1792), p. 27 (hereafter referred to as *Memorials*).

5. *Maryland Herald and Eastern Shore Intelligence,* 4 September 1792.

6. *Memorials,* title page and p. 27.

7. James Harris et al., Choptank Abolition Society, to the Convention of Delegates, 1797, HSP.

8. Land Records of Caroline County, Maryland, Liber E, folio 459, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis.

9. Harris et al., Choptank Abolition Society, to the Convention of Delegates, 1797, HSP.

10. *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Third Convention of Delegates . . . Assembled at Philadelphia* . . . (Philadelphia, 1796), pp. 12–15, reproduce this address.

11. List of the Presidents of the Southern Societies 1793, HSP.

12. Wilkinson was an active member of Cecil Monthly Meeting in Kent County. He attended the 1794 American Abolition Societies Convention as a delegate from the Chestertown Society. Maslin, also active in the affairs of Cecil Monthly Meeting, attended the 1794 convention. Anderson served as president of the Chestertown Society in 1794. Ridgely, who was a delegate to the 1794 convention, was the secretary of the Chestertown body in 1793. Daniel M'Curtin, who served as secretary of the Chestertown Society in 1791, was secretary to the Washington College Board of Visitors and Governors. Scott and Houston attended the 1796 convention as delegates.

13. *Memorials,* p. 27; List of the Presidents of the Southern Societies 1793, HSP.

14. Concerning Harris and Nicholson, cf. Frederic Emory, *Queen Anne's County, Maryland: Its Early History and Development* (Centreville, Md.: Queen Anne Press, 1950), pp. 178, 201, 284, 355, 367–71, 392; *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Maryland* (Baltimore: Southern Book Co., 1952), p. 100; Leroy Graham, *Elisha Tyson, Baltimore and the Negro* (M.A. thesis, Morgan State College, 1975), p. 70. The *Republican Star* and other Maryland newspapers devoted much space to this conflict.

15. Joseph Bartlett Diary (1804), Historical Society of Talbot County (hereafter HSTC).

16. Ibid.

17. See n. 19 below; Harrison Mss., box 4, vol. 2 (Religious Annals), p. 47, MdHS; Samuel A. Harrison to Joseph M. Truman, 27 April 1874, Quaker Collection, Haverford College (hereafter HC). Quaker signers were Robert Moore, Joseph Bartlett, James Dixon, Samuel Sharpless, Isaac Poits, James Berry, Samuel Yarnall, William Atkinson, James Neal, Isaac Atkinson, Tristram Needles, Edward Needles, James Wilson, Sr., and Preston Sharpless. Non-Quakers included Abednego Bottfield, Charles Emory, Jonathan W. Berny, John Jeffries, William Patton, William Bromwell, Patrick McNeal, James Stoakes, Tristram Bowdle, John Kennard, Jr., and William Dobson. Another signer was William Meluy, who was not a member of the Society of Friends but who had strong Quaker connections.

18. Harrison to Truman, 27 April 1874, HC.

19. Easton *Republican Star* (*or Eastern Shore General Advertiser*) 23 April 1805.

20. Bartlett Diary (January 1805 to March 1906), HSTC.

21. *Republican Star,* 23 April 1805.

22. Bartlett Diary, HSTC.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid., 6 August 1804.

25. Ibid., 2 September, 7 October, and 2 December 1804, 16 March 1805; *Republican Star,* 22 April 1806 and 19 May 1807.

26. The Sharpless brothers moved west, Iddings and several others removed to Pennsylvania, Stoakes left Maryland in 1805, and Jeffries departed the state in 1807. Samuel Yarnall, Quaker merchant, died in 1807, and James Berry died in 1810.

27. *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Fifteenth American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery* . . . (Philadelphia, 1817), p. 4, 13, 14, 34.

28. Ibid., p. 13.

29. Ibid., pp. 13–14, 34.

30. *Minutes of the Proceedings of a Special Meeting of the Fifteenth American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery* (Philadelphia, 1818), pp. 27–29.

31. Ibid.

An Archeological and Historical Perspective on Benjamin Banneker

ROBERT J. HURRY

Benjamin Banneker was born a free African American in 1731 and lived in Baltimore County, Maryland, until his death in 1806. A largely self-taught mathematician and astronomer, he assisted in the survey of the federal district (now Washington, D.C.) in 1791 and gained renown as the author of six almanacs that appeared between 1792 and 1797. Yet Banneker was first and foremost a land-owning farmer, and although his accomplishments as a surveyor and scientist are rather well documented, relatively little evidence of his life as a farmer survives. Recent study at the Banneker farmstead site promises to remedy this imbalance.

Since the early 1970s scholarship and public funding have combined to rekindle interest in Banneker and his remarkable career. Silvio Bedini's biography, published in 1972, supplied a standard account based firmly on primary documentation.[1] By 1976 John McGrain's extensive land-records research had located the boundaries of Banneker's 100-acre farm in south-western Baltimore County.[2] The Maryland Historical Trust's archeological survey of the site in 1983 identified it as the Banneker farmstead.[3] Based upon these findings the Baltimore County Department of Recreation and Parks took steps to preserve and study the site. In 1985 the department purchased the farmstead and over forty acres of surrounding land, establishing the Benjamin Banneker Historical Park. That year and next Baltimore County supported the Historical Trust in research designed to locate the sites of former buildings, define the farmstead's layout, and gain insights into the life of the Banneker family. The Maryland Humanities Council and the National Park Service provided additional funding.

The Bannekers were one of the first African-American families to own land in the Piedmont region of Maryland. In 1737 Robert Banneker purchased a 100 acre portion of a tract called "Stout" in the Patapsco River Valley of Baltimore County. He paid 7,000 pounds of tobacco for the property,[4] indicating that he and his wife Mary were already accomplished tobacco farmers. Benjamin, their only son and eldest of their four children, was six years of age at the time. Despite his youth, Benjamin's name was included in the deed as co-owner of the land, thus ensuring his eventual inheritance of the property.

Within a few years the Bannekers had constructed a small house on the property and had begun developing an orchard, garden plots, and farm fields.[5] From archeological evidence, we know the Bannekers selected a prime spot for their farmstead. They built their log house on the northeast portion of the farm, near a spring-fed

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A seasoned archeologist, Mr. Hurry conducted the 1983 survey of the Banneker property and directed the 1986 testing program there. He now is collections registrar, Calvert Marine Museum, Solomons, Maryland.

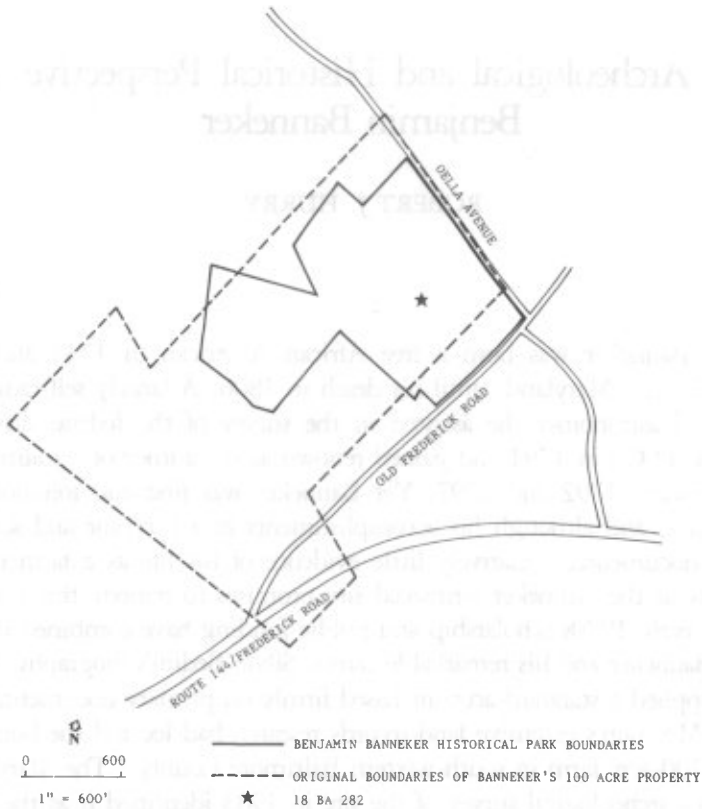

FIGURE 1. The re-discovered Banneker plot in southwest Baltimore County. (Courtesy Maryland Historical Trust.)

stream, and along the edge of the largest expanse of level, well drained, agriculturally productive soils within the farm.[6] Historical accounts show the Bannekers were rather successful farmers. They were planters of tobacco, grains, vegetables, and orchard crops. In addition, they raised a variety of livestock and maintained several beehives. Situated in a sparsely settled frontier region of Maryland lacking reliable transportation routes, their farm had to be self sufficient.[7] When Robert Banneker died in 1758, ownership and management of the farm fell to his twenty-seven year-old son. By that time, according to Bedini, Benjamin's three sisters already had married and moved from the homestead; after 1758 only Benjamin, who remained a life-long bachelor, and his mother lived on the farm.[8]

Beginning in the 1770s, significant changes began to take place in southwestern Baltimore County. In 1771 the Ellicott brothers immigrated to the Patapsco River Valley, settling less than a mile from the Banneker farm. Within a few years they had established a growing community that centered around their gristmill and general store. During the first few months following their arrival in the area, the Ellicotts hired Benjamin and Mary Banneker to supply foodstuffs to their workmen.[9] Clearly Benjamin and his mother operated a successful farm that not only met their own needs but was capable of producing a surplus of goods. The Ellicott Store accounts for 1774 to 1776 showed the Bannekers to be among the store's first clients. They relied on the store for goods such as cloth, sugar, and salt,

which were not produced on their farm.[10] In these accounts the Ellicotts entered the last known reference to Mary Banneker, who died around 1775.

By providing a local market for grain, improving transportation routes to more populous market towns, and developing and encouraging industry, the Ellicotts had a profound effect on the economy and society of the Patapsco Valley.[11] Their influence on Benjamin Banneker's later life is well documented. The young George Ellicott apparently introduced Banneker to the science of astronomy. The two men shared many interests and eventually became close friends. According to an account published in Banneker's 1792 almanac, in 1788 Ellicott loaned several reference books and a few basic astronomical instruments to his friend before being called away on business affairs. According to this and other accounts Banneker eagerly taught himself the principles of astronomy and made rapid progress in Ellicott's absence.[12] In 1791 Ellicott recommended Banneker to his uncle, Major Andrew Ellicott, as an assistant in the survey of the federal district. Before and during this three-month adventure, Banneker successfully produced a carefully calculated ephemeris for the year 1792.[13] The Ellicotts were instrumental in interesting several publishers in Banneker's expertise as an astronomer in the succeeding years.[14] As a result, six Banneker almanacs were published in twenty-eight separate editions in various cities from 1792 to 1797.[15]

In addition to astronomical information, these almanacs presented practical advice for farmers, forecasts of weather, notations of holidays, and some writings of Banneker and his contemporaries. The most celebrated of Banneker's writings, his 1791 letter to Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, was published in his 1793 almanac. Banneker expressed concern for the degraded condition of African Americans who were held in slavery. He cited his personal involvement in the survey of the federal territory and enclosed a manuscript of his ephemeris for 1792 as proof of the accomplishments free African Americans were capable of. Banneker further stated that he had "abundantly tasted of the fruition of those blessing which proceed from that free and unequaled liberty with which you are favored. . ."[16] (Regarding the "blessings" Banneker enjoyed as a free man, his sister Minta Black stated in court testimony a few years following her brother's death that Banneker "had exercised in his life the rights of a free man in holding real property, in voting in elections, and being allowed and permitted to give evidence in courts of justice in which free white citizens were concerned . . ."[17]).

With his advancing age and increasing devotion to the study of astronomy, Banneker began spending less time doing farm work.[18] By 1799 he had sold about thirty-eight acres of his farm to various buyers. A deed for the sale of the remainder of his farm to the Ellicotts in 1799 legalized a previous, informal arrangement. In exchange for the property, Banneker maintained life tenancy on the farm and received an annuity of twelve pounds sterling for the rest of his life.[19] Banneker's surviving accounts show he continued doing farm chores during his later life but his writings also indicate his health was declining. On 9 October 1806 Banneker died at his farm at the age of nearly 75. His log house is said to have burned to the ground a few days later. Although most of Banneker's possessions were lost in the fire, his manuscript journal and commonplace book were included in the borrowed books and instruments that had been returned to the Ellicotts before the house burned.[20]

The farmstead site was abandoned and the area eventually converted to farm fields. No above-ground evidence of the farmstead survived. Time had erased all memory of its location.[21]

The general site of the nearly two-acre Banneker farmstead complex was identified during the initial survey of the farm in 1983. In 1985 the Maryland Historical Trust began a two-year testing program at Baltimore County's newly established Benjamin Banneker Historical Park. To begin, archeologists excavated holes (393 one-foot-diameter test pits at twenty-foot intervals across the Banneker site and 170 supplementary pits at ten-foot intervals in selected areas) in order to locate Banneker-period artifacts and identify tell-tale deposits below the level of plow-disturbed soil. The results of these shovel tests, fed to a computer, formed distribution maps that showed concentrations of various artifacts as well as maps that displayed the relative chemical values in soil test samples.[22] These maps helped researchers decide where to dig standardized "test units" in 1985 and 1986—where to look for the subsurface remains of the Banneker farmstead.

These five-feet-square test units detected a variety of subsurface features. Although some of them were natural intrusions, such as tree-root disturbances, many were cultural features like fence-post holes, planting holes, and two filled cellars and their associated structural remains. Testing efforts concentrated at the filled cellars, which seemed to mark house sites dating to the Banneker period.

Testing of the north half of the storage cellar labeled Feature 10 began in 1985 and concluded near the end of the 1986 season. Along the east edge of the cellar was an area of burned earth that represented evidence of a former fireplace. Stratigraphic excavation revealed various layers of intentional and natural fill deposits within the cellar. The top fill layer contained numerous large stones that may have been stone foundation piers or piles supporting Banneker's home. After the dwelling was abandoned these stone supports were presumably pried from their original locations and used to help fill the top of the cellar hole. The presence and absence of certain artifacts in the top fill layer indicate the date by which the dismantling of the house was completed. The only two datable earthenwares recovered were a clouded creamware shard, ca. 1740 to ca. 1770, and a molded, dark yellow creamware shard which may date from ca. 1760 to ca. 1785. Significantly, pearlware, a common earthenware type which dated from ca. 1780 to ca. 1830,[23] was not found in the cellar suggesting that the house was abandoned and its cellar filled before the introduction of pearlware to the site. The various fill layers and natural deposits excavated below the top stratum contained relatively few artifacts.

At the bottom of the five-feet-deep cellar were layers of fill that represented remnants of soil and artifacts deposited while Banneker lived in the house and used the cellar. These soil layers were high in organic content and relatively rich in artifacts, which included large quantities of well preserved mammal bones, fish remains, and eggshell fragments as well as some ceramic and metal objects. The ceramics, including tin-glazed earthenwares, coarse earthenwares, and two white salt-glazed stoneware shards, cannot be firmly dated because such manufactures were available over a long time period.[24] The complete absence of clouded wares and creamwares, however, date the occupation layers to perhaps the second or third quarter of the eighteenth century. Thus the variety, nature, and age of recovered

artifacts suggest that the cellar and hearth at Feature 10 belonged to a dwelling house constructed during the early years of the Banneker farm.

Artifacts from the cellar fills and plow-disturbed soils at Feature 10 offer clues as to the appearance of the Bannekers' first house. The small number of nail fragments probably means that Banneker built with logs. The recovery of burnt, fiber-impressed clay fragments from the cellar fill indicate the hearth was contained in a simple "mud-and-stick" chimney. Since a clay-lined wooden chimney was traditionally placed on the exterior of a house gable to minimize fire hazard,[25] the hearth marked the eastern gable of the Banneker house. The doorway to the dwelling probably opened to the northeast, where researchers now find so many domestic artifacts. Finally, window glass shards recovered from the cellar show the house contained at least one glazed window opening. The precise dimensions of the dwelling remain unknown because plowing has erased evidence of the original foundation piers.

The later Banneker house site, labeled Feature 22, was located less than fifty feet south of the earlier dwelling. At subsoil, this feature appeared as an area of dark soils measuring nearly 20 feet by 22 feet. Due to the time involved in excavating and recording Feature 22, archeologists by the end of the 1986 season had tested only the top one foot of the southeastern quarter of the feature. Yet even this limited sample shows clearly that the Banneker house rested on a continuous stone foundation, measuring roughly fourteen feet by sixteen feet, and contained a relatively large storage cellar. Several factors point to Feature 22 as the site of the Banneker home that burned in 1806. Soil chemical analyses revealed very high concentrations of potash, which yielded numerous burnt ceramic shards and melted glass fragments. The tested portion of the feature also contained shards of creamware and pearlware dating from the late eighteenth century to early nineteenth century.

The historical record provides only brief descriptions of the house at Feature 22. According to Susanna Mason, who visited Banneker at his farm in 1796, his "lowly dwelling" was "built of logs, one story in height, and surrounded by an orchard."[26] Other accounts offer only passing comments on the interior appearance of the house.[27] These brief passages imply that Banneker's house contained only one room.

The later house nonetheless represented quite an improvement over the dwelling that sheltered the Banneker family during its first years on the farm. Besides being more sturdily built and providing ample food-storage space, the second home probably was warmer in winter. The chimney location may relate to a five-by six-foot stone foundation along the north end of the house. Its construction date remains unknown, but the new structure probably went up over several years' time. As Banneker established farm fields and orchards and the Banneker children grew older, more time and labor became available for building an improved structure than during the early, busy years of farm development. After the Bannekers moved, the house at Feature 10 probably continued in use for some time as an outbuilding—perhaps as a summer kitchen. By the 1780s, when the earlier structure was abandoned, Banneker was the sole resident of the farm and had little reason to maintain the old building.

Due to the size and complexity of the farmstead the Bannekers developed for nearly seventy years and research interest in the two house sites, details about the farmstead's spatial organization remain unclear. Evidence of fence post holes was found in several areas, but testing was insufficient to fix fence alignments within the farmstead. Such information, combined with associated artifact distributions, would aid in the interpretation of different activity areas and their functions. Much remains to be learned about the layout of the farmstead and how its organization developed during Banneker's period of occupation.

The thousands of artifacts recently recovered shed light not only on architectural features of the Banneker homestead but also the family's material circumstances—even its diet. The animal remains that survived in Features 10 and 22 were examined by Dr. David Clark, a faunal analyst who specializes in archeological research. The bottom layers of Feature 10 contained evidence of the Bannekers' diet from the second or third quarter of the eighteenth century, suggesting a reliance on both domestic animals (pigs and cattle) and wild food sources. Over 100 chicken bones and numerous eggshells were recovered. Fish, which apparently provided a significant secondary food source during this earlier period, were also well represented—especially the white perch and yellow perch that were abundant in the nearby Patapsco River and its tributaries. Oysters, available in the tidewater area downriver, were also fairly common. Other wild species represented in the sample were gray squirrel, turkey, and ruffed grouse.

Faunal remains from the top layer of Feature 22 gave evidence of Banneker's diet during his later years. The bones of pigs were more plentiful than those of cows. Chicken remains were relatively scarce, consisting of just a few bones and some eggshell fragments. Signs of wild species included a number of white perch remains but only eight oyster shells. Moreover, no wild mammal or bird bones were identified. Despite the acidic soil and unfavorable preservation conditions in Feature 22, the evidence suggested considerably less diversity in Banneker's later diet.

Documentary sources support this view of a dietary shift. According to the surviving Ellicott Store accounts for 1774 to 1776, neither Banneker nor his mother purchased any meat from the store.[28] Their farm was self-sufficient enough to produce pork, beef, chicken, eggs, honey, vegetables, grain, and orchard crops; they supplemented this diet with wild foods. Although Banneker's later accounts show he continued to raise some corn, vegetables, and fruits late in life, they also record frequent purchases of pork from the Ellicott Store.[29] His time-consuming devotion to astronomy and increasing infirmities probably forced his gradual abandonment of livestock farming, and his guaranteed income from his property sale to the Ellicotts certainly eased this transition.

The Bannekers' early reliance on and enjoyment of tobacco is demonstrated by the more than 600 kaolin tobacco pipe fragments recovered during the excavations. Scientific dating,[30] applied to the sample of 371 measurable pipe stem bores, produced an average date of 1754. This relatively early mean date probably reflects the larger population of tobacco consumers who lived at the farmstead during the first decades of settlement as compared to Benjamin Banneker's sole occupation of the farm after ca. 1775. Although the Bannekers were tobacco planters during much of their tenure on the farm, Benjamin Banneker's later accounts show he

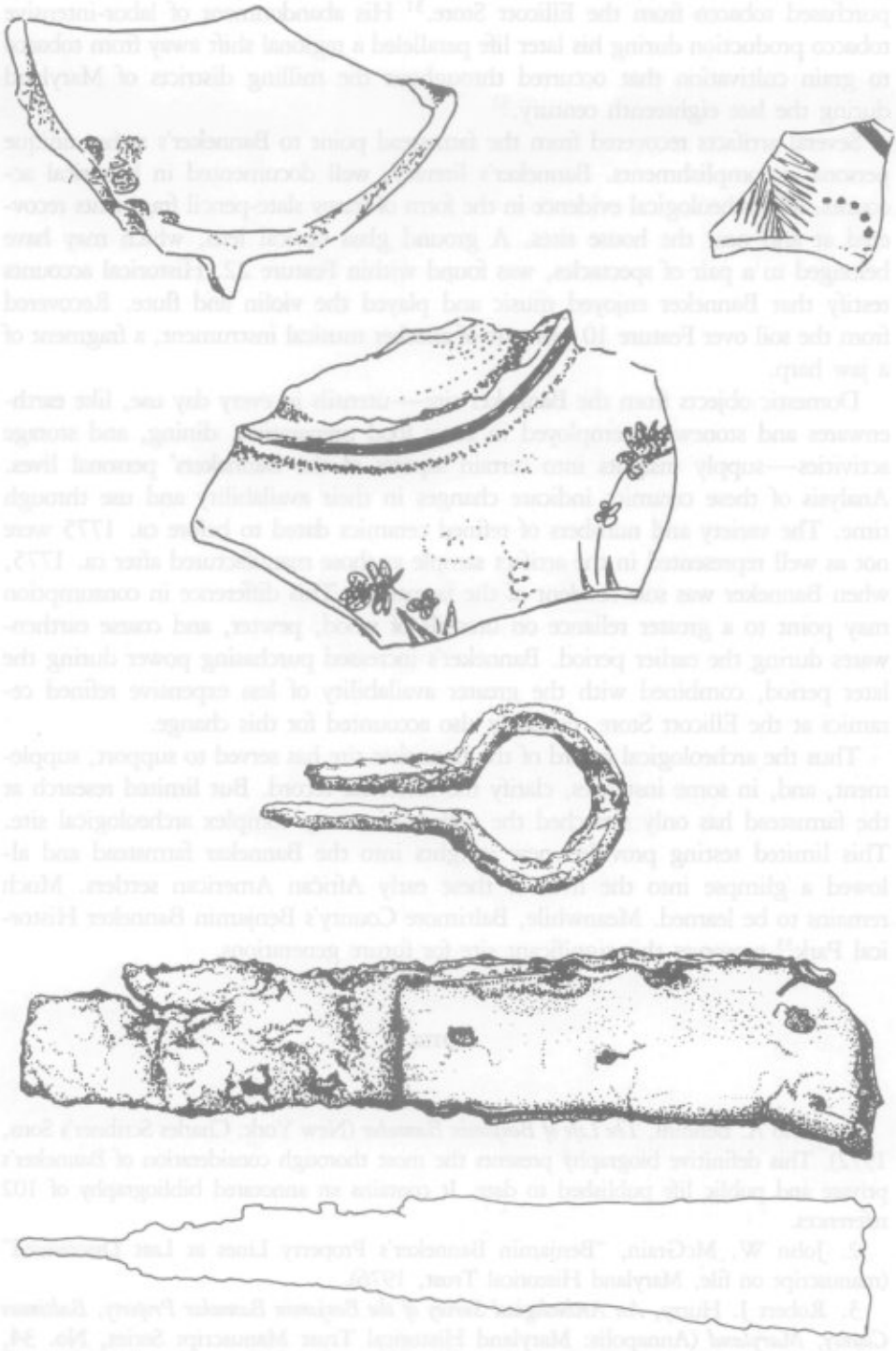

FIGURE 2. Some findings at the Banneker archeological excavation. *Top,* Trends in ceramic production and availability represent a valuable dating tool at the site. Polychrome decorated pearlware, totally absent in the cellar of the earlier house, was not uncommon at the more recent house site. *Middle,* a small iron jaw harp fragment reflects Banneker's appreciation of music. *Bottom,* the survival of certain artifacts, such as this bone-handled knife fragment, demonstrate the favorable preservation conditions of the Feature 10 cellar fill. (Courtesy Maryland Historical Trust, Nancy N. Kurtz, illustrator.)

purchased tobacco from the Ellicott Store.[31] His abandonment of labor-intensive tobacco production during his later life paralleled a regional shift away from tobacco to grain cultivation that occurred throughout the milling districts of Maryland during the late eighteenth century.[32]

Several artifacts recovered from the farmstead point to Banneker's rather unique personal accomplishments. Banneker's literacy, well documented in historical accounts, left archeological evidence in the form of many slate-pencil fragments recovered at and near the house sites. A ground glass optical lens, which may have belonged to a pair of spectacles, was found within Feature 22. Historical accounts testify that Banneker enjoyed music and played the violin and flute. Recovered from the soil over Feature 10 was part of another musical instrument, a fragment of a jaw harp.

Domestic objects from the Banneker site—utensils in every day use, like earthenwares and stonewares employed in basic food preparation, dining, and storage activities—supply insights into certain aspects of the Bannekers' personal lives. Analysis of these ceramics indicate changes in their availability and use through time. The variety and numbers of refined ceramics dated to before ca. 1775 were not as well represented in the artifact sample as those manufactured after ca. 1775, when Banneker was sole resident of the farmstead. This difference in consumption may point to a greater reliance on utensils of wood, pewter, and coarse earthenwares during the earlier period. Banneker's increased purchasing power during the later period, combined with the greater availability of less expensive refined ceramics at the Ellicott Store, probably also accounted for this change.

Thus the archeological record of the Banneker site has served to support, supplement, and, in some instances, clarify the historical record. But limited research at the farmstead has only scratched the surface of a very complex archeological site. This limited testing provided new insights into the Banneker farmstead and allowed a glimpse into the lives of these early African American settlers. Much remains to be learned. Meanwhile, Baltimore County's Benjamin Banneker Historical Park[33] preserves this significant site for future generations.

NOTES

1. Silvio A. Bendini, *The Life of Benjamin Banneker* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972). This definitive biography presents the most thorough consideration of Banneker's private and public life published to date. It contains an annotated bibliography of 102 references.

2. John W. McGrain, "Benjamin Banneker's Property Lines at Last Discovered" (manuscript on file, Maryland Historical Trust, 1976).

3. Robert J. Hurry, *An Archeological Survey of the Benjamin Banneker Property, Baltimore County, Maryland* (Annapolis: Maryland Historical Trust Manuscript Series, No. 34, 1983).

4. Baltimore County Deeds: Liber HWS 1, Folio 58, Maryland State Archives.

5. Bedini, *Benjamin Banneker,* p. 30.

6. Hurry, *Archeological Survey,* p. 49.

7. Martha E. Tyson, *Sketch of the Life of Benjamin Banneker; From Notes Taken in 1836.*

Read by J. Saurin Norris, before the Maryland Historical Society, October 5th, 1854 (Baltimore, 1854) pp. 5, 6.

8. Bedini, *Benjamin Banneker,* pp. 46, 47, 236.

9. Martha E. Tyson, *A Brief Account of the Settlement of Ellicott's Mills, with Fragments of History Therewith Connected . . . Written at the Request of Evan T. Ellicott* (Baltimore, 1871), pp. 7, 15–17; Bedini, *Benjamin Banneker,* pp. 51–60; Tyson, "Sketch", pp. 5–7.

10. Bedini, *Benjamin Banneker,* p. 62.

11. Tyson, "Ellicott's Mills," pp. 1. 2. 14–16.

12. John H. B. Latrobe, *Memoir of Benjamin Banneker* . . . (Baltimore, 1846), pp. 7–9; Tyson, "Sketch", pp. 7. 8; Bedini, *Benjamin Banneker* pp. 70, 75, 77–86.

13. Bedini, *Benjamin Banneker,* pp. 103–140.

14. Ibid., pp. 142–48.

15. Sidney Kaplan, *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution 1770–1800* (New York: New York Graphic Society, Inc., in association with the Smithsonian Institution Press, 1973), p. 117. Original copies of Banneker's almanacs are located in the collections of Howard University in Washington, D.C. and the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore, Maryland.

16. Bedini, *Benjamin Banneker,* pp. 151–158; Kaplan, *Black Presence,* pp. 118–123.

17. Thomas Harris and Reverdy Johnson, reps., *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Court of Appeals of Maryland* (7 vols.; Annapolis, 1826), 3:97.

18. Bedini, *Benjamin Banneker,* pp. 252, 253, 269.

19. Ibid., pp. 240–45.

20. Ibid., pp. 269–71.

21. Hurry, *Archeological Survey,* pp. 7–11.

22. Charles Koontz of Ellicott City, Maryland, is gratefully acknowledged for volunteering his time and expertise in processing the data and statistically analyzing the results of this testing.

23. Ivor Noel, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), pp. 123–132.

24. Noel Hume, *Guide to Artifacts,* pp. 106–18.

25. Cary Carson, Norman F. Barka, William M. Kelso, Garry Wheeler Stone, and Dell Upton, "Impermanent Architecture of the Southern American Colonies", *Winterthur Portfolio,* 16 (1981): 179.

26. Rachel Mason, *Selections from the Letters and Manuscripts of the Late Susanna Mason; With a Brief Memoir of Her Life* (Philadelphia: Rackliff & Jones, 1836), p. 243.

27. Bedini, *Benjamin Banneker,* p. 258; Latrobe, "Memoir", p. 14.

28. "Ledger of Ellicott & Co., 1774–1775" (privately owned), p. 91.

29. Benjamin Banneker, "Astronomical Journal" (Maryland Historical Society, Manuscript Division, Ms. 2700), np.

30. See Lewis Binford, "A New Method of Calculating Dates from Kaolin Pipe Stem Fragments", *Southeastern Archaeological Conference Newsletter,* 9 (1962): 19–21.

31. Banneker, "Journal", np.

32. Neal A. Brooks and Eric G. Rockel, *A History of Baltimore County* (Towson: Friends of Towson Library, 1979), pp. 30, 31.

33. The Benjamin Banneker Historical Park is located in the community of Oella, Maryland. Its development and operation are administered by the Baltimore County Department of Recreation and Parks, Catonsville, Maryland.

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

The "Fifth" Maryland at Guilford Courthouse: An Exercise in Historical Accuracy

L. E. BABITS

Over the years, a case of misidentification has gradually crept into the history of the Maryland Line. The error involves a case of mistaken regimental identity in which the Fifth Maryland is credited with participation in the battle of Guilford Courthouse at the expense of the Second Maryland.[1] When this mistake appeared in the *Maryland Historical Magazine,*[2] it seemed time to set the record straight.

The error seems to originate with Mark Boatner. In his *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution,* Boatner, while describing the fight at Guilford Courthouse, states:

> As the 2/Gds prepared to attack without waiting for the three other regiments to arrive, Otho Williams, "charmed with the late demeanor of the first regiment (1 Md), hastened toward the second (5th Md) expecting a similar display . . .". But the 5th Maryland was virtually a new regiment. "The sight of the scarlet and steel was too much for their nerves," says Ward.[3]

In this paragraph Boatner demonstrates an ignorance of the actual command and organizational structure of Greene's Southern Army because he quotes from Ward's 1941 work on the Delaware Line and Henry Lee's recollections of the war, both of which correctly identify the unit in question as the Second Maryland Regiment.[4]

The writer of the Kerrenhappuch Turner article simply referred to Boatner's general reference on the Revolutionary War for the regimental designation.[5] Other writers have done likewise, even to the point of using dual designations for the same unit within the space of two paragraphs.[6] One battle game designer even erroneously "corrected" a nineteenth-century account of the battle which correctly identified the regiment by inserting, "(meaning the 5th Marylanders)," something at least one professional historian has also done.[7] Recourse to the nineteenth-century work, Charles Coffin's *The Boys of 76,*[8] shows that Coffin neither meant, nor said, Fifth Maryland in his account of the battle.

Given the large number of designations affixed to the group of men who became the Second Maryland, it is not surprising that historians have made mistakes as to its proper identification. At least ten similar designations refer to the unit prior to December 1780.[9] Boatner's misidentification of the "other" Maryland regiment at Guilford Courthouse seems due to the Maryland Line table of organization effective on 1 January 1781. This document identifies Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin Ford as

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the commanding officer of the Fifth Maryland Regiment.[10] There is no evidence that the Fifth Maryland of 1781 was ever raised.[11]

This paper seeks to resolve confusion surrounding the Second Maryland Regiment of 1781 and to explain why the regiment performed as it did. By presenting brief histories of the Maryland Line and the 1780 Regiment Extraordinary, it is possible to correctly identify the Maryland regiments at Guilford Courthouse.

When the Revolutionary War broke out in 1775, there was no national American army. Colonial militiamen provided the only military opposition to the British until Congress authorized Continental regiments and called on the states to provide them in early 1776.[12] Maryland's first quota called for two companies of riflemen, which other units augmented.[13] The best known of the early Maryland troops and the main force Maryland sent in 1776, the Maryland Battalion or Smallwood's Marylanders, took its name from its commander, William Smallwood.[14] As the war continued into the winter of 1776–1777, enlistments ran out and Congress requested the states to supply more men. Effective 1 December 1776,[15] Maryland was to provide seven regiments. These seven regiments, known as the Maryland Line, served with distinction until August 1780.

In the late spring of 1780 Maryland determined to raise another regiment, the Regiment Extra, so called because it was in addition to those Congress had called for. There was some confusion about where the officers for this unit would come from.[16] The Regiment Extra drew recruits from the entire state of Maryland.[17] Equipment and uniforms arrived from Continental Army stores in September 1780.[18] Alexander Lawson Smith commanded the additional regiment,[19] whose most prolific correspondent may have been Major Edward Giles, the second in command. Giles's letters recorded details of uniforms (brown coats faced with red, leather breeches), equipment, and personnel.[20]

As the Regiment Extra formed back home, the Maryland and Delaware division underwent reorganization while encamped along the Rocky River in North Carolina. In July 1780 personnel shortages (individual regiments numbered less than half their authorized strength) forced the consolidation of eight regiments into four. The First Maryland and Seventh Maryland became the new First Maryland; the Second Maryland and the Delaware Regiment became the Second Maryland; the Third Maryland and Fifth Maryland became the Third Maryland; the Fourth Maryland and Sixth Maryland became the Fourth Maryland.[21]

These mergers lowered the number of regiments Maryland had in the field, but they improved the firepower and leadership of the units without affecting divisional structure. (Since there were still two regiments in each of two brigades, the division continued to exist.) The reorganization did not last long; General Horatio Gates countermanded the order on 25 July 1780, immediately after joining the army at Coxe's Mill, North Carolina.[22] At the battle of Camden, South Carolina, on 16 August, the Maryland and Delaware division fought organized as its regiments had been since January 1777. Despite the heroic efforts of the division, Camden proved an American disaster. The Maryland Line retreated in small groups to Charlotte, North Carolina,[23] before withdrawing to Hillsborough, North Carolina,[24] to reorganize. At Hillsborough the Maryland and Delaware division was formally reorganized into the Maryland regiment of two battalions of four companies each.[25]

It is clear from studying the officers of this composite regiment that its two battalions contained the nucleus of the two old divisional brigades. Each battalion consisted of four companies, and the company officers' names show that the companies were designated according to the old regiments within the division. It seems probable that keeping men of long service together was thought to be important and that there was a desire to maintain a cadre for rebuilding the division if sufficient men became available. Officers continued to receive buttons identifying them as belonging to nonexistent regiments, such as the Fourth Maryland.[26] This use of an ideal, or paper, divisional organization implies some continuity with an ideal conception of the old Maryland Line.

By 15 October 1780 Maryland's Regiment Extra was commencing its march south through Virginia to Hillsborough, North Carolina.[27] When the Continental troops, including the Maryland regiment, marched to South Carolina in December 1780, the Regiment Extra did not join forces with the main army. During January 1781, the Regiment Extra refused to join the army and remained at Haley's Ferry, North Carolina, upstream from the main camp at Hick's Creek, South Carolina.[28] The reason for not joining the main force centered around a dispute in rank between the new officers and the veterans.[29]

The dispute over rank was not petty jockeying for position. Continental officers, like contemporary civilians, were jealous of their rank and constantly sought to confirm their position in terms of seniority.[30] Thus, when the Regiment Extra arrived in North Carolina, there were problems with veteran officers who already had several years prior service but were without commands. The veterans felt that, on the basis of their seniority, they should be given commands commensurate with their rank as had been done after Camden.[31] The veteran officers lacking seniority had been placed all over North Carolina in charge of magazines, militia units, and town garrisons, or had been sent back home to recruit men.[32]

In truth, the matter may be even more complicated because at least one writer during the raising of the Regiment Extra stated that the command of the "new regiment was to go to officers in the Line."[33] The officers of the Regiment Extra were upset because they had raised, trained, and commanded the men for at least six months. If veteran officers were to be given commands in the Regiment Extra, the new officers would be without command themselves.

Fed up with the squabble, General Nathanael Greene sought the Maryland Council's permission to restaff the Regiment Extra with veteran Continental officers[34] entitled to the positions on the basis of the table of organization, a formal reckoning of seniority and assignment to regimental positions drawn up effective 1 January 1781. Even before permission could reach him,[35] Greene sent the Regiment Extra officers home.[36] He then assigned veteran supernumerary officers in the south to the unit.[37] Under the provisions of their dismissal, officers of the Regiment Extra were to receive one year's pay and expenses but no pension. Alexander Lawson Smith, ex-commander of the Regiment Extra, received special consideration. Smith was retained as a lieutenant colonel in the table of organization because he held that rank before accepting command of the Regiment Extra.[38]

The Regiment Extra became the Second Maryland Regiment. Some of the noncommissioned officers, and perhaps some privates as well, were transferred into the First Maryland.[39] Even though the Second Maryland had more men than the First,

it had fewer officers.[40] Within the next week, the newly designated Second Maryland would be fighting its first battle at Guilford Courthouse.

As commander, Greene chose Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin Ford because he was the senior officer available. Ford was on the table of organization as the lieutenant colonel commandant of the Fifth Maryland Regiment because of seniority, although this regiment never existed in the field after Camden and Fishing Creek. Any reliance on the table of organization, without attention to actual details of the fluid field situation, could create confusion about the numerical designation of the "other" Maryland Regiment.

From approximately 10 March 1781, and certainly from 16 March, Greene and other officers referred to the Regiment Extra as the Second Maryland.[41] It was designated the second regiment because it was the junior Maryland regiment actually in the field. After October 1780 Maryland was obligated to have five regiments and with only two in the field, this new designation emphasized the point.[42]

Most secondary accounts relating to the performance of the Americans at Guilford Courthouse seem content with reporting that the Second Maryland broke and ran.[43] None of the accounts give any rationale for the collapse of the unit. Yet there are good reasons relating to the reorganization and to its position on the Guilford Courthouse battlefield. The men were no longer led by officers they had served with for some seven to nine months, and there was also a shortage of officers. The new officers had been in command less than ten days. Some of their noncommissioned officers had been transferred to the First Maryland Regiment as part of the reorganization.[44]

Another reason for the flight might be seen as social. Papenfuse and Stiverson have analyzed the origin and economic standing of the Maryland troops raised for the Yorktown campaign and found that they were generally "members of the lowest social and economic class." This examination reflects troops raised in 1781, but it should be seen as a generally useful interpretation of the personnel of the year before.[45] In actual fact, most of the enlisted personnel raised in European armies of that time were of the lower levels of society.[46] If British and French troops stood their ground except in special circumstances, even though they were raised from the bottom levels of society, then reasons for the collapse of the Second Maryland must be sought in other than social status.

The Regiment Extra had been raised from all of Maryland rather than a single community. Thus, most of its members probably did not know one another prior to enlisting. Many of them were almost certainly "surplus" members of the population without permanent ties to the community. Many, as Papenfuse and Stiverson point out, may have been recently freed servants. They were not, initially, a tightly bound group with common ties to bind them together in the face of adversity. What little discipline had been instilled in the nine months of service had probably been badly shaken by the changes in leadership just before the battle.[47]

The command and morale explanations do not account for the dismaying performance of the Second Maryland in themselves. Lieutenant Colonel John Eager Howard, second in command of the First Maryland, provides something of an explanation when he remarks that the:

> . . . second regiment was at some distance to the left of the first, in the cleared ground, with its left flank thrown back so as to form a line almost at right angles

> with the 1. regt. The guards, after they had defeated Genl. Stephens pushed into the cleared ground and run at the 2d regiment, which immediately gave way, owing I believe to the want of officers & having so many new recruits.[48]

Howard does not relate whether or not the regiment was also under fire while waiting to engage the British. If they were, in fact, at right angles to the rest of the American battle line, it seems likely that scattering fire was falling around them at times prior to their actual engagement. British accounts suggest that the Second Battalion of the Guards ran to the attack, a fact confirmed by Howard.[49] If the Second Maryland had been under fire, then the reason for their breaking in the face of the Guard's attack may well have been mental fatigue of the sort reported by S. L. A. Marshall during the Pacific campaigns of World War II:

> . . . if a skirmish line was halted two or three times during an attack by sudden enemy fire, it became impossible to get any further action from the men, even though none had been hurt. . . . The explanation, though not sensed clearly at the time, was that the attacking companies were being drained of their muscle power by the repeated impact of sudden fear. The store of glycogen in the muscles of the men was being burned up from this cause, just as surely, though less efficiently, than if they were exhausting themselves in digging a line of entrenchments.[50]

William R. Davie, quartermaster of the Southern Army, reported virtually these conditions as applying to the Second Maryland at Guilford Courthouse. Davie stated, in commenting about the battle, that:

> I have always understood that the disgrace of the 2d Regiment that day was owed to the mistaken conduct of Colo Ford and Colo Williams—that Ford ordered a charge, that proceeded some distance, and were halted by Colo Williams, and perhaps ordered again to fall back and dress wt the line. The British (The Guards) continued to advance (at the run). This manouvre (reforming and dressing with the line) was performed under a heavy fire—when the men were again ordered to advance they all faced about, except a single company on the left which I think was Capt Oldhams.[51]

Even if the Second Maryland was not brought to the charge and halted several times, the mental stress involved in being under fire and doing nothing must have been tremendous. Since they were positioned at an angle, any British projectiles would enfilade the Second Maryland. Thus, any stray bullets would be more likely to hit someone than if the regiment had been arrayed in two ranks facing the enemy. The effect of at least six hours of waiting, with stray rounds hitting men up and down the lines during the last hour would have been similar to that mentioned by Marshall. The precise effect on waiting troops can be seen in the behavior of a private in the Texas Brigade of the Army of Northern Virginia:

> I soon saw that we were the reserve, which is a dreaded position when kept up for you will hear the roar of the battling front; and if advancing, as we were in this instance, passing the dead and dying, and being exposed to shell, grape or canister shot; and as one has ample time for reflection, they can well feel the seriousness of the surroundings with all its horrors and to see the little regard for human life and property . . . .[52]

The source of this observation was in one of the best Confederate units of the Civil War. His experience during the Seven Days battle in 1862 applies to the

Second Maryland since the Texas Brigade was also new to combat at the time. The Second Maryland had certainly seen North Carolina militia as they withdrew from their positions on the New Garden Road. After heavy fighting between the Virginia militia and the British, many Virginians also passed around and through the Marylanders.[53] Since both groups of militia had numerous wounded, ranging from generals to privates, the effect on green troops reported by Private Fletcher must have been felt by the Second Maryland.

Fletcher makes another comment about fear in battle which is relevant. During the Battle of Gettysburg on 2 July 1863:

> We were halted and lined and ordered in again. We advanced this time, knowing what was ahead of us if we went far, for the acts of the men soon showed that we were of one mind. We forwarded without a murmur, and until we struck the danger point. The men aboutfaced, near as if ordered and marched back.[54]

Fletcher's terminology about turning around closely approximates ("faced about," "aboutfaced") that used by Davie in describing the Second Maryland Regiment's behavior at Guilford Courthouse. Both the First Texas and the Second Maryland had been halted and reformed before being ordered forward again. Since Davie pointed out that the Second Maryland dressed the line under heavy fire, conditions described by Fletcher and Marshall were met, thus offering a physical reason for the flight.

Whatever the reasons for the collapse of the Second Maryland, it was *not* the Fifth Maryland. The Fifth Maryland of 1781 has been laid to rest, and the Second should continue to receive the attention it is due.

Notes

I am indebted to Chuck Fithian, archaeologist with the Delaware Bureau of Museums and Historic Sites, for reading this manuscript and pointing out inconsistencies and errors in the draft.

1. Rieman Steuart, *A History of the Maryland Line in the Revolutionary War, 1775–1783* (Towson, Md.: Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland, 1969), p. 162.

2. Curtis Carroll Davis, "The Tribulations of Mrs. Turner: An Episode after Guilford Courthouse," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 76 (1981): 376–79.

3. Mark M. Boatner III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (New York: David MacKay, 1966), pp. 466–67.

4. Henry Lee, *Memoir of the War in the Southern Department of the United States* (2 vols.; New York: Burt Franklin, 1970), 1:347; Christopher L. Ward, *The Delaware Continentals* (Wilmington: Delaware Historical Society, 1941), p. 416.

5. Davis, "Mrs. Turner," pp. 376, 379.

6. Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763–1789* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 484–86; Richard Walsh and William L. Fox, eds., *Maryland: A History, 1632–1974* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1974), p. 110; Robert K. Wright, *The Continental Army* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, 1983), pp. 277–78. (The game designer error can be found in James Grossman's *The Complete Brigadier. Rules for Battles* (Saint Paul: Adventure Games, 1983), p. 81, and Greg Novack, *The Battle of Guilford Courthouse* (Game Designers Workshop, 1980), p. 15.

7. Middlekauff, *Glorious Cause,* pp. 484–86; Novack, *Guilford Courthouse,* p. 15.

8. Charles C. Coffin, *The Boys of 76* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1876), p. 376.

9. Citations relating to the Regiment Extra are varied. The diversity is shown by the following identifying terms with citations: "New Raised Corps," Joseph Dashiell to T. S. Lee, 30 August 1780, *Archives of Maryland* (72 vols. to date; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–), 45:129; "New Raised Regiment," George Plater et al. to T. S. Lee, 3 October 1780, ibid., p. 134; "Extra Regiment," "Minutes of the Council," ibid., p. 241; "Regiment Extra," "Minutes of the Council," ibid., p. 251; "The Extra Regiment," Richard Harwood to Council, 9 July 1780, ibid., p. 5; "The Regiment Extraordinary," Richard Dallam to T. S. Lee, 14 July 1780, ibid., p. 13; "New Regiment," D. Jenifer to T. S. Lee, 25 July 1780, ibid., pp. 28–29; "Additional Regiment," Joshua Beall to T. S. Lee, 30 July 1780, ibid., pp. 35–36; "New Battalion," Joshua Beall to T. S. Lee, 3 August 1780, ibid., p. 39; "Maryland Additional Regiment," J. Bolton to T. S. Lee, 28 August 1780, ibid., p. 62.

10. Steuart, *Maryland Line,* pp. 26–27.

11. Fred A. Berg, *Encyclopedia of Continental Army Units* (Harrisburg: Stackpole Books, 1972), p. 66.

12. Ward, *Delaware Continentals,* p. 4.

13. Steuart, *Maryland Line,* p. 1.

14. Berg, *Continental Army,* p. 108; Ross M. Kimmel, *In Perspective: William Smallwood* (Annapolis: Maryland Department of Natural Resources, 1976), pp. 5–6.

15. Berg, *Continental Army,* pp. 64–67; Steuart, *Maryland Line,* pp. 10–15.

16. Daniel Jenifer to T. S. Lee, 25 July 1780, *Archives of Maryland* 45:28–29.

17. Benjamin Mackall to Uriah Forrest, 28 July 1780, *Archives of Maryland* 45:33; Joshua Beall to T. S. Lee, 30 July 1780, ibid., pp. 35–36; Charles Griffith to T. S. Lee, 24 July 1780, ibid., p. 78.

18. Edward Giles to T. S. Lee, 15 September 1780, *Archives of Maryland* 45:78; Edward Giles to T. S. Lee, 19 September 1780, ibid., p. 110; George Plater, et al. to T. S. Lee, 3 October 1780, ibid., p. 134.

19. Maryland Council to President of the Board of War, 12 February 1781, *Archives of Maryland* 45:308.

20. Edward Giles to T. S. Lee, 5 September 1780, *Archives of Maryland* 45:78; Giles to Lee, 12 September 1780, ibid., p. 100; Giles to Lee, 19 September 1780, ibid., p. 110.

21. Mordecai Gist Orderly Book, 14 July 1780, Ms. 390, MdHS.

22. William Smallwood Orderly Book, 3 July–20 October 1780, *The Peter Force Collections,* 8D Item 159, Library of Congress.

23. Richard J. Batt, "The Maryland Continentals 1780–1781," (Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1974), p. 41; Blackwell P. Robinson, *The Revolutionary War Sketches of William R. Davie* (Raleigh, N.C.: Department of Cultural Resources, 1976), p. 27.

24. Horatio Gates to George Washington, 3 September 1780, *State Records of North Carolina* (26 vols., Raleigh: Department of Cultural Resources, 1886–1906), 15:65–66.

25. Gates to Washington, 3 September 1780, ibid., p. 66; Otho H. Williams, "Brigade and Regimental Orders," 12 September 1780, Revolutionary War Collection, Ms. 768, MdHS.

26. John Randall, "Accounts of the Clothier General for Maryland, 1780–1781," 11 June 1781, Revolutionary War Collection, MS. 1814, MdHS.

27. George Washington to T. S. Lee, 6 September 1780, in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington* (39 vols., Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931–1944), 19:85, 207; 20:2–3; George Washington to the Board of War, 6

September 1780, ibid., 20:4–5; George Washington to Thomas Jefferson, 11 September 1780, ibid., 20:29–30.

28. Benjamin Ford to Nathanael Greene, 28 December 1780, Nathanael Greene Papers, William L. Clements Library, University of Michagan, Ann Arbor; Edward Oldham to Mordecai Gist, 11 January 1781, Gist Papers, MdHS; Williams, "Orderly Book," 26 December 1780.

29. Nathanael Greene to T. S. Lee, 31 December 1780, in *Calendar of Maryland State Papers, No. 3. The Brown Books* (Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1948), pp. 81–82.

30. John Eager Howard to William Johnson (?), John Eager Howard Papers, MS. 109, MdHS; Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1969), pp. 71–75.

31. Gates to Washington, 3 September 1780, *State Records of North Carolina* 15:65–66; Otho H. Williams, "Orderly Book, 13 September 1780–9 February 1781," 29 September 1780, MS. 768, MdHS.

32. Ward, *Delaware Continentals,* p. 356; John Eager Howard to William Johnson (?), John Eager Howard Papers, MS. 109, MdHS.

33. Jenifer to Lee, 25 July 1780, *Archives of Maryland* 45:28–9.

34. Nathanael Greene to Thomas S. Lee, 31 December 1780, in *Calendar of Maryland State Papers, No. 3, The Brown Books* (Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1948), pp. 81–82.

35. Maryland Council to Nathanael Greene, 19 March 1781, *Archives of Maryland* 45:356; Maryland Council to President, Board of War, 12 February 1781, ibid., 45:308.

36. Nathanael Greene to Commissioned Officers of the Maryland Regiment, 10 March 1781, WRMS 8559, National Archives.

37. Randall, "Accounts of the Clothier General," 11 June 1781, MS. 1814, MdHS.

38. Steuart, *Maryland Line,* pp. 27, 131.

39. Greene to Commissioned Officers, 10 March 1781, WRMS 8559, National Archives; W. Lamar, "Muster Roll of the Late Capt. Beatty's Company," *Archives of Maryland* 18:389.

40. Howard to Johnson (?), John Eager Howard Papers, MS. 109, MdHS; Accounts of the Clothier General, 10 June 1781, MS. 1814, MdHS.

41. Nathanael Greene to the President of Congress, 16 March 1781, in Lee, Memoirs, p. 597; Howard to Johnson (?), John Eager Howard Papers, MS. 109, MdHS; Accounts of the Clothier General, 10 June 1781, MS. 1814, MdHS.

42. Steuart, *Maryland Line,* p. 26.

43. Coffin, *Boys,* p. 376; Charles E. Hatch, Jr., *The Battle of Guilford Courthouse* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1971), p. 76; Ward, *Delaware Continentals,* p. 417.

44. Lamar, Muster Roll of the late Capt. Beatty's Company, *Archives of Maryland* 18:389.

45. Edward C. Papenfuse and Gregory A. Stiverson, "General Smallwood's Recruits: The Peacetime Career of the Revolutionary War Private," *William and Maryland Quarterly,* 30 (1973): 117–132.

46. Andre Corvisier, *Armies and Societies in Europe 1494–1789* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), pp. 13, 133, 145–46, 159–60.

47. Robert Middlekauff, "Why Men Fought in the American Revolution," *Huntington Library Quarterly,* 43 (1980): 135–148; Papenfuse and Stiverson, "General Smallwood's Recruits," pp. 120–125.

48. Howard to Johnson (?), John Eager Howard Papers, MS. 109, MdHS.

49. Hatch, *Guilford Courthouse,* p. 73; Howard to Johnson (?), John Eager Howard Papers, MS. 109, MdHS.

50. S. L. A. Marshall, *The Soldier's Load and the Mobility of a Nation* (Quantico, Va.: Marine Corps Association, 1980), p. 46.

51. Robinson, *William R. Davie,* p. 31–32.

52. William A. Fletcher, *Rebel Private Front and Rear* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1954), p. 23.

53. Hatch, *Guilford Courthouse,* pp. 52–53, 61.

54. Fletcher, *Rebel Private,* p. 60.

Thomas and William Woolford: The Travails of Two Maryland Brothers Who Served in the South During the American Revolution

BETSY KNIGHT

After the spring of 1780 most Maryland and Delaware troops of the Continental Line served in the Carolinas. They belonged, in a sense, to forgotten units. General Washington, far away in New Jersey or New York for most of the time, based his knowledge of the situation in the South on reports rather than personal observation. Not much has changed since then. The literature on the war in the Southern Department, although high in quality, rates low in quantity, in part because so many southern records and memoirs were destroyed during the Civil War. The experiences of individual Maryland men who served there, aside from those of Colonel Otho Holland Williams, are hard to find.

The stories of two brothers from Dorchester County supply a new example. Although one was a senior officer in the Maryland Line who served for seven years, his record and identity were universally, though not deliberately, misrepresented for more than a century. Of the other, merely a name on muster and payrolls, we know only that he served his country and died from wounds suffered in battle. A file in the archives of the Society of the Cincinnati in Washington, D.C., reveals new information about these two brothers. It consists of photocopies of papers relating to them which, although the whereabouts of the originals are unknown, provide strong evidence that corrects many past mistakes.

Among the copied documents are commissions and letters of Thomas and William Woolford, whose relationship to each other never before has been clear.[1] Several papers relating to the career of Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Woolford, who was an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati, shed light on the ten months—from 18 August 1780 to late June 1781—he spent as a prisoner of war in Charleston, South Carolina, or on parole in the surrounding area.

Colonel Woolford was Dorchester County's most famous officer in the Revolutionary War. He joined the Sixth Independent Company in December 1775, when it formed in Dorchester County, was commissioned on 5 January 1776, and served continuously for seven years.[2] In the last decades of the nineteenth century his identity became confused with another soldier of the same name, and not until 1982 was the error corrected.[3] We can now be reasonably certain that a grave in Madison, Maryland, long identified as that of Dorchester County's hero, is really that of another. Woolford's correct dates and grave site remain unknown.

Ms. Knight, a museum administrator who for many years has been interested in the American Revolution, lives in Houston, Texas. Thomas Woolford was her thrice-great grandfather.

While the colonel has been incorrectly described, we know almost nothing of his brother William, who served for five-and-a-half years and died of wounds. In published works his identity in the Woolford family was never established and, because he died during the war—unmarried and leaving no descendants—many genealogists have claimed any convenient William in the family tree as the right one. From several sources, including the Society of the Cincinnati's file, William's place in the family is now clear, and four of his letters draw a poignant profile of this little-known man.[4]

On 16 April 1780 the Maryland division, which included the Delaware Regiment, moved south from Morristown, New Jersey, to the Carolinas. William was then attached to the Second Maryland Regiment and Thomas was lieutenant colonel commandant of the Fifth Maryland. The colonel was detached on 14 August, two days before the disastrous Battle of Camden, with 100 Maryland Continentals and 300 North Carolina militia and sent to reinforce Colonel Thomas Sumter a few miles away. They captured a British baggage train bringing everything from rum to 300 head of cattle, to the British army at Camden. Depending upon whose account one reads, Sumter, Woolford, or a North Carolina militia officer was the hero of the engagement, but certainly the people back home in Dorchester County have always thought it was Woolford. On 18 August, two days after Camden, when Woolford and Sumter were hurrying north by forced march with the baggage train, Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton surprised them as they rested at Fishing Creek. Sumter escaped on his horse—hatless, coatless, and without a saddle; Woolford was wounded and captured along with 300 others.[5]

Six days later he wrote or dictated a letter to his brother, James Woolford, in Dorchester County:

> Dear Brother, Camden August 24th 1780
> I take this opportunity to inform you that I was on the 18th Inst. made Prisoner of war whence I received Four wounds none of which are mortal. I Had the misfortune to loose all of my baggage and no money will replace it but Hard You will please therefore to Colect what hard money you can and send it by Capt. Gassaway who is Come For that purpose.[6] I send you 1900 dollars which you will please to Exchange For Hard money. Should be glad you would send me as Large a Sum as you can. No more at present only my Love to all friends and am Dr Brother yours Very Sincerely
> Thomas Woolford Prisoner war

The businesslike tone and a possible scratched out signature argue for a dictated letter, especially from a man with four recent wounds; the person who wrote it for him could unthinkingly have signed his own name at first.

Prisoners taken at Camden and Fishing Creek soon joined those at Haddrel's Point, across the Cooper River from Charleston, where prisoners taken at the city's fall on 12 May were kept. Of the 5,400 then captured, many were civilians and militia who were quickly paroled, but officers and those made prisoner later at Camden, Waxhaws, and Fishing Creek totaled 3,039 in prison by the end of the year. American prisoners of war could not expect early exchange. They had to wait until their time in prison made them eligible, and even then exchange was slow in coming. Parole was an officer's best hope, but release was up to individual commandants who may have hoped to recruit prisoners for British service.[7]

Prisoners in recent wars have been maintained, however badly, by their captors. During the Revolution states supplied many prisoners' needs, though never in adequate quantities. Maryland and Virginia shipped money, firewood, tobacco, beef, flour, rum, clothing, medicine, and bedding to their captive soldiers.[8] The Continental Congress also approved money to pay prisoners of war, but they received little of it. A payroll receipt in the Society of the Cincinnati's file dated "Haddril's Point March 10, 1780," (i.e., 1781) contains signatures of thirteen men for dollars they received.[9] The amounts are strictly according to a pay scale set by Congress on 27 May 1778.[10]

Most published records indicate that Colonel Woolford was exchanged on 20 December 1780[11] and became lieutenant colonel commandant of the newly re-authorized Fourth Maryland on 1 January 1781. However, the March 1781 payroll receipt refutes a December exchange date and the Society of the Cincinnati file contains a parole he signed 26 June 1781 in Charleston. It is clear he was actually in prison, or on parole nearby, until that time.[12] After the fall of Charleston large numbers of prisoners in the Southern theater became a burden to both sides and an agreement known as the Peedee River Cartel, covering the exchange of all prisoners taken from 12 May 1780 to 15 June 1781, was signed on 3 May 1781. Under its terms, American officers who could not be exchanged for men of similar rank were paroled to their homes.[13] Woolford was returned by ship to Jamestown, Virginia, whence he made his way back to Maryland.

When Colonel Woolford signed his parole he identified himself as "Lt. Col. Comd. 5th M. Reg."[14] He was apparently unaware of his reassignment, on 1 January 1781, as commandant of the Fourth Maryland, which was more or less a "paper regiment" at the time.[15] In any event, to return to his regiment would violate parole. General Washington was particularly concerned that men honored their paroles. He had, on occasion, returned those who reneged to British lines, so as not to jeopardize the parole of other men.[16]

Colonel Woolford's brother William also served in the South, though in a different regiment, and his letters reveal some idea of his service during that time. For many years the only concrete evidence of the man was his listing on muster and pay rolls and in occasional references. As with most such records of the period, there are inaccuracies which have even led to the misconception that there were *two* William Woolfords who served in the war.[17] William, like his brothers Thomas and James, was the son of James and Grace Stevens Woolford. He enlisted on 20 February 1776 in the Sixth Independent Company of Maryland state troops which was then commanded by his brother Thomas. In January 1777, when the Continental Army reorganized, troops of the former independent companies were assigned to the Second Maryland Regiment. On 17 April 1777 William Woolford received his commission as ensign in the second company of the Second Maryland. He was promoted to 2nd lieutenant in April 1779 and to 1st lieutenant in October 1779.[18] When his brother, who had been commandant of the Second Maryland, was transferred to command of the Fifth Maryland, William remained in the Second.

His regiment moved south in April 1780 but William, who was then recruiting officer for Dorchester County, apparently remained in Maryland. On 1 June he received blankets and clothing for six recruits and $2,000 for recruiting expenses.

On 25 June William took charge of a group of four deserters who were to appear before the governor in Annapolis.[19] He remained in or had returned to Annapolis when he wrote to his brother James in Cambridge:

Dear Brother Anns. July 30th 1780
I take this opportunity to Let you know of my Safe arrival to this Place. I have littel News heare to wright Except what you already know. I heard from Colo. Woolford Last week he is well and hearty and I shall March for that Place Sometime Next week. The french have lately arrived at Road Island. Please to give my Love to Sister Sally and all friends. From your Loving to command till Death Will Woolford

He soon wrote James again:

Dear Brother Camp neare Annl. Augt. 10th 1780
I embrace this opportunity to Acquaint you of my Welfare. My health I parfectly Enjoy and hope these Lines will find you and Your family the same. I have Little News to [torn] inform off. Genl Washington has marched over the North River and from a Letter from Phila. we understand that the french fleet are Reinforced with a Squadron of Eight Spanish Ships of the Line now are to cooperate with the french and I hope that in a few weeks they will be Able to give a good Account of all our Enemy in that Quarter.[20] I heard from Colo. Woolford 10th July. He is in good Health and lays at Hillsborough in North Carolina about 200 Miles from Charlestown to which place we are to embark for this Eavening. I should be glad to heare from you at Every opportunity. No more at present but believe me to be With Respect Your Loving Brother Will Woolford
P.S. Dear Brother Please to give my kind love to all friends

William later wrote to James from the army's southern base describing the Battle of King's Mountain on 7 October 1780:[21]

Dear Brother Camp Hillsborough N.C. 17 October 1780
I embrace this opportunity of Acquainting you with my Welfare. My health I parfectly Enjoy and Nothing Would Gave me more Satisfaction than to heare the Same of you and all my friends. I have the Pleasure to inform you that We have been Very Successful Since the 16th of August. The militia to the amount of 3000 men atactd. [illegible] a few days ago under the command of Col. Farguson[22] 200 of which ware British and about 1400 Torreys. We kill'd 150 on the spot Col. Farguson also was kill'd and made 810 Prisoners. The Enemy is Since Retreating. Genl. Smallwood With the Light infantry Cavalry and Militia is porsuing[23] we expect to march in a few Days to join him. Our men are all in high Spirits and I hope with the blessing of God we shall be in Charlestown before Christmas Day. About one 100 of our men has come in since I Rote you before.

William's letter went on to encourage James to send money to their imprisoned brother as soon as possible:

I heard from Colo. Woolford a few Days ago. He is in good health and has Recovered his wounds he is on[?] His Prole with the other offrs. near Charlestown. All he wants is some hard cash to make him as happy as a man can be in his situation. Dear Brother I hope you will send him some as soon as possible if it is to be had. Dr. Brother Please to gave my kind Love to all my Friends. No more at Present but believe me to be with Respect your Loving Brother to Command till Death Will Woolford

P.S. Dr. Brother let me hear from you Every opportunity if you will Direct your letters to Colo. Tasel[?] at Annl. he will put them in the post office.

William's concern for his brother's welfare is more touching because his own situation was so far from comfortable. The army was as ragged and hungry as any prisoners of war. His commanding officer, Colonel Otho Holland Williams, had written in September complaining about the lack of blankets and shoes. More recently he wrote that all muster rolls, account books, etc., except for a few, had fallen into enemy hands at Camden, as well as most of the baggage and equipment; that without these things there was no way to tell who was missing or dead or captive; that there was no clothing for the season and only twenty-five tents and twenty or so camp kettles; and that conditions were such as to move men to compassion for naked soldiers.[24]

There is a fourth letter from William in the Society of the Cincinnati's file written just before the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill on 25 April, when the Maryland troops, most of them new and inexperienced, broke disastrously.

Dear Brother Before Camden S.C. April 21st, 1781

This is to inform you of my Welfare. My Health I parfickly Enjoy and hope these Lines will find you and all friends in the same. We Now Lay within half a mile of the town. The works appear strong but [torn] but seven hundred men fit for duty in their Garrison and I Expect Every Hour we shall begin the attack on the town. We have about 12 hundred Continental troops and about 3 Hundred Militia. Our men is in high spirits and Seem to Wish to begin the attack. Lord Rawdon commands their Garrison. But We have not mutch to fear from him as he is Young and on experienced in war.[25] I hope to have the Pleasure to Gave you a Good account of His Lordship my nearest[?] opportunity. I have but little[?] news to inform you With but What I Expect you have in the Papers. Colo. Clarke of S.C. a few Days ago attacked a detachment of New York Volunteers [loyalists] & killd. 30 on the Spott and made the Major with 40 more Prisoners. Also Colo. Horey[?] of N. Carolina Defeated a Detacht. of Eighty men from Colo. Watson's Regt.[26] I bless God for His marcy. Our arms have been very Successful Since the 16 of August Last and I hope this Sumer's Campaign will Eand the war. We are but badly supplied with Provisions in this place but I hope it will not be so Long. The enemy have mutch desecrated in this part of the country as they have Lay'd heare all Winter. No more at the present but believe me to be with respect Dr. Brother yours to Command till Death Will Woolford

P.S. Sir you must excuse my writing on such scraps of paper as I have none other but what is with the baggage

William fought in the Battle of Eutaw Springs on 8 September 1781, when he was wounded. Three days after the battle Colonel Williams wrote his brother that the Maryland troops had behaved so well General Greene had passed on them the "highest encomiums in the field," but that they had paid for their laurels with the death of four officers and the wounding of four more.[27] On 15 October he wrote that all the wounded of Maryland were likely to recover save Lieutenant Woolford, who "must undergo the awful change in a day or two." He went on to say that it was "vastly more lamentable to loose an officer in sick quarters than in the field."[28] William Woolford died the next day, 16 October 1781, probably in the agony of blood poisoning. Three days later Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown.

NOTES

1. See file XX-4. The author would like to thank John D. Kilbourne, director of the Library and Museum of the Society of the Cincinnati, for opening it. The papers in the Society of the Cincinnati's file must have come from Col. Woolford's descendants, probably from his thrice-great-grandson, James Hamilton Woolford, who was admitted to the Society in 1947. He was the fourth Woolford in a direct line from the colonel, and commissions which he and his father exhibited to the Sons of the American Revolution in 1929 are identical to the colonel's commissions in the file. In 1893, Gov. Robert E. Pattison of Pennsylvania, a cousin of James Woolford, presented photographs of the same commissions with his application to the S.A.R.

2. William Hand Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland* (72 vols. to date; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–), 18:passim, hereafter cited as *Archives;* Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army During the War of the Revolution* (Washington: National Tribune, 1890), p. 606. Because the War Office burned in 1800, Heitman relied on unofficial records.

3. Betsy Knight, "Col. Thomas Woolford: A Tentative New Identity," *Maryland Magazine of Genealogy,* 5 (1982): 66–73, and Calvin W. Mowbray, *First Dorchester Families* (Silver Spring, Md.: privately published, 1984), pp. 184–90. Thomas was probably born in 1735 and died in 1803 or 1804.

4. William was probably the youngest in a large family. His name is usually mentioned last, whether for chronological or alphabetical reasons.

5. Robert D. Bass, *The Green Dragoon: The Lives of Banastre Tarleton and Mary Robinson* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1957), pp. 101–103; Mark Mayo Boatner III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (New York: David McKay Co., 1966), pp. 368–69. Tarleton (1754–1853) commanded the British Legion. He became known to American troops as "Bloody Tarleton"; "Tarleton's Quarter" meant no quarter.

6. Larry G. Bowman, *Captive Americans: Prisoners During the American Revolution* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976), pp. 75 and 89 ff. quotes the going rate in 1776 as eight paper dollars for one silver dollar. Because of regular devaluation it is nearly impossible to estimate the value of paper money, which later in the war ranged from 40 to 1,000 paper dollars for one silver. John Gassaway, on parole, was sent to Maryland with a list of prisoners (*Archives,* 45:96).

7. Ibid., pp. 10, 31, 97, 113. For high-ranking officers it could be a long wait for exchange; seniority in prison was therefore important. Men could also be exchanged by composition. Lieutenant generals, worth 1,044 privates, could be exchanged for nine colonels (@100 each) and two lieutenant colonels (@72 each).

8. Ibid., p. 79. The $1,900 paper dollars that Woolford referred to in his letter must also have been sent by the state. An accounting dated 12 September 1780, from J. Randall in Petersburgh, Va., to Governor Thomas Sim Lee, lists officers, including prisoners, who had received that amount (*Archives,* 45:96–97).

9. "Rec'd from Col. Thomas Woolford in full for nine day's pay agreeable to the pay roll [?]. Dollars

Jacob Brice, Capt'n [?] Insp'r	25	45/90
John Gassaway, Capt'n	12	
Arthur Harris	8	
Geo. Hamilton, Capt'n	12	
Henry Duff, Lt.	8	
J. Vaughan, Lt. Col.	18	

[illegible] Maj. [?] Reg. ____ 15
William[s], Lt. 5th Reg. ____ 8
Isaac Hanson, Lt. [?] ____ 12
Henry Gassaway, Ens ____ 6
John Lynch, Capt'n ____ 12
Jacob Norris, Lieut. ____ 8
Philip Reed, do ____ 8 "

Hamilton, Harris, Lynch, Williams, and Reed had served in the Fifth Maryland; Hanson and Henry Gassaway in the Fourth; Brice in the Third; John Gassaway and the major, who is probably Levin Winder, in the First. Duff and Vaughan were in the Delaware Regiment. Norris probably served in the Sixth Maryland.

10. W. T. R. Saffell, *Records of the Revolutionary War: Containing the Military and Financial Correspondence of Distinguished Officers: Names of the Officers and Privates of Regiments, Companies and Corps. With the Dates of their Commissions and enlistments: General Orders of Washington, Lee and Greene at Germantown and Valley Forge* (N.Y.: Pudney, 1858), p. 374. A colonel in the infantry received $75 a month, a lieutenant colonel $60, a major $50, a captain $40, a lieutenant $26 ⅔, and an ensign $20. Col. Woolford probably saved the receipt as an example of how little and infrequently prisoners were paid.

11. Rieman Steuart, *A History of the Maryland Line in the Revolutionary War* (Towson, Md.: Society of the Cincinnati, 1969), p. 151. I have been unable to discover the source of the purported December exchange date, which is incorrectly given in a number of Southern prisoners' records.

12. While it is the only parole in the Society's file, it may not be the only one Col. Woolford signed. One of his brother's letters indicates he was on parole near Charleston as early as 17 October 1780. There were different kinds of parole, some for the vicinity of the place a man was held prisoner, some for more general locations, and some for specific lengths of time. Most men on parole seem to have stayed reasonably nearby. A six-mile radius for parolees was generally enforced.

13. *Papers of the Continental Congress* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Microfilm Publication, 1973), M247, reel 175, vol. 2, pp. 385–87.

14. The parole read: "I do hereby acknowledge myself to be a Prisoner of War, upon my Parole, to his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton and that I am thereby engaged until I shall be exchanged, neither to do, or cause any Thing to be done, prejudicial to the Success of the Arms of His British Majesty. And I do further pledge my Parole, that I will not intentionally go within twelve Miles of any British Garrison or Post: and that I will surrender myself when required, agreeable to the Terms of the Cartel on the 3d of May 1781 for the Exchange and Relief of Prisoners of War taken in the Southern Department."

15. Robert K. Wright, *The Continental Army* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, 1983), pp. 163–64, 279. After the Battle of Camden remnants of the Maryland and Delaware regiments formed a single two-battalion regiment under Col. Otho Holland Williams. It took more than a year to fill the re-formed Fourth Regiment. Six of the men on the payroll list of 10 March 1781 had been assigned to the Fourth, in an army reorganization of January 1781, even though they were still prisoners.

16. Bowman, *Captive Americans,* pp. 100–101.

17. Heitman, *Historical Register,* lists only one William Woolford, but a William Woodford's service record is similar to part of Woolford's. While there are six references to William Woolford in *Archives,* vol. 18, all referring to a single William Woolford, there is no Woodford in any Maryland roll. Possibly because of this discrepancy, Steuart's *History of the Maryland Line* lists two Society of the Cincinnati members representing two William Woolfords, one using the Heitman incorrect Woodford service record because of a misinterpretation of commissioning dates.

18. I have reconstructed William Woolford's military service record from *Archives,* vols. 18 and 43, and Steuart, *History of the Maryland Line,* pp. 11–14, 151, resolving conflicting data according to recent information. Wright's *Continental Army* supplies basic regimental organization.

19. *Archives,* 43:143, 186; 18:340. On 8 August Woolford was also issued fourteen gallons of rum and fifty pounds [?] brown sugar for his own use, part of an officer's regular allowance (*Archives,* 43:249–50).

20. The report that the French fleet had been reinforced with Spanish ships proved false. Although the Spanish had declared war on Britain in 1779 they did not recognize America as an independent nation and were suspicious of American interest in the West.

21. In the reorganization of the remnants of the Maryland Brigade after the Battle of Camden, William was assigned to the only regiment, the so-called First Maryland, under Colonel Otho Holland Williams. When reinforcements arrived and after reorganization in January 1781, he remained in the First Maryland.

22. Patrick Ferguson, a British Officer, realized after the Battle of Brandywine that he could have "lodged half-a-dozen of balls' in General Washington. He had refrained from firing at "an unoffending individual who was aquitting himself very cooly of his duty" because it would have meant shooting the man in the back. See letter from Patrick Ferguson dated 31 January 1778, written by a clerk and signed "PF," Edinburgh University Library.

23. Brigadier General William Smallwood (1732–1792) later served as governor of Maryland, 1785–1788.

24. Otho Holland Williams, *A Calendar of the Otho Holland Williams Papers in the Maryland Historical Society* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1940), nos. 53, 56, 57, 58, 61.

25. Lord Francis Rawdon (1754–1826), only twenty-six at the time, was a talented, daring and experienced officer whose unexpected attack stopped Greene at Hobkirk's Hill. Outnumbered, Rawdon was later obliged to withdraw. Both sides claimed victory.

26. Colonel Clarke may have been Elijah Clarke, but there were too many officers by that surname to make a positive identification. Horey was either Hugh Horry or his brother Peter, both colonels serving under Brigadier General Francis Marion, the "Swamp Fox." Watson was Colonel John Watson, for whom one of the numerous British outposts was named.

27. Williams, *Calendar,* no. 115.

28. Ibid., no. 122.

Book Reviews

A Crown for Henrietta Maria, Maryland's Namesake Queen. By Frances Copeland Stickles. (Lanham, Md.: Maryland Historical Press, 1988. Pp. 73. Glossary, bibliography, index. $16.75.)

The colony of Maryland was named for Queen Henrietta Maria of England—daughter of King Henri I of France, wife of King Charles I of England, and mother of King Charles II. Frances Copeland Stickles's biography of the queen, while aimed at juvenile readers, will also interest adults. Stickles begins by setting the stage with the Calvert family's founding of Maryland. Although there is some controversy about who suggested the name "Maryland" for the new colony, she credits George Calvert with the idea of naming it for the queen.

Henrietta Maria had been a French princess whose education was typical of the nobility of the time. She grew up in Fountainbleu Palace and studied singing, Bible stories, riding, and etiquette. As Stickles observes, it was not an education that prepared her to rule. Her mother, Queen Maria de Medici, arranged a marriage to King Charles of England when she was only fifteen.

Her life was full of irony and high drama. Married by proxy at Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris, the young bride set sail for England with twenty-one ships, trunks filled with finery, many servants, and twenty-eight priests. A Catholic princess who did not speak English, she arrived in London in the midst of the an epidemic of the plague. It was an ominous beginning for the royal marriage. Henrietta Maria would cling to her religion, even refusing to attend Charles's coronation because it was a Protestant service held at Westminster Abbey. Because she did not attend the coronation, she did not receive her own crown. In time the royal couple's differences were reconciled, and king and queen lived a happy domestic life with their seven children in the palaces at Oatlands, Richmond, and Hampton Court. A beautiful Van Dyke portrait of the five eldest children illustrates the book and shows them dressed in satins and jewels and posed with their pets.

But this tranquility did not transcend to Charles's realm. In 1629, believing in his "Divine Right" to rule, the king dismissed Parliament. In the power struggle that ensued his subjects turned against him, and the royal family fled the city to Windsor Castle. The queen set sail for Holland with her young daughter, Mary, who was to marry William of Orange. She sold her jewels to buy arms for the Royalist army. Then, hunted by the Roundheads, she fled to France, leaving behind her newborn daughter, Minette.

Hardship and pain replaced the fairytale life Henrietta had lived as queen. While exiled in France, she learned of the Puritan trial and beheading of her husband, King Charles, and the death in prison of her daughter, Princess Elizabeth. When Oliver Cromwell confiscated her properties, Henrietta Maria was forced to live in poverty at the Louvre Palace.

The queen survived the assassination of her father, the execution of her husband, and the deaths of several children. She lived to see the monarchy restored in Britain and her son, Charles II, rule England. A biography so full of drama and intrigue should provide fascinating reading to children.

One of the strengths of the book is its attractive format and the author's use of seventeenth century illustrations. She has included portraits, period maps (such as the 1635 map of Maryland), and engravings on almost every page of the seventy-three-page biog-

raphy. A bird's-eye view of Fountainbleu Palace, engravings of the Louvre and Whitehall Palace, and views of seventeenth century London help to bring Henrietta Maria's world to life for school-aged readers. Stickles has also included a glossary and a bibliography for readers who are interested in learning more about the period. A full-length color portrait of the queen dressed regally in an ermine-trimmed cloak on the book's cover should also attract young readers, as will the Van Dyke portraits of queen, king, and the five royal children.

Stickles discusses the religious and political problems that plagued the reign of Charles I in simple sentences and straightforward language suitable for young readers. However, a sense of immediacy is sometimes lacking in the biography, particularly in the last two chapters, because the author often summarizes or lists events that could have been presented more dramatically. For example, the death of King Charles is described thus: "The king was beheaded January 30, 1649 and Parliament, under General Oliver Cromwell, took charge of the government" (p. 57).

Since young readers are apt to become confused by the queen's many children and grandchildren, Stickles wisely has included family trees of the royal houses of both England and France during this period.

All in all, the turbulent events of Queen Henrietta Maria's life should provide fascinating reading for young children. Learning about the young French princess who became England's queen, they will absorb the flavor and turmoil of a period in which both citizens and kings went to the scaffold for their religious and political beliefs.

Often a biography such as this one awakens a child's interest in history. We hope it will lead young children to further reading about the forces that shaped Queen Henrietta Maria's destiny and that of the colony of Maryland.

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The Portraits and Daguerreotypes of Edgar Allan Poe. By Michael J. Deas. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989. Pp. x, 198. Bibliography, notes, index. $60.00 cloth, $29.95 paper.)

On the surface *The Portraits and Daguerreotypes of Edgar Allan Poe* is an illustrated catalogue of more than seventy likenesses of the American writer. Divided into two main sections—authentic life portraits and apocryphal portraits—it provides biographical information about the artists, traces the provenance of each piece, and in the case of life portraits, accounts for Poe's circumstances during the time of each sitting.

Underneath this seemingly dry and factual surface, however, is a compelling and expertly written book. The author, Michael J. Deas, an instructor at the School of Visual Arts in New York, brings a new perspective to our understanding of Poe by merely looking at the physical image of the man. What he finds is often surprising and most profound.

In the first section Deas shows us a Poe that few have ever seen. It's a daguerreotype, circa 1842, of a robust, youthful Poe with thick side-whiskers; unpublished since 1905, it is the only photographic proof that Poe did not always sport his characteristic moustache.

In other photographs Deas discovers some wonderful details: a small scar beside Poe's left eye in the "Annie" daguerreotype of 1849, and in the "Thompson" daguerreotype, also of 1849, a small mole below that same eye, and a sprig of holly decorating his vest. It is Deas's attention to such detail that makes this book a joy to read *and* to look at.

The second section on apocrypha collects a wide variety of book engravings, copy portraits, and outright fakes. With droll humor, Deas tells us how any painting or photo-

graph of a melancholy-looking man with a moustache and curly, dark hair has at one time or another been passed around as an authentic Poe likeness. Even the Poe portraits by the famous photographer Mathew Brady come under close scrutiny; Deas presents evidence that Brady modified a copy of an existing daguerreotype and fostered the myth himself that he photographed Poe.

By studying all these likenesses, Deas teaches us how the popular image of Poe as a tormented genius and tragic artist came into being. While the early, rarely seen portraits reveal "a quietly elegant figure, handsome in an uncommon sense" with "an air of urbanity and poise" (p. 6), it is the more familiar daguerreotypes taken during the final eighteen months of Poe's life which most of us remember. Here we see the brooding countenance that has been reinforced over the decades by dozens of illustrators and retouchers all too eager to identify Poe with the brooding characters in many of his stories.

Deas concludes his book with three short chapters on lost Poe portraits, copy daguerreotypes (reproductions made from the original plates), and the portraits of Poe's wife, Virginia Clemm. This last chapter deserves special mention. When Virginia died of consumption in 1847, the family realized no portrait of her had been taken in life, so they hired an unknown artist to paint her death-bed pose. The original watercolor, although subsequently copied by other painters, has long been retained by the Poe family. This is the first time the original has been reproduced in book form.

Complemented by clear duotone reproductions and Janet Anderson's beautiful design, *The Portraits and Daguerreotypes of Edgar Allan Poe* is a stunning combination of biography and iconography. It is also one of the most important books about Poe ever published.

CHRISTOPHER SCHARPF
Edgar Allan Poe Society of Baltimore

Antietam: The Soldiers' Battle. By John M. Priest. (Shippensburg, Pa.: White Mane Publishing Co., 1989. Pp. v, 437. Maps, appendix, notes, index. $34.95.)

Jay Luvaas, in his introduction to this book, warns the reader that its purpose "is not to analyze or interpret a battle, but to weave a tapestry of individual experiences" (p. xxiii). After years of laborious research, the author presents an unprecedented number of eyewitness accounts of various aspects of the Battle of Antietam. Although several full length studies exist that document the actions of this crucial Civil War campaign and battle, this is the first effort to retell the battle from the soldier's point of view. Assembled here are literally hundreds of memoirs, letters, and articles from the men who actually did the fighting on that hot September day in 1862.

The reader is also warned in the introduction that many of these accounts should not be accepted at face value, that many variables such as a lapse of time, a narrow field of focus, or a particular purpose of the writer may have influenced many of the writings. Some accounts cited are from letters immediately after the battle; others are from veterans' magazines published fifty years later. Absolute truth is not the intention of this book. It merely is a forum for these veterans to impart their memoirs of the bloodiest day in American history. Some are funny, others poignant, and some even contradictory. The author makes little effort to establish the accuracy of the sources used; indeed in many cases it would be impossible. By allowing the soldiers to speak for themselves, the book presents the best and the worst of primary source material. Sometimes the reader is presented with minute descriptions of people and events previously unpublished. Unfortunately the reader is also faced with confusing details and very little perception of the overall picture. Since the average soldier only observed what happened in his immediate vicinity, he seldom could relate his experiences to the battle as a whole.

The author adds a cautionary note in a special page explaining his use of biblical verse for chapter titles. He tells us that the chapters follow a chronological order, based on the "Cope Maps [1904]" (p. vii), although he does not explain what they are. In addition we are cautioned not to consider the times as absolute due to the non-standardization of time in 1862. He also explains the maps that he has included are based on these Cope Maps.

With all of these warnings in mind, the book presents the climactic Battle of Antietam through participant accounts from sunup to sundown. Since the chapters are arranged to cover a certain time period, the scene changes in each, forcing the reader to keep certain locations and characters in mind while others are introduced. This soon leads to a feeling of confusion not unlike what the original soldiers must have felt. The fragmented approach is often hard to follow and makes continuity very difficult. Brief explanations at the end of each chapter summarize events covered by the memoirs, and they offer some help in unraveling the action described. Occasionally the author will join narratives together with some of his own interpretation, however this is often highly opinionated and seldom documented. In fact, some of the documentation is faulty. Frequently the footnotes cite secondary sources and never mention that those books are citing original sources.

For a book of this price and quality there are an annoying number of typographical errors and misspellings, but more serious are some of the factual errors in the text. For example, the 72nd Pennsylvania Infantry was known as Baxter's Zouaves, not Birney's; canister rounds do not "burst"; and the 9th New York Infantry wore dark blue, not purple uniforms. On a larger scale, failing to consult other published memoirs leads Priest to faulty conclusions. Some of the familiar incidents of the battle, such as Longstreet's staff manning the guns of the Washington Artillery are examples. While three other published memoirs of participants and the after-action report in the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* place this incident near the Sharpsburg Pike north of town, Priest, evidently relying mainly on a manuscript memoir, places the incident later in the day, south of town, and on the Harpers Ferry road. Although the weight of evidence strongly suggests that the familiar story is correct, the author states his version without comment or inclusion of contradictory sources. In a similar example Priest flatly states that a previous work by noted historian Bruce Catton is in error concerning the capture of a Confederate flag (footnote, p. 88), yet consultation with a published source, *Life and Letters of Wilder Dwight, Lieutenant Colonel 2nd Massachusetts Regiment* (Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1868), contradicts Priest. (Incidently, Priest consistently refers to Dwight throughout the book as Dwight Wilder, when his name was indeed Wilder Dwight!) To provide an accurate picture, the author should have presented both sides of the question and let the reader decide which source to accept.

Also confusing are the many maps detailing the movements of various units. Numerous small maps provide the various parts of a large jigsaw puzzle, although the reader never sees the picture of what the finished puzzle should look like. The inclusion of a large overall map would allow much greater understanding of what part of the field is being described. In addition, the maps have no key or legend, thus the author refers to crops planted in the fields, types of fences and roads, but we cannot decipher the map to tell what is what. Troop placement and movement on the maps are hand-drawn, giving them an amateurish appearance. Also adding to the confusion is the standard map symbol for artillery. Usually the three parallel lines have the longer line in the center point the direction of the cannon barrel, that is, the direction it is firing, however, here it is used backwards, making the orientation of artillery batteries a problem to understand. The maps do not show terrain at all, while again the author constantly refers to swales, ridges, ravines, and other terrain features.

An appendix to this book includes strength returns and losses for both sides in the

conflict. Again it is introduced as a preliminary study that should not be considered 100% accurate. The author also warns the reader that he relied on Walter Taylor's *Four Years With General Lee* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1962), for many Confederate unit strengths, although Taylor "made it a lifelong ambition to prove that the Army of Northern Virginia was always hopelessly outnumbered throughout the war" (p. 318). He then arrives at a figure for the Confederates that is almost 5,000 men less than Taylor's figure. Since the strength returns and casualty figures are not crucial to the book's theme, and considering the questionable veracity of these compilations, one wonders why they were included at all.

For all its flaws this book is by far the most extensive compilation of unpublished sources on the Battle of Antietam. While the mechanics are awkward, the memoirs of the men who fought at Antietam are hauntingly direct. Even after lapses of many years the veterans could describe in detail the noise, the smoke, the horrors, and the glory that made this day forever frozen in time for them. The author has performed a valuable service by bringing them together for publication. For those who wish more of what happened at Antietam, they might consult James Murfin's *Gleam of Bayonets* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1965), Stephen Sears's *Landscape Turned Red* (New Haven: Ticknor & Fields, 1983), or Ronald H. Bailey and the editors of Time-Life Books, *The Bloodiest Day, the Battle of Antietam* (Alexandria, Va.: Time-Life Books, 1984). Any of these books will provide the necessary framework for understanding what happened in the battle. *Antietam: The Soldiers' Battle* will then add the human element to convey how the participants experienced it.

Antietam: The Soldiers' Battle is, in many ways, like the soldiers whose stories it tells—sometimes confusing and opinionated, but with great insight into the small details of the fight and a good source of first-hand information. This book is at its best when the author allows the veteran to share his perceptions of the battle with the reader. It is at its worst when the author tries to use those sources to explain the battle. The introduction should include one more caveat—that the reader should be familiar with the overall action of the battle and the terrain of the battlefield. Without that background the book will prove to be hopelessly confusing for the average reader.

THOMAS G. CLEMENS
Hagerstown Junior College

Severna Park, Anne Arundel County, Maryland: A History of the Area. By Nelson Molter, (Severna Park, Md. Part 1, 1969. Pp. iii, 95; part 2, 1988. Pp. 83. Maps, photos, index. $15.00.)

Nelson Molter's two-part history is a mine of information about Severna Park. Though much of it is within his own recollection, he has verified all dates and names of people and places by careful research in newspapers and the public archives.

Contents of part 1 include chapters on early land transactions (the first were land grants of 1670 and 1680), early settlers and buildings, sidewalks and ferry-boats, schools, post-offices, stores, railroads, churches, utilities, medical services, recreational facilities, fire departments, and improvement associations.

It all began on 31 July 1906 when the developers, Severn Realty Co., acquired two adjoining North Severn lots. A 1906 plat prepared for the developers shows numbered building lots on named streets and alleys and two riverside lots reserved for a public park. A 1910 plat is often referred to in property transactions today. Reproductions of these detailed plats as well as maps and vintage photos illustrate the history throughout.

After a railroad station was erected at Boone on the outskirts of Severna Park between

1906 and 1907, the Annapolis Short Line running between Annapolis and Baltimore provided settlers in Severna Park with ready transportation. Boone was named for the Boone family whose residence, built in 1860, is the oldest house in present day Severna Park. The Annapolis-Baltimore Boulevard was completed as far as Boone in 1912. Until the 1930s a ferry at the foot of the hill on Jumper's Hole Road crossed the Severn to Whitney's Landing, and another operated from Joyce's Landing to Sherwood Forest.

The Severn River chapters of part 2 relate the role the river has played in the development of the community and describe the marshes, coves, and islands of the North Severn now endangered by pollution, the result of overbuilding during the last twenty years. Following these chapters on the natural areas is a miscellany of chapters on such subjects as the origin of highway names, the celebration of the Fourth of July, the extensive historical and genealogical resources of the State Law Library (formerly the Maryland State Library) where Mr. Molter was librarian for many years, and several poems by the Benztown Bard, Folger McKinsey.

In a final chapter, "The Future," he suggests that a tunnel under the median strip of the Ritchie highway for the light rail system would siphon off traffic from the overcrowded road whereas another east-west highway would only encourage new development in an already overbuilt area. He is concerned, too, about the horrendous traffic on the waterways, where policing should be as strict as on the highways.

CHARLOTTE FLETCHER
Annapolis, Maryland

The Play Life of a City: Baltimore's Recreation and Parks, 1900–1955. By Barry Kessler and David Zang. (Baltimore: Baltimore City Life Museums and the Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks, 1989. Pp. viii, 56. Map, illustrations, notes, index. $5.00.)

"The play life of a people indicates more than anything else its vitality, morals, intelligence, and fitness." These words of Baltimore's Playground Athletic League—featured on a banner in O'Neill's Department Store window in the mid-1930s— begin a lively book prepared to accompany and supplement the exhibition "The Play Life of a City: Baltimore's Recreation and Parks, 1900–1955," jointly sponsored by the Baltimore City Life Museums and the Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks.

The book, however, is much more than a catalogue of the exhibition. Barry Kessler and David Zang skillfully weave material from a variety of scattered sources to outline the history of the play life of Baltimore during a critical period of change and growth. They do this by focusing on three major sets of problems that the Board of Parks Commissioners faced between 1895 and 1955: the pressures for active rather than contemplative recreation, the conflicts between public demands and the objectives of urban planners and park designers, and the struggles of African-Americans for equal access to facilities.

Early in the century the emphasis on parks as a haven for contemplation was supplanted by an emphasis on the value of active recreation. Athletics became connected to moral improvement. In Baltimore's parks this was mirrored in the increase in active sports, especially bicycling and tennis, as well as the penning of the free-roaming deer, to prevent them from interrupting recreational activities. Kessler and Zang discuss these developments as well as the growth of the playground movement after 1902. The book clearly traces the efforts of groups such as the Children's Playground Association and the Public Athletic League to gain control over recreation and parks, noting the organizations' differing ideologies.

The authors are, in fact, adept at delineating some of the underlying conflicts that

forged the modern parks system in Baltimore. This is especially true in the chapter "Parks, Planning, and Play," which traces the development of the parks in light of the urban planners' desire for a ring of parks and parkways, local demands for athletic facilities, and the reality of limited funding. The authors note that many of these conflicts are still alive.

The most difficult issue that the Board of Parks Commissioners faced in the twentieth century was its policy on the use of park facilities by African Americans. Ostensibly open to all people, the parks and recreation facilities were segregated, most of them open only to whites, until 1956. Drawing heavily on newspaper accounts and interviews with participants, Kessler and Zang trace the segregation and the post-1930 attempts to end it. They note that "Even after these fights were over, the full integration of the races into a single 'play life' was no more true than was their complete harmony in housing, education, and all aspects of urban life." One might object that the book seems to end at this point without a solid concluding chapter, but this tactic does go a long way toward suggesting that the problems and conflicts are still working themselves out.

Early in the book Kessler and Zang voice their hope that "this book will spur additional study of Baltimore's parks." Given their modest intentions, the authors more than succeed. Visitors to the exhibition and Baltimoreans interested in a brief history of their city's recreation and parks will find this book interesting reading. The lucid prose is amply illustrated with photographs from the exhibition. Historians interested in urban growth or leisure will find that the book raises some important issues and highlights some significant areas for future research.

PATRICIA C. CLICK
University of Virginia

Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture. By Jack P. Greene. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1988, Pp. xv, 284. Notes, index. $32.50 cloth, $12.95 paper.)

Forrest McDonald once remarked in a public lecture that "pointing out forests where others see only trees is what historians are for." Jack P. Greene would probably agree. His important scholarly works, resting on careful attention to factual detail, seek patterns and illuminate broad trends. Greene's talent for synthesis has never been displayed to better advantage than in this volume.

Pursuits of Happiness is in part a synthesis of the work of a generation of social historians. Its impressive sweep covers the social development of England, Ireland, and the English colonies in North America, the Atlantic, and the Caribbean in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But it is much more than a synthesis. Greene attempts to construct a comprehensive model of the social development of the English-speaking Atlantic world during that period and to identify the evolution and content of an American culture by 1776. Maryland readers will be interested to learn that he sees the Chesapeake, not New England, as the normative model of colonial development.

Greene's argument that Puritan New England was neither the central influence in forming American culture nor the model for analyzing the other colonies is not entirely new. In fact, on that point he might be accused of beating a badly ailing (though not yet dead) horse. But Greene's exhaustive survey of the literature makes the case more broadly and persuasively than ever before. His primary contribution, though, is not so much to discredit a hoary shibboleth as to advance a new model in its place.

Social historians of early modern England have found the mother country to be more socially fluid, geographically mobile, individualistic, and commercially oriented than was

once thought. These findings lead Greene to argue that the seventeenth-century Chesapeake colonies were more like England than was early New England. In fact, he sees Puritan New England's founding as a reaction against these English trends. Greene argues that the Puritan colonies before 1660 were distinctive in their "strong religious orientation, communal impulses, perfectionist aspirations, sense of chosenness, belief in social and religious exclusivity and uniformity, suspicion of the modern market world, and modest economic opportunity" (p. 52). The later English colonies in the New World, each unique in detail, were nevertheless more like "the loose, expansive, conflicted, and materialistic world of the Chesapeake than . . . the contained and ordered ambience of orthodox puritan New England" (p. 46).

However, Greene believes that all of the colonies (except perhaps the Leeward Islands) were becoming more like one another in the eighteenth century before the American Revolution. "The New England colonies had become more atomistic, competitive, contentious, mobile, open, materialistic, and secular and less cohesive, settled, healthy, and self-confident" (p. 101), while the other colonies were moving in the opposite direction in each of these respects. Greene therefore concludes that a developmental model best explains colonial social history. With the partial exception of New England, the colonies progressed from an initial stage of "*social simplification* of inherited forms" with "much unsettledness and disorientation," through a "second stage of *social elaboration* . . . marked by the continuing articulation of socioeconomic, political, and cultural institutions, structures and values" that were creolized variants of their English counterparts, to a final period of attempted "*social replication*" of English society by colonial elites (pp. 167–68).

The result by the eve of the American Revolution was an emerging American cultural pattern that was most evident in the Chesapeake and Middle Colonies. According to Greene, it was a "secular and commercial culture" (p. 195) in which the primary goal of life was personal independence. While circumstances in Britain, Ireland, and the island colonies allowed relatively few to achieve that goal, it was possible for most in the North American colonies. That expansive atmosphere produced a heightened sense of self-worth, individualism, devotion to private property, distrust of government, and high hopes for one's children, as well as a desire to improve society. Greene contends that the southern colonies were "the very embodiment of what was arguably the single most important element in the emerging American mind—the ideal of the pursuit of happiness by independent people in a setting that provided significant opportunities for success" (p. 207).

This is an important book. It is a fine overview of recent work in social history and a point of departure for future study and scholarly debate. *Pursuits of Happiness* is required reading for colonial historians and rewarding though dense and meaty fare for a thoughtful public.

JAMES HAW
Indiana University-Purdue University at Fort Wayne

Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607–1783. By Margaret Connell Szasz. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988. Pp. x, 333. Notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $37.50, paper, $16.95.)

This is the first comprehensive study of Indian education in all thirteen American colonies. It is set upon an effective background of the social history of education in general with some attention to the characteristics of Indian childhood. Its major focus is "on formal schooling as a single, crucial dimension of the larger process of cultural interaction" (p. 3).

Aware of the emphases of ethnohistory, the author strives to present both sides of the

coin with the ethnocentric efforts of missionaries and preachers to educate and convert the Indians to Christianity and to provide at the same time the reaction of the natives with their quite different cultural perspective. Available documents support the first of these efforts more extensively, while the second is more difficult to discern.

Great diversity existed in education among the different colonies extending from New England to Georgia and covering both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Yet the author concludes that there was "a heretofore unheralded commonality" (p. 5) in the pattern of plans of Euroamericans for Indian schooling experiments. This included the need to Christianize and civilize their subjects, the emergence of an individual as the catalyst for the educational effort, and the participation of Indians in the project even if no more than one.

The educational experiments involved individuals with varying degrees of recognition in history: from the familiar Pocahontas to the less familiar Yamasee Prince of South Carolina and Kittamaquand of Maryland, from the more widely known Samson Occom to Harvard students less well known such as Joel Hiacommes and Caleb Cheeshahteaumauk, and from the ubiquitous Creek princess, Mary Musgrove, of great assistance to James Edward Oglethorpe in Georgia to the less familiar Miriam Storrs of Eleazar Wheelock's Moor's Indian Charity School, the forerunner of Dartmouth College.

The chapter "Indian Women between Two Worlds: Moor's School and Coeducation in the 1760s" is perhaps the most original of the volume. It identifies the experiences of young women, sixteen in all, at the Moor's School. While Miriam Storrs later reverted to the life styles of the Delaware, Hannah Garrett followed more closely the goals of Wheelock by marrying and giving support to her husband in their education of the Oneida and the Montauk. The author concludes that "Wheelock provided these girls with a practical skill, minimum reading and writing ability, and a Calvinist view of life, but he had failed to convince them that they should adopt the cultural traits of his own people" (p. 229). Furthermore, the imbalance of these educational experiences gave mixed results: "An Indian woman with a veneer of New England culture and facing both prejudice in colonial society and uneasiness in her native society confronted an enduring dilemma" (p. 231).

Efforts in Indian education varied. Catholic missionaries included the dedicated service of Father Andrew White as "Apostle of Maryland" and the work of other Jesuits among the Piscataway and Choptank. Protestants received support from philanthropic groups including the New England Company in the seventeenth century with the additional assistance during the eighteenth century of the SPG (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701) and the SSPCK (Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, 1709). Among the documented efforts was the work of Dr. Thomas Bray as commissary of the Church of England in Maryland and his contributions to the founding of the SPG.

This volume combines a skillful combination of primary source material, both manuscript and published, with secondary studies of educational projects. It confronts the dilemma of assessing the results by distinguishing between the Euroamerican standards of quantity and quality and the consequence of the Indian's experience for his or her own culture. For evaluation of the latter, the author suggests that the achievements of individuals as cultural brokers blending the two cultures "provide a touchstone for assessing the merits of the many ventures in Indian schooling in colonial America" (p. 263). The success of this evaluation results in a study that will long remain the standard work on this important subject.

W. Stitt Robinson
University of Kansas

Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South. By Elizabeth Fox-Genovese. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1988. Pp. xvii, 544. Notes, bibliography, index. $34.95.)

Within the Plantation Household is an important new overview of the beliefs and daily lives of slave and slaveholding women in the Old South. Taking the plantation household and inhabitants as her purview (for she believes that these women cannot be understood apart from each other and from their respective menfolks), Fox-Genovese applies Marxist and gender analyses to produce an insightful, though often controversial, interpretation that will stimulate debate in many areas.

Fox-Genovese's focus on both slave and slaveholding women—which she generally carries out in juxtaposed chapters—gives her book an inclusiveness that will make it attractive to many scholars. Her use of gender roles gives her an especially useful tool for examining the lives of slave women. Historians of slavery will find most interesting her observations that slave women on plantations tended to work in female groups, even when performing hard work in the fields. Although white men did not follow the same gender conventions toward black women that they observed toward white "ladies," Fox-Genovese convincingly argues that the slaves and the owners still followed notions of what was woman's proper work (albeit black woman's work) in the assignment of tasks. In general, Fox-Genovese synthesizes and expands the excellent work done in recent years on slave women's work, resistance, and accommodation.

While Fox-Genovese portrays slave women as the products of the double burden that slavery and gender imposed upon them, she believes slaveholding white women both benefitted and suffered from these constraints. Slavery indeed relieved these white women, whether members of small slaveholding or wealthy planter families, from much hard manual labor, and in the end, she argues, it would claim their primary allegiance. To understand Fox-Genovese's view of how and why this came to be, one must follow her argument about the economic and consequent ideological forces shaping nineteenth-century North and South. In her long tightly-argued first chapter, Fox-Genovese details her vision of the fundamental differences between North and South and between northern and southern white women. The nineteenth-century North was in the throes of capitalist development which spurred it toward bourgeois individualism. There production moved to the workshop or office from the household, leaving the latter to be claimed by the women as their domain and "separate sphere." In addition, urban growth would bring women together in the networks so necessary to "sisterhood." From these beginnings as well as from general bourgeois notions of universalism positing all women as equal or at least much the same, even across class lines, would come the push in the North for women's rights. In contrast, the South, because of slavery, continued to uphold hierarchy and had a stunted urban development. Because the southern household remained the center of production, woman's lot—even among the privileged—was much different. Unlike northern men, the southern slaveholder was never ousted from the household, his place of work, and there his authority remained supreme. His long shadow fell over all aspects of life, giving even elite women an inferior position which they could not escape.

Thus, Fox-Genovese argues, conditions of production in the North allowed feminism but in the South stifled it. She firmly disputes those scholars who have found an incipient feminism in southern ladies such as Mary Boykin Chesnut. Instead Fox-Genovese insists elite women did not believe in sisterhood—racism made them contempuous of the slave women while class boundaries made them disdainful of poorer white women as well. Moreover, unlike their northern counterparts who invoked a language of domesticity to

exalt all women, southern slaveholding women—who managed households rather than actually performing chores themselves—could not set the same value on domesticity and could not use it as a liberating force. Thus, while class meant relatively little to women in the North, it loomed extremely large in the South.

When Fox-Genovese turns to what she calls the "imaginative worlds of slaveholding women,"—what they read, what they wrote, how they thought about themselves and their worlds—her treatment is fresh and original. She gives an intriguing survey of a wide range of well-educated women, but chooses Louisa McCord, daughter of South Carolina politician Langdon Cheves, as her centerpiece. An able polemicist for slavery, McCord in her published writings also justified inequality as the proper condition for women. Fox-Genovese characterizes most southern women as writing in a subjective voice (in diaries, journals, and like), while McCord wrote in an objective voice and "accepted a discourse predominantly fashioned by men" (p. 288). Still the author believes that southern slaveholding women would have accepted McCord as representative. In these sections, however, the richness of Fox-Genovese's evidence often threatens to overwhelm her aim of fitting all these women into a determinedly antifeminist, proslavery mold. While serving as a corrective to those who would elevate those southern women who complained about slavery and about men into a virtual "fifth column," Fox-Genovese may push her own argument too far. Although she believes that "Loyalty to southern society led inescapably to the defense of slavery, which led inescapably to the subordination of women to men" (p. 371), she can muster few women other than Louisa McCord to make that point. Indeed, some of the women she studied, such as Ella Gertrude Thomas, appear to have combined racism with a strong belief in women's innate superiority and their wrongly inferior position in society.

Fox-Genovese's interpretation of the status and ideology of southern white women, relative to that of their northern sisters, is likely to fuel numerous future arguments among historians. Some scholars, noting that even the author herself admits the considerable power some plantation mistresses wielded in the domestic sphere, may further question whether the domestic authority of northern women was any more final or unassailable. And other elements of Fox-Genovese's comparison may come into dispute. Her argument that southern matrons as household managers did not care about domesticity may tend to overemphasize the extent to which they would have differed from women in the North. Indeed, northern upper-class and even middle-class women were also household managers who depended on maid servants—albeit employed rather than owned—to perform housework and childcare. Such concerns taken together suggest that although Fox-Genovese has skillfully woven together the many threads of her visions of North and South, her overall argument appears somewhat forced.

Fox-Genovese's depiction of southern women—buttressed as it is by numerous examples and long evocative sketches of women from many parts of the South and Old Southwest—will fascinate readers. And they will be impressed by the great expertise in American women's history that her extensive bibliography and citations indicate. Perhaps because she ranges so widely, her acquaintance with some of the people studied occasionally appears to be overly brief. And those interested in border state areas such as Maryland may be somewhat disappointed at the small number of women from that region to which she refers. But all these questions and caveats do not compromise a work of this breadth which will long be used and debated by historians of the South, slavery, and women.

JANE TURNER CENSER
George Mason University

Private Matters: American Attitudes Toward Childbearing and Infant Nurture in the Urban North, 1800–1860. By Sylvia D. Hoffert. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989. Pp. iv, 229. $22.50.)

Sylvia Hoffert's gracefully written book focuses on attitudes and practices concerning pregnancy and childbirth among urban middle class families in antebellum America. The book also contains a brief treatment of early infancy, including a moving discussion of the meaning of infant death. Hoffert's conceptual framework will be familiar to specialists, but her able application of it to her chosen topic results, in places, in significant refinements of existing interpretations.

The author vividly renders the voices of childbearing women through an examination of their diaries, letters, and other personal papers. Despite important differences, much of their outlook will strike the contemporary reader as familiar. The similarities indicate the emergence of a cultural orientation toward parents and children that is the immediate forerunner of our own. For example, even though one in four infants still died before reaching their first birthdays, by the nineteenth century the stoicism characteristic of an earlier era's preferred response to infant death had given way to expressions of acute grief and lingering sadness. The shift was symptomatic of a romantic sensibility and a view of the infant as innocent and malleable, a view that encouraged the intensification of parental preoccupation with the moral and emotional welfare of their newborns.

A major motif is the complex relationship between childbearing women and the antebellum "culture makers" who presumed to advise them. Increased geographic mobility and the anonymity of growing towns and cities deprived many urban, middle-class women of their customary support from kinfolk and neighbors. Making use of the new mass print media, a wide array of experts stepped into the breach. The author correctly views the avalanche of advice provided by ministers, health reformers, novelists, editors and journalists, and, above all, doctors as a mixed blessing. It could provide genuinely helpful knowledge. But it also asserted a sometimes coercive moral code and sought to advance professional interests in a highly competitive era.

It is one thing for experts to assert their authority to set standards of conduct; another, to find a willing audience. Here the evidence is mixed. Middle-class women ignored expert opinions about several important matters. They did not, for example, routinely seek the advice of doctors during their pregnancies, and they resisted growing public pressure to limit their activities in late pregnancy. But the same women replaced midwives with doctors during labor and relied on nurses rather than kinswomen during their post-labor recovery. Overall, Hoffert concludes that urban, middle-class women were increasingly receptive to the claims of expertise in part because, as members of families anxious about social status in the risky milieu of antebellum cities, they were vulnerable to the message that proper comportment during pregnancy, labor, and recovery was a sign of respectability and gentility.

There is a larger historical lesson. Until recently historians have thought of private life as emerging with increasing clarity throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, to be threatened by the intrusive prying of experts and the state only in the twentieth century. The history of childbearing in pre-Civil War America shows otherwise. Just as the urban middle class began to cherish the family-centered home as a private refuge, professionals and others began to claim privileged moral and scientific knowledge about intimate relations. Although Hoffert does not quite say so, her research confirms that from the beginning the "private" emerged in symbiosis with expertise.

TOBY L. DITZ
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George Wythe Randolph and the Confederate Elite. By George Green Shackleford. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989. Pp. xii, 235. Appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $25.)

History has not been kind to George Wythe Randolph (1818–1867). His "greatest accomplishment was a biological accident: his mother was the daughter of Thomas Jefferson," Clifford Dowdey once wrote of his fellow Virginian (*Experiment in Rebellion* [Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1946], p. 245). Elsewhere Dowdey dismissed Randolph as "a dilettante in war as in all else" (*The Land They Fought For* [Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1955], p. 160). Other historians have cautiously considered him "neglected" or simply enumerated the bare facts of his eight-month stint in 1862 as Confederate secretary of war, sandwiched between the near disaster of Judah P. Benjamin and the enduring and better known James A. Seddon. (Again, Dowdey in *Experiment in Rebellion:* "His going was of no consequence. He was replaced by a better man and a better secretary," p. 248.) Paucity of readily available material, brief time in the spotlight, and an early death of tuberculosis may explain the neglect, if not the denigration. Now comes Virginia Tech history professor George G. Shackleford to set matters aright.

Immersed in the socio-economic theories of Vilfredo Pareto and the writings of a contemporary Italian historian of the South, Raimondo Luraghi, combined with intimate knowledge of the archives of the Jefferson-Randolph and kindred families, Shackleford has produced a long-overdue assessment of the man and, as a social history, new insight into the Confederate experience. Not a bad accomplishment for 174 pages of text! Far from the dabbler of Dowdey, there was depth in Randolph's variety of experience, education, and mental abilities: Grandfather Jefferson would have been proud of the man death left behind as a five-year-old. The son of Virginia governor Thomas Mann Randolph (1768–1828) and Martha Jefferson, George was the eleventh and last child, born when his father was fifty and his mother forty-six. Poor health and financial collapse made the father a virtual stranger to his family during his last four years. George was taken by a sister and her New England husband, Joseph Coolidge, to Boston, where he received his basic education at Cambridge. He rejoined his mother in Jacksonian Washington, D.C., where the widow had moved her brood, but his further education posed a financial dilemma, and West Point or the navy seemed to offer the best opportunity. After some debate George opted for the navy, and, at the tender age of thirteen, as an acting midshipman, he was off to sea. Five years later, after the toughening process (and, Shackleford speculates, contracting in "Old Ironsides" the tuberculosis that plagued and finally ended his life), he took leave of absence and entered the University of Virginia, where he made a distinguished record, resigned his commission, and completed an additional degree in law. The decade of the 1840s (a gap in the narrative) was spent in Albemarle County; in the 1850s he moved to Richmond, married a well-to-do and attractive young widow, and joined the literary circle of John R. Thompson, finding time to build a lucrative law practice, serve on the city council and in the state militia, and organize and lead the famous Richmond Howitzers to Charles Town to witness the execution of John Brown.

To compensate for the dearth of Randolph information, Shackleford skillfully draws on accounts of contemporaries and contemporary events. This technique fleshes out his subject (to the degree Randolph the man emerges) but admits suspicion of coincidence, speculation, and unwarranted inference. His interest in social history and what "the Italian school" has seen as Southern socialism frequently produce digressions from Randolph. Indeed, some chapters appear to be self-contained essays, complicating the reader's grasp of chronology and introducing much repetition. The sub-theme that Shackleford pursues is

the study of elites, using Randolph as his object. The three elites chosen are the FFVs (the social elite of old Virginia), the literary elite, and the "technocrats," with Randolph illustrating each and adding his distinctive military background (Randolph entered Virginia and Confederate service and earned the rank of brigadier-general). An appreciation of the implications of kinship and his ready knowledge of genealogy, obviously the result of years of study, enrich the fabric Shackleford uses. Randolph brought many needed qualities to the cabinet of Jefferson Davis, not just blue blood. What one might discount as nepotism, Shackleford convincingly argues to have been conscious staffing of the War Department with a new breed on the Southern, if not the world, scene—men such as Randolph himself, who had an appreciation of what total war required. Randolph had "a clear perception of what the Southern republic needed to win: offsetting the North's superior numbers by more efficient use of manpower and offsetting the North's larger industrial facilities based on free enterprise by creating a system based on state ownership and controls that were more mercantilist than socialist" (p. 107). Randolph's grasp of what would now be termed "logistics," his strategic view, and his willingness to break with the traditional placed him at odds with the president, who had once been a secretary of war himself. Impatience with Davis's personality, working habits, and tendency to "micromanage" military matters combined with Randolph's deteriorating health (he had begun spitting blood in 1858 and was stricken with attacks of laryngitis and hoarseness—a burden on an accomplished speaker) led to the most misunderstood of Randolph's acts, his seemingly forced, petulant resignation. Shackleford shows that it was contrived—that Randolph could no longer bear the strain. His "greatest accomplishment was the reform of the War Department and the recruitment of a brilliant staff" (p. 105) and "most of Randolph's reforms were preserved by his successor James A. Seddon" (p. 108).

But it is in assessing Randolph's accomplishments as war minister that the writer's interest in elites diverts him from the fuller appreciation yet to come. A lack of attention to such minor military details as rank and unit size does not preclude a grasp of grand strategy and administrative principles, but it will prejudice the military reader against other judgments when he sees a major general referred to as "brigadier," battalion and brigade interchanged (not to mention the "crenelated" walls of Fort Monroe, p. 63), and the like. Shackleford's thesis would have been strengthened by the discovery of a Maryland contribution to the war effort, Yale-educated Baltimore-Reisterstown lawyer William Norris, who served with Randolph under Magruder on the Peninsula and was brought by Randolph to head the signal corps of the Confederate army—the first such organization in military history. Study of orders issued under Randolph's stewardship or shortly thereafter might not change the major findings, but the details would have been enlightening. Randolph takes on new stature with this little book. Although not pertinent to Maryland history per se, it deserves a place on the shelf of any specialist in the Confederate conduct of war and will reward the general reader.

DAVID WINFRED GADDY
New Carrollton, Maryland

Books Received

Edited by Peter Neill, former director of the National Trust's Maritime Division and currently president of the South Street Seaport Museum in New York, *Maritime America* provides a richly illustrated overview of some of this country's most important maritime collections. The field of maritime preservation in America is a relatively new one, a story that Neill documents well in his introduction. America began with port cities, and it is only natural that we should study and celebrate our long-lived maritime heritage. The thirteen institutions, each profiled by its own director or curator, include the venerable Peabody Museum of Salem, Mystic Seaport, the Mariners' Museum in Newport News, the Philadelphia Maritime Museum, South Street Seaport, the Kendall Whaling Museum, and, closer to home, the delightful Calvert Marine Museum in Solomons, Maryland. Each article is enhanced by superb color illustrations of the museum facility and many of its prized possessions—be they historic paintings, prints, models, and figureheads, or actual vessels afloat at the dock. Since each author also discusses the maritime history of his own region, *Maritime America* is not only a treat for the eyes but also provides an easily readable introduction to the subject of America's nautical heritage.

Balsam Press, $45.00

Ralph D. Gray's *The National Waterway: A History of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, 1769–1985,* first appeared in 1967, when reviewers praised its interesting combination of financial, legal, political, and technological history. Now it is available in reprint edition, with two chapters added to bring the story of this fourteen-mile ditch up to date. Students of Maryland transportation and maritime development probably would agree that the canal is the most important per mile ever dug in the United States. Experts depend on this volume; lovers of lore may wish to add it to their libraries.

University of Illinois, cloth $29.95; paper $13.95

Also newly reprinted, Louis Filler's *Crusade Against Slavery: Friends, Foes, and Reforms, 1820–1860* may be familiar to anyone who in the past twenty years took college courses in nineteenth-century U.S. history. Filler examines the origins and flowering of a movement that included the Marylander Frederick Douglass and others—Benjamin Lundy and William Lloyd Garrison—who first uttered their cries for abolition in Baltimore. Slowly gathering support, the revolutionaries drew strength from evangelical faith, Northern political unrest, and Northwestern calls for "free labor, free land, and free men." Few subjects in America's past provide the dramatic material of the crusade against slavery. The second edition of this standard work contains a new introduction and bibliographic overview.

Reference Publications, cloth $24.95; paper $12.95

Defeated for the Tennessee governorship in 1843, James K. Polk the following year successfully ran for president, uniting Democrats somewhat the way Abraham Lincoln (after another local defeat) did his own young party sixteen years later—by being the least objectionable of the candidates available and by focusing attention on the West. Slavery, Southern-rights, and the tariff all divided the party of Jackson and Van Buren; first as a vice-presidential candidate, then as party standard bearer, Polk melded Democrats together by favoring the "re-annexation" of Texas and forbidding Britain or any foreign

power from colonizing the Oregon country. To learn from the original sources how this wily Tennessean crafted his campaign, one must read the recently published volume seven of the *Correspondence of James K. Polk,* Wayne Cutler and James P. Cooper, Jr., eds., which covers January to August 1844.

Vanderbilt, $32.50

Candidates for office today can take little satisfaction in knowing that nineteenth-century newspaper reporters were, if anything, even more competitive and ruthless. Originally published in 1971 and now reprinted, Herbert Mitgang, ed., *Abraham Lincoln: A Press Portrait,* explores (as its subtitle explains) *His Life and Times from the Original Newspaper Documents of the Union, the Confederacy, and Europe.* Here are the very words that described, at the time, the searing issues of sectional crisis, the pain and acrimony that accompanied the war, and the dawning realization of the Illinoisan's greatness. They strike us with the force of a cold front in October. No high-school student should graduate before reading and thinking about these passages.

University of Georgia, paper $17.95

News and Notices

Antiques Show Program Includes Seminars for Beginning Collectors

Plans for the 1990 Maryland Historical Society's Maryland Antiques Show (Baltimore Convention Center, 9–11 February) include four preparatory sessions aimed at the beginning collector—Sunday seminars in which the MdHS curatorial staff will discuss the identification and interpretation of antiques, fine arts, and folk crafts: "How Do I Start—From Garage Sale to Sotheby's," 14 January (Chief Curator Jennifer F. Goldsborough); "Woven for Every Occasion—Rugs, Quilts, Coverlets and Needlework," 21 January (Associate Curator Rosemary C. Gately); "Little Things Mean a Lot—Basics of Buying Silver, Ceramics and Glass," 28 January (Jennifer F. Goldsborough); "How Do I Know Its Old—The Nuts and Bolts of Furniture and Paintings," 4 February (Curator Gregory R. Weidman). These sessions will be held at 3 P.M., at the Maryland Historical Society, accompanied by light refreshments.

The 1990 chairman, Mrs. Sylvia Parker, has announced that a $40 package entitles each new collector to attend all seminars and a pre-opening tour of the Antiques Show (with free same-day admission); students in the entire series also will receive a copy of the show catalog. Tickets for individual seminars, if space permits, may be purchased for $10. For further information call 301/685-3750.

Publishers List to be New Feature of the Magazine

Beginning with the spring 1990 issue, the magazine will feature a one-page section open to publishers for the listing and brief description of recent volumes in family history, genealogy, and local history. Cost to publishers will be only that of a classified advertisement, on a per-line basis. Contact Melinda K. Friend, Maryland Historical Society.

Clear Spring Publishes History Magazine

Congratulations to Mr. David E. Wiles and his colleagues in the Clear Spring District Historical Association for turning out the first of what promises to be a lively local-history journal, *Way Back When*. The inaugural summer, 1989, issue contains pieces on the old National Pike, the 1833 meteor shower, "unforgettable characters," and the many historic homes that survive in the Washington County town. Interested persons may contact Mr. Wiles via POB 211, Clear Spring, Maryland 21722.

Hamilton Family Collection Donated to Southern Maryland Studies Center

The Southern Maryland Studies Center at Charles County Community College, La Plata, has recently received an extensive collection of historical documents and journals related to the branch of the Hamilton family called, "The Port Tobacco Hamiltons." The collection is related to the lives of John Hamilton of Prospect Hill, his third wife, Mary Emily Hawkins, and their descendants. There are several materials in the collection relating to Charles County black history. There are plantation records dating from 1835. Other documents shed light on the hiring and payment of wages for servants and laborers after 1865. John and Roberta Wearmouth, local historians, worked with the Hamilton family to organize the collection. The materials are divided into five boxes and the research guide lists the contents of each box. The studies center is on the college campus on Mitchell Road in La Plata. Further information about the center can be obtained by calling 301/934-2251, ext. 610.

ORAL HISTORY REVIEWERS SOUGHT

The book review editor of the *Oral History for the Mid-Atlantic Region* (OHMAR) *Newsletter* is looking for persons interested in reviewing materials related to oral history for this quarterly publication. Two or three reviews of approximately 500 words in length are published each issue. Qualified reviewers should send a one-page letter summarizing their educational background, experience, and major field of interest to James F. Adomanis, Book Review Editor, OHMAR, 541 Norton Lane, Arnold, Maryland 21012.

SYMPOSIUM ON THE FEDERALIST ERA

The United States Capitol Historical Society will sponsor a symposium entitled "Launching the 'Extended Republic': The Federalist Era" on 14 and 15 March 1990. The meeting will be held in the Senate Caucus Room, SR-325, in the Russell Senate Office Building in Washington, D.C. The program will consist of four sessions and a concluding lecture, followed by a reception. Speakers will include John Brooke, Steven R. Boyd, Andrew Cayton, Richard E. Ellis, Owen Ireland, James H. Kettner, Gary J. Kornblith, John Lauritz Larson, Maeva Marcus, Harry N. Scheiber, Bernard W. Sheehan, Thomas Slaughter, Mary K. Tachau, Sean Wilentz and Gordon S. Wood. All proceedings, including the reception, will be open to interested persons free of charge, and no advance registration is required. For additional information contact Professor Ronald Hoffman, Department of History, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland 20742.

MANUSCRIPT COMPETITION

Lehigh University Press in association with the Lawrence Henry Gipson Institute for Eighteenth-Century Studies announces a Manuscript Competition. $1,500 and a publication contract will be awarded for the best book-length manuscript submitted in the field of Eighteenth-Century Studies. Manuscripts must be submitted before 31 December 1990. For further information and an entry form contact Director, Lehigh University Press, 103 Coxe Lab #32, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. 18015, 215/758-3933.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY MELLON FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM 1990

The Virginia Historical Society invites applications for its 1990 research fellowship program, funded by a matching grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. Applicants should send three copies of the following materials: a resume, two letters of recommendation, a description of the research project (not to exceed two double-spaced pages and stating the expected length of residency in the library), and a cover letter. Applications must be in hands of the Fellowship Program Committee by 15 January 1990 to be considered for awards in the summer and fall of 1990. Awards will be made at the rate of $250 per week and will be announced by 15 March. No grant will be given for more than a one-month residency. Applications should be sent to Nelson D. Lankford, Chairman, Research Fellowship Committee, Virginia Historical Society, P.O. Box 7311, Richmond, VA 23221-0311, 804/342-9672, FAX 804/355-2399.

GRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS IN THE HAGLEY PROGRAM

The Hagley Museum and Library and the Department of History at the University of Delaware offer a two- and four-year course of study leading to an M.A. or Ph.D. degree for students interested in careers as college teachers or as professionals in museums and historical agencies. The Hagley Program's focus is the history of industrialization, broadly defined. Students study social, labor, business, and economic history and the history of science and technology. Historically, most students in the program have been interested in American industrial history, but the program also covers the industrialization of Europe.

Some Hagley Fellows have prepared fields in the modernization of Asia. The Hagley Museum and Library, whose collections are predominantly American-related, provides students with unique opportunities to do primary research and gain archival experience in manuscript, imprint, pictorial, and artifact collections, and to study, observe, and experience museum work firsthand. For students pursuing careers as museums professionals, the University of Delaware sponsors a certificate program in museum studies.

Hagley Fellowships cover tuition for courses at the University of Delaware and provide a yearly stipend of $8170 for master's candidates and $9050 for doctoral candidates. Fellowships may be renewed once for those seeking a terminal master's degree and three times beyond the initial year for those seeking the doctorate. Hagley Fellows also receive support for travel to conferences, archives, and museums, provided by the Hagley Program Alumni Association. Application for a Hagley Fellowship can be made through the Associate Coordinator, Hagley Program, Department of History, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware 19716, 302/451-8226. The deadline for receipt of complete applications is 1 February 1990.

Spanish Discovery Prize Awarded

The jury for the "Spain and America in the Quincentennial of the Discovery" prize, chaired by professor Richard Herr and formed by professors Javier Malagón, Linda Martz, Antonio Ramos-Gascón and Carmen Zulueta, met last month in Washington, D.C., and decided to award the first prize ($6,000) for 1988 to Ms. Inga Clendinnen for her book *Ambivalent Conquests,* published by Cambridge University Press. The second prize ($3,000) was awarded to Mr. James Lewis for his unpublished work *The Final Campaign: Rise and Fall of the Spanish Bahamas.* The jury also agreed on a honourable mention to Mr. Steward L. Udall's *To the Inland Empire: Coronado and our Spanish Legacy* (Doubleday & Co., New York) and to Mrs. Carmen de Reparaz's *Yo Solo* (Serbal, Barcelona). The prize is sponsored by the Program of Cooperation of the Spanish Ministry of Culture and the Universities of the United States, with the collaboration of the Cultural Office of the Embassy of Spain in the U.S.

Holiday Events in Northern Virginia

The Fairfax County, Virginia, Park Authority announces a round of special holiday events at the Sully Plantation Historic Site, not far from Washington, D.C., each open to the public with small admission fees: Madrigal Singers in Concert, 17 December (1:30 and 2:30 P.M.); Candlelight Afternoons, 17–18, 20–23 December (3–4:30 P.M.); Holiday Illumination, 26 December (4–6:30 P.M.); Candlelight Afternoons, 27–29 December (3–4:30 P.M); and An Evening at Sully, 30 December (adults only, 7:30–9:30 P.M.). Call 703/759-5241 for more information. Other events will take place at the Colvin Run Mill Historic Site; please call 703/759-2771.

"Furniture by Wendell Castle" at Delaware Museum of Art

The Delaware Art Museum will be the first east coast stop on national tour for *Furniture by Wendell Castle* when the exhibition opens on 9 March through 13 May 1990. Organized by the Detroit Institute of Arts, this premiere survey of non-traditional furniture includes 45 objects lent by many American museums and major private collections—captivating because of their beautiful craftsmanship, exotic materials and frequent visual humor. Castle's work has appeared in a number of museum exhibitions in America, but this exhibition is the first in depth exploration of his career and the first to document his role in the acceptance of the American Studio Craft Movement within American art. For further information contact Melissa H. Mulrooney, Delaware Museum of Art, 302/571-9590.

IN PURSUIT OF THE *HELEN A. MILLER*

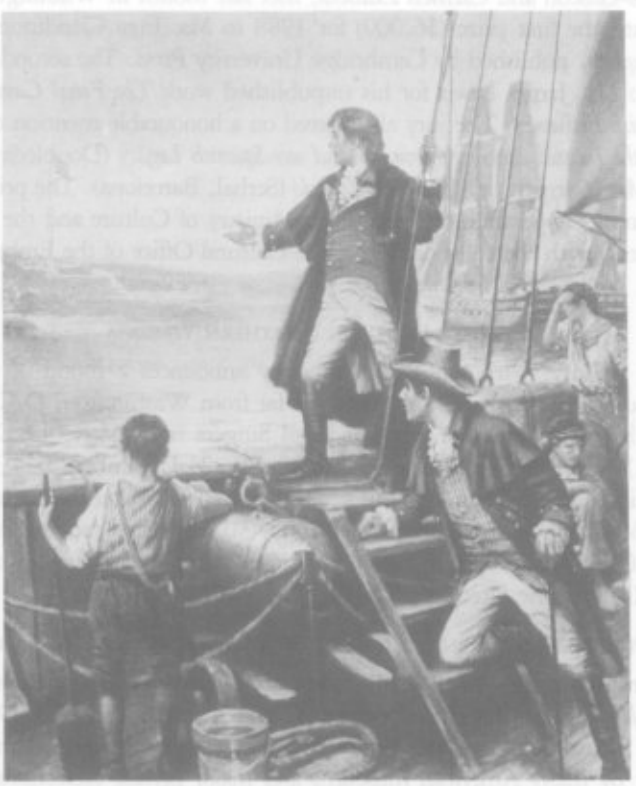
Seeking any information on a ship called the *Helen A. Miller*—built in Baltimore in 1851 by William and George Gardner and owned by J. Henderson, then of 77 Pratt Street in Baltimore. Please write M. A. Seymour, 21 Corston Village, near Bath, BA2 9AW, England.

REMINDERS

The Maritime Committee of the Maryland Historical Society and the University of Baltimore are sponsoring a Maryland Maritime History Essay contest. Deadline for submission is 10 January 1990. The Education Committee of the Maryland Historical Society will award a prize for the best college/university student research paper dealing with a subject in Maryland history. Deadline for submission is 30 May 1990. For further details on both of these contests, please see the fall issue of the magazine.

CORRECTION

In the fall issue we failed to note that the original of Percy Moran's painting of Francis Scott Key, again reproduced below, hangs in our own Flag House, part of the Baltimore City Life Museums collection. We thank Ms. Mary Markey for bringing this point to our attention.



Picture Puzzle

Test your knowledge of Maryland history and powers of observation by identifying this Baltimore scene. The street has historically been one of the city's busiest thoroughfares. Do you know the particular block in the photograph? When was the photograph taken and what changes, if any, have taken place?

The fall 1989 picture puzzle depicts North Avenue looking east toward Oak Street (now Howard Street) in 1921 from the North Avenue bridge. The roof of the Maryland and Pennsylvania Railroad station, torn down in 1937 to make way for the Howard Street overpass, appears to the right. Also gone are the trolley tracks, overhead wires and the parking area in the center of the street.

Mr. Raymond Martin correctly identified the summer picture puzzle.

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Names of authors and titles of articles appearing in the Magazine are set in capitals. Titles of books and page references to illustrations are set in italics. An "f" preceding a page number indicates that the material is facing the numbered page; an "n" following the page number indicates that the entry was taken from a footnote reference.

Robin Strahan

U.S. Postal Service

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Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1A. Title of Publication	1B. PUBLICATION NO.	2. Date of Filing
MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE	0 0 2 5 4 2 5 8	9/21/89
3. Frequency of Issue	3A. No. of Issues Published Annually	3B. Annual Subscription Price
Quarterly: Spring, Summer, Fall, Winter	4	$14.00

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

Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201-4674

5. Complete Mailing Address of the Haadquerters of General Business Offices of the Publisher *(Not printer)*

Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201-4674

6. Full Names end Complete Meiling Address of Publisher, Editor, end Meneging Editor ***(This item MUST NOT be blank)***

Publisher *(Name and Complete Mailing Address)*

Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201-4674

Editor *(Name and Complete Mailing Address)*

Robert J. Brugger, Ph.D.
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Meneging Editor *(Name and Complete Mailing Address)*

Robin D. Strahan
Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201-4674

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Full Name	Complete Mailing Address
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9. For Complation by Nonprofit Organizetions Authorizad To Mail at Special Rates *(DMM Section 423.12 only)*
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A. Totel No. Copies *(Net Press Run)*	5,899	5,703
B. Paid and/or Requested Circulation 1. Seles through deelers end cerriers, street vendors end counter seles	12	12
2. Meil Subscription *(Paid and/or requested)*	5,501	5,306
C. Totel Peid and/or Requested Circulation *(Sum or 10B1 and 10B2)*	5,513	5,318
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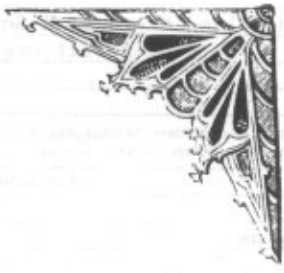

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This quarterly is published by the Maryland Historical Society and reaches nearly 6,000 subscribers who have broad interests in Maryland history and culture.

	One-time rate	Two-time rate	Four-time rate
Full-page ad	$275	$225	$175
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Camera-ready advertisements should be submitted by the following deadlines:

Spring issue:	January 15
Summer issue:	April 15
Fall issue:	July 15
Winter issue:	October 15

Maryland Historical Society
Publications List

Five copies of a single work may be ordered at a 40% discount (except for hardbound *Silver In Maryland* and *Furniture in Maryland 1740–1940*). All orders are to be prepaid. Postage and handling of $2.00 for the first item and $.50 for each additional item must accompany the order (except where noted). Maryland residents must include 5% state sales tax. Prices are subject to change without notice. Address all orders directly to the Publications Department, Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, Md. 21201.

A. Hoen on Stone: Lithographs of E. Weber & Co. and A. Hoen & Co., Baltimore 1835–1969 52pp. Illus. 1969. $7.50 ($6.75)

ANDERSON, GEORGE McC. *The Work of Adalbert Johann Volck, 1828–1912, who chose for his name the anagram V. Blada* 222pp. Illus. 1970. $20.00 ($18.00)

ARNOLD, GARY. *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Lloyd Papers*. 27pp. 1972. $2.00 ($1.80)

BOLES, JOHN B. *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the John Pendleton Kennedy Papers*. 30pp. 1972. $2.00 ($1.80)

BOLES, JOHN B. *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the William Wirt Papers*. 23pp. 1971. $2.00 ($1.80)

BYRON, GILBERT. *The War of 1812 on the Chesapeake Bay*. 94pp. Illus. 1964. $5.00 ($4.50)

CALLCOTT, GEORGE H. *A History of the University of Maryland*. 422pp. Illus. 1966. $9.50 ($8.55)

CALLCOTT, GEORGE H. *Maryland Political Behavior*. 64pp. 1986. $4.50 ($4.05)

COLWILL, STILES T. *Francis Guy, 1760–1820*. 139pp. Illus. 1981. (paperback) $15.00. ($13.50)

COLWILL, STILES T. *The Lives and Paintings of Alfred Partridge Klots and His Son, Trafford Partridge Klots*. 136pp. Illus. 1979. $9.50 ($8.05)

COX, RICHARD J. *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Calvert Papers*. 32pp. 1973. $2.00 ($1.80)

COX, RICHARD J. *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Mordecai Gist Papers*. 26pp. 1975. $2.00 ($1.80)

COX, RICHARD J. AND SULLIVAN, LARRY E. *Guide to the Research Collections of the Maryland Historical Society; Historical and Genealogical Manuscripts and Oral History Interviews*. Supplemented by #40 354pp. 1981. $22.00 ($19.80)

DRAKE, JULIA A. AND ORNDORFF, J. R. *From Mill Wheel to Plowshare* (Orndorff family genealogy). 271pp. 1938. $10.00 ($9.00)

DUNCAN, RICHARD R. AND BROWN, DOROTHY M. *Master's Theses and Doctoral Dissertations on Maryland History*. (Supplement published in Maryland Historical Magazine, Fall 1985) 41pp. 1970. $5.00 ($4.50)

FILBY, P. WILLIAM AND HOWARD, EDWARD G. *Star-Spangled Books*. 175pp. Illus. 1972. $17.50 ($15.75)

FOSTER, JAMES W. I *George Calvert: The Early Years*. 128pp. 1983. $4.95 ($4.45)

GOLDSBOROUGH, JENNIFER F. *Silver in Maryland*. 334pp. 1983. $30.00 ($27.00)

HAYWARD, MARY ELLEN. *Maryland's Maritime Heritage: A Guide to the Collections of the Radcliffe Maritime Museum*. 31pp. Illus. 1984. $3.00 ($2.70)

HEYL, EDGAR G. *I Didn't Know That! An Exhibition of First Happenings in Maryland*. 61pp. Illus. 1973. $3.00 ($2.70)

JENKINS, EDWARD FELIX. *Thomas Jenkins of Maryland, 1670: His Descendants and Allied Families*. 392pp. 1985. $20.00 ($18.00)

KAESSMANN, BETA; MANAKEE, HAROLD R.; AND WHEELER, JOSEPH L. *My Maryland*. 446pp. Illus. Rev. ed. 1972. $7.00 ($6.30)

KENNY, HAMILL. *The Placenames of Maryland: Their Origin and Meaning*. 352pp. 1984. $17.50 ($15.75)

KEY, BETTY MCKEEVER. *Maryland Manual of Oral History*. 47pp. 1979. $3.00 ($2.70)

KEY, BETTY MCKEEVER. *Oral History in Maryland: A Directory*. 44pp. 1981. $3.00 ($2.70)

LEVY, RUTH BEAR. *A Wee Bit O'Scotland: Growing Up in Lonaconing, Maryland at the Turn of the Century*. 67pp. 1983. $8.00 ($7.20)

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MANAKEE, BETA K. AND HAROLD R. *The Star-Spangled Banner: The Story of its Writing by Francis Scott Key at Baltimore, 1814*. 26pp. Illus. $1.00 ($.90)

MANAKEE, HAROLD R. *Indians of Early Maryland*. 47pp. 3rd printing, 1981. $3.00 ($2.70)

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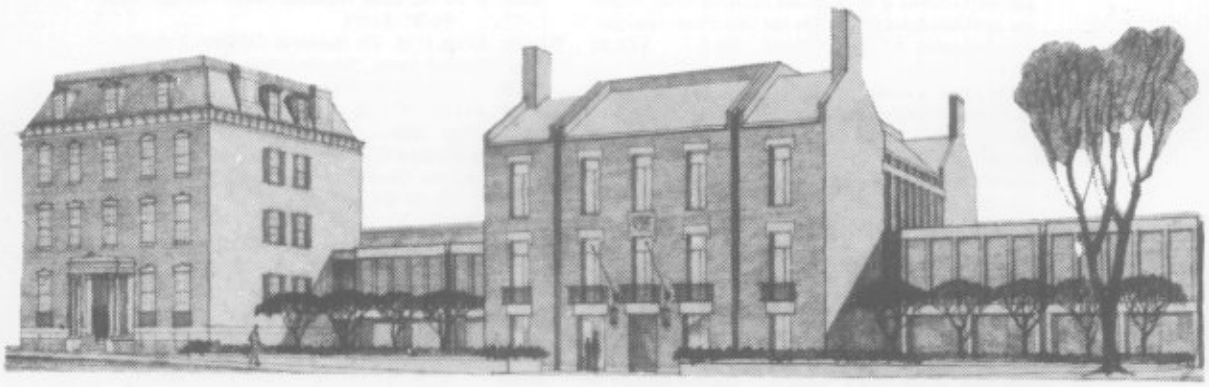

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