

Book Reviews

The Orioles Encyclopedia: A Half Century of History and Highlights. By Mike Gesker. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. 896 pages. Illustrations, photographs, references, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$55.00.)

It has been twelve long years since the proud city of Baltimore and the Orioles enjoyed a winning season. As the seasons wore on, the Oriole fan base endured the signings of over-the-hill or second-rate free agents, a division dominated by big-money teams like Boston and New York and a general sense of failure with little hope of fielding a competitive team. Then Andy MacPhail came to town in 2007 to assume the role of chief operating officer after extended tenures with the Minnesota Twins and Chicago Cubs. Along with a sense of hope and optimism, Andy MacPhail brought with him a plan to rebuild the franchise with young players well versed in the fundamentals of baseball just as his father did in the 1960s.

In *The Orioles Encyclopedia*, writer and fan Mike Gesker examines the colorful and successful history of the Baltimore Orioles franchise from the arrival of the team in 1954 through the Andy MacPhail administration of the present day. Instead of crafting a traditional history of the franchise with only stats and player bios, Gesker decides to dig deeper into the psyche of a town. His examination of the impact of the Orioles' arrival in Baltimore in 1954 is telling. It was the first time Baltimore had a major league team in almost fifty-two years: "Baltimore has witnessed few events that were as unabashedly jubilant as the return of the Baltimore Orioles. The city was giddy with delight in 1954. The great department stores that still filled the shopping district decorated their windows with baseball memorabilia." (3). But it is not surprising that this sentiment seems to fade as the book progresses, which could be the result of the current condition of the team and its effect on the collective consciousness of fans or simply the fact Gesker is no longer romanticizing childhood memories. That was the first season.

The book continues with more pages devoted to each season in which one finds notable transactions, turning points, and subsequent team finishes. In a somewhat surprising move for a team anthology, Gesker steps outside of local sports reporting and draws upon an impressive array of writers to illustrate how other markets perceived the Orioles. Article quotations from national outlets such as the *Sporting News* and the *New Yorker* reminds the reader that the team does not exist in a vacuum and was in fact highly regarded at one point as a model franchise.

Although the account of each season is full of facts, photos, and interesting stories, the section headings are peculiar. For example, 1989: "Nightmare on 33rd Street; Or, Baby, Better Come Back, Maybe Next Week Cause You See I'm on a Losing Streak." This is obviously an attempt by Gesker to create a sense of amusement for the reader, but the Dr. Strangelove-esque treatment may be lost on some.

As the book continues, the reader is treated to a smattering of intriguing topics such as references to sponsorships by now-defunct companies like *Gunther* beer, seldom-seen photographs, original illustrations, and the public sale of shares in the team beginning in 1953. One should not overlook a year-by-year listing of ticket prices for seats at each stadium or menus complete with prices. Not only are these side-notes interesting, but they also give the reader (especially younger ones) a short history lesson in baseball economics. Imagine buying a box seat today at Camden Yards for only \$2.75 or a hotdog for \$.35!

Gesker's research is exhaustive. Any sports encyclopedia should be brimming with statistics, but the depth of Gesker's research would impress even baseball numbers man Bill James. Yearly and career player stats are presented as expected. Less common statistics include games played by each player at each position, the number of gold gloves and the year in which they were won, and even a listing of every player to wear a particular number.

But where *The Orioles Encyclopedia* truly shines is its depiction of the players and non-players who defined the franchise throughout its history. As expected, legendary figures such as Brooks Robinson, Cal Ripken, and Earl Weaver are given the proper respect. Playful stories and memories of players such as Rick Dempsey abound, but Gesker has interestingly stumbled onto something that may be just as important. While attempting to define the organization and its important figures, Gesker expands his focus to include not only players, but also unofficial mascots like Wild Bill Hagy and announcers like Chuck Thompson. In many ways, these figures function as links between the fan and the team. Thompson: The strong and friendly voice that described to you the things you couldn't see over the radio waves. Wild Bill Hagy: The slightly out-of-shape everyman fan who roused our support by spelling out "O-R-I-O-L-E-S" while standing on top of the dugout. They were close to the players, but they were even closer to us.

The Orioles Encyclopedia has much more to offer than facts and statistics. It's the story of a beloved franchise composed of heroes and stories from our past and its unbroken connection with a town, regardless of wins or losses. For any Oriole fan, *The Oriole Encyclopedia* is a must read.

RONALD F. BARBAGALLO JR.
Maryland Historical Society

Baltimore's Alley Houses: Homes for Working People since the 1780s. By Mary Ellen Hayward. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008. 319 pages. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, \$45.00.)

One approaches a new publication about architectural history with different, sometimes conflicting, expectations. Many readers, especially practitioners, seek to learn about the design and construction of historical architecture; others hope to

understand better the social context of buildings, their builders, and their inhabitants. Although few books are positioned to bridge such divergent interests, Mary Ellen Hayward's new book, *Baltimore's Alley Houses: Homes for Working People since the 1780s*, is a useful example of written architectural history brought alive by extensive technical and sociological research.

Hayward touches upon her primary interest in her very first sentence: "Ever since the beginning of urban America, developing cities have faced the problem of housing their poorer citizens"(1). In the context of Baltimore's urban history, Hayward tracks the identity of those citizens and the material circumstances of their residential life. The book's introduction provides some of the background for Hayward's study of Baltimore's housing types: traditional settlement patterns in North America, their English antecedents, and a review of the historical literature which has dealt with related topics. Subsequently, each chapter describes in detail the housing of Baltimore's ethnic minorities, including African-Americans (slave and free), the Irish, Germans, Bohemians, Jews, and Italians.

As one might expect in a book about an American city, the book's chronology derives naturally from the story of each succeeding ethnic group's immigration. Nevertheless, Hayward works conscientiously to document each period's unique architectural forms, including the "alley houses" to which the book's title refers. Illustrations of Baltimore's workers' homes are reinforced by the text's careful study of this all-important question: Who lived where when? Extensive references to Baltimore City's Land Records, Census Data, and City directories allow Hayward to describe with precision the dynamic character of Baltimore's human geography. Additional references to contemporary journalism and photographs provide relief from the quantitative data and show the range of influences upon city life, including the impact of racial codes and Baltimore's discriminatory neighborhood covenants.

Especially successful is Hayward's use of personal narrative to draw specific vignettes of life in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Baltimore. In her chapter titled "The Bohemians," for instance, Hayward draws from John Dubas' photographic work—now held by the Maryland Historical Society—to depict the way-of-life established by fellow immigrants from Central Europe. Dubas' photographs for home-builder Frank Novak provide clear visual documentation about homes marketed to Baltimore's workers in the early 1900s. Yet Dubas' other photographs, of his own family and neighbors, afford for readers a glimpse of architecture brought alive by the use of its residents. Hayward's treatment of Dubas' own story is the link which allows simple, visual data to become architectural history.

In certain cases, the book's overall organization is challenged by its great breadth of information. The first chapter, titled "Antebellum Free Blacks," describes the lives and residences of free African Americans (including former slaves) during the years leading up to Baltimore's increasing Irish immigration in the 1840s. Yet this chapter also includes significant background information about the city's early architecture

and speculative development. Such information is both welcome and useful, and so one might wonder if the chapter headings might have been chosen to reflect better the true scope of the topics covered.

Throughout *Baltimore's Alley Houses*, the writing betrays the author's affection for Baltimore and its old, often-decayed houses. Motivated originally by the threatened destruction of many of these "obsolete" structures, Hayward makes the case for these houses' continuing qualities as residential architecture. In our current economic climate, Baltimore's "alley houses" may well again appear attractive for their modest use of resources and for the intelligence of their urban design, yet our continued study of their history points beyond our own "affordable housing" crisis. In the book's epilogue, Hayward writes that "[t]he memories are worth saving. They cannot be replaced" (265). Her book is itself an important document for the maintenance of those memories and of the material culture from which they are derived.

JEREMY KARGON

Morgan State University

Mary Elizabeth Garrett: Society and Philanthropy in the Gilded Age. By Kathleen Waters Sander (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008. Halftones, bibliographical references, notes, index. Cloth, \$45.00.)

Mention the Gilded Age, and names such as Carnegie and Rockefeller usually come to mind. We know these men well not only because of their tremendous economic empires and their conspicuous consumption, but also because of their charitable legacies. Kathleen Waters Sander's biography of Mary Elizabeth Garrett examines the life of a woman—a quiet, private, unmarried woman, in fact—who held her own with these industrial titans and who, like them, became one of the nation's most influential philanthropists of the time. Garrett's power came from the wealth she inherited from her father John Work Garrett, the founder and president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, who died in 1884. Because of their vast wealth and high social status, the Garrett family was no stranger to philanthropic causes. Mary Garrett, however, developed a special focus for her own charitable giving in the late nineteenth century. She made education, specifically the higher education of women, her highest philanthropic priority.

With her birth in 1854 and her death in 1915, Mary Garrett's life spanned a remarkably tumultuous and provocative period in American history. Sander's biography conveys a sense of the great dangers as well as the great promises of the period for all Americans, but especially for elites, and for elite white women in particular. Through her extensive research of wide-ranging sources, Sander shows that Mary Garrett was both unique and typical. In her business and philanthropic activity, she stood out as exceptional even among elite women. In other ways, however,

Garrett's life experiences reflect the same tensions that many other women faced as they pressed for important social changes in the second half of the nineteenth century. In these years, what women accomplished often grew out of the strong and supportive networks that they had built with other women; yet with every step they took beyond the domestic sphere, these women had to contend with powerful men who served as gatekeepers to higher education, the professions, politics, and big business. Mary Garrett's life is a captivating slice of that story.

According to Sander, Mary Elizabeth Garrett was raised to be sweet and demure, but she did not easily fit the mold of other nineteenth-century women who found charity work a suitable, safe avenue of activism for their sex. What set her apart was that Garrett, a spinster, was a substantial benefactor in her own right; moreover, in her business negotiations, she was strong-willed and demanding, often placing conditions on her financial gifts that confounded most of the institutions and their (male) trustees who stood to benefit from her largesse. Sander convincingly shows that Garrett became a tough negotiator for her treasured cause both because of her family background and in spite of it. In addition to a sizeable inheritance, Garrett gained confidence and knowledge about business affairs from her powerful father. At the same time, however, the significant constraints that he placed on her because she was a woman ultimately made Mary a "quiet revolutionary," committed to advancing women's higher education at a time when that idea still provoked controversy.

With her family's exquisite townhomes, sprawling rural estates, and extensive world travel, not to mention the social and political influence that her father John Work Garrett wielded within their home city of Baltimore, Mary Garrett was a young woman who appeared to have it all. And yet, as Sander explains, Garrett could not have what she wanted most: a serious education. When she grew tired of the uninspiring instruction she was receiving at a conservative girls' school in Baltimore, Mary opted for private tutoring and self-study at home. A few years later, when Mary was in her early twenties, she appealed to her father to send her to college or to allow her to study abroad, but he repeatedly refused Mary's requests. Apparently John Work Garrett was as heavy-handed with his children's lives as he was with the employees in his company. Not only did he prevent Mary from pursuing higher education, he also prohibited her from marrying. Her brothers' life courses were also determined by their controlling father, but for them, this meant rising to positions of power within the family business and displaying their class status through fashionable marriages and opulent living. They, after all, were men, who could expect and were expected to embrace all the joys and responsibilities of independence prescribed for them by conventional gender roles. Sander uses Mary's private letters to reveal her great disappointment with these restrictions, her growing frustration with her father, and her fear that she would forever remain a dependent woman, either in her father's household or in one of her brother's.

Sander also reveals that Mary's relationship with her father was fascinatingly complicated, for though he infuriatingly obstructed Mary's ability to chart her own path into adulthood, he also gave her a valuable opportunity that few, if any, other women of the time could enjoy: access to the intimate workings of an international business enterprise. Running the B&O Railroad in turbulent economic times proved physically and emotionally debilitating for John Work Garrett. Mary, in her late teens at the time, embarked on a series of great European tours with her parents, who were in search of an effective rest cure for her ailing father. Though these trips were designed to grant John Work Garrett a reprieve from his business-related matters, his company's concerns followed him across the globe, and Mary became the private secretary, the record-keeper, even the advisor and confidante that her father needed in his diminished condition. Sander posits that it may have been because of this arrangement and John Work Garrett's own selfish desire to retain Mary as his trusted companion and business assistant that he refused to allow her to pursue a college education or even relationships with other men. The ten years that Mary served her father in this capacity mark the first of two significant periods in her life. Her behind-the-scenes work at the B&O no doubt taught Mary lessons she never would have learned at a conventional girls' school. It also prepared her somewhat to deal with the ways of the business world and to handle men as ambitious and arrogant as her father.

Her father's death in 1884 marked the beginning of a second and even more meaningful episode in Mary's life. Her fears about being left permanently dependent did not come true. Instead, Mary inherited millions from her father's estate and shared equally with her brothers a controlling interest in the family's railroad company. Mary remained involved in the railroad's dismal business affairs, but she increasingly turned her attention to philanthropy. She made the most of her new status as a rich, independent woman by contributing financially to a number of reform movements, especially those related to women and children. Here she employed her own form of what Sander calls "coercive philanthropy" to bring about changes she thought were most important for women's lives. Garrett shaped her philanthropic goals around a feminist vision of women's education that she and a band of close female friends—dubbed the Friday Night group—had begun to articulate in their early twenties. When outside fundraising efforts stalled and when skeptical men frowned on their calls for a rigorous academic curriculum for girls and women's equal access to college and professional schools, Mary stepped in and used her financial power to ensure that positive change took place. She did so in Baltimore with the founding of the Bryn Mawr School for Girls and with the even more impressive implementation of coeducation at the Johns Hopkins University Medical School. Without the help of her father or any husband, this young woman bent obstinate trustees to her will, especially when she proved to be their only ready, steady source of money. In later years, Mary extended her financial reach to bring

about the selection of M. Carey Thomas, her close friend and later life partner, as the first female president of Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania, and her contributions enlivened the moribund national woman's suffrage movement, when she successfully hosted the organization's convention in conservative Baltimore.

There is no doubt that Mary Garrett was reared in a family of powerful men. To make this clear, Sander offers numerous pages of detail—too many for this reader—about the economic and social development of her grandfather as well as her father. In contrast, little attention goes to Mary's mother, which leads one to wonder what influence this other parent might have had on her daughter and her vision for the future. Readers interested in the history of Baltimore and one of its most important families may, however, enjoy getting their fill of the Garrett family and its commanding patriarch. Thankfully, Sander also provides extensive coverage of Mary Garrett's philanthropic activity and of the relationships that she built with other reform-minded women. Those chapters are her most valuable, and they connect well to the growing scholarship on the changes in women's higher education and on women's involvement in Progressive reform.

AMY MORSMAN
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Nature and History in the Potomac Country: From Hunter-Gatherers to the Age of Jefferson. By James D. Rice (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. 338 pages. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, \$40.00.)

For many people, a search for America's origins leads no farther back than the Mayflower and the founding of Jamestown; for some, it seems to stop with the Revolution and the Founding Fathers. Earlier events and peoples seem too distant to be relevant to the nation's story and tend to be consigned to "ancient history." However, like it or not, the history of the United States is a phase in a longer history of human habitation: Native peoples shaped the continent that Europeans encountered and the new nation grew out of generations of colonial dealings with American Indians and colonial efforts to transform American landscapes. Scholars in recent decades and working in different areas of the country have done much to flesh out and complicate the shallow tales that too often passed for history: ethnohistorians have deepened our understanding of Native American cultures and historical experiences; colonial historians have woven Indian peoples into their studies of early America, and environmental historians have shown how far-reaching changes in the land accompanied and stemmed from the dispossession of Indian peoples. Each of these endeavors requires a command of different sources, the skill to uncover new sources and ask new questions, and the ability to offer interpretations that will withstand the test of time as well as the scrutiny of scholars in a variety of fields.

James Rice successfully combines all three endeavors in an impressive study of

the interplay of Indians, Europeans, and the environment in the Potomac Valley. In a thoughtful and nuanced thousand-year narrative, drawing on history, archaeology, anthropology, and his own knowledge of place, Rice shows how environmental forces shaped the lives and societies of the people who inhabited the river valley and its tributaries and how changes in human occupation in turn altered the environment. Stretching 383 miles through Virginia, Maryland, West Virginia and parts of Pennsylvania and draining an area of almost 15,000 square miles, the Potomac river system supported human societies, influenced patterns of war, trade, and diplomacy, and became a crossroads and a zone of contest between different groups of peoples who sought to exploit its rich ecology. Indian peoples adopted agriculture in the fourteenth century and developed chiefdoms in the sixteenth century. Southern Algonquians and Iroquoians pushing in from the north vied for position. European colonists trying to find a foothold had to contend with Native power before they could finally establish a stranglehold and bend the Potomac's resources to their will. They gradually took over the land, but it was a land with a history. Like the Indians, early colonists developed relationships with the land—and the river system—and they lived on intimate terms with their new environment, even as they introduced domesticated animals, created a landscape of fields and fences, established domination over the Native inhabitants, and introduced African slavery to work their tobacco plantations. The clash of Indian and European is often depicted as one between hunters and farmers but in the Potomac Valley, as in many other places, it was precisely the similarities between the two groups' subsistence cycles and farming techniques that made the competition for the best lands so deadly and made the outcome so catastrophic for Native peoples.

History books routinely depict Indian-white relations revolving around the competition for land: Indians had it and colonists took it. But few scholars root Natives and newcomers so firmly to the land or place their discussion of cultural encounters and conflicts so effectively in the context of an intricate and complex relationship playing out at the same time between humans and nature. Indians and Europeans alike left their mark on the environment and the environment left its mark on them, and the repercussions of their multiple interactions endure, even in a region so close to the centers of power and population in the twenty-first century. Scholars of Indian history, environmental history, early American history, and anyone who wants to take a fresh look at this area of the country will appreciate this fine book.

COLIN G. CALLOWAY
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Making Headlines: The American Revolution as Seen Through the British Press. By Troy Bickham. (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2009. 316 pages. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, index. Cloth, \$38.00.)

In *Making Headlines*, Troy Bickham reminds his readers that the British experience during the American War for Independence extended much further than the North American colonies. Bickham uses the British press to track the war's transition from a colonial squabble to a true global war, which by its end was complete with the usual cast of European belligerents—Spain and France. Bickham asserts that a significant majority of British citizens, both ordinary and elite, were intensely interested in national and international news relating to the conduct of the war, and newspapers were the primary source of this vital information. Unlike the American model, economics and not politics drove the majority of British newspapers. This vital difference, according to Bickham, made British newspapers “not only a legitimate source for recapturing national and local public discourses surrounding the conflict but the best available” (13).

For Bickham, the traditional arguments over literacy rates and newspaper circulation totals in eighteenth-century Britain are largely irrelevant because reading was a public act. The information in one copy of a newspaper might reach hundreds of Britons, largely through public readings in British coffeehouses. Information about the war percolated down from the upper-middle class, and criticism rose up from the lower and middle ranks of British society. Throughout *Making Headlines*, Bickham uses the term “armchair general” to describe these lower and middle class critics of the war effort. The ubiquity of information provided by the British press, according to Bickham, gave these armchair generals “almost as much information as any general or minister” (67). Emboldened by this intelligence, some critics from this lower social strata also actively used the British press, publishing letters critical of the conduct of the war. The social leveling effect of this lowering standard of deference to British political and military leaders, although far from pervasive and complete, is a persistent theme bubbling under the surface.

During the early years, the War for Independence created a great deal of anxiety for most of the newspaper reading public, because most Britons viewed the war with the North American colonies as a civil war. Newspapers captured this British ambivalence best with its flattering coverage of George Washington. Held up as the quintessential English gentleman farmer, Washington was portrayed in the press as successful but modest and without a hint of unseemly ambition. Of course this enthusiastic praise is all the more notable considering he led the army of the opposition. The British press's coverage of Washington also highlighted the power of the press to create heroes (or villains) and mold public opinion. Whereas Washington resembled a modern-day Cincinnatus, the British newspapers lamented the fact that Britain seemingly had neither competent nor selfless generals. Disgraced return-

ing generals, acknowledging the power of the British press to mold public opinion, published letters in an attempt to salvage their military and personal reputations, with varying degrees of success.

Only after France and Spain joined the fight did British anxiety over the war wane, as their entry into the war presented the British public with a familiar wartime narrative and cast of characters. Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown, while all but neatly wrapping up the American experience, only closed down one front in what had by 1782 turned into a global war. The British press coverage reflected this fact, depicting "the empire as in peril on major fronts: the Caribbean, Europe, and India" (157). Due to the exhaustive coverage of hostilities in the North American colonies, American independence was, according to Bickham, a foregone conclusion for the vast majority of British readers, and thus came as no surprise. Bickham reminds us that, while many American historians typically use Yorktown as shorthand for the end of hostilities, British press coverage "ultimately reveals how un-American the war that would be remembered as the American Revolution had become in Britain by its conclusion" (159).

Making Headlines fills in a critical gap in the historiography of the American Revolution. By turning toward the heretofore largely ignored British press, Bickham is able to provide a detailed study of British opinions on an unpopular North American war, a conflict that many Britons believed to be nothing less than an unpalatable civil war. But more generally, *Making Headlines* convincingly demonstrates how the proliferation of newspapers profoundly influenced the shaping of public opinion while helping to diminish traditional standards of deference in British society.

MICHAEL SPARROW
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Captives and Countrymen: Barbary Slavery and the American Public, 1785–1816. By Lawrence A. Peskin. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. 256 pages. Appendix, notes, index. Cloth, \$55.00.)

In *Captives and Countrymen*, Larry Peskin argues that American captives in Barbary powerfully influenced America's development during the Early Republic. Despite relatively small numbers, American captivity in North Africa occurred at a crucial moment when Americans struggled to create a new nation, but were as yet unable to protect their citizens abroad or navigate diplomatic relations with distant and little-known countries.

Peskin's three major parts each address ways Barbary captivity affected Americans. In Part I, oral communication, correspondence, and newspaper pieces about Americans enslaved in Barbary contributed to an emerging public sphere that included non-elites in a "vast and inclusive . . . world wide web of information" (13, 23).

In Part II, he shows how Americans used Barbary captivity as a rhetorical tool to accomplish disparate goals. Early abolitionists decried cruel Algerian masters as a metaphorical condemnation of American slave masters. Emerging political parties used North African enslavement of Americans to crystallize party platforms. Lastly, Peskin covers well-trodden terrain in describing how various groups used Barbary captivity to justify or repudiate the idea of a permanent navy that could guarantee “homeland security” (112, 125, 128).

In Part III, Peskin considers how Americans moved past Barbary captivity as they gained strength on the global stage. Though Americans initially described North African captivity with a “popular Orientalism” (163) based on British tradition and Indian captivity, they feared Barbary corsairs less as captures decreased. Peskin situates this lessened fear ambiguously, somewhere between what he terms a “post-1804 American rejection of the barbarian trope” (184) and the War of 1812. Why were fewer Americans captured? Peskin cites the rise of an American nation state and international law and the formation of a diplomatic core, yet explains little about how these things ended American captivity. Frank Lambert’s *The Barbary Wars: American Independence in the Atlantic World* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2005) offers a more compelling explanation: captures declined due to world events and economic forces beyond Americans’ control.

Some of Peskin’s claims fall flat because he does not define his terms. He argues that non-elites influenced the public sphere primarily through oral communication, but defines neither elite nor non-elite. Are his non-elites sailors? All seafarers, including officers? Regardless, it is hard to see how the “seafarers’ news network[s],” (8) which carried unreliable “rumors” (15) in what Peskin likens to a “long-distance version of the children’s game of telephone,” (14) influenced the public sphere. More interesting perhaps is the unstated conclusion. Newspapers mattered surprisingly little as conduits of accurate information; rather, Americans relied on repetitive oral reports and trusted correspondence.

Surest when discussing Americans’ rhetorical uses of captives and captivity, Peskin falters when describing captives’ realities. In fact, he sometimes appears caught up in the very rhetoric he seeks to dissect. He embraces Captain Richard O’Brien’s self promotion and pitches the captain as the “de facto leader” (26) of the captives. However, O’Brien only met the Algerian Dey when leaving the country, and other captives solicited better housing, release from work, and other favors not from Captain O’Brien, but from the sailor-captive turned Algerian slave-administrator, James L. Cathcart.

Relying on descriptions captives wrote to stir Americans’ sympathy leads Peskin to portray American captivity in Algiers as similar to American enslavement of Africans. American captives were, he states, “deprived of freedom of movement [and] . . . of speech” (24). But Barbary captives possessed significant freedom of movement and expression. Captives could write and receive letters. Captain Rich-

ard O'Brien did not "miraculously" (35) get letters from his Irish mother; this was business as usual. When Americans received no communiqués, O'Brien recorded that strange fact in his journal.

Peskin aims to provide the "first systematic study" of how Barbary captivity affected the United States and the role it played in the "new nation's evolving conception of its place within the larger world" (3). Driven by this laudable goal, he nevertheless covers familiar ground with familiar sources. Like other works considering North African enslavement of Americans, in Peskin's pages, Americans, spurred on by Barbary captivity, build a nation state, a navy, and a diplomatic corps, and went from incompetent and powerless to embracing a "new sense of power and competence abroad" (214). Although this ambitious work may fall short of its goals, readers interested in the Early Republic's public sphere and, specifically, how news travelled from Europe and the Mediterranean to the U.S., may find Peskin's work suggestive; others might find his discussion of "popular Orientalism" thought-provoking. His work adds further evidence that the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century world was a small one, linked by multiple modes of communication.

CHRISTINE E. SEARS

University of Alabama-Huntsville

Prodigal Daughters: Susanna Rowson's Early American Women. By Marion Rust, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. 328 pages. Illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, \$59.95; Paper, \$24.95.)

In the Biblical story, the prodigal son squanders his inheritance by indulging himself in less than socially acceptable behavior, including sexual behavior, only to be welcomed back by his father with open arms. Inversely, Marion Rust, in her book, *Prodigal Daughters*, explains the predicament of early American women, as depicted in novels and other forms of dramatizations by Susanna Rowson. Although redemption was always possible when females strayed from social expectations, sacrifice would invariably be demanded of these prodigal daughters of America. Such was the case in Rowson's 1790s bestseller, *Charlotte Temple*, whose main character, Charlotte, ultimately dies after giving birth to her seducer's child.

At a time when opportunities for women seemed to be broadening, they remained, at the same time, restricted, often through self-imposed regulation. When women, especially young women, sat down to read a novel by Rowson, they were about to receive a lesson on the possibilities and limitations of female influence on politics and culture during the post-Revolutionary era.

Marion Rust demonstrates the evolution of Susanna Rowson's ideas regarding the parameters of the female sphere in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by tracing her changing message over a period of time. Moreover, Rust's exploration of Rowson's novels, plays, ballads, and poems, takes us into the nar-

row and delicate confines that was the world of the female author. She shows how Rowson brilliantly pushes the envelope while simultaneously appearing to reinforce the social norms set out for women.

Rust's analysis of Rowson's literary works is superb. Her analysis of plays such as *Slaves in Algiers* demonstrates the communion between Rowson and her female audience. "One has the sense that the play's American women had to leave their nation even to speak its most self-congratulatory lines," Rust explains, "and their words thereby assume an ironic aspect, with Algerian captivity obtaining a certain likeness to their situation in the United States even as they used their captivity to champion American liberties" (221). Even as critics questioned Rowson for venturing into the public sphere and the commercial world with her novels and plays, early America's best-selling author dexterously navigates the complexity of celebrating independence and equality as the hallmarks of the new nation while simultaneously reinforcing the idea that "female submission . . . could be manipulated to achieve social stature and wide public influence" (25).

Although generally well-contextualized, Rust comes up short in a couple of instances. For example, when explaining Rowson's burst of pro-Federalist political works in 1798, Rust misses the obvious, namely that Rowson, in addition to personal inclination (which Rust discusses), could have been caught up in the war fever then burning in the United States. Another instance is when discussing *Lucy Temple* she points out that money is constantly discussed, seemingly taking on the quality of a character. Surprisingly, she never incorporates into her analysis the market revolution of the early nineteenth century that permeated American life and was commented on by both Thomas Jefferson and Alexis de Tocqueville among other people of the time. While a deeper contextualization would have been desirable these instances mentioned here are only minor flaws.

Not only does Rust provide insight into Rowson's literary accomplishments, but we get a sense of Rowson's life as she navigates her way through the early republic as an Englishwoman in America, as a daughter of a loyalist, and as a best-selling female author. Moreover, we can see how Rowson steadfastly faced male critics and endured the condescension of male supporters who made much of her sex and of her presence in the public sphere.

Rust's analysis presupposes an intimate familiarity with not only the works of Susanna Rowson, but her contemporaries as well. While historians of the early republic will find the chapter "Daughters of America" most interesting, this work will appeal mainly to those who specialize in early American literary studies or women's studies.

CHRISTOPHER J. YOUNG
Indiana University Northwest

For the People: American Populist Movements from the Revolution to the 1850s. By Ronald P. Formisano. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. 323 pages. Notes, index. Cloth, \$35.00.)

In *For the People*, Ronald P. Formisano has written an engaging study of populist movements and political development before the Civil War. In recent decades populist movements increasingly have become associated with reactionary politics. Many scholarly appraisals have reflected this tendency and reject populist movements as irrational, narrow, and self-centered. Formisano seeks to rescue populist movements from this oversimplification, suggesting that, historically, populist movements have been more complex. Noting a difference between populist rhetoric and populist movements, Formisano focuses on the latter and defines them as “movements mobilizing masses of ordinary people, arising at least initially from the grass roots and invoking the name of ‘the people’ against established or corrupt elites” (3).

Formisano argues that populist movements were central to political development in the early United States. Often cross-class alliances drawing on an anti-partisan language of popular sovereignty embedded in the new country’s political culture, populist movements shared the “republican ideal of realizing the egalitarian promise of the American Revolution”(16). The Revolution created divergent interpretations of popular sovereignty: political leaders believed “the people” ruled through representative institutions but many others believed constitutional authority rested in mass action. The “rebellions” of the 1780s and 1790s exemplify this problem. The author links Shay’s Rebellion, the Whiskey Rebellion, and Fries’ Rebellion as mass demonstrations of the right of “the people” to resist directly laws favoring elites. His analysis runs deeper, however, because he joins the “rebellions” to a common heritage of popular constitutionalism dating from at least the back-country “regulations” of the colonial period. These “rebellions” were remembered as singular events because that is the way the victors (and later historians) chose to interpret them. Additionally, the Anti-Federalist critique of the Constitution and the short-lived Democratic-Republican societies of the mid-1790s used print culture to assert the power of “the people” outside of political institutions. Ironically, elites benefited most from these movements by adopting populist language into an embryonic party system.

In the nineteenth century the rhetoric of “the people” was well established among national political leaders but socioeconomic changes were beginning to alter the forms of populist mobilization. Market expansion and the early phases of industrialization “[blurred] the lines between dependency and independence,” raising anxieties among many in the working and middling classes (70). Populist movements from the 1820s onward addressed economic and social inequalities by working through the electoral process. The “relief wars” of the 1820s in Tennessee

and Kentucky funneled popular resentment against banks into state legislatures. Moreover, upstart Workingmen's Parties championed the ten-hour workday, tax and debt relief, and direct elections, among other reforms. The Anti-Masons (which comprise three chapters) also connected popular outrage at Freemasonry to electoral politics. Formisano asserts that "as a mass enthusiasm Anti-Masonry was unparalleled, and its political career served as a catalyst for the formation of the first true mass party organizations in the United States" (91). By the 1840s, ideas of popular constitutionalism had largely died out, demonstrated by the mixed results of Rhode Island's "Dorr War" and New York's Anti-Renter movement. At decade's end, the Know-Nothings enjoyed success within electoral politics, though they continued to invoke the will of "the people" through evangelical moralism and anti-partisanship.

Formisano argues that populist movements were complex, demonstrating both progressive and reactionary tendencies. His starkest example is Anti-Masonry, where beyond New York—where Masons actually obstructed justice—it assumed a more reactionary character. Gender and race were also sites of contradictory tendencies. Most populist movements emphasized the association of liberty and manhood amid changing socioeconomic circumstances. Women assumed prominent roles in several of the antebellum movements, but leaders never intended women's presence to challenge gender roles. Similarly, movements like the Workingmen's Parties and, of course, the Know-Nothings called for expanded social and economic equality but often retreated when it came to issues of race and ethnicity.

From the outset, Formisano makes clear that his "sympathies are with . . . the populist sensibility" and that readers can decide "whether that means [his] treatment of populist movements . . . has been uncritical" (4–5). His study relies heavily on secondary sources, which allows for a broad survey that occasionally lacks depth and description. Formisano mostly follows the leadership of populist movements, which tends to obscure movements' unique origins and sometimes works against his desire to separate "rhetoric" and "movement." Some readers may particularly question his omission of abolition and women's rights. Formisano writes little of the former and argues the latter was not a populist movement because it lacked the "mass populism" of Anti-Masonry (157). These omissions are puzzling considering his attention to several limited state-based movements with mixed impacts on institutional politics.

For the most part, however, Formisano's work is indeed a critical assessment of the development of American populist movements before the Civil War. His linkage of seemingly disparate movements should provoke new questions about U.S. political history. This work is an important contribution to the history of populist movements and United States political history in general.

THOMAS H. SHEELER
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Lincoln and the Decision for War: The Northern Response to Secession. By Russell McClintock. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. 388 pages. Notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$35.00.)

Russell McClintock's thoughtful exploration of Northern reactions to the secession crisis answers a question long understood to be central to any larger explanation of the Civil War. When the South seceded, and South Carolina seized Fort Sumter, why did Abraham Lincoln and Northerners choose war? An avowed proponent of the proposition that "the much-maligned 'great white men' in power really did lie at the center of events" (7) McClintock crafts a judicious narrative that vindicates political histories of the Civil War. By paying attention to state politics in Illinois, New York, and Massachusetts, he demonstrates the importance of everyday, local politics in pressuring Congress and both Presidents James Buchanan and Abraham Lincoln. Ultimately, however, through an exhaustive analysis of political machinations between November 1860 and April 1861, McClintock establishes that the critical decisions—and indecisions—that led to war rested in Lincoln's hands alone.

Even after Lincoln's election, Northerners continued to debate the lengths to which they would go "to maintain federal authority while resolving the crisis fairly and peaceably" (67). Although conservatives and moderates counseled the president-elect to offer some reassuring comments to Southerners, Lincoln feared that such a hasty proffer of goodwill would suggest weakness. Believing that his many published comments, rejecting interference with slavery in the South, would provide a sufficient testament to his benign intentions, he failed to appreciate the dread his condemnations of slavery had instilled in most Southerners. Among northern members of Congress in Washington, whose daily interactions with their southern brethren moderated criticism of the "peculiar institution," compromise and anti-compromise factions quickly emerged. While Lincoln maintained a public silence, his chief party rival, William Seward, worked with moderates in both parties to stave off secession. Outside of Washington, however, rank-and-file Republicans pushed their representatives to reject any compromise with the South on the extension of slavery. McClintock persuasively argues that this pressure forced Republican Party leaders to face a terrible dilemma in the waning days of 1860, "Refusal to concede on the territorial issue risked driving the entire South into disunion, while concession would likely destroy the party and admit defeat to the republic's enemies" (95). In a judgment likely to provoke some debate, McClintock asserts that preservation of the party trumped any inclination to compromise, especially in the wake of South Carolina's secession declaration in late December.

By the end of January 1861, four more states had joined South Carolina in secession and the Palmetto State had fired upon the *Star of the West*, a side-wheeler chartered to reinforce the federal garrison at Fort Sumter. Faced with the very real possibility of civil war, Northern conciliationists, including Buchanan, struggled to

hold the remainder of the Union together by appeasing Upper South states, hopeful that the Lower South would someday return. Others, primarily Republicans, rejected concessions of any sort and threatened force against seceding states. "The North," writes McClintock, "had become polarized" (143). For his part, Seward, soon to become Secretary of State, labored behind the scenes to convince Lincoln that only a strong gesture on his part would bolster Southern unionists. Seeking to prevent war but also establish himself as the power behind the president, Seward intimated to Southerners that Lincoln would pursue a moderate course, even abandoning Fort Sumter, for the sake of the Union.

Ultimately, McClintock accords Lincoln significant responsibility for the outbreak of war. Unable or unwilling to temper his rhetoric for the sake of Southern unionists and Northern conciliationists, Lincoln ridiculed pro-secession Southerners en route to his Washington inauguration, suggesting that their purported commitment to the Union had resembled not the sanctity of marriage vows, but rather a "free-love arrangement" (181). These comments and others drove to distraction all advocates of concessions in the North, Democrat (the vast majority) and Republican. That Seward succeeded in softening an inaugural speech so that it suggested compromise did not change the untenable nature of the situation. Lincoln believed, based partly upon Seward's own counsel, that a calming period would strengthen Unionism throughout the South. Provided that the Fort Sumter garrison could hold out until the Upper South decided for the Union, Lincoln hoped to avoid conflict altogether. But, as Lincoln learned on the day he became president in March, Fort Sumter lacked supplies to last much longer. Faced with the decision to risk war by sending supplies or lose credibility within his own party, Lincoln belatedly chose to send provisions to the beleaguered troops. By notifying South Carolina's governor in advance, he all but guaranteed the beginning of the Civil War and ensured that Northerners would perceive the Confederacy as the aggressors.

McClintock's close analysis of Northern actions on the eve of the Civil War will not transform Civil War scholarship, but he ably describes the effect of what might be called the "fog of politics" upon major political figures. They said what they thought others wanted to hear, without understanding what others believed. They imagined that others would see reason, without reasoning that others might see things differently. If there are times in McClintock's narrative when the gyrations between compromise and conflict seem imposed, he nevertheless captures the cacophony of Northern political discourse in the final moments before the war. *Lincoln and the Decision for War* offers a compelling account of Northern efforts to stave off conflict, even if those efforts were based on faulty assumptions, and explains how an initially divided North rallied around Lincoln and the Union.

ROBERT S. WOLFF

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Making a New South: Race, Leadership and Community after the Civil War. Edited by Paul A. Cimbala and Barton C. Shaw. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2007. 315 pages. Notes, index. Cloth, \$59.95.) Part of the *New Perspectives on the South* series.

Recent scholarship has reconfirmed that those who created the notion of a New South in the wake of Reconstruction operated within a cultural context of rigid racial distinction. It is the goal of the scholars whose essays make up this collection to explore and exemplify this context.

In the eleven essays here, Georgia has three essays devoted to it, Mississippi has two, and Texas, Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, and the border state of Kentucky each has one. Louisiana, Florida, Arkansas, and Alabama are not represented. The editors are Paul Cimbala of Fordham University, an authority on the Freedmen's Bureau, and Barton Shaw of Cedar Crest College in Allentown, Pennsylvania, an authority on the Populist Party in Georgia.

Two essays, William Carrigan's on Waco, Texas, and Bobby Donaldson's on Jim Crow Georgia demonstrate the effect of racism upon the collective memory and upon religion. Carrigan looks at the differences in the collective memories of whites and blacks and how a tornado in 1953 that followed the same path through Waco as the lynchers did in 1916 was seen by blacks as retributive. Donaldson analyzes the survival strategies preached by African American clergy to congregations having to contend with the Jim Crow laws that Georgia enacted in 1890.

Essays by Faye Jensen of the South Carolina Historical Society writing on the stagnation of Columbus, Georgia, and by Deborah Beckel on John Cebern Logan Harris illustrate how fixation on race hampered material progress. During the crucial 1870s the leaders of Columbus valued preserving the social order more than advancing commercial and manufacturing interests, and accordingly the city declined in population and importance. A similar consensus among North Carolina's white population doomed J. C. L. Harris's lifelong crusade to unite poor whites and blacks in a Republican coalition. After Harris's dream came true in the 1890s, a campaign of virulent racism made certain that the success of his broad-based majority was temporary.

Further exemplification of the culture of racism frustrating white community leaders is Larissa Smith's essay on the career of Brownie Lee Jones, who led the Southern School for Workers in Virginia from 1944 to 1950. When Jones ventured into racial activism, contributions from liberal foundations ran out, and she became the victim of red-baiting.

A few years later, in Louisville, Kentucky, a black veteran of World War II was helped to purchase a new home in a suburban development by white journalists Carl and Anne Braden. Local whites drove the black veteran from the development, and Louisville officials prosecuted the white enablers of the ill-fated deal as Com-

munist subversives. (Today there is an Anne Braden Institute for Social Justice at the University of Louisville, and the story of her heroism is told here by its current director, Catherine Fosl).

It is refreshing that three of the essays (Douglas Fleming writing about Atlanta in the Depression, Tony Badger on South Carolina in the 1950s and 1960s, and Clive Webb on how white leaders defused the politics of race in Clinton, Tennessee) suggest a letup in the intensity of racist energy in the South. With the cooperation of Atlanta's business elite, Mayor James Key (1931–1937) emphasized economic growth over racial distinction and paved the way for the city's reputation as "the city too busy to hate." Tony Badger of Cambridge University shows that although South Carolina governors were not immune to the politics of race, they came to endorse school desegregation and civil rights for blacks once they fully realized that federal authorities would indeed enforce court decisions. Clive Webb, who teaches at the University of Sussex, studies the 1956 school integration crisis in Clinton, Tennessee, where civic leaders acted decisively to stem the tide of a white supremacy rally by driving an outside agitator named John Kasper out of town.

The patterns of interaction shifted as federal government programs began appearing in small towns and rural areas. Two such programs, Head Start (examined by David Carter of Auburn University) and the Legal Services Corporation (examined by Attorney Kris Shepard of Charlotte, North Carolina) incentivized educators and lawyers to deliver professional services to the poor. Because the majority of the professionals and the people they helped were African Americans, these programs inspired political opposition. Thus, despite the advances made in racial distinctions, the notion of race and the barriers it implied still permeated public life in the South as late as the 1970s.

What these essays impress upon us is the astonishing amount of wasted energy that was generated by race distinction in the South. The essays fit together well and the message that they convey cumulatively is unequivocal. Although perhaps the only thing missing is an essay to counterpart Donaldson's on the contribution, whether positive or negative, of white clergymen.

As we make our way a bit unsteadily into the second decade of the twenty-first century it might be a good thing to gaze behind us and hope that what has been described in these essays is behind us—forever.

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The Origins of Mob Town: Social Division and Racial Conflict in the Baltimore Riots of 1812

Richard Chew

Through the grating of his prison cell in the Baltimore City Jail, John Thompson could see the rioters swing their hatchets against the door opposite his. As they hacked through the wooden barrier, John Hall, another witness to the scene, remembered Thompson calling out that it was “a pity they should kill those poor devils instead of us . . . you are at the wrong door—here we are.” The taunt worked, and the rioters’ fury quickly turned toward Thompson’s cell. Once the rioters were through the door, however, they were surprised to see Captain Daniel Murray inside, brandishing a gun at their heads and warning the rioters, “my lads, you had better retire; [otherwise] we shall shoot some of you.” For what seemed an interminable moment, the shadows of the rioters’ hatchets and Murray’s pistol danced silently on the wall as both sides glared at each other. Thompson and Murray finally rushed the door and several prisoners made it outside, but they quickly ran into a throng of angry rioters in the streets. John Hall, another of the prisoners, later stated that “two rough looking men” had seized him and “tore my shirt leaving my bosom bare.” Hall was beaten and tossed onto the bloody pile of victims from which he could see “several of my friends knocked down and their blood scattered all over the pavement.” One of them, Thompson, had been struck from behind and tumbled down the stairs of the jail into the streets. A half-a-dozen rioters seized him, beat and then dragged him away to be tarred, feathered, and lashed. Thompson later reported that several rioters also wanted to gouge his eyes out, and others wished to break his legs with an iron bar. The rioters ultimately decided to set him ablaze, but Thompson rolled on the ground and put out the flames.¹ Violence continued until about 10 o’clock on the evening of July 28, 1812, in the worst riot that Baltimore or any other city in the republic had ever witnessed until that date.

News of the violence spread throughout the country, and details of the mob’s brutality astounded an American public unaccustomed to reading about people being killed in a riot.² Twenty-first-century sensibilities remain haunted by the barbarous images of the twentieth century’s deadly riots, and thus to the modern observer, violence and rioting seem naturally linked.³ Yet Americans in the post-Revolutionary period had a

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far different expectation of what occurred in a riot. During the eighteenth century riots typically involved small, disciplined groups that advanced recognizable political agendas by humiliating an individual, destroying symbols, or demolishing property. In a typical eighteenth-century mob action, rioters burned a rascal in effigy or tarred and feathered someone. Injuries were thus common, but few people died. Prior to the summer of 1812 no American mob had ever decided to tar and feather someone and then set the person ablaze—as they did with John Thompson outside the Baltimore City Jail.⁴ Several historians have described the more orderly eighteenth-century form of rioting as part of an “Anglo-American mob tradition,” and although this type of rioting never achieved complete political legitimacy in America, its ritualized nature inspired relatively little fear compared to the more deadly riots of later centuries.⁵ The 1812 Baltimore riot differed completely from the typical actions of the “Anglo-American mob tradition,” and thus represents an important transition point into the more violent rioting typical of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The political dimensions of the 1812 Baltimore riot and its place within the history of American rioting have certainly warranted the attention they have been afforded. The blood-soaked events have been interpreted from a number of different political perspectives and more recently, within the context of the history of rioting in the United States. Yet the riot and the tumultuous events that led up to the violence in the preceding months, can be seen in another way—Baltimore’s long troubled summer of 1812 provides a unique window into the blurry and often hidden social, economic, and racial fault lines of Jeffersonian America. Historians have discussed at length the important changes in American market relations and political economy during the Jeffersonian period, but what these analyses have not revealed is how Americans, both individually and in groups, reacted to the social and economic changes happening around them. What fears, hopes, and prejudices emerged in this era? To what extent did the racial, ethnic, and class divisions so recognizable in Jacksonian America actually have their genesis in Jeffersonian America? A study of the Baltimore rioters’ actions in 1812 cannot fully answer these questions, yet through a close study of the rioters, the victims, and the authorities who tried, sometimes half-heartedly, to stop the violence, as well as the commentaries of witnesses to the riots and those who later condemned the events, we can gain a better understanding of the social, economic, and racial divisions within American society in the opening decades of the nineteenth century. What emerges is the portrait of a city facing a summer of violence for which there was no single cause or reason. Political partisanship provided the initial spark, but for many it was a convenient cover to contest the emerging racial, social, and economic divisions of the early republic. The polyvocality of the 1812 Baltimore riots thus can provide some insight into the origins of the more calcified racial and class divisions of the subsequent Jacksonian period.⁶

The Federal Hill Riot of 1807

During the eighteenth century the prevalence of a deferential social order made the use of organized police forces unnecessary. When officials confronted a mob, either the mayor, the magistrates, or the constables addressed the rioters directly, literally reading the Riot Act. By actually reading the act, officials were able to use their personal prestige and position to convince the mob to disperse. Eighteenth-century artisans and journeymen respected the traditional social hierarchy and usually responded to these demands. As long as the riot remained orderly, however, most officials provided enough time for the mob to finish tearing down a building or burning someone in effigy. In England, mobs had the tacit approval to continue their activities for more than an hour after the Riot Act was read. In America, mobs were usually allowed to finish their work and disperse quietly without interference from the mayor, the magistrates, or the militia.⁷ If rioters either refused to disperse or became disorderly, the mayor could call upon the militia for help, an option used sparingly as the militia could not always be relied upon to muster. Even when the militia did muster, officials often found it difficult to convince them to use force against members of their own community. When the militia agreed to fight, the use of force threatened what E. P. Thompson called the “credibility of the gentry and magistracy.” The “reassertion of paternalistic authority” thus remained the preferred means of controlling an eighteenth-century mob.⁸

As late as 1807 the Anglo-American mob tradition and traditional methods of crowd control continued to function in Baltimore as they had during the eighteenth century. This is evident in the conduct of the mob during a riot on Federal Hill that year. The *Chesapeake-Leopard* incident had united most Baltimoreans behind the Jefferson administration. Two days after the attack on the American warship a town meeting of more than 3,000 people condemned the British outrage. Militia units began mustering and war had become an acceptable policy. Any treasonable activity risked the vengeance of the mob. In the midst of this charged political atmosphere, Aaron Burr, who was already under indictment in New York and New Jersey for the murder of Alexander Hamilton, was indicted for treason against the United States. Burr had allegedly plotted with General James Wilkinson, the military governor of the Louisiana Territory, to establish the area as a separate nation. Wilkinson then betrayed Burr, arresting the former vice president for leading an armed force down the Ohio River. Although Burr was a Republican, two of Baltimore’s leading Federalists, Robert Goodloe Harper and Luther Martin, agreed to defend him against the charge. Chief Justice John Marshall presided over the trial in Richmond, Virginia. After Harper and Martin won Burr’s acquittal, however, the Baltimore mob waited patiently for the lawyers’ return to the city.⁹

In late October, Martin returned home, accompanied by Aaron Burr himself. Republican frustrations with the jurists’ audacity surfaced quickly. On November 2, Captain Leonard Frailey marched the Patriot’s Volunteer company to Martin’s house



Luther Martin (1748–1826) and Robert Goodloe Harper (1765–1825).
(Maryland Historical Society.)

on Charles Street where they played the rogues' march as they passed by. On November 3 the Republican newspaper *Whig* printed "An Earnest Proposal," calling upon "the young men of Baltimore" to "confer a mark of distinction" on Martin "with a suit of tar and feathers." Baltimore's mayor, Thorowgood Smith, himself a Federalist, worried about the mob's intent. That afternoon he took the unusual step of assembling his constables and asking General John Stricker to assemble the militia's cavalry. Captains Samuel Hollingsworth and William Barney, the son of the naval hero, Joshua Barney, agreed to assemble their men, but Captain James Biays of the Fell's Point Troop of Light Dragoons believed that "no mischief would be done by the people," and refused to assemble his men.¹⁰

By late afternoon a mob had gathered at Fells Point and began parading effigies of Martin and Burr on carts, north through Old Town and then west to Jones Falls. Smith's constables were unable to stop the mob from crossing Jones Falls into Baltimore Town, and because the mob had officially defied public authority, at this point the parade became a riot. Yet Smith was reluctant to order the cavalry to intervene because the procession continued in an orderly manner without incident. Hoping that Biays would carry political favor with the mob because of his refusal to muster, Smith convinced him to try and lead the procession away from Luther Martin's house. Biays agreed and successfully led the mob around the Basin to Federal Hill where they finally set the effigies of Martin and Burr ablaze.¹¹

The procession from Fells Point and the reaction of the local government on November 3 provided a near-textbook example of a traditional eighteenth-century

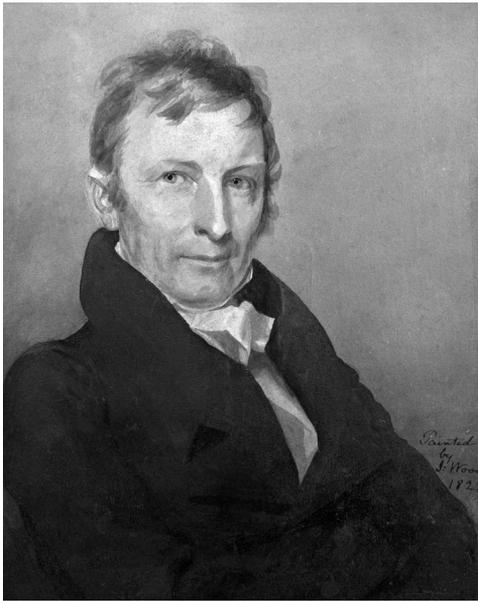
American riot. Biays's personal ability to take command over the rioters is a clear example that the Anglo-American mob tradition had survived into the nineteenth century. Although the *Whig* had urged Baltimore's young men to tar and feather Luther Martin, the mob opted instead to burn him in effigy. A symbol, rather than a person, was therefore the target of the mob's vengeance. When confronted by the constables at Jones Falls, the mob ignored the order not to cross into Baltimore Town, but remained peaceful. Mayor Smith considered using the militia, but, in a fashion typical to eighteenth-century crowd control, opted instead to use the mob's deference for James Biays as a means of containment. The mob reacted positively to Biays's position, indicating their recognition of the prevailing social order, and the subsequent bonfire recalled the Boston tradition of parading and then burning effigies of the Pope on November 5—appropriately just two days after the Baltimore mob had paraded the effigies of Martin and Burr from Fells Point to Federal Hill.

The Baltimore Riots of June 1812

Five years later, during the summer of 1812, Baltimore faced several months of chronic mob violence. Unlike the Federal Hill riot of 1807, the mob's actions in 1812 often seemed uncontrolled and undirected by eighteenth-century standards of rioting and riot control. Yet there was structure and purpose in the disorder. Baltimore rioters often targeted specific ethnic groups, African Americans, and symbols of wealth, both person and property. Although none of these actions could be easily summarized as a "race riot" or by a similiar trope, the violence did reveal the growing fault lines of class and race in the early republic that would later calcify into the more rigid divisions of the Jacksonian period.

Alexander Contee Hanson, like most elites at that time, was unaware of the simmering cauldron of social and economic animosities brewing in Baltimore in 1812. His interests lay only in advancing the Federalist Party. Thus in the wake of the 1807 Federal Hill riot, Hanson, a young Federalist zealot, had established the *Federalist Republican*. The newspaper specialized in character assassinations and the shrillest Federalist rhetoric, thus attracting the immediate disdain and resentment of the city's Republican majority. A harbinger of the troubles ahead occurred in 1809 when the Republican-dominated Baltimore militia sought to court martial Hanson, then a lieutenant in a volunteer company, for one of his rancorous editorials. The effort failed in court, but the incident demonstrated that the upstart Federalist publisher had already worn down much of the patience of Baltimore's leadership just two years after his arrival in the city.¹²

The bitterness between Hanson and Baltimore's Republicans bubbled over after Congress declared war on Great Britain on June 18, 1812. The declaration of war was not a unanimous vote, and the split in the Congress reflected the disunity of the American nation. Nowhere was this disunity more evident than in Maryland, where the Congressional delegation split by a margin of six to three. In Harford County, in northern Maryland, government authorities could not accommodate all those



William Winder (1775–1824)
(Maryland Historical Society)

who wished to join the militia and the army. A new regular army unit commanded by Colonel William Winder, and funded in part by Baltimore Republicans, needed to be created.¹³ In Montgomery County, Maryland, south of Baltimore, the public greeted the declaration of war as a menacing and foolhardy decision. Hanson was one of the most outspoken of Montgomery County’s critics.

On June 20, two days after Congress declared war, the *Federalist Republican* publicly condemned the action, calling it “unnecessary,” “inexpedient,” and showing the “marks of undisguised foreign influence.” Hanson declared that “we will never breathe under the dominion direct or derivative of Bonaparte.”¹⁴ Federalists had been claiming for months that the movement towards war was the work of Irish immigrants and Napoleon Bonaparte, who were together trying to drag the United States into conflict with the British to serve their own ends. Federalists frequently criticized President James Madison as a “dupe” to Napoleon. Many Republicans at Fell’s Point wanted to make an example out of Jacob Wagner, Alexander Hanson’s partner. A crowd of several hundred met at Myer’s Gardens, and discussed plans to clothe Wagner in a terrapin shell, sheep skins, and a pair of horns. The use of the terrapin shell indicates the traditional nature in which the 1812 riots began. Maryland had strict laws against tar and feathering people, and the mob’s avoidance of these tactics demonstrates their intent to conduct extralegal, though not necessarily criminal, actions.¹⁵ These plans soon changed, however, and the mob decided instead to tear down the house on Gay Street where Hanson published the *Federalist Republican*.

Rather than act immediately against the Gay Street property, the mob waited two more days, until the evening of June 22, 1812. Although it may be coinciden-

tal, this date marked the fifth anniversary of the *Chesapeake* incident in 1807. That the mob waited until the anniversary suggests an overt political agenda in keeping with the Anglo-American mob tradition. The subsequent behavior of the mob clearly reveals the persistence of that tradition in the early evening of June 22, when a group of laborers and young mechanics gathered outside the Gay Street property. A few witnesses to the riot, later referred to as “boys,” implies that they were teenagers or even younger. Yet in their depositions to the special commission set up by Maryland’s House of Delegates, John Diffenderfer claimed to have seen no boys present on Gay Street, and William Barney and Samuel Hollingsworth claimed that the majority of the early rioters were laborers and young mechanics. Taking into consideration the subsequent orderly behavior of the mob, the latter observations provide the most plausible explanation of the rioters’ identities.¹⁶

The attack on the property “commenced before dark,” with the mob “throwing stones at the house.” Captains James and Samuel Sterrett’s militia “had sufficient influence” over the rioters “to drive them off, and induce the men to withdraw,” but the mob soon reassembled with greater numbers and purpose.¹⁷ Just after dark, the mob began pulling down the house. According to William Gwynn, a prominent Federalist publisher who assumed ownership of Baltimore’s *Federal Gazette* the following year, “the work of the destruction [was] performed with great regularity and but little noise.” Gwynn described the work as being ritualistic, with approximately thirty to fifty rioters “constantly employed in destroying the property,” and another three to five hundred spectators “in the street near the office” who did nothing to aid the local authorities in stopping the riot.¹⁸

Mayor Edward Johnson soon arrived on the scene and, according to Charles Burrall, the Federalist postmaster in Baltimore, “pressed forward into the crowd, remonstrating against their conduct.”¹⁹ One of the rioters quickly rebuffed him, “Mr. Johnson, I know you very well, no body wants to hurt you; but the laws of the land must sleep, and the laws of nature and reason prevail; that house is a Temple of Infamy, it is supported with English gold, and it must and shall come down to the ground!”²⁰ The workmanlike conduct of the demolition and the exchange with the mayor underscored the guiding force of the Anglo-American mob tradition in this earliest stage of the riot. The rioter knew the mayor, and despite a veiled threat, treated him with respect. That the rioters refused to stop their activities immediately should not be taken as a lack of deference—rioters on both sides of the Atlantic expected officials to allow a riot to continue for a short period as long as the activities remained orderly.

The composition of the mob during the early evening also highlighted the Anglo-American mob tradition. Although a few immigrants, most notably the French druggist Philip Lewis, and a number of individuals from outside the city were among the most boisterous rioters, the majority were natives of the city. Only one witness, Samuel Sterrett, believed that immigrants and outsiders represented the majority,

and he made his claim on the basis of overheard dialects, not direct identification. Seven other witnesses, including several Federalists, professed to have some idea of the composition of the mob, and all of them recalled either a mix of immigrants and native-born Americans, or that the native Baltimoreans outnumbered all others. According to William Gwynn, "many of them, from their dress, appeared to be of the middle class of society."²¹ Paul Gilje identified fifteen of the rioters in the dockets of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, and his analysis lends weight to the accuracy of Gwynn's observation over Sterett's. At least nine of the fifteen leaders could be considered mechanics or retailers and likely represented the leadership of the mob at Gay Street. Six of the fifteen appeared in 1813 tax records and averaged \$427 in assessed property. Their residential distribution placed four in Old Town, three in Baltimore Town, two in Fell's Point, and one from Annapolis. The strong percentage of natives among the rioters, as well as numerous mechanics, shopkeepers, and grocers, and people from the center of the city provides very strong evidence that politics alone motivated this mob.²²

By midnight June 22 the mob finished the demolition of Wagner's house on Gay Street and most of the rioters dispersed. In the Anglo-American mob tradition, the rioting should have ended at this point, but in the early morning hours of June 23 parts of the mob scattered throughout the city, continuing the violence. The records demonstrate no clear and consistent pattern to the subsequent mob actions. Some of the men continued to attack Federalists or Federalist symbols, ostensibly in protest against that party's opposition to the war. Yet other rioters directed their violence against ethnic minorities, African Americans, signs of affluence, and commercial property. These new targets suggest that racial and ethnic tensions and economic and social disaffection rather than politics motivated these rioters.

The new direction of the violence is not surprising given the significant economic and social changes that had occurred in Baltimore and throughout the United States in the previous generation. Since the Revolutionary War, and perhaps earlier, Americans had struggled with the question of how to reconcile social change and economic growth with their commitment to republican institutions and democratic aspirations. This question gained increasing relevance after the Panic of 1797, when, for the first time, many Americans began earnestly investing in banks, internal improvements, and manufacturing. The question then became acutely important after 1807 when the Jefferson administration imposed an embargo. By the War of 1812, a nascent manufacturing class had already begun the process of reconfiguring the prevailing social order in port cities like Baltimore. The viability of many artisan occupations was increasingly at risk, and the city's workforce was slowly yet inexorably moving away from apprenticeship, journeymen, and enslaved laborers toward a working class comprised of wage earners. The continued pressure of manufactories on workshops, and the renewed commercial frustrations following the Embargo of 1807 accelerated the breakdown of the household economy. The city's deferential

social order, intimately linked to the household economy, was therefore being slowly undermined, and by 1812, Baltimore was poised for a major conflagration.²³

Throughout the early morning hours of June 23 the conflicted and multi-faceted nature of the rioters' actions was in evidence. The lack of organization to the rioters' actions should not be surprising—they acted outside the traditional forms of Anglo-American mob action, and the racial and class divisions that led to violence in Jacksonian-era riots had not yet fully calcified. Many rioters claimed to be searching for Jacob Wagner, the co-publisher of *Federal Republican*. This ostensibly political reason suggests that for at least some rioters, a consistent anti-Federalism continued to guide their actions, albeit in a more chaotic way than earlier in the evening. Wagner's brother-in-law, Christopher Raborg, feared that violence against the family might occur that night. He arrived at Wagner's father's house in time to see a group of rioters demand to search the property. Raborg testified that there had been a "mixture of foreigners and natives among the rioters" on Gay Street, indicating that he was not predisposed to believing all rioters were immigrants. Yet he was certain that the leader who demanded entrance to Wagner's father's house was "from his appearance and dialect . . . a new imported Irishman." Between 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning this Irishman finally gained entrance to Wagner's father's house, and being satisfied that Jacob Wagner was not inside, departed without making further trouble.²⁴

Despite the incidents at Wagner's father's house, most rioters were not interested in finding him, nor did anti-Federalist political sentiments guide their actions. Instead, many turned their hostility towards symbols of Baltimore's growing though unevenly distributed commercial affluence, or towards African Americans who seemed to benefit from the city's changing fortunes. Charles Burrall saw "a considerable number of people march up St. Paul's Lane," and halt "opposite the office of the *Federal Gazette*," Baltimore's moderate Federalist newspaper. Burrall heard that "the word was given to attack," but others "called out no, no!" The mob subsequently abandoned the idea of demolishing the property and Burrall heard no more from them that night.²⁵ By contrast, towards midnight Robert McClellan, a shoemaker, warned Captain James Sterrett that some members of "the mob intended to attack the bank" on Second Street in downtown Baltimore "after they had destroyed the office" of the *Federal Republican*. The information proved correct, and just after midnight, a mob assembled outside the bank. Through the efforts of Andrew Boyd and Doctor John Owen, who "addressed the mob," and "induced them, after some time, to withdraw," the property was saved. Although the deposition did not indicate which bank was threatened, it was almost certainly the Baltimore Office of Discount and Deposit, the city's branch of the Bank of the United States (BUS).²⁶ The BUS was established by the Federalists in the 1790s, but the bank had since 1800 been under Republican administration, which discounts the idea that partisan politics played a role. Rather, the bank's long history of stingy lending and circulation

policies distinguished the institution from other commercial banks, making it a primary target of violence. After the Panic of 1797 the ratio of notes in circulation to specie held at the BUS plummeted from better than 2:1 to just 0.96:1, meaning that the bank had more specie in its vaults than the value of the paper currency it circulated. This did not present much of a problem for merchants who could still rely on short-term credit and whose bills of exchange could still be discounted at the bank, but for farmers, mechanics, and especially those working for wages, the lack of a circulating medium made for hard times. The bank's policies may have been understandable during the panic, but the BUS remained miserly throughout the following decade. As late as 1810, the ratio of paper currency in circulation to specie held by state-chartered banks in the U.S. stood at 2.36:1, while the ratio at the BUS was 0.93:1. Given such a glaring and continuing disregard for the needs of Baltimore's working people, the gathering of an angry mob outside of the Office Discount and Deposit is not surprising.²⁷

There were other indications of the city's emerging socio-economic divides in the early hours of June 23. The mob harassed a man named Prior on Fish Street, allegedly for having a sign on his business with the words "From London." Although Republicans often accused Federalists of being pro-British, political considerations did not motivate the attack on Fish Street. According to William Gwynn "the private animosity of some of his neighbors," who resented Prior's success in the midst of the city's commercial difficulties, "had induced them to excite the mob to attack."²⁸ Another part of the mob also dismantled a brig in the harbor that night, allegedly because it contained cargo destined for the Duke of Wellington's army in Spain.²⁹

Although politics contributed to the violence on the evening of June 22–23, these actions were also rooted in the city's burgeoning ethnic and religious antagonisms. Parts of the mob attempted to tar and feather several persons, among them Alexander Wiley, who, according to James Sterrett, "was twice forced to leave his residence in Gay Street" that night.³⁰ Samuel Sterrett added that the mob claimed Wiley had assisted the editors of the *Federal Republican*, "which was not true, and this being explained to them particularly by the gentleman who employed Wiley," they initially dispersed. The mob regrouped later that night, however, and attacked Wiley anyway, demonstrating that the alleged connection between Wiley and the Federalists was earlier used as a mask for the mob's true motivation. James Sterrett testified that the mob that attacked Wiley was "principally composed of Irishmen who were after him," suggesting that the assault was rooted in ethnic and religious antagonisms within Baltimore's Irish population.³¹

The disintegration of the mob into small, chaotic, and violent pieces accelerated the following day, and encouraged Baltimore elites to take matters into their own hands to strike them down. Rioters threatened the homes and property of several wealthy individuals from both political parties, pulling down a house on Federal Hill, and rumors surfaced during the afternoon that a mob would attack the home

of a Mr. Hutchins in Old Town.³² Thanks to advance warning, Mayor Johnson averted a riot at Hutchins's house by arriving before the mob and taking possession of the door. The mayor dispersed the initial crowd of forty or fifty rioters by leading them away from the house. Upon his return, however, an even larger crowd numbering in the hundreds had assembled. In order to control the situation, the mayor allowed several of the men to search the house. Finding that Hutchins had already fled, the mob subsequently disbanded. Remnants of the Anglo-American mob tradition are evident from Johnson's interaction with the Old Town mob, yet "before this assemblage was completely dispersed, Mr. John Diffenderfer informed" the mayor that "a few gentleman, having heard of the riot, had armed themselves, and were probably on their way."³³ Johnson quickly departed Old Town to intercept Samuel Hollingsworth and two other armed horsemen. The mayor was able to convince them to return home, but the eagerness on the part of Baltimore's elite to confront a riot with force significantly departed from custom. According to William Gwynn, Mayor Johnson still clung to the traditional belief that "persuasion would be more effectual than force in dispersing mobs," but others had already graduated to a more typically modern response.³⁴

By the morning of June 24, the mob began to direct its violence against the city's African American population, forgoing even the mask of attacking Federalists to gain political legitimacy. James Briscoe, one of the few free African Americans who owned multiple city properties, became an easy target. Briscoe had allegedly made controversial comments of some nature, but what he actually said, if indeed he said anything at all, was unclear. Major John Abel believed that the mob was under the impression that Briscoe "made declarations in favour of the British, and had declared he would be a king himself." Yet another witness believed that the mob was under the impression that Briscoe had declared "if all blacks were of his opinion, they would soon put down the whites."³⁵ In the end, it did not really matter to the mob what Briscoe had said—the rumor alone provided the rioters with all the excuse they needed, and over the next few days, the mob engaged in a campaign of racial harassment against African Americans, both free and enslaved, starting with Briscoe's two houses.

Briscoe had informed Abel of the threat to his property the night before the attack, giving Judge John Scott an entire day to take care of any legal formalities associated with calling out the militia. The judge, however, ordered Abel not to assemble his troops until a warrant could be produced for the drummer who actually made the threat against Briscoe's house. This action conveniently delayed the militia from assembling until early evening and Abel's troops arrived too late to prevent the mob from demolishing Briscoe's house. Not satisfied with destroying just one house, they proceeded to demolish Briscoe's property next door where his daughter lived. Judge Scott's inability to produce a legal warrant before dusk may have been the result of poor timing, but it may have been a deliberate strategy to

prevent the militia from assembling. Without Abel's interference, the mob's fury would be directed against Briscoe and the African American community, and subsequently, away from affluent Baltimoreans' homes.³⁶

Attacks against African Americans continued with threats to the Sharp Street Church and assaults against a free man named Remier and an enslaved man held by Mr. R. W. Watts. Although only four people were charged with a crime in the destruction of James Briscoe's house and in the beating of Remier, the beating of an enslaved man earned eight indictments from the Court of Oyer and Terminer and the immediate attention of the town leadership.³⁷ Mayor Johnson concluded that the "the treatment received by the blacks," or at least the property of slaveholders, "rendered it indispensable to adopt measures for their protection." The violence might have continued if not for a change in the weather. "It [was] raining excessively hard," and this, according to Mayor Johnson, allowed cooler heads to prevail.³⁸ A troop of horses under Colonel James Biays was subsequently called out the following day to parade the streets, and peace was finally restored.

Into July many of Baltimore's affluent families remained nervous. Almost every night after the Gay Street Riot, the mob continued to roam the streets, and the uncontrolled and chronic violence against persons and property demonstrated that the corporatism that defined eighteenth-century riots and riot control had been swept away. The seeds of further conflict lurked in the shadows of Baltimore's alleys, and the mob only required an excuse for chaos to burst onto the city streets. Samuel Hollingsworth remarked that "many Gentlemen in the City think it expedient to keep their Houses well armed."³⁹ Hollingsworth's admission is revealing as the perceived threat was specific to the city's wealthy elites without further reference to political party. Not surprising, several Baltimore elites decided to re-direct the mob's anger against a third party—the city's African Americans.

As early as June 23 affluent Baltimore residents fueled the idea of a possible uprising by African Americans. Mayor Johnson received "many reports . . . of threats and imprudent observations of the black population, by some of the most respectable inhabitants" of the city. Samuel Sterrett also testified that "in the midst of all this anarchy and confusion, alarms were raised of a conspiracy among the negroes, hostile to the whites."⁴⁰ At best, these fears arose from a legitimate concern that the almost continuous rioting of the past thirty-six hours would encourage a rebellion. At worst, wealthy Baltimoreans manipulated the racism of the mob to deflect attention away from themselves.

Once the specter of an uprising was raised, rioters quickly turned against African Americans. Rising prices and stagnant wages between 1802 and 1812 meant that times were hard for Baltimore's working people, and much of the city's white working poor, including the substantial population of Irish and German immigrants in Baltimore, competed with African Americans for employment. Many of the city's manufacturers and artisans preferred hiring black laborers, both free



*General John Stricker (1758–1825).
(Maryland Historical Society.)*

and enslaved, over white wage earners, an economic choice that added to the city's racial divide. The relative segregation of the city's immigrants to the most peripheral parts of the city likely contributed to white wage earners' sense of economic disadvantage as well. Unlike African Americans, who did not congregate into segregated neighborhoods until the 1820s, immigrants lived in geographically isolated areas as early as 1812.⁴¹ Baltimore Town, the wealthiest area of the city, accounted for 51 percent of the city's residences in 1812, yet the area housed just 35 percent of the city's immigrants. Almost a third lived in either Federal Hill or the western precincts, compared to just 14 percent of the city's overall population. The location of so many immigrants away from Baltimore Town isolated them from the most lucrative area of the city.⁴²

The composition of the mob that targeted African Americans in June clearly shows that they came from the most marginal parts of the city—socially, economically, and geographically. Paul Gilje could not locate in Baltimore Town any of the sixteen rioters charged with assaulting African Americans. Few of the accused could be called mechanics, only three appeared in militia rolls, and just one, who was assessed at \$50, could be found in the tax records. All of those charged identified themselves as either journeymen or laborers, unlike the rioters on Gay Street, or those who participated in any of the riots during the rest of the summer, where at least one artisan or shopkeeper was present.⁴³ For these workers the merest hint of a conspiracy served as adequate reason for ongoing violence against African Americans after June 23.

By mid-July mob activity had finally abated. Federalists and Republicans peacefully participated together during the July 4th observances, and John Hargrove, a Republican and the city registrar, commented that “the peace of the city was restored, and he dreaded the consequences” of another riot. Colonel James Biays, the Republican commander of the Fell’s Point Dragoons, commented that the restoration of Hanson’s newspaper “would produce another riot.”⁴⁴ Unfortunately, the city’s seeming return to peace was temporary—the ethnic, racial, economic, and social tensions that had been slowly heating up in the city for a decade and a half were about to boil over.

The Charles Street Riot of 1812

Alexander Hanson remained unsatisfied with the outcome of the Gay Street riot. Contrary to the wishes of many Maryland Federalists, he intended to return to Baltimore under arms and re-establish the offices of the *Federal Republican* in a house rented to Jacob Wagner at No. 45 Charles Street. A few hot-tempered Federalists, including John Hanson Thomas, the Federalist leader in Frederick County, supported Hanson’s scheme. One Federalist, Colonel John Lynn, went even further to recommend that Hanson recruit “a full quantity of gallant men to defend” the house on Charles Street and that the men be armed with muskets, buckshot, bayonets, hatchets, and tomahawks. Lynn assured that he would himself “join those gallant spirits, going on that noble enterprise,” but when the time came just a few days later, he did not go to Baltimore.⁴⁵

Hanson recruited a dozen people to help defend the house, and John Howard Payne, a twenty-year-old actor from New York City for whom Hanson was a benefactor, rode through the countryside to muster additional support. Generals “Light Horse” Harry Lee and James Lingan, both of whom were Revolutionary War heroes, also arrived in Baltimore to join Hanson on the night of July 26, 1812. On the morning of July 27, Hanson had the latest edition of his newspaper circulated throughout the city. Although the paper had been printed in Georgetown, it carried the address of the Charles Street house and criticized the local government for its failure to prevent the June 22 demolition of the Gay Street office.⁴⁶ Lee hoped that the house’s armaments would only be needed in the most unlikely circumstances, but Hanson’s brash decisions to antagonize the populous and let them know exactly where to find him suggests that he wanted a fight. During the morning and early afternoon, numerous Federalists from Baltimore joined Hanson, and by late afternoon, almost thirty armed men were prepared to defend No. 45 Charles Street from the mob.⁴⁷

A number of Baltimore officials had advance warning of Hanson’s activities and could have acted to preserve the peace before the mob’s arrival. On the afternoon of the twenty-seventh, at least four people related concerns over the security of the Charles Street property either to Mayor Johnson or to the city registrar, John Hargrove. The residents included Mrs. White, the owner of the Charles Street property

that Jacob Wagner had rented and then turned over to Alexander Hanson, Mrs. White's son Peter White, Dennis Nowland, and Richard Heath, a Federalist and a major in the Fifth Baltimore Regiment under the command of Joseph Sterrett. Hargrove expressed almost no concern about the situation on Charles Street when Nowland confronted him. He promised to "inform the Mayor . . . [as] soon as he had shut up the office and eat a bit of dinner." Hargrove finally informed Johnson of the report late that afternoon as the mayor was making preparations to take his sick child into the country. The mayor "doubted there would be an attack," and repeated the same line to Mrs. White, Peter White, and Richard Heath before leaving the city.⁴⁸ During the riots in late June, Johnson had been quick to react when property was threatened, and his actions earlier in the summer make his cavalier attitude on July 27 very troubling. He may have honestly believed that no attack would occur, but it seems highly unlikely that his political instincts would have been that far off.

The preparations on Charles Street began drawing a crowd in the late afternoon of July 27. The distribution of the *Federal Republican* that morning clearly attracted the first of those who showed up in the streets. Dennis Nowland observed "a number of boys, of various sizes, in number of twelve or fifteen . . . and a few men in the middle of the street encouraging the boys." Violence ensued in the early evening when the boys began throwing rocks and bricks at the doors and windows of the house. Nowland approached the men "and begged of them to make the boys desist," because the house belonged to a widow. One of the men replied "no, Hanson, the damn'd tory is our object, and we will have him." Nowland pleaded that "this was not the way to get him," but his words had little effect. Inside the house, Hanson was already prepared to throw caution to the wind and attack, but General Lee gave strict orders not to fire at the crowd. Instead, Ephraim Gaither, one of the defenders of the house, launched a stove plate out the second-floor window that hit Nowland, cutting off part of his left foot. Nowland later recounted that the injury "was so severe as to prevent me from walking, and I was carried home."⁴⁹

As the mob steadily increased in size, the defenders of the Charles Street house decided to take action. In an attempt to scare off the mob, General Lee gave the order to those on the second floor of the house to fire over the heads of the crowd. Surprised by the gunfire, many members of the mob momentarily backed off, but it was at this point that the French druggist Thaddeus Gale decided to lead a rush to the front door. Along with several other rioters, Gale made it to the entrance hallway as far as the staircase when the defenders of the house opened fire, killing the druggist and severely injuring two other men.⁵⁰ After Gale's death several justices of the peace circulated through the crowd, trying with little success to calm the situation. Several concerned citizens called on General John Stricker, whose house at 15 South Charles Street was easily within earshot of the events down the block. Stricker, although commander of the Baltimore Brigade, refused to act unless two

magistrates signed an order that legally called out the militia.⁵¹ Meanwhile, the violence continued to escalate.

Between nine and ten o'clock, the defenders of the house fired additional shots from a second-floor window in an attempt to scare off the mob and clear the streets. Although they aimed over the rioters' heads, one of the blasts accidentally struck John Williams, a stonecutter who had been standing across the street as an idle spectator.⁵² The deaths of Gale and Williams enraged the mob and several defenders fled the house in an attempt to escape their wrath. Several of these hapless deserters were quickly apprehended and beaten. Although none of the escapees from the house were killed in these actions, many could have been if not for the timely intervention of family members who pleaded for their lives.⁵³

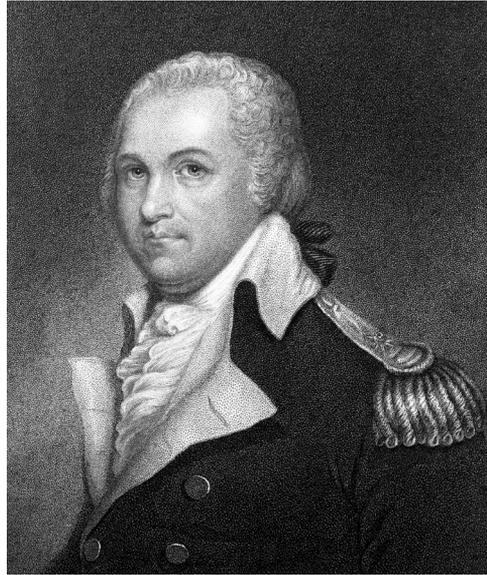
By midnight, after two deaths and many injuries on both sides, General Stricker finally received written authorization from two magistrates to call out the militia. By this point, the mob had grown to over six hundred, most of whom were engaged in rioting, and many of whom were "much intoxicated."⁵⁴ The general chaos of the scene stood in marked contrast to the workmanlike demolition of the Gay Street office the previous month. Stricker ordered out just one troop of cavalry, commanded by his nephew, Major William Barney. Barney approached the mob but failed to persuade them to desist. Unwilling to attack, the major placed his cavalry between the mob and the house and waited for the city officials to arrive.⁵⁵

By three in the morning, Mayor Johnson had returned to the city, and together with General Stricker and Judge John Scott, organized the surrender of Hanson's Federalists. At seven o'clock, the militia formed a hollow square in which the Charles Street defenders were protected from the mob while being conveyed to the Baltimore City Jail for their own protection. Despite an armed escort and the combined authority of Johnson, Stricker, and Scott, violence against the defenders was barely contained. As the procession continued to the jail, Major Barney's cavalry constantly fended off rioters attempting to break the square, and one rioter, whom Barney recognized as an Irishman, directly accosted the major. The city officials and their prisoners managed to reach the jail without further casualties, and the crisis was momentarily abated.⁵⁶

On the afternoon of July 28, the mob reassembled at the jail. The prisoners inside became increasingly apprehensive about their safety as the day progressed, despite the assurances of Mayor Johnson that they would be protected. Otho Sprigg decided to save himself by moving to a different cell and lodging with common criminals. General Stricker gave orders for several hundred militia to muster, but by late afternoon only twenty to thirty troops had convened.⁵⁷ With no cavalry blocking their way and unarmed prisoners inside, the mob rushed the jail and forced the door.

The rioters vastly outnumbered the prisoners, and Thompson and his cellmates stood little chance of escaping. From his hiding place inside, Otto Sprigg, who had fired the first shot at the Charles Street riot, could see General James Lingan fall to

Revolutionary War hero General “Light Horse” Harry Lee (1756–1818) suffered gruesome and debilitating injuries during the riot. (Maryland Historical Society.)



his knees and beg for his life. The general had neither pulled the triggers on the guns that killed Williams and Gale, nor had he given the order to fire on the mob—yet none of that mattered. The mob held him and the other prisoners responsible for the deaths and paid little attention to the general’s desperate pleas for mercy. Sprigg could only watch as the mob viciously clubbed, kicked, and stabbed Lingan in the chest until the old soldier slumped over.⁵⁸ David Geddes, a witness to Lingan’s murder, remembered John Mumma, a butcher, glowering over Lingan’s lifeless body and snarling “Look at the damn’d old tory General.” Geddes could scarcely believe the words. Lingan was a hero of the Revolutionary War who survived imprisonment aboard one of the notorious British prison barges in Wallabout Bay off Brooklyn. Geddes found the butcher’s comments “shocking to the feelings of humanity.” Yet there was Mumma, spitting the words at the old general who did not survive this brutal assault by the Baltimore mob.⁵⁹

Just a few feet away from Lingan, another rioter thrust General “Light Horse” Harry Lee against a wall and pummeled the general until he collapsed onto the ground. Lee was a renowned cavalry officer who, like Lingan, had served in the Revolution with distinction. Yet his reputation did not prevent the rioters from thrusting pen knives into his face, slashing and stabbing him until he went unconscious from the pain. The mob then dragged Lee’s seemingly lifeless body outside and tossed him onto a bloody pile of dead and dying prisoners. Lee survived the brutal attack, but he had been struck so many times in the face with such fury that he never fully recovered from his injuries.⁶⁰

Mayor Johnson hurried to the steps in a vain attempt to disperse the mob, but the rioters protested against his interference. One barked at the mayor, “you damn’d

scoundrel don't we feed you, and is it not your duty to head and lead us on to take vengeance for the murders committed."⁶¹ The contrast to the comments made during the Gay Street riot of June 22 are striking. From his statement, the rioter clearly knew who the mayor was, but displayed no respect for him or his duty to uphold the laws. Several gentlemen quickly pulled the mayor away from the scene to save his life.⁶² Once inside the jail, the mob displayed the unbridled cruelty that led to the stabbing of General James Lingan and the vicious beating of General "Light Horse" Harry Lee.

Once outside the jail, the mob viciously attacked the prisoners. This, of course, is when John Thompson was tarred, feathered, lashed, and then set ablaze while several other prisoners were beaten until unconscious. After extinguishing the flames, Thompson was subsequently carried off by calmer heads to the Bull's Head Tavern where he was encouraged to reveal the identities of all those people who had been in the house on Charles Street the day before. Not surprisingly, Thompson broke down and provided several names. After some time, Dr. Richard Hall intervened, and pronounced that most of the prisoners were dead and that the others would soon die of their wounds. The latter claim was not true, but Hall hoped that this declaration would encourage the mob to disperse. His words did not have the intended effect. For some time the rioters debated hanging or burning the bodies, or possibly throwing them all into the Jones Falls. Eventually the rioters decided to let Hall have the bodies for dissection. After the mob had gone Hall and other doctors moved quickly to save the lives of those badly wounded.⁶³

Even after the surviving Federalists left the city, rioters continued to roam Baltimore's streets. On the pretense of searching for copies of the *Federal Gazette*, some rioters approached the post office. Although General Stricker proved reluctant to act against the mob when it seemed the primary targets were Hanson and the Federalists, he moved decisively on July 29 to stop the violence from spreading any further. Stricker finally called out the entire Baltimore Brigade to protect the post office and ordered a cavalry charge to disperse the mob. For the next several days, armed militia patrolled the city to insure no additional rioting occurred.⁶⁴

Politics, Race, and Class

In the wake of the Baltimore riots commentators around the republic condemned the barbarity of the mob. The death of General Lingan, in particular, represented an especially appalling episode, and reactions to it were swift and scathing. In an address honoring Lingan's death, George Washington Parke Custis of Arlington bemoaned the republic's loss of innocence, and as George Washington's grandson, he garnered a national audience. Custis lamented that in the wake of the riots, "even sanguinary France now cowers to our superior genius in iniquity." He further bemoaned that France "is no longer supreme in sin," and "my soul sickens at the thought." The *Boston Repertory* went even further to suggest that Baltimore "now contains within itself the fiery materials of its own destruction." The riots foreshad-

owed a dismal future for the city, which, the *Repertory* predicted, “will continue to break out in eruptions of anarchy and crimes.”⁶⁵ The Baltimore riots in 1812 indeed marked the breakdown of the “Anglo-American mob tradition,” and signaled the beginning of a transition to the more bellicose and deadly rioting of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Baltimore earned the nickname “mob town,” a pejorative term that would trail the city for more than a generation. Yet contrary to the prognostication of the *Boston Repertory*, Baltimoreans would not be alone in experiencing this more virulent type of rioting—they were simply the first.⁶⁶

Federalists around the country decried what they claimed was the inevitable result of Republican radicalism, and used the incident to gain political advantage. Alexander Contee Hanson was elected to Congress from Montgomery County and was later elected to the U.S. Senate from Maryland. More important, the October 1812 elections returned a Federalist majority to the Maryland House of Delegates that immediately launched an inquiry into the recent riots in Baltimore. The major focus of this highly politicized investigation by the Federalist-dominated House was to answer whether or not the city’s predominantly Republican leadership had acted responsibly during the riots to protect the city’s Federalists. The questions were therefore directed more toward the actions of public officials and the rioters themselves than toward the underlying causes for much of the violence.

The most conspicuous example of the committee’s political agenda was the twenty-fourth question that specifically asked whether or not the deponent knew of any officials who were guilty of misconduct. The legislators used the question to solicit responses concerning the conduct of General William Stansbury, a Republican who arrived at the jail just before the mob burst through the doors to attack the prisoners inside. General Stricker, not Stansbury, was the commander of the Baltimore Brigade, and Stansbury had no power to call out the militia. Thus the focus on Stansbury’s conduct served little purpose other than to embarrass the city’s Republicans by trying to connect Stansbury’s actions or inactions to the mob’s savagery. Several witnesses testified that Stansbury addressed the mob and had said “the persons in the house in Charles-Street, were all a set of rascals, and ought every man of them to have perished.” Further, that “if he [Stansbury] had been present, he would have been the first man to have fired the gun [cannon] . . . in defiance of the civil authority.”⁶⁷ Such language provided tacit approval for an attack against the jail, but with one exception, none of the deponents indicated that the general’s words had an effect on the rioters, one way or the other. The mob did not require the approval of a Republican general to proceed. Other witnesses defended Stansbury’s conduct. John Wooden and Abraham Hatten testified that far from inciting violence, Stansbury had entered the jail to help defend General Lee.⁶⁸

The House Federalists were not alone in limiting the focus of the inquiry into the riots. Eager to shift blame onto Hanson and his Federalist comrades, Baltimore Republicans also dismissed lawlessness that seemingly had no direct connection to

the publication of the *Federal Republican*. Although Edward Johnson, Baltimore's Republican mayor, testified that "a number of inferior disturbances took place, confined to the Irish alone," and that he feared repercussions against African Americans and shipping on the city's docks, he maintained that "I have never believed that a spirit of insubordination to the civil authority existed" in Baltimore. In his mind, "the late unhappy disturbances in the city are certainly to be traced to the violent and inflammatory publications in the *Federal Republican* newspaper, which produced a general spirit of indignation."⁶⁹

The ostensibly political focus of the House investigation ignored any direct questioning of witnesses about the underlying causes of the riot. The committee recognized that more occurred on Baltimore's streets than a simple partisan altercation, commenting that "private revenge sought its gratification under the imposing garb of zeal against reputed enemies of their country." As the committee was only interested in ascertaining the causes of what it believed to be political intolerance and whether or not the city's officials took appropriate actions to maintain the peace, acts that seemingly "attempted to gratify . . . embittered passions" did not hold any interest for them.⁷⁰ Thus much of what the committee considered disjointed, sporadic, and irrational in the rioters' actions was omitted in the official report. Yet evidence of the social, economic, or racial divisions that erupted into violence during the riots may be gleaned from the depositions of the witnesses—many of whom did not overlook the "private" acts that contributed to much of the violence. Testimony concerning these actions reveals more about the reasons for the violence than either the members of the House committee or the mayor were either willing or able to face.

The return of the *Federal Republican* certainly resurrected political agitation within the city, but the reappearance of Hanson's newspaper was the chief motivation for only some of the people who participated in the subsequent riot on Charles Street. For example, despite the constant use of the word "Tory" as an expletive, there is reason to suspect that the language can be deceiving here and that the word does not reveal a political motivation by the rioters. Samuel Sterrett, a leading Federalist and militia captain, who was politically predisposed to blaming Republicans for the violence, did not feel that the rioters necessarily targeted Federalists. Although rioters often employed the word "Tory" as a precursor to committing violence against either people or property, Sterrett believed the rioters used the word merely as a "cant term . . . which was the signal for insult and violence." The varied "terror and consternation" that "many respectable persons" faced that night seemed to appear from multiple directions—for Sterrett, the mob was a "many headed monster."⁷¹ What Sterrett had noticed, and had trouble articulating clearly, was that the mob used the pretense of political action to mask social and economic causes for their violence. The riots on Gay Street in June and Charles Street in July provided the political cover for rioters to act on a multitude of grievances and disaffections stem-

ming in part from politics, though also from ethnic antagonisms and insufficient economic opportunities among other causes. Indeed, frustration over lagging economic opportunities, rather than anti-Federalism alone, helps explain why many rioters abandoned their attacks on supposedly Federalist targets after the Gay Street riot and began assaulting African Americans and their property.

Reasons other than the publication of the *Federal Republican* may have contributed to the mob's swelling numbers on July 27. Before dusk, William Barney stopped by the home of Thomas Jenkins, which was next door to the Charles Street house that Hanson's Federalists occupied. Barney spent "a few minutes" conversing with Jenkins when "a negro came out of the Wagner's house with a pitcher in one hand, and a [sword] cane in the other." After surveying the assembling mob, the unidentified African American man allegedly said, "there they stand by two's, and by three's, but damn them, let them come, we are ready for them." The statement surprised Barney, who turned to Jenkins and said "do you hear what that damn'd negro says?" Barney then left without making any attempt to disperse the growing crowd.⁷²

The exchange between Thomas Jenkins and Major Barney suggests that race may have been more of a motivation in this riot than observers realized. As was the case in June with the attack against James Briscoe's houses, the threat to the church, and the assaults against several other African Americans, even the rumor of the black man's words in front of the house would have been enough to incite violence. If rumors of the exchange spread many of the city's white, disenfranchised, working poor would have been moved to action—just as the rumors of Briscoe's speech had led to violence against his houses and other African Americans. There is ultimately no way to tell, because the House committee investigating the riots never asked the question. Yet the composition of the mob assembling outside 45 Charles Street lends some weight to the idea.

Early in the evening of July 27, before the verbal exchange on Charles Street, Thomas Wilson, editor of the Republican newspaper *Sun*, stood outside Hanson's house and urged action against the property. Yet the crowd that existed at that point did not recognize Wilson, and there is no evidence that the mob grew thanks to premeditated or orchestrated action by Republicans.⁷³ Meanwhile, John Howard Payne, the twenty-year-old New York actor that Hanson patronized, was riding all over Old Town and Fells Point and discovered that "everything was tranquil." Joel Vickers, who lived on the main street leading from Fells Point into Baltimore Town, "saw no unusual collection of people" moving from the Point towards Town, "and [he] was the whole night at home." Levi Hollingsworth, a Federalist, believed that "the proceedings at Charles-street were, during the night, almost unknown at Fells Point," and other witnesses reported that very few inhabitants from Fells Point were present in the streets.⁷⁴

By midnight on July 27, everything had changed as three to five thousand rioters

were in the streets. As the depositions by Payne, Vickers, and Hollingsworth demonstrated, the mob did not come across Jones Falls from Fells Point or Old Town, nor did they come from Baltimore Town. The rioters must have arrived from either the western precincts or Federal Hill, where a large percentage of Baltimore's poor immigrants resided—a possibility that is reinforced by the testimony of witnesses to the riot and the identities of those rioters appearing in the court dockets. Unlike the descriptions of the mob at the Gay Street Riot on June 22, witnesses to the Charles Street Riot testified that the mob consisted primarily of immigrants, especially Germans and what one witness called “low” Irish.⁷⁵ Whether immigrant or American-born, however, a significant percentage of the mob was white, poor, and disenfranchised. Of the twenty-eight rioters listed in the dockets of the Court of Oyer and Terminer for rioting on Charles Street, only six appeared in the militia rolls, none were assessed at more than \$100 in the tax records, and only two had residencies in Baltimore Town. Most of the rioters were tinmen, plasterers, and carters—members of the working class often in direct competition with African Americans for jobs.⁷⁶

The rioters' struggles to fire a cannon on the evening of July 27 further underscores the evidence from the tax records, militia rolls, and city directories as to the Charles Street mob's composition. A few rioters led by a carter named Jones had left the scene and returned with a cannon. Nobody in the mob seemed to know how to fire the weapon, nevertheless, John Gill, a tailor, climbed on top of the gun to prevent anyone from trying. Another man named Long put his finger over the touch hole and said “no person should prime it or fire it, unless he was stronger than himself.” That none of the rioters knew how to fire the cannon suggests that few members of Baltimore's militia companies were present and reinforces the idea that most of the rioters were poor, disenfranchised wage earners who were not acting within the Anglo-American mob tradition to make a concerted political statement against Hanson and the other Federalists within the house. By contrast, the tailor John Gill fit the profile of the politically motivated rioter in the Anglo-American mob tradition, but in the Charles Street riot Gill joined those who sought to contain or stop the violence.⁷⁷

Although race may have been a motivating factor for some rioters, others appear to have been motivated by a sense of social or economic disaffection. After General Stricker ordered out the militia to contain the violence, he further recommended to Major Barney that the troops remove their regalia. If anti-Federalism or racism alone animated the mob, such a suggestion would never have been made. Barney's troops were entirely white, so there was no fear of a racial reprisal against them. And Barney was a fairly well known Republican running for city office and therefore should not have feared a political backlash from fellow Republicans among the rioters. Stricker's recommendation suggests that the general recognized an economic or social motivation in the Charles Street rioters that made them unpredictable and

likely to be unresponsive or even antagonistic to traditional emblems of social order and control. Barney complied, removing his white feather and Society of the Cincinnati emblem, and had his Hussars remove their white feathers too.⁷⁸

The evidence from the House investigation demonstrates the highly conflicted nature of the Baltimore riots and the multiple causes for the rioters' actions. The Baltimore riots clearly did not reveal the more fully developed racial and class divisions that marked the Jacksonian era; unlike rioters in the mid-nineteenth century and later, the Baltimore rioters displayed an extensive range of motivations. Anger at Hanson and his Federalist opposition to the war angered a number of rioters, but racial and ethnic tensions and economic disillusionment provided motivations for other members of the mob. Violence against African Americans occurred, yet none of the mob actions in 1812 could be called a race riot. Although many rioters attacked symbols of wealth and affluence, none of them made specific demands about poor relief, employment, or better wages. Although violence between Irish factions and political opponents occurred, the Baltimore rioters did not exhibit a clearly defined sense of ethnic polarization. Although much of the violence was due to the material condition of the rioters, none of the rioters actually made that explicit connection. The only consistent trend among the various rioters was a universal lack of respect for the city's officials and their attempts to reestablish order through traditional eighteenth-century methods of crowd control. No matter what their particular grievance, rioters no longer possessed a strong sense of deference for traditional authority. Without this, officials proved nearly powerless to stop the activities of the mob even when the militia was called out. Yet it is precisely the polyvocality of the Baltimore rioters in 1812 which is important—it demonstrates that the seeds of Jacksonian-era conflict were clearly planted in the soil of Jeffersonian America, and those seeds had begun to sprout but had not yet fully germinated by the War of 1812, long before the eclipse of the Jeffersonian party system.



Notes

1. "Narrative of John Hall," *Maryland Gazette*, September 3, 1812, and "Narrative of John Thompson," *Maryland Gazette*, August 20, 1812.
2. See especially Grace Overmyer, "The Baltimore Mobs and John Howard Payne," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 58 (1963): 54–61 (hereinafter cited *MdHM*); Frank Cassell, "The Great Baltimore Riot of 1812," *MdHM*, 70 (1975): 241–59; Donald Hickey, "The Darker Side of Democracy: The Baltimore Riots of 1812," *Maryland Historian*, 7 (1976): 1–20; Paul Gilje, "The Baltimore Riots of 1812 and the Breakdown of the Anglo-American Mob Tradition," *Journal of Social History*, 13 (1980): 547–64 (hereinafter cited *JSH*); Charles Steffen, *The Mechanics of Baltimore: Workers and Politics in the Age of Revolution, 1763–1812* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 243–50; Paul Gilje, "'Le Menu Peuple' in America: Identifying the Mob in the Baltimore Riots of 1812," *MdHM*, 81 (1986): 50–66; Donald Hickey, *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 56–71; and Paul Gilje, *Rioting in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 60–63. The brutality committed in the 1812 Baltimore riot helped earn Baltimore the moniker of "mob town" during the nineteenth century.
3. Some of the twentieth century's most deadly riots included East St. Louis in 1917 (forty-eight dead), Chicago in 1919 (more than twenty-two dead), Detroit in 1943 (thirty-four dead), the Watts section of Los Angeles in 1965 (thirty-four dead), Newark in 1967 (twenty-six dead), Detroit in 1967 (forty-three dead), and South-Central Los Angeles in 1992 (fifty-three dead). See *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, intro. Tom Wicker (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), 115, 162, 217–19, 224. At the turn of the twenty-first century, the memory of and images from several of these riots remain current in the media. The deaths of fifty-three people in the 1992 Los Angeles riots, particularly those of twenty-two people whose deaths remained open, unsolved homicides, continued as a cause of media interest ten years later. See Jim Crogan, "The L.A. 53," *LA Weekly*, May 2, 2002. The Watts riot of 1965 was featured in NBC's 1999 TV miniseries *The '60s*, and the 1967 Detroit riots were a focus in Jeffrey Eugenides's novel, *Middlesex*, which won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 2003.
4. Paul Gilje has calculated that for the entire period between 1701 and 1765, only nineteen people died in riots throughout America. Gilje's figures exclude the twenty Indians murdered by the Paxton Boys in 1763. See Gilje, *Rioting in America*, 25.
5. In America, examples of the "Anglo-American mob tradition" include the march of Pennsylvania's Paxton Boys in 1764, the destruction of Governor Thomas Hutchinson's house in Boston in 1765, the Boston Tea Party in 1773, and the burning of the Peggy Stewart in Annapolis in 1774. My understanding of the "eighteenth-century Anglo-American mob tradition" is based in part on Max Beloff, *Public Order and Popular Disturbance, 1660–1714* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938); George Rudé, *The Crowd in History: A Study of Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730–1848* (New York: Wiley, 1964); Gordon Wood, "A Note on the Mobs in the American Revolution," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 23 (1966): 635–42 (hereinafter cited *WMQ*); Jesse Lemisch, "Jack Tar in the Streets: Merchant Seamen in the Politics of Revolutionary America," *WMQ*, 25 (1968): 371–407; Pauline Maier, "Popular Uprisings and Civil Authority in Eighteenth Century America," *WMQ*, 27 (1970): 3–35; E.P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd," *Past and Present*, 51 (1971): 76–136; Pauline Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765–1776* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1972), 3–48; E.P. Thompson, "Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture," *JSH*, 7 (1974); Paul

Gilje, *The Road to Mobocracy: Popular Disorder in New York City, 1763–1834* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 3–95; Thomas Slaughter, “Crowds in Eighteenth-Century America: Reflections and New Directions,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 115 (1991): 3–34; and Gilje, *Rioting in America*, 1–60. The best account of the Paxton Boys may be found in George Franz, *Paxton: A Study of Community Structure and Mobility in the Colonial Pennsylvania Backcountry* (New York: Garland, 1989). The Paxton Boys did murder twenty Conestoga Indians in 1763, but this presaged their march on Philadelphia in 1764. Upon reaching the outskirts of the city, the mob met with Benjamin Franklin, Mayor Thomas Willing, and Attorney General Benjamin Chew and agreed to seek proper legal redress for their grievances. For a discussion of the destruction of Thomas Hutchinson’s house, see Benard Bailyn, *The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson*, 35–38. For the Boston Tea Party, see Alfred Young, *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999), 42–45. For an account of the burning of the Peggy Stewart, see Ronald Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics, and the Revolution in Maryland* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 133–38.

6. There is a considerable literature on economic change in the early republic, but see especially Christopher Clark, *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780–1860* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990); Winifred Rothenberg, *From Market-Places to a Market Economy: The Transformation of Rural Massachusetts, 1750–1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Joyce Chaplin, *An Anxious Pursuit: Agricultural Innovation and Modernity in the Lower South, 1730–1815* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Daniel Vickers, *Farmers and Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630–1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Martin Brueghel, *Farm, Shop, Landing: The Rise of a Market Society in the Hudson Valley, 1780–1860* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002); David Meyer, *The Roots of American Industrialization* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); Lawrence Peskin, *Manufacturing Revolution: The Intellectual Origins of Early American Industry* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); Cathy Matson, ed., *The Economy of Early America: Historical Perspectives and New Directions* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006); and Seth Rockman, *Scraping By: Wage Labor, Slavery, and Survival in Early Baltimore* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

7. Beloff, *Public Order and Popular Disturbances*, 136–37, and Gilje, *Rioting in America*, 20–24.

8. E.P. Thompson, “Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture,” 404.

9. Aaron Burr is second only to Benedict Arnold in the rogues’ gallery of the founding fathers, but a number of historians have recently sought to rescue the reputation of the third vice president, particularly on the questions of Burr’s duel with Hamilton and his alleged treason in 1807. See especially Arnold Rogow, *A Fatal Friendship: Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998), and Roger Kennedy, *Burr, Hamilton, and Jefferson: A Study in Character* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

10. *Baltimore American*, November 19, 1807; *Baltimore Whig*, November 3, 1807; and *Baltimore Federal Gazette*, November 4, 1807.

11. Part of the mob actually turned down Charles Street, and, coming to Martin’s house, began throwing rocks at it. Biays doubled back, however, and was able to convince the crowd to rejoin the rest of the procession. See Steffen, *The Mechanics of Baltimore*, 232–34.

12. *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser*, February 2, 1809.

13. Joseph Whitehorne, *The Battle for Baltimore, 1814* (Baltimore: Nautical & Aviation Publishing Company of America, 1997), 16.

14. Baltimore *Federalist Republican*, June 20, 1812.
15. Deposition of William Gwynn, in *Report of the Committee of Grievances and Courts of Justice of the House of Delegates of Maryland, on the Subject of the Recent Riot in the City of Baltimore* (Annapolis: Jones Green, 1813), 22. Hereafter, citations of depositions from the report of the Committee of Grievances will be abbreviated as RCG and followed by the page number. This citation would appear as "Deposition of William Gwynn, RCG, 22." Also see Deposition of Thomas Kell, RCG, 138; Deposition of Edward Johnson, RCG, 174; and Deposition of John Owen, RCG, 292-96. On the symbolism of the rioters' behavior, see Gilje, "The Baltimore Riots of 1812," 560 n.19.
16. Deposition of James Hutton, RCG, 147; Deposition of Edward Johnson, RCG, 163; Deposition of James Sterrett, RCG, 199; Deposition of John Diffenderfer, RCG, 222; Deposition of William Barney, RCG, 253; and Deposition of Samuel Hollingsworth, RCG, 336.
17. Deposition of Dennis Nowland, RCG, 185; Deposition of James Sterrett, RCG, 199; and Deposition of Samuel Sterrett, RCG, 202.
18. Deposition of William Gwynn, RCG, 21. Although one witness claimed that a thousand spectators were in the streets, Gwynn's estimates represent a consensus in the testimonies provided to the committee, and may be taken as accurate. See Deposition of David Geddes, RCG, 50; Deposition of James Biays Jr., RCG, 144; Deposition of Dennis Nowland, RCG, 185; Deposition of Samuel Sterrett, RCG, 202; Deposition of George Steuart, RCG, 214; Deposition of John Diffenderfer, RCG, 222; Deposition of Andrew Boyd, RCG, 223; Deposition of John Owen, RCG, 292; and Deposition of Samuel Hollingsworth, RCG, 335-36.
19. Deposition of Charles Burrall, RCG, 153. Judge John Scott also made a half-hearted attempt to stop the riot. See Deposition of John Scott, RCG, 119-20.
20. Deposition of John Worthington, RCG, 242. The story is confirmed in Deposition of Edward Johnson, RCG, 160-61; Deposition of James Sterrett, RCG, 199; and Deposition of Samuel Hollingsworth, RCG, 336, 344-45.
21. Deposition of Samuel Sterrett, RCG, 202. For those who did not believe that immigrants represented a majority of the rioters, see Deposition of William Gwynn, RCG, 21; Deposition of Dennis Nowland, RCG, 185; Deposition of Andrew Boyd, RCG, 223; Deposition of William Barney, RCG, 253; Deposition of John Owen, RCG, 292; Deposition of Christopher Raborg, RCG, 322; and Deposition of Samuel Hollingsworth, RCG, 336.
22. Gilje assumed that those identified in the court dockets represented an accurate cross section of the mob. With fifteen of the thirty to fifty rioters appearing in the court records, this is a probably a safe assumption for this particular riot. In the later riots that summer, however, those charged with a crime represent such a small percentage of the rioters involved, that it is safer to assume that the court dockets represent an accurate cross section of the mob's leadership only. Gilje also assumed that all those charged in the Court of Oyer and Terminer actually participated in the riot whether or not they were eventually convicted of a crime. See Gilje, "Le Menu Peuple," 53, 57, 65 n.39.
23. For the economic changes and urban transformation in Baltimore that followed the Panic of 1797, see Richard Chew, "Certain Victims of an International Contagion: The Panic of 1797 and the Hard Times of the Late 1790s in Baltimore," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 25 (2005): 565-614, and Richard Chew, "The Measure of Independence: From the American Revolution to the Market Revolution in the Mid-Atlantic" (Ph.D., The College of William and Mary, 2002), esp. chpts. 5-9.
24. Deposition of Christopher Raborg, RCG, 322-23.
25. Deposition of Charles Burrall, RCG, 154.
26. Deposition of James Sterrett, RCG, 199. The Baltimore Office of Discount and Deposit

was located at the corner of Gay and Second Streets. The only other possibility is the City Bank of Baltimore, which was located on the opposite corner of Gay and Second Streets. The charter for the City Bank was approved after the riot on December 31, 1812, but many banks in the early republic began their operations as unchartered associations prior to being granted a charter. There is no evidence that the City Bank began its corporate life in this way or that it had made any sort of social or economic impact on the city by the summer of 1812 that would have attracted an angry mob—but the possibility remains. The City Bank closed its doors in 1820 through a voluntary liquidation, and the site was adopted no later than 1842 by the Marine Bank of Baltimore (which became the National Marine Bank of Baltimore in 1880). See Stuart and Eleanor Bruchey, *Money & Banking in Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1996), 153, 224, 284.

27. For the specie-to-paper currency ratios at the BUS and state banks, see Stuart Bruchey, *Enterprise* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 173, and Hugh Rockoff, “Stock of Money and its Components: 1790–1859 [Friedman and Schwartz]” Table Cj7-21 in *Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition*, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/ISBN-9780511132971.Cj1-10710.1017/ISBN-9780511132971.Cj1-107>). For the Panic of 1797 in Baltimore, see Chew, “Certain Victims of an International Contagion.”

28. Deposition of William Gwynn, *RCG*, 22.

29. Deposition of John Scott, *RCG*, 120.

30. Deposition of James Sterrett, *RCG*, 200.

31. Deposition of Samuel Sterrett, *RCG*, 203. Sterrett did not comment further on the Irish who attacked Alexander Wiley, and without that testimony it is difficult to pinpoint which antagonism among Baltimore’s Irish population—because there were several—may have led to the attack. One important division was between the Catholic Irish, most of whom had arrived after the failed Rising of 1798 in Ireland, and the Presbyterian Irish, many of whom adopted millenarian political-theological views in the early nineteenth century. Another important division was between established Irish Americans and the newly arrived United Irishmen. The United Irish were radicals who began arriving as émigrés in the 1790s and “often displayed an intolerant streak, which was directed first against the Federalists and less radical Irish immigrants.” This intolerance had been carried over from Ireland, where the United Irish had, through action and word, stirred deep-rooted ethnic antagonisms in their home country. See David Wilson, *United Irishmen, United States: Immigrant Radicals in the Early Republic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 1–11.

32. For the rumors of rioters attacking individual houses, see Deposition of William Gwynn, *RCG*, 22–23; Deposition of David Geddes, *RCG*, 51; Deposition of John Scott, *RCG*, 120–21; Deposition of Nixon Wilson, *RCG*, 149; and Deposition of Edward Johnson, *RCG*, 161–66. Allegedly, Hutchins had offered a toast in which he proclaimed “Damnation to the memory of Washington and all who espouse his cause.” (The quote is from the Deposition of George Steuart, *RCG*, 215.) The mob supposedly reacted to this toast as a pro-Federalist statement against the declaration of war, but for Baltimore’s Republicans to have jumped to such a conclusion is not credible. Federalists venerated Washington as a symbol of an “Augustan age” lost in the Jeffersonian ascendancy, and Baltimore’s Federalists sponsored overtly partisan celebrations on George Washington’s birthday, rendering any confusion in Baltimore over the political meaning of imagery associated with George Washington rather difficult to believe. On Federalist symbolism, see Linda Kerber, *Federalists in Dissent: Imagery and Ideology in Jeffersonian America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), 4–8, 10.

33. Deposition of Edward Johnson, *RCG*, 162. Also see Deposition of William Stewart, *RCG*, 61–62, and Deposition of George Steuart, *RCG*, 215.
34. Deposition of William Gwynn, *RCG*, 23.
35. Deposition of John Abel, *RCG*, 307, and Deposition of Nixon Wilson, *RCG*, 149. also see Deposition of Edward Johnson, *RCG*, 160–63.
36. Deposition of John Abel, *RCG*, 307; Deposition of Nixon Wilson, *RCG*, 149; and Deposition of John Scott, *RCG*, 120–21.
37. For the threat to the African American church, see Deposition of John Hargrove, *RCG*, 179; Deposition of Nixon Wilson, *RCG*, 149; and Deposition of Dennis Nowland, *RCG*, 185. For the indictments, see Gilje, “Le Menu Peuple,” 59.
38. Deposition of Edward Johnson, *RCG*, 162–63.
39. Thomas and Samuel Hollingsworth to Levi Hollingsworth, July 1, 1812, Hollingsworth Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
40. Deposition of Edward Johnson, *RCG*, 163. Also see Deposition of Samuel Sterrett, *RCG*, 205.
41. Christopher Phillips, *Freedom’s Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790–1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 103–109; Joseph Garonzik, “The Racial and Ethnic Make-up of Baltimore Neighborhoods, 1850–1870,” *MdHM*, 71 (1976): 392–402; and D. Randall Beirne, “The Impact of Black Labor on European Immigration into Baltimore’s Oldtown, 1790–1910,” *MdHM*, 83 (1988): 331–45. The trend towards residential segregation of free blacks in Baltimore closely parallels trends in Philadelphia and New York City. See Gary Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia’s Black Community, 1720–1840* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 165–68, and Shane White, *Somewhat More Independent: The End of Slavery in New York City, 1770–1810* (Athens, Ga.: The University of Georgia Press, 1991), 172–76.
42. In 1812, the average taxable property of residents in Baltimore Town was \$511, in Old Town was \$332, in the western precincts was \$278, in Federal Hill was \$180, and on Fells Point was only \$150. 1812 Baltimore City Directory, and Baltimore Property Tax Records, 1812, RG.4 #1, microfilm reel 83, Baltimore City Archives (hereinafter cited BCA).
43. Gilje, “Le Menu Peuple,” 59, 62–63.
44. Hargrove and Biays are quoted in Deposition of Dennis Nowland, *RCG*, 187–88; Gilje, “The Baltimore Riots of 1812,” 551.
45. Cassell, “The Great Baltimore Riot of 1812,” 244–46; John Hanson Thomas to Alexander Contee Hanson, July 15, 1812, in *Baltimore American*, August 8, 1812; and John Lynn to John Hanson Thomas, July 15, 1812, in *Baltimore American*, August 8, 1812.
46. *Federal Republican*, July 27, 1812.
47. Cassell, “The Great Baltimore Riot of 1812,” 245–46; Overmyer, “The Baltimore Mobs and John Howard Payne,” 54–57; and Deposition of John Howard Payne, *RCG*, 14–18.
48. Deposition of Peter White, *RCG*, 69–71; Deposition of Edward Johnson, *RCG*, 164; Deposition of John Hargrove, *RCG*, 179–80; and Deposition of Dennis Nowland, *RCG*, 187–88.
49. Deposition of Dennis Nowland, *RCG*, 188.
50. Narrative of Otho Sprigg, *Maryland Gazette*, August 27, 1812; Deposition of William Gwynn, *RCG*, 26–27; Deposition of William Steuart, *RCG*, 64; and Deposition of Richard Magruder, *RCG*, 75.
51. Deposition of Peter White, *RCG*, 73; Deposition of Richard Magruder, *RCG*, 75–77, 83; Deposition of Dennis Magruder, *RCG*, 117; Deposition of John Scott, *RCG*, 121; and John Stricker Letterbook, MS.789, Maryland Historical Society.
52. John Williams was identified as the slain spectator in the Deposition of William Stewart,

art, *RCG*, 61. Williams's occupation is listed in *Fry's Baltimore Directory for the Year 1812* (Baltimore: B.W. Sower, 1812).

53. John Stone saved Andrew Boyd from being beaten, Thomas Buchanan saved Rufus Bigelow from being beaten, Isaac Caustin saved Samuel Hoffman from being hanged, and James Heath escaped cleanly. See Deposition of Peter White, *RCG*, 72; Deposition of John Stone, *RCG*, 98; Deposition of Thomas Buchanan, *RCG*, 102; Deposition of John Scott, *RCG*, 121; Deposition of Nixon Wilson, *RCG*, 150–51; and Deposition of Isaac Caustin, *RCG*, 317.

54. Deposition of James Hutton, *RCG*, 147; Deposition of William Barney, *RCG*, 266; Deposition of Middleton Magruder, *RCG*, 305; and Deposition of John Abel, *RCG*, 308–10.

55. Deposition of David Geddes, *RCG*, 51; Deposition of William Barney, *RCG*, 260; and Henry Lee, *A Correct Account of the Baltimore Mob* (Winchester, Va.: John Heisel, 1814), 8–12.

56. Deposition of William Gwynn, *RCG*, 27; Deposition of Nixon Wilson, *RCG*, 150–51; Deposition of Henry Gaither, *RCG*, 192–97; Deposition of Andrew Boyd, *RCG*, 235–36; Deposition of William Barney, *RCG*, 260–72; and Deposition of Richard Dorsey, *RCG*, 339–40.

57. Narrative of Otho Sprigg, *Maryland Gazette*, August 27, 1812; Narrative of John Thompson, *Maryland Gazette*, August 20, 1812; Deposition of Joseph Sterrett, *RCG*, 124; and Deposition of Edward Johnson, *RCG*, 168–70.

58. Narrative of Otho Sprigg, *Maryland Gazette*, August 27, 1812. Alexander Contee Hanson reported that Lingan did not die immediately, but succumbed from stabbing wounds several hours later. See Alexander Contee Hanson, "An Exact and Authentic Narrative of the Events Which Took Place in Baltimore on the 27th and 28th of July Last," in *Interesting Papers Illustrative of the Recent Riots in Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1812), 38–39.

59. Deposition of David Geddes in *RCG*, 53.

60. Lee, *A Correct Account of the Baltimore Mob*; "Narrative of John Thompson," *Maryland Gazette*, August 20, 1812; "Narrative of Otho Sprigg," *Maryland Gazette*, August 27, 1812; and "Narrative of John Hall," *Maryland Gazette*, September 3, 1812.

61. Deposition of Edward Johnson, *RCG*, 170.

62. Deposition of Lemuel Taylor, *RCG*, 44–46; Deposition of William Merryman, *RCG*, 112; Deposition of Edward Johnson, *RCG*, 170; and Deposition of Charles Robinson, *RCG*, 190.

63. "Narrative of John Hall," *Maryland Gazette*, September 3, 1812, and "Narrative of John Thompson," *Maryland Gazette*, August 20, 1812.

64. Cassell, "The Great Baltimore Riot," 258.

65. George Washington Parke Custis, "An address occasioned by the death of General Lingan, who was murdered by the mob at Baltimore: Delivered at Georgetown, September 1, 1812," (Boston, 1812), and *Interesting Papers Illustrative of the Recent Riots at Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1812), 25.

66. Gilje, *Rioting in America*, 65–68. For the new, more violent form of rioting that replaced the Anglo-American mob tradition, see especially Adrian Cook, *The Armies of the Streets: The New York City Draft Riots of 1863* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1974); Michael Feldberg, *The Philadelphia Riots of 1844: A Study in Ethnic Conflict* (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1975); and *The Turbulent Era: Riot and Disorder in Jacksonian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Thomas Slaughter, *Bloody Dawn: The Christiana Riot and Racial Violence in the Antebellum North* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Gilje, *Rioting in America*, 60–116; and David Grimsted, *American Mobbing, 1828–1861: Toward Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

67. Deposition of John Worthington, *RCG*, 47. Worthington's rendition of Stansbury's

conduct was supported in large part by Robert Long, Elias Green, John Dougherty, William Smith, and William Merryman. See Deposition of Robert Long, *RCG*, 89; Deposition of Elias Green and John Dougherty, *RCG*, 97; Deposition of William Smith, *RCG*, 100; and Deposition of William Merryman, *RCG*, 109–12. Two other witnesses disagreed with Worthington's testimony. See Deposition of Isaac Dickson, *RCG*, 87, and Deposition of John Schultz, *RCG*, 127–31.

68. Deposition of John Wooden, *RCG*, 142–43, and Deposition of Abraham Hatten, *RCG*, 137.

69. Deposition of Edward Johnson, *RCG*, 177.

70. Introduction, *RCG*, 3.

71. Deposition of Samuel Sterrett, *RCG*, 203.

72. Deposition of Thomas Jenkins, *RCG*, 169.

73. Deposition of Richard Heath, *RCG*, 58; Deposition of Dennis Nowland, *RCG*, 188; and Deposition of John Stone, *RCG*, 98.

74. Deposition of John Howard Payne, *RCG*, 16; Deposition of Joel Vickers, *RCG*, 41; and Deposition of Levi Hollingsworth, *RCG*, 333. Also see Deposition of Lemuel Taylor, *RCG*, 46.

75. Deposition of Lemeul Taylor, *RCG*, 46; Deposition of Thomas Kell, *RCG*, 138; Deposition of Edward Johnson, *RCG*, 177; and Deposition of William Barney, *RCG*, 264.

76. Gilje, "Le Menu Peuple," 54–56. Gilje identified George Benner as one of the rioters, but Peter White testified that he encountered "a man who is in the employ of George Benner." See Deposition of Peter White, *RCG*, 71. It thus seems unlikely that Benner himself was at the riot.

77. Deposition of Nixon Wilson, *RCG*, 150–51.

78. Deposition of John Howard, *RCG*, 233.





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Cover: Harper's Ferry, Virginia, c. 1860

Harpers Ferry is located at the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers. In October 1859, abolitionist John Brown led a raid on the federal arsenal that ended with his capture, trial, and execution.

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

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Letters to the Editor

Editor,

Gary Ralph in his “Provisions of Arms to Maryland’s First Settlers,” *MdHM*, 104 (2009): 28 n. 60 notes that my article (“The Master of the Ark”) “incorrectly describes the sakers as of 2,500 pounds each.” His specific reference to page 267 is about the cannon called sakers that were among the eight guns loaded aboard the *Ark* for Lord Baltimore on August 23, 1633 [*MdHM*, 95, (2000): 267]. They averaged 2,481 pounds each. He is right by a larger margin if he had in mind the statement on pages 263 and 266 and interpreted it to mean that sakers favored for armed English merchant ships of the 1630s weighed 2,500 pounds. They would have weighed 1,500 to 1,700 pounds. The statement subject to interpretation is, “The nature of the *Ark*’s battery is not known. It may have included demi-culverins and sakers. . . . Demi-culverins were favored as the large guns for armed merchant ships of the time. They weighed about 3,000 pounds each. Sakers weighed 2,500 pounds.”

This prompts another look at “the nature of the *Ark*’s battery” for the voyage in 1633–1634 that carried Lord Baltimore’s first settlers to Maryland. I and others had assumed Baltimore’s eight guns loaded on the *Ark* in August 1633 were cargo to be offloaded in Maryland as ordinance for forts. Harry Wright Newman seems to imply they were also “to protect the ships (*Ark* & *Dove*) from pirates.” For reasons outlined below I now think Baltimore’s guns were probably part of the *Ark*’s battery for the passage to Maryland in 1633 where “battery” means all carriage mounted guns on or above the gun deck ready to be loaded and fired. Details and caveats in cited references are omitted if they are not central to the issue and “WLC” designates facsimiles of original documents and typed transcriptions of them in the William Lowe Collection.¹

The high probability of attack by hostile ships at sea must have been a dominant reality for the Lords Baltimore. The Dutch and French challenged English ships in the English Channel. Turkish (Mediterranean) pirates operated with impunity in the southern part of it and on the sea route to America as it passed Spain and Africa. At times pirates from Dunkirk essentially blockaded the east coast of England. In 1631, two years before the first colonists embarked for Maryland, Turkish pirates had seized and sacked the Irish town of Baltimore and carried away 237 men, women, and children into slavery. In 1634 and 1635, pirates took two thousand or more captives from English ships and the coasts of England and Ireland. Pirates out of Sallee, a port on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, held some 2,000 Englishmen as slaves. Spanish squadrons were on patrol to seize or sink all intruders including English ships found west of the Grave Meridian and south of the “tropike,” an area that covered about one third of the *Ark*’s intended route from London via the West Indies to North America.²

It would have been a calamity for the Lords Baltimore if a ship carrying their settlers had been plundered or sunk and the colonists lost or taken as slaves or for ransom. What was wanted was a fast, strong, and well-armed ship managed by owners and crew who knew the dangers of intended passages. The *Ark of Maryland* (aka *Ark of London*) was such a ship, 340 net tons King Built in 1631 to serve the Crown as a warship when needed. Her owners had experience with voyages to and trade in the Chesapeake. One of them, William Clobury & Co., Merchants of London, had been planning a trading station in Maryland since before 1631. The *Ark's* master and part owner, Richard Lowe, had made more than three voyages to the Chesapeake before 1633, two of them as a ship master. He had been captured and plundered at sea by "Frenchmen" in 1628 while commanding the 130 ton *Anne of London*. In November 1630 he was master of the 160 ton *Charity of London* when she was attacked by Dunkirkers and "fought with too (two) . . . of them, too hours, but quitted her selfe with some hurte." The *Ark's* owners as well as the Lords Baltimore had strong reasons to see that the ship was well-armed, manned, and managed. If seized or sunk, they would lose a crew, a new ship valued at £2700 and perhaps the patronage of important clients.³

Even though he was not an owner, George Calvert, 1st Baron Baltimore, was especially able to judge and influence how the *Ark* was manned, equipped, and managed. He had extensive knowledge of English colonization and shipping from his long service to the Crown. In 1627 he sailed for America in his 160 ton ship *Ark of Avalon* named for his first colony in Newfoundland. He probably chose the name *Ark of Maryland*, completed in 1631, before his death the following year. As a devout Catholic familiar with the biblical story of Noah's ark and its dove, he would have found such names apt for ships bound for new lands.⁴

The first record of ordinance put aboard the *Ark* is a "Note of things delivered to my Lord Baltimore's account, August 23, 1633, aboard the *Ark*, four Sakars ordinance waying 99ct 1qr 00lb . . . fflower (4) Demiculleverins, waying 29.00, 30.00, 30.00, 29.00 (hundred pounds)." One article describes them as old guns of Spanish origin. Sakers weighing about 2500 pounds were very likely old guns. The first hard evidence of the nature of the *Ark's* battery is dated August 5, 1635, just after she had returned to London from her second voyage to Maryland. On that date a Trinity House Certificate for ordinance was issued stating:⁵

There is now in the river of the Thames a shipp called the *Ark of London* of the burthen of three hundred tones or thereabouts: owners thereof are Captaine Crispe William Clobury . . . Vicars of London, Merchants and Richard Lowe of Ratcliff, mariner, . . . the said Richard being under god designed maister of the said ship: All his ma^{ts} true, natural borne, and loyal subjects:/ The said owners having aboard the said shipp fifteen peeces of cast iron ordnance: do desire . . . ten peeces more of the said iron ordnance viz:

eight saker[s] and two cutts: They putting in bonds for not alienating them according to order.”⁶

If the owners’ fifteen pieces were the only ones in her battery, the *Ark* would have been seriously under-gunned. Armed English merchant ships of her size and times typically carried one gun per 12 to 14 net tons burden and warships one for 10 to 12. At 340 net tons and only the owners’ 15 guns she would have had one per 23 net tons, not even enough to arm the 18 gun ports depicted in Peter Egli’s well-researched painting on page 260 of my article.⁷ The ratio of guns per ton is at best a rough measure and what was appropriate would depend on the type and quality of guns and crew and risks along intended routes. But the *Ark* was to sail in areas of high risk, a compelling reason for being fully armed. Her first passage to Maryland confirmed the dangers but she avoided them by a remarkable run of good luck. The return to London directly across the North Atlantic well clear of the Spanish area, Morocco, and Gibraltar was safer until she entered pirate infested waters near England.

If all of Baltimore’s eight guns had been added to the owner’s fifteen on the first southern passage in 1633 the total of twenty-three would have been close to the twenty-five the owners judged proper in 1635. That would have provided for stern and bow chasers and a few lighter guns for the quarter deck as well as for the eighteen broadside gun ports. Although the *Ark* was relatively fast, she would have been hard pressed without a full battery if attacked from several directions by the faster lateen rigged pirate galleys operating in concert. Furthermore, adding Baltimore’s guns to the *Ark*’s battery on the first passage instead of carrying them as cargo would have cleared more space for passengers and other cargo.

All these circumstances lead me to guess that Baltimore’s eight guns were probably part of the *Ark*’s battery for the first passage to Maryland in 1633; that more than the owners’ fifteen guns were in it for the second voyage in 1634 and that some arrangement was in place to man them effectively.

William W. Lowe,
Alexandria, Virginia

Notes

1. Harry Wright Newman, *The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate* (1961; reprint Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1984), 16.
2. The Grave Meridian asserted by the Spanish would probably have been eighteen degrees west longitude, which passed through the western most of the Canary Islands. But longitude could not be determined with any accuracy at sea, and the line may have been thought to pass through the Azores. The “tropike” was the Tropic of Cancer. Lowe, “Master of the *Ark*,” 262c-263a, 270; M. A. Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the*

Royal Navy and of Merchant Shipping in Relation to the Navy from MD₁X to MDCLX with an Introduction Treating of the Preceding Period (1896; reprint North Haven, Conn.: The Shoe String Press Inc., 1961), 198–99, 274–78.

3. WLC 900, July 16, 1634; “Letter to the Editor,” *MdHM*, 102 (2007) 101; Lowe, “Master of the *Ark*,” 261–62, 282, 283 n.5; Newman, *Flowering*, 119; WLC 900 May 5, 1630; The Court Minutes of the East India Company dated July 16, 1634, name ships being surveyed for possible purchase. WLC 900, November 17, 1630; “Letter,” *MdHM*, 98 (2003): 121. The minutes read, “Inventories presented by Swanley of three ships, viz, the John and Barbary of 260 tons, built about Easter 1632, price with apparel, &c. 1,530 £; the Agreement of 260 tons, price 1,550 £. both built at Ipswich; and the *Ark* of London 340 tons, three years old price 2,700 £,” British Library, *State Papers Colonial, East Indies & Persia, 1630–1634*, 555, 556, 586, East India Court Minute Book XV, 10, 11. A letter of November 17, 1630, from Captain Robert Hooke to Secretary Dorchester, PRO, SP 16/175 68; *State Papers Domestic-Charles I*, Vol. CLXXV, 384, No. 68, WLC 900, July 16, 1634.

4. Lois Green Carr, “The Charter of Maryland,” *A Declaration of the Lord Baltimore’s Plantation in Maryland* (Annapolis: Maryland Hall of Records Commission, 1983); WLC 900, April 7, 1627.

5. “The *Ark* and The Dove,” *MdHM*, 1 (1906): 353; Bernard C. Steiner, “New Light on Maryland History,” *MdHM* 4, (1910): 252. The *Ark*’s company first landed in Maryland on the 24th of March 1633os. The next day, March 25, was the first day of 1634os by the old (Julian) calendar. By the 27, Governor Leonard Calvert and his advisors had selected a site for their town, see Clayton Colman Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland* New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, New York, 1910), 74a. In early May 1634 the *Ark* departed Maryland for London and arrived there by mid-July 1634 where she was surveyed on July 16, 1634, by the East India Company before departing in September for a second voyage to Maryland where she arrived in December 1634, Newman, *Flowering*, 46–47 She was back in London by July 16, 1634, when she was surveyed by the East India Company. Trinity House Certificates from May 1625 to March 1638 for new ships requiring ordinance are said to have been preserved, Oppenheim, *History of the Administration*, 269b. The *Ark* was new in 1631 but a Trinity House Certificate for her initial ordinance has not yet been identified among the eighteen granted in 1631 or the eleven in 1632 or elsewhere. A more thorough search seems warranted being mindful that *Ark* may not have been her initial name. A restraining order for the *Ark* of 1633 cites a prior letter that called her the *Charles of London*, WLC 900, 1633-10-19; 518-118-3a, 9; PRO, Colonial Office 1/6.

6. WLC 900, 1635-08-05, 518-216B-2, 276B-3; *MdHM*, 95 (2000): 266; PRO, SP 16/17 No. 104

7. Oppenheim, *History of the Administration*, 200, 271, 330–37; The array of broadside ports was based on careful research with the advice, among others, of William Avery Baker, the preminent expert on seventeenth-century ships, who designed the full-scale working replicas of the *Mayflower* now at Plymouth, Massachusetts, and the *Ark*’s pinnace, the *Dove*, berthed at St. Mary’s City, Maryland.

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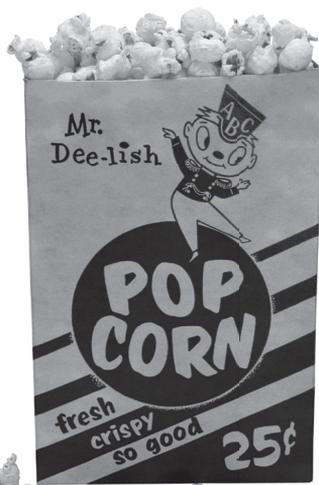
THIRTY SECONDS OVER TOKYO (1944; 138 mins.) Starring Spencer Tracy as Lt. Colonel Jimmy Doolittle, the movie is noted for its historically accurate depiction of the first 1942 bombing raid on Tokyo.

Mike Giuliano teaches film history at local colleges and is a frequent guest speaker for Cinema Sundays at Baltimore's Charles Theatre.

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Scraping the bottom of a careened sailing vessel. Detail from Simon De Vlieger, Estuary at Dawn, c. 1643. (courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.)

The “Theatre of His Hospitality”: First Families of Horne Plantation, 1659–1700

J. Court Stevenson

In June 1664, London mariner Captain Walter Dunch likely thought he could make a profit on 600 acres of land on the Great Choptank River. Accordingly he conveyed £60 sterling to the previous owners, John and Elizabeth Horne, who opted for a sugar plantation on the Island of Barbados. For the rest of the seventeenth century the 600-acre plantation on the south side of the Choptank would be known as Horne. Today the University of Maryland Center for Environmental Science, Horn Point Laboratory, occupies the site. The transaction between Dunch and the Hornes was particularly notable as one of the few that Cecil Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore, actually witnessed. His presence reflected the fact that this sale took place between two noteworthy people who happened to be in London at the time of the transaction. Lord Baltimore, whose father had been granted Maryland in 1631, never visited his province on the Chesapeake Bay. Both Horne and Dunch were men on the rise and “persons of quality” whom Lord Baltimore sought to invest in the Maryland colony. Captain Dunch must have been particularly attracted to John Horne’s plantation not only for potential profits from growing tobacco, but also because the location suited his needs as the master of a ship.¹

Aside from moderately well-drained soils needed for tobacco, Horne bordered deep water where cargos from seagoing vessels could be conveniently landed. Well-fitted merchant ships displaced about 300–400 tons and when loaded would often draw up to thirteen feet of water, a depth readily available in this region of the lower Choptank estuary. Augustin Herrman’s contemporary map indicates that in the 1660s this area of the Choptank was already known as Horne Bay. Another of Captain Dunch’s considerations must have been that Horne lay only ten to twenty miles from the “Choptank Freshes” where waters were deep enough to moor an ocean-going ship. High salinity waters of the Chesapeake, infested during the summer

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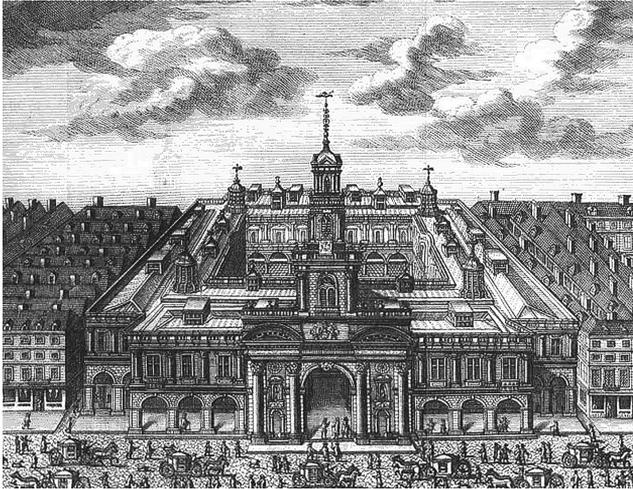
with shipworms (*Teredo navalis* and *Bankia gouldi*), could present dire problems for mariners. These bivalves can bore up to two feet through wooden hulls of ships and piers, reducing them to worthless honeycomb structures.²

During the seventeenth century shipworms posed a major concern for mariners. The British Navy had learned that these pests could be formidable enemies in tropical and subtropical waters during summer months. In 1661, Samuel Pepys wrote in his legendary diary that a new fleet of naval vessels was being sheathed on the Thames River to protect them on an upcoming mission. At the time Pepys served as a newly appointed clerk of the Navy. Among his duties was the procurement of supplies and naval stores, including, no doubt, the copper or lead sheets needed to protect the royal fleet in King Charles II's gambit to out-compete the Dutch, French, and Spanish for control of the high seas. Frugal seventeenth-century merchants had to depend on cheaper methods to avoid the dreaded shipworms in the summer waters of the Chesapeake Bay.

Crews coated merchant hulls with pitch, tar, or lime, or simply careened the vessels on sand bars and subjected them to flames to kill the boring pests. By far, the easiest option was to moor ships in the freshwater portion of the estuary during the summer where shipworms could not long survive. In 1663, Virginia's Governor William Berkeley commented, "Ships of three hundred tons sail near two hundred miles, and anchor in fresh waters; and by this means are not troubled with Worms which damage ships." No doubt Captain Dunch found Horne particularly well situated with its comparatively short journey upstream to find low salinity water. Though the water was over fifty feet deep in many areas of the "Choptank Freshes," to get upriver a ship had to clear the bars off what was then called Calvert Point, now known as Chancellor's Point. Once the bulk of cargo was unloaded at Horne, a ship could proceed upstream past the shallows and be safely moored to escape the ravages of worms (and barnacles). Captain Dunch would then be free to look after his plantation and disperse his cargo to planters before bringing the ship downriver to load the year's tobacco crop late in the fall. Aside from the commercial reasons that made this an ideal location to take advantage of the burgeoning Atlantic trade, an additional consideration in Captain Dunch's decision to buy Horne may have been purely personal.³

Captain Walter Dunch and his Extended Family

Five months before Captain Walter Dunch bought the 600 acres on the Choptank from John Horne in London, he married Mary Johnson, the oldest daughter of Ann and Captain Peter Johnson who had emigrated with the family from Virginia in 1651. The Johnsons made their seat in what is now Calvert County where they owned several tracts of land. The most noteworthy was Brewhouse on St. Leonard's Creek, which remained the family seat of the Johnson family throughout the colonial period and was the birthplace of the first governor of the state of Maryland, Thomas Johnson (1732–1819). The establishment of a fine country seat was a goal of many



Rebuilt after the Great Fire, the Royal Exchange was the focal point for merchant activity in London throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. (James Beverell, Les Delices de la Grande Bretagne (Leiden: Pieter van der Aa, 1707.)

upper-class Englishmen on both shores of the Atlantic throughout the seventeenth century. Sir Henry Wotten articulated that yearning in 1624, when he wrote that a man's country house was the "Theatre of his hospitality, the seat of self-fruition, the comfortablest part of his own life, the noblest of his son's inheritance, a kind of private principedom." In 1655, Captain Johnson had been appointed one of two military commanders of the Patuxent, but he died shortly thereafter. By the time of Mary Johnson's marriage to Captain Dunch, she was under the care of her stepfather, William Dorrington, who had married Captain Johnson's widow, Anne. Dorrington, not a military man, eventually became a Quaker, a sect noted for pacifism. As a gentleman, Dorrington was expected to participate in public service and thus served as a commissioner for Calvert County by 1664. By that time Dorrington had begun to acquire tracts of land on Maryland's Eastern Shore upstream from Horne, including Clifts, Clifton, and Hogs Hole.⁴

Dorrington's strategy appears to have been to assemble a number of contiguous parcels to make a handsome seat on the Choptank. He also obtained another 1,000-acre patent southeast of Hogs Hole from Thomas Manning called Manning's Marsh. This tract along with Congunn were both surveyed for Manning on March 29, 1663, and along with Ashburne, surveyed two weeks earlier for Isaac Abraham, constitute the three earliest land patents in the Blackwater River watershed. In August 1669 relations between Manning and Dorrington became strained when the former accused the latter of assaulting his twelve-year-old daughter, Sarah. This accusation ended up in Provincial Court and is one of the earliest child abuse cases recorded in Maryland. Though mistreatment of indentured girls and boys had certainly come before the courts before, assaulting a gentleman's daughter was unprecedented in Maryland. The worry that Sarah Dorrington might face further

trouble from Manning (which she herself feared) could have motivated her father to move from Calvert County, yet other considerations may have been involved. Many families from the Western Shore, particularly those of the Quaker persuasion, migrated to the Choptank area in the 1660s and 1670s. Hogs Hole on Jenkins Creek, as well as another tract, Dorrington, bought from Henry Sewall, called Busby, lay close to Horne. Dorrington may have made a deal as early as 1664 when Mary Johnson married Captain Dunch. Busby commanded relatively high ground from which one could observe the agricultural activities immediately downriver. It seems likely that Dorrington agreed to oversee Horne while Dunch was at sea or in London. In addition, by purchasing land close to Dorrington, Captain Dunch's new wife, Mary, could remain in close contact with her extended family. Although the land records indicate that Mary's two older brothers, Peter and Thomas Johnson, remained on the Patuxent, it appears that her half-brothers and sisters (including the traumatized Sarah Dorrington) moved to the Choptank.⁵

In order to facilitate the move and establish himself on the Eastern Shore, Dorrington needed additional funds. He turned to Dunch, who was with his two brothers, then well established in the Chesapeake tobacco trade and had access to ample resources. Walter Dunch's brother, Captain John Dunch, was then master of the *Baltimore*. Walter's other brother, Barnaby Dunch, was an up-and-coming merchant who had earlier served his apprenticeship with the Clothworker's Company in London. Over the next fifteen years Barnaby Dunch would emerge as the eighth largest tobacco importer in London, with trading partners in Virginia as well as Maryland. Barnaby Dunch's establishment on Leadenhall St. was ideally located for an overseas merchant. Nearby were the headquarters of both the Royal African Company and the East India Company, close to the present site of venerable Lloyd's of London. Around the corner was Leadenhall Market and less than a sixth mile farther to the west was the Royal Exchange on Cornhill St. which had reopened for business in 1669, three years after the Great Fire destroyed the original building. The Royal Exchange was the central meeting place for London merchants to conduct their business, and a section of it called "the Virginia Walk" was devoted to the Chesapeake trade. Presumably the Dunch brothers would have spent considerable hours there while in London making deals for shipping cargo and finding adventurers to invest in their voyages.⁶

In 1669 and 1670, Barnaby Dunch won election to the Common Council of London where he represented the Lime Street Ward, a stronghold in the city of those supporting the Crown rather than religious and political dissenters. Following the plague, fire, and Anglo-Dutch War of 1665–1667, in which the English fleet was defeated at Medway, opposition to Charles II's policies mounted. Yet Barnaby Dunch appears to have remained loyal to the King and a warden of the local Anglican Church, St. Peters Upon Cornhill. In addition to public service, Barnaby Dunch must have gained Lord Baltimore's respect as he represented Calvert before the

Board of Trade in London. As Lord Baltimore's agents, Barnaby Dunch and Richard Burke later argued persuasively that William Penn's new grant from Charles II should be located considerably northward of the mouth of the Susquehanna River and not encroach on land previously granted to Calvert (i.e., south of 40 N latitude). This line of reasoning appears to have been initially well received in London, but William Penn and his successors eventually out-manuevered the Lords Baltimore. After Barnaby Dunch's death in 1681, Maryland lost millions of acres from what became the lower counties of Pennsylvania and now constitute the present state of Delaware. A few weeks before the Great Fire of London came close to destroying Barnaby Dunch's house, Dorrington signed a promissory note to Captain Walter Dunch which was apparently part of Mary Johnson's dowry. This infusion of credit may have given Dorrington considerable financial comfort and likely allowed him to acquire more acreage around Jenkins Creek on the Choptank.⁷

Scant information has surfaced concerning Captain Walter Dunch's tenure at Horne and what may have happened to fracture his relationship with Dorrington. The most likely scenario is that Dunch's wife Mary died and Dorrington could not, or would not, repay the note when it became due. It appears that Captain Dunch, like John Horne before him, found it difficult to manage a remote tobacco plantation without a reliable overseer to grow tobacco and Dorrington was no help. The years Captain Dunch owned Horne may have also been trying due to other legal entanglements in Maryland. In order to protect his financial interests, Dunch had to engage one of the ablest attorneys in the Province, Richard Smith of Patuxent, to press a suit against Mary Bateman, executrix of her late husband John Bateman's estate. Bateman, an ambitious merchant, owned Resurrection Manor, which then comprised 4,000 acres on the west side of the Patuxent River. The Batemans also owned several other tracts of land, including Claiborne's Island at the mouth of the Choptank from 1659 to 1662 (which they sold to Dr. Peter Sharp). Unfortunately, John Bateman died leaving numerous debts that Mary, as executrix, tried to avoid paying. Mary Bateman essentially claimed that her dowry agreement made several years earlier in England trumped other creditors.⁸

If Mary Bateman was allowed to maintain possession of the entire estate at the expense of legitimate creditors, it could have substantially dampened future investment in the province. Through the efforts of her attorney, Thomas Manning, Mary Bateman at first avoided a judgment against her in August 1664 for 1,049 lbs. of tobacco (lbt) because Dunch's attorney, Richard Smith, could not show "he had power of sufficiently (viz.) a letter of attorney" from his employer. Apparently this case had already been heard in the Calvert County court as Thomas Manning subsequently requested an injunction to stop further proceedings there while the case was before Provincial Court. In October 1664 the court upheld Mary Bateman's position and awarded her 720 lbt. for lawyer's fees. Dunch appealed soon after, but no further mention of the case appears in the record of the Provincial Court. Did they settle out

of court or did Dunch simply give up? The Provincial Court went on to favor Mary Bateman's argument that her interests trumped creditors of her husband's estate. London merchant Henry Scarborough, however, appealed directly to Lord Baltimore and stated that he had originally staked John Bateman's move to Chesapeake Bay, forcing a turnabout. On the legal advice of his London attorney, Lord Baltimore nullified the previous verdicts of the Provincial Court in Maryland. Whether Dunch derived any satisfaction from this ruling remains an open question.⁹

No doubt, another tribulation for Captain Dunch involved his deteriorating relationship with his wife's stepfather, William Dorrington, who may have been in somewhat straitened circumstances. The scarcity of indentured servants following the London plague and fire (1665 and 1666) created a severe labor shortage in the Chesapeake. Approximately one third of the population had perished and survivors found a high demand for labor to rebuild the city. Young men suddenly worked for decent wages in and around London. Although the cost of living subsequently rose, many hesitated to emigrate, particularly as much of the news that servants sent home to England did not reassure friends and family. Additionally, as the seventeenth century progressed, opportunities in Maryland for servants to own their own land steadily diminished. Adding to planters' miseries, tobacco prices had plummeted from 1.7 pence per pound for dried leaf in cask in 1659, when surveyors first walked Horne and Busby, to a low of 0.9 pence per pound in 1666. Many contemporary observers attributed the plummeting tobacco prices to overproduction around the Chesapeake. In order to buoy the price, Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia, went so far as to promote the idea of a bay-wide moratorium on planting tobacco. Berkeley's solution, or as he called it, a "tobacco stint," was to go into effect in 1667. Under-capitalized planters, as well as beginners whose production costs were higher because land prices had risen in Maryland, would suffer most from this plan. Despite the Virginia governor's continued admonishments about the pitfalls of overproduction of tobacco, planters had no other convenient alternative. As Captain Dunch was highly dependent on the tobacco trade himself, Berkeley's proposed moratorium could not have come at a worse time. Like many others who had strong political connections in England, Captain Dunch must have joined those who lobbied Lord Baltimore against Berkeley's "tobacco stint" when he traveled back to London.¹⁰

In response to the outcry from many of his Maryland constituents, who protested that they would be at great disadvantage since other English colonies where tobacco could be grown (e.g., Barbados, Jamaica, and St. Kitts) would not be affected, Lord Baltimore quashed the idea of a "tobacco stint." Soon natural forces would have a similar (but only temporary) effect across much of the Chesapeake. The "Great Hurricane of 1667" hit Virginia in late August and ruined most of the tobacco crop, although the price rebounded temporarily to 1.3 pence per pound the following year. The hurricane revealed not only how fragile was the economy, but also

how fragile was the crude infrastructure (i.e., fences, dwellings, and tobacco houses) around the Chesapeake in the seventeenth century. Virginia's Thomas Ludwell, who lived on Archers Creek near the capital at Jamestown, reported that the storm had damaged or obliterated thousands of structures. Whether this event entered into Captain Dunch's calculus in his sale of Horne is difficult to determine. Unfortunately, contemporary accounts of the hurricane in Maryland have not been found. Whatever his reasons for selling in April 1668, Captain Dunch eventually found a prominent buyer, Richard Preston of Calvert County. In the buying and selling of Horne, Captain Dunch appears to have made a handsome profit. His selling price was £140 sterling, (i.e., 54 pence per acre), almost double the median price for land in Maryland that year (i.e., 28 pence per acre). Richard Preston, a careful investor who had accumulated considerable property on the Eastern Shore, likely saw that the price reflected the market value rather than an inflated price that an outsider might pay with little comparison shopping. Although there is no documentation, Dunch could have expanded the acreage under cultivation and built some storage sheds along the waterfront for trade goods he imported from England. If the waterfront improvements had been obliterated by the 1667 hurricane or by erosion, which can be as high as ten feet per year in this area, the relatively high selling price of Horne most likely reflected that this was an ideal location for the seat of a merchant-planter on the Great Choptank River.¹¹

Regardless of the reason for selling Horne, Walter Dunch remained interested in Chesapeake real estate. In 1668, several months after he sold Horne, Dunch acquired 500 acres of land west of Herring Bay in southern Anne Arundel County. Unlike Horne, this tract was landlocked and constituted the eastern quarter of a two-thousand-acre tract called Portland Manor, recently patented for Jerome White Esq., Surveyor General of the Province. Perhaps Captain Dunch no longer needed the waterfront and chose to develop his career as a sea captain with a tobacco plantation—without the bother of merchandizing goods. Although not actually situated on navigable water, Captain Dunch lived five miles from the "Patuxent Freshes" where he could moor his ship to escape shipworms in the summer and after unloading cargo at or near Mattapony on the south bank of the mouth of the Patuxent. Just north of the Anne Arundel County line, Jug Bay was apparently much larger and deeper than it is today and could have served as suitable anchorage. Proceeding from the main stem of Patuxent to his plantation at Portland Manor, Dunch may have taken a small boat up Lyons Creek past John Horne's old plantation, Hornisham. After his Portland Manor purchase, Captain Dunch took on his brother, John Dunch (also a ship captain), as part owner of the plantation and both shared responsibility for its management. Walter Dunch was then conducting voyages to England as master of the *Crowne Malego*. Even with the help of his brother, keeping track of a tobacco plantation between voyages to England must have been a challenge and a source of vexation.¹²

In 1678, after a decade of ownership, the Dunches assigned their portion of Portland Manor to prominent Quaker William Coale (also spelled Cole) for slightly over £420 sterling (just above 200 pence per acre), placing it among the highest priced tracts in Maryland at the time. The manor apparently held prime land for growing tobacco and may have boasted significant improvements. The lofty price may also have reflected that this sale rested primarily on credit, with over £60 sterling due from Coale the following July and the remaining to be paid off in increments over the next five years. After the sale of Portland Manor, Walter Dunch did not completely abandon Maryland (unlike Captain Horne) and appears to have continued to make trips back and forth to the Chesapeake for several years thereafter. He had good reason to maintain his ties to the province. Coale died early in 1679 and Walter Dunch had to confirm that executrix Elizabeth Coale would make the payments. Additionally, the Provincial Court did not settle Walter Dunch's lawsuit against Dorrington for £120 sterling until 1682. These return trips also allowed Dunch to monitor the progress of a suit his brother Barnaby was waging against Captains William Burgess and Richard Hill, who served as the administrators of Samuel Withers's estate.¹³

On August 12, 1678, Barnaby Dunch and Captain Burgess met in London to settle Withers's account and both apparently found it in arrears to Dunch "in the sum of forty-five pounds one shilling and two pence of sterling money of England." Contrary to their agreement, a year later Barnaby Dunch filed a suit in the colony's Provincial Court in which he complained that he had not received compensation and that Burgess had defrauded him. By the closing years of the 1670s and into the next decade, Walter Dunch apparently commanded the ship *Charles of London* on voyages back and forth to London. He fared well in his career as a mariner and in his transactions involving Horne and Portland Manor, including his suit against Dorrington. In 1704, when he wrote out his last will in London, his estate was worth upwards of £1,500 sterling. In not settling permanently in the disease-ridden Chesapeake where mortality rates ran high, Captain Dunch outlived all of the early owners of Horne—including John Horne who had died in 1674. Despite the increasingly difficult times in the tobacco trade, particularly during King William's War with France in the 1690s and the inherent dangers of sea voyages in this period, Captain Dunch lived until 1708, well into old age.¹⁴

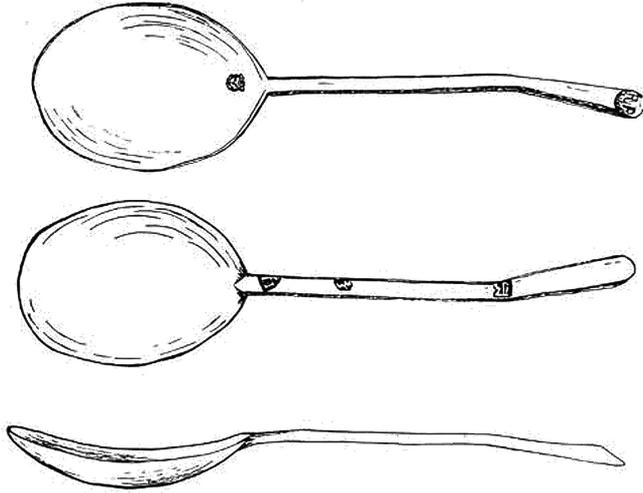
Richard Preston, The Great Quaker

In April 1668, when Richard Preston purchased Horne from Walter Dunch, he was arguably the most prominent Quaker in Maryland. He had originally immigrated with his wife to Virginia where he acquired 150 acres on the Warwickquick (or Warrosquoyacke) River. The Prestons thrived in their new environment and had several children. Governor Berkeley subsequently granted Preston another 500 acres on the New Town Haven River (adjacent to the Nansemond River) and he later served as a justice of Nansemond County, then a hotbed of Puritan dis-

sent in the Chesapeake. Following the execution of King Charles I in 1649, Governor Berkeley, a loyalist, clearly had enough of Puritanism and its proponents. The Puritans opposed the established Church of England, including the hierarchy of priests, bishops, and archbishops, as well as the prevailing formality of worship that they described as “pope-ish” or “Rome-ish.” The Prestons found themselves among other prominent Puritan families (e.g., Bennetts, Berrys, Fullers, Hoopers, Lloyds, Marshes, Stevens, and others) banished from Virginia. Richard and Margaret Preston immigrated to Maryland with five of their immediate family, Richard Jr., James, Samuel, Naomi and Margaret, and in May 1650 obtained a 500-acre certificate of survey on the lower Patuxent in Calvert County and another for 400 acres the following year. His largest patent in Calvert County was 1,000 acres on the Cliffs that he later conveyed to Thomas Preston, possibly his brother. After his arrival, Preston continued to import servants and by the end of the decade claimed headrights for seventy-three people (including himself and his family) for which he later claimed warrants for thousands of acres of land in the province. The proprietary government had welcomed Preston into the colony and Governor William Stone appointed him Commander of the Patuxent. Although the commander bore responsibility for raising men in time of conflict, he also had the authority to grant warrants “for [the] laying out of any convenient quantities of Land upon said River on the North side thereof not formerly taken up to any Adventurers.” Preston, respected in his role as surveyor, helped resolve a land dispute about the bounds of Resurrection Manor, on the south side of the Patuxent River, after John Bateman purchased it from Thomas Cornwalleys in 1659.¹⁵

Although he served as one of Lord Baltimore’s magistrates, Richard Preston soon joined his fellow Puritans in opposing Calvert’s governance of Maryland. In 1652, when Commissioners Richard Bennett and William Claiborne arrived to subjugate the colony under parliamentary rule, Preston was one of the five Calvert County men who deposed the sitting council members. For several years thereafter, Preston’s plantation on the lower Patuxent River was the *de facto* capital of the province. It was here that the Puritans kept the official records (as well as the Great Seal) of Maryland. After much back and forth negotiation, Lord Baltimore dispatched William Eltonhead to insist that William Stone assert his vested authority as rightful governor. The Baltimore loyalists recovered the provincial records in a raid on Preston’s plantation early in 1655. The following March, however, when the Calvert supporters tried to follow up, they were routed at the other Horn Point on the Severn River (now part of Eastport). The Battle of Severn was a resounding victory for the Puritans, some of whom had served in Oliver Cromwell’s armies, but they over-reached when the next day they summarily executed four prisoners, including William Eltonhead. When Oliver Cromwell finally sorted out the conflicting reports of the battle, he was displeased with the Puritan participants. Cromwell wanted reform, but he also espoused godliness and toleration. Lord Baltimore’s

Silver spoon with "RP" on the handle found at 'Horne' in the mid-1970s by Judy Jull, "Preliminary report of excavations at Horne," Archeology, 32 (1980): 17.



adroitness in lobbying the Cromwell government after the battle eventually helped him diplomatically recover what he had lost on the field. Baltimore offered clemency for many of those involved and Richard Preston managed to remain politically important in the province. Although Preston lost his seat on the Governor's Council, he was not banned from serving in the assembly and was elected its speaker in the 1661 and 1662 sessions.¹⁶

Like many of his fellow Puritans from Virginia, Richard Preston appears to have been greatly moved by the Quakers who visited Maryland after the Battle of Severn. Among these were Elizabeth Harris, Josiah Coale, and the obstreperous Thomas Thurston. In 1659, viewing itinerant Quakers as troublemakers, Lord Baltimore's government made severe pronouncements against these less-settled members of the faith. The Provincial Court fined Preston and four of his neighbors 500 pounds of tobacco (lbt) each for harboring Thomas Thurston when he traveled through Calvert County. In protest on behalf of the Quakers, Richard Preston apparently made a trip back to England to argue their case before Lord Baltimore. Shortly thereafter, Calvert relaxed the anti-Quaker campaign and his son, then-governor Charles Calvert, went so far as to refer to Richard Preston as the "Great Quaker." In accord with his Quaker leanings, he was a practical merchant-planter who could also be a demanding task master. In March 1663, Preston petitioned the Provincial Court to punish six of his servants for refusing to do any labor at his plantation after he ran out of meat to feed them. Their defense was that they had nothing to eat but beans and bread and were too weak to work. The presiding justices (essentially members of the council) quickly sided with Preston and ordered the servants to receive thirty

lashes each. Upon hearing their sentence, the servants fell to their knees, begged forgiveness, and consequently were spared the lash. Aside from indicating that Preston could be tough but merciful, the case also shows that although in many ways chattel, English servants expected to be decently fed during their indenture.¹⁷

Richard Preston seems to have been swept up in the great land boom on the Eastern Shore after it was opened up for settlement. Preston's first land survey in his own name was for 500 acres in late December 1662, on the south shore of Lee Creek at the head of the Little Choptank River. Earlier, however, Preston apparently obtained the 1,000 acre tract, Wolsley Manor. Preston sold the manor in August 1665 to London merchant Henry Stracey for 10,000 lbt. By the late 1660s, Preston had entered into a partnership with William Tick, a Dutchman settled on Teverton Creek off Little Choptank River, to raise and deliver cattle for stocking plantations. Additionally, in 1664, Preston patented 700 acres on Barren Island in Dorchester, less than a mile west of Hoopers Island. The following year he patented another 200 acres that John Edmondson had surveyed on Todd's Bay on the south side of the Great Choptank River. Preston then bought another tract on the Hunger (now Honga) called Stonewick, originally patented in 1659. In 1665, Preston had also purchased the 1,000 acre Canterbury Manor on the east side of the Tredhaven River, south of Peach Blossom Creek in Talbot County from Dr. Richard Tilghman and his wife. Preston's last purchase on the Eastern Shore was Horne on the Choptank in 1668, which he immediately re-patented with the exact same boundary descriptions as the original 1659 survey. Apparently, Preston thought it was worth the expense to go through the patenting process again to assure him clear title to the land. He may have been influenced by his fellow Quaker and neighbor on the Patuxent, William Stevens, who two years before bought 200 acres of the adjoining tract, Cliff, and apparently settled there soon after. Preston's inclination to make a permanent move to the newly established Dorchester County is confirmed by the fact that he allowed himself to be put forward the following year as its first representative to the Maryland Assembly.¹⁸

When an antique silver spoon with engraved initials "RP" was found at Horn Point Laboratory in the 1970s, there was immediate speculation that Richard Preston had actually lived at Horne. On the contrary, the last will Richard Preston made on September 16, 1669, reveals that he was still residing in Calvert County when he died:

I bequeath . . . unto my son James Preston, if he be now living or shall live to come again to Maryland, the whole and sole use of my plantation in Patuxent River where I now live until my grandchild Samuel Preston shall live and attain to the age of twenty one years, at which time my will is the said Samuel if so long he so live peaceably and quietly have hold and enjoy the Plantation Land and Housing with other appurtenances.

In addition, Preston conveyed his plantation with all the livestock at Barren Island to his son, James Preston, who seems to have been in England at the time. In contrast to Barren Island, Richard Preston does not refer to a plantation or livestock at Horne, only land. "My will is that the Land in Great Choptank called Horne, lately purchased of Walter Dunch, being as patented six hundred acres be and do belong unto my two daughters Rebecca and Sarah Preston, equally between them, to be divided by Lott." Furthermore, if one or both of his daughters died, Preston left meticulous instructions for the disposition of Horne, "if they both should die without issue thence to my Son James Preston if then living and if he should die also then to my two kinsmen James and John Dossey and to their heirs for ever." The Dosseys also inherited Preston's land at the head of the Little Choptank River, settled there and apparently never forgot that they might one day inherit Horne on the Great Choptank.¹⁹

On December 2, 1669, Richard Preston, apparently unwell, scrawled a postscript and a final memorandum to his will canceling the bequest to "John Dossey Goods to the value of twenty pounds sterling be null." Perhaps he had already given Dossey his due. Preston died the following month. Two of the witnesses, William Jones and George Douline, took the will to Phillip Calvert, chancellor of Maryland, and it was proved in the Prerogative Court on January 6, 1670. Preston must have planned to move to Dorchester County when he agreed to serve as the county's representative, but he died before assuming the office. Like many remote tracts of land along the seventeenth-century Choptank, Horne may have included cleared tobacco fields that lay fallow after their owner's death. There may even have been the remains of a crude dwelling for servants and a tobacco house or two that Horne and Dunch used in their attempts to farm. Regardless of the built improvements that Horne may or may not have held in January 1670, the plantation changed dramatically on word that Preston's daughters had inherited a choice waterfront property on the Great Choptank River.²⁰

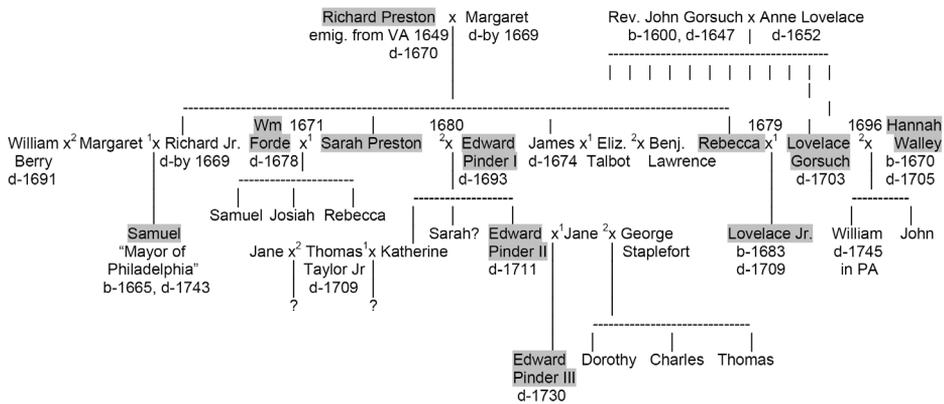
Among Sarah Preston's potential suitors was William Ford, a Quaker who had just emigrated from Bristol. Ford married Sarah on January 12, 1671, in a ceremony her brother James and Uncle Thomas witnessed. In accord with their father's will, Sarah and her sister Rebecca informally split Horne down the middle, allowing the Fords to take possession of the western half of the tract. Since Rebecca Preston was then underage and would remain unmarried for quite some time, it appears that the family left much of the eastern portion undeveloped.²¹

William Ford made substantial improvements to the western portion of Horne. He built a substantial dwelling house and added to his land holdings, expanding downriver with the purchase of fifty-acre Littleworth. In the 1970s, Judy Jull and her colleagues excavated a foundation of what could well be the original Ford house. Sarah Preston Ford, therefore, may have brought the spoon engraved with "RP" as part of the plate she inherited. Jull's archeological research failed to reveal the exact

date of construction as a later fire destroyed all the wooden timbers, eliminating tree-ring dating. The bore width of tobacco pipes on the site suggests they could be as early as the 1670s and those with initials can be traced to makers in Bristol where Ford had worked as a merchant. Whatever the actual date of construction, the brick foundation indicates it was one of the most substantial early colonial houses yet excavated on the Choptank River. The foundation, aligned on a north south axis, measures 46 ft. long and 22½ ft wide. Two large fireplaces sat off center on either end of the building and a five-foot-wide brick apron extended along the entire west side of the house. The chimneys would be centered if one side of the roof of the house overhung the brick patio. With no signs of postholes to hold up a roof overhang, Jull's sketch of the building, is essentially the same basic plan as the well-documented Adam Thoroughgood house in tidewater Virginia, built circa 1720.²²

George Fox Visits Preston's Plantations

In 1671, following several years of being jailed in northern England for refusing to swear an oath in court and several months preaching in Ireland, the founder of the Quakers, George Fox, traveled to North America. His journey took him first to Barbados and Jamaica before actually landing in the Chesapeake. By April 20,



Connections between the Preston, Ford, Taylor, Gorsuch, and Stevens families possessing Horne (highlighted) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. All of Richard Preston's children are not shown above. For a complete summary of the Preston family, see Elise Greenup Jourdan, "Richard Preston," Early Families of Southern Maryland (Westminster: Heritage Books, 1994) 3: 1–28.

1672, he had sailed up the Patuxent River to the area where many of his followers lived and after an extensive visit on both shores his party slogged its way up the swampy Delmarva Peninsula to New Jersey and on to Long Island. They ultimately reached Rhode Island where Fox sent some of his party on to Massachusetts, before he turned southward again for North Carolina. During the first week of January 1673 he reversed course and headed back to the lower Patuxent River to the old plantation of Richard Preston who had died three years earlier. Son James held the property and Fox wrote with a sense of relief, "We steered our course for Patuxent River. I sat at the helm most part of the day and some of the night. About the first hour in the morning we reached James Preston's on the Patuxent River, which is accounted about two hundred miles from Nancemum in Virginia." Though worn out from their long journey, they all attended meeting the next day and subsequently traveled to the plantations of other leading Patuxent Quakers. Fox's entourage eventually returned on January 28 to find that Preston's "house was burned down to the ground the night before, through the carelessness of a maid-servant; so we lay three nights on the ground by the fire, for the weather was very cold." Undeterred by the loss of virtually all his possessions, Fox remained for the monthly Quaker meeting at Calvert Cliffs. Afterwards they crossed the bay and headed south to Somerset County.²³

On February 12, 1673, Fox and his contingent of Quakers set out by boat for the Manokin and Annemessex Rivers in Somerset County and reported "the weather being bitter cold." By March 7 they turned north and reached the Honga River where Fox had a small meeting before continuing onward. As soon "as the wind would permit, we passed from here about forty miles by water, rowing most of the way, and came to the head of Little Choptank River, to Dr. Winsmore's, a justice of peace, lately convinced." At Winsmore's plantation, known as Daniel's Choice, Fox reported having a large meeting with several magistrates "and their wives were present; and a good meeting it was; blessed be the Lord, who is making his name known in that wilderness country." Fox's next objective was to preach to the Indians and he would do that at his next destination a few miles north through the woods at the dwelling of another Quaker, William Stevens, situated at Cliffe adjacent to Horne. It is now apparent that Stevens had inadvertently built his dwelling and tobacco houses over the property line dividing the two tracts. It was Fox's custom to use barns for large gatherings, so it would appear that he was actually preaching on the eastern portion of Horne in 1673. While there, Fox mentioned that he had "a very glorious meeting, at which were many people; among others, there was the Judge of that county, three Justices of the peace, and the high sheriff with their wives and several others." As dedicated Quakers, William and Sarah Ford would have certainly been invited. In addition, Fox noted that the Indian emperor as well as the local Indian king also attended and "all sat very attentive and carried themselves very lovingly." The next day, March 24, Fox proceeded to the town of the In-



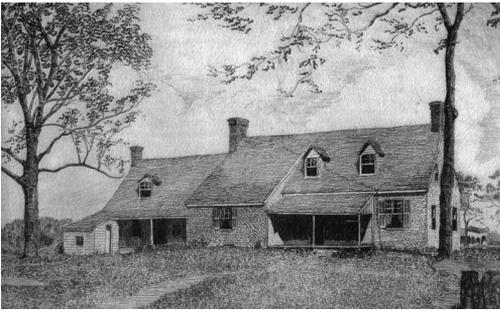
Old manor house at Preston on Patuxent in Calvert County, Md. (Author's photograph, 2000.)



*Conjectural view of the house at Horne with brick patio on the west built by William and Sarah Ford in the 1670s, slightly modified from Judy Jull, "Preliminary report of excavations at Horne," *Archeology*, 32 (1980), 32: 1.*



Built circa 1720, the Adam Thoroughgood House on Lynnhaven Bay in Virginia has slightly smaller dimensions than William Ford's house at Horne. (Author's photograph, 2002.)



1930s rendition of Hampden on Dividing Creek, the seat of the Martin Family and one of the oldest houses in Talbot County; by Don Swann Sr., Colonial and Historic Homes of Maryland (Maryland Historical Society.)



The Rectory at Walkern in the UK owned by the Rev. John Gorsuch in the early 1640s and the birthplace of many of the Gorsuch children who immigrated to Maryland during the Interregnum. (Author's photograph, 2009.)



Lovelace Gorsuch was one of the Quakers delegated in 1684 to acquire the land from John Edmondson for this Meeting House at the head of the Thirdhaven (Tred Avon) River in Talbot County. (Author's photograph, 2004.)

dians ten miles up the Choptank River, again impressed with the sober demeanor of the Native Americans.²⁴

After several meetings south of the Choptank, Fox crossed into Talbot County where they had meetings at Tredhaven Creek, Wye River, and Reconow Creek before arriving at Thomas Taylor's plantation on Kent Island. Fox then reported that "we passed over the bay about fourteen miles to a friend's house, where we met with several friends." On May 23, 1673, Fox had completed his work in the colonies and prepared for the trip home, reflecting that "we found our spirits began to be clear of those parts of the world, and to draw towards Old England again." In retrospect, Fox seemed especially proud that unlike England, where he had been so often persecuted and jailed for his beliefs, his message had moved many of the colonial officials and even the Indians. He had continually emphasized his deeply held belief that the light of Christ lay within each individual and that salvation could not be derived from established clergymen, despite "all their preaching, sprinkling sacraments would never satisfy a man." Fox undoubtedly preached this same theme at the Stevens's plantation.²⁵

The Fords at Horne and the Blackwater River

George Fox's visit in 1673 coincided with a particularly hectic period for the Fords at Horne. About that time William Ford agreed to pay the large sum of 3,000 lbt "for plastering," a job that could refer to laying brick as well as interior plaster on walls and ceilings. Regardless of the specific task, the purchase indicates that Ford paid for a particularly well-built house and reinforces its likely construction date as the 1670s. In addition to acquiring Littleworth he began expanding his holdings in Dorchester County and bought 550 acres of Hereford, 600 acres of Hockaday, Carlyle, Bromwell Stone (Browelston), and Anchor and Hope, all on the Blackwater River. With over 3,000 acres in Dorchester, he was then one of the largest landowners in the county.²⁶ The Ford family grew with the arrival of sons Samuel and Josias. William's move up the political ladder came with his appointment as justice for Dorchester County in 1674. Although he apparently upheld the Quaker tradition of not swearing oaths, Ford managed to serve as a delegate from Dorchester County to the Maryland Assembly from 1674 to 1676. Possibly because of the time he now had to spend across the bay at St. Mary's City, Ford began disposing of the tracts he had accumulated, among them Hereford, Havre de Grace, as well as Anchor and Hope. In addition to his activities as a merchant-planter involved in provincial politics, Ford appears to have been engaged in religious affairs as well. On February 22, 1677, the Quaker meeting appointed Ford and several other members to mediate a dispute between "Bryan Omealia and Ralph Fishbourne about a seate of Land that Ralph now liveth upon."²⁷

In November 1678, William Ford made out his will, ominously stating his health was "indifferent." He died the next month at the plantation of a fellow Quaker, Benjamin Lawrence, who had immigrated with wife Ann and two sons from Accomac

on the Eastern Shore of Virginia in 1670. Lawrence had quickly established himself in Maryland and eventually possessed land in both Calvert and Anne Arundel counties by virtue of his marriage to Elizabeth Preston, after his wife died. Elizabeth was the widow of James Preston, who had died in early January 1674. By the time William Ford died, Benjamin Lawrence was living at Richard Preston's old seat on the Patuxent. In July 1678 the Quakers held a meeting there, indicating that the family had rebuilt the house after the devastating fire George Fox had described five and a half years earlier.

As previously noted, Richard Preston left his dwelling plantation on the Patuxent under the care of his son James, until his grandson Samuel came of age. When James Preston died, the plantation should have passed to Samuel Preston who was then under the care of William Berry on the Eastern Shore. William Ford, designated as one of the three overseers of James Preston's will, most likely checked up on Benjamin Lawrence, who had taken control of Preston on Patuxent. Ford discovered that Lawrence had been cheating young Samuel of the rents that might have accrued if the plantation had been leased out. In a July 1677 meeting at John Pitt's house on the Tredhaven the Quakers were apprised that "William Berry and Thomas Taylor, executors of the estate of Richard Preston being concerned for the orphan Samuel Preston and being dissatisfied that the estate is kept from the child which they believe to be his right." Although the meeting agreed that they should bring the matter of Benjamin Lawrence's usurpation up at the next monthly meeting they apparently accomplished little.²⁸

Five years later the use of Preston's plantation on the Patuxent was still a thorny issue at a monthly meeting at John Edmondson's house on the Tredhaven, when William Berry "laid ye matter of Samuel Prestons having ye plantation which his grandfather Preston left him by his will till he came of age." After considering the matter, the Quakers asked several respected elders "to go and treat with Benjamin Lawrence about ye said plantation" in November. This must have finally made an impact on Benjamin Lawrence, for he vacated the Patuxent about this time, although he apparently retained control of Preston's old plantation for at least another year or two. In April 1684, William Berry again addressed the Quakers in a final gambit to release the Preston plantation from Lawrence's grip, "if ye bill of exchange he proposed in order to satisfy Benjamin Lawrence should fail, yet then he [will] take speedy care to satisfy him in some other way." Perhaps Lawrence made some improvements to the plantation for which he wanted assurances of compensation before finally releasing control of it to the young Samuel Preston. The issue had been resolved by January 1685—Benjamin Lawrence made no mention in his will of any interests in Preston's old plantation.²⁹

On his deathbed in 1678, Ford had expressed the desire to be buried at his plantation and his body was dutifully carried across the bay. Neighbor Edward Pinder charged the estate 500 lbt for this service. Despite numerous archeological surveys,

no graves have been yet discovered on the Horn Point Laboratory grounds and it remains a mystery as to the exact location of Ford's burial at Horne. It is also unclear why Edward Pinder, who had just purchased a one-hundred-acre plantation called Butwell's Choice, stepped in to make funeral arrangements and administer the estate as he was not named in Ford's will as executor or overseer. What is obvious from the Quaker records is that William Ford's death brought about a crisis at Horne. Sarah Ford seems to have been pregnant or had just delivered another child which may have added to her level of stress. In his will, Ford had assigned four of his friends as his executors, Thomas Taylor of Talbot, John Edmondson, Benjamin Hunt, and William Sharp. All prosperous, there is little doubt that they would have been able to post bond for twice the value of the estate, as required by Maryland law. It must have been a shock to the Friends of the Third Haven Meeting when a non-Quaker, Edward Pinder, took total charge of both Ford's plantation and his estate and posted the necessary bond. Pinder had arrived on the Eastern Shore just a few years earlier as an indentured servant of Bristol merchant John Tench. He had apparently served out his time at Tench's Hope on the Little Choptank River before buying Butwell's Choice, a one-hundred-acre tract a mile south of Horne.³⁰

A Funeral and a Marriage

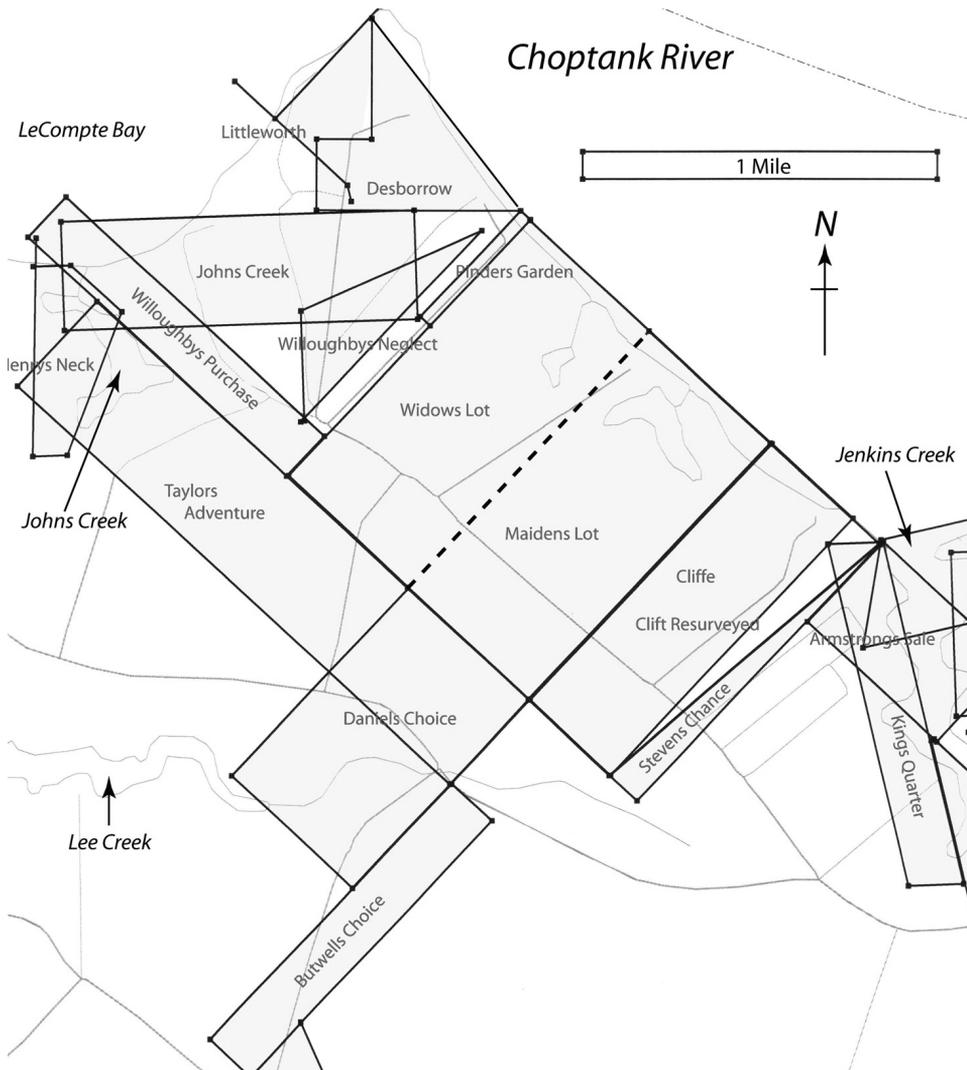
The local Quakers were particularly dismayed when Edward Pinder proceeded to put on an extravagant affair at Horne in recognition of William Ford's passing. Their leader, George Fox, had always cautioned his followers not to drink excessively, listen to bawdy music, or take part in revelry at wakes and feasts and urged them always to guard against lightness, vanity and wantonness, and to stand witness whenever such behavior occurred. The mutton alone for the event that Pinder staged cost 350 lbs. Even more vexing was the fact that it was furnished by another Quaker, William Stevens Sr., who owned the adjoining plantation upriver. That amount trifled compared to that spent on the wine. Pinder asked Benjamin Lawrence, at whose plantation Ford had died, to obtain "one pipe and six gallons of wine of Joseph Eaton, Commander of the good ship *Merchants Delight* then riding in the Patuxent River." Since a pipe of wine contained 126 gallons, Edward Pinder was exceedingly well prepared for a large gathering. The final cost for the libations at the funeral was 2,230 lbs. The stern and sober Quakers must have thought Pinder's actions outrageous and from the minutes of their meetings it is clear that they ruminated for quite some time about how best to respond. As Quakers, they first tried loving persuasion rather than resorting to a lawsuit and sent a number of delegates from their meeting to check on Sarah Ford's condition and her children.³¹

On April 23, 1679, two of Ford's Dorchester neighbors inventoried his estate and the belongings they enumerated offer a glimpse of Quaker material life among the emerging seventeenth-century gentry. The furniture in the dwelling house consisted of an old chest of drawers, three chests, a break-leg table, two old looking glasses and

twelve leather chairs (two of which were described as old). Ford also owned another square table with ten old chairs. Other possessions included a pewter chamber pot, seventy-eight pounds of pewter items valued at 546 lbt, a brass kettle, an old frying pan, and assorted earthenware and glassware. There were several items for the fireplace, among them two pairs of irons (i.e., andirons), an iron back, a spit, and a pair of bellows. Ford had a considerable amount of cloth, several bedsteads with accoutrements including a bolster, two pillows and a calico comforter, as well as red serge curtains around the bed with valences, and two rugs. Especially intriguing is a reference to an old sterling silver spoon. This may well have been the spoon that Judy Jull found at Horn Point Laboratory in the 1970s. The inventory also showed a parcel of books, two charts, and two maps, one of which may have been the rendition of Augustin Herrman's Chesapeake. Although Ford did not possess an array of firearms like his neighbor, Anthony LeCompte (d. 1673), many of their furnishings appear quite comparable.³²

William Ford did not own slaves at the time of his death. Rather, his bound labor force consisted of five indentured servants, two of them unnamed and with little time left to serve. The least valuable servant, at 200 lbt, was a lame boy who had run away with only eight months left to serve. The most valuable servant, Thomas Moodey at 1200 lbt, had a little more than two years to serve and the next, John Williams at 1,000 lbt, had previously run away and still owed three years. The other, John Sutton, valued at 600 lbt. had seven months left in his contract. One of Ford's horses, Ingram, was valued at 1,000 lbt, and in addition he had a mare and a colt running freely in the woods (both valued at 1,000 lbt) as well as another two-year-old horse. This last was only valued at 100 lbt, suggesting that it was not yet trained. Aside from the land he owned, much of Ford's wealth actually rested in debts owed to him, including 5,844 lbt. from Benjamin Hunt, the owner of several tracts of land on the Transquaking River and one of Ford's executors, who ran an ordinary in Dorchester and later became one of Cambridge's first lawyers.³³

At the end of his life, William Ford had moveable property valued at 57,581 lbt (£240), which places his estate in the top 10 percent inventoried during this period in Maryland. This level of wealth was near the median of gentry of St. Mary's County and although her husband had left a considerable estate for Sarah and her children, Edward Pinder's intervention and extravagant expenditures on wine may have alarmed her. The young widow was still in her twenties, had little experience in the wider world, and most likely knew little about financial matters. Caring for two young boys and an infant daughter, as well as a substantial plantation, must have been a daunting responsibility and it became obvious to the Quaker community that Sarah needed help. On November 14, 1679, the meeting heard from a delegation consisting of John Edmondson, William Stevens, Lovelace Gorsuch, and William Sharp, who had been appointed to visit her and to "know how the matters stands with her and her answer that she refers her self to friends and desires their



The division of Horne between Sarah Ford's "Widow's Lot" and Rebecca Preston's "Maiden's Lot" in 1679. East of "Maiden's Lot" was Cliffe, owned by William Stevens, who had built dwelling and tobacco houses on Rebecca's land. Southwest of "Maidens Lot" is Daniel's Choice, owned by Dr. Robert Winsmore and adjacent is Butwell's Choice, the fifty- acre plantation of Edward Pinder, who later married Sarah Ford. Also shown are the tracts northwest of "Widows Lot" patented by William Ford and Edward Pinder between Horne and John's Creek. (Author's image.)

assistance and says that she would willingly that her estate might be taken out of Edward Pinder's hands if with conveniency." At the next meeting the delegation received instructions to speak with Edward Pinder and determine "if he was indeed willing to surrender up the estate of Wm. Ford, he having security." On Christmas Day 1679, at Howell Powell's house, Walter Dickenson reported that Pinder said "he is willing to surrender the estate provided he has security and his disbursements upon the plantation allowed." At the same meeting, Lovelace Gorsuch and John Stevens were directed "to supply her with what she has absolute necessity for her self and children for her present supply and if the goods are put up for sale to disburse what they think convenient and give an account at the next meeting." Gorsuch subsequently reported back to the meeting in January that "the goods belonging to the estate of Wm. Ford deceased are not yet put to sale and likewise he and John Stevens have inspected into the widow Ford's wants and supplied her with some small matters for her present occasion." The meeting then requested that Gorsuch and Stevens continue caring for Sarah Ford.³⁴

Just as the Quaker delegation began looking into her plight the situation became more complicated. Edward Pinder had been reluctant to relinquish control of the estate, ostensibly because of the security bond he had filed. On March 7, 1680, Sarah made a legal agreement with Pinder, recorded in the Dorchester Land Records, whereby he would lease the plantation for seven years, in "consideration that the said Edward will provide and allow for her the said Sarah Ford and her three children Samuel, Josias, and Rebecca Ford convenient apparel, meat, drink, lodging and washing." The most intriguing part of the indenture was that Pinder was also to teach Sarah's children to read and write, suggesting he could have been previously engaged as a tutor in the area. However interested the Quakers may have been in education, they were unhappy with the arrangement and in May 1680 assigned Sarah Edmondson and Sarah Thomas to visit Widow Ford again and see "if they can prevail with her to remove herself amongst friends and if so the meeting is willing to accept of it and allow both her and her children a maintenance convenient" and also to "inspect into the bargain she hath made about her plantation and how matters stand with her." At a meeting later that year at Howell Powell's house, Sarah Ford reportedly "acknowledges Friends kindness. But she was not willing to remove herself from her plantation." Shortly thereafter, Sarah Ford finally settled matters and married Edward Pinder, after which she appeared just once more in the minutes of the monthly meeting. On May 26, 1682, the group noted that Lovelace Gorsuch be paid 775 lbt "on account of what he supplied ye widow Ford with, according to friends order formerly."³⁵

There is a twist to the story of the Quakers' attempt to aid Widow Ford. At the time he enquired of her needs Lovelace Gorsuch became increasingly attracted to her sister, Rebecca Preston. Lovelace, one of Reverend John Gorsuch's four sons, immigrated to Maryland with his brothers after the deaths of their father and mother.³⁶



This detail from Jan Steen, Dancing Couple, 1663, seems reminiscent of the party Edward Pinder organized in late 1678 or early 1679 following the funeral of William Ford—complete with a pipe of wine and Quakers conferring beyond the fence in the upper left (courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)

After the execution of King Charles and Oliver Cromwell consolidated control of England, Lovelace's mother, Anne, fled to Virginia in 1651. She eventually managed to take seven of her younger children to join her brother, Francis. Unfortunately, Anne died the following year. Her brother returned to Europe and joined the exiled Charles II in the Low Countries. Subsequently, six of her children (Richard, Robert, Charles, Lovelace, Anne, and Elizabeth) settled in Maryland. After his arrival on the Eastern Shore, Lovelace became increasingly involved in Quaker affairs. This may have been through the influence of his sister Elizabeth and brother-in-law Howell Powell, who were both prominent in the faith and hosted many of the monthly meetings at their house. They embraced the newcomer and entrusted him with the care of their treasured boat, built by Edward Webb for visits to Virginia and other places around the Chesapeake. Two years after the death of his older brother Rich-

ard in April 1677, Lovelace Gorsuch proposed to Rebecca Preston and they were married at Howell Powell's house, just across the river from Horne.³⁷

The newlywed Gorsuches may have been in a quandary about where to live—his plantation or hers? Lovelace's plantation, The Wilderness, situated on a bluff overlooking the Choptank, had a commanding view of the lower river. In addition, Lovelace was then patenting land on Tuckahoe Neck at Poplar Ridge, thirty miles up the Choptank from Horne. In 1683, when he patented Gravelly Howe and the adjacent Poplar Ridge Addition, he may have been considering a move upstream with other influential Quakers who saw the area as a good investment. Ultimately, however, they remained downstream, perhaps in the interest of staying close to Rebecca's sister Sarah, at Horne. Although The Wilderness may sound primitive, the plantation actually lay in a much more civilized part of Talbot County than Tuckahoe Neck. The town of Oxford already existed, as shown on Herrman's map. An unofficial port town until 1683, several buildings stood on the site a decade earlier, among them John Richardson's inn. Apparently there had been another ordinary even closer to the Wilderness at the head of adjacent Boon Creek, but in 1674 the Talbot Court ordered John Boon to move his establishment closer to Oxford to make it more convenient to the public. The Gorsuches opted to stay at The Wilderness and leased Rebecca's 300 acres of Horne to Thomas Martin. Martin was from Dorsetshire, England and already had a 300-acre parcel on Dividing Creek that he had obtained in 1665. The land on Dividing Creek became the Martins' family seat in Talbot for the next two hundred years. One of the earliest brick houses in Talbot County, Hampden, still exists on the property. Most likely Martin would have leased Horne as a convenient "out plantation" for growing additional tobacco.³⁸

"A Difference Betwixt William Stevens Sr. and Lovelace Gorsuch"

Unfortunately the lease of Rebecca's 300 acres of Horne to Thomas Martin triggered a protracted boundary struggle that fractured the solidarity of the local Quaker Meeting. It is unclear exactly why William Stevens Sr. had built part of his dwelling plantation on the eastern portion of Horne. He had come from the Patuxent where he owned a plantation downstream from Preston. Born about 1614, Stevens became one of the wealthiest Quakers on the Choptank River and had owned several tracts on the Eastern Shore before choosing Cliffe for his dwelling plantation. His presence on that acreage indicates that Rebecca Preston did not farm the tract before her marriage. The landscape changed at Horne after her marriage to Lovelace when Thomas Martin agreed to lease the property. Stevens's wife Magdalen died in 1679 and was buried at Cliffe. This may have been a contributing factor to the dispute. The elder Stevens moved in with his son William Jr. and leased his dwelling plantation at Cliffe to Joseph James, an arrangement that ultimately provoked a bitter boundary dispute.³⁹

Joseph James, transported to Maryland by 1664, purchased Taylor's Ridge in Talbot County just six years later with a partner, John Price. When Joseph James

sold Taylor's Ridge to John Boon in 1673, the court clerk identified him "of Island Creek" where he possessed several tracts of land near Lovelace Gorsuch's The Wilderness. In 1679, when Thomas Martin tried to occupy the eastern half of Horne he found Joseph James growing tobacco on the Gorsuch's side of the line—with a dwelling, plantation, tobacco barns, and fence panels. James then complicated the issue when he proceeded to violently eject Martin from the property. As Quakers, Stevens and Gorsuch were expected to settle their disputes out of court.⁴⁰

In keeping with this practice, the meeting assigned several prominent members to investigate the land dispute at Horne. When they found that William Stevens Sr. had indeed built over the line he vehemently declared that he "will not stand to abide this judgment award and determination of the aforesaid Friends." In February 1681, another delegation of Quakers appointed to interview Stevens reported back to the meeting on his stubborn stance against any compromise with Gorsuch and that he had recently violated another tenet of Quaker principles. As a gesture of respect, the elderly Stevens had taken off his hat when he recently appeared before Lord Baltimore. Stevens replied that although he had indeed removed his hat, Lord Baltimore bid him to put it back on—which he did promptly. Stevens's account of his meeting with Lord Baltimore apparently mollified the Quakers, but his answer concerning the land dispute troubled them greatly when he said "it was on his wife's account and the love he bore to her and friends also, yet that matter is so now concerning the land that [if] Lovelace will have it he must go to Law for it." The case went to the colony's highest court in St. Mary's City.⁴¹

The legal battle over Horne dragged on in Provincial Court for two years. The court had ordered a Commission of Resurvey, consisting of a local jury, be appointed to determine the ancient metes and bounds of Cliffe and Horne. In an earlier session John Edmondson had testified:

that the Lowermost bounded tree of a parcel of land called Horne lying in great Choptank River taken up by John Horne is a marked Pockhickory Tree standing on a point called Horne's Point, and near a small cove by the aforesaid point and in the same place Wm Coursey, Surveyor ordered me to mark an oak: I with my own hands marked ye aforesaid Pockhickory mistaking ye same for an Oak. I do likewise testify there was no other tree marked by ye said Surveyor ordered by himself for aforesaid lowermost bounds of ye said Land besides ye above mentioned Pokhickory.⁴²

John Edmondson's account wrongly included Horne's Point, and his testimony suggests that he attempted to shoulder the blame for the boundary dispute and may also have tried to cover for Stevens.⁴³ The court first favored Gorsuch, acknowledging that Stevens had built dwelling and tobacco houses on Horne. Stevens was allowed to remove his crops and tools from the buildings, but he did not comply. In a sub-

sequent suit, when Gorsuch pressed him about carrying out the mandate, the court inexplicably reversed its earlier judgment. "William Stevens in manner aforesaid pleaded: is a good Demurrer, and that for the reasons and causes therein contained the aforesaid Lovelace Gossage his action aforesaid against the said William Stevens ought not to maintain in manner and form aforesaid." In fact the court demanded a payment of 1,262 lbt from Gorsuch to Stevens for the cost of his defense. In view of the circumstances, it appears that Stevens had exerted influence, possibly through Lord Baltimore, to whom he had doffed his hat. The dispute over Horne took a toll among the Society of Friends as well, and broken relationships led to the following entry in the minutes, "since Wm. Stevens and his son, John do slight the meeting being held at their house and bid friends remove it if the will, that ye monthly meeting be removed from Wm. Stevens' to Howell Powell's."⁴⁴

The Provincial Court verdict and Stevens's death in 1684 finally ended the dispute. The episode may have hastened Stevens's death, but Gorsuch also suffered. Rebecca seems to have been in poor health after the birth of her son, Lovelace, in December 1683. When the couple sold Gravelly Howe on Tuckahoe Neck the following year she could not attend the court session and appointed her loving friend James Smith, power of attorney. Although Lovelace had been among the five Quakers assigned the task of purchasing three acres for the Third Haven Meeting House in October 1682, his attendance faltered over the next several years. In 1686 the delegation appointed to call on him reported that "he kindly received their love and said his wife's sickness was the cause he did not keep duly to meetings but hopes he shall be more at liberty and more diligent in keeping to meetings." This is the last time Rebecca Gorsuch is mentioned in any record found thus far and she most likely died shortly thereafter.⁴⁵

After Rebecca's death Lovelace Gorsuch represented the Tuckahoe Weekly Meeting at the Monthly Meeting at the head of the Third Haven (now Tred Avon) Creek, indicating that he had moved to one of the tracts he had patented on Tuckahoe Neck in the upper Choptank. He likely leased the eastern portion of Horne during the last decades of the seventeenth century. Thomas Martin may have resumed his efforts to farm or the land may have been leased to his brother-in-law, Edward Pinder, who had married Sarah Ford and now lived on the western portion of Horne, called Widows Lot. With the exception of Horne, Lovelace Gorsuch cleared out of the lower Choptank when he sold all 600 acres of The Wilderness. In this 1691 transfer he is identified specifically as "of Talbot County," a clear indication that he had vacated Horne.

Why did Gorsuch move to Tuckahoe Neck? He may have preferred the comfortable feel of gently sloping lands, reminiscent of his Hertfordshire home, regardless of the fact that his young son may have benefitted from the presence of nearby cousins and nurturing from extended family members such as his Aunt Sarah. Beyond the familial, Gorsuch did not fit the profile of the merchant planters who

had made fortunes in the trade, and, unlike many of his Quaker associates, he apparently had little interest in exploiting the excellent opportunity that Horne (or The Wilderness) provided in the emerging nexus of commerce.⁴⁶

In contrast to the eastern half of Horne, where an intense boundary dispute raged, the atmosphere at Widow's Lot remained calm throughout the 1680s. Despite an awkward beginning, the Pinders appear to have prospered. They had two children of their own, Katherine and Edward, and the reality of Edward's "marriage up" is seen in his title, "gentleman," in probate and land records and in his association with the most influential men in the area. He and John Edmondson became security for Henry Mitchell in an appeal to the Provincial Court. In 1681, Edward Pinder shed his past when he sold his modest 100-acre plantation, Butwells Choice, and most likely used the proceeds to enlarge his holdings adjacent to Horne. Pinder patented 150 acres called Desborough (also called Desborrow and Disborough in later records) and ten acres called Pinders Garden.⁴⁷

From Servant to High Sheriff

Edward Pinder moved past what might have been an unsavory image (at least from the Quaker viewpoint) and established himself as a respected member of the community. He served as a justice of Dorchester and swore William Dollberry as an administrator of the estate of the deceased William Bennett. The General Assembly named him as one of the men designated to oversee the establishment of the town of Cambridge on Daniel Jones's plantation, four miles upriver from Horne. Two years later Major Thomas Taylor, as principal town officer, arranged to have the new courthouse finished. Edward Pinder, elected to represent Dorchester in the assembly, resigned and chose instead to serve as the county's high sheriff—a patronage plum that functioned as the local extension of the governor's executive authority. In addition to magistrate of the court, the high sheriff collected taxes as well as all other county rents and revenues due to Lord Baltimore and received 10 percent of the proceeds. And, as the high sheriff ran elections, he had political leverage that could help the Proprietary Party get their candidates into the Lower House.⁴⁸

By the late 1680s there was considerable dissatisfaction with Charles Calvert, the Third Lord Baltimore, (who did not have the political skills of his father who had died in 1675.) There was now an organized "Party of Resistance" that mirrored the Whigs in England and was very much in evidence in the Maryland Assembly. Edward Pinder seemed to have mastered the art of politics when he managed to survive the Revolution of 1689 when Lord Baltimore lost political control of the colony. King William and Queen Mary's ascension to the English throne, coupled with resurgence of anti-proprietary resentment in Maryland, resulted in a purge of most Calvert officials. Pinder managed to retain the office of Dorchester sheriff for two more years under the new royal government and was on the list of those men Lord Baltimore recommended for the Governor's Council. Though Pinder never actually became a member of the council, he was again elected as a representative

for Dorchester County to the assembly, serving in the May-June session in 1692 which was prorogued until the next year by the order of his majesty, King William. However, as fate would have it, Pinder was not among the delegates who gathered in September 1693. Pinder may have died unexpectedly, for he left no will. Once again Sarah Pinder faced the prospect of running a large plantation and disposing of a husband's estate. On February 13, 1693, Prerogative Court justices appointed Deputy Commissioner of Dorchester, Jacob Lockerman, to post a security bond for Pinder's estate. The inventory of goods valued his property as the second largest in Dorchester County enumerated during the seventeenth century.⁴⁹

In March 1693, Major Thomas Taylor and Phillip Pitt visited Horne to make an inventory of Edward Pinder's goods and chattels. The inventory shows a substantial amount of cloth, suggesting that Pinder was then one of the largest merchant-planters along the south bank of the Choptank. The enumeration of forty-seven gallons of rum, sixty gallons of molasses and 135 lbs. of ginger, indicates that not all of Pinder's trade was in dry goods. A twenty-five-ton boat, about the size of the one careened on a sand bar, allowed Pinder to disperse commodities to plantations up and down the Choptank. The inventory revealed that Horne was a functional node in international trade between the colony and England as well as the Caribbean. The presence of a single indentured servant plus five slaves and an out-plantation on Pinder's inventory, reveals he was among those planters who had largely shifted to African labor. With that size labor force he would have been able to send as much as 5,000 to 10,000 lbt per year to England from his own fields, worth anywhere from £21 to £42 sterling per year. He had one white boy with three years left to serve who was probably too young to act as an overseer of the slaves. Since Pinder was involved in official duties in Cambridge as high sheriff and later across the bay in St. Mary's City as a burgess, he would also have employed someone as an overseer. The slaves he owned included two old Negro men valued at £15 as well as a mulatto child and two Negro women. The total value of the people in bondage was £90. However, some of these may have been living at least part of the time about thirteen miles upriver from Horne, where Pinder had his out-plantation Goodridge's Choice on the north side of Cabin Creek. Despite low tobacco prices and reduced trade brought about by King William's War with Spain following the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688, Pinder had left Sarah significantly better off than she was before she married him. Edward Pinder's total inventory was valued at £660—almost three times that of her first husband, William Ford. The only other inventories in Dorchester County close in value during the seventeenth century belonged to Anthony LeCompte (£624) in 1674 and William Worgan (£817) in 1677.⁵⁰

Despite the wealth of men who lived around the Horn Point area, most Maryland settlers lived modest lives that some contemporary observers described as impoverished. Men of the lower ranks of Maryland were often too poor to marry and have children and consequently left little legacy and only vague traces in the historical

record. These scraps occasionally provide rare glimpses of the lives of those who arrived as indentured servants and never rose to the level of landowners. A year after Edward Pinder's death the court probated the will of an illiterate man who had labored at Horne as an indentured servant in the 1670s—John Sutton, who had less than a year to serve when William Ford's estate was inventoried in April 1679. Sutton's will, drafted in June 1693, went through probate the following January. He obviously remained very close to the family and left everything he had to Rebecca Ford, Catherine Pinder, and Sarah Pinder and assigned them as the executrices of his modest estate. Even though Sutton had had fourteen years of freedom, all he possessed were movables, no land. The inventory of Sutton's goods and chattels made by John Kirk and John Winsmore (son of Robert Winsmore who had lived just south of Horne) was worth but £21 and 16 shillings. Although Sutton's legacy to these women was not large by any means, being less than half of the annual wage of a London shopkeeper (£45), it was certainly more than the annual wage paid to a housemaid there at the time (£5). Sutton's inventory contained no items of furniture, suggesting he may have leased a furnished room or a modest dwelling on a plantation. He only had a few items of clothing: an old coat, a leather jacket, and a pair of shoes. Other personal items included a Bible, a razor, stirrup irons, and a saddle. The rest of Sutton's estate included debts due him for tobacco from three Dorchester County men: John Franks, John Winsmore, and John M. Hooper, as well as some cattle. Since inventories were usually appraised by neighbors, it seems that Sutton lived close to Horne, perhaps even leasing one of the tracts the Pinders had patented nearby. John Sutton could even have served as Edward Pinder's overseer to help grow tobacco and drive the slaves when Edward Pinder was away from the plantation. Whatever the circumstances, the fact that a former indentured servant would leave all his worldly belongings to his former master's wife and children suggests great feelings of loyalty and possibly even love. Did he perhaps have some hope of capturing Sarah's heart after Edward Pinder's death? The picture is murky, but Sutton's last bequest is evidence that there were rare moments when members of this often rough and sometimes violent frontier society managed to bridge the widening gap between the classes.⁵¹

In the last decade of the seventeenth century initial clearing and settlement along the waterfront at Horn Point was more or less complete on the moderately drained, fine-grained soils that permitted tobacco planting early enough to obtain reasonable yields. Furthermore, the first beginnings of a town (Cambridge) four miles upstream was slowly taking shape, helping in the transformation of the area. Thomas Cook had already made Cambridge his home and four lawyers were recognized by the County Court there. In addition, Jacob Loockerman, the only son of Govert and Marritje Loockerman from one of the wealthiest families in New Amsterdam, had established his dwelling plantation at a resurvey of land called Regulation, now the West End section of Cambridge. Jacob Loockerman, would become a

relative through marriage to Sarah Pinder and helped her by putting up a bond for her administration of her deceased husband's estate. After Edward Pinder's death, Sarah had to cope with increasingly hard times when tobacco prices were low. She again seems to have been ill equipped to handle the details of probate and the duties of a merchant planter. Her original sureties became frustrated with her lack of responsibility in filing accounts of Pinder's estate and petitioned the court to release them from their bond. However, with the help of Major Thomas Taylor, the father of her son-in-law, Thomas Taylor Jr., she finally completed the probate process of her husband's estate in 1697. The Pinder and Gorsuch families controlled Horne at the close end of the seventeenth century and it appeared that the grandchildren of Richard Preston would likely be the nucleus of the emerging Dorchester gentry.⁵²

The Struggle to Settle the Choptank and Beyond

The western half of Horne may have suffered after the death of Edward Pinder when tobacco prices were low, and the Pinders lacked the extra income he obtained from public office. By the end of the seventeenth century much of the waterfront acreage was undoubtedly transformed from the oak-hickory forest that John Horne, William Coursey, and John Edmondson encountered when they laid out the boundaries in the summer of 1659. By 1700 it consisted of tobacco fields worked largely by slaves. Of course, not all of the land was actually under active cultivation. Planters let fields lie fallow for several years when crop yields declined after initial clearance. Even with tobacco in a field, little to no plowing left soil minimally disturbed at planting and weeding was likely done by minimal hoeing around the plants. Thus environmental degradation from initial land clearance at Horne may have been minimal in terms of sediment and nutrient runoff throughout the seventeenth century. Even with this crude form of agriculture, the western portion of Horne (including Littleworth, Desborough, and Pinder's Garden) capably supported the Pinder family and their labor force of at least six people (possibly seven, if John Sutton was the overseer) and a substantial herd of animals. Inland from the water, the more hydric soils were too wet (and thus often too cold in spring) for growing tobacco. Although these soils could eventually be drained to make them arable, planters did not yet have enough man or horse power for the job. Most of the land on the interior remained wooded but was increasingly cut for firewood and fencing. In addition, horses, cattle, and hogs often roamed and the forest under-story must have been trampled and grazed compared to what it was pre-settlement.⁵³

It is less clear what happened on the eastern 300 acres of Horne in the 1690s after Lovelace Gorsuch had moved upstream to his land on Tuckahoe Neck. Gorsuch and his niece's husband, William Dickinson, together had patented 860 acres called Dickinson's Plains and another 770 acres called Swan Brooke in 1688. These tracts were on the east side of the Tuckahoe ten miles north of Lovelace's other plantations, far from navigable waters, in what is still a very rural portion of Caroline County. St. Jones Path, connected to the Delaware Bay, allowed travel to Pennsyl-

vania, the new Quaker center in America. Gorsuch, rarely mentioned in the Third Haven Meeting Minutes in the early 1690s, did help look after the meeting's books. He seems to have been more interested in his lands in Tuckahoe Neck, for in May 1691 he sold 600 acres of The Wilderness to a fellow Quaker and Talbot merchant, William Sharpe, the son of Dr. Peter Sharpe. His name does not appear again in the Third Haven Minutes until June 25, 1696, when he and twenty-six-year-old Hannah Walley of Pennsylvania declared their intentions to marry. They wed six weeks later at the Tuckahoe Neck Meeting House, confirming he was then living upriver. Most likely he had leased out the eastern side of Horne during the 1690s, maintaining possession until his son and namesake came of age. Although tobacco prices remained depressed, Gorsuch seemed to be committed to living at Tuckahoe Neck until about 1700 when he apparently moved back downstream to Horne. After several moves along the Choptank, including a long sojourn in Tuckahoe Neck, he apparently opted for the plantation that he had fought long and hard for with William Stevens twenty years earlier. It may be that Sarah Pinder had died and his leadership was needed on Widows Lot as well as the Maidens Lot of Horne to keep these plantations productive in difficult times.⁵⁴

In 1673, George Fox, traveling along the south shore of the Choptank and Little Choptank, described the area as still wilderness. The boundary trees enumerated in the early surveys along the lower Choptank indicate that much of the land was covered by oak-hickory forest at settlement. By 1700, however, the landscape had changed significantly. As Lovelace Gorsuch's land holdings indicate, a string of tobacco plantations lined the tidewater portions of these rivers. The only undeveloped area was a ten-mile strip of Indian reservation that stretched from the town of Cambridge to Secretary Creek. A slightly less obvious change was the shift to slaves from Africa and the Caribbean as laborers. The hard physical work of surveying the land, felling trees, as well as planting, tending, harvesting, drying, and casking tobacco was carried out initially by indentured servants from England. In the late seventeenth century, enslaved men and women with African roots carried out the next phase—clearing the snags out of the soil, ditching to improve drainage, fencing fields, and the many toils associated with growing tobacco.⁵⁵

When George Fox was in Barbados and Jamaica, he witnessed firsthand the massive slave gangs working the fields and toiling at the sugar works under the hot tropical sun. He largely ignored the misery, malnutrition, and high mortality rate of slaves on the sugar plantations, preferring to speak in general terms about freeing them after their years of service were finished. Although he was deeply offended by such things in England as church steeples, removing hats before superiors, swearing oaths in court, and lighthearted socializing, Fox actually said little about the introduction of slavery in the colonies. In Barbados his response was essentially that masters should Christianize their slaves which would help them accept their fates and make them less likely to stage a revolt, which was then much feared by

planters and colonial magistrates. When he reached Maryland, Fox seemed more interested in mingling with officials and converting the Indians, than in helping ameliorate the conditions of the slaves, which then were about 10 percent of the labor force in Maryland. In his travels in the Chesapeake, Fox never mentioned slaves in his journal. If Fox had spoken out, there is a chance that slavery might not have become so widely embraced by Quakers as the seventeenth century wore on. After Fox left Maryland in 1673, the struggles to establish tobacco plantations increasingly fell to the thousands of black men and women brought to the Chesapeake in chains. Perhaps a charismatic leader with such a persuasive voice could have made a difference. Although some early Quakers, such as Lovelace Gorsuch, did not own slaves, nearly a century passed before the Society of Friends formally spoke out against the evils of the institution and eventually led in the efforts to abolish it.⁵⁶



Editor's Note: Court Stevenson's extensive and meticulous research included a wealth of information on family relationships and chains of land ownership too voluminous to include in this article and its notes. Contact panderson@mdhs.org for an unedited copy of this manuscript.

Notes

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1. This is a follow up of J. Court Stevenson "Adventurers, Speculators, and Rogues: First Landowners along the Choptank River at Horn Point," *Maryland Historical Magazine* (hereinafter cited as *MdHM*), 52 (2007): 538–71; Elias Jones, *Revised History of Dorchester County* (Baltimore: Read-Taylor Press, 1925), 29–82; Calvin W. Mowbray, *First Dorchester Families* (Westminster, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1984); and Paul G. E. Clemens, *The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980). John and Elizabeth Horne's transfer of 600 acres (a.) on the Choptank to Walter Dunch, William Hand Browne, et al. (eds.), *Archives of Maryland* (hereinafter cited as *Arch. Md.*), 72 vols. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–1972) 49: 355.
2. Hermann's research was apparently complete by 1670 and his map was first published three years later, William P. Cumming "Early maps of the Chesapeake Bay area: Their relation to settlement and society," in David B. Quinn, ed. *Early Maryland in a Wider World* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982), 267–310. Indeed, shipworms had been a problem for mariners in the New World since Columbus's voyages, but have now almost been forgotten by sailors who have access to a variety of toxic coatings to protect their ship bottoms from a variety of fouling organisms. Columbus's four ships became infested with shipworms on his fourth voyage to the Caribbean, forcing their abandonment. Martin Dugard, *The Last Voyage of Columbus* (New York: Little Brown, 2005), 166–76.
3. On February 28, 1661, Samuel Pepys noted in his diary that the English Navy was preparing the bottoms of vessels to sail to southern waters, "What the meaning of this fleet is which we are now sheathing to set out for the southward," Henry B. Wheatley, ed., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (New York: Heritage Press, 1942), 1: 42; James Long and Ben Long, *The Plot Against Pepys* (New York: The Overlook Press, 2008), outlined Pepys's career in naval contracting and procurement until his incarceration in the Tower of London in 1679; Arthur Pierce Middleton, *Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Coastal Era*, (1953; reprint Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 43–46, discussed ship worm problems in mid-to-high salinity waters of the Chesapeake; Rudolf S. Scheltema and Reginald V. Truitt, *Ecological Factors Related to the Distribution of Bankia gouldi Bartsch in Chesapeake Bay* (Solomons, Md.: Chesapeake Biological Laboratory, 1954) 1–31, found that shipworms did not survive in water containing less than 5 parts per thousand (ppt) salt content; full-strength seawater ranges from 35 to 37 ppt. Calvert Point (now Chancellors Point) was named for Phillip Calvert, chancellor of Maryland, who had a 1,000 acre tract called Wolsey (or Wolsely) Manor surveyed there in August of 1659, Maryland State Archives (hereinafter cited as MSA) Patents 4: 257, 424. Clemens, *The Atlantic Economy*, 43–47, emphasized the importance of the Choptank River to the Eastern Shore in the seventeenth century market system.
4. Walter Dunch married Mary Johnson at Patuxent in January 1664, Peter Wilson Coldham, *Lord Mayor's Court of London Depositions Relating to Americans 1646–1736* (Washington, D.C.: National Genealogical Society, 1980), 22; Charles Francis Stein, "Background of Captain Peter Johnson and his family at Brewhouse," *History of Calvert County Maryland*, (Baltimore, published by the author, 1976), 36, 38, 65, 67, 211, 279–80, 322, 328. The Johnsons immigrated to Maryland in 1651, MSA Patents ABH: 140. Quote, Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture* (1624; reprint Farnborough, U.K.: Gregg International Publishers, 1969), 82. Clift (or Cliffe) was surveyed for John Jenkins in August 1659, MSA Patents 4: 243, but no record has been found of how it was transferred to Dorrington, MSA Rent Rolls 10: 426; but he apparently owned Clift when he obtained a certificate of survey for Clifton, MSA Patents 7: 336–37; Hogs Hole (also called Hoggs Hole or Hold), MSA Patents 5: 520–22; see also, Calvin W. Mowbray and Mary L. Mowbray, *The Early Settlers of Dorchester County*

and their Lands, (Westminster, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1982), 1: 21, 28, 38, 92.

5. Manning's Marsh on the east side of Blackwater Branch was surveyed March 29, 1663, for Thomas Manning and transferred to William Dorrington on September 10, 1663, who patented it the next day, MSA Patents 5: 526–28. Congunn was surveyed the same day and patented by Robert Lloyd, MSA Patents 7: 198. Ashburne was surveyed for Isaac Abraham on March 14, 1663, MSA Patents 5: 639; described as lying "on the south side of the Choptank River, beginning at a marked walnut at the head of an Indian field, near the head of a branch called Blackwater Branch." Dorrington's complaint, Aug. 11, 1669, in Chancery Court, *Arch. Md.*, 51: 332–33. Raphael Semmes, *Crime and Punishment in Early Maryland* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 119–44; review of court cases indicated that Manning's assault of Sarah Dorrington is unique. It is unclear exactly when Dorrington moved to Dorchester County, but he had established his plantation at Busby by 1669 when his back line there became the western border of the Choptank River Indian reservation, *Arch. Md.* 2: 200.

6. The last will of Barnaby Dunch, proved June 3, 1681, mentions his brothers Walter and John Dunch, London Public Record Office at Kew, (hereafter PRO) PROB 11: 366; for Barnaby Dunch's importance in the London tobacco trade, Jacob Price and Paul G. Clemens, "A revolution of scale in overseas trade: British firms in the Chesapeake Trade, 1675–1775," *Journal of Economic History* 47 (1987): 1–43; John Timbs, "Royal Exchange," *Curiosities of London* (1855, reprint London: Virtue & Co., 1876), 322–29.

7. For Barnaby Dunch's service, *The Rulers of London 1660–1689: A biographical record of the Aldermen and Common Councilmen of the City of London* (1966), 56–63, <http://www.british-history.a.uk/report>; Gary De Krey, "Politics of Lime St. Ward," *London and the Restoration, 1659–1683* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 272–92. King Charles I granted Lord Baltimore all the land north of the Potomac and south of New England, i.e., 40 degrees North latitude, John Kilty, *The Land Holders Assistant and Land Office Guide* (Baltimore: G. Dobbin & Murphy, 1808), 10–12. Barnaby Dunch and Richard Burke's letter to William Blathwayt, Jean R. Soderland and Richard Dunn, *William Penn and the Founding of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 25. Although Barnaby Dunch visited on several occasions, there is no indication he ever acquired land or settled anywhere along the Chesapeake, apparently preferring to reside in London.

8. Her contention would turn out to be a pivotal civil case in Maryland. Mary Dunch's consent to sell Horne in 1668 is not mentioned in the record, suggesting she died before that date, MSA Patents, 11: 319–20. The four-thousand-acre Resurrection Manor tract was patented in 1651 by Thomas Corwalleys, who sold it to John Bateman by 1659; the old brick plantation house there, possibly the earliest still standing in America, was recently demolished, Paul C. Liebe, *The Enterprise*, December 18, 2002, 1. John Bateman patented Claiborne's Island in 1660, MSA Patents 4: 516, and sold it to Peter Sharpe in 1662, *Arch. Md.* 54: 353–55; Walter Dunch vs. Mary Bateman, *Arch. Md.* 49: 278, 316, 354–56.

9. The settlement of Bateman's estate and Mary Bateman's assertion that the initial dower agreement trumped other creditors took years to settle in the Provincial Court. Lord Baltimore ultimately rejected that decision in 1678 following the advice of his attorney, Richard Langehorne, of the Inner Temple of London, *Arch. Md.*, 57: preface, 36–39.

10. "The four day fire began September 2, at Thomas Farriner's bakery on Pudding Lane and afflicted much of the central city," Neil Hanson, *The Great Fire of London: in that apocalyptic year, 1666* (Hoboken New Jersey: Wiley & Sons, 2002); James Ayers, *Building the Georgian City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 4, 39, discussed the impacts of the Great Fire of London on labor supply and consequent increase in wages. Tobacco prices in various

years are means, Russell R. Menard, "Farm prices of Maryland Tobacco, 1659–1710," *MdHM*, 68 (1973): 80–85. Warren Billings, *Sir William Berkeley and the Forging of Colonial Virginia* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 2004), 186–96, described Berkeley's campaign to diversify crops in the Chesapeake and the tobacco stint of 1667.

11. For "The Great Hurricane of 1667," Middleton, *Tobacco Coast*, 55, and in more detail by J. Court Stevenson and Michael Kearney, "Dissecting and Classifying the Impacts of Historic Hurricanes on Estuarine Systems" in Kevin G. Sellner & Nina Fisher (eds.), *Hurricane Isabel in Perspective* (Edgewater, Md.: Chesapeake Research Consortium Inc., 2005), 167–76. Walter Dunch transferred Horne to Richard Preston in April 1668, MSA Patents, 11: 319–20. The median price of improved land varied from 12 to 29 pence per acre (assuming tobacco was selling at a pence per pound) in Maryland during the 1660s, V. J. Wyckoff, "Land Prices in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *American Economic Review*, 28 (1938): 82–88.

12. Patented on January 10, 1668, Portland Manor is located at the head of Lyon's Creek in the Herring Creek Hundred of Anne Arundel County, MSA Patents 11: 163, 205; MSA Rent Rolls 1: 6. The Patuxent River was naturally deeper further upstream than the Choptank, Middleton, *Tobacco Coast*, 40; Jug Bay once accommodated steamboats, but is now largely filled with sediment derived from farm runoff in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Humaira Kahn & Grace S. Brush "Nutrient and metal accumulation in a freshwater marsh" *Estuaries*, 17 (1994): 345–60. Walter Dunch was mentioned as commander of *Crowne Malego* which arrived in Maryland on October 17, 1671, *Arch. Md.* 66: 50–51.

13. Samuel Withers, a Quaker who owned 1,300 acres of land, died in 1671 in Anne Arundel County. John Dunch, his wife Elizabeth, and Walter Dunch to William Coale, Oct. 10, 1678, 500 acres adjacent to Burridge on the east and Ann Arundel Manor on the north, Anne Arundel Co. Land Records PK: 178–80. Willis B. Coale, *The Coale Family Nine Generations*, (Cleveland Heights: by the author, 1976), 1: 25–31, sketched William Coale's life. William Coale's last will was drafted October 26, 1678 and proved February 16, 1679, leaving 300 acres to his widow Elizabeth and 200 acres to his son Samuel, MSA Wills 9: 84. Barnaby Dunch vs. William Burgess & Richard Hill, *Arch. Md.* 69: 77–78. Samuel Withers married Elizabeth Durand and they apparently lived on the Severn River; he served in the lower house of the General Assembly and held one of the earliest patents on the Patapsco River, Charles Weathers Bump, "The First Grants on the Patapsco," *MdHM* 3: 54–56. Samuel Withers left his estate to his son Samuel at the death of his wife, MSA Wills 1:436–37.

14. Samuel Withers's primary heir, his namesake and only son did not suffer setbacks as a result of this legal wrangling and served as high sheriff of Talbot County in the 1690s. As there is no judgment in the case, it was likely settled out of court. The arrival of the Charles of London on November 26, 1669, has provided one of the rare copies of an indenture of a servant, Ralph Nickson of Northwich, thirty miles southeast of Liverpool, who had agreed to serve Seth Foster of Poplar Island four years in return for transport, clothes, and corn, "TLR (hereinafter cited TLR)" 1: 188. The last will of Walter Dunch was proved February 10, 1708, PRO PROB 11: 499. John Horne's will was proved February 16, 1674, Barbados Archives Record Book 6/9: 55.

15. Preston collected seven headrights in 1651, three in 1652, four in 1653, five in 1654, three in 1655, nine in 1656, eight in 1657 and nine in 1658, MSA Patents AB&H: 139–40; Samuel Troth in Thomas Allen Glenn, *Some Colonial Mansions* (Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates & Co, 1900), 343–94, reviewed Richard Preston's life; Elise Greenup Jourdan, *Early Families of Southern Maryland* (Westminster: Heritage Books, 1994), 3: 1–28, presented the genealogy of Richard Preston and his extended family. In December 1636, Governor West granted Preston land four miles up the Warrosquoyacke River (now known as the Pagan R.), Va.

Patents, 1-Part 1: 407; the next year Preston patented another tract nearby and three others before emigrating, Nell M. Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants* (Richmond: Virginia State Library and Archives, 1992), 53, 76, 90, 109, 127; Kevin Butterfield, "Puritans and Religious Strife in the Early Chesapeake," *Virginia Magazine of History & Biography* 109 (2001): 5–36, discussed the events leading to Governor Berkeley's ouster of the Puritans from their lands south of the James River in 1649.

16. Charles Frances Stein, *A History of Calvert County*, 5, 20–22, 34, 38, 40, 42, 48, 70, 145, 158, 174, 228, 256, 259, 303–304, described Preston's life on the Patuxent; Carla Gardina Pestana, *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution, 1640–1661*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 150–54, described religious politics of the 1650s in the Chesapeake. The Battle of Severn and the aftermath, Bernard B. Browne, "The Battle of Severn," *MdHM* 14 (1919): 154–71; *Arch. Md.* 53, preface 15–16; *Arch. Md.* 113: preface 7–8, as well as John D. Krugler, *English & Catholic: The Lords Baltimore in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 202–205. Among those who were executed was William Eltonhead, whose stepson, Thomas Taylor, later settled on the Eastern Shore in Dorchester County, where he was eventually appointed sheriff as well as major in the militia, Mowbray & Mowbray, *First Dorchester Families*, 1: 152–5; *Arch. Md.* 41: 345; MSA Patents 5: 362.

17. For the visits of Elizabeth Harris and other Quakers, see Carroll, *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore*, 8–9. Fines were levied on William Allenby, Henry Osborne, William Berry, and John Day, as well as Richard Preston, at a session of the Provincial Court held in October of 1659, *Arch. Md.* 41: 331. Kenneth Carroll, "Maryland Quakers in England, 1659–1720," *MdHM* 91(1996): 451–66, also discussed Preston's relationship with the Calverts and his attribution, "The Great Quaker"; Preston's servant strike, *Arch. Md.* 49: 8–10; Russell R. Menard, "From Servants to Slaves: The Transformation of the Chesapeake Labor System," *Southern Studies* 16(1977): 355–90, detailed the reasons planters shifted to slavery.

18. Richard Preston's patent on the Little Choptank River was later called Preston, MSA Patents 5: 476. The date Calvert actually conveyed Wolsely Manor is not given in the records, but apparently it was gift to Preston in return for paying a fine of 5,000 lbt. in March 1665 to rescind a quitclaim on it before selling it to Stracey, *Arch. Md.* 49: 435, 474–75. Preston obtained the certificate for Edmondson's Orchard on Todd's Bay that had been surveyed for John Edmondson in May 1665, MSA Patents 8: 315. Stonewick was surveyed for Thomas Stone in 1659 MSA Patents 4: 160, and appears to be one of the first three tracts patented in what is now Dorchester County, Mowbray & Mowbray, *Early Settlers* 1:19–20. Horne was resurveyed for Richard Preston on April 1, 1668, MSA Patents 11: 358. Although William Stevens purchased several other tracts, including one that apparently became the town of Oxford, he eventually settled at Cliffe where he was buried in 1684, Charles F. C. Arensberg and James F. Arensberg, "Compton, Talbot County," *MdHM*, 48 (1953): 215–26. Richard Preston represented Dorchester in April 1669, the same session Captain Thomas Manning was elected speaker, *Arch. Md.* 2: 156–57; also see Jones, *Revised History of Dorchester*, 34–35.

19. Judy Jull "Preliminary Report of Excavations at Horne," *Archeology* (Sussex County, Delaware, Society of Archeology and History), 32 (1982): 1–41, analyzed the artifacts she unearthed at Horn Point Laboratory in the 1970s in historical context. Richard Preston drew up his will on September 16, 1669, added to it on December 2, 1669, and the court proved it on January 8, 1670, MSA Wills 1: 357–63.

20. Gloria L. Main, *Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650–1720*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 140–66, discussed the process of plantation building and the erection of the first earth-fast structures characteristic of the Chesapeake.

21. A port town second only to London, Bristol was also a growing center of religious non-

conformism in southwest England. The Quakers had a strong following on the southeast side of the River Severn, and it was in Bristol that their founder, George Fox, married Margaret Fell of Swarthmore Hall before a Meeting of Friends on October 27, 1669. H. Larry Ingle, *First Among Friends: George Fox & the Creation of Quakerism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 226–28, describes Fox's marriage to Margaret Fell of Swarthmore Hall. For the marriage of William Ford of Bristol and Sarah Preston, *Arch. Md.* 57: 502; the division of Horne between Sarah and Rebecca Preston was not recorded until August 1679, DLR Old 3, 162–66.

22. The land there is poorly drained and Littleworth may convey that it was too wet to grow tobacco. The Adam Thoroughgood house in Virginia Beach, Va., appears from latest tree ring dating and historical research to be circa 1720, U.S. Dept. of Interior National Register of Historic Places Amendment for # 4/23/8, March 13, 2008. Pipemakers included LE (Lluellin Evans, 1661–1688), WE (William Evans, 1667–1696), and RN (Richard Mooney 1655–1699).

23. Quotes, George Fox, *Journal of Historical Account of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, Christian Experiences, and Labour, Love, in the Ministry of that Ancient, and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ* (New York: Isaac Collins, 1800), 2:165.

24. Quotes, George Fox, *Journal*, 165–68; Robert Winsmore served as a commissioner of Dorchester County beginning in 1671 and had purchased Daniels Choice, adjacent to Horne, in 1667 from Daniel Clarke, Mowbray, *First Dorchester Families*, 176–77.

25. Quotes, George Fox, *Journal*, 168; Ingle, *First Among Friends*, 62, quoted Fox's general message. Despite archeological reconnaissance at Horne, the location of the Stevens plantation at the edge of the property has not been found. In retrospect, the fact that when he visited the area Fox stayed at Stevens's dwelling, rather than Ford's, may have been due to the fact that the latter's house was not yet finished. This is consistent with the bills Ford later paid for plastering, indicating that his new dwelling was not yet in as good condition as the Stevens plantation.

26. James Shepperd's bill for plastering was in the account Edward Pinder submitted to settle William Ford's estate, MSA Inventories & Accounts, 7A: 293. Original grants along the Blackwater: MSA Patents 14: 48 (Hockaday), MSA Patents 14: 102 (Browelston); MSA Patents 14: 112 (Carlisle); MSA Patents 14: 161 (Anchor and Hope); MSA Patents 14: 233 (Heresford); MSA Patents 19: 159 (Paris); MSA Patents 19: 158 (Havre de Grace). Furthermore, the next year he patented two additional properties on the Blackwater, 416 acres named Paris, and 100 acres named Havre de Grace.

27. On March 25, 1677, Ford sold East Town, to fellow Quaker Howell Powell of Talbot County. William Ford's will, MSA Wills 9: 84; and short biography, Edward C. Papenfuse, Allan Day, David Jordan & Gregory A. Stiverson, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 1: 324. Ford in the assembly, *Arch. Md.*, 2: 422, 439–40, 454, 458. Third Haven Meeting Minutes, MSA SC 2394-1-4 [00/08/07/29] (hereinafter cited as Third Haven Minutes) 1: 6, first mentions William Ford at a meeting at Howell Powell's house in Talbot County. William Ford's will was witnessed by Stephen Luffe, Vincent Farey, Mathew Lewis, and Richard Lane, none of whom lived in Dorchester or Talbot County, so it seems he wrote it while travelling, MSA Wills 9: 84.

28. William Ford's death at Benjamin Lawrence's house, MSA Inventories & Accounts 7A: 293. Elizabeth Preston was the daughter of Richard and Elizabeth Talbot and the granddaughter of Richard Ewen; see also J. Reaney Kelly, *Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County Maryland*, (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1963) 53–61, 109.

29. The only reference to Lawrence owning land in Calvert County was his five hundred

acre portion of Desarte on Preston Creek, which he left to his wife and daughter, both named Elizabeth. Despite the differences, Lawrence was still on good terms with his brethren at the Quaker Meeting which received £3 sterling when he died in the summer of 1685. The Quakers in that area of the Western Shore held monthly meetings alternatively at West River, the Clifts, and Patuxent from 1677–1771, and on June 21, 1677, they held their meeting at Benjamin Lawrence's house, where he retained the records until October of 1682 when he "removed from the Patuxent," Henry C. Peden Jr., *Quaker Records of Southern Maryland* (Westminster, Md: Family Line Publications, 1992), 67. William Berry's repeated concern about Benjamin Lawrence's usurpation of Samuel Preston's plantation on the Patuxent, Third Haven Minutes 1: 53, 64. Benjamin Lawrence was clearly living in Anne Arundel County when he made his will in January of 1685, MSA Wills 4: 142-3.

30. On March 3, 1668, John Tench of Bristol, mariner, proved rights for transporting Edward Pinder, along with John Carney, Hugh Jones, and Richard Wickin, MSA Patents, 12: 192. John Tench sold Tench's Hope to Thomas Taylor for 1500 lbt in January of 1680, Dorchester Land Records (hereinafter cited DLR) Old 3: 201–202. Edward Pinder was in debt to Dr. Robert Winsmore's estate in February 1676, MSA Inventories and Accounts, 4: 109–15, suggesting Winsmore may have provided a loan for Pinder to buy Butwell's Choice, MSA Patents 12: 232.

31. George Fox's admonitions concerning celebrations went to the traditional core of English life, Ingle, *First Among Friends*, 62. The wine for William Ford's funeral was the subject of a Provincial Court Case, Lawrence vs. Pinder, which was eventually decided in favor of the plaintiff, *Arch. Md.* 59: 361–62.

32. Of course, these lists of goods and chattels do not provide a complete picture of the possessions and lifestyle of the Dorchester gentry, since it was common in seventeenth century Maryland to circumvent the probate process by obtaining undervalued inventories. The inventory of William Ford, MSA Inventories and Accounts 6: 128–33. Anthony LeCompte's inventory, MSA Inventories & Accounts 1: 13–18 is summarized in Stevenson, "Adventurers, Speculators, and Rogues," 550–51. Karina Paape, "Providence: A Case Study in Probate Manipulation, 1670–1679," *MdHM* 94 (1999): 65–87, concluded that many inventories were actually under-valued.

33. This was likely the same John Sutton who was transported to Maryland in 1676 by John Abington, a wealthy Patuxent merchant planter. Debts due Ford, MSA Inventories and Accounts 6: 128–33. Ford's indentured servant, John Sutton, was among forty-four people transported by John Abington in 1677, MSA Patents 15: 376. The John Sutton who was transported by Captain John Lee in 1671, MSA Patents 16: 170, does not fit the usual four years of service either. The appraiser reported that there were three principal debtors, Thomas Cook, Henry Turner, and Edward Roe, Mowbray, *First Dorchester Families*, 22–23.

34. For the total value of William Ford's estate, Papenfuse, et al., *A Biographical Dictionary*, 324; for a comparison with other planters' estates see Gloria Main, *Tobacco Colony*, 60. Quotes from Third Haven Minutes 1: 17–25. Mean moveables for gentry inventories of St. Mary's Co. from 1672–1675 amounted to £292 with a median of £245 (n=8), Lois G. Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsh, *Robert Cole's World: Agriculture & Society in Early Maryland*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 113.

35. Sarah Ford's lease of Horne to Pinder, DLR Old 3: 202; although Carroll, *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore*, 78-80, discussed Quaker assistance to widows, the circumstances were more complicated in Sarah Ford's case and their behavior could be characterized not so much as charitable, but as coercive in trying to influence her not to marry outside the faith. Quotes are from the Third Haven Minutes 1: 25–37, 49.

36. Gorsuch was the only son of Daniel Gorsuch, who was a wealthy Mercer (purveyor of silk, velvet and other fine cloths) of London. In 1628, he married Anne Lovelace from an illustrious family descended from King Edward I. Gorsuch was made Rector of St. Mary's Church in the village of Walkern in 1632 and the couple settled in to the commodious brick house built by his father. John and Anne Gorsuch had a brood of ten children by 1642 when the civil war broke out. It is likely the place that Lovelace Gorsuch was born in 1643, although he was baptized a mile away at Weston. The succeeding years of the civil wars were especially horrific for the Gorsuch family. According to family legend, while trying to escape his Puritan pursuers, Reverend Gorsuch was smothered in a haymow in Cambridgeshire and was buried at Wilburton, between Cambridge and Ely on May 24, 1648, see John Hall Pleasants, "The Gorsuch and Lovelace Families," *Genealogies of Virginia Families* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1981), 3: 226–476; Michael Overman, *A Gorsuch Pedigree* (Walkern, Hertfordshire, England, 1982); and S. Esmé Overman, *Gorsuch—Parish Priest*, (Walkern, Hertfordshire, England, 1982); Walkern church and parsonage, Sir Henry Chauncy, *Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire* (London: J. M. Mullinger, 1826), 2: 89–90.

37. Lovelace Gorsuch's uncle, Francis Lovelace, died in 1675 after being incarcerated in the Tower of London for letting the Dutch take back New York. Even though he was not yet twenty-one years of age, Lovelace Gorsuch patented fifty acres called Cold Comfort in 1662 on the western side of the Middle Branch of the Patapsco River (just south of the mouth of Gwynn's Falls near present Westport). His brother Richard Gorsuch served as a commissioner and a county justice of Talbot County and is identified as an innkeeper who kept an ordinary. Lovelace seemed determined to stay in Talbot and sold Cold Comfort in November 1670 to Thomas Roper of Anne Arundel County. In June 1671 he purchased a six-hundred-acre tract called The Wilderness on the north side of the Choptank River, TLR, 1: 155. Despite its name, this was a choice waterfront parcel which had been carved out of Edward Lloyd's original 3,050 acre patent. Lovelace Gorsuch's Cold Comfort, MSA Patents 5: 18, 39, was two miles due west of his brother Charles's patent, Whetstone Point (located at the present site of Locust Point Marine Terminal adjacent to Fort McHenry) MSA Patents 5: 19 & 41. Howell Powell had also patented seventy acres on the north side of the Patapsco River adjacent to Robert Gorsuch on February 24, 1662, MSA Patents 5: 42–43; Sketches of Howell Powell's and Edward Pinder's lives, Mowbray, *First Dorchester Families*, 120, 123–24, and Papenfuse, et al., *Biographical Dictionary*, 2: 648. Edward Lloyd sold two hundred acres to Richard Gorsuch, on the northwest side of Dividing Creek along the line of Hier Dier Lloyd. TLR 1: 6; for Richard Gorsuch as Talbot innkeeper, commissioner and justice, see Bernice Leonard, *Tavern in the Town* (St. Michaels: published by the author, 1992), 112. The marriage of Lovelace Gorsuch to Rebecca Preston, August 23, 1679, at the Third Haven Meeting, see Carroll, *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore*, 221.

38. The present house on The Wilderness was built in 1815 by Daniel Martin, son of Nicholas Martin, Christopher Weeks, *Where Land and Water Intertwine: An Architectural History of Talbot County, Maryland*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 84–85, 185. Lovelace Gorsuch's patents in Tuckahoe Neck included Poplar Ridge in 1679, MSA Patents 21: 39; Gravelly Howe in 1683, MSA Patents 21: 372; and Poplar Ridge Addition in 1683, MSA Patents 21: 370. Dickson J. Preston, *Oxford* (Easton: Historical Society of Talbot County, 1984) 8–11; as well as Joseph B. Thomas Jr. "One Hundred Lots Make it a Town: Four Surveys of Early Oxford," *MdHM*, 54 (1999): 173–91, summarize early Oxford records. John Richardson was described as an innholder when a house in Oxford was conveyed to him in 1691 by two Talbot Quakers, Edward Roe and William Parrott, TLR 1:150. Hampden was probably constructed c.1720, see Weeks, *Where Land and Water Intertwine*, 18, 20, 34, 163, 166.

39. One problem with using marked trees as bounds for property lines on eroding shorelines was the tendency to lose them over time and this may have been a contributing factor at the junction of Horne and Cliffe. The heading "A difference betwixt William Stevens Senior and Lovelace Gorsuch" is a quote from the Third Haven Minutes 1: 35, from a Man's Meeting on January 21, 1681 at John Pitts's house. The problem of determining colonial boundaries is discussed in Clarence P. Gould, *Land System in Maryland, 1720-1765* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1913), 24-27. For Edmondson's testimony about marking the boundary of Horne, December 2, 1673, DLR Old 1: 167; Magdalene Stevens died November 24, 1678, Robert T. Stevens, *An Epic of One of the First Families of Terra Mariae* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 2001), 27.

40. Joseph James transported, MSA Patents 7:487. William Taylor had Taylor's Ridge surveyed in January 1665 at the head of Miles Creek, MSA Patents 9:76-77, and transferred it in March 1670 to Joseph James and John Price, TLR 1: 142; James sold it in November 1673 to John Boon for 7,000 lbt, TLR 1: 274-75. Joseph James's purchase of Hier Dier Lloyd, TLR 1: 274-76, 366; Hickory Ridge & Oak Ridge, MSA Patents 21: 144 & CB#2: 100-11. Quotes are from Third Haven Minutes 1: 22-23. In March 1680 the meeting at Howell Powell's house had endorsed George Fox's preaching that "no Friends whatsoever go forward in any suit of law without ye advice and council of among the Meeting." Furthermore they emphasized that "suits of law never farther our journey. But rather set backward and we believe that if this be put into practice that the truth and friends find benefit by it."

41. Quotes are from Third Haven Minutes 1: 35 & 37. In the seventeenth century hats were worn on many occasions including church and dinner, except when they were taken off as a sign of respect before anyone considered upper class, particularly the king; Quakers refused to take their hats off to anyone, including to judges in court and insisted on removing their hats only before God. Charles Gorsuch sold three hundred acres on Dividing Creek previously laid out for James Edwards to William Stevens of Island Creek, TLR 3: 329-31; and Charles F. C. Arensberg and James M. Arensberg, "Compton, Talbot County," *MdHM*, 48 (1943): 215-26. Will of Joseph James, probated September 30, 1721, mentions four children: Joseph James, Mary Shearen, Sarah Starkey, and Alice Langley, MSA Wills 17: 59-60. It is not clear who actually had possession of the eastern portion of land at Horne during the dispute. It seems likely that William Stevens Sr. was then living at Compton with his son. It demonstrates just how interconnected relationships were along the Choptank—William Stevens Jr. had purchased Compton from Lovelace's brother Charles Gorsuch in 1679. Joseph James was most likely farming at Cliffe (and part of Horne) well into the 1680s, when his lease presumably ran its course. By then he was well seated on his plantation at the mouth of Island Creek, where he raised his four children until his death in 1721, John Edmondson's testimony, DLR Old 1, 167.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., As a sidelight, Edmondson's deposition mentioned that he was laboring under the direction of William Coursey in 1659 when he helped lay out Horne. This is one of the few instances where not only the surveyor was noted, but also those who actually did the work of carrying the chains and blazing the trees. It also provides a clue that this whole group of surveys was done under the auspices of William Coursey which was not disclosed in the original Choptank surveys in 1659.

44. The quote is in *Arch. Md.* 70, 263-64. Final quote is from Third Haven Minutes 1, 41.

45. Stevens was buried next to his wife Magdalen at the graveyard at Cliffe (which still exists on the present grounds of the Clearview at Horn's Point golf course). Magdalen and William Stevens's gravestones are the oldest yet found in Dorchester County and were moved

from the old Huffington Farm to Christ Church in Cambridge, Nellie M. Marshall, *Tombstone Records of Dorchester County, Maryland, 1678–1964* (Cambridge, Dorchester Historical Society, 1964), 55. Lovelace and Rebecca Gorsuch to Seth Garrett, Gravelly Howe, Nov. 16, 1684, TLR 1:369–70. William Southbee, Henry Woolchurch, William Sharpe, Lovelace Gorsuch, and William Stevens Jr. were appointed to purchase the land for what is now the Third Haven Meeting House from John Edmondson on October 27, 1682, Third Haven Minutes 1: 52, but there is no indication he actually owned it, Lawrence Claggett, *From Pot Pie to Hell and Damnation* (St. Michael's, Md.: Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum, 2004), 107–108. Rebecca's death was not recorded in the Quaker records, but there were many omissions and this alone does not indicate that Lovelace and Rebecca Gorsuch were at odds with the Society of Friends.

46. Lovelace Gorsuch represented the Tuckahoe meeting (along with John Gadwin), Third Haven Minutes 1: 77, 92–93. Lovelace Gorsuch's (with no wife mentioned) transfer of The Wilderness to William Sharpe is in TLR, 5: 339. Gorsuch's land in Tuckahoe Neck was initially in Talbot County, later part of Queen Anne's County, now part of Caroline County.

47. Edward Pinder was designated "gentleman" when he signed the account of William Ford in November of 1680, Md. Inventories & Accounts, 7A: 293–97. Thomas Pattison surveyed Desborough in July 1683 for Edward Pinder, about a half mile up from Horne, MSA Patents, 22: 122. The survey for Pinder's Garden was dated April 2, 1684, and patented June 1, 1687, MSA Patents NS#2: 315–16. Pinder patented 150 acres called Desborough (also called Desborrow and Disborough in later records) and ten acres called Pinders Garden.

48. Davis vs. Mitchell is recorded in *Arch. Md.*, 70: 235. Bennett's estate, MSA Testametary Proceedings 13: 200. Jones, *New Revised History of Dorchester*, discussed building the Court House in Cambridge by Anthony Dawson in 1686; DLR Old 4 ½, 44, on land sold to John Kirk, who immediately began selling lots along High & Poplar Streets. The office of sheriff during this period is discussed by Michael G. Kammen, "The Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689" *MdHM* 55 (1960): 293–33.

49. Lois Green Carr and David W. Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689–1692*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), 11–13, detailed the radical changes in Maryland after the "Glorious Revolution." Pinder represented Dorchester County in the Lower House May 10 to June 9, 1692, *Arch. Md.*, 13: 351, 421. Pinder was mentioned as deceased at the roll call in September of 1693, *Arch. Md.*, 19: 3–4.

50. The inventory Taylor and Pitt made of Edward Pinder's estate is in MSA Inventories and Accounts, 13a, 78–81. This is likely Major Thomas Taylor, son of Phillip and Jane Taylor of Kent Island (and stepson of William Eltonhead, the staunch supporter of the Calverts who was executed after the Battle of Severn in 1655). Phillip Pitt was a Dorchester attorney who had purchased land from Edward Pinder in 1688, Mowbray, *First Dorchester Families*, 121, 152–55; LeCompte and Worgin inventories, MSA Inventories & Accounts 1: 13; 3: 136.

51. The Royal Governors of Maryland in the 1690s were very much impressed by the widespread lack of prosperity in Maryland, Margaret Shove Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland, 1689–1715* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1914), 1–30. John Sutton's last will and testament, MSA Wills 7: 16; his inventory, MSA Inventories and Accounts, 13a: 130. The average income of London shopkeepers and maids is in Maureen Waller, *1700: Scenes from London Life* (New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2000), 8.

52. Jones, *New Revised History*, 40, 46, 176, lists the first lawyers in Cambridge as Phillip Pitt, Benjamin Hunt, Charles Powell and Gourney Crow; Jacob Loockerman, sheriff of Dorchester County in 1695, was born in New Amsterdam.

53. First land surveys around Horn Point, Stevenson, "Adventurers, Speculators, and

Rogues," 543–46.

54. Dickenson Plaine & Swan Brooke surveys, MSA Patents 22: 411 & 412. Caroline County background and St. Jones Path, Laura C. Cochrane et al., *History of Caroline County* (Federalsburg: J.W. Stowell Printing Co., 1920); Lovelace Gorsuch's marriage to Hannah Walley at Tuckahoe in 1696, Carroll, *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore*, 223. Gorsuch's move back downstream to Horne is indicated by the fact he was selected to represent the Dorchester Friends in 1701, Third Haven Minutes 1: 175–76

55. Though Queen Elizabeth initially condoned John Hawkins's voyages to Africa to break into the Portuguese slave trade from 1562 to 1568, she eventually regretted it when slave labor started to depress wages in England. In the final years of the sixteenth century she decreed that all "blackamoors" in bondage should be sent forth back to Spain or Portugal. Queen Elizabeth's support of John Hawkins's African voyages, Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade* (New York: Simon & Shuster 1997), 155–58; for Queen Elizabeth's decree in 1596, Liza Picard, *Restoration London* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1997), 178; Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972) has emphasized that the slave system which emerged on the seventeenth-century colonial plantations in the West Indies was unprecedented in the English experience.

56. Prominent Talbot Quakers such as Wenlock Christian were engaged in the Barbados slave trade in the late 1670s, and Lovelace Gorsuch's partner, William Dickinson, was holding twenty when he died about 1718, Carroll, *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore*, 129–43. For the particularly harsh conditions of bondage of slaves in Barbados, Hilary Beckles, *A History of Barbados* (Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006), 1–102 and Jerome S. Handler, et al., "Lead Contact and Poisoning in Barbados Slaves: Historical, Chemical, and Biological Evidence," *Social Science History* 10 (1986): 399–425.





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Honor and Theater: Booth, the Lincoln Conspirators, and the Maryland Connection

Bertram Wyatt-Brown

The subject of this inquiry makes for sombre reading. In this bicentennial year of Abraham Lincoln's birth we historians, along with scores of journalists, dwell on the more uplifting aspects of his life and amazing achievements in war and peace. Nonetheless, at a time when assassinations here and abroad master the headlines, we usefully return to the appalling crime against a president who is now revered as a martyr to the Union and to liberty for all.

No one is fully equipped to uncover why some zealots are so infused with hatred and ideological conviction that they are willing to die in the name of a higher authority. Yet we can recognize how unfathomable a mystery and horror such deeds entail. John Wilkes Booth and his fellow Maryland conspirators shared a fanatical outlook—a devotion to a version of honor that insisted on the primacy and superiority of white over black, Confederate over Unionist, freeman over slave.

The origins of the conspiracy to kill Abraham Lincoln can be located in Maryland to a degree that the general public is perhaps unaware. A leading authority on John Wilkes Booth, Michael Kauffman, observes that “Maryland was the key to the assassination.”¹ Martial law and military occupation had been early imposed because of the state's proximity to a vulnerable Washington, and those measures were based on sound reasons. Confederate sympathizers exercised much power in the state. The incoming Republican administration could not avoid reacting to the dangers of subversion. But the efforts to retain order ignited deep resentments against the Lincoln government in Maryland. Booth was to respond in full agreement with those who sought a Rebel victory.

Three aspects of the calamity are particularly relevant. First, Booth's motivation needs explanation because his views also conformed to others in the conspiracy who looked to him as a natural leader. He was not the failed thespian that earlier historians once fashioned. Some claimed that Booth transferred his resentments against his father, Junius Brutus Booth, by then dead, to his national father, Abra-

Bertram Wyatt-Brown, award-winning scholar and distinguished professor of history, presented this paper at the Maryland Historical Society on April 14, 2009—in commemoration of the 144th anniversary of the Lincoln assassination.

ham Lincoln. Thus, the killing became a form of displaced parricide. Philip Van Doren Stern, a novelist and New York editor, psychiatrists Edward J. Kempf and George W. Wilson, and even the more responsible historian Stanley Kimmel, author of *The Mad Booths of Maryland*, adopted this psychological course. Each furnished different sources for substantiating their case.² But the documentation was sometimes completely inaccurate and most of it misleading.

Second, the climax of a presidential assassination should be seen as part of a four-year Confederate subversion of the Union effort to conquer the Rebel South. Those who participated were also immersed in the code that Southerners then hailed as “chivalry” and male aggressiveness. The claimant for honor seeks the esteem of his peers and followers, like the band of conspirators around him, as a measure of his own self-worth. Booth exhibited that outlook through his whole life. In conclusion, a brief examination of the postmortem ramifications follows.

With regard to the first point, Booth’s background, personality, and impulses, we find his upbringing in rural Maryland was formed by an unquestioning devotion to his father, far more than to his mother Mary Ann. Yet his country upbringing in Harford County also influenced him. Situated three miles from Bel Air, the modest house became not only a home for the whole family but also a refuge for Junius Booth when he was not on tour. Purchased in 1822, with 150 acres of rolling hills and forests, Junius called the four-room log cottage The Farm. John Wilkes and six of his siblings (some dying early in life) were born and reared there. In 1847, The Farm was replaced with a grander, eight-room home that boasted the more elegant title of Tudor Hall, in honor of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond and slayer of Richard III. It was there that Booth absorbed the romantic literature that good nineteenth-century readers so relished—Plutarch, Shakespeare, Byron, Schiller, Scott, and other popular favorites. Stories of heroes and heroines fed his already theatrical imagination.³ Ironically, given later developments, the Booth seniors never owned slaves out of disapproval for the institution but rented them from neighbors as servants. They found Junius Booth to be a generous and solicitous employer who supplied them with comfortable housing. For all his faults and passions, he was not a repressive parent or husband.

Without question, though, Junius Booth was no model father despite his remarkable ability to electrify theatergoers. He was alcoholic, periodically deranged, and hot-tempered. Marie Christine Adelaide Delannoy, his first wife living in London, discovered that her long missing husband was married to one Mary Ann Holmes by whom he was raising a large family in Maryland. Outraged, Adelaide arrived in New York in 1846. She wrote her sister that her divorce attorney would soon land on Junius “like a bomb.”⁴ In 1851 the divorce, which Junius did not contest, was granted in Maryland, and Junius and Mary Ann then legally remarried.⁵ Junius died on the way home from a western tour in 1852. John Wilkes was then fourteen, having been born in 1838. As a result, Mary Ann first decided to sell the Baltimore residence

where John Wilkes spent much of his childhood and return to Tudor Hall.

The renowned actor Junius, who trod the boards chiefly in Shakespearean roles, had been called “Crazy Booth, the mad tragedian.” At Natchez, Mississippi, he once had mounted a ladder and crowed “like a rooster,” while the stage manager wrung his hands below. He was known to miss performances and would later be located, wandering, dazed, in the countryside wearing his costume. The aging actor once called his Harford County neighbors to attend a funeral. The guests soon discovered that the obsequies at Tudor Hall were for a dead horse whose remains Junius frantically wished them all to help him burn—most left in disgust. Others stayed to snicker. He was clearly out of his mind but reportedly recovered a few days later. Mary Ann once had to cut him down before he hanged himself.⁶ It is likely that he suffered from what is now termed bipolar affective disorder. At the same time, he hated killing, even insects, and he was almost scandalously antiauthoritarian. He struck up friendships with those far beneath his social standing. Junius’s hero was John Wilkes, the English republican and freedom loving reformer and for whom he named his child.⁷

In so many respects John Wilkes differed wildly from his parent. Having attended St. Timothy’s Hall, a military academy in Catonsville, Booth, unlike his egalitarian father, loved the idea of rank. When he returned to help his mother at Tudor Hall, he showed his disdain for workingmen and was therefore much resented in the Bel Air neighborhood. Yet John Wilkes never doubted that he should follow in his father’s footsteps. Fantasies of heroic daring on stage and off could have filled the emotional void in Junius’s similarly manic and erratic son. He loved drama, particularly Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* and *Julius Caesar*, the latter a tragedy about honor and the assassination of a tyrant. The plays fed his already intense admiration for the principles of the Southern ethic, a position contrary to the more cosmopolitan thinking of his siblings. That ideal, in the nineteenth-century South, was translated into the romantic notion of knightly honor, a male code that denoted glorious conduct. Its adherents sought approval from an admiring public for their daring, reckless energy, and common cause with others of similar views.⁸ John Wilkes conquered initial stage errors and forgotten cues to become a first-class Shakespearean performer. Standing at five feet eight inches with luminous black eyes, he was unique in that day owing to his flamboyant, athletic facility. Like Douglas Fairbanks of the silent film era, his swordplay scenes were thought the best of the day. His stage encounters with other actors once resulted in actual bloodshed. In a production of *Richard III*, the Earl of Richmond missed the count of sword thrusts, accidentally sliced off the king’s left eyebrow, and blood spurted out of the wound. Horrified, the actor shrank back, but Booth urgently whispered, “Come on hard, for God’s sake . . . Save the fight!”⁹ As a matinee idol, Booth would have matched the appeal of an early Marlon Brando or a current Brad Pitt. The swashbuckling technique of leaping about the stage in pursuit of villains or rescuing damsels won him intense

public devotion, especially from Southern antebellum audiences.

The code of honor that Booth found most congenial had its polar opposite in the concept of shame. That state of public repudiation could result in bloodthirsty vengeance or murder by duel. During that fateful spring of 1865, the humiliation of Southern defeat was approaching, and Booth grew ever more determined to avenge the impending disaster.¹⁰ An honorable course, he reasoned, as he held in his mind the pledge of Brutus in *Julius Caesar*. “What is it that you would impart to me?/ If it be ought toward the general good,/ Set honour in one eye and death I’ the other,/ And I will look on both indifferently, For let the gods so speed me as I love/ The name of honour more than I fear death.” Brutus boasts that, in the name of that sacred ethic, he has banded together like-minded noblemen and will overthrow “the foremost man of all this world.”¹¹ After Caesar’s murder, in self-justification, Brutus declares to the Romans assembled, “Believe me for mine honor, and have respect to mine honor, that you may believe.” The play ends with Caesar’s death at the hands of the conspirators avenged. As Shakespeare presents it, the theatergoer must confront the play’s posing of a dilemma: the problem of stable governance and loyalty to the legitimate leader against the misuses of power. Remorseful after his army’s defeat and the failure of the Republic, Brutus declares, “Caesar, now be still:/ I kill’d not thee with half so good a will.” Brutus impales himself on his sword. Octavius, Caesar’s successor, announces as the curtain is about to fall, with praise for Brutus as a warrior of honor: “According to his virtue let us use him,/ With all respect and rites of burial,” But the suicide of Caesar’s assassin brings joy, not mourning. Even though Caesar did not deserve his fate, Octavius ends the action with these words of respect but also satisfaction in Brutus’s death :

Within my tent his bones to-night shall lie,
Most like a soldier, order’d honourably.
So call the field to rest; and let’s away,
To part the glories of this happy day.

Other playwrights also placed honor with its moral confusions at the center of their dramas. The Golden Age of Spanish tragedy in the seventeenth century embraced the same concept. Yet, Lope de Vega and Pedro Calderón de la Barca, like the English writers Shakespeare and Marlowe, found ambiguity, tragedy, and hypocrisy beneath the colorful trappings of the ideal.¹² Booth, however, rejected Shakespeare’s ambiguity about Caesar’s murder. Caesar’s pride and overreaching for power and his military triumphs in Gaul to Rome’s greater glory were both well displayed in the acts and scenes. Shakespeare scarcely approved of regicide and the treachery of assassination.¹³

Nor did Booth stand alone in his dedication to a fanatical and violent ideology that could be ennobling but not when carried to self-serving extremes. His small

group of Maryland plotters shared a common conviction that revenge against insult was the duty of honorable men. For too many years, the radical elements in the slave states, Maryland among them, felt grossly insulted by abolitionist denunciations of what reformers saw as immorality and ungodly slaveholding. Then the free states in 1860 had elected an antislavery president. The disgrace of such an outcome dishonored the Southern whites' threatened rule over slaves and free blacks. The more dedicated among them reacted with religious fervor. In that respect, Booth found an admiration for John Brown. In 1859, wearing a quickly bought militia uniform to which he had no right, he joined the Richmond Grays on their way to the hanging at Charlestown. Apparently the blood drained from his face as he watched and nearly fainted as Old Pottowatomie slowly strangled to death. Nonetheless, Booth had admired Brown's self-possession as he climbed the gallows steps. In 1864, Booth told his sister that Lincoln was "walking in the footsteps of old John Brown, but no more fit to stand with that rugged hero—Great God! No." No less ideologically driven than Brown himself, Booth anointed him as "a man inspired, the grandest character of the century!"¹⁴ Booth's presence at Brown's hanging was well publicized and his adventure in getting there as a militiaman won him the hearts of Southern whites as he went from triumph to triumph on the boards through the slave states.

Swept up in the fervor for retaliation and white purity, Booth reflected the ideals of the Southern slaveholding elite. In a statement for the Washington *Intelligencer* shortly before the assassination, Booth lamented the fall of "southern rights and institutions [i.e., slavery]." Impatient to return the country to a blissful past, Booth hated what he deemed a Yankee commercial imperialism. It seduced Americans away from old principles—white man's liberty, feminine submissiveness, and black subordination.¹⁵ At the same time, he proposed that Lincoln's road to black freedom would extinguish the Negro race. The slaves needed their white masters' protective arms. Preserving slavery, preventing racial mixing, and saving the South from "her threatened doom," as Booth framed it, required bold measures. For too long had the Union flag waved above scenes of blood, "spoiling [the South's] beauty and tarnishing her honor." In closing, he referred to his favorite Shakespearean character: "I answer with Brutus: 'He who loves his country better than life or gold.'" ¹⁶ William Kauffman, Booth's biographer observes, "If Booth intended to make himself a modern Brutus, he succeeded too well. Like the assassination of Julius Caesar, the killing of Lincoln did not accomplish the conspirators' aims. It only martyred the victim, elevating him to a secular sainthood."¹⁷ That was only one of the consequences, but it did change the course of history and created new, post-emancipation forms of persistent racial prejudice, repression, and misery for the racial underclass.

The Caesarean theme, though, was not Booth's alone. Throughout the war, talk of Lincoln as a reincarnation of the tyrant Caesar was a favorite anti-Union metaphor. "Lincoln should remember," declared a speaker in New York, "Caesar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell," and Lincoln would soon have "his Brutus

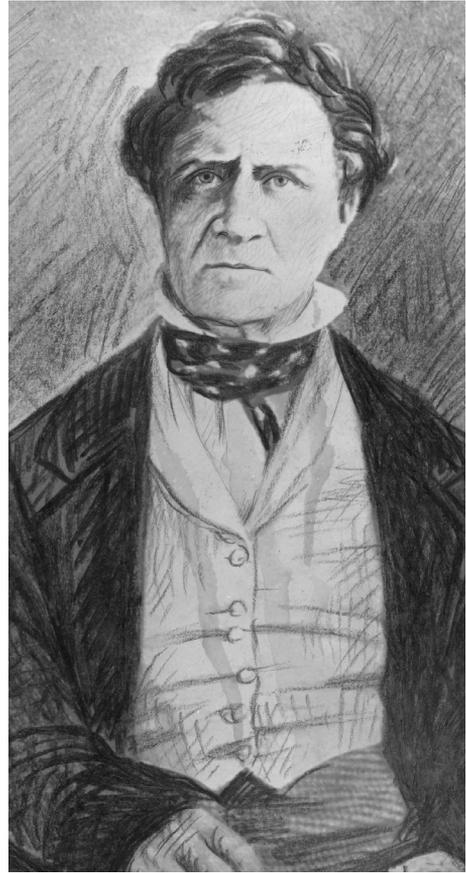


Francis Booth

99 BOYLSTON STREET,

J. NOTMAN,

BOSTON



Booth family members, from top left Edwin (1833–1893), Asia (1836–1888), and Junius (1796–1852). (Maryland Historical Society.)

Tudor Hall, Booth family home, Harford County, after c. 1847 (Maryland Historical Society.)



or his Cromwell.”¹⁸ Booth attended the Second Inaugural address and the famous, conciliatory speech, “With Malice toward None” scarcely registered with the actor. Rather, he had told himself, on that brisk morning, March 4, 1865, “What an excellent chance I had to kill the president.”¹⁹

As for Booth himself, he had never any intention of losing an ounce of flesh or blood on the ordinary military road to immortal glory. When the war began, he had judged himself “a coward,” who despised his very existence. Hard marching, cold tents, and death in a ditch had no appeal to Booth’s histrionic temper. Appeasing his sense of guilt, however, he grew active in Confederate espionage particularly in 1864 and the months following. Later, Booth boasted that “an uncontrollable fate” drove him to strike at “the most ruthless enemy the world has ever known.” “Sacred duty” required that he no longer tarry as a “hidden lie among my country’s foes.”²⁰ His resolve did not signify a religious conversion to some divinity of retribution—he pictured himself an instrument of holy intent.

The ethical force behind his words reflected the deepest white Southern convictions. Booth often complained that Yankee women were far too forward, too egalitarian. They had no shame. He recoiled at the notion that young ladies in the family might sit and joke with common laborers. At the same time, he was sleeping with a comely redhead, Ella Turner, who nearly killed herself on news of his death. Yet, all the while, Booth was secretly engaged to Lucy Hale, daughter of Senator John P. Hale, antislavery senator from New Hampshire. Crossing into Republican territory was a curious development for so ardent a Southern sympathizer. Lucy Hale and her family did not approve of actors as a class, and he found her abolitionism against his principles. Yet, he was apparently serious about her and she about him.²¹

Booth delighted in the fixed hierarchy of sexes, races, nationalities, and degrees of wealth, and his concept of masculine worth was a warrior’s recipe for action: the bid for immortal glory. The dreams of zealots have often made that ideal an ultimate goal. As remembered through the ages, the noble deeds of warriors on earth were supposed to find replication in the blessings of afterlife. In a memoir, Booth’s sister Asia explained that her brother killed Lincoln “so that his name might live in history.” Regarding the assassin “in a high, honorable light, a Patriot and Liberator,” whites would forever rejoice, she rhapsodized, that his “single arm raised” at a “critical moment” had retrieved Southern liberty.²² At the time of the assassination, however, Asia had been nearly hysterical on learning in a morning newspaper about the event at Ford’s Theater. She immediately thought of their father Junius and how such news would have devastated him. Junius had always opposed violence of any sort. “The name we would have enwreathed with laurels is dishonored by a son,” she had then mourned.²³ Time, however, and a change in the public climate in the postwar years reversed her attitude about her brother.

Along with a distaste for unsubmitive women, Booth despised any change in the social order. In the 1850s Booth had been an ardent nativist, a Know-Nothing

partisan. Like so many Marylanders, he opposed the admission of Irishmen and other nationalities into Anglo-Saxon America. In his defense, his sister Asia contended that there were sacred hierarchies to be observed. "Ignorant menials," she wrote, "too often the refuse of other countries," should keep a distance from their betters.²⁴ Although happy to take the money of Yankee theatergoers, Booth berated his sister Asia and brother Edwin about the enlistment of Irishmen in the Union cause. "The suave hordes of ignorant foreigners, buying up citizens before they land, to swell their armies. . . . Americans will blush to remember one day when Patrick coolly tells them that he won their battles for them, that he fought and bled and freed the nagur." His sister retorted that, if he felt so, Booth ought to join the Confederate army. He replied that his money from acting, his freedom to move about up North, his "knowledge of drugs" and, above all, he repeated, his money—would be the means "by which," he said, "I serve the South." He had been smuggling supplies of quinine into the malarial Confederacy. Once, Junius, another acting brother, was walking with him through the darkened streets of Washington and noticed that tears were streaming down Booth's face, as he muttered in broken tones, "Virginia . . . Virginia." Their sister Asia, who reported the incident, declared, "it was like the wail from the heart of the Roman father over his slaughtered child. This idealized city of his love [Richmond] had a deeper hold upon his heart than any feminine beauty. Defending him against any possible charge of effeminacy, she added, "but this very weakness of tears was proof of the depth of his strength."²⁵

How strange it was that this youngest son in the Booth family should be so besotted with the Southern way of thinking. He preferred Richmond audiences to those in Baltimore. He had almost failed completely in the mid-1850s at the Charles Street theater in Baltimore.

Like other Southern sympathizers, he believed in severely limited national government. Booth told Asia that Lincoln was another Caesar who boasted that in war "the law was silent" and a tyrant could do as he wished. In his opinion, Lincoln intended to overturn the Constitution and create a kingly dynasty. He had become a tool of "false-hearted, unloyal [sic] foreigners who would glory in the downfall of the Republic." Lincoln, he assured himself, meant to "crush out slavery, by robbery, rapine, slaughter and bought armies."²⁶ "If the North conquers us," he went on, but she interrupted, "We are of the North." "Not I, Not I!" he countered. "So help me holy God! My soul, life, and possessions are for the South."²⁷ Actually, she was right. Her husband John Clarke and the Booth brothers, all men of the theater, were pro-Union. In fact, Edwin mocked his handsome younger brother's "secession froth," as he called it. He even voted for Lincoln in 1864.²⁸ Moreover, Edwin snatched the coat of young Robb Todd Lincoln, the president's son, and rescued him from a nearly fatal accident. He had fallen on a railroad track in a Jersey City station. Later, Lincoln recalled that at once he recognized the famous actor, his rescuer, and expressed his heartfelt thanks.²⁹

With regard to our second theme, it is fitting to review the succession of organized underground work that the Rebel high command authorized. “Black-flag warfare,” as the enterprise was tagged by a Philadelphia newspaper in 1862, required not just stealth but complete engrossment in a blinding glow of loathing.³⁰ After the critical 1860 election, packages of preserves and other condiments from the South—most of them poisoned—arrived on Lincoln’s doorstep in Springfield. Prosouthern groups materialized in Maryland and the mid-western states. They boasted grand names such as “the Circle of Honor,” “Knights of the Golden Circle,” and “the Circle and Knights of the Mighty Host.” While in Richmond in 1858 or 1859, Booth had joined the Knights, a secret society, founded by a George L. Bickley in Baltimore.³¹

Still greater dangers lay closer to the District of Columbia. On February 23, 1861, owing to the efficient intelligence work of New York police and Pinkerton detectives, Lincoln was spirited in late February through Baltimore. During the previous summer, the National Volunteers, as the proslavery sympathizers called themselves, had organized under the leadership of William Byrne, a Baltimore merchant. When their candidate, John C. Breckinridge, lost the election, they resolved at a meeting in Barnum’s City Hotel to prevent Lincoln from being inaugurated. Curiously, an Italian named Cipriano Ferrandini, the Baltimore hotel’s chief barber and an officer in the Knights of the Golden Circle, pledged his life in a well thought-out attempt to murder the president-elect. A crowd would cause a disturbance as Lincoln headed for a planned luncheon with the Baltimore mayor, George William Brown, and Ferrandini would fire his derringer pistol in the confusion. Lincoln escaped that fate, thanks to the detective work of a New York police spy who had infiltrated the Confederate clique. Having been apprised of the danger, Lincoln caught an earlier train out of Harrisburg and was having lunch at the Willard Hotel in Washington when the plotters thought he would be at their mercy in Baltimore.³²

Similar plots and threats of assassination materialized throughout the war. New York City, symbol of Union villainy and nerve center of national finance, made a tempting target. In late 1864, Jacob Thompson, Captain Robert Cobb Kennedy, Robert M. Martin, a Kentuckian and cavalry officer, John Yates Beal, and others hoped to light a fast-spreading conflagration. With the approval of Confederate authorities in Richmond, they poured 144 bottles of “Greek fire,” a mix of turpentine and phosphorus, around Barnum’s Museum and in ten hotels. They set fires in bedrooms at six hotels, most situated along Broadway from Courtlandt to 25th Street.³³ All of these buildings were bursting with thousands of guests and service personnel. Kennedy later explained that the saboteurs had no misgivings about endangering “the lives of women and children.” The plan proceeded without a hitch. The saboteurs, however, neglected to open windows to feed oxygen to the fires they set.

Miraculously no fatalities or injuries ensued. It was not all good news, however, at least as later events would prove. It happened that adjacent to the Lafarge Hotel, one of those targeted, stood the Winter Garden playhouse. That very night before

a packed house of 2,000 theatergoers, John Wilkes Booth was playing the role of Marc Antony in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*. His talented elder brother Edwin took the demanding part of Brutus, and Junius Booth the dignified patrician Cassius. On stage, despite their political differences, they worked in full professional harmony, and the first act ended with a thunderous ovation. It was a performance, many said, not to be forgotten. The three Booths' proud but widowed mother Mary Ann, seated in a private box, received her sons' bows as they turned toward her at the footlights.

Then, just as the curtain went up for the second act, the alarm of fire rang out. The lobby of the LaFarge next door was aflame and smoke began to filter into the theater itself. The crowd started to rush out, but before a real crush developed, Edwin Booth calmed the audience, and act two began again.³⁴ Had the flames become uncontrollable, the future assassin might have died, and the president's life spared. On the other hand, if the city had been razed to the ground with great loss of life, as the conspirators anticipated, the wrath of the North would have been catastrophic for Southern civilians—particularly those New York Irish recruits, whom Booth so despised. The war would have probably become even bloodier and more barbaric.

Meantime, as the firemen doused the flames, federals were in hot pursuit of the conspirators. A few days later they caught up with Captain Kennedy enroute for Canadian safety. He was spotted on a train chugging into Detroit and immediately handcuffed. Defiantly, Kennedy waved the shackles about and, in furious denial of his humiliation, bellowed to the startled passengers, "These are badges of honor! I am a Southern gentleman."³⁵ Although the president often let mercy prevail over retribution, there was no pardon from Lincoln for this Southern gentleman. On March 25 he was hanged at Fort Hamilton, New York. The method of his death was not by dropping the body through a trap door but by jerking it up some six feet with an arrangement of weights, pulley, and rope. Before that event, he shook violently, cursed the federal government, swore that Jeff Davis would avenge his "murder," then sobbed, and finally sang a cheery song in choking voice. Thus, Kennedy spent his last minutes on earth without fortifying his claim of stoic gentility. Beal was also hanged, at Fort Columbus, New York. Martin, however, temporarily escaped detection. Ironically, while doing underground work in Canada, Robert Martin and Booth had clinked glasses at a Toronto tavern in 1864. Arrested and incarcerated in Kentucky a few months after the assassination, Martin admitted that he had learned of Booth's plans in February or March, 1865. The newly installed president, Andrew Johnson, pardoned the conspirator in 1866.³⁶

Other Confederate strategies showed comparable ingenuity but also equally poor results. Biological terrorism was a case in point. In 1854, operating from Canada, Luke Pryor Blackburn, a Kentucky physician with a specialty in treating yellow fever, collected victims' garments during an epidemic on the island of Bermuda. With Confederate President Jefferson Davis's personal approval he and his accom-

plices prepared the shipments, including a suitcase of expensive dress shirts sent to Lincoln as an anonymous present. Eight trunks of allegedly contaminated apparel were readied for the destinations of Washington, Norfolk, Virginia, and New Bern, North Carolina, all occupied by federal troops. Even if Blackburn's diagnosis of how the virus was transmitted had been valid, and the clothes had reached their targets, the plan would have failed. Confederate civilian sympathizers and not the enemy could well have become the chief casualties.

Failing to receive his promised compensation, Godfrey Joseph Hyams, a disgruntled operative, took his story to Canadian authorities at Toronto. Hoping for immunity and reward, Hyams also identified a Confederate "bomb house" in Toronto. It was promptly seized. At Blackburn's subsequent Canadian trial, however, the physician won acquittal on a technicality. The judge claimed that he had no jurisdiction over crimes committed in the maritime provinces, where the Bermudan trunks had entered and were then shipped out of Canada for Boston. Lavishly acclaimed in the South, the Rebel doctor was later elected governor of Kentucky in 1879. Months after the death of both Lincoln and Booth, Cordial Crane, a Boston Customs House officer, cleverly ascertained that one "J. Wilkes Booth," with three others recently from Canada, had registered at a Boston hotel at the time of the shipment of clothing from Halifax. He informed Edwin Stanton of his suspicions of Booth's involvement. William A. Tidwell, a leading assassination expert, speculates that the Blackburn clothing plotters had met with Booth at the Parker House to discuss not only the shipments but also plans to capture or kill Lincoln.³⁷

Thus, it seems that Booth's presence in these subversive activities was to help plan Lincoln's kidnapping. In the summers, the unsuspecting president often traveled to an early Camp David, a cottage on the grounds of the Soldiers' Home, three miles north of the White House on the road to Silver Spring, Maryland. Thomas Nelson Conrad of the Confederate Secret Service and Secretary of War James B. Seddon reasoned that the kidnapping would bring the fighting to a halt and bestowal of Confederate sovereignty would follow. The appearance of a cavalry escort for the president's carriage frustrated the plan—much to Booth's disappointment. Late one evening, however, a private guarding the entrance of the Soldiers' Home heard a gun shot and then witnessed Lincoln, hatless, and his horse galloping past. The president reassured him that nothing was wrong, except a hunter being careless. The next day, though, a patrol found the president's "eight-dollar plug hat," scarred with a bullet hole in the crown.³⁸

In early 1865 another scheme, organized out of Richmond, nearly carried equally grave consequences. With Jefferson Davis's explicit approval, Sergeant Thomas F. Harney, an expert in the Torpedo Bureau, headed for Washington with a powerful explosive to demolish the White House. Booth was heavily involved. According to George Atzerodt, "They were going to mine the end of the President's House near the War Department" and they had learned of an entry by which to do it. On

April 1, Judah Benjamin had Davis assign 1,500 dollars in gold for the undertaking. One hundred and fifty irregular cavalymen accompanied Harney, among them southern Marylanders in John Singleton Mosby's command who had long worked behind Union lines in Northern Virginia.³⁹ Unaware that Lee had surrendered, the band proceeded to within fifteen miles of the capital. The Eighth Illinois Cavalry patrolled nearby. The horsemen surrounded the group on April 10, 1865, and marched them to the Old Capitol prison. Booth must have known that Harney's mission failed and with Richmond abandoned six days earlier there would be no point in taking Lincoln hostage.⁴⁰ So, Booth and his friends schemed to strike down not just Lincoln but also Vice President Andrew Johnson and Secretary of State William H. Seward—simultaneously. Such a decapitation of successive chiefs would have deposited Lafayette Sabine Foster, an obscure Republican Senator Pro Tem from Connecticut, in the president's chair.

Booth's anger at Confederate defeat and Lincoln's triumph reached a new height of passion when on April 11 he listened to Lincoln's words before a large crowd on the grounds in front of the White House. To Booth's earlier dismay, Marylanders, recognizing that slavery was collapsing, had narrowly voted in 1864 for a new constitution in which slavery was abolished. In his annual address the following year Lincoln had applauded that decision, announcing that the vote was a "complete success" in obtaining "Liberty and Union for all the future." Not long afterwards, the president stood on a small balcony in celebration of the fall of Richmond and of Lee's surrender. Like Maryland, Louisiana had also just abolished slavery, but, Lincoln noted, the constitution offered the freemen nothing further. "It is unsatisfactory to some that the elective franchise," the president told the crowd, "is not given to the colored man." He added, "I would myself prefer that it were now conferred on the very intelligent and on those who serve our cause as soldiers." The question uppermost in his mind was not black franchise but the question, "Can Louisiana be brought into proper relation with the union sooner by sustaining or by discarding her new state government?"⁴¹

In the midst of the hundreds of happy celebrants, Booth stood there with two fellow conspirators, David Herold, once a pharmacist, and Lewis Powell (alias Paine). Booth whispered to Powell that he should kill the president then and there. Aware that they would be seized immediately, Powell sensibly refused. Booth retorted, "That means nigger citizenship." Seizing on Lincoln's rather tentative suggestion rather than on the larger issue of Louisiana's re-admission into the Union, he turned to Herold, "Now, by God, I'll put him through." As the crowd dispersed, Booth mumbled, "That is the last speech he will ever make"—and it was.⁴² The issue for Booth was the cause of white honor over the allegedly ignorant, only half-human black.

Time was growing short before the war would be completely over. Probably without consulting higher authorities, Booth, then on the run after Richmond's

evacuation, decided—probably on April 11—to abandon the idea of kidnapping. Partly on the basis of reaction to Lincoln’s reconstruction plans that gave political power to some African Americans, he thought to do what Powell had declined to undertake. In working his plans, Booth realized that, regardless of what the Confederate command might direct, he would have to act virtually alone except for his small band of loyal militants.

Although no direct link was ever uncovered, President Davis himself might well have favored Lincoln’s killing. Earlier in the war, however, he had opposed it. The turning point came with the Union’s Ulric Dahlgren’s raid against Richmond, February and March 1864. By then, Lincoln himself had thought seizing Davis worthwhile, if coupled with the rescue of Union captives in the disease-ridden Libby Prison. The mission was ill-planned and poorly executed. Brig. Gen. Judson Kilpatrick was to move his force north of the city but failed to advance far enough. Meanwhile, Dahlgren would move his 500 troopers to the south, but the units lacked the necessary coordination and Dahlgren found no way to cross a swollen James River. On March 2, 1864, his force was ambushed, and Dahlgren, shot from his saddle, died instantly. A scavenger discovered documents on the body and handed them over to the Richmond authorities. The papers revealed incriminating statements of objectives, including firing of the city and taking or exterminating Jefferson Davis and his cabinet. Such “an act of terrorism,” as the Rebels called it, freed them to do likewise.⁴³

Booth probably orchestrated his own plans, perhaps with the tacit approval of Judah P. Benjamin, the last Secretary of War in Richmond. During his postwar imprisonment, Davis contemptuously dismissed accusations of collusion. Nevertheless, Benjamin, Davis’s confidante, was conversant with all aspects of Confederate espionage and shared much information with his chief. Prosouthern agents had long been highly active. They used all the means of communication available: coded messages, apparently unlimited cash for bribes, weapons, travel, prearranged signals, and other subterfuges. Booth spent \$10,000 of his own money to house and feed his clique of conspirators, and the network to which they belonged stretched from Canadian cities to safe houses along a route to the Maryland-Virginia border.

Luckily, Booth’s colleagues were neither as competent nor as properly equipped as he. While the actor was occupied at John Ford’s theater, Lewis Powell slashed his way to Seward’s bedside at his house near Lafayette Square. The Secretary of State had been in a serious carriage accident on April 5. He had a broken arm and fractured jaw and thus, lying down, could not defend himself. The wounds to chest and throat nearly ended Seward’s life. A pistol would have been effective, but it had misfired. Meantime, George Atzerodt was supposed to dispatch Andrew Johnson at the Kirkwood Hotel. Yet the hazards of his task unnerved him. He drank his opportunities away and then fled.

Booth’s well-known success warrants only brief recounting. The actor had

simply astounding luck. Lincoln had stopped by the War Department and asked Henry Stanton if he would permit the very muscular and reliable Major Thomas T. Eckert to accompany the party to the theater. Claiming that he sorely needed him that night Stanton refused to release his aide. Eckert himself vigorously declined on the grounds of the heavy work that Stanton expected him to complete that evening. Both men prevaricated—after the assassination both were found at home with their families. Lincoln then invited Major Henry R. Rathbone and his wife to join the theater party.⁴⁴ Ordinarily, Ward Hill Lamon, a very scrupulous and dependable friend and fellow lawyer from Illinois, would have coordinated Lincoln's security. The president's self-appointed bodyguard, Lamon also served as marshal of the District of Columbia. Sometimes he slept on the floor, well armed, in front of the Lincolns' bedroom. Lamon had once chided Lincoln for attending the theater with no one to guard him and he had even threatened to resign. Booth knew, on that Friday night, that Lamon had been sent on a mission to Richmond.⁴⁵ Apparently John Parker, an alcoholic, untrustworthy, and incompetent member of the District police force, was supposed to guard the entrance to the presidential box. To avoid being drafted, Parker had importuned Mary Lincoln to add him to the Executive Mansion staff, and she so officially ordered.⁴⁶ Resigned to fate, Lincoln had often remarked that, if someone sought to end his life, they would find the means.

Happy but exhausted, Lincoln decided to attend the theater even though Mary Todd had a headache and suggested that they not go. Earlier that day, William H. Crook, one of his bodyguards, accompanied Lincoln on the way back from the War Department. Crook noticed how deeply depressed he seemed, despite the recent victories. On sight of some violently drunken men on the street, the president exclaimed, "Crook, do you know I believe that there are men who want to take my life." Other leaders had been assassinated, he mused, and then talking almost to himself declared, "I have no doubt they will do it." Crook naturally demurred forcefully, but Lincoln replied that he trusted his guards, "But if it is to be done, it is impossible to prevent it."⁴⁷

A series of missteps left Booth with no impediment to the president's box for that evening's performance of the comedy *Our American Cousin*. He moved comfortably through the crowds, crossed under the stage eluding close observation, and showed his pass to an inattentive guard. At 10:13 pm, with the muzzle of his derringer only two feet from the president's head, Booth fired. Seated next to his fiance, Major Rathbone, startled, jumped up and tried to grab Booth. The assassin dropped the pistol, but he pulled out a knife. He slashed Rathbone's arm with a deep thrust, but Rathbone forced him toward the balcony. As Booth attempted to leap from the box, he snagged his left-foot spur on some patriotic bunting and fractured a bone in his leg upon hitting the stage twelve feet below. (The distance looks much greater than a dozen feet in the restored theater, but Booth was well known for his ability to jump from heights in battle scenes.) With hands upraised, the actor faced

the stupefied theatergoers and shouted, "Sic semper tyrannis!" In his diary, later discovered, Booth claims to have said those words just before he fired the pistol at Lincoln's head. "I shouted Sic semper before I fired." But he may have repeated the phrase on the stage, facing the audience before fleeing. In the frenzy after the shot was fired, Jean Baker reports in her biography of Mary Todd Lincoln that the president's wife cried out, "Oh, my God, and have I given my husband to die?"⁴⁸ The Lincolns' young son Tad was at another theater to see *Alladin*. When told of the disaster, he began running "like a young deer shrieking in agony." Oh, he wailed, "They have killed Papa dead. They've killed Papa dead!"⁴⁹ Quickly Booth limped past the lone, benumbed, actor then before the lights and staggered outside.

Meantime, two physicians in the orchestra hastened up to the president's box. One of them, Charles A. Leale, a young army surgeon, rushed from his orchestra seat, reached the presidential box, and eased the victim from his chair to the floor. As the blood from the head wounds oozed through his hands, Leale saw at once that the case was hopeless. He applied mouth to mouth resuscitation, and with the help of a second physician, managed to massage the chest until short but regular breathing resumed. The bullet had penetrated Lincoln's left ear and rested behind the right eye. The president could not move, and he was totally unconscious.⁵⁰ The rescue party then carried him to the lodging of Henry Safford, a tailor, who lived across from the theater on Tenth Street where the president's life came to a close at 7:22 am on April 15, nine hours after the assault.

During the period when the shock of the assassination was still reverberating, Booth sought safety in flight. After leaving the stage, he limped to the rear of the theater and went through the backstage door. With a knife's handle, the assassin in his excitement viciously struck the stable boy holding his horse and speedily galloped away. Joining David Herold, another operative, said to be half-witted, Booth headed for southern Maryland. Sympathizers there would marvel at his pluck, Booth anticipated, and would assist his flight toward the Deep South and possibly Mexico. Indeed, Dr. Samuel Mudd set the bone and hid the pair in his Bryantown house. Later, the physician maintained that Booth was "a mere casual acquaintance," according to his defense counsel. The horseman simply required Hippocratic ministrations after taking a fall. That was nonsense. Booth had even spent a night in Mudd's house in December 1864, and they had met at least two other times and had long conversations.⁵¹ Striving to reach Virginia, the pair then continued southward. Meantime, the fugitive moaned in a diary entry that he was pursued "like a dog" simply "for doing what Brutus was honored for." What a "degenerate people" his unmanly fellow Americans were to dub him "a common cutthroat." Like the arsonist Kennedy, Booth thought himself a gentleman of unimpeachable reputation. If returned to Washington, his station would become evident to all. Once there, Booth swore, "I will clear my name which I feel I can do."⁵²

With federal troops swarming everywhere, the fugitives were traced to Garrett's

Farm just south of Port Royal, Virginia. On the night of April 26, Union cavalrymen surrounded Garrett's barn and set it ablaze. Shaking abjectly, Herold surrendered, but, gun in hand, Booth refused. Before he could fire, Sergeant Boston Corbett shot him in the neck. Booth fell paralyzed and uttered his final words, "Tell . . . my . . . Mother. . . I . . . die for my country."⁵³

Taking command of the search and the government itself, Edwin Stanton, Lincoln's Secretary of War, directed a widespread round-up of suspects. Only a few of them were deeply implicated. Such sweeps as this are certainly not uncommon when conspiracies against the state have been exposed or suspected, whether justly or not. Government men and police quickly picked up and jailed Edward Spangler, Booth's confidante at Ford's Theater, Atzerodt, Lewis Powell, and the motherly Mary C. Surratt. Ned Spangler helped Booth escape by holding his horse and warning other backstage men to say nothing of what they might see. "He was very excited," reported John Miles who worked high up in the theater flies. When convicted, Spangler was sentenced to six months hard labor.⁵⁴ Although at first the evidence seemed slim, Samuel Mudd was also found guilty as a result of witnesses who testified at the military tribunal about his complicity. Colonel H. H. Wells, assigned to investigate all aspects of the assassination, told the military judges that the defendant had prevaricated and evaded so repeatedly that his guilt was indisputable. Wells's testimony was so matter-of-fact and lucid in presentation that Mudd himself "winced." His facial expressions betrayed him and "his eyes discovering great uneasiness," reported the *New York Times*. Mudd's claim not to have recognized the stranger with the broken ankle was simply hard to understand. Nonetheless, the prosecution's case was not airtight. Former Maryland Senator Reverdy Johnson ably defended the conspirators. As a result Mudd escaped the gallows and was sent to Fort Jefferson on the island of Dry Tortugas for life. Andrew Johnson, however, pardoned him in 1869.⁵⁵

Booth's allies in this tragic venture consisted chiefly of Marylanders, among them the highly educated Dr. Samuel Alexander Mudd of Bryantown, Maryland. The physician was a good friend of Thomas Harbin, a former Bryantown postmaster who became an efficient Confederate Secret Service operative. Mudd, Booth, and Harbin met at the Surratt Tavern in Surrattsville in December 1864. Harbin was very helpful in offering Booth advice, assisting him in purchasing a horse for the upcoming escape with Lincoln and later helped with the escape into Virginia. Mary Surratt had long lived in Surrattsville, Maryland, ten miles south of the capital, and her former hostelry was a "safe house" for the Rebel communications between Richmond and Washington. In the early 1850s her father, a rabid pro-Confederate like many in lower Maryland, had run a hostelry and tavern. After his death in 1862, she leased the tavern, moved to a house on H Street in Washington in November 1864, and began taking in boarders to support herself, daughter Anna, and a cousin, Olivia Shenks. There Booth and her son John spent hours conversing about plots

to turn Confederate fortunes into ultimate victory.⁵⁶

George Atzerodt was not a Marylander but a Prussian immigrant. Cash rather than ideology seemed the German's chief interest. John Surratt, a leading Confederate spy and Mary Surratt's only son, recruited him. As it happened, Atzerodt's brother, a Unionist, was a detective under Provost Marshal James McPhail of Baltimore, the official most responsible for the arrest of Sam Arnold and Michael O'Laughlin, Booth's boyhood friends from Exeter Street and, for a time, earnest collaborators. Before the war, when Junius was away on tour, the family had rented a house in Baltimore. Later, he bought a dwelling on Exeter Street, which lies between Fayette and Baltimore Streets near the old Shot Tower. One of the neighboring children, with whom young John played, had been Michael O'Laughlin, later a fellow conspirator who lived with his widowed mother at 57 North Exeter opposite the Booths' residence. He grew to be a darkly handsome young man who despised Lincoln and the Republicans. Early in the war, O'Laughlin had joined the Knights of the Golden Circle and, for membership, took the society's oath to destroy the president. Also, two other conspirators had been young Booth's neighbors and friends—Samuel and William Arnold.⁵⁷ Sam Arnold had also been Booth's classmate at St. Timothy's Hall, Catonsville. His family owned a popular bakery and confectionary on the corner of Liberty and Fayette Streets. An agent with whom Booth conferred in Montreal, was another Baltimore resident, Patrick C. Martin, a liquor store owner.⁵⁸

As the hopes of the Confederacy waned, neither O'Laughlin nor Arnold, a former Rebel who had briefly served in the First Maryland Infantry regiment, were eager participants in Booth's plans. When they met him at the Barnum Hotel in mid-August 1864, they tried to renege on pledges to complete the mission. Earlier in the week, Booth had proposed to kidnap Lincoln while he was seated in the presidential box at Ford's Theater. Arnold was supposed to grab the president and lift him down to the stage. Waiting on stage, Powell was to catch him and hustle him backstage to a waiting carriage. When Booth presented this scenario he was met with stunned disbelief. Arnold could never have handled a muscular, lanky Lincoln, handcuff him, and have him delivered from the twelve-foot height. He knew the task was beyond him. Meantime, Booth persisted, Herold and O'Laughlin were to douse the gas lights.⁵⁹ Despite adjustments that Booth refined, Arnold remained skeptical. Both had taken no part in the assassination, but they had conspired in the plot to capture the president until that idea fell through due to its minimal chance of success. Arnold confessed as much, but O'Laughlin refused to admit to anything.⁶⁰

As with Samuel Mudd, Mary Surratt's case once enlisted pro-Southern scholars who vigorously denied her guilt. Although she has her historical defenders, her complicity is indisputable. One of her sons left from Baltimore for Texas to join a Rebel cavalry unit in Texas, yet another worked assiduously for Lincoln's election in 1860. Her boardinghouse was a Washington center for secret plans to capture or,

later, eliminate Lincoln. Booth spent hours talking with John Surratt or his mother, both of whom shared his hatred of Yankees, abolitionists, Lincoln, and Republicans. Mary's daughter Anna and her cousin Olivia Jenkins, both in their teens, were thrilled to have the famous actor a frequent visitor to the house.⁶¹ In December 1864, Dr. Samuel Mudd went there with his newly acquired friend Booth so that the actor could meet Mudd's associate, John Surratt, Mary's son and a leading figure in the Confederate underground. Other meetings of the conspirators took place in the following months. Nonetheless, the boardinghouse matron claimed that politics was seldom a subject of conversation among any of her boarders or frequent visitors, including Booth. Given her dead husband's Southern Maryland roots and antipathy toward the Union and her own background in secessionist-minded Surrattsville, her denials scarcely rang true.⁶² On the day that Lincoln was slain, Mary Surratt left home early for Lloyd's tavern in Surrattsville where she delivered Booth's binoculars and insured that weapons for Booth's flight were ready.

Specialists on the assassination have lately and rightly insisted upon Mary Surratt's complicity. Most of these partners in crime had lived under her roof or often sat in her parlor—including Booth, her son John Surratt, a chief Confederate courier to Canada, and Lewis Thornton Powell, Seward's assailant in his sickroom on Lafayette Square.⁶³ When Lewis Powell, alias Paine, later arrived haplessly on Surratt's doorstep, federals were searching her house. When the police at the house on H Street confronted her with Lewis Powell, her recent boarder and Seward's near assassin, she insisted that she did not know him. To be sure, he was in partial disguise, and she did have weak eyesight.⁶⁴

Yet he had escaped and was planning to head for Baltimore. If he had done so, General William W. Morris, commander of the municipal district, had every road covered that led from Washington to Baltimore. The federals believed that Booth would head there in his escape. Another contingent was ready to search all the trains entering the city. Instead, three days later after hiding in a tree with little food or water, Powell stopped at Mary Surratt's house on H Street. Facing the hulking workingman, she disclaimed ever seeing him before, yet the police on the scene were not gullible.⁶⁵

Finally, the long-term effect of Lincoln's assassination was profound. Gone was the leader who had patiently guided Union victory, deftly steered the Congress and nation through successive crises, and established black freedom. Drew Faust in *This Republic of Suffering* observes, "Lincoln's death was at once each soldier's death and all soldiers' deaths." She notes that "the parallels between Lincoln and Christ were powerful and unavoidable," given that he died in Holy Week. The Rev. Leonard Swain on Easter Sunday declared that in God's scheme of things "one man has died for the people, in order that the whole nation might not perish."⁶⁶ Bishop Matthew Simpson told the worshipers that "the nation had come to see that God had prepared him through life for the ordeal that lay ahead and that 'by the hand

of God' he has been 'especially singled out to guide our nation in these troublesome times.'" Wilbur Fisk, a Vermont soldier and Episcopalian, was profoundly disturbed by the news. How could a just God permit so abominable an act to happen? "We must quote," he mused, "in view of this event, the same words that Mr. Lincoln quoted in his second inaugural, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'" It was then simply another punishment for its sins that the nation had to undergo.⁶⁷

Alas, that national mourning with its Christian overtones was not to revive in a new and more positive form for a hundred years. Instead, at the White House, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee presided—a war Democrat of limited skills, resistant ego, unshakeable race prejudices, and intense loyalty to state rights and the old party system. The freed people had ample reason to grieve for the "Great Emancipator's" death. Though slaves no more, their fate, thanks to Johnson, toppled into the hands of former masters. Later Reconstruction state governments under Congressional mandates could do little to improve working conditions for the freedmen. The Union public gradually relinquished commitments to the forsaken. Northern voters grew ever more weary of crippled Republican efforts to create a two-party, biracial, Southern political system. Lincoln could not have solved all the problems of the postwar years. Yet, his departure irremediably sapped the triumph of Union arms, helped to begin an era of corruption and cynicism, and hobbled national endeavors toward racial equity. At least, as it appears now, the current struggle between terrorists and western culture may, we can hope, be less calamitous than Lincoln's fate and its impact on subsequent national history. Thanks to Booth, the president's death helped enormously to assure white Southerners of what became a century-long era of unchecked ascendancy, white over black.



Notes

1. Michael W. Kauffman, *American Brutus: John Wilkes Booth and the Lincoln Conspiracies* (New York: Random House, 2004), 81.
2. Stanley Kimmel, *The Mad Booths of Maryland* (New York: Dover, 1969); Edward J. Kempf, *Abraham Lincoln's Philosophy of Common Sense: An Analytical Biography* (New York: Academy of Sciences, 1969); Philip Van Doren Stern, *The Man Who Killed Lincoln* (New York: Literary Guild, 1955); George W. Wilson, "John Wilkes Booth: Father Murderer," *American Imago* 1 (1940); George Alfred Townsend, *The Life, Crime, and Capture of John Wilkes Booth* (New York: Dick & Fitzgerald, 1865).
3. Kauffman, *American Brutus*, 90, 94, 95, 200.
4. Quoted in William A. Tidwell, *Come Retribution: The Confederate Secret Service and the Assassination of Lincoln* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1988), 254.
5. Kaufman, *American Brutus*, 89.
6. Gene Smith, *American Gothic: The Story of America's Legendary Theatrical Family—Junius, Edwin, and John Wilkes Booth* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), 71–76; Asia Booth Clarke, *The Elder and the Younger Booth* (New York: J. R. Osgood, 1882), 110.
7. I owe much of this account to Kaufman, *American Brutus*, 88–93.
8. See John Hope Franklin, *The Militant South, 1800–1861* (1956, reprint Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970); William Robert Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character* (New York: G. Braziller, 1961); Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the American South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).
9. Smith, *American Gothic*, 72–76.
10. See Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (1982; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Kenneth R. Greenberg, *Honor & Slavery: Lies, Duels, Noses, Masks, Dressing as a Woman, Gifts, Strangers, Humanitarianism, Death, Slave Rebellions, the Proslavery Argument, Baseball, Hunting, and Gambling in the Old South* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996).
11. William Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, I. ii.84–89 and III. ii.13–16.
12. Lope de Vega, *Los Comendadores de Córdoba* in Donald R. Larson, *The Honor Plays of Lope de Vega* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977); See Carroll B. Johnson, *Madness and Lust: A Psychoanalytical Approach to Don Quixote* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 68–76; Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Secret Vengeance for Secret Insult in Four Plays*, trans. Edwin Honig (New York: Hill and Wang, 1961). See also Edwin Honig, *Calderón and the Seizures of Honor* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 37–52.
13. Ernest Schanzer, "Julius Caesar as a Problem Play," Leonard F. Dean, ed., *Twentieth Century Interpretations of Julius Caesar* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968), 67–72.
14. Asia Booth Clarke, *The Unlocked Book: A Memoir of John Wilkes Booth by his Sister Asia Booth Clarke* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1938), 124; Kaufman, *American Brutus*, 105–106.
15. His convictions were not wholly dissimilar from what radical Islamists in Iran denounce as the temptation to become "Westoxicated." Emmanuel Sivan, "The Holy War Tradition in Islam," *Orbis*, 42 (Spring 1998):190; John Rhodehamel and Louise Taper, eds., *Right or Wrong, God Judge Me: The Writings of John Wilkes Booth* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 147.
16. John Wilkes Booth, "To the Editors of the *National Intelligencer*, Washington, D.C. 14 April 1865," in Rhodehamel and Taper, eds., *Right or Wrong*, 148–50.

17. Kauffman, *American Brutus*, 398.
18. Kauffman, *American Brutus*, 200.
19. Jay Winik, *April 1865: The Month that Saved America* (New York: HarperCollins, 2001), 345.
20. Booth to Mary Ann Holmes Booth, November 1864, in Rhodehamel and Taper, *Right or Wrong*, 130.
21. H. Donald Winkler, *Lincoln and Booth: More Light on the Conspiracy* (Nashville, Tenn.: Cumberland House, 2003), 62; Smith, *American Gothic*, 117–20.
22. Clarke, *Unlocked Book*, 157–58.
23. Smith, *American Gothic*, 171.
24. Clarke, *Unlocked Book*, 64.
25. Clarke, *Unlocked Book*, 119–20.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Quoted in Smith, *American Gothic*, 102.
28. Quoted in Francis Wilson, *John Wilkes Booth: Fact and Fiction of Lincoln's Assassination* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1929), 45.
29. Sam Roberts, "On This Spot Something Happened," *New York Times*, June 30, 2009.
30. Edward Steers Jr., *Blood on the Moon: The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2001), 41–54.
31. Tidwell, *Come Retribution*, 257.
32. *Ibid.*, 16–26.
33. Charles Higham, *Murdering Mr. Lincoln* (Beverly Hills, New Millenium Press, Calif.: 2004), 152.
34. Stanley Kimmel, *The Mad Booths of Maryland* (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs Merrill, 1940), 191–92.
35. Nat Brandt, *The Man Who Tried to Burn New York* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 151, 223.
36. Tidwell, *Come Retribution*, 336.
37. Steers, *Blood on the Moon*, 46–52.; Tidwell, *Come Retribution*, 262.
38. Matthew Pinsker, *Lincoln's Sanctuary: Abraham Lincoln and the Soldiers' Home* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 134–35, 179–81; David Donald, *Lincoln* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995), 549–50.
39. Rhodehamel and Taper, eds., *Right or Wrong*, 121; Winkler, *Lincoln and Booth*, 168.
40. Steers, *Blood on the Moon*, 90–91; Winkler, *Lincoln and Booth*, 62.
41. Lincoln's remarks on Maryland, quoted in William C. Harris, *Lincoln's Last Months* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004), 95; balcony speech, quoted in Orville Vernon Burton, ed., *The Essential Lincoln: Speeches and Correspondence* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2009), 175.
42. William Hanchett, *The Lincoln Murder Conspiracies* (Champaign-Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 37.
43. Winkler, *Lincoln and Booth*, 22–26; Steers, *Blood on the Moon*, 44–45.
44. Hanchett, *Lincoln Murder Conspiracies*, 165.
45. Winkler, *Lincoln and Booth*, 76–80.
46. Winkler, *Lincoln and Booth*, 86–87.
47. E. Emerson Reck, *A. Lincoln: His Last Twenty-Four Hours* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1987), 53, 54; Joshua Wolf Shenk, *Lincoln's Melancholy: How Depression Challenged A President and Fueled His Greatness* (Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), 210.
48. John Wilkes Booth, *Diary*, 13–14 April, 1865, reprinted in Kauffman, *American Brutus*,

- 399; Jean Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln: A Biography* (1987; New York, Norton, 2008), 243.
49. Doris Kearns Goodwin, *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), 742.
50. Winik, *April, 1865*, 253–54.
51. Nettie Mudd, ed., *The Life of Dr. Samuel A. Mudd* (New York: Neale Publishing Company, 1906), 93; Edward Steers Jr., *His Name is Still Mudd: The Case against Doctor Samuel Alexander Mudd* (Gettysburg, Pa.: Thomas Publications, 1997), 40, 42.
52. Entry for 21 April 1865, diary, in Rhodehamel and Taper, eds., *Right or Wrong*, 154–155.
53. Kauffman, *American Brutus*, 320.
54. John Miles, 15 May 1865, in Timothy S. Good, ed., *We Saw Lincoln Shot: One Hundred Eyewitness Accounts* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1995), 81–82.
55. Quoted in Thomas Reed Turner, *Beware the People Weeping: Public Opinion and the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 184; Steers, *His Name is Still Mudd*, 98–99.
56. Tidwell, *Come Retribution*, 337; Kate Clifford Larson, *The Assassin's Accomplice: Mary Surratt and the Plot to Kill Lincoln* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), 40–47.
57. Kaufman, *American Brutus*, 82, 85; Charles Higham, *Murdering Mr. Lincoln: A New Century's Detection of the 19th Century's Most Famous Crime* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: New Millennium Press, 2004), 112–13.
58. James L. Swanson, *Manhunt: The 12-Day Chase for Lincoln's Killer* (New York: HarperCollins, 2006), 24; Larson, *The Assassin's Accomplice*, 4–7, 51–52, 56–60; Anthony S. Pitch, *They Have Killed Papa Dead! The Road to Ford's Theater, Abraham Lincoln's Murder, and the Rage for Vengeance* (Hanover, N. H.: Steerforth Press, 2008), 62; Tidwell, *Come Retribution*, 330; Higham, *Murdering Mr. Lincoln*, 162.
59. Kauffman, *American Brutus*, 180.
60. Tidwell, *Come Retribution*, 431.
61. Tidwell, *Come Retribution*, 338; Larson, *The Assassin's Accomplice*, 48; Jim Bishop, *The Day Lincoln Was Shot* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955), 75.
62. Elizabeth Steger Trindal, *Mary Surratt: An American Tragedy* (Gretna, La: Pelican Publishing, 1996), 120–28.
63. Betty J. Ownsbey, *Alias "Payne:" Lewis Thornton Powell, the Mysterious Man of the Lincoln Conspiracy* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1993), 89–100.
64. Tidwell, *Come Restitution*, 338.
65. Swanson, *Manhunt*, 378.
66. In later years, the remains of Samuel Arnold, Michael McLaughlin, and John Wilkes Booth, thanks to brother Edwin's entreaties, were all to lie in Greenmount Cemetery. Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Knopf, 2008), 156.
67. Richard J. Carwardine, *Lincoln* (Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education, Ltd., 2003), 309; Fisk quoted in Steven E. Woodworth, *While God Is Marching On: The Religious World of Civil War Soldiers* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001), 267.