History of Baltimore, 1729-1920

By Joseph L. Arnold

With chapter introductions by Elizabeth M. Nix

Introduction to Chapter 1
From Tobacco Landing to Port City, 1729-1797
by Elizabeth M. Nix

How did Baltimore grow from a tiny hamlet in 1730 to the third most populous city in the nation in 1800? Joseph Arnold answers this question in the opening chapter of his sweeping account of two hundred years of Baltimore history. Arnold convincingly argues that Baltimore's success was not due to one charismatic individual who had a compelling vision or to an enthusiastic band of boosters who charted a pragmatic plan for economic growth. Rather, Arnold shows readers that the town's success as a speculative settlement was birthed almost by the land itself. Arnold paints a picture of the gradual elevations that surrounded the harbor on the Chesapeake Bay, which seemed to provide an efficient route for tobacco rolling roads. When farmers exported their cured leaves to Europe in the 1730s and 1740s, Baltimore jostled for their business with many other tobacco landings along the basin. Arnold demonstrates the advantages of Baltimore's location in the critical 1750s, when many nearby farmers switched to wheat as a cash crop. The swift streams that flowed into the harbor provided waterpower for grain mills, a crucial piece of the flour supply chain that demanded that farmers process cereal grains before they shipped them. In his comparisons to other fledgling towns in the Mid-Atlantic, Arnold points out that in the Baltimore region farmers could operate most efficiently. They grew their crops in the hinterland, hauled them to Baltimore for milling and then put their sacks of flour on ships that sailed directly to the West Indies and western Europe. The hills, streams and harbor seemed custom made for the profitable flour trade, and by 1776, Baltimore Town had grown into the sixth largest port in the colonies.

To demonstrate the way that Baltimore's early elite combined traffic in tobacco, flour, and slaves to build the basis for other commercial enterprises, Arnold highlights the career of William Lux, a wealthy exporter, merchant, and farmer, and the eventual owner of some of the thriving ropewalks and tanneries that filled the growing town. He shows that Lux and other successful Baltimoreans supported the cause of independence in the Revolutionary War and reminds readers that the conflict provided a boost to the town's economy. Despite its anti-British stance, Baltimore came through the war unscathed; the British never occupied the town or attacked it, freeing up its merchants and manufacturers to supply the rest of the colonies. Arnold argues that Baltimore capitalized on its enviable position in the post-Revolutionary period, and new residents poured in. By 1800 Baltimore trailed only New York and Philadelphia in population, and it was the fastest growing city in the new nation. Arnold complicates his portrait of early Baltimore's successes by detailing the "civic backwardness" of the town leaders as the they

struggled to establish municipal governance, keep the streets passable, promote public health and safety, maintain the harbor, and support of the poor.

Readers who want to continue their research into this period should consult *Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790-1860* by Christopher Phillips. Despite the timeframe in its title, the book chronicles the early years of Baltimore and points out that despite its founders' hopes that the town would become a thriving tobacco port, it was not until 1750 that the town exported its first cargo of tobacco by water. Phillips rounds out the story of the transition from tobacco to grain by asserting that Scots-Irish and German settlers brought their traditions of growing cereals through the port of Philadelphia and then into the receptive climate of the Baltimore hinterlands. Seth Rockman continues to chronicle the astronomical rise of the flour trade in *Scraping By: Wage Labor, Slavery and Survival in Early Baltimore* where he describes the thriving trade with the West Indies, England, and the Iberian Peninsula. To put Baltimore's boomtown experience into the broader context of cities and their hinterlands, look to William Cronon's *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*.

Introduction to Chapter 2
The Golden Age, 1797-1819
by Elizabeth M. Nix

Baltimore may have been big and bustling after it established its charter on New Year's Eve in 1796, but in Chapter 2 Arnold argues that the city was slow to develop cultural institutions and was late to fully embrace new forms of production. During the Market Revolution, other American cities developed industries that made goods, while Baltimore honed its expertise in moving goods, many of which arrived from far-flung ports. The city remained an international mercantile center with continued attention to the Atlantic, but after the National Road opened up new markets among the settlers of the nation's interior, successful merchants turned their eyes to the domestic west. Arnold asserts that instead of establishing universities and museums, Baltimore's elites gave the city a solid banking system and turnpikes to support their lucrative ventures. In his excellent synopsis of Baltimore during the War of 1812, Arnold gives ample evidence that Baltimore's rising fortunes made it a rich target for the British after they had ignored it during the Revolution. Readers might want to continue their investigation of Baltimore during 1814 in Steve Vogel's 2013 work, *Through the Perilous Fight: Six Weeks That Saved the Nation*. The most startling revelation of Arnold's second chapter is that Baltimore has never recovered from the Panic of 1819. Arnold credits the critical financial crisis with ending Baltimore's boomtown status.

The trading activity in the town led to an atmosphere of exotic goods and ethnic and religious diversity. Arnold highlights the arrival of Scots-Irish and German immigrants with their Presbyterian and Lutheran churches and explains how migrants from southern Maryland bolstered the Catholic population, leading the greater Catholic Church to select Baltimore as the site of the first Catholic cathedral in the United States. All of these established religious communities were threatened by the new enthusiastic Methodists who took Baltimore by storm. In this chapter, Arnold helpfully links early Baltimore leaders to their respective denominations, a useful resource for researchers tracing networks in the early republic.

Here, as always, Arnold exhibits an acute attention to class. It is striking that in a chapter he entitles "The Golden Years," Arnold devotes a great deal of space to the plight of the self-sustaining poor. Seth Rockman continues this discussion in *Scraping By: Wage Labor, Slavery and Survival in Early Baltimore* where he highlights the work experience of women, especially seamstresses. Arnold outlines the large increase in the free African American population in this period, and emphasizes the deep racial divide in an otherwise tolerant city. *In Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1780-1860* Christopher Phillips describes this period as somewhat of a Golden Age of race relations in the young city. When the expanding economy offered jobs for everyone, free blacks flocked to the city and found that, in Phillips' words,

"obsessed with economic expansion, white residents of Baltimore appear[ed] to have grown marginally color-blind." African Americans lived on the same blocks as whites, were included in the city directories, and, although a number of skilled jobs in the city were reserved for whites, blacks found work in semi-skilled trades as well as manual labor. Like Arnold, Phillips credits the Panic of 1819 for bringing about major social change. In this case the hard economic times ended what Phillips describes as surprisingly liberal attitudes Baltimoreans held about race in the early republic. Phillips draws parallels between the heightening of racism and rising black unemployment after the Panic.

In the case of another minority group in the city, Arnold mentions the two Jewish families who settled in Baltimore during this period. In his work in progress, *On Middle Ground: A History of the Jews of Baltimore*, co-written with Deborah Weiner, Eric Goldstein indicates that Baltimore's Jewish community was not as tiny as historians once thought. As Arnold notes, these two families formed the hub, but Goldstein has recently found that other Jewish families and individuals moved through the city, living in Baltimore only temporarily and leaving few traces in traditional historical documents.

Introduction to Chapter 3
Competing Against the Urban Giants, 1819-1860
by Elizabeth M. Nix

The antebellum period was so momentous for Baltimore that Arnold divides his treatment of it into three chapters. Chapter 3 addresses the economic progress the city made in the wake of the Panic of 1819. Baltimoreans came to realize their town would never achieve the status of New York, Philadelphia or even Brooklyn, and although their economy tripled in these years, other northeastern cities far outpaced them. These forty years saw Baltimore settle into a comfortable position as the "southern city without equal."

According to Arnold, this period was most affected by the introduction of steam power. Most readers will be familiar with the story of the steam engine and Baltimore's role as the anchor of the B&O, the first railroad linking the Atlantic coast to the Ohio River. Arnold dismisses the interpretation of the B&O founders as visionaries and states instead that when they proposed the rail line they were taking "a shot in the dark." Their venture faced numerous financial difficulties and took over thirty years to complete. That line, however, and numerous smaller railroads, enlarged markets for the city's growing wholesale and retail sector serving the interior. Arnold details a shift in the role of Baltimore's tradesmen from importers receiving goods directly from Europe to that of forwarding merchants passing items from New York ports into the expanding hinterlands. David Schley has investigated the somewhat surprising decision to place the railways on the major thoroughfares of the city in his article "Tracks in the Streets: Railroads, Infrastructure and Urban Space in Baltimore, 1828-1840."

Readers may not be as familiar with the impact the steamboat had on the city's fortunes. Arnold reminds them that entrepreneurs embraced the new technology and established a number of steamboat lines around the Chesapeake Bay, up and down the eastern seaboard and even across the Atlantic to Europe. Steamships took tobacco to Breman and returned with German immigrants who made Baltimore the American city with the highest percentage of Germans in its population. Trade around the Chesapeake increased the amount of grain coming into the city from Eastern Shore farmers and created quicker routes to rural customers eager to buy Baltimore's goods.

Finally, manufacturers increasingly used steam engines to power their production plants. Arnold notes that the most extensive "manufacturing" in Baltimore -- oyster packing and hand-sewing hats and men's clothing -- was still powered by humans, but increasingly business owners generated steam power to do their work. The activity of railroads and steamboats in the city gave rise to a supporting cluster of iron works, metal works, and mechanic shops to build and service them. Arnold shows that while the merchant class of the city had promoted the railroads and steamboats to move their goods, they also created a thriving manufacturing sector in the process.

More recently historians have investigated the social aspects of these economic developments. Garrett Power looks at the neighborhoods in which these workers lived in his chapter, "Deconstructing the Slums of Baltimore" in *From Mobtown to Charm City: New Perspectives on Baltimore's Past*. In *Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1780-1860* Christopher Phillips shows how Maryland slaveholders employed the practice of "hiring out," renting their slaves to urban businesses and creating a workforce of enslaved and free people, both white and black. Seth Rockman shows in *Scraping By: Wage Labor, Slavery and Survival in Early Baltimore* that despite the booming economy, it was difficult for working men and women to feel any level of economic security.

Introduction to Chapter 4
Growth of City Services, 1820-1860
by Elizabeth M. Nix

Arnold argues convincingly in Chapter 4 that between 1820 and 1840 Baltimore's municipal leaders were a frugal bunch: they allowed feral dogs and roaming hogs to sweep the streets for organic waste, had older students teach the younger ones in the fledgling city schools and even turned off the streetlights during every full moon. But Arnold shows that as the population of Baltimore doubled between 1830 and 1860, the civic leaders realized that they were going to have to pay for more centralized systems. Arnold traces the efforts of the city to save money by allowing for-profit businesses to deliver water and fight fires, but he shows that time and time again the government was forced to take over after private companies failed to deliver. Baltimore's greatest accomplishments in municipal reform took place in the 1850s under Whig and American Party mayors. In 1850 a private firm had managed to get water piped in to only one quarter of Baltimore's residences. After the city took over the water works, they connected more houses in the next seven years than the private firm had serviced in the previous fifty.

In this chapter readers also learn the origins of the term "Mobtown." When private companies set up competitive fire companies all over the city, the firemen and their fanatical entourages would battle each other to determine who would fight a particular fire. In election season these same bands would convert to partisan mobs that violently prevented their political opponents from casting their ballots. Arnold shows that constant street violence abated only when the city replaced the independent fire companies with a single municipal fire department and started patrolling the streets with an authorized police force.

This period also ushered in the city's first professional social workers, a more organized almshouse and orphan home, and the beginnings of a public school system. Arnold points out that although free African American citizens paid taxes, their children could not attend any of the Baltimore City public schools. In his book *Brown in Baltimore: School Desegregation and the Limits of Liberalism*, Howell Baum describes an interracial effort to change this injustice. After black petitioners failed in 1839 and 1844, black and white citizens in 1850 advocated to either create schools for non-white children or waive the tax for free blacks. Their petitions were rejected. Black churches started their own schools for their community's children, and The Colored Sabbath School Union in Baltimore was established in 1859, uniting fifteen member schools.

Readers interested in the first steps that Baltimore took to become a "Monumental City" during this period should consult Mary Ryan's article "Democracy Rising: The Monuments of Baltimore: 1809-1842," where she focuses on the role the Battle Monument played in the

formation of a political identity for Baltimoreans. Amy S. Greenberg has done in-depth work on antebellum firefighters, including "Volunteer Fire Companies and Community Formation in Baltimore 1780-1859" in *From Mobtown to Charm City: New Perspectives on Baltimore's Past.* Seth Rockman delves into the lives of the Baltimoreans who were digging the ditches for the waterworks, fighting over firehouse turf or entering the almshouse in *Scraping By: Wage Labor, Slavery and Survival in Early Baltimore.*

Introduction to Chapter 5
A Diverse and Volatile City, 1820-1860
by Elizabeth M. Nix

The city that Arnold describes in Chapter 5 will look recognizable to modern Baltimoreans. Here he charts the movement of the elite out of the center city to the wealthy enclaves of the north and northwest. In moving to Mount Vernon and Franklin Square, those with means tried to place some distance between themselves and the new immigrants who flocked to Baltimore after The Panic. Population growth spurred new residential development and improvements in transportation, including a controversial decision to run a horsecar from the West Side to Canton, a conflict that sounds strikingly similar to discussions over the Red Line today.

Baltimore's two largest immigrant groups of the antebellum period were the Irish and the Germans. While other east coast cities saw violent anti-Catholic activities during these years, Baltimore was relatively calm in comparison. Arnold attributes the acceptance of non-Protestant immigrants to the long history of Catholic political leadership in the state and to the fact that the city's parallel Catholic and Protestant schools functioned smoothly for decades.

In the violence that did occur in the 1840s and 1850s, Arnold asserts that ethnic rivalries trumped class solidarity. He outlines the conflict between white immigrant workers and enslaved and free blacks that Frederick Douglass describes so well in his passages about working as a caulker in Fells Point. Arnold charts the social geography of all of these immigrant groups as they lived and worked among native white and black Baltimoreans. Wealthier city residents rented or bought three-story row houses around the corner from the more modest alley houses of their ethnic neighbors. Arnold's discussion of the continued popularity of the row house can be enriched by an examination of the fine work of Mary Ellen Hayward in this area: *The Baltimore Row House* (with Charles Belfoure), T*he Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History* (with Frank Shivers), and *Baltimore's Alley Houses: Homes for Working People Since the 1780s.*

Arnold admits to the difficulty he had in researching Irish Catholic immigrants who were generally poor and came to America because of the famine in their homeland. The Irish formed few ethnic institutions outside their churches and left no publications of their own. Historians must rely on the biased descriptions in which Anglo newspapers decry Irish alcoholism and overall rowdiness. In contrast, German immigrants were more economically successful before they arrived and worked in skilled jobs. They enthusiastically formed institutions to promote their German culture and left reams of German-language newspapers, pamphlets and books. Arnold argues that the Germans, who were largely Lutheran, fit in well with the majority Anglo Protestant establishment, even as they maintained ties to their homeland through their own schools and language. Arnold asserts that even German Jews of this period aligned themselves

with Germans instead of the Jewish community. Readers will want to consult new research by Eric Goldstein, who won the 2012 Joseph L. Arnold Award for Outstanding Writing on Baltimore History for his paper "How German Were 'German' Jews in America in the Nineteenth Century? A View from Baltimore."

In this chapter Arnold pays special attention to the self-help efforts of the black community, a mixture of enslaved and free people, most of whom held low-wage jobs. He shows that due to growing racism and increasing competition for jobs, many rural blacks by-passed Baltimore to try their luck in other towns. The African American population of Baltimore actually declined in these years when white immigrant populations were multiplying. Christopher Phillips enlarges upon the experiences of the antebellum black community in Baltimore in *Freedom's Port*.

For a political take on this period, readers might want to look at the work of Frank Towers, including his dissertation, "Ruffians on the Urban Border: Labor, Politics and Race in Baltimore, 1850-1861," his chapter in *From Mobtown to Charm City* entitled "Secession in an Urban Context: Municipal reform and the Coming of the Civil War in Baltimore," and his 2004 book *The Urban South and the Coming of the Civil War.*

Introduction to Chapter 6
Baltimore's Civil War, 1861-1867
by Elizabeth M. Nix

The Civil War period tested Baltimore's claim to remain America's southernmost Northern city and its northernmost Southern city. While ardent Confederates and staunch Unionists resided in the city, Arnold asserts that they each held only small minorities. By Arnold's calculations, most voters remained neutral during the conflict and mainly wanted to preserve their mercantile livelihood. Trade had always been the lifeblood of Baltimore's economy, and there was never any real possibility that the city would support the secession of Maryland, a move that would have cut the city off from lucrative commerce with the North and the West. Arnold states that if Maryland had joined the Confederacy, it would have been "economic suicide" for Baltimore. While its citizens grumbled when the Union army took over after the 1861 Pratt Street Riots, Arnold argues that the "military occupation saved the city." Baltimore became a producer of provisions for the entire Union army that fed the boys in blue with Baltimore flour. Baltimore's wharves proved ideal for repairing Union ships. The wounded recovered in the city's hospitals. Baltimore's location and its network of railroads and steamships made it a hub for people, communication and goods during the conflict. While Arnold found some evidence of letters and small packages moving through the city into enemy territory, he says that the movement of goods that aided the Confederacy was actually quite small. Arnold challenges other historians who see the war as a crisis for the city. Instead, in this chapter he shows that during the war years, Baltimore enjoyed "high profits, strong trade and nearly full employment."

Political turmoil gripped the city after peace was declared. Arnold recounts the struggles between the Democrats and Republicans to limit the voters their opponents could claim. Calling the resulting election judge crisis "the most dire since 1861," Arnold shows again that some Baltimoreans used the Civil War for their personal and political gain. The new Maryland constitutions, crafted by Republicans and then Democrats after the war to reduce the influence of former slaveholders on the Eastern Shore, granted more political power to Baltimore in the state.

In anticipation of the sesquicentennial of the war, Johns Hopkins University Press published two books that touched on the conflict's impact on the Baltimore area. Readers can learn more about Baltimore's role in supplying the Union troops in Mark Wilson's book, *The Business of the Civil War: Military Mobilization and the State*. Charles W. Mitchell compiled an extensive collection of primary sources from this period in *Maryland Voices of the Civil War*.

Introduction to Chapter 7
Downtown, Neighborhood and Suburb, the Social and Economic Geography of the Baltimore Urban Region: Post-Civil War to the Dawn of the Twentieth Century
by Elizabeth M. Nix

Even in the twenty-first century, Baltimore is known as a City of Neighborhoods, and in this chapter, Arnold shows the trends that created many of the urban designations we still see today. Arnold describes post-Civil-War Baltimore as similar to a European city, a complete urban world where people of all classes lived, worked, dined and were entertained. He sees the city's settlement patterns as different from that of other American urban areas during this period. Arnold attributes Baltimore's residents' tendency to stay in the city instead of moving to the county as typical of Baltimoreans' basic conservatism, a characteristic that caused customers at every income level to continue to buy row houses all over the city. As they had in the antebellum period, business owners lived in wide houses on the main thoroughfares, while domestic and factory workers lived in the same districts in alley houses. One of the most illuminating sections of this chapter comes when Arnold compares the childhoods of H.L. Mencken and Babe Ruth, residents of the West End who grew up only four blocks apart but occupied very different worlds due to class differences. Arnold shows that this era saw a widening divide between the East and West sides of town: industrial and textile workers crowded into the neighborhoods east and south of the harbor, while professional classes bought houses around the appealing western squares, choosing to reside in the city but staying far away from the harbor. In those sea-level neighborhoods, toxic fumes from fertilizer plants and oyster shell lime kilns killed trees and damaged clothing.

Richard Paul Fuke discusses the particular situation of post-war black Baltimoreans in "Race and Public Policy in Post-Emancipation Baltimore," his chapter in *From Mobtown to Charm City*. Readers who would like to further investigate the retail establishments that were built downtown during this period should consult the work of Michael J. Lisicky including *Baltimore's Bygone Department Stores: Many Happy Returns* and *Hutzler's: Where Baltimore Shops*. In addition, Elizabeth Fee, Linda Shopes and Linda Zeidman have collected essays about working class Baltimore neighborhoods in *The Baltimore Book: New Views of Local History*. W. Edward Orser charts the development of the industrial and working class neighborhoods in the southwest portion of the city in *The Gwynns Falls: Baltimore Greenway to the Chesapeake Bay*.

Introduction to Chapter 8
Getting Around Town: From a Walking City to
Motor Vehicle Metropolis 1844-1920
by Elizabeth M. Nix

It took Baltimore only a few short years to go from a walking city of dense neighborhoods to a metropolitan area shaped by rapid transit. Arnold charts this progress as he shows how the horsecar ushered in Baltimore's first commuter suburbs, Waverly and Govanstown. In the 1890s cable cars and electric trolleys supplanted the horsecar and opened up new "Trolley Car Suburbs" including Roland Park, Guilford, Sudbrook Park and Ten Hills. These neighborhoods remain models of creative suburban development, and their continuing popularity is a testament to the vision of the Olmsted family who designed large portions of them. The suburban districts were miles away from the congested central city. Arnold emphasizes the crowding and the filth but also illuminates the sound of the center city; by 1900 residents had to endure the constant noise of 24-hour trolley service.

Arnold continues his interest in class when he describes the ridership of the trolleys. Not only were these large cars fast, but also they were cheap, so working class Baltimoreans of all races and ethnicities could afford to travel on them every day, sitting right next to the elite. Arnold argues that this uncomfortable urban mixture led to the upper classes' quick adoption of the auto. He begins to explain this transition through a description of the bicycle craze, which he argues was a "dress rehearsal for the automobile." These "swift and silent" cycles moved more rapidly around the town than any other vehicle, and, after some initial skepticism, 33,000 Baltimoreans became recreational cyclists. Their new hobby led them to political activism as they advocated for bicycle lanes throughout the city. When the automobile was introduced in the last years of the 19th century, its benefits over bicycles and trolleys were clearly evident. Baltimoreans of all classes rushed to purchase automobiles, and by 1913 there were more autos in the city than horses.

This transition may be a familiar story to students of American history, but Arnold adds a fresh perspective to the tale. First, he discusses the pedestrian experience at great length, recounting bicycle accidents and auto collisions. He makes readers realize the profound difference cars brought to everyone moving about the streets. Next, he includes a discussion of trucks, telling readers about Baltimore's municipal departments' eagerness to incorporate trucks into their horse-drawn fleets. Finally, he goes into detail about the street improvements that the car required. After decades of putting off street upgrades, Baltimore was finally forced by the advent of the auto to replace its cobblestone streets. The walking city that resembled a European town was quickly disappearing.

The Baltimore Trolley Museum would be a good choice for students who want to discover more about the region's mass transportation history. Ed Orser also includes a short chapter on streetcars in *The Gwynns Falls: Baltimore Greenway to the Chesapeake Bay*.

Introduction to Chapter 9
The Battle for Baltimore County: Farmers,
Suburbanites and the City, 1865-1920
by Elizabeth M. Nix

In the last chapter of his manuscript, Arnold discusses the development of "The Belt," the suburbs within the 10-mile radius of Baltimore City's 1865 boundaries. The inner ring of Baltimore County included mill towns like Hampden and Mt. Washington, the industrial center of Canton and rural seats of landed gentry. Since city taxes were twice those of the county, the county had less money to invest and as a result lagged behind the city in infrastructure like roads and bridges and essential services like water delivery, fire and police protection, and education. Arnold highlights a tension inherent in debates about raising county or city taxes to pay for improvements: most of the deciding elites were residents of both the city and the county, maintaining country estates and city townhouses. Two major turnpikes, Frederick Road and York Road, determined the direction of development, but efforts in the 1880s and 1890s to turn the sleepy farming towns along them into thriving suburban communities largely failed, mainly because badly maintained roads made the trip in to Baltimore City long and unpleasant. Only when the landowners of the large estates just outside the city line started selling their properties for development did the suburban ring take off. As transportation from the outskirts improved, area residents started thinking of the surrounding areas as year-round residences, not just summer places.

The years between the annexation of 1888, which brought western and northern suburbs into the city limits, and the final annexation of 1918 saw spectacular suburban growth. Arnold pays special attention to the development of Roland Park, a planned suburb that restricted the ways its residents could design their houses and use their ample lots. He notes that Roland Park and Guilford, originally in the county but eventually annexed by the city, were the first residential areas of Baltimore that were segregated racially and economically. Arnold also notes that the new development replicated the old patterns of status in Baltimore: the population that had a choice had moved northwest but again a northern address was more fashionable than a western one. Just as Mt. Vernon had been more desirable than Franklin Square, so was a Roland Park house more sought after than a similar house in Ten Hills. He asserts, "The whole social geography of the city was gradually replicated in the new suburban ring except of course that the scale and the degree of socio-economic segregation of housing were substantially greater."

Antero Pietila expands on the increasing segregation of the city in *Not in My Neighborhood*, focusing on the restrictive covenants of Roland Park and Guilford and Baltimore's

attempts to use legislation to deem certain blocks white and others black. Eric Holcomb tells the story of one area of the belt in *The City as Suburb: A History of Northeast Baltimore Since 1660.*