

Samuel Lane p. 43

MARYLAND

Md. medium in the 17th cent.

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



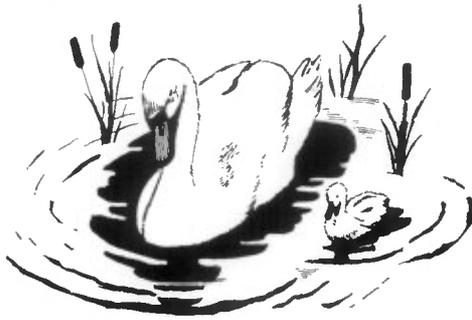
Bustling Baltimore in the 1890's

Charles Street, looking north from German, now Redwood, Street

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BALTIMORE

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume 57

MARCH, 1962

Number 1

HENRIETTA SZOLD AND THE RUSSIAN IMMIGRANT SCHOOL

By ALEXANDRA LEE LEVIN

AFTER the repressive measures known as the May Laws of 1882 were directed against the Jews of Russia, a flood of East European Jews poured into the United States. This influx was so massive that the urban centers to which the immigrants flocked found their rapid absorption difficult. While Baltimore did not have as overwhelming a problem as New York's tenement sweat-shops, still there were problems here, too. Baltimore may not have had a Hester, a Ludlow, or an Essex Street, but it had its Exeter, High, Aisquith, East Baltimore and East Lombard Streets. The Jewish immigrants, freed for the first time from the oppression of centuries, threw themselves into the mad scramble of trying to establish themselves in a new country, and had little time or inclination for anything pertaining to culture.

The fact that learning among the "People of the Book" had fallen to such a low ebb in America was a source of distress and uneasiness among some of the educated Jews, and the first person to take an active step in rectifying the situation in Baltimore was a twenty-nine-year-old school teacher, Miss Henrietta Szold. She had a full-time position at the Misses Adams' School for Girls at 222 West Madison Street, where she taught arithmetic, algebra, geometry, ancient history, botany, physiology, English, German, French, Latin, and whatever else was needed. In addition she commuted on certain afternoons to Mrs. McCulloch's School at Glencoe, a distance of twenty miles, where she lectured to the girls on Classicism and Romanticism, and interpreted the thoughts of Hegel, Goethe, Lessing, Kant, and Fichte.¹ On Saturday afternoons she taught a Bible history class for adults, and conducted classes for children at her father's congregational school on Saturday and Sunday mornings. In her free time she tutored privately in Hebrew and German. She was one of the most active members of the Baltimore Botany Club; she organized their meetings at the Academy of Sciences, and delivered some of the weekly papers on subjects of botanical interest.² When the Woman's Literary Club of Baltimore was founded in 1890, Henrietta Szold was one of the first members, and contributed some of the more memorable papers read before that select group.³ It is amazing that she had the energy and found time to do anything more, but she seems to have possessed extraordinary sources of strength.

On October 1, 1888, an earnest group of young people formally became the Isaac Bar Levison Hebrew Literary Society of Baltimore. Its official seal depicted a pile of books, parchment and pen, an oil lamp of learning surmounted by seven stars, and surrounded by a wreath of laurel. It was at one of the regular meetings of this Society that Henrietta Szold suggested to the members that they should form a school for the teaching of the English language to some of their co-religionists, newly arrived

¹ Letter to author from Mr. Duncan McCulloch, then Headmaster of the Oldfields School, Glencoe, Md. November 17, 1958.

² *Bulletins of the Botany Club of Baltimore.*

³ Correspondence between Henrietta Szold and Mrs. Lawrence Turnbull, President of the Woman's Literary Club. In possession of the author. Also, *Baltimore Sun*, March 27, 1946.

in the city. They accepted her suggestion at once, leaving the numerous and varied details of organization in her capable hands.

Exactly one year later, in November of 1889, Henrietta Szold opened her pioneer class in a rented room at the rear of the second floor of a store on Gay Street near Front Street.⁴ The hall had no light, the stairway was crooked and winding, and kerosene lamps provided illumination for study in the room. Under Miss Szold's direction, the willing members of the Literary Society had cleaned the room, painted the floor, and scraped up money for slates, chalk, and a few books. On the first evening thirty immigrants, both men and women, appeared. The very next evening so many applicants turned up that a second class had to be formed. "Two classes were put into operation at once," Miss Szold recounted later, "one consisting of those able to read, the other of such as knew no more than the alphabet." Miss Szold secured the services of two volunteer teachers, Miss Grace Bendann and Miss Deborah Cohn, but sometimes the young ladies were unable to be present.

At the end of a few weeks [Miss Szold wrote] it became apparent that the volunteer system was vicious, no matter how loyal and efficient the teacher may be. Regardless of the poor state of the finances, the Society employed the required number of teachers. One hundred and fifty adults were taught during the semester.

The curriculum consisted of English, English, and again English. All else was treated as collateral and subsidiary. The more advanced pupils—that is to say, all such as could spell out words—were given Eggleston's *History of the United States*. The first lesson consisted of reading a paragraph of not more than eight lines. Every word was explained by pantomime, amplification, simplification, analogy, or etymology. German was resorted to only in extreme cases. One of the teachers, in fact, knew no language but English, yet her success was undisputed. After the meaning of the paragraph had been made clear, the historical allusions were discussed, the geographical references explained by means of a map, and as much incidental information as possible introduced. Questions were asked—questions were encouraged and forced; and answers given and required in English. Then a grammar lesson of the most elementary

⁴ Benj. H. Hartogensis, "The Russian Night School of Baltimore" *American Jewish Historical Society Magazine* (1928).

kind was illustrated by examples still drawn from the same paragraph, and finally a spelling and writing exercise elaborated from the same material.

The history book thus became a universal text-book whence lessons in history, geography, grammar, spelling, writing, and conversation were drawn day after day. For the adults, most of whom were intelligent, well informed, and abreast of current events, the method seemed more effective than using a different text-book in each department of instruction.

The eagerness of the pupils was often painful to witness, and nothing more pathetic can be imagined than the efforts made by men well advanced in years to crook their work-stiffened fingers around a pen. Although all were hard-worked during the day, their interest never flagged.

From the historian's point of view it is a pity that complete records were not kept of this first year's struggles and successes. We do have, however, a hand-written resolution⁵ sent to Miss Szold by the members of the Literary Society, in April 1890, near the end of the first season: "Whereas Miss Henrietta Szold has on all occasions shown her warm friendship for this Society, and recently has rendered most invaluable services in teaching in the night school of this Society—." Along with the resolution was sent the following note: "This resolution was intended to be elaborately engrossed, but we reconsidered that you would object to the cost, and we feel that plain writing speaks the same to a person of such character and convictions." The meagre funds raised by the members were so sorely needed for school supplies that they knew Miss Szold would be upset at money spent on frills like engrossing.

As a means of fund-raising, the Literary Society arranged an entertainment, probably held at the Concordia Hall, on April 6, 1890, at which amateur musicians contributed their services. Sadie Szold, Henrietta's younger sister, recited "Rashi in Prague," by the poetess Emma Lazarus.⁶ The amount realized from the project enabled the group to rent an entire building at 132 North Front Street, and equip it for the ever-growing night school. The members put out a printed prospectus for the coming season of 1890-1891:⁷

⁵ In the possession of the author.

⁶ Program in the possession of the author.

⁷ Propectus in the possession of the author.

The undersigned Committee begs leave to announce that the next season of the I. B. L. Hebrew Literary Society will begin on September 1st, 1890. Many new features will then be inaugurated. The intention of the Society is to rent a suitable building in which the required number of rooms will be fitted up as class-rooms for the English night school; one room will be set apart for use as a Library, and another will be made a Reading-room, which will be thrown open every night to the readers of books, journals, and magazines. Arrangements will also be made to increase the efficiency of the school, so auspiciously opened during the past season.

The Committee takes this occasion to appeal to all co-religionists truly interested in the spiritual welfare and intellectual advancement of their brethern, to lend their countenance and assistance. Our aims and purposes are worthy ones, and their realization will be attended with results beneficial to our community. But, above all things, do we invite the aid of our compatriots. If they will give their moral support, increase its membership ranks, and thus swell its funds, it will surely succeed in its chief purpose: to elevate, educate and influence for good those who have recently escaped from the narrowness of Russian life into American light and liberty.

Henrietta Szold had been able to secure additional operating funds for her school from the Baron de Hirsch Fund, a philanthropy of the Baron Maurice de Hirsch, a wealthy building contractor of Brussels, who had made a fortune by constructing railroads in the Balkans and Turkey. He wished to devote his vast wealth to the alleviation of human distress and established in New York in 1891 a fund of \$2,500,000, to which more was added later, to aid in the transportation of persecuted European Jews to places such as the United States and South America. The office of the Baltimore branch of the de Hirsch fund shared the same building with Miss Szold's school at 132 North Front Street.

The second season of the "Russian School" started off with unexpected success, and at the end of the first week Miss Szold wrote to her married sister in Madison, Wisconsin: ⁸ "Now my especial fad—the school! As we predicted, a tremendous rush of pupils came in on Monday after the holidays: 340 have been enrolled. As we can with difficulty shelter 300, a great

⁸ On microfilm at the Baltimore Hebrew College; letter dated 1891 Oct. 31, Henrietta Szold to Rachel Szold Jastrow.

many were turned away. But the rush has been so great that we have determined to rent two rooms elsewhere and open two new classes. This is of course a serious matter, for the simple reason that we have no money or none worth talking about. We shall want two new teachers, several dozen schoolbooks, slates, chalk, pencils, besides the rent. In the face of all this, our community remains cold and indifferent. If we decide to open two new classes, we shall have seven English classes, a bookkeeping, an arithmetic, a Hebrew and a dressmaking class running." Often Miss Szold's day started at 5:30, not to end before 11:30. It was an exhausting schedule.

Having the school in two buildings two squares apart made Miss Szold's task of supervising and teaching infinitely harder, for not only did she supervise all the classes, teach her own class in American History, and assist Mr. Louis H. Levin on Thursday evenings with his arithmetic class, but she also attended to the myriad of annoying but necessary details in her capacity as commissary-general. In a small black notebook⁹ she jotted down these items:

RUSSIAN SCHOOL

Plumber:

Outside fixtures
Burners

Globes
Fixtures in upper room

Carpenter:

Clothesnails
Blackboards
New seats

Unhinge doors
Frame for cloth slates
Pull down windows

Odd jobs:

Coal
Portières
Blinds
Admission cards
Advertisement of opening
Roof
Dirt in cellar yard
Umbrella stands
Cigar-tables
Step-cover
Roll books

Slate sponges
Pictures on walls
Hearth on third floor
Match-safe
Garbage-box
Dressmaking belongings
Cigar boxes
Grape baskets
Secretary's books
Accounts to be kept by him
Door numbers

⁹ Notebook in the possession of author.



BALTIMORE STREET, LOOKING WEST FROM THE ADAMS EXPRESS BUILDING, c. 1890.

From Illustrated Baltimore: the Monumental City.



NEWLY ARRIVED IMMIGRANTS IN BALTIMORE IN THE 1880'S.

From *Baltimore . . . a Picture History*. Md. Hist. Soc., commentary by Francis F. Beirne (N. Y., 1958).

History Class (2) (Henrietta Szold's Class)

- First Reader . . . 9
- Second " . . . 11
- Third " . . . 13

Room 6. Separate children from adults in Miss Bendann's class. Send children to Room 3 and have them taught by Miss Brown.

Room 7. Take the worst of Miss Sachs's and send them to Room 4 together with Miss Fanny Baumgarten's class.

Room 8. History Class (Public School)

Room 5. Third Reader

Room 2. Literary Class (Tues. Wed. Thurs.)

Room 2. Bookkeeping (Mon.)

The next page of the little notebook has further statistics and rearrangements of classes:

Miss Bendann needs	65	Readers
Miss Brown "	50	"
Miss F. Baumgarten	22	"
Miss E. Baumgarten	35	"
Miss Sachs	48	"
Room 5 (3rd Reader)	21	
Room 2 (2nd Reader)	35	
Room 4 (1st Reader)	40	
Room 8 (1st Reader)	25	
Room 7 (2nd Reader)	39	
Room 6 (1st Reader)	65	

Transfer Fanny Baumgarten's best and Miss Sachs's worst to Room 2 or 3 under Reizenstein. Second Reader.

Monday & Wednesday (History)

Tuesday & Thursday (Literature)

To buy:

- 5 doz. First Readers
- 5 doz. Second Readers
- 3 doz. Third Readers
- 6 doz. Slates
- 2 doz. Classics

Pay Mrs. M. Hoffman for cleaning house 132 N. Front Street.

One Thursday evening there had been a near-panic in the school, with over two hundred people in the building. It was close to dismissal time, ten o'clock, when Henrietta and Mr. Louis Levin heard agonized screams, trappings and groans from the room directly over their heads. Of course fire had been their first thought, and they both ran upstairs, met on the way by shrieking women and girls, none of whom could stammer out what was the matter. Finally they were told that a man had fainted. As it turned out, he had been seized with an epileptic fit; but his untutored benchmates, not realizing what was the trouble, had set up a frightened and frightening hue and cry. While Mr. Levin applied water to the prostrate man, Henrietta had the windows thrown open, and forced every pupil from the room and out of the building. The other teachers fortunately had possessed great presence of mind, thus averting a possible misfortune on a large scale, for not a soul stirred from the other classrooms to add to the panic on the stairs. The teachers had had sublime confidence in Miss Szold and knew she would attend to their safety, fire or no.¹⁰

Early in 1892, Henrietta Szold received a letter from her sister, Rachel Jastrow, the wife of Professor Joseph Jastrow, head of the Psychology Department of the University of Wisconsin: ¹¹ "Henrietta, in the January *Century* magazine it is noted that immigrants become anarchists and socialists so easily in this country because, among all the charities and schools there is not one in which an effort is made to teach this class of people anything of our history, politics, etc. Now, I want you to write about your Russian class and the success it has had, will you? I am sure others will be glad to know of your method, and will choose the best of it to pattern after."

At Mrs. Jastrow's suggestion, Miss Szold wrote an article for the *Baltimore Sun*, which appeared on July 13, 1892:

In a recent editorial, headed "Russian America," the *Sun* made use of the following expression: "Those Russian immigrants who, during the last three or four years to the number of from six to eight thousand, have come to Baltimore, have already adopted our style of dressing, our business methods, our social habits, and their children play our games and sing our songs, frequent our schools and speak with readiness our language." This is a text for which

¹⁰ Jewish Publication Society, *The Szolds of Lombard Street* (Philadelphia, 1960).

¹¹ Joseph Jastrow Papers in the Duke University Library Archives.

abundant commentary and illustration can be found. The children at play, who called forth the above reflections, are really American products. The surprising thing is that in their elders the process of assimilation begins almost at the moment when the immigrant sets foot on this soil—nay, even earlier, for his compatriots who have preceded him have kept him well posted upon affairs transatlantic, and he has thus learned at least enough to put his mind in a properly receptive frame. His desire to become an American is shown in numberless ways. The question naturally arises on our side: are these the people with whom *we* are to desire a close affiliation? What qualities have they to add to our national character? The Russians, it will be said, have not come willingly; they have been forced away from their homes, in fact. Russia may be said to have sent them here, using American soil as her dumping ground for undesirable subjects. The truth, however, is that Russia has only recently, after much diplomacy and urgency on the part of European Jewish leaders, yielded permission, ungraciously enough, to all Jews who wish to emigrate to do so. All along she has been driving her Jewish subjects from all parts of the empire into a restricted area called the Pale of Jewish Settlement, not measuring more than one-thirtieth of the whole Russian empire, and even there subjecting them to irksome restraints in the way of trades to be plied and mode of life to be adopted. An alternative is offered: a change of faith. These are self-exiled men and women, bringing to us an addition to the staunchness, the unflinching adherence to what is looked upon as truth, and the endurance which we possess as an inheritance from those other persecuted sects who sought a new world in earlier times.

As soon as the immigrants arrive, their children are sent to the public schools, and for themselves, since the city makes no provision for them, they have established night schools. During the winter two night schools, whose chief purpose is the instruction of the immigrants in the rudiments of an English education, are in full operation. One, on Lloyd Street, is under the auspices of the Society for Educating Orphaned and Needy Hebrew Children, an old society of more than forty years' standing. The other is on Front Street, and was opened by the immigrants themselves. The history of the latter is significant. The Hebrew Literary Society was started four years ago, distinctly and consciously for the purpose of preventing these men and women, who are struggling for the bread they eat, from sinking into the slough of materialism, by providing intellectual entertainment for them. At the beginning of the second year of its existence, a library having been collected, a lecture course

established and a modest membership obtained, a night school was started. A tuition fee of 30¢ per month was exacted from them who were known to be able to pay. The institution thus rids itself of all objectionable features of charitable undertakings with educational purposes. Thirty pupils presented themselves the first evening. The number rose to sixty before the week was over, and at the end of the season 150 had enrolled. During the second season 500 were under instruction, and during the one just ended 708 men and women were taught in seven English classes, two arithmetic classes, and one bookkeeping class. The pupils range in age from 9 to 60, but only such children are accepted as pupils as are put to earning a livelihood in the factories and cannot, therefore, go to the public schools. It has happened again and again that children and father, sometimes husband and wife, have sat on the same bench, side by side. Great enthusiasm prevails among the pupils. Sacrifices of time and comfort are cheerfully made by them in order to secure a working knowledge of the language.

I may add as a hint to our board of public instruction that the night schools have been used not only by the Russian Jew but by other immigrants as well—Germans, and more particularly Catholic Russians and Poles. Moreover, they have had on their rolls even children whose ancestors have been Americans for three or four generations, sometimes of English stock. So far as the immigrants themselves are concerned, the negative statement made about their attainments is hardly fair. An appreciable percentage of those who frequent the night schools are cultured, intelligent men and women, abreast of the times, speaking and reading several foreign languages and versed in history and literature. They need merely a vehicle in which to convey to their fellow-workers an idea of their inner worth.

In view of all this, is it not justifiable to ask why our city does not arrange for the opening of night schools? In a *Century* article it was remarked that the massing together in our cities of foreign immigrants, baleful in most respects, is a fortunate circumstance, inasmuch as it presents the opportunity, if we will embrace it, for exercising Americanizing influences.

In the Russian night schools the chief aim pursued is the teaching of the English language for all practical purposes, and the chief subject dwelt upon is United States history and geography. The discussions carried on between pupils and teachers often turn upon current events, the views defended by the different political parties, the commercial policy of each, judicial procedures, and the machinery of the state. Opportunities for comparison between

methods Russian and methods American are never allowed to escape unused by the pupils. On one occasion it became necessary to explain the difference between the Julian and the Gregorian calendars, Russia using the Julian and thus being twelve days behind America in time. "Twelve days!" contemptuously came from one of the pupils, "twelve centuries would be nearer the truth!"

In August of 1892, Henrietta Szold went to New York City to try to persuade the officials of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, notably Judge M. S. Isaacs and Mr. A. S. Solomons, two prominent members of the Board, to contribute more money for her school. She wrote her family of her success:¹² "I visted Judge Isaacs on Friday. In consequence of that visit, Mr. Solomons and Judge Isaacs called a meeting and voted our school \$700 for next year. Am I not fully repaid for my visit to New York?"

But the Russian School's ever increasing need for funds, and Miss Szold's lack of time for constant solicitation, necessitated a committee being formed for that purpose:

Dr. Aaron Friedenwald, chairman	Simon Dalsheimer
Edward H. Wise	Albert Rayner
Moses R. Walter	Dr. Joseph Blum
Benjamin H. Hartogensis	David Oppenheimer
Rev. Alois Kaiser	Samuel Tahl
Max Hochschild	Henrietta Szold
Leopold Strouse	Solomon Baroway, Sec.

In addition to the above members, the self-constituted body at one time or another had the assistance of Dr. Cyrus Adler, Louis H. Levin, and William Frisch, editor of the *Baltimore American*. Fortified by the increased financial aid secured by Miss Szold in New York and by the efforts of the committee, the over-crowded school moved to larger quarters at 1208 East Baltimore Street, the former residence of Mr. Moses Friedenwald, a retired merchant who had died not long before.

The expanded school had a good year, and in the autumn of 1893, when Henrietta Szold left Baltimore for Philadelphia to become the editor of the Jewish Publication Society of America, Miss Grace Bendann took over her place as superintendent. The Literary Society sent Miss Szold another re-

¹² August 22, 1892, letter on microfilm at Baltimore Hebrew College.

solution, stressing that "the school of which you are the founder is due solely to your strenuous and never-ceasing efforts."

Miss Bendann informed Miss Szold of the school's progress:¹³

"Fully six hundred came to the school, and had those in charge of the Baron de Hirsch fund been present and seen the disappointment depicted on the faces of the two hundred turned away, I am sure the necessary funds for the maintenance of this and similar schools would be forthcoming. The presence of nearly one hundred familiar faces is the best evidence of the confidence felt in the school. This fact alone makes me not only think and wish for you, but grieve, knowing how many will miss your presence and aid. When the school opened there was not sufficient material for a history class—that is, not the material we wanted—only the American public school youth came. Many, however, knowing that you would not be there, absented themselves; but when told that a good teacher would be provided, expressed a desire to return. So the history class is flourishing with a Ph. D. of the Johns Hopkins as instructor. I know there are those who think this too much of a luxury, but Class No. 2 [Miss Szold's class] has been accustomed to luxury. I feel well satisfied with Dr. Cranshaw's work—he is ready to act upon any suggestion, and has succeeded in making his lessons interesting. The two new teachers, Miss Schmalz and Rosenthal, have proved themselves conscientious workers. It is too soon to judge of the progress made in the various classes. It makes me feel happy to know that your work is pleasant and satisfactory, and if I thought we were to have you here again, I would be perfectly happy—but the Philadelphians are wise and deserve to have a princess in their midst; my only consolation has been to know that you are always with us in spirit."

In the spring of 1896 Miss Bendann was married to Mr. Benjamin H. Hartogensis, a member of the Night School Committee, and Miss Rose Sommerfeld became superintendent until she left in 1897 to take charge of the Clara de Hirsch School for Girls in New York City. The following year the Russian Night School ceased to exist due to public apathy and lack of funds, but the pioneering efforts of Henrietta Szold and her associates

¹³ Grace Bendann to Henrietta Szold, Nov. 3, 1893, on microfilm at the Baltimore Hebrew College.

had left a permanent impress upon the city, for more than five thousand persons had become Americanized in the decade in which its classes were held.

After 1900, when the Public Schools were reorganized, and a new Board took office, with Mr. James H. Van Sickle as Superintendent, Mr. Benjamin H. Hartogensis, a lawyer, approached Mr. Van Sickle, urging an answer to the immigrant question put by Henrietta Szold in her *Sun* article: “. . . is it not justifiable to ask why our city does not arrange for the opening of night schools?” According to Mr. Hartogensis: “The first was opened on High Street under the direction of Jacob Grape; later, Superintendent Van Sickle persuaded David Weglein to take charge of immigrant night school classes. Mr. Weglein secured extraordinary results during the many years he conducted the schools.”¹⁴ Dr. David E. Weglein became Superintendent of the Public Schools in 1925, a position he held until 1946.

By 1907 three night schools for the immigrants were in operation, one in School No. 44, at the corner of Sharp and Montgomery Streets, for the benefit of the aliens of South Baltimore; one in No. 5 Night School at Broadway and Ashland Avenue, a school primarily for Bohemians, Poles, and Lithuanians, under Mr. David Weglein as Principal, and Mr. Albert J. Gminder as Vice-principal; and the third, about which the *Sun* for March 31, 1907, carried a story:

—the most bizarre, the most quaint, the most grotesque event of Baltimore's school year took place last Wednesday night at School No. 42, Broadway and Bank Street, when Principal C. O. Schoenrich's polyglot classes had their annual commencement and a chorus of seventeen nationalities joined in singing American national airs. . . . After the present board took charge of affairs, about six years ago, night schools were made a regular thing. . . . (Mr. Schoenrich's class) From being a thing of one teacher and not many pupils, it has become an institution of five classes, as many teachers and nearly two hundred pupils.

Mr. A. Roland Gminder, a retired Public School teacher, and son of Mr. Albert J. Gminder, mentioned above, remembers¹⁵

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, footnote No. 4).

¹⁵ Personal interview with author, Dec. 18, 1961.

RUSSIAN NIGHT SCHOOL RECORD

1890-91	515	103	102	5	\$200	\$360	\$234.02	\$557.30	\$17.98	\$1369.30	\$1369.30
1891-92	708	167	99	7	400	360	139.62	864.90	. . .	1764.52	1545.62
1892-93	665	155	89	7	700	360	147.90	295.00	218.90	1721.80	1702.60
1893-94	900	233	101	8	700	360	42.00	923.45	19.20	2044.65	1852.68
1894-95	647	150	91	7	350	360	127.20	671.46	191.97	1700.63	1629.52
1895-96	840	205	92	7	350	360	77.60	773.68	71.11	1632.39	1631.54
	Number of Pupils Enrolled.	Average Attendance	Number of Sessions	Number of Classes.	Contribution of the Baron de Hirsch Fund Committee.	Contribution of the Baltimore Committee of the Baron de Hirsch Fund.	Dues from Pupils.	Contributions from the Citizens of Baltimore, the Hebrew Literary Society, Proceeds from Entertainments, Rent etc.	Income from other Sources.	Total Income.	Expenses.

teaching in Mr. Schoenrich's polyglot class in School No. 42, around 1913, while he was working for his A. B. degree from Johns Hopkins. He had fifty pupils, ranging in age from a lad of fifteen to a Frenchman of fifty-seven. Most of his pupils were Russian Jews, with a good scattering of Lithuanians, and all fifty were jammed into such a small classroom that it took a good deal of adaptation on the part of the teacher, since the pupils had been "sewed into their clothes for the winter."

The subsequent history of the evening schools in the city of Baltimore is on record. The contribution made by Henrietta Szold's school to education in Baltimore was summed up by Mr. Hartogensis in these words: "It was frequently said by many capable merchants, doctors and lawyers that they owed their success in life to this school . . . It is safe to say that this institution contributed more than any other single influence to make useful citizens of those thousands of Baltimore Jewish immigrants."

In 1935 in New York's City Hall, on the occasion of Henrietta Szold's seventy-fifty birthday, Fiorella LaGuardia said to her: "If I, the child of poor immigrant parents, am today Mayor of New York, giving you the freedom of our city, it is because of you. Half a century ago you initiated that instrument of American democracy, the evening night school for the immigrant . . . Were it not for such programs of education and Americanization at the time of our largest immigrant waves, a new slavery would have arisen in American society perhaps worse than the first. . . ." ¹⁶ And in 1944 President Roosevelt sent Miss Szold a message, which read in part: "Since 1889, when you organized the first English and Americanization classes in your native Baltimore, you have devoted yourself to the best social and educational ideals, both here and in Palestine. . . ." ¹⁷

¹⁶ *Congressional Record*, Washington for Tuesday, March 8, 1960—Vol. 106, No. 43. Appendix P.A. 2018.

¹⁷ Henrietta Szold Personal Archives Jerusalem, Israel.

EDWARD THORNTON TO JAMES BLAND BURGES:

LETTERS WRITTEN FROM BALTIMORE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Edited by S. W. JACKMAN

IN 1793 Edward Thornton was appointed vice-consul and assistant to Phineas Bond, consul for the Middle States, with his headquarters at Baltimore. Thornton, the protege of James Bland Burges,¹ the British Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, had come to the United States some two years earlier as secretary to George Hammond² the newly appointed minister. Hammond and Thornton were young and both were under some obligation to Burges for past favours and for hoped for favours to come. Thornton perhaps was more especially indebted to Burges because the latter had acted as the former's patron.

Edward Thornton was a man of ability and talent without any particular connections in society, and the eighteenth century was definitely one in which talent alone was not enough.

The whole edifice of public affairs rested upon a scaffolding of patronage which seemed neither wrong to the majority of those whose lives were passed within it. Acquaintanceship (and, still more useful, family connection) with some public man was the

¹ For the life and career of James Bland Burges see James Hutton, Editor, *Selections from the Letters and Correspondence of Sir James Bland Burges, Bart., Sometimes Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. With Notices of His Life* (London: 1885).

² George Hammond (1763-1853) was the son of William Hammond. He was appointed secretary to David Hartley while the latter was in Paris during the negotiations for the Peace of Paris of 1783. He held various diplomatic appointments in Vienna, Madrid, and Copenhagen. In 1791 he was appointed minister to the United States and four years later he succeeded James Burges at the Foreign Office where he remained until he retired in 1809. *DNB* (London, 1908), VIII, 1125-1126.

only way of gaining a foothold, and often enough, of earning an honest livelihood. While not entirely disregarded, merit was in some ways a secondary consideration.³

Thornton was one who was to profit by this attitude of "the Establishment." He was the son of William Thornton an unsuccessful innkeeper in London who on his death, his wife having predeceased him, left his family orphans. The elder son William was apprenticed to a merchant while the younger son Edward was given a scholarship first to Christ's Hospital and another scholarship later to Pembroke College, Cambridge. At Cambridge Thornton did exceedingly well as a student.

With talent and ability but no connections, Thornton did the obvious thing for that day; he sought a patron and became a tutor in the house of James Bland Burges. His abilities and charm soon made him very popular with the entire household, and his talents were so outstanding that it was evident he deserved a better post. It was decided, therefore, that he should accompany George Hammond to America. Thus began Thornton's long career in the Foreign Office.

In 1793 Thornton, while still officially secretary to Hammond, was appointed to assist Bond.⁴ Upon Hammond's retirement to England, Bond was made charge d'affaires and Thornton became secretary of the legation. He held this post until 1799 when he returned to England on leave. While there he took up a fellowship at Pembroke College to which he had been elected in his absence. He went back to the United States to act as charge d'affaires from 1801 to 1803 and finally left America forever when Anthony Merry was appointed to represent the British crown.

Thornton's later diplomatic positions included appointments in Lower Saxony and Sweden; he was made ambassador to Portugal in 1817. For his long and able service he was made a Knight Grand Commander of the Bath in 1822. Two years later he finally retired and lived quietly until his death in 1852.

³ James Pope-Hennessy, *Monckton Milnes, The Flight of Youth* (London, 1951), p. 63.

⁴ Phineas Bond of Philadelphia came from an eminent family. In 1786 he was appointed British consul for the Middle States; in 1793 Thornton was made his deputy. S. W. Jackman, editor, "A Young Englishman Reports on the New Nation: Edward Thornton to James Bland Burges, 1791-1793." *William & Mary Quarterly*, XVIII, No. 1 (January, 1961), p. 93.

The letters from Thornton to Burges are interesting for their descriptions of Baltimore and its environs. They are open and candid, not necessarily unfriendly to the Americans, and are those of a perceptive observer who presents information to a friend and superior abroad to bring about better understanding of the new world thereby causing the formulation of a more realistic policy with respect to it.

The Thornton letters are in the personal possession of Mrs. F. M. Morris-Davies of Oxford, England. An earlier collection of letters was published in the *William & Mary Quarterly*, 3rd. Ser., XVIII, No. 1 (January, 1961). I am very much obliged to Mrs. Morris-Davies for permission to publish the letters.

Baltimore 1st September 1793

My dearest Sir,

At the time of the sailing of the July Packet from New York, I was so engaged in preparing for my journey to this town, which had been too long delayed, that I had no time for writing; and the June Packet from England, which was expected to take the August mail, arrived so late that I had only time to finish two letters to Pembroke Hall, which were indispensable, and of which I inclose duplicates, begging you to have the goodness to forward them. By the June Packet I received an intimation from the tutor at Pembroke, that an election for two fellows of that society would be held the beginning of November, and that I might attend the meeting personally as a candidate, which he was authorized by the Society to acquaint me was by no means absolutely necessary. This dispensation from personal attendance I could not but eagerly embrace under my present circumstances, although I am apprehensive that it may be a prejudice to me at the ensuing election. "Segnius irritant animor demissa per aurem, quam que sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus";⁵ and I believe (laying aside all other considerations) there will ever be very little hesitation in deciding between two candidates at Pembroke and one proxy from Baltimore. The two gentlemen are my seniors on the boards, a circumstance much to my disadvantage. On the score of *real* merit it is not for me to speak. This only I may without much vanity assert, that according to that scale which our University has chosen to adopt

⁵ "A thing when heard, remember strikes less keen, than when 'tis seen." Horace, *Ars Poetica*.

as the test of merit, I am at least equal to one of the candidates, and decidedly superior to the other.⁶

By this conveyance, my dear Sir, I cannot address you with prudence on certain subjects. Since I have been in this place, I have been pretty actively employed, though I have not the vanity to think that you will discover it by any other information than my own. I must too just observe to you that in consequence of the conduct of its minister the influence of France over the minds of the people here is fast declining.⁷ It is indeed *malgre lui*, and while it is possible to separate in idea the man and his measures from those of his nation, the recantation will not be sung in full and unanimous chorus. A weak government (and still more if it be a proud one) does not chuse to be reminded of its weakness, it can therefore never forgive an insult which involves at once the assertion and its proof, and both in the most humiliating way. What should we think of the policy of an adventurer who would remind his hoary mistress of her age, and challenge her to bite him, because he knew she had no teeth? On the other hand our friend at Philadelphia is hurrying the current into another direction with a sure and silent progress. By a conduct frank and temperate, firm yet always respectful, he is proceeding by the surest road to gain the affections of his country towards himself and his nation. This turn has been very perceptible during my stay in this town, which at the time of my arrival was almost entirely French.

The town of Baltimore is the largest in the State of Maryland, though it is not the metropolis nor the seat of government. It contains about twelve or fourteen thousand inhabitants, and is in my opinion beyond comparison the most *increasing* commercial town of any which I have yet seen. It is built on one side of a circular bason near the head of the Chesapeake (the most noble bay in the world) in a low sandy bottom and closely encircled with hills. The place from this description you may easily imagine

⁶ This is a reference to Thornton's desire to be elected to a fellowship at Pembroke College. It would be most gratifying to him personally, have some monetary value, and would enhance his social position. His tenure would be limited only by marriage upon which he would have to surrender his fellowship. There was no requirement that he take holy orders. He was successful in gaining the election and assumed the fellowship in 1799; there were no residential requirements, no duties to perform, in fact it was a sinecure.

⁷ This is a reference to the activities of Citizen Genet, the French minister, who violated nearly all of the known canons of accepted diplomatic behaviour. He was so outrageous in his conduct in outfitting privateers, issuing letters of marque, recruiting forces for the reconquest of Florida and Louisiana, granting commissions and organizing Jacobin clubs that the government demanded his recall. It is interesting to speculate on the question whether Hamilton had spoken of the plan to recall Genet to Hammond or Thornton.

is neither pleasant nor healthy; in fact the heat of the summer is most intolerable, and the ague and fever are frequent visitants. From the hills about it the views of the bason, the shipping, and the numerous points and islands in the bay, are really superb. The country as far as it is cultivated, is extremely productive in corn, particularly on the Eastern Shore of this Bay, whose produce and that of the banks of the Susquehanna and some other rivers, are brought entirely into this town, at least when designed for exportation. A vast quantity of flour is also brought by hand carriage from a considerable distance. The culture of tobacco is on the decline in this State, and indeed in Virginia itself; although it will form for several years to come a very considerable article of exportation. The population of this State is estimated to exceed 300,000 persons, of whom nearly one third are slaves, and this estimate allows about 27 persons to a square mile. In a country so thinly inhabited, although it produces much more than it consumes, a great portion must necessarily be unsettled and still in a state of nature. In fact the roads be through woods, whose continuity is occasionally interrupted by open spots of cultivated land. I travelled through that part, the Eastern Shore, which is reckoned to be in the highest state of cultivation and which is yet laid out in this manner. There, open tracts of corn or pasture land are often very extensive, but are constantly encircled by a kind of amphitheatre of woods, and unless in travelling the road happen to be so elevated as to overtop the neighboring tree, a forest is the constant boundary of every prospect.

As to the manners of the people in this place, I could, were I so disposed, expatiate upon the primitive purity of the inferior classes, upon the general knowledge of the higher orders in every branch of science, more especially in political economy, upon their liberal, enlightened, and polished manners of discussing the latter topic. I could do all this; but the vessel which conveys my letter, may perhaps be stopt by a courier, the letters examined, and I may be suspected of having adopted this indirect method of paying my court to the inhabitants of Baltimore. I shall therefore be silent; and if ever I find certain sentiments almost involuntarily rising in my mind (you will easily conjecture of which nature they are) I shall construe to check their progress by a recollection of those charming models of defined manners of goodness and of knowledge which I *have seen*. Tuimus Troes, fuit Ilium. By this recollection I become once more satisfied with human nature; I feed 'on sweet contentment of thought', and feel myself more than ever. My dear Sir . . .

P. S. I did not receive the last Packet the letters of Alfred ⁸ which you were so good as to promise me. I read them with Mr. Hammond, and admire them too much not to wish to repeat that pleasure. If you could spare me a London daily paper, after you had thrown it aside, I should be extremely grateful for it: as I see in this place none but partial, mutilated and even malicious extracts from the most violent of the English papers. I have importuned my brother repeatedly with a similar request, and have never yet been able to obtain them in a regular or even in any manner from him.

E. T.

Baltimore 3rd November 1793

My ever dear Sir,

I do not apologize to you for the very long silence which I have observed (except in one or two instances) since my residence here: for in fact, the difficulties arising, from the alarming malady ⁹ which has raged at Philadelphia, from the later arrivals of the Packets and their almost instant departure, together with the uncertainty of any other conveyance, have deterred or rather prevented me entirely from writing.

During the four months in which I have lived in this Town (the longest and most busy I have ever seen) I have not been regaled with the sight of a single British vessel, but under the *agreeable* circumstances of capture often illegal, unlawful condemnation, and precipitate sale. I cannot indeed claim much merit from an activity and vigilance, which, although my duty and my pleasure, has been not a little stimulated by my hatred of the Gallic name and by indignation at their shameful proceedings. The gross partiality discovered by the mass of the people here, and their malevolence against Great Britain, supported and perhaps extorted by the terrors of a French armed force, have contributed in no small degree to increase my irritable disposition. Allow me, my dear Sir, to reveal to you my opinion (and under the seal of the strictest confidence) that the interests of Great Britain have sustained material injury. I will not say by her neglect of this coast, but by her entire and individual attention to more important objects. It has lost her the opportunity for a time and perhaps forever of capturing a fleet of merchant men, whose value could scarcely be short of ten millions sterling. This indeed could not have been foreseen, but in war

⁸ I have been unable to discover to what publication he is referring here.

⁹ The Yellow Fever.

and in such a war as the present, what event can be predicted? When that fleet arrived in the Chesapeak[e] with thousands of naked wretches on board flying from fire and massacre and horror,¹⁰ it excited an enthusiasm and compassion *prima impressione*, which would have been more honorable to the American character, had they not been tinctured a little too much with politics. The desperate faction in this country, attached to France, [illegible] with eagerness this favourable moment of relieving their *allies*, and carried away in the torrent all good men, who were urged to the same object by purer motives. At first I congratulated myself that a British squadron had *not* been in the way to intercept this unhappy people, who had no other interest in the fleet than that of their own immediate preservation. But why could not a British squadron after taking them have relieved them in the same manner? Why could not our glorious nation have run a second career of generosity and compassion similar to the first example she gave to an admiring world? Instead of this, under the protection of a general principle, which never had contemplated so singular an exception to itself, a set of privateers, the disgrace of human nature by their rapacity and cruelty, plundered the unfortunate creatures, who could not escape with the fleet, of the poor remains of their fortune rescued from the flames, and gave a second opportunity to the same faction of depressing the British character, to which they artfully extended the stigma, in the same proportion as they had before elevated the French. By this we lost the occasion of presenting another honorable spectacle to the world, that of the armed force of a great nation punishing its guilty subjects, who had too shamefully abused its general laws. I know that in this country these enormities of the privateers have been described with all the aggravations of private malignity: but does this not give an additional force to my arguments? In fine, my dear Sir, the manoeuver of this same faction with the cooperation of the French Minister and the horrors of the fleet (all of which would have been overcome by the strong counterpoise of an English squadron) actually intimidated the government of this country from pursuing with vigour that system which providence pointed out to it to adopt.

¹⁰ After the outbreak of the French Revolution and the consequent levelling of society and the extension of personal rights, the mulattoes, resident in the French colony of Haiti, demanded civil rights and in 1791 the National Convention gave these rights to them. The whites were most opposed and requested a revocation which in August 1791 took place; the result was that the mulattoes were now once again in their inferior social position. When shortly afterwards a slave revolt broke out, the mulattoes joined them and great violence followed with many whites being massacred. It is to this revolt to which Thornton refers.

Forgive me, my ever dear Sir, that I talk this freely to you: I am jealous of my country's honor, which (in this place more particularly) affects me if possible as nearly as the preservation of my own character; and when so much has been done well, I wish to see it done well on every part.

As for myself and my life in the town, when I tell you that Great Britain has in it many more who dislike than who admire her; that I never shrink from her cause in any argument but support it with perhaps an improper warmth, you may think that I do not lead an extremely pleasant life. That is perhaps true; but after all, partly from good humour, perhaps from the frank expression of my spleen when I find it excited, I believe I have made more friends than foes in it. Shall I however disclose to you one fault which I begin to discover in myself? I fear I am growing vain and insolent. In England a young man must be professed of an uncommon share of vanity or must have had extremely bad luck, if he has not found himself almost always in company superior to him in rank in talents and in education. From the continual rubs which vanity thus receives, the blemish becomes polished, if it be not destroyed. If then I should sigh out a wish to return to England, impute it as you please to my desire of re-learning the lesson of humility, or to my anxiety to embrace my dear and honored friend. What a cure for both these feelings would your company afford to, My dear Sir . . .

Edwd Thornton

P. S. My tenderest remembrance ever waits on Mrs. Burges and my young friends. E. T.

4th November 1793

I open my letter again to tell you that 4 or 5 French vessels have just arrived here from Cape Francois, convoyed to the Capes by a Frigate which is gone up to Philadelphia. In that town late inhabited by 60,000 white persons there are not now more than 300. The diabolical commissary Sonthonax¹¹ is there. You may have heard of *Jeremie*, *Cape Nichola Mole*, and the *Platform* having put themselves under protection of his Majesty's flag, Commodore Ford with the *Europa* (50 guns) and 3 frigates and about 1,000 troops having been received by the people. A gentleman who is a passenger in one of these vessels says he heard Sonthonax on the receipt of

¹¹ Sonthonax was the Commissioner from France to Haiti in 1791-1792. He was extremely egalitarian, very pro-Negro and emancipated the slaves in August 1792. *La Grand Encyclopédie* (Paris: n. d.), XXX, 275.

this intelligence swear in the most horrible manner, that he would send his emissaries to the Mountain Negroes in Jamaica and perform the same horrors in that Island as have been executed in St. Domingo.

E. T.

Baltimore 14 September 1795

My dear Sir,

Before this letter reaches you, you will have heard I hope; from Mr. Hammond himself, that I accompanied him on the 18th ulto. to Sandy Hook and on board the *Thisbe* frigate. I returned to this place a few days after I left him; but an intelligence has yet been received here of his arrival at Halifax or of his subsequent departure from thence. While I was with him at Philadelphia, he imparted to me, the letter which he had written to you some time before on my behalf, and your answer which he received by the May Packet. These additional proofs of your increasing regard affect me, my dear Sir, in the most sensible manner. Shall I say, that my attachment and gratitude are augmented by them? No: I will not do this injustice to the sentiments which you long ago excited, and which, if they were capable of increase, would be equally unworthy of yourself and of me. I feel that to all the proofs of your persevering friendship I can only return the same unalterable affection, and that this will never cease to be returned.

Since my arrival in this town I have had very little to do, although illegal equipment of privateers still continue to be carried on with the same perseverance and activity as before. The minds however of the people are somewhat calmed from the agitations, which the discussion of the treaty excited;¹² and they seem at present rather apprehensive of the consequences of their impetuosity. This I have observed on all occasions to be their character: they yield with inconsiderate eagerness to the impulse of any passion, but as soon as its first effect is exhausted, they tremble at the reflection of their own rashness. These discussions however appear to me to have had a very unfavorable effect on the popularity of the President: whether it be that the public affection is really diminished, or that from

¹² The Jay Treaty was concluded in 1794 and was to settle all the outstanding problems arising out of the Treaty of Paris of 1783. The treaty provided for the British evacuation of the Northwest Posts but beyond that did little else and made an inordinate number of concessions to the British such as the acceptance of British ships in America on the most favored nation terms. Further it said nothing on the outstanding issue of search and impressment. The treaty was extremely unpopular and was thought in America to be a major disaster. Samuel F. Bemis, *The Jay Treaty* (New York, 1923).

being accustomed to see his name mentioned in the democratic papers with every term of indignity, and abuse, the people begin to view this conduct with less resentment than formerly. He passed through this town about two days ago on his return to Mount Vernon, and though he stopt it is true for a very short time, was certainly treated with more neglect than on any former occasion.

At the time of his departure from Philadelphia he had not (as far as I can understand) filled the vacancies in the American administration by the death of the Attorney General¹³ and the retirement of the Secretary of State.¹⁴ The President was met in this place by General Lee,¹⁵ late Governor of Virginia, and Commander in chief in the Western expedition. From this circumstance a report has gained some credit, that this Gentleman will be appointed to the post of Secretary of War, from which department Colonel Pickering¹² is to be transferred to that of Secretary of State. But there is some reason to believe that General Lee will accept no public appointment whatsoever, being at present entirely occupied in the advancement of his private fortune by purchases in land.

I beg you, my dear Sir, to make my most affectionate remembrance acceptable to Mrs. Burges, and to my young friends, if I am not too much straitened for time, it is my intention to write; and be assured that I am ever with the most grateful and affectionate attachment, My dear Sir . . .

Baltimore 25 April 1796

My dear Sir,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your dear letter of the 3rd January from Eltham on the 26th ulto., and I congratulate you

¹³ This refers to the death of William Bradford which occurred in August 1795. *DAB*, II, 566.

¹⁴ Edmund Randolph (1753-1813) a Virginian was a member of the Continental Congress. He also attended the Constitutional Convention but declined to sign the Constitution, but he did, however, support its ratification. George Washington appointed him Attorney General and later succeeded Jefferson as Secretary of State but he was forced to resign this post because of an imbroglio with the British and French. During Burr's trial Randolph acted as his counsel. *Ibid.*, XV, 353-355, *passim*.

¹⁵ Henry Lee (1756-1818) a Virginian better known as "Light Horse Harry Lee" supported the revolutionary cause and was a most able military leader. He was a Federalist. From 1792 to 1795 he was Governor of Virginia; during the Whiskey Rebellion he was appointed by Washington as commander of the army. He is the author of the statement on Washington "first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen." *Ibid.*, XI, 107-108 *passim*.

¹⁶ Timothy Pickering (1745-1829) from Massachusetts was an active supporter of the revolution. In 1791 he was appointed Postmaster General and in 1795 he became Secretary of War. He was Secretary of State under President Adams. Later he represented Massachusetts in Congress as a senator. *Ibid.*, XIV, 565-568 *passim*.

with all my soul on the very honorable manner in which you have retired from the foreign office.¹⁷ I have no doubt of the pleasure with which you returned from the harrassing anxiety of perpetual occupation to the enjoyment of the dear circle around you; and your own active and enlarged mind will always furnish you with sufficient employment, when the first charm of your present tranquillity shall be worked off. He who could not find subjects of his benevolent industry in the Vale of Montgomery,¹⁸ need not fear the encroachment of indolence or vacuity in the elevated station to which he is raised and in the crowd of interesting objects that must in London engage his attention.

This morning's paper had agreeably surprized me with the intelligence brought by a vessel from Liverpool that His Majesty has been pleased to appoint me Secretary of Legation to this country under Mr. Liston.¹⁹ I know the anxious interest which Mr. Hammond and yourself have ever taken in my welfare, and I feel much more than I am capable of expressing all the friendship and affection, with which you both have honored me. This appointment is indeed an important step in my mind, and it must be my own fault, if with such friends my own exertions do not bring me forward.

The proceedings in this country for this month past relating to the treaty with Great Britain have excited a very considerable degree of interest in the public mind: and notwithstanding the general opinion seems now in favor of it, it is still a matter of uncertainty whether the house of Representatives will adopt the necessary measures for carrying it into effect. Toward the latter end of

¹⁷ After some weeks of tergiversation on the part of Pitt and the ministry, Burges was finally persuaded to retire from office in the autumn of 1795. He was offered several positions in exchange but for a variety of reasons refused them all. Lord Grenville, the Secretary of State, did not dislike Burges but in the proper patronage tradition he desired a member of his own circle in office. Burges' resignation was quite understood by his own contemporaries and there was no stigma attached to his retirement. He was given a baronetcy, a pension of £1500 a year, and the sinecure office of Knight Marshall of the Royal Household with a remainder in that office for two lives. Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-292. It is interesting to note that George Hammond was Burges' successor. *DNB* (London 1890), XXIV, 242.

¹⁸ The Vale of Montgomery is in Wales; Burges' estate was in Montgomeryshire and it is to this place that he retired.

¹⁹ Robert Liston (1742-1836) a Scotchman was tutor to the son of Lord Minto. Liston later joined another son of his patron the Hon. Hugh Elliott, a diplomat, as secretary. In 1783 Liston accompanied Lord Bute to Spain and then became minister there himself. In 1788 he was transferred to Stockholm, in 1793 he went to Constantinople and then in 1796 he was appointed to the United States. He left America in 1800 and continued his diplomatic career elsewhere. *DNB*, XI, 1235-1236, *passim*,

February, a motion was made in that body by Mr. Livingston²⁰ a member from New York, that the President should be requested to lay before them all papers relating to the origin and conduct of the negotiation. These papers had been for some time before open to the inspection of the members; and from some observations which escaped in debate it appeared as if Mr. Jay²¹ had acted in opposition to his instructors by *concluding commercial* arrangements, before he had received the President's express approbation. Whatever may have been the causes of this motion—whether (anticipating the refusal of the President) to derive thence a pretext for rejecting the treaty in toto—or to replace the negotiation of Mr. Jay in so invidious a light to the people to exclude him from every hope of succeeding to the Presidency on a future election—it excited most vehement debates. The motion was carried by a considerable majority, and the President after some days of deliberation refused to deliver the papers, in a message, of which as it will convey to you some idea of the turn of the arguments used in the House of Representatives, I inclose you a copy.

In consequence of this refusal and the doctrine asserted in the message which conveyed it, the two resolutions of Mr. Blount²² a Member from North Carolina, which I also inclose, which like the two former is an extract from the public papers, will give you a very correct idea of the proceedings since that time.

Although the debates in the House of Representatives have been carried on with great vehemence, and the majority in that body seem determined against adopting the necessary measures for carrying the treaty into effect, a most extraordinary change has taken place in the public mind. The publications almost six months

²⁰ Edward Livingstone (1764-1836) a New Yorker was a Jeffersonian and while a member of Congress moved for the relevant papers on the Jay Treaty; an action designed to embarrass the administration. He retired from Congress in 1800 and became mayor of New York. He was involved with Burr, retired from New York and settled in Louisiana and represented that state later as a senator. In 1831 he was appointed Secretary of State by President Jackson. *DAB*, XI, 309-312 *passim*.

²¹ John Jay (1745-1829) a New Yorker and ardent revolutionist was a member of the Continental Congress until 1779 he was appointed minister to Spain. In 1782 he joined Franklin as one of the commissioners charged with the negotiations of the Treaty of 1783. From 1784 until the creation of the union he was minister for foreign affairs. Washington appointed Jay as chief justice and then in 1794 sent him to England to negotiate the Jay Treaty. In 1795 he was elected Governor of New York; in 1800 he retired from active politics. *Ibid.*, X, 5-9 *passim*.

²² Thomas Blount (1759-1812) served in the army during the revolution, was captured and held prisoner throughout the war. After the peace was signed he returned to North Carolina where he became a businessman. In 1793 he became a member of Congress. *Ibid.*, II, 389-390 *passim*.

ago were almost unanimous against the treaty: at this moment it is in almost as great a degree the reverse. The most responsible persons in the most considerable towns in the United States have prayed for its adoption; and the majority in the house, in consequence of this strange revolution in the public sentiment, is daily diminishing. The members are now said to be nearly equal; and it is very probable that the majority will very shortly be reversed.

I beg you my dear Sir to present my affectionate remembrances to Lady Burges²³ and to my friend Trollope,²⁴ and be assured on the unalterable love and attachment, with which I am ever, My dear Sir . . .

²³ Anne, Lady Burges was the second wife of James Bland Burges, marrying him in 1780. She was the third daughter of Colonel Montolieu, Baron de St. Hypolite. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

²⁴ Arthur William Trollope (1768-1827) was educated at Christ's Hospital and Pembroke College where he was a contemporary of Thornton. Trollope, a classical scholar, took holy orders and later, in 1799, became headmaster of Christ's Hospital. *DNB*, XIX, 1169-1170 *passim*.

MARYLAND MEDICINE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

By GEORGE B. SCRIVEN *

THE BACKGROUND OF MARYLAND MEDICINE

IN the seventeenth century no part of colonial America had an indigenous medical practice; only British medical practice was present, transported with local limitations. British medicine was similar to that of continental Europe. One must begin, therefore, by reviewing the distinguishing marks of British medicine, though space necessitates only a brief and inadequate treatment.

This was a century of brilliant scientific achievement. In England, Newton in mathematics and physics, Boyle in chemistry together with Harvey in physiology and Sydenham in medicine, were setting new landmarks. The great universities had medical schools, of which Padua in Italy was the most famous. Unfortunately, the new advances in knowledge had little bearing on the prevention of disease because their effects were either of doubtful therapeutic value or had not yet reached down to the general practitioner—and were quite unknown in the rural areas.

* The author wishes to express his thanks to Dr. Owsei Temkin, Professor of the History of Medicine at Johns Hopkins University for his courtesy in correcting parts of this article, and to Mr. Guy Weatherly, Senior Archivist at the Hall of Records, Annapolis, for his assistance in locating manuscript sources.

This account is concerned with the state of medical practice in Maryland from the founding of the colony in 1634 to the end of the century. The greatest part of the information comes from the published records of the Provincial Courts, though these have, with one exception, been printed only to 1679. Second in importance are the County Court records, some of which have been published in the Archives of Maryland. Except for the records of Baltimore County, no manuscript county sources have been used. Wills and Inventories furnish an important, though small, part because it has been possible to use only a sampling of this voluminous manuscript material. The sources consulted are sufficient to give a fairly complete picture of the Maryland practitioner and the resemblances to his Virginia counterpart, to name many doctors, to give examples of their diagnoses and treatments, to point out the bodily conditions dealt with, the drugs used and the prices charged.

Many medical men still followed the Galenic and medieval idea in which disease was viewed as a morbid state of the "humors" which were the blood, phlegm and bile in two colors—yellow and black. According to this theory a diseased condition was one in which the humors were impure, out of place, excessive or deficient. If excessive, the treatment was to deplete by bleeding, purging and sweating; if deficient, the natural condition was restored through drugs and diet. There was as yet no real knowledge of what disease was, of its location in the body, or of its causes. In actual practice, there was some bleeding, purging and sweating no matter what was wrong with the patient nor what theory of disease was held by the doctor. There was much resort to polypharmacy—the use of medications composed of a multiplicity of drugs in the hope that one or more of them might be effective. Remedies were accumulated on a trial and error basis, though old theories and ancient drugs held on in spite of clinical evidence to the contrary. Though there were some fairly accurate clinical pictures (such as those existing in consumption, syphilis and smallpox) the therapy, in most instances was not directed against specific diseases but toward general bodily conditions such as fevers, fluxes and dropsies. A few steps had been made on the road to specific treatment for each disease, such as the treatment of scurvy with citrus fruits, syphilis with mercury.

Anatomy, in contrast to medicine, was on a sound basis in which the average doctor knew the coarse structures of the body. Obstetrics was still left largely to midwives.

In Britain physicians were the elite of medical men. They were always called "doctor" even though some held only a bachelor's degree. They practiced among the upper classes where they dealt with most but not all diseases. Being gentlemen and scholars, they did not work with their hands as did surgeons, nor engage in trade as did apothecaries. "In Munk's Roll of the Royal College of Physicians 1570-1700 the names of 642 physicians are listed. Although these were the most distinguished physicians of that period, 167 had no degree in medicine, though they often had other academic degrees. Four hundred and seventy-three held doctor's degrees in medicine and two were bachelors in medicine. Of these 475 doctors, 131 received their medical education at Cambridge, 86 at

Oxford, 69 at Padua, 64 at Leyden, 21 at Utrecht, 12 at Montpellier, 11 at Caen, and 8 at Basle. A sprinkling of other universities made up the rest.”¹

Surgeons, then being inferior to physicians, were craftsmen trained by apprenticeship and hospital instruction who were addressed simply as “mister.” They dealt with such things as wounds, ulcers, skin diseases, superficial growths, broken bones, dislocations and amputations. Because of the absence of anesthetics, speed was then essential for a surgeon. Among them were specialists in the great cities who could operate for cataract of the eye, hernia, or bladder stones (called cutting for stone), but others were charlatans of no competence and no permanent residence who travelled from place to place with the fairs. Notorious among the quacksalvers who practiced at the country fairs were those who, when consulted by a bumpkin, diagnosed his trouble as a stone in the head. The high point of the resulting operation occurred when the quack, having prepared as public an operation as possible, made a superficial cut on the scalp, after which he palmed a stone, which he then appeared to take from the incision and throw into a metal bucket with a resounding clunk.

Apothecaries learned their trade through apprenticeship, and at times in hospital wards, but were essentially tradesmen.

These sharp distinctions in the medical field were used only in London and the other great cities, being disregarded in the rural areas and in the colonies. Blanton states that there were only three or four doctors (in the London use of that word) who were resident in Virginia prior to 1700. Much evidence shows that there was almost no distinction in Maryland between physicians and surgeons. In at least one instance a surgeon was also an apothecary.

THE MARYLAND DOCTOR

The title “doctor” was used loosely in the American colonies. It occurs very frequently in seventeenth century Maryland, though Garrison mistakenly² asserts that it was not used in the

¹ Windham B. Blanton, *Medicine in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (Richmond, 1930), p. 79.

² Fielding H. Garrison, *History of Medicine* (Phila., 1929), p. 303.

colonies until 1769. In just one volume of Provincial Court records,³ Luke Barber was called doctor more than twenty times. There is an abundance of evidence in Maryland to show that the title "doctor" was accorded to many medical practitioners in the same casual manner in which present day clergymen are called "doctor" regardless of their academic degrees.

Maryland did not require any medical license though in one instance a physician was forbidden to practice his profession. This occurred in 1676 when several members of the Assembly fell ill from eating a "Duck Py" which had been poisoned by Doctor Edward Husbands of Calvert County. Dr. John Stansby of Baltimore County, who was a member of the Assembly, had a part in the prosecution of his fellow physician. Husbands was not only proscribed from further practice of his art but also received twenty lashes on his bare back from the common hangman for poisoning (and cursing) the Assembly.

Since there were no regulations for doctoring, anyone could try his hand at it, and make charges for his work. There are instances of men with no apparent training who undertook to cure illnesses, and got into the court records over the size of their fees. Among such were James Benson, and John Gay. Walter Pakes⁴ undertook to cure a boy of "country duties" (syphilis) for a hundred pounds of tobacco. Oddly enough the treatment was bargained for by his wife who made the claim that Pakes could produce a cure. It scarcely need be pointed out that he was unsuccessful. Pakes was described twice in lawsuits as a gardner and once as an attorney.

Perhaps only a step in training above these amateurs were those who started in a casual fashion. Stephen Clifton of Calvert County seems to have been such, judging by the fact that shortly before death Clifton gave a hogshead of tobacco to Demetrius Cartright for "making him a booke of figures and giving him instruction in his practice." This limited training did not prevent him from styling himself "doctor" in his will. Probably a more definite training was given to John Holmes, an apprentice who was bound to serve Mr. John Meeks "in the way of chirurgery." Mr. Meeks of Charles County was described as "a chirurgeon of London." William Champ had a slightly

³ *Arch. Md.*, XVI.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XIII, 97; LIII, 437; X, 15, 456, 498.

different status. He was an indentured servant to John Moorecroft who was both a doctor and an attorney. Moorecroft trained his servant "in the Art and mystery of Physik" (and perhaps inadvertently) as an attorney, also. Champ appeared in the records after he was a free man by calling his former master "a cheating old Knave."⁵

There are a number of instances in which a medical practitioner was an indentured servant. Robert Harper who was "skillful in administering physik and possessing the same" was owned by Garrett Vanswearington in 1675. The latter (who was not a physician) made a nice income by hiring out his servant to practice medicine. At his master's orders Harper treated Roger Shehee who was "sick and languishing with various distempers of the body," the patient promising to pay what the treatment deserved. Since Shehee died before payment Vanswearington took the account to court where he was awarded his original charge of 520 pounds of tobacco. Because Harper was owned by Vanswearington the latter reaped all of the benefits, while the indentured servant was lucky that he could practice his profession instead of working in the tobacco fields. It is interesting to note that Harper not only treated a variety of patients while an indentured servant, but continued to practice medicine after he became a free man in 1678.⁶

Medicine was practiced by men at all social levels. One might expect to find the barber-surgeons of the early period, Robert Ellyson and John Robinson, at the bottom of the scale. Yet Ellyson was made sheriff of St. Mary's County in 1643. Robinson was a carpenter when not engaged in surgical or tonsorial arts, yet he was well-to-do enough to have a servant. Both barber-surgeons seem to have operated plantations. Among prominent surgeons was Thomas Gerrard of St. Mary's County who carried on a practice while a member of the Governor's Council. Luke Barber, Esquire, owner and operator of extensive plantations, was an attorney, a justice of the Provincial Court, a member of the Governor's Council and (in Fendall's absence) was acting governor of the Province. He is repeatedly called "doctor" and some mention is made of his practice.⁷

⁵ *Ibid.*, LVII, 73; LIII, 431; LVII, xx.

⁶ *Ibid.*, LXV, 528.

⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 231, 255; XLIX, 147.

Although clergymen who practiced medicine were fairly common in the colonies, only two were found in Maryland. One was the Rev. Francis Makemie, the founder of American Presbyterianism, who ministered to Presbyterian congregations in Somerset County. He is known to have practiced medicine elsewhere, and most likely did so while in Maryland. The other was Ezekial Fogg who describes himself in his will⁸ as a "practitioner of physick and Divinity," though his denomination is not indicated. The first medical book published in the American colonies was produced by the pastor of Old South Church, Boston, who was also a physician.⁹

University trained physicians of the London sort were very scarce in the colonies. In Maryland George Binks, gent. 1642 St. Mary's Co. is described as a "Licentiate in physick." Dr. George Hack, who practiced both in Virginia, and Maryland, is said by a writer in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (XL, 102) to have been a graduate in medicine from Cologne.¹⁰

Since a few black sheep exist in almost every professional group, it is not surprising to find examples among medical men. The one who most nearly appears to be a charlatan was Peter Godson who called himself a chirurgion. Once he was paid 180 pounds of tobacco for administering a physick. On another occasion he testified that a woman had bewitched him by inducing him to jump over crossed straws. Once he charged Bartholomew Herringe 1,430 pounds for physick and surgery on his wife, a sum which the court thought too high and reduced to 590 pounds. His wife also got into trouble by making obscene charges against another woman. In 1655 Godson was convicted of stealing a bodkin worth a shilling from the wife of John Hambleton. In the same year he was accused by Peter Sharp, another chirurgion, with killing a certain Captain John Smith by taking too much blood from him. Also in that year when Thomas Igor complained that Godson's treatment left him worse than he was before, the court ordered Godson to return the fee of 600 pounds of tobacco.

Others besides the British practiced medicine in Maryland. Dr. George Hack of Baltimore County was a German. Mr.

⁸ Maryland Wills, Hall of Records, Annapolis Ms vol. 2, p. 82.

⁹ Thomas Thacker, *Brief Rule* . . . (Boston, 1677); Garrison, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

¹⁰ *Arch. Md.*, IV, 72.

Emperor Smith was called the "Dutch doctor." Jacob Lombroso was a Portuguese Jew from Lisbon. Jacques Peon was a French chirurgion, as were John Lemaire and John Desjardine. Jasper Guerin (probably a German) received denization in 1665. Judging by their names, one might suspect that David Kreiger, Mitchell deContie and George Horsfoord were not English in origin.¹¹

At least half a dozen doctors are known to have practiced in both Virginia and Maryland. Among them we find Robert Ellyson, Thomas Gerrard, George Gunnell, George Hack, John Moorecroft, George Horsfoord and the Rev. Francis Makemie.

The doctor's equipment of that day consisted in the main of a box of medicine, salves and plasters; a clyster syringe for enemas which was a simple plunger pump; lancets for opening boils and blood letting; and a collection of saws and knives for amputations.

The local evidence available is of little help in discovering which medical books the Maryland doctors used because their wills and inventories usually list simply "a parcel of old books." The same is true of doctor's instruments. The wording in the inventory of Dr. William Hall is typical. He left "a parcel of auld Doctor's instruments, some broake and some whole." A search of the 17th century wills and inventories of every Maryland practitioner who styled himself "doctor" in his will and of some who were content to call themselves "chirurgions" reveals no more than this. Lists of the British medical books and instruments of this century are, of course, available and we can surmise that some of them were used in Maryland. Blanton cites a list of British medical books used in Virginia but does not list his sources of information.

SHIP'S CHIRURGEONS

One source of doctors for the Province was ship's chirurgions who remained in the colony. They must have represented a great variety of training and skill. Captain John Smith defined their position in *A Sea Grammer*: "The Chirurgion is to be

¹¹ *Ibid.*, X, 396, 398, 399, 432, 434, 439, 468; XLIX, 112; III, 450; LX, xxxiv; II, 400; XIII, 514.

¹² Inventories and Accounts, Hall of Records, Ms vol. 15, p. 166.

exempt from all duty, but to attend the sicke, and cure the wounded; and good care would be that he have a certificate from Barber Chirurgeons Hall for his sufficiency, and also that his chest be well furnished both for Physicke and Chirurgery." ¹³ William Norman was chirurgeon of the 200 ton ship *Ruth* of London, which traded in the Chesapeake Bay. His wages at three pounds a month equalled those of the second mate and were a third larger than the boatswain's wages. In warfare the chirurgeon's portion of captured prizes was lowest among the officer's shares, but higher than the boatswain's. John Peerce who was once ship's chirurgeon of the good ship *Adventure* of Hull later lived in Talbot County where he was styled "doctor." He had attended John Coode for "seasoning" in 1672. Once a ship's chirurgeon was persuaded to come ashore from a ship going down the Bay to cure Adam Stanley on whom a tree had fallen. Dr. Peter Sharp apparently had neglected the case. The ship's chirurgeon (unnamed) came ashore and dressed the wounds twice, leaving the means and directions for dressing it later. For this service he charged a hogshhead of tobacco.

Some men who had practiced in London before coming to the Province maintained this distinction from other chirurgeons. James Wasse of Talbot County was called "chirurgeon of London." John Meeks, medicus, of Charles County was also distinguished by this title. The use of the title "mister" by some Maryland chirurgeons is also reminiscent of the London distinction between doctors and chirurgeons, though there is evidence to show that some very ordinary Maryland chirurgeons did not hesitate in accepting the honorary title of doctor.¹⁴

WOMEN IN MEDICINE

Women played a rather large part in Maryland's medical practice of this century. Many were practical nurses who took care of the sick for pay, either going to another's house, or taking the patient into their own homes. The nurse of that day had as her duties the giving of the doctor's draughts regularly, washing the linens, and watching by the bedside. When death

¹³ Blanton, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

¹⁴ *Arch. Md.*, LXVI, 301; LVII, 84, 374, 552; XLI, 162-163; LXVIII, 25; LIII, 425.

came (as it did so frequently when one was sick enough to have a nurse) she shrouded the body. After that it was customary for the nurse to help with the funeral arrangements. Among the costs of nursing was a charge for a pint of cider, beer or other liquor with which the nurse fortified herself each morning before going to work. Such charges show the following items:¹⁵

Dyet for patient.	three meals daily at 12 pounds of tobacco per meal
Dyet for nurse.	same price
Pint of cider daily for nurse	(at 30 lbs of tobacco per gallon)
Lodging for nurse.	4 pounds of tobacco per night
Payment for nurse.	300 pounds of tobacco per month

Since bed pans appear in the inventories of doctors and others, it is likely that they were used in the care of the sick. The term could not have been a synonym for warming-pan because in the will of Anthony Demondidier there is listed "one warming pan" and immediately below that "two old chamber pots and one bed pan."¹⁶

Since it was only a short step from nursing to the practice of medicine in that day, we find some women who moved over the line. Mary, the daughter of the Rev. Francis Daughtery under her two married names (Vanderdonk and O'Neale) practiced medicine, as did Mary, the wife of Thomas Brodnox of Kent. John Cherman's wife was paid for a two months cure of a sore leg. Sometimes doctor's wives made a bit in their own practice of medicine. Mrs. Oliver Spry, the wife of the Baltimore County chirurgeon collected 600 pounds of tobacco for treatment of William Hambleton of Kent County. A Baltimore County Court records shows Mary Stansby collecting a fee, though it is not certain whether this was for her work or her husband's. She was the daughter of Oliver Spry and the wife of Doctor John Stansby. The wife of Thomas Hebden, chirurgeon, performed surgery upon the leg of John Greenfield for which her husband collected in court.¹⁷

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XIII, 179.

¹⁶ Liber A 1 Baltimore County Inventories.

¹⁷ *Arch. Md.*, LIII, 85, 145; LIV, 230; IV, 268.

At this time, and for about a century more, nearly all obstetrics was left to midwives. They had no formal training, though some may have learned through association, while a few had books on their trade. Among the volumes which William Pickett of Baltimore County left was one for his daughter entitled *A Dictionary for Midwives* by Nicholas Culpepper.

Damaris Wyatt, widow, was a midwife who took into her house a woman named Dorothy Bruton, being very sick and big with child. The care lasted three weeks. Mrs. Wyatt, later the wife of attorney Thomas Bland, tried to collect a hundred pounds of tobacco a day for the care, but the record fails to show whether or not she got it. Mary Clocker, called in Dr. Waldron to have his advice when Mrs. Susanna Warren was delivered of a dead child. On a number of occasions a jury of women was called to give information on an obstetrical matter. Such a jury was called at Patuxent during 1656 to search a woman's body to find if she had recently had a child. Childbirth was often safer in this century when midwives sat back and waited for nature to take its course than it was in the next century when doctors began to deliver children. Eighteenth century doctors (and later ones) who gave examinations with unsterilized fingers frequently caused puerperal infection.¹⁸

DISEASES

Among the afflictions often mentioned are scurvy, dropsy, flux, griping of the guts, fever, boils, putrifying sores, syphilis (known as country duties or French Pox) and seasoning. Chills, fever and sweating, which could have been malaria, are found in Maryland Records.¹⁹ In a description of a servant, it is said that "He was troubled with the Stone." John Quigley was sick of a grievous distemper called the "Gripping of the Gutts," an illness which was also suffered by his servants. Roger Evans was described as having "the sleeping disease" which, from the context, seems to have been melancholia. Richard Hatton was treated five months for a "virulent coroded Ulcer in his Legg" by Robert Harper, the indentured physician.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, LXVI, xxvi; X, 171, 457.

¹⁹ Clayton C. Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York, 1910), p. 131.

A more specific diagnosis in terms of "humors" was given of Charles Howell who had "a virulent coroded ulcer . . . and a complicated distemper regnant in his body, which afforded a certain malvolent & Venemous humor to feed the said ulcerous sores." William Williamson was "languishing of several distempers of body, to witt, a certain distemper called a feavor or a seasoning." Since he also had a fractured skull caused by falling off a horse Williamson did not live long enough to pay for his "seasoning." His physician, John Wynne, is described as having practiced "physick and chirurgery with good success." In another instance it is said that Justinian Snow "is become non compos mentis & in great danger of death by a violent sickness." Barber-Chirurgion Robert Ellyson was once found "non compos mentis through drink" for which he was fined a hundred pounds of tobacco.²⁰

One of the most prominent diseases in Maryland (as in Virginia) was the "seasoning" which afflicted newcomers. Perhaps it was due in part to the poor food and the crowded conditions on ships entering the colony. It may have been caused by unsanitary crowded conditions at the port of entry where epidemic diseases started. It is likely that unfamiliar work in the hot sun brought down those with the least resistance. Blanton says²¹ that planters enjoyed as much natural immunity to the malaria (known as the Kentish disorder) as did Englishmen at home. He supposes that since men once seasoned enjoyed good health and that typhoid (in which one attack confers immunity) was the major producer of "seasoning." Among the many to be cured of seasoning was John Coode, the infamous renegade Anglican priest who appears so often in Maryland records. Coode requested treatment from John Peerce, chirurgion, in 1672. Peerce attended him constantly for six weeks, making him divers medicines—plaisters, drinks, cordials and other wholesome things to cure him. Peerce asked 10,000 pounds of tobacco for this service but was eventually allowed only half that amount by a court.²²

A few apothecaries are mentioned. Edward Maddocks of

²⁰ *Arch. Md.*, XLI, 6; LXV, 546; LIII, 141; LXVI, 442; LXVIII, 294; LXVIII, 220; IV, 56; IV, 249.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

²² *Arch. Md.*, LXV, 393.

Charles County is referred to as "chirurgion and apothecary."²³ In the will of Peter Sharp, chirurgion,²⁴ "Nicholas Oliver who is an apothecary by profession" and a cousin of Sharpe's is a residuary legatee to lands called by the name of Claborns Island. Unfortunately, neither of these apothecaries left a will or inventory. However, the 1708 inventory of the possessions left by Zechariah Allein, a Baltimore County apothecary is helpful.²⁵ In addition to a quantity of pills, powder to prevent bleeding, sundry small parcels of drugs (some prepared), spirits and oyles, galley pots of salves and galley pots of ointments, the following drugs are mentioned: Crocus metallorum, Roman vitorall, burnt allum and allum, corall, sanguis draconis, ell-bornigr, assefedity, sein famigrace, juniper berryes, sennian, Venus treacle, honey and lime juice.

Drugs mentioned elsewhere are Angelica root, savin, ratsbane, cardamon, wormseed, antimony, troches of mir, mithridate and a purging apozem. Dr. Nicholas Solbey of Charles County prescribed for one patient "epis pasticks to neck and wrist and plaister to cure them again." His treatment included bleeding, a purging potion, purging pills, pills for his Gripes, spirits of vitrioll, oyle of aniseeds and methridate deascordiv. When Mrs. Humphrey Haggat was sick her doctor sent the following: "A large plaister for pain in her hip" and other medicine, and also before seeing her, sent "eucroticem cum duplix slipticon paracilue emplaister adherna and diapalma" and a parcel of ointment to "embriate for her disease," together with three doses of troches of mir and a parcel of cardamon. "Giptiaeun" which was prescribed by a doctor is probably a clerk's misspelling of guaiacum.

During her last illness Mrs. Winchester was given sack, drams, beer, sugar, spices, prunes, wild duck and poultry stewed with butter and currants. One might assume from this treatment that Mrs. Winchester's "humors" were defective rather than excessive. Although somewhat rare such building-up diets were occasionally used. In the early history of Kent Island in Claiborne's time there are records of the use of fruit, sugar and spices for the sick. When a patient received a cordial bolus,

²³ *Ibid.*, LXV, 520.

²⁴ Maryland Wills, vol. 1, p. 490.

²⁵ I & A 29: 26.

a cordial julep and a cordial electuary it might be assumed that he was in need of a heart stimulant. Although folk medicine and not a doctor's prescription, it is worthwhile to mention "a blew stone for sore eyes" valued at thirty pounds of tobacco which is found in the inventory of Francis Brookes. Though the evidence is scanty, that which is available seems to show that in Maryland (as Blanton found in Virginia) the prescriptions were fairly simple, unlike the elaborate polypharmacy often used during this century in England.²⁶

In the early days of the Province there was hope that Indian remedies would be of value to the English. According to one of the records of the time "The Countrey affords naturally, many excellent things for Physicke and Surgery, the perfect use of which, the English cannot yet learn from the Natives."²⁷ From the variety of Indian medicines the innocuous use of sassafras tea and of poke-weed as a spring tonic seem to be the only ones which were used, and these became a sort of folk-medicine, which is still in occasional use. Sassafras tea is an infusion of the bark of roots of *S. variifolium*. Small sucker trees which come up on the edge of a clearing are preferred, only the upper few inches of roots not more than an inch in diameter being best. The root bark, taken in early spring, is cut off in small flakes which are then dried. The resulting tea is pleasing in color and not unpleasant to taste. The early spring shoots of poke-weed are used like asparagus but, to most people, are less palatable. Although the settlers, like the Indians, thought that sweating was beneficial in sickness they (unlike the Indians) did not follow the sweating with a bath. The frequent charges for bedding "rotted out" by sick persons leads to the suspicion that sick persons were often left lying in their filth.

The fear of disease caused by drinking water was widespread in the colonies. It was offset by drinking beer as long as that was available, and thereafter tempering the water with some alcoholic liquor. Captain George Thope pointed out as early as 1620 that Virginians had found a way to make a good drink from Indian corn, which he preferred to English beer. As

²⁶ *Arch. Md.*, LX, 367; LIII, 466; XLI, 164; LIV, 222; X, 389; LX, xxxiii. *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVIII, 33.

²⁷ Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

Blanton states, this may have been the origin of corn whiskey in the English colonies.²⁸ The Spaniards seem to have made the discovery at an earlier time. Blanton also states that Gonzalo Ximines of New Granada, who died in 1546, wrote that "Maize steeped in water, boiled, and afterward fermented makes a very strong liquor."

MEDICAL COSTS

Medical charges were almost invariably cited in pounds of tobacco, which was the chief type of currency in the Province.

An early law of the Province (1640) gave the county courts the right to moderate the bills, wages and rates of "artificers, labourers and chirurgeons." In 1692 the Assembly said "it is further Reported to us as a great Grievance that Chirurgeons and Phisitions in this Province Charge them with excessive fees." Doctors were then requested to charge only 10 pounds of tobacco per mile travelled on calls, and to list the original cost of medicines plus their own added charges.²⁹

Col. George Wells, who practiced medicine in Baltimore and neighboring counties, charged Capt. Thomas Howell's estate thirty pounds of tobacco for a dozen pills, sixty pounds for a pectoral Julip and forty pounds for a cordiall, which sums were questioned by the heirs and disallowed in court. On another occasion Wells was bitterly criticized by Joseph Groden, a Philadelphia Quaker, for charging excessive fees in a Baltimore County case in which Groden had an interest.³⁰

A more modest bill was presented by John Wade, chirurgeon in 1652. His bill is as follows.³¹

vomitive potion	20 lbs of tobacco
for breathing a vein	20
Phlebotomy with diaphoretic and sudorific cordials and corroboratives	300
five dormitive cordialls	200
other astringent means	150
Two visits	250

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 108.

²⁹ *Arch. Md.*, I, 97; XIII, 356.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, LXVII, 352. Groden Letter in the Chew Papers, Harford County Hist. Soc.

³¹ *Arch. Md.*, XIII, 178; LXVIII, 172.

Humphrey Davenport, chirurgion, of Talbot County presented the following bill:

3 journeys to his house	600 lbs of tobacco
7 Glisters at 30 lbs each	210
4 cordial Julipps	150
5 purges at 30 lbs each	150
4 doses of electuary cordial at 30 lbs	150

In 1678 Samuel Lane, a doctor of physick accustomed to practice in Maryland, treated Charles Gosfright for more than a month of sickness and violent distemper. After the patient's death the doctor sued for 8,940 pounds of tobacco. Since no detailed bill was filed with the suit, the court stated that it had no way of estimating the proper amount for visits and treatment. Consequently, the doctor not only failed to collect his bill but was compelled to pay the court cost of 730 pounds of tobacco.³²

A very modest doctor's bill is found in the Baltimore County Court Records:³³

visits at prices from 10 to 100 pounds of tobacco each	
bleeding	2 lbs of tobacco
doses of powder	6
pectoral syrup	4
lotion for mouth	3
2 bottles of dyett drink	5
2 bottles of pectoral julip	5
man and horse to carry medicines	3

Often a bargain was struck between the patient and physician before treatment was undertaken, but even this did not always prevent a lawsuit when the patient (or his heirs) later came to the conclusion that the price was excessive.

Henry Hooper made an agreement with the Governor in 1650 to serve the Governor as a chirurgion for a year, the Governor to provide him with drugs, food and lodging, allowing him to keep two-thirds of the amounts which he earned by his practice.³⁴

³² *Ibid.*, LXVIII, 220.

³³ Baltimore County Court Records Liber D, p. 8.

³⁴ *Arch. Md.*, X, 96.

Sometimes old or sick people contracted with others to maintain them. Such contracts were often made with inn keepers, who occasionally lost money when they accepted a flat sum for life care. A typical payment in sickness was 150 pounds of tobacco a month which was sufficient to provide lodging, dyett and tending to in sickness for a person with ulcerated sores.³⁵

Not all doctors extended professional courtesy to other practitioners. Richard Tilghman, doctor of physick and chirurgeon of Talbot County (who was also county sheriff) charged the estate of Bartholomew Glevin, chirurgeon of Kent County, 340 pounds of tobacco for physic administered to Glevin. Glevin must not have had much practice since he died leaving only 200 acres of worthless land.

Chirurgeons sometimes made autopsies of a sort for the courts. Chirurgeons Richard Maddokes and Mr. Emperor Smith were commissioned to disinter the body of Henry Gouge who might have been murdered by his master. They were to view the body in the presence of the neighbors and to report in its condition, as well as to bring the head to court "carefully lapped up and warily brought." For this unpleasant task they received a hogshead of tobacco to be divided between them.

On another occasion two chirurgeons, Clifton and Brooke, were commissioned to perform a dissection on a servant's body in an attempt to determine whether or not he had been beaten to death by his master. Their report stated that they opened two suspicious places. "The cutis and cuticula layed bare, noe contusion could be found upon the musculus part or fleshy pannicle. . . . The body being opened . . . clere of inward bruises either upon the diaphragma or within the ribbs. The lungs were of a livid blewish culler full of putrid ulcers, the liver not much putrid although it seemed to be affected by reason of its pale & wann Couller; the Purse of the Heart was putrid and rotten, by which we gather that this person by course of nature could not have lived long, Putrifaccon being gott so near unto that noble part of the hart even att the doore."³⁶

³⁵ *Ibid.*, LXVI, 253; LIV, 393; LXVI, 193.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, X, 524; XLIX, 307.

EPIDEMICS

It is possible to distinguish a few periods of epidemic disease in the Maryland records, though it would be hazardous to guess at the nature of the diseases. In the *Annual Letter of the Jesuits* written in 1638 it is said of a person that "he indeed, after enduring severe toils for the space of five years with the greatest patience, humility and ardent love, chanced to be siezed by the disease prevalent at the time."

Radbill in writing of the Delaware area said that there was a great distemper in the year 1657-8 in the Atlantic Coast colonies.³⁸

A distemper occurred during the winter of 1663-4 which was evidently of epidemic proportions, being widespread enough to cause the adjournment of the Provincial Court.³⁹

The greatest information is about the winter of 1697-8 when an epidemic disease of some sort was prevalent in the southern counties, causing people to come for cure to the Cool Springs of St. Mary's County. These springs were at the present location of Charlotte Hall.⁴⁰ The reputation of the springs quickly spread as far as New York. Among those who came were poor people in large numbers, causing the Provincial authorities to buy the springs with fifty acres of land, to appropriate money for the erection of houses to accommodate the needy, and to provide them with fuel and other necessities. Though this public provision of houses was scarcely a hospital in the modern sense, Dr. J. Hall Pleasants called this the second hospital in the American colonies.⁴¹ The first hospital was the almshouse erected in New Amsterdam by the Dutch East India Company in 1658 from which the modern Bellevue Hospital claims descent. Earlier hospitals on this continent had been built by the Spanish in Mexico City (1524) and by the French in Canada (1639).

Although the conclusions stated here are based upon partial

³⁷ Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

³⁸ Francis X. Radbill, "The Barber-Surgeons Among the Early Dutch and Swedes Along the Delaware," *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine* (Baltimore, 1936), pp. 730-731.

³⁹ *Arch. Md.*, XLIX, 94.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, XXII, 22, 61, 279.

⁴¹ *The Second Hospital in the Colonies*, *Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin* XV (Jan. 1904).

evidence and may be amplified when the remainder of the seventeenth century court records are published, it is not likely that the findings will be greatly changed. The unpublished seventeenth century court records will fill twenty or thirty volumes and are being published at the rate of one a year. There is a probability that the as yet unpublished records (which are chiefly those of the last twenty years of the century) will disclose a greater number of apothecaries and a larger list of drugs, as well as the names of many more doctors.

Maryland had a very few well qualified practitioners and many with small training. For the most part they were men of modest social standing, though Army colonels, lawyers, members of the Assembly, county justices, members of the Governor's Council and even a deputy governor practiced medicine. Most of the doctoring was a part time activity of men whose chief work was growing tobacco. Compared to some other colonies there seem to have been few of the clergy who practiced medicine. There is no evidence at all of polypharmacy, except in the use of antidotes for poisons such as Mithridates and Venice treacle. The medicines used seem to have been comparatively few, and not elaborately combined. Since resort to doctors was had only in extremity, the patients often died during treatment just as they would have died without it. Occasionally there was an attempt to build up a patient with rich foods and delicacies, though more often the treatment consisted of purging, blood letting, numerous cordials and tonics with medication for external sores and wounds.

SIDELIGHTS

"MR. LINCOLN ATTENDS CHURCH" *

By SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON

Easter Sunday came early in 1861, as in 1961; a hundred years ago it fell on the last day of March, and so the 24th of February, just a century and two days ago, was the second Sunday in Lent.

Let us briefly throw our minds back to that day, when Washington was a straggling mid-century American town of 75,000 people, of whom 11,000 were Negroes, and of them, 3200 were slaves. Even at that, Washington was too big for its breeches, having grown 50 per cent in the last ten years; and, except for Major l'Enfant's plan, which promised well for the future, the city was completely lacking in distinction. Almost every street was unpaved, and horse-drawn busses afforded the only public transportation. The only public buildings were the half-finished Capitol, the unenlarged White House, the Treasury, the Smithsonian, and the Corcoran (now called the Old Court of Claims building) at Pennsylvania Avenue and 17th Street. State, Army, Navy, and Interior were housed in 2- and 3-story brick buildings that have long since been taken down. Everyone who was anybody lived on or near Lafayette Square, or between it and cosy Georgetown. The incomplete Washington monument, built up to only one third of its height, and the unfinished dome of the Capitol, surmounted by an unseemly fringe of derricks, seemed symbols of the mess of unfinished business that the spineless Buchanan administration had left for Lincoln to tackle. Here is what young Henry Adams thought of our nation's capital: "As in 1800 and 1850, so in 1860, the same rude colony was camped in the same forest, with the same unfinished Greek temples for work-rooms and sloughs for roads. The government had an air of social instability and incompleteness that went far to support the right of secession in theory as in fact; . . . secession was likely to be easy where there was so little to secede from."¹

We were still a young country. Only 72 years had elapsed since George Washington was inaugurated the first President of the United States at New York. Many of us here today can remember

* Address at St. John's Church, Washington, D. C., Feb. 26, 1961.

¹ *The Education of Henry Adams* (1918 ed.), p. 99.

the year 1900; so many people in this congregation a century ago could recall the year 1800, when there had been no Washington, D. C. The leading citizens of Washington certainly could—Chief Justice Taney, born in 1777, was only a year younger than the United States; Lieutenant General Winfield Scott, ranking general of the Army, veteran both of the War of 1812 and the Mexican War, was 14 years old when the Federal Government moved from Philadelphia to Washington. President Buchanan himself was born in President Washington's first administration. In less than a century our Federal Republic had proved republican government on a large scale to be possible, had become a banner to liberal and democratic forces in the western world; had expanded from the Alleghanies to the Pacific; and, in writers like Poe, Irving, Emerson, and Prescott, proved that intellectual distinction could thrive under democratic institutions. Yet here we were, in February 1861, divided into two confederacies, trembling on the verge of civil war. Patriots and sages were praying, "O God, let us not by our wrath and folly lose all that we have achieved; let not our republic sink with Nineveh and Tyre—let not the hope of the world, as Turgot called America in 1778, become the world's laughing-stock!"

You probably expect me to draw a parallel between the situation a century ago, and the situation today. I am not insensible that President Kennedy faces a challenging situation in foreign policy and national defense; but President Lincoln's problems were other than these. The nearest contemporary parallel that I can see to Lincoln's situation a century ago is that of General de Gaulle in respect of the Algerian problem. In both instances, an irresistible force has encountered an immovable body and the conflict is seemingly irreconcilable; only surrender to the secessionists in our case, or to the Algerian rebels in his, could then prevent, or now conclude, a civil war.

In one respect, however, there is a striking resemblance between our situation today and that of a century ago. Here, a fresh, young administration has just come into national power; in 1861 a fresh, young administration was about to come in; for inauguration day then was the 4th of March, not the 20th of January. President-elect Abraham Lincoln, and Vice President-elect Hannibal Hamlin, were each 52 years old, nine years older than President Kennedy; but they were the first Presidential team to be born in the 19th century, as President Kennedy and Vice President Johnson are the first team to be born in the 20th century. And their first problems were appointments and patronage. I don't know whether President Kennedy has been as much harassed as President Lincoln was by

ambitious aspirants for cabinet positions and by ordinary office seekers; I hope not, but he can hardly have been more beat upon than Lincoln was during his first ten days in Washington. The methods and principles of constructing a new administration have changed in a hundred years insofar that the major prizes do not now necessarily go to politicians.

And how different, essentially, were the presidential situations in 1861 and 1961! President Kennedy has entered office as candidate of the nation-wide, ancient and respectable Democratic party. President Lincoln had been elected by the sectional, six-year-old, and somewhat disreputable Republican party, which had polled a mere handful of votes south of the Mason and Dixon Line. Although President Kennedy has to deal with a "flight of the dollar" to Europe, the national treasury is healthy, and the credit of the United States is sound; but in January 1861, owing to uncertainty as to the country's future, the United States Treasury was so depleted that senators and congressmen were unable to draw their pay; and when President Buchanan's Secretary of the Treasury advertised for bids for \$5 million in treasury notes to tide over the crisis, this effort would have failed, and the government would have defaulted its January interest payments, had not "a few patriotic gentlemen in New York" come to the government's rescue, charging 12½ per cent interest for this patriotic gesture. Kennedy entered into office President of a country of 179 million people, with the good wishes of all, save a few fanatics; he had a majority of the popular vote as well as in the electoral college; Lincoln was chosen President by 180 electoral votes to 123 for the other three candidates, but received only a plurality in the popular vote. He and his party were regarded with loathing and horror by almost the entire South, and with distrust and contempt by thousands of solid citizens in the North. And Abraham Lincoln came into power after seven states had seceded, the Southern Confederacy had been formed, and Jefferson Davis, inaugurated president at Montgomery, had announced that he would entertain no proposition whatsoever for the reconstruction of the Union.

It is no exaggeration to say that the feeling toward Lincoln in many parts of this country in February 1861 can be compared only to what the feeling would be in this congregation if a communist had just been elected President. Claiborne Jackson, Governor of Missouri, announced that the election of Lincoln was "a declaration of war upon the whole slave property of the Southern States, . . . a moral dissolution of the Union."² The Richmond Semi-Weekly

² Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln, the War Years* (1944 printing), I, 32.

Examiner, on 1 March 1861, described the President Elect as "the Abolition orang-outang that skulked to Washington the other day from the wilds of Illinois, and who will, in three days more, be propped in the Chair of Washington by the sword of a military dictator."³

The phrase "skulked to Washington" hurt, and for this reason. General Winfield Scott had been sold a cock-and-bull story by the Pinkerton detective agency that there was a secessionist plot to assassinate the President Elect as he passed through Baltimore. At the urgent entreaty of his nearest friends, and of Senator Seward, to whom General Scott communicated the "plot," Lincoln consented to omit his scheduled stop at Baltimore on 23 February, and be routed through the city at night. At Philadelphia he obtained a lower berth in the night train from New York to Washington. This deliberate by-passing of Baltimore would not have mattered, had not an irresponsible newshawk dressed up a story to the effect that Lincoln "skulked" through Baltimore "disguised in a military coat and a Scotch cap." The cartoonists of New York and other cities then took a perverse pleasure in drawing sketches of the President in this bizarre but wholly fictitious disguise; and, even without it, the suggestion that he was afraid to risk a short carriage drive through the streets of Baltimore did not help Lincoln's reputation.

I feel a personal interest in this episode, as my grandfather lived in Baltimore, and my father remembered the excitement and turmoil of the early months of 1861. His uncle, George William Brown, was then mayor of the city, and responsible for its good order. Outraged over the plot yarn, Mayor Brown later wrote a book to prove that it never existed.² The truth of this contention may be considered proved by the fact that Mrs. Lincoln and her three sons, who held to the original schedule, stopped over at Baltimore, and with no untoward incident occurring, lunched at the house of Colonel John Sterrett Gittings on Mount Vernon Square. And, as my wife is a descendant of Colonel Gittings, we share a personal interest in defending the fair name of the Monument City!

Lincoln arrived in Washington at 6:00 a. m., Saturday February 23, at the old Baltimore and Ohio depot on New Jersey Avenue and C Street NW. So secret had his change of schedule been kept that he was met by only one man, Congressman Washburne of Illinois,

³ Quoted *ibid.*, I, 119.

⁴ George William Brown, *Baltimore on the Nineteenth of April, 1861* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1887).

who, when he rushed forward to grasp the hand of the President Elect, was mistaken by one of Lincoln's companions for a ruffian, and narrowly escaped being knocked down. Mr. Washburne drove Lincoln to Willard's Hotel, on the site of the present New Willard, Pennsylvania Avenue and 14th Street.⁵

The modest congressional committee on arrangements—one congressman and one senator—originally planned to have the Lincolns accept the hospitality of Senator Seward until they could move into the White House. This was rejected for two reasons—Mrs. Lincoln entertained a strong dislike for Seward, and Thurlow Weed, the New York politician, wished Lincoln to put up at a hotel, so he could be “accessible to the people”—i. e., to office seekers. The committee engaged rooms at the National Hotel, on Pennsylvania Avenue between 4th and 6th Streets; but Mrs. Lincoln turned that down because she remembered that in 1856 a number of the guests at that hotel, including Governor Quitman of Mississippi, had died of ptomaine poisoning. The committee then turned to the Willard, the newest and most elegant hotel in the Capital, and found it to be full. William E. Dodge, a dry-goods merchant of New York City, was, however, persuaded to relinquish to the Lincoln family a “parlor suite” on the second floor, facing Pennsylvania Avenue. This favor Mr. Dodge improved by calling on Lincoln, haranguing him about the poor state of business in New York, and begging him to appease the South so that he could move his goods from the shelves.⁶

On that Saturday, 23 February, Lincoln breakfasted with Senator Seward, whose substantial brick mansion stood on the site of the old Belasco Theatre at 1325 F Street, just around the corner from the Willard. Lincoln and Seward then made a formal call on poor twittering President Buchanan at the White House, and met the President's cabinet. Mrs. Lincoln and the three boys arrived at Willard's hotel about 4 p. m., but she did not accompany him that evening to Senator Seward's, where he dined.⁷

The so-called Peace Convention was still sitting, in an old theatre annexed to the Willard Hotel. This convention of state delegates had been summoned by Virginia in the hope of working out a compromise which, if adopted as constitutional amendments, would keep the border slave states in the Union, and possibly even persuade the seceded states to return to Uncle Sam. Presided over by ex-president John Tyler, the Peace Convention comprised over

⁵ Earl S. Miers, *Lincoln Day by Day*, III (1960), p. 22.

⁶ Carl Sandburg, *op. cit.*, I, 87, 89-90.

⁷ Earl S. Miers, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

a hundred delegates from 21 states, including some very distinguished men, such as Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, David Dudley Field and James S. Wadsworth of New York, William Cabell Rives of Virginia, Reverdy Johnson of Maryland, William Pitt Fessenden of Maine and Lucius C. Chittenden of Vermont. That Saturday evening, Lincoln held an informal reception for the peace convention delegates in his hotel parlor. Senator Rives, the veteran Virginia statesman, who had studied law with Thomas Jefferson, and had represented the United States at the courts of Louis Philippe and Napoleon III, was favorably impressed with the President Elect; he remarked to another delegate that Lincoln was no ignorant boor, to be used as a tool by more able men; that he "will be the head of his administration, and he will do his own thinking." Senator Rives could find no fault with his views as expressed that evening.⁸

This does not mean that Lincoln made any promises. Not only the peace convention delegates, but John Bell and Stephen A. Douglas, whom Lincoln had defeated for the Presidency, and many others, too, begged him to appease the South, especially to promise never to coerce the seceding states. That he declined to do; but both before and after his inauguration he offered to promise not to reinforce Fort Sumter, if the Virginia convention which had been summoned to consider secession would disband "without any fuss or bother." That, neither Senator Rives nor any other Virginian would undertake to do. Lincoln was inflexible in refusing to countenance any compromise involving the further extension of slavery into the United States territory, but he supported what I call the "never-never" amendment to the Constitution as proposed by the Peace Convention. This was an amendment to the effect that Congress never would by law, and the people never would by subsequent amendment, interfere with slavery in the States or in the District of Columbia. The "never-never" amendment was actually adopted by Congress on the last day of the Buchanan administration and shortly after ratified by Ohio; but the outbreak of civil war rendered it obsolete.

Also, on the very eve of his inauguration, Lincoln, at the earnest request of Congressman Alexander R. Boteler of Virginia, used his influence to defeat the so-called Force Bill introduced by the Republicans in Congress, giving the President complete authority over all state militia; a bill which, in Boteler's opinion, "if passed, would force Virginia out of the Union." Boteler reported that Mr. Lincoln "was a kind-hearted man . . . willing to allow the moderate

⁸ Carl Sandburg, *op. cit.*, I, 90; Lucius E. Chittenden, *Recollections of Lincoln*.

men of the South a fair opportunity to make further efforts for a settlement of our intestine and internecine difficulties, and that he was by no means disposed to interfere, directly or indirectly, with the institutions of slavery in any of the States, or to yield to the clamorous demand of those bloody-minded extremists, who were then so very keen to . . . 'let slip the dogs of war.'"⁹ Yet, as we know, all these efforts went for naught when the Confederates fired on the flag at Fort Sumter.

The Second Sunday in Lent, 24 February 1861 dawned bright and fair. The Lincoln family breakfasted quietly in their hotel parlor; and after breakfast Abraham Lincoln, dressed in a plain black suit, wearing one of the new top hats he had bought in New York, with his hair and beard neatly trimmed by the hotel barber, accompanied Senator Seward on foot to St. John's Church, where Seward owned a pew. The Washington *Evening Star*, which seems even then to have gone in for pleasant personalities, reported that the people who observed the President Elect, and whose mental image of him was derived from rail-splitter and Scotch cap cartoons, found him to be a very different person; "Some of the ladies say that in fact he is almost good-looking!" said the *Star*.

To the best of my knowledge Lincoln had never before worshipped in an Episcopalian Church. Although a deeply sincere Christian, he belonged to no particular sect, and Mrs. Lincoln was a Presbyterian. But he told Senator Seward that he wished to attend service on this, the last Sunday but one before his inauguration, and accepted the Senator's invitation to share his pew. Mrs. Lincoln did not accompany him; why I do not know. Possibly it was due to her extreme dislike of Seward; possibly she feared that Tad and Willie might not behave themselves in church, and did not wish to leave them unattended in the hotel.

It is unlikely that Lincoln was familiar with the Book of Common Prayer. We may assume that the Senator held his copy open for the President Elect, and guided his eye to the canticles and the responses. Lincoln always enjoyed singing, so we may be sure that he entered heartily into that part of the service.

The rector, the Reverend Smith Pyne, preached from the text I Corinthians vii: 31 "And they that use this world, as not abusing it: for the fashion of this world passeth away." The sermon had nothing to do with Lincoln or the situation, as the rector did not know that the President Elect was coming, and was so near-sighted that he failed to recognize him when he arrived. The subject, a warning against being too worldly and fashionable in Lent, was

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 117, 119.

doubtless edifying, but hardly needed by the rail-splitter from Illinois, was was not addicted to fashionable display.

I wonder whether he listened attentively to the sermon? I fear not, for terrific problems were agitating his mind. Let us hope that at least he relaxed, as many of us are apt to do with less excuse. Perhaps he took this opportunity to offer silent prayers of his own for the divine guidance which he so desperately needed in that great crisis of the Republic.

After service Lincoln walked with Seward to the Senator's house, lunched briefly, and spent two hours conferring over the Inaugural Address. The first draft of this Address had been set up in galley proof at Springfield, and so far nobody but Lincoln and Senator Browning had seen it. Seward thought that the original conclusion of the Address—"With you, and not with me, is the solemn question, 'Shall it be peace, or a sword?'" was too defiant. He suggested that "words of affection . . . of calm and cheerful confidence," be used at the end. And, being Seward, he wrote out that afternoon exactly what he thought the President should say. Lincoln adopted the Senator's suggestion as to words of affection and cheerful confidence, but wrote them in his own way, proving his mastery of English prose, as he later became a master of men.

So, we may assume that during a quiet service of morning prayer in St. John's Church, Lincoln found inspiration for that noble paragraph which closes his Inaugural address:

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearth-stone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

The gods willed otherwise.

Lincoln, inaugurated President on 4 March, adopted a cautious, waiting policy; and in the first month of his term he was fond of quoting Exodus xiv: 13—"And Moses said unto the people, Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord." On the 12th of April the Lord's salvation manifested itself in dubious form—the Confederates firing on Fort Sumter. Three days later the Union. "Both parties deprecated war," as Lincoln himself put it, "but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. *And the war came.*" To a Swiss publicist, De Gasparin, who inquired

why he had accepted the gage of Battle, Lincoln replied: "I can only say that I have acted upon my best convictions without selfishness or malice, and that by the help of God, I shall continue to do so."¹⁰

Here we may leave Abraham Lincoln, proud to think that a service in St. John's Church may have had some part in guiding him to right decisions, and in preserving his great heart from bitterness and rancor. We would like to feel that Lincoln remembered that quiet Second Sunday in Lent, 1861, when, four years later, he concluded his Second Inaugural: "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; . . . to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

¹⁰ Earl S. Miers, *op. cit.*, III, 131-2

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Alexander Wilson Naturalist and Pioneer. By ROBERT CANTWELL.
Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1961. 319. 8 col. pl., 12 pl.
black and white. \$15.

This new biography of Alexander Wilson, the shy poet of Paisley, is a charming and enlightening book. Beautifully produced and lavishly illustrated in color with bird plates from Wilson's immortal *American Ornithology*, Mr. Cantwell's book commands attention of all lovers of the out-of-doors, and of American history. Something has always been confusing about Alexander Wilson and his life and work. Born in 1766, Wilson was already 36 before he began the book on American birds which was to make him famous, and he died not much more than ten years later. The early life in Scotland has always been shrouded in mystery. Mr. Cantwell has done a great deal to dispel the mists of time. The new material in this book is undoubtedly the account of Wilson's younger days, his strange life, partly a spinner, partly an itinerant peddler and pack-man, a sort of "Fuller-Brush man" of the 1780's, with his ups and downs, sometimes sleeping at an inn where he could afford to pay for his dinner, sometimes sleeping in the fields or a deserted farm building along the roadside.

Wilson's father was a retired smuggler who had taken to the looms and made himself respectable. Young Alexander had no real education. His reading was meager, but in the days of the emergence of Robert Burns as a new star in the firmament, he began, slowly enough at first, to hobnob with printers, journeymen traders in paper and ink, and gradually to make himself into a writer and poet. His literary efforts of the years in Scotland show him as a lover, not of nature, but of the contemporary scene that he knew, mills, spinners, the early factories and cottage industries of semi-rural Scotland. It was in this context that he made himself known in Edinburgh at a poetry festival, where he took second prize. In addition, it was this love of industry and of the common man which eventually led to his undoing, his arrest in Paisley, suspected of having written anonymous doggerel against one of the local leading business men. In 1792 Wilson was jailed, and held in jail long beyond his normal time for a trial. He was fined and convicted of having perjured himself over the affair. No guilt was

finally proved, but Wilson's admissions of complicity left a stain on his record for all to see in the Scotland of the day.

These difficulties, which appear in retrospect to be largely political, coupled with an apparent unhappy love affair in which Wilson felt that he could not court successfully a Miss M'Lean, a girl of higher station than himself, forced the young tradesman to seek solace in the new world of America. Wilson and a friend landed from shipboard near Wilmington in 1794, but although industry was flourishing along the Brandywine there was no room for young weavers. Philadelphia was equally inhospitable. Yellow fever had decimated the population and the city was paralyzed at the time of Wilson's arrival. Eventually the young poet secured a job as a schoolteacher in a neighboring town, and this and a succeeding job later on in another school, were to be his closest links with a formal education.

While at his first school at Milestown near the Delaware River, Alexander Wilson appeared to become seriously interested in studying the birds of North America. The story develops from there. Friendship with John Bartram and other local naturalists of Philadelphia soon developed. Finally a plan came to him to develop a prospectus of a book on birds. Leaving his school, selling subscriptions, dealings with publishers, the rest is history including the fateful meeting with another young artist in a frontier town, John James Audubon. The book developed, subscriptions were sold, Wilson traveled, west to the frontier, south to New Orleans, north to the relatively inhospitable climes of New England. In these years he developed his strong association with George Ord, a wealthy amateur of Philadelphia, who, as everyone knows, completed the last part of the eventual work, for Wilson died in 1813, still young, still not quite understood. The mystery has deepened with the years. But at least this biography is more explicit than any I have so far read. The material at hand is more complete, the picture it gives is painted in more assured strokes. Wilson emerges as far more of a personality than would have seemed possible a few years ago. This book is a must for any student of the development of American ornithology, or indeed of the natural history of the North American Continent.

Here and there are a few errors, especially in the labelling of the plates. One wonders who advised Mr. Cantwell as to the identity of all his birds chosen for the reproductions. Buntings are not warblers, nor do we have the tufted duck in this country. The blue goose is the blue goose and not a female snow goose, and the "pied" duck is perhaps better described as the extinct Labrador duck, a bird which to our sorrow has become as dead as the dodo.

These are all minor carpings and set out only to emphasize what should be at once apparent to anyone who partakes of this delightful volume. It is written "con amore" and deserves a wide circle of readers.

S. DILLON RIPLEY 2ND.

*Yale University,
NewHaven, Conn.*

Delaware during the Civil War: A Political History. By HAROLD HANCOCK. Wilmington: Historical Society of Delaware, 1961. 197. \$5.

Much of the story of the border states in the Civil War has not been readily available. Professor Hancock's study remedies this deficiency for Delaware. Published by the Historical Society of Delaware and comprising articles that appeared originally (1956-1958) in the Society's publication, *DELAWARE HISTORY*, it is a scholarly, well-organized, and valuable contribution.

Marylanders will find many parallels with their own State. Delaware's sharp division in sentiment is amply demonstrated by Hancock's background survey, by the statements of officials and private persons, by the press, legislative actions and communications to and from Washington, and by state elections and the vacillation and uncertainty of Delaware's early war governor, William Burton, a Democrat.

Newcastle County (including Wilmington), was staunchly Union while Kent and Sussex Counties were strongly pro-Southern. Yet few in the State were willing to give substantial aid to the South or bear arms for it. Professor Hancock estimates that not over 200-500 Delawareans fought for the Confederacy. On the other hand, in proportion to its population, Delaware furnished more men to the Northern armies than any other State.

The author weaves the complicated political story skillfully. He analyzes the decisive 1860 victory of the Breckinridge forces in Delaware, a victory gained by spreading fear that a Republican victory would mean abolition of slavery (Delaware, in 1860, had 1,798 slaves in a population of 112,216), a change in the status of free Negroes (19,829), and the dissolution of the Union. Although bitterness existed between U. S. Senators James A. Bayard and Willard Saulsbury, termed Peace Democrats by Hancock, the nevertheless represented the majority feeling in Delaware on the issues of the day. Republicans elected George P. Fisher to Congress in 1860, lost to the Democrat William Temple in 1862 but upon his

death in 1863 elected Nathaniel B. Smithers in a special election and then reelected him in 1864. The Republican William Cannon was elected governor, in 1862. But despite these successes and the expenditure of large sums of money and the use of troops at three elections, the Republican party was unable to wrest general state control from the Democrats.

Delaware followed activities in Maryland closely, with both Southern sympathizers and Unionists looking for leadership. The latter were much alarmed by Lee's movements into Maryland and Pennsylvania in 1862 and 1863.

Professor Hancock concludes that Delaware "paid homage" to both North and South, giving complete allegiance to neither, and had no effect on the course of national events.

This volume is well illustrated and contains a full bibliography and an adequate index.

CHARLES B. CLARK

*Upper Iowa University,
Fayette, Iowa*

My Dearest Polly. Letters of Chief Justice Marshall to His Wife, with Their Background, Political and Domestic, 1779-1831. By FRANCES NORTON MASON. Richmond, Va.; Garrett and Massie Inc., 1961. 386. \$5.

On Christmas Day, 1831, the first anniversary of the death of Mary Ambler Marshall, her husband wrote a tribute to her which ended: "I have lost her! And with her I have lost the solace of my life! Yet she remains still the companion of my retired hours,—still occupies my inmost bosom. When I am alone and unemployed, my mind unceasingly turns to her." Such was the final written evidence of the love of John Marshall, the Chief Justice of the United States, for his afflicted wife—a love sustained without diminishment over a period of fifty-two years. His selfless devotion, a byword among his contemporaries, became a legend that has been passed down through succeeding generations.

Forty-three letters written by Marshall to his "Polly" are the framework of Mrs. Mason's book. She states that it is the first time all of them have been published in full; some have not appeared in print before. No letters from Polly to John are known to exist and in his correspondence references to her having written him are few. Solicitous of her health he frequently pleads for a letter from her but without success. What reassuring news he gets comes second hand from other members of the family.

In fact there is not a scrap of evidence from Polly herself to tell us what she was like. All we know about the subject of one of the most remarkable manifestations of a husband's love rests on the testimony of her adoring mate, the recollections of friends and neighbors, the reports of her sister Eliza Ambler Carrington who was as outspoken as Polly was reticent, and one or two letters written her by her children. These last give the impression that she was an object of their affection and a parent to whom they turned in need. Mrs. Mason undertakes manfully to fill the void by imagining what Polly's feelings and remarks might have been and attributing them to her. The result is not altogether convincing. Mrs. Marshall we are told suffered from melancholia which took the form of extreme nervousness. A letter of Judge Marshall's penned with profuse apologies asks a neighbor to do something about a barking dog that is keeping Mrs. Marshall awake. During one of her later illnesses he had nearby streets covered with straw to deaden the sound of traffic.

The letters, written when the Judge was on official business in Philadelphia and Washington, on his mission to France, and when riding circuit are not exceptional. They deal chiefly with family matters though there are occasional references to the great events of the day. It is their political and domestic background supplied by Mrs. Mason that makes the book. The decades following the American Revolution were critical ones in which the impelling question was whether the new nation would survive. Through his interpretation of the Constitution the Chief Justice played a leading role in directing the course of events. Mrs. Mason handles the many details with assurance and understanding. She not only reveals a thorough knowledge of the social life of Richmond in the Marshalls' day but also that of Philadelphia and Washington.

John Marshall was the eldest of fifteen children of Thomas and Mary Keith Marshall, all of whom lived to maturity and produced prodigious offspring. John and Polly themselves had ten children of whom six survived to present them with 26 grandchildren during Polly's lifetime. No wonder so many people today boast direct descent or blood kinship with the Chief Justice. Mrs. Mason steers an unswerving course through the intricacies of the Marshall and Ambler lines. Nevertheless the genealogical tables at the end of the book are a welcome inclusion.

FRANCIS F. BEIRNE

Baltimore, Md.

George Washington's Mother. By ALICE CURTIS DESMOND. New York; Dodd, Meade Co., 1961. 235. \$3.50.

Despite antagonism toward fictionalized history, this reviewer enjoyed Mrs. Desmond's latest biography in a series on historic American women. To be sure, there is little to tell of Mary Ball Washington herself except that she was the mother of a great son. To her, however, must go credit for much of the development of that son's character. She was not an endearing person. Her life was unlike that of the mythological eighteenth century Virginia lady, for her husband had left her with a large family to bring up on very little income. The author has brought out Mary Washington's independence and her hard work, as well as her narrowness and lack of finesse. By careful research she has given a reliable picture of the family life of brothers, sisters, children and grandchildren constituting the Washington clan.

ROSAMOND R. BEIRNE

Baltimore, Md.

Sailing Rams: A History of Sailing Ships Built in and Near Sussex County, Delaware. By JAMES E. MARVIL, M. D. Laurel, Del. Published by the author, 1962. 255. \$7.50.

At last here is a book many of us have been waiting for!

The story of the ram, a distinctive type of vessel originating in the Chesapeake Bay, is traced from its inception when the *Edwin & Maud* was built in 1899 (now the *Victory Chimes*, sailing out of Castine, Maine, as a charter party boat) to the *Jennie D. Bell*, now tied up in Salisbury. Spun in a homesy manner on simple paper, but electric typewriter clear, and profusely illustrated, Dr. Marvil's book gives the story of 358 vessels, mostly sailing, and traces the careers of 46 local captains and sailing families.

While Sussex County, Delaware, is not Maryland, these vessels belong to the Chesapeake Bay, for all ram shipyards were on the Nanticoke River, rising in Delaware but passing through Sharptown, Maryland, home of many fine 3-masted schooners, down to the Wicomico River, Fishing Bay and Tangier Sound.

Fairburn in his five volumes, Parker in his *Sails of the Maritimes*, even Samuel Eliot Morison in his recently republished *Maritime History of Massachusetts*, mention only New York as contributing to the development of sail on the East Coast below New England, and leave the impression that there was no shipbuilding south of there.

While Howard I. Chapelle, particularly in his *Baltimore Clippers*, Carl C. Cutler in his recent book on packets, and Marion V. Brewington in all his writings have told the story of our Chesapeake honestly, it has remained for Dr. Marvil to give us a log book and yard account book record of men and ships and local shipyards wherein no reference is made to other parts of the water except to mention ships built for sale elsewhere or voyages to "Nowhere is too far"—

As Robert H. Burgess, Curator of Exhibits at the Mariners Museum (and owner of the largest private collection of Chesapeake memorabilia next to our Brewington Collection) says, "This work is a contribution to the maritime history of the Chesapeake Bay . . . a history of the development of a type of 3-masted schooner, the ram . . . built for special purposes."

After reading this book you will let the ram take its place with the Chesapeake pilot vessels—the Baltimore clipper of 1812, the *Ann McKim* of 1831 (first of the cargo clippers), the pungy, bateau or skipjack, sailing log canoe, brogan and bugeye—not to mention our crab skiff—all indigenous to the Chesapeake Bay.

It is a fine record of Bay activity and shipbuilding south of New York, a great credit to its author, and the best book on Maryland sailing since *Men of Marque* by Cranwell and Crane. Oh, if someone would only do the same for the Booz Brothers shipyard here!

RICHARD H. RANDALL

Baltimore, Md.

Steam Packets on the Chesapeake. By ALEXANDER CROSBY BROWN.

Cambridge, Md.: Cornell Maritime Press, Inc., 1961. 192. \$6.

Here is a history of steamboating on the Chesapeake Bay!

Starting with James Rumsey's original American steamboat on the Potomac in 1778 and Edward Trippe's *Chesapeake*, the first steamboat on the Bay—1813, the author takes us through the Bay history of the Old Bay Line and its competition. This means practically every steamer serving local ports and paralleling developments along the Atlantic Coast, bringing in even some transatlantic visitors like the *Great Northern*.

Competition was between lines—between cities and between different methods of transportation, and this story is well documented by frequent quotations from periodicals of the times.

Mr. Brown takes us from wooden hulls, through iron, into steel; from paddle wheels, through single screws, to multiple screw vessels; from early Reeder engines to their latest development in 20-miles-

per-hour boats; and from steamers with masts and sails through the gilded masterpieces at the turn of the century to the efficient ship of today.

This book was originally issued in 1940, at the time of the Old Bay Line's centenary. The last three chapters have been added to bring the story up to date, 1961. These last chapters tell of the war experiences of several vessels, but particularly of the *President Warfield* which as *Exodox* in 1947 took 4500 refugees from Sette in the Gulf of Lyon to Palestine and back to Hamburg, Germany, under Zionist sympathizers' efforts.

Everyone interested in the water should delight in this book.

RICHARD H. RANDALL

Baltimore, Md.

Follow The Water. By VARLEY LANG. Winston-Salem; John F. Blair, Publisher, 1961. 222. \$4.50.

Varley Lang, a Johns Hopkins University Ph. D. and ex-teacher, writes in *Follow The Water* of his experiences as a practicing waterman, his chosen profession. Unique as his position is, Lang undoubtedly enjoys his work, and for that reason his book will be appreciated by a raft of Marylanders, many of whom are woefully ignorant of the waterman's way of life.

Dedicated to the watermen of Maryland, the book is broken down into nine chapters: oystering, conservation, crabbing, clamming, fishing, hunting, boats, accidents, and the character of watermen. While Lang doesn't get far away from Talbot, his home base, much of what he has to say applies to the entire Chesapeake tidewater area.

There will be those readers who will take exception to Lang's belief that "the only possible way to increase production of oysters in the Bay is to increase production on natural bars; that is, in those areas which have always been, because of favorable environmental conditions, good producers for a hundred years or more, time out of memory" (p. 61).

There will also be those who agree with Dr. Lang's statement "I am not a hunter myself, and I think I can prove it." (p. 133): his chapter on hunting is the only weak one in the book and one that would have been better left out.

The majority of readers, however, will find *Follow The Water* a delightful experience, for not only does Varley Lang know what he is talking about, he is also refreshingly articulate for a Ph. D.—must be the salt in the water.

C. A. P. H.

The Winds Will. By GILBERT BYRON. Easton, Md.; The Easton Publishing Company, Inc., 1961. 165. \$3.75.

Gilbert Byron's many admirers will be glad to learn of this collection of poems, most of which appeared in his earlier books: *These Chesapeake Men*, *Delaware Poems*, and *Chesapeake Cove*. As one of a handful of artists who "celebrate men / men of the Chesapeake—," Byron has much to tell us about our tidewater region. I would commend this collection particularly to newcomers to the area. *The Winds Will* pulses with the spirit of the Eastern Shore.

C. A. P. H.

Four Years in the Confederate Artillery. The Diary of Private Henry Robinson Berkeley. Edited by WILLIAM H. RUNGE. (Virginia Historical Society Documents, Vol. II) Chapel Hill; Published for the Virginia Historical Society by The University of North Carolina Press, 1961. xxv, 156. \$4.

Diaries of this type are prize finds for historical groups. Private Berkeley's reminiscences add much to an accurate picture of the Confederate in the field. The general impression that the Confederate forces were always ragged and hungry is pretty well dispelled in this diary. For example, after Berkeley was captured at Waynesboro, Virginia on March 2, 1865, he notes, on March 6, "I never knew what it was to be hungry before."

One gets the impression from the diary that the diarist's unit was not really committed to the War until 1864. His descriptions of the fighting in the Shenandoah Valley that year do much to enrich our knowledge of this campaign. While he had only a private's view, his awareness of the overall military picture is outstanding. This may be due somewhat to the fact that Berkeley rewrote the diary sometime after 1890.

The editing by Mr. Runge is first class. To some readers the many notes may seem burdensome. In this book, however, they form an integral part and their omission would detract greatly from its value. This book stands out as a first class work among the flood of third-rate writings and editings presently being published on the Civil War.

ROGER S. COHEN, JR.

Glen Echo Heights, Md.

Index to West Virginia. By ROBERT F. MUNN. Charleston: Education Foundation, Inc., 1960. x, 154. \$3.

Guide to the Study of West Virginia History. By CHARLES SHETLER. Morgantown: West Virginia University Library, 1960. vii, 151. \$6.

Both these small volumes are invaluable sourcebooks for the study and writing of West Virginia history. The *Guide* is a general bibliography of literature about the State arranged by counties and topically. The *Index* deals with periodical articles about West Virginia history using the *West Virginia Review* (1923-48) as a backbone. When taken collectively they provide an up-to-date and useful tool for students, teachers and others interested in the sources of West Virginia history.

The publication of these two volumes should cause the reader to inquire about the existence of similar sourcebooks of Maryland history. There exists nothing of the sort, except Eleanor B. Passano's *An Index to the Source Records of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1940). This, however, has long been out of print and deals primarily with genealogical sources. Certainly the appearance of the Munn and Shetler studies should awaken the need for and the interest in the preparation of similar studies in Maryland history. Since nothing comparable now exists, such a compilation would be a most invaluable contribution and would serve as an almost indispensable guide to those most concerned with the study and writing of Maryland history.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Maryland Hall of Records

An Architectural Study of Fort McHenry. By LEE H. NELSON. National Park Service, Eastern Office, Division of Design and Construction, Philadelphia, January 1961.

Mr. Nelson has prepared a thorough, scholarly, and readable account of the architectural evolution of Fort McHenry. He has clarified structural mutations; he has refined our knowledge of the French military engineers responsible for the pentagonal fort's design. The role of Col. Jean Foncin in producing the final design is for the first time stated with certainty. This French influence puts Fort McHenry in new perspective. And though Mr. Nelson only hints at the fact, the fortifications at Baltimore, along with other American fortifications of the late 18th and early 19th

centuries, can be seen as products of an architectural tradition that dates from early Renaissance times. Spurred by the invention of gunpowder, the French became masters of the science of fortification.

Outstanding in this study are the excellent measured drawings, all of which can be obtained from the Historic American Buildings Survey files in the Library of Congress. A host of contemporary illustrations and maps will also be invaluable to the student of architectural history—who, it should be said, will be most interested in this work.

Definition of the site relationship between the earlier, earthen Fort Whetstone, and its brick-faced, pentagonal successor, Fort McHenry, is a valuable contribution.

As Mr. Nelson indicates, additional structural investigation is needed to complete the picture of the pentagonal fort. When this is accomplished, it will then be possible, and highly desirable, to formally publish the full results of the historical, archaeological and architectural research done over the past several years at Ft. McHenry.

Mr. Nelson's foreword acknowledges help from many sources. This indebtedness well illustrates the concept of the academic team approach which is required in historic sites research. Pooling unrelated disciplines—in this case history, archeology, and architecture—is the only practicable assault possible on the interrelated physical and documentary evidence confronting the modern researcher.

MURRAY H. NELLIGAN

*National Park Service,
Philadelphia*

The Face of Maryland. By A. AUBREY BODINE. Baltimore: Bodine and Associates, Inc., 1961. Distributed by The Viking Press, Inc., New York. 144. \$12.50.

For more than a generation readers of the Baltimore *Sunday Sun Magazine* have admired the superb photography of Aubrey Bodine. With the publication of his *My Maryland* in 1952 and of his *Chesapeake Bay and Tidewater* in 1954, his rare artistry won plaudits from wider audiences. In *The Face of Maryland* his delicate perception, his mastery of camera and darkroom techniques, and his love of his native State again combine to make a book of beauty.

Divided into five sections—Baltimore, the Eastern Shore, Southern

Maryland, Western Maryland and the Civil War—the book contains about 230 pictures, a generous sampling of the State's diverse interest and charm. They range from close-ups that border on portrait studies to sweeping aerials, but each reflects the photographer's sensitive and intelligent approach to his subject.

Baltimore's recent churches, temples, office buildings and hospitals are a part of *The Face of Maryland*, as are its Georgian mansions. Tobacco growing, an early means of livelihood, remains important, but so are two of the State's newest industries, the raising of broilers, and dredging for the mannino, or soft shell clam. Mr. Bodine includes them all. For about 300 years Maryland gentlemen have ridden to hounds, and today the Laurel Racetrack's relatively new International attracts world-wide attention. The photographer's lens records both events.

Such subjects only hint at the wide scope of Mr. Bodine's interest. He is not above pausing to record the "incredible period in the Age of the Automobile—the period of the oversized and over-powered car, and of the tailfin." His picture portrays a cruiser-sized automobile garaged, but with its fantail protruding over the sidewalk through panel-less doors. Noticeably absent from Mr. Bodine's book are portrayals of ruthless multi-laned highways and of intricate interchanges, cloverleaves, and over-and-under-passes. One hopes that he prefers to ignore such subjects.

As was the case with its predecessors, *The Face of Maryland* is a model of book design and production. Harold A. Williams contributes an appreciative foreword, and the photographer sets the mood with comments on some of his favorite pictures. Hervey Brackbill did the captions, and Yardley the humorous picture map that constitutes the endpapers.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE

Md. Historical Society

BOOKS RECEIVED

- The South in the New Nation; 1789-1819.* By THOMAS P. ABERNETHY. Baton Rouge; Louisiana State University Press, 1961. xvi, 529. \$7.50.
- The Parson of The Islands.* By ADAM WALLACE. Cambridge, Md.; Tidewater Publishers, 1961. (Reprint). 412. \$3.95.
- Van Meteren's Virginia 1607-1612.* By JOHN PARKER. Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1961. 102. \$5.
- The Indomitable John Scott: Citizen of Long Island 1632-1704.* By LILIAN T. MOWRER. New York; Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1960. xviii, 438. \$6.50.
- Joseph Ledlie and William Moody: Early Pittsburgh Residents, Their Background and Some of Their Descendants.* Compiled by LEDLIE I. LAUGHLIN. Pittsburgh; The University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961. x, 208, genealogical charts. \$10.
- William Shirley: King's Governor of Massachusetts.* By JOHN A. SCHUTZ. Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press, 1961. (Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg). vii, 292. \$6.
- Canals and American Economic Development.* By CARTER GOODRICH, JULIUS RUBIN, H. JEROME CRANMER, and HARVEY H. SEGAL. Edited by CARTER GOODRICH. New York, Columbia University Press, 1961. vi, 303. \$7.50.
- The Negro in the American Revolution.* By BENJAMIN QUARLES. Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press, 1961. (Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg). xiii, 231. \$6.
- The Anti-Federalists: Critics of the Constitution, 1781-1788.* By JACKSON TURNER MAIN. Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press, 1961. (Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg). xv, 308. \$7.50.
- Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C. 1957-1959.* Edited with an introduction by FRANCIS COLEMAN ROSENBERGER. Washington; The Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C., 1961. xi, 305.

- The King's Chevalier: A Biography of Lewis Littlepage.* By CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS. New York; The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1961. 442. \$7.50.
- The Twilight of Federalism: The Distintegration of The Federalist Party 1815-1830.* By SHAW LIVERMORE, JR. Princeton; Princeton University Press, 1962. x, 292. \$6.
- Architects in America of Catholic Tradition:* By FRANCIS W. KERVICK. Rutland, Vt.; Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1962. 140. \$10.
- The Secession Conventions of The South.* By RALPH A. WOOSTER. Princeton; Princeton University Press, 1962. viii, 294. \$6.50.
- True Tales of the South at War.* Collected and Edited by CLARENCE POE. Chapel Hill; The University of North Carolina Press, 1961. xii, 208. \$2.95.

NOTES AND QUERIES

1962 House and Garden Pilgrimage, April 28 through May 13—
The 25th annual House and Garden Pilgrimage starts in Southern Maryland. Here one can find the gentler world of yesterday in many of the loveliest gardens and historic houses of the mid-Atlantic area. Spring in Maryland reaffirms Captain John Smith's belief that here on the shores of the Chesapeake Bay "Heaven and earth seemed never to have agreed better to frame a place for man's commodious and delightful habitation."

Schedule for two weeks tour:

Saturday, April 28: St. Mary's County

Sunday, April 29: Charles County

Wednesday, May 2: Montgomery County

Thursday, May 3: Kingsville, Baltimore County

Friday, May 4: Harford County

Saturday, May 5: Hagerstown

Sunday, May 6: Frederick County

Tuesday, May 8: Meadow Road Walking Tour, Suburban
Baltimore

Thursday, May 10: Anne Arundel County

Friday, May 11: Mt. Vernon Place Walking Tour, Baltimore City

This city tour is of the Washington Monument area of Baltimore, a fashionable residential section of the mid-nineteenth century, and one of the culture centers of today. The Maryland Historical Society, founded in 1844 will be the starting point for this Friday tour. Also included are the famed Peabody Library founded by George Peabody, the Walters Art Gallery, and several town houses and converted carriage houses. Luncheon will be served at Christ Church Parish House Between 12 and 2:30 P. M.

Saturday, May 12: Talbot County, Maryland Eastern Shore

Sunday, May 13: Worcester County, Maryland Eastern Shore

Water Cruises from Baltimore

Saturday, May 19

and

Sunday, May 20

Chester River Cruise

and

Chestertown

The Maryland Pilgrimage is sponsored by the Federated Garden Clubs of Maryland, the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities, the Maryland Historical Society, the National Society of Colonial Dames of Maryland and the Baltimore Museum of Art. For information, call or write Maryland House and Garden Pilgrimage, Room 223, Sheraton-Belvedere Hotel, Baltimore 2, Md. Phone: MU 5-1000.

Historic Annapolis, Inc.—In addition to its year-round tours, Historic Annapolis will offer each October a month of unusual Heritage tours and events. In 1962 a special theme will commemorate the great days of sailing ships, with emphasis on the passengers, fashions and cargoes they brought to Annapolis.

Hughes—Wanted: names of parents of Vincent Hughes living on Eden St. north of Dulany, Old Town (see James Kennedy, *Directory of Baltimore 1817-1818*). Also the name of his wife in 1825 is desired; also I would like names of parents of George Hush and Elizabeth Connelly, married Old Light St. Church, October 25, 1821.

Zouck—I am trying to get data on the Zouck family. The spelling originally was De Zouche or Zouche. Sir John Zouck and his sisters came to this country from England between 1607 and 1620, to Virginia. They returned to England. Henry Zouck, born 1769, died 1843, is buried at St. Paul's Evangelist Lutheran Church at Arcadia, Md., and his descendents are buried there too, including my grandfather. I cannot find any trace of his parents or where they came from. I will appreciate any data regarding the family prior to 1800. The family records are very clear in England from 1600 back to 1300.

J. FRANKLIN ZOUCK
8114 North 9th Avenue, Phoenix 21, Ariz.

Hammond—I would appreciate hearing from any descendants of Mathias Hammond, son of Denton and Sarah Hall (Baldwin) Hammond.

HENRY DU PONT BALDWIN
5203 Falls Road, Baltimore 10, Md.

Dalrymple—To complete family records, information on, and whereabouts of descendants of the Dalrymples of Midlothian, some of whom migrated to Maryland and Virginia in the colonial period, is desired by

LADY MARJORY DALRYMPLE
Oxenfoord Castle
Ford, Midlothian, Scotland

Dennis—Information is wanted concerning the parentage, birth-place, etc. of William Armstrong Dennis, who married Sarah Rebecca Harman in Baltimore, February 29, 1848.

MRS. C. EVERARD DEEMS
Buckburg Road, Tomkins Cove, N. Y.

Jefferson-Tindall—Information wanted regarding a manuscript called "One Hundred Years of the Jefferson-Tindall Family" by Warren Jefferson, 184-.

MRS. MAHLON E. ARNETT
959 South San Rafael Ave., Pasadena, Calif.

CONTRIBUTORS

ALEXANDRA LEE LEVIN of Baltimore has recently written *The Szolds of Lombard Street: a Baltimore Family*, and she is the author of several historical articles in *American Heritage* and the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

REV. GEORGE B. SCRIVEN is Rector of The Church of the Nativity, Cedarcroft (Baltimore), and former president of the Harford County Historical Society. He has written articles on church and related subjects for a variety of publications including the *Maryland Historical Magazine* and the *Baltimore Sun*. His most recent work is a history of The Church of the Nativity.

DR. S. W. JACKMAN is assistant professor of history at Bates College, Maine. He has written *Galloping Head, The Life of Sir Francis Bond Head*, (London, 1958) as well as articles for *Rhode Island History* (1961) and other historical quarterlies. His major field of concentration is the history of England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

DR. SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON hardly needs introduction to the subscribers of this magazine. He is among the nation's finest scholars in early American colonial and maritime history, and in the history of United States Naval Operations in World War II.

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A 5-month strike of 145,000 miners in Pennsylvania closed 357 anthracite mines—*May 12.*

Baltimore City established a juvenile court—*June 24.*

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