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Richard Walsh, *Editor*

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## HISTORIANS AND HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE

By THOMAS T. HELDE

JUST a little more than sixty years ago, the English classicist and historian John Bagnell Bury delivered his inaugural lecture as the successor to Lord Acton in the chair of the Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge. An inaugural lecture is a good place for a historian to collect his thoughts and present his views, and Bury was no exception to the general practice. During his examination of the state of historical studies and their development during the past century, he referred with satisfaction to history as a science and resolutely excluded from its proper purview any attempt to make it acceptable, or, for that matter, even interesting.<sup>1</sup> To be sure, in

<sup>1</sup> Bury delivered the lecture on 26 January 1903. It is printed in his *Selected Essays* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 3-22, and in Fritz Stern (ed.), *The Varieties of*

Bury's later years, he began to turn from these views, but unquestionably in 1903, and even later, I imagine, he would have been surprised at the directions toward which historical thought and methodology have turned in the last six decades and at the distance they have traveled. Even though he recognized the widening subject matter of history, from the narrowly political account to the study of the manifold aspects of man's life, he would have raised his eyebrows, I am sure, at the appearance of a book such as the report of the Social Science Research Council's Committee on Historical Analysis.<sup>2</sup> To his mind, it would have examined either self-evident truths, or subjects outside the proper interests of the historian, and would not have been worth the time and the money. But the very fact that such a study is, today, believed to be worth the time and the money shows dramatically how great has been the change in historians' outlooks since the turn of the century.

Bury stood at the end of a century during which historians had developed not only their discipline, but a supreme confidence in it and in its absolute capacity to re-create the past with facts scientifically collected and arranged. The historian who cut his teeth on the hearty diet of Ernst Bernheim's *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie*,<sup>3</sup> or, failing the stamina for that, on the classic shorter treatment of Langlois and Seignobos,<sup>4</sup> really knew where he stood. He dug out his documents and judged their authenticity; he took his notes, preferably one fact to a card, and arranged them; he went through a process of mental assimilation; and he began to write. If everything worked out properly, the result would be history as it had actually happened.

So well did Bury sum up this attitude that he stands as a most

*History* (New York, 1956; Meridian M-37), pp. 210-223. ". . . though [history] may supply material for literary art or philosophical speculation, she is herself simply a science, no less and no more." *Selected Essays*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup>Louis Gottschalk (ed.), *Generalization in the Writing of History* (Chicago, 1963). In addition to Gottschalk, the chairman, the other members of the committee were William O. Aydelotte, Thomas C. Cochran, Merle Curti, Roy F. Nichols, and David M. Potter. Derk Bodde, M. I. Finley, Walter P. Metzger, Robert R. Palmer, Chester G. Starr, and Arthur F. Wright also contributed to the report.

<sup>3</sup>(6th ed., Leipzig, 1908; 1st ed., 1889).

<sup>4</sup>C. V. Langlois and Charles Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History* (London, 1898). ". . . the aim of history is not to please, nor to give practical maxims of conduct, nor to arouse the emotions, but knowledge pure and simple." (p. 303).

articulate example of what no doubt thousands of historians believed. But Bury also stood on the threshold of a century during which historians turned with controversial zest to the methodology and the philosophy of their discipline. Indeed, just a year later, in 1904, the young George Macaulay Trevelyan answered Bury with a call to arms, his essay "Clio, A Muse": ". . . the analogy of physical science has misled many historians during the last thirty years right away from the truth about their profession. . . . the value of history is not scientific."<sup>5</sup> Today, historians are generally agreed on most of the techniques of research, but simultaneously they actively disagree on almost everything else: that sticky problem of causation, for one, of course, but also such things as the nature of historical knowledge, the problem of relative and absolute judgments, and the proper role of the historian, for example. The study of the methodology, philosophy, and history of history has become one of the most lively activities of the historian. Books like Fritz Stern's and Hans Meyerhoff's collections of readings enjoy active sales; articles abound; a new periodical, *History and Theory*, is dedicated to the problem; and a bibliography of works on the philosophy of history, modestly entitled "Some Philosophical Discussions," can list 329 items published since 1946.<sup>6</sup> The Social Science Research Council's study on generalizations, itself the third investigation by this organization on the methods and philosophies of history, is another good illustration of this turn of historical interest.<sup>7</sup>

Although generalization is a methodological sort of a thing, it is also a process of thought; as such, it leads the historian into the philosophy of what his own discipline is. It is illustrative,

<sup>5</sup> *Clio, A Muse and Other Essays* (2d ed., London, 1930), p. 147. Trevelyan, who became Regius Professor at Cambridge in 1927, wrote in the introduction to this edition of *Clio*: "When that essay came out . . . a quarter of a century ago it was a youthful rebel. For all its crudity I think I will send it out again to parade the streets a little longer with its flag of revolt . . ." (p. ix). It also appears, abridged, in F. Stern, *Varieties of History*, pp. 227-245.

<sup>6</sup> Fritz Stern as cited in note 1; Hans Meyerhoff (ed.), *The Philosophy of History in Our Time: An Anthology* (Garden City, N. Y.; Anchor A-164); *History and Theory*, edited by George H. Nadel and an editorial committee of distinguished international historians and published since 1960 on an irregular schedule by Mouton & Co., The Hague; the bibliography on the philosophy of history is only one part, pp. 225-237, of the bibliography by Martin Klein which concludes *Generalization in the Writing of History*, pp. 213-247.

<sup>7</sup> The preceding two: *Theory and Practice in Historical Study* (SSRC Bulletin No. 54, New York, 1946) and *The Social Sciences in Historical Study* (SSRC Bulletin No. 64, New York, 1954).

I think, that the historians who contribute to this study find several different types of generalizations and methods by which they may be reached, just as historians in general have come to differ widely on the nature of their discipline.<sup>8</sup> This is an ideal state of affairs, for if we knew all the answers, would not history lose much of its stimulation? But on the other hand, the critic may wonder if historians are not going backward: they knew where they were in 1900 and they certainly don't agree on that point today. Is there any reason for this apparent confusion? In his *Man on His Past*, Herbert Butterfield maintained that really to understand the history of anything, one must study its historiography.<sup>9</sup> It is my intention here not to summarize the SSRC report; its editor, Professor Gottschalk, has already done the job superlatively; nor is it my intention to burrow more critically into the problems and questions raised by the contributors. I wish to provide simply a historical introduction to the understanding of today's interest in methodology and philosophy. I have neither the space nor the time to be detailed; I should like to examine some broad lines of development of the history of history writing during the past one hundred and fifty years. I also wish to suggest a number of easily available books which will be useful to the student who wants to expand his own comprehension of the many-sided methods and philosophies of today's historical studies.<sup>10</sup>

## I

Ranke, wrote George Peabody Gooch in 1913, "remains the master of us all."<sup>11</sup> Although today many might challenge the

<sup>8</sup> Louis Gottschalk has the gratitude of all who read the report for his lucid chapter, "Categories of Historical Generalization," pp. 113-129, and his "Summary," pp. 195-209.

<sup>9</sup> Herbert Butterfield, *Man on His Past* (Cambridge, 1955; Beacon BP-107), in particular chapter I, "The History of Historiography," pp. 1-31.

<sup>10</sup> There are, today, many easily accessible books in English on this topic. The notes to follow are intended to be suggestions of books to read as well as citations of authority. All are in English, and many, as will be noted, in paper-bound editions.

<sup>11</sup> G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (2d ed., revised, London, 1952; 1st ed., 1913; Beacon BP-76), p. 97. Chapter VI, "Ranke," and Chapter VII, "Ranke's Critics and Pupils," are basic for further study of Ranke, as, for that matter, Gooch's book is basic for the historian who wishes to study the history of his discipline. Important, also, for Ranke are T. H. Von Laue, *Leopold Ranke: The Formative Years* (Princeton, N. J., 1950) and G. P.

statement, the fundamental point behind it is as valid as ever: it was only with the German historian Leopold Ranke in the first half of the nineteenth century that the modern discipline of history, and the professional historian, developed in their university surroundings; and only then, under Ranke's stimulus, did the historian turn to the documents as the absolutely necessary sources of history. To be sure, the history of history writing was already long by the 1820's and 1830's: Herodotus and Thucydides; the Roman historians; the chroniclers of the Middle Ages; the controversies of Renaissance and Reformation all preceded the influence of the scientific revolution on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century rationalism. In these two centuries the study of documents and the techniques for their evaluation; the critical scholarly approach; the great histories of Voltaire and Gibbon; and the penetrating analyses of Giambattista Vico were all parts of the early modern foundation of historical study. But it was the Germans in general, and Ranke in particular, who brought history to the professional halls of the universities and took it out of the hands of publicists, literary men, philosophers, and theologians.

When the young and still obscure high-school teacher at Frankfurt on the Oder published in 1824 his *Histories of the Latin and Germanic Nations from 1494 to 1514* he attracted attention to himself and won a chair at the relatively new Prussian University of Berlin. It was not simply Ranke's powers of scholarship which brought him these gains; his work came at the right time. It fell upon the proper ground to receive it: German scholarship in the surroundings of the early nineteenth-century university. During the previous hundred years or more the German university had developed in a manner far different from the English or the French. Oxford and Cambridge, to quote the old phrase, were "sunk in port and prejudice"; the Sorbonne was dormant; and elsewhere, too, universities had become cemented in traditions which went back to the Middle Ages. But in Germany the university had become the arm of the state: in Prussia, for example, it provided a training for the civil service, and in its curriculum a basis for a variety of intellectual experiences. So varied a fare did the Prussian Univer-

sity of Halle, founded in 1687, serve that punsters called it Hölle—the University of Hell—but its contributions to the disciplines of law and politics were notable. Similarly, the University of Göttingen in Hanover turned after its founding in 1734 to law, politics, philology, and history; even the theology course centered upon a historical treatment of the Bible. Its library of 200,000 books in 1763 was uncommon for its day; so too was its concentration on history as exemplified in particular by Johann Christoph Gatterer and A. L. von Schlözer. In 1810 the renascent Prussian state, going through its period of national regeneration after the defeat by Napoleon, founded the great University of Berlin—the Humboldt University—to replace the lost Halle in territory detached by Napoleon. At Berlin there developed a variety of influences which contributed to the growing German historical discipline. Böckh and Niebuhr studied classical civilizations and developed techniques of using evidence critically. Savigny interpreted law as an evolving thing relative to its civilization and its past rather than depending upon abstract absolutes. Through the influence of the national hero Freiherr vom und zum Stein, historians at Berlin and other universities joined in the great publication of the sources of German history, the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Göttingen and Heidelberg in particular joined Berlin in the historical movement: the consciousness of the past stimulated historical studies; and conversely, history provided food for romanticism and nationalism.<sup>12</sup>

This background of history, romanticism, and nationalism, combined with a rigorous training in philology, fed the interests of the young Ranke when he went to Frankfurt on the Oder to begin his teaching; it was his displeasure with the inaccuracies of Sir Walter Scott that pushed him to history and its sources; and his first book then opened the way to Berlin in 1824 where he went to remain for more than six decades.<sup>13</sup> During these years he placed his stamp upon the discipline of history for all historians to follow. His earliest contribution

<sup>12</sup> For the background of the German university, see Preserved Smith, *A History of Modern Culture, Volume II, The Enlightenment: 1687-1776* (New York, 1934; Collier CS-3), pp. 402-407; H. Butterfield, *Man on His Past*, pp. 39-61; and G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians*, pp. 14-71.

<sup>13</sup> See the illuminating essay by Hajo Holborn, "The Science of History," in Joseph R. Strayer (ed.), *The Interpretation of History* (Princeton, N. J., 1943), pp. 71-72.

was his search for the documents of history in order "to reconstruct the actual past," to use his famous phrase which became the universal goal of historians.<sup>14</sup> His middle period—1835 to about 1866 or 1867—was devoted to his great national histories: France, England, Prussia, and the Reformation in Germany. After 1867 and Prussia's triumph in the leadership of Germany, he turned more directly to Prussian history. And finally, in his last years he made his valiant start upon the universal history which he hoped would cap his career and which, to his mind, was the fulfilment of the ultimate heights to which the study of history carried the scholar.

But Ranke's career is not so much our interest here as his many special contributions to the emerging discipline of history: teaching, historical methodology, politics, and the philosophy of history. As a teacher, Ranke's strength was decidedly not in the lecture hall; rather, it was the intimate intellectual give and take of the seminar which was his special gift to historical study. Today, the word "seminar" is in danger of losing its meaning; it so often implies some kind of a session in which members of the audience sit in a circle, or on various sides of a table, may ask questions and make comments more or less at will, and may smoke. But Ranke's seminar was composed of a group of his advanced students, who met in a room equipped with the documents and the materials under investigation, and who studied history from these sources, criticising them and the work of their colleagues in the search for truth. Ranke's influence spread as dozens, and then hundreds of his students, and in turn, the students of his students followed his leadership in the use of documents to provide the objective re-creation of the past.<sup>15</sup> By mid-century, if not before, there clearly existed a historical *profession* in Germany rather than a group of talented amateurs who wrote history. The *Historische Zeitschrift* became the first historical professional review; appropriately enough, one of Ranke's former students, Heinrich von Sybel, founded it in 1859.

<sup>14</sup> I use Hajo Holborn's translation, *ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>15</sup> On Ranke in the classroom, see Andrew Dickson White, *Autobiography* (2 vols., New York, 1905), I, 39; on the seminar, Edward Gaylord Bourne, "Ranke and the Beginning of the Seminary Method in Teaching" in his *Essays in Historical Criticism* (New York and London, 1901), pp. 265-274; and for what might be called a Ranke "genealogy," i. e., lists of some of Ranke's students, and their students, see James Westfall Thompson, *A History of Historical Writing* (2 vols., New York, 1942), II, 190-191.

The influence of German scholarship spread abroad in varying degrees: in the wake of the Franco-Prussian war Ernest Lavisse went to Germany to examine the Prussian educational system; in England Lord Acton provided a kind of bridge between German scholarship and the individuality of the English historian. It was Acton who founded the *English Historical Review*; it was Acton, too, who envisioned the useful compilation of historical knowledge in the great *Cambridge Modern History*. But of all scholars, it was the Americans who were the most influenced by the Rankean tradition of German scholarship. Hundreds of Americans studied history in the German universities in the mid- and later nineteenth century. Andrew Dickson White, for example, brought back to Michigan and then Cornell ideas of professional scholarship; Daniel Coit Gilman and Herbert Baxter Adams patterned graduate study in history at the Johns Hopkins University after the German models they knew; and even today, in lecture, seminar, and dissertation, American graduate training shows its special debt to Germany.<sup>16</sup> The American Historical Association was founded in 1884—it was no accident that one of its honorary members was Ranke—and in 1895 it began to publish its journal, the *American Historical Review*. In America, too, the professional historian had taken over from the amateur.<sup>17</sup>

To the writing of history itself, Ranke's contributions with respect to English, French, German, and Italian history were so extensive that they are virtually self-evident in a survey of the titles of his works, and the books themselves are still useful for the student. Ranke's history flowed, of course, from his methodology. Even though historians had already recognized the value of original sources, Ranke gave a special impetus to the discovery, critical assessment, and use of documents. He was the first to explore the great resources of the Venetian *Relazioni*; he dug in the archives in Vienna, Paris, London, and Berlin; he discussed the sources in critical annotations to his works; and he

<sup>16</sup> A study of the influence of German universities on American historians would be an interesting one, although probably filled with practical difficulties of execution. Something of this sort has been done for medical education in the study by Thomas Neville Bonner, *American Doctors and German Universities: A Chapter in International Intellectual Relations: 1870-1914* (Lincoln, 1963).

<sup>17</sup> David Van Tassel, *Recording America's Past: An Interpretation of the Development of Historical Studies in America, 1607-1884* (Chicago, 1960) is useful here, in particular, pp. 171-179.

kept his students in the seminar busy with analysis and criticism.

In German politics, Ranke played the role of the moderate conservative observer. For several years in the 1830's, he edited a conservative political review—and wrote most of the articles for it, as well—but the journal was too moderate for the stout-hearted conservative, and too conservative for the liberal, and it fell by the wayside. Ranke's political contribution in those years and later was a special historical concept of Germany's place in Europe as understood through the examination of the German past. The individuality of nations, each viewed in the light of its own historical development, became one of Ranke's primary themes. In a Europe made up of these national individualities, the relations between them were of primary concern—hence the importance of diplomatic history—but sharing this significant position was the study of how each nation became the unique thing which it was—in other words, national history. German politics, thought Ranke, should flow in accord with German historical patterns, and the German leaders should not be constrained to imitate English or French varieties of constitutionalism. In international affairs, equilibrium and balance among these cherished European individualities was vital. The liberal upheavals of 1848 worried him, for example; but the creation of the German Empire in 1871 seemed the proper culmination of a long historical past.<sup>18</sup>

And finally, to the interpretation of history, Ranke left the idea of the individuality of men, of nations, of historical development. Over all is the hand of God, but each historical instance is unique; it is the product of its past and its surroundings, to be viewed and judged as such, without reference to arbitrary standards removed from the situation itself. This interpretation would ultimately have a great effect on historical thinking; but ironically enough, Ranke himself beclouded for nineteenth-century historians this aspect of his historical contribution. So ardently did historians, in Germany in particular, seek from the documents to reconstruct the actual past that they forgot about Ranke's ideas of the individuality of the event.

<sup>18</sup> G. P. Gooch, "Ranke's Interpretation of German History" and T. H. Von Laue, *Leopold Ranke*, pp. 55-108, are informative. Von Laue also prints in English Ranke's two important political essays, "A Dialogue on Politics" and "The Great Powers," pp. 152-218.

In the light of other philosophic influences—science and the positivists in particular—Ranke's ideas became distorted, and the ideal historian became that classic combination of a bushel of footnotes and a sturdy abundance of *Sitzfleisch*.

## II

Few nineteenth-century men could be as serene as Leopold Ranke; and in the light of the varied intellectual developments of that century, few, too, could leave the interpretation of history to the serene hand of God. In a century devoted to what was useful, history, too, must have its uses.

One use was in the service of the nation-state. History stimulated nationalism, and nationalism, in turn, the study of history; it is difficult to envision national consciousness without a well-developed and widely-publicized sense of the past. Without a doubt, Ranke provided this historical view, but it was his successors in Germany who would make history and nationalism a fiery combination. The so-called "Prussian School" of historians—Sybel, Johann Gustav Droysen, and the fire-eater Heinrich von Treitschke—worked for the unification of Germany and for her greater glory. In France, the nation, the Revolution, and the great emperor Napoleon provided the theme for historians who wished to serve politics of all shades: liberalism, democracy, socialism, conservatism, nationalism. One need sample the writing of only a few of the great historians—Thiers, Michelet, Taine, Aulard, Jaurès, to pick five almost at random—to see history not simply as past politics, to quote Freeman's famous remark, but as a contributor to present politics. The theme need not be extended: every nation has found inspiration and justification in its historians.<sup>10</sup> This direction of history was the result of one of Ranke's influences, but it was the merging of the scientific interests of the century with the only partially understood aim of Ranke to reconstruct the actual past which turned so many historians in the direction which Bury, for one, so well reflected.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, the following: Andreas Dorpalen, *Heinrich von Treitschke* (New Haven, 1957); Stanley Mellon, *The Political Uses of History: A Study of Historians in the French Restoration* (Stanford, Calif., 1958); Paul Farmer, *France Views Her Revolutionary Origins: Social Politics and Historical Opinion in the Third Republic* (New York, 1944); and Pieter Geyl, *Napoleon, For and Against* (New Haven, 1949; Yale Y-97).

The growing place of scientific knowledge and technological achievement, and the unquestioned stimulus of the ideas of evolution as an explanation of the past and a prescription for the future, encouraged attempts to develop history into something which could serve the aims of understanding man's life on earth. Through applying scientific method to the study of man's conduct, could not answers be derived as to how he would act under various types of situations? In differing ways, through positivism, through economic determinism, in the growing rules of the discipline of sociology, the search for the answer to man's actions attempted to enlist history as an auxiliary discipline, and historians lent themselves to the turning of their work into something "useful"—that is, something which could have tangibly measured value rather than the often ill-defined contributions of simply enjoying the past.

The philosophy of positivism found its most important prophet and practitioner in Auguste Comte, whose work in the mid-1820's in establishing a periodization of history—his Law of the Three Stages—brought history to the service of science. The last period in Comte's view of historical development was that of the establishment of science as the basis of society. History could serve the so-called "life sciences," as yet not so well developed as the physical sciences, through establishing the character of men's actions in varied situations.<sup>20</sup> From positivism, in conjunction with the many other scientific activities of the century, matured several views on history. The first, for which Ranke had paved the way, was that facts, to be used scientifically, must be ascertained scientifically. Second, history should be reduced to this collection of clearly ascertained, absolute facts, which should be arranged in proper order and be allowed to speak for themselves, without the intrusion of the historian's views, to whomever would hear. Third, scientific laws of human conduct could be established; Henry Adams probably expressed this view most magnificently when he applied the second law of thermodynamics to history.<sup>21</sup> And finally, as will be mentioned below, history could then become

<sup>20</sup> Walter M. Simon, *European Positivism in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1963), especially pp. 126-152, shows these stages well. See also R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford, 1946; Galaxy GB-1), pp. 126-133.

<sup>21</sup> William H. Jordy writes illuminatingly on this point in *Henry Adams: Scientific Historian* (New Haven, 1952), especially pp. 121-157.

the handmaiden of the new science of society, sociology. One direction toward which these views turned historians was to the proliferation of facts and footnotes; the later nineteenth century became the hey-day of the Dry-as-dust historian, who took refuge behind his barricades of footnotes and who never hazarded an independent thought. It was too easy to "let the facts speak for themselves."

But to history as the means for searching out historical laws came Marx in mid-century to add a great deal more than most people were ready to bargain for. The heart of his philosophy stemmed from an interpretation of history: that history evinces a class struggle in which economic matters are the great determinants of men's actions. Marx's impact on historians was immense: he has influenced the thinking of almost all historians. But it does not follow, it is important to remember, that all historians are Marxists, not necessarily even those most strongly influenced, the economic determinists. Leaving out the political and social implications of Marx's ideas, the really important contribution to historical interpretation was to widen its sights and to show clearly history's many sides. Historians began to look at history as not simply politics, nor for that matter, the results of economic motivations, but rather as the sum of all of man's activities. If history is this, then the historian must look at all the aspects of man's life: economic relationships, social structure, intellectual and cultural life, religion, politics. None of these stands alone; they are all interrelated; and the study of history must take them all into account.<sup>22</sup> One of the noted pioneers in the popularization of this view was James Harvey Robinson, whose book *The New History* (1912) gave a name to this way of looking at the past, and whose texts spread the message widely to a generation of students.

But the great figure in this enlarging of history's horizons was that mentally tormented German scholar of the early twentieth century, Max Weber. In a sense, Weber combined the nineteenth-century pressures to use historical science to study man with the Marxian impetus to the wider subject-matter of history. It was Weber who saw so widely the interactions of causes one upon another, who contributed to soci-

<sup>22</sup> Herbert Heaton develops this point in his "The Economic Impact on History," in J. R. Strayer (ed.), *The Interpretation of History*, pp. 87-117.

ology as an emergent discipline, and who set historians to debate for decades—as they still are—over his analysis of the relationship between religion and capitalism in modern history. Weber's classic view in his *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* was that Protestantism—Calvinism in particular—provided the sort of surroundings and motivations to set men to work amassing great fortunes, breaking from the regulated economy of the Middle Ages, and pushing out along the path of individual competitive initiative.<sup>23</sup>

Ironically enough, the positivist, the economic determinist, the sociologist, in seeking the assurance of law in history, really kindled more controversy and gave less certainty than ever to historians: how can one really be sure of what *does* determine the course of human events? And how can one really be sure of what was the past? By the beginning of the twentieth century some historians were, like Bury, still serene; some others were very much worried. Two or three decades later the serenity was gone from the profession; the controversies were piping hot.

### III

To the University of Berlin in 1882 came Wilhelm Dilthey, a philosopher who had taught at various German universities, and who was now nearly fifty years old. He arrived quietly, and taught unassumingly, and it was a long time even at Berlin before he became a popular figure and his lectures well attended. Similarly, it was a long time before his great influence on modern historical thought became widely recognized. Dilthey was no positivist; on the contrary, he was worried by the way in which positivism and the search for law in history had permeated the ideas of the profession. Even in Germany, where positivism as such never had the following it did in France or England, the worshippers of Ranke had mistakenly brought his "science" of history to the re-creation of the past. Dilthey was anxious to keep history in the independent place it

<sup>23</sup> *The Protestant Ethic* is now easily available as Scribner paperback SL-21. Weber's contribution can best be approached through the introductory essay of H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills to their collection of his essays, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York, 1946; Galaxy GB-13), pp. 3-74 and H. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and Society* (New York, 1958; Vintage V-201), pp. 278-335. For a sampling of the controversy and a guide to additional reading, the collection of excerpts by Robert W. Green (ed.), *Protestantism and Capitalism: The Weber Thesis and Its Critics* (Boston, 1959) is a good starting point.

had won for itself in the nineteenth century and was unwilling to see it become the adjunct of any sort of science. Dilthey was neither alone nor the first to attempt to do this. In mid-century Johann Gustav Droysen had resisted the positivists; in 1894 the classical scholar Wilhelm Windelband delivered in his rectorial address at the University of Strassburg a call to arms to keep history out of the clutches of science. But it was Dilthey who resisted the believers in law in history through his special concern with the character of historical knowledge. History is a "cultural science"; not a natural science. (And one must remember that the German uses the noun *Wissenschaft* to mean either science or knowledge.) Its methods may be "scientific"; indeed, they must be; the techniques of historical methodology and evaluation which have been developed over the centuries cannot be junked. But just as the subject matter of history differs from the sciences, so too does the character of historical knowledge. It cannot be determined by the external processes of experimentation or observation; rather, it must come in the imaginative recreation of the past in the historian's mind; he must go through a process of reliving the past as he attempts to determine it. This subjective process differs from historian to historian so that each individual sees the past in his own way. Facts cannot be put together and the same answer come out each time; historical answers can never be exact or definitive, even though the research techniques of the historian be meticulously scientific.<sup>24</sup>

Here was the basis for the new historical interpretations which began to come into vogue after the beginning of the twentieth century. Here too was the starting point for the overwhelming interest in the nature and philosophy of history that we see today. Basic in all of this concern are the two questions of knowledge and judgment: does the historian really *know* anything; and then, how does he make his judgments on the past? Are there absolute values, or does he use the standards of the historical era he has under consideration? Dilthey re-

<sup>24</sup> The following are useful introductions to Dilthey: Hajo Holborn, "Wilhelm Dilthey and the Critique of Historical Reason," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XI (1950), 93-118; R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, pp. 165-176; H. P. Rickman (ed.), *Meaning in History* (London, 1961; Torchbook TB-1075 entitled *Pattern and Meaning in History*); H. A. Hodges, *The Philosophy of Wilhelm Dilthey* (London, 1952).

newed and strengthened Ranke's concept of the unique event in history, in contrast to the interpretation that events occur in accord with laws or cycles or patterns. The knowledge of the event comes from the work of the mind acting on the evidence it possesses. Different minds view the evidence differently, and always in the light of their own lives; and sometimes different minds have different evidence. From this point emerges what has come broadly to be known as "historicism"—a word which even in a language noted for its imprecision is strikingly imprecise—and what is closely allied to historicism, at least in some views, "historical relativism" in knowledge and judgment.<sup>25</sup>

Historicism, to choose one of its meanings which seems sound and has wide acceptance, views history as a series of developments encompassing all of man's activities, the products of preceding forces and events, emerging without dependence upon universal laws, but rather as the outgrowth of special contemporary conditions, events, and influences combined with the inheritance of the past.<sup>26</sup> Of the many historians who contributed to bringing the concept of historicism into popularity and controversy in the twentieth century, two were of special significance: Benedetto Croce and Friedrich Meinecke.

Croce, that great and often controversial Italian philosopher, saw history in the light of (1) how the men of whatever era was under consideration viewed their own surroundings, and (2) the relevance of the past to the historian's present. For Croce, history was a struggle for freedom; and knowledge of the past took on meaning only in the light of the present. But Croce never provided a really clear and definite statement of his historical philosophy. His thoughts and actions seemed often to be trapped by the forces and events which flowed around him: the Marxian influences of his earlier days, the Fascist dictatorship, the World Wars, and the problems of the fall of Italy in 1943 when, ironically and for complex reasons, he seemed

<sup>25</sup> Dwight E. Lee and Robert N. Beck provide five definitions drawn from current practice in their illuminating article, "The Meaning of 'Historicism,'" *American Historical Review*, LIX (1953-54), 568-577. M. C. D'Arcy, S. J., in *The Sense of History: Secular and Sacred* (London, 1959) provides yet another one: "I use the word 'historicism' as identical with a philosophy of history." (p. 11).

<sup>26</sup> See H. Meyerhoff, *Philosophy of History in Our Time*, pp. 9-12.

unable to offer leadership in that chapter of man's struggle for freedom.<sup>27</sup>

A more dramatic view of the historian struggling with the interpretation of the past is the now classic instance of Friedrich Meinecke. An intellectual descendant, so to speak, of Ranke, although not one of his students, he worshipped in his *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* (1908) the individuality of historical events in the development of Germany into the great and civilized nation he then considered her to be. Here, to Meinecke, was the finest example of the compatibility of those two important threads in German history: the ethics of the great philosophers of the Enlightenment, and the power of the great German state. But after the first World War, during the troubled days of the Weimar republic and the excesses of the Hitler era, he became dismayed at the way in which power was twisting ethics.<sup>28</sup> Finally, in 1948, in his magnificent essay *The German Catastrophe*<sup>29</sup> he condemned the course of German political development from Bismarck to Hitler. No longer was Meinecke's model Ranke, who saw power as the protector of stability, the ethical life, and German cultural values; it was now the Swiss historian of the later nineteenth century, Jakob Burckhardt, who had warned of the dangers of power and its incompatibility with freedom.

The search for meaning in man's history, and for the understanding of what history really is has continued with heightening intensity into the middle of the twentieth century. The British historian Collingwood carried on Crocean idealism; Meinecke had a great influence on a younger generation of German scholars. The concept of historicism strengthened; but so did the debates about it and about historical relativism. It

<sup>27</sup> H. S. Hughes, *Consciousness and Society*, pp. 82-89, 200-229. Also, Benedetto Croce, *History and the Story of Liberty* (London, 1941; Meridian M-17); A. Robert Caponigri, *History and Liberty: The Historical Writings of Benedetto Croce* (London, 1955); R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, pp. 190-204; and Croce, *the King and the Allies: Extracts from a Diary by Benedetto Croce: July 1943-June 1944* (London, 1950).

<sup>28</sup> Here, too, H. S. Hughes, *Consciousness and Society*, pp. 229-248, is of great value. Of Meinecke's three great works, *Weltbürgertum . . .*, *Die Idee der Staatsräson in der neueren Geschichte* (1924), and *Die Entstehung der Historismus* (1936), only the second has been translated into English, as *Machiavellism: The Doctrine of Raison d'Etat and its Place in Modern History* (London, 1957). See also Richard W. Sterling, *Ethics in a World of Power: The Political Ideas of Friedrich Meinecke* (Princeton, N. J., 1958).

<sup>29</sup> (Cambridge, [Mass.], 1950; Beacon BP-160).

is probably pretty safe to say that now there are few major historians who would go along with Bury's dictum of 1903; but it is also safe to say that today's historians are themselves in an intellectual ferment concerning their discipline, which to a good extent reflects the broader intellectual and philosophic concerns of a century that is far different from the golden age of the nineteenth century. The old idea of scientific history has not weakened easily: one of the best examples of two historians breaking lances can be seen in the interchange between Charles A. Beard and Theodore Clarke Smith. In his presidential address to the American Historical Association in December 1933 Beard had developed the ideas of historical relativism and the difficulty of ascertaining historical facts, but he had also maintained that the methodology of history could be scientific. Smith rejoined with a rousing defense of classical scientific history, to which Beard replied with his famous essay, "That Noble Dream." The noble dream, of course, was that history could be re-created as it actually happened. The historian, said Beard, may determine his facts, but he can never really bring back to life the way these events took place. Beard also threw in a stout defense of the economic interpretation of history, for which Smith had also castigated him, and he attempted to use this interpretation as an example of the difficulties of really knowing the past.<sup>30</sup> One of the other great American historical relativists, Carl Becker, raised over and over through his life the problems of what is historical knowledge, how do we know the past, and what is its meaning. His "Everyman His Own Historian" and "What Are Historical Facts" are basic for the student who would try to understand these modern problems. And Becker's ideas have the added virtue of being set down in beautiful prose.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Charles A. Beard, "Written History as an Act of Faith," *American Historical Review*, XXXIX (1933-34), 220-231; Theodore Clarke Smith, "The Writing of American History in America, from 1884 to 1934," *ibid.*, XL (1934-35), 439-449; Charles A. Beard, "That Noble Dream," *ibid.*, XLI (1935-36), 74-87. For the reader who wishes to sample the widely-varied attitudes of American historians, Herman Ausubel's *Historians and Their Craft: A Study of the Presidential Addresses of the American Historical Association, 1884-1945* (New York, 1950) is an interesting study.

<sup>31</sup> The first essay, the American Historical Association presidential address in 1931, is in the collection of the same name (New York, 1935), pp. 235-255. The second is reprinted in H. Meyerhoff, *The Philosophy of History in Our Time*, pp. 120-137. Becker's style did not come as easily as it reads; he often made

## IV

Had historicism paved the way for relativism, and had relativism played havoc with the historical profession? Were there, then, no historical absolutes at all? Or was history destined to cast man adrift, rather than to let him know where he stood? To the contemporary historian, the problem of historical knowledge and the stimulation of interpretation offer something not quite like what any other discipline has to offer. The challenge of research amidst new or unusual sources, and the question as to what meaning events really have, has encouraged new work and a re-doing of the old: a search for new answers and a junking of old interpretations. Indeed, this generation is rewriting its own history. But historians have not turned anarchists. They seek factual accuracy to the very limit of the degree to which it can be obtained; they seek new interpretations; and they explore other disciplines to see what is available for them. Some years ago, William L. Langer of Harvard placed before the American Historical Association an emphatic and cogently-argued case for psychology as a tool of the historian. Other historians have searched for types of historical fact which can be *absolutely* ascertained and then used in conjunction with less secure historical knowledge. Marc Bloch, in his absorbing, and often close to moving, *The Historian's Craft*, sought physical relics of past events to support less tangible written evidence. H. Stuart Hughes, in his stimulating new little book *History as Art and Science* tries to show how history, after having gone through the reaction to positivism and the scientist, now is trying to use scientific methods in conjunction with the acceptance of the special characteristics of historical knowledge.<sup>32</sup>

It is in the spirit of this active concern with historical understanding that the SSRC investigation was made and the report written. If it does not always clarify what generalization in

six or seven drafts, and the student tradition at Cornell used to quote him as insisting on twelve. Charlotte Watkins Smith, *Carl Becker: On History and the Climate of Opinion* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1956), pp. 157-158.

<sup>32</sup> William L. Langer, "The Next Assignment," *American Historical Review*, LXIII (1957-58), 283-304; Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (New York, 1953; Vintage V-512), in particular Chapter II, "Historical Observation," pp. 48-78; H. Stuart Hughes, *History as Art and Science: Twin Vistas on the Past* (New York, Evanston and London, 1964).

history is, its great contribution lies in showing the manifold varieties of historical understanding, and the many problems which beset the historian when he starts going about his business of drawing conclusions from a bundle of facts. Moreover, not only does it exemplify the constantly questioning search for new knowledge on the part of today's historian; it also exemplifies that which so notably characterizes history today: the search to make knowledge something more than a collection of facts, like marbles in a bag. In doing this the historian turns in many different directions; he experiments with new disciplines and techniques; but the traditional framework of historical method remains much the same. As always, history treats with the recollection of things past, but the scope of this recollection has vastly enlarged since Bury's day. In subject matter and the character of its knowledge lie the special characteristics of history: its variety, the individuality of the event, the challenge of interpretation, the interaction, or lack of it, of science and art. The more historians have been drawn to think about the qualities of their discipline, the more they differ in their views. Are there any final answers in the philosophy and methodology of history? Here is where historians sharpen their wits and have their fun.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> In addition to the works I have already cited, may I in conclusion suggest a few other books which deserve a place in the library or on the reading list of the student of the history of historical writing and philosophy? G. P. Gooch's *History and Historians* should be supplemented for the United States by Harvey Wish, *The American Historian* (New York, 1960) and Michael Kraus, *The Writing of American History* (Norman, 1953). Allan Nevins, *The Gateway to History*, long out of print, is now easily available (rev. ed., Garden City, N. Y., 1962; Anchor A-314) and remains one of the best introductions to historical thinking and writing. The new book by Page Smith, *The Historian and History* (New York, 1964) provides a useful combination of history of history writing and philosophy. W. H. Walsh, *An Introduction to Philosophy of History* (rev. ed., London, 1958; Torchbook TB-1020) is first-rate, yet reasonably elementary; Raymond Aron's *Introduction to the Philosophy of History* (London, 1961; Beacon BP-138) is advanced. Maurice Mandelbaum's study of relativists and "counter-relativists," *The Problem of Historical Knowledge: An Answer to Relativism* (New York, 1938) deserves more circulation than it now has. Frederick J. Teggart, *Theory and Processes of History* (paperbound ed., Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960) is thoughtful and important. E. H. Carr, *What Is History?* (New York, 1962) is interesting, as is Ved Mehta's *Fly and the Fly-bottle: Encounters with British Intellectuals* (Boston, 1962) which provides a most entrancing view of various current British historical outlooks. A really wonderful "reader" is Patrick Gardiner (ed.), *Theories of History* (Glencoe, Ill., 1959). It is also expensive.

# ROGER B. TANEY, THE BANK OF MARYLAND RIOTERS, AND A WHIFF OF GRAPESHOT

Edited by FRANK OTTO GATELL

ROGER TANEY'S pre-judicial career included many events about which he could reminisce proudly. But his involvement with Baltimore banking and politics in the 1830's, with its accompanying embarrassments, does not fall into that happy category. Long associated with Thomas Ellicott, president of the Union Bank of Maryland, Taney (then Secretary of the Treasury) obtained pet bank status for his friend's institution in October, 1833 when President Jackson discontinued the use of the Bank of the United States as the depository for federal funds. The Secretary's high hopes for Baltimore soon evaporated as details of Ellicott's involvement in speculative schemes with the managers of a sister Baltimore bank, the Bank of Maryland, came to light. The Bank of Maryland failed in March, 1834, causing financial shock waves which culminated in the removal of Ellicott as president of the Union Bank and caused a break in relations between the two former friends.<sup>1</sup>

The broken bank's affairs could not be untangled quickly. Bank of Maryland creditors, many of them workmen whose savings were lured from them by the innovation of interest paid on deposits, grew increasingly restive. A bewildering series of legal maneuvers indicated that no early judgment or apportionment of assets was likely. And the erstwhile bank managers and speculators inflamed public sentiment by engaging in a pamphlet and newspaper war that dissipated the little confidence remaining in them and the bank's trustees.

<sup>1</sup> For accounts of Taney's Union Bank involvement, see Stuart Bruchey (ed.), "Roger Brooke Taney's Account of His Relations with Thomas Ellicott in the Bank War," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LIII (1958), 58-74, 131-152; Carl B. Swisher (ed.) "Roger B. Taney's 'Bank War Manuscript,' *ibid.*, 103-130, 215-237; Carl B. Swisher, *Roger B. Taney* (New York, 1935).

In the summer of 1835 the resentment boiled over. More than a year of frustration and fear produced a noisy public protest by creditors which soon degenerated into mob action, as "mayhem-seekers" rushed to join the dissident corps. For several days the rioters had their way, destroying among other objects, the homes of persons connected with the bank, while the bumbling city administration stood aside.

Roger Taney, soon to become Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, heard the news while vacationing in Virginia. His reactions to the riots and the judicial aftermath were strong, as the following letters written to James Mason Campbell reveal.<sup>2</sup> Apparently, Taney's conversion from Federalism to Jacksonianism had not produced any inclination to counsel appeasement to mobs. Instead, he reacted in "good Federalist" fashion, employing phrases that Timothy Pickering or Harrison Gray Otis might have used when informed of the Whiskey Rebellion.

## I

Red Sulpher Springs

August 19. 1835. Wednesday

My Dear Sir:

You will readily imagine the deep anxiety with which I have looked towards Baltimore for some days past. Fortunately we have received Baltimore and Washington papers every day and rejoice to find that the city at length recovered from its madness or terror (I do not know which prevailed) and took the measures which ought to have been taken in the first instance and which would have saved the City from the disgrace and opprobrium of the scenes through which it has passed. I grieve for my poor friend Hunt.<sup>3</sup> He must have had most mistaken advisers. There ought not to have been a moments hesitation about the use of fire arms, the firm and free use of them the moment that force was attempted by the mob. The first stone thrown at those who had assembled under the orders of the Mayor should have been the signal to fire. And if this had been made known beforehand, no stone would have been thrown and there would have been no idle spectators in the way of being

<sup>2</sup> The letters are in the Howard Family MSS, Md. Hist. Soc., and are published here with the permission of the Society's Director, Mr. Harold R. Manakee. Campbell was Taney's son-in-law and I have deleted purely personal or family matters from the letters. Proper punctuation replaces Taney's dashes; "and" is used instead of the ampersand and colons placed after "Dear Sir."

<sup>3</sup> Jesse Hunt, Mayor of Baltimore.

shot. Such a contest ought always to be treated as one in which the existence of free government is put to hazard and should be met like men who are resolved to maintain it at every sacrifice. I can imagine nothing more monstrous and abominable than to place a parcel of respectable citizens in a row with short sticks in their hands, to stand still and have their brains beaten out with brickbats and stones thrown at them by a parcel of ruffians, who I presume were for the most part hired by men behind the curtain. For it is impossible I think to doubt that this mob had been deliberately got up, and did not spring from any sudden excitement in the public mind. I have been amazed at everything I have seen, at the language of the Baltimore Republican, at the Proclamations of Mr. Hunt, at the letter of Morris and the other counsel for the creditors of the Bank.<sup>4</sup> Although I am sure all were intended for the best, yet I can imagine no set of proceedings better calculated to incourage the mob and to incite them to go on by inflaming them against the obnoxious parties and incouraging them by the opinion that there would be no danger. I wish I had been in Baltimore. I think I would have induced my poor friend Hunt to do his duty in the only effectual way in which it can ever be done on such an occasion. And I grieve for the mortifying situation in which he has been placed. By the by the address of the two Branches of the Corporation was just as bad as the proclamation of the Mayor. Talk about putting an end to such scenes by *pacific* measures!<sup>5</sup>

We rejoiced to receive your letter of Sunday the 9th telling us that you were safe. You may judge of our anxiety when I tell you we had reports that seventy had been killed. . . .

I am D<sup>r</sup> sir most truly

yours

R. B. Taney

Addressed: James Mason Campbell Esquire  
Baltimore  
Maryland

<sup>4</sup> John B. Morris and R. W. Gill were trustees of the Bank of Maryland.

<sup>5</sup> Both the city government ("the two Branches of the Corporation") and the mayor issued soothing statements. Hunt pleaded: "Once more I appeal to my fellow citizens, to stay the progress of violence. . . . I earnestly entreat. . . ." (*Baltimore Republican*, August 10, 1835.)

## II

Red Sulphur Springs, August 24. 1835

My Dear Sir:

....

I received today the Baltimore Republican of the 18th and 19th inst. I am glad to find that the mob spirit is quelled and that vigorous measures are in progress to bring to punishment all who in any way contributed to excite and encourage the mob. Yet I must say that the addresses from Johnson and Glenn<sup>6</sup> are not what I expected or would have advised. They do not breathe that lofty spirit of indignation with which such outrages ought to be met, and they impute them to the *people* of Baltimore. You and they know more about the matter than I can at this distance, but as I see that it required several successive efforts on several successive evenings to get a mob to proceed to violence I must think that most of those who were active in the business were either hired or were boys acting from the love of mischief. However the judicial proceedings will I trust develop the whole affair and fix the guilt on those who are really guilty. One thing is obvious and that is that the tone of society in relation to mobs and to violence in opposition to the civil authority, has been sadly changed in the last two years throughout the Union. We ought not however to wonder at it when we recollect the pains taken during the panic war by men high in station to stimulate the people of the U. States to resist by force the constituted authorities.<sup>7</sup> The speeches and addresses on that occasion manifestly unhinged the order of society and opened a way for the evil disposed to trample on the laws without fear of public indignation, and the quiet and satisfied manner in which the burning of the convent at Charlestown was received by the press and the public generally showed that a large portion of the opposition had no objection to mob law when used against those whom they disliked.<sup>8</sup> The fruits of these doctrines have now been seen in almost every part of the Union.

You see my head and heart are full of these proceedings which

<sup>6</sup> Reverdy Johnson and John Glenn, Baltimore lawyer-businessmen, both involved in the fall of the Bank of Maryland.

<sup>7</sup> Whigs dated the collapse of public morals with the accession of "King Andrew" Jackson in 1829. Taney prefers the struggle over the deposits—the Biddle "panic war" as he puts it.

<sup>8</sup> In August, 1834 a mob burned the Ursuline convent and school at Charlestown, Mass. Taney's claim that Whigs approved the outrage is as fallacious as much of the nonsense Whig editors wrote about him. See Carleton Beals, *Brass-Knuckle Crusade, The Great Know-Nothing Conspiracy, 1820-1860* (New York, 1960), pp. 32-37.

have disgraced our city, and I yet hope that public feeling is right in the great body of the people and wants only a firm and decided tone by those in authority to induce them to manifest it. . . .

I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir Most truly yours  
R. B. Taney

### III

Annapolis March 6. 1836. Sunday

My Dear Sir:

....

I am not entirely sure when I shall make my speech.<sup>9</sup> I have strongly advised that my arguments should be delayed until we see those who are appointed to maintain the side of the mob and that that most respectable body should have a fair opportunity to put forth all its claims to rule the city of Baltimore. Fortunately they cannot yet prescribe for that right. . . .

I have not been at the State House since I came here. Yet I have seen a good many of the members—for every man of either party from whom I had a right to expect a call—has called to see me—except Richardson and McLean.<sup>10</sup> I cannot think that these two gentlemen like Mr. Harker,<sup>11</sup> mean to take up Leon Dyer<sup>12</sup> as the leader of the Jackson party in Baltimore, but yet their omission of a civility which they paid me when I was here before looks rather odd.

....

I am affy & truly yours  
R. B. Taney

<sup>9</sup> Several individuals whose property had been destroyed submitted claims based on official negligence. Taney took up Reverdy Johnson's claim, but with his nomination for Chief Justice pending in the Senate, he declined arguing before the legislature, although he did attend.

<sup>10</sup> Beale Howard Richardson and Cornelius McLean, Jr., Democratic members of the House of Delegates from Baltimore.

<sup>11</sup> Samuel Harker, Democratic editor of the *Baltimore Republican*. On March 4, the Baltimore City Council adopted Harker's resolutions supporting the city authorities' conduct during the riot, and denying the propriety of any remuneration. In the general assembly, McLean tried to postpone the issue until August, so that Baltimore officials might begin another inquiry. Meanwhile the *Republican* ran a series of articles in which "JUNIUS" asked for full understanding instead of indiscriminate tarring of all demonstrators as "mob-ites." Without condoning vandalism *per se*, he contended that "the turpitude of the acts of the mob, like other criminal acts, must be measured and viewed with reference to the CAUSES which produced them" (*Baltimore Republican*, March 5, 8, 9, 1836).

<sup>12</sup> Dyer, one of the reputed mob leaders, issued a denial (*Baltimore Republican*, August 11, 1835). The Baltimore directory for 1842 lists him as a butcher on York Avenue.

## IV

Annapolis March 17. 1836

My Dear Sir:

McMahon<sup>13</sup> began the argument today and continued until a little after 3 o'clock, when the House adjourned and he goes on again tomorrow. I suppose he is half through. He made a strong argument. The case will not end this week, unless the Legislature give the whole day to it. After I got here I saw that if I absented myself from the argument, it would be represented by the mob advocates—and believed by them—to be a concession on my part to appease the offence I have given to the Mob cabal. So I determined to take my seat as usual with Johnson—leaving McMahon to announce that I took no part in the argument in consequence of my appointment. Every effort has been made to induce me to think that I might without impropriety make an argument. But I know better and I mean to act on my own sense of what is due to the office I hold, but not to yield a breadth of hair to the miserable cabal who are making all this noise. . . .

I am yours ever

R. B. Taney

Johnson and the other petitioners received indemnities,<sup>14</sup> and Taney went to the Supreme Court and more important matters. If Whig America had read these letters at the time, it might have reacted less apprehensively to the idea of Chief Justice Taney—a man whose “radicalism” they thought threatened the basic order of society. “The new Chief Justice wore trousers instead of the traditional knee breeches,” writes Schlesinger, “and he showed in other ways that he was prepared to ignore the past.”<sup>15</sup> But whatever his sartorial preference, Taney was not about to allow his fellow *sans culottes* the right to riot.

<sup>13</sup> John V. L. McMahon, Baltimore lawyer and politician. For his role in the affair, see John T. Mason, *The Life of John Van Lear McMahon* (Baltimore, 1879), pp. 62-65.

<sup>14</sup> On March 22, the General Assembly approved the appropriation (unanimously in the Senate; 42 to 28 in the House of Delegates), delegates Richardson and McLean voting against it. Harker still wanted to know, “If the sufferers by the riots are to be indemnified, why should not also the sufferers by the failure of the Bank of Maryland?” (*Baltimore Republican*, March 24, 1836).

<sup>15</sup> Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston, 1946), p. 324.

# THE BALTIMORE COLLEGE OF DENTAL SURGERY AND THE BIRTH OF PROFESSIONAL DENTISTRY, 1840

By CARL P. LEWIS, JR.

**A**CROSS the square came the sounds of a little band of local musicians playing a rousing march melody out of key and in a faltering tempo. As a crowd gathered, a young man appeared, stepped upon a platform and with a gesture of his hands the band stopped. The crowd drew closer to hear his words. The man explained that he was a dentist, gave his qualifications, and cited endorsements from fellow dentists who were his friends and from famous men who had probably never heard his name. Then he offered to extract a tooth free to prove his skill. When a volunteer finally approached the platform, the band played louder than ever in an attempt to drown out the unfortunate cries. But when the patient was half-carried from the platform he may have forced a weak smile, glad to be rid of a long-offending tooth. In the crowd many were impressed and began to line up, dollar bill in hand. For that was the standard price—a dollar a tooth—you could take your choice, filled or pulled.

This carnival approach varied as the American dentists of the early nineteenth century moved from town to town in search of profit. At other times upon entering a community the dentist went to the office of the local newspaper and placed a small advertisement. Then he found a suitable room, equipped it with a plain chair or box; he prepared his instruments and waited for the results of the advertising campaign to bring him business.

Before many years passed, however, the gaudy demonstration of the itinerant dentist was a thing of the past. The transition was due to the work of two Baltimore dentists, Horace H. Hayden and Chapin Aaron Harris, who more than any others

were responsible for the changed status of dentistry in the nineteenth century. Together they founded the first national dental society, the first national dental journal, and then again collaborated to provide the most significant of all elements in the struggle for professional status by dentists, the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery. Thus within little more than a decade professional dentistry had risen above the thumping of drums and the blare of off key trumpets.<sup>1</sup>

In 1840, after years of struggle and moments of serious disagreement between Hayden and Harris, themselves, their goal was reached. In that year the state of Maryland chartered the only dental college in the world. A year later, at the first commencement of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery one of the College's first faculty members, noted that "for the first time in the history of the world the practice of dentistry is legally recognized as a profession." "The two graduates from the College," he said, "are the first who are permitted by public authority to be distinguished by the title of Doctor of Dental Surgery."<sup>2</sup>

Before the middle years of the nineteenth century America was hardly ready to sustain dentistry as a specialty. Americans, imbued with democracy, were opposed to the erection of barriers to any occupation, even those in a scientific field. Distrustful of the formal discipline, Americans carried their belief in the equality of occupations to such extremes that many people were convinced that anyone possessed the ability to practice the most skilled profession. Another characteristic which made sound scientific advancement and achievement difficult was the popular desire for miracle cures. A staggering variety of tonics, lotions, pills and balms, each one claiming to cure an almost infinite number of maladies, littered the shelves of family medicine cabinets. In their gullibility for the novel cure or treatment and their distrust of barriers to protect professional standards, Americans bred a thriving group of quacks and pretenders.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Carl P. Lewis, Jr., "The Birth of Professional Dentistry, 1839-1840," (unpublished Master's Thesis, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland, 1961), pp. 1-47.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas E. Bond, Jr., "Valedictory Address Delivered Before the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery at its First Annual Commencement, March 9, 1841," *American Journal of Dental Science*, I (August, September, 1841), 241-257.

<sup>3</sup> Robert W. McCluggage, *A History of the American Dental Association . . .* (Chicago, 1959), pp. 44-45.

Obviously the venerable apprentice system, for so long applied to education in dental art with its origin in the medieval guilds, failed to provide a solution to the problem of how to train good dentists and create standards of practice. An illustration of the unevenness in an apprenticeship program was the fact that it might vary in length of time from three months to five years in the office of the most prominent dentist an individual could afford. In addition, the matter of cost became the major consideration of the student for it determined the amount of time he might spend in the dentist's office. The result was often abbreviated experience and weak familiarity with the tools of his practice. Besides the varied costs and questionable instruction, there was a more serious limitation to the apprenticeship system. Students faced difficulties in acquiring practical experience in dental operations because few patients were eager to be the subject of a lecture or an experiment at the hands of a novice. Thus education was the key to any effort to elevate standards of dental practice, and at this point dentists faced an important decision. Was the answer in the fusion of dental training into the curriculum of medical schools, or would the answer be found in an independent institution? The men responsible for that decision would be Hayden and Harris.<sup>4</sup>

Hayden was the scholarly type of man with the theoretical mind of the scientist. Born in New England, Hayden became a resident of Baltimore in 1800 and two years later began a dental practice that lasted over forty years. Ambitious and energetic, he possessed a natural ability and a strong desire to improve his work and contribute to the advancement of dentistry. Hayden quickly gained respect among Baltimore medical men both for himself and his practice. He was one of the first among dentists to advocate the establishment of a national society and was a founder of the American Society of Dental Surgeons. In addition he never relaxed in his insistence that the education of dentists should equal that of physicians. Long before the first institution for the formal training of dentists was founded Hayden insisted upon a solid education in the science of medicine.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Charles W. Ballard, "Dental Education," *American Journal of Dental Science*, New Series, II (October, 1851), 61-63; Harry Bryan McCarthy, "History of Dental Education in Maryland" (unpublished Master's Thesis, Library of Dentistry-Pharmacy, University of Maryland, 1948), pp. 2-3.

<sup>5</sup> Burton Lee Thorpe, *Biographies of Pioneer American Dentists and Their*

The fulfillment of Hayden's desire to see dentistry elevated above an art came with his association with Harris. Born in New York state, Harris moved to Ohio in his teens and there received medical and dental training in the office of his brother John Harris. Lured then into the ranks of the itinerant dentists Harris began touring the South, and from 1831 to 1839 he traveled that region using Baltimore as his headquarters. To the training he acquired from his brother Harris added the experience gained from his travels and the exchange of ideas and information with other dentists. Soon he possessed a reputation as one of the better dental practitioners in Baltimore. In addition to being a good dentist Harris made a significant contribution to dentistry with his writing. In the 1830's he wrote numerous articles for medical journals and in 1839 published perhaps the most popular and widely distributed dental textbook in the nineteenth century, *The Dental Art*.<sup>6</sup>

While Hayden and Harris shared many ideas as to the prerequisites for a good practitioner they differed over what should be emphasized, science or mechanics, to produce a professional dentist. Harris believed mechanical skill was requisite for a good dentist and placed less stress than his colleague upon a knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of teeth and the pathology of diseases of the mouth and body.<sup>7</sup> He would maintain on occasion, however, that balance was needed between mechanics and theory in dental practice:

A person may understand the theory, but not be a good practitioner, for all cannot successfully practice what they understand. It is, therefore only by the union of the general principles of medicine, and mechanical tact, that one can become well skilled in this part of surgery.<sup>8</sup>

Medical education and practice developed rapidly between

*Successors*, Vol. III of *History of Dental Surgery*, Charles R. E. Koch, ed. 3 vols. (Chicago, 1909), pp. 58-65; Lawrence Parmly Brown, "Horace H. Hayden," *DAB*, VIII, 440-442; Solyman Brown, "Early History of Dental Surgery and Mechanics in the United States," *The Dental Science and Art Journal*, I (February, 1875), 5; J. Ben Robinson, "Dr. Horace H. Hayden and His Influence on Dental Education," *The Dental Cosmos*, LXXIV (August, 1932), 783-787.

<sup>6</sup> Thorpe, *Biographies*, III, 66-75; Eugene F. Cordell, *The Medical Annals of Maryland, 1799-1899* (Baltimore, 1903), p. 429.

<sup>7</sup> William Simon, *History of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery* (St. Louis, 1904), pp. 6-7; Chapin A. Harris, *The Dental Art, A Practical Treatise on Dental Surgery* (Baltimore, 1839), pp. 19-20.

<sup>8</sup> Harris, *Dental Art*, p. 20.

1800 and 1840 with many new medical colleges in operation and a rapidly growing percentage of doctors with medical college training. Despite this growth the medical profession suffered from the same commercialism that affected dentistry. The medical colleges lowered standards to compete for higher enrollments, and by the middle of the nineteenth century licensing requirements for doctors had actually declined. Another factor that clouded medical science in this period was the appearance of medical cults like thomsonianism, botanic medicine, and homeopathy. The rise of cults reached a peak in the 1840's and no doubt affected dentistry's acceptability as a specialty of medicine. Medical men were, however, generally sympathetic toward the efforts of dentists to elevate their practice from what was in reality a mechanical art into a science, but they were skeptical of including it in the already confused medical school curriculum. Still, Hayden decided to experiment and introduced a dental course in a medical school.<sup>9</sup>

Actually there had been attempts to fuse medical and dental education even before Hayden. In 1782, a London dentist, William Rea, planned dental lectures at Guy's Hospital, London, but due to his sudden death the lectures were not given. A few years later Joseph Fox, another English dentist, offered brief lectures at the same hospital on the structure and diseases of the teeth, but the effort was unsuccessful. Thus Hayden became the American pioneer in the promotion of institutional dental education aware that there had been others before him who had attempted to systematize dental training and had been unsuccessful.<sup>10</sup>

Hayden's initial experiment at offering dental lectures in a medical school apparently began in 1819 when he lectured on dentistry at the University of Maryland.<sup>11</sup> He was unable to interest medical students in this first effort in dentistry, and did not return for the next session at the University. However, from

<sup>9</sup> John T. O'Rourke and Leroy M. S. Miner, *Dental Education in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1941), pp. 27-28; Fielding Hudson Garrison, *An Introduction to the History of Medicine* (4th ed.; Philadelphia, 1929), p. 408; Lawrence Parmly Brown, "The Horace H. Hayden—John Harris Controversy," *The Dental Cosmos*, LXXV (May, June, 1929), 794-799.

<sup>10</sup> Lillian Lindsay, *A Short History of Dentistry* (London, 1933), p. 62.

<sup>11</sup> The dates of Hayden's lectures at the University of Maryland have been the subject of much controversy. Brown, "The Horace H. Hayden—John Harris Controversy," *The Dental Cosmos*, LXXV (May, June, 1929), 794-799, presents convincing evidence for the date 1819.

1821 to 1825 Hayden conducted another group of lectures at the University of Maryland School of Medicine this time on dental physiology and anatomy. Again the lectures were unsuccessful and proved to be unsatisfactory to the medical students.<sup>12</sup>

Hayden's failure in 1819 and in the 1820's was due mostly to a condition over which he had no control. The number of medical students who attended the dental lectures was very low, for few medical students were interested in dentistry. Those who were interested neglected their medical lectures and consequently became unpopular with the other professors. With the attentions of the students divided and those students interested in dentistry in a minority, it became obvious according to one contemporary that "though good physicians might be sent forth from the college, that good dentists could not; while those who studied the dental speciality would not be skillful physicians."<sup>13</sup>

In addition to the lack of dental students attending the University of Maryland medical school, there was another problem, for in 1826 that institution became involved in fifteen years of difficult times. The trouble was due to the creation of a state-appointed board of trustees which challenged the privately chosen board of regents as the governing body of the University. There resulted a contest for power between the two bodies. Confronted with a declining enrollment and divided faculty, the University was unwilling to risk further difficulties with the addition of a new specialty in dental science.<sup>14</sup>

Hayden's unsuccessful effort to join dental and medical education at the University of Maryland convinced both him and Harris that a separate institution was the only solution for the

<sup>12</sup> For these dates see, Cordell, *The Medical Annals of Maryland*, p. 686; Chapin A. Harris, *A Dictionary of Dental Science, Biography, and Medical Terminology* (Philadelphia, 1849), pp. 359-360; J. Ben Robinson, "Testing Certain Evidence Relating to Horace H. Hayden's Influence on Dental Education," *The Dental Cosmos*, LXXV (September, 1933), 857-859; Thorpe, *Biographies*, pp. 61-62.

<sup>13</sup> Ballard, "Dental Education," p. 67.

<sup>14</sup> J. Ben Robinson, "The Foundations of Professional Dentistry," *Proceedings of the Dental Centenary Celebration . . . 1940*, George M. Anderson, ed. (Baltimore, 1940), p. 1932; Eugene F. Cordell, *Historical Sketch of the University of Maryland School of Medicine, 1807-1890* (Baltimore, 1891), pp. 61-103; J. Ben Robinson, *The Beginning of Institutional Dental Education in America* (Baltimore, 1937), pp. 29-31.

proper teaching of dentistry.<sup>15</sup> Founded in 1840, the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery was an important step for dentistry in the organization of high standards in practice and education.

Uppermost in the founders' minds was the desire to unite the art of dentistry with science and to end the quackery which was so easily propagated by the apprentice system. Behind the founding of the first dental college lay three primary forces. There was a determination to improve the conditions of dentistry by the establishment of standards of training and practice. Thus the college would be a significant factor in the elevation of dentistry to respectability and professional status. Also, many dentists believed that dentistry was neglected by medicine and that their specialty could make positive advances as a distinct science. A final, and more nebulous force, was the missionary spirit of the 1830's and 1840's, a curious sense of mission with which the whole nation appeared to be obsessed. The American people witnessed the rise of hundreds of societies and clubs pledged to purify the American way of life through reform measures. So it was with the small group of dentists who sought to improve the practice of dentistry and contribute to the advancement of science.<sup>16</sup>

Several writers of Dental history maintain that Hayden and Harris made overtures to the University of Maryland in the 1830's to establish a dental department in the medical curriculum, and were refused, which according to these writers, led Hayden and Harris to the only alternative, that of establishing an independent school for dental education. Dentists, sensitive about their secondary position to medicine, interpreted as an insult and an expression of the insignificance of dentistry as a specialty the refusal by the University to include dental subjects. The University's reported refusal came in a letter addressed to Harris in which the University allegedly said "that the subject of dentistry was of little consequence and thus justified their unfavorable action." The letter does not exist today, and this passage was the only fragment to survive.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Ballard, "Dental Education," p. 67.

<sup>16</sup> O'Rourke and Miner, *Dental Education*, p. 20.

<sup>17</sup> Simon, *History of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery*, p. 11; Eugene F. Cordell, *University of Maryland, 1807-1907, Its History, Influence, Equipment and Characteristics with Biographical Sketches and Portraits of Its Founders, Benefactors, Regents, Faculty and Alumni* (New York, 1907), I, 383. The exact

Other writers have maintained that this letter never existed and that Hayden and Harris never desired a merger with the University of Maryland. The University, recently torn with internal dissension, by 1839 was in an exhausted condition. It seems doubtful, said these writers, that Hayden and Harris would have approached the University at such a time. The plan of integrating a dental department into a medical curriculum would have been difficult even in normal times.<sup>18</sup> This group of writers pointed out other factors that offered credence to the belief that such a proposal was never made to the University. Harris was a close friend of the faculty of the Washington Medical College of Baltimore. Two other dental college founders, H. Willis Baxley and Thomas E. Bond, Jr., favored the Washington Medical College. With the University of Maryland and the Washington College bitter rivals it seems unlikely that Hayden would be able to lead his colleagues into affiliation with the University of Maryland.<sup>19</sup>

In the absence of conclusive evidence to substantiate the views of either group of writers the proposal has been the topic of speculation. The matter was further clouded by the fact that as early as the 1820's Hayden had begun investigating means by which the training of the dentists might be improved. He familiarized himself with the faculty and the facilities of the University of Maryland. Perhaps as a result of his experience and considering the expense of an independent school, Hayden convinced Harris that the training of dentists had a better chance of success if affiliated with the state university. The request to the University, believed written by Harris, was then sent.

Although the letter of rejection which the University was supposed to have sent to Harris spoke of the insignificance of dentistry, subsequent actions of the University failed to support these words. In 1840 the University awarded Hayden an Honorary Doctorate of Medicine for his contributions to the advancement of dental art. Chapin Harris, in his introductory

language of the letter appeared for the first time in B. J. Cignand, *Rise, Fall, and Revival of Dental Prosthesis, and An Index to Dental History* (Chicago, 1893), p. 205.

<sup>18</sup> McCarthy, "History of Dental Education in Maryland," pp. 8-9; J. Ben Robinson, "Foundations," pp. 1033-1034; Cordell, *Medical Annals*, p. 105.

<sup>19</sup> Robinson, "Foundations," pp. 1033-1034.

lecture before the first class of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, mentioned the friendly attitude of medical educators and practitioners toward the college and the efforts of its founders to elevate the practice of dentistry. Thomas E. Bond, Jr. expressed a similar opinion in his valedictory address at the first commencement of the college in 1841. If the University had refused so peremptorily a proposal to include a dental department in its medical curriculum it seems probable that Harris and Bond would have mentioned it. But whether or not the University refused the founders of the college permission to join the medical school, the fact remains that a collegiate institution for the education of dentists was founded in Baltimore, Maryland.<sup>20</sup>

On January 23, 1840, in the House of Delegates of the Maryland General Assembly, William F. Giles of Baltimore presented a petition for an act to incorporate the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery. The only names on the petition mentioned in the House of Delegates were Thomas Hughs Edmunds, James H. Miller, and William W. Handy. Edmunds was a dentist, and Miller and Handy were both physicians on the faculty of the Washington Medical College of Baltimore. Surprisingly, neither Hayden's nor Harris' names appear in the proceedings of the House of Delegates or the Senate as signers of the memorial.<sup>21</sup>

The memorial and original draft of the act were read and referred to the committee on corporations. On January 30, on a motion by Dr. John J. Graves, the House of Delegates began consideration of the act to incorporate the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery. Dr. Graves was himself a graduate in medicine from the University of the City of New York and a former editor of the *New York Medical Journal*. He had moved to Baltimore and became active in politics in addition to his medical practice. As a doctor of medicine his leadership in the passage of the act of incorporation was significant and in

<sup>20</sup> Chapin A. Harris, "Introductory Lecture, Delivered before the Class of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, at the Opening of Its First Session," *American Journal of Dental Science*, I (January, February, 1841), 210; Bond, "Valedictory Address," pp. 240-242.

<sup>21</sup> State of Maryland, *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates of the State of Maryland, December Session, 1839* (Annapolis, 1840), p. 125.

appreciation he was named in the charter as a member of the board of visitors of the College.<sup>22</sup>

When the bill came to the floor of the House certain changes were recommended in the wording. The act specifically named the faculty of the College. Horace Hayden was designated professor of pathology and physiology and professor of anatomy and physiology. Chapin Harris was professor of practical dentistry. Thomas E. Bond, Jr. was named professor of special pathology and therapeutics. Dr. Graves then moved that the word "dental" be placed before the words pathology and physiology which resulted in the naming of Hayden as professor of dental pathology and physiology. Graves also moved that the title of Bond's course be changed to *special dental* pathology and therapeutics and that the words "special dental" precede anatomy and physiology in the listing of that course in the curriculum of the College. In brief, the changes in the wording of the act emphasized the dental aspects of the instruction, giving the College a clear distinction from regular medical schools.<sup>23</sup>

On February 1, 1840, the Clerk of the House of Delegates delivered the bill to the Senate where it was read and referred to its committee of corporations. The committee reported favorably on the act with an amendment. Again there was to be a change in the second section of the act, adding the name of H. Willis Baxley as professor of dental anatomy and physiology to the faculty of the College. With this addition the first faculty of the College consisted of four members. The act was read for the second and third times, and returned to the House endorsed "will pass" with the proposed amendment. The bill was read the required number of times in the House of Delegates, the amendment proposed by the Senate was accepted, and the act was ordered engrossed. On March 6, 1840 the Act of Incorporation of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery was signed by Governor William Grason and the first dental college in the world was a legal fact.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 168-169; Robinson, "Foundations," p. 1034.

<sup>23</sup> State of Maryland, *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates*, pp. 168-169.

<sup>24</sup> State of Maryland, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Maryland, December Session, 1839* (Annapolis, 1840), p. 64; State of Maryland, *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates*, p. 186; Robinson, "Foundations," p. 1035.

Hayden and Harris wasted no time in organizing the College. Two days after the state legislature passed the act of incorporation the first official faculty meeting was held at Hayden's home. Hayden was nominated and elected Dean. The omission of Bond's and Baxley's names from the records of the meeting illustrated again the fact that Haydon and Harris were the architects of the plan for a College and were determined, in their leadership, to see that the venture was a success.<sup>25</sup>

The charter of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery named a board of visitors entirely distinct from the faculty. The board had authority to examine the condition of the College and see that the requirements stated in the charter were upheld. Of the fifteen men named to the board ten possessed medical degrees, four were ministers, and one was a prominent Baltimore dentist. In April, 1840, the board organized and issued an announcement outlining the purposes of the College, the qualifications of the faculty, requirements for admission, and the fees the College would charge. In this announcement the board condemned the lack of educational standards in the dental profession and the easy success of pretenders and charlatans. The public needed protection and the hopes of conscientious dentists appeared answered when the legislature of Maryland chartered and gave authority to a faculty and an institution to do something about raising the standards of education for dentists and dental practice generally.<sup>26</sup>

In May the faculty called a second meeting. At this meeting the faculty decided that the College should begin a nationwide advertising campaign announcing the establishment of the school and its purpose. Eleven journals and newspapers were selected from as far away as Charleston, South Carolina and

<sup>25</sup> Minutes of the Faculty, February 3, 1840, Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, Baltimore, Maryland. The Minutes are preserved in the archives of the School of Dentistry, University of Maryland, Baltimore. Also, Simon *History of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery*, p. 13.

<sup>26</sup> Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, *First Annual Announcement of the Board of Visitors of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, 1840* (Baltimore, 1840), pp. 3-5; Officers of the Board of Visitors: Thomas E. Bond, M.D., President, and John Fonerden, M.D., Secretary; other members were R. S. Stewart, M.D., Joshua T. Cohen, M.D., Thomas C. Resteau, M.D., Rev. John G. Morris, Rev. George C. M. Roberts, M.D., Rev. Beverly Waugh, John H. Briscoe, M.D., Samuel Chew, M.D., John James Graves, M.D., Rev. Dr. J. P. K. Henshaw, Rev. James G. Hamner, Leonard Mackall, M.D., and Enoch Noyes.

Louisville, Kentucky. As the date set for the opening of classes approached the advertisements appeared more frequently.<sup>27</sup>

On November 3, 1840, the College formally opened in a building located on South Sharp Street in Baltimore. Five students enrolled for the first class. During the first week each member of the faculty gave an introductory lecture, to which the public was invited. Unfortunately only the address delivered by Harris was preserved.<sup>28</sup>

Harris expressed in his opening lecture what must have been the optimism of the whole faculty. "A new era," he said, "has commenced in this department of knowledge, and I am flattered with the belief, that the time is not distant . . . that he (the dentist) shall have been regularly educated for the pursuit, before he shall be permitted to engage in it." Harris stated that the plan of the school was to prepare good practitioners who were thoroughly grounded on sound scientific and dental theory. A failure of the school, believed Harris, would be a mark against the nation.<sup>29</sup>

The qualifications of each member of the faculty demonstrated that their selection was based upon the fulfillment of two purposes of the College. The first was to train the traditional dentist and the second was to equip the dentist to practice scientifically. Hayden in dental physiology and pathology, and Harris in practical dentistry complemented each other. Both men were self-educated practical dentist without formal medical training. Hayden was, however, the pure scientist, while Harris combined a knowledge of science and mechanics with the practical knowledge of a man of affairs. Harris proved his ability to organize scattered dental knowledge in his book *The Dental Art*, and he was also a successful and popular

<sup>27</sup> Minutes of the Faculty, May 15, 1840. The list of newspapers and journals in which the Faculty advertised included the *Baltimore Pilot*, *Baltimore American*, *Baltimore Patriot*, *Charleston Courier*, *Louisville Journal*, *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D. C.), *Globe* (Washington, D. C.), *United States Gazette* (Philadelphia), *American Journal of Dental Science*, *American Journal of Medical Science*, and *Maryland Medical and Surgical Journal*; *American and Commercial Advertiser* (Baltimore), May 20, 1840.

<sup>28</sup> Robinson, "Foundations," p. 1040; *Baltimore Clipper*, November 3, 1840. The names of the five students who enrolled at the College were Joseph Washington Clowes, New York City; Thomas Payne, New York City; Joseph B. Savier, Norfolk, Virginia; Robert Arthur, Baltimore; Richard Covington Mackall, Baltimore.

<sup>29</sup> Harris, "Introductory Lecture," pp. 209-210.

dentist. With this background Harris' course emphasized the technical and mechanical aspects of dentistry. Hayden was a student of many scientific fields including geology, botany, anatomy, and physiology in addition to being well read in other medical sciences. His course gave him an opportunity to lecture on the theoretical aspects of dentistry as a science.<sup>30</sup>

Bond in special dental pathology and therapeutics, and Baxley in anatomy and physiology were medically trained men. Bond was a graduate of Baltimore College and from the University of Maryland. He was professor of special pathology and therapeutics for over thirty years and from 1842 to 1849 he was Dean of the College. Baxley's education included attendance at St. Mary's College in Baltimore and an M. D. in 1842 from the University of Maryland. Baxley, a brilliant but highly contentious man, was at the College for only one session and then joined the faculty of the Washington Medical College of Baltimore.<sup>31</sup>

The purpose of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery was to teach dentistry as a specialty of medicine, but the faculty also made it clear the College offered a "practical" course of instruction to dental students. Dentistry was as much a manual art as a medical science, said Harris. The principles of medicine and surgery should be integrated into dental education, but to be a good dentist one must be more than a graduate of the medical sciences. Harris was aware that the influence of dentists would increase if they were educated in anatomy, physiology, surgery, pathology, and therapeutics. Practical work under close observation and scientific training were essential elements for a good dentist.<sup>32</sup>

When the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery opened its doors in 1840 there were no requirements for admission. Few medical schools of the period required more than the ability to read and write, and none of the dental colleges founded before the Civil War established entrance requirements. Although the College never formally stated academic qualifications, indi-

<sup>30</sup> Robinson, *Beginnings of Dental Education*, p. 36; Simon, *History of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>31</sup> Cordell, *Medical Annals*, p. 315.

<sup>32</sup> Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, *Sixth Annual Announcement of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery*, 1845 (Baltimore, 1845), pp. 3-7; Harris, "Introductory Lecture," pp. 210-211; Chapin A. Harris, "Observations," *American Journal of Dental Science*, I (January, February, 1840), 49-50; W. R. Handy, "Dental Education," *American Journal of Dental Science*, IX (July, 1849, 363-369.

vidual professors believed the student needed some preparation in the basic sciences. Ideally, the same academic training required for entrance into a liberal arts college should apply to the sciences, said the faculty. A student should bring with him some knowledge of abstract science. But the absence of specific entrance requirements continued.<sup>33</sup>

The faculty sought to encourage as many young men as possible to enter the College, and for that reason offered the degree of Doctor of Dental Surgery in three ways. The ambitious candidates attended two full sessions of lectures of four months each, defended a thesis on a subject in dental science, presented demonstrations of his ability in reconstructive phases of dental art, passed a practical examination, and was finally examined by the faculty. The degree requirements appeared sufficiently difficult, but the College allowed several exceptions. A medical doctor or student with a record of attendance at a medical college, along with an individual who showed evidence of completion of an apprenticeship, had to attend only one session of lectures at the College. In 1845, the College accepted four years of actual dental practice as satisfying the requirements of one session of lectures. The allowance for practical experience and for medical training opened the doors of the College to a potentially larger student body.<sup>34</sup>

There was a second way of getting a dental degree. A student with a record of several years practical experience or an apprenticeship could actually earn a dental degree by special examination before a committee of the faculty. Success on the examination entitled the individual to the D.D.S. and to the prestige it carried.<sup>35</sup>

An Honorary D.D.S. was the third source of a dental degree. The Charter allowed the College to award an Honory Doctor of Dental Surgery to a dentist "who may have rendered service to the science [dental] or distinguished him in his profession." The College awarded one hundred and thirty-six honorary

<sup>33</sup> McCarthy, "Dental Education in Maryland," pp. 17-18; Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, *Fourteenth Annual Announcement of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery*, 1853 (Baltimore, 1853), p. 6; William Frederick Norwood, *Medical Education in the United States before the Civil War* (Philadelphia, 1944), pp. 403-4.

<sup>34</sup> *First Annual Announcement*, p. 5; *Sixth Annual Announcement*, p. 7.

<sup>35</sup> See Section 9 of Charter for the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery in *Laws Made and Passed By the General Assembly of the State of Maryland . . . 1840* (Annapolis, 1840), Cpt. 155.

degrees in the first ten years of its existence to men who had worked for the elevation of dentistry. In awarding honorary degrees the College often recognized men of merit in dentistry. But, the College also needed money, and the recipients of the degrees were generous in their support of the institution. The honorary degree proved fruitful. By the 1850's the College could afford to use more discretion, and between 1853 and 1897 it awarded only sixteen such degrees.<sup>36</sup>

Who were the students who attended the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery? Baltimore, the third largest city in the United States, and bustling with activity in the first half of the nineteenth century, was at heart a southern city. The migration of southern planters and their families to the port city, for business and pleasure, made Baltimore a rival of Charleston and New Orleans in the charm and grace of its social life. Many a southern family felt secure in sending their sons to the city for an education in a profession that promised handsome rewards for a qualified practitioner. From the founding of the Baltimore College, in 1840, to the last graduating class before the outbreak of the Civil War, in 1861, the College graduated approximately 328 students. Of this number, 208, or about sixty-three per cent, were residents of Maryland or the southern states. The largest number from any one state came not from Maryland (47), but from its neighbor Virginia (53).<sup>37</sup>

Since the dental degree rapidly became a key to successful practice in Europe, students came to the Baltimore College from the old world for dental training. The first student from across the Atlantic to graduate from the College was an Englishman, J. W. Niell, in 1846. In the two decades between the founding of the College and the Civil War twenty-two foreign students received dental diplomas.<sup>38</sup>

The first home of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery,

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, Section 9; the College officially discontinued the Honorary Degree in 1870, *Thirty-First Annual Announcement*, 1870, p. 4.

<sup>37</sup> McCarthy, "Dental Education in Maryland," p. 135; Van Wyck Brooks, *The World of Washington Irving* (New York, 1944), pp. 212-221; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 642; Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, *Triennial Catalogue of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery*, 1867 (Baltimore, 1867), pp. 5-6.

<sup>38</sup> Foreign graduates of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery represented the following countries between 1840 and 1861: England, five; Germany, four; Cuba, four; Scotland, two; and one each from Switzerland, Italy, Ireland, Belgium, Canada, Bermuda, and Puerto Rico. *Triennial Catalogue*, 1867, pp. 5-6.

on South Sharp Street, was a handsome three story brick structure. The building was divided into four main rooms, a lecture room, a museum, a mechanical workshop, and a dissecting room that was added in 1844. Also in 1844 clinical facilities became available. Two years later, in 1846, an infirmary was added to the College and the instruction improved because it was here that the most important practical work was done.<sup>39</sup>

Daily routine was the same for all the students. In the mornings the students worked in the infirmary and the dissecting room. In the infirmary the student was confronted with every type of situation the dental surgeon faced in everyday practice. Open to the public, the city's poor took advantage of the free dental care from the students under the observation of instructors. Students attended the infirmary by class; each student had a chair and a patient. Small items and supplies for mechanical work the student purchased from the janitor of the College while students who owned a set of instruments were urged to bring it with them to the College.<sup>40</sup>

In the afternoons students attended classes in the College's large lecture room as each Professor delivered a lecture on his subject. Harris, for example, talked about practical dentistry and included dental hygiene, a subject closely allied to operative dentistry. Due to the shortage of books, notes taken by the students during these classes became a vital source of information.<sup>41</sup>

The absence of a dental library and shortage of dental textbooks particularly handicapped instruction in the theoretical subjects of the curriculum. There was, however, one book that was used constantly by the faculty, Harris' *The Dental Art*, or as

<sup>39</sup> Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, *Fifth Annual Announcement of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, 1844* (Baltimore, 1844), pp. 4-7; *Sixth Annual Announcement, 1845*, pp. 3-7; Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, *Seventh Annual Announcement of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, 1846* (Baltimore, 1846), pp. 3-5; Eleazer Parmly, "Dental Education in Baltimore," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, XXXVI (March 1847), 235-236.

<sup>40</sup> Ballard, "Dental Education," p. 69; Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, *Eleventh Annual Announcement of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, 1850* (Baltimore, 1850), p. 8; Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, *Tenth Annual Announcement of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, 1849* (Baltimore, 1849), pp. 4-7; *Fourteenth Annual Announcement, 1853*, pp. 3-5; an illustration of the annual amount of work the dental students did in the infirmary was in these figures: extractions, 2,430; fillings, 982; artificial teeth, 736, *Seventh Annual Announcement, 1846*, pp. 3-6.

<sup>41</sup> Ballard, "Dental Education," p. 69; *Sixth Annual Announcement, 1845*, pp. 3-7.

it was called in its later editions, *Principles and Practice of Dentistry*. Dental libraries did not exist in 1840, and what books did exist were few and written mostly by European authors. Lecture notes and private libraries of the faculty made up the shortage in reading material. Faculty members allowed students freedom to enter their homes and use their libraries. Harris possessed a fine library of over 260 books and 90 volumes of periodicals which was available to the students of the College. Hayden was also well read and maintained a good library which he opened to students.<sup>42</sup>

At the end of the first session in 1841 the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery graduated Robert Arthur and Richard Covington Mackall, both as Doctors of Dental Surgery. Arthur and Mackall had been given advance standing in the College due to their experience as apprentices which permitted them to shorten their programs by one session. Arthur, a native of Baltimore, had been a pupil of Harris before entering the College. Mackall, also a native of Baltimore, had been an apprentice to a dentist for five years before matriculation at the College. After graduation Arthur established successful practices in Washington, D. C., Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Impressed with collegiate dental training while a student at the Baltimore College, he was instrumental in the founding of the Philadelphia College of Dental Surgery in 1852. Mackall moved on to St. Louis, subsequently took up medicine and later became a newspaper publisher.<sup>43</sup>

The Baltimore College of Dental Surgery showed a steady growth from 1840 to the Civil War. By 1850, after ten years of operation, the College had graduated eighty-five dentists. Between 1851 and 1860 the number of graduates more than doubled, to two hundred and fifteen. The smallest graduating class was the first; the largest graduating class prior to the sectional conflict was in 1860 when thirty-nine received diplomas.<sup>44</sup>

As the College made steady progress, the idea of dental educa-

<sup>42</sup> McCarthy, "Dental Education in Maryland," pp. 26, 129-130; George B. Denton, "Beginnings and Growth of Dental Libraries," *Proceedings of the Dental Centenary Celebration . . . 1940*, George B. Anderson, ed. (Baltimore, 1940), pp. 246-247.

<sup>43</sup> Simon, *History of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>44</sup> A complete list of the graduating classes of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery is found in the *Triennial Catalogue, 1867*, pp. 5-8.

tion also gained slow acceptance. For five years the Baltimore College was the only dental college in the world. In 1845 a group of western dentists founded the second dental college in Cincinnati, modeled after its predecessor in Baltimore. Between 1840 and 1860 six dental colleges were established, but only three survived to the Civil War. In the five years from 1865 to 1870, six colleges were successfully founded and the system of dental training inaugurated by the first college thirty years earlier, was acknowledged. The Baltimore College provided a model of autonomous dental education for the institutions that followed. Doctors and dentists became convinced that independent dental education was the best method for training competent dentists.<sup>45</sup>

The medical profession approved the efforts of dentists to establish dentistry as a specialty of medicine. A doctor of medicine maneuvered through the legislature the act of incorporation for the first dental college in the world. The same doctor proposed the significant changes in the wording of the charter that made the College and the curriculum distinct from medicine. Two medical men were on the first faculty of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery and ten doctors were members of the board of visitors.

Under the preceptorial method of dental training emphasis had been upon the art and mechanics of dentistry. The founding of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery and institutional dental education promoted an interest in the biological sciences on an equal basis with mechanics. A combination of dental mechanics and science meant success in the production of scientifically trained dentists.

By 1846 Chapin Harris, prompted by the progress of dental education and the growth of the College, declared that "the time has well nigh arrived when men will not be able to quit another occupation one day, and commence the practice of dental surgery the next."<sup>46</sup> Dental art, through the founding of the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, the first of its kind in the world, and the combining of medical and mechanical training became dental science.

<sup>45</sup> For table of dental schools established, 1840-1870, see William J. Gies, *Dental Education in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1926), p. 42.

<sup>46</sup> Chapin A. Harris, *Valedictory Address Delivered before the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery at the Sixth Annual Commencement, February 17, 1846* (Baltimore, 1846), p. 10.

JOHN PENDLETON KENNEDY'S HORSE  
SHOE ROBINSON: A NOVEL WITH  
"THE UTMOST HISTORICAL  
ACCURACY"

By WILLIAM S. OSBORNE

"THE events narrated in the following pages," John Pendleton Kennedy wrote in the preface to the first edition of *Horse Shoe Robinson* (1835), "came to my knowledge in the process of my [research] into the personal history of some of the characters who figure in the story. I thought them worth being embodied into a regular narrative . . . because they serve to illustrate the temper and character of the War of our Revolution." Thus, Kennedy established the framework of the novel by informing his readers that what they read in *Horse Shoe Robinson* about the war in South Carolina during 1780-1781 they could in large measure believe. So that they would not take his assertion lightly, he made it again near the end of the preface: "I have been scrupulous to preserve the utmost historical accuracy in my narrative." Through an examination of his sources one can see just how careful he was in re-creating his picture of the Revolution in the South.

I

Kennedy revealed the "personal history" of the hero of his story, Horse Shoe Robinson (whose nickname was derived from the work he did), some years later in the introduction to the second edition of the novel (1852). He had met the blacksmith during the winter of 1818-1819, when both he and Kennedy happened to be overnight guests in the same house. The backwoodsman entertained the author and his host with stories of the war. "Truth was the predominant expression of his face," Kennedy observed, ". . . truth that belongs to natural and

unconscious bravery, united with a frank and modest spirit. He seemed to set no special value upon his own exploits, but to relate them . . . with as little comment or emphasis as if they concerned any one more than himself." He made a record of what the old patriot told him "whilst the memory of it was still fresh," and afterward used the notes in writing the novel. He later told Rufus W. Griswold: "[Robinson] communicated to me some interesting particulars of his participation in the war . . . which I have introduced almost verbatim . . . into my own work."<sup>1</sup> When the blacksmith himself was asked about the accuracy of Kennedy's story, he was supposed to have said: "It is all true and right—in its right place—except about them women, which I disremember. That mought be true, too; but my memory is treacherous—I disremember." This statement, although questioned by one scholar,<sup>2</sup> seems substantiated by the recent investigation of Miss Rhoda C. Ellison.<sup>3</sup>

Galbraith (Horse Shoe) Robinson or James Robertson—as Miss Ellison discovered—lived in Alabama the last years of his life, some twelve miles from Tuscaloosa, where Alexander B. Meek, a newspaper editor, interviewed him. Meek took some pains to assure himself, and then the readers of his newspaper, that according to the blacksmith the characters and incidents in the novel were true. Although evidence is not always so conclusive, it now appears that Mary Musgrove—the young woman whose war-time romance with John Ramsay added a tragic reality to the story—was also modeled after a real person. Lyman C. Draper in a history of the battle of King's Mountain told of an interview some years later with her nephew.

Major [Edward] Musgrove had two daughters, Mary and Susan, aged respectively some twenty-five and twenty-three years, at the period of the war troubles of 1780-81. . . . [Mary] was the renowned heroine of Kennedy's popular story 'Horse-Shoe Robinson'; and, in all the upcountry of South Carolina, he could not have chosen

<sup>1</sup> Kennedy's MS, "Letters of John P. Kennedy, 1846-1849," dated Sept. 16, 1846, in the Kennedy Papers, Peabody Institute Library, Baltimore, Maryland. I am indebted to Mr. Frank N. Jones, Director of the Library, for permission to use the Kennedy manuscripts.

<sup>2</sup> John R. Moore, "Kennedy's *Horse Shoe Robinson*: Fact or Fiction?" *American Literature*, IV (May, 1932), 160-166.

<sup>3</sup> Rhoda C. Ellison, "Early Alabama Interest in Southern Writers," *Alabama Review*, I (Apr., 1948), 101-110; "An Interview with Horse-Shoe Robinson," *American Literature*, XXXI, 329-332 (Nov., 1959).

a more beautiful character in real life with which to adorn the charming pages of his historical romance.<sup>4</sup>

Kennedy's striving for historical accuracy led him to draw the two principal characters in the novel from real life and—what is even more significant—to give them the leading roles in the story, pushing the hero and heroine of conventional romance into the background. The “hero” Arthur Butler spent most of his time a prisoner of the British, and the “heroine” Mildred Lindsay appeared in only a few scenes. It was truly Horse Shoe Robinson and Mary Musgrove and their friends, as Poe pointed out, who carried the story and captured the spirit of the age.<sup>5</sup> There were in fact far more “little people” who fought the war than there were Butlers and Lindsays.

Whenever the reviewers spoke of particular characters in the novel, the blacksmith and Mary Musgrove were usually mentioned. “Horse Shoe is a new creation, original and striking, but perfectly natural,” wrote an unidentified reviewer.<sup>6</sup> “Next to the inimitable Leather Stocking,” another wrote, “[Horse Shoe] is the best and most thorough indigenous character portrayed upon an American novelist's canvas.”<sup>7</sup> Simms, however, seemed to prefer him to Natty Bumppo.<sup>8</sup> Readers, too, apparently enjoyed the company of the hearty campaigner, whose salty vernacular and shrewd reasoning provided an effective tonic for the tired propriety of Butler; and one of the better parts of the novel was Kennedy's attempt to reproduce the dialect of the hill people of South Carolina so that readers had

<sup>4</sup> Lyman C. Draper, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes* (Cincinnati, 1881), pp. 125-126. The nephew, Capt. P. M. Waters, was the son of Margaret Musgrove (Mary's stepsister) from whom he heard the account.

<sup>5</sup> Edgar Allan Poe, “Horse Shoe Robinson,” *Southern Literary Messenger*, I (May, 1835), 522. Simms thought that Butler and Mildred Lindsay were Kennedy's weakest characters: Butler, little more than “the walking gentleman of the conventional drama”; his wife Mildred Lindsay, “only a pleasing child.” William Gilmore Simms, “Kennedy's Horse Shoe Robinson,” *Southern Quarterly Review*, XXII (Oct., 1852), 204. Even though Kennedy would admit Simms's criticism, want of strength in these characters was not his fault. The tradition of historical romance called for such lovers, whose “patriotism” and “right thinking” were enough to endear them to readers. He treated Butler and Mildred Lindsay as the necessary “fictions” of his story, concentrating his energies on the livelier characters.

<sup>6</sup> “Horse Shoe Robinson,” *American Quarterly Review*, XVIII (Sept., 1835), 241.

<sup>7</sup> Kennedy's MS, “Scraps, Newspaper Clippings: *Horse Shoe Robinson*, 1835 ed.,” extract from Philadelphia *United States Gazette*, n. d.

<sup>8</sup> Simms, pp. 204-205.

a sense of the language actually spoken in the district. Miss Sedgwick had been equally fortunate when she employed colloquial speech in *Hope Leslie*. As one reviewer pointed out, "The provincialisms that [Kennedy] has placed in the mouths of some of his personages, indicates the author's close observation with respect to local peculiarities of phrase."<sup>9</sup>

Horse Shoe, like Natty Bumppo, flavored his conversation with distortions: "howsomdever," "flusterfications," "pestifarious," "contwistifications," "obstropolous," "corruptify," "flusticated."<sup>10</sup> But there was a mixture of the literate with the illiterate in his colorful speech.

'We took hands just now,' said Robinson angrily. 'When I give my hand, it is tantamount to a book oath that I mean fair, round dealing with the man who takes it. I told you, besides, I was a sodger—that ought to have contented you—and you mought sarch my breast, inside and out, and you'd seen in it nothing but honest meanings. There's something of a suspectable rascality, after that, in talking about pistols hid under the flaps of a coat. It's altogether onmanful, and, what's more, onsodgerly. You are a deceit, and an astonishment, and a hissing, all three, James Curry, and no better, to my comprehension, than a coward. I know you of old, although, may hap, you disremember me. I have hearn said, by more than one, that you was a double-faced, savage-hearted, disregardless beast, that snashed his teeth when he darsn't bite, and bullied them that hadn't the heart to fight: I have hearn that of you, and, as I live, I believe it. Now, look out for your bull head, for I will cuff you in spite of your pistols.'

With these words, Horse Shoe gave his adversary some half dozen overpowering blows . . . and then, seizing him by the breast, he threw the tall and stalwart Curry at full length upon the ground.

'There's your two ells for you! there's the art of menstirration, you disgrace to the tail of a drum,' exclaimed Horse Shoe. . . .

Though Simms might question the idiom Horse Shoe sometimes used, as not being the patois he would speak,<sup>11</sup> the vast number of readers were obviously pleased with the backwoodsman's "contwistifications."

<sup>9</sup> "Horse Shoe Robinson," *Knickerbocker Magazine*, VI (July, 1835), 71.

<sup>10</sup> One of the characters in the novel said to the blacksmith: "Friend, I do not understand thy lingo. It has a most clod-polish smack. It is neither grammar, English, nor sense."

<sup>11</sup> Simms, p. 207.

And the vast number of readers, as well as reviewers, accepted the heroine Mary Musgrove as quickly as they did Horse Shoe, finding honest sentiment in Kennedy's description of her romance with the young partisan John Ramsay. Mary was "a most exquisite being," wrote one reviewer, "soft, and delicate, and pure, yet strong withal and passionate."<sup>12</sup> "The very spirit of truth breathes from the ruddy lips of the sweet 'Maid of the Mill,'" exclaimed the critic in the *New England Magazine*.<sup>13</sup> And one reviewer believed that she might "fearlessly challenge a comparison with any female creation of an American."<sup>14</sup> Kennedy's wish to "[embody] into [the] narrative" real people had not gone unnoticed by the reviewers who recognized the authenticity of his characters; and when he gave the blacksmith and the plain country girl the dominant roles in the story, he added another dimension to the American historical novel.

## II

Just as the flesh-and-blood reality of the lead characters was new to American fiction, so were the scenes and events the author described. Stories about the Revolution in the South had not yet been written.<sup>15</sup> Kennedy laid the scene of the novel in Virginia and South Carolina, depicting the rugged beauty of western Virginia and the pineywoods hill country of South Carolina. The events he narrated were found in the written records available to him: histories of the Revolution and personal accounts of participants in the war. Years later he was to suggest to Thackeray books which might aid him in writing *The Virginians*; Kennedy probably read these books himself to establish the historical facts in *Horse Shoe Robinson*: Alexander Garden's *Anecdotes* (Charleston, 1822, 1828), Alexander Graydon's *Memoirs* (Harrisburgh, 1811) and William Heath's *Memoirs* (Boston, 1798). He read David Ramsay's *History of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1809) also, which he had in his own library.<sup>16</sup> Here he found an account of the battle of King's

<sup>12</sup> "Horse Shoe Robinson," *American Monthly Magazine*, V (Aug., 1835), 468.

<sup>13</sup> "Horse Shoe Robinson," *New England Magazine*, IX (Nov., 1835), 391.

<sup>14</sup> Kennedy's MS, "Scraps, Newspaper Clippings: *Horse Shoe Robinson*, 1835 ed.," extract from Philadelphia, *United States Gazette*, n. d.

<sup>15</sup> Simms's novel, *The Partisan*, appeared later that year.

<sup>16</sup> Ramsay had written an earlier book, *The History of the Revolution of South-Carolina, from a British Province to an Independent State* (Trenton,

Mountain, five pages in all. By studying maps of the topography of the region, he could chart the progress of the battle. Upon this historical framework he could reconstruct (he told his readers) "the marching and counter-marching of the frequent corps, from various positions on the summit; the speeding of officers on horseback, and the occasional movement of small squadrons of dragoons, who were at one moment seen struggling along the sides of the mountain, and, at another, descending towards the base or returning to the summit. . . ."

Neither Graydon's nor Heath's memoirs supplied him with information about the Revolution in the South, since both accounts were by men who saw action in the North: Graydon, after brief service, became a prisoner of war in English encampments in New York and on Long Island; Heath was an aide-de-camp to commanders of American forces in New England and New York. Graydon's experiences as a prisoner of war subject to the whims of English officers may have suggested the kind of harsh treatment Arthur Butler ought to receive in the hands of his captors. Then too, Graydon's mother had personally appealed to Lord Howe for the parole of her son; Mildred Lindsay made a similar appeal to Lord Cornwallis in behalf of her husband. It was Garden's *Anecdotes*, a chronicle of adventures and heroic actions of Southerners in the war, that contributed "character sketches" and a number of incidents to the novel. Kennedy discovered from the *Anecdotes* the fratricidal nature of the struggle, particularly in South Carolina, where brother fought brother and son warred against father, where friend was foe and neighbors could not be trusted. He learned too of the pillaging, terrorism and uncertainty of life itself in the South Carolina piedmont during the war years. He read of the imperious conduct of the British and their acts of wanton cruelty.

A number of minor characters he introduced in the novel were suggested by sketches of Tory renegades Garden put in his chronicle. Wat Adair "with the double hand" is modeled after a renegade Garden described, a Michael Docherty who found it to his advantage "to change sides" in the war as cir-

1785). He included a summary of this battle—which took place in North Carolina—in his histories. He transferred the account of the battle in the 1785 history almost verbatim to *The History of South Carolina*, which Kennedy used.

cumstances demanded. Adair is a bluff, greedy, illiterate backwoodsman; so was Michael Docherty. Captain Hugh Habershaw, the villainous Tory leader, is modeled after Captain David Fanning, notorious in the South Carolina hill country for his reckless adventures and bloodthirsty deeds. Mrs. Markham, the Whig mistress of a large plantation who befriends Mildred Lindsay, is similar to a Mrs. Jacob Motte, a South Carolina lady who would not swerve from her rebel loyalty despite the burning of her plantation by marauding British troops.

Kennedy also took from the book ideas for his sketches of the officers of both armies: Francis Marion, the rebel leader; and Banastre Tarleton, the British commander. General Francis Marion's "charming simplicity of manners . . . courage . . . inexhaustible fund of humanity" (as Garden characterized the rebel leader), he caught in the interview between the chieftain and Mildred Lindsay. Colonel Banastre Tarleton's dual personality was suggested by the "merciless severity" he exhibited to his Whig captives and by "a mildness and urbanity that might be expected from a perfect and well-bred gentleman, a tenderness of feeling, and a liberality of soul" (so Garden wrote) when he accosted Mildred Lindsay and showed leniency in dealing with her brother. Kennedy picked up the names of relatively unknown partisan leaders from the book, leaders like Colonel Peter Horry. Perhaps it was no accident that David Ramsay, the South Carolina historian, had as a counterpart in *Horse Shoe Robinson* a David Ramsay, a Whig partisan, though the real Ramsay was a prisoner at St. Augustine during the rise of the partisans.

There were numerous incidents, too, which Kennedy took from the *Anecdotes* and incorporated in the plot of the novel. Garden spoke of a Corporal Cooper who played the simpleton when he was questioned by British officers. "Damn you, you rascal, you are too cunning for me," an officer said in disgust as he dismissed the partisan. Horse Shoe employed the same ruse twice in the story, once in his escape from Charleston and again in his meeting with Tarleton. Garden spoke of a Whig soldier Levingstone who was apprehended by Tories and asked his "party." "I think it, Sir," Levingstone replied, "would be a little more in the way of civility if you were to drop a hint, just to let me know which side of the question you are pleased

to favour." Horse Shoe once answered his Tory inquisitors in almost the same words. Garden wrote of a test of strength between a Captain Robert Joiett (a rebel) and a British soldier, which the American won handily; Horse Shoe had a similar encounter with James Curry, the English soldier. Garden wrote of a Captain Taylor and his brother who escaped from drunken British soldiers left to guard them; Horse Shoe made a similar escape. And Garden related an incident concerning a Lydia Darrah, a Quakeress but a Whig sympathizer, who overheard Tory plans to attack Washington's troops. She risked her life to warn the American commander, then returned to her home where the Tories were quartered and was not found out. Mary Musgrove, who warned Horse Shoe and Arthur Butler of Wat Adair's plans to turn them over to Tory renegades, also escaped detection.<sup>17</sup>

Garden's *Anecdotes* and Ramsay's history served Kennedy well. *Horse Shoe Robinson* became the first significant tale of the Revolution in the South. As Poe said, he had been "peculiarly fortunate in the choice of an epoch, a scene and a subject . . . [doing] them all the fullest justice."<sup>18</sup> When he joined rank with Cooper and the other historical novelists in America, he did so realizing that just enough had been written to whet the popular appetite.

### III

Kennedy's reliance on real people for his characters and his use of factual material to supply his background clearly demonstrate how carefully he went about preserving the "utmost historical accuracy" in *Horse Shoe Robinson*. It is all the more to his credit when one remembers that not all his contemporaries who wrote historical novels were as conscious of details in their fiction. One may ask why he took such infinite pains. As long as the story was entertaining, readers would not seriously question the truthfulness of the picture. One reason is certainly the sheer enjoyment such research gave him. He once told a correspondent in speaking about his third book, *Rob of*

<sup>17</sup> Alexander Garden, *Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War in America with Sketches of Character*, First Series (Charleston, 1822), *passim*; ———, *Anecdotes of the American Revolution, Illustrative of the Talents and Virtues of the Heroes and Patriots, who acted the Most Conspicuous Parts Therein*, Second Series (Charleston, 1828), *passim*.

<sup>18</sup> Poe, p. 522.

*the Bowl*: “. . . it required more antiquarian labor, in which, by the way, I take some pride.”<sup>19</sup> Another, more important to him, is to give his readers—and I refer now to a later story, “A Legend of Maryland”—“a pleasant insight into that little world of action and passion,—with its people [and] its pursuits.” Although Kennedy never formulated a literary creed, he comes close to such a statement in the opening paragraphs of this tale about colonial Maryland. It is the business of the writer, he suggests, to capture the essence of history in stories which depict the life of the times: to refurbish “the dry timbers of a vast old edifice” in striking colors and appropriate shades and tints so that the building resembles what it once was in its own day. History is merely a collection of documents pertaining to legislation, wars, treaties and statistics—“a dry study” for the historian, still drier for the reader. The writer’s interpretation of history, however, makes “majestic drama” out of this study.

. . . that which [makes] history the richest of philosophies and the most genial pursuit of humanity is the spirit that is breathed into it by the thoughts and feelings of former generations, interpreted in actions and incidents that disclose the passions, motives, and ambition of men, and open to us a view of the actual life of our forefathers. When we can contemplate the people of a past age employed in their own occupations, observe their habits and manners, comprehend their policy and their methods of pursuing it, our imagination is quick to clothe them with the flesh and blood of human brotherhood and to bring them into full sympathy with our individual nature. History then becomes a world of living figures,—a theatre that presents to us a majestic drama, varied by alternate scenes of the grandest achievements and the most touching episodes of human existence.

*Horse Shoe Robinson*, then, is not so much research to ascertain facts as it is an imaginative evocation of “the temper and character of the War of our Revolution.” Since the “romance” of history makes the dull pages of official documents come alive, the interpreter of history performs a service to his contemporaries. The writer who blends the facts of the historian with

<sup>19</sup> Cited in “He Lives in His Books,” *Baltimore Sun*, May 28, 1910. Letter dated Washington, House of Representatives, 1839. See Charles H. Bohner, “‘As Much History as . . . Invention’: John P. Kennedy’s *Rob of the Bowl*,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, XVII (July, 1960), 329-340 for a discussion of the historical accuracy of Kennedy’s novel about colonial Maryland.

the techniques of the novelist produces historical romance. "As yet, only the political and documentary history of that war has been written," Kennedy said in the preface to the novel. "Its romantic and picturesque features have been left for that industrious tribe of chroniclers, of which I hold myself to be an unworthy member. . . . It shall go hard with us if we do not soon bring to light every remnant of tradition that the war has left!" He seems to suggest that the writer of historical romance is the person best equipped to paint the truth and to inform readers about their country's past. Americans of the present age learn about "Americans" of a former age: they learn something of the character and spirit, the achievements and ambitions of their forefathers. Such knowledge brings respect. And the writer who conceives of history in this light contributes greatly toward the development of a national literature.

#### IV

The perceptive reviewer in the *United States Gazette* recognized that the "chief merit" of *Horse Shoe Robinson* was not "mere interest . . . in the story." If there was a weakness in the novel, it was lack of an exciting plot. Kennedy was not a story-teller as Cooper and Simms were; he could not write an adventure story with clash of battle, a series of hairbreadth escapes and high pursuit. His strength, which was not always theirs, was use of vivid detail and treatment of character. Like Miss Sedgwick, he was fond of painting fully the scenes in which his characters moved. Garden had demonstrated the critical social relations between Tories and rebels; and Kennedy showed this conflict in the novel, letting it take precedence over an elaborate plot and relying heavily on the *Anecdotes* and the other sources for incidents to supply the framework. The leisurely approach to character and events he had used in *Swallow Barn* was carried over to *Horse Shoe Robinson*, just as it was to suggest his method in *Rob of the Bowl*. *Horse Shoe Robinson* was read, as the *Gazette* reviewer said, for "the graphic and stirring picture of that eventful . . . period."<sup>20</sup> Kennedy wrote not to thrill his reader, but to entertain *and* instruct him—to waken in him a curiosity about characters and events in

<sup>20</sup> Kennedy's MS, "Scraps, Newspaper Clippings: *Horse Shoe Robinson*, 1835 ed.," extract from Philadelphia *United States Gazette*, n. d.

America's past. The reader could gain understanding from *Horse Shoe Robinson*, since a realistic treatment of material was essential to the author's concept of historical romance. "I hope," Kennedy wrote at the end of the preface to the novel, "when [the reader] has finished the perusal, that he may find reason to award me the commendation of having afforded him some pleasure, by the sketch I have attempted of the condition of things in the south during the very interesting period of the 'Tory Ascendency.'"

# SIDELIGHTS

## FORT MCHENRY IN THE CIVIL WAR

By ALLAN C. ASHCRAFT

In spite of its dramatic role in the War of 1812, Fort McHenry's main function during the Civil War was in serving as a prison installation. Within the grounds of the fort, three categories of prisoners were kept: United States soldiers being punished under military law; Confederate prisoners of war, technically being confined but not punished; and, a number of civilians categorized as "political prisoners."<sup>1</sup> By the summer of 1863, there was considerable controversy over the harsh treatment of the inmates as a result of the installation being overcrowded. Prisoner returns for May 30, 1863, indicated that there were almost twelve hundred persons confined at the fort.<sup>2</sup> An inspecting officer, reporting later that summer, described the prisoners' quarters as "filthy in the extreme, and a disgrace to humanity and the service." The same inspector, however, had to admit that hospital facilities for prisoners were "excellent."<sup>3</sup> In answer to this report, the officers of the prison maintained that full capacity of those confined should be drastically cut to three hundred men.<sup>4</sup> Subsequently, the number of inmates was reduced to the neighborhood of this figure. Throughout 1864 there averaged about three hundred men in the prison area.<sup>5</sup> With the recent construction of prisoner sheds for one thousand men, probably completed in 1863, it may be assumed that the 1864 prisoners had some of the most spacious prison accommodations of the Civil War period.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Morris to W. Hoffman, HQ., Defenses of Baltimore, Fort McHenry, Sept. 14, 1863 (should be 1864). *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: 1894-1927), Series II, vol. 6, pp. 287-88.

<sup>2</sup> Abstract of returns of principal U. S. military prisons, *ibid.*, vol. 8, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Geo. Suckley to W. H. Chesebrough, Medical Director's Office, Baltimore, Aug. 19, 1863, *ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 240.

<sup>4</sup> E. W. Andrews, Jr. to W. W. Morris, Office of Provost-Marshal, Fort McHenry, Sept. 3, 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 255-56.

<sup>5</sup> Abstract of returns of principal U. S. military prisons, *ibid.*, vol. 8, *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> W. W. Morris to L. Thomas, Defenses of Baltimore, Fort McHenry, July 22, 1863, *ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 135. W. Hoffman to W. W. Morris, Office of Commissary General of Prisoners, Washington, July 29, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 158.

One of the Union soldiers who served as a guard at Fort McHenry in 1864 was an obscure private soldier by the name of Robert R. Moore. Obviously young and impressionable, Private Moore sent his mother a diagram of the post as it existed in July, 1864. This drawing, along with its legend sheet and with Moore's descriptive letter, offers a good view of the Fort McHenry installation as it existed at that point in the Civil War. The letter and map are in the Robert R. Moore Collection, Kansas City Historical Society. Dept. of Archives, Topeka.

Fort McHenry  
Baltimore, Md.  
July 17, 1864

Dear Mother[:]

I received your welcome letter day before yesterday and was exceedingly glad to hear from you. I dont know whether this letter will interest you or not but I hope it will. I have drawn a picture of the fort the best I could for you know I am no kind of a drawer. Now I suppose you have been under the impression that we have been quartered in the fort but such is not the case, as you will see by my drawing we are inside of the fortifications but not in the fort. This is what is called a birds eye view or in other words you are supposed to be looking down from above. Now you will see that this fort was never built to fire the city its sole strength is pointing out in the bay and it can do considerable damage in that direction. Its largest guns and mortars are turned on the city since this war as you will remember Gen'l Dix <sup>7</sup> at one time threatened to shell the city and he turned his large guns on this side of the fort for that purpose. When this fort was built it was never expected that this country would be at war with itself. Now the water battery is a great deal lower than the fort, if the enemy should take the lower or water battery, they would have to scale a wall about 25 ft. high to get to the fort. The upper tiers of guns in forts are always considered the best and they would have to do some tall fighting before they could take it too. The water battery has 41 guns in it: but in case the enemy should take it the guns would not do them

<sup>7</sup> Major General John A. Dix, a veteran of the War of 1812, a former Senator and Secretary of Treasury under Buchanan, was given command of the Department of Maryland in July of 1861. Because of the very sensitive position of Baltimore in the first few months of the war, General Dix prepared a series of works to defend Fort McHenry against possible attack on the part of pro-Southern elements in Baltimore. When a delegation of ladies visited his Fort McHenry Headquarters and asked if the city would be shelled in case the fort was attacked, General Dix showed them his largest columbiad, pointing directly at Monument Square and announced that this would be the first gun fired in defense of the installation: Morgan Dix, *Memoirs of John Adams Dix* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1883), II, pp. 25-28.

any good as they cannot be turned on the fort. The round ring in the center of the fort is the reservoir that supplies the grounds with water it is pumped full twice a day by the prisoners. The buildings on each side of the sally port are prisons. The far one on the left is the one that that spy was confined in[;] the far one on the right is the one that the ex Mayor of Washington <sup>8</sup> is confined in[;] he is sentenced to say there for the remainder of the war[;] he has already served two years[;] he is a political prisoner.

Stockades is wooden Staves on posts set in the ground and are fixed so that infantry can fire through them in case a fort is landed and the guns become useless. No 16 is what is called the provost prison now this is the worst place to guard in the whole fort and their is a great deal of growling when the boys have to guard it. The Exterior guards are guards that guard the gate and the walls around the fortifications[;] the Interior Guard the fort and nothing else. Mother you will see by this drawing where my bunk is it is in No 19 where the mark is in the corner. Every building in the fort is represented here. I can not go into all the explanations or details but if you will only preserve this till I come home I will explain all. Mother I am ashamed of this letter and I hate to send it but I have got the drawing of the fort (and it is a good one too) and dont like to tear it up. My pen is a miserable one as you will see by the writing. I have been all over the barracks to get a good one but cannot so I hope that you will excuse me and remember the inconveniences I am in I am well and doing first rate. Tell Anna I will answer her letter tomorrow so you know where I am. 1 month from to day our time is up. Write soon

From your Aff't Son

Robt. R. Moore <sup>9</sup>

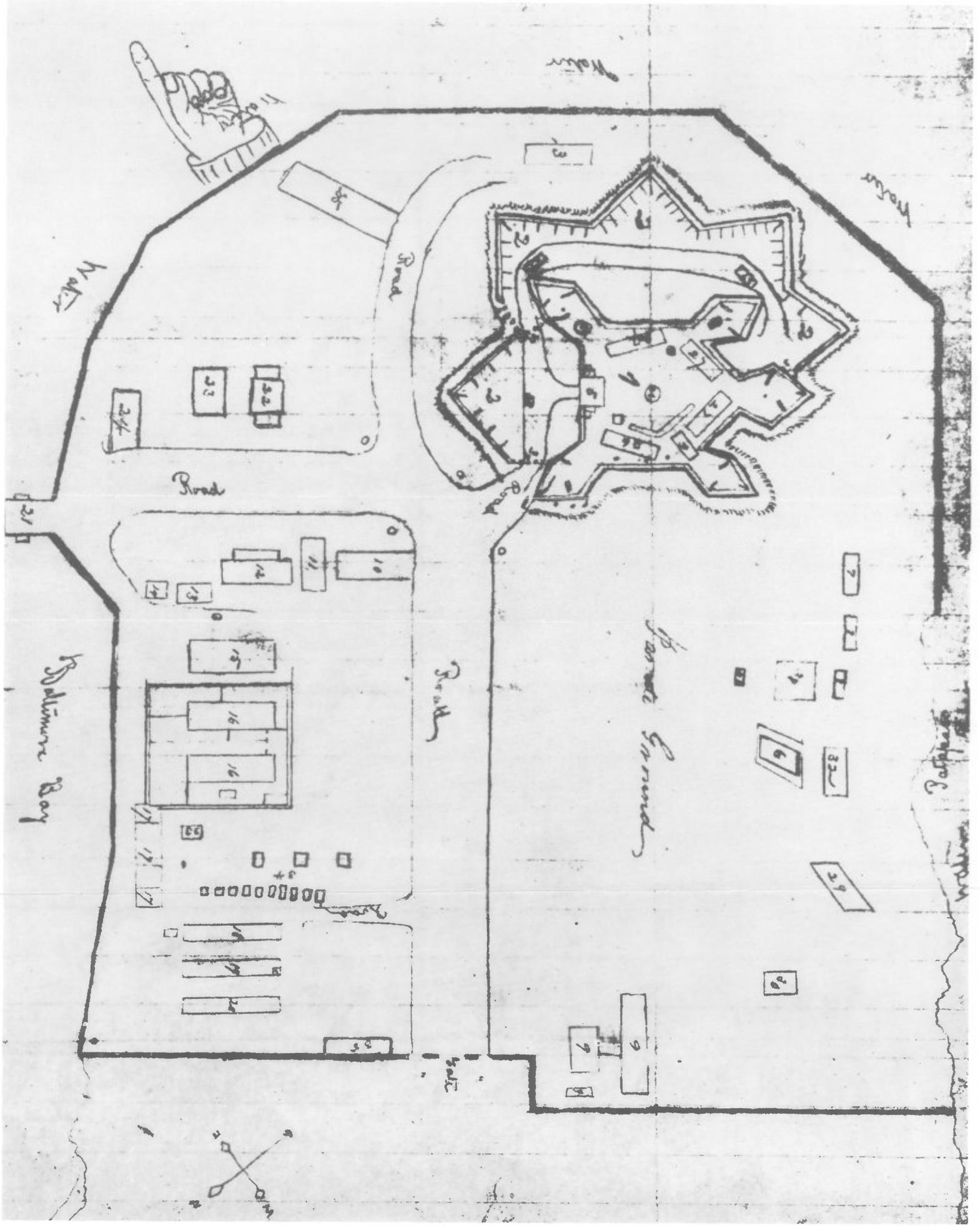
<sup>8</sup> Walter Lennox was one of sixteen "prisoners of state" confined at Fort McHenry that summer. *O. R.*, series II, vol. 8, *passim*.

<sup>9</sup> Fort McHenry in 1864. Robert R. Moore's Map and Description, Kansas State Historical Society and Department of Archives, Memorial Building, Topeka, Kansas. The author is grateful to the Texas Engineering Experiment Station Fund for Research of Texas A&M University for a grant which made this research possible.

## LEGEND

1	The Fort	22	Col Finch's Quarters
2	" Water Battery <sup>10</sup>	23	" Harris "
3	" Armory	24	Wood Yard
4	" Magazine	25	Miscellaneous Barracks
5	" Sally port	26	Old Gen'l Office in the Fort
6	" Bomb Proof Magazine	27	Barracks " " "
7	" Sutler	28	Hot Shot Furnaces
8	" Carpenter Shop	29	Hospital Tent
9	" Hospital	30	Spring
10	" Quartermaster Dept	31	Scaffold
11	" Church	32	Store House
12	" General's House	33	Tent
13	" Bakery	34	Tents (Soldiers)
14	" Stable (Gen'l)	35	Guard House
15	" Stable	36	Reservoir
16	" Prisoners	37	Stockades
17	" Cook houses	•	Mortars
18	" Officers Barracks	=	Ten inch Columbiads
19	" Company "	⊙	Flag staff—Guns
20	" " "	⊙	Wells  indicates the place (not far from the fort), or position of the prison ship on which Frances S. Key was confined when he composed the Star Spangled Banner
21	" Pier where troops landed		
		38	Grave Yard
		☐	In No. 19 at my bunk

<sup>10</sup> This is the old Ravelin, of 1813, not the water battery of the bombardment of 1814; see Richard Walsh, ed. "Fort McHenry; 1814," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LIV (Sept., 1959), 299-300.



## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

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*The Republican Party 1854-1964.* By GEORGE H. MAYER. New York, Oxford University Press, 1964. ix, 563. \$9.75.

The author, who is Professor of American History at Purdue University, completed this comprehensive study of the G. O. P. early this year. Consequently it contains no direct reference to the party leadership of Barry Goldwater, or to the Presidential campaign of 1964. But the wealth of background, carefully explored and readably presented, does much to illuminate the current political scene.

Most interesting, in this connection, is the detailed story of upheavals which have shaken the Republican party prior to its present discontents. At least three of these make current internal difficulties seem comparatively trivial.

The first of these crises was when the Republican leadership in Congress revolted to impeach and almost expel from office its own party leader, the then President Johnson. In the all-important vote of May 16, 1868, only seven Republican Senators refused to condemn the Republican President. A two-thirds majority was needed to implement the earlier impeachment by the House. The tally of 35 to 19 missed this by the narrowest possible margin. And of the votes that saved Andrew Johnson from an indignity never seriously proposed for any other President, 12 out of 19 were cast by Democrats.

The story loses none of its epic drama in Professor Mayer's reconstruction. And he is equally skillful in recounting the second shattering crisis within the G. O. P. This was when Theodore Roosevelt bolted, after his defeat for the nomination by William Howard Taft in 1912. The resultant three-cornered contest split the Republicans so as to make Woodrow Wilson an easy winner, on only 42 per cent of the popular vote.

Only the elderly have personal recollection of that Republican disaster. Within the memory of many is the crushing defeat experienced by the party standard bearer in 1936. Governor Landon, opposing F. D. R.'s bid for a second term, won only 8 electoral votes to Roosevelt's 523. The popular vote, as always, was much more evenly divided. In getting 40 per cent of it Landon equalled Lincoln's showing in his 1860 victory. But this is to point to the vagaries of our electoral system, which is another subject.

That to the fore in Professor Mayer's book is the remarkable recuperative power evinced by the Republican party throughout its long and often stormy history. In 1868 it almost threw its leader from office in May, yet elected another (Grant) in November. In 1912 it handed Wilson the Presidency on a silver platter, yet recaptured the White House after his second term. After 1936 recovery was more slow, awaiting Eisenhower in 1952. On the campaign of 1964 the author, for reasons given, says nothing, tacitly imposing equal discretion on his reviewers.

This competent historian does, however, offer some generalizations of more than partisan interest. One of these is that American political parties have never been killed by internal dissensions, but only by becoming apathetic to problems which deeply disturb the electorate as a whole. Thus the collapse of the Whig party, from the ruins of which Republicanism arose, is traced to "identification with issues that had ceased to be important."

One would not expect Marylanders to play a predominant role in a history of the Republican party. But from Henry Winter Davis on they get attention, especially in the interesting instance of Senator Arthur P. Gorman. His exploitation of "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion" in 1884 is recalled, as also his consideration by both parties as their Presidential candidate in 1904.

Professor Mayer writes so well that it is disagreeable to point to his weakness for unsustainable snap judgments. A glaring one is the assertion that, in 1951: "Various public opinion polls confirmed the fact that Taft would not be an outstanding vote-getter." No public opinion poll ever confirmed anything. And what hasn't been tested can scarcely be called a "fact."

To offset such ineptitudes the book has generally excellent characterizations, not less so when tartly flavored. "The Idaho Senator [Borah] was incapable of using power for any purpose except to promote confusion." Such acerbities give spice to this timely volume which happily reminds us that there is no reason why historical scholarship should be either pedantic or pedestrian.

FELIX MORLEY

*Gibson Island, Maryland*

*Hayes: The Diary of a President, 1875-1881.* Edited by T. HARRY WILLIAMS. New York: David McKay, 1964. 329. \$6.50.

Presidents who occupied the White House between 1865 and 1900 have suffered neglect at the hands of historians and have generally been rated an undistinguished lot. They were, of course, overshadowed by the great changes taking place in the country's economy: the rush to the plains, the development of huge corporations, the torrent of immigrants filling squalid and mushrooming cities, the bitter labor strife, and the recovery from the Civil War. The presidency of Rutherford B. Hayes falls into this category, and although he has not lacked biographers, most texts treat him as a well meaning, if ineffectual president, who was elected as a result of the disputed election with Tilden. His "Fraudulency" or "Rutherfraud," as he is often called by those seeking to enliven textbooks, is known for little but the election, the ending of reconstruction, and perhaps the fight with the imperious boss of New York, Roscoe Conkling, over spoils.

T. Harry Williams is to be commended for bringing forth a fresh edition of Hayes' Diary covering the years 1875-1881. Much of the Diary appeared in an earlier collection edited by Charles R. Williams about 40 years ago. The newer edition is a distinct improvement because although certain deletions have been made in the period March 1875-March 1877, Professor T. H. Williams has chosen to reproduce the Diary entries covering the presidential years in "virtually facsimile form." The older edition contained added punctuation, changed spellings, and unmarked deletions. In the new edition the editor has provided interesting explanatory notes, a lucid and serviceable introduction, a chronology of the events in Hayes' life, and a glossary of the era's leading political figures. This reviewer would have liked the latter section expanded.

The Diary itself clearly indicates Hayes' point of view on many public issues. It is replete with details of the close family relationship which existed within the Hayes household, and of the active social life maintained in the White House. This revelation belies the usual characterization: that of an antiseptic era dominated by teetotaling "Lemonade" Lucy Hayes. Despite the fact that alcohol was not served, the atmosphere was very pleasant, as the Hayeses liked to entertain. There are many observations about such activities, and about the health of the Hayes family; the president seemed mildly concerned about the weight both he and his wife were adding.

One wishes that Hayes made more penetrating observations on the work of his cabinet and other political advisors, but he generally

remains silent on such topics, as he does on the campaign of 1880. In trenchant remarks, he reiterates time and again his desire for civil service reform, and his interest in redeeming the government from the hands of the spoilsmen. The clearest thing to emerge from these pages is the fact that Hayes was an ardent nationalist. He favored a strong and militant foreign policy stressing expansionism; federal action to break strikes (he heartily disliked unions); federal aid for schools and internal improvements; support for the freedmen in the south on moral and humanitarian grounds; and he championed the exercise of power by the executive branch of government. To implement the latter, he insisted on overriding senatorial courtesy, and he vetoed appropriation bills encumbered by unrelated riders. It is in this endeavor, that Hayes has been most neglected by historians. By successfully restoring power to the executive, after it had been eroded by ambitious congressmen during the presidencies of Johnson and Grant, Hayes left an important legacy to the American people.

On the whole the diary is well written, reasonably interesting, and portrays its author as a man possessing humaneness, ideas, and determination; but since it mirrors the thoughts and activities of a somewhat colorless man, it is not particularly absorbing reading.

MARVIN W. KRANZ

*Georgetown University*

*The Mind of the Old South.* By CLEMENT EATON. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964. xiii, 260. \$6.

This useful volume, by a professor of American history at the University of Kentucky, is comprised of twelve well-pondered chapters. Three of these approach their subject from a topical, the remainder from an individual, point of view. Chapter VI discusses the Southern yeoman as portrayed by the humorists, while Chapter IX treats "the religious experience" and the concluding Chapter XII enlarges on "the dynamics of the Southern mind." Chapters on individual exemplars consider John H. Cocke of Virginia as personifying "the liberal mind"; James H. Hammond of South Carolina as the conservative; Maunsel White of New Orleans as the commercial type; Henry A. Wise of Virginia as a progressive; H. R. Helper of North Carolina as spokesman for the non-slaveholder; Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky as the radical; William B. Rogers of Virginia and Joseph Le Conte of Georgia as scientists; W.

Gilmore Simms of South Carolina as romantic novelist; and William L. Yancey of Alabama as "the voice of emotion." Throughout one encounters helpful perceptions and seminal generalizations from an author well known for his previous writings in the same field.

There are good likenesses of nine of the individuals discussed. The index, while adequate, is insufficiently detailed. For a volume of interest mainly to an academic audience, moreover, it is a dis-service to employ, instead of footnotes, that unsatisfactory alternative, "A Note on Sources," at the rear. The presence of this device doubtless accounts for the recurrence of such textual stumbling blocks as, "In the Alexander Beaufort Meek Papers there is a letter . . .," or, ". . . there is some evidence, presented by Professor Austin Venable in the *Journal of Southern History* . . .," etc. Historians labor under enough handicaps to smooth writing to be burdened with such snags to their narrative flow.

The following minor animadversions seem in order. Page 31: William Brown Hodgson might be more meaningfully cited as philologist and diplomat than as "a Georgia rice planter." Page 72: Governor Henry A. Wise's opinion of John Brown as sane is flatly contradicted by the testimony of his son, John S. Wise, to Brown's biographer (and editor of the *New York Evening Post*), Oswald Garrison Villard, in a letter of December 2nd, 1908, now in the Wise Family Papers at Charlottesville, Virginia. Page 74: H. A. Wise did not "end his military service . . . as he began—a brigadier general," but was promoted to two stars by Lee on April 6th, 1865 (see John S. Wise, *The End of an Era* [1902], p. 432). Page 179: it was not Benny Fleet of "Green Mount" but his father, Benjamin Fleet, M. D., who read Dr. Caruthers' *The Knights of the Horse-Shoe* (1845), and the book publication of that romance was not 1847 (p. 187). Page 197: Simms' alleged letter to General Beauregard of June 8th, 1861, was in fact addressed to their mutual friend, William Porcher Miles (see Simms' *Letters*, ed. Oliphant et al., IV, 364). Page 260: neither date nor title for Frank Ryan's dissertation on the *Southern Quarterly Review* are provided.

There are fruitful reflections in this book. Perhaps the most significant is its author's confession that, after terminating his researches, he "concluded (very reluctantly) that the history of the South in the thirty years preceding the Civil War, instead of being the exciting drama of the great man or great men creating masterful ideas and the masses docilely following their lead, was largely a story of its representative men themselves being bent and warped by powerful economic and social forces" (pp. 238-39).

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

Baltimore, Maryland

*The Negro in North Carolina: 1876-1894.* By FRENISE A. LOGAN.  
Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964. ix,  
244. \$6.

Broad in coverage, reliable and even-toned, this study does for the postwar North Carolina Negro what Vernon L. Wharton and George B. Tindall have done for his counterpart in Mississippi and South Carolina. Like its predecessors, Logan's book demonstrates that the resumption of white "home rule," occurring in 1876 in North Carolina, did not bring about a swift and sudden subordination of the Negro. During the next two decades 67 Negroes sat in the state legislature, although as Republicans they wielded little influence. Some federal patronage came to Negroes, including a postmastership here and there. Laws designed to curb Negro voting and officeholding often ran afoul of the state Supreme Court.

It was in the world of work that the deteriorating fortunes of the Negro became more evident. The Negro professional and business class, and the contingent of colored owners of large farms in eastern North Carolina, was so small as to seem singular. Negro agricultural hands received lower wages than whites, and were more likely to be victimized by the tenancy laws, which operated in favor of the landlords. In domestic service and in industry there was likewise a wage differential based on color. Of the Negro's efforts in economic life, the one which proved of the greatest benefit was the holding of fairs, local and statewide. In seeking higher education, Negroes conducted boot-strap operations. Their seven privately supported colleges sought to prepare a trained ministry, reflecting the pervasive influence of the church. Overarching everything was the social relationship between the Negroes and the whites, a relationship that was generally less restrictive than elsewhere in the South, but in which anything that smacked of social equality was taboo. Professor Logan's volume provides a careful and discerning diagnosis of the state and regional attitudes that emerged out of the Reconstruction Period, and whose fruits are still evident.

BENJAMIN QUARLES

*Morgan State College*

*Abel Parker Upshur, Conservative Virginian, 1790-1844.* By CLAUDE H. HALL. Madison, Wisc.; The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963. v, 271. \$5.50.

Abel Upshur's historical reputation rests on two thin supports: brief mention as a state rights polemicist, and his misfortune in standing too close to the "Peacemaker" when that celebrated gun exploded aboard the *Princeton* in 1844. Professor Claude H. Hall of Texas A. & M. University now offers us a man to replace the clichés.

Born on Virginia's Eastern Shore, son of a wealthy planter, Upshur overcame expulsion from Princeton College to make a name for himself in the law, first as a Richmond attorney, then as a judge in the state courts. He served in the legislature, occupying the "family seat" almost as a matter of course—a fact which makes one doubtful to say the least of the Suffrage Equals Democracy school of historical interpretation. During the struggles over the state constitution in 1829-30, and Nullification, Upshur added his mite in speeches and pamphlets consistently championing state rights and the sanctity of private property. As deftly summarized by Hall, much of Upshur's verbiage and philosophic underpinning stand revealed as servants of Property Retention as a way of life.

Upshur might defend the rural virtues, but the horizons of squire-judge left him unsatisfied. His chance to branch out came during the unexpected presidency of another conservative Virginian (were there any "radicals"?), John Tyler. As Secretary of the Navy in the Tyler cabinet, Upshur proposed sweeping reforms but had to settle for far less; and as Secretary of State for less than a year he steered the country on its already predetermined course, the absorption of Texas.

Hall set out to investigate Virginia's quick decline in political power following the heady days of the Virginia Dynasty. He finds that on the political front the state's leaders revered the past to such an extent that in the rush of events, which was 19th century America, they condemned themselves to compete running backwards. In that sense, Upshur was certainly representative of viewpoints which made a fetish of the historical outlook. Virginia never shook loose from the "true republican Principles of '98."

The book is well written and handsomely produced. I found few mistakes, but one howler, the description of Edward Everett as a "modest abolitionist" (p. 201), which is wrong on both counts. Also, charity demands that we allow the following comment to pass uncriticised: Upshur "died too early to prevent the drift toward Civil War." (p. 5) Research in Upshur items has been wide-ranging of necessity since there is no comprehensive collection of Upshur

MSS. But the reasonably well-informed reader in American history, to say nothing of the professional, will learn little new. More is the pity, since much remains unsaid about Virginia, 1826-1844. Hall offers little analysis of the state's politics and party structure in this period, except for a standard commentary on the constitutional convention. So important a Virginia political "failure" as William C. Rives receives but brief mention, as does the Conservative movement itself. The massive and revealing Rives MSS at the Library of Congress and other Virginia collections, though not bearing directly on Upshur, might have provided a "fatter" volume, physically and structurally.

FRANK OTTO GATELL

*University of Maryland*

*History of Higher Education in Pennsylvania.* By SAUL SACK. Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1963. 2 vols. xxii, 817. \$10.

The development of higher education in Pennsylvania reflects the social, political, and geographic conditions peculiar to that colony and state. Clearly the most striking of these conditions is pluralism—social, economic, religious, ethnic, and geographical pluralism. This condition always creates a problem for the historians, because it is often difficult to make further generalizations. Professor Sack has obviously been plagued with this as he has attempted this comprehensive history of the state's institutions of higher learning.

Nevertheless, the *History of Higher Education in Pennsylvania* faithfully records the varied and disparate efforts to establish colleges and universities in that commonwealth. The author begins with the denominational colleges and appropriately with those of that indomitable branch of the Presbyterian Scots—the Ulstermen. To be sure the Friends were there first, but it was not until after the middle of the nineteenth century that they got their excellent Haverford and Swarthmore underway. The Presbyterian, William Tennent, had a "log college in 1730's, Dickinson was founded as a Presbyterian college immediately following the Revolution, and in western Pennsylvania the Scotch Irish had a college in the 1790's.

Numerous religious groups multiplied the number of colleges during the nineteenth century. German Reformed, Lutherans, and Pietists were responsible for Franklin and Marshall, Gettysburg, Thiel, Juniata, Albright, and Elizabethtown, among others. The Methodists took over Dickinson and started several of their own. The Episcopalians, who have never been too successful with higher education in this country, made several attempts; but their only

clear legacy is Lehigh, and it lost its Episcopal identification before 1900. The Baptists, the Roman Catholics, the Moravians, the Jews, and the Swedenborgians contributed to the *mélange*.

Meanwhile, there was an ambiguous, but extremely important, secular effort in higher education. The University of Pennsylvania owed its existence to a number of influences, particularly to Benjamin Franklin and to William Smith, who wrote *A General Idea of the College of Mirania*. Its early history is extremely interesting because it prefigures some of the problems of private, secular, higher education in this country. For example, in 1779 the state legislature attempted to insure state control of the institution by vesting its government in the hands of a state controlled board of trustees, thereby probably abrogating the original charter. However, the case was never tested in court as was the Dartmouth college case in 1819.

All these matters, and others, are dealt with in the first volume. The second volume concentrates on special aspects of higher education—medical, legal, technical, and teacher education; and the higher education of women. The junior college movement is included, as is graduate education, and administration. The multiplicity of denominational colleges is equalled by the number of special aspects.

Any appraisal of this ambitious and comprehensive study must recognize that a vast amount of information has been collected in these two volumes. Also, the documentation is impressive. Anyone who is interested in the individual colleges, or in some special phase of higher education, in Pennsylvania will find here both information and sources. But these virtues constitute the chief weakness of the study; the author includes too much detail and he neglects interpretation. It may be true that the history of higher education in Pennsylvania makes little sense, but, if so, this much could be said.

The short, last chapter, entitled "Higher Education in Retrospect," contains a few generalizations. Some are not surprising, e. g. "Perhaps one of the most vital of administrative responsibilities has been that of securing the finances with which to sustain the program of education." Others are more interesting, e. g. "A phenomenon of higher education in Pennsylvania has been its relative lack of leaders of national stature." This is probably true not withstanding the activities of Benjamin Franklin, William Smith, and Martha Carey Thomas. But, why? The speculative historian might attribute this to the character of the population, to the organization of the intellectual life outside the colleges, or to the religious pluralism in Penn's colony.

JOHN WALTON

*The Johns Hopkins University*

*Royal Raiders: The Tories of the American Revolution.* By NORTH CALLAHAN. Indianapolis: The Bobbs Merrill Company, 1963. 288. \$5.

After having read Professor Callahan's excellent biographies of Henry Knox and Daniel Morgan, this reviewer picked up his *Tory Raiders* with enthusiasm because so little had been written on Tories as a whole since the works of Van Tyne and Sibert. The enthusiasm increased with the Foreword, in which the author outlined the comparative failure of American historians to present in adequate fashion the role of the Loyalist in the American Revolution. Callahan then promised that in this volume he was going "to present a coherent account of what the Tories did in the American Revolution, and why they did it. The pattern ranges from significant portions of background, through the war, and up to the peace treaty in 1783, as represented by exemplary act and attitude."

Unfortunately when the reviewer reached the main part of this book, his enthusiasm gradually dwindled. The promise of the Foreword has not been kept. This is a poorly organized account of Tory efforts. Beginning with the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge in February, 1776, the story then shifts to England and an account of the political situation centering on Lord North who carried out the orders of George III. This chapter presents nothing new to the student of this period and is conspicuous for its omissions: the conciliatory efforts of Lord Chatham, Edmund Burke, and the Howe Commission. Indeed throughout the book the author presents a weak picture of the political aspects of Toryism on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as of the economic, social, and religious aspects of loyalism.

Naturally Professor Callahan is at his best when dealing with the military battles in which the Tories were engaged, but in telling of these engagements, such as Oriskany, Bennington, and King's Mountain, he contributes little to the military histories that have been published since World War II. Also his vignettes of Tory leaders like Thomas Hutchinson, Joseph Galloway, and William Franklin, have been recounted better by earlier authors. By and large, this volume is poorly organized and seems to the reviewer to be primarily a series of episodes.

Students of Maryland history will be disappointed in this book for although the author states that there were large numbers of Tories in the state, he devotes only about two pages to their activities. Nor has he used some of the better known primary and secondary works on Maryland's Revolutionary history. And Maryland is not even mentioned in the index.

It might be suggested that the author place less reliance on masters' theses, college texts, and some of the poorer secondary accounts, especially since his bibliography contains such a good list of primary materials. Greater care should likewise have been given to the correctness of the documentation. Finally, Professor Callahan does not answer the question of why the Tories were not more successful. All in all, there still remains the task of bringing the story of this important group of Americans up to date. It is hoped that, with all the primary material available, someone will do so before the bicentenary of the American Revolution is celebrated.

O. T. BARCK, JR.

*Sacramento State College*

*The Western Journals of Dr. George Hunter, 1796-1805.* Edited by JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1963. (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, Vol. 53, Part 4). 133. \$3.

*The Autobiographical Ana of Robley Dunglison, M. D.* Edited by SAMUEL X. RADBILL, M. D. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1963. (*Ibid.*, Part 8). 212. \$5.

Forty-three years separated the birth of Dr. George Hunter in Edinburgh from that of Dr. Robley Dunglison in Cumberland, England; yet they began to practise at about the same time. Dunglison, at twenty-one, had studied at the University of Edinburgh, the Royal Infirmarys of Edinburgh and London, and the École de Médecine in Paris; he passed the examinations of the Royal College of Surgeons, the Society of Apothecaries in London, and the University of Erlangen, his "inaugural dissertation being 'De Neuralgia. . .'" Hunter, on the other hand, entered his profession of medicine by the back door.

In doing so he was part of an eminent throng. Dr. Ephraim McDowell, the father of abdominal surgery, and Dr. Walter Bra-shear, who performed the first hip-joint amputation, were among his American contemporaries who bore the title without the degree of Doctor of Medicine. George Hunter had been a druggist and a chemist, so probably he made a pretty good doctor. But he had spent many years as a coachmaker, too, and "he seems not to have mingled in the medical society of his time."

It is as a traveller and a diarist that he interests posterity. Hunter

went in 1796 "from Philad<sup>a</sup> to Kentuckey & the Illinois Country" and back again to Lexington in 1802; and in 1804, 1804-5, and 1809 into Louisiana, keeping his journals faithfully meanwhile. An acute observer, interested in all the people and places he saw, he mentioned so many of them that the journals, here published for the first time, are a mine of strictly unimportant but highly interesting information, to which the genealogists' attention may be particularly called. Whether on family business, as in Kentucky, or acting as Jefferson's Congressionally appointed commissioner to examine the new purchase of Louisiana, George Hunter was a good reporter.

Jefferson appears also as an employer of Dr. Robley Dunglison, whom he was instrumental in bringing from England to the Professorship of Medicine at the new University of Virginia. It was a happy selection. First there, then at the University of Maryland, and finally in Philadelphia at the Jefferson Medical College with which his name is associated chiefly, he was noted as a popular, thorough, and successful teacher. Readers of his *Autobiographical Ana*—the rather pedantic title is his, unsurprising in a man who bothered to document his reminiscences—will understand why. Doctor Dunglison was not primarily a practitioner and therefore not famous as one, but he had famous patients—Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Monroe. His views on these gentlemen and his comparisons are, in the light of our historical hindsight, very sound. This reader was particularly taken with his reaction to Jefferson the builder, who believed in "planning the architectural exterior first, and leaving the interior to shift for itself," felt that closets "interfered with the symmetry of the rooms and passages, and hence there were none," and, though admitting "the anamoly of having windows arranged as in modern habitations" in his classical temples, "farther than this it was difficult to induce him to go. . . ."

During his Philadelphia years, Doctor Dunglison served as vice-president of the American Philosophical Society, so it is pleasant to see this flourishing institution publishing his *Autobiographical Ana*, together with the *Journals* of Doctor Hunter, as new contributions to our understanding of the American past.

ELLEN HART SMITH

Owensboro, Kentucky

*Old Maryland Families.* By HENRIETTA E. BROMWELL. Originally published at Denver, Colorado, 1916; reprinted in Baltimore, by the Genealogical Publishing Co., 1962. 76. \$5.

The title page states that this is a collection of "charts compiled from public records, wills, family Bibles, tomb inscriptions, and other original sources." Much of the book is devoted to various members of the Bromwell family of Maryland, and other allied families, such as the Sherwoods, Abels, and Lowes. It is somewhat limited in scope, but seems well documented, references being given in the charts to wills, deeds, and parish registers, etc. If many of the family groups seem unrelated, making for a disjointed series of charts, at least the compiler did not assume family relationships that were not definitely proven. Biographical data about the individual members of the family is also included. There is an index.

ROBERT W. BARNES

*Maryland Genealogical Society*

*Surname Index to Sixty-five Volumes of Colonial and Revolutionary Pedigrees.* By J. RODNEY CROWTHER, III. Washington, D. C.: the National Genealogical Society (Special Publications of the National Genealogical Society Number 27), 1964. 143. \$5 (to members \$4).

Mr. Crowther and the National Genealogical Society have performed a valuable service for genealogists and historians in unlocking the varied materials in such voluminous series as *Lawrence's Colonial Families of America*; *Colonial and Revolutionary Lineages of America*; and F. L. Weis' *Ancestral Roots of Sixty Colonists . . .* This 143-page booklet lists surnames, places of origin (if known), places of settlement in America, and a note if the arms of the family are included in the volume. The book is well arranged, clearly printed (by offset), and will be easy for any library patron to use.

JOHN D. KILBOURNE

*Maryland Historical Society*

*A Brethren Bibliography 1713-1963.* (In *Brethren Life and Thought*, Vol. 9, Nos. 1 and 2, Winter and Spring, 1964). By DONALD F. DURMBAUGH and LAWRENCE W. SCHULTZ. Elgin, Ill., the Brethren Press: 1964. 177. \$3.

Mr. Durnbaugh and associates have compiled a selective bibliography relating to "250 years of Brethren literature." The bibliography has been made selective by limiting it to publications by Brethren authors. It is unfortunate that the usefulness of the bibliography for historical scholars has been limited by the above decision, which eliminates inclusion of all historical studies by unknown Brethren authors. A more serious stricture may be the adoption of a chronological listing of the entries, obviously patterned on the methods of such bibliographers as Charles Evans, but including no topical, geographical or title index. One must therefore know an authors' name and/or the specific year of a publication in order to find a title in this bibliography. Inasmuch as many of the entries are pamphlets or other ephemeral material, this arrangement is doubly to be regretted.

It should also be mentioned that the bibliography applies only to those Brethren churches historically descended from the Schwarzenau Brethren. For this reason, no materials relating to, for example, the Ephrata (Pa.) Community, or the German Seventh Day Baptists can be found here. Nor have unpublished materials, such as dissertations and theses been listed. The editors express the hope that some of these omissions may be supplied in the future.

JOHN D. KILBOURNE

*Maryland Historical Society*

*My Travels in America.* By HENRI HERZ. Translated by HENRY BARTRAM HILL. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963. vii, 102. \$3.

This small volume contains an account of the trip which Henri Herz (1806-1888), a pianist and composer made to the United States between 1846 and 1851. Originally, Herz intended to visit all sections of the country. Because of a hand injury, he restricted his trip to a leisurely tour of the principal cities of eastern and southern United States. This account, then, deals only with his travels between Boston and Mobile.

On a concert tour, Herz' journal contains many interesting and amusing anecdotes about his travels. He tells us, for example,

about his life on board ship en route to the United States, notes on fishing for cod, his railroad trips, and other details. Naturally, his journal tells of events of importance to a musician such as the types of audiences he encountered as well as the reception these audiences gave him. Herz also describes the cities he visited. His account of Baltimore has previously appeared in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, so this section of his journal contains nothing new. Two comments will suffice, however. "Baltimore," he says, "has an atmosphere of wealth about it and it also appears to have the most beautiful women in the whole country." In addition, in Baltimore, he met an unusual club of spitters "a club which certainly was more curious than delicate."

The translation is well done. Herz was an extremely literate man who had a keen sense of observation. His journal is unique in that it contains a musician's account which certainly is a different type of occupation than that ordinarily represented by the commonplace type of traveler to the United States.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

*Maryland Hall of Records*

*The Salmon King of Oregon.* By GORDON B. DODDS. Sponsored by the American Association for State and Local History. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1959. x, 257. \$6.

This partial biography of the "Pygmy Monopolist," Robert Deniston Hume, provides a flash of insight for those who wonder what things may have been like for the pioneering industrialists of the late 19th and early 20th century. Mr. Dodds presents a situation wherein the raw material for the industry is a renewable natural resource (in this case salmon) that can be had for the taking. He shows the reader the problems involved in producing and marketing the final product and he shows how these problems were attacked and overcome by a business man operating in the manner of the monopolists of his time.

A certain amount of readability is lost for the casual reader by the author's almost over-authentication of details. It is evident that a great deal of painstaking research was undertaken by Dodds and there are occasions where the reader may get the impression that some of the finer details were inserted merely because they were obtained during the course of the research. However, the serious historian will appreciate the lavish footnotes, and the eight page bibliography.

*The Salmon King of Oregon* is not exactly light reading, nor is it really very heavy. Overall, it is quite well worth the extra effort required of the casual reader, and should be easy reading for one familiar with the background. It should be of particular interest to Marylanders who might wish to contrast the development of our oyster industry, characterized by many individual operators, with the development of a similar natural resource by monopolistic interests.

ROBERT J. RUBELMANN

*Water Pollution Control Commission,  
Annapolis, Maryland*

*The New Democracy in America: Travels of Francisco de Miranda in the United States, 1783-84.* Translated by JUDSON P. WOOD. Edited by JOHN S. EZELL. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963. xxxii, 217. \$4.95.

In 1783 and 1784, Francisco de Miranda, a Venezuelan patriot, visited the United States for the purpose of enlisting sympathy in his efforts to secure the independence of the Latin American countries. Arriving in the Carolinas in June, 1783, his travels took him through Pennsylvania and Delaware, New Jersey and New York, and New England. He left Boston for England in December 1784. During his journey, he seems not to have visited Maryland, nor did he have any Maryland interests.

For many years, Miranda's journal was available only in the Spanish language. Although there are several sources of biographical data about Miranda, the translator, Mr. Wood, felt that the journal ought to be made more available. Having been born in Venezuela, he was admirably suited as a translator. He and his editor have done their jobs well.

Although other travel accounts exist for the Confederation period, Miranda's is one of the better ones. He seems to have been a keen observer of the newly independent United States and its problems of 1783-84. In addition, he comments quite fully upon the scenes and events of the Revolutionary War. As few of these events occurred in Maryland, this fact probably accounts for his not visiting here. This volume is a most welcome addition to the University of Oklahoma's *The American Exploration and Travel Series*. It is, above all, a source which cannot be overlooked for a fuller understanding of the social, economic, and political changes which were then taking place, especially when these comments were made by an illustrious foreigner who made later such a significant contribution to Venezuela.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

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- An Historian and the Civil War.* By AVERY CRAVEN. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964. v, 233. \$5.95.
- The Zollie Tree.* By RAYMOND E. MYERS. Louisville, Ky.: The Filson Club Press, 1964. xiii, 200. \$6.
- William Matthews: Priest and Citizen.* By JOSEPH T. DURKIN, S. J. New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1964. xii, 162. \$4.95.
- Refugee Life in the Confederacy.* By MARY ELIZABETH MASSEY. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964. xii, 327. \$8.
- Virginia's Colonial Churches: An Architectural Guide.* By JAMES SCOTT RAWLINGS. Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1963. xi, 286. \$9.50.
- Vision: A Biography of Harry Friedenwald.* By ALEXANDRA LEE LEVIN. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1964. xviii, 469. \$5.
- Ebenezer Kinnersley: Franklin's Friend.* By J. A. LEO LEMAY. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964. 143. \$4.
- The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith.* By PHILIP L. BARBOUR. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964. xix, 553. \$7.50.
- Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Archivist of the Hall of Records, State of Maryland, for the Fiscal Year July 1, 1962 Through June 30, 1963.* Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1964. 48.
- The Tavern Lamps Are Burning: Literary Journeys Through Six Regions and Four Centuries of New York State.* Selected by CARL CARMER. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1964. xix, 567. \$10.
- Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment.* By WILLIE LEE ROSE. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1964. xviii, 442. \$6.50.
- As We Were: The Story of Old Elizabethtown.* By THEODORE THAYER. Newark, N. J.: The New Jersey Historical Society, 1964. x, 280. \$10.

- O Strange New World. American Culture: The Formative Years.*  
By HOWARD MUMFORD JONES. New York: The Viking Press,  
Inc., 1964. xiv, 464. \$8.50.
- Winterthur Portfolio: One.* Winterthur, Del., The Henry Francis  
du Pont Winterthur Museum, Inc., 1964. 255. \$9.50.
- Conestoga Wagon, 1750-1850: Freight Carrier For 100 Years of  
America's Westward Expansion.* By GEORGE SHUMWAY,  
EDWARD DURRELL, HOWARD C. FREY. York, Pa., Published  
jointly by Early American Industrial Association, Inc. and  
George Shumway, 1964. xi, 206. \$12.50.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

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### SEDENTARY COMBAT:

*"Their Strength is to Sit Still!"*

The overall dignity and beauty of Mt. Vernon Place is an inspiration to all Baltimoreans, and to many others who have seen it. It is one of the great sights of Baltimore.

I was born on Cathedral Street, and four generations of my family lived within two blocks of Mt. Vernon Place. I have the greatest admiration and affection for its beauty which has been so wisely preserved. There is, however, one minor aspect which seemed to me strange even as a small boy. This is exhibited in the Monument St. blocks of this great site.

Over this part of our beautiful public square there seems to hover a sedentary atmosphere which was perhaps more characteristic of Baltimore in the good old days (prior to 1895) than today. This influence is demonstrated by the fact that all the statues symbolic of combat and aggressiveness which date from that era are **SITTING DOWN**. Any suggestion of activity is completely lacking in their design.

Let us start with one of my earliest recollections, Barye's Lion—a fine statue. Most lions on a coat of arms are depicted as rampant. At other times lions are often shown crouching for a spring, occasionally couchant. This unusual lion, however, has succumbed to the sedentary spirit of Old Baltimore and is presented peacefully *sitting down*.

At the other end of this part of the square is Dubois's statue of "Military Courage." Here surely we shall encounter the courage of offensive action. "L'attaque, toujours l'attaque"! What do we find?

Mr. Military Courage is comfortably *seated*. Except for his helmet, he wears no armor. His sole weapon is his sword—held *point down* in the ground, which position is sometimes considered an indication of surrender. From the whole relaxed attitude of this warrior one might conclude that his motto was: "I have not yet begun to fight (and I don't think I will)"!!

Let us now turn to the smaller statue with a completely martial title, namely, "War." The war-like figures making up this smaller group start with a horse *lying on the ground*. The principal figure

is a man, *sitting* on the prostrate horse. In front is a small naked boy—the only one in all of the statuary here described who is taking any action. He is blowing on a trumpet.

Balancing this statuary on the Northeast corner, is another small group. This one is entitled "Peace." Strange to say, except for the label, it is hard to tell these two supposedly contrasting groups apart. The principal difference is that in the "War" group the relaxed man is sitting on a prostrate horse; whereas in the "Peace" group, the man is seated on a prostrate cow—but both are true to this mysterious sedentary influence.

Not wishing to pursue my discussion of this basic influence from those earlier days too far, I now draw brief attention to the groups entitled "Force" and "Order" respectively. The central figures are *seated* in both groups. The labels would be equally appropriate (or inappropriate) if reversed. No part of either strikes one as forceful.

These statues, which I remember so vividly from my early boyhood, are all prominent on Mt. Vernon Place. I remember some other *sessile* statues remaining in Mt. Vernon Place from those days, but which are not pertinent to this discussion—namely, Chief Justice Taney and Mr. Peabody—because in 1895 I used to climb up and sit in their laps.

In connection with the present historical research, there might be cited against me the very fine equestrian statues of John Eager Howard and of Lafayette. These latter, however, are representative of the spirit of modern Baltimore. They bring out the contrast between the old spirit and the new. They were not erected by the Old Baltimoreans prior to 1895, and might well have seemed out of character in the earlier times.

Those were the Good Old Days.

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*West Indian Source Material*—Mr. K. E. Ingram, Deputy Librarian of the University of the West Indies is currently engaged in locating manuscripts relating to the West Indies in private and institutional ownership in the United States. It is proposed to include a note of these manuscripts in a guide to West Indian source material in overseas libraries. He would be grateful if owners of any such manuscripts would inform him of them, writing to him at

The Library, The University of the West Indies  
Mona, Kingston 7, Jamaica.

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*Institute of Early American History and Culture*—will hold its annual regional Conference in April, 1965, at Georgetown University. For further information, contact

Dr. Richard Walsh, History Department  
Georgetown University, Washington 7, D. C.

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*Maxfield*—Wanted: Any information about Uriah Maxfield, born 1815, Hagerstown, Md., m. 1837 in Baltimore, Leah Scarborough Bonwell; d. 1868 Arkansas. Especially want names of his parents.

Mrs. Harry W. Maxfield  
5903 Perrier St., New Orleans, La. 70115

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*Ford*—I am searching for genealogical information on the descendants of Joshua Ford, and would appreciate any information thereon.

Mark B. Ford  
7931—47th St., N., Pinellas Park, Fla. 33565

## CONTRIBUTORS

THOMAS T. HELDE was a member of the history faculties of Carnegie Tech and Cornell. He is at present associate professor of history at Georgetown University. His major interests are in the fields of German history and the philosophy of history.

FRANK OTTO GATELL is associate professor of history at the University of Maryland and is currently a visiting professor of history at Stanford University. He is author of several articles and reviews in historical journals. A student of early nineteenth century American politics, his book, *John Gorham Palfrey and the New England Conscience* was published in 1963 by the Harvard University Press.

CARL P. LEWIS is a Doctoral candidate in American history and an instructor in the University College at the University of Maryland. His dissertation is a biography of Reverdy Johnson.

WILLIAM S. OSBORNE is chairman of the English Department of Southern Connecticut College. He edited the recent edition of Kennedy's *Swallow Barn* (1962) for the Hafner Library of Classics.

ALLAN C. ASHCRAFT is assistant professor of history at Texas A&M University.

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Cover: This cover is taken from sheet music of 1854. "The Star-Spangled Banner Home of The Free" by Henry Clay Preuss and Stewart Macaulay is one of several hymns of praise to the country's ensign. It is significant that this patriotic fervor was effused by an Irishman and a German—probably new immigrants of 1848. This piece was written for Kunkel's Nightingale Opera Troupe and the lithograph was by Hoen and Company, Baltimore. The publisher was Henry McCaffrey, of 189 Baltimore Street, Washington, D. C.

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# PUBLICATIONS



## *Studies in Maryland History*

- His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland.  
By Donnell M. Owings. 1953 . . . . . \$ 6.00  
Baltimore as Seen by Visitors, 1783-1860. By Raphael Semmes.  
Illustrated. 1953 . . . . . \$ 4.00  
William Buckland, 1733-1774. By Rosamond R. Beirne and John  
H. Scarff. 1958 . . . . . \$ 7.50

## *Texts and References for School Use*

- My Maryland. By Kaessmann, Manakee and Wheeler. History of  
Maryland, revised edition. 1955 . . . . . \$ 3.15  
The Star Spangled Banner. Illustrated Booklet. Description of the  
writing of our national anthem by Francis Scott Key . . . . . \$ .50  
Indians of Early Maryland. By Harold R. Manakee. 1959 . . . \$ 1.80  
Maryland in the Civil War. By Harold R. Manakee. 1961 . . . \$ 4.50  
Early Explorations of the Chesapeake Bay. By Gilbert Byron. 1960 \$ 1.00  
Wheeler Leaflets on Maryland History. (25 titles) . . . each \$ .10

## *Miscellaneous*

- The Maryland Press, 1777-1790. By Joseph T. Wheeler. 1938 . . \$ 4.00  
Calendar of Otho Holland Williams Papers. By Elizabeth Merritt  
(mimeographed, paper covers). 1940 . . . . . \$ 2.75  
History of Queen Anne's County. By Frederic Emory. 1950 . . . \$ 7.50  
Descendants of Richard and Elizabeth (Ewen) Talbot of West  
River. Ida M. Shirk, comp. 1927 . . . . . \$15.00  
Semmes and Kindred Families. By Harry Wright Newman. 1956 \$10.00  
The Hollyday and Related Families of the Eastern Shore of Mary-  
land. By James Bordley, Jr., M.D. 1962 . . . . . \$10.00  
The Regimental Colors of the 175th Infantry (Fifth Maryland).  
By H. R. Manakee and Col. Roger S. Whiteford. 1959 . . . . \$ 2.00

## *World War II*

- Maryland in World War II: Vol. I, Military Participation, 1950;  
Vol. II, Industry and Agriculture, 1951; Vol. III, Home Front  
Volunteer Services, 1958; Vol. IV, Gold Star Honor Roll, 1956.  
H. R. Manakee, comp. . . . . each \$ 3.25  
History of the 110th Field Artillery, with Sketches of Related  
Units. By Col. John P. Cooper, Jr. Illustrated. 1953 . . . . \$ 5.00

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President Theodore Roosevelt announced the appointment of W. Hall Harris as Postmaster of Baltimore to succeed S. Davies Warfield.—*Dec. 26.*

A bronze bust of Rear Admiral Winfield Scott Schley was placed in the rotunda of the Maryland State House in Annapolis.—*Dec. 28.*

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