

---

---

# MARYLAND

## HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

---

---

*Ideology* and Political Parties in  
Maryland, 1851-1856

**Douglas Bowers**

---

Southern Baptists and Education,  
1865-1900

**W. Harrison Daniel**

---

Maryland's Reaction to Early's Raid  
in 1864

**Richard R. Duncan**



**Vol. 64 No. 3**

**Fall, 1969**

A QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

## GOVERNING COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY

COLONEL WILLIAM BAXTER, *President*

HON. FREDERICK W. BRUNE, *Past President*

CHARLES P. CRANE, *Membership*

DR. RHODA M. DORSEY, *Publications*

C. A. PORTER HOPKINS, *Vice President*

SAMUEL HOPKINS, *Treasurer*

EDWARD G. HOWARD, *Recording Secretary*

BRYDEN B. HYDE, *Vice President*

FRANCIS H. JENCKS, *Gallery*

CHARLES L. MARBURG, *Athenaeum*

WILLIAM B. MARYE, *Secretary Emeritus*

ROBERT G. MERRICK, *Finance*

J. GILMAN D'ARCY PAUL, *Vice President*

A. L. PENNIMAN, JR., *Athenaeum*

THOMAS G. PULLEN, JR., *Education*

HON. GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, *Chairman of the Council*

RICHARD H. RANDALL, SR., *Maritime*

A. RUSSELL SLAGLE, *Corresponding Secretary*

MRS. W. WALLACE SYMINGTON, JR., *Women's*

DR. HUNTINGTON WILLIAMS, *Library*

---

HAROLD R. MANAKEE, *Director*

MSA SC 5881-1-255

---

---

**MARYLAND**  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

---

---

---

BOARD OF EDITORS

---

DR. RHODA M. DORSEY, *Chairman*

DR. JACK P. GREENE

DR. AUBREY C. LAND

DR. BENJAMIN QUARLES

DR. MORRIS L. RADOFF

MR. A. RUSSELL SLAGLE

DR. RICHARD WALSH

# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. 64, No. 3      FALL, 1969

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
Ideology and Political Parties in Maryland, 1851-1856	
<i>Douglas Bowers</i>	197
Southern Baptists and Education, 1865-1900: A Case Study	
<i>W. Harrison Daniel</i>	218
Maryland's Reaction to Early's Raid in 1864: A Summer of Bitterness	
<i>Richard R. Duncan</i>	248
Sidelights	280
A Report From Baltimore	
<i>Edited by Donald W. Curl</i>	
The Original Land Grants of Howard County, Maryland	
<i>Caleb Dorsey</i>	
Bibliographical Notes	
<i>Edited by Edward G. Howard</i>	295
McHenry Howard's Annotations by <i>Bernard de Bruyn</i>	
Notes on the Maryland Historical Society	
Manuscript Collections	297
<i>Bayly Ellen Marks</i>	
Genealogical Collections	300
<i>Mary K. Meyer, Genealogical Librarian</i>	
Reviews of Recent Books	302
Butterfield, et al., ed., <i>Diary of Charles Francis Adams</i> , by Harold Schwartz.	
Lefler, <i>A New Voyage to Carolina</i> by <i>John Lawson</i> , by <i>Richard         Walsh</i> .	
Castel, <i>General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West</i> , by Ludwell H. Johnson.	
Phillips, <i>The Slave Economy of the Old South: Selected Essays         in Economic and Social History</i> , by <i>Roger H. Brown</i> .	
Dehler, <i>The Thomas-Jencks-Gladding House</i> , by <i>Ian C.         MacCallum</i> .	
Curry, <i>Blueprint for Modern America: Nonmilitary Legislation         of the First Civil War Congress</i> , by <i>F. N. Boney</i> .	
Chadwin, <i>The Hawks of World War II</i> , by <i>Leon Boothe</i> .	
Flexner, <i>George Washington in the American Revolution</i> , by David Curtis Skaggs.	
Rosenberger, <i>Records of the Columbia Historical Society of         Washington, D.C., 1963-1965</i> , by <i>P. W. Filby</i> .	
Notes and Queries	319

---

*Annual Subscription to the Magazine, \$5.00. Each issue \$1.25. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.*

Richard R. Duncan, Editor

Published quarterly by the Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, Md. Second-Class postage paid at Baltimore, Md.

## CONTRIBUTORS

DOUGLAS BOWERS is currently a graduate student on a Ford fellowship at the University of Chicago. "Ideology and Political Parties in Maryland, 1851-1856" was the outgrowth of an honor's thesis done at the University of Maryland under the direction of Professor George Callcott.

DONALD W. CURL is an Associate Professor and Chairman of the History Department at Florida Atlantic University. Professor Curl has published articles in *Ohio History* and the *Bulletin of the Cincinnati Historical Society*. His article, "Murat Halstead," was recently published in *For the Union: Ohio Leaders in the Civil War* by the Ohio State University Press. He is currently working on a book-length study of Halstead for publication.

W. HARRISON DANIEL is Professor of history at the University of Richmond. He has published numerous articles on religious history in such journals as the *Journal of Southern History*, *Civil War History*, and the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*. Professor Daniel was recently awarded the James Henley Thornwell Award by the Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches for his article, "Southern Presbyterians in the Confederacy," which appeared in the summer, 1967 issue of the *North Carolina Historical Review*. He is also a frequent reviewer for this *Magazine*.

CALEB DORSEY is a member of the Maryland Historical Society and is a student of Maryland genealogy and history. He has contributed several articles to the *Magazine*. His article, "Original Land Grants of the South Side of Severn River," appeared in the December, 1958 issue of the *Magazine*.

# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

*A Quarterly*

---

---

Volume 64

FALL, 1969

Number 3

---

---

## IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL PARTIES IN MARYLAND, 1851-1856

By DOUGLAS BOWERS

ACCEPTANCE of the new Maryland Constitution in June, 1851 marked two important changes in Maryland state politics which, for over ten years, had been a stable political system of two parties with somewhat different ideologies. In the first place, the fact that the Constitution passed with over 60 per cent of the vote showed that two decades of struggle between reform-minded Democrats and conservative Whigs had come to an end. This at once vindicated and strengthened the Democrats, who were on the winning side, and created an issue-vacuum which could not be readily filled by anything else. Second and more important, the new Constitution subtly changed the political environment in a way detrimental to party politics. By substantially reducing the number of appointments controlled by the governor, the Constitution undercut a party's ability to reward its workers with lucrative jobs. At the same time, by making many of those positions elective—including judgeships, registers of wills, and court clerks—it put on

the ballot offices which many people felt should be above party politics. The Constitution also gave more power to western Maryland and Baltimore City, and these areas, less conservative than the east and south, were more prone to emotional crusades which had little respect for party lines.

The first elections after adoption of the Constitution, in November, 1851, reflected the new political environment. In all parts of the state, men expressed dissatisfaction with routine party politics. Since the Constitutional issue had been settled, neither the Whig nor Democratic parties could find any important state issues worth fighting over, and neither presented a platform. With issues effectively removed, the contest between parties appeared more openly as a mere struggle for power not related to principles or the abilities of particular candidates. This was even more upsetting because ideally non-partisan officers like judgeships were on the ballot for the first time, and exposing these to partisan struggle lowered the esteem of office. Furthermore, many people were becoming disgusted with party conventions which, in the words of the *Baltimore Clipper* (independent), "control the votes of the masses, and . . . force upon them by means of party discipline men totally unqualified."<sup>1</sup> The next legislature, the first to enforce the provisions of the new Constitution, could not be left in the hands of petty politicians.

Dissatisfaction with the party system expressed itself in a movement for non-partisan government. Local "union" or independent groups appeared, seeking to get the "best" men for office regardless of party affiliation. Lacking any state-level organization, these union and independent groups concentrated on the newly elective local offices but sometimes ran candidates for the legislature or Congress as well. Despite the local emphasis, the movement affected almost every county in the state and both parties, although the Whigs were generally harder hit. In Allegany County, for example, the Whigs did not nominate for local or legislative offices, but instead threw their support to independent candidates.<sup>2</sup> In Dorchester County independents nominated a local and delegate slate composed of men from both parties.<sup>3</sup> In Baltimore City a

<sup>1</sup> *Baltimore Clipper*, Sept. 17, 1851.

<sup>2</sup> *Cumberland Miners Journal*, Oct. 17, 1851.

<sup>3</sup> *Baltimore Weekly Sun*, August 30, 1851.



union convention, paying particular attention to judgeships, chose a local ticket both from nominations already made by the regular parties and from men not running on any other ticket.<sup>4</sup> And in Prince Georges County the independent surge reached the Congressional level when a prominent Whig from that county, T. F. Bowie, broke away from his party and ran for Congress as an independent Whig after the convention selected another Bowie who lived in Montgomery County.<sup>5</sup>

The new independent movement, however, did not sweep all before it. Local politicians, as in Queen Anne's County, often ignored popular sentiment and nominated their candidates for posts at all levels, including previously appointive county offices.<sup>6</sup> Regular party newspapers—and most newspapers belonged to this type—responded vigorously to what they saw as a challenge to their status and well-being. Surprised and alarmed at a split in the Democratic party, the *Frederick Republican Citizen* (Democrat) set out to discredit the local union ticket. "Will *principle loving* Democrats suffer themselves to be deluded by the honied words and hollow-hearted professions of these ungrateful, revengeful, vindictive, and disappointed *rule or ruin would be-leaders?* May God . . . forever preserve *the people* from the guidance and direction of such men.<sup>7</sup> The more restrained *Baltimore Republican* (Democrat) tried to win over independents by justifying party organizations. "When we elect a man who is attached to a particular organization," the *Republican* explained, "we know the general current of his opinions. . . . But when . . . we send a delegate without information as to his policy, and without the power of influencing his conduct, we make deposit of a larger trust than we should bestow."<sup>8</sup>

At the polls on November 5, 1851 the regular organizations generally held insurgents in check. Helped by the additional seats given to Baltimore and western counties, the Democrats won about 43 of the 74 House of Delegates seats and half of the Senate, whereas union and independent candidates elected only six or seven members to the legislature, and only one

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 20, 1851.

<sup>5</sup> *Marlboro Gazette*, Sept. 5, 1851; Letter to the Editor, *Baltimore Weekly Sun*, Aug. 2, Aug. 23, 1851.

<sup>6</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, August 5, 1851.

<sup>7</sup> *Republican Citizen*, Sept. 12, 1851.

<sup>8</sup> *Baltimore Republican*, Oct. 10, 1851.

Congressman out of six. On the local level union candidates won a number of elections, but even in races for newly elective offices the old parties usually carried the day. A measure of union strength might be taken by an analysis of Baltimore City returns. In a vote of 19,000, union candidates for local office received only a little over 2,000 on the average and independents did much more poorly. In cases where the union ticket endorsed a regular nominee, that person received a thousand or so more votes than average for his party.<sup>9</sup>

The independent movement thus had only a negligible direct effect on the outcome of elections, but the damage done to party loyalty was profound. Candidates who had deserted their old parties found it hard to return. Voters who had prided themselves on their party principles had taken a fateful step away from their old associations. A new class of independent voters had been created and, though still small, it expressed growing dissatisfaction with the current state of politics. Officially there remained two parties, but no longer were they quite so strong.

In the General Assembly, which met for two sessions beginning January of 1852 and 1853, the trend towards a weakening of the party system continued. The two parties no longer had any real differences on state issues to debate in the legislature, and so virtually every important bill introduced was non-partisan in nature, reflecting views of individual members and regions more than parties. For example, a bill to reduce the direct property tax from 25 cents per \$100 to 15 cents finally passed in 1853 after much non-partisan haggling. A crucial House amendment setting the tax at 15 cents rather than a more daring 12½ cents passed 30 to 29, with 17 Whigs and 13 Democrats supporting and 8 Whigs and 21 Democrats—from industrial areas which hoped for a tax cut more favorable to business—opposing.<sup>10</sup> Voting on other important measures like the ten hour labor day, House of Refuge, Insane Asylum, and small currency bills similarly reflected little party difference. Partisan clashes, when they came, occurred not over issues but over appointments to office, and the Democrats, having control of both the legislature and governor's office, usually won.

<sup>9</sup> *Baltimore Weekly Sun*, Nov. 8, 1851; *Baltimore American*, Nov. 11, 1851.

<sup>10</sup> *Journal of the House of Delegates, 1853*, May 4, 1853, pp. 680-681.

Thus by 1853, ideology, or the lack of it, had sapped the strength of Maryland's two-party system and left it vulnerable to attack. The absence of important issues to debate exposed both the Whig and Democratic parties as mere machines for electing candidates and, while this was the proper function of parties from the politician's view, many voters desired their political organizations to express principles. Principles alone would not be enough to topple either political party—external events were to be more important in that respect—but they could affect the speed with which a party disintegrated, and they could channel the course of new parties. Consequently, when two emotional issues which did not fit into the old party system suddenly appeared, they had the potential to force profound changes in Maryland politics. These were the issues of aid to religious schools and temperance, and with them the political balance which Maryland had known for half a generation was put on the way out.

The controversy over education had its roots deep in the Protestant American distrust of Catholicism. To people living in a country with a strong tradition of individualism and religious freedom, Catholicism's elaborate rituals, strict hierarchy, and associations with intolerance and tyranny in Europe seemed to threaten the very American way of life. In the 1840's Baltimore and other parts of Maryland had harbored a nativist movement aimed largely at Catholic Irish and German immigrants. The number of such foreigners, instead of decreasing, grew rapidly during the early 1850's and the size and importance of the Catholic Church grew in population. By 1850, Maryland Catholics already had church property valued at over one-fourth the total Maryland church property.<sup>11</sup> Between 1850 and 1854 the number of Catholic bishops in the United States increased from 27 to 39, the number of priests from 1,081 to 1,574, and the number of churches from 1,073 to 1,712.<sup>12</sup> In Baltimore, where Irish and Germans arrived in huge numbers, the hierarchy created its second American archbishopric in 1851 under Francis Patrick Kenrick. With such a seeming flood of Catholics, Protestant Marylanders regarded the future with some apprehension.

<sup>11</sup> J. D. B. DeBow, *Statistical View of the United States Census: A Compendium of the Seventh Census* (Washington, 1854), p. 135.

<sup>12</sup> "Summary of Catholicity in the United States," *Metropolitan*, I (January, 1854), p. 668.

While Protestants worried, Catholics became more confident. Feeling safety in numbers, many Catholic leaders began to push for benefits they thought the Catholic Church deserved. One of the most notable movements of this type was the effort, sponsored by New York Archbishop John Hughes, to get state and local tax funds for Catholic schools on the same basis that they went to public schools. With Hughes' support, Catholic papers and Catholic legislators all over the country set about to reform the educational system in their favor.<sup>13</sup> The movement spread to Maryland, and soon Archbishop Kenrick's official weekly, the *Catholic Mirror*, joined the fight with an attack on the public school system as immoral and atheistic because it failed to provide formal religious instruction. In 1852 the controversy reached the legislature when Martin J. Kerney of Baltimore, Catholic editor of the *Metropolitan* and chairman of the House Committee on Education, introduced an educational reform bill which, among other things, required school commissioners to appropriate funds for free religious



Reverdy Johnson. 1796-1876. Engraving from a Daguerreotype.  
*Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection.*

<sup>13</sup> R. A. Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860* (Gloucester, Mass., 1938), pp. 289-295.

schools proportionately equal to funds provided for public schools of the same grades.

Coming as an unpleasant surprise to the secular press, Kerney's education bill aroused quick opposition in Baltimore. Although the public school system was localized, unequal, inefficient, and almost non-existent in some counties, and although the Kerney bill contained sections which offered constructive reforms, the mixing of a religious issue with education brought forth a glorification of the *status quo* from former advocates of reform. For example, the *Baltimore Clipper*, which a month before Kerney reported his bill had deplored the widespread ignorance in Baltimore and suggested that the legislature take constructive action, now rushed to the defense of the public schools. The Kerney bill, the *Clipper* found, might "destroy the whole school system of the State" by allowing so much in state funds to go to atheists, Mormons, and other radical groups that the people would repudiate the school system in disgust. If a parent wished to send his child to a private school, said the *Clipper*, that was his business and not the state's.<sup>14</sup> The *Baltimore Sun* (Democrat) complained that taxes would have to be raised to cover the extra burden imposed by the bill and asserted that Kerney's proposal carried with it the implication that Baltimore could not be trusted with its own business. "It has always been a prolific source of complaint that the counties have interfered in matters which concerned the local interests of Baltimore, and Mr. Kerney's project seems to encourage this interference."<sup>15</sup> As yet, these arguments were not explicitly anti-Catholic—the Catholic Church itself was not named—but a strong undercurrent of anti-Catholicism lay just beneath the surface of many editorials.

Excitement over the Kerney bill did not reach far beyond Baltimore in 1852, but opposition was strong enough to convince Kerney that his bill could not pass. Near the end of the 1852 session he laid it on the table himself, without a vote. In 1853 Kerney introduced another education bill, but this time used a milder approach. The bill only permitted, instead of required, school commissioners to pay religious schools, and the amount was left to their discretion. In his report, Kerney tried to underplay controversy by praising the public school system

<sup>14</sup> *Baltimore Clipper*, April 26, 1852.

<sup>15</sup> *Baltimore Weekly Sun*, May 1, 1852.

and suggesting that its problems could be reduced by a uniform system like he proposed. But he also upheld the right of parents to send their children to religious schools if they felt they must obey "higher obligations," and he defended church schools as of benefit to the whole state.<sup>16</sup> The *Catholic Mirror* and the *Metropolitan* magazine supported Kerney's efforts. "[Catholics] claim no privileges," the *Metropolitan* argued, "they only want to be justly dealt with. What could be more just than to grant them that portion of the school fund which they supply!"<sup>17</sup>

The response to Kerney's second education bill was even more hostile than to the first. At mass meetings Protestant ministers denounced the bill as an attempt by a foreign priesthood to impose its will on America. The Baltimore City Council appointed a special committee to lobby against the bill in Annapolis and delivered a withering rebuke to Archbishop Kenrick who had petitioned the Council.<sup>18</sup> The *Clipper*, for the first time in this struggle, attacked the Church directly. "All the power and influence of the Catholic Church," said the *Clipper*, "is now concentrated on this scheme, because they know well that it is the only mode by which they can retain that power and influence."<sup>19</sup> This time Baltimore was joined by several county papers in protesting the education bill. One of them, the *Frederick Examiner* (Whig) charged Kerney's report with being "an insidious repetition of the attempt to interfere with and impair the practical utility of the Common Schools. . . . The people of Maryland will never consent to incorporate any species of sectarianism in the Primary School System."<sup>20</sup>

With opposition this strong, Kerney didn't have a chance. Other members of his Committee on Education who had signed the report quickly excused themselves and claimed they never really intended to vote for the bill.<sup>21</sup> Any other support that Kerney might have had in the legislature disappeared, and attempts to save even the non-controversial sections failed. The

<sup>16</sup> *Baltimore Clipper*, March 26, 1853.

<sup>17</sup> "Record of Events," *Metropolitan*, I (May, 1853), p. 188.

<sup>18</sup> *Baltimore Clipper*, April 12, 1853; Sister Mary Saint Patrick McConnville, *Political Nativism in the State of Maryland, 1830-1860* (Washington, 1928), pp. 27-28; "Record of Events," *Metropolitan*, I (July, 1853), pp. 283-284.

<sup>19</sup> *Baltimore Clipper*, April 11, 1853.

<sup>20</sup> *Frederick Examiner*, March 30, 1853.

<sup>21</sup> *Baltimore Clipper*, April 15, 1853.

bill was referred to an enlarged committee with one member from each county. The committee never reported.<sup>22</sup>

This remarkable controversy had important results for the two political parties. On the surface it was only a sensational conflict concerning a bill which had virtually no chance to become law. But beneath the surface commotion, the Kerney bill dispute pointed to a real division in American society between Protestant native Americans and Catholic immigrants which the old party system did not really reflect. As the debate intensified, the Whig and Democratic parties seemed increasingly irrelevant to ideologues on both sides. It appeared, particularly on the native American side, that a new party framework was necessary to express what seemed to be the most urgent issues of the day. The education controversy, then, was a harbinger of things to come.

No sooner had the Kerney bill died in the spring of 1853 when a second emotional issue, temperance, took its place. The temperance movement had existed in Maryland for many years but had never won any wide political support. In the 1840's efforts had been made throughout the North to secure either prohibition or restriction of liquor licenses. With passage of the prohibitory Maine Law in 1846, the movement received a strong impetus. By 1852 the Grand Division of the Sons of Temperance had many local societies throughout Maryland and was working hard to get a Maine Law for the state. However, all efforts to move the legislature during its 1852-1853 sessions proved futile even though the cause had received attention in the press, and impatient temperance advocates therefore resolved to make their demands a political issue in the 1853 elections.

The temperance movement entered politics in earnest at a time of crisis for both major parties. While interest, in Baltimore at least, focused on the Kerney bill, the national Whig party, weakened by sectional divisions, suffered a crushing defeat in the Presidential election of 1852 when Pierce overwhelmed General Scott. Whigs everywhere felt demoralized, and many conceded their party's imminent demise. Locally, the Whigs lingered on, but more because they had nowhere else to go than because they hoped to revive their

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, April 19, April 21, May 31, 1853.

national strength. In Maryland the Whig party, somewhat damaged after its setback in 1851, staggered under the blow of Scott's defeat, and even die-hard Whig papers all but gave up. Most observers predicted a Whig disaster in the upcoming 1853 elections. The Democrats were so confident, in fact, that intra-party rivalries long submerged in the face of Whig opposition erupted with sudden ferocity, seriously weakening that party, too, in certain areas. The presumably defunct Whigs watched the Democratic in-fighting with growing hope, and by summer they had begun to rally their party for a last ditch effort to win the state elections.

Into this muddled party situation stepped the temperance movement. The temperance movement found its most fertile ground in the ferment of Baltimore politics. Though its leaders were apparently dedicated to prohibition, the cause gathered support from a wide base of existing temperance sentiment, including good citizens' groups, church organizations, and eager politicians, many of whom merely wanted restrictions on liquor licenses rather than full prohibition. Bolstered by such papers as the *Baltimore Clipper* and by mass meetings, temperance sentiment found a ready forum in issue-hungry Baltimore, and by late summer, 1853 the issue had become a real threat to the existing party system.

Neither party in Baltimore was prepared to meet the threat. The Whigs, never very strong in Baltimore, had little strength left to resist temperance inroads and, indeed, no longer had a strong interest in maintaining their separate identity. The Democrats, long used to controlling the city's politics, were badly split by personal animosities and petty power struggles. Throughout the summer the *Baltimore Sun* (Democrat) carried advertisements full of personal abuse from different cliques in the party, while the powerful *Baltimore Republican* quarreled with another Democratic paper, the *Maryland State Capital Gazette* of Annapolis, over a printing contract. As a result, a temperance convention meeting in Baltimore was able to nominate a "Maine Law" slate of ten delegates, five from each party, pledged to seek a strict temperance law. The Whig party immediately threw its weight to the Maine Law ticket under the guise of temperance zeal, but really because it knew it had no chance of electing regular nominees and hoped to



profit from the temperance boom. "The Whig party being in a hopeless minority," the *Baltimore American* (Whig) later admitted, "considered the chance of securing five members of the delegation as preferable to the certainty of an election of the whole Democratic ticket."<sup>23</sup> Many Democrats also supported the Maine Law ticket and, when regular Democrats nominated anti-temperance candidates in the face of a popular surge of temperance feeling, the outcome of the election was sealed. In a campaign which virtually ignored the religious issue that had created such a stir that spring, the temperance alliance easily elected all ten delegates to Annapolis and won even in some wards which supported the Democratic gubernatorial candidate.<sup>24</sup> A new movement had destroyed the political balance of Baltimore.

In less volatile areas like the counties, temperance did not excite the passions that it aroused in Baltimore, but the political situation there nevertheless illustrates the continuing breakdown of party structure. In a few counties like Howard, temperance organizations tried to run their own candidates, but they usually failed, winning, at most, pledges of support from other candidates. For the most part the campaign was conducted with less good government sentiment than in 1851 and with more personal conflicts. The Democrats nominated T. Watkins Ligon for governor with the hope that he would unify the party. Although Ligon was popular throughout the state, locally the Democrats had great difficulty ending internal feuds. In normally Democratic Talbot County the *Easton Star* (Democrat) reported that the party was "wrangling and disputing" with itself and could not get organized.<sup>25</sup> In Worcester and Baltimore counties where the Democracy was also usually strong, Democratic candidates had to face independents from their own party.<sup>26</sup> The most dramatic division occurred in the Second Congressional District (Allegany, Washington, and Frederick counties) where former Democratic governor Francis Thomas broke with his party and ran as an independent for Congress against incumbent Democrat W. T. Hamilton.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *Baltimore American*, Feb. 10, 1854.

<sup>24</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, Nov. 8, 1853.

<sup>25</sup> *Easton Star*, Sept. 13, 1853, Nov. 8, 1853.

<sup>26</sup> *Frederick Examiner*, Oct. 5, 1853.

<sup>27</sup> *Republican Citizen*, Sept. 16, 1853.



Francis Thomas. 1799-1876.  
*Maryland Historical Society  
 Graphics Collection.*

While the Democrats divided, the crumbling Whig party briefly reunited in a burst of enthusiasm at the prospect of exploiting the Democratic party's internal problems. "There is simultaneous movement throughout the state to organize the Whig party efficiently," the *Frederick Examiner* (Whig) wrote in August. "Every observant person is aware of the daily growing promise of the Whig cause; and thousands who lately despaired . . . now look hopefully at its dawn of resurrection. Maryland is at heart a genuine Whig State."<sup>28</sup> The Whigs chose Richard Bowie for governor, and Bowie debated Ligon on a tour across the state.

The fact that no party clearly won the election shows how confusing party politics had become. The supposedly dead Whig party captured almost half the House of Delegates and 8 of 10 Senators up for election, giving them 14 of 22 Senate seats. With the national Whig party now wrecked beyond recovery, never again would Maryland Whigs be able to rally this kind of support. The Maine Law ticket swept Baltimore and held the balance of power in the House. In the gubernatorial election Democratic candidate Ligon defeated Bowie by a substantial majority.<sup>29</sup> "The result of the elections," the *Baltimore American* observed, "shows with great significance

<sup>28</sup> *Frederick Examiner*, August 17, 1853.

<sup>29</sup> *Baltimore American*, Nov. 7, Nov. 14, 1853.

the abatement of party feeling, and the difficulty of organization under party banners. . . . The superior interest which the people have taken in questions of moral reform or of local interest . . . prove . . . the power of party is certainly losing its influence."<sup>30</sup> A major shakeup was clearly imminent.

In the 1854 legislature temperance crowded out other issues to become the most important dispute that winter. The Maine Law delegates from Baltimore, after holding up organization of the House in order to secure pro-temperance officers, confidently introduced a bill to outlaw alcohol entirely except for medicinal purposes. The bill, subject to referendum, passed the House 42 to 23.<sup>31</sup> Milder temperance advocates, however, became alarmed at the possibility of total prohibition, and the general sentiment throughout the state began to drift away from temperance. The *Baltimore American* and several other papers formerly backing the temperance movement felt betrayed by delegates who they thought would only pass moderate legislation, and they began to attack prohibition. Under pressure from both sides, the Senate restricted liquor licenses but refused to accept complete prohibition. After an unfavorable report on prohibition which concluded that "an exotic morality [cannot] be rooted in a community by law," the Senate voted it down 18 to 4, and the House refused to pass the Senate's license bill.<sup>32</sup> Temperance had thus run its course. Though the *Baltimore Clipper* and others zealous in the cause pledged to continue the fight and elect a whole legislature of temperance men next time; never again during the 1850's did it become such a major issue.

As prohibition collapsed in the spring of 1854, a more important sensational issue—one capable of being crystalized into a true political party—came to the fore. Nativism, dormant since the education controversy a year before and not really significant since the 1840's, entered the Maryland scene again in the form of the Americans or Know-Nothings. The Know-Nothings were the outgrowth of a small nativist movement in the early 1850's which wanted to restrict immigration, reduce the political power of immigrants, and keep the Catholic Church out of politics. A secret society with elaborate rituals

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 4, 1853.

<sup>31</sup> *Baltimore Clipper*, Feb. 20, 1854.

<sup>32</sup> *Baltimore Republican*, March 4, 1854; *Baltimore Sun*, March 10, 1854.

and mysterious handshakes and passwords, the Know-Nothings first came to Baltimore late in 1852 and acquired their name from the characteristic answer members gave when questioned about their organization, "I know nothing." Though still only a minor splinter group in the 1853 Baltimore elections (where they endorsed the Maine Law ticket but remained a separate organization), they grew with astonishing speed and before long had spread, first to Frederick, Hagerstown, and Cumberland, and then in the spring of 1854 to every other part of the state.<sup>33</sup>

Like the temperance zealots, the Know-Nothings entered the Maryland political scene at an advantageous moment. By 1854 the Whig party was, for all practicable purposes, dead; the Democrats still divided; and a major coalition ticket had won important victories in Baltimore. Old constitutional issues had been settled for the time being in 1851. The everyday legislation which initially replaced those issues no longer held attention, and the temperance cause had been deprived of its momentum. Moreover, the recent sectional struggle had alarmingly divided the nation and left thousands of people susceptible to issues which could take their minds off the slave debate and again unite the country. Thus caught in a vacuum, Marylanders were ripe for an emotional bath and expected, at the least, some major change in the party system.

The Know-Nothings stepped into this void well suited to win a popular following from both issue-oriented and opportunistic men. The secrecy of the organization and its rituals and ceremonies attracted bored and frustrated people. It offered an alternative for old Whigs who demurred at joining their traditional enemies, the Democrats, and for those who wished to use the new party for their own advancement. Most of all, it was able to capitalize on the growing sentiment against immigrants and thus bring not only Whigs, but many Democrats as well into the party. Immigrants had been flooding America in unprecedented numbers in the late 1840's and early 1850's. In Maryland they settled chiefly in the Baltimore area but also in western counties like Allegany, where immigrants constituted about one-fourth of the population. Predominately Irish and

<sup>33</sup> *Frederick Examiner*, March 29, 1854; L. F. Schmeckebier, *History of the Know-Nothing Party in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1899), p. 17; *Baltimore Clipper*, May 11, 1854.

German, the newcomers often remained in clanish groups. Native Americans, usually unwilling to understand the immigrant's special problems, created derogatory stereotypes of them. Immigrants, they charged, were heavy drinkers, prone to fighting and disorderly conduct, illiterate and willing to work for practically nothing—a clear threat to native American labor. Not understanding democracy, they banded together in political associations to seek special advantages; they voted before they were naturalized and were easy to bribe on election day. Worst of all, immigrants seemed to be overwhelmingly Catholic, agents of a subversive religion which aimed to undermine American life and replace religious freedom with the tyranny of continental Europe. Whatever the truth in these stereotypes, they were real to many people, and they provided the rough material from which the Know-Nothings sought to build a new political party.

At first the Know-Nothings generated more curiosity than anything else. During the winter and spring of 1854, when the movement was still secret, they made their unexpected weight felt in several local elections. In Cumberland, for example, a correspondent of the *Baltimore Clipper* reported that all four Democrats and three Whigs elected to the new town council were rumored to be Know-Nothings. "Such is the vexatious secrecy," he wrote, "that we can find no man who will come out and boldly say that the ticket was of this order. The Catholics and foreigners . . . were puzzled beyond measure on Monday to know how to vote, for fear of voting for one of these mysterious ignoramuses. And the worst of the matter was, that not even the old politicians . . . could tell them."<sup>34</sup>

The Know-Nothings soon moved into the open and attracted more than passing attention. Most of their support came from old Whigs who, left without a party, glimpsed a future in the Know-Nothings despite the reservations of older Whig leaders like Reverdy Johnson and U. S. Senator James Pearce who strongly opposed nativism. Many Democrats, particularly in the Northern part of the state, also joined the new mass movement. By the fall of 1854, public sentiment had crystalized enough into Know-Nothing and anti-Know-Nothing camps for the *Baltimore Clipper*, previously lamenting the lack of prin-

<sup>34</sup> Letter to the Editor, *Baltimore Clipper*, May 12, 1854.

ciples in politics, to declare that the differences between the Americans and the Democrats were obvious and vital.

The Democrats adhere to the present policy of permitting the jails and poor houses of Europe to be emptied upon our shores—to the present system of naturalization—to the control of foreign influence—and . . . the attempt . . . to convert the school fund to sectarian purposes. The Americans, on the other hand, wish to have the convicts and paupers of Europe kept at home—to [lengthen] the time of residence before becoming a citizen—to give the natives of the soil the control of public affairs—and to extend the blessings of public education through . . . public schools to all.<sup>35</sup>

The Know-Nothings met their first important political test in the October, 1854 city elections in Baltimore, where memories of the Kerney controversy had not been completely obscured by the temperance campaign. Baltimore, with its large foreign population, had, since the 1840's, been a fountain-head for nativist reaction and proved rich ground for the Know-Nothings. In August, 1853, a group of Philadelphia nativists was able to organize a Baltimore chapter of the United Sons of America with a large rally in Monument Square. After the failure of temperance in 1854, the nativist movement grew rapidly and the Know-Nothings took over its leadership. Though still secret, when the party nominated Samuel Hinks, a former Democrat, for mayor in September, it received overwhelming support, including endorsements from the *Clipper* and old Whig papers like the *American* and the *Patriot*. In response, the Democrats nominated W. G. Thomas for mayor, and he made an effort to turn his campaign into a struggle to preserve civil liberties. The Know-Nothings won easily in October, carrying not only the Whig wards but also several Democratic strongholds. The *Clipper* was jubilant. "It is among the greatest victories ever achieved," it declared. "Henceforth a purer political atmosphere will be breathed in Baltimore, and morality, justice, and good order will hereafter prevail in the administration of city affairs."<sup>36</sup>

With Baltimore secure, the American party proceeded to organize statewide in an attempt to capture the legislature in the fall, 1855 elections. The Know-Nothings found their

<sup>35</sup> *Baltimore Clipper*, Sept. 19, 1854.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 13, 1854.

greatest strength in and around Baltimore, previously the strongest Democratic area but now going nativist in response to the large numbers of foreigners who lived there. On the other hand, in conservative southern Maryland where the Whig party had long been dominant, the Know-Nothings made little headway because no "foreign problem" existed there and because among southern Maryland Catholics there were some of the oldest and best respected families in the state. On the Eastern Shore the pattern was more regular, Whig counties going Know-Nothing and Democratic counties turning against the movement. In opposition to the Know-Nothings, a new coalition formed, built mostly around the Democratic party but including many old Whigs who could not support nativism. Calling themselves variously Democrats, Unionists, or just Anti-Know-Nothings, the coalition had no official statewide organization but was nevertheless unified in opposition to a Know-Nothing takeover.

Superficially the 1855 campaign was argued in the press on an ideological plane. The Americans adhered closely to their first national platform drawn up in 1855. The platform stressed suppression of sectional differences and concentrated instead on immigration and Catholicism, the issues through which the party hoped to build a strong national organization. In regard to immigrants the platform demanded "radical revision" of immigration laws to exclude foreign paupers and criminals and steps by the state legislatures to prevent unnaturalized foreigners from voting. The party also urged "resistance to the aggressive policy and corrupt tendencies of the Roman Catholic Church" by opposing all attempts of people owing a "foreign allegiance" to obtain office. Significantly, an attempt was made to denounce both the old Whig and Democratic parties as corrupt and under foreign influence. The Know-Nothings preferred to see themselves as a genuinely new organization dedicated to sending only the most able to office—perhaps a bid for some of the old union sentiment. Finally, in a move to answer criticism, the American party renounced all secrecy.<sup>37</sup>

Democrats and others who opposed the Know-Nothings attacked every part of the American platform. The *Republican Citizen* (Democrat) of Frederick defended the character of

<sup>37</sup> Schmeckebeier, *History of the Know-Nothing Party*, pp. 119-123.

immigrants: "We believe that *poverty is no crime*. We know that men are often-times reduced to it by misfortune. We do not consider *any* man with stalwart arm and sound head, a *pauper*, if he be as poor as Lazarus."<sup>38</sup> The *Planters Advocate* (independent) of Prince Georges County maintained that "the evils, if any, that result from what is called 'foreign influence' do not spring from a want of good and sufficient laws, but simply from their not being properly enforced."<sup>39</sup>

Concerning the religious arguments, papers like the *Maryland Republican* (Democrat) in Annapolis charged the Know-Nothings with discriminating purely on the basis of religion and mixing church and state in the same way the Know-Nothings accused the Catholics of doing. Furthermore, it pointed out that the Catholic hierarchy, while desiring religious obedience, did not try to control the way a Catholic layman voted. Catholics were as loyal to the state as any other Americans.<sup>40</sup> Finally, in answer to American party professions of ability and honesty, Democrats claimed that the Know-Nothings were merely a party of expediency, as clandestine now as before, and a Whig trick to capture votes.



James A. Pearce. 1805-1862.  
Maryland Historical Society  
Graphics Collection.

<sup>38</sup> *Republican Citizen*, Oct. 26, 1855.

<sup>39</sup> *Planters Advocate*, April 12, 1854.

<sup>40</sup> *Maryland Republican*, August 25, Sept. 8, Oct. 6, 1855.



To take this ideological struggle at face value, however, would be to ignore the importance of moderates on both sides. Despite the fanaticism of some Know-Nothing papers like the *Baltimore Clipper*, most Know-Nothing voters were moderate men who had no special liking for immigrants but also hesitated to engage in virulent nativism. The majority of old Whig papers which endorsed the Know-Nothing cause belonged in this class. They supported Know-Nothing candidates but, like the *Baltimore American*, frowned on secrecy and demagoguery. Democrats, most of whom remained in their party, were also more moderate than the strong civil liberties position of their papers might suggest.

Nevertheless, the legislative campaign of 1855 represented a significant shift in the party system and a victory for a new party hardly a year and a half old. The Know-Nothings won the legislature overwhelmingly with 54 out of 74 seats in the House and 8 of 12 contested seats in the Senate giving them, along with Senate Whigs who had joined the party, undisputed control. The Know-Nothings had carried Baltimore City and the normally Democratic counties around it, including Baltimore County, Carroll, Harford, and Howard as well as a number of other counties. Strong block opposition came only from southern Maryland which elected Democrats, Unionists, and a Whig to the legislature.<sup>41</sup> The 1855 elections thus thoroughly upset the traditional party balance and aligned the counties, at least on the Western Shore, in a manner dramatically different from that of four years before.

In the 1856 legislature the Americans consolidated their victory and began to act more like a normal political party than they had during the sharp ideological clashes of the late election. In questions of party honor they stuck closely together. When Governor Ligon denounced secret societies in his annual message as a threat to the political process, the Know-Nothings, led by Anthony Kennedy, insisted on an immediate investigation to exonerate the American party from the implied slander. The select committee, appointed to look into the matter, quickly divided along party lines, the three Know-Nothings delivering a sarcastic report which ridiculed the Governor's attack on secret societies, while the two Democrats assembled

<sup>41</sup> *Baltimore American*, Nov. 19, 1855.

a mass of documents damaging to the Know-Nothings. In another dispute over whether to accept a petition demanding an investigation of convents, the Know-Nothing delegates voted down anti-Know-Nothing attempts to bar it by a strict party vote of 45 to 14.<sup>42</sup>

But in matters involving supposed party principles, the Know-Nothing legislators proved surprisingly moderate and, in the process, showed themselves to be regular politicians rather than fanatics. Some vociferous ideologues had demanded that the legislature pass radical anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic legislation. The *Baltimore Clipper*, for example, stated bluntly, "The admission of females into convents or other religious houses, should be by a civil and not an ecclesiastical process. Her motives for desiring to become a recluse should be carefully investigated by a civil officer; who, if satisfied that she is not impelled to the step by impulse, or by improper influence, could grant her a permit."<sup>43</sup> Know-Nothings in the legislature, however, refused to consider such suggestions, and the committee appointed to examine the convent petition which anti-Know-Nothings had tried to reject, reported unanimously that no legislation on the subject was needed. In fact, not a single law that could be called Know-Nothing passed or even came close to passing. The Know-Nothings left the foreign and Catholic "problems" the same way they found them. Though the *Clipper* grumbled a bit, most American papers were satisfied that the legislature had done a good job. In the words of the moderate *Baltimore American*, the Know-Nothings "faithfully, effectually, and ably subserved the interests they were elected to watch and defend."<sup>44</sup>

Thus, by the time the legislature adjourned in March, 1856, one party system had been overturned and another set up in its place. The role of ideology in this transition was not completely decisive, for the event which wrecked the Maryland Whig party was the collapse of the national Whig organization, and this occurred for reasons which had little to do with what was happening in Maryland. Nevertheless, ideological factors hastened the end of the Whig-Democratic balance and helped

<sup>42</sup> Schmeckebeier, *History of the Know-Nothing Party*, pp. 30-33; *Baltimore Republican*, Feb. 9, 1856.

<sup>43</sup> *Baltimore Clipper*, Feb. 26, 1856.

<sup>44</sup> *Baltimore American*, March 12, 1856.

to decide what party would replace the Whigs. So it was that in 1856 the Know-Nothings, drawing a great deal of support from the appeal of their ideology, had firm control of the legislature and appeared to be headed toward even greater success. To be sure, the new political division they established was precarious. No one could be certain how long a party based on narrow principles would remain relevant. The lack of a solid national organization also boded ill for the Know-Nothings. Moreover, the equilibrium between northern and southern states was rapidly deteriorating, thus threatening violent and unpredictable change. For the time being, however, Marylanders had found a small measure of political stability as they looked into an uncertain future.

# SOUTHERN BAPTISTS AND EDUCATION, 1865-1900: A CASE STUDY

By W. HARRISON DANIEL\*

IN the post-Appomattox era Southern Baptists in Virginia were vitally concerned about education, and denominational leaders devoted much time, energy, and resources to the improvement of educational opportunities for their constituency. One phase of denominational educational activity actually began prior to the cessation of hostilities. At the 1864 meeting of the Baptist General Association of Virginia the question of educating soldier orphans was discussed, and a committee of seven was appointed "to adopt some provisional plan for the education of such children during the ensuing twelve months" and to report at the next meeting of the Association. In a short time a plan was devised and put into operation. The committee decided that the program would be free from sectarian, sectional, or class restrictions and that an appeal, explaining that all monies received would be used to pay the tuition of orphans attending schools in their home areas, would be made for funds from all citizens. The appeal received a favorable response, and in 1865 the corresponding secretary of the committee, A. E. Dickinson, reported that contributions of \$200,000 had been received and between 700 and 800 children had been assisted.<sup>1</sup>

In June, 1865, the General Association resolved to continue its efforts to provide education for the children of deceased and disabled soldiers. A new committee was appointed to supervise the program, and William F. Broaddus, pastor of the Baptist Church in Charlottesville, was named corresponding secretary.

\* The author acknowledges with sincere appreciation financial assistance in the preparation of this article from the Research Committee of the University of Richmond and from The Society of Cincinnati.

<sup>1</sup> *Religious Herald* (Richmond, Virginia), July 7, 1870. The *Herald* was the weekly newspaper of the Baptist denomination in Virginia. *Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held in the City of Richmond, June 1, 1865* (Richmond, 1866), p. 30. The committee consisted of J. B. Jeter, W. F. Broaddus, J. L. Burrows, A. E. Dickinson, C. Bass, R. L. Montague, and W. Goddin. The committee never seriously considered erecting and establishing schools.

His duties were to solicit funds, keep records of the committee's activities, and submit annual reports to the General Association.<sup>2</sup> Until 1868 he served as full-time pastor and unpaid agent for the committee, resigning in that year to devote his entire energies to the education of soldier's children.

The committee received wide support in Virginia and some contributions from the Peabody Fund and from individuals in New York, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, Illinois, New Hampshire, and South Carolina. Although the only paid agent was the secretary (after 1868) and tuition rates were usually one dollar a month per student, the committee ran a deficit nearly every year. Broaddus explained that the schools and teachers exhibited patience and understanding concerning payment, but he urged the citizens of the state not to permit the debt to become excessive.<sup>3</sup>

It was reported in 1866 that approximately 400 students had their tuition paid by the committee; in 1867 more than 500 students were aided; in 1868 over 700 received assistance; in 1869 slightly over 800 received aid; and to July, 1870, the committee had assisted 1000 children of Confederate soldiers in securing an education.<sup>4</sup> The program initiated by Virginia Baptists to educate soldier orphans terminated with the establishment of public schools in 1870.

The General Association announced in 1870 that the inauguration of free schools in the state made it unnecessary to continue the committee, except to solicit funds to pay the debt of \$2,090. In the following year the committee was discontinued, but W. F. Broaddus, then pastor in Fredericksburg, continued to serve as corresponding secretary and received contributions

<sup>2</sup> *Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held in the City of Richmond, June 7-11, 1866* (Richmond, 1866), p. 27; *Religious Herald*, July 21, 1870.

<sup>3</sup> *Religious Herald*, July 21, 1870; *Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held in the City of Lynchburg, June 6-10, 1867* (Richmond, 1867), p. 46; *Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held in the City of Alexandria, June 4-8, 1868* (Richmond, 1868), p. 59; *Minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held in the City of Richmond, June 3-7, 1869* (Richmond, 1869), p. 29; *Minutes of the Forty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held in the City of Norfolk, Virginia, June 2-6, 1870* (Richmond, 1870), p. 16; *Religious Herald*, August 8, 1901; *Minutes of the Fifteenth Annual Session of the Potomac Baptist Association, Held By Appointment With the Baptist Church at Middleburg, Loudon County, Virginia, August 24-26, 1870* (Winchester, Virginia, 1870), p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> *General Association of Virginia, 1870*, p. 16; *Religious Herald*, July 21, 1870.

to liquidate the debt. In 1872 he reported that the debt was \$834.50, and he asked pastors and congregations within the state to eliminate it within a year.<sup>5</sup> It is assumed that all financial obligations of the committee were satisfied because there was no mention of debt in 1873 or thereafter.

The program to educate the children of deceased and disabled soldiers was of brief duration, but it assisted several thousand youngsters in acquiring the rudiments of an education. Although the program was directed by Virginia Baptists, it was free from sectarianism and constituted a remarkable example of genuine disinterested benevolence in action.

As soon as hostilities ceased in 1865, Virginia Baptists' interest in education centered upon the earliest possible reopening of Richmond College. The College, the only Baptist institution of higher education in the state, had been closed during the war, its buildings had been used as a hospital, and most of its \$100,000 endowment had been invested in Confederate securities. When the war ended, the buildings needed repair, supplies and equipment had to be replaced, a faculty recruited, and the endowment restored. The Baptists declared at their June, 1865 General Association meeting that Richmond College should be opened at the earliest practicable moment. The trustees were unable to offer college work that fall; however, they requested Robert Ryland and another teacher to operate a high school on the premises.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile the trustees were engaged in selecting a faculty, soliciting funds, and formulating plans to resume college instruction in the fall of 1866.

One year after Appomattox, the General Association announced "that . . . exercises at Richmond College. . . [will] be resumed at the beginning of the next sessional year" and avowed that the institution would be "worthy" of the Baptist denomination and suitable to its needs.<sup>7</sup> In August the faculty was completed and announced to the public: Crawford H. Toy

<sup>5</sup> *General Association of Virginia, 1870*, p. 35; *Minutes of the Forty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held in the City of Petersburg, Virginia, May 31-June 3, 1871* (Richmond, 1871), pp. 16, 37. *Minutes of the Forty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held in the City of Staunton, Virginia, May 30-June 1, 1872* (Richmond, 1872), p. 23; *Religious Herald*, April 21, 1870, July 14, 1870.

<sup>6</sup> *General Association of Virginia, 1865*, p. 21; *Religious Herald*, Nov. 16, 1865.

<sup>7</sup> *General Association of Virginia, 1866*, p. 24.

was to be professor of English language and literature and history, E. B. Smith, professor of mathematics, Bennet Puryear, professor of natural sciences, Edmund Harrison, professor of Latin and French, and H. H. Harris, professor of Greek. The final member selected was the Reverend Tiberius G. Jones, who was to be professor of mental and moral philosophy and political economy and also to serve as president of the college. It was explained that all of these men were natives of the state, and all except the president possessed the M. A. degree. Jones was a graduate of the College of William and Mary,<sup>8</sup> and he served as president until his resignation in 1869. In that year the trustees abolished the office of president and adopted the more democratic faculty chairman form of academic government. The faculty elected one of its members, to serve on a rotating basis, as chairman of the faculty, and this person was the chief administrative officer of the college. This plan of administration was common to a number of European universities and also to the University of Virginia. Although this type of administration never received the unanimous support of the trustees, it functioned effectively for twenty-five years.<sup>9</sup> The years from 1869 to 1894 were critical but significant ones for the College and the achievements of the institution during this quarter century; revival, growth, and expansion compare favorably with that of any period in the institution's history and attested to the efficiency of faculty participation in college administration.

Classes resumed in the fall of 1866 with an enrollment of forty students. Admission requirements were that one had to be a white male and at least fourteen years of age. Upon admission the student was required to select three "schools" of study from the six available. They were Latin and French, Greek and German, Mathematics, Natural Science, Moral Science, and English. It was announced that the college aimed to "pursue a course of study similar to that at the University

<sup>8</sup> *Religious Herald*, Aug. 16, 1866, Aug. 30, 1866. At least two men declined the office of president before the trustees secured the services of Jones. They were J. L. M. Curry and John A. Broadus; see Jessie Pearl Rice, *J. L. M. Curry, Southerner, Statesman and Educator* (New York, 1949), p. 54; Minutes of Richmond College Board of Trustees, July 24, 1866, Treasurer's office, University of Richmond (hereafter cited as Minutes of Board of Trustees).

<sup>9</sup> *Religious Herald*, June 24, 1869; Edwin A. Alderman and Armistead C. Gordon, *J. L. M. Curry, A Biography* (New York, 1911), p. 220; Rice, *Curry*, pp. 63, 195.

of Virginia" and that the department of a "Christian gentleman" was the standard expected of every student. The estimated expenses for a nine month session was \$295.<sup>10</sup>

By emphasizing its aims as similar to those of the University of Virginia, the College was seeking to avoid any stigma which might be associated with being a sectarian institution and perhaps to improve its fund-raising image among non-Baptists. How to appear to the brethren in the denomination as an effective sectarian institution worthy of their support and as one engaged primarily in the task of training ministers and denominational leaders while at the same time posing to others, inside and beyond the state, as a liberal, Christian, but non-sectarian institution engaged in the process of training persons for positions of future responsible leadership in a variety of areas was a question that continued to be an issue of concern for the authorities and friends of the College. In 1866 it was announced that the college did not require its students to attend worship services, explaining that worship was a personal matter and was voluntary.<sup>11</sup> Several years later the *Religious Herald* noted that although the college was sustained by the Baptists, it was "non-sectarian" and declared that the trustees and faculty represented various denominations. Courses in Bible, it was explained, were not an official part of the college curriculum but constituted an appendix to the regular course of study. In 1872 it was announced that Bible lectures, which were elective for all except ministerial students, were arranged "so as not to conflict with any other exercise and . . . to make it possible for every student to attend." It was noted that the text book was the Bible and that the lectures were designed "to give some proper knowledge of the Bible in its geographical, biographical, historical, and doctrinal aspects." However, it was still maintained that "no sectarian views" were taught at the college, and that "the institution was purely literary and classical" and that no school offered its students "higher educational advantages."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Religious Herald*, Sept. 13, 1866, Oct. 4, 1866.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 13, 1866.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 16, 1869, May 2, 1872, Sept. 25, 1873, Sept. 10, 1874; *Minutes of the Seventy-Ninth Session of the Goshen Baptist Association, Held With the Baptist Church at Orange Court House, Virginia, September 5-7, 1871* (Richmond, 1871), p. 13; *Minutes of the Seventy-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Accomack Baptist Association, Held With Zion Baptist Church, Metomphkin, Accomack County, Virginia, August 13-15, 1885* (Baltimore, 1885), p. 72.



One of the immediate tasks of Virginia Baptists was to re-establish the college endowment. In 1866 A. M. Poindexter, pastor of the Hunting Creek Baptist Church, was employed by the college trustees, upon the recommendation of the General Association, as an agent to solicit contributions and pledges to restore the \$100,000 endowment.<sup>13</sup> Poindexter's task was to visit churches, individuals, and association gatherings, to present the cause of Richmond College, and to receive donations or pledges. The success of his labors are attested by the fact that in 1871 the endowment was reported as equaling the pre-war sum. But the college needed additional funds for buildings, equipment, and salaries, and it was customary throughout the last decades of the nineteenth century for some member of the faculty to visit associations and congregations and "present the claims of the college."<sup>14</sup>

On three occasions in the years immediately following the end of the war, the board of trustees of Richmond College made valiant efforts to have the school designated the land grant college for the state in order to receive federal aid under the provisions of the Morrill Act. On December 13, 1866, the trustees appointed a committee to "prepare a memorial" requesting the committee of schools and colleges of the Virginia legislature to select Richmond College as the land grant institution for the state. This initial effort by the Baptists was premature, and the legislature announced that this matter would be discussed later.<sup>15</sup> On December 10, 1870, the president of the college trustees, J. B. Jeter, read a letter to the board from the legislative committee, announcing that the applications of colleges to "receive the bounty of land donated by the General Government for the promotion of the science of agriculture and mechanical arts" would be heard. The board of trustees appointed another committee to "present the claims of Rich-

<sup>13</sup> *General Association of Virginia, 1866*, p. 26. Messengers at this meeting subscribed \$8,000 to the endowment. Also see *Minutes of the Hunting Creek Baptist Church, June, 1866*, Virginia Baptist Hist. Soc., University of Richmond. Poindexter was to be paid \$2,500 a year plus traveling expenses; see *Minutes of Board of Trustees, June 12, 1866*.

<sup>14</sup> *Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Session of the Dan River Baptist Association, Held at Black Walnut Church, Halifax County, Virginia, July 25-27, 1866* (Danville, 1866), p. 5; *Minutes of the following Baptist Churches: Berryville, April 11, 1868; Ephesus, May 8, 1880; Beaver Dam, September, 1899*, Virginia Baptist Hist. Soc.; *Religious Herald*, Aug. 12, 1869, Feb. 16, 1871, Feb. 2, 1899.

<sup>15</sup> *Minutes of Board of Trustees, Dec. 13, 1866, Jan. 21, 1867, April 25, 1867*.



J. L. M. Curry. 1825-1903.  
*Courtesy of Virginia Baptist  
Historical Society.*

mond College.” The petition on behalf of the college was drafted by the chairman of the faculty, Bennet Puryear, and professor J. L. M. Curry, and was presented to the legislature by a three-man committee which included former governor Henry A. Wise. This petition and at least two others, which were signed by over 500 Richmond citizens, were presented to the legislature on behalf of Richmond College in January, 1871.<sup>16</sup> A final effort by Virginia Baptists to obtain federal assistance for the college was noted in the action of the trustees on December 12, 1871, when a five-man committee was appointed “to represent Richmond College . . . before the legislature in asserting its claims to the land” for educational purposes in the state.<sup>17</sup> All attempts of the trustees to have Richmond College designated the land grant institution were in vain; had they been successful the entire nature and purpose of the college would have been altered, and probably the course of higher education in the commonwealth.

<sup>16</sup> Minutes of Board of Trustees, Dec. 10, 13, 1870; *Journal of the House of Delegates of the State of Virginia for the Session of 1870-71* (Richmond, 1871), p. 83.

<sup>17</sup> Minutes of Board of Trustees, Dec. 12, 1871.

In 1871 friends of the college in Richmond initiated a \$30,000 building fund campaign.<sup>18</sup> But the most ambitious financial project of Virginia Baptists was begun in 1872. Known as the Memorial or Centennial campaign, its aims were to honor eighteenth century Virginia Baptists who fought for religious liberty, to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the General Association, and to memorialize the founders of the college by increasing the assets of the school by \$300,000. J. L. Burrows, pastor of the First Baptist Church in Richmond, was appointed general superintendent of the Memorial Committee, and W. E. Hatcher and A. E. Dickinson were among the prominent ministers granted leaves of absence by their congregations to solicit contributions.<sup>19</sup> Many pastors during the next few years were released by their congregations for brief periods of time to seek subscriptions for this campaign. Usually this service was performed gratis by the clergy.<sup>20</sup> Some churches might appoint a committee to collect funds and forward them to the general superintendent. Pledges for the entire amount were subscribed but were never realized. Drought, livestock disease, and the depression which began in 1873 were reasons for the failure of the campaign. In 1877 the Memorial Committee was discharged, and although it did not achieve its stated goal, the assets of the college in this year were in excess of \$256,000.<sup>21</sup>

Twenty years later another state-wide campaign for educational funds was undertaken by the Baptists. It was explained that the college would have to increase its endowment to assist Baptist students who might be enticed to state schools where the costs were lower. It was also emphasized that revenue was

<sup>18</sup> *Religious Herald*, Oct. 19, 1871.

<sup>19</sup> Eldridge B. Hatcher, *William E. Hatcher* (Richmond, 1915), pp. 89, 90; *General Association of Virginia, 1872*, p. 25; Rice, *Curry*, pp. 65-66; Minutes of the Pine Street Baptist Church, April 28, 1872, Virginia Baptist Hist. Soc.

<sup>20</sup> Minutes of Enon Baptist Church, March 2, 1873, Virginia Baptist Hist. Soc. This church continued the salary of its pastor, J. R. Harrison, who was engaged from March through May soliciting funds for the Memorial Campaign.

<sup>21</sup> Minutes of the Crooked Run Baptist Church, Jan. 11, 1873, Virginia Baptist Hist. Soc.; *Minutes of the Eighty-Second Anniversary of the Albemarle Baptist Association, Held With the Harrisonburg Baptist Church, Rockbridge County, Virginia, August 21-23, 1873* (Charlottesville, Virginia, 1873), p. 16; *Minutes of the Fifty-Third Annual Session of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held at Culpeper, Virginia, May 31-June 3, 1876* (Richmond, 1876), p. 36; *Minutes of the Fifty-Fourth Annual Session of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held at Danville, Virginia, May 30-June 2, 1877* (Richmond, 1877), p. 37.

needed for science laboratories and new dormitories. In 1897 the General Association recommended that the churches in the state raise \$25,000 as a seventy-fifth anniversary thanksgiving offering for Richmond College. The next year it was reported that \$9,057.45 had been contributed, and the project was continued. During the last decades of the nineteenth century the fortunes of the college were gradually improving, and in 1899 its assets were "nearly \$800,000."<sup>22</sup>

During these years (1865-1902) Richmond College was the recipient of grants and bequests honoring two long-time friends and trustees of the institution: J. B. Jeter and James Thomas, Jr. Three weeks following the death of Jeter, on March 9, 1880, a number of Richmond Baptists held an informal meeting and decided to erect a library building at the college in his memory. This project was endorsed by the General Association, and Baptists throughout the state were urged to contribute to its success. Largely through the efforts of A. E. Dickinson a sum of \$40,000 was realized, and the library was completed in the summer of 1884.<sup>23</sup> James Thomas, Jr., a prominent Richmond businessman and benefactor of the college, contributed \$25,000 for the endowment of a professorship in 1881. After his death his widow and children provided \$10,000 to endow the Thomas Lecture foundation, to sponsor an annual lecture on science, philosophy, or art.<sup>24</sup>

Other financial assistance in the late nineteenth century came from the North. A request, shortly after the war, for books to replenish the library resulted in the Smithsonian

<sup>22</sup> *Religious Herald*, June 14, 1894, Nov. 18, 1897; *Minutes of the Seventy-Fourth Annual Session of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held with the Calvary Baptist Church, Roanoke, Virginia, November 19-23, 1897* (Richmond, 1897), p. 65; *Minutes of the Seventy-Fifth Annual Session of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held with the First Baptist Church, Lynchburg, Virginia, November 11-15, 1898* (Richmond, 1898), p. 58, reported that of this sum, 105 churches gave only \$2,385.20, the remainder was contributed by individuals; *Minutes of Walnut Grove Baptist Church, Jan. 16, 1898, Virginia Baptist Hist. Soc.*; *Minutes of the One Hundred and Eighth Anniversary of the Albemarle Baptist Association, Held with the Mt. Ed Baptist Church, Albemarle County, Virginia, August 22-24, 1899* (n.p., n.d.), p. 8.

<sup>23</sup> William E. Hatcher, *Life of J. B. Jeter, D. D.* (Baltimore, 1887), pp. 501, 502; *Minutes of the Fifty-Seventh Annual Session of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held in the City of Petersburg, Virginia, June 2-5, 1880* (Richmond, 1880), p. 24; *Minutes of the Ephesus Baptist Church, May 8, 1880, Virginia Baptist Hist. Soc.*; John A. Broadus, *Memorial of James Thomas, Jr.* (Richmond, 1888), p. 62.

<sup>24</sup> *Religious Herald*, Dec. 24, 1885; Broadus, *Memorial of Thomas*, p. 63. During his lifetime, Thomas gave between \$50,000 and \$60,000 to Richmond College.

Institution promising to donate copies of its "recent publications" and in gifts from S. H. Owen and Solomon Peck of Boston. On one occasion Judge D. B. DeLand of New York contributed \$3,000 to the college, and in 1887 J. A. Bostwick of New York City gave the college \$25,000 in Louisiana bonds. John B. Stetson, a Philadelphia hat manufacturer, promised the college a gift of \$5,000 if it could raise \$45,000 from other sources. A. E. Dickinson secured some contributions from Northerners for the Jeter Library, including \$1,000 from John H. Deane of New York, \$2,500 from John B. Hoyt of Stamford, Connecticut, and \$1,000 from the DeLand family of Fairport, New York. In 1901 John D. Rockefeller offered to increase the Richmond College endowment \$25,000, if the Baptists of the state would increase it by \$75,000. This challenge was accepted, and the trustees appointed William E. Hatcher to serve as agent to solicit subscriptions. His efforts were successful, and the college's assets were increased by \$100,000. A final sum of \$25,000 was received in 1902 from the federal government as a war claims payment dating from losses suffered at the end of the Civil War.<sup>25</sup>

The financial assistance which the college received enabled it to expand, secure competent instructors, and more adequately serve the needs of its constituency. Perhaps the most significant aspect of academic growth in this era was the establishment of a law school. In 1869 it was noted that the trustees were considering the prospects of opening a law school. The following summer it was announced that a law school faculty had been selected and that classes would begin on October 1. It was explained that Christian lawyers were essential for the welfare of society, and the board of trustees was complimented for initiating law studies.<sup>26</sup> The early years of the law school were ones of uncertainty, and on several occasions classes were suspended. These failures resulted from the inability of the college to hire a full-time professor of law. Teachers were practicing attorneys in the city; they did not reside at the

<sup>25</sup> *Religious Herald*, Sept. 5, 1867, June 2, 1870, June 8, 1871, Jan. 2, 1873, Jan. 20, 1887, Nov. 8, 1888, Dec. 16, 1880, Aug. 29, 1901; Broadus, *Memorial of Thomas*, p. 62; Hatcher, *William E. Hatcher*, pp. 461, 467; Minutes of the Pine Street Baptist Church, Nov. 24, 1901, Virginia Baptist Hist. Soc.; *Sixtieth Session of the Rappahannock Baptist Association, Held with Shiloh Baptist Church, King George County, Virginia, July 29-31, 1902* (Baltimore, 1902), p. 8.

<sup>26</sup> *Religious Herald*, June 21, 1869, Aug. 11, 1870, Sept. 15, 1870.

college and could devote little time to teaching. As a consequence, the law school suffered. After a brief period of closure law studies were resumed in 1877, and Samuel D. Davies was engaged as a full-time teacher. However, the law school was not placed on a secure basis until twelve years later when the family of T. C. Williams donated \$25,000 to endow a law professorship at the college.<sup>27</sup>

The "schools" or "chairs" of instruction at the college increased from six in 1866 to nine in 1896. A "commercial department," which offered commercial arithmetic and book-keeping, was added in 1867, and in 1873 a physician was appointed to visit the college daily and also to lecture on physiology and hygiene. Funds received from the Baptists in the state in the 1890's improved the science offerings and provided for enlarging the department and equipping new laboratories.<sup>28</sup> Library holdings increased gradually; 4,000 volumes were listed in 1875 and 9,000 volumes were reported in 1885. This division of the college, however, never received adequate attention; it was felt that a large library was not necessary since students might use books in other libraries in the city and in nearby Washington, D. C.<sup>29</sup>

Patrons and friends of the college claimed that the support which it received from the Baptists and others permitted it to secure and retain a competent faculty. There are numerous references to the "high quality" of college personnel and a few references concerning their compensation. Between 1866 and 1873 professors' salaries fluctuated between \$750 and \$1,000 a year. However, by 1873 it appears that salaries were stabilized, and it was reported that a professor at Richmond College

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, July 12, 1877, May 29, 1890.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, March 20, 1873; *Minutes of the Eighty-Fifth Annual Session of the Dover Baptist Association, Held with the Hebron Church, King William County, Virginia, October 9-12, 1868* (Richmond, 1868), p. 25; *Minutes of the One Hundred and Sixth Annual Session of the Virginia Portsmouth Baptist Association, Held with Colosse Church, Isle of Wight County, Virginia, September 29-October 1, 1896* (Petersburg, Virginia, 1896), p. 15; *Minutes of the Seventy-Second Annual Session of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held with the First Baptist Church, Petersburg, Virginia, November 15-19, 1895* (Richmond, 1895), p. 36; *Minutes of Board of Trustees, September 23, 1867*.

<sup>29</sup> *Minutes of Board of Trustees, June 11, 1875; Minutes of the Fifty-Second Annual Session of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held in the City of Lynchburg, Virginia, June 2-5, 1875* (Richmond, 1875), p. 32; *Minutes of the Sixty-Second Annual Session of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held with the Second Baptist Church, Richmond, Virginia, November 10-13, 1885* (Richmond, 1885), p. 49.

received a salary of \$1,000; the same amount as a professor at the University of Virginia received. There was, however, one fringe benefit which the Charlottesville professor received that his Richmond counterpart did not, and that was his living quarters. In 1874 the college appointed a financial agent or treasurer; he was paid \$2,000 a year and given traveling expenses.<sup>30</sup>

Concomitant with the growth of the college endowment, curriculum, and teaching staff was an increase in the size of the student body. In 1868 the enrollment was 118; twelve years later it was approximately the same size, numbering 121 students. However, during the last twenty years of the century the increase was accelerated; 177 students were enrolled in 1890, and 238 in 1900.<sup>31</sup> Until 1875 most of the boarding students lived and ate together in an arrangement known as the "messing system." This system, which added household responsibilities to the student's academic duties, was encouraged by the college because of its economic feasibility. After the payment of fifteen dollars, which included rent, matriculation, and college fees,



Alfred E. Dickinson. 1830-1906.  
*Courtesy of Virginia Baptist  
Historical Society.*

<sup>30</sup> Minutes of Board of Trustees, July 5, 1866, July 9, 1867, Jan. 13, 1868, June 10, 1871, June 25, 1873; *Religious Herald*, Aug. 19, 1869, July 17, 1873, Jan. 20, 1874, Jan. 29, 1885, Feb. 26, 1891, Aug. 1, 1895.

<sup>31</sup> *Religious Herald*, July 2, 1868; *Catalog of Richmond College, 1880-81* (Richmond, 1881), p. 8; *Catalog of Richmond College, 1890-91* (Richmond, 1891), p. 8; *Catalog of Richmond College, 1899-1900* (Richmond, 1900), pp. 11-21.

the students formed themselves into messes of ten or twelve. Each mess hired a cook and chose one of its number as caterer to procure food. A mess hall and kitchen facilities were rented from the college; here each mess prepared its food and ate. College authorities explained that under this system a student could live comfortably on ten dollars a month. Students who preferred to do so or could afford it might secure board from one of the professors or from an approved home in the vicinity of the college.<sup>32</sup> The messing system was not satisfactory, and the board of trustees eliminated it in the mid-seventies and decided to board the students at the "college boarding-house." It was claimed that this change would save each student fifteen dollars a year. Twenty years later it was reported that students were receiving satisfactory board at the college for \$7.50 a month.<sup>33</sup>

By contemporary standards the extra-curricular activities of college students in the late nineteenth century were restricted; however, student energies found expression in a variety of activities. Religion occupied a prominent place in the lives of many students. A Sunday afternoon Sunday school was formed in 1866, and weekly prayer meetings on behalf of unconverted students were instituted in 1869. Two years later some of the students were conducting daily prayer services to pray for the salvation of their "unsaved class mates." On two occasions in the decades following 1865, William E. Hatcher participated in extended college revivals, which "stirred the young people" and resulted in a number of converts. Some students also participated in city mission work of the Richmond Baptists and in hospital visitations.<sup>34</sup>

Records indicate that not all student leisure time was devoted to religious pursuits. Some students were disciplined for attending the theater, for violating the rules concerning hazing, and for fornication. One student was disciplined for

<sup>32</sup> *Religious Herald*, Aug. 15, 1867, Sept. 26, 1867, Sept. 22, 1870; *Minutes of the LXXXV Annual Session of the Dover Baptist Association, Held with the Hebron Church, King William County, Virginia, October 9-12, 1868* (Richmond, 1868), p. 25.

<sup>33</sup> *General Association of Virginia, 1876*, p. 18; *Religious Herald*, Oct. 1, 1896.

<sup>34</sup> *Religious Herald*, Oct. 25, 1866, Jan. 28, 1869, March 2, 1871, Dec. 23, 1875, March 12, 1896; *Minute Book of the Baptist City Mission Society*, January 20, 1889, December 21, 1890, Virginia Baptist Hist. Soc.



drawing a pistol and threatening the life of another. Students were permitted to attend the annual fair in Richmond and through the efforts of J. L. M. Curry they were accorded reduced admission rates. By the close of the century athletics were attracting the attention of many students. Football and baseball were reported to be "flourishing at the college," despite a resolution of the General Association which condemned "the growing evil of the modern sport of football," claiming that it endangered lives and promoted demoralizing tendencies.<sup>35</sup> For the more intellectually inclined student there were literary societies, college publications, and the museum project which was founded by members of one of the literary societies in 1878. Students were permitted to attend the lectures of visiting speakers on the campus. Among those they might have heard were James H. Breasted, William Rainey Harper, T. DeWitt Talmage, and Professor Woodrow Wilson. Students who sought vacation and after-class employment were assisted by the placement bureau, organized by a joint faculty-alumni committee in 1893. Ministerial students usually assisted an established pastor or supplied a rural church during the summer. Some students were employed by various business men in Richmond, and the affluent student might go to Europe with professor S. C. Mitchell when he conducted a student tour of that continent in 1897.<sup>36</sup>

An important agency concerned with educational activities of the denomination during these years was the Education Board of the Baptist General Association. This board was affiliated with the local associations in the state, the college, individual churches, and the ministerial (usually called clerical) students. The Education Board was appointed by the General Association, and its office was in Richmond. Its primary function was to determine, from applications submitted, candidates whom it would financially assist in prepara-

<sup>35</sup> Minutes of the Education Board of the Virginia Baptist General Association, May 26, 1885, Jan. 28, 1895, Feb. 11, 1901, Virginia Baptist Hist. Soc.; Rice, Curry, p. 62; *Religious Herald*, July 10, 1879, Oct. 31, 1895; *General Association of Virginia, 1897*, p. 53.

<sup>36</sup> *Religious Herald*, Nov. 14, 1878, June 24, 1880, Nov. 4, 1897, June 30, 1898, Nov. 17, 1898, June 15, 1893, July 22, 1897; *Minutes of the Ninetieth Session of the Goshen Baptist Association, Held with the Mt. Gilead Baptist Church, Goochland County, Virginia, September 4-7, 1882* (Richmond, 1882), p. 14.

tion for the ministry. A corresponding secretary was chosen to communicate with officials of the different associations and local congregations, informing them of the work of the board and soliciting contributions. The General Association requested each district association to appoint a standing committee of one delegate from each church to receive contributions for the board.<sup>37</sup> Although many congregations were sympathetic with the work of the board, perhaps an equal number were indifferent to its pleas.<sup>38</sup> A report in 1879 noted difficulty in enlisting the support of the churches for educational purposes.<sup>39</sup> Some blamed the lack of support on the drought and depression, but others doubted the necessity of an education for one "called of God" to the ministry. Some Baptists claimed that aiding ministerial students would "destroy their manliness . . . and invite into the ministry persons of inferior talent." The fact that a few young men who received financial assistance from the board to study for the ministry entered other professions caused criticism of the program. Insufficient funds kept the board in the red, and it reported a deficit nearly every year; in 1900 it proclaimed "for the first time in many years we are not in debt."<sup>40</sup>

The Education Board received inadequate support from the denomination, but it performed valiant service to many ministerial students during these years; most of these students attended Richmond College, but some were enrolled at prepara-

<sup>37</sup> Minutes of the Hunting Creek Baptist Church, January, 1873; *Minutes of the Fifty-First Annual Session of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held in the City of Fredericksburg, Virginia, June 3-6, 1874* (Richmond, 1874), p. 18.

<sup>38</sup> Minutes of the following Baptist Churches: Crooked Run, February 12, 1870, Red Bank, January 27, 1877, Black Creek, January, 1871, Manchester, February 3, 1872, Virginia Baptist Hist. Soc. Also see *General Association of Virginia, 1876*, p. 25. It was stated that 400 Baptist churches in the state contributed nothing to the board during the past year.

<sup>39</sup> *Minutes of the Fifty-Sixth Annual Session of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held in the Town of Charlottesville, Virginia, May 28-31, 1879* (Richmond, 1879), p. 25.

<sup>40</sup> *General Association of Virginia, 1877*, p. 23; *Religious Herald*, July 10, 1879; *General Association of Virginia, 1874*, p. 21; *Minutes of the One Hundred and Eleventh Annual Session of the Middle District Baptist Association, Held with Bethel Church, Chesterfield County, Virginia, August 7-9, 1894* (Lynchburg, 1894), p. 12; *Minutes of the Seventy-Seventh Annual Session of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held with the First Baptist Church, Bristol, Virginia, November 15-18, 1900* (Richmond, 1900), p. 24.

tory schools and at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. The board refused to assist ministerial students who wished to receive their college training in state operated institutions.<sup>41</sup>

The procedure followed by an applicant seeking assistance from the board was carefully described. A man who wished to prepare for the ministry would secure a letter of recommendation from his home church, attesting to his "moral and intellectual qualities and his call to the ministry."<sup>42</sup> This letter together with a statement of the individual's financial status was presented to the Education Board at least sixty days prior to the opening of the school session. If the board was favorably impressed by the application, the young man was invited to Richmond for an interview with the examining committee of the board. The applicant was examined on geography, English grammar, arithmetic, United States history, and Bible. He was also questioned about his call to the ministry. Those who passed the examination were recommended by the board for acceptance to Richmond College. Students whose academic background was weak were recommended for probationary status at the college.<sup>43</sup> All ministerial candidates were required to maintain passing grades or the board would withdraw its support. The college faculty forwarded to the board monthly grades of those students under its patronage. The board also supervised the social and religious activities of its students. They were required to attend worship services on Sunday and to board at designated places, and they were expected "to exert a healthful, moral influence over their fellow students."

<sup>41</sup> In 1868 the Education Board assisted 31 students, *General Association of Virginia, 1868*, p. 32; in 1872 the board assisted 33 students, *General Association of Virginia, 1872*, p. 36; in 1876 the board assisted 35 students, *General Association of Virginia, 1876*, p. 25; in 1882 the board assisted 39 students, *Minutes of the Fifty-Ninth Annual Session of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held with the Baptist Church at Warrenton, Virginia, May 31-June 3, 1882* (Richmond, 1882), p. 34; in 1892 the board assisted 69 students, *Minutes of the Sixty-Ninth Annual Session of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held with the First Baptist Church, Danville, Virginia, November 11-15, 1892* (Richmond, 1892), p. 19; in 1900, the board assisted 39 students, *General Association of Virginia, 1900*, p. 24; Minutes of the Education Board of the Virginia Baptist General Association, Sept. 6, 1888.

<sup>42</sup> *General Association of Virginia, 1877*, p. 26; For an example of such a letter see, Minutes of the Pine Street Baptist Church, Sept. 17, 1876.

<sup>43</sup> *General Association of Virginia, 1870*, p. 26; *General Association of Virginia, 1877*, p. 26; Minutes of the Education Board of the Virginia Baptist General Association, Sept. 26, 1887; Hatcher, *William E. Hatcher*, p. 126.

Students sponsored by the board were not permitted to marry. Those who violated the board's standards lost its support.<sup>44</sup>

When the Education Board agreed to assist a student he was required, at the end of each school year, to give a bond to repay the board within a period of seven years. If, within the period of the bond, one left the ministry for other employment, he was to refund the bond at once. It appears that this arrangement was consistently ignored. In 1885 it was reported that the bonds were rarely paid; only one had been redeemed in the past ten years. It was explained that the salaries of Virginia Baptist pastors were so low that repayment was impossible, and the board recommended that the taking of bonds be ended, and the bonds on hand destroyed.<sup>45</sup>

Efforts made by Virginia Baptists to train a sufficient number of clergymen were disappointing and denominational spokesmen frequently referred to the need of additional pastors. One lament in 1890 was that Richmond College had trained more lawyers and physicians since 1865 than ministers.<sup>46</sup>

In the last decade of the nineteenth century several significant changes occurred at Richmond College. The faculty chairman type of administration was abandoned, and the office of president was recreated. J. L. M. Curry, who was elected to the board of trustees in 1881, was a persistent critic of the chairman plan and led the attack against it. He contended that the system was not the best for a small school and immature students.<sup>47</sup> In 1885 the trustees declared "it is desirable to have a president of Richmond College," and announced that one would be chosen as soon as an endowment was established to provide him a salary and a house. Although a president was not selected until 1894, it is obvious that a candidate was groomed several years prior to that time. In February, 1891, the *Religious Herald* had given unusual praise to a lecture on "The Romantic in French Literature" by Professor Frederick

<sup>44</sup> Minutes of the Education Board of the Virginia Baptist General Association, May 26, 1885, Sept. 17, 1885, Jan. 29, 1895, Feb. 22, 1897, March 28, 1898, Feb. 11, 1901; *General Association of Virginia, 1877*, p. 27.

<sup>45</sup> *General Association of Virginia, 1877*, p. 27; *General Association of Virginia, 1885*, p. 34. The board believed that the practice of requiring bond prevented some students from studying for the ministry.

<sup>46</sup> *Minutes of the Sixty-Fourth Annual Session of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held With the First Baptist Church, Lynchburg, Virginia, November 10-14, 1887* (Richmond, 1887), p. 19; *Religious Herald*, Aug. 30, 1900.

<sup>47</sup> Rice, Curry, p. 63.

W. Boatwright, reporting that it was "both scholarly and popular, and demonstrated the teaching capabilities of a brilliant young man." The account concluded by advising this "charming" and "graceful" speaker to attend the various association meetings in the state. Two years later Boatwright prepared a series of articles for the *Herald* relating to various aspects of education. In December, 1894, it was announced that the trustees had elected Boatwright president of the college, and that they had made a "happy choice." This "happy choice," however, prompted the resignation of two long-time faculty members prior to Boatwright's installation.<sup>48</sup> In reverting to an earlier type of administration, the trustees adopted a policy which has continued at the college.

Another significant change which came in the 1890's was the decision to admit women to the college. Curry and the *Religious Herald* campaigned for this innovation. In 1889 the trustees debated the propriety of admitting co-eds to the college, and it was reported that the proposal lost by a narrow margin.<sup>49</sup> For ten years Virginia Baptists discussed the issue. The opponents of higher education for women argued that college training would "educate them out of their sphere" and make them independent of their husbands. Another exclaimed, "Our women are exactly like we want them, they have not been co-educated. Why then try any experiment or make any change in our institutions? . . . If they fill their mothers' places, they will have reached their highest honors."<sup>50</sup> The proponents of co-education claimed that the idea that women are inferior to men in mental capabilities "is fast being exploded" and noted that the University of London set a "wise example" in bestowing degrees upon men and women. Letters were received by the *Religious Herald* attesting to the success of women students at the University of Michigan, Boston University, the University of Mississippi, Indiana University, Georgetown College, and DePaul University. Chancellor William H. Payne of Peabody Normal College in Nashville, Tennessee, was quoted as saying that co-education was to be commended and women were the intellectual equals of men. An article by Professor

<sup>48</sup> *Religious Herald*, Jan. 29, 1885, Feb. 26, 1891, Dec. 20, 1894, June 6, 1895, June 27, 1895.

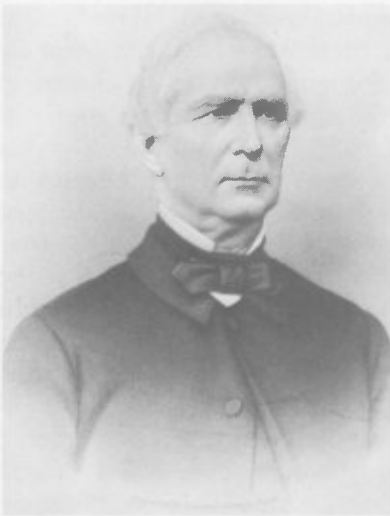
<sup>49</sup> Rice, *Curry*, p. 156.

<sup>50</sup> *Religious Herald*, Aug. 1, 1889, Oct. 9, 1890.

Boatwright in 1893 asserted that the faculty favored the admission of women students at Richmond College. At the meeting of the General Association in 1897 it was maintained that there was need for an institution of higher education for women, and it was suggested that if women were admitted to Richmond College, it would be a "stride forward."<sup>51</sup> The following year the board of trustees agreed to open "certain classes" in the college to young ladies over eighteen years of age and announced that a study room and lecture room would be provided for them, and they might pursue the B.A., B.S., and M.A. degrees. A year later the college awarded the B.S. degree to its first co-ed graduate, Lulie Gaines Winston.<sup>52</sup>

Although the science offerings and facilities were expanded in the 1890's, the hope of some, that Richmond College would become a center for scientific and technological training and would develop a "school of applied science," was not realized.<sup>53</sup> There was insufficient financial support in the local area to establish such a center.

Bible courses became an integral part of the curriculum of Richmond College in the 1890's. Bible lectures had been



Jeremiah B. Jeter. 1802-1880.  
*Courtesy of Virginia Baptist  
 Historical Society.*

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, July 3, 1890, Sept. 25, 1890, May 7, 1891, Oct. 29, 1891, May 25, 1893, March 8, 1894; *General Association of Virginia, 1897*, p. 65.

<sup>52</sup> *Religious Herald*, June 9, 1898, June 22, 1899.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 1891.

offered at the college since 1872 but on an informal basis; there was no professor of Bible, and Bible courses were not listed in the catalogue. In 1893 the *Religious Herald* advocated that formal courses in Bible should be offered by the college, and it featured letters from various authorities at Baylor, Brown, Wake Forest, Furman, and Crozer Seminary, supporting the idea of establishing a chair of Bible at Richmond College. Two years later it was announced that beginning with the 1896-97 session Richmond College would inaugurate a two-year course in English Bible; one year would be devoted to the New Testament and one to the Old Testament. These courses would not be required for a degree but would be open to all students. H. A. Tupper was named instructor of these courses.<sup>54</sup>

The educational efforts of Virginia Baptists centered upon Richmond College, but simultaneously many Baptists were associated with institutes and academies and sought the encouragement and support of the denomination. These were usually secondary schools and were established to continue education beyond the elementary grades. Baptists were obliged to establish private schools, since there was no public secondary school system in the state. Generally, the institutions for girls were called institutes and those for boys, academies. The sexes were segregated because some claimed that separate schools were necessary to preserve the "modesty" and "femininity" of the girls. A primary purpose of these schools was to prepare students for college, and many of the academies were publicized as "feeders" for Richmond College. It was maintained that these schools were necessary to provide the youth with "Baptist influences" and to preserve them from an educational environment which might be "at variance with Baptist views." It was also explained that bright and alert youngsters would be discovered in these schools and channeled into the service of the denomination.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 3, 1893, Aug. 17, 1893; *Catalogue of Richmond College, Richmond, Virginia, Session 1895-96* (Richmond, 1896), p. 32; *Catalogue of Richmond College, Richmond, Virginia, Session 1896-97* (Richmond, 1897), pp. 9, 38-39.

<sup>55</sup> *Minutes of the Fifty-Second Annual Session of the Dan River Baptist Association, Held with Millstone Church, Halifax County, Virginia, July 29-31, 1890* (Danville, 1890), p. 6; *Minutes of the Sixty-Fourth Annual Session of the Concord Baptist Association, Held with Mt. Vernon Baptist Church, Brunswick County, Virginia, July 27-29, 1897* (Holly, Virginia, 1897), p. 15; *General Association of Virginia, 1879*, p. 37; *General Association of Virginia, 1897*, p. 65; *Minutes of the Suffolk Baptist Church, September 10, 1890*, Virginia Baptist Hist. Soc.; *Religious Herald*, July 6, 1876.

In 1879 Baptists in Virginia operated ten schools for girls and six for boys; in 1892 the number was fifteen for boys and eighteen for girls. The curriculum usually included natural science, mathematics, moral science, history, and Latin; the institutes also included music and painting.<sup>56</sup> Although Baptists did not provide college-level instruction for women until the end of the century, they were strong advocates of female education beyond the primary grades. Educated women, it was maintained, would be an uplifting influence in society and would help to "check the tide of immorality." Others (explaining that the times had changed) argued that girls should know more than the arts of sewing and cooking. Women were no longer persons of leisure with servants to wait upon them. Many women, it was noted, were required to earn their living or help support members of their family. In the post-war years education for women was more important than formerly.<sup>57</sup>

Some of the Baptist secondary schools were privately owned and operated, but others were governed by boards of trustees responsible to a local association. All of them solicited funds from churches and individuals within their areas. Although in the 1890's someone might occasionally urge the establishment of additional schools, Virginia Baptists were unable to support adequately the ones already in operation; and by the close of the century it was acknowledged that the increasing number of public secondary schools was diminishing the patronage of Baptist institutions.<sup>58</sup>

In the 1890's as interest in women's education increased, the General Association assumed responsibility for two of the female institutes. One was the Southwest Virginia Institute, originally established in 1884 at Glade Springs, Virginia. This school had been directed by a self-perpetuating board of

<sup>56</sup> *Religious Herald*, Sept. 13, 1866; *General Association of Virginia, 1879*, p. 38; *General Association of Virginia, 1892*, p. 65.

<sup>57</sup> *Religious Herald*, March 28, 1867, Nov. 4, 1869, Oct. 29, 1874; *Minutes of the Fifty-Seventh Session of the Accomac Baptist Association, Held with the Zion Baptist Church, Accomac County, Virginia, August 21-22, 1866* (Baltimore, 1866), p. 7.

<sup>58</sup> *General Association of Virginia, 1875*, p. 29; *Minutes of the Sixty-Third Annual Session of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held with the First Baptist Church, Staunton, Virginia, November 11-15, 1886* (Richmond, 1886), p. 44; *General Association of Virginia, 1892*, p. 67; *Minutes of the Seventy-First Annual Session of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held with the First Baptist Church, Alexandria, Virginia, November 13-16, 1894* (Richmond, 1894), pp. 67-68; *General Association of Virginia, 1898*, p. 60.



trustees for the "benefit of the Baptist denomination" and to meet the "pressing demand" for female higher education in that part of the state. Substantial gifts by the town and citizens of Bristol, Virginia had prompted the trustees to move the school to that place in 1891. One year later the trustees agreed to amend the school's charter, authorizing the Baptist General Association of Virginia to name the trustees and to present the charter to the Association. The General Association accepted the revised charter and assumed responsibility for the operation of the Southwest Virginia Institute.<sup>59</sup> In 1894 the General Association was authorized to appoint the trustees of the Richmond Institute, then called Woman's College of Richmond. These two schools and Richmond College were the only educational institutions under the care and supervision of the General Association.<sup>60</sup>

When the twentieth century began, Virginia Baptists pledged themselves to achieve greater goals in education. In 1900 the General Association proclaimed that the time had arrived for the Baptist directed schools and colleges in the state to meet in conference and form a league for their mutual protection and support. The trustees of Richmond College were requested to invite representatives from all Baptist schools in Virginia to meet with them and an associational committee on general education to formulate a plan of cooperation. This conference acknowledged that Baptist facilities for education were unsatisfactory (only one institution was endowed), and recommended that all Baptist-operated schools should be placed under the control of the General Association, be organized into an efficient system, and should be subsidized by the denomina-

<sup>59</sup> *Minutes of the Lebanon Baptist Association, Held with Goodson Church, Washington County, Virginia, August 14-16, 1884* (Richmond, 1884), p. 23; *General Association of Virginia, 1885*, p. 47; *Lebanon Baptist Association, Convened in its Forty-Sixth Anniversary, With Marion Baptist Church, Smyth County, Virginia, August 13-15, 1891* (Lynchburg, 1891), p. 14; *Religious Herald*, Oct. 13, 1892; *Minutes of the Seventieth Annual Session of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held with the First Baptist Church, Roanoke, Virginia, November 10-14, 1893* (Richmond, 1893), pp. 27, 45, the General Association did not assume responsibility for the current debts on the institution; *Minutes of the Seventy-Ninth Annual Session of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held With the Freemason Street Baptist Church, Norfolk, Virginia, November 13-16, 1902* (n.p., n.d.), p. 49. Earlier efforts by Baptists to establish a school for girls in Southwest Virginia had failed, see *Religious Herald*, June 8, 1871, Feb. 8, 1872.

<sup>60</sup> *General Association of Virginia, 1894*, pp. 37-38; *General Association of Virginia, 1898*, p. 60.

tion. The report of this conference received a favorable response from the messengers at the General Association, and a Virginia Baptist Education Commission was created.<sup>61</sup> Its task was to coordinate the programs of the different schools, to establish standards of excellence, and to serve as a screening agency for schools seeking admission to the system. Virginia Baptists were entering the new century with the most ambitious educational program in their history.

Perhaps the centennial year of the Declaration of Independence, 1876, helped to stimulate a consciousness of history among Virginia Baptists. In this year they founded the Virginia Baptist Historical Society, an organization which should be noted in any discussion of Baptist educational activities in the post-Appomattox era. An act of the Virginia legislature providing for the incorporation of the society was granted to thirty petitioners on March 29, 1876. The act specified that the society should "have perpetual succession for the purpose of discovering, procuring, and preserving whatever may relate to the history of Christianity and of the Baptist denomination in Virginia in particular." The society was also authorized "to acquire and hold property, real or personal," not exceeding \$30,000.<sup>62</sup>

The motivating force for the organization of a historical society was Charles H. Ryland, the financial agent of Richmond College. He and the twenty-nine other men named in the charter met at Culpeper, Virginia on June 2, 1876 and "effected a partial organization." The organizing process was completed on June 22, 1876, at another meeting in Richmond. At this time the constitution and bylaws were adopted. It was specified that the officers were to be a president, three vice-presidents, and a secretary and treasurer. All were to be elected at the annual meeting of the society, which was to be held at the time of the meeting of the General Association. The first officers were J. B. Jeter, president; R. L. T. Beale, first vice-president; James A. Haynes, second vice-president; Thomas

<sup>61</sup> *General Association of Virginia, 1900*, p. 49; *Minutes of the Seventy-Eighth Annual Session of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held with the Grace Street Baptist Church, Richmond, Virginia, November 14-17, 1901* (Richmond, 1901), p. 27; *General Association of Virginia, 1902*, pp. 48-49; *Minutes of the Valley Baptist Association, Held with the Fincastle Church, Botetourt County, Virginia, August 12-14, 1902* (Salem, Virginia, 1902), p. 8.

<sup>62</sup> *General Association of Virginia, 1877*, p. 61; *General Association of Virginia, 1876*, p. 38.

Hume, third vice-president; and H. H. Harris, secretary and treasurer. The five-man executive committee, required by the constitution to supervise the operations of the society, consisted of J. L. M. Curry, C. H. Ryland, T. S. Dunaway, W. S. Bland, and Joseph R. Garlick. The constitution provided for two types of membership; honorary members were elected "on account of their reputation or . . . knowledge . . . of historical subjects"; regular members were those who paid a one dollar annual membership fee or those who contributed ten dollars for life membership. Two final articles of the constitution stated that a depository for the society's holdings would be located on the campus of Richmond College and that the constitution might be amended at any annual meeting by a two-thirds vote of the membership.<sup>63</sup>

The bylaws stated the time of annual meetings and authorized the president and executive committee to call additional meetings if they so desired. The treasurer and the executive committee were required to submit to the membership reports at every annual meeting. Another bylaw urged that the society appoint someone to deliver an address at the annual meeting.<sup>64</sup>

Virginia Baptists were urged to support and cooperate with the Historical Society in preserving the records of their history. The General Association provided a place on its annual program for the society and printed its report in the association's minutes. Local associations recommended to their constituency that "they prepare sketches of their history" and deposit them with the society. Local churches were also advised to send their records, minute books, and other data pertaining to Baptist history to the society for preservation; and individuals were invited to become members.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>63</sup> *General Association of Virginia, 1877*, pp. 61, 62.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>65</sup> *General Association of Virginia, 1876*, p. 38; *Minutes of the Seventy-Third Session of the Appomattox Baptist Association, Held with Sharon Church, Prince Edward County, Virginia, August 7-9, 1877* (Richmond, 1877), p. 4; *Minutes of the Forty-First Annual Session of the Dan River Baptist Association, Held with the Church at Musterfield, Halifax County, Virginia, August 5-7, 1879* (Danville, Virginia, 1879), p. 12; *Minutes of the Strawberry Baptist Association, Held with Hunting Creek Baptist Church, Bedford County, Virginia, August 5-7, 1879* (Liberty, Virginia, 1879), pp. 8-9; *Minutes of Carmel Baptist Church, September 27, 1884*, Virginia Baptist Hist. Soc.; *Minutes of the One Hundred Anniversary of the Albemarle Baptist Association, Held with the Chestnut Grove Baptist Church, Albemarle County, Virginia, August 18-20, 1891* (Charlottesville, Virginia, 1891), p. 10; Garnett Ryland, *The Baptists of Virginia, 1699-1926* (Richmond, 1955), p. 322.

The report of the Historical Society in 1879 indicates a favorable reaction to the aims of the organization. It was noted that the society possessed "nearly a complete file" of the *Religious Herald*, the *Christian Index*, *Millennial Harbinger*, *Commission*, *Baptist Preacher*, minutes of the Southern Baptist Convention, and minutes of the Baptist General Association of Virginia. The minutes of some of the district associations had also been acquired together with "several hundred pamphlets," a number of manuscripts, photographs, and books.<sup>66</sup>

The early programs of the society were designed to arouse and maintain the historic awareness of Virginia Baptists. Among the papers read at the 1877 meeting were "Defects in Past History and Our Responsibility for Its Future" by R. L. T. Beale, "Uses of Baptist History" by Theodore Whitfield, and "Preservation of the Materials of History" by J. A. Boyce. Other pertinent addresses given at different times included I. B. Lake's "Lessons of History," H. McDonald's "The Relation of the Anabaptists to the German Peasant War in the



Frederick W. Boatwright.  
1868-1951.

*Courtesy of Virginia Baptist  
Historical Society.*

<sup>66</sup> *General Association of Virginia*, 1879, p. 70.

Sixteenth Century," and "The Value of History" by C. C. Bitting.<sup>67</sup>

The founding of the Virginia Baptist Historical Society to preserve the data of Virginia Baptist history was the manifestation of a degree of historic consciousness unusual among Southern Baptists at that time. The society's founders established an institution which was to occupy a position of increasing significance both in the educational program of the denomination and for the general community of history scholars.

Virginia Baptists' interest in education were not completely devoted to private church-affiliated institutions. Baptist leaders were vitally concerned with tax-supported education, both at the public school and the college level. The *Religious Herald* and J. L. M. Curry were the two most prominent Baptist advocates of public education. The *Herald* affirmed that educating the rising generation was more important than laying railroads or building canals, and complimented the state in 1871 for "wisely adopting a system of public schools." It was explained that without universal education the curse of universal suffrage would ruin the country. Curry (claiming that crime and ignorance were closely related) argued that education was the key to prosperity and social stability. He further contended that public education was essential to responsible American citizenship.<sup>68</sup> Various local Baptist congregations manifested a friendly attitude toward public education by permitting the use of their church buildings for schools. The Berryville Baptist Church rented its lecture room to the county superintendent of education for \$100 a session. Others might rent space to school authorities for shorter periods of time or until a school building could be erected. The rapport between church and state in this period was also manifested by the occasional use of school buildings for congregational worship.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72; *General Association of Virginia, 1877*, p. 64; *Minutes of the Fifty-Fifth Annual Session of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, Held in the City of Portsmouth, Virginia, May 29-June 1, 1878* (Richmond, 1878), p. 66.

<sup>68</sup> *Religious Herald*, March 23, 1871, March 21, 1872, Aug. 7, 1873; Rice, Curry, pp. 98, 106, 160. In 1880 Curry was elected agent for the Peabody Fund in the South; ten years later he was elected a trustee of the Slater Fund. Both of these foundations sought to promote education in the South.

<sup>69</sup> *Minutes of the following Baptist Churches*: Machdoc, March 5, 1871; Four Mile Creek, July 16, 1871; Berryville, Aug. 8, 1874, June 16, 1875; Syracuse, Oct., 1878; Mt. Carmel, Aug. 26, 1883; Ephesus, April, 1899; Grafton, Oct. 1, 1898, *Virginia Baptist Hist. Soc.*

Throughout the nineteenth century Baptist spokesmen urged the state to increase its efforts on behalf of education. In 1872 it was suggested that the state establish a normal school for the training of teachers, and others requested that the school year should be extended and that classes should be offered six days a week. With one exception, the Baptist friends of public education believed that the state's system of schools was inadequate for the needs.<sup>70</sup> The exception was the belief that the segregated Negro schools were "quite sufficient for the . . . needs of their race."<sup>71</sup>

At the time of the state constitutional convention in 1901 the *Religious Herald* denounced any suggestion which it felt might weaken the school system in the state. It reasserted "the chief reason for a public primary school system is found in the fact that it opens up to future citizens the avenues of knowledge, and thus fits them better to discharge their duties to society and the state." In an editorial the delegates were urged to "make permanent provisions for the increased usefulness of the state's public schools," noting that they had never "had a fair show outside the large cities and towns." They were requested to strengthen the system and provide better salaries for the teachers; it was suggested that revenue for the latter might be acquired through a poll tax. One Baptist district association declared that public schools in the rural areas suffered because of insufficient funds and poorly prepared teachers. It advised its constituency to petition the constitutional convention to provide for increased school appropriations and "to place a premium upon preparation for teachers."<sup>72</sup>

The Baptist opponents of public education were permitted

<sup>70</sup> *Religious Herald*, Aug. 10, 1871, March 21, 1872; *Minutes of the Seventy-Seventh Annual Session of the Accomack Baptist Association, Held with the Lower Northampton Baptist Church, Northampton County, Virginia, August 17-19, 1876* (Baltimore, 1876), p. 13; *Minutes of the Twenty-Ninth Annual Session of the Potomac Baptist Association, Held with the Bealton Church, Fauquier County, Virginia, August 13-15, 1884* (Baltimore, 1884), p. 9; *Minutes of the One Hundredth Session of the Goshen Baptist Association, Held with the County Line Church, Caroline County, Virginia, September 6-9, 1892* (Richmond, 1892), p. 16.

<sup>71</sup> *Minutes of the One Hundred and Fourth Annual Session of the Dover Baptist Association, Held with the Berea Baptist Church, Hanover County, Virginia, July 20-22, 1887* (Richmond, 1887), p. 17.

<sup>72</sup> *Religious Herald*, July 10, 1901; *Minutes of the One Hundred and Twelfth Annual Session of the Roanoke Baptist Association, Held with Green Pond Church, Pittsylvania County, Virginia, August 13-15, 1901* (Danville, Virginia, 1901), p. 12.

to present their views in the *Religious Herald*. The most outspoken Baptist critic of public schools was the professor of natural science and sometimes chairman of the faculty at Richmond College, Bennet Puryear. Using the pseudonym 'Civis,' Puryear presented his views in a series of articles which were published in the *Herald*. He claimed that free schools were hostile to free institutions and republican liberty, and asserted that they subverted the divinely established relations of parent and child and hence tended toward atheism. He also argued that taxes levied for public schools were unjust because many persons who did not patronize them or who were childless were taxed for their support. He believed that only persons who used the public schools should be taxed to maintain them.<sup>73</sup> Others claimed that the gratuitous educating of children by the state might weaken the "incentive to enterprise and economy" of the parents and by withdrawing children from the control and supervision of their parents, the schools would contribute to social instability. Some recognized that public schools were a necessity "brought upon us by the issues of the war" but lamented that they were inferior to the private schools, which they would eventually "kill out."<sup>74</sup>

Virginia Baptists possessed strong convictions regarding state-supported institutions of higher learning. As a whole Baptists were friendly toward the University of Virginia and were proud of the school. Even Professor Puryear acknowledged that it was a "public necessity" because it trained doctors, lawyers, and scientists—persons which every community needs.<sup>75</sup> The *Religious Herald* suggested that southern pre-eminence might lie in the world of ideas and approved efforts to strengthen the faculty at the University of Virginia. After the selection of Noah K. Davis, a Baptist, as professor of moral philosophy in 1873, Baptist respect for the University increased. In 1884 the *Herald* expressed approval of the state's "annual annuity of \$50,000" to the University and referred to it as the only "true university in the South."<sup>76</sup> A discord in the refrain of praise for the Charlottesville institution was noted briefly in 1876.

<sup>73</sup> *Religious Herald*, May 20, 1875, Feb. 14, 1878, July 17, 1879.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 27, 1874; *Minutes of the Twenty-Ninth Annual Session of the Potomac Baptist Association, Held with the Bealton Church, Fauquier County, Virginia, August 13-15, 1884* (Baltimore, 1884), p. 9.

<sup>75</sup> *Religious Herald*, May 27, 1875.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, March 14, 1867, July 10, 1873, Feb. 21, 1884.

The Memorial Campaign of the Baptists for \$300,000 had collapsed, and in this year (1876) the state legislature approved an increase in the annual appropriation to the University from fifteen to thirty thousand dollars and provided free tuition to all deserving Virginia students above the age of eighteen. It was declared that the latter item of legislation was an unjust use of tax monies, which would be used to educate the children of thriftless and idle parents. It was further claimed that "high minded and honorable young men" did not want a free education but would be willing to work and sacrifice for it. The crucial point of the *Herald's* argument was that this policy would place the state university in unfair competition with private schools like Richmond College.<sup>77</sup>

If Virginia Military Institute and Virginia Polytechnic Institute possessed any Baptist friends during these years, they remained silent. The *Religious Herald* claimed that V.M.I. was "no more needed by the state than a fifth wheel is by a coach." It was explained that West Point was sufficient to train the nation's military personnel and that Virginia should concentrate on developing "one high-grade university, the University of Virginia." This one university would suffice for the needs of the state, and the citizens should not be burdened with taxes to maintain V.M.I. The higher educational needs of the people of the Shenandoah Valley, it was contended, could be met by the private school, Washington and Lee University.<sup>78</sup> In 1873 there was vigorous opposition from the Baptists to the establishment of a land-grant college in the state. The *Religious Herald* proclaimed that such an institution "would use the wealth of the nation to subsidize visionary, local experiments," and vowed that federal authorities would control it and select its trustees. The *Herald* concluded its outburst with a resort to racial prejudice; asserting that if such an institution were established in the state, it would "lead to race mixing in the schools." Others described agricultural schools as a burlesque on education and as unnecessary. What was needed were more schools of arts and sciences. The reason for this attitude can only be surmised since Virginia Baptists had sought repeatedly to have Richmond College designated as the land grant institu-

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 17, 1876, March 2, 1876, Aug. 3, 1876; Minutes of Board of Trustees, Feb. 7, 1876.

<sup>78</sup> *Religious Herald*, Dec. 21, 1871, July 10, 1873.



tion for the state. Baptist opposition to state support of V.M.I. and to the founding of Virginia Polytechnic Institute went unheeded. When it was reported that \$15,000 in state funds would have to supplement the Federal grant to V.P.I., the school was described as useless and the appropriation a "grievous burden" upon a poverty-stricken people.<sup>79</sup>

Baptist attitude toward religion in public institutions might be noted. Virginia Baptists were opposed to any policy of coerced reading of the Bible in public schools. They maintained that if a teacher could introduce Bible reading into the class schedule without offending anyone, it would be an acceptable procedure. The practice of offering courses in English Bible as an elective in public colleges and universities received the approval of Virginia Baptists.<sup>80</sup>

The great majority of Virginia Baptists approved the establishment of a system of tax-supported public schools and often requested state authorities to improve educational facilities. Virginia Baptists acclaimed the University of Virginia and applauded efforts to make it an institution of the first rank. However, the use of state funds to maintain V.M.I. and V.P.I. and to provide free tuition to state residents at the University of Virginia was denounced as unjust competition with private institutions and an unneeded tax burden upon a poverty-ridden populace.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, August 7, 1873, Nov. 6, 1873, Jan. 15, 1874.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 14, 1875; *General Association of Virginia, 1887*, p. 28.

# MARYLAND'S REACTION TO EARLY'S RAID IN 1864: A SUMMER OF BITTERNESS\*

By RICHARD R. DUNCAN

FOR Marylanders the long arm of Lee was an ever present threat. Ever since the second year of the war, southern armies had overrun the state during the summer months, and once again in July, 1864, Confederate forces spilled over the Potomac River. During the 1862 campaign, Lee had treated Maryland as a sister state, but after three long years of bitter warfare, the area was now regarded as Union territory. The army of liberation became a predatory one. Three years of internal dissension had also polarized the loyalty issue for many Marylanders, and Confederate reprisals in 1864 for northern depredations in Virginia sharpened Unionist feelings into a bitterly antagonistic reaction towards southern sympathizers.

The successful penetration of the Union army into western Virginia in June complicated Lee's already hard pressed defense of Richmond. The necessity of defending Lynchburg against General David Hunter forced the detachment of General Jubal Early's corps and brought about a decision to send another Confederate expedition northwards. On June 24 General Early was ordered to hold his corps in readiness to go to the defense of Lynchburg. In his instructions of operations he was allowed great flexibility. If he were successful in striking a decisive blow at Hunter, Early was to pursue the Union army down the Shenandoah Valley, and if the opportunity afforded itself, the General was then to threaten either Baltimore or Washington. Lee hoped that such a move would force Grant either to attack his army or to send troops to defend the capital. If the latter decision was made, a weakened Grant would then be more vulnerable to attack.

Other considerations were also important in Lee's thinking.

\* This article was originally accepted for publication by the former editor, Richard Walsh.

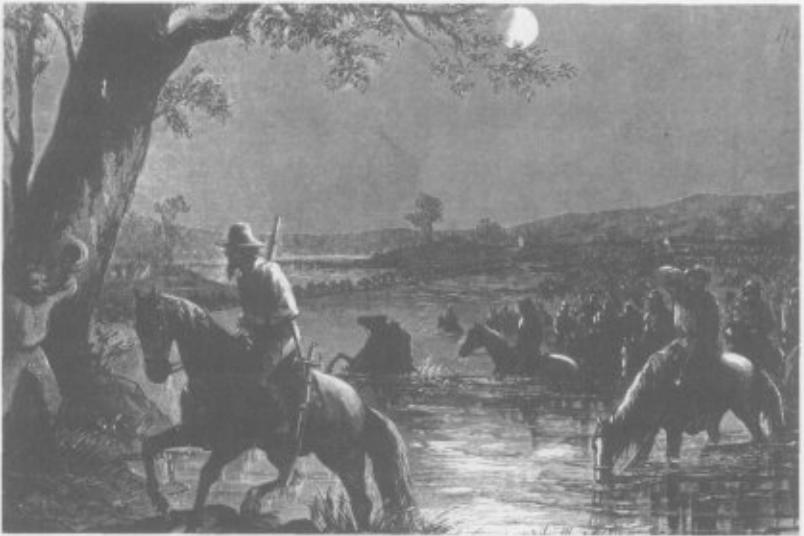
An invasion of Maryland would force Hunter away from the Kanawha Valley and would thereby remove the Union threat to southwestern Virginia. Also if the Shenandoah Valley were again successfully brought under southern control, there would be little advantage in having Early remain inactive, while an expedition into Union territory would help to replenish needed military supplies and stores. In addition, Lee hoped that a successful movement into Maryland could be coupled with a plan for the liberation of Confederate prisoners held at Point Lookout.<sup>1</sup>

With the failure of Hunter's thrust into Central Virginia and his subsequent withdrawal into the Kanawha Valley, Lee again submitted the original plan to Early's judgment. Early, determined to carry out the idea of a possible northward move, soon had his corps in motion towards Maryland.<sup>2</sup> On crossing into the state, the General, in response to the reports of the sacking of warehouses by his men at Martinsburg, issued a stern warning. He reminded his men that they were not on a marauding expedition and were not waging war on a helpless population. In appealing to them to conduct themselves as they had on former occasions, he warned that strict discipline would be maintained. Straggling, marauding, and pillaging were not to be permitted. The acquisition of all supplies and commodities was to be placed under the supervision of designated officers, who were to pay for items with money or, if the owner preferred, certificates. The General ordered that all persons who were found pillaging were to be summarily arrested and punished and that guards were to be posted in towns through which the army passed. Any alcoholic beverages, which were discovered being sold to soldiers, were to be confiscated and

<sup>1</sup> U. S. War Dept., *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, XXXVII, pt. 1, pp. 346, 766-770. Hereafter cited as *OR* with all references to Series I unless otherwise cited; Clifford Dowdey and Louis H. Manarin, eds., *The Wartime Papers of R. E. Lee* (Boston, 1961), pp. 806-808, 811, and 822-823; Jubal A. Early, *War Memoirs* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1960), p. 371. In commenting on the raid, Lee in a communique to Davis on July 10 indicated that at least one effect of it would be a lesson for the Union on the necessity of maintaining troops along the border. Dowdey, *Wartime Papers*, pp. 817-818.

Later in writing about the raid, Early indicated that Lee had not expected him to capture Washington but only to threaten the capital. Lee did not believe that it would have been possible to capture the city. Jubal A. Early, "Early's March To Washington In 1864," *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1956), IV, p. 492n.

<sup>2</sup> Early, *Memoirs*, p. 382.



The Rebel Army Crossing the Fords of the Potomac for the Invasion of Maryland. [Attributed to *Harper's Weekly*].  
*Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection.*

either destroyed or used by the medical officer.<sup>3</sup> However, despite these good intentions, three years of tedious and bitter warfare had had its adverse effects on discipline.

By July 5, Confederate units were crossing the Potomac River and were fanning out into Western Maryland. While units under Ramseur marched towards Frederick, McCausland moved against Hagerstown.<sup>4</sup> News of their crossing spread rapidly throughout the region. Farmers and merchants attempted to secure their stock and merchandise, while in Hagerstown the federal quartermaster with government supplies, stores, and horses left for Carlisle, Pennsylvania. All movable railroad equipment at Hagerstown and at Chambersburg was sent to Harrisburg for safety. Every train, leaving the Cumberland Valley, was filled with refugees, while others crowded the roads leading into Pennsylvania. Negroes, fearing Confederate treatment, lined the roads in their flight from the

<sup>3</sup> *OR*, XXXVII, pt. 2, p. 592; Millard Kessler Bushong, *Old Jube* (Boyce, Virginia, 1961), pp. 196-197.

<sup>4</sup> Copy of Report of Operations of the Second Corps, A. N. Va. and of the Army of the Valley District During 1864, Jededick Hotchkiss papers, Library of Congress; *O. R.*, I, XLIII, pt. 1, pp. 1015-1032.

southern advance.<sup>5</sup> At nearby St. James College annual commencement proceedings were rushed, and degrees conferred without the usual speeches.<sup>6</sup>

On entering Hagerstown General McCausland presented the town treasurer with a written demand for \$20,000 in United States money and a list of supplies. He demanded all government stores, while the town was to supply 1,500 suits, hats, pairs of shoes or boots, shirts and socks each and 1,900 pairs of drawers. The note allowed three hours for the payment of the money but allotted four for the collection of the various items. McCausland warned local officials that unless they complied with the conditions, the town would be burned. Possibly as a threat or as a symbol of Confederate presence, a regiment of cavalry was stationed in front of the court house.<sup>7</sup>

The ransom was discussed, and it was decided that the money should be raised. A levy was then divided among the three banks in the Hagerstown area; the Hagerstown Bank provided \$10,000, while the remaining two, the First National Bank and the Williamsport Branch Bank, furnished \$5,000 each. A note was drafted on the town for the amount and made payable to the banks. It was then duly signed by the city treasurer and as many other prominent citizens as could be found to help validate it. Later, the Maryland legislature authorized the town to issue bonds to redeem the note.<sup>8</sup>

The clothing was far more difficult to secure, and McCausland was asked for an extension of time. After at first refusing, he finally allowed them two additional hours. The requisition still could not be filled, and on being informed of this fact, he prepared to carry out his threat. He ordered the removal of all women and children in half an hour, but several members of his staff, in response to pleas from citizens, intervened and persuaded him to accept the collected items and to spare Hagers-

<sup>5</sup> *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, July 9, 1864. Hereafter cited as *American*; *Baltimore County Advocate*, July 9, 1864; Thomas J. Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), III, pp. 618-619.

<sup>6</sup> Hall Harrison, *Life of the Right Reverend John Barnett Kerfoot* (New York, 1886), I, p. 286.

<sup>7</sup> Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, pp. 619-621.

<sup>8</sup> *The Hagerstown Bank at Hagerstown, Maryland* (The Knickerbocker Press, 1910), pp. 100-104; *Baltimore Sun*, July 21, 1864. Fortunately for the town, McCausland missed a digit, and Hagerstown was assessed \$20,000 instead of \$200,000. The error was discovered after it was too late, and it was allowed to stand. Frank Vandiver, *Jubal's Raid* (New York, 1960), p. 92; Bushong, *Old Jube*, p. 197.

town. Finally in relenting, the money and clothing was accepted, and a receipt, releasing and protecting the town from further demands, was issued.<sup>9</sup>

But soon after McCausland's troops left Hagerstown, a marauding unit under the command of a Major Davis overran the city. Hat and shoe stores were broken into, while stores of government hay and the Franklin Railroad depot were set on fire by the soldiers. When they attempted to burn the government produce stored in privately owned warehouses, citizens protested and called attention to the receipt from McCausland. In the ensuing dialogue it was agreed that the buildings would be spared on the payment of \$500 and on condition that the stores would be taken out and burned. The soldiers further agreed to leave on the payment of ten pairs of boots.<sup>10</sup>

The distant sound of cannons and the influx of refugees from the Hagerstown area gave the citizens of Middletown full warning of the approaching southern army. An advanced unit under Major Harry Gilmore briefly occupied the town on July 7, and the first of a series of demands was made. Each family was required to furnish a loaf of bread and a piece of meat to the soldiers. On the following day, General Ramson's cavalry and artillery reoccupied the town after a brief skirmish with the 8th Illinois Cavalry. This time, the demand was for a requisition of 8,000 rations to be filled within two hours. The payment stripped the community of most of its coffee, meat, and sugar. By the evening of July 8 the main part of the army was now encamped in the vicinity of Middletown. Discipline was lax, and soldiers pillaged stores and houses. Cavalry units scoured the countryside for provisions and horses. Threats were made to burn the office of the local Union paper, the *Valley Register*, but through the intervention of several citizens, the newspaper

<sup>9</sup> Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, pp. 620-621. The collected clothing was listed in the receipt as follows: coats, 243; pants, 203; drawers, 132; hose, 737; boots, 99; shoes, 123; hats, 830; shirts, 225; piece goods, 1,370½ yards; and clothing, 70 pieces assorted. *Ibid.*, p. 621.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, III, p. 621; *American*, July 9 and 12, 1864. Later in September a meeting in Hagerstown addressed an appeal to the Secretary of War and the provost marshal of the state for a postponement of the draft in their district. In justifying the request, they maintained that the turmoil in the area from July to the middle of August had completely disrupted business and had caused many people to leave the area. They estimated that raids during this period had cost the district \$80,000 in money, property, and produce. The exemption from the draft was granted. *OR*, series III, IV, pp. 736-738 and 785; *Middletown Valley Register*, September 30, 1864.

was saved from harm. However, the Union paper, the *Odd Fellow* at nearby Boonsboro, was not so fortunate, and considerable damage was done to it.<sup>11</sup>

Later in the evening General Early sent a note, demanding a ransom of \$5,000 in federal money, to Middletown authorities. Several citizens went to the General and pleaded for relief. Early remained adamant in his demands, and he told them that he was there to give them a taste of what Virginia had suffered under Hunter. The General did finally modify his demand, and the sum was reduced to \$1,500 to be paid by 7:00 a.m. on the next morning. The remaining figure was supposed to be raised by the surrounding district by 6:00 p.m. of the next evening. The \$1,500 was paid, but approaching Union forces scared off the Confederates before the remainder could be collected. And a jubilant and thankful town welcomed federal troops on the following day.<sup>12</sup>

Reports of southern movements caused considerable excitement in Frederick. As early as July 3, the news of the fall of Martinsburg and the retreat of General Sigel to Harper's Ferry re-enforced an apprehensiveness of another visit by the Confederate army. Reflecting the despair of many Unionists, Jacob Englebrecht confided to his diary on July 4 that "Union stock is down with me 5 per cent [,] with other union men about 25 per cent [,] these as [are?] the Softs, Shell Union men—the Rebel stock is up 50 to 60 per cent to judge from their countinances." The evacuation of wounded, sick, and commissary supplies from Harper's Ferry through Frederick enroute to Baltimore and Washington heightened this suspense and tension. Federal authorities in Frederick began to secure stores, and large numbers of men and Negroes were pressed into packing military supplies on railroad cars. On July 4 orders were also given to remove the sick and wounded from the local hospital, and the flurry of activity became contagious. Merchants temporarily did a thriving business, for many citizens, fearing that an occupation would mean scarcity and a rise in

<sup>11</sup> *Valley Register*, July 22, 1864.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, July 22, 1864; *Frederick Examiner*, July 20, 1864. In commenting on the raid, the *Valley Register* asserted that three-fourths of the region's farmers had lost their horses and were faced with the dilemma of not having them to help in harvesting the wheat crop. Much of the meat and flour in the area was exhausted. The scarcity of such items forced families to rely on their own poultry and gardens. *Valley Register*, July 22, 1864.

prices, attempted to stock up on provisions. But with the arrival of wounded from the skirmish at Middletown and rumors of the nearness of the Confederate army, business virtually came to a halt. As much property as possible was sent to safety, while local banks took extra precautions to secure their assets. The collector of Internal Revenue forwarded to Washington over \$70,000. Many Unionists "skeddadeled," and the city streets were filled with men and women fleeing with their families, horses, and wagons to safety.<sup>13</sup>

Soon, on the afternoon of July 7, clouds of dust appeared on South Mountain as the southern army descended towards the town. By evening advanced Confederate units had reached the outskirts of Frederick. The southerners quickly set up a battery on a hill to the west of the city, and in an ensuing skirmish, several shots were fired into the town. Some damage was done to a house, streets, and trees, but apparently oblivious to any dangers, citizens occupied housetops and other high places hoping to view the fight.

The initial southern thrust was repulsed, and on the following day, General Lew Wallace, who had established his headquarters at Monocacy Junction, visited the city. On seeing the General, local citizens regained hope, and confidence surged through the town once again. Stores reopened for business. Many houses displayed Union flags, while their occupants enthusiastically welcomed troops as they marched through the streets.<sup>14</sup> But in the face of rapidly increasing Confederate strength, Wallace decided to evacuate Frederick and to withdraw to Monocacy Junction. There, located on the Monocacy River, Wallace secured a strong defensive position. With few fords and with the commanding heights of the river on the eastern bank, the number of points to defend would allow his

<sup>13</sup> Diary by Jacob Englebrecht, July 4-6, 1864. (A diary on microfilm, owned by the Historical Society of Frederick County, Maryland, in the C. Burr Artz Library, Frederick, Maryland and the Md. Hist. Soc.); Diary of Katherine Susannah Markell (1856-1893) of Frederick, Maryland, July 3, 1864, p. 60 (A diary on Microfilm in Md. Hist. Soc.: original in possession of Mrs. Virginia O. Bardsley, Clemson University, Clemson, S. C.); *Frederick Maryland Union*, July 7, 1864; *Examiner*, July 20, 1864; *Baltimore Clipper*, July 6, 1864; *American*, July 7, 9, and 11, 1864.

<sup>14</sup> Copy of Report of Operations during 1864 Hotchkiss papers; Englebrecht diary, July 8, 1864; Markell diary, July 7, 1864, p. 60; *American*, July 9, 1864; *Baltimore Clipper*, July 9, 1864; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, p. 623.



smaller army to be more effective. The Junction had other strategic value as well. Here the railroad branched off towards Harper's Ferry, and Wallace hoped to keep communications open with the garrison there. The position also allowed Wallace's force to cover the pikes leading to Baltimore and Washington.

Despite Early's numerical superiority, Wallace decided to fight. A number of factors prompted his decision. With the two turnpikes within two miles of each other, he hoped to determine whether Washington or Baltimore was the intended objective; the roads would also offer a convenient avenue of retreat if necessary. Since his army was the only one between the capital and the Confederates, he reasoned that a battle would delay Early's advance and would give General Grant additional time to re-enforce Washington. A battle would also reveal the size of the southern army and determine the seriousness of the threat.<sup>15</sup>

Wallace's subsequent defeat crushed all hope in Frederick for quick relief from the Confederate army. And as in the case of Hagerstown and Middletown, a requisition was levied on the town. Earlier, Mayor William G. Cole had been brought to the city hall where he was presented with a demand of \$200,000 to insure the safety of the city. The Mayor immediately assembled a meeting of the remaining city council members and a group of prominent citizens to discuss the ransom. An attempt was made to have the sum reduced, but the request was emphatically rejected. They were in turn informed that if it were not paid, the Confederates would help themselves.<sup>16</sup> The news of the results of the battle of Monocacy prompted

<sup>15</sup> OR, XXXVII, pt. 1, pp. 191-200; Lew Wallace, *Lew Wallace: an Autobiography* (New York, 1906), pp. 753-754. Wallace, despite the belief that he had accomplished his objective, was acutely aware of the effects of his defeat on his career and of the coolness of the War Department towards him. But by the last part of July, such feelings had changed, and his actions were now receiving praise. In September he could not only write to his brother, William Wallace, that his relations with the administration was cordial, but that he had "won my way back not only to confidence, but favor." He went on to add: "I think I can say what no other general officer in the army can—that a defeat did more for me than the victories I've been engaged in. In truth, the battle of Monocacy saved Washington, and the authorities acknowledge the service and are grateful for it." Lew Wallace to wife, July 30, 1864, Wallace to William Wallace, Sept. 23, 1864, Lew Wallace papers (xerox copies), Indiana Hist. Soc.

<sup>16</sup> *Maryland Union*, July 21, 1864.

reluctant city officials to meet the demand, and the city's five banks provided the money in ratio to their capital.<sup>17</sup>

Meanwhile soldiers scoured the town for commodities. Some stores had their merchandise taken in exchange for southern money, while others were broken into and robbed. Foraging parties combed the countryside for livestock which was driven through the town's streets enroute to Virginia. Jacob Englebrecht, writing in his diary, accused the Confederates of stealing ". . . from the Farmers money, meat, chickens, cattle, sheep, & anything that came their way."<sup>18</sup>

A variety of damage was inflicted on the property in the area. The office of the Union paper, the *Examiner*, was visited but escaped with only slight harm. Desks were rifled and their contents destroyed, but the editor had taken the precaution of securing his most important books and papers. When he returned to Frederick, he charged that an order had been issued for the destruction of the office, but that southern sympathizers had intervened to prevent it from being carried out. He accused them of fearing to have the burden of damages fall upon them.<sup>19</sup> More serious destruction was reserved for government property. Workshops and stables were burned, while the quartermaster and internal revenue collector's offices were ransacked. The remaining papers were either looted or destroyed.<sup>20</sup> Later a reward was offered for the return of the license record, income receipt book, and other official papers which had disappeared during the raid.<sup>21</sup>

The skirmishing at Monocacy Junction damaged a number of houses in that area, and in defending the Junction, Union soldiers burned the Georgetown-Monocacy turnpike bridge and the wooden part of the iron railroad bridge. When the position

<sup>17</sup> Englebrecht diary, July 11, 1864; *Examiner*, July 20, 1864; *American*, July 13, 1864. Frederick attempted to get the federal government to re-imburse the city, but all such efforts failed. Bushong, *Old Jube*, p. 197.

The Frederick *Examiner* refused to recognize the action as binding upon the community. The paper maintained that the meeting had no legal power to do this, and the town, therefore, had no legal obligations to repay it. The editor of the paper accused the southern element of trying to foster a sense of moral obligation to protect themselves. *Examiner*, July 20, 1864.

<sup>18</sup> Englebrecht diary, July 11, 1864; *American*, July 13, 1864; *Cumberland Democratic Alleganian*, July 20, 1864.

<sup>19</sup> *Examiner*, July 20, 1864.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, July 20, 1864; *American*, July 13, 1864; *Democratic Alleganian*, July 20, 1864.

<sup>21</sup> *Examiner*, August 17, 1864.

fell to the Confederates, they then proceeded to burn the station house and other railroad buildings. They also attempted to destroy the remaining iron structure of the bridge but were unsuccessful.<sup>22</sup> Despite Southern depredations along the railroad between Frederick and Baltimore, the damage was slight.<sup>23</sup>

In Baltimore, as early as June 3, rumors of a cavalry raid on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and a clash with Siegal's force had caused a stir. Train service to the west was temporarily suspended on that day.<sup>24</sup> But official recognition of the threat was delayed until July 7. On that day Governor Augustus Bradford issued a proclamation in response to the crisis. In the statement he underlined the urgency of Marylanders of complying with his earlier call on May 14 for the enlistment of two regiments for a hundred day's service to defend the state. With only one regiment completed, the Governor asked for volunteers to complete the remaining one without delay. With an immediate need for men, the Governor did not believe that there was enough time to rely on the draft.<sup>25</sup> In Baltimore many Unionists, who had been previously connected with local military organizations, met at the headquarters of the Baltimore City Guards and organized a company to defend the city. Other groups were also active, and the Baltimore City Union Guards advertised their meetings to secure additional recruits.<sup>26</sup>

When the news of General Wallace's defeat reached the city on the evening of July 9, panic became widespread. All liquor stores were closed at 8:00 p.m., and the streets were filled with citizens discussing the latest news.<sup>27</sup> A committee of city officials, appointed by the mayor, wired Lincoln asking him to send re-enforcements to Baltimore. They maintained that it would be impossible to organize the citizens effectively before the Confederate army would be there. In reply, the President assured them that all troops were being deployed for the safety of all and that reports indicated that the southern army was moving on Washington. In expressing hope that neither city

<sup>22</sup> Englebrecht diary, July 12, 1864; *American*, July 13, 1864; *Examiner*, July 20, 1864; *Maryland Union*, July 21, 1864; *Valley Register*, July 29, 1864.

<sup>23</sup> *O.R.*, XXXVII, pt. 2, p. 304.

<sup>24</sup> *Baltimore Clipper*, July 4, 1864.

<sup>25</sup> *American*, July 9, 1864.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, July 9, 1864.

<sup>27</sup> Washington, D. C. *National Intelligencer*, July 11, 1864.

would fall, he counseled vigilance but calmness.<sup>28</sup> Meanwhile, local military authorities ordered the impressment of horses for the use of the army. Police and military units carried out the order, and by evening the *Baltimore Clipper* reported that few horses remained in the local livery stables. A quota of horses was even taken from the City Passenger Railway and express companies.<sup>29</sup>

On the following morning at daybreak, bells sounded a general alarm throughout the city to arouse the citizenry. On various corners citizens found posted a joint proclamation from Governor Bradford and Mayor John Chapman. The Governor and Mayor, indicating their previous hesitation to cause any premature alarm, declared that the danger to the city was now



General Bradley Tyler Johnson.  
1829-1903.  
*Maryland Historical Society.*

<sup>28</sup> *OR*, XXXVII, pt. 2, p. 140; Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, 1953), VII, pp. 437-438. Later on the same morning, General Halleck wired General Cadwalader in Philadelphia to send all convalescents fit for duty to Baltimore. *OR*, XXXVII, pt. 2, p. 188.

<sup>29</sup> *Baltimore Clipper*, July 11, 1864. On July 7th General Halleck authorized Wallace to impress all horses in Maryland and the border counties of Pennsylvania which could fall into Confederate hands. All loyal owners were to be compensated at the horse's appraised value. *OR*, XXXVII, pt. 2, p. 108.

Later, Wallace created a commission of three to pass on cases for compensation. Owners were required to secure a certificate of loyalty before any payment was made. The commission met at Wallace's headquarters from 3:00 to 6:00 p.m. each day. *Baltimore Clipper*, July 25, 1864; *Baltimore County Advocate*, July 30, 1864.

real. They asked for the immediate assistance of all loyal men to defend their city and called upon them to man the fortifications and to construct additional ones. General Lockwood was appointed to command the civilian force, and they asked that all loyal men should assemble in their usual ward meeting places and then to report to the General. Response to the excitement was contagious, and citizens and members of the military leagues took up their arms. Squads were soon marching to various points to form companies and to receive further orders. A company of scouts was organized under the command of Major Petherbridge to keep the roads leading into the city under surveillance. The Negro population was also enthusiastic in their response. They formed their own companies and elected officers. After being issued arms, they were marched to the fortifications where they helped to construct additional ones or loaded and unloaded wagons.<sup>30</sup>

Additional precautions were taken to safeguard government property from possible capture. Preparations were begun for the removal of commissary stores from local warehouses. A squad of soldiers, appearing at Baltimore and North streets, impressed fifty men there to assist in the undertaking. When many of the men loitering in the area learned the nature of the soldiers' presence, there was a stampede for safer areas.<sup>31</sup> Many warehouses were emptied, and their contents placed on board ships at the city wharves. The ships were kept in readiness in case of necessity for a quick departure. Records and papers of the provost marshal's and paymaster general's offices were also placed on a steamer, while the custom house and post office sent their valuables from the city.<sup>32</sup>

In preparing for the defense of Baltimore, General W. W. Morris, who was placed in command on July 9 by General Halleck, suggested to General Lockwood that barricades should be erected at various points to prevent cavalry dashes into the city. He indicated that the quartermaster would supply the

<sup>30</sup> *OR*, XXXVII, pt. 2, p. 187; *American*, July 11, 1864; *Baltimore Daily Gazette*, July 11, 1864. Hereafter cited as *Gazette*. General H. H. Lockwood was assigned by General Morris on July 9th to command the civilian force. Later on July 14, he was assigned to the defense of Baltimore and areas of the Middle Department not under the command of Generals Tyler and Morris. *OR*, XXXVII, pt. 2, pp. 147 and 324.

<sup>31</sup> *Baltimore Clipper*, July 11, 1864.

<sup>32</sup> Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, p. 628; *American*, July 15, 1864.

materials, if the city would supply the labor. The offer was quickly accepted, and Lockwood ordered the streets to be barricaded.<sup>33</sup>

The city council also issued a call to all citizens for a united effort in the defense of Baltimore, and it requested Mayor Chapman to confer with General E. O. C. Ord on the expediency of closing banks and businesses until after the threat had passed. The council further directed him to see if the General believed that it was expedient to enroll and to arm citizens into military organizations. For defense, one hundred thousand dollars was appropriated to be used in constructing additional fortifications around the city, and a committee, consisting of the mayor, the presidents of the two branches of the council, and two bankers, was appointed to supervise its use. The committee was directed to cooperate with the military authorities, and the council further indicated that if the initial sum was insufficient, additional money would be provided.<sup>34</sup>

With the increase of tension in the city, the Board of Police Commissioners decided to add four hundred men to its department. The special force was designated by a badge of ribbon rather than by uniform. The men were required to be of good character, able bodied, and strong Union supporters. On the evening of July 11 the night details were doubled, and the police began to exercise a stricter surveillance over persons, especially strangers, who were regarded as suspicious.<sup>35</sup>

In the ensuing conference between General Ord and Mayor Chapman, it was decided that there would be no suspension of business. The General favored an enrollment only if one had not been recently taken, for he did not feel that there was a need for additional volunteers at that time.<sup>36</sup> But in co-operation with city officials, military authorities tightened their con-

<sup>33</sup> *OR*, XXXVII, pt. 2, pp. 146-147 and 179-180.

<sup>34</sup> *American*, July 12, 1864. General E. O. C. Ord was appointed to the command of the 8th Army Corps and all troops in the Middle Department on July 11 by Lincoln. Wallace still remained in authority to administer the general affairs of the Department. *OR*, XXXVII, pt. 2, pp. 214-215; *American*, July 12, 1864; *Gazette*, July 12, 1864; *Baltimore Clipper*, July 13, 1864.

<sup>35</sup> *Baltimore Clipper*, July 12, 1864; *American*, July 13, 1864. With the return of more normal conditions by July 15 the police board felt that they could dispense with the special force and discharge them from service. *American*, July 16, 1864.

<sup>36</sup> *American*, July 12, 1864.

trol over Baltimore. All restaurants and drinking places were closed,<sup>37</sup> and General Ord ordered that no passes were to be issued to permit citizens to travel beyond the picket lines. All vessels leaving the harbor were required to obtain permits, while persons, visiting in the city from other localities, were permitted to leave only if they could account for themselves.<sup>38</sup> Applicants besieged the provost marshal's office for passes, but only known Unionists were granted them. Those who were regarded as weak Union men or who were suspected of being southern sympathizers were refused.<sup>39</sup> A number of persons were caught attempting to pass through picket lines, and thirty were marched through the streets to military headquarters where they were accused of trying to escape military duty. In their own defense, they insisted that they were merely on a pleasure outing.<sup>40</sup>

The restrictions on travel had a sharp effect on agricultural prices. Scarcity caused commodities to skyrocket. Butter brought \$1.25 per pound, while eggs sold for 60 cents per dozen, and best cuts of beef cost 30 cents a pound. To relieve some of the pressure on prices, Colonel Wooley relaxed the regulations by the evening of July 13, and persons engaged in marketing activities were allowed more freedom of movement.<sup>41</sup> Finally on the following day, all restrictions on travel, except those normally in effect, were removed.<sup>42</sup>

In the meantime, on July 12, Governor Bradford, after consulting with General Ord, issued a proclamation calling out the militia. All enrolled men were ordered to assemble in their wards at 5:00 p.m. on the following evening. Bradford warned that if there were a failure to comply, measures would be adopted to enforce attendance. The militia was assigned to General Ord and was to perform those duties which he designated. Members of the militia were informed that for the

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, July 14, 1864.

<sup>38</sup> *OR*, XXXVII, pt. 2, pp. 323-324; *Gazette*, July 13, 1864.

<sup>39</sup> *Baltimore Clipper*, July 15, 1864; *American*, July 15, 1864.

<sup>40</sup> *Gazette*, July 12-13, 1864; *American*, July 14, 1864.

<sup>41</sup> *Gazette*, July 14, 1864; *American*, July 15, 1864; *Baltimore Clipper*, July 15, 1864.

<sup>42</sup> *OR*, XXXVII, pt. 2, pp. 323-324. Passes were still required to go to Fortress Monroe, Annapolis, and other points on the eastern and western shores by railroad or boat.

length of their service, they would be armed, equipped, and officered in accordance with regular army regulations and that they would also be entitled to the same compensation by the state. The Governor further suggested that for their own comfort they provide themselves with a tin cup, blanket, and other personal items.<sup>43</sup>

The Governor's call received strong support from General Ord, who issued an order to emphasize the necessity of compliance. He warned all citizens, who were liable for duty, that it would be strictly enforced. Ord indicated that he did not wish his warning to be construed as a threat, but he stressed his full concurrence with the Governor on its necessity. On the following day a modification in the time of assembling was made by the state Adjutant General's office. Officials felt that more time was needed in appointing officers and in organizing the force. The new time was now set for 5:00 p.m. on the evening of July 15. Those, who complied with the original order or who had been ordered by ward commanders to meet on July 14, were instructed to appear at the new time.<sup>44</sup>

Vociferous complaints were soon made by some Unionists that southern sympathizers were not complying with the order. They demanded that such persons should be forced to perform their duty and to do their share. In response to the agitation, Governor Bradford assured ward commanders that those who refused to report would be subject to action. The Governor further indicated that General Ord had guaranteed him that the proclamation and laws of the state would be enforced. The *Baltimore American* told its readers that those who failed to comply would be escorted to the fortifications by a military guard and assigned appropriate labor for their consideration. The paper also reported that the Governor and the Adjutant

<sup>43</sup> *American*, July 13, 1864. In a communique to Governor Bradford, General Ord expressed the opinion that the militia was not needed in view of the constant arrival of regular troops, but he did feel that it was an excellent opportunity to call the militia up "to organize them into Regiments and Companies." Once organized, Ord reasoned, then the militia could be dismissed and sent home with instructions to remain in readiness. The General also felt that it was an excellent time to capitalize on the turmoil in the county and do the same thing there. General E. O. S. Ord to Governor Bradford, July 12, 1864, p. 566, Executive Letter Book, 1854-1866, State Archives, Annapolis.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, July 13-14, 1864.



General would collect the names of all such persons, and they would be kept by the state.<sup>45</sup>

By the time the militia assembled on July 15, the emergency had passed, and the men were dismissed. For the occasion numerous speeches were made on the importance of preparing for any future emergency. To emphasize the importance of preparedness, they were told that ward companies were to be formed and that drill meetings were to be held during the week. Before being dismissed, a message from the Governor was read. Bradford thanked the men for their prompt response on such short notice and for the effective execution of the order. In his remarks he especially praised those who had responded at the first intimation of danger, and he urged the continuation of the volunteer and militia organizations towards forming the foundation of a more effective militia system.<sup>46</sup>

On the following day General Wallace directed General Lockwood to prepare a list of all civilians under his command. Lockwood was directed to assemble the militia at their various headquarters. From there he was to march them to the ordinance office where they were to return all government equipment in their possession. But Wallace cautioned him to instruct them not to disband their organizations and to indicate to them that they were to stand in readiness in case of another emergency.<sup>47</sup> Two days later in a circular thanking the loyal citizens of Baltimore, Wallace indicated that lists of those who had served would be compiled and presented to the city as a roll of honor for future use. He also expressed the belief that past experience indicated the necessity of perfecting an effective militia system and that he would gladly assist the civil authorities in this undertaking. He felt that if this were done, Baltimore could defend itself. Finally, he asked that all com-

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, July 14-15, 1864.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, July 16, 1864.

<sup>47</sup> *OR*, XXXVII, pt. 2, p. 358. The civilian mounted force under Major Petherbridge was not included in the order and continued their duties. They remained active until July 19 when they, too, were dismissed and thanked for their services by General Wallace. *OR*, XXXVII, pt. 2, pp. 358 and 399.

Later on July 22 Wallace strongly reminded those citizens who had equipment belonging to the government to turn it in to the provost marshal of the 8th Army corps and that the purchase of any such equipment from soldiers and others was fraudulent. He indicated that such persons were subject to arrest. *OR*, XXXVII, pt. 2, p. 421.

manders report to his headquarters on the evening of July 20 for the purpose of creating regimental organizations.<sup>48</sup>

Prior to the battle of Monocacy, General Early had divided his army, and a brigade and a battery of horse artillery under the command of General Bradley T. Johnson was sent to the north of Baltimore to cut rail connections between that city and Philadelphia and Harrisburg. The movement was designed to act in conjunction with an attempt to free Confederate prisoners held at Point Lookout. Earlier on July 6, General Early had been informed by a special courier from Lee that an effort would be made to secure their release, and that if the plan were successful, he was to assist in the operation. Those freed were then to join Early before Washington in order to aid him in his campaign.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXVII, pt. 2, pp. 381-382. General Wallace reported to the Governor on July 30 that the first regiment was organized and that the officers were ready to receive their commissions. But in his letter Wallace indicated that he noticed that the organization was not properly sanctioned by law, but he assumed that the Governor had the authority to make the necessary regulations for the men. In reply, Bradford admitted that despite his desire to issue the commissions that there were certain practical difficulties preventing him from doing so. In the absence of a law providing otherwise, the Governor indicated that the officers had to be elected first before the commissions could be issued. However, he suggested that the officers should continue drilling and disciplining the men as if they actually held their commissions. He further indicated that his administration was in the process of preparing a paper on the militia system to reorganize it. General Lew Wallace to Governor Bradford, July 30, 1864, and Governor Bradford to General Wallace, Aug. 2, 1864, pp. 570-571, Executive Letter Book.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXVII, pt. 1, pp. 347-349; Early, *Memoirs*, pp. 385-386; Douglas Southall Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants* (New York, 1950), III, p. 564. Early was not fully informed of the particulars of the plan. In keeping with Lee's hope to release Confederate prisoners at Point Lookout, Davis consulted with Col. Commander John Taylor Wood, commander of the steamship, *Tallahausee*, at Wilmington, North Carolina. It was decided that Wood would equip the *Tallahausee* for the expedition with several field pieces and 20,000 arms to be issued to the liberated prisoners. Coinciding with the Battle of Monocacy, Wood wired Davis that all was in readiness, and that he was awaiting orders to put to sea as soon as Early moved on Washington. General G. W. Custis Lee with a detachment of marines joined Wood, and on July 10 the steamer sailed down the inlet to wait for the tide. But before the *Tallahausee* could leave, Wood received orders to abandon the expedition. Davis believed that information of the expedition had leaked to Union authorities and that the federal navy was preparing a trap for the ship. With the cancelation of the plan, Early recalled Johnson from his move towards Point Lookout. Magnus S. Thompson, "Plan to Release Our Men at Point Lookout," *Confederate Veteran* (Nashville, 1912), XX, no. 2, pp. 69-70.

Later in commenting on the plan, General Bradley Johnson expressed his doubt about the feasibility of such a move, for he did not think that it would have been possible for his men to have traveled the necessary distance in the required time. He felt that to cover approximately 300 miles and at the same time to destroy bridges and railroad property made it impossible. Bradley T. Johnson, "My Ride Around Baltimore in 1864," *Southern Historical Society Papers* (Richmond, 1902), XXX, p. 215. Hereafter cited as *SHSP*.

Johnson's move northward caused great consternation in that area. At New Windsor every store was closed and barred, while the streets became deserted. On Johnson's arrival, shopkeepers were forced to open their stores and to sell boots, shoes, and clothing to the Confederates. Before leaving, a railroad bridge and a warehouse were set on fire, but with the approach of a Union force, the southerners quickly moved on, and the fires were extinguished.<sup>50</sup> At Westminster, a cavalry unit under Major Gilmor rode into the town with drawn sabres. On seeing a few Union soldiers, they gave a loud yell and charged, while curious citizens opened their doors and windows to watch the action. The wave of a handkerchief by a fair damsel caused the yelling to be even louder. After occupying the town, a messenger from Johnson ordered Gilmor to demand fifteen hundred suits of clothing, boots, and shoes as a ransom. But the mayor was unable to get the council together before Johnson's arrival, and Gilmor persuaded the General to forget the matter.<sup>51</sup>

After reaching Cockeysville and destroying the Northern Central Railroad bridge there, Johnson detached a cavalry unit under Gilmor to strike at the railroad bridge of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad over the Gunpowder River.<sup>52</sup> Earlier, the president of the railroad had been concerned for the bridge's security and had requested the Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles to station a gunboat there for its protection. At that time General Halleck thought that it was unnecessary, but with the turn of events the War Department asked to have gunboats sent to Havre de Grace and the Gunpowder and Bush rivers.<sup>53</sup> Unfortunately for the railroad, the one stationed at Gunpowder River failed to accomplish its purpose.

Gilmor struck the railroad at Magnolia Junction. After capturing the station and cutting the telegraph line, he waited for an approaching train. When it arrived, he seized it. The passengers were forced to get off, and the baggagemaster required to unload the train. General Franklin, in civilian clothes, was among the passengers, and when he was pointed

<sup>50</sup> Reprint of *Carroll Record*, May-July, 1895 in Frederic Shriver Klein, ed., *Just South of Gettysburg* (Westminster, Maryland, 1963), pp. 216-217.

<sup>51</sup> Harry Gilmor, *Four Years in the Saddle* (New York, 1866), pp. 198-199.

<sup>52</sup> Johnson, "My Ride Around Baltimore," p. 218.

<sup>53</sup> Howard K. Beale, ed., *Diary of Gideon Welles* (New York, 1960), pp. 69 and 71.

out, the General was arrested after an examination of his papers. The train's engineer, in the meantime, crippled the engine so that it could not be moved, and then he managed to make his escape. Unable to move the engine, the train was set on fire at the station, and Gilmore prepared to capture a second one that was approaching the Junction. It in turn was captured, and in spite of the engineer's escape, Gilmore brought the train into the station. After unloading it and giving baggage checks to the passengers for their luggage, Gilmore then sent a detachment of sharpshooters to drive the Union soldiers off the Gunpowder bridge. First, under a flag of truce they were asked to surrender, but when they refused, the train was set on fire and backed over the draw section of the bridge. In order to escape the burning cars, the guards were forced to jump into the river. Meanwhile, the gunboat had allowed its steam to go down and was unable to offer any effective protection for the bridge. However, the bridge was only slightly damaged, and military authorities estimated that only three days were necessary for its repair. Before leaving Magnolia Junction, Gilmore's men proceeded to destroy all the railroad property there.<sup>54</sup>

Meanwhile the remainder of Johnson's force moved around Baltimore towards Washington and Point Lookout. In passing Governor Bradford's home, approximately five miles from Baltimore, Johnson detached a detail under the command of Lieutenant Blackstone of the Maryland cavalry to burn the Governor's house in retaliation for Hunter's burning of Governor Letcher's home in Lexington, Virginia. Bradford had left on the previous day for Baltimore, but his family was

<sup>54</sup> Harry Gilmore to Captain G. W. Booth, July 28, 1864, Harry Gilmore papers, MS. 642, Md. Hist. Soc. Gilmore, *Four Years*, pp. 203-206; *American*, July 13, 1864; *OR*, XXXVII, pt. 2, pp. 192-194, 214, and pt. 1, pp. 229-230. Unionists indignantly charged that several ladies, who were southern sympathizers, pointed out General Franklin to the Confederates. Gilmore denied this, and he maintained that the conduct of the ladies was proper and merely an expression of greeting an old friend. General Franklin was taken to Randalstown where he managed to make an escape. *American*, July 13-16, 1864; Gilmore, *Four Years*, pp. 203-204; and *OR*, XXXVII, pt. 2, p. 302.

Unionists also accused Southerners of improper conduct of robbing trunks and passengers of their valuables, jewelry, and money. Gilmore denied this and maintained that he had not received a single legitimate complaint. He asserted that a guard had been posted over the baggage, and each passenger was given a check for it. Later in *Four Years in the Saddle* Gilmore wrote that he had given orders that if anyone was found guilty of plundering, the person would have been shot. "Gilmore to Booth, July 28, 1864," Gilmore papers; Gilmore, *Four Years*, pp. 203-204; *American*, July 16, 1864.

Augustus W. Bradford.  
1806-1881.  
*Maryland Historical Society  
Graphics Collection.*



still there. On the morning of July 11, the family was awakened by noise of soldiers piling up furniture on the first floor. Mrs. Bradford was aroused by a Confederate soldier knocking at her door; she was then handed an order to leave the house immediately. With the first floor already in flames, the family had little choice except to leave quickly.<sup>55</sup>

In passing through Owings' Mills, southerners were offered an unusual treat. At Painter's Farm freezers of ice cream were being loaded onto a Western Maryland Railroad car for shipment to the Baltimore market. With rations scarce, it was confiscated and issued to the troops. Some of the West Virginians had never seen ice cream before and felt that the "beer" was too cold. Some put it into their canteens, while others scooped it up into their hats and ate it as they rode on.<sup>56</sup>

When rumors that Confederate forces held a portion of the Washington Branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad reached Annapolis, there was a great fear that the city would be

<sup>55</sup> "Governor Bradford's House Protectors' Memorandum, n.d.," "Augustus W. Bradford to Committee on War Claims," Augustus W. Bradford papers, MS. 1215, and Journal, III, entry of July 11, 1864, Augustus W. Bradford papers, MS. 90, Md. Hist. Soc.; Johnson, "My Ride Around Baltimore," p. 219; *American*, July 12, 1864.

<sup>56</sup> Henry C. Mettam, "Civil War Memoirs 1st Maryland Cavalry, C.S.A. (ed., Samuel H. Miller), *Md. Hist. Mag.* (June, 1963), Vol. 58, p. 157; Johnson, "My Ride Around Baltimore," p. 219; *Valley Register*, August 19, 1864.

captured, and the capital burned. A call was immediately made for volunteers to erect entrenchments around the town, but darkness prevented anything from being done on July 10. On the following day a meeting was held, and after consultations between civil and military authorities, volunteers were enrolled to construct entrenchments. Many of the members of the state constitutional convention, then meeting in the city, and state officials offered their services. The men were supervised by the military, and the quartermaster department furnished them with picks and shovels. Approximately a mile of breast works, commanding the railroad and county road, were constructed. Two batteries were positioned to rake the county road, and a gunboat was anchored in the Severn River to sweep the surrounding area. A steamer was also tied up to the wharf at the Naval Academy to carry important state papers to safety in case of necessity, while state authorities packed and readied official papers and records for removal. With the increase of excitement in the city, martial law was finally declared on July 11. The Mayor was informed that Col. A. R. Root was to defend the city at all costs and that citizens would be required to aid in its defense. Troops stationed at Annapolis Junction, along with 162 convalescents, were also to be utilized in defending the capital. All business in the city was suspended, and citizens capable of bearing arms were pressed into service. A number of southern sympathizers were forced out of their homes and were put to work against their will.<sup>57</sup>

By the time Johnson reached the outlying breastworks of Washington, the move on Point Lookout had been canceled, and he was ordered to report to General Early.<sup>58</sup> As southern units moved through the Silver Spring area, the home of Postmaster General Montgomery Blair, Jr. suffered a similar fate as Governor Bradford's had. Despite the destruction on the Blair estate, the adjacent home of Blair senior was spared and only slightly damaged by plundering. General John C. Breckenridge's friendship for the senior Blair was responsible for its safety, but this was not sufficient to protect his son's

<sup>57</sup> Annapolis, *Annapolis Gazette*, July 14, 1864; *American*, July 14-15, 1864; *OR*, XXXVII, pt. 2, p. 250.

<sup>58</sup> *OR*, XXXVII, pt. 1, pp. 347-349.

property.<sup>59</sup> With the army now united before Washington, Early decided not to attempt an attack on the defenses, and instead the army with long wagon trains of plunder moved through Poolesville and back into Virginia.<sup>60</sup>

Early's return to Virginia was only a temporary respite for western Maryland. The continued threat of a Confederate invasion and frequent raids kept the section in a turmoil for the remainder of the summer. News that a Confederate force had again crossed the Potomac in the last part of July spread panic as far as Frederick and Rockville.<sup>61</sup> The new Confederate move was in reaction to the burnings of Andrew Hunter's, Alexander Boteler's, and Edmund I. Lee's homes in northern Virginia by Hunter; Early was determined to seek vengeance. And on July 29 General Bradley Johnson's cavalry under orders of General McCausland moved northwards again, this time to Chambersburg.

The move into Pennsylvania was rapid and successful. Having accomplished their objective, Confederate units under McCausland retreated to Hancock on July 31. There the General demanded a ransom of \$30,000 and 5,000 cooked rations for the safety of the town. Marylanders in McCausland's command strongly protested the levy, and General Johnson actively intervened on behalf of the town. General McCausland was told that the town was incapable of raising such a sum, but at the same time Johnson advised citizens to raise as much of the money as they could. But before any could be collected, approaching Union troops under General Averell forced the Confederates to leave hurriedly without the ransom.<sup>62</sup>

The southerners, destroying canal and railroad property, then moved from Hancock towards Cumberland. That city had become increasingly alarmed over Confederate activity, and all the roads leading into the town were heavily picketed. Finally, on August 1, the excitement reached its climax with

<sup>59</sup> Henry Kyd Douglas, *I Rode With Stonewall* (Greenwich, Conn., 1961), p. 359, n. 6; Beale, *Diary of Welles*, p. 80; Jubal A. Early, "Advance on Washington in 1864," *SHSP* (Richmond, 1881), IX, pp. 309-310. Early maintained that he did not order the burning of the house, but he did feel that it was justified. Early, *Memoirs*, p. 395n.

<sup>60</sup> Mettan, "Civil War Memoirs," p. 159.

<sup>61</sup> Englebrecht diary, July 26 and 30, 1864; *Examiner*, July 27, 1864.

<sup>62</sup> *OR*, XXXVII, pt. 1, pp. 354-356 and 568; John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York, 1914), IX, pp. 177-178; Gilmor, *Four Years*, pp. 223-224.

the news of the approaching southern cavalry. Business was suspended, and many merchants began to pack their merchandise to send to areas of safety. Volunteer companies were quickly organized, and Col. C. H. Tompkins was authorized to secure any needed horses from the community for the batteries of artillery under his command. Fortunately for the town, General B. F. Kelley had made his preparations, and McCausland's attempt to capture Cumberland ended in failure.<sup>63</sup>

In order to relieve the pressure on the retreating McCausland, the remainder of Early's army demonstrated along the Potomac and once again crossed over the river on August 5. Hagerstown was temporarily occupied, and a number of prominent citizens were arrested in retaliation for Virginians who had been imprisoned by General Hunter. But at his headquarters, Early was persuaded by several citizens of Hagerstown to parole them on the condition that they would seek the release of those held by Union authorities.<sup>64</sup> At nearby St. James College the school's rector, the Rev. John B. Kerfoot, and Professor Joseph H. Coit were arrested specifically in retaliation for the imprisonment of the Rev. Hunter Boyd, a Presbyterian minister of Winchester, Virginia. They, too, were paroled on the same condition.<sup>65</sup>

The uncertainty, created by such raids, prevented the return of normal conditions to western Maryland. Business in Williamsport was paralyzed in July, and even with the resumption of some activity, rumors of approaching Confederates quickly halted business. The superintendent of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal at Williamsport, J. B. Masters, complained to his superiors that workers quit at the first indication of such a report.<sup>66</sup> Hagerstown banks had taken the precaution of removing their deposits and refused to bring them back until the excitement died down. As a result, local canal officers

<sup>63</sup> *Democratic Alleganian*, August 3, 1864; *OR*, XXXVII, pt. 2, pp. 518, and 576-578.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, August 24, 1864.

<sup>65</sup> Harrison, *Life of Kerfoot*, I, pp. 292-293; *The Hagerstown Mail*, August 26, 1864. Kerfoot and Coit went to Washington and were able to secure the release of Boyd. Kerfoot's arrest was one of the immediate causes in the closing of St. James College in September. He accepted the presidency of Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 190-191; Thomas J. Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), II, pp. 1241-1242.

<sup>66</sup> Henry S. Miller to W. S. Ringgold, July 18, 1864, and J. B. Masters to W. S. Ringgold, August 20, 1864, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company Records, Department of Interior Archives, National Archives. Hereafter cited as Canal papers.



found it impossible to secure needed money on drafts, while canal workers became apprehensive over their wages. Many of the needed repairs for the canal were also delayed for fear of the destruction of another raid.<sup>67</sup>

Early's raids further intensified the bitterness of Unionists towards southern sympathizers. The Union press called for strong retaliatory measures to be taken against them. A number of newspapers accused southern men of having prepared for the invasion and of guiding Confederate forces through the state.<sup>68</sup> Such papers as the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, *Baltimore Clipper*, the *Baltimore County Advocate*, the *Cumberland Civilian and Telegraph*, and the *Frederick Examiner* vehemently denounced them. The *American* asserted that there was no such thing as neutrality in the conflict: "We must serve Freedom or Slavery." In an editorial, "What Is To Be Done With Domestic Traitors?," the paper maintained that sympathizers had prior knowledge about the invasion's route, and it accused them of giving information to the South about the defenselessness of the state. The *American* was especially bitter about an outburst of cheering by some Towsontown women for Major Harry Gilmore. The paper charged that these people had no right to benefit from the protection of the law, and the editor rhetorically asked how long this was to be permitted. His solution was to ". . . Send all domestic traitors, male and female, into the Rebel lines south of the Potomac,

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, George L. Benton to W. S. Ringgold, July 20 and 21, 1864. The canal received varying degrees of damage from the repeated attacks in July and August. Bridges, locks, boats, and the aqueduct at Antietam suffered from Confederate activity. Destroyed boats carrying coal were required to pay toll to the point where it was sunk. However, canal superintendents were directed to deliver the coal to its owners if at all possible. Proceedings of President and Directors, September 8, 1864, Canal papers.

The turmoil in western Maryland and the Cumberland Valley moved Governor Bradford to write to Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania and to propose the creation of a joint volunteer force for the purpose of guarding the various fords along the Potomac River. He felt that the federal government had failed to secure the border and was not properly aware of the importance of defending the frontier. The Governor felt that such a guard could adequately defend the six or eight fords and that also these men should be credited to their various state quotas. Curtin agreed, and a joint paper was sent to Lincoln for permission to carry out their plan. The War Department, however, turned the proposal down as in violation of an act of Congress of February 13, 1862. Gov. Bradford to Gov. Curtin, July 19, 1864; Gov. Curtin to Gov. Bradford, July 20, 1864; Gov.'s Bradford and Curtin to Lincoln, July 21, 1864; Thomas McVincent, Asst. Adj. Gen. to Gov. Bradford Aug. 1, 1864, pp. 566-569, Executive Letter Book; *OR*, XLIII, pt. 1, p. 755.

<sup>68</sup> *Gazette*, July 9, 1864; *American*, July 13, 1864.



Colonel Harry Gilmor.  
1838-1883.  
*Maryland Historical Society  
Graphics Collection.*

and take the property they leave behind to reimburse Union men for their losses." He pointedly recommended to the citizens of Frederick and to Unionists in general that they should reimburse themselves from the "pockets of Secessionists." The editor felt that ". . . This sort of way of making war will bring the matter home to these people, and teach them that their enviable security has at last got another side to it."<sup>69</sup> In calling for restitution, the *American* did qualify its position by recommending that if there were a reasonable question about a person's disloyalty, he should be given the benefit of the doubt. The paper felt that there were plenty of open sympathizers upon whom the burden could easily be placed. In determining assessments, the *American* advocated using the list of names of those who had not responded to the Governor's call for military duty. Another group, which was suggested for inclusion, were women who had used their petticoats to protect themselves. In answer to the retort that both Unionists and sympathizers had suffered losses, the *American* charged that:

While Union families were robbed upon the pretext that they must be compelled to help the Rebel cause, the Secessionists were

<sup>69</sup> *American*, July 13 and 15, 1864.

obliged to "fork over" on the principle that they were in duty bound to help the cause with which their sympathies accorded.<sup>70</sup>

The *Baltimore Clipper* expressed similar views and declared that sympathizers should be treated as enemies of the nation. The *Clipper* hoped that General Lew Wallace would send them beyond Union lines.<sup>71</sup> In demanding that sympathizers should be punished, the paper denounced the government's policy of leniency and called upon the military to assess them for the damages.<sup>72</sup> On July 21, after accusing sympathizers of complicity with the Confederacy, the *Clipper* endorsed the Maryland Constitutional Convention's resolution which called for assessments. It further suggested that those who had suffered losses should prepare a list and present it to the provost marshal or commanding general of the Department.<sup>73</sup> The *Baltimore County Advocate*, in reflecting upon outrages, such as the burning of Governor Bradford's home, joined in the demand that sympathizers should be made to pay for the damage inflicted upon Union men.<sup>74</sup>

In Frederick the *Examiner* demanded immediate action. It asserted that the two parties, Unionists and "domestic traitors," could no longer continue to exist together in the state, and the editor called upon the government to protect society by expelling southern sympathizers from Maryland. The *Examiner* also urged that a levy should be made on all those who had actively welcomed and aided the Confederates, and the editor suggested the creation of a board of commissioners to assess payment for damages. He believed that this was the only effective way of waging war against those who hid behind the national flag.<sup>75</sup>

Earlier, the Constitutional Convention, then meeting in Annapolis, had reacted sharply on July 9 to the news of the invasion. After suspending the rules, the delegates quickly adopted a denunciatory resolution condemning the action as being ". . . by bands of robbers and murderers under the authority of the so-called Confederate states . . .," and reaffirmed the

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, July 16, 1864.

<sup>71</sup> *Baltimore Clipper*, July 9, 1864.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, July 16 and 18, 1864.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, July 21, 1864.

<sup>74</sup> *Baltimore County Advocate*, July 23, 1864.

<sup>75</sup> *Examiner*, July 20 and 21, 1864.

state's unwavering loyalty to the Union at all costs. As for southern sympathizers, they were described ". . . as unworthy citizens of Maryland, as recreant to the faith of their fathers, forsaken of God, and instigated by the devil."<sup>76</sup>

In the debate over the resolution, a minority strongly objected to its passage as inexpedient. In an attempt to pacify and to prevent embarrassment to those members, Archibald Stirling, Jr. suggested there should not be a roll call vote. But despite his effort, Ezekiel F. Chambers, leader of the opposition, in speaking to the body expressed his appreciation for Stirling's concern, but he remained strongly opposed to the resolution's passage. He maintained that he was a Union man, but that he did not feel that it was appropriate to be placed in a position of condemning members of his own family in the South. Chambers saw nothing to be gained from such an action, and he insisted that it was not in conformity with the business of the convention. In defense of the resolution, Joseph M. Cushing replied that the occasion demanded such an expression and that he was unable to understand why such a prompt rebuke should not be given to an invader. In retort, Chambers said that he had no objection to a resolution expressing support for the Union, but that he regretted the inclusion of the matter of sympathizers. He went on further to say:

What I regret is the disposition to place one, under the term of sympathizer, which is susceptible of so many constructions, in a position where I must denounce the political sentiments I entertain by voting against the resolution; or on the other hand by voting for it to express feelings which I say none but a savage can entertain, a desire to see fire and fagot applied to my own kilt and kin to the children of my own blood. Sir, I will never do that while God grants me reason and common feeling.

Another member, Edward W. Belt, in support of Chambers moved to amend the resolution. His amendment called for merely the reassertion of the purpose of the war as stated by Congress in July, 1861. But at the persuasion of Chambers, Belt withdrew it to let the majority have its way.<sup>77</sup>

The presence of Confederate forces in the Baltimore-

<sup>76</sup> *The Debates of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Maryland, Assembled at the City of Annapolis, Wednesday, April 27, 1864* (Annapolis, 1864), II, p. 787.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, II, pp. 787-790; *Annapolis Gazette*, July 14, 1864.

Annapolis area forced a suspension of the proceedings between July 11 and 18. When the delegates did reassemble, Frederick Schley introduced a resolution calling upon the President and commanders of the military departments in Maryland to assess known sympathizers for the damage sustained by loyal citizens during the raid. It was quickly passed,<sup>78</sup> but on the following day, when an order directing the president of the convention to send a copy to the named officials and the Governor was introduced, Chambers who had not participated in the previous day's session strongly protested the entire action. He maintained that it violated the fundamental principles of government which the convention had already set forth, and he asked:

What are we doing? We claim to be a civil power, and we propose to confer upon the military power a jurisdiction and exercise of a power which we do not ourselves possess.

He did believe that some sort of remuneration should be made for losses, but he opposed this method. Chambers hoped that reason would prevail over emotion, for he greatly distrusted the military's handling of such a procedure. He believed that passion would cause injustices without allowing a proper form of redress.

George W. Sands, who had introduced the order, replied that since it was aimed at only known sympathizers and accessories to the depredations, there was no violation of rights. He believed that by allowing sympathizers the advantages of the double protection of the Constitution and their southern sentiments, the government placed a premium on treason. Sands freely admitted that there would probably be some military abuses, but he maintained that they would be small in comparison with those under the existing policy. Cushing also defended the order and asserted that it reflected the majority opinion of the people of the state. He reasoned that since the convention was the only representative body then in session in the state, it was only appropriate for them to pass such a statement. Chamber's attitude, Cushing felt, was valid in time of

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, II, pp. 800-801; *Proceedings of the State Convention of Maryland to Frame a New Constitution* (Annapolis, 1864), pp. 257-258. Attorney General Edward Bates was not impressed with Maryland's action, and in writing in his diary, he wondered: "Why did they not do it themselves," Howard K. Beale, ed., *The Diary of Edward Bates: 1859-1866* (Washington, 1933), p. 390.

peace, but he believed that circumstances dictated the necessity of peculiar action. He reminded Chambers that the convention was asking the military to exercise a power which the state had no authority to use. In closing his argument, Cushing maintained that known sympathizers were not entitled to the privileges of the law and that actually the law should be made more stringent against them.<sup>79</sup>

Chambers still could not understand the logic that since there were violations of law, therefore ". . . all law is to be disregarded." He refused to accept Sands' insistence that the reason for the order was to prevent anyone from being deprived of his property without due process of law. Sands had maintained that the order would prevent the destruction of property in violation of the bill of rights, but Chambers remained unconvinced of this logic and reiterated his fear of military arbitrariness without proof. In rebuttal, another member, Schley, replied that self-protection was the first law of nature. And he justified the order by referring to the remarks made by ex-Governor Enoch Lowe at the beginning of the war; Lowe had asserted that if Maryland seceded, no Union man would be permitted to remain in the state. Therefore, Schley did not feel any injustice would be done, and he believed that martial law was the only way to execute it. He ridiculed all talk about due process in context with Confederate raiders as being absurd. Finally the previous question was called, and the resolution passed 40 to 16.<sup>80</sup>

After the adoption of the order, Archibald Stirling introduced a scathing set of resolutions in which southern sympathizers were strongly denounced. Stirling demanded that the government either bannish or imprison all citizens who refused to sign a loyalty oath, who persisted in open sympathy with the South, or who had expressed sympathy with or aided the Confederates during the raid. The resolutions further directed the president of the convention to send a copy to the President and the military department commanders in Maryland. Belt again attempted to amend the resolution, but the chair ruled him out

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, II, pp. 820-826.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, II, pp. 820-829. Not all Unionists felt that the assessment resolution was wise. In one case, Samuel Harrison, in confiding to his diary, believed that only open disloyalty should be punished. He feared an indiscriminate assessment, for he felt that persons should be punished for their actions but not for their sentiments. Harrison felt that the convention had acted too hastily. Samuel H. Harrison, Journal, 1861-1865, July 20, 1864, MS. 432.1, Md. Hist. Soc.

of order. He did finally manage to have his amendment considered by the convention, but it was defeated 43 to 14. The Stirling resolutions were then overwhelmingly adopted.<sup>81</sup>

In the meantime military authorities had already begun to take retaliatory measures against sympathizers. In the Department of West Virginia, which embraced much of western Maryland, General Hunter took direct action. Major John I. Yellott, provost marshal of Frederick, had complained to the General on July 18 about the action of sympathizers during the raid. He accused them of pointing out the property of Union men, and he asked for directions in dealing with them. Hunter ordered the immediate arrest of all persons and their families who were known to have given such information. The men were to be taken to the military prison at Wheeling, and their families were to be sent beyond federal lines. Their houses were to be seized and used for hospitals, offices, and storehouses, while their furniture was to be auctioned off for the benefit of Union citizens who had suffered losses.<sup>82</sup>

In Cumberland, Hunter also ordered that known sympathizers, who had sons in the Confederate army or who had aided the South, were to be sent beyond federal lines. In his explanation to Lincoln the General indicated that in the case of one family, William O. Sprigg, they were being sent south without positive proof against them. But he charged that the family was openly sympathetic to the South and had one son in the Confederate army; therefore, it was presumed that they were carrying on a clandestine correspondence. Hunter indicated that such a policy would be carried out whenever it was practical.<sup>83</sup>

The severity of Hunter's order in Frederick, however, was lessened by Yellott. He merely ordered that all male citizens of the town and that portion of the county within the Department of West Virginia were to appear at his office between July 25 and 30 to take an oath of allegiance to the government. He warned that those who did not comply would be treated in accordance with the original order.<sup>84</sup> Yellott also asked

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, II, pp. 830-831 and 849-851; *Proceedings of the State Convention*, pp. 265-266 and 273-277.

<sup>82</sup> *OR*, XXXVII, pt. 2, p. 378; *Maryland Union*, Aug. 18, 1864.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXVII, pt. 2, p. 390; *Democratic Alleganian* reported on July 27 that Sprigg and his family had returned to Cumberland, but the paper warned that Hunter's orders had not been revoked. *Democratic Alleganian*, July 27, 1864.

<sup>84</sup> *Maryland Union*, Aug. 18, 1864.

Unionists to provide him with information about known disloyal actions during the raid.<sup>85</sup> A slight stir was created when the two newspaper editors of the *Republican Citizen* were arrested for publishing an article which was regarded as disloyal. The office was closed, and a guard was stationed at its doors. The two editors, Baughman and Norris, were then sent south, but the expulsion of the Norris family was postponed because of the illness of his wife.<sup>86</sup>

Considerable excitement did erupt on August 1 when General Hunter issued his Special Orders No. 141 in which he ordered the arrest and expulsion of sympathizers in Frederick.<sup>87</sup> When a guard of the 161st Ohio National Guard arrested twenty-three persons and their families, fear that the order was actually going to be carried out caused considerable panic among some.<sup>88</sup> Hunter's eagerness, however, did not receive the approval of the administration, and Lincoln directed Secretary of War Edwin Stanton to suspend it. Lincoln further directed that a report on each person, against whom action was to be taken, was to be sent to Washington.<sup>89</sup>

A number of Union newspapers such as the Frederick *Ex-*

<sup>85</sup> *Examiner*, July 27, 1864.

<sup>86</sup> L. I. Brengle to W. S. Ringgold, Aug. 1, 1864, Canal Papers; *Maryland Union*, July 28, 1864; *Examiner*, Aug. 3, 1864. Later Norris was permitted to return to Frederick after taking an oath of allegiance. The South refused to accept him. *Examiner*, Aug. 10, 1864; *Valley Register*, Aug. 12, 1864; *Maryland Union*, Aug. 18, 1864.

<sup>87</sup> Basler, *Works of Lincoln*, VII, pp. 477-478n.

<sup>88</sup> *Examiner*, Aug. 3, 1864.

<sup>89</sup> Basler, *Works of Lincoln*, VII, p. 477. Among those arrested was James Schley and his family. Frederick Schley of Baltimore, a relative and a Republican, appealed to Lincoln for a revocation of the order. In Schley's letter of introduction to the President, Stanton indicated that he knew nothing of the reasons for Hunter's action. *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 477-478n.

Hunter justified his actions on the basis of an order given to him by Halleck from General Grant on July 17. It gave him wide authority in dealing with the region south of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Hunter maintained that it was impossible to conduct the affairs of his Department with dangerous persons remaining in safety. *OR*, XXXVII, pt. 2, pp. 366 and 583-584.

By August friction between General Hunter and the administration had considerably grown. As early as July 14, Hunter was angered over having General Wright placed in over all command of operations in the pursuit of Early. The General, in protesting the decision and defending his record, wired Stanton and asked to be relieved of his command. Later on the 17th, having received no satisfaction, he wrote to Lincoln directly and reiterated his request. In a diplomatic reply the President was able, at least temporarily, to pacify Hunter. But with the suspension of his orders to send sympathizers beyond federal lines, he again asked to be relieved of his command. Finally Hunter was given a leave of absence, and on August 30 he was replaced by Major General Crook to head the Department of West Virginia. *OR*, XXXVII, pt. 2, pp. 315-316, 339-341, and 365; *OR*, XLIII, pt. 1, pp. 823, 726, 960, and 962; Cecil D. Eby, Jr., ed., *A Virginia Yankee in the Civil War: The Diaries of David Hunter Strother* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1961), pp. 279-280 and 287.



*aminer*<sup>90</sup> and the *Cumberland Civilian and Telegraph* defended Hunter and indignantly charged that it was wrong to interfere with the actions of an energetic General who was trying to put out the "fire in his rear." They warned that the protection of sympathizers would not inspire confidence in the Administration. The *Civilian and Telegraph* strongly supported Hunter's policy of sending such persons beyond federal lines.<sup>91</sup>

Later, those who had been originally arrested in Frederick were re-arrested by Major Yellott. They were now required to post a \$3,000 bond and to report to his office every morning until further notified. Quickly the rumor spread that Hunter's order was to be enforced, and a number of southern sympathizers, many of whom were women, "skeddaddled" to safety.<sup>92</sup>

In one instance, there was an attempt to levy assessments. Twenty-four persons in the Liberty area were charged a total of \$7,000.05 to be paid on December 2, 1864 for the damage done to a Unionist. Included within the group was James Pearre who was assessed \$1,196.20. He and the others appeared before a military tribunal to plead their case. A temporary stay was granted, and in the meantime, Pearre secured the services of a personal friend, John W. Garrett, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Through Garrett's influence, a petition was sent to Secretary of War Stanton, and he, in turn, ended the entire matter.<sup>93</sup>

As in previous years, Maryland suffered from the ravages of war, but in 1864 additional damage was sustained by flagging Confederate discipline and vindictiveness. Three years of war had quickened the impulse for punitive measures on both sides, and Confederate reprisals in Maryland produced a counter reaction in the state against southern sympathizers. Yet, despite the storm of Unionist indignation and demands for action, actual retaliation remained limited in scope. Federal authorities checked over-zealous military commanders, while Marylanders themselves were reluctant to take extreme action. Fortunately, political rhetoric and bitterness did not give way to severe and widespread reprisals.

<sup>90</sup> *Examiner*, Aug. 10, 1864.

<sup>91</sup> *Cumberland Civilian and Telegraph*, Aug. 18, 1864.

<sup>92</sup> *Examiner*, Aug. 10, 1864; *Valley Register*, Aug. 12, 1864.

<sup>93</sup> James Pearre Collection, Vol. 1, 1831-1864, MS. 1214, Md. Hist. Soc. (an unnumbered notebook with entries not in chronological sequence and at times not specifically dated).

# SIDELIGHTS

Edited by DONALD WALTER CURL

## A REPORT FROM BALTIMORE

BY 1861, Murat Halstead, the young Republican editor of the Cincinnati *Commercial*, was one of the most widely known journalists in the United States. His reputation had been largely gained through his first-hand account of John Brown's execution and his reports of the political conventions in 1860. In the case of John Brown's execution, Halstead had been the only reporter from a northern Republican newspaper to witness the hanging. In 1860, he was the only reporter to attend all of the conventions. His articles for the *Commercial*, entitled "On the Circuit of the Conventions," had been widely copied in northern newspapers, and his convention reports were reprinted by a Columbus, Ohio publisher as a companion piece to William Dean Howell's campaign biography of Lincoln.<sup>1</sup>

In late May, 1861, Halstead traveled to Washington to attend the opening of the new session of Congress and to report on the condition of Ohio volunteers who were encamped in the vicinity. His series of newsletters, appearing in early June, were entitled "Our Army Correspondence." In these letters, the editor began a course of criticism of the conduct of the war that made him a constant thorn in the side of the Lincoln Administration throughout the war years.

In Halstead's many trips to the nation's capital he had established the custom of spending a few days in Baltimore. The editor had fond memories of the Maryland city as he and his wife spent their honeymoon there in 1857. To Halstead the city had undergone a drastic change during these early days of the war, and he was depressed by what he saw and heard on the streets. This newsletter, from the June 3, 1861 *Commercial*, shows his concern and remorse that one of his favorite

<sup>1</sup> Murat Halstead, *Caucuses of 1860* (Columbus, Ohio, 1860); This was later revised and republished as William B. Hesseltine, ed., *Three Against Lincoln: Murat Halstead Reports the Caucuses of 1860* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1960).

American cities was so torn by the conflict, but also, his conviction that the forces of the Union were fighting for a just cause.

Baltimore, May 29th

Soon after crossing the Maryland line this morning, on the Harrisburg road, the appearance of young men wearing long gray overcoats, and carrying rifled muskets, told of the state of war. At intervals of about half a mile were huts, some built of rails, others of cross-ties, and others of plank, close to the track, and all swarming with soldiers. The huts were generally calculated merely for sleeping quarters, being so low that the men could not stand erect in them. Some of the boys were wrapped in their grey blankets asleep, others were strolling along the track carrying their muskets, others were preparing breakfast. . . . The appearances are that an entire regiment is scattered along the road between the Maryland line and Baltimore.

Occurrences so suggestive of assassins behind the bushes, gives a smack of the excitement of real war to the sentry service. The troops along the line are generally on good terms with the people. I am informed by Marylanders that the boys are very well behaved. There are no irregularities complained of, even of chicken and pig stealing. A Marylander told me that he had lost, by the runaway process, more negroes within the last two years than the State of South Carolina had lost since the war of the Revolution; and, he said, the troops in his neighborhood gave him no cause whatever of complaint. He expressed warm indignation at the Cotton States for dragging the other States, and particularly the border slave States, into this trouble. . . .

Baltimore is now a strangely silent city. The only crowds are about the bulletin boards of the newspaper offices; the only noise is that of the shrill cries of the newsboys. It was shocking to me to walk the long halls of Barnum's Hotel, usually presenting such animated scenes, and listen to the dreary, solitary jar of my footsteps. Civil war has here made its mark upon the faces of the people. There is no free and easy conversation in the streets or public places. Every passerby was painfully vigilant. Men glance at each other's faces distrustfully. Friends converse in low tones. You don't hear a word of what the man opposite you at the table is saying to his neighbor. You meet an old acquaintance [sic], and look at him to see whether he would in all probability be glad to cut your throat. Persons who talk in the streets stand wide, and make sure they are not overheard. The streets are deserted at an early hour in the evening. To-night, only the cigar stores, coffee

houses, and newspaper offices, were open at half-past eight o'clock. At eight o'clock, the voice of a man at a news-stand, on one of the corners opposite the Sun building, crying "New York papers here," was like the voice of one crying in the wilderness. There was a solemnity about it, as I heard it, equal to the hooting of a great owl at midnight. Even the drunken men in the bar rooms are not boisterous. They apparently do their cursing for each other's private ears, and their ghastly jokes are, it seems, told in the strictest confidence. A loud laugh on the street would excite astonishment and alarm, and would trouble the nerves of the few hearers more than a cry of fire.

Almost one-third of the people of this city are Secessionists—rank, bitter, and deadly. They have also been, here as elsewhere, more demonstrative than the friends of the Union. But the Union men here, as in Kentucky, are, I believe, at the fighting point.—They would fight desperately now to keep the city out of the hands of the Secession mob. The Secession party here consists, in the first place, of professional politicians and of the Ex Federal office holders, and of men interested largely in the Southern trade. The lawyers are almost to a man Secessionists. Only eight or ten of the members of the bar pretend to be for the Union. The liquor dealers are nearly all disunionists, and they are numerous and wealthy. Then the police commissioners, who are given prodigious power here (the original excuse for it being the necessity of crushing the mob) are "*Secesh*," as traitors are styled here.<sup>2</sup>

But Baltimore is safe enough now, willingly or unwillingly. Three regiments of Pennsylvanians are now encamped at commanding points about the city—two of them on hills on opposite sides of the city, and one on a little peninsula at the point of which Fort McHenry is situated. These regiments are capital fellows, well uniformed—that is to say, in coarse, plain, and strong clothes,

<sup>2</sup> There is no question but that a large and influential portion of Baltimore's population was pro-southern. Struggling to compete for an economic hinterland with New York City and Philadelphia, Baltimore businessmen valued their southern trade and believed, perhaps wrongly, that their continued prosperity was linked to the Confederate cause. Slave property in the state has been valued as high as seventy million dollars, and there were ancient ties of both kinship and friendship with the South. Nonetheless, there seems to be no way in which Halstead's statement that "one-third of the people of this city are Secessionists," can be substantiated. In fact, the 1860 Presidential election returns for the state of Maryland would seem to show that Halstead's figure might actually be somewhat low. In 1860 about 45 per cent of Maryland's voters cast ballots for Breckinridge and the southern Democratic party, while less than 3 per cent voted for Lincoln. It is true that many men who were unable to support Lincoln for the Presidency were still loyal to the Union cause, but most historians claim that Baltimore was much more secessionist than the rest of the state. See Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union* (New York, 1959), I, p. 80.

adopted to hard usage—and well armed.—Then there are three companies of Massachusetts riflemen, with the terrible Minie rifle. These are kept within the fort.

The fort is prepared to resist an attack or make one. It is most rigidly guarded. Four ten inch mortars are mounted *and loaded* and directed towards Baltimore. A bombardment of the city could be commenced within twenty seconds from the word of command. Going up the avenue to the fort, you have in front half a dozen twenty-four, and forty-two pounders, loaded with ball and canister. There are also three six-pounders full of cannister, and two mountain howitzers crammed with shot. There are palisades at points outside the fort, loop-holed for riflemen—and a lot of the pikes recently manufactured here for the mob and captured by the Government troops, is piled at each angle of the fort. It is supposed they would be useful in thrusting a storming party from the walls. The fort is well provided with provisions and powder, ball and shell. A great many more guns are to be mounted, as no harm will be done by the display of an overwhelming force landward and seaward.

Two ten-inch columbiads were sent here from Pittsburgh the other day, to be mounted in the fort and keep a lookout on Baltimore. The jackass of the Quartermaster's Department, who had charge of them, permitted them to remain in the street unguarded one night. The consequence is they are spiked with rat tailed files, driven in with wedges, and unspiking them is a task which will occupy some days.

The officers—regular officers, who know their business, and how business should be done—complain with intense bitterness of the slowness, inadequacy, circumlocution and red tapeism of the Commissary Department.

. . . I visited the street where the Massachusetts troops were assailed on the 19th of April. The wonder is that the poor fellows, between their officers and the mob, were not massacred. There were only two companies of troops assaulted, the rest having passed through in comparative safety. The commanding officer, instead of forming his men in a hollow square, and giving orders to fire by platoons, which would soon have done the business of the mob, formed them in solid column, just so that every brick thrown at the mass hit some one. The only firing done, was by individuals acting on their own responsibility, who, when a comrade was knocked or shot down, would attempt to bring down the rowdy who had made the assault. One good officer knowing what he was about, could have done Baltimore good service by stopping the

men, and ordering them to fire by platoons, and continue firing as long as there was a mob in sight.<sup>3</sup>

But the passage of troops through *Baltimore* now-a-days, is an exceedingly common place occurrence. Three regiments, two from Pennsylvania, and one from New York passed through yesterday, and so far as noticed were well received. The volunteers from the various camps are strolling about town singly, in couples, and in half dozens all the time, and the roughs take good care to let them alone.

M. H.

Baltimore, May 30th

. . . The case of John Merryman here, is one, which owing to the action of Judge Taney, is likely to be remembered in the history of these times. Merryman is a very prominent citizen of Maryland, wealthy and influential, and the head of the Agricultural societies of the State. He came to the conclusion during the brief reign of King Mob here, that he might become Governor of Maryland by making himself conspicuous as a secessionist. The State is divided into districts, and according to the Constitution the Governor has to be taken from the several districts in rotation. The District in which Merryman resides is entitled to the next Governor. So Merryman distinguished himself by persecuting Union men, and giving aid and comfort to traitors. The Union men, when the U.S. authority had made itself felt, had their

<sup>3</sup> The fear of a Confederate invasion of Washington caused Lincoln to order large numbers of troops into the capital. Unfortunately, Baltimore formed a bottleneck between points north and south. In the case of the Sixth Massachusetts regiment it arrived at the President Street Station but was forced to depart via the Camden Station of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The already angered southern sympathizers saw in troops such as the Massachusetts regiment an invasion force to be used against the South and vowed that they would not pass through Baltimore. Thus while most of the Massachusetts troops were safely pulled through the streets in horse drawn cars, before the job was completed a mob formed and blocked the tracks with paving stones, sand, and heavy anchors. This forced four companies of about 240 men (not two companies as Halstead stated) to march through the streets. The now enlarged mob jeered and threw stones, and then a shot rang out. The resulting melee left scores wounded on both sides and ten civilians and four soldiers dead.

One may question Halstead's proposed tactics, but most authorities agree that the troops, mainly green recruits, were also poorly commanded and that the casualties were greater than was necessary.

In 1870 Halstead was in Europe when war broke out between France and Prussia. In his reports to the *Commercial* he constantly second guessed the generals and pointed out their errors of strategy. Remembering his long history of proposing plans to military authorities and criticizing failures, the *New York Sun* sarcastically conferred upon the editor the title "Field Marshal." See G. W. Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861: A Study of the War* (Baltimore, 1887); Harold R. Manakee, *Maryland in the Civil War* (Baltimore, 1961), Chap. 4; Nevins, *The War for the Union*, I, pp. 80-82; and James Ford Rhodes, *History of the Civil War* (New York, 1961), pp. 17-19.

persecutor arrested as a traitor. So Judge Taney was used by the Secession lawyers here, to get up a conflict between the civil and military authorities. Having succeeded in exposing the weakness of the feeble old Judge, they make a noise about the subversion of the Constitution, the scoundrels who are attempting to destroy the Union, professing a peculiar regard for the Constitution.<sup>4</sup> The Washington correspondent of the Baltimore Clipper, in a letter published this morning, presents this case in its true light as follows:

"Perhaps the most interesting case now before the public eye, is the conflict which has been sought to be avowed between the civil and military authorities over Mr. John Merryman. There does not live a man more devoted to law and order and true liberty than the writer of these lines, yet circumstances so alter cases that he is compelled to decide, as at present advised under the facts, against the parties who have made the bad use of the superannuated Judge of the Supreme Court to embarrass the restoration of Government. This abuse of Judge Taney may have been a very pretty dodge, but its object is too transparent. I cannot be mistaken. It makes little difference with the secessionists whether they carry their point through the instrumentality of a drunken and infuriated mob assailing loyal troops, or through a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

"The same men acting for the same cause may nevertheless employ the most opposite agencies. At all events the judgment of mankind will be against them, and we shall be driven to regret that Judge Taney was not impressed with the very moderate, reasonable and just arguments of Gen. Cadwallader [sic], in the letter addressed to him. As a friend of law and right the military man stands in far the most favorable light, and whatever regrets and repentances might flow from this passage in the chapter of events, their burden will not be upon the shoulders of those whose sincere object it is to maintain the Government of the people in its dignity, and to restore order, prosperity and honor to the American family."

By the way, the Clipper is the most straightout and determined of the advocates of "The Union, the Constitution, and the enforce-

<sup>4</sup> The Plug Uglies, Rip Raps, and Blood Tubs were ruffian street gangs of the 1850's and early 1860's who were anti-foreign and pro-slavery in sentiment. The Know Nothing party was originally a secret society calling itself the Order of the Star-Spangled Banner whose members, if questioned about the organization, were commanded to answer that they "know nothing." Founded in New York City, the party exploited a growing anti-foreign, anti-Catholic sentiment in the United States in the 1850's, and for a time, threatened to become one of the two major political parties. In 1854 the Know Nothings abandoned secrecy and became the American party. Their 1856 nominee, former President Millard Fillmore, seemed a strong candidate, but the slavery question entered the election, and he carried only Maryland. See Eugene H. Roseboom, *A History of Presidential Elections* (New York, 1957), pp. 158-160.

ment of the laws," words which it retains as its motto and sustains in its editorials. The lead-article of this morning contains the following strong words:

"A failure to sustain the Government in the struggle in which it is now engaged, a failure to establish before the world the self-sustaining power of the Government, a failure to restore domestic tranquility and to preserve the Union still unimpaired in all its integrity, would inevitably bring upon us not only public disgrace and national ruin, but destruction in every interest, and individual bankruptcy. . . . The people of Maryland cannot calmly contemplate such a result. . . . The alternative is before us—the maintenance of the Union and the restoration of peace and of public and private prosperity, or the approval of Secession, and consequent national and individual ruin."

Now let it be observed that the *Clipper* is the famous organ of the Plug Uglies and Rip Raps, the Blood Tubs, &c, &c. And I am told by gentlemen who are perfectly reliable, and have personal knowledge of the fact, that the Plugs are for the Union now. The rowdies who attacked the Massachusetts troops, were not of the old Native American Know Nothing societies, but were the employees of the Custom House, and other Federal offices here, who hoped by means of a revolution to keep their places.<sup>5</sup> The sympathy

<sup>5</sup> John Merryman, who had taken part in the destruction of railroad bridges, had been arrested by order of General William H. Keim and imprisoned in Fort McHenry. Chief Justice Roger Taney had received Merryman's petition for a writ of habeas corpus in his capacity of circuit judge. Granting the writ the Chief Justice ordered that Merryman be produced in court for examination. His jailer, General George Cadwalader, claimed he was duly authorized by the President to suspend the writ and refused to comply. General Cadwalader also refused the United States Marshal entrance to Fort McHenry when he attempted to serve a writ of attachment demanding the General's appearance in court.

When Taney could not force compliance to his writs, he read a strong opinion in which he vigorously denied the President's right to suspend the writ of habeas corpus without Congressional approval. In general, southern sympathizers and Democrats sided with Taney in this dispute between the executive and judicial branches of the government, while Union men, such as Halstead and the *Clipper* reporter, supported Lincoln.

Congress later tried to bring order to the problem in the passage of the Habeas Corpus Act of March 1863, which allowed the writ's suspension by the President, but required the submission of lists of political prisoners to the federal courts. If a grand jury found no bill against a prisoner, he was to be freed upon taking an oath of allegiance to the United States.

Shortly after Taney's opinion, Merryman was released from Fort McHenry and turned over to the custody of the federal courts in Baltimore. He was charged with treason and held under twenty thousand dollar bond, but before his case came up the charges were dropped. *Ex Parte Merryman*, 17 Fed. Cases, No. 9,487 (C.C.D. Md 1861); see also, Paul A. Freund, *et al.*, *Constitutional Law: Cases and Other Problems* (Boston, 1961), II, pp. 1241-1243; Rocco J. Tresolini, *Justice and the Supreme Court* (Philadelphia, 1963), Chap. 1; David M. Silver, *Lincoln's Supreme Court* (Urbana, Illinois, 1957), *passim*; and Alfred H. Kelly and Winfred A. Harbison, *The American Constitution: Its Origins and Development* (New York, 1963), pp. 439-441.



of the police for the ruffians, and the want of management of the Massachusetts officers, caused the mob to be so terrible. A gentleman who witnessed the street fight of the 19th April here, assures me if the troops had been ordered to halt, and fire into the mob with deliberate aim, that a single volley would have been sufficient.

The officers commanding the United States forces in this vicinity, should be more careful in giving their men permits to enter the city. The boys go about freely and promiscuously, and their enemies delight to make them drunk, that they may make an exhibition of themselves in the streets, and become odious to the people. This style of making the troops unpopular is pursuant to a traitorous policy well known and understood. All soldiers who are fools enough to get drunk, are thus employed by the enemies of the government to bring disgrace upon it. If it were not for the fact that most of the men are of reliably sober habits, the "Southern hospitality" which they receive would be as dangerous as it is now disreputable. . . .

M. H.

## THE ORIGINAL LAND GRANTS OF HOWARD COUNTY, MARYLAND

An Introduction to a map designed to show the  
location of these tracts

By CALEB DORSEY

**A**LTHOUGH Howard County is one of our more recent counties, the area it represents has a history of settlement beginning in 1670 when "Hockley," 100 acres, was patented by William Ebdon on August 8 of that year.<sup>1</sup> This was located on the west side of the Patapsco River just north of what was later the location of Elkridge Landing. By 1700 there were thirty-four patented land grants in what is now Howard County, most of which were in the eastern section. The western part remained the frontier for a much longer time, not being completely taken up until the middle and latter part of the seventeen hundreds.

<sup>1</sup> No. 14, f. 8 Patent Liber, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

Settlement along navigable water courses naturally preceded that of the interior. Elkridge Landing, on the Patapsco, became an important shipping port in the middle seventeenth hundreds and greatly stimulated the advancement of that area. In 1732 Joshua and John Dorsey were elected commissioners to purchase property for the landing, and the site was developed soon after. The Patapsco River at this point could easily accommodate ocean going vessels of that time, and Elkridge soon became an active shipping point for the area. "Rolling roads" were built from the surrounding countryside to the landing to enable the planters to roll their hogsheads of tobacco for shipment to England. Of necessity these roads had to be fairly good, as the tobacco hogsheads weighed between six and eight hundred pounds. Naturally these roads aided in the settlement of the surrounding area.

The locations of two of these roads are given in the certificates of survey of "Hammond's Discovery" and "White Wine and Claret." "Hammond's Discovery" was patented by Philip Hammond on May 3, 1758,<sup>2</sup> and it is stated in the description that it began "at an old bounded red oak of Troy on the north side of the main rowling road leading to Elkridge Landing." This location would now be Montgomery Road, Maryland No. 3, about two and two-thirds miles west of the Patapsco River. In the resurvey of "White Wine and Claret," patented by Charles and William Ridgely November 10, 1735,<sup>3</sup> one of the "bounders" is said to be "a red oak near the rowling road." This would now be where Hall's Shop Road joins Maryland No. 32, which is about two miles west of Simpsonville. Tobacco and locally smelted pig iron were the main exports of that region, and by 1746 the port rivalled Annapolis in activity. In 1763, 1,695 hogsheads of tobacco were examined for shipment from Elkridge Landing. With the later development of the port of Baltimore and the silting up of the Patapsco River, Elkridge Landing fell into disuse and only history is a reminder of its past.

Howard County was formed from the northern part of Anne Arundel County and from what was at one time the southern part of Baltimore County. It has an area of 160,640 acres. In

<sup>2</sup> B.C. and G.S. No. 18, f. 599, Patent Liber. E.I.

<sup>3</sup> E.I. No. 4, f. 493, Patent Liber.

1650 when Anne Arundel County was established, its northern boundary embraced a large part of what is now Baltimore County, the latter being formed in 1659 partly out of northern Anne Arundel County. In 1698 the southern boundary of Baltimore County was defined and took in more than the northern half of what is now Howard County. In the certificate of survey of "The Grove" which is near the latitude of Simpsonville and was patented August 16, 1725<sup>4</sup> it is stated that the beginning is "near the center of five bounded white oaks and two bounded red oaks on the decent of a hill near the dividing line of Anne Arundel and Baltimore counties." Later that year the boundary became the south branch of the Patapsco River. Howard County was established first in 1838 as Howard District and later became a county in 1851. The settlement of the Howard County area is of interest because many of the original patentees were the descendants of the same settlers who had come up from Lower Norfolk County, Virginia in 1650 and established themselves on the south side of the Severn River.<sup>5</sup>

Many of the Howard County tracts were much larger than those of the Severn River area and much more irregular in outline. They were obtained mainly from warrants issued to individuals, but not for transporting themselves into the province as was the case in the Severn area. These warrants were assigned to individuals usually well established here and for the payment of a prescribed amount of "caution money." In the middle seventeen hundreds this usually amounted to five sterling per hundred acres of unsettled land. A few of these warrants may still be seen in the Hall of Records in Annapolis where they are filed with the original patented certificates. They were printed forms about nine and a quarter by seven and a half inches in size with instructions to the surveyor of the province with spaces for the name of the grantee and size of the tract of land. The recipient could either obtain the amount of land for himself or endorse the warrant on the back, transferring it or a part of it to some other individual. The county surveyor would be given this warrant and would survey a piece of unsettled land located at the choice of the individual.

<sup>4</sup> P.L. No. 6, f. 135, Patent Liber.

<sup>5</sup> Caleb Dorsey, "Original Land Grants of the South Side of Severn River," *Md., Hist. Mag.* (Dec., 1958), Vol. 53, pp. 394-400.

A certificate of survey would then be drawn up by the surveyor, describing the location and giving the name with the metes and bounds of the property. Beginning in the seventeenth hundreds a plat would usually be made and would be included with the certificate. This information made this research possible. These papers would then be examined and if found to be in good order, filed among the land records of the province. A patent would then be prepared which included a copy of the certificate of survey and gave a resume of the tract, the name of the patentee and the terms of tenure. The patent would be given to the new owner and a copy of it and the certificate recorded in the patent books still to be seen in the Hall of Records in Annapolis.

Certain conditions accompanied ownership of the land. The owner was required to pay to the Lord Baltimore's agent a certain specified sum or quit rent on Annunciation Day, the twenty-fifth of March, and on Michaelmas, which was on September the twenty-ninth. The ground rent system of Baltimore originated from this quit rent custom. Another provision concerned alienation, whereby the owner was required to pay a fine of one year's quit rent if he disposed of the land or any part of it. If the owner of real estate died without heirs the land would escheat or revert back to the proprietor. These lands could then be granted to other individuals and possess entirely different names. These feudal terms remained in effect until the revolution deprived the Calverts of their birthright. At the present time, however, if an individual is able to locate any land in the state to which no one holds title, he may still secure from the state a patent to this property by paying to the authorities a prescribed amount of "caution money."

If vacant land was found to be present adjacent to a land owner's property or if he purchased adjoining land, he could petition for a resurvey. This would embrace all of the land concerned, including vacancies and often result in a much larger tract which could be patented under a different name, or often, under the former name with the word "enlarged" added.

It can be easily determined by reviewing the land records of this area, the number of grants patented in different periods of

time and the sizes of these grants. Between 1670 and 1700 there were thirty-four patented land grants, of which there were:

- 4 between 60 acres and 100 acres
- 7 between 100 acres and 200 acres
- 7 between 200 acres and 300 acres
- 8 between 300 acres and 500 acres
- 4 between 500 acres and 800 acres
- 4 between 1000 acres and 1368 acres

Between 1700 and 1725 there were sixty-nine

- 15 up to 100 acres
- 15 between 100 acres and 200 acres
- 10 between 200 acres and 300 acres
- 5 between 300 acres and 400 acres
- 3 between 400 acres and 500 acres
- 3 between 500 acres and 600 acres
- 2 between 600 acres and 700 acres
- 4 between 700 acres and 800 acres
- 3 between 800 acres and 900 acres
- 2 between 900 acres and 1000 acres
- 2 between 1000 acres and 1100 acres
- 1 for 1300 acres
- 1 for 1400 acres
- 1 for 2590 acres
- 1 for 3000 acres
- 1 for 7000 acres

Between 1725 and 1750 there were one hundred and fifty-seven

- 63 up to 100 acres
- 24 between 100 acres and 200 acres
- 26 between 200 acres and 300 acres
- 10 between 300 acres and 400 acres
- 6 between 400 acres and 500 acres
- 4 between 500 acres and 600 acres
- 2 between 600 acres and 700 acres
- 2 between 700 acres and 800 acres
- 2 between 800 acres and 900 acres
- 4 between 900 acres and 1000 acres
- 2 between 1000 acres and 1100 acres
- 4 between 1100 acres and 1200 acres
- 2 between 1200 acres and 1300 acres
- 2 between 1400 acres and 1500 acres

- 1 for 1776 acres
- 1 for 2145 acres
- 1 for 3440 acres
- 1 for 6296 acres, partly in Prince George County

Between 1750 and 1775 there were eighty-four

- 27 up to 100 acres
- 11 between 100 acres and 200 acres
- 11 between 200 acres and 300 acres
- 6 between 300 acres and 400 acres
- 7 between 400 acres and 500 acres
- 5 between 500 acres and 600 acres
- 3 between 600 acres and 700 acres
- 2 between 700 acres and 800 acres
- 1 between 800 acres and 900 acres
- 1 between 900 acres and 1000 acres
- 1 for 1184 acres
- 2 between 1200 acres and 1300 acres
- 1 for 1434 acres
- 1 for 1737 acres
- 1 for 2384 acres
- 2 between 2700 acres and 2800 acres
- 1 for 12,355 acres in Howard, Prince George and Frederick Counties

Between 1775 and 1812 there were fifteen

- 6 up to 100 acres
- 1 for 140 acres
- 2 between 200 acres and 300 acres
- 1 for 366 acres
- 1 for 788 acres
- 2 between 800 acres and 900 acres
- 1 for 1800 acres
- 1 for 2084 acres partly in Montgomery County

The largest land grant entirely in Howard County was "Doohoregan," 7000 acres patented by Charles Carroll July 22, 1702,<sup>6</sup> and the smallest was "Find It If You Can," one acre patented by Charles Welsh May 23, 1767.<sup>7</sup>

In the preparation of the map of land grants, a series of quadrangle maps of the county was used. These are supplied

<sup>6</sup> P.L. No. 4, f. 370, Patent Liber.

<sup>7</sup> B.C. and G.S. No. 34, f. 330, Patent Liber.

by the U.S. Geological Survey and are published at the scale of 1:24,000 or 1 inch equivalent to 2,000 feet. At this scale, 2-5/8 inches equal 1 mile or 320 perches, in which all of these surveys are recorded. To cover Howard County in its entirety, it was necessary to use nine of these sectional maps joined together at the edges. This produced a map about 6 by 4 feet, large enough on which to show the metes and bounds of the smallest tract. The courses, often many in number, were drawn on tracing paper with the aid of a T square and protractor, and later superimposed, in their proper location upon the map.<sup>8</sup>

Discovering the location of the tracts was often difficult as early descriptions were vague. The first to be placed was "Doohoregan" with "Pushpin" and "Girl's Portion" adjoining. This was possible as the location of an old boundary stone on the Clarksville road is well known and marks "the beginning trees of Doohoregan, Pushpin and the Girl's Portion." The mapping was slowly expanded by the addition of contiguous tracts and sometimes by the use of plats filed with the resurveys showing the location of a group of properties that adjoined. The project required about eight years of research. The use of rivers as boundaries was often helpful but sometimes confusing due to the fact that there are three Patuxent Rivers. The early surveyors often referred to the Big Patuxent as Snowden's River, the Middle Patuxent as the Middle River and the Little Patuxent as Brown's River. The streams were often called by different names, unknown today, and could present problems. One large branch of the Middle Patuxent was originally called Dorsey's Great Branch but later was known as Clagett's Branch. Neither name is used today. This was one of the boundaries of "White Wine and Claret."<sup>9</sup> Another, which was always called Ridgely's Great Branch is now known as Dorsey Run. It is located at Fort George Meade Junction. Very little assistance could be obtained from individuals now living in the various areas as most tracts have now completely lost their identity and have been subdivided into many smaller places with different names.

<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, the map is too large to be reproduced effectively in the *Magazine*, but readers may find it on deposit in the library of the Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>9</sup> E.I. No. 4, f. 493, Patent Liber.

After outlining the boundaries of the land grants, a blue line copy was made of the map and slightly reduced in size to make it more easily handled. An alphabetical list was prepared, enumerating the tracts of land, with their sizes, dates of granting, names of patentees and references from the Patent Libers in the Hall of Records.

It is hoped that ultimately all of the early counties of Maryland will be mapped to show the location of the original plantations and home sites, that in many instances, have had much to do with the development and history of the state.



# BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Edited by EDWARD G. HOWARD

## McHENRY HOWARD'S ANNOTATIONS

By BERNARD DE BRUYN

Books annotated by their authors command—and deserve—special attention. When the author's MS notes are at all extensive and go beyond mere correction of press errors, the book is likely to be his own copy, unique in itself and affording in addition unique insights into his mind or his subject. Frequently, such a copy is material for a revised edition that may never have been published. Here as elsewhere, however, appearances can mislead.

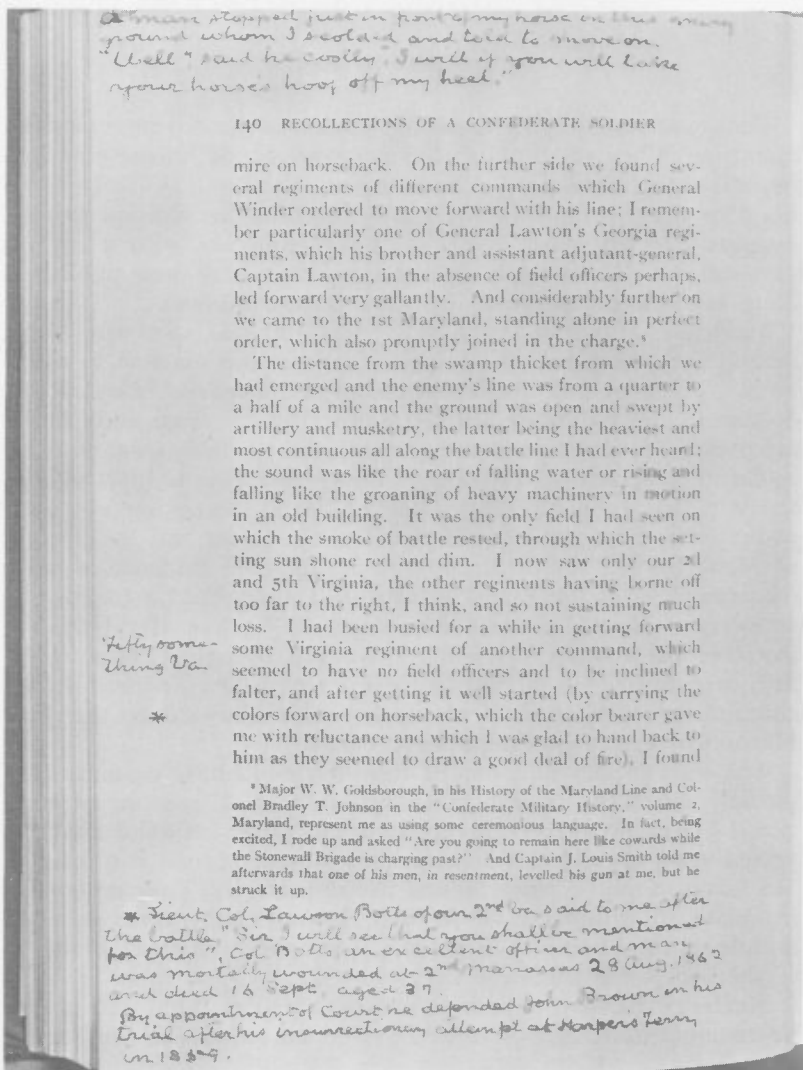
McHenry Howard (1839-1923) was unusual, perhaps alone, among authors in that he prepared at least five extensively annotated copies of his *Recollections of a Maryland Confederate Soldier . . .*, Baltimore, 1914 (Howes H-706). Two such copies are owned by the Society, one evidently the author's own, with his signature and address, the other formerly belonging to his daughter, the late Miss Julia McHenry Howard. These the Society obtained, respectively, from the gift of Mrs. Herrick Kidder and the bequest of Miss Howard.<sup>1</sup> A third copy (containing no evidence of prior ownership) is in the Peabody Institute Library, and a fourth, the property of Mr. C. A. Porter Hopkins, of Glyndon, Maryland, was inscribed by Howard to a college classmate living in Texas. Still a fifth copy turned up in 1968 in the stock of a New England dealer, containing a presentation inscription from Howard to the First Motor Corps, Massachusetts State Guard.

The four annotated copies of *Recollections* I have examined are virtually identical, though some contain a small amount of additional MS material, presumably added to copies on hand after the presentation of others. All such copies contain at least two inserted MS leaves, opposite pages 38 and 226 respectively. The accompanying plate, showing page 140 in Miss Howard's copy, contains a fair sample of the dozens of comments that appear on more than 130 of the book's 423 pages.

McHenry Howard had three children besides Julia, and it may be assumed that each of them received an annotated copy of his

<sup>1</sup> The Society possesses yet another copy, without annotation, inscribed to Miss Howard by her father. It was doubtless presented at the time of publication, before the annotations had been thought of.

reminiscences. These copies may now be in the hands of members of the family; others may exist in libraries as *récherché* as that of the First Motor Corps of Massachusetts. Perhaps readers who possess copies will so inform the editor of this department of the *Magazine*.



Annotated page from McHenry Howard's *Recollections of . . .*  
Maryland Historical Society.

# NOTES ON THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

## IRON MANUFACTURING IN MARYLAND, A LOOK AT SURVIVING RECORDS

By BAYLY ELLEN MARKS

FROM the seventeenth century, iron smelting has been a leading Maryland industry. Unfortunately most of the records of early iron works have been lost, and the scholar's only contact with the forges has been their physical remains or occasional letters and accounts concerning them. Those records of forge operations which have managed to survive the centuries—ledgers, daybooks, balance sheets, and records of work done and day wages paid—have been scattered among families of early iron masters and among the records of successor firms. Out of original context, the relationship between individual forges and the parent company has often become lost, and this loss has been exacerbated by name changes made by new owners.

The following list of records of iron forges in the Society's possession is an attempt to clarify the relationship and evolution of forge companies. No listing of individual letters concerning the forges can be made here. The following are company records, made by the forges in the course of their business and retained by the companies for financial and legal rather than historical reasons. To simplify further relationships, the listing is by region.

The Principio Company, with forges at Principio Furnace and near Perryville and North East in Cecil County, Maryland, was formed in 1722 by John England, Walter Chetwynd, William Chetwynd, Joshua Gee, John Wightwick, William Russell and Thomas Russell. The forge was under the direction of Stephen Onion and Joseph Farmer, who had earlier established a forge on Principio Creek. In 1726, Augustine Washington, father of the President, acquired an interest in the company (see MS. 669) which was sold by his executors in 1774 (MS. 877). The records of the first century of the company's existence, with the exception of Augustine Washington's papers and scattered North East Forge accounts, are not in the possession of the Society. The North East Forge accounts, MS. 117, and MS. 1693, were retained by forge-

master Thomas Russell as evidence in his suit against the Principio Company and cover the years 1764-1782.

Control of the Principio Company was acquired by George Price Whitaker in 1836. The North East Forge daybook of 1835-1838 (MS. 1675) is the first record of the period of Whitaker control. George Whitaker, with Joseph Whitaker of Pennsylvania, also had extensive interests in land in Cecil County, where they purchased property once owned by inventor Benjamin Rumsey on Elk Neck. This land was farmed and timbered to provide charcoal for Principio Furnace. Whitaker's company also leased commercial fishing property on the Chesapeake Bay at "Bulls Mountain" to local fisherman until 1935.

George Whitaker's interests extended beyond Maryland into West Virginia, where he operated in partnership with Joseph Coudin. There he acquired the Crescent Manufacturing Company and incorporated the Whitaker Iron Company. Whitaker retained the name of the Principio Company until his death in 1890, after which the Maryland business was carried under the name of Whitaker Iron Company of West Virginia, which operated the Principio lands as late as 1935. Whitaker land interests were also operated under the name of the George P. Whitaker Co.

The bulk of the Whitaker records, including material on the Elk Neck property in Cecil County and the Crescent Manufacturing Company, as well as Whitaker Iron Company balance sheets from 1867-1920, is designated as MSs. 1730 and 1730.1. Added to the Principio material in the Hughes Collection (MS. 1675) it gives a pretty clear picture of the operation of the company from 1826 to 1935. Much data on wages, production, and the sale of iron and steel is included, but there are gaps in the records of day-to-day operations and in company statements in the 1830s and 1840s and again in the 1870s.

The Deer Creek Iron Company, located in Harford County, was formed in 1836 by Herman Stump, R. J. Jackson and B. W. Duncan. As with many forge companies, the records of a company store are intermixed with those of the forge. Only three volumes of the company records have survived: two cash books from 1836-1856 (MS. 288) and a daybook for 1836-1840 (MS. 1516). May one assume that the Deer Creek Iron Company was a short lived venture?

Also in Harford County was the Franklinville Forge, located on the Little Gunpowder Falls across from Franklinville in Baltimore County. The account books run from 1838 to 1857 in three volumes (MS. 1516) and include accounts of a company store as well as accounts of the forge.

In 1758 Captain Charles Ridgely of Hampton was granted land on Gunpowder Falls in Baltimore County, which he named North Hampton and where he, in partnership with William Goodwin and Darby Lux, established the North Hampton Furnace. Because the furnace remained in family hands throughout its existence, the record books (MS. 691) are nearly complete. They begin in 1772 and run in unbroken series until 1835, with ledgers, journals, day-books, furnace records, time books, etc. The furnace stopped operation around 1850, but company store records were kept until 1854. The North Hampton Furnace records are the only complete series of furnace records in the possession of the Society for the pre-revolutionary period through the 1830s.

Near Oregon, in Baltimore County, the Ashland Iron Company established its furnaces in 1837. The account books cover only the early period of the company's existence, from 1851-1858—a work book and an account book of raw materials hauled (MS. 629). The Ashland Iron Company operated furnaces in Baltimore County until the 1880s.

Muirkirk, in Prince Georges County, was the location of the Muirkirk Iron Company, founded in 1847 and in operation until 1920. Waste books, journals, ledgers, cost records and notations of transfers of stock, kept by Charles E. Coffin, run in sporadic series from 1869 to 1910 (MS. 605).

An early letterbook of the Geroge's Creek Coal and Iron Company in Lonaconing, Allegany County, survives in the Society's collections (MS. 396). Kept by superintendent Robert Graham from 1839 to 1847, the volume describes the purchases and sales of iron and coal as well as the running of the company store.

In addition to the actual records of the above furnaces, there is a wealth of related papers: accounts of company stores, correspondence of Marylanders with interest in the forges, and reports of engineers who kept duplicates for their own files. All give a picture of the iron industry in Maryland from its earliest years.

## GENEALOGICAL COLLECTIONS

By MARY K. MEYER

THE most noted of the many fine collections held by the Maryland Historical Society is that one commonly called the Dielman File. It is invariably mentioned in any lecture, article, or book describing genealogical and historical research in Maryland, and it is worthy of its fame. Officially, the collection is called the Dielman-Hayward Biographical Index of Maryland Names, but its lengthy title does not fully describe it. It is more than just an index of names, for it covers dates, places, and events as well.

When it was presented to the Society, the collection contained about 200,000 cards and two four-drawer filing cases of newspaper clippings of obituaries, marriages, and biographical information on individuals from every walk of life and from every part of the state. The collection was begun around 1920 by Louis H. Dielman, who at the time was Executive Director of the Peabody Institute and Editor of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. All too often, he found himself in need of biographical information about Marylanders which did not exist in any convenient form. To fill this void he started clipping obituaries from local newspapers, along with marriage notices and biographical sketches. In his spare time he copied items from old newspapers in the Peabody and Maryland Historical Society libraries. In 1928, Dielman resigned as Executive Director of the Peabody and became Librarian there, which allowed him more time to devote to his major personal interests of collecting rare books, sheet music, and local history. In addition to the clippings, he copied tombstone inscriptions which he added to his file.

When in 1942 he resigned as Librarian of the Peabody, he returned to New Windsor in Carroll County, Maryland, where he lived in the country inn his father had kept for many years. He continued to add to the index until his death at the age of ninety-five years.

Mr. Louis Dielman was many things to many people. He was educated as a pharmacist but became instead a cataloguer at the Maryland State Library. His career also included such

positions as Assistant Librarian at the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Executive Director and Librarian at the Peabody Library, Chairman of the Library Committee of the Maryland Historical Society, and Editor of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. He once said, "I have no use for personal possessions. They get to possess you." But Mr. Dielman was possessed of a passion for Maryland and Marylandia. James Foster, late Director of the Society, maintained that "his [Mr. Dielman's] interest in, and devotion to, Maryland history was surpassed by no one."

The other contributor to the Dielman-Hayward Index was Francis S. Hayward. Mr. Hayward was a government surveyor and Deputy Collector for the Port of Baltimore. Early in life, he developed a consuming interest in genealogy, and he too discovered in the course of his work the lack of a ready reference on Marylanders, particularly vital statistics. The Hayward Index was born of his attempt to remedy the situation.

By devoting all his spare time over a ten year period to the collection, Mr. Hayward prepared an alphabetical index of all the marriage and death notices published in Baltimore newspapers from 1773 to 1840. The collection was presented to the Society in 1947 and was subsequently interfiled with the Dielman collection.

The happy combination of Dielman and Hayward has proved invaluable to Maryland researchers, which include students, genealogists, local historians, lawyers, and sociologists.

The collection continues to grow as Miss Mary C. Hiss has for some years devoted much of her spare time in keeping the collection up to date. It now numbers approximately 275,000 cards and also fills five four-drawer file cases. All that is needed, if the collection is to continue to develop, is the assistance of additional volunteer workers. The file can then sustain its service to the public, service for which it can be well-commended.

## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*Diary of Charles Francis Adams.* Four Volumes [The Adams Papers, L. H. Butterfield, Editor-in-Chief.] (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.) Volumes 1 and 2 (January 1820-September 1829), edited Aida DiPace Donald and David Donald. (1964, Pp. lxiv, 469, 514. \$20). Volumes 3 and 4 (September 1829-December 1832), edited by Marc Friedlaender and L. H. Butterfield. (1968, Pp. li, 431, 502. \$25.)

The four volumes of Charles Francis Adams' diary that have been published are already a treasure trove, an augury of what is to come. As a member of one of America's most distinguished families, he either knew everyone of importance in Boston and Washington, or heard things about them, all of which he duly reported, so that these volumes spanning 1820-1832 are a valuable reference for any number of topics whether intellectual history, political, economic, or social. For those eager to know what operas, plays, novels, and magazine articles a literate person kept abreast of, surprisingly complete entries are to be found. In the case of literature, whether classical or modern, Adams would occasionally summarize a plot, and pass judgment on the talents of the authors he read. Incidentally, so far as this reviewer can determine, he was a man of sophisticated musical taste. His enjoyment of such operas as *Der Freischütz*, *La Cenerentola*, and *Don Giovanni* has been duplicated by succeeding generations.

For those who wish to know about higher education and professional training in America during the 1820's, we can follow his college years at Harvard, and his months of reading law in Daniel Webster's office. Economic historians will also find much useful material. Adams was deeply involved in the business life of the city, not only as participant, but as observer and commentator.

The diary will prove itself indispensable for political historians who might be eager to use a new source. It is all here: contemporary comment on the Presidential election of 1824, the Washington of John Quincy Adams' time, even the residual bitterness of the Hartford Convention.

More valuable are the insights offered into the joys and tragedies of one of the nation's leading families. The Adamses were always so prim and straight-laced in public, that anything that can humanize them for us should not be ignored. It adds to their stature to realize that they achieved greatness despite their normality. How



much greater their weaknesses make them! Of Charles Francis' normality, there is no doubt.

John Adams, still alive when the first volume begins, although quite feeble, was still mentally alert. Charles Francis, home from college, used to have to sit with him, to read to him, talk with him, and keep him entertained insofar as it was possible for him to do so. It bored the teenager, but he did it. He realized who the old man was, and what he had been, and in his own way, the boy worshipped him.

The image of John Quincy Adams is more rounded in these volumes, since he is more important. To this reviewer, he is the most charming figure in the four volumes, a loving, indulgent parent, who delighted in making gifts to his son whether of money, books, or a share in the Athenaeum in order for Charles to have access to a good library. The second President Adams was a highly cultivated man, a political animal in the best sense of the term, to whom public office was the only career possible. Despite the suspicion one gets in these volumes that John Quincy Adams neglected his boys in favor of his own career, nevertheless, he emerges as a good man, even likable, if one can say that of an Adams.

Of course, the major value of the *Diary* lies in what we learn of its author himself. Although the fourth volume ends when he has not really done anything of note, the pattern of the future man is already there. Charles Francis Adams, if he was nothing else, was a man of unquestionable integrity. I am not aware that he ever did anything in his public life that was improper. His moral inflexibility developed early. He tempered himself to utter self-control, never to cater to anyone, and to master his liking for boyish revelry. He realized very quickly that no Adams of any age could enjoy himself as others of his generation. The opposition was always lying in wait, to seize on anything to cast discredit on his father, and if this meant playing up the vacation trip of an eighteen year-old boy with a few friends in New York, they would do it. He never put himself in such a position again.

Charles Francis also had the example of his two elder brothers, George and John, before him. They were nice boys, and he liked them, even admired them, but they had followed their own inclinations. So far as he was concerned, they had not turned out well. Charles was determined that he would never disgrace the family. Upon his marriage, he put youthful behavior behind him. He permitted old friendships to lapse, as he donned the mantle of respectability at the age of twenty-two.

He never wavered in this resolve. Although the Unitarian church bored him, he attended its services twice every Sunday, wherever

he was, whether at home or not. Dutifully he joined the First Church, of which his brother-in-law Nathaniel L. Frothingham was minister, but he never thought much of the sermons he heard there or anywhere else. Rarely did he comment favorably on any sermon, although he occasionally thought well of individual ministers he met as men, and esteemed Frothingham highly. The only religious preference expressed is for the Episcopal Church. On October 26, 1828, he wrote, "I admire the Episcopal service. If I consulted my own feelings, I would always attend the Church of that sect. It is the only one in which my feelings of devotion are excited." But how could an Adams be an Episcopalian?

Charles Francis Adams came to regard himself very quickly as the only hope of his family. On December 10, 1829, he confided to his diary his personal ambition for distinction. "Are my visions dreams? Perhaps, but I never cherished them so much till now. I am the only Stock of an old House, and is not the object glorious to continue it in character. . . ." The only stock? True, George was dead by this time, but John was still alive, and working honorably for his father as manager of a flour mill in Washington, but Charles has already dismissed him as of no account. One could ask what was Charles Francis doing at this time, and what had he achieved that he could give himself such airs? He was working for his father too, managing John Quincy's properties in Boston, for which he was paid of course, and eking out his income with dividends on investments, and quarterly remittances from his father-in-law, Peter Chardon Brooks, reputed to be the richest man in New England.

However, as it turned out, Charles Francis was right. The hopes of the family did devolve on him, and he did not disgrace his heritage and name.

Charles Francis Adams is not an easy man to analyze. His diary offers us many facets of his personality. At times he seems like a "stuffed shirt," a prig of the worst type as when he passes judgment on the coarseness of President Jackson, or when he lectures his father, as he often did. Occasionally old John Quincy has to bring the young man back to reality. In a footnote to the entry for March 14, 1831, editors Friedlaender and Butterfield print a letter in which the former President tells his son, "Your standard of morals is more elevated than belongs to the world in which we live . . ." and that he should "let down a little your scale of Virtue till its last step at least shall touch the earth."

Occasionally he is positively insufferable with his condescension and his sense of *noblesse oblige*, as on September 18, 1829. After supervising the sale of wood cut on his father's land at Weston, he

writes, "we returned to the House and dined. The Tenants had made preparation for us and it was essentially necessary that I should so far assent to their arrangement as not to appear too proud to sit down with them."

Actually, one does not have to be very astute to realize what his problem was. He was terrorized of the world, and filled with self-doubts. Any man in his mid-twenties who still lives off the bounty of others cannot really have much self-assurance. He realized that his work for his father was not a real job, but just a way of supporting him, although he fulfilled his obligations with the utmost devotion.

Throughout the *Diary* runs a thread of inferiority complex. From time to time we read a telling statement, that exposes the insecurity behind the patrician facade. Sometimes he writes that he is unpopular (this as an undergraduate), or that all doors are closed to him in Boston. We get the impression that he feels himself a victim of his own pedigree, in the sense that he is not free to follow his own inclinations, as he might have done had he not been an Adams, a son and grandson of Presidents. After college he studied law, but the profession did not really interest him. It was the thing to do, so he did it. His grandfather, father, and older brother George were all lawyers, but as he tells us on October 10, 1830, he preferred literary distinction.

His work as his father's agent did not take much of his time, nor did his legal practice. To fill out his days he read widely in literature, history, philosophy, and religion in a variety of languages both modern and ancient. His literary voracity and his linguistic skills are amazing, but he did not use his knowledge and skills in any professional manner.

True to his heritage, he was fascinated by current events, but only as an observer, never as a participant. He began to write articles for the newspapers. One of his efforts was even published in the prestigious *North American Review*. With pardonable pride he confided to his diary complimentary remarks he heard about his work, all the sweeter to him since his articles were published anonymously. Persons who commented to him, in one instance his father-in-law, had no suspicion that he was their author. However, since he was not paid for his contributions, his pleasure was somewhat qualified.

Throughout these four volumes a worried tone appears. Charles Francis was concerned about his lack of progress, that he was wasting time, that life was flowing around him, and that he achieved nothing significant. Occasionally his spirits perk up whenever he hears rumors that perhaps his father will buy a newspaper

and let him edit it, but each time his hopes are dashed, as he returns to his office and the drudgery of contending with his father's tenants.

It is worth noting that Charles Francis Adams never thought of a political career. Public life repelled him. He could not bear the thought of undergoing the kind of attacks to which his grandfather and father were subjected. He even felt that his father should have remained in retirement after leaving the White House, and devoted himself to a biography of John Adams. A return to public life as a mere member of the House of Representatives was undignified for a former President.

In his rejection of politics at this stage of his life, the diarist appears to go counter to his heritage. Since he later did embark on a public career by running for Vice-President in 1848, and was elected to Congress, we know that he did run true to form eventually. All the more interesting then is the question why he originally turned his back on politics. He offers us hints. In his frequent expressions of self-doubt one can only assume that Charles Francis was afraid that he did not have what it took to succeed in public life, that he would not be elected if he offered himself, although at no time does he say this outright. I get the impression that he felt that he did not have his awesome father's ability. The volumes are filled with frequent observations about the brilliance of John Quincy's mind, his erudition, and of how much the son enjoyed his father's learned and stimulating conversation, even if from time to time we read a comment discussing a weakness that he had just discovered in the older man.

In his less introspective moments, when his guard is down, a different Charles Francis Adams comes through: a man who rejoiced in the love of his young wife, the birth of his first child, or even the beauty of a sunset, although the public probably never saw the more relaxed "human" side of his character. At the end of Volume 4, December 31, 1832, Charles Francis Adams is still marking time trying to find himself.

The two sets of editors, Professor and Mrs. David Donald, and Messrs. Marc Friedlaender and Lyman H. Butterfield have done an exemplary job in preparing the text for publication. This reviewer claims some knowledge in depth of the Boston of the period, the result of many years of manuscript research, and is impressed with their detective skill in the elucidation of obscure references and names. Whoever continues the preparation of the succeeding volumes will have a high mark to match.

*A New Voyage to Carolina* by John Lawson. Ed. by HUGH TALMADGE LEFLER. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967. Introduction, Notes, Index, Illus. Pp. liv, 305, \$10.)

John Lawson, founder of the town of Bath and with Baron Christopher de Graffenreid, the town of New Bern, came to North Carolina from England in 1700. Possibly because of this latter settlement, the Tuscarora Indians, angered at the infringement upon their preserves, captured Lawson and the Baron who had been on a journey to the interior of the province. The natives executed Lawson but spared his companion.

First published in 1708, ethnologists consider Lawson's book a major contribution to their field. Always estimated a successful description of early Carolina, it has been printed in twelve editions. Professor Lefler tells us that the work has equal value to the historian. This is because of Lawson's colorful account of the Indians and of the wild frontier before its full settlement. Furthermore, *A New Voyage to Carolina* is a fine example of the literature of the adventuresome, promotion-minded Anglo-American of our earliest history, who despite his boldness and his desires at exploitation was awestruck by the vastness, virginity, and beauty of this new continent, and he often sought to express his wonderment to those who resided in the comforts of England, to move them from their hearths to take advantage of unequalled opportunities.

This book, with its reproduction of priceless maps and other illustrations, plus the editor's scholarly and helpful introduction, and the University of North Carolina Press's fitting typographical style, make it the best edition of all, for readers of all tastes and disciplines, and by far the most enjoyable.

Georgetown University

RICHARD WALSH

*General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West*. By ALBERT CASTEL. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968. Pp. xiii, 300. \$8.95.)

Professor Castel's narrative is confined to Price's Civil War career, as the title of his book suggests; only a dozen or so pages deal with the general's ante and post bellum adventures. It is essentially a military biography, and on the question of his subject's

ability as a commander the author displays a candor rare among biographers. "[Price] was at best," he says in the Introduction, "a respectable mediocrity." But "his actions decisively influenced the course of the Civil War as a whole, and he was the central figure in the Civil War west of the Mississippi. This, then, is the excuse for this book." Without stopping to debate the accuracy of the adverb "decisively" or to argue the relative importance of Price versus Kirby Smith or Richard Taylor, one can readily admit that Price deserves attention.

The style is pleasant and the story is a readable one. The post mortems of Price's battles and the speculations as to his political maneuverings are reasonable and restrained—as far as they go. Unfortunately, Price's personal papers were burnt in 1885, and so, as Professor Castel observes, "he must in these pages remain a somewhat shadowy figure." There are obviously limits to what one can say about a shadow. It is often impossible to determine what Price did or what he was responsible for, except in a very general way. Consequently the book is to a great degree a narrative of military events in which Price was involved, or rather submerged. Since these events included eight battles or campaigns extending over a period of three and a half years, any attempt to describe them within the compass of fewer than 300 pages is not likely to be an unqualified success. This is especially true when a rather limited range of sources is employed. Twenty of the twenty-nine unpublished items listed in the Bibliography are held by the Missouri Historical Society and three by the Kansas State Historical Society. The item which appears to be cited as frequently as all other unpublished sources combined is "General Sterling Price and the Confederacy" by Thomas C. Reynolds, Confederate governor of Missouri. Reynolds' account is no doubt valuable, but it cannot compensate for deeper and less parochial research. Perhaps it is a dubious practice for a reviewer to say that an author should have used additional material if he cannot specify what it is. It is, however, quite difficult for anyone at all familiar with the National Archives' Civil War collection (from which there are no citations) to believe that Professor Castel could not have found useful information there. Furthermore, considering the broad sweep of events, the list of published sources is quite short.

All this is not to say that the book is not interesting and useful; it is. It would have been more interesting and more useful if the research had been commensurate with the subject.

*The Slave Economy of the Old South: Selected Essays in Economic and Social History.* By ULRICH BONNELL PHILLIPS. Edited and with an Introduction by Eugene D. Genovese. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1968. Pp. 304. \$8.95 cloth, \$2.95 paper.)

In this volume Eugene D. Genovese, professor of history at Sir George Williams University in Montreal, has assembled twenty-one essays from the writings of one of this country's most productive and pioneering historians, Ulrich B. Phillips. A native of Georgia, trained at Columbia, Phillips taught history at Tulane, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Yale, all the while producing, in addition to several important books, an impressive number of well-written and instructive essays and articles. Those printed here were first published between 1903 and 1928 and are, with one or two exceptions, unfamiliar to historians today. On the whole, they constitute an often perceptive, if sometimes erroneous, inquiry into the character of ante-bellum Southern society, more particularly into its most distinctive institutions, slavery and the plantation.

Mr. Genovese, the author of an important recent book on slavery and the South, concludes in his sympathetic introduction that, taken as a whole, these essays "comprise the best introduction to the political economy of Southern slavery that I know of and should prove valuable to specialists and indispensable to students." For Phillips, the plantation exerted a profoundly determinative influence on the life and mind of the entire South: it "shaped the general order of life without serious rival." Under the plantation regime, he maintained, the Negro was lifted "out of barbarism, into civilization"; "the plantation system gave impress to the thought of large, if not all, elements of the Southern people," making for "strength of character and readiness to meet emergencies, for patience and tact, for large-mindedness, gentility, and self-control." One of its most important contributions, according to Phillips, was to organize, discipline, and make productive "an ignorant and slothful" labor force—a view relied on heavily in three essays written at the turn of the century in which he advocated the plantation's restoration in the form of large agricultural units worked by hired Negro labor.

As virtually everyone who reads Phillips today will acknowledge, he did greatly underestimate, if not unconsciously distort, the evils of slavery insofar as they bore upon the black man's culture, personality, and physical well-being. Similarly no one will take seriously any longer Phillips' uninformed and patronizing denigration

of the civilization out of which the slave was torn. That Phillips considered the African's intellect and culture as inherently and hopelessly inferior to the white man's is so well recognized among historians as to require no further comment. Far more interesting to students of the South today is Phillips' formulation of the plantation as a "paternalistic despotism," a regime occasionally cruel but more often "benevolent," a system imbued, as it were, with a patriarchal and protective concern of white man for their black charges. No doubt it is this romantic view of the Southern planter class which has attracted Mr. Genovese whose own position on this particular point is so similar. Yet, other essays in this collection imply, in quite a different vein, a class of struggling capitalists striving to succeed in a relentless and precarious world of narrow profits and unstable commodity prices. Such a world, these essays point out, spurred the enlargement and consolidation of individual plantation units, forced planters to acquire more and more slaves, and brought about an alternating succession of speculative manias and ruinous panics. Faced with such conditions there could have been few planters with either leisure or inclination for truly paternalistic care of slaves; many more must have been ruled by the same obsession with increased productivity and reduced costs that drove Northern factory managers also struggling to succeed under highly competitive circumstances.

Let it be said at once, however, that Phillips was too honest an historian not to admit that the "system of slavery was by no means perfect as a method of racial adjustment, nor was its working constantly smooth." His accounts of slave runaways, guerilla attacks, retaliations against masters, and organized insurrections well support this point. It is quite correct, then, to say as Mr. Genovese does, that while Phillips' racist assumptions about the Negro conditioned and informed his work, they did not distort it beyond the point of genuine historical value. Phillips' discussion of the burdensome effect of slavery on the southern economy is sensible, and one with which many historians would agree: capital that should have gone into industrialization was immobilized in the form of slaves, slavery froze the economy into rigid patterns of single-crop production, weakening its ability to sustain falling prices. In addition, two studies of plantations in Antigua and Jamaica meticulously describe the techniques of West Indian sugar operations—they are still, according to Mr. Genovese, among "the finest in the literature." Phillips' article on Milledgeville, Georgia, documents beautifully how a small southern community struggled to maintain a grip on slavery, through curfews, patrols, bans on anti-slavery propaganda, and supervision of Negro gatherings. And a piece on Charleston,



South Carolina shows the city fearing an insurrection as early as 1720 and haunted by this spectre at recurrent intervals for 140 years thereafter.

Indeed, I think it is Phillips' understanding of what slavery meant to the white man that constitutes the most profound and suggestive insight to emerge from these essays. "Many men of the South," he wrote in a striking passage, "thought of themselves and their neighbors as living above a loaded mine, in which the negro slaves were powder, the abolitionists the spark, and the free negroes the fuse." If some Southerners confidently considered the Negro too docile, too contented to be a serious treat, there was yet on the whole a "much greater anxiety abroad in the land than the historians have told of, and its influence in shaping Southern policy was much greater than they have appreciated." As a son of the deep South, Phillips not only shared its assumptions about Negro inferiority to the white man; he instinctively understood how pervasive and influential had been the white man's fear of black retaliation and retribution.

*The American University*

ROGER H. BROWN

*The Thomas-Jencks-Gladding House.* KATHARINE B. DEHLER.  
(Baltimore: Bodine & Associates, Inc., 1968. Pp. x, 84, Photos by  
Aubrey Bodine, \$6.95.)

This is a good and a pleasing book and one that can well reward a reader who will forgive its few faults. There are many nice things to be said about it but they do not come to the tongue readily. It is disappointing to be promised photography by Bodine but to thumb through two-thirds of the book before finding more than one of his; or, to search for a plan only to find it tucked-in near the end and to begin from there a confusing attempt to relate interior contemporary photographs to an old plan.

A native Baltimorean, such as this writer, might follow the author's numerous references to compass points without too much difficulty, but until the stranger finds a tiny "north arrow" he is sure to be ignorant of her meanings.

Emotion tends to cover the fact that the house deserves no prize for its architectural design, which is defensible only as an accurate instance of its period, being "built in the Greek Revival style with Italian Renaissance ornamentation, (and with) its French windows . . ." and giving a distinct impression of the cast iron of its time. There is, however, an inexpressible enchantment in the

presence of two such compatible buildings as this house and its neighbor to the east.

But before many pages are done, the reader will discard a mistaken assumption that this book is to be approached for its architecture and will be intrigued first by its real worth as a social document and at last absorbed in its tale and the telling of it.

Wide and immediate interest in this book is doubtful, but it probably will be sought after increasingly by those joyful people who search out pertinent bits of the history of living as time moves away from its era and the longer perspective becomes more clear, and more precious.

*Bozman, Maryland*

IAN C. MACCALLUM

*Blueprint for Modern America: Nonmilitary Legislation of the First Civil War Congress.* By LEONARD P. CURRY. (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1968. Pp. ix, 302. \$8.50.)

Much of Civil War history examines the armies which marched over the land, but, increasingly in recent years, scholars have probed behind the lines. The Civil War was, after all, a modern war, and the home front was the key to victory. The Union had great manpower and material superiority over the Confederacy, but only if these superior resources were marshaled effectively could stalemate or defeat be avoided. A massive effort was necessary, an effort which would inevitably and irrevocably alter the Republic.

Abraham Lincoln, the chief executive, skillfully guided the Union, but the national legislature also played a significant role. Much of this legislative responsibility was borne by the Thirty-seventh Congress which met in the periods July 4-August 6, 1861, December 2, 1861-July 17, 1862, and December 1, 1862-March 3, 1863. Faced with a unique national crisis and at the same time hampered by traditional rules and procedures, this unheralded Congress hammered out epoch-making nonmilitary legislation which not only helped achieve victory but also produced a rough blueprint for the development of a nation on the threshold of world greatness.

The Thirty-seventh Congress was often bitter, quarrelsome, and confused, but, more important, it was also very productive. It lashed out at slavery everywhere, destroyed it in the territories, the District of Columbia, and the nascent state of West Virginia, and frequently prodded the cautious President in the same liberal direction. It passed the Homestead Act and the Morrill Land-Grant College Act. It enacted the Pacific Railroad Act and other legisla-

tion which ushered in an era of massive federal aid for private transportation facilities. It raised tariffs to protective levels, beginning another long-lived government policy. It permanently overhauled the federal tax system, expanding it greatly in the process, and it legislated vital currency and banking reforms which swept away forever much of the nation's traditional monetary confusion. Though usually in the shadow of the mighty Lincoln, the Thirty-seventh Congress poured forth nonmilitary legislation which stimulated the development of nationalism. In the process of being so active it assaulted the office of the Presidency and helped prepare the way for congressional domination of the federal government for most of the rest of the nineteenth century.

A study of this pivotal Congress is certainly a valid project for a Civil War historian. Leonard P. Curry, Associate Professor of History at the University of Louisville, has examined the procedures and personalities of the Thirty-seventh Congress and traced many of its accomplishments (and failures) step by step. The very nature of congressional proceedings drags parts of this monograph to the edge of tedium, so the casual reader will become discouraged. But readers whose interest in the Civil War goes beyond flashing sabers and roaring cannons will find much of value in this book.

Occasionally the author becomes unnecessarily awkward or dull, and, by ignoring some important events occurring beyond the halls of Congress, he sometimes fails to weave congressional actions smoothly into the larger pattern of the whole war. The research for this work is extensive, but there is not much new interpretation. Some significant recent studies like Roy F. Nichols's *Blueprints for Leviathan: American Style* and Richard Orr Curry's *A House Divided* have not been consulted. Drawing parallels between the Civil War and the Vietnam War is, as the author says, a "game," and it is a weak way to introduce a serious, disciplined study. This reviewer is inclined to think that Professor Curry is a little too hard on the Radical Republicans, but he is also inclined to think that, overall, Professor Curry has effectively examined the Thirty-seventh Congress's enactment of nonmilitary legislation.

*University of Georgia*

F. N. BONEY

*The Hawks of World War II.* MARK LINCOLN CHADWIN. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1968. Pp. ix, 310. \$7.95.)

As in the first World War, the war in Europe in 1939-1940 caused Americans to choose sides. With the drastic deterioration of the

Allied cause in 1940, a small number of militant Anglophiles in the United States formed an organization known as the Century Group. These people were generally residents of the eastern part of the United States and internationalists in their world politics. The membership of these Warhawks contained many prominent people from government and the professions. Some of the more eminent personages were Dean Acheson, Allen Dulles, James Conant, Bishop Henry Hobson, and Henry Luce. They had a cultural base of strength in that most Americans in 1940 were hoping that the Allies would win. This strength was greatly moderated by the fact that most Americans did not want to see the United States become involved in the war. The course of world events had convinced many that isolationism was to America's interest.

The primary course of action of the group was to use their personal influence with important persons in and out of official positions. The interventionists advocated a series of governmental actions which would eventually involve the United States in the war. This group was very successful in behind-the-scenes negotiations with Wendell Wilkie and President Roosevelt on the Destroyer-Bases agreement. The covertness of their actions was instrumental in their success.

Roosevelt's retrenchment from an internationalist position in the 1940 election and the formation of the isolationists' American First Committee caused the Warhawks to abandon their quiet undercover operations. The Century Group believed that it was their responsibility to demand that the President take more positive steps toward involving America in the war. Simultaneously, the Warhawks felt that they had to aid the President by publicly countering the propaganda and influence of the isolationist organizations. Both of these attitudes meant appealing directly to the mass public. This change of course forced the Century Group to form the national Fight for Freedom group. The leadership of this organization fell increasingly to the liberals whereas the Century Group had been dominated by those of a conservative philosophy on domestic matters.

The Fight for Freedom pledged itself not only to fight for a military victory abroad but also to fight for justice and expanded opportunity for all on the domestic front. This meant an active campaign seeking the support of and fighting for such diverse groups as Negroes and organized labor. Like most crusaders, the leaders of Fight for Freedom sought to make a clear distinction between what they considered the forces of good and evil. Extreme vitriolic attacks against the opponents of interventionism reflected the self-righteous mood of the interventionists.

While the Warhawks had some effect in conditioning the populace for the steps the Roosevelt Administration was to take, the author maintains that the rapidity with which events occurred were more responsible for final actions of the government than the interventionists. This thesis tends to undermine those who believe in the conspiracy theory between Roosevelt and the British-oriented Warhawks.

Although the title indicates otherwise, this book is a limited study of one group calling for American belligerency. Most of the book deals only with that segment of the Warhawks whose main concern was Germany and not Japan. Such preoccupation with Hitler by these persons is a stunning interpretation to those who believe in the Asia First interpretation of modern American foreign policy. This book is a good introduction into the world of the Warhawks and is a needed departure from the study of the isolationist camps. The work can be regarded as a pioneer study, and thus it has a very acceptable place in the historical literature of pre-World War II.

University of Mississippi

LEON BOOTHE

*George Washington in the American Revolution (1775-1783).*

By JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1968. Pp. xvii, 599. Maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

From Mason Locke Weems to Douglas Southall Freeman, biographers have tried to capture the character of the American Cincinnatus. John B. McMaster once wrote: "his true biography is yet to be prepared. General Washington is known to us, and President Washington. But George Washington is an unknown man."

To the formidable task of reassessing a man who was a demigod in his own time, James Thomas Flexner brings impressive credentials. Winner of the Society of American Historians Parkman Prize, he has done excellent studies of American art and artists, physicians, and inventors.

In 1965 the first volume of a projected trilogy appeared entitled *George Washington: The Forge of Experience (1732-1775)*. This worthy sequel, combining both scholarship and literary felicity, provides the best insights we have into the inner life of the man behind the mythology. The George Washington of these first two volumes is neither surrounded with halos nor covered with warts. Flexner's task is as much to dismiss the muckraking of Bernhard

Knollenberg, whom he calls a "modern iconoclast," as it is to destroy the idolatry of Parson Weems.

Flexner's Washington has several weaknesses. The man whose reputation is of patience and perseverance becomes instead an impetuous commander desiring a quick, easy, decisive victory which in one blow would allow him to return to Mt. Vernon. Thus several times he risked his army, and with it the Revolution, in the overoptimistic belief that "Providence" was on his side. Fortunately, British incompetence and tactics, a couple of opportune weather changes, and reliance upon a council of war rather than his own judgment, all kept the general from making a fatal error early in the conflict. His later reputation for caution came after experience taught him the consequences of his natural inclinations and because the Comte de Rochambeau refused to risk his army on such hairbrained schemes.

Washington also relied on battle plans too complicated for an army of militiamen and untrained Continentals to execute. Besides using the traditional examples of Trenton and Germantown to illustrate this facet of the commander's weakness, Flexner makes an interesting argument that perhaps the most important battle of the war was a risky and difficult assault on Boston which was never executed due to a storm. Only after years of training and with the advice and support of French professionals did His Excellency successfully direct the most complicated allied and combined arms operation of the eighteenth century—the siege of Yorktown.

General Washington learned from defeat and adroitly adapted his tactics to the American environment. Refusing Charles Lee's suggestion to resort to guerrilla warfare, he raided British outposts forcing the enemy's concentration in New York City rather than allowing them to occupy the countryside. Then by occupying strategic, fortified positions (Morristown, West Point, and White Plains), he forbade any overland march against the Middle Atlantic and New England states thereby forcing Clinton into his fatal Southern strategy.

Perhaps Washington's best military ability was to recognize and reward (as far as Congress would allow him) talent within the officer corps. Of his best lieutenants and aids, only John Laurens brought the credentials of a proper gentleman. Benedict Arnold was "a disreputable apothecary and trader," Henry Knox an "overweight bookseller," Nathanael Greene an "ironmonger with a stiff knee," Alexander Hamilton "a bastard from the Indies," the Marquis de Lafayette a "spoiled darling of the French Court," and Frederick von Steuben a "bogus baron." Flexner is at his best in these and other individual sketches. In one typical passage he

writes: "John Hancock was a windbag with a large signature, and Patrick Henry, a windbag with a large voice."

Flexner sees the revolutionary ferment as part of a "dual revolution"—not only a War for American Independence but also a quest for internal social change. Washington is described as a self-made aristocrat with whiggish ideas who must not only lead the world's first democratic army but also steer the ever-difficult course between whig and egalitarian ideologues who threatened to divide the Americans. That he was able to accomplish this amid the stupidity, pettiness, and self-seeking that characterized the American Revolution reflects great credit upon his sense of justice and faith in the cause.

Washington never became a militarist but remained forever the civilian turned soldier. As such he earned the everlasting love of his army and the eternal gratitude of his countrymen. His finest hours occurred in the critical months after Yorktown. Narrowly averting a Fascist-type takeover of the government engineered by Hamilton, Knox, Horatio Gates, and the Morrisises, the commander-in-chief preserved republicanism in North America.

In a final observation Flexner concludes that his subject was in effect the chief executive of the United States from 1775 to 1797. Despite his sympathy with the grievances of his officers and men, he realized that he alone could avert authoritarianism. At Newburgh, at Fraunces Tavern, at Annapolis, His Excellency displayed a continuing faith in self-government and American nationalism: knowing, even as he retired to the Potomac, that the cares of leadership would not leave him.

While there are weaknesses in Flexner's work—the battle descriptions are often difficult to understand and the absence of maps of Brandywine and Germantown is inexcusable—we can look forward to his final volume with anticipation that it will give us a rewarding conclusion to a worthy biography. For this author is one of few deserving a place in the pantheon of historians who believe their craft involves both scholarship and literary excellence.

*Bowling Green State University*

DAVID CURTIS SKAGGS

*Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D.C., 1963-1965.* Vols. 63-65 in one vol. Edited with an introduction by FRANCIS COLEMAN ROSENBERGER. (Published by The Society, 1966. Pp. xx, 513. illus. \$12.50.)

This forty-fifth separately bound volume of the *Records* contains many of the addresses delivered before the Society (not every address

produced a paper for publication), and the twenty-three, which have been chosen, provide a wealth of information on the Washington area. The articles are well and abundantly illustrated. There are reports of committees, list of members, and other information which produces a publication which will prove to be of considerable interest to members and non-members. It is a model of what a journal of a historical society should be.

An excellent and comprehensive introduction by the editor provides a background for each article and a biography of the authors. Articles include "The Washington area, 1608-1708;" "Two early plantations of the Washington area;" "The creation of the President's house;" "Three generations of Clagetts;" "The influence of the Smithsonian on intellectual life in mid-nineteenth-century Washington;" "Decorated envelopes in the Civil War;" "Josephine Gibson, John Clagett Proctor, Maud Proctor Callis;" "Victorian homes in Washington;" and many others.

Particularly interesting was the piece on Gallaudet in Washington: the world's only college for the deaf. The author wonders how many people in Washington realize such a college exists on a campus of one hundred acres, within one mile of the Capitol. Albert W. Atwood, the present chairman, writes with enthusiasm and feeling, and records that the college is accredited, has 600 students, and has had only three presidents and four chairmen in its 106 years of existence. Only deaf persons are admitted; there is no room for the hard of hearing.

Also of interest is an article concerning the inauguration of the United States Capitol Historical Society by its President, Fred Schwengel. Everything is being done to ferret out documents and other items dealing with the Capitol. The Maryland Historical Society has the original drawings submitted when the government decided to build the Capitol. The winning design by Latrobe was of course retained by the government.

Josephine Cobb's "The Washington Art Association: an Exhibition Record, 1856-1860," is excellently documented, and the facsimile reproductions of the catalogues make entertaining reading. In the long list of contributors to the funds we see many names from New York, Philadelphia and Washington, but only H. Newell and A. Wiedenbach from Baltimore.



## NOTES AND QUERIES

### CARMAN FAMILY ASSOCIATION MANUSCRIPTS 1880-1895 NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Information has been received from Mr. Louis Duermyer, 104 Victory Boulevard, Staten Island, N. Y., 10301, (a descendant of the Long Island John Carman 1606-1653, and wife Florence) that the official central manuscripts maintained by the Carman Family Association and its secretary from year to year, presently located in the New York Public Library, are in the process of being put on microfilm.

Mr. Duermyer and other interested descendants of the various Carman lines are footing the bill of approximately \$120.00 and the New York Public Library is doing the work, with Mr. Duermyer a volunteer worker wherever needed.

### A BIOGRAPHY OF BENJAMIN BANNEKER

A comprehensive biography of Benjamin Banneker (1731-1806), the self-taught Afro-American astronomer and almanac-maker, is presently being completed by Silvio A. Bedini of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D. C. Mr. Bedini, a historian of early American science, has already published on Banneker, having been engaged in research on Banneker's life and work since 1955. In addition to a biography, his project will encompass a compilation of Banneker's almanacs issued from 1792 through 1797, and a critical bibliography.

Mr. Bedini is seeking surviving documentation of all aspects of Banneker's life and work, including family records, business accounts, and such related materials as the personal papers and scientific instruments of George Ellicott of Ellicott City. In particular he is trying to find the individual or collection owning Banneker's manuscript commonplace book and astronomical record book. Any assistance and suggestions will be appreciated. Letters should be addressed to:

Mr. Silvio A. Bedini  
Assistant Director of The National Museum  
of History and Technology  
Smithsonian Institution  
Washington, D. C. 20560

*Information Needed:* Wanted information on the forebears or origin of JEREMIAH REGISTER of Talbot County, Md., who purchased land in Kent-on-Delaware in 1744; sold tract MT. HOPE in Talbot County to Francis Neale in 1755; and who died in Kent County, Delaware, in 1774. Wife: Elizabeth ? . Children in 1774 will: John, Robert, Jeremiah, Francis, Elijah, Isaac (a minor), Rachel Crawford, and Seaser (probably Sarah) Cummins. Please write to:

Mrs. Evelyn J. T. Metzler  
105 South Main Street  
Bridgeville, Del. 19933

*Information needed:* For a dissertation on Maryland politics during the Civil War, I would be interested in hearing from anyone who has relevant letters, documents, and manuscripts. Please contact:

Jean H. Baker  
807 St. George's Road  
Baltimore, Md. 21210

*Information needed:* Professor Frank L. Byrne of Kent State University is interested in learning about manuscripts relevant to Civil War prisons, both Northern and Southern. He is also interested in finding the whereabouts of the papers of General John H. Winder, a Marylander and also the Confederate Commissary General of Prisoners. (After the war, Winder's official papers were in the hands of his son, William Sydney Winder, who died in Baltimore on February 25, 1905.) Please contact:

Professor Byrne  
History Department  
Kent State University  
Kent, Ohio 44240

Cover: Archbishop Francis P. Kenrick (1796-1863), 6th Archbishop of Baltimore, 1851-1863. Courtesy of the Baltimore *Catholic Review*.

*Now available*

The  
Manuscript Collections  
of the  
Maryland Historical Society

---

A guide to the manuscripts in the Maryland Historical Society, describing over 1700 collections, comprising approximately 1,000,000 items, with subject, name and place index.

390 pp.

\$15.00

Plus 35¢ postage, etc.;

tax, if applicable, 3%

**Order from: MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY**  
201 W. Monument St  
Baltimore, Md. 21201

## NEW PUBLICATION

*Maryland: A Student's Guide to Localized History*  
by Harold R. Manakee, Director, Maryland Historical Society

Featuring:

1. A thumbnail sketch of the State's history
2. Additional readings
3. Objectives for field trips

35 pages, plus an introduction by

Dr. Clifford L. Lord, President, Hofstra University, directing  
beginners in elementary research procedures.

Price: \$.75 per copy.

Discount for quantity orders.

Available at the Society and from  
Teachers College Press, Teachers  
College, Columbia University.

Coins, Gold Coins, Obsolete Paper Currency and

Political Items Urgently Needed.

### MASON - DIXON COIN EXCHANGE

THOS. P. WARFIELD, Member, Professional Numismatic Guild, Inc.

208 W. Saratoga St., Baltimore, Md. 21201

# PUBLICATIONS

## *Studies in Maryland History*

*His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland.*  
By Donnell M. Owings. 1953 . . . . . \$ 6.00

## *Texts and References for School Use*

*Maryland: A Students' Guide to Localized History.* By Harold R. Manakee . . . . . \$ .75  
*The War of 1812 On The Chesapeake Bay.* Illustrated paperback. By Gilbert Byron, 1964 . . . . . \$ 2.00  
*My Maryland.* By Kaessmann, Manakee and Wheeler. History of Maryland, Revised edition . . . . . \$ 4.50  
*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  
*Wheeler Leaflets on Maryland History.* (24 titles) . . . . . each \$ .10

## *Miscellaneous*

*The Manuscript Collections of the Maryland Historical Society.* Avril J. M. Pedley, comp. 1968 . . . . . \$15.00  
*A History of the University of Maryland.* By George H. Callcott. Illustrated. 1966 . . . . . \$ 7.50  
*Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland.* By J. Reaney Kelly. Illustrated. 1963 . . . . . \$ 5.50  
*The Maryland Press, 1777-1790.* By Joseph T. Wheeler. 1938 . . . \$ 4.00  
*History of Queen Anne's County.* By Frederic Emory. 1950 . . . . \$ 7.50  
*From Mill Wheel to Plowshare.* By Julia A. Drake and J. R. Orndorff. Orndorff Genealogy. Illustrated. 1938 . . . . . \$ 5.00  
*Chesapeake Bay Sailing Craft.* By M. V. Brewington. Illustrated pamphlet . . . . . \$ .50  
*Semmes and Kindred Families.* By Harry Wright Newman. 1956 \$10.00  
*The Hollyday and Related Families of the Eastern Shore of Maryland.* 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  
*Lucas Genealogy.* Annabelle Kemp, comp. 1964 . . . . . \$12.50

## *World War II*

*Maryland in World War II: Vol. I, Military Participation, 1950; Vol. II, Industry and Agriculture, 1951; 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  
*Maryland in World War II—Register of Service Personnel,* 5 vols. . . . . each \$20.00

### MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

201 W. Monument Street  
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

Postage and tax,  
if applicable, extra.

**TONGUE, BROOKS  
& COMPANY**

**I N S U R A N C E**

*Since 1898*



**213 ST. PAUL PLACE  
BALTIMORE**

**TRADITIONAL  
FURNITURE**

*From America's outstanding  
sources . . . in wide open  
stock selection.*

Our workroom offers complete restoration service . . . cabinetwork, refinishing and reupholstering.

**FALLON & HELLEN**  
11 and 13 W. Mulberry St.  
Baltimore, Md. 21201  
LExington 9-3345

**CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING**

**PHOTOGRAPHY**

*Since 1878*

**HUGHES CO.**

Copy and Restoration Work a Specialty.  
Black and White or color.  
*Phone: 889-5540*

C. GAITHER SCOTT  
115 E. 25th Street  
Baltimore, Md. 21218

**FAMILY COAT OF ARMS**

*A Symbol Of Your Family's Heritage From The Proud Past*

Handpainted In Oils In Full Heraldic Colors — Size 11½ × 14½ — \$15.00

*Research When Necessary*

ANNA DORSEY LINDER

PINES OF HOCKLEY

166 Defense Highway

Annapolis, Maryland 21401

*Phone: 263-3384*

**PLUMBING — HEATING — AIR CONDITIONING**

**M. NELSON BARNES & SONS, INC.**

Established 1909 *Phone: 252-4313* 2011 Greenspring Drive, Timonium

**BOOKBINDING**

**JOSEPH RUZICKA, INC.**

TU 9-7847 — TU 9-5095

3200 Elm Avenue (11)

*Magazines, Books & Records*

*Restoration of Rare Volumes*