
MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Master of the Art of Canning
Edward F. Keuchel

The Vestry as a Unit of Local
Government
Gerald E. Hartdagen

Captain Gordon of the *Constellation*
Morris L. Radoff

Planning Roland Park
Harry G. Schalck



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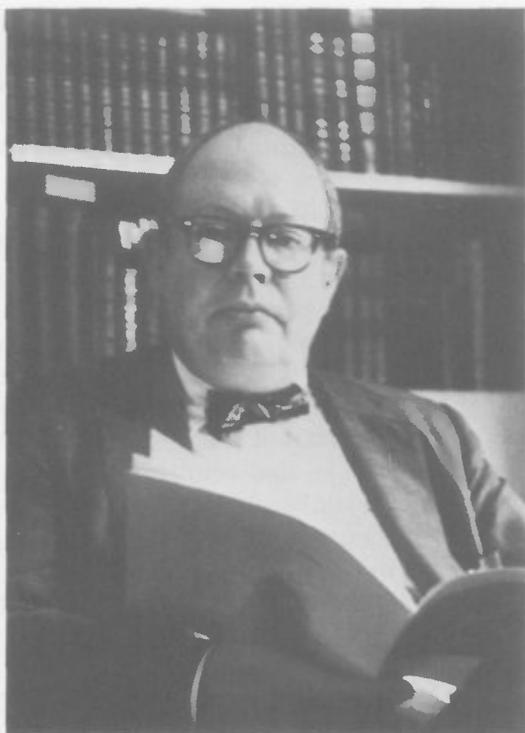
MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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Edward G. Howard

EDWARD GARFIELD HOWARD, 1917-1972

Mr. Walker Lewis in his Appreciation of Judge Brune opened with the comment, "It is always hard to lose a friend, especially one so full of the vigor of life." This observation applies perfectly to Edward Howard. He cycled to the Camden Street station in Baltimore as usual on Friday, September 1, shortly before 7 a.m., and cycled to his office in Washington upon arrival there at Union Station. He had his usual cup of coffee and dozed off, but on this morning his secretary failed to wake him. It was customary for him to call the Director of the Society between 8 and 9 a.m. on most mornings of the week to discuss library policy or purchases of books, but on Friday no call came. The Society had lost one of its great members—one

who had in seven years completely revitalized the Library and made it one of the scholarly ornaments of the entire Middle Atlantic region.

Edward Howard was born in 1917 in Cincinnati and raised in Wilmington. He was a graduate of the Tower Hill School in Wilmington, the University of Pennsylvania, and the Harvard Law School, where he served as book review editor of the *Harvard Law Review*. He was the general attorney for the Association of American Railroads in Washington, a position he had held since 1956.

He came to Baltimore in 1946 after serving in the Army as a cryptanalyst with the rank of captain. He became a student of Maryland history and over the years he collected over 1,200 rare Marylandia. At his death the collection was one of the finest in private hands.

He was a member of numerous societies, among them the Baltimore Bibliophiles; the Bibliographical Societies of America, London and the University of Virginia; and the prestigious Grolier Club in New York. In 1949 he was made a knight first class of the Order of the Lion of Finland in recognition of his legal services to that country.

He joined the Society in December 1945, and in 1960 he became a member of the Special Projects Committee. In 1961, as an experiment and in hope of generating interest in the subject, he spent a year combing libraries for a complete bibliography of all historical sources on Maryland. In that time he completed only the references under letter "A," but it was during his research at the Peabody Institute that a friendship with the writer, then Assistant Director of the Peabody Library, developed. Mr. Howard followed him to the Maryland Historical Society in 1965 and began the task of rationalizing the Society Library.

The basement of the Library contained boxes of pamphlets marked "Keep, may be valuable"; books were tied in bundles; trunks of books were piled high, many the result of the nineteenth century merger when the Library Company of Baltimore ceased operations. For over 120 years some 5,000 duplicates and out-of-scope books had been accumulating. These treasures had lain there waiting for such a man as Edward Howard—bibliographer *par excellence* and collector of Marylandia, with a wide knowledge of book values. As Consultant on Rare Books he spent almost every Saturday, some Sundays, most of his vacation, and many evenings in the Society working in the Library on the pricing of unwanted material. The Library benefitted by many thousands of dollars. (He characteristically—and not entirely in jest—declared that book dealers' catalogues always took precedence over Association of American Railroads correspondence!) From these sales the Library was newly equipped and facilities for readers were enhanced. In short, the Library became a force in American historical scholarship.

During this time he advised on the compilation of *Manuscript Collections of the Maryland Historical Society*, a 400-page book issued in 1968; wrote the pamphlet *Marylandia*; and co-authored *Star-Spangled Books*. In the case of the *Manuscript Collections* he read and corrected all the text. He prepared *Marylandia* for the opening of the Rare Book Room. The pamphlet eulogized the Society's important rare books and was written in his usual immaculate style. *Star-Spangled Books* took over two years to compile. Mr. Howard's legal training made possible a remarkable study of "The Star-Spangled Banner," correcting several misconceptions, and his chapter on "The Legend" will be a monument to him. The rewritten story from his hand examines item by item the writing and first printing of Key's poem, and his findings should stand for all time.

But this was not all. Various pamphlets describing manuscript collections written for the National Historical Publications Commission by members of the staff or visiting scholars went through his hands; in fact, hardly a sentence went to press without his imprimatur. He was a severe critic, but every writer hoped he would spare the time to read his or her manuscript. He travelled a good deal on business and the manuscripts usually went with him for plane or train reading. They were never lost but the Library frequently received a dog eared, stained document, heavily annotated, often showing the effects of the elements as he cycled to and from the train.

During his seven years in the service of the Society Mr. Howard read about 300 book catalogues a year. Telephone calls or succinctly written postcards were received at the Society daily. Purchases, including many "steals," arrived marked "Order by Mr. Howard." One bargain in particular was *Reise durch die Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika . . . 1818 und 1819*, Von J. Val Hecke. The book dealer was unable to read the old orthography and catalogued the author under Zecke; not finding it in any reference work, he priced it at \$30 instead of the real price, about \$300.00. Over the years Mr. Howard also made many gifts of choice volumes, but believing that it was improper for him, as pricer, to buy Society duplicates, he never directly purchased a single item; instead he would attempt to obtain the item when it went under the hammer.

Another task he performed for the Society was the appraisal for tax purposes of gifts of books and manuscripts, saving the Society many hundreds of dollars.

Throughout the time he worked on behalf of the Library he was involved with Society affairs. He was elected to the Council in 1969 and became Vice-President in 1971. He was an ideal Council member; he always took time to listen carefully to any trouble or difficulty and pronounced on it in his incisive manner; written questions were promptly returned marked "yes" or "no," with explanations. He was a strong believer in rotation of

Council and Committee members, and during his membership on the Library Committee he resigned voluntarily in the belief that he should make way for another bookman. As the 1972 Chairman of the Committee on Structure he had authored a scheme whereby each member would automatically retire after a tenure of four years, and he regarded its acceptance by the Council as one of his most valuable contributions to the Society.

Through the years he was beloved of the Library staff. He would hold court at coffee and later at lunch on most Saturdays, and as many of the staff who could be spared generally had their coffee in his presence. It was here that his demand for accuracy was most apparent; no sentence could be spoken without correction of construction or syntax. Newcomers found this strange and even irritating, but as time went on they warmed to him and asked him to correct their writings. This memoir is the first piece this writer has published in ten years without obtaining Mr. Howard's critical reading. Would that he were here to edit the present manuscript.

He seldom told jokes, yet his sense of humor was highly developed; the occasional story was expertly told with not a word wrong from beginning to end. An exchange with Mrs. Sidney Painter, serials librarian, was typical of his fun. He often used Mrs. Painter's desk on Saturdays, and on one occasion he left his snuff box on her file. She left a note, "Mr. Howard, what am I to do with this box of snuff?" To which he replied the following Saturday, "Madam, although this was not my intention, you may partake of the powder if you wish."

The loss to the Society will be great; to the Library, incalculable: it is unlikely that the Society will ever have such a volunteer again.

P.W.F.

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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MASTER OF THE ART OF CANNING: BALTIMORE, 1860-1900

BY EDWARD F. KEUCHEL

During the last third of the nineteenth century canned foods became an established part of the American diet and Baltimore was the leader of this new industry. Moreover, the canning industry was important to the city's economy. Charles Hirschfeld states that canning was second only to the garment industry during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Baltimore canned oysters were known in many parts of the world and Baltimore canned fruits and vegetables were sold in all the states and territories of the nation.¹

Food preservation by heat—more commonly known as canning—had its

¹ Charles Hirschfeld, *Baltimore, 1870-1900: Studies in Social History* (Baltimore, 1941), pp. 41-42; John Thomas Scharf, *The Natural and Industrial Resources and Advantages of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1892), pp. 205-206. Initially oysters were the most important canned product in Baltimore, but from the 1880's on fruits and vegetables became more important. Peaches were the most important canned fruit in this period followed by pineapples. Baltimore was the only place in the late nineteenth century where pineapples were canned to any extent. They were grown in the West Indies and shipped to Baltimore. See *The (Canning) Trade*, XV (May 26, 1893), n.p.n.; *The New York Times*, Sept. 13, 1880. The important vegetables for Baltimore canneries were corn, tomatoes, and peas.

origin in France during the period of the Revolution and Napoleon. Food conservation was important during the war period and prizes were offered for new methods of food preservation. In 1795 Nicholas Appert, a little known cook, confectioner, and distiller, undertook a series of experiments with foods. He packed foods of all types into glass containers which were carefully sealed and placed in baths of boiling water for varying lengths of time. The foods so prepared remained in an excellent state of preservation. For his efforts Appert was awarded a prize of 12,000 francs in 1810, and his findings were published as a book which later went to six editions and was translated into several foreign languages.²

Peter Durand, a colleague of Appert, obtained a British patent for the process in 1810 but never established a cannery in the British Isles. In 1811 Durand sold his patent to John Hall and Bryan Donkin who erected a preservatory—as canneries were called—at Bermondsey in 1812. Durand's patent called for foods to be enclosed in tinplated "cans" as well as glass containers thereby giving the Appertian process its English name. Appert generally employed glass jars, but in Great Britain, the center of the world's tinplate industry in the nineteenth century, tinplate remained the principal material for canned food containers.³

Commercial canning in the United States followed its introduction in Europe by a few years. As early as 1818, Thomas W. Kensett of New York was preserving foods in glass containers. Kensett had emigrated from England where he had undoubtedly learned the process. In 1819 Kensett and his father-in-law Ezra Daggett started a business canning salmon, oysters, and lobsters in glass jars. They were awarded a United States patent for the process in 1825, and in 1826 Kensett moved to Baltimore where he established an oyster canning factory. In Boston in 1819 William Underwood, another Englishman, started preserving berries and fruits in glass jars.

² Nicholas Appert, *L'art de conserver pendant plusieurs années, toutes les substances animales et végétales* (Paris, 1810), pp. iii-xx; Chevallier-Appert (firm), *Appert, inventeur des conserves alimentaires et du chauffage des vins* (Paris, 1919), pp. 2-10. The first English translation of Appert appeared in 1811 and the first American printing was made in 1812. For a contemporary review see "Review of M. Appert's The Art of Preserving," *Edinburgh Review*, XXIII (April, 1814), pp. 104-131. Many of the products currently canned—peaches, pears, berries, peas, green beans, meats, etc.—were prepared by Appert.

Until Pasteur's work with microorganisms in the 1850's the most widely accepted explanation of food preservation by heat was provided by the French chemist, Joseph L. Gay-Lussac. Gay-Lussac considered food fermentation and decomposition to be entirely a chemical process activated by oxygen gas. He conducted experiments with foods preserved by Appert and concluded that decomposition did not take place because the heat of processing drove the oxygen from the food and the sealed containers prevented re-entry of the oxygen upon cooling. See Joseph L. Gay-Lussac, "Extrait d'un memoire sur la fermentation," *Annales de Chimie*, 76 (October 31, 1810), pp. 245-260.

³ A. W. Biting, *Appertizing or the Art of Canning: Its History and Development* (San Francisco, 1937), pp. 13-24; Frederick Gamble, *Observations on the Preservation of Animal and Vegetable Substances* (Dublin, 1839), pp. 25-27; William Henry Archer, *Abstracts of English and Colonial Patent Specifications Relating to the Preservation of Food* (Melbourne, 1870), p. 29.

ITS PAST HISTORY AND PRESENT RESOURCES. 163



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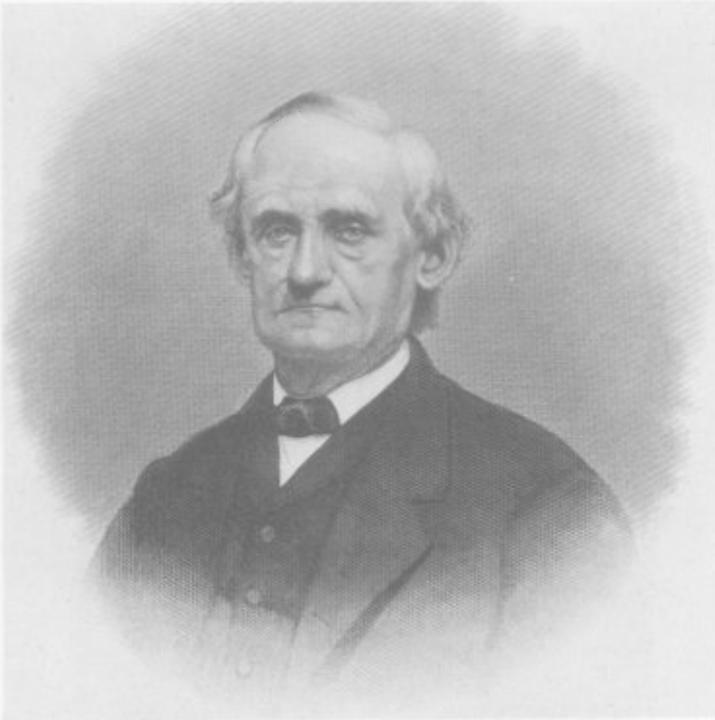
Advertisement from *The Monumental City* by George W. Howard

Underwood had worked in a London pickle factory where he became familiar with the Appertian process.⁴

Until the latter part of the nineteenth century canned foods were expensive and their markets were limited. Luxury foods such as truffles,

⁴ Earl Chapin May, *The Canning Clan* (New York, 1937), pp. 8-11; Samuel C. Prescott, "The House of Underwood," *Canning Age*, IV (April, 1923), pp. 5-9, 50; U.S. Patent Office, *A List of Patents Granted by the United States from April 10, 1790 to December 31, 1836* (Washington, D.C., 1872), p.283.

An attempt to publicize the Appertian process in the United States was made by Thomas Cooper in 1824. Cooper, who is better known for his opposition to the Federalists and conviction under the Sedition Act in 1800, was an important disseminator of useful scientific information. While Professor of Chemistry at South Carolina College, he published Appert's *Art of Preserving* in his *Treatise on Domestic Medicine* (Reading, Pa., 1824).



William Numsen *Maryland Historical Society*

lobsters, and oysters, as well as fruits and vegetables out of season were purchased by the wealthy. A more important market was found in provisioning ships. Sailing ships were frequently at sea for months, and canned foods were a welcome addition to the usual seaman's fare of salt meat and hard-tack. Appert had looked upon hospitals and the navy as the most important markets for his preserved foods. One early example of this usage was the canned soups and meats served to sick sailors of the British Caribbean Squadron during the War of 1812. In 1828 *The Journal of the Franklin Institute* looked upon ships' provisions as a useful application of the Appertian process. By the late 1830's troops going to India and emigrants to Australia and New South Wales were regularly supplied with canned foods.⁵

⁵ Appert, *L'art de conserver*, pp. 134-135; Marie Carême, *Collection a carême: le conservateur* (Paris, 1842), pp. x-xii; Gamble, *Observations*, pp. vii-viii; "Mode of Condensing and Preserving Vegetable Substances for Ships' Provisions," *The Journal of the Franklin Institute*, N.S. 2 (July, 1828), p. 38.

It was commonly believed that scurvy was caused by a diet of salt meat, hence canned meat was regarded as very beneficial. The British navy regularly provided lime and lemon juice in sailors' rations after 1795, but it was not until the 1830's that the practice was common for merchant seamen as well.

Being a major port city and having an abundance of agricultural products in the surrounding countryside, Baltimore was in a most advantageous position to become a canning center. The firm of Thomas Kensett which started canning oysters in Baltimore in 1826 added fruits to its product line in 1832. By 1847 the firm of William Numsen was canning oysters, fruits, and vegetables. In 1850 Baltimore could boast of five canning establishments: the above two plus the L. B. Platt, the Thomas J. Myer and the A. Booth companies.⁶

The California gold rush of 1849 enlarged the market for canned foods as there was a demand for foods which would last the long voyage around Cape Horn and the trip across the mountains to the miners. Until orchards were established in California most of the fruits consumed by the settlers of the gold rush period consisted of Baltimore canned peaches, pears, and other fruits. Even so the canning industry of Baltimore remained small and did not materially increase until the Civil War. Then demand for military use plus technological developments which allowed greater production gave strong encouragement to the city's canning industry. During the decade of the 1860's the number of canneries increased from thirteen to thirty-four, and the principal products canned were oysters, peaches, tomatoes, and corn.⁷

Baltimore was the leader of the canning industry, but the city was not without rivals. Until the 1870's the three principal canning areas listed in order of importance were Baltimore, Portland, Maine and Oneida County, New York. As a port city Baltimore could provide goods for ships' provisions or ship the products to other market areas. Baltimore was easily supplied with the necessary raw materials—tinplate from Wales, abundant local labor supply, fruits and vegetables from the surrounding countryside, and the all important Chesapeake Bay oyster. Oysters were plentiful and easily processed. The particular seasonal demands of the oyster industry enabled Baltimore canners to operate on nearly a year round basis. During the summer months when oysters were not in season, fruits, berries, and vegetables were canned. During the remainder of the year when canning crops were not available, cannery employees could shuck and can oysters. Of the three million bushels of oysters handled in Baltimore in 1860, two million

⁶ *The Trade*, XVI (Dec. 14, 1894), n.p.n. Matchett's *Baltimore Director 1849-1850*, p. 485, lists canneries under the heading "prepared oysters and domestic fruits and stores for shipping."

⁷ *The Trade*, IX (July 1, 1887), n.p.n.; William G. Knowles, "The Canning Industry," *The Recent Development of American Industries*, Wharton School Studies in Politics and Economics, I (June, 1891), pp. 69-77; Charles S. Greene, "The Fruit Canning Industry," *The Overland Monthly*, 18 (Oct., 1891), pp. 356-374. The technological development important to canning during the 1860's was the addition of calcium chloride to the processing bath. Vegetables such as corn and peas required as much as six hours processing in a bath of boiling water (212° F.). By adding calcium chloride to the water, canners found that the boiling point of the solution could be increased to as much as 240° F. Processing times for vegetables could be reduced to forty minutes which allowed greatly increased production. Steam retorts (pressure cookers) which could achieve the same temperatures but eliminate the corrosive effects of the calcium chloride bath were introduced in the 1870's.

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FISH,	VEGETABLES,	POULTRY,
MEATS,	OYSTERS,	PIE FRUITS, &c.

Advertisement from *Baltimore City Directory*, 1852

were shipped raw and one million was canned. By the 1880's canned or "cove" oysters as they were called about equaled the fresh trade of some three and a half million bushels.⁸

Portland, Maine was second to Baltimore in the period before 1870, and specialized in fish and sweet corn. Fish canning allowed Maine canners to operate on a year round basis, but the processing of sweet corn during late summer was their most important product. Oneida County, New York which specialized in sweet corn was the least important of the three early areas, but its development portended the decline of Baltimore and Portland. With the establishment of canneries in Oneida County during the 1850's the trend was started of moving the industry inland—closer to the prime fruit and vegetable crop areas. In the 1870's and 1880's Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, other states of the Central West, and California became important canning states and competed with the older canning areas.⁹

In 1867 Captain Thomas Wilson of the U.S. Army Commissary Corps was requested by his superiors to prepare a report on canned foods. During

⁸ Edward F. Keuchel, "The Development of the Canning Industry in New York State to 1960" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1970), p. 25; "Industrial and Commercial Cities: Baltimore," *Hunts' Merchants' Magazine*, 45 (July, 1861), pp. 131-136; A. F. Jones, "The Oyster Packing Industry in Baltimore," Edward S. Judge, ed., *Souvenir of the 25th Anniversary of The Trade* (Baltimore, 1903), n.p.n. The term "cove" oyster was used in the trade to differentiate canned from raw oysters. The term did not apply to any particular oyster beds but was simply taken from the name Cove Street near the waterfront where an early cannery was located.

⁹ Keuchel, "The Development of the Canning Industry in New York State to 1960," pp. 27-30. The development of corn canning in Oneida County was a reflection of more general changes taking place in agriculture in the northeast. The decade of the 1850's witnessed great population growth and industrial expansion in the cities of the northeast and greatly affected agriculture. Grain production, the old staple, moved to the Central West while fruits, vegetables, dairying, and poultry increased in the northeast. See Paul W. Gates, *The Farmer's Age: Agriculture: 1815-1860* (New York, 1960), pp. 269-270.

the Civil War Wilson had purchased food for the Army of the Potomac and was aware of the importance of fruits and vegetables in the army diet. During McClellan's Richmond campaign in 1862 Wilson was responsible for supplying fresh fruits, vegetables, meat, and bread and was appalled over the large quantities of food that spoiled in transit. Although individual soldiers, mainly officers, purchased canned food from sutlers during the war, it was not standard fare until later. The 1867 report of Wilson was written as a guide for army purchasing officers. He was stationed in Baltimore when his report was prepared and so his descriptions of the city's canneries provide a good picture of cannery operations at that time.¹⁰

Cans were made by hand within the canning factory. Wilson noted that the can makers' benches were usually arranged around the walls of the building near windows to provide the workmen with maximum light. Expert workmen could make as many as four hundred cans a day and were paid on a piecework basis. The "body" of the can was formed by fitting a rectangular sheet of tinsplate around a wooden block the size of a can where it was held in place by a clasp. The can maker sprinkled a small amount of resin (flux) along the seam, added a chunk of solder, and secured the joint by running his heated, hatchet-shaped soldering iron along the seam. The can body was next removed from the block and the bottom and top were fitted into place and soldered securely.¹¹

Oysters were easily processed. Wilson notes that they were steamed to assist opening, shucked, washed, and placed in cans. Next the cans were "sealed-up" by the can makers and carried to the processing room where they were boiled in a water-calcium chloride solution. After being allowed to stand for a week or more to test for spoilage the cans were painted, labeled, boxed, and readied for shipment. After washing, peeling, and other preparations fruits and vegetables were likewise put into cans, sealed, and boiled. But unlike oysters it was necessary to "vent" fruits and vegetables

¹⁰ Thomas Wilson, *Notes on Canned Goods, Prepared Under the Direction of the Commissary General of Subsistence, U.S. Army* (Washington, D.C., 1870), pp. 1-4; *The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, V, pp. 28-29, ser. 1, XI, part I, pp. 169-176, ser. 1, XXXVI, part III, p. 197. Wilson classified canned foods under the following headings: fruits and berries, vegetables, meats, poultry and game, shellfish and fish, jams, jellies and preserves. He listed sixteen fruits and berries canned at that time including peaches, pears, apples, cherries and strawberries. The most common vegetables were tomatoes, corn, peas, stringbeans, asparagus and lima beans. Vegetables such as carrots, squash, beets and turnips could be maintained fairly well without canning and were usually canned only to order. Beef, veal, lamb, chicken, and turkeys were the meats most commonly canned. Cod, mackerel, salmon and haddock were the most common fishes canned, while oysters, lobsters, and clams led the list of shellfish.

¹¹ Wilson, *Notes*, pp. 11-13. Cylindrical cans were referred to as "cap-hole" cans. That is the tops and bottoms were soldered into place but the top had a hole about two inches in diameter through which the cans were filled. After filling, a "cap" slightly larger than the hole was soldered in place. The type of cans currently in use were introduced around 1905 and were called "open-top" or "sanitary" cans. In the open-top can the whole top is put onto the can body and crimp-sealed in place. Cap-hole cans were disadvantageous in that large fruits such as peaches and pears were easily mangled while being forced through the hole.



Thomas Kensett *Maryland Historical Society*

during processing. After the cans had been in the boiling solution for a period of time sufficient to heat the contents they were removed and a hole was punched in the cap to release internal pressure and excess juices. Afterwards the hole was soldered and the cans returned to the bath for the balance of the processing period.¹²

¹² Wilson, *Notes*, pp. 14-15. The length of time necessary to process different foods was the personal knowledge of the "processor," a man versed in the techniques of canning who guarded his secrets well. A successful processor was generally the highest-paid employee in the cannery and was generally regarded by the proprietor as despotic because he was indispensable to the cannery's success. It was not until late in the nineteenth century that can companies and canning equipment manufacturers published information on processing and effectively eliminated the processor from cannery operations. See Ernest F. Schwaab, *The Secrets of Canning; a Complete Exposition of the Theory and Art of the Canning Industry* (Baltimore, 1899).

The industry at the time of Wilson's report was characterized by the employment of hand operations all the way from making the cans to labeling and boxing the finished products. Starting in the 1870's the canning industry witnessed changes brought on by mechanization and Baltimore was the leader in this movement. Mechanization made its first impact in the area of can making. The desire for machine made cans was as much the result of labor disputes as increased production and efficiency. Baltimore canners were in a position different from those in other areas. In Baltimore can makers and cappers were not hired directly by the proprietor. Instead contracts were made with the leader of a crew of maker-cappers called the "boss capper." The boss capper hired his own help to perform the tasks. By the late 1870's a small number of boss cappers had contracts with most of the city's canneries, and could put considerable pressure on the proprietors by striking in the midst of the canning season.¹³ The *Baltimore American* noted that, because of strikes during the season of 1878-1879, some Baltimore canners moved from the city to points down the bay where labor was unorganized.¹⁴

In the late 1870's and early 1880's devices appeared which simplified can making. One had the colorful name of the Merriam "Little Joker." This device rotated cans in a bath of melted solder and fastened the tops and bottoms in place. One workman and a boy could put tops and bottoms on 1,500 can bodies a day with this apparatus. The Jones Capper was a machine which enabled one workman to simultaneously solder sealing caps on six filled cans. Some of these devices were not appreciably faster than the boss capper crews, but could be operated by unorganized, unskilled labor. One machine was advertised in trade journals as "it does not strike when you are in the midst of your canning season."¹⁵ The can makers under the leadership of the boss cappers did not stand idly by while their work was mechanized. Many Baltimore canners experienced difficulties in obtaining operators for these machines. One canner was forced to hire armed guards to protect his Jones Capper during the canning season. Indeed, opposition to all machines became so strong during the early 1880's that many proprietors would not employ them because of fear of employee boycotts.¹⁶

In 1883 the can makers and cappers were organized as local 1384 of the Knights of Labor under the name Can Makers Mutual Protective Associ-

¹³ Edward S. Judge, "The Past, Present and Future of the Canned Food Industry," in Arthur I. Judge, ed. *A History of the Canning Industry by its Most Prominent Men* (Baltimore, 1914), pp. 53-58. In 1878 a Baltimore can maker earned \$2.50 a day while his counterpart in Portland, Maine and Buffalo, New York received \$2.00. Figures from Joseph D. Weeks, *Report on the Statistics of Wages in Manufacturing Industries*, Tenth Census, 1880 (Washington, D.C., 1886), pp. 37-38.

¹⁴ *Baltimore American*, May 3, 1880, reprinted in *The New York Times*, May 4, 1880.

¹⁵ *The Trade*, IX (June 17, 1887), n.p.n.

¹⁶ W. H. H. Stevenson, "Can and Can-Making Machines," Judge, *History*, pp. 92-93; Judge, "Past, Present and Future," p. 54.



Advertisement
from *Baltimore City*
Directory, 1873

ation (CMMPA). Disputes between the CMMPA and canners were frequent. Edward S. Judge, who founded the leading canning trade journal, *The Trade*, in 1878, stated that during the early 1880's the union called as many as three or four strikes a season and were usually successful in obtaining wage increases since the canners were faced with a heavy loss if the fruits and vegetables perished.¹⁷

In addition to calling strikes and machinery boycotts, the CMMPA mounted a publicity campaign in the cities of the Northeast against machine made cans. Advertisements were placed in newspapers, and circulars were distributed warning consumers that machine made cans contained poisonous chemicals. Resin was used as a soldering flux in hand made cans whereas zinc chloride was used for that purpose in machine made cans. The CMMPA contended that some of the zinc chloride got into the can and contaminated the contents. This zinc chloride, they said, was responsible for some of the reported cases of "canned food poisoning." Such charges found a receptive audience in the cities of the Northeast where newspapers were giving increased attention to the dangers of food adulteration. For example, in April, 1884, *The New York Times* gave substantial coverage to a paper delivered by J. G. Johnson, a Brooklyn physician, entitled "Poisoning by Canned Fruits and Meats." Johnson described the case of a Brooklyn family who became ill after eating a lunch of canned tomatoes, bread and butter. He attributed their illness to the zinc chloride flux used in soldering the can lid.¹⁸

Such publicity stirred controversy about the safety of foods in cans

¹⁷ Terence Powderly, "Circular No. 11," reprinted in *The Trade*, IX (July 15, 1887), n.p.n.; Judge, "Past, Present and Future," p. 55.

¹⁸ Powderly, "Circular No. 11"; Stevenson, "Can and Can-Making Machines," p. 92; *The New York Times*, April 10, 1884.

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fluxed with zinc chloride but did not materially retard increased usage of machine made cans. The Baltimore Canned Goods Exchange, formed in 1882, was quite effective in handling complaints. Members of the exchange traveled about the eastern states and publicized the safety of foods in machine made cans.¹⁹ It is doubtful if quantities of zinc chloride sufficient to cause poisoning did get into the cans during the sealing process. Hundreds of thousands of machine made cans were used during the last two decades of the nineteenth century with apparently little ill effect. Moreover, even in the case of an alleged poisoning, it was most difficult to prove that zinc chloride was responsible. The well-publicized Kohler case in Brooklyn in 1886, when Theodora Kohler sued a wholesale grocer because of alleged zinc chloride poisoning, was declared non suit because the victim's symptoms were not those of zinc chloride poisoning.²⁰

Although the CMMPA could not stop the employment of machine cans, it remained a viable union until 1886 when the power of the Knights of Labor was broken. On May 3, two days after the start of the Knight's eight-

¹⁹ Arthur I. Judge, "A History of the First National Association of Canned Foods Packers," in Judge, *History*, p. 59; *The New York Times*, April 10, 1884.

²⁰ *The New York Times*, March 14, 1886.

hour day general strike in Chicago, the CMMPA struck in Baltimore. The Baltimore can makers had no more success in winning the eight-hour day than did the Chicago Knights and membership declined rapidly thereafter. By 1896 membership in the CMMPA, which had been around 1,200 in the early 1880's, had dwindled to only 200.²¹

By the 1880's canned foods were firmly established in the American diet. No longer were they simply luxury items for the wealthy or seaman's fare. The census of 1870, the first to report canned products, listed 97 canneries in the United States packing fruits and vegetables valued at \$5,425,677. The 1880 census listed 411 canneries packing fruits and vegetables valued at \$17,599,576, and about one-third of that amount was canned in Baltimore.²²

By the 1890's the situation was changing rapidly. Throughout the decade Baltimore and the state of Maryland retained its role as the dominant canning area, but early in the twentieth century the lead passed to California. California, which had ranked only seventh among the canning states in 1870 and fifth in 1880, moved into second place at the turn of the century. The census of 1900 ranked Maryland in first place with a pack of canned fruits and vegetables valued at \$13,993,663. California was second with a pack valued at \$13,423,829, New York was third at \$8,975,321, and Indiana was fourth at \$2,589,908. Five years later California stood alone with a pack valued at \$23,809,988, while Maryland had moved into second place at \$12,466,549. New York and Indiana were still third and fourth respectively.²³ Clearly the period of Baltimore's supremacy in the canning industry was over. Baltimore would continue to be an important canning center, but no longer the master of the art.

²¹ *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, XXVII (1887), p. 743; Hirschfeld, *Baltimore*, p. 50. 1886 was the high point of the Knights of Labor. After losing their eight-hour day and other strikes, plus being blamed for the Haymarket Massacre, the Knights declined rapidly as a national labor movement.

²² Compiled from the *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Industry and Wealth*, pp. 395, 436; *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Manufactures*, pp. 40, 381-445.

²³ *Ibid.*; Emmons K. Ellsworth, "Canning and Preserving, Fruits and Vegetables, Fish and Oysters," U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Bulletin* 61 (1906), pp. 20-21.

In 1963 Maryland ranked fourteenth among canning states. California was still first with New York and Florida second and third respectively. See *1963 Census of Manufacturing, II, Industry Statistics*, part I, 20C-8-20C-9.

THE VESTRY AS A UNIT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN COLONIAL MARYLAND

BY GERALD E. HARTDAGEN

The overthrow of the Catholic proprietorship of Lord Baltimore in 1689 led to a Protestant establishment under royal government. Vestries of the Established Anglican Church thereafter exercised ecclesiastical control over the parishes of the province. The ecclesiastical duties of the vestries, however, soon paled to relative insignificance in relation to their increasing civil responsibilities. In addition to a host of routine functions, such as registering births, marriages, and deaths, the vestries were assigned police powers to carry out the provisions of the moral code enacted by the General Assembly and were given the authority to tax and to enforce the laws relating to Maryland's tobacco economy.¹ Increased responsibilities in local government led to a heightened political consciousness on the part of the vestries and engendered a degree of confidence which led them to fight for rights which had long been accepted as prerogatives of the proprietor.

Maryland vestries, through their registers or clerks, were responsible for keeping the vital statistics of the colony. This obligation was taken seriously, and persons were fined for failure to report births, marriages, or deaths. The vestries felt it their duty to occasionally remind the parishioners not to neglect their responsibility:

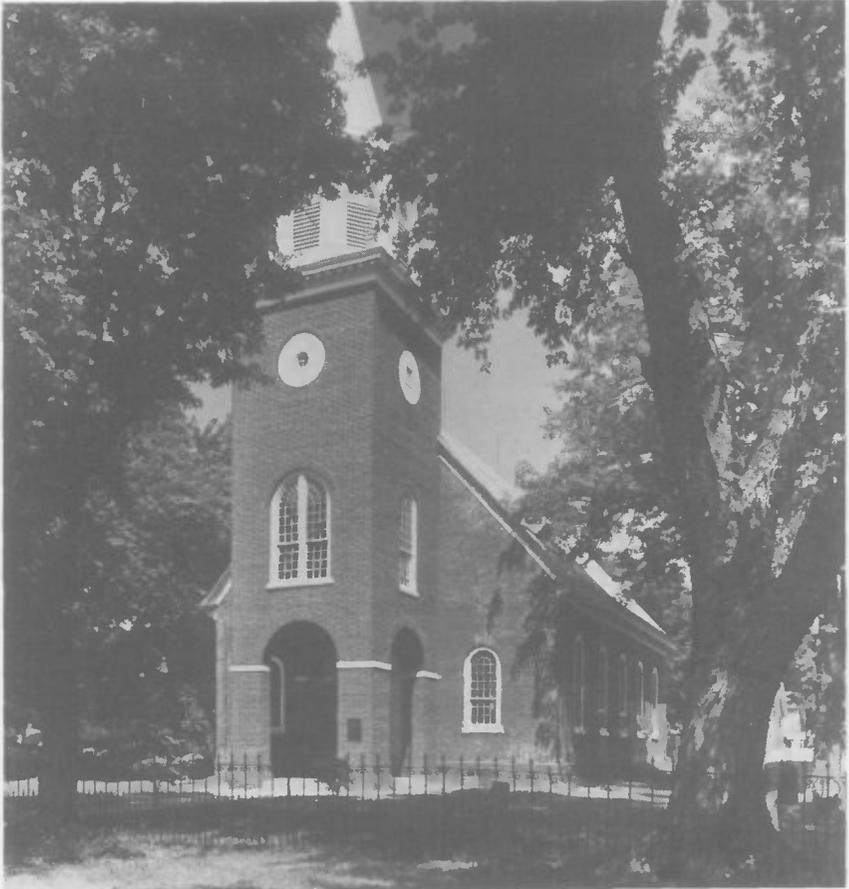
Ordre'd that the Clk give Notice to the Inhabitants of this Parish (by Publique Advertizements) that they are Desired by the Vestry to give in to the Clk an acct of the Births, Marriages, and Burials in their Respective Familys that the Same may be Recorded Otherwise the Vestry will Proceed against them according to the Act of Assembly in that Case provided.²

The registers which have been preserved attest to the diligence with which the Maryland vestries performed this important service; it was a service which is particularly appreciated by the historian and the genealogist.

Since no vital statistics were kept for slaves in Maryland, the problem of determining their age was always a matter of concern. The age of slaves was important in terms of their marketable value; it was also a necessity

¹ This article will not discuss the role of the vestries in enforcing the moral code. For a detailed account of this function see: Gerald E. Hartdagen, "The Vestries and Morals in Colonial Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, Vol. 63 (Dec., 1968), pp. 360-378.

² Prince George's County, Queen Anne's Parish: Vestry Minutes and Accounts, 1705/6-1773, original (12657), June 3, 1746. All vestry minutes, vestry accounts, and parish registers cited below are located in the Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland. Since there is usually no pagination, the date of entry will be given.



Christ Church, Chaptico, St. Mary's County *Maryland Historical Society*

for purposes of taxation since both male and female slaves became taxables at sixteen years of age. Maryland planters brought their slaves before the vestries to have their age adjudged and certified. Vestry minutes contain numerous entries to this effect:

John Booth brings a Negro Boy called Tony & the Vestry Adjudged him to be about seven years Old—Mr Thomson Mason brings a Negroe Boy called Tom, and a Negro Girl called Bett and the Vestry Adjudge the Boy to be about seven, and the girl to be about thirteen years of age—He likewise brings one Negro Girl called Betty belonging to Coll^o Barnes and She was Adjudged to be about fourteen years of Age.³

³ St. Mary's County, St. Andrew's Parish: Vestry Minutes, 1753-1895, original (12673), June 2, 1762.

The local government of the vestry provided this necessary service to a society in which slaves were a prominent feature.

The operation of schools and the care of the poor were governmental functions carried out by most vestries at one time or another. Vestries were not by law specifically assigned these duties, but they performed them under certain circumstances. They usually were not involved in these areas unless a parishioner made a bequest which provided funds for the establishment of a school or for the poor of the parish. When such a bequest was made, and this was not an infrequent occurrence, the vestries administered the funds as provided by the donor. They would, for example, disburse aid to indigent members of the parish according to the means at their disposal. They would also see to the building of a school, the hiring of a teacher, and select the children eligible to attend. These duties, when and where performed, were primarily administrative, but they were, nonetheless, essentially the services which only local government could handle.

The vestries of Maryland had the power to require attendance at church services. This was an exceedingly difficult task for the vestries to enforce since large parishes made regular attendance almost impossible. Nevertheless, the vestries constantly reminded parishioners of their obligation particularly through notices inserted in the *Maryland Gazette*: "The Vestry ordered, that an Advertisement should be set up by the Church Wardens, which oblige all Persons to attend the public Worship of God."⁴ No evidence can be found in vestry minutes to indicate that any parishioner was ever fined for nonattendance; there is ample reason for believing that this seemingly important grant of power was virtually unenforceable.

Under authority granted by the General Assembly of Maryland, the vestries of the province could exercise the power of eminent domain.⁵ When a landowner refused to sell or asked an exorbitant price for land desired by the vestry for a church or chapel, a jury could be impaneled to view the land and fix a mandatory price.⁶ The only restriction on the vestry was that the tract of land to be acquired in this manner could not exceed two acres.

Of basic importance among the governmental powers of the vestry was the authority to levy a tax upon the inhabitants of the parish. The ability of the vestry to tax was not involved in the forty per poll which was imposed by the assembly for the benefit of the Established Church and collected by

⁴ Anne Arundel County, St. Anne's Parish: Vestry Minutes, 1713-1767, original and photostat (D15(5)), March 5, 1750/1.

⁵ William H. Browne, et al. eds., *The Archives of Maryland* (70 vols. to date, Baltimore, 1883 to present), XXVI, p. 303.

⁶ The precise procedure was as follows: the vestry made application to the county court which in turn was obliged to order the sheriff to impanel a jury of substantial freeholders from the area adjacent to the land in question.

the county sheriffs every year.⁷ Over and above this tax assessed throughout the province, however, was one levied annually by the vestries of each respective parish.

From 1698 until the disestablishment of the Anglican Church, the vestries were able to assess every taxable person in the parish up to ten pounds of tobacco each year. The manner in which this was done underwent some changes, but by 1704 the General Assembly had determined the method which was to be used for the following twenty-five years. The vestry was to decide on the tobacco it needed and apply to the county court for an assessment of up to ten pounds per poll. The justices of the county were allowed to determine if the desired amount was unreasonable, and, if they so decided, they could refuse to honor the vestry's request. When a tax was levied, the sheriff collected the tobacco from the inhabitants and, after deducting five pounds per hundred for his trouble, paid the remainder to the vestry on demand.⁸

For this initial period, it might be asked if the vestries had any real taxing power since the final decision lay with the county court. It is reasonable to argue that they did since the assessment originated with the vestry whereas the justices of the county court could not initiate the tax. The justices had, in effect, the right of veto; in this respect they wielded executive authority as against the limited legislative power of the vestries.

In 1729 even this right of veto was taken away from the county court. The General Assembly noted that "some of the Justices of the Peace within this province, have refused to assess Tobacco on the Inhabitants of some Parishes, altho' application hath been made to them, by the Vestry and Churchwardens. . . ." To remedy this it was enacted that

it shall and may be lawful for, and the several Justices of the several County Courts within this Province, are hereby required and directed, on Application to them made, by the Vestrymen and Churchwardens of any Parish, yearly to assess the Parishioners of such Parish, any Quantity of Tobacco, not exceeding Ten per Poll on the Taxable Inhabitants . . . that shall hereafter be judged by the Vestry and Churchwardens to be necessary for the Use of the same Parish. . . .⁹

From 1729 to 1776, therefore, the vestries of Maryland had complete power to levy a tax of up to ten pounds of tobacco annually on the inhabitants of the various parishes. The county courts were obligated to register their approval and direct the sheriff to collect the assessment.

⁷ Forty per poll means that every taxable person in each parish was annually assessed forty pounds of tobacco for the support of the church. When the parish had a regularly inducted minister the entire forty per poll was turned over to him as his salary.

⁸ *Archives of Maryland*, XXVI, p. 293.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XXXVI, p. 459.



Vestry House, St. George's Parish, Perryman, Harford County *Maryland Historical Society*

Since the power to tax can reside only in government, there can be no question but that the vestries of colonial Maryland may properly be designated as such. This is significant in terms of the political structure of Maryland in that the vestry must be viewed as one of the basic governmental units. It should be pointed out, however, that this is not at all unusual since the same was true in England and in Virginia.

In another way, at a later date, the Maryland vestries were involved in the taxing process. During the French and Indian War the General Assembly laid a special tax on all bachelors in the colony. If Francis Hawks in his *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States* is correct, this tax was first imposed by the vestry of Port Tobacco Parish, "and the assembly confirmed it."¹⁰ Unfortunately, the validity of this statement cannot be confirmed since the vestry minutes of Port Tobacco Parish are missing. If the point is accepted, and there is every likelihood that it is accurate, then a Maryland vestry initiated a tax for the entire colony. Upon what authority the Port Tobacco Vestry levied this tax in its own parish, however, is difficult to perceive. It is also impossible to determine

¹⁰ Francis L. Hawks, *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States* (2 vols.; New York, 1839), II, p. 244.

from what source the idea originated; there is little likelihood that the vestry was aware that New France had also imposed a tax on bachelors, and it does not appear that any of the other English colonies ever used this method of taxation.

In whatever manner the tax originated, by an act passed on May 15, 1756, the vestries were assigned an important part in its operation. The preamble of this unusual law is most interesting:

Forasmuch as Divine Institutions ought to be strictly observed in every well-regulated Government, and as that in Regard to the entering into the holy Estate of Matrimony may tend to the more orderly Propagation of Mankind, it ought, not only in a religious, but political View, to be promoted, and the continuing in a State of Celibacy discountenanced, especially in every Infant Country: And as the Rank of Men called Batchelors are not burthened with the Charge and Expence that usually attends a Matrimonial Condition, they may be better enabled to contribute a larger Tax towards the Support of the Community.

The ingenuity displayed in justifying this tax was remarkable though not deserving of subsequent emulation.

The bill directed:

That the Rector, Vestrymen, and Church Wardens of each respective Parish, or the Majority of them, are hereby required to meet at their respective Parish Churches yearly, on the second Tuesday in July, and having first taken the following Oath, to wit, 'I A. B. will, according to the best of my Knowledge and Judgement, set down and make a List of such Batchelors in [] Parish, as are of the age of Twenty-five Years and upwards,' to make a List of all the Batchelors within such Parish respectively, who are in Possession, in their own Right, an Estate of One Hundred Pounds Current Money and upwards, particularly mentioning in such List the Name, Place of Abode, and Value of the Estate of every such Batchelor. . . .

Each bachelor with an estate of over one hundred but less than three hundred pounds was assessed five shillings current money, and those with an estate over three hundred pounds were assessed twenty shillings. Every vestryman, churchwarden and rector who refused to make a list of bachelors or who neglected to deliver this list to the sheriff or to the collector of the loan office were to forfeit the sum of five pounds current money. Finally, any bachelor could produce legal testimony, before the vestry meeting immediately following the making of the list, to show that he was under twenty-five or that his estate was of less value than that determined by the vestry.¹¹

¹¹ *Archives of Maryland*, LII, pp. 503-504.

An interesting social question which would naturally arise from this law was what effect it had in persuading bachelors to foresake their non-productive existence. Edward Ingle in his *Parish Institutions of Maryland* has some witty comments to make on this point.

'Many Marylanders [he said] no doubt owe their existence to this tax, for it was, to say the least, an incentive to matrimony. Many names appear but once in the list, and it is to be presumed that their owners had resolved to choose the less of two evils. It was perhaps because 'misery loves company,' or possibly from the belief that 'in union is strength' that this persecuted class sought refuge at church in 'bachelors' pews.'¹²

Mr. Ingle, therefore, feels that the tax caused many to marry to escape the penalty for their solitary existence.

Ingle's position, that the tax decreased the number of bachelors, cannot be accepted. He relied mainly upon the lists of St. Anne's Parish where a significant drop in the ranks of bachelors did occur. For example, the first list, in 1756, contained thirty-nine bachelors in both categories while the second list, in 1757, carried the names of only thirty.¹³ The fact that names appear but once, however, may merely indicate that these persons were able to prove that they should not have been on the list in the first place. A study of the lists in a number of parishes shows that the effect of the tax was relatively unimportant in thinning the ranks of bachelors.

For some reason, either due to a breakdown in the transmission of the law to the vestries or through plain neglect on the part of the vestries, the provisions of the act were not carried out immediately in a number of parishes. Five months after the initial bill was enacted, the assembly was obliged to pass another act. It had discovered that "through Sickness, or Ignorance of the above-mentioned Law" certain vestries had failed to draw up the lists at the appointed time. The new act exempted the vestrymen, churchwardens and rectors who had been negligent from the penalties of the former law, but it required them to do their duty by November 10, 1756.¹⁴

With the exception of this early delinquency, the vestries performed the thankless and time-consuming task diligently for the act's eight-year duration. It was not always easy to determine the age of the persons involved, and it was extremely difficult to accurately estimate a man's estate, in his own right, of both real and personal property. The attempt was made, however, and vestry minutes faithfully contain the notation that

¹² Edward Ingle, *Parish Institutions of Maryland: With Illustrations from Parish Records*, in *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, I, No. 6 (Baltimore, 1883), pp. 21-22. Hereafter all books in this Series will be cited as *JHUS*.

¹³ Anne Arundel County, St. Anne's Parish: Vestry Minutes, 1713-1767, original and photostat (D15 (5)), July 13, 1756, and July 13, 1757.

¹⁴ *Archives of Maryland*, I.II, p. 662.



St. Paul's Church, Kent County *Maryland Historical Society*

having taken the Oath By the Late Act of Assembly Prescribed for making a List of Bachelors have Set down the following Persons Residents in their Parish who in their Estimation are of the Age of twenty five years and upwards, and have in Possession in their own Right an Estate in Value as Annexed to their names in the following List.¹⁵

Many of the bachelors named in the lists were very unhappy about it. Complaints were about equally divided between those claiming to be less than twenty-five years of age and those insisting that their estates were worth less than the vestry's evaluation. In St. Paul's Parish "Richard Brooke Jun^r produces to the Vestry an affidavit of his not being of the age of Twenty five years It is therefore ordered that he be Discharged from paying fine as Batchelor."¹⁶ Mr. George Magruder, of Queen Anne's Parish, "appeared before the vestry and made oath upon the holy Evangelists of Almighty God that his father Informed him that he was Born in March in the year 1733-4 and he believes it to be so."¹⁷ In St. Anne's Parish, "Mr

¹⁵ Prince George's County, Queen Anne's Parish: Vestry Minutes and Accounts, 1705/6-1773, original (12657), July 13, 1756.

¹⁶ Prince George's County, St. Paul's Parish: Vestry Minutes, 1733-1819, original (12663), Sept. 5, 1758.

¹⁷ Prince George's County, Queen Anne's Parish: Vestry Minutes and Accounts, 1705/6-1773, original (12657), Aug. 2, 1757.

Benjamin Beall, finding himself aggrieved, by being deemed among the Batchelors of 300£ and upwards; produced an Inventory, on Oath, of his Effects, which appear to be under 300£ the Register was ordered to give him a certificate thereof, to produce to the Sheriff."¹⁸ Francis Boone, of St. Paul's Parish, produced "an Inventory of his Estate Which Being under One Hundred Pounds It is therefore Ordered that he be Discharged from paying a fine as a Batchelor."¹⁹ This last extract from vestry minutes is worth noting since it indicates that the vestry looked upon the tax as a "fine" on the reprehensible status of bachelorhood.

The taxation of bachelors raised some interesting legal questions in the minds of the vestrymen of St. Anne's Parish. They ordered "that the Register, in giving his List to the Sheriff should insert, that his Excellency Horatio Sharpe, Esq., and the Rev^d Mr. John MacPherson, were both Batchelors, but did not take upon themselves to determine whether they came within the Act or not."²⁰ It appears that a number of clergymen, though they were exempt from taxation, did pay the tax on bachelors. It is not known, however, if Governor Sharpe felt inclined to penalize himself as the colony's leading bachelor.

The vestries were not responsible for the levying of the tax on bachelors unless credit is given to the vestry of Port Tobacco Parish for having initiated the assessment. Nevertheless, the tax could not have been productive without the active participation of the vestries. It was the vestries which performed the onerous duties connected with assessing the value of estates. In fact, the authority given to the vestries to hear the complaints of bachelors who claimed to be less than twenty-five years of age or who argued that their property had been unfairly assessed was in the nature of a judicial function. Obviously, the General Assembly looked upon the vestry as a unit of local government which was capable not only of levying taxes but also of fulfilling a vital part in the success of a policy of taxation for the entire colony. The vestries were not found wanting as they performed their assignments with dispatch and efficiency.

II

Throughout the eighteenth century the economy of Maryland was largely dependent upon the tobacco crop. The predominance of tobacco was reduced in the last twenty-five or thirty years of the colonial period by agri-

¹⁸ Anne Arundel County, St. Anne's Parish: Vestry Minutes, 1713-1767, original and photostat (D15 (5)), Aug. 3, 1756.

¹⁹ Prince George's County, St. Paul's Parish: Vestry Minutes, 1733-1819, original (12663), Sept. 5, 1758.

²⁰ Anne Arundel County, St. Anne's Parish: Vestry Minutes, 1713-1767, original and photostat (D15 (5)), July 13, 1756.

Maryland
 Samuel Ogle Esq Governor & Commander in Chief
 in & over the Province of Maryland
 To the Reverend Hugh Deans sundry greeting
 I do hereby constitute and appoint you to be Rector of the Church of St. Johns
 in Baltimore County I do have hold and enjoy the said Church together with all the
 Rights Privileges and Advantages what soever appertaining to a Minister of the said
 Parish And I do hereby require the Church Wardens Vestrymen and all other the
 Parishioners of the said Parish to receive acknowledge and assist you the said
 Hugh Deans in all Matters relating to the Discharge of your Function
 at Annapolis this 22 day of July in the 28th year of his Majesty's Dominion
 Annoq Domini 1742
 S. Ogle

Letter from Governor Samuel Ogle to the Rev. Hugh Deans, July 22, 1742
 Maryland Diocesan Archives

cultural diversification in the northern and western portions of the state and by a growing commerce;²¹ tobacco, however, retained its primacy as the greatest source of income in the colony's economy. The importance of tobacco is indicated by its use as a medium of exchange for the payment of debts and taxes and for all business transactions. While the scarcity of specie was primarily responsible for the widespread acceptance of tobacco as a form of currency, the general availability of the commodity and the problems of marketing would have ensured its use on at least a modified basis.

Since nearly all of the income of the Established Church was in the form of tobacco, it was natural that the vestries would be greatly concerned with the crop and with its marketable value. The General Assembly was aware of the vestries' interest in ensuring that tobacco did not depreciate. For this reason, the assembly looked to the vestries for assistance in carrying out legislation designed to bolster Maryland's depressed tobacco economy.

The market for tobacco was not expanding during the eighteenth century, and the economy of Maryland was in a generally depressed state until the Revolution. There were also periods of acute depression from 1703 to

²¹ Clarence P. Gould, *Money and Transportation in Maryland, 1720-1765*, *JHUS*, XXXII, No. 3 (Baltimore, 1914), pp. 48, 52-53, 70-73.

1713, from 1724 to 1734, from 1740 to 1747, from 1754 to 1760, and from 1763 to 1765.²² Most of the Maryland tobacco was the oronoko type which did not bring the best prices; it was not purchased by British consumers but was reexported to Europe. The planters of Maryland, at least until 1747, were neither controlled nor protected, and they faced the uncertainties of an international market in competition with the planters of Virginia.²³

The severe depression from 1724 to 1734 led to an effort, on the part of the General Assembly, to improve the economic situation through legislation. By an act passed in October, 1727, the cutting, packing, and handling of tobacco was regulated.²⁴ Complaints arose, however, that this favored only the large planters, and in 1728 a bill was approved which was more extensive and which attempted to limit production. The number of tobacco plants which a planter could cultivate were restricted in proportion to the number of workers, and provision was made for the act's enforcement. Since the expectations were that this act would raise the price of tobacco, it was provided that for all debts for "public and county levies, parochial and other charges assessed and levied on the people, and lawyers fees," all or part of the sum could be paid at ten shillings current money per hundred-weight. As an alternative, three parts of the total sum could be paid in tobacco or in specie "in full discharge and satisfaction of the whole" at the discretion of the debtor.²⁵ In relation to the income of the clergy, this stipulation had the effect of reducing it to thirty pounds of tobacco per poll; or, the clergy must accept a fixed rate of exchange between tobacco and currency which might be extremely disadvantageous in the future.

The clergy claimed that the act only purported to be for the purpose of improving the tobacco staple, but it was really designed as a blow against the Church. While Francis Hawks upheld the clergy's interpretation of this act, St. George L. Sioussat, and nearly all later students of the period such as Charles Barker, have clearly shown that the law was intended as a means whereby Maryland's competitive position in the tobacco trade would be enhanced to the benefit of the entire colony.²⁶ Commissary Henderson, sent to England by the Maryland clergy to work against this act, was able to secure the law's disallowance by Lord Baltimore. Henderson was also able to induce the proprietor to instruct the governor of Maryland "not to

²² Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (Washington, 1933), I, pp. 268-274.

²³ Charles A. Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940), p. 72.

²⁴ *Archives of Maryland*, XXXVI, pp. 86-89.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, XXXVI, pp. 266-275.

²⁶ St. George L. Sioussat, *Economics and Politics in Maryland, 1720-1750, and the Public Services of Daniel Dulany the Elder, JHUS*, XXI, Nos. 6-7 (Baltimore, 1903), pp. 22-25; Barker, *Background of the Revolution*, pp. 92-93.

consent to any act the object of which was to diminish the revenues of the clergy."²⁷

Before word of the proprietor's dissent reached Maryland, however, the act had been in force for nearly two years. For purposes of this study, the importance of the measure lies in the use made of the vestry for its supervision and enforcement. It was directed that every vestry in the colony meet on the fifteenth day of May to

lay out their respective Parishes into Precincts, and appoint Two Persons in each Precinct, to examine and enquire of the Names, and Number of the Persons hereby allowed to tend Tobacco, and the Crops of the several Planters within the said Precinct, and the Number of Plants growing on any and every Plantation or Plantations within the same, and on the Twentieth Day of the Month of July, Yearly, to begin to cut, or cause to be cut up and destroyed, all Stalks, Slips and Suckers within such Precinct.

Any person who refused to accept appointment by the vestry as a tobacco counter and examiner was to forfeit one thousand pounds of tobacco or five pounds current money. Vestrymen who refused or neglected to do their duty under the law were to be fined twenty pounds current money. The vestries were required to closely supervise the work of the counters and to meet immediately to reappoint new ones in case of death or inability to continue in office.²⁸

The vestries of Maryland moved quickly to meet the responsibilities assigned to them by the tobacco act of 1728. Nearly all of the vestry minutes contain a notation that "y^e Vestry proceeded to lay out y^e Parish into Precincts & Nominate Counters of Tobacco Plants as y^e act of Assembly directs."²⁹ The vestries were soon to learn, however, that their task would not be easy. In most of the parishes it was extremely difficult to find men who would accept the position of tobacco counter. St. James' Vestry met many times to vote for new tobacco counters to replace previous appointees who refused to hold the office in the five parish precincts.³⁰ The vestry of All Saints' Parish had to find eighteen men to serve as counters. Many of the men appointed were incensed at their selection, and, rather than politely refusing, they denounced the vestrymen for their actions. Vestry minutes only imply what might have been said: "Then Edward Reynolds Sen^r appeared at this Vestry in a Haughty Imperious Insolent manner, its therefore the Vestrys judgment that he Refuses to Serve through Obstinacy and

²⁷ Quoted in Sioussat, *Economics and Politics*, p. 23.

²⁸ *Archives of Maryland*, XXXVI, pp. 267-269.

²⁹ Prince George's County, Queen Anne's Parish: Vestry Minutes and Accounts, 1705/6-1773, original (12657), May 15, 1729.

³⁰ Anne Arundel County, St. James' Parish: Vestry Minutes, 1695-1793, original (12320), 1728 and 1729.



St. Paul's Vestry House, Kent County *Maryland Historical Society*

Contempt of the Laws in that Case made and provided. . . ." After several frustrating months of attempting to find counters, it was "Order'd that Rich^d Stallings Clk. of the Vestry makes a Transcript of the Counters of Tobacco that was appointed according to the Act of Assembly and did not Serve as Such, and Present it to the Court."³¹

With the disapproval by Lord Baltimore of the tobacco law of 1728, the General Assembly, in 1730, reenacted the same plan of crop restriction, but it provided a means of compensation for the clergy to meet the proprietor's objections. In lieu of one quarter of the forty per poll, the clergy could be paid in products such as wheat, barley, corn, and oats. Each of these commodities was given an arbitrary value in terms of tobacco. Twenty-four pounds of tobacco was worth one bushel of barley, forty-two pounds of tobacco was worth one bushel of wheat, and twenty pounds of tobacco was worth one bushel of corn or oats.³² Despite protests by the clergy, the proprietor allowed this bill. The law was permitted to lapse, however, since it was outmoded by a Virginia tobacco law passed in the same year. Virginia

³¹ Calvert County, All Saints' Parish: Vestry Minutes, 1720-1753, original (12472), Nov. 16, 1729.

³² *Archives of Maryland*, XXVII, pp. 143-151.

provided that all tobacco for export must be taken to public warehouses and its quality determined by inspection. This greatly enhanced the competitive position of Virginia tobacco at the expense of Maryland since the tobacco of the latter colony, of inferior quality to begin with, was less desirable due to poor packing methods.³³

The Maryland tobacco laws of 1727, 1728, and 1730 were experimental and of short duration. At the time they were passed, however, they were viewed as important acts which would strengthen the economy of the colony. Significance may be attached to the decision of the assembly to use the vestries as the unit of local government which would ensure the successful operation of the laws. The General Assembly may well have chosen the vestries in a conscious effort to broaden the base of local government as part of a continuous process from the 1690's.

Prior to the tobacco laws, it was the county officials, particularly the justices of the peace, who had been assigned most of the added responsibilities of government. The inclusion of the vestries, therefore, was part of the general expansion of self-government to the parish level. The vestries found their new role a difficult one for the appointment of tobacco counters entailed long hours of labor and unpleasant relations with many of the appointees. Only well-qualified persons, completely familiar with tobacco planting, could be appointed if the legislation was to succeed, and these were frequently the ones who did not wish to serve since the office of tobacco counter carried no prestige, was unremunerative, and was sure to be unappreciated by one's neighboring planters.

When the tobacco law of 1730 was allowed to lapse, the planters of Maryland were subject to no restrictions as to the quantity or quality of tobacco they produced. Maryland's competitive position became increasingly bad, and, in the serious depression from 1740 to 1747, the economy of the colony was in desperate straits. The value of tobacco dropped so low that the clergy became more than willing to accept a reduction in salary if the remainder was paid in inspected tobacco. Large and small planters alike agreed that something had to be done, and, in 1747, an act was passed which finally gave Maryland a workable inspection system. Reenacted in 1753, this law remained in effect until 1770. Under the new law the forty per poll for the support of the Established Church was reduced to thirty per poll. Those persons who did not raise tobacco could pay this tax at three shillings and nine pence. In 1747 the tax favored those who paid in tobacco since its value was very low, but, as the inspection system took effect, the price of tobacco rose to where thirty pounds of the commodity was worth much more than 3s. 9d.³⁴

³³ Barker, *Background of the Revolution*, p. 93.

³⁴ Newton D. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province* (New York, 1901), p. 455.



Piscataway, St. John's or Broad Creek Church, Prince George's County
Maryland Historical Society

The tobacco inspection law provided for eighty public warehouses manned by official inspectors. Planters were required to bring all tobacco for export to one of these warehouses. Notes were given for all approved tobacco while that of inferior quality could be burned or repacked by the inspectors. Once again the vestry was assigned an important part in the operation of a tobacco law. In this case, however, the duties of the vestries were somewhat reduced from what they had been under the laws of 1728 and 1730. No longer were they required to lay out the parishes into precincts since the assembly named the warehouses which would serve as collection points. More importantly, the justices of the peace were introduced into the law's operation as the supervisory authorities. The vestries, nonetheless, remained as an indispensable element in the selection of inspectors.³⁵

³⁵ *Archives of Maryland*, XLIV, pp. 595-638. For a careful study of this law see: Vertrees J. Wyckoff, *Tobacco Regulation in Colonial Maryland*, *JHUS*, Extra Vols.; New Series, No. 22 (Baltimore, 1936), pp. 174-177.

The vestrymen and churchwardens in every parish, where warehouses were established, were ordered to meet during the first week of December to nominate inspectors after taking the following oath: "I A. B. do Swear, that I will faithfully, honestly and justly, nominate and recommend such Person or Persons to be an Inspector or Inspectors, as I think in my Judgment and Conscience is or are fit and capable to execute the office of an Inspector or Inspectors. So help me God." Four "able and sufficient Planters, well skilled in Tobacco," were to be nominated, and their names were to be sent to the governor who would appoint two to hold the office of inspector. Once a man had been appointed by the governor, however, the vestry could "elect" him each year to the office of inspector without a new appointment. An interesting provision forbade any vestryman or churchwarden, recommended or appointed to be an inspector, from participating in future elections to this office.³⁶

It should be noted immediately that the office of inspector, established by the act of 1747, was quite different from the position of counter under the law of 1728. Whereas many men preferred to pay a fine rather than serve as counter, the office of inspector was not only financially rewarding but also sufficiently prestigious to make it desirable to men of standing in the community. The problem of the vestry, therefore, was not that of finding qualified individuals who would consent to serve but rather of selecting the best from a large number who were eager for the office. This is probably the reason for the prohibition of vestrymen and churchwardens, who were recommended or appointed to the position of inspector, from voting in future elections; they would have been able to exert an unfair influence in their own reelection.

An election held in Trinity Parish in Charles County can be used to illustrate the conditions surrounding the nomination of inspectors. The vestrymen and churchwardens after

having taken the Oath appointed . . . by an Act of Assembly Intituled an Act for amending the Staple of Tobacco for preventing frauds in his Majesties Customs and for the Limitation of Officers before ye Rev'd M^r Isaac Campbell who afterwards qualified himself Do nominate and Recomend to his Excellency Horatio Sharpe Esquire Governour and Commander in Chief in and over the Province of Maryland Mess^{rs} Andrew Chunn Justⁿ Burch Jun^r Joseph Dyson and Will^m Compton four Sufficient Planters well Skilled in Tobacco for the Execution of office of Inspectors at the Inspection House by Law appointed at Piles Fresh on the Land of M^{rs} James Parnham it being within this parish who are accordingly nominated and recommended—ordered to be entered that M^r Charles Love being an Inspector upon his Demanding a Voice in the nomination was Denied, by a Majority of the Vestry by authority of an act of assembly and according to the best of their judgment.

³⁶ *Archives of Maryland*, XLIV, pp. 612-614.

It should be noted that Charles Love, a member of the vestry, wanted to vote since he was a candidate for reelection. In the following chart, he is listed as "CL" at the top right. The names of the vestrymen, churchwardens, and the minister who cast ballots are given in full.

A List of Votes for choosing Inspectors
Sept^{br} 7th 1756

	HB	HI	ST	JD	AC	JB	MC	WC	CL
Joseph Dyson					1	1	1	1	
Hezekiah Briscoe		1	1					1	1
Edward Davis Jun ^r				1	1	1			1
Hatch Dent	1		1	1					1
Matthew Compton				1	1	1		1	
Sam ^l Turner	1	1			1				1
Andrew Chunn				1		1	1	1	
M ^r Isaac Campbell				1	1	1		1	

It may be seen that votes were distributed among nine candidates for inspector with "JD," "AC," "JB," and "WC" winning a narrow victory. "CL" missed being reelected by only a single vote, and the significance of his being barred from participating is readily apparent. An indication of the desirability of the office of inspector can be seen at once in the fact that six of the nine persons who were candidates were members of the vestry; "HB," Hezekiah Briscoe; "ST," Samuel Turner; "JD," Joseph Dyson; "AC," Andrew Chunn; "MC," Matthew Compton; and "CL," Charles Love. Two of the four men, Andrew Chunn and Joseph Dyson, who received the nomination were from this group. One other interesting point is that none of the men, no matter how much they desired the nomination, voted for themselves.³⁷

From 1748 to 1770 the vestries of Maryland faithfully carried out their duties assigned by the tobacco law of 1747. Added incentive was given by the obvious fact that the law was working well. Since the vestries, the clergy, and the Established Church, in general, benefitted from the rising value of inspected tobacco, there was every reason to choose only the best qualified men in an effort to ensure that the law continued to operate effectively. Beginning in 1728, but demonstrated more clearly after 1747, an important step toward self-government was taken in Maryland. Significant new authority was placed in local hands which was nothing less than the directing of the colony's tobacco economy. The vestries were partici-

³⁷ Charles County, Trinity Parish: Vestry Minutes and Accounts, Liber A, 1750-1795, original (12645), Sept. 7, 1756.

pants in this delegation of power, and their responsible performance of this new authority gave them a heightened estimate of their ability and led to a greater awareness of their potential.

III

There is evidence to indicate that at least some of the vestries were becoming more assertive of their real or supposed rights, and those of the people they represented, in the third-quarter of the eighteenth century. No proof can be produced to show that this was directly attributable to the vestries' experience as governmental units, but a reasonable assumption would be that there was at least an indirect relationship. As the authority and responsibilities of the vestries increased, they became more willing to speak out and, if necessary, to challenge the rights of the proprietor and the governor which previously had met with only acquiescence. This was particularly the case in respect to the induction of ministers, a function of the governor, or Ordinary, as the proprietor's representative, which had not been questioned or challenged since the establishment of the Church. The years following mid-century, however, saw a willingness on the part of certain vestries to claim that their rights had been "usurped" and an effort made to resist the clerical appointments of the governor. The actions of two vestries, Coventry and All Saints', will be briefly considered in this light.

Coventry Parish had finally lost its disreputable and immoral minister, Nathaniel Whitaker, through death in 1766. The vestry showed initiative, and a certain amount of daring, by inviting the Reverend Thomas Chandler to preach for a trial period. Chandler was received with enthusiasm, and the vestry and parishioners combined to send a petition to Governor Sharpe asking that the Reverend Chandler be inducted.³⁸ The governor refused this request and inducted a neighboring minister, the Reverend John Rosse, whose reputation was nearly as bad as that of Whitaker. The response of the vestrymen to this action reveals a willingness to fight for what they considered their rights, which had previously been lacking among the vestries of colonial Maryland.

In a letter to the governor, the vestry took a position which would have destroyed the ecclesiastical authority of the proprietor. The vestry asserted that "reason and humanity . . . declared that none should be stript of their Substance without some consideration and that in every Secular Employment all were at liberty to share in every contract which should bind them and the voice of reason instructed it should be more so in favour of our religious rights. . . ." Since this was the case, it was "the Peoples right to present as the patrons from the maxim of their being the only founders and

³⁸ *Archives of Maryland*, LXI, pp. 513-517.



Daniel Dulany from *History of Maryland* by J. Thomas Scharf

maintainers of the Churches, and if so that of Course they had a right to refuse any Minister that was Inducted without such previous presentation. . . ." The vestry pointed out that rights granted to the proprietor by the King could not

possibly take away the right of presentation from such as had the right before such acts were made and that it is clear from time out of mind the founders only had the right of presentation and altho perhaps the People may not have claimed this right and so for a long usage hath been exercised by the Ordinary, yet a disuse or an usurpation of that right, will not take away that Original right from those that ought to have it. . . .³⁹

The vigorous protest of the vestry of Coventry Parish led to a decision on the part of the Reverend John Rosse to refuse to accept his induction. The Governor, however, was not cowed by this radical natural-rights argument, and he appointed yet another undesirable minister to Coventry Parish, the Reverend Philip Hughes. Armed with the written opinion

³⁹ *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 366.

of Daniel Dulany that the vestry's claims were without foundation and that Hughes was the legally inducted minister, the new incumbent prepared to take possession of his parish. The vestry, however, was not impressed with Dulany's comments, and they declared that they "would not, by a Servile Submission, Alienate . . . [their] Rights and Liberties, and tamely give up . . . [their] Freedom to Monarchy, but only desire that an Equilibrium may ever be the Motto of every Englishman."⁴⁰ Hughes found that "the Church had been secured by the Vestry, with Boults and Nails and the Key taken from the Sexton, by them. . . ." He was informed by the vestrymen

that they would be well pleased if the People, who should be assembled for that purpose, would elect him, they being the real Patrons, because they were the Founders, but if they did elect Him he must resign the Governor's Induction, and take One of them, and then he should receive the whole Salary, lacking one pound of Tobacco; That the Vestry, as Representatives of the People, would receive no clergyman without their Election.⁴¹

The Reverend Philip Hughes was a determined man, and, on Christmas day, he broke into the church where he preached a sermon and read his induction as required by law. Outbreaks of violence occurred in 1768, and into 1769, consisting mainly of attempts to intimidate those persons who attended services or who were friendly with the new minister. The parishioners, however, gradually grew tired of the affair, and peace returned with Hughes apparently the victor and the prerogatives of the governor and proprietor undiminished.⁴²

The whole episode is of greater importance than the results would seem to indicate. It portrays clearly the unresponsiveness of Lord Baltimore and the governor to local needs. By insisting on a rigid enforcement of his prerogatives in ecclesiastical affairs, the proprietor increased the desire of the people for a greater amount of freedom in the conduct of their parish affairs. The resistance on the part of the vestry and people of Coventry Parish to the legally correct and long established right of induction by the governor of Maryland points to an impatience with tradition illustrated by an espousal of a natural-rights or social-compact theory. With their appetite whetted by an increased measure of self-government in the second-quarter of the eighteenth century, the vestry and parishioners of Coventry Parish grew dissatisfied with external authority when it restricted that greater freedom they demanded in the management of the local church.

The other affair to be considered, that involving All Saints' Parish and the Reverend Benedict Allen, is extremely long and complex. Benedict Allen, a favorite of Lord Baltimore, came to Maryland in 1766 with letters

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, XXXII, pp. 228-229.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, XXXII, p. 222.

⁴² *Ibid.*, XXXII, pp. 222-224.

stating that he should be preferred to the best church living available in the colony or to two livings if that was necessary to guarantee an income of £300. He was first inducted into St. Anne's Parish, and shortly thereafter, in spite of Maryland law which forbade the holding of more than one parish except in special circumstances and with the consent of the vestries concerned, he was also inducted as the incumbent of St. James' Parish. This embroiled Allen in a long and bitter controversy, fought particularly in the pages of the *Maryland Gazette*, with the leading vestrymen of the two parishes over the issue of pluralism.⁴³

Allen was next given the receiver-generalship of the colony, and, while he resigned his incumbency of St. Anne's Parish, he retained the parish of St. James'. All Saints' Parish, the richest parish in Maryland, had been greedily watched by Allen since its aged pastor, Thomas Bacon, was obviously not long for this world. The people of All Saints' wished to divide their huge parish, but this could not be done, according to law, during the lifetime of an incumbent. In May, 1768, with Bacon near death, Allen was able to induce Governor Sharpe to give him an induction to All Saints' Parish. A few days following Bacon's funeral, Allen went to the church and before a congregation of two he read his induction, the Thirty-Nine Articles, and prayers, which gave him legal possession of the parish. In this manner he was able to defeat the wishes of the vestry and the parishioners who had dispatched a petition to Annapolis calling for a division of the parish.⁴⁴

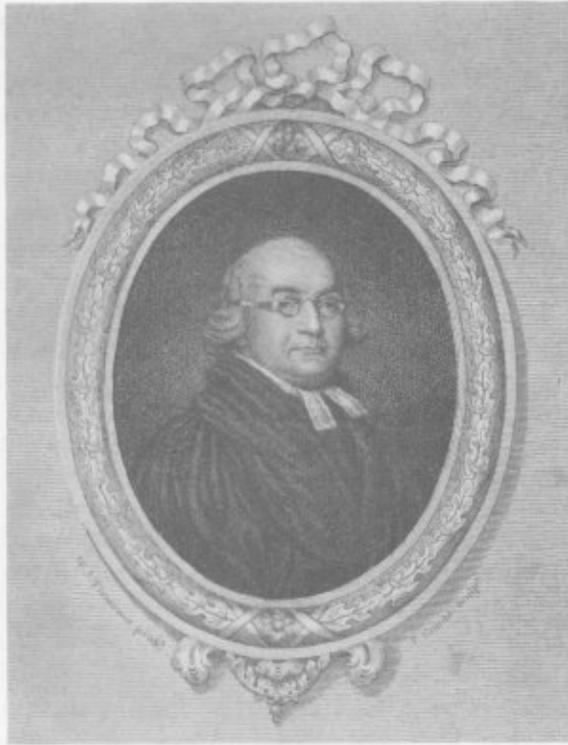
The vestry responded to Allen's actions by bolting the church doors, but Allen, with the aid of a ladder at four o'clock on Sunday morning, was able to gain entrance. The vestrymen accused him of "Breach of Privilege" and called the congregation out of the church. Allen recounts what then occurred:

I heard some Comotions from without which gave me a little Alarm & I provided luckily against it or I must have been maim'd if not murder'd. they call'd a number of their Bravest that is to say their largest Men to pull me out of the Desk I let the Captain come within two Paces of me & clapt my Pistol to his Head. What Consternation! they accuse me of swearing by God I wo^d shoot him, & I believe I did swear, w^{ch} was better than praying just then. They retir'd & I proceeded, but the Doors & Windows flying open & Stones beginning to Rattle my Aid de Camp Mr Daken advis'd me to retreat, the Port being no longer tenable. We Walk't thro the midst of them facing about from time to time till we got to some Distance when Stones began to fly; I luckily escaped any Hurt & Dakein had but one Blow.⁴⁵

⁴³ *Maryland Gazette*, Jan., 1768 to June, 1768.

⁴⁴ *Archives of Maryland*, XIV, p. 501.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, XIV, pp. 501-502.



Jonathan Boucher *Maryland Historical Society*

The vestry continued to bar the church, and Allen went off to Philadelphia and left behind him a curate to take care of the parish.⁴⁶ When he returned to All Saints' the people still would not receive him, and he apparently allowed the business of the parish to be handled completely by the vestry. In the January 19, 1769, issue of the *Maryland Gazette*, two vestrymen of All Saints' advertised for curates for the parish. After this the whole affair fades into obscurity.

All Saints' Parish did not produce any written defiance of proprietary rights. It is quite obvious, however, that the vestrymen and parishioners were motivated by the same feelings that lay behind the actions of Coventry Parish. In both cases the congregation resorted to violence, and in both cases the final result was an apparent defeat for the vestries and the people they represented; Coventry Parish was obliged to accept an undesirable

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 502.

minister, and All Saints' did not secure the division of the parish which it had hoped to obtain. The fact remains that several of the Maryland vestries were showing signs of political maturity in leading the people in opposition to unpopular authority. This maturity was almost certainly attained through the gradually increasing experience in self-government. In the limited area of ecclesiastical affairs, the vestries of Maryland were no longer willing to accept, without question, the arbitrary control of the proprietor.

IV

The inspection of tobacco provided by the law of 1747 had been tied closely together with the regulation of officers' fees. When this act expired on October 20, 1770, a controversy was in progress between the lower house and the governor and council over the collection of fees, and the assembly was unable to agree on a new law to replace the old one. Everyone wished to reenact the inspection law, but the lower house would not do so without, at the same time, gaining concessions in terms of lower fees for colonial officers and acceptance of the principle that they alone had the sole right to establish taxes or fees. As a result, the colony was without an inspection law for three years.

It will be recalled that a provision of the law of 1747 lowered the income of the clergy from forty pounds of tobacco per poll to thirty pounds per poll of inspected tobacco. When this law lapsed in 1770, the question arose as to what income the clergy were now entitled to. The ministers maintained that the earlier provision for forty pounds of tobacco per poll was once again in force, but the majority of the people and the vestries felt that the unsupervised clergy were already overpaid. In a time when the scandalous behavior of Benedict Allen was filling the pages of the *Maryland Gazette*,⁴⁷ neither the people nor the assembly were in a mood to see the pay of the clergy increased; and, in 1771 an act for disciplining the clergy was finally enacted and assented to by the Proprietor.

Clerical discipline did not solve the matter of the poll tax, and a bitter controversy arose over the issue. The battle was waged in handbills and in the *Maryland Gazette*. Writers, using such names as "The Church of England Planter," called for a reduction in the salary of the clergy and even questioned the validity of the law of 1702 upon which the Established Church was based. This argument pointed out that the act of 1702 had been signed into law several weeks after the death of King William; it would have been valid only if it had been repassed and signed by the governor under a commission from Queen Anne.⁴⁸ Outstanding Maryland lawyers

⁴⁷ See, for example: *Maryland Gazette*, Sept. 1, 1768, and Sept. 27, 1770.

⁴⁸ Barker, *Background of the Revolution*, p. 360.



William Paca from *History of Maryland* by J. Thomas Scharf

such as Samuel Chase and William Paca supported the contention that the Church was not legally established.⁴⁹

A test case was arranged, and Joseph Harrison, a delegate, brought suit against Sheriff Richard Lee of Charles County who had jailed him for refusal to pay the forty pounds of tobacco per poll. Paca and Chase acted as attorneys for Harrison who won the case and was awarded sixty pounds sterling as damages. According to the *Maryland Gazette*, the jury in Charles County saw the sheriff's demands for the forty per poll as a violation of the rights of Englishmen.⁵⁰ Lawyers encouraged the people of Maryland to refuse payment of the forty per poll, and the income of the clergy dropped by half or more. A number of vestrymen in the colony decided that they could no longer serve in a Church that was not legally established:

Gentlemen,

As I look on the Act of 1702, under which I was appointed a Vestrymen of this Parish to be totally Void: I do therefore Decline Acting any longer in that Capacity; and do hereby Resign that Business; and in Case you Should think as I do: that the Law is Void, you Should in that case, think it very Convenient that we Should Continue to meet by Agreement, and do what may be thought Consonant to Reason without having any regard to the Act of 1702. . . .⁵¹

Jonathan Boucher, a Maryland clergyman, was the chief defender of the law of 1702. He found its validity primarily in its seventy years of usage.⁵² Paca and Chase were accused of inconsistency in claiming that the

⁴⁹ *Maryland Gazette*, Aug. 6, 1772, and Sept. 10, 1772.

⁵⁰ *Maryland Gazette*, March 4, 1773.

⁵¹ Prince George's County, Queen Anne's Parish: Vestry Minutes and Accounts, 1705/6-1773, original (12657), Nov. 17, 1772.

⁵² Jonathan Boucher, ed., *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist, 1738-1789, being the Autobiography of the Rev'd Jonathan Boucher* (Boston, 1925), pp. 70-71. See also the *Maryland Gazette*, Dec. 31, 1772; March 4, 1773; and April 1, 1773.

Samuel Chase
 from *History of Maryland*
 by J. Thomas Scharf



law of 1702 was illegal since, if this argument was accepted, the parishes of Maryland had no legal existence yet both Chase and Paca continued to serve as vestrymen. They justified this illogical behavior, however, on the grounds previously used by the vestry of Coventry Parish; their positions as vestrymen were based on a church compact and were not dependent on an act of assembly. The right of parishioners to elect vestrymen was a natural right which antedated and had priority over any statute law.⁵³

In June of 1773 the lower house of the assembly approved the position of Paca and Chase when it resolved that the act of 1702 was unconstitutionally passed and therefore void. Agreement was also reached to pay ministers equally according to the custom in Virginia.⁵⁴ The upper house rejected these proposals as much too radical. In December, however, both houses were able to agree on an act for providing an income for the clergy which was kept completely separate from a bill providing for the inspection of tobacco passed in the same session. The clergy were to be paid by a tax of thirty pounds of inspected tobacco per poll or four shillings per poll at the option of the person being taxed.⁵⁵ Allowing a money payment in place of tobacco is estimated to have reduced the income of the clergy from one-fifth to one-half, since the value of tobacco was greater than the alternative tax of four shillings.⁵⁶

The vestries of colonial Maryland, relatively weak and conservative bodies during the first thirty or forty years of their existence, gained

⁵³ *Maryland Gazette*, Jan. 15, 1773; March 18, 1773; March 25, 1773; and April 8, 1773.

⁵⁴ *Archives of Maryland*, LXIII, pp. 323-324, 347.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, LXIV, p. 254.

⁵⁶ William Stevens Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church* (5 vols.: Hartford, 1870-1878), IV, pp. 343-344.

strength and confidence through the successful performance of the additional governmental functions assigned to them in the second-quarter of the eighteenth-century. The experience gained by the vestries in the area of local government led to a greater political consciousness and an increased willingness to fight for rights which previously were uncontested as prerogatives of the proprietor. The radical social compact theory put forth by the Coventry Vestry claimed rights for the people which antedated any granted to Lord Baltimore. In the controversy over the income of the clergy and the validity of the act of 1702, vestrymen such as William Paca and Samuel Chase were among the leading figures. There seems to be little question but that the vestries served as a training ground for an increased political awareness on the part of the Maryland colonials.

In their operation of Maryland's tobacco economy, through their taxing power, by their power of eminent domain, in the occasional operation of schools and care of the poor, by their ability to enforce church attendance and the reporting of births, marriages, and deaths, and by adjudging and certifying the age of slaves, the Maryland vestries performed important duties of local government. In all of these areas, with the possible exception of the enforcement of church attendance, the vestries acquitted themselves well and demonstrated the vitality of self-government on the parish level.

CAPTAIN GORDON OF THE *CONSTELLATION*

BY MORRIS L. RADOFF

Captain Charles Gordon, U.S.N., was Master of the Frigate *Constellation* from August 28, 1814 until his death at Messina on September 6, 1816. While we have no documentary proof that he was born in Kent County, it is a safe assumption that he was. His father, Charles Gordon Sr., was a leading citizen of Chestertown and was holder of pew number 20 in Emmanuel Church, Chester Parish. His mother was also a member of a very distinguished Eastern Shore family, Elizabeth Nicholson. His only brother was Joseph Gordon, a many-time office holder in Kent County. Captain Gordon never married, nor did he own property on the Eastern Shore. His will is recorded in the Orphans' Court in Kent County, his brother being Register of Wills at the time.

It was among the records of the Register of Wills, which by then had become confused with the records of the Clerk of the Kent County Circuit Court and which were stored helter-skelter in an outbuilding of the courthouse converted to a record center, that this letter book of Gordon was found. The first letter is dated January 1, 1816 from the Frigate *Constellation*, Port Mahon. It is addressed to Commodore John Shaw, Commanding the U.S. Naval Forces in the Mediterranean at Port Mahon. The last letter is addressed to A. Hammett, Esq., U.S. Consul at Naples and it is dated July 21, 1816, a little over a month before his death at Messina.

An effort to find Gordon's burial place, in the hope of finding a stone with his age on it, was unsuccessful. The Protestant cemetery at Messina was destroyed years ago by an earthquake and volcanic eruption. We know only that he was commissioned a midshipman in 1799 and that in 1787, on the death of his father, he was adjudged a minor under fourteen years of age and a guardian for him was appointed by the court.

I

U.S. Frigate *Constellation*
Port Mahon¹ 1st Janry 1816

Sir

In conformity to the orders contained in the circular of the Commissioners of the 15th June 1815, I have the honour to enclose herewith a quarterly muster roll, with an exhibit showing the period when the Services of the crew now under

¹ Port Mahon was on Minorca, the Balearic Islands.

my command expires; I also enclose a return of the Commissioned and Warrant Officers.

I have the honour to be
very respectfully Sir
your obt. servt.
(signed) Chas. Gordon

Como. John Shaw²
Commanding the
U.S. Naval Forces
in the Mediterranean
Port Mahon

II

Constellation, Mahon
5th Feby 1816

Sir

I have the honour to enclose herewith the report of Lieut. White,³ commanding the Marines of the Constellation, bringing charges against one of the privates under his command.

As the practice of stealing on board Ships, has become a serious tax upon the men, who are daily losing their cloathes, which exhausts their pay, And the easy access they have to each others cloathes, without being detected, together with the difficulty attending the detection of obtaining positive proof against a rogue causes much trouble to the Officers & crew of every Ship and more or less encourages rogues to continue those practices. And those stolen cloathes are generally sold for $\frac{1}{4}$ their value.

I have therefore to request a trial upon said Marine in hopes if he is found Guilty that the example made of him will have the effect of deterring others from similar conduct.

I have the honor to be
& & &
(signed) Chas. Gordon

Commo. John Shaw
& & &
Port Mahon

² Commodore John Shaw arrived in the Mediterranean in command of one frigate and four brigs under Bainbridge, whom he succeeded late in the year. He was in turn succeeded by Commodore Chauncey in July 1816. He died in 1823.

³ John White was a Master in 1814; Lieutenant, 1816; Commander, 1837; and died in 1840.

III

U.S. Frigate Constellation
 Port Mahon
 22 Febr'y 1816

Sir

In the month of January last I received a letter from Mr. Shaler,⁴ the Consul General of the United States residing at Algiers, who informed me that his friend Mr. Norderling the Swedish Consul (also residing at Algiers) was desirous to obtain a safe and convenient passage for his son from Marseilles to Algiers in the Spring, and that it would be agreeable to the Swedish Consul if any of the United States Commanders would favour him with a passage. As his son has been at Marseilles for his education, and he was now desirous that he should return to his parents at Algiers.

Altho I have not the honour of your acquaintance or indeed any personal acquaintance with Consul Norderling your father yet I am perfectly intimate with Consul Shaler, and am well acquainted with the character of your father. And all the Officers of our Squadron as well as every American should feel himself under obligation to Consul Norderling for the favours & uniform attention he has bestowed upon our Countrymen in all situations.

I therefore feel much gratification in having it in my power to offer you part of my cabin, and to assure you it will afford me infinite pleasure to entertain you in such state as our rough sea life will admit so long as you will reconcile to yourself such a change or until our arrival off Algiers.

Should an opportunity offer to this place from Marseilles before the month of April next, I would recommend your availing yourself of it, and join me here if possible, as we may perhaps sail direct for Algiers on leaving this port. But should you not arrive here before April I will solicit the Commodore's permission to touch at Marseilles for you if the service will permit. In the meantime it would be gratifying to receive from you an acknowledgement of the receipt of this and information of your address in Marseilles, in the event of my coming. Consul Shaler has some furniture at Marseilles which I shall take on board, should it not be shipped to this port before my departure as recommended by our Commodore.

I have the Honour to be
 very respectfully
 sir
 Your Obt. Servt.
 (signed) Chas. Gordon

Mr. Norderling
 Son of the Consul of Sweden
 for the Regency of Algiers
 now at Marseilles.

⁴ William Shaler was American Consul General to the Barbary Powers.

IV

Constellation, Port Mahon
March 1816

Sir

Yours of Dec. last did not reach me until a few days back and I avail myself of the sailing of the Alert to write you. I was much astonished to hear of the Commodores attack upon you, altho I had believed him much prejudiced against you.

Certainly the Commodore was in error when he said he did not break you in Naples, in consequence of my intercession, For it did not appear to me that he thought he had sufficient grounds even to arrest you, and appeared to regret that he had not. He appeared always to speak of you, as if he thought you came out with a view of trading in consequence of your having cash of your own in the ship, and I invariably supported you saying that If you did converse with the Merchant on the subject of the value of the Nankeen, I was satisfied your motives were honourable, and that no disposition would have been made of it without asking his & my permission either to exchange it for any thing which the crew might require, or to sell it and appropriate its proceeds to the ships use, as you assured him in my presence that you had only inquired for information and that it was your intention to have spoken to me and request me to speak to him. I informed him that I had forbid your issuing it out to the crew, which I presumed was the cause of your wishing to dispose of it. He appeared much exasperated when we first went on board, but appeared satisfied with your explanation, tho he frequently afterwards in conversation with me expressed his doubts. I always to him and Capt. Jones⁵ expressed my satisfaction of your whole conduct, for had there been any disposition to trade or smuggle *secretly* it is not probable that a note unsealed would have been sent at noon day by a Boatman, for a sample unless all hands had been concerned. And as the Commodore let the Boatman proceed to the Constellation & see if he would get the Nankeen, and found he did not get it, it evidently shew [s], there was no understanding with the ship on the subject, & it satisfied me that there must have been some misunderstanding on the part of the Merchant, for surely if you had made any contract or arrangement with him, you would have made it a point to have been on board the next day, or would have given him some particular hour to have sent when you would have been on board.

It was after all those reflections and a conviction of the privity of your intentions that I am in justice to your character, which I had invariably found to be highly honourable while under my command gave you the letter I did to Commodore Rodgers as president of the Board.⁶

No doubt the Commodore is displeas'd with me and as I hear he still stands high, his displeasure may be some little inconvenience to one who has never had

⁵ Captain Jacob Jones, 1768-1850, was born in Smyrna, Delaware. He commanded Mediterranean Squadron in 1821-1823 and later served as a navy commissioner.

⁶ Board of Navy Commissioners was formed as a result of Congressional action in 1815. The first commissioners were Commodores John Rodgers, David Porter (Chairman) and Isaac Hull. It was abolished in 1842.

the good fortune to whip an Englishman. Such an act would put me on a footing with any of my grade at head quarters, But feeling conscious of correct motives in all my acts, I have an idea that no man can injure me except in a temporary way until truth & Justice forces itself to the conviction of prejudiced minds.

About November last, I wrote Commodore Rodger, requesting the Java or Guerriere to be sent out to me if practicable as I wished to continue out here; But I suspect that would be thought too great an indulgence, particularly as there are many at home who are desirous of getting those two Ships; I have therefore made my calculations to return to my old ship And the Commodore thinks of sending me in July or August to avoid the Equinoctial Gales (if the Turks are not troublesome) as the time of our crew will expire the 1st September.

This place is cloudy wet & rainy all the winter and has caused me to suffer much, but the weather is now getting better. I am ready for sea again and shall soon make myself comfortable on board again, as I have been obliged to live on shore while the caulkers and carpenters have been at work on the ship. My Officers all stick by me, and appear as happy as they could wish, I hear none express a desire to return, and all pride themselves on the Ship. Your Old mess mates desire their respects to you. And I beg you will offer to your family my best respects & regard.

This said Nankeen is still on board and I have not now a single suit of summer cloathing for my crew, that, which If I had its value on duck would be very acceptable, as I fear we shall be without cloathes & without money soon. For as we cannot sell bills on the U.S. we are now living on borrowing from the rich men of this Island, having a rich vice consul to become our Security.

I heartley wish the Nankeen was in India, and I had the money it cost to give my men a shirt with, For if my men had to go naked, and they were offered a shirt for every yard of Nankeen there is on board I would tear it up & make clouts of it for them before it should be exchanged after so much had been said about it. If I do not get Money or duck in April I shall certainly issue out the Nankeen to the men if there is sufficient for one suit each.

Respectfully &
Chs. Gordon

H. Thorn Esq.⁷ -Purser U.S. Navy
New York America

V

Constellation, Mahon
11th March 1816

Sirs,

In consequence of the uneasiness expressed by Lieut. Stallings⁸ (May 3rd) on the subject of communication on that subject; This Young Officer having been principally with me, looks up to me for his character & standing in his profession.

⁷ Herman Thorn was Purser in 1813 and discharged in 1816.

⁸ C. T. Stallings was Midshipman in 1809, Lieutenant in 1814. He last appeared in navy records, 1822 in Baltimore.

And I assure you Sir I know of none who I conceive more deserving, and certainly none who has been more unlucky in his promotion & Rank. I found him in 1813 on board this Ship, the eldest Midshipⁿ and observing his abilities immediately, I felt desirous of promoting him, particularly when I understood so many younger & less experienced Midshipmen had been made Acting Lieutenants, some from the same Ship in consequence of personal application & intercession of their Friends. I wrote Secretary Jones⁹ to no effect, till at length a vacancy offered in this Ship when I gave him a temporary appointment as Acting Lieut. & ultimately got it confirmed during which time the names of many younger, and I am sure much less capable were appearing above him on the Registers as Act^g. Lieut. till he prevailed on me to permit him to go on to Washington to try to obtain his commission. He (as others had done) soon obtained it by going on. And as many were appointed at that time also, he had the mortification to find a number more put above him but became reconciled with the idea of having his commission in possession though it was numbered so low as 33 and dated 9 Dec. 1814.

In one Register brought out by the *Java*, he finds his name still lower although he has his Commission. And in another Register which Capt. Perry brought himself as an official list taken from the report made to Congress, he finds his name is omitted altogether and W. Taylor's name¹⁰ opposite to his number, and in consequence has expressed his concern to me assuring me he had no other person to befriend him or to give to the board a just idea of his character. And therefore begged of me to write you on the Subject.

I beg Sir you will not suppose I mention rank among Midshipmen as a criterion for promotion, as I have ever believed that merit alone should have the preference. And as I conceive this young man possesses great merit, added to his claim as an old midⁿ without a charge of any nature whatever against him and having uniformly conducted himself so as to merit my warmest approbation in nearly three years service. I deem it a duty I owe to him and to the Service to assure you that if there is anything against him it is unknown to me and there is no officer of his rank on whom I would place more reliance than on him in any situation.

I avail myself of this occasion also to assure you that I am much gratified at having it in my power to say to you that my Lieuts. have uniformly given great satisfaction and have conducted themselves on all occasions to merit my warmest approbation.

My Masters known good character and long and faithful service in his situation for many years, rendering any thing from me unnecessary. Though apparently slow still I view him as the mainstay and sheet anchor of my ship. And my young Gentlemen I take a pride in saying I believe are not surpassed by any, Although generally young and this the first cruise of three fourths of them, I think excell and promise to be an ornament to the Service and to their country.

⁹ William Jones was Secretary of the Navy from January 19, 1813 to December 2, 1814.

¹⁰ William V. Taylor was born in Newport, Rhode Island, 1780 and died 1858. He fought on Lake Ontario; joined Perry on Lake Erie; and sailed in the *Java* to the Mediterranean in 1816. Between 1816-1823 he was on leave because of a wound.

Mr. French Forrest¹¹ my eldest, I beg leave to recommend for promotion and regret that the interference of one of two older out here has prevented his filling any vacancy of Acting Lieutenant.

I have the Honour to be,
Very respectfully, etc.
(signed) Chs. Gordon

Comm^r John Rodgers
President of the Board of
Navy Commissioners
Washington

VI

Constellation, Algiers Bay
12th April 1816

My Dear Sir

Having wrote you by way of Gibraltar in February last, and my brother Joe¹² and Judge Nicholson¹³ a few weeks ago by one of our Store Ships, I had determined not to write by the John Adams that is now on the eve of sailing for the United States. But our affairs have become so serious with Algiers again that I am induced to hurry over an account of our proceedings for the last week or ten days to enable you to judge how we stand with those Turks.

On our arrival here 12 days ago we found the British fleet of six ships of the line two Frigates Four Corvetts and four Brigs with transports under Admiral Lord Exmouth¹⁴ and Rear Admiral Penrose¹⁵—We soon learned that they had made a demand upon the Bey of Algiers to deliver up all the Christian Slaves. And the Bey replied that such as the Admiral would ransom or pay for he should have, upon which terms some hundreds of them were embarked on the transports, and the rest we understand are to be delivered up in the course of 12 or 18 months. The sum paid by the Admiral was \$500, for each Sardinian, \$1,000 for each Italian and \$1,200 for each Genoese, amounting to one Million. Whether it was a want of more funds or a want of more transports to convey them that prevented their taking all I know not. They however concluded a peace for those petty powers, but on what terms I have not yet learnt. And it appears strange that the Dutch who are at War with Algiers was not included in the negotiation. Though I believe the Dutch are about commencing a negotiation and expect

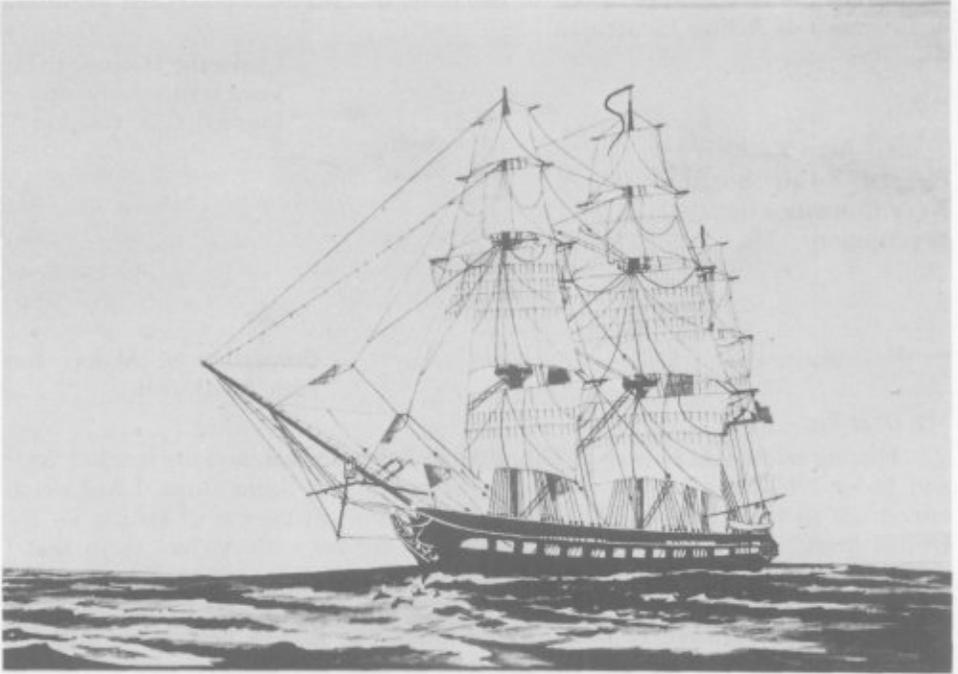
¹¹ French Forrest was born in St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1796 and died 1866. He served on the *Hornet*, and was commissioned captain in 1844. He also saw important service in Mexican War and later became a Commodore in the Confederate Navy.

¹² Joseph N. Gordon was Register of Wills of Kent County, Maryland, who had the letter book of his brother, Charles.

¹³ Joseph Hopper Nicholson was Judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals, 1806-1817. He was from Baltimore County and a kinsman of Charles Gordon.

¹⁴ Admiral Exmouth—Edward Pellew, first Viscount of Exmouth, 1757-1833, was in command of the British fleet in the Mediterranean in 1816 when, combined with a flotilla of Dutch ships, he shelled Algiers and forced the Bey to liberate his Christian prisoners.

¹⁵ Rear Admiral Charles Vinicombe Penrose, 1759-1830, made Rear Admiral in 1813 and commanded in the Mediterranean in 1816-1819.



Constellation, 1797 Maryland Historical Society

peace this summer. The British left here on the 7th bound off Tunis upon the same business. They were treated very rough by the Algerines while here and must have felt mortified at the respect shown to us. For one or two Lieuts. of the Admirals ship informed some of our officers that in passing the Bey's Palace they neglected to pull off their hats (as is always expected by the Turks) when one of the Guard knock'd off the hat of the 1st Lieut. and the other said he would not pull his off when the Guard immediately advanced on him and asked if he was Americano or English. The officer hesitated and then said he was English upon which they all out with their Sabres and the poor Lieut. took off his hat and put it under his arm very quick. While they were here the first question of the Turks would always be "Americano or English," then they would damn the English. However the Admiral with the British, French & Spanish Consuls, we are induced to believe, influenced the Bey and induced him to take the Steps he did with us in our present difficulties. For so soon as the fleet went off, our Consul had his interview with the Bey and soon discovered the high tone he had taken on the old subject of the damnd prize Brig., which Commodore Decatur pledged himself to return when the treaty was concluded.

Our Consul left him and informed us of the apparent change requesting we

would not come on shore. He then demanded an interview with the Bey before closing his dispatches to the U.S. and was refused. The day following he applied again for an interview, stating that our squadron could not depart until he had this interview. He was then referred to the minister of Marine who is decidedly hostile to us. The Consul however call'd and was very soon insulted on the subject of the Brig. The Minister charged him with deceiving them, saying he knew the *Epervier*¹⁶ was not lost, it was only a tale of the Consul's to excuse him for not explaining the subject of the Prize Brig. And also said that he knew the Consul had instructions from our Government, on the subject of the Brig and would not act, that the whole of it was nothing but equivocation on our part, and we did not intend to account for the Brig.

This conduct appeared so hostile and so menacing that the Consul came off to the Squadron for protection. The Commodore called a council of the Commanders, prepared for war, began fitting our boats to go into the mole and set fire to those ships, and then hoisted the Swedish flag and white flag to get our old friend the Swedish Consul on board as a means of negotiation. The first day the S. consul was not permitted to come off, the next day the Commodore sent a boat on shore with the white flag and a letter to the Bey to know the cause of his conduct, upon which the Swedish Consul was permitted to come off, the town was in a great bustle and the Bey disavowed any intentions to insult our consul, saying the conduct of his Minister was unauthorized, and that he had no disposition to differ with us, and wished our Consul to come on shore, but he still persisted in his claim for the Brig. The morning following Captain Perry was sent on Shore with the Swedish consul to have an interview and understanding with the Bey. On his arrival at the Palace he found one of the Christian consuls and shortly after they all came in (that is the English, French, Danish and Spanish) the Swedish having gone with Capt. Perry. The Bey then stated to the Consuls the Pledge of Commodore Decatur which he viewed equal to an article of the treaty and which had not been fulfilled consequently the treaty was violated by us. In all of which the English and French Consuls appeared to acquiesce with the Bey. You must know he has received the Brig which has been in dispute from the Spaniards. But says he "I have received no brig from the Americans I made the Spaniards give up the Algerine Brig for a number of Spanish subjects I seized for the purpose. And all I now ask for is the fulfillment of Commodore Decatur's pledge to reconcile my subjects to the treaty which I made, I have waited for you to hear from your President and nothing is done. I therefore consider the treaty as null and void. Still I am not disposed for war unless you wish it. Your consul can come on shore under the old treaty or we can remain neutral until you hear from your Government. In the meantime, you will be respected as tho at peace and can procure your refreshments here and come on Shore as usual. But if you decide upon war, I shall expect to be informed whether you are for immediate war or do you intend to wait the three months as provided for us in the treaty. But if your Squadron departs without communicat-

¹⁶ *Epervier* was captured from the British in 1814. It was lost at sea the next year carrying Americans freed from the Barbary pirates. The ship was commanded by Lt. John T. Shubrick when she was lost.

ing on the subject, I shall consider it a commencement of hostilities and act accordingly. But this treaty must be fulfilled or a new treaty must be negotiated."

All this was in the presence of those consuls—Capt. Perry had a communication to make to the Bey But when the Bey took this stand, he observed to the Consuls that after what the Bey had said, he did not feel himself justified to enter into any explanation, as he had put the subject on the footing of war or peace which it was not in his power to decide. He took leave and returned on board And I believe had not that night been as bright as day with a full moon I should have gone in with all the Boats of the Squadron. But the Commodore called a council of the commanders the next day, and taking every thing into view, it was thought more correct to leave the option of war or peace to the Bey and aprise him of our determination to act on the defensive and our readiness to meet any act of hostility on their part. The Commodore then wrote him saying his proposition should be communicated to the President as our constitution did not leave the power of making war in the hands of a Commodore, but that we were ready to meet any act of hostility on their part and awaited his determination. This was our *finale* and sent by a Lieut. with a request that the Christian Consuls might hear it read. But the prudent Bey I suppose thought they might push him on to commit himself again and would not send for them. But sent for the Sweedish Consul whome he assured he did not want a war with America and begged that our consul might come of shore under the present treaty and he would respect it in all its points and that the Consul should be treated with the highest respect until the Bey could write the President and receive an answer upon the subject. This concluded our negotiations. The Consul is again on shore and we now appear to stand firm again until the decision of the President. But depend on it, the Algerines will have either a Brig, a new treaty or a war, and every rational man must allow that it is us who have acted wrong by Commo. Decatur's violating a sacred pledge, which was in every respect regarded as an article of treaty.

For my part, I think we are bound to give them a Brig, and then make war with them and take her away again.

Until Chauncy brings out some orders for me, I shall come home this summer, against my inclinations, as I am sure of a war. Till then adieu.

My love to your two families and believe me.

Truly yours,
(signed) Chs. Gordon

P.S.

My health is much as usual. I omitted to mention that so strong were the Beys apprehensions of our attacking him, he absolutely slept with all his guards in the Marine batteries, had 200 men on board each of his Ships laying in the mole, all his batteries fill'd with men, and the towne in the greatest bustle the night after Capt. Perry's interviews with him.

Send this to Judge Nicholson as I have not time to write him.

VII

Constellation, Algiers Bay
11th April 1816

Sir:

By instructions received from Commodore Shaw yesterday, you are placed with the rest of the Squadron, under my orders for the present. As I shall proceed from here to Tunis, Tripoli, and then to Malta, you will lose no time in looking into Tunis, and if you do not find us there, you will look into Malta on your way to Tripoli. Should you miss us on your way to Tripoli, run into Malta where you will either find me or a letter informing you where you may fall in with me.

Consul Shaler will inform you of our proceedings here.

With great respect & esteem
Yours Truly
Chs. Gordon

Capt. Jno. Downes¹⁷
U.S. Ship Ontario

VIII

Constellation off Carthage
21st April 1816

Sir:

I have the Honour to inform you that agreeable to instructions from Commodore Shaw, I have arrived here with two other Ships of our Squadron to communicate with you and enable you to make any communication to the Commander or the Government that you may wish.

As I am desirous to departing as soon as possible, it would be gratifying if you could complete your communications so as to enable me to sail tomorrow. Should an official interview with the Bey be unnecessary I shall be happy to see you on board by the return of the Boat, And as Capt. Crane¹⁸ of the Erie expects to have the pleasure of your company on our present cruise, I would recommend your making your arrangements early, as our limited time will not admit of much delay. And on your joining us, should you find the accomodations of a Frigate more inviting than the Erie's, it will afford me infinite pleasure to accommodate you in my Cabins.

I have the Honour to be
very respectfully
Your Obt. Servc.
(signed) Chas. Gordon

W. Anderson, Esqr.
U.S. Consul
Tunis

¹⁷ John Downes, 1784-1834, was born in Canton, Mass. and was Commander of the *Epervier* of Decatur's squadron. He distinguished himself in the capture of the *Meshuda*.

¹⁸ William Montgomery Crane, 1784-1846, was born in Elizabeth, New Jersey. He commanded the *Independence* flagship of Bainbridge's squadron in the Mediterranean in April 1816. He then took command of the *Erie*.

IX

Constellation off Tripoli

Sir:

I have the Honour to acknowledge your Lordship's polite note with a letter to Sir. Chas. Penrose, which shall be delivered agreeable to your Wishes.

After your Lordship's departure from Algiers, some difficulties arose between the Bey and our Consul on the subject of a Prize Brig, which induced the Consul to take leave and join the Squadron, But our Commanding Officer placing the Subject on the footing of peace or war, the Consul was invited to return and the business was referred to the President of the U.S. and the Consul resumed his station.

I have the Honour to be
& & &
Chas. Gordon

Adm'l. Lord Exmouth
& & &
off Tripoli

X

Constellation, 1st May 1816
off Malta

Sir:

I have arrived off here expecting to fall in with the rest of the American Squadron.

If any American Cruiser has been off or if you have any intelligence of them, or any letters for me, the Officer will receive them. If the weather continues moderate this morning, I will come on shore myself at 11 or 12 o'clock, when I shall be happy to see and converse with you at the landing.

Respectfully
& & &
Chas. Gordon

Pulis Esquire¹⁹
U.S. Consul, Malta
N.B. How long should we be quarantined last from Tripoli?

XI

Off Malta 2 May 1816

Sir:

After having visited Tunis & Tripoli agreeable to orders, I have arrived off here to leave the communication acquainting you with my movements and destination.

I am now bound direct to Syracuse where I shall hope to have but a short quarantine to perform. After which I contemplate visiting Messina & Palermo, for the purpose of procuring cloathing for our crew provided we can negotiate

¹⁹ Joseph Pulis was the American Consul at Malta, 1801-1828. He was a native Maltese.

our Bills; However, should I leave Syracuse before your arrival, I will leave a letter there for you.

I have the Honour to be
Very respectfully
Sir
Your Obt. Servt.
(signed) Chas. Gordon

To the Commander in Chief
of the U.S. Squadron
in the Mediterranean

XII

Syracuse
Constellation 9th May 1816

Sir,

Light and contrary winds have prevented our progressing further than this port, where we are now making a Main Mast for the Erie having found her totally decay'd and sprung. We are in the meantime performing our quarantine until we can hear from Palermo, where we have applied for indulgence and expect to receive it in 2 or 3 days. We shall then or in all events in the course of the week leave this for Messina or Palermo for our cloathing, provided I can negotiate our Bills. As Capt. Downes has joined us, and informed me that Mr. McCall²⁰ was now in funds in London and had authorized our drawing on him, I have concluded for the good of the Government & Service to draw on him for the necessary money to defray our expenses and supplies but will not exceed forty Thousand Dollars agreeable to your instructions. I shall therefore hold your bills until some opportunity may offer for me to draw on the United States at par or a very Small discount.

You will readily perceive the improbability of our meeting you at your appointed rendezvous the time you fixed upon Owing to our long voyage up here and the consequent delay occasioned by our quarantine. However as soon as possible (after the time appointed by you) I shall proceed down the North Shore, look in a Mahon & the appointed rendezvous, and then proceed to the Rock should I receive no further instructions from you.

I shall leave a letter at each port for you;

I have the Honour to be
& & &
(Signed) Chas. Gordon

P.S.

Our consuls at Tunis & Tripoli report those Regencies as usual perfectly Tranquil & peaceibly disposed towards us.

C. G.

To the Commander in Chief
& & &

²⁰ Edward Rutledge McCall, 1790-1853, was born in Beaufort, South Carolina and served on the *Java* in 1816. There is no way of telling whether this individual was an officer in the Navy. He may have been a civilian.

XIII

Syracuse 10th May 1816

My Dear Sir,

After having visited all the Barbary Powers agreeable to the orders of our Commodore, three Ships of us (the Java, Erie and Constellation) have arrived here expecting to obtain Pratique, as we are in want of provisions cloathing and Stores of every description And the Erie absolutely in distress having lost her mainmast. But the Governor and board of health at this place either wanting the power or a disposition to accomodate us, we are compell'd to look to some other Port more friendly. We have therefore to request of You to use your influence and inform us if it is possible for us to execute our object at Messina.

The Situation of the Erie being dismasted renders it is indispensable for us to have communication with the Shore. We left Barbary in April and our Crews are unusually healthy. We shall therefore hope to receive an immediate reply.

With great respect & esteem
& & &
(signed) Chas. Gordon

John Broadbent Esqr.
U.S. Consul
Messina

XIV

Syracuse 11th May 1816

Sir,

After remaining here 8 or 9 days in quarantine, and occupying ourselves in making a Main Mast for the Erie, We are at Length compell'd to proceed to Messina finding it impossible to get the necessary accommodation on shore here to work at the mainmast and having Mr. Broadbent's assurance that we shall be admitted to Pratique and receive our accommodation there.

We have put the half finished Main Mast on board the Java, shall take the Erie in tow and proceed in two hours hence. Ten days or a fortnight, I hope will complete our business at Messina if our cloathing can be had there. If not, I shall proceed to Naples or Leghorn where there can be no doubt of our effecting our Object. Mr. Broadbent has promised to supply us with Money. As Capt. Downes informs me that Mr. McCall is now in funds in London, I shall draw on him unless I can draw on the United States, at par or a very small premium.

I shall leave a letter at Messina for you.

I have the Honour to be
& & &
(signed) Chas. Gordon

To the Commander in Chief
of the U.S. Squadron
in the Mediterranean



Stephen Decatur from *Battles of the United States* by Henry B. Dawson

XV

Off Messina
13th May, 1816

Sir,

In answer of your letter of today, I can only say that your own conduct has been the sole cause of the course pursued by me to get my orders executed. I deny having given you any hints whatever, as I have invariably spoken plain to you, and that too privately or out of the hearing of others, which appears not to have the desired effect & necessarily compell'd me to speak publicly, as I had determincd to pass nothing unnoticed in hope of improving you. I have there-

fore complained the moment I saw cause but it has appear'd all to no effect, and as to the expression that I said you had no authority in the Ship, it contradicts itself as I have taken pains to repeat to you that you have not wanted for authority from me to punish the men or to control the Officers; and have urged you to carry more command, when you acknowledged to me that you did not want for authority or power, but stile that they would not mind you And all the Satisfaction I could get from you was that you had ordered such a thing to be done and it was not done etc etc.

How often have I spoken about the Booms & Boats and given written orders forbidding cloathes or lumber of any kind being on them, to have them kept clear, clean, and covered always and what answer do I get but "I can't help it," or I "can't" in some shape or other is invariably your answer. How often have I given orders that no cloathes were to be hung about the Ship, except upon lines in port and in the riggings at Sea, and look even now, and no doubt the Boats and chains are full, and after having ordered particular duty to be done in a particular manner, I have been mortified to See it neglected or done carelessly. However, I need not attempt to enumerate the oversights which I am compell'd to remind [you] of daily as you must be sensible of it yourself. You must suppose me void of feeling if those things were to pass me unnoticed or without mortifying me in the extreme. And added to this I have to suffer the mortification of seeing that you will not assume the command or carry on the duty of a 1st Lieut. as I have been accustomed to, or in a manner necessary for a man of war as well as to instruct all the Young Officers. And ask your mess mates (for I am sure they must have observed) if you are not almost always lolling either on the Hammock or on the Jacob ladders, while carrying on the duty and the Ship perhaps in a most important situation. And then if I speak, it is doubtful if I get any answer, or if I do, it is dragged out so as to show to all hands that the more anxious I am, the more indifferent you are determined to be. And when I meet you on the quarter deck to give you an order or to make some inquiry, you very generally stop until you can rest your elbow on the Capstan, the railing or the Hammock cloths, and then take out your toothpick or your knife & tobacco before you can find it convenient to answer me. This has frequently induced me to turn abruptly from you, particularly when any of the Captains would be present, as such conduct with your slow lounging manner of carrying on the duty and your apparent indifference while absolutely giving your orders, has attracted the attention of everyone who has had an opportunity of seeing you.

When I see things out of order and laying before your eyes everyday and the Masts, Yard, Chains, Boats, Boom, Gun Ports etc. etc. deranged, lumbered and hanging disorderly, can you suppose that your merely telling me you could not help it or that you ordered it to be done, will satisfy me after my repeated complaints? Altho I acknowledge it would satisfy me if I could see you notice them yourself, or see you carry command over the Officers & Crew to enforce your orders. I can see everyday some of the Young Officers and men deviating from the rules of the Ship even on the quarter deck before you and the Officer of the Deck, and it is not noticed unless I notice it, and everyday I can point out a relaxation in the duty. Even last night not less than 20 Hammocks were taken out of the

nestings immediately under your eye, while all hands were moving the Ship. And altho my regulations allow so many minutes to store the Hammocks, I have seen them (and not Midshipmen hammocks) coming up the Hatch Way half an hour after they were piped up, and I suspect there is not a night but what some of them are left all night, either laying about the deck or boom, or in the netting, not withstanding the regulation allowing only a few minutes to hang them. And how many days has our fore Topsail been laying loose upon the Guns before the Cabin door & nothing doing to it. All these things, I suppose, it is your opinion I must bear naturally or I must invite you on one side every day or 2 or 3 times a day to tell you of. Even that would satisfy me if any telling had the desired effect. I have found it had not and have discovered that invariably when I find fault, I have to suffer the mortification of seeing you more indifferent and less active, and I never saw you in a hurry in my life. I beg you will recollect that I have a number of young officers to instruct who must take their lesson from you, as well in the manner of working & organizing the Ship, as in the Department of 1st Lieut. whome you know I have always said should carry as much command and be as important among the other officers & crew as the Captain.

I have been thus full and could remind you of a thousand instances of oversight and relaxation of duty & discipline calculated to mortify me, but I concieve it unnecessary and am grateful that you have put it in my power to express myself freely to you. Had we been only a short time together, my conduct would have been different, or I should not have felt the same interest & desire to improve you. And altho you suspect me of prejudice and giving you hints, etc. you would have found that if I wished you to leave me, I should have told you so in plain English as I did Lieut. Neale²¹. Certainly I did wish him to leave me before I told him so, but I never gave him hints to leave me, tho I frequently hinted to him that he made me false reports, as that was too gross an expression to be used among gentlemen. My having given Lieut. Neale such hints you have ironically construed into my hinting to him to leave me, and certainly I have no knowledge or intention of ever giving you a hint of any kind or of even showing a prejudice against you unless a disposition & anxiety to serve you and improve the young Officers & yourself has been mistaken for prejudice. And while you are construing my expressions into hints, etc., you are also complaining of my plain language to you which appears of itself a contradiction and I repeat to you, proceeds entirely from a necessity which you will one day or other discover when better acquainted with the service. After what has now been said, I can only assure you that you or any other officers leaving my Ship must always depend upon yourself as you must now be aware that when it is my wish for you to leave here, I will never hesitate to say so. I also acknowledge this is not my wish for any Officer to leave here And I have regretted the necessity which has compell'd me to act as I have done with you, as I am aware it effects every Officer & man in the Ship while carrying on the duty, and it is painful to me in the extreme. But you must be aware that repeated mortifications & disappointments caused by neglect, oversights and apparent indifference and want of respect for my orders

²¹ Lt. Neale was one time commander of *Epervier* and was lost with this ship on way home.

has been the cause of it. I had hoped my disposition to improve my officers would have had a different effect, but if it is opposed by indifference and neglect it certainly cannot be expected I can feel so much interested and I shall be reduced to the necessity of merely giving my orders in writing to prevent misunderstanding and let the responsible officer or the officer carrying on the duty be accountable to me, But I repeat to you that I have no wish for you to leave the Ship or to superseed you And rest assured if you will only show the disposition you will find that every respect will be had for your feelings and rank, that every allowance will be made for your inexperience and that no prejudice whatever exists against you. Still I beg you to understand that my great anxiety to improve every Officer under my command and for the good of the service, I shall feel myself bound to complain of and correct all errors neglect or disobedience of orders that may require my notice.

Very respectfully
etc. etc. etc.
(signed) Chas. Gordon

Lt. Jos. Smith²²
1st of the Constellation

XVI

Constellation, 17th May 1816

Sir,

You will proceed to Gibraltar and will deliver to the Consul of the United States at that place, the accompanying dispatch for the Commander in Chief of the U.S. Squadron in the Mediterranean.

Respectfully etc. etc.
(signed) Chas. Gordon

To Capt. Watson, Ship Washington²³

Certificate

As the Washington is an American Ship and bearing dispatches on the service of the United States, all cruisers in amity with the U.S. are hereby requested not to detain Said Ship, And all Barbary Cruisers are to avoid any further communication than may be necessary to read this certificate, in order to prevent the quarantine of said Ship on her arrival at Gibraltar.

Chas. Gordon
Capt., U.S. Navy

Constellation
17 May 1816

²² Joseph Smith, 1796-1877, served in the Mediterranean on the *Constellation* and became a Captain in 1827. Later he served on the Naval Board during Civil War.

²³ Captain William H. Watson commanded the *Washington*. He died in 1823.

XVII

Messina 25th May 1816

Sir,

I have to request you will favour me with an answer to my communication of yesterday. I have directed the Purser to call on you for 1500 Gallons of Red wine for Ships use, and to request a settlement of this Ships accounts up to Tomorrow night. The accounts of all the Squadron must be closed immediately so as to ascertain the amount of our expense; for which purpose the Pursers of each Ship will call on you to attend to their respective accounts.

Very respectfully etc. etc.
(signed) Chas. Gordon

Jno. Broadbent Esq.
U.S. Consul
Messina

XVIII

Messina, 3rd June 1816

Sir,

Apprehensive the Commander in Chief or some of our Ships may be on their way up the Mediterranean to join us, I think it advisable for us to separate for a few days and go down on both sides of Sicily in order to fall in with them, should they be on their way up, and as I have Consul Jones and his family on board, who is desirous to stop at Malta to obtain a conveyance to Tripoli, I will coast down the south side of Sicily and touch at Malta for information, and then proceed down immediately to Palermo to join you when it is necessary to touch to try to obtain funds from Mr. Gibbs,²⁴ sufficient to pay the balance of our expenses due to Mr. Broadbent in this place. You can, therefore, proceed with the rest of the Ships down the North Side of the Island and wate for me at Palermo. And if you will, while there ascertain if \$20,000 can be had with bills upon Barcelona or the United States. I will try what can be done at Malta.

With great respect
etc. etc.
(signed) Chas. Gordon

Capt. O. H. Perry
U.S. Ship Java

XIX

Constellation
Malta 9th June 1816

Sir,

Having been at Syracuse & Messina where we performed a tedious quarantine and procured all the necessary summer clothing and funds for the Squadron after much difficulty, I have arrived here on my way down in hopes of falling in

²⁴ Abraham Gibbs was the American Consul at Palermo, 1805-July 1816. He committed suicide in July 1816.

with, or obtaining some intelligence of you, while the rest of the Ships under Captain Perry are running down on the North side of Sicily, so as not to miss you, should you be on your way up. And we are all to meet at Palermo from whence we will proceed down to Mahon & Algiers by way of Tunis.

I have the Honour
etc. etc. etc.
(signed) Chas. Gordon

To the Commander in Chief
of the U.S. Squadron
in the Mediterranean
Duplicate left at Palermo the 13th June

XX

Constellation at Sea
26th June 1816

Sir,

In consequence of the information I received from Adml. Penrose at Malta stating the perfect tranquility of the Barbary Powers with the Christians, And knowing all their cruisers to be in Port, Capt. Perry with the other commanders and myself, have deemed it unnecessary to delay the Squadron to convoy your Ship, as no danger whatever can be apprehended in the present state of affairs. And particularly, as the Squadron is short of Provisions and must go upon allowance if compell'd to keep company with you.

Respectfully
etc. etc. etc.
(signed) Chas. Gordon

Capt. Prince²⁵
Ship Sally Ann of Boston
at Sea

XXI

Off Algiers
28th June 1816

Dear Sir,

As the Commanding Officers instructions directs that one of the Squadron shall be attached to bear Consul Shalers Dispatches to Gibraltar And as you have volunteered your ship for that purpose, I send you the instructions to govern you. Should Capt. Downes of the Ontario arrive off here, you can order him to follow us to Gibraltar, where the Erie and myself are bound direct agreeable to instructions. Should he not arrive while you are here, you can leave orders with Consul Shaler to send him on to the Rock.

²⁵ Captain Prince was Master of the *Sally Ann* of Boston in the Mediterranean in June 1816. The Massachusetts Historical Society has the Prince family papers for an earlier period but nothing so late as 1816. The ship made her voyage safely because there are references to her in 1822 in the Thomas Lamb Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society.



Oliver Hazard Perry. Engraving by J. B. Forrest from the original by J. W. Jarvis.
From *The National Portrait Gallery* by James B. Longacre.

I regret our separation and should I leave the Rock before your arrival, I will leave a letter for you. I shall be much in want of the Marsallo, but will go to Cadiz for Sherry if I can. If you go to Mahon from hence, I send you a letter from Rear Admiral Penrose to the British Consul there.

With great respect
etc. etc. etc.
(signed) Chas. Gordon

Capt. O. H. Perry
U.S. Ship Java

XXII

Constellation, Malaga
4th July 1816

Dear Sirs,

I have just touch'd in here for information on my way to the Rock agreeable to orders. The Ship in Company, on the Corvette Erie, Capt. Crane, The Java and Ontario will be here in a few days from Mahon.

The last place we had communication with the shore was at Palermo the 14th of last month. We have been since off Tunis and Algiers for a few hours only, merely to see if all was quiet but no communication whatever, as the Consul remained in his Boat under our stern and gave us all the information we required.

I will thank you for all the news you have and some late American Papers. Has Commo. Shaw or any other U.S. Vessels been here or at Gibraltar lately, And have you heard anything of Commo. Chauncy, who we have been expecting out for some time on the Washington.

When did you last hear from the Rock and Cadiz. If you will favour me with a few lines in answer to these inquires, I shall esteem it a favour and my boat will wait.

Capt. Crane and 2 or 3 other Officers will take their 4th of July dinner with me. If you will join us at 3 o'clock, I shall be very happy of your Company.

Very Respectfully
etc. etc. etc.
(signed) Chas. Gordon

Mr. Kirkpatrick Esq.²⁶
U.S. Consul
Malaga

XXIII

Gibraltar, 10th July 1816

Sir,

I understand there are several American Seamen now on board your Ship who have been picked up strolling about the Rock and detained for want of passport or employment. My Ship is not in want of men, but such Americans as you may have on board and are disposed to join me, I will give employment to until my arrival in the United States. As I presume you can have no objection to giving them up as American.

Very Respectfully Sir
etc. etc. etc.
(signed) Chas. Gordon

To
The Commander
of H.B.N. Guard Ship
Saint Juan
Gibraltar

XXIV

Constellation
Gibraltar 10th July 1816

Sir,

For your satisfaction, I have the Honour to enclose, herewith, a translation of the treaty between the King of Naples and the Algerines and Tunisians, lately

²⁶ Mr. Kirkpatrick was American Consul at Malaga.

made by Admiral Lord Exmouth, with a force of six Ships of the line (one a three decker) besides Frigates and Sloops, amounting in all to 13 sails. Even with our little force, I should feel ourselves disgraced with such a treaty, and no American in a single ship would have submitted to the treatment His Lordship and all his Officers received from the Algerines while on shore. His Lordship gave way to the Bey in every instance. And on one occasion, when he attempted to make a stand in the negotiations, the Bey ordered him to take his Officers off and his transports and frigates from under his batteries and then to commence as soon as he pleased. Two of the Post Captains, however, did not get off before the Deys Guards went out to pick the English subjects and drive the Consul's family in town, And the Guards picked up those two captains, tied their arms behind them as we do runaway negroes, and led them into the Palace. This, Admiral Penrose told me himself.

His Lordship is not very bright, as you may observe by his letters to the King, etc.

I have the Honour
etc. etc. etc.
(signed) Chas. Gordon

Commodore John Rodgers
President of the Navy Board
Washington

XXV

Constellation, Gibraltar
10th July 1816

Sir,

I have taken the liberty to address you privately, and hope if I am wrong, you will destroy this without reading it, as viewing it officially would subject me to an arrest.

It is with much satisfaction I received your favour of the 14th and felt much gratified with your expressions of confidence in my character. Lieut. Neale, when living, I viewed with contempt, which was the cause of my turning him out of my Ship and which induced him to attempt to injure me with Commodore Decatur. He is now lost and I forgive him from my soul, But Commodore Decatur, who had always expressed a friendship for me, and also spoke to me in the most friendly manner on this subject, was the only person in the Squadron who knew of this poor wretches charges against me when the Epervier sailed, kept it to himself until nearly a month after her departure, and then circulated it himself among the Commanders with the appearance of disbelief of course, but in a manner calculated to excite his hearers.

I wrote him and called on him, and he was all kindness and friendship and repeatedly assured me of his disbelief of it and advised me the course to pursue, with other offers of friendship. I listened to all but acknowledge I felt cold to every profession, as I felt disappointed in him. Commodore Decatur can injure me with his high standing as I have never whip'd an Englishman, But no man

above the character of Lt. Neale (whose ears I had promised to decorate Peale Museum with) will ever openly charge me or even suspect my character as an officer in every respect, while I have yet some strength left to vindicate myself.

I take the liberty in this to mention to you my wishes as an invalid should I come home. I pretend to no particular claims on the Government as I have never done anything But as it is murdering me to pass even one winter in a cold climate, I shall be compell'd to solicit a Southern Station in the event of my return, that is Orleans or Charleston, which is as far north as my debilitated frame will bear. If I should be so fortunate as to be indulged with such an appointment, particularly Charleston, I should feel highly gratified and much flattered with the favour, I presume Capt. Campbell²⁷ is almost tired of one station and no doubt expects some of us to take our turn in those situations.

I beg you will excuse my familiarity in having taken the liberty to address you this privately, unauthorized by you. Be so good as to present my respects to your associate, Capt. Porter.

And believe me,
Yours truly
(signed) Chas. Gordon

Commo. Jno. Rodgers
& & &
Washington

XXVI

Constellation, Gibraltar
11th July 1816

Sir,

I have ordered two Jack Asses of the Maltese breed and superior kind shipped to the U.S. and to be delivered to you as soon as possible after their arrival.²⁸ I beg you will pay the expense attending their conveyance from any port where they may arrive to Baltimore and rend them immediately over to Mr. Worrell²⁹ and my brother Jos. to keep for me. They are both (particularly the Youngest) too young as yet for covering. I beg, therefore, that they may be kept from the mares and hope you will have them handled carefully—send this letter with them.

With respect
etc. etc. etc.
(signed) Chas. Gordon

Mr. Adam B. Kyle³⁰
Baltimore

²⁷ Captain H. G. Campbell was Commander in 1799, Captain in 1800. He was stationed at Charleston, South Carolina in 1816 and died in 1820.

²⁸ Maltese Jackasses arrived safety in the United States. The subsequent costs of transporting and feeding them are included in the Administration accounts of Joseph M. Gordon, administrator of the estate of Charles Gordon. Kent County Administration Accounts, Vol. 14, ff. 119-20, Nov. 22, 1822 (Final and last account).

²⁹ Thomas Worrell was Gordon's brother-in-law who was married to his sister, Elizabeth.

³⁰ Adam B. Kyle (Baltimore)—In Joseph Gordon's first account in the estate of his brother Charles Gordon there is an item of expense to Dinsmore and Kyle of \$316.09. Kyle died 1869.

XXVII

Constellation, Gibraltar
11th July 1816

Sir,

As your return to the United States appears indispensably necessary And as the Commo. has agreed to appoint another Surgeon to the Ship, authorizing me to indulge you with going home if I choose, You are hereby permitted to return and report yourself to the Navy Department on your arrival in the United States.

Respectfully
etc. etc. etc.

(signed) Chas. Gordon

Dr. Ro. R. Barton³¹
Surgeon
U.S. Navy
Present

XXVIII

Constellation, Naples Bay
29th July 1816

Sir,

I am ordered by Commodore Chauncey to land Doct. Doane³² (Surgeons Mate) at this place to be attached to the Hospital for which he has orders from the Navy Department, And as I am without a Surgeon and only one mate (Dr. Boyce,³³ Doct. Wittington³⁴ having died about a month since) I am authorized by the Commo. to receive Doct. Peachy³⁵ on board until some permanent arrangement can be made to fill all the vacancies in the Surgical Department of the Ship. Doct. Peachy will act as my Surgeon until we join the Commodore when, no doubt, he will either be continued on this Ship, be exchanged with some elder Surgeon who may be in a smaller Vessel or will be permitted to rejoin the Hospital.

I have suffered much and am still suffering from indisposition with an affection of the bowels and a general swelling of my limbs and the abdomen. Will you be so good as to send my Goat. I hope she either gives milk or is with kid.

Dr. Peachy must come on board immediately in a shore boat to prevent delay and the same boat will take Doct. Doane on Shore. Adieu.

Yours Respectfully
(signed) Chas. Gordon

Doct. Jno. McReynolds³⁶
U.S. Naval Hospital
Port Mahon

³¹ Dr. Robert Barton was a Surgeon 1813; he resigned in 1824.

³² Dr. George B. Doane was an Assistant Surgeon in 1814; he resigned in 1820.

³³ James R. Boyce was a Surgeon mate in 1816; he was dismissed in 1829.

³⁴ S. B. Whittington was an Assistant Surgeon in 1812. He last appeared on Naval Records on the Sloop *Ontario* in 1815. He died in June 1816 according to Gordon.

³⁵ Thomas G. Peachy was an Assistant Surgeon in 1814; he resigned 1817.

³⁶ Dr. Jno. McReynolds was stationed at the Navy Hospital at Port Mahon. He was appointed Assistant Surgeon in 1810 and Surgeon in 1811. He is last mentioned in Naval Record in 1822 when he was in Philadelphia.

XXIX

Constellation, Naples Bay
29th July 1816

Sirs,

In compliance with your orders dated 2nd July at Gibraltar, I have the Honour to inclose herewith An Exhibit shewing the Rate, Expiration of the term of Service, and the Date of Entry of the Petty Officers, seamen, Seamen and Boys, composing the crew of the U.S. Ship Constellation under my command up to the 15th Inst. of the present month July.

I have the Honour to be
Very respectfully sir
Your Obt. Servt.
(signed) Chas. Gordon

Commo. I. Chauncy³⁷
U.S. Ship Washington
Naples Bay

XXX

Naples Bay
26th July 1816

Sir,

I am just informed by your vice Consul that it is probable I shall have one or more days quarantine to perform And that the Quarantine is calculated from the day of our departure from Gibraltar which admitted the other Ships to Pratique this morning. This being the case, I presume it is only necessary for me to assure you thus Officially that I sailed from Gibraltar the day after the Java to admit me to Pratique tomorrow. My crew is in fine health & spirits and I am the only sufferer from an old wound³⁸ which you may recollect kept me in a debilitated State when last here. I am extremely anxious to get on shore to take a little exercise in a carriage and should be glad if your vice consul could procure me a good room at the London or British Hotel where, you may recollect, Mr. Height, Mr. Gorham³⁹ and other Americans put up last year. If he will procure a good room on as reasonable terms as he can, and inform me tomorrow, I shall esteem it a favour.

Very respectfully
Sir
Your Obt. Servt.
(signed) Chas. Gordon

Alex Hammitt Esq.
U.S. Consul
Naples

³⁷ Isaac Chauncey was a Lieutenant in September 1798, Commander in 1804 and Captain in 1806. Died 1840. He served as Commodore on Board of Navy Commissioners from March 1823 to September 1825.

³⁸ Alexander Contee Hanson was wounded in a duel with Alexander Contee Hanson on January 10, 1810.

³⁹ According to Dr. Milton O. Gustafson, who is in charge of the diplomatic files at the National Archives, Height and Gorman do not appear in their records. He suggests they may have been vice-consuls.

XXXI

Naples
27th July 1816

Sir,

Your note is as evasive and unsatisfactory as your message by my servant was mortifying and disrespectful this morning when I sent to you to know why the Lieuts. were not on deck. You said you did not know but you would inquire and let me know.

Suppose I were to lose this Ship and the Navy board or a Court of Enquiry were to ask me why my Lieuts. were not on deck, and I was to say I "Don't know but I will inquire & let you know," I certainly should deserve to be broke & disgraced. If the Commanding or responsible Officer, who had been on deck since day light and whose duty it was to compel every Officer to come up, did not know the cause, in the name of God, who should know? A Lieut. is not expected to hear the Boatswain pipe all hands, and always is entitled to an exclusive call by a Midshipman. If he does not then turn out, the Commanding Officer carrying on the duty, knowing it to be the orders of the Ship, is bound to send and know why the Lieuts. are not on deck, otherwise he is the man who neglects his duty and not the junior Lieut. He infringes the articles of War, the regulations of the Navy and the internal regulations of the Ship and no Officer is calculated to command who will not carry his command over all grades of Officers who may be under him. To command a Seaman and not an Officer, and let him lay in his bed, when he should be on deck because he is a Lieutenant, shows that he is either apprehensive of gaining the displeasure of the Lieut. or his disposed to favour and indulge them at the hazzard of the Ship and every-thing like Service.

I do not concieve it so indispensibly necessary for all Lieuts. to be on deck in crossing yards or sending them down on common occasions because any ship in order, and this Ship was, she & her crew kept in order could perform such duty with one Lieutenant so that it was not the Yards particularly that caused me to inquire for the Lieuts. It was knowing that you and all hands had been on deck since daylight mooring ship, which required the attention of every Officer, and you may recollect no more trifling occasions, such as cleaning Ship etc. etc. I have given you written orders to turn out every Lieut. at daylight except the one who kept the middle watch.

Knowing this to be my wish and orders always, and altho I have repeatedly told you, you do not carry command and even offended you because I said nobody in the Ship appeared to care for you. Still you will be employed all the morning at a most important duty with only the Lieut. of the Watch and the Master to assist, and when I inquire the cause, knowing you have the power to make every Officer come up or report him, You say you don't know. Such an answer is inadmissable, as I hold you responsible either to compell them to come up or to report them to me immediately on the occasion. As I heard you on duty all the morning until the Signal was made to cross yards which proves not to be in a state of readiness by the bye, I had no reason to suppose you were at

that moment taken so ill, which was the cause of my sending for you when I heard Lt. H. _____⁴⁰ attempting to send the Yards up. When Sickness or anything else takes me off deck, I generally send for you or the next in command to take charge. Why did you not send for Lieut. Cassin⁴¹ when you were taken ill, and why did you not order him and the other Lieuts. to turn out to assist in mooring Ship or report them to me this morning. Lt. Cassin would then have been on deck and ready to have relieved you before you were taken so ill. If the Lieuts. were not called, most certainly no censure whatever can be attached to them, as it must then appear that you are the Officer who has neglected his duty. Be so good as to inform me officially, if you ordered the Lieuts. to be called this morning or if you went and inquired why they were not on deck and in their Station attending to the duty at any time before I sent to you at 8 o'clock.

Respectfully
etc. etc. etc.
(signed) Chas. Gordon

Lt. Jos. Smith
1st of the Constellation

XXXII

Naples Bay
30th July 1816

My Dear Sir,

I regret that those contemptible wretches should cause you so much trouble on account of my quarantine and beg that you will have nothing more to say them on the subject excepting just to make my respects to the Health Board and hand them the enclosed note requesting their answer. I will then perform a double quarantine rather than ask one hours grace. This kind of treatment is returning our favours very handsomely for our anxiety and exertions in releasing their subjects from Tripolitan Slavery last year. I had a family of Seven, father, mother & children to support on this ship and to cloathe their nakedness from my own cloathing and then landed them at their homes. In return for which I am now tantalized four or five days with a prospect of being admitted to Pratique, and then am informed I must perform a longer quarantine than other ships of the Squadron under the same circumstances.

The Erie Corvett was also at Mahon, left Gibraltar 11th July at 4 P.M.

Very Respectfully
etc. etc. etc.
(signed) Chas. Gordon

Alexander Hammett, Esq.
U.S. Consul
Naples

Capt. Gordon respects to the board of Health of the City of Naples, and requests

⁴⁰ Lt. H.—Possibly William Hall Midshipman, Commissioned 1812, on the *Constellation* in 1816.

⁴¹ Lt. Joseph Cassin Jr. was appointed midshipman in 1809 and Lieutenant in 1813. He died in 1826.

they will do him the favour to inform him what number of days the U.S. Ship Constellation under his command has to perform quarantine or on what day will said Ship be admitted to pratique.

Capt. G. has the Honour to acquaint the board of Health that he left Gibraltar the 11th July at 4 P.M. and touched at Mahon which place he left the 20th July at 6 A.M.

Capt. G. Begs to assure the board he will with infinite pleasure perform his quarantine to the extent of the Law and requests that they will not deviate from their established rules to grant him any indulgence whatever.

XXXIII

31st July 1816

Dear Sir,

Your note did not reach me until dusk when the vice consul would not wait for an answer, but desired one to send it by the quarantine guard boat in the morning.

It is unnecessary for the board of Health to attempt to trifle by putting those questions to me at this late period. An American Officer is incapable of giving an incorrect report, particularly when bound upon honour, I therefore repeat that the report made the day of our arrival was rigidly correct in all its parts.

We were admitted to free pratique at Port Mahon and had communication with the shore until the evening of the 19th previous to our departure. As we sailed too early on the morning of the 20th to have any further communications.

Respectfully
etc. etc. etc.
(signed) Chas. Gordon

A. Hammett Esq.
U.S. Consul
Naples

Capt. Gordon has the Honour to inform the board of Health of the City of Naples that the report made by the Ship under his command on the day of her arrival was strictly correct in all its parts as an American Officer is incapable of making any other but a correct report, particularly when upon his Honour.

Capt. G. has therefore, to repeat that his Ship was admitted to pratique at Port Mahon and did communicate with the Shore until the evening of the 19th previous to her departure, the Ship having departed too early on the morning of the 20th to admit of any communication on that day.

U.S. Ship Constellation
Naples Bay
31st July 1816

This letter of July 31, 1816 concludes Charles Gordon's letterbook. The remainder of the volume is taken up with family farm accounts. His death is announced to the Secretary of the Navy by Commodore Isaac Chauncey

who had arrived to take command of the Mediterranean fleet only about a month previously.

XXXIV

No. 12, The National Archives, Record Group No. 45, Captain's Letters, Vol. 3.

U.S. Ship Washington
Messina 13th Sept. 1816

Sir,

I regret that it has become my duty to announce to the Department the death of Captain Charles Gordon, in whom, the service has lost a most zealous, indefatigable Officer.

Captain Gordon has been a long time very ill, but had attended to his duty until within the last three weeks, when in addition to his other complaints he was attacked with diarrhea, which soon reduced him to a Skeleton. He died on the evening of the 6th Instant without pain or suffering; he retained his senses and cheerfulness to the last, and has been buried at this place with all the honours due to his rank and character.

I have appointed Captain Crane to the command of the Constellation and Captain Creighton to the *temporary* command of the Erie.

The term of service of the greater part of the Crew of the Constellation having expired, immediately after Captain Gordon's death, forty of the Men came forward and demanded their discharge. I thought as we were not in want of men that it was better to discharge than forcibly detain them in the Ship. I therefore ordered all those discharged from the Service who wished it, but stated in their discharge that it was at their *own*, earnest request, after having been offered by me a passage to the United States in a public Vessel. I have also requested the Consuls not to relieve these men, if they should apply to them for pecuniary aid.

I hope sir, that you will approve the course which I have adopted in this business.

I have the honor to be
Very Respectfully
Sir
Your Obedient Servant
I. Chauncey

To
The Honorable,
Benjamin W. Crowninshield⁴²
Secretary of the Navy
Washington

⁴² Benjamin W. Crowninshield was Secretary of the Navy from January 16, 1815 to October 1, 1818.

PLANNING ROLAND PARK, 1891-1910

BY HARRY G. SCHALCK

On Monday, June 6, 1892 readers of the front page of the Baltimore *Sun* could not fail to notice a quotation in capital letters by "a distinguished Englishman," Dr. Robert Angus Smith: "One of the chief duties of man is to endeavor to live on a gravelly hill," but they could not know that eighty years later the "gravelly hill" that became Roland Park would remain prime residential real estate. Since then the particular mystique of Roland Park has often been mentioned in local papers, has been discussed at length by nostalgic residents, and has been cited by philosophers and historians of American city planning from Lewis Mumford to John Reps.¹ Not since 1939,² however, has there been an attempt to investigate in depth the central features of that garden suburb's success: the "romantic" plans of its various plats and the continuing supervision of its amenities by the now defunct Roland Park Company. Only recently have the source materials on these aspects of Roland Park become conveniently available; the Company's papers have been removed from storage and are on deposit in the Cornell University Library.³

The concept of year-round suburban living for the middle class seems to have taken hold in Baltimore relatively late. Before 1900 well-to-do families left city rowhouses for Catonsville, Mt. Washington and Towson only during the summer months. Even Sudbrook Park, whose nationally-known planner, Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., produced a score of residential subdivisions between 1868 and 1893, was intended at first as a summer resort convenient to Baltimore City via the Western Maryland Railroad. Thus in the fall of 1893 the Roland Park Company's general manager several times noted that because suburban living was new to Baltimoreans, they visited his development "again and again to look" before buying; the Company, in fact, was "educating the people . . . to want more than brick walls and cobbled streets. . . ."⁴ Moreover, Roland

¹ Lewis Mumford drew attention to it in *The Brown Decades: A Study of the Arts in America, 1865-1895* (2nd rev. ed.; New York, 1955) and again in *The City in History* (New York, 1961). John Reps discusses it in *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton, 1965).

² A. C. Comey and Max Wehrly, *Planned Communities* [Vol. 2 of the Supplementary Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee] (Washington, 1939), pp. 89-92.

³ In the Collection of Regional History and University Archives, John M. Olin Research Library of Cornell University. The Curator, Mr. Herbert Finch, and his staff were especially kind and helpful to the author, as were Colonel John McC. Mowbray, of Baltimore, last president of the Roland Park Company; Mr. Wilbur H. Hunter, Director of the Peal Museum; and Mr. Artemus P. Richardson, Olmsted Associates, Brookline, Mass.

⁴ E. H. Bouton to Jarvis and Conklin, Sept. 14, 1893, Box #5, Roland Park Collection, Cornell University. Hereafter cited as Roland Park Collection.



Roland Park—Deepdene Road *Maryland Historical Society*

Park was but one of a number of new real estate developments which appeared during those depression years, and its newspaper advertisements were consistently more modest than those for Ruxton Heights, Tuxedo Park, St. Denis Park and Cedar Heights (“The Mt. Vernon Place of Picturesque Relay”).

Curiously, Roland Park, which has long seemed so uniquely Baltimorean, was begun with English money, at first managed by Midwesterners, and laid out in its earliest stage by a planner who had received his training in Germany.

The financial history of the Roland Park Company from its inception in 1891 to the First World War need not be discussed in depth here. Briefly, it may be noted that while the Lands Trust Company provided the capital, it did not want the public to know that its investors and directors were foreign.⁵ Its relations with Roland Park’s managers, the Jarvis and Conklin Mortgage Trust Company of Kansas City, Missouri, became incredibly complex after the Panic of 1893 and the subsequent bankruptcy of the

⁵ Bouton to Jarvis, Oct. 5, 1893, Box #288. *Ibid.*

latter's chief directors, Samuel M. Jarvis and Roland R. Conklin.⁶ In any case, contrary to popular belief, the Roland Park Company was never a financial success. In its earliest years some of its Baltimore directors—notably Richard J. Capron and Charles H. Grasty—also suffered losses during the Panic. Too, throughout his long tenure as its general manager and then president, Edward H. Bouton could never bring himself to cut costs in providing community amenities or in the construction of houses. Thus the community's beauty paid off for the private homeowners rather than for the corporate investors.

The work of Roland Park's first professional planner, George E. Kessler, has been overshadowed by more ambitious planning in sections laid out subsequently.⁷ Although he later achieved renown as an urban planner, in 1891 Kessler was only twenty-nine and comparatively unknown. City planning was not yet an academic discipline but his botanical and engineering training in Germany had been extensive, and before he was designated "Topographical and Landscape Engineer" by the Mortgage Trust Company he appears to have had some experience in platting residential subdivisions in Kansas and Missouri.⁸ Undoubtedly the investment bankers and perhaps Bouton as well knew of him in Kansas City. The plan which he produced for the area east of Roland Avenue and north of Cold Spring Lane was modest but in the romantic tradition of Andrew Jackson Downing and the elder Olmsted: the streets—some to be named after the Company's directors and later to be renamed—curved gently to follow the contours of the land as it sloped towards Stony Run. Thus Kessler set the general pattern for later plans, though it is impossible to conceive that given the topography of the land, any of his first-rate contemporaries would have produced other than a plan romantic in conception. Kessler visited Baltimore at least once but he never developed the close association Frederick Olmsted, Jr. later experienced with Bouton.

Edward Bouton, in fact, had his hands full in those early years. He was then slightly over forty. Although he is still remembered by an older generation of "amiable Baltimoreans," his background remains obscure. In later years it was claimed that he had once been a Western "cowpuncher,"

⁶ The Kansas City bankers then and subsequently had wide interests. After 1898, for example, both became deeply involved in high-level finance in Cuba. For the student of turn-of-the-century economic history, the complete story of how Roland Park was financed would prove a fruitful field of inquiry.

⁷ See the author's "Mini-Revisionism in City Planning History: The Planners of Roland Park," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 29 (Dec., 1970), pp. 347-349.

⁸ William H. Wilson has described an important but neglected phase of Kessler's early work in *The City Beautiful Movement in Kansas City* (Columbia, Mo., 1964). Roland Park's connections with Kansas City are intriguing. At one time Jarvis, Conklin, Bouton and Grasty all lived there, and J. Clyde Nichols, who developed its Country Club District, long remained in contact with Bouton; among his many visits to Baltimore was one in 1937 at which he paid tribute to Bouton's work at a testimonial dinner. *Baltimore Sun*, Dec. 8, 1937.

and that before "erecting" Dwight, Kansas, he had briefly been curator of the Kansas City Law Library.⁹ On the basis of a perhaps undeserved reputation as a shrewd real estate operator, he was brought to the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia to promote, unsuccessfully, "Basic City." It was then, if not earlier, that he came into contact with Richard H. Edmonds, Baltimore publisher of the *Manufacturers' Record*, a journal founded in 1882 to encourage commerce with the South. Edmonds judged Bouton "capable of selling anything"¹⁰

But land throughout the 1890s moved slowly. The question of finances and the promotion of sales in Roland Park appear foremost in the correspondence between Bouton and Jarvis and Conklin. At first the financiers wrote that "We want the people to [sic] Baltimore to understand that this addition is going to be laid out in a manner worthy of the city. . . ."¹¹ And in 1891 and 1892 they took the lead in assembling hundreds of acres, beginning with large estates such as "Woodlawn" and "Oaklands."¹² After 1893, however, their tone changed. They attempted to restrain their manager's interest in further extensions by warning him against the purchase of Garrett property, and even recommended the resale of Bonaparte property for what they had paid for it.¹³ Bouton wrote Jarvis that "many in Baltimore" thought that the Company was practically in the hands of the receivers, and he told Conklin that he was "desperate" for new "snow-sweeping equipment."¹⁴ He found it necessary to assure the son of the first purchaser of a Roland Park house that contrary to rumor, it was not true that the development's houses all had "Mechanic's Liens" against them.¹⁵ Jarvis and Conklin wrote that he might go ahead and lay sidewalks, but only "as much . . . as was necessary to preserve the good faith of the company."¹⁶

In the promotion of sales Bouton was on his own. In the beginning there was no car line so a tally-ho was hired to bring prospective purchasers from the Company's office at 225 North Charles Street to Roland Park. The Roland Spring water wagon carried advertising. The relatively discreet newspaper notices continued. In June of 1893 Bouton offered a 15 percent discount on 125 lots, continuing his offer of 2000 free tickets on the new

⁹ R. P. Harriss, "From Cowpuncher to Developer. A Tribute to E. H. Bouton," *Baltimore Real Estate and Building News* (Sept., 1958), pp. 22-24. Bouton's obituary is in the *Sun* of Aug. 8, 1941.

¹⁰ F. F. B., "Making Beauty Pay," *Sun*, Sept. 29, 1954.

¹¹ Jarvis and Conklin to Bouton, May 30, 1891, Box #3, Roland Park Collection.

¹² For Woodlawn, for example, they paid \$92,754.75. Jarvis and Conklin to Bouton, June 20, 1891, Box #3, *ibid.* Since 1874 much of this had been Capron's land.

¹³ Jarvis and Conklin to Bouton, Jan. 21, 1893; Jarvis and Conklin to Bouton, Dec. 1, 1894, Box #3, *ibid.*

¹⁴ Bouton to Jarvis, Oct. 5, 1893, Box #288, *ibid.* Bouton to Conklin, Oct. 13, 1893, Box #288, *ibid.*

¹⁵ Bouton to Mr. Jeanneret [sic], July 2, 1893, Box #4, *ibid.*

¹⁶ Jarvis and Conklin to Bouton, Oct. 4, 1894, Box #3, *ibid.*



Charles Henry Grasty *Maryland Historical Society*

trolley line to buyers who erected houses within a year of purchase; later he offered a 10 percent discount under the same conditions.¹⁷ He brought the Company into the business of erecting houses because he believed that this would increase the sales of empty lots, but the houses, which at first ranged in price from \$2650 to \$3000, actually were sold at a loss.¹⁸

By the later nineties, however, the condition of the nation and of Baltimore was much improved and within a few years a local group, whose social interests centered on the Maryland Club, was able to buy out the foreign investors. These men, who included Robert Garrett, apparently had neither the desire nor the need to sweat the land, and they had much more confidence in Bouton, who, indeed, was beginning to exhibit solid management, if not great financial, ability.

Even before the 1903 reorganization Roland Park acquired the most prestigious planning consultants of the day, for in 1897 Olmsted, Olmsted

¹⁷ Bouton to Jarvis and Conklin, June 3, 1893, Box #4, *ibid.* Bouton to Mrs. Donohue (Phila.), April 20, 1893, Box #4, *ibid.*

¹⁸ Bouton to Jarvis and Conklin, Aug. 2, 1894, Box #3, *ibid.*

and Eliot were asked to "take up" the planning of Plat Number Two.¹⁹ By then the elder Olmsted was completely removed from his firm's affairs and the brilliant Charles Eliot had only recently died. But the stepson of the great "Geotech"—the appellation is Mumford's—John C. Olmsted, and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. began a long and fruitful relationship with the Roland Park Company. Until the death of John in 1906 both Olmsted partners were involved in Roland Park planning, yet the inference is strong that Frederick, Jr. worked most closely with it. Young Olmsted had received first-rate professional training. Even before 1894, when he was graduated *magna cum laude* from Harvard, he had worked at Chicago on the Columbian Exposition and in North Carolina on George Vanderbilt's vast estate, "Biltmore." His conviction, if yet unstated, that "gains and losses in landscape values are incidental by-products of human activity,"²⁰ must have been congenial to the manager of Roland Park. Bouton's extensive exchange of letters with the Olmsteds, like his early correspondence with Roland Park's consulting engineer, Colonel George E. Waring, Jr., reveals how rapidly he came to grasp the essential elements of residential planning as conceived by the best professionals of the time. Impressed by a visit to Roland Park in 1910, J. H. McFarland, president of the American Civic Association, wrote a personal letter to Frederick Olmsted, congratulating him upon "a high grade of civic achievement." The latter characteristically replied that credit must go to Bouton: "He has been 'the whole thing' at Roland Park . . . daily successful[ly] handling . . . the situation on the spot."²¹

For years "the man on the spot" kept closely in touch with his consultants. From the beginning he discussed with them his large plans: the "villa sites," golf course and country club west of Roland Avenue; new subdivisions east of Falls Road; the reservation of stream valleys as open space.²² In 1902 he revealed his dream of getting together "all vacant tracts of land between the Johns Hopkins University property and Lake Roland east to Charles Street Avenue," in all perhaps 1500 acres. "My plan," he wrote, "would be that, having organized a company with plenty of capital to own this land, we would begin a very large suburban operation, one of the main features of which would be the building of one or more driveways to connect with the proposed new driveways between the City and the Johns Hopkins property." With such communication Roland Park might "catch the whole of the better class suburban development of the city."²³

¹⁹ Bouton to Olmsted, Olmsted and Eliot, Nov. 20, 1897, Roland Park File, Olmsted Associates, Brookline, Mass.

²⁰ Edward Clark Whiting and William Wyman Phillips, "Frederick Law Olmsted, 1870-1957. An Appreciation of the Man and His Achievements," *Landscape Architecture* (April, 1958), p. 152.

²¹ McFarland to Olmsted, Oct. 7, 1910; Olmsted to McFarland, Oct. 10, 1910. Roland Park File, Olmsted Associates.

²² Bouton to Olmsted, Nov. 20, 1897, Nov. 9, 1898 and March 12, 1900, *ibid.*

²³ Bouton to Olmsted, Sept. 5, 1902 and Oct. 5, 1902, *ibid.*



Roland Park *Maryland Historical Society*

From “Fairsted,” their office in Brookline, Massachusetts (it was also the family home), the Olmsteds responded in kind. They advised filing plats “sketchily and only as needed” so that further development might be flexible.²⁴ They noted that 6 per cent grades were fairly difficult ones, justified only for economy, and that “your grades running up to fifteen percent in some instances would be outrageous.”²⁵ They warned against the use of formal planning with “geometric gardens”: “We would recommend that you transfer your architects to another source of operations where there are no trees and where the ground is in itself comparatively uninteresting.”²⁶

But from the beginning Bouton made inquiries about details as well. It is this painstaking concern that reveals much about Roland Park’s success. Should gateways be made somewhat formal and thus serve as “advertisements” to the new sections?²⁷ It was mutually agreed that triangles of

²⁴ Olmsted to Bouton, Dec. 1, 1900, *ibid.*

²⁵ Olmsted to Bouton, Dec. 11, 1903 and Nov. 29, 1899, *ibid.*

²⁶ Olmsted to Bouton, Dec. 21, 1900, *ibid.*

²⁷ Olmsted to Bouton, Nov. 25, 1899, *ibid.*

grass at intersections were desirable, but were “bannerets” atop street signs likely to be “a constant temptation to the boys?”²⁸ And what did the planners think of gutters with “a rough brush finish whereby the pebbles in the concrete with their warm brown color would be exposed, the grass at the same time being allowed to grow down over the edge of the ‘rebut . . .?’”²⁹ Even the naming of streets caused concern; in *The Nation* of January 26, 1899 Bouton offered a prize of five dollars for each name accepted. And while the future University Parkway was being built, Frederick Olmsted suggested that “in connection with the question you raise about the Apostle’s name [“St. Paul’s Parkway”], he was “rather turned away from any name based upon that of St. Paul Street.”³⁰ Trees and plantings, the possible elimination of alleys, the use of “California oil” on roads all required attention. “My conscience smites me for troubling a busy man with these questions, but my needs are sore,” Bouton wrote.³¹

Olmsted did not mind. Earlier his father had been as careful in choosing lamp post designs for Mt. Vernon Place. When the sticky problem of relocating Cold Spring Lane arose, he took the liberty of intervening directly with adamant property owner Francis M. Jencks, who had married “Miss Platt, the daughter of an intimate friend of my father.”³² And Olmsted, who had just prepared the 1904 report on Baltimore parks, confessed that the great fire had “a demoralizing effect” on him and his associates.³³

The final results of these exchanges of ideas—the dramatic siting of houses on the steep hillsides whose streets had much cutting but very little filling; the lavish use of land for the multi-level University Parkway trolley line; the deceptively casual and park-like quality of the tree-lined streets—were superb. “None of the planning done within the nineteenth century,” writes Lewis Mumford, “. . . compares in freshness of form and boldness of design with the best of the suburbs.”³⁴

Bouton and the Company could not limit themselves to “design” only, however. Utilities and transportation had to be provided. The story of Bouton’s founding of the “Lake Roland Elevated Railway” and the later building of “the Boulevard line” (“The only continuous unobjectionable car line running out of Baltimore”³⁵) might make an interesting monograph. Telling the tale would involve an investigation of both Baltimore City and Maryland politics, for a legislative act was needed, and Bouton wrote Jarvis in 1893 that the “politicians” were delaying construction.³⁶

²⁸ Bouton to Olmsted, Sept. 20, 1898 and March 13, 1900, *ibid.*

²⁹ Bouton to Olmsted, July 1, 1910, *ibid.*

³⁰ Olmsted to Bouton, July 28, 1905, *ibid.*

³¹ Bouton to Olmsted, Aug. 11, 1905, *ibid.*

³² Olmsted to Francis M. Jencks, March 9, 1900, *ibid.*

³³ Olmsted to Bouton, April 16, 1904, *ibid.*

³⁴ Mumford, *City in History*, p. 497.

³⁵ *Roland Park Review*, Vol. 1 (Nov., 1908), p. 3.

³⁶ Bouton to Jarvis, April 24, 1893, Box #288, Roland Park Collection.



Roland Park *Maryland Historical Society*

(Earlier there was a race with the North Avenue Railway to lay tracks to Roland Avenue.³⁷) Eventually the Roland Park cars, running every six minutes, it was claimed, became, by present-day standards, extremely convenient to use, although some residents demanded that they be heated in wintertime. "To talk of this being unhealthy is nonsense," they said.³⁸

A final concern of the Roland Park Company deserves special mention: the protective restrictions written into deeds. Property owners were given to understand that since the community was "designed to be a place of residence only," the sole businesses allowed would be those incidental to home-ownership.³⁹ On Company stationery appeared: "All property offered subject to immediate acceptance and prior sale; deed to contain such conditions and restrictions as the company shall impose." From the first the manager studied similar covenants in communities such as Llewellyn Park,

³⁷ Bouton to Jarvis and Conklin, Oct. 6, 1891, Box #1, *ibid.*

³⁸ *Roland Park Review*, Vol. 1 (Feb., 1909), p. 3.

³⁹ W. Calvin Chestnut, "Restrictions in Roland Park Deeds," *Roland Park Review*, Vol. 1 (Oct., 1908), p. 3.

New Jersey, and Tuxedo Park, New York,⁴⁰ and the planners too had had earlier experience with them.⁴¹ As Bouton and the Olmsteds worked together on succeeding plats the provisions were increasingly refined. Only one dwelling per lot was allowed, and no private stables. (The first case of court litigation over deed restrictions came only with the advent of the motor car in 1911 when a property owner wanted to build a garage and driveway.) No "nuisances" or uses of lots in a way "dangerous to health" were allowed. In the courts the restrictions held up well, and across the nation Roland Park's experience came to be looked upon as "pioneer" work.⁴²

By 1910 the development of Roland Park was virtually complete, and a reorganized Company went on to plan first Guilford and then Homeland. But though these newer subdivisions emerged as havens for the well-to-do, Bouton and his successors had learned enough about planning principles and community amenities to make them applicable on a more modest scale later in Northwood.⁴³ The social assumptions of turn-of-the-century planners of Roland Park may no longer be valid, but their ideas about landscape design and its relation to the way people live still have validity as well as applicability.

⁴⁰ Bouton to Llewellyn Park Assoc., Jan. 29, 1892; Bouton to Waring, Jan. 15, 1892, Box #1, Roland Park Collection.

⁴¹ See, for example, Frederick L. Olmsted, Sr.'s letter to G. A. Roberts of Denver, April 25, 1890, Box #20, Olmsted Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

⁴² Whiting and Phillips, "Frederick Law Olmsted," p. 146.

⁴³ Later Bouton, as well as Olmsted, helped to plan Forest Hills, L.I. for the Russell Sage Foundation, and during World War I Dundalk, Md.

SIDELIGHTS

A PLEA FOR MARYLAND CATHOLICS

BY DAVID W. JORDAN

Colonial Maryland, a haven of toleration and prosperity for Roman Catholics for fifty-five years, became a bleak environment for members of that faith in 1689. That summer, rebels who styled themselves as "Protestant Associators" overthrew the proprietary government of Charles Calvert, Lord Baltimore. The coup was to a certain extent the hostile expression of mounting dissatisfaction over the favoritism which the proprietor had shown toward Catholics, although there were other deep-seated and personal reasons for the revolt. Nonetheless, Maryland's version of the Glorious Revolution stripped the Catholics of many of their political rights and offices, confiscated their arms and ammunition, and finally led some of them to flee the colony for their safety.¹

Many Protestants remained loyal to the proprietor and joined Catholics in opposing the rebel regime. Representatives of both faiths journeyed to England in the fall of 1689 to protest the overthrow, but they soon discovered they could expect little sympathy or assistance from the new English monarchs, William and Mary.² Staunchly Protestant and also much interested in the exercise of greater control over the proprietary colonies, they welcomed an opportunity at this time to make Maryland a royal colony. By the summer of 1690, the crown had placed its royal blessing on the Associators' revolution and had instituted proceedings to assume administration of the colony as a "case of necessity".³

Lord Baltimore was unable to protect his charter, nor were he and the other Marylanders any more successful in their lobbying to safeguard the

¹ The full details of the revolution and its background will be treated in a forthcoming monograph, "Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689-1692," by Lois G. Carr and David W. Jordan. Meanwhile, the standard sources include Francis Edgar Sparks, *Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, XIV Series XI-XII, Baltimore, 1896); Bernard C. Steiner, "The Protestant Revolution in Maryland," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1897* (Washington, D.C., 1898), pp. 281-353. More recently, Michael Kammen has drawn new attention to the rebellion in his article, "The Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LV (Dec., 1960), pp. 293-333, and his contribution to Michael G. Hall *et al.*, eds., *The Glorious Revolution in America* (Chapel Hill, 1965).

² Six Marylanders, including the deposed Catholic Councillor Henry Darnall, appeared before the Lords of Trade and Plantations in November. William H. Browne *et al.*, eds., *Archives of Maryland* (70 vols.: Baltimore, 1883 to present), VIII, pp. 162-163. Additional witnesses, all Protestants and some of them Quakers, testified for the proprietor a year later. Both groups had brought written testimony from Protestant and Catholic colonists who had remained in Maryland. *Ibid.*, pp. 114-122, 147-151, 153-162, 212-214.

³ *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 185-186, 167-168; the latter is a text of the crown's letter signifying temporary approval of the Associators' regime.

personal rights of the Catholic community. However, in December of 1691, an influential spokesman and intermediary enlisted in their cause. Don Manuel Coloma, the Spanish Ambassador to the English court, petitioned the crown on behalf of the Maryland Catholics. His memorial, never previously published or discussed by historians, amplifies our knowledge of the Catholic situation in the aftermath of the revolution and further illuminates the transatlantic nature of religious bodies in the colonial period.⁴

While unusual, it was not unique for a foreign ambassador to intercede at the English court for English citizens. Spanish and French diplomats, as highly placed Catholics with access to the crown, had become logical persons to introduce petitions on behalf of fellow Catholics who had little strong support within the government itself. Since England was at war with France in 1691, Don Coloma was the ranking Catholic emissary in London. Records survive of his intervening to alleviate the plights of other English Catholics as well.⁵

The precise origin of this particular petition for Marylanders is not known. Perhaps Don Coloma was acting in response to an appeal either from Rome or from Catholic leaders in England. During this period, the various religious bodies in Maryland maintained close contact with their counterparts or superiors in the Old World. Anglicans and Quakers, as well as Catholics, dispatched regular letters and annual reports to leaders of their respective churches in the mother country. These reports carried full details of personnel, programs and significant events of the preceding year.⁶ Organizationally, the Catholic mission at St. Mary's City was under the jurisdiction of the English Provincial of the Society of Jesus who received annual reports from the colony. He in turn condensed these reports in correspondence to his superior, the General of the Jesuit Society

⁴ The document, located in the Maryland files of the Public Record Office in London, was strangely overlooked during W. Noel Sainsbury's preparation of the 1689-1692 volume of *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, (London, 1860-1939) and during the collection of materials for the *Archives of Maryland*. Classified as C05/718/No. 55, it has since been listed in a typescript copy of uncalendered documents, "Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, American and West Indies, 1688-1696 Addenda" (Library Search Room, PRO, 1935). A photostatic copy of the petition is available in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

⁵ On Coloma, see Francis Bickley, ed., *Report on the Manuscript of the Late Allen George Finch Esquire of Burley-on-the-Hill Rutland*, (Historical Manuscripts Commission, London, 1957), pp. 181, 220. Coloma had just replaced the popular ambassador Don Pedro Ronquillo, who died in July of 1691. Two other examples of Coloma's intercession for English Catholics in late 1691 may be found in *Foreign Ministers—Spain*, SP 100/55, PRO.

⁶ Michael Kraus describes in a suggestive manner the transatlantic community and ties which bound colonial congregations with parent or sister religious bodies in the Old World in his study *The Atlantic Civilization: Eighteenth Century Origins* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1949). Kenneth Carroll focuses on the Quaker ties in "Quaker Opposition to the Establishment of a State Church in Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, Vol. 65 (Summer 1970), pp. 149-170. Nelson Waite Rightmyer's *Maryland's Established Church* (Lebanon, Pa., 1956) best illustrates this aspect of the colony's Anglican Church.



Charles Calvert, Third Lord Baltimore. Portrait at Malahide Castile, County Dublin, Ireland

in Rome.⁷ John Clare Warner, the English Provincial at this time, touched briefly upon the domestic troubles of Maryland and the attendant problems for Catholics in his report to Rome in 1690.⁸ However, this brief allusion did not contain the more specific information later summarized in Don Coloma's petition. Other more detailed accounts of events in the colony undoubtedly filtered into Rome in 1690 and 1691.⁹ Discouraging news of

⁷ For several examples of these annual letters, see Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684* (New York, 1910), pp. 115-144.

⁸ Thomas A. Hughes, ed., *History of the Society of Jesus in North America: Colonial and Federal* (2 vols.; London, 1908), I, p. 138.

⁹ A search in the Catholic archives in England for the annual reports from these revolutionary years proved unavailing. It is logical to assume, however, that the priests continued to report directly or indirectly on the state of affairs in the colony. Maryland Catholics who journeyed to England probably reported personally to Clare during those years or conveyed reports from the priests.

the fate of Maryland mission, the poor reception accorded the exiled Marylanders in London, and the English crown's failure to assist the Catholics probably all accounted in part for the Spanish ambassador's special appeal.

That appeal, written in French, really consists of three brief sections or ideas. It opens with an observation on the Catholic origins of the colony, with particular reference to the famous Act of Toleration passed in 1649. There then follows a description of the current sufferings of Roman Catholics. In closing, there is an appeal for renewed religious toleration in the colony, and more specifically, a request for relief of those currently suffering persecution. Major concern existed for the Catholic clergy. Father Francis Pennington, the ranking Jesuit in Maryland, had been overseeing at least five other clerics at the outbreak of the revolution. Although the Catholics represented a distinct minority, they had prospered organizationally more than any other religious group in the colony, and had nine churches or chapels as well as a school for humanities at Newtown.¹⁰

The revolt had totally disrupted the mission program. With the flight of some influential Catholics into neighboring colonies or to England, secular leadership of the religious community had fragmented.¹¹ Soon thereafter, the four Jesuits and two Franciscan fathers likewise sought refuge in Virginia or went into hiding, because of the violence of the Associators, according to Don Coloma. It is important to stress, however, that extant records do not reveal any bloodshed or personal violence during these critical years with the exception of the controversial death of John Payne, an Associator and royal customs collector. Payne was killed in January of 1690 in a scuffle with retainers of the deposed Catholic councillor Nicholas Sewall.¹² Otherwise, there is no documentation of bodily harm, although there is evidence of the imprisonment or surveillance of several Catholics and Protestants. The Associators were too conscious of the necessity of restraint and caution, lest they lose the support of the main body of colonists. Quite likely, fears of physical harm exceeded the actual threat, just as exaggerated rumors of a Catholic-Indian conspiracy to slay the Protestants had played an important role in enlisting popular support for the revolu-

¹⁰ Edwin Warfield Beitzell, *The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County, Maryland* (Privately Published, 1960); Rev. William P. Treacy, *Old Catholic Maryland and Its Early Jesuit Missionaries* (Swedesboro, N.J., n.d.); "Br. Henry Foley's MS Collection for the Compilation of a History of the English Provinces," pp. 35ff, Jesuit Farm Street Residence, London. There are no definite figures, but the Catholics together with the Quakers did not constitute over 30 per cent of the population. Meanwhile, no more than six Anglican and three Presbyterian ministers, not all in settled congregations, served the religious needs of the remaining 70 per cent. Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church*, pp. 17-20, 135-150, 161-171, 192, 198, 207, 216; *Archives of Maryland*, XX, pp. 106-111; Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Richmond, 1935), pp. 85-111, 214-215, 226-232.

¹¹ *Archives of Maryland*, VIII, pp. 127, 157.

¹² *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 170-173; Steiner, "The Protestant Revolution," pp. 323-326 provides the most detailed account of this incident.

tion. Nonetheless, the petition does suggest a much harsher treatment of the priests than is found elsewhere. No other source mentions imprisonment of a Jesuit, nor direct physical threats which might necessitate exile for self-protection. We have definite knowledge of only two detained Catholics, the former councillors who were placed under house arrest in the late fall of 1689.¹³ The petition does support the otherwise unsubstantiated local tradition that the rebels seized all the churches and chapels and destroyed some of the property.¹⁴

John Coode, leader of the Associators, made repeated efforts to enlist the cooperation of Virginia authorities in apprehending the Catholics who had sought refuge in northern Virginia. He seemed particularly anxious to secure the return of the clergy. In a letter of November 16, 1689, he accused Fathers [] Cannon and Richard Hubbard of "being unwilling to abide the sentence and determination of his Majesties Commisioners or his Orders when sent into this Province."¹⁵ Coode had as yet actually received no orders; indeed, he was anxiously awaiting word of the royal disposition toward the revolution he had led.¹⁶ In January, he added the name of "Gulick a Jesuit" as one who had "fled for treasonable words against their Majestys."¹⁷ Later, he again explicitly sought the extradition of Father Hubbard who was apparently being sheltered just across the Potomac River in Stafford County, Virginia. Despite numerous requests, the Maryland government received no cooperation at all from Virginia authorities.¹⁸

Ambassador Coloma's appeal proved unavailing. There is no indication that his intercession had any effect on deliberations in Whitehall, although the petition did find its way to the Lords of Trade who were the primary advisors to the crown on colonial affairs. Maryland became a royal colony with no specific instructions for the relief of Catholics. Moreover, the new governor arrived in the colony in early 1692 with instructions to nurture the growth of the Anglican Church, and the assembly promptly enacted

¹³ An imprisoned priest would probably have been either Pennington or Father John Matthews, both of whom reputedly remained in hiding in Maryland. Beverly McAnear, ed., "Mariland's Greivances Wiy The Have Taken Op Arms," *Journal of Southern History*, VIII, pp. 408-409; John Coode to Jacob Leisler, Nov. 26, 1689, in Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of the State of New York* (4 vols.; Albany, 1849-1851), II, p. 26. Rumors of more widespread imprisonment were forwarded to England by officials in New York and Virginia, but there is no evidence to confirm them, and their absence from the otherwise well documented charges against the Associators leads one to treat them very suspectly. See, however, *Cal. of State Papers, Colonial, 1689-92*, nos. 632 and 787.

¹⁴ Beitzell, *Jesuit Missions*, p. 54 cites the tradition that Protestants destroyed the church at Newtown and seized Catholic church property.

¹⁵ *Archives of Maryland*, VIII, p. 127.

¹⁶ The royal letter indicating temporary approval of the Associators' actions did not arrive until May of 1690. The rebels, placing much emphasis on this letter, then instituted stronger policies against their opponents, with the arrests of some men and exclusion of others from the government. See, for example, *Archives of Maryland*, VIII, pp. 169, 193.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 163-164. This was Father Nicholas Gulick who had come to Maryland in 1675. Treacy, *Old Catholic Maryland*, pp. 90-91.

¹⁸ *Archives of Maryland*, VIII, pp. 168-169.

legislation which established the Anglican Church with compulsory tax support from all colonists.¹⁹

The next few decades were not pleasant times for Catholics. The exiled priests returned to the colony, but the program of the mission suffered great restrictions. Priests encountered strict regulations which prevented their officiating at marriages, publicly celebrating masses, or exercising other functions. By virtue of new oaths required of all civic officeholders, Catholics were barred from public service.²⁰ Persecution heightened after 1700 with the assembly's passage of new laws "To Prevent the Growth of Popery," while the newly established Anglican Church began to prosper.²¹ In 1704, Catholics beseeched the assembly to revoke the measures depriving them of the liberty to practice their religious beliefs. Like the Spanish Ambassador in his petition, they also rehearsed the policy of religious toleration which had prevailed in the earlier decades of the colony's existence.²² Their struggle for religious freedom continued throughout the century. Some fifty years later, they were still petitioning for "the Free Exercise, Without any Penal Laws, of that Religion to which they were Taught to Sacrifice every other Concern."²³ It remained for the American Revolution and the First Amendment to the Constitution for Catholics to regain the full measure of religious freedom they had enjoyed in Maryland before 1689.

ROMAN CATHOLIQUE RELIGION IN MARYLAND RX FROM THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR DECEMBER, 1691

"La Marieland une Plantation des Anglois en Amerique fut donnée par le Roy Charles premier a mi Lord Baltimore Catholique, a ses Heretiers pour iamais, par des Lettres Patentes sous le grand Sceau. Cette Plantation fut assignée comme un Asyle aux Catholiques Romains et fut premierement

¹⁹ The original act of establishment passed in 1692, but it was 1702 before the crown finally reached agreement with the assembly on the wording of an act which satisfied English officials. *Archives of Maryland*, VIII, pp. 276-277; XIII, pp. 425-430; Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church*, pp. 20-52. The governor's instructions "to permit a Liberty of Conscience to all Persons so they be contented with a quiet and peaceful Enjoyment of it, not giving offence or scandall to the Government," *Archives of Maryland*, VIII, p. 273, did not bring relief to Catholics.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 448; XX, p. 224; Nicholson to Lords of Trade, July 14, 1696, C05/714/I, no. 6; Beitzell, *Jesuit Missions*, pp. 47-64.

²¹ See, for example, *Archives of Maryland*, XXVI, pp. 289-292, 340-341, 431-432; XXVII, p. 371; David W. Jordan, "The Royal Period of Colonial Maryland, 1689-1715" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1966), pp. 267-290 covers the religious developments of the early eighteenth century in more detail.

²² "Copy of a Memorial from the Roman Catholics in Maryland to the Assembly," Dec. 1704, C05/715/VIII, no. 94.

²³ "The Representation of Severall Gentlemen, Merchants, Planters and Others, Inhabitants of the Province of Maryland in America," 1755, British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 15489, ff. 65-66. See also Thomas O'Brien Hanley, "The Catholic and Anglican Gentry in Maryland Politics," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXXVIII (June 1969), pp. 143-151.

habitée et cultivée par eux, et le dit mi Lord avec grandissimes depens et hazard. La premiere Loy faite là, et accordée par les Lettres Patentes, fut un arrest pour la toleration de toute sorte de personnes en l'exercice libre de leur Religion, hormis les Juifs et les Turcs. Depuis ce dernier changement, ceux qu'avoient le dessus, contre la dite Loi, ont saisis toutes les Chappelles qui estoient aux Catholiques, et même basties par eux, ils ont même forces par leur violence tous les Prestres de quitter le Pais, hormis un, qu'ils ont contrains de demeurer chez soy par un long emprisonnement, empeschant, l'exercice de sa Prestrise, même le baptizer et l'assister aux agonizans. Tous ces outrages, comme nous croions, ont etes faits contre le vouloir, l'ordres, ou le scavoir des leur Majestes Guilliame et Marie, ce pourquoy nous qui cet affair regard de si près, prions tres humblement, que leur Majestes soient enformées, ne doutans nullement, que quand leur Majestes seront averties de la severité de ce traitement, qu'ils donneront ordres aux Gouverneurs deputez, et mes en pouvoir a cette heure par Eux, de ne molester ni les Catholiques ni les Prestres a cause de leur Religion, mais qu'il leur sera permis de vivre avec la même liberté, qu'ils avoient selon la Loix de cette Province, durant les trois derniers Regnes."

AN EARLY MARYLAND MUSICAL SOCIETY

BY ELAINE G. BRESLAW

It has been generally assumed that South Carolina was the home of the first musical society in British America. That distinction has gone to the St. Cecilia Society founded in Charleston in 1762.¹ However, the first organized musical society may rightfully belong to Maryland history. The Callister Papers in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, on deposit at the Maryland Historical Society, contain several letters relating to musical activities. According to the first letter below, Talbot County was the home of a musical society at least as early as 1756.

The society had neither a distinctive name nor a home base, other than the generalized Talbot County locale, and in the manner of medieval minstrels, wandered from plantation to plantation. Nonetheless, the musical group was made up of upper-class landowners, merchants, and clergymen, who performed for their own amusement and that of their neighbors. Its peripatetic nature was a concession to the dispersed plantation society of the Eastern Shore. The absence of an urban focus neither diminished enthusiasm for instrumental music nor discouraged active local participation in the concerts. The second letter below is indicative of the nature of one such musical sojourn.

The society existed as long as the Anglican clergyman, Thomas Bacon remained in his Talbot County parish, which was until 1758 when he moved to a Frederick County parish. By that time also Bacon's interest in music had begun to decline and there are no further references in the Callister correspondence to musical events after March of 1757.² It appears that Bacon himself was the inspiration for the musical activities in Talbot County and his loss of enthusiasm acted to depress the interest in serious music. Henry Callister seemed to feel the absence of this inspiration most keenly and wrote to a friend:

I have had a long fever this unwholesome fall, and have, as well as Mr. Bacon, declined in my passion for musicals. But I have just got a Violoncello, which I have an inclination to learn, and if I ever see the Parson again, the Muses influence may be revived for a time.³

Dear Sir [Henry Callister]

By the firing of the Guns I expect your Ship is arrived. I wish you joy. You'll not forget that Mr. Hamon expects the Musical Society at his House

¹ Michael Kraus, *The Atlantic Civilization—18th Century Origins* (New York, 1949), p. 116; Louis B. Wright, *The Atlantic Frontier* (New York, 1947), p. 291.

² Thomas Bacon to Henry Callister, March 17, 1757, Callister Papers.

³ Henry Callister to D. Wolstenholme Oct. 27, 1760, but sent April 5, 1761, Callister Papers.

on Monday. Coll. Chamberlaine I hope has Notice, and that Business will not prevent your Attendance. We shall want what Music you & he have with the Tenor Fiddle & which please to bring up with you. and Mons. de L'Amour must not fail. If you have any News it will be acceptable to Bearer, tho' I shall not see it till my Return from the Chapel tomorrow Evening, being obliged to baptize a Sick Child this afternoon at the upper End of the Parish where I am just setting out.

My Compliments to Mrs. Callister, I am

Y^{rs} most affectionately
T. Bacon [signed]

3 April 1756

Dear Sir [Henry Callister]

We had on Friday & Saturday last at Coll. Lloyd's the most delightful Concert America can afford. My Hon. the fiddle being accompanied on the Harpsichord by the famous Sign. Palma⁴ who really is a thorough Master on that Instrum^t and his Execution surprising. He returns this Week to the Colonel's from Annapolis of which I am to have Notice, and am directed by the Colonel to request your company on the Occasion. Signr. Palma, the best natured Man of a Top hand I ever met with has promised me one Evening at Jimmy Dickinsons where I shall also expect your Attendance. My man brings down the Tenor Fiddle. I am

Ys.
Tho. Bacon [signed]

Dover

26 Oct. 1756

⁴ Probably the John Palma who the following year (1757) was to give the first public concert in Philadelphia. O. G. Sonneck, *Early Concert Life in America* (New York, 1949), p. 65.

NOTES ON MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

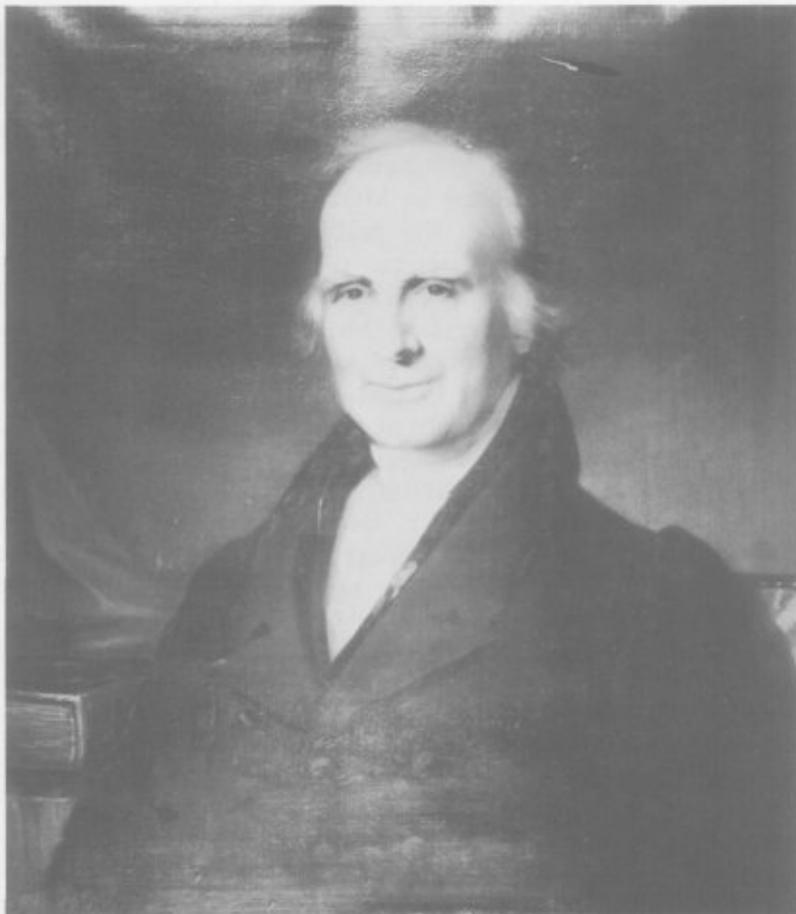
By NANCY G. BOLES, *Curator of Manuscripts*

THE FOWLER AND OLIVER PAPERS

Through the continual generosity of Mrs. Laurence Hall Fowler, a descendant of the famous mercantile Oliver family of Baltimore, the Maryland Historical Society has recently received the final group of Robert Oliver papers that have been in Mrs. Fowler's possession. In 1944 she donated the first lot, largely comprising what is now the Oliver Papers (MS. 626). It is a fine and extensive collection of correspondence, ledgers, journals, vouchers, bank and check books of Robert Oliver, one of America's wealthiest and most influential businessmen. Much of the collection deals with his will and estate, but there is important correspondence as well with Alexander Baring, Nicholas Biddle, Richard Caton, Robert M. Gibbes, Roger Brooke Taney, John Campbell White and others. For those interested in the political and especially the economic history of the new nation, the Oliver Papers offer rich rewards.

With the addition of this final group of Oliver papers from Mrs. Fowler, the Society's collections will be even stronger. They include the papers Professor Stuart Bruchey cites in his definitive *Robert Oliver: Merchant of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1956) as being in Mrs. Fowler's possession. Other scholars now have the benefit of these fine manuscripts. At one time some of this material was at the Society, but Mrs. Fowler asked for its return so she could more easily pursue her own research. In the early 1960's she gave a portion of the remaining letters, which were incorporated into MS. 626. This past August Mrs. Fowler completed her gift. All the Fowler-Oliver material is now housed at the Society and is in the process of being catalogued as fully and as quickly as possible.

The new Oliver Collection (MS. 1940) can be divided into several main categories. First, and perhaps of more importance to most researchers, is a fine group of approximately 150 items, the great majority being business and personal correspondence to Robert Oliver. Correspondents (often of only one letter) include: Alexander Baring, Paul Bentalou, Nicholas Biddle, Mr. and Mrs. Richard Caton, the Craig family, Eliza Parke Custis, Robert M. Gibbes, Robert H. Goldsborough, J. E. Hall, Alex. Hammet, Robert G. Harper, John Hoffman, Michael Hogan, Benjamin Chew Howard, Thomas Law, William Lorman, James McHenry, William Magruder, John Mercer, V. Moreau, James Orr, David Parish, Edward C. Pinkney, William



Robert Oliver. By John Wesley Jarvis *Maryland Historical Society*

Pinkney, Joel R. Poinsett, J. W. Pomeroy, John Randolph of Roanoke, Frederick G. Schaeffer, John S. Skinner, William Stirling, Benjamin Stoddert, Roger B. Taney, L. W. Tazewell, Hugh Thompson, T. Tilghman, Charles B. Vaughan, John C. White, and William Wirt. Although there are a few receipts, powers of attorney, shipping tickets, and military commissions, most of the items—once pasted in a scrapbook, but now removed, laminated, and put in individual folders—are correspondence.

There are also six leatherbound volumes pertaining to Robert Oliver's estate, ranging from the date of his death (December 28, 1834) to the 1870's. These include letters (indexed) written by the executors and trus-

tees of his estate (1834-63), chancery cases in which the estate of Robert Oliver was interested (1835-71), two volumes of releases, and one volume relating to the administration of the estate.

A large group of papers was originally carefully tied into bundles and labeled by a trustee of the Oliver estate, David M. Perine. They are in reference to the estate—vouchers, receipts, accounts, letters—and also to the estate of Oliver's daughter, Margaret Oliver Colt.

The Society is greatly indebted to Mrs. Laurence Hall Fowler for her kindness and generosity through the years, and for her keen interest in Maryland history, her desire to preserve the priceless manuscripts long in her family, and her willingness to share them with scholars. Not only has she given these fine Oliver collections, but also the business and personal papers of four generations of another distinguished Baltimore family—the Fowlers. The Robert Fowler Collection, 1844-91 (MS. 1876) contains business and personal correspondence of Robert Fowler (1812-74), businessman, member of the Maryland House of Delegates, and State Treasurer. The David Fowler Collection, 1857-1909 (MS. 1876.1) concerns the legal career of David Fowler (1836-1911), lawyer and judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals. There are also papers relating to a vestry controversy in the 1870's over the removal of the rector of St. Timothy's Episcopal Church, Catonsville. The John H. Fowler Collection, 1873-98 (MS. 1876.2) are the letters of another prominent Baltimore businessman who lived from 1835 to 1901. The Laurence Hall Fowler Collection, 1879-1951 (MS. 1876.3) illuminates the architectural career of Mrs. Fowler's husband (1876-1971). The Maryland Historical Society's holdings in nineteenth and twentieth century history are substantially strengthened by the acquisition of these notable collections.

ACCESSIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION SINCE THE
PUBLICATION OF *MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS OF THE MARYLAND
HISTORICAL SOCIETY* IN AUGUST, 1968.

VII

Stuart, Susan Wilson, Album (MS. 1757). Album containing engravings by A. B. Durand and poetry; 1 vol., 1834. Donor: Alex. D. Williams.

Stump, John, Papers (MS. 1706). Business and personal papers including deeds, bills, family and business letters, material on quartering Union troops on Stump's farm and lack of compensation, etc.; 66 items, 1791-1897. Donor: Estate of A. Herman Stump.

Swann, Thomas—B & O Railroad Papers (MS. 1763). Swann's correspondence about the B & O's expansion and policy, covering the years of his

directorship and presidency; 37 items, 1847-53, 1873. Donor: Mrs. Charles B. Gillet.

Thompson, Dr. Samuel A., Papers (MS. 1720). Business and legal papers of this Queen Anne's County resident, land papers, will, inventories and accounts; 10 items, 1812-43. Donor: Ella Thompson.

Tobacco Book (MS. 1690). Tobacco warehouse book listing tobacco received for storage, to whom assigned, and hogshead markings; 1 vol., 1783-99. Donor: Not known.

Trimble, Rachel Ridgeway Starr, Papers (MS. 1762). Letters from Rachel Trimble and other members of the family; 12 items, 1800, 1830, 1886-87. Donor: John A. Sherman.

Turnbull Collection (MS. 1719). Autograph collection of European and American political and literary figures, family material on politics and the Civil War, sonnet by Lizette W. Reese; 64 items, c.1820-1942. Donor: Grace H. Turnbull.

Turrier, Joseph, Accounts (MS. 1747). Accounts for hauling coal, lime, stone, etc., money paid for plowing and profits from sale of grain; 2 vols., 1804-14. Donor: Not known.

Van Bibber, Henry P., Letters (MS. 1666). Primarily correspondence to Virginian Henry Van Bibber from William B. Taylor about inheritance and disposition of land in Maryland and elsewhere from the estate of A. Van Bibber of Baltimore; 12 items, 1793, 1820-35. Donor: Not known.

Vetch, Alexander, Transcripts (MS. 1748). Family letters from Alexander Vetch of Scotland to his son John in Bladensburg; 9 items, 1763-74. Donor: William A. Vetch.

Wallace, Joseph, & Co. Account Book (MS. 1704). Lists shipping charges against various Baltimore merchants by Joseph Wallace & Co.; 1 vol., 1811-19. Donor: Not known.

Weatherburn, John, Weather Record (MS. 1694). Baltimore weather record (1792-97) with notes on wind direction, local events, elections, and index to a newspaper 1773-79; 2 vols., 1773-97. Donor: Miss Margaret Boham.

Whitaker Iron Company Records (MS. 1730.1). Records of companies owned in whole or in part by George P. Whitaker, including Whitaker Iron Co. (Principio Co.), George P. Whitaker Co., Whitaker & Couden, and the Crescent Mfg. Co. of Wheeling, West Virginia. Includes balance sheets, agreements with railroads, sales, Whitaker family wills, correspondence, land papers, etc.; 6 boxes, 1839-1938. Donor: Not known.

Whitaker Notebook (MS. 612). Contains equations for converting currency of various colonies by member of the Whitaker family of Havre de Grace, Md. Also 19th century newspaper clippings of poetry; 1 vol., c.1770-c.1869. Donor: Philip Remare.

Whiting-Balch Papers (MS. 1691). Correspondence between Mrs. C. C. Whiting and her children on their travels in Europe and America. Restricted until 2000; 6 boxes, late 19th - 20th century. Donor: Mrs. T. Willing Balch.

Wier, Longcope & Co. Account Book (MS. 1663). Account book of this ropewalk firm. Robert Wier sold his share of the business to James G. Ramsay in 1861, later known as Longcope & Ramsay, and then Ramsay; 1 vol., 1852-69, 1874. Donor: Mrs. Robert W. Wayland.

Winder, Charles Sidney, Collection (MS. 1773). Letters from Winder describing army experiences in California, wreck of steamboat *San Francisco*; diaries kept during Civil War and earlier army duty; letters and clippings describing his death; 7 items and 4 vols., 1852-62. Donor: Alice Lloyd Brice.

Winder, Governor Levin, Collection (MS. 1883). Primarily letters of Winder dealing with troop placement, militia and supplies during War of 1812; 25 items, 1813-17. Formerly in Vertical File.

Windsor Collection (MS. 1772). Correspondence from Wallis Warfield, Duchess of Windsor, to several Maryland friends, Christmas cards, photographs; 50 items, 1937-65. Donor: Mrs. Clarence Miles.

Winslow, Dr. Randolph, Account Book (MS. 1652). Accounts of stocks owned by this Baltimore physician; 1 vol., 1923-31. Donor: Caleb Winslow.

Women's Organization for Prohibition Reform Collection (MS. 1684). Contains printed material and fliers; 10 items, 1933. Donor: Mrs. Gaylord Lee Clark.

Woodward-Smith Correspondence (MS. 1842). Letters dealing with Woodward's effort to locate heirs of Revolutionary officers to settle claims. Partial list of invalid pensioners in Baltimore County and some Virginia counties, and partial list of pensioners in Delaware, Maryland, Rhode Island and Virginia; 39 items, 1856-57. Formerly in Vertical File.

Wyman, Cary, Keyser Letters (MS. 1685). Family and business letters and papers of these and related families; 50 items, 1829-1914, 1943. Donor: Mrs. Gaylord Lee Clark.

GENEALOGICAL NOTES

SKINNER BIBLE RECORD

Publisher: Matthew Carey, Philadelphia, Pa.

Publication date: 1809

Present owner: Maryland Historical Society [photostat]

Copied by: Mary K. Meyer

MARRIAGES:

On the 22nd day of MARCH 1810 Zachariah Skinner led to the alter of hymen the amiable Miss Hannah Jones where the usual hymenial rites were performed by the reverend James Kemp.

BIRTHS:

[Willi]am Skinner son of [Zac]hariah Skinner and Hannah his wife was born on the 20th day of june in the year of our Lord Anno Domini 1811 at 3 Oclk in the afternoon.

2nd son. John Jones Skinner son of Zachariah Skinner and Hannah his wife was born on the 6th day of September 1813.

3rd son. Thomas Skinner Son of Zachariah Skinner and hannah his wife was Born on the 29th of November 1815.

Cassandra Johns Skinner was born 2nd day October 1817 [the 7 seems to have been written over an 8.] She departed this life 1820 [unclear] September 30 Aged 2 years wanten 2 days. first Daughter of Zachariah and Hannah Skinner.

4th son. A . . . illa: James Skinner son of Zachariah and Hannah his wife was born on the 15th of March [1820?]

Washington Hammond Skinner was born the 7th day of May 1823. 5th son of Zachariah and Hannah Skinner born 1823.

6th son. Zachariah H. Skinner was Born July 3th 1825.

2th dauthter. Mary E. Skinner then was born october 20th 1827.

7th son. Alexandra Summerfield Skinner was born December 26th 1829.

8th son. Richart Standly Skinner was Born May 25 1832.

Zachariah Skinner son of William Skinner and Elizabeth his wife was born on the 23rd day of March in the year of our Lord anno Domini 1787. Hannah Skinner consort of Zachariah Skinner was born on the 30th day of April 1794. [the date 179- is written twice then 1794 is subtracted from 1828 and 34 written underneath.]

DEATHS:

Cassandra John Skinner Departed this life September 30th 1820.

Mary Elizabeth Skinner Departed this life may 29 1831.

Richard Stanly Skinner Departed this Life june 29 1832.

Hannah Bonn Skinner departed this life June 18th 1846.

Zachariah Skinner Departed this Life May 19th 1864.

BOOK D.

BIRTHS.

1st son
 am Skinner son of
 Zachariah Skinner and Hannah
 his wife was born on the 20th day
 of June in the year of our lord
 Anno Domini 1811 at 3 o'clock
 in the after-noon. ✱

Zachariah Skinner son of
 William Skinner and --
 Elizabeth his wife was born
 on the 23rd day of March
 in the year of our lord anno domini
 1787.

2nd son.

John Jones Skinner son of
 Zachariah Skinner and --
 Hannah his wife was born on
 the 6th day of September 1813

Hannah Skinner consort
 of Zachariah Skinner was
 born on the 30th day of --
 April 1799

3rd son

Thomas Skinner Son of
 Zachariah Skinner and Hannah
 his wife was born on the 29th of
 November. 1815.

4th
 Sophia Skinner son of
 Zachariah Skinner and
 Hannah his wife was
 born on the 15th of March
 1820

Rebecca Skinner was born
 2nd day of October 1818 she
 departed this life 1822
 September 30th aged 2 years
 winter 2 days.
 5th daughter of Zachariah and
 Hannah Skinner

William Skinner
 was born the 7th day of May 1821
 son of Zachariah and
 Hannah Skinner born in
 1823

A Page of Records from the Skinner Family Bible Maryland Historical Society

1812

BOGEN, Dr. John H., of Petersburg, Penna., and Miss Margaret Lind, daughter of Mr. Nicholas Lind of this county, were married Sunday, 29th ult., by the Rev. Daniel Grubb. (11 Jan.)

SHANKS, Mrs. Jane, died, on the 7th inst., in Clarksburg, Montgomery Co., aged 83. (25 Jan.)

WOOD, Mrs. Sarah, widow of Mr. Charles Wood, died on Sunday, 12th inst., at the seat of Mr. Basil Wood, near Liberty-town. (25 Jan.)

FESSLER, Mr. John, Jr., and Miss Susan Baer, daughter of Mr. Henry Baer, all of this town, were married Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. David F. Schaeffer. (1 Feb.)

CARMACH, Mr. Paul, and Miss Catherine Stimmel, both of this county, were married Tuesday last, by Rev. David F. Schaeffer. (22 Feb.)

POTTS, Mr. Samuel, son of the late Richard Potts, died Friday, 4th inst. in his 28th year. (22 Feb.)

COOKERLY, Mrs. Catherine, consort of Mr. Jacob Cookerly, of this county, died Friday, 14th inst. (22 Feb.)

HANSON, Mrs. Jane, relict of John Hanson, Esq., a delegate from Maryland, to the old Revolutionary Congress, and President of that body in Philadelphia in the period 1781-2, died Friday evening, 21st inst., in her 85th year. She was a native of Prince George's Co., but had spent the greater part of her life in this town. Her youngest son, Lieut. Peter Contee Hanson, fell in battle at Fort Washington, 1776. Her eldest son, and last of her children to die before her, was Alexander Contee Hanson, Esq., the late Chancellor of this State. (long obit). (22 Feb.)

MANTZ, Mr. Francis, Jr., died Wednesday, 4th inst., in the 28th year of his age. (7 March)

GASSAWAY, Miss Sally, daughter of Capt. Charles Gassaway, of Montgomery Co., died Thursday morning, 5th inst., in her 24th year. (14 March)

STAUFFER, Mr. Daniel, died Saturday last, in the 64th year of his age; of this town. (14 March)

BRENGLE, Mrs. Elizabeth, wife of Mr. Christian Brengle, died Saturday last, in her 43rd year. (14 March)

LILLY, Mr. Samuel, died Tuesday, in his 80th year. (14 March)

THOMAS, Mr. Samuel (of Benjamin), and Elizabeth Kephart, daughter of Mr. Geo. Kephart, all of this county, were married Tuesday last, by the Rev. John Welch. (28 March)

CLINTON, George, Vice President of the United States, died Monday morning last. (25 April, 1812.)

SCHLEY, Mr. Frederick Augustus, and Eliza, daughter of James M'Cannon of this county, were married Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Jonathan Forrest. (2 May)

POTTS, Mrs. Susan, consort of Mr. William Potts, and daughter of William Campbell, Esq., of this county, died the morning of the 10th inst., in her 26th year. (16 May)

HAFF, Major Abraham, of this county, died Tuesday morning last. (23 May)

CRABB, Capt. John, of the Marine Corps, and Miss Margaret Baer, daughter of Mr. William Baer of this town, were married Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Helfenstein. (6 June)

HAUSER, Mrs. Sophia, of this town, died Friday evening last. In the short space of ten months she was a bride and a corpse. (6 June)

FLEMING, Mr. Samuel, and Miss Harriot Hughes, daughter of Mr. Levi Hughes, all of this county, were married Thursday evening last, by the Rev. P. Davidson. (13 June)

TRISLER, Maria S., eldest daughter of Mr. George Trisler, merchant of this town, died Monday night, 15th inst. (20 June)

SCHAEFFER, Rev. F. S., of Hagerstown, and Miss Eliza Crever, daughter of Jacob Crever, Esq., were married at Carlisle, 14th inst., by the Rev. Frederick Sanno. (25 July)

HAFF, Mr. Abraham, of Frederick Co., and Mrs. Priscilla Hauer, of Fredericktown, were married Tuesday last, by the Rev. P. Davidson. (25 July)

RANDALL, Mrs. Maria, consort of Mr. Vachel W. Randall, died Wednesday last, in the 19th year of her age. (8 Aug.)

PYFER, Mr. Philip, Jr., and Miss Rachel Brengle, were married Sunday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Helfenstein; all of this place. (22 Aug.)

MARSHALL, Mrs. Ruth, of this town, died Wednesday night. (22 Aug.)

BAER, Mr. William, son of Henry, and Miss Harriot Mantz, both of this town, were married by the Rev. J. Helfenstein, on Tuesday evening last. (5 Sept.)

SIMMONS, Mrs. Belinda, died Monday night, the 14th inst., in her 64th year; of this county, near the sugar loaf mountain. (26 Sept.)

WARNER, Henry, son of Michael Warner, of Baltimore, was killed on Saturday last, when a storm caused the limb of a tree to fall on him. (10 Oct.)

CRAPSTER, Mr. Abraham, died Thursday last, at his residence in Liberty-town, Frederick Co.; in his 59th year. He leaves a wife and brother. (10 Oct.)

HARDEN, John, formerly of Montgomery Co., died at Mr. Jacob Cookerly's, near Woodsborough, on the 25th Sept. He said he had a brother-in-law named David Williams living near the mouth of Monacacy. (10 Oct.)

HOLTZ, Mr. Jacob, and Miss Susanna Fiegs, all of this county, were married Tuesday last, by the Rev. David W. Schaeffer. (24 Oct.)

WHITE, Mrs. Mary, died Wednesday, last day of September, in her 84th year. She resided within a few miles of Georgetown. (31 Oct.)

FIEGE, Mr. George, and Miss Catherine Trout, both of this county, were married Thursday last, by the Rev. D. F. Schaeffer. (19 Nov.)

HENDERSON, Mr. James, of Montgomery Co., and Mrs. Sarah Cromwell, of this county, were married Sunday, 15th inst., by the Rev. John Welsh. (28 Nov.)

WARFIELD, Mr. Alexander, died at his seat near Liberty-town, in this county, on 2nd inst.; in his 63rd year. (12 Dec.)

OGBURN, Mr. Caleb, and Miss Ann Wright, were married Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. John G. Grubb. (12 Dec.)

THOMAS, Mr. John E., and Miss Mary Wright, daughter of Joseph Wright, all of this county, were married at the same time as the bride's sister Miss Ann Wright (see above) married Mr. Ogburn. (12 Dec.)

SHINK, Jacob, and Miss Polly Beckenbaugh, were married Thursday, 24th inst., by Rev. J. Helfenstein. (26 Dec.)

LICHLIDER, Mr. Conrad, and Miss Sally Patterson, married. (26 Dec.)

ROADENSER, Mr. Henry, and Miss Polly Carson, all of this county, were married. (26 Dec.)

1813

HAUER, Capt. Daniel, and Miss Margaret Mantz, were married Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. J. Helfenstein. (2 Jan.)

HAUSER, Mrs. Margaret, died Thursday last, aged 75 years. (2 Jan.)

GAITHER, William, of Frederick Co., and Miss Margaret Ann Dorsey of Anne Arundel Co., were married at the residence of Mr. Samuel Owings, on Thursday evening, 31st ult., by the Rev. Mr. Linthicum. (9 Jan.)

BEATTY, Miss Catherine C., eldest daughter of Capt. Thomas Beatty, of Georgetown, died 27th ult., aged 19 years and a few months. (9 Jan.)

BAER, Dr. Jacob, of this place, and Miss Elizabeth W. Dorsey, daughter of Caleb Dorsey, Esq., of Elk Ridge, Anne Arundel Co., on Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Norris. (16 Jan.)

WARFIELD, Dr. Charles Alexander, died Friday, 29th ult., at his seat in Anne Arundel Co., in his 62nd year. He was among the earliest and most conspicuous patriots of this state . . . who espoused the cause of independence. (long obit). (6 Feb.)

REYNALDS, Mr. Samuel, died Tuesday morning last, in this town, in his 33rd year of age, leaving a wife and four children. (6 Feb.)

GOLDSBOROUGH, Mr. William, eldest son of William Goldsborough, Esq., of Frederick Co., died 17th inst., in his 20th year, at Greenwood, the seat of William Moore Smith, Esq., near Philadelphia. (long obit). (27 Feb.)

BERGER, Philip, died Tuesday morning; he had attained within a few weeks of fourscore (years). (6 March)

MATTHEWS, James, and Susan Birely, daughter of George Birely, all of this county, were married at Little Pipe Creek on Sunday evening last, by the Rev. David F. Schaeffer. (20 March)

LYNN, Col. John, died in Allegheny Co., Md., of pleurisy. He had served in the Revolutionary War. (from the *Federal Republican*) (3 April)

JONES, Morris, Esq., and Betsey Meddert, daughter of Jacob Meddert of this town, were married Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. David T. Schaeffer. (17 April)

PATTERSON, Nathaniel, of Gettysburg, Penna., and Catherine Meyerhoffer, daughter of Peter Meyerhoffer, of this town, were married Tuesday evening last, by Rev. Schaeffer. (17 April)

HOOVER, Peter, and Christiana Martin, both of this county, were married at Emmitsburg, on Tuesday, 13th inst., by the Rev. Fred. Rauhauser. (24 April)

LACKLAND, Mrs. Catherine, wife of James Lackland, of Montgomery Co., died 4th inst., in her 52nd year. (8 May)

LONG, William, Esq., of this county, and Miss Mary Scott, daughter of William Scott of Adams Co., Penna., were married 4th inst., by the Rev. D. McConaughy. (15 May)

POTTS, Mrs. Elizabeth Christian, consort of William Potts, Sr., of this county, died Sunday night last. (5 June)

LUCKETT, Capt. John R. N., of the 2nd Regiment of U.S. Infantry, died at Fort Stoddert, on 5th May last. (12 June)

LAWRENCE, Capt. James, born 1782, in Burlington, N.J., died leaving a wife and two infants. He commanded successively the *Vixen*, the *Wasp*, and the *Hornet*. (10 July)

BARR, David, of Hager's Town, and Christiana Mantz, daughter of Francis Mantz, of this place, were married Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. David F. Schaeffer. (21 Aug.)

JOHNSON, Mrs. Margaret, relict of the late Col. James Johnson, died Sunday last, at Springfields, Frederick Co., in her 64th year. (11 Sept.)

OGLE, Mr. Benjamin, died Monday evening last, in his 67th year. (11 Sept.)

SCHLEY, Thomas, of this town, died very suddenly on Tuesday morning last, in his 76th year. (18 Sept.)

HARTSOOK, David, and Eleanor Harding, daughter of Elias Harding, all of this county, were married Sunday evening last, by the Rev. James L. Higgins. (13 Nov.)

BRASHEAR, Capt. William, of this county, died 10th inst., in his 78th year. (20 Nov.)

OTTERBINE, Rev. William, died last evening, aged 87 years, 5 months, and 14 days. He labored 60 years in the vineyards of the Lord—for 40 of them in Baltimore. (Baltimore, November 18). (20 Nov.)

OTT, David, of Washington City, and Mary, daughter of Col. John Ritchie of this place, were married Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Patrick Davidson. (4 Dec.)

HINES, Peter, merchant of Liberty-town, and Miss Margaret Campbell, daughter of John Campbell, Esq., of this county, were married Thursday, 9th inst., by the Rev. James L. Higgins. (18 Dec.)

FUNDENBERGH, Mr. Walter, of this county, died Tuesday night last, at an advanced age. He leaves a widow and several children. (18 Dec.)

MCCLEARY, Mrs. Martha, wife of Henry McCleary, of this town, died 12th inst., in her 59th year. (25 Dec.)

1814

- HAFF, Mr. Abraham, aged 40 years, died 30th ult. He was an affectionate husband and parent. (8 Jan.)
- NOLAND, Lloyd, Esq., and Ann W. Powell, daughter of Burr Powell, all of Loudon Co., Va., were married near Middleburg, Va., 5th inst., by the Rev. William Williamson. (22 Jan.)
- BALTZELL, Major Charles, died 31st ult., at his farm near Woodsborough, Frederick Co., in his 77th year. He was a native of Germany, and in his youth served in several campaigns in the Seven Years' War. About 50 years ago, he migrated to this country, and settled in Maryland. He served in the Revolutionary War, and was an officer in the Society of the Cincinnati. (22 Jan.)
- LEVY, Jonathan, died Sunday last, in this town, in his 22nd year. (22 Jan.)
- HAMMOND, Mrs. Mary, consort of Mr. Vachel Hammond, near Liberty-town, died 22nd inst., aged 64. (29 Jan.)
- JOHNSON, Dr. Thomas W., and Elizabeth, daughter of Joshua Dorsey of this town, were married Tuesday last, by the Rev. J. Welch. (29 Jan.)
- GLISAN, Charles, and Miss Mary Boyer, all of Liberty-town, were married Thursday, 27th ult., by the Rev. James L. Higgins. (5 Feb.)
- RUTHERFORD, Benjamin, merchant, and Sophia, daughter of Charles Schell, all of this place, were married Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. D. F. Schaeffer. (12 Feb.)
- NIXENDORF, Henry, and Susan, daughter of Jacob Meddert, all of Frederick-town, were married Thursday evening last, by Rev. D. F. Schaeffer. (12 Feb.)
- MORRISON, Capt. James, of the Merryland Tract, and Ann, daughter of Capt. Jeremiah Belt, were married Thursday evening last, by the Rev. P. Davidson. (19 Feb.)
- COOKERLY, Jacob, and Mrs. Rosanna Brandt, of this place, were married Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Jacob Helfenstein. (26 Feb.)
- EARLE, James, Esq., Clerk of the Court of Appeals and cashier of the Farmer's Bank of Easton, Md., died Wednesday, 2nd inst., after a short illness. (19 March)
- GRAFF, Mrs. Eleanor, consort of Sebastian Graff, of this county, died Thursday, 24th ult. (2 April)
- ZEILER, Mrs. M., wife of Henry Zeiler, of this town, died Monday last, aged 69 years. (2 April)
- WILLIS, Henry, and Catherine S., daughter of John Hambleton, Esq., all of Frederick Co., were married Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Smith. (16 April)
- KELLER, Mrs. Rebecca, wife of Jacob Keller, of this county, died Saturday last, in her 55th year. (23 April)
- HAMMOND, Capt. Thomas, of Liberty-town, and Mary Cumming, only daughter of Gen. Robert Cumming, all of this county, were married lately by the Rev. James L. Higgins. (14 May)

LUGENBEEL, John, Jr., and Parmelia, daughter of Brice Pool of this county, were married Thursday evening last, by Rev. Higgins. (28 May)

WARNER, John, and Susanna Lugenbeel, daughter of John Lugenbeel, all of this county, were married Sunday last, by Rev. Higgins. (28 May)

RINER, Capt. George, and Abigail, daughter of John Jones, all of this county, were married Sunday evening last, by Rev. P. Davidson. (28 May)

SCOTT, Thomas, and Sarah Doll, all of Frederick-town, were married Sunday evening last, by the Rev. J. Helfenstein. (28 May)

SHULTZ, George, and Sarah, daughter of the late Peter Kemp, were married Tuesday evening last, by Rev. Helfenstein. (28 May)

BUTLER, Thomas, and Sarah Claggett, were married Tuesday last, at the seat of Dr. Zachariah Claggett, Washington Co., by Rev. D. F. Schaeffer (28 May)

WATERS, Mrs. Ruth, died Saturday, 21st inst., in New Market. (28 May)

HOLLAR, Mrs. Dorothy, of this place, died Sunday last, at the age of 90 years. (28 May)

LLOYD, Mrs., wife of William A. Lloyd, merchant of this town, died Thursday last. (28 May)

FRENCH, George, Esq., of Georgetown, D.C., and Maria Booth, of Washington Co., were married 24th ult. (4 June)

JOHNSON, Mrs. Catherine, wife of the late Col. Baker Johnson, dec., died 9th June. (18 June)

STECKELL, Mrs. Mary, wife of Solomon Steckell, of this place, died Sunday last. (25 June)

STEWART, Craven, of this county, died 14th inst., in his 22nd year. (25 June)

LANSTON, Rev. Joseph, and Clarissa Randall, daughter of Nicholas Randall, all of Frederick Co., were married Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Hanson. (16 July)

SHAW, Thomas, Esq., Cashier of the Frederick-town Branch Bank, and Sophia Morris of this town, were married Thursday evening last, by Rev. David Schaeffer. (23 July)

BUCKEY, Mrs. Christiana, consort of George Buckey, all of this county, died Saturday last. in her 45th year. (24 Sept.)

RITCHIE, William, Esq., Clerk of the Frederick Co. Court, died Saturday last in this town. (24 Sept.)

JOHNSON, Mr. John, Jr., died Friday, 23rd ult., at his residence near the Trap. (1 Oct.)

MAGRUDER, Mrs. Rebecca B., wife of Alexander Contee Magruder, Esq., of Annapolis, died Thursday, 27th inst., in this town, at the house of her afflicted father, Dr. Philip Thomas. She was aged 37 years. She leaves a husband and four small children. (29 Oct.)

CRUM, Mrs. Amelia, widow of the late William Crum, died Friday week in this town. (5 Nov.)

DOLL, Conrad, died Monday last, in his 76th year. (5 Nov.)

WHITE, Addison, and Miss Darcas Ann Harris, youngest daughter of Joseph Harris, Esq., of Montgomery Co., were married Tuesday, 18th Oct., by the Rev. James Smith. (12 Nov.)

KELLER, Mrs. Charlotte, consort of Jacob Keller of this town, died Wednesday night last (from the *Political Examiner*) (26 Nov.)

GERRY, Elbridge, Vice President of the United States, died suddenly Wednesday morning, at Washington, aged 70. (26 Nov.)

TANEY, Mrs. Monaca, of Calvert Co., died Tuesday last, at the residence of her son in Frederick-town; aged 63 years. (3 Dec.)

FLEMING, Joseph, Jr., and Lucy Hull, all of this county, were married Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. P. Davidson. (10 Dec.)

CUNNINGHAM, James, and Catherine, daughter of Capt. William Campbell, of this county, were married Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Dunn. (10 Dec.)

1815

LLOYD, William Ambrose, merchant of this town, and Mrs. S. H. Young, eldest daughter of Gen. Bull of Northumberland, Penna., were married 26th ult., at Washington, by the Rev. James Laurie. (7 Jan.)

M'ELFRESH, Mrs. Sarah, of Frederick Co., died Wednesday, 4th inst., in her 30th year. (28 Jan.)

SCHAEFFER, Rev. S., Pastor of the Lutheran Congregation of Hagerstown, second son of Dr. Schaeffer of Philadelphia, died Monday last. (4 Feb.)

FISCHER, Dr. John, died Sunday last, in this town, in his 45th year (from the *Political Examiner*). (4 Feb.)

JOHNSON, Thomas, son of the late Col. Johnson, of Frederick Co., died Wednesday, 8th inst., in Loudon Co., Va., in his 38th year. He leaves a widow and three small children. (18 Feb.)

OGLE, Benjamin, and Miss Lorrity Livers, were married at Emmitsburg, Monday last, by the Rev. Mr. Duhamel. (4 March)

MANTZ, Miss Caroline, daughter of Francis Mantz of this place, died Thursday last week, in her 18th year. (4 March)

BOYD, Mrs. Mary, died Friday. (4 March)

JONES, MORRIS, Esq., of this town, died Friday morning, 24th ult., in his 35th year. (4 March)

FULTON, Robert, died 23rd ult. (from the *New York Eve. Post*) (4 March)

BEATTY, Major Thomas, of Georgetown, a Revolutionary officer, died Monday, 27th ult., in his 56th year. (from the *Fed. Rep.*) (4 March)

CHANDLER, Rev. John, Rector of St. Marks and Zion Parishes, this county, died Wednesday, at Oakland, the residence of Dr. G. Duvall. (11 March)

ROBINSON, Thomas, died in Winchester, Va., Wednesday, 1st March, in his 75th year. (11 March)

GREEN, Lewis, and Eliza Carey, were married Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. David F. Schaeffer. (18 March)

COLSTON, Mrs. Jane, wife of Edward Colston, Esq., and daughter of the late Charles Marshall, Esq., of Fauquier Court House, died at Honeywood, Berkeley Co., Va., 5th inst., in her 21st year. Her newborn baby died the Saturday following. (18 March)

FLEMING, Mr. Arthur, of this county, died Thursday, 9th inst., in his 60th year. (18 March)

JOHNSON, John, aged 56 years, died Saturday last, of the prevailing epidemic. (18 March)

DARNALL, Mrs. Rachel, widow of the late Thomas Darnall, died 17th inst., at an advanced age. (25 March)

KENEGE, John, Sr., died Friday last. (1 April)

BUTLER, Mr. Tobias, Clerk of the Frederick Co. Court, died Thursday last in this town. Within the last seven months, two clerks and one sheriff have died. (8 April)

GIST, Capt. Thomas, and Harriott Dorsey, both of this county, were married at Linganore, on Thursday, 6th inst., by the Rev. James L. Higgins. (15 April)

KOONTZ, Mrs. Margaret, consort of Henry Koontz, Esq., of this town, died Monday last, in her 49th year. (15 April)

NUSBAUM, John, aged about 70 years, and Miss Jane Evans, aged 27, both of this county, were married Thursday, 4th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Sneathen. (22 April)

HALL, Mrs. Jane, wife of Nicholas Hall, near New Market, died Thursday, 13th inst. (22 April)

THOMAS, Dr. Philip, died Tuesday last, in his 68th year. He was a native of Kent Co., and took an active part in our Revolutionary struggle. (long obit) (29 April)

MACKELFRESH, Mrs. Lydia, consort of Philip Mackelfresh, died 25th inst., in her 60th year. (29 April)

MCCANNON, James, died Tuesday last, near Westminster, in his 62nd year. (29 April)

BUTLER, Richard, Esq., Register of Wills, died Thursday last. (29 April)

THOMAS, John Hanson, son of the late (Dr. Philip) Thomas, died Tuesday, 2nd inst., in his 36th year. (long obit) (6 May)

HANTY (?), Daniel, of Frederick-town, and Maria, daughter of the late Dr. Peter Woltz of Hagerstown, were married 9th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Rauhauser. (20 May)

MACTIER, Henry, of Baltimore, and Miss Dorcas Johnson, daughter of Major Roger Johnson, of this county, were married Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Gibson. (3 June)

WINEBRENNER, Jacob, and Sophia, daughter of John Kephart, of this town, were married Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Jonathan Helfenstein. (10 June)

NELSON, Gen. Roger, of this place, died the night of the 7th inst. He served in the Revolution. (long obit). (10 June)

OWINGS, Edward, a native of Baltimore Co., died Friday, 2nd inst., in his 72nd year. (17 June)

BARTGIS, Benjamin F., and Miss Anna Haefner, were married 27th ult., by the Rev. Michael Meyerhoffer. (1 July)

CRAPSTER, Mrs. Harriott, wife of Basil Crapster, near Liberty-town, died Thursday, 3rd inst. (12 Aug.)

WOODWARD, Mr. Brinton, died Monday last, in this town, in his 26th year. His remains were interred with military honors. (12 Aug.)

CREAGER, Mr. George, Sr., died at Washington, 29th ult., in his 63rd years. (26 Aug.)

LEVY, Mr. Jonathan, died in Middletown, 17th inst., in his 32nd year. (26 Aug.)

TAYLOR, Mr. Bushrod, Esq., died Saturday, 26th Aug., at Morgan's Spring, his seat in Frederick Co., Va., leaving a wife and six children. (2 Sept.)

WEST, Jacob, Jr., and Susannah, daughter of John Gebhart, of this place, were married Thursday evening last, by the Rev. J. Helfenstein. (9 Sept.)

DERTZBACH, John, innkeeper of this place, died Saturday last. (30 Sept.)

LUGENBEAL, Moses, and Miss Eri M'Danial, daughter of William M'Danial, all of this county, were married Thursday, 5th inst. (21 Oct.)

WINTERS, Miss Caroline, died Saturday last, at the residence of Capt. William Campbell. (21 Oct.)

BENTZ, Jacob, died Tuesday last, in the vicinity of this town. (21 Oct.)

CUMMING, Major John, died at his residence in Liberty-town, 23rd ult., in his 35th year, leaving a widow and four children, and parents. (11 Nov.)

STECKELL, Solomon, and Margaret Doll, both of this town, were married 29th ult., by the Rev. J. Helfenstein. (11 Nov.)

MARKELL, John, and Catherine, daughter of Major Peter Mantz, all of this place, were married Sunday evening last, by the Rev. J. Helfenstein. (11 Nov.)

MURDOCH, George William, Esq., of this town, and Jacqueline, daughter of Gen. John Smith, of this place, were married Tuesday evening last, at Hackwood Park, near Winchester, Va. (11 Nov.)

GUNTON, William, and Miss Hetty Brown, all of this place, were married Thursday evening, by the Rev. P. Davidson. (11 Nov.)

O'NEILL, Mr. Bernard, died Saturday last, at his residence in Montgomery Co., in his 72nd year. (25 Nov.)

GOLDSBOROUGH, Dr. Richard, died the morning of the 11th inst., at his residence in Cambridge. (long obit.) (25 Nov.)

HEISELEY, Miss Caroline, daughter of Frederick Heiseley of this town, died Monday last, in her 16th year. (23 Dec.)

RECENT GENEALOGICAL ACCESSIONS

- Ardery, Mrs. William Breckenridge. *Kentucky Court and Other Records, Volume II*. Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co., 1972. Pp. 257. \$10.00.
- Barekman, June B. *John Barrickman and His Children of Shelby County, Illinois, son of Jacob Barrickman, Revolutionary Soldier . . . Georg Peter Bergman . . .* Chicago: 1972. Pp. 41. From the compiler, 3302 West Deversey Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60647. \$4.50.
- Brown, Mary J. *Handy Index to the Holdings of the Genealogical Society of Utah*. Logan, Utah: Everton Pub. 1971. Pp. 150.
- Carothers, Bettie Stirling. *Index to the 1810 Federal Census of Harford County, Maryland*. 1972. Pp. 32. From the compiler, 14423 Eddington Dr., Chesterfield, Mo. 63017. \$4.00.
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REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

New England Dissent, 1630-1833: The Baptists and the Separation of Church and State. By William G. McLoughlin. 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971. Pp. xxiii, 1324. \$35.00.)

This study is a significant contribution to the understanding of one of the most persistent and complex questions in American history, the separation of church and state. This issue has often been simplified and misunderstood. Some have explained separation in terms of the rationalistic spirit of the Enlightenment, as being the handiwork of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and their colleagues. Others have explained separation as the result of a prolonged struggle to achieve the principles enunciated by Roger Williams in the 1630's.

William G. McLoughlin of Brown University argues that neither of the above interpretations is wholly correct. He explains that the issue can best be understood as a combination of the rationalist and the pietist approach to the problem of what is God's and what is Caesar's. The rationalist maintained that each man should be free to follow his reason and convictions wherever they might lead—even to the establishment of a secular state. The pietist wanted a society where each person would be free to find his way to "true religion" as revealed in the Bible. Pietists never envisioned the creation of a secular state; they wanted a Christian state and believed that government had a duty to encourage religion by the enactment of Sunday blue laws and legislation against dueling, alcohol, and other social ills. McLoughlin claims that throughout American history the pietistic strain has been dominant; however, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries it "interacted" with the rationalist strain to achieve disestablishment.

The two century struggle in New England for the separation of church and state is described as a "conservative transformation" rather than a revolution. It was an extended and "piecemeal" struggle against the Congregational establishment to abolish compulsory public tax support for any or all denominations. Those active in this struggle included the Quakers, Baptists, Anglicans, Separates, Methodists, and Universalists. At various times different ones of these dissenter groups were more involved in the fray than the others. The fact that the dissenters were never able to unite in an assault on religious privilege helped to prolong the struggle to 1833.

Although the contest for religious liberty in New England was "primarily a neighborhood affair," it was fought on many levels: in the local church and parish, in England, in the courts, in the colonial assembly and state legislature, in pulpits and the press, in constitutional conventions, and in popular referendums. McLoughlin has combed church, parish, county, state, and court records for data on more than one hundred incidents which occurred between the established church and dissenters between 1630 and 1833. This data, which is presented chronologically and by colony or state, reveals the progress of the dis-

senters as they achieved varying degrees of toleration and finally religious freedom. The data also reveals the gradually changing status of the dissenters from a socially ostracized group to persons of respectability and equality.

This study focuses upon the Baptists, their beginnings, growth, factions, ecclesiastical organizations, and leaders; their transformation from a sect to a denomination. Although the Baptists were the most persistent group in the struggle for religious liberty in New England, there were times when the Quakers and Universalists were more involved than the Baptists in the fight to end religious discrimination. For many years the Baptists were more interested in "harmony" with the standing order than they were in separation. It was not until 1773 that the Baptists and their leading spokesman, Isaac Backus, became dissatisfied with toleration and began to champion "a clearly developed theory of complete separation of church and state."

The author's discussion of the Great Awakening is brief and he acknowledges that he has "relied heavily" on the writings of Alan Heimert and Richard Bushman for his interpretations of this event. The emergence of the Separates during the Great Awakening and their influence upon the standing order and the Baptists is carefully treated. Throughout the author has sought to relate the religious history of New England to the political, economic, and social history of the region and the nation. And his aim has been "toward . . . definity rather than interpretative generalization."

There are numerous interesting sidelights in these volumes; some relate to the Shakers and various fringe groups, others to the status of dissenters on the frontier areas of New Hampshire and Vermont, the attitude of the Unitarians toward disestablishment, the element of torquism among dissenters, and the unsteady alliance of pietist dissenters and rationalist politicians in the early nineteenth century.

This carefully planned and organized study gives the appearance of thoroughness; it is well documented and includes a thirty page index. The overall tone is one of restraint; the frequent summaries and conclusions are convincing; typographical errors are few. Professor McLoughlin has performed a distinct service to American historians. Whether their specialty is religious, social, intellectual, or political history they will appreciate the information and insights contained in these two volumes.

University of Richmond

W. HARRISON DANIEL

"Unite or Die: Intercolony Relations 1690-1763. By Harry M. Ward. National University Publications Series in American Studies. (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1971. Pp. viii, 323. \$13.95.)

As in a previous work, *The United Colonies of New England*, Mr. Ward has written a useful book for students of colonial history. He has chosen a neglected subject and collected much valuable information on it. Fully aware of the be-

wildering variety of influences that determined the amount of cooperation at any particular time, he discusses personal and colony jealousies, financial interests, and constitutional quarrels, and does not even neglect, as many have, the far-reaching influence of personal rivalries among leaders in England.

It is, however, this very emphasis on detailed reasons and failure to evaluate their relative importance that prevented Mr. Ward from accomplishing his main goal, an explanation of the relationship between "intercolonial cooperative action" and the later American union. Although he writes in the preface "If the acceptance of union during the American Revolution appears as a sudden shift from the colonial position only a few years before, it nevertheless was not accidental," he presents no clear thesis about why the change was a logical outcome of previous events. Had the colonists suddenly become fed up with the chaos of voluntary cooperation or had they been slowly developing the attitudes and forms of government necessary for union? Mr. Ward was hindered in his search for an explanation by his own bias in favor of union.

Because he is completely devoted to the need for union, he does not adequately assess the forces that were interfering with effective cooperation. He does not attempt to distinguish among the reasons given by the colonies for not acting in unison but assumes that all refusal to cooperate was equally irresponsible. Neither does he suggest which of these irresponsible reasons were most important and most pervasive. Although Mr. Ward may be correct in his assumption that lack of unity was the result of innumerable, petty, and ever-changing factors rather than fundamental and important needs and beliefs, proof of this assumption would have contributed greatly to the book's value in the continuing debates over the reasons for union in 1776 and 1787. In addition, some evaluation of the causes for disunion is essential for the development of a clear thesis about the change from disunion to union.

The organization of the book also interferes with the development of any such thesis. His division of the subject of military cooperation into nine topical chapters not only results in frequent repetition, but, more importantly, places emphasis on innumerable minor decisions rather than on the major forces that were aiding or preventing intercolonial cooperation. Many important situations are discussed piecemeal in several different chapters, and it is difficult for the reader to determine the effectiveness of voluntary cooperation, the development of different methods and forms of cooperative action, or the urgency of the problems that were forcing some kind of united action. Several of the last chapters suggest answers to these questions, but they are not sufficient in themselves.

The lack of clarity in Mr. Ward's thesis is compounded by the imprecision of his composition. He is careless in his choice of prepositions, occasionally confuses one word for a similar one, and uses awkward constructions such as the following, "But Bellomont's tenure was too short and his attention too diverted by bitter political factionalism for his being able to develop any intercolonial Indian policy." (p. 133) Good editing would have made this a much better contribution to colonial history.

The Life of Benjamin Banneker. By Silvio A. Bedini. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972. Pp. xvii, 434. \$14.95.)

On many counts, this is a good book which deserves the favorable attention it has begun to receive. It recounts the life and achievements of Benjamin Banneker who is properly described as "the first black man of science." Despite the importance of this study to the present generation, the surprise is not that no one wrote it before but that it could be written at all.

The first difficulty was to recover enough tracings of Banneker and his work. The lack, of course, is not a recent discovery; he was widely known and celebrated in his own day and scholars have been aware of him ever since. There never was, however, very much in the way of a written record of the man, and some of the most important related manuscripts have only recently emerged. This is Mr. Bedini's primary accomplishment; by diligent and long continued search, he uncovered in a variety of repositories more information than anyone had supposed existed.

Next, he put this together in what must be described—in the best sense of the term—as an imaginative reconstruction. Even after this successful, low-yield research, the specific facts about Banneker remain very few. Mr. Bedini has cherished each piece of evidence, almost like a jewel, and has placed it in a setting which reveals it as more significant than, separately, it would appear. Thus, he has written a fine description of slavery and indentured servitude in colonial Maryland (Banneker's maternal grandfather was an African-born slave and his grandmother a white indentured servant.) Similarly, Mr. Bedini provides essays on the Ellicotts in Maryland (George Ellicott, Banneker's neighbor, was an important patron), on the surveys of the site for the City of Washington on which Banneker assisted, and on the eighteenth century almanac.

The paucity of source materials relating directly to Banneker is dramatically demonstrated in an appendix of forty-five documents, most of them drawn from privately owned or obscure collections. Only a few were written by Banneker and hardly any to him. Most are by third parties, often acquainted with Banneker, but sometimes without even a mention of him. Fortunately, Mr. Bedini was aided by the work of Martha Tyson, George Ellicott's daughter, who collected reminiscences of those who had known Banneker.

Mr. Bedini's ability to squeeze each detail is well illustrated in his handling of Banneker's almanac. He lays to rest permanently the charges that Banneker may not have calculated the ephemeris, or astronomical predictions, himself. He found a valuable manuscript journal and a commonplace book as well as the texts from which Banneker worked out his solutions. From these and the almanacs, he has beautifully reconstructed this process and has demonstrated that although Banneker's work was occasionally less precise than other almanac calculations, he painfully found his own way to his results.

Banneker's participation in the survey of Washington is less well documented. Yet, despite the almost total lack of first-hand information about Banneker himself, Mr. Bedini constructs a very clear picture of what he did. Using primarily letters of Andrew Ellicott and formal records, the precise role of Banneker as

Ellicott's assistant is delineated. Because of his age and the state of his health he worked much in the tent on the calculations.

One of the most remarkable things about Banneker is that he was distinctly and understandably a product of his times. His interest in astronomy developed late in life. It was avidly encouraged not only by Ellicott but by many who were seeking evidences of black intellectual capacity. Indeed, except for the abolitionists, his almanac might never have been published. The big appeal even to the publishers was the fact that a black had made the calculations. Thomas Jefferson, like other intellectuals, was ambivalent on the debated question of black intellectual inferiority. Jefferson's reaction to Banneker is skillfully presented.

Indeed, the casual reader is likely to miss the character of Mr. Bedini's accomplishment. It was a major task to approach so emotion-laden a topic with so few sources and produce a thoroughly reliable work. His is a study of one of the most articulate of the "inarticulate" blacks of our early history. It rings true throughout and the record is important. Banneker the man emerges in believable guise—as a mild-mannered, self-effacing man who presented the image expected of him by white society, but who suppressed strong feelings and was impelled to his largest achievement, the almanac, partly by the wish to help American blacks.

New York University

BROOKE HINDLE

The Great Revival, 1787-1805: The Origins of the Southern Evangelical Mind.
By John B. Boles (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1972, Pp. xiii, 236. \$10.00.)

We are now in the midst of the second generation of American scholars attempting to "explain" the South, and only lately have these interpreters begun to heed Henry F. May's counsel of eight years ago that "the recovery of religious history" will illuminate several critical features in the development of the American ethos. John B. Boles, assistant professor of history at Towson State College, now adds to the researches of such writers as Kenneth K. Bailey and Samuel S. Hill, Jr., this perceptive account of a movement which was not only a "watershed in the religious history of the South" (p. 183) but a decisive factor in the shaping of what is most distinctive about southern culture. The fact that Maryland receives only passing mention should not repel readers who want to understand more about the character of the Free State.

There is a real need for this work. Among previous students of religion in the antebellum South, Catherine Cleveland was preoccupied almost solely with the frontier, Walter B. Posey with institutional church history, and Charles A. Johnson with the post-revival development of the camp meeting. In contrast with these, Boles identifies the social factors which would permit and encourage the rise of revivalism in the new nation, surveys the eastern antecedents of the Great Revival, documents the evangelical consensus emerging in the South, describes "Kentucky ablaze," and then carefully follows the spread of revivalism through

the "conquest" of the entire South. Succeeding chapters examine the revival's theological concepts, its institutional effects and social impact, and—most importantly—the continuing symbiotic relationship between romantic evangelicalism and the southern way of life. Boles argues that an almost exclusive emphasis on individual conversion exerted a reductionist force in many directions, turning ministers into evangelists, churches into voluntary societies of the converted, theology into folk belief, and concern for society into what Morison and Commager once called "a bastard Puritanism" that condoned slavery while it condemned dancing and card-playing. In his concluding chapter Boles suggests that the evangelical bodies which have dominated southern religion for more than a century and a half have been a major factor in supporting a sacral society marked by a petrified orthodoxy and a provincial folk culture astonishingly resistant to change. It is a harsh judgment, and one not made lightly; but it is supported by a growing number of responsible scholars.

Mr. Boles' study is based on solid research. He has exploited both primary materials and the relevant secondary literature with skill and integrity. I have no serious quarrel with his book, in either its descriptive or analytical modes, and this is chiefly because his presuppositions and method of doing religious history are very close to my own. We both assume that human behavior is significantly influenced by ideas, and that where there is a wide consensus of fundamental ideological conviction, this ineluctably creates a cultural force which historical interpretation may not slight. But I can foresee reservations on the part of scholars whose presuppositions run more to the primacy of prevenient social conditions as determinants of attitudes and actions, even of ideas; and such persons will probably criticize Boles for not having occupied himself more exhaustingly with tax records, voting lists, demographic changes, economic cycles, and whatnot. Others will be impatient with the minimal attention he gives to "primitive traits in religious revivals" and all the frisky psychological speculation such things invite. And I suppose that some will be disappointed at the absence of the old canard that in the revivals "more souls were begot than saved." Boles does not totally ignore these matters, and in places he deals perceptively (though briefly) with them; but nowhere does he make them strategic in developing his thesis. His assignment of causative force to ideas proceeds from a methodological decision about which he is completely candid; and while one may differ with it on philosophical grounds, I do not see how it can be faulted on the basis of historical evidence.

This essay was the author's doctoral dissertation at the University of Virginia. That fact obtrudes only in some unnecessary repetition (too many summaries, for example, of the evangelical consensus) and in the mechanical way of listing the sources consulted. The book is well manufactured, in a pleasing format, with *footnotes* where they belong, and with commendably few technical errors—though this reviewer wished for type a size or two larger.

The Dawn's Early Light. By Walter Lord. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co. Inc., 1972. Pp. 384. \$8.50.)

"These are the times that try men's souls," wrote Tom Paine when the fortunes of the Patriots were at their lowest ebb during the American Revolution. No such memorable lines were written about the War of 1812 or, as it is sometimes called, "The Second War of Independence." But the summer of 1814 was a time of peril and the American experiment in democracy was in great danger. Although some single ship victories had been won at sea, the American navy was bottled up and the whole east coast was effectively blockaded; along the Canadian border several efforts at offensive operations had produced only stalemate; the national treasury was empty; and the New England states were considering seceding from the Union. Yet by the beginning of the new year the British had been turned back before Baltimore and New Orleans, an honorable peace had been signed, and a new era of nationalism had been ushered in. *The Dawn's Early Light* tells the story of how this remarkable transformation took place.

The main outlines of the story have long been known but Lord's book makes a distinct contribution in at least two ways. In the first place he gives us the most detailed and accurate account of what happened on the battlefields around Washington and Baltimore during the summer and fall of 1814. Many eyewitness accounts are available to historians but they are usually fragmentary and often contradictory. By a painstaking, thorough, and critical sifting of surviving accounts Lord succeeds in piecing together a story that is fresh and absorbing.

Lord's second contribution is an indirect one: by showing who did what in a series of crises he throws much light on the character of the U.S. government and the strengths and weaknesses of the individuals who made up that government. For instance, at the battle of Bladensburg we find the President, armed with two dueling pistols, riding about trying to find out what is going on; his Secretary of State, James Monroe, is directing (or more accurately "misdirecting") troops as to their tactical positions; and the Secretary of War, John Armstrong, is simply sulking. After the British regulars swept the American militia from the field and marched on to put the torch to the nation's capital, the President is quoted as saying, "I could not have believed that so great a difference existed between regular troops and a militia force, if I had not witnessed the scenes of this day." Such an observation speaks volumes about the President and the government he headed.

The story of Baltimore was different. What the British did not understand (and do not understand to this day) is the nature of the Federal system. The citizens of Maryland might look on with indifference as the national capital went up in flames, but an attack on Baltimore was a different matter. In contrast to what happened at Washington, civic pride asserted itself and both the military and civilians gave a good account of themselves. Where confusion, bungling and even cowardice reigned in Washington, order, discipline and bravery saved Baltimore. Inspired by the turn of events Francis Scott Key did more than compose the words of the national anthem: he caught the spirit of a new era in American history.

The Ohio State University

HARRY L. COLES

The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic.
By David J. Rothman. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971. Pp. xx,
376. \$12.50.)

This is an immensely important book for understanding American society and thought, 1790-1850. It is a pioneering effort, with all the weaknesses as well as the strengths of that genre. Although intricate and detailed, Mr. Rothman's analysis of the emergence of asylums is a fascinating blend of institutional and intellectual history. Structurally, there are three parts: two brief chapters sketching seventeenth and eighteenth century background to the asylum movement; a lengthy description of four examples of the asylum movement (penitentiaries, almshouses, insane asylums, and child centered institutions); and two concluding chapters portraying the post-1850 development of asylums as custodial rather than reformist institutions.

The Discovery of the Asylum is a macrocosmic rather than a microcosmic analysis: it looks at four distinct areas within American society 1790-1850 and attempts to weave one explanatory web encompassing alterations in social thought and institutional practice. In this respect, a loss in continuity and development is counterweighted by a gain in our sense of the complex unity underlying treatment of the poor, insane, delinquent, and criminal elements of early nineteenth century America.

Rothman is quite successful at outlining the rise and fall of the asylum movement. Basically, the origin of asylums lay in changed notions of what to do with groups encountering increased difficulty surviving in the mainstream of society after 1790. American society was then undergoing rapid, pervasive transformation. Colonial solutions for the poor, delinquent, insane, and criminal came to be perceived as increasingly ineffective as social change accelerated, in part because too many of each group were too visible throughout the society. Attention turned to these groups and by the early 1820's many were probing the origins of "deviant behavior." As Rothman sees it, investigators assumed the innocence and essential goodness of human nature and thus focused upon environmental influences. Out of such analysis came the conception of the asylum as a controlled environment capable of retraining behavior patterns, a safe place to reform delinquent youth and criminals, instill good habits in the poor, and assist the mentally disturbed in their return to sanity. Asylum reformers also had larger goals in mind as they essentially saw themselves creating a new environment of deference to authority, regularity, conformity, and absolute obedience which would serve as the model for regulating the whole of American society.

But Rothman's basic intent (p. xvii) is to understand the meaning of the asylum movement for Jacksonian society. Here he is less successful. He has given us still another variation on the shopworn interpretation of the social thought of the period: asylum reformers respond to the rapid disintegration of an essentially agrarian, colonial society by creating a nostalgic vision of a golden age in the not too distant past. They then attempt to let this vision serve as their ideal to be realized in the not too distant future. Although fear and foreboding touch the American spirit deeply in the Jacksonian era, most people remain unmindful

of the fact that the society is becoming urban, industrial, and heavily commercial. Strangely enough, however, the means employed to realize their nostalgic vision are precisely those which most serve to acclimatize people psychologically to the city and the factory. We need to begin understanding this process rather than just outlining it.

Rothman believes that asylum reformers retained eighteenth century notions of social organization and simply wished to reinvigorate their validity in the face of the challenge of reality. But we will not begin to understand the meaning of this and other Jacksonian social and intellectual movements until we realize that what Rothman sees as a nostalgic eighteenth century vision was something very different. Here and in other spheres of Jacksonian culture after 1815 a new and essentially positive vision of a proper social order developed. Rothman understands well what asylum reformers were reacting against but fails to clarify what they were striving for.

Stockton State College

WILLIAM J. GILMORE

Yankee Cavalrymen: Through the Civil War with the Ninth Pennsylvania Cavalry.

By John W. Rowell. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1971. Pp. xii, 280. \$7.50.)

"Had to leave home and all That was near and dear to us and go forth in defense of our countrys Flag That Has been trampled in the dust by traitors."

With these words, young William Thomas left his central Pennsylvania farm in 1861 and enlisted in the Union army. He became a member of the 9th Pennsylvania Cavalry, one of the few eastern regiments that campaigned throughout the Civil War in the western theater. Indeed, the 9th Pennsylvania Cavalry covered as much, if not more, Confederate territory than any other Federal unit; and not once was its reputation ever tarnished. It held its own against such southern cavalry leaders as Bedford Forrest and John Hunt Morgan; it performed as valiantly against guerrillas in Kentucky and Tennessee as it did against organized Confederate forces at the battles of Perryville and Chickamauga; and it protected Sherman's flank during the march through the Carolinas.

The 9th Pennsylvania Cavalry justly received the accolades of a grateful nation. Yet in the past century its deeds and its history have been largely ignored. James Moore's hastily written memoir, *Kilpatrick and Our Cavalry* (1865), plus two short articles, were for years the only sources for this proud Keystone regiment.

John W. Rowell has done a creditable job in producing a regimental history of the 9th Pennsylvania Cavalry. The author acquired five manuscript collections of members of the regiment (one of whom was his grandfather). These letters and diaries form a broad base for the entire study. In addition, Rowell has made extensive use of the *Official Records* and other printed sources. The author's tendency on occasion to wander from the 9th Pennsylvania Cavalry is excusable because of the paucity of material on his subject.

The chief virtue of this study is the extent to which the author lets the soldiers tell their own story. Rowell is always willing to quote a soldier's letter or diary entry in lieu of using modern-day prose. The result is a history vivid, human, revealing, and long overdue. More unit histories of this caliber are badly needed in Civil War literature.

*Virginia Polytechnic Institute
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JAMES I. ROBERTSON, JR.

Merchants and Manufacturers: Studies in the Changing Structure of Nineteenth Century Marketing. By Glenn Porter and Harold C. Livesay. (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971. Pp. x, 257. \$11.50.)

Porter and Livesay's book represents a type of business history growing in importance—the history of business functions. Early work in the field of business history usually chronicled the rise, transformation, combination, and decline of individual firms and industries. Some of this work was of very high caliber, such as the history of Standard Oil by the Hidys or the history of the electrical industry by Harold C. Passer, to cite at random two volumes from a considerably longer list. But much of this literature, if not most, was rather superficial, external narrative which revealed little about the internal operations of the firms or industries concerned. Very occasionally an author would trace the development of a business function in a way which gave insight into the reason why firms and industries behaved in the way they did. An outstanding early example of this type of work is J. Owen Stalson's history of the marketing of life insurance. In the last decade or so historians have become more aware of the importance of tracing business functions as a means of explaining business behavior. Much work of this type has been done in finance; Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., has contributed some illuminating studies of business management, and Peter Temin has done important work in the field of iron and steel technology—again to cite random examples from a larger literature.

But Porter and Livesay have contributed one of the first, and probably the best, of a very few studies in marketing, and one which cuts across the lines of many nineteenth century industries. They show how, at the beginning of the century, the marketing of all manufactured products was carried out by the general merchant. They then go on to point out how the growing specialization in industry and the coming of the railroads forced the merchants to specialize also and to take up the particular jobbing trades which served individual industries. Jobbers came to exercise a large amount of control over the firms whose goods they sold because they not only were an indispensable nexus to markets, but increasingly became suppliers of components and raw materials, and—even more importantly—suppliers of capital from capital markets which were as inaccessible to manufacturers as the markets for their products.

But because of the rise of big business, easier availability of capital, and a change in the nature of industrial products, the jobber about mid-century began to lose his strategic advantage. In the steel industry and the railroad supply industry the smaller number of producers and purchasers could easily make contact with each other without the services of a middleman, and in any event would have to negotiate at first hand because of the complex and expensive nature of the new types of products turned out by these industries. So began the era of national marketing in which leading industries took over the marketing function themselves and dispensed with the services of jobbers. But the jobbers did not disappear entirely because in many consumer industries such as tobacco, groceries, jewelry, and drugs they could supply the very diffuse market of numerous small retailers cheaper than could the industries themselves.

Porter and Livesay's volume is important and illuminating because it broadens the view we have of the activities of jobbers and integrates their activities with the manufacturing function. Previous treatments have concentrated on their work as middlemen in marketing. Porter and Livesay give us the first comprehensive treatment of their actions as financiers and procurement agents. And in so doing our authors have created a new type of entrepreneur who stands as a bridge between the general merchants of the early nineteenth century and the big businessmen of the late nineteenth century.

*University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill*

ELISHA P. DOUGLASS

Maryland Folklore and Folklife. By George G. Carey. (Cambridge, Maryland: Tidewater Publishers, 1970. Pp. x, 98. \$3.00.)

A Faraway Time and Place: Lore of the Eastern Shore. By George G. Carey. (Washington and New York: Robert B. Luce, Inc., 1971. Pp. x, 256. \$6.95.)

These two books go a long way toward proving the author's contention that Maryland's folklore and folk culture are indeed rich. They are also examples of what other states could accomplish by establishing state agencies for the collecting and preservation of their folklore.

Maryland Folklore and Folklife grew out of Carey's work with the Maryland Folklore Commission. The book is at once a justification for the preservation of the folklore of the state and an anthology of materials already collected and deposited in the Maryland Folklore Archives in the Department of English, University of Maryland at College Park. In his introduction the author points out that Maryland as a border state offers excellent examples of folk cultures—the mingling of northern and southern language and culture traits; contrasts between urban and ethnic groups and rural occupational groups, mountain settlements and maritime occupations; river people and farm workers. The

second chapter on folklife in the state is illustrated with pertinent pictures. The remainder of the book contains extensive examples of folktales, folksongs, proverbs, riddles, games, and beliefs. The volume more than adequately serves as a sampling of the folklore of the state.

A Faraway Time and Place is Carey's more restricted study of the Eastern Shore, in particular "the white watermen" in "the region between the Nanticoke and the Pocomoke Rivers." For more than two years while teaching at the University of Maryland, Professor Carey made field trips to the area and gathered the material from which he has selected for this volume hero stories, tall tales, anecdotes and jests, legends, and popular beliefs. The materials from which he drew these selections are on deposit in the Maryland Folklore Archives. Carey's introduction to this volume recounts his experiences in ferreting out informants along the waterfront, in the crossroads stores, and on fishing boats; it is also a model for beginning collectors who set out to find folklore and, for that matter, anyone else who is concerned with collecting lore and oral history. His experience is a good example of the time, patience, and persistence required for such work. Perhaps the most interesting part of this book is the chapter entitled "Heroes: Saints, Strong Men, and Rogues," largely because the people whom Carey interviewed come to life in the stories they tell.

These books have both general and special appeal. The folklorist will find them good examples of American folk materials competently presented, and the general reader will find them readable and informative. Professor Carey's work illustrates the need for further collecting of regional lore.

University of Houston

JOHN Q. ANDERSON

Star-Spangled Books: Books, Sheet Music, Newspapers, Manuscripts, and Persons Associated With "The Star-Spangled Banner." Compiled by P. W. Filby and Edward G. Howard. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1972. Pp. xvi, 175. \$13.00.)

Star-Spangled Books is the latest in a series of excellent exhibition catalogues that have been issued by the Maryland Historical Society during recent years. The present catalogue, describing the books, sheet music, newspapers, manuscripts, persons, and memorabilia associated with our national anthem, has been compiled jointly by P. W. Filby, the Society's Director and Librarian, and Edward G. Howard,* distinguished book collector and the Society's Vice President and Consultant on Rare Books. The book has been elegantly designed and produced by the noted Baltimore printing house, Schneidereith & Sons.

The compilers state clearly at the outset that this is not a bibliography of the "Star-Spangled Banner." This does not, however, lessen its importance and value as a bibliographical tool that goes far beyond the usual exhibition catalogue in

* Editor's note: Mr. Howard passed away September 1, 1972.

annotation and comprehensiveness. For instance, in an attempt towards completeness, the compilers have included items that were not included in the exhibition held at the Maryland Historical Society in 1969, the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the Society's founding. Further, through some very able detective work, the compilers have answered a surprisingly large number of longstanding questions concerning the writing and publication of the poem. Not all could be answered conclusively due to lack of evidence, but where an answer is inferred from circumstantial evidence it is clearly stated as such.

The book is divided into thirteen sections. The catalogue itself is included in the final six sections. The first seven are devoted chiefly to narratives dealing with various historical aspects of the period, the writing and earliest publication of the poem and of the music to which it was put.

Section III contains splendidly written, short biographical sketches of the principals involved in the events surrounding the writing and publication of "The Star-Spangled Banner." These were written by Nancy and John Boles, respectively the Society's Curator of Manuscripts and Book Review Editor. Section IV, by Harold R. Manakee, Director Emeritus of the Society, graphically recounts the exciting historical background against which the poem was written—the Battle of Baltimore in September, 1814, and Francis Scott Key's part in securing the release of his friend, Dr. William Beanes, who had been taken prisoner by the British. Section V, "Some Facts About a Legend," written primarily by Mr. Howard, is (1) a detailed analysis of Key's movements from the time of his arrival in Baltimore on September 4, to September 16, when he returned to Baltimore aboard the flag-of-truce vessel with Dr. Beanes; (2) an account of the writing and publication of the Star-Spangled Banner; (3) a short note on the change of title from "Defence of Fort M'Henry" to "The Star-Spangled Banner"; and (4) a discussion on the tune "To Anacreon in Heaven" to which Key's poem was put, demonstrating that Key certainly knew the music before writing his now famous poem. Section VI, is an able analysis, primarily by Mr. Filby, of the earliest texts of the poem, and section VII is an essay, by the late Charles S. Kent, on "The Anacreontic Song."

The portion of the book containing the catalogue entries are: VIII, Books, Broad-sides, Pamphlets, and Magazines; IX, Newspapers; X, Sheet Music; XI, Manuscripts; XII, Graphics; XIII, Miscellaneous. A total of one hundred and seventy items are listed and described in these sections. Each entry is annotated with the more significant ones receiving especially full treatment. Books and pamphlets are collated both by pagination and by signature.

The index, by Edgar G. Heyl, is well done and includes a separate section indexing printers, publishers, and book and music sellers.

Altogether, this is a superbly compiled and produced volume for which we are indebted to the Maryland Historical Society. It is indeed appropriate that our National Anthem is finally treated in so admirable a fashion.

2,000 Years of Calligraphy; A Three-Part Exhibition Organized by The Baltimore Museum of Art, The Peabody Institute Library [and] The Walters Art Gallery; June 6-July 18, 1965. A Comprehensive Catalog. [Compiled by Dorothy E. Miner, Victor I. Carlson, and P. W. Filby.] (reprint, Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1972; originally published 1965. Pp. 201. \$17.50.)

If Baltimore has become "the center of calligraphy in America," as proclaimed by John Carter, a British expert, it is because of P. W. Filby. As Assistant Director of the Peabody Library, before he came to the Maryland Historical Society, he organized three fine exhibitions of calligraphy. The exhibition cataloged and illustrated in this volume, with magnificent specimens of western world penmanship, climaxed the series. The Peabody, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore Museum of Art, other collections in the United States and Europe, and some of the ablest living calligraphers all contributed to the richness of the show and the book.

Working with Mr. Filby as compilers of the catalog were Dorothy E. Miner, Librarian and Keeper of Manuscripts, Walters Art Gallery, and Victor I. Carlson, Curator of Prints and Drawings, Baltimore Museum of Art. The combined knowledge and taste of these experts has resulted in a volume broad in scope and useful to all interested in the subject. Their introductions and thumbnail sketches constitute a concise history of calligraphy in the western world and a who's who of the supreme masters of the art. And the compilers have provided a helpful index.

I was struck by the infinite resourcefulness of calligraphers in creating marvelous variations on twenty-six letters, now with elegant restraint, but often embellishing their work with fanciful flourishes and curlicues to delight the eye and sometimes to tickle the funny bone.

The book is enhanced by the lettering of two outstanding contemporary American calligraphers on the handsome cover, the title page, and the headings. It is a superior example of what Maryland talent and imagination can produce.

Enoch Pratt Free Library

EDWIN CASTAGNA

Hilton Heritage. By Bayly Ellen Marks. (Catonsville, Md.: Catonsville Community College Press, 1972. Pp. [vi], 50. \$1.50.)

When any institution or business expands, the normal course has usually been to demolish indiscriminately any old buildings that stood in the way. Recently we have come to recognize the intrinsic value of these older buildings, even those which require extensive renovation before they resemble their former state. In an architectural and fiscal age that often demands plastic, plywood, and tacky tack, substantial buildings of brick, stone, and solid wood beams exemplify taste and quality. Fortunately the administration of Catonsville Community College recognized the merit of the "Hilton" estate on their property. Bayly Ellen Marks,

an instructor of history at the college, has produced an admirably complete account of the origin, development, decay, and renaissance of stately "Hilton." She describes the location, and shows how the land tracts were patented and acquired in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The various men and families who built the comfortable home are interestingly sketched. The careers of the owners, and consequently "Hilton," have fallen and risen through the years, as Miss Marks makes clear. The mansion and its appurtenances evolved slowly, and the reader is led, via maps, photographs, and text, carefully from 1678, when the area was first surveyed, to 1963, when the college purchased the remaining estate. Members of the Catonsville community will enjoy this booklet, as will many others. Moreover, all proceeds derived from its sale will aid the restoration of the original "Hilton" buildings on the Catonsville Community College campus.

Towson State College

JOHN B. BOLES

BOOK NOTES

Methodist Trail Blazer, Philip Gatch 1751-1834. His Life in Maryland, Virginia and Ohio. By Elizabeth Connor. (Cincinnati: Creative Publishers, Inc., 1970. Pp. xii, 244. \$7.00.) Too often denominational biography, like denominational history, has been marred by narrow pietism, deadly style, a surfeit of detail, and an absence of interpretation and historical context. Happily this biography of Philip Gatch avoids these failings and adds significantly to our knowledge of Gatch and early Methodism. Skillfully using printed sources and privately held manuscripts, the author has portrayed Gatch with genuine understanding. She also relates his career to the birth and evolution in America of his denomination. Francis Asbury, the Christmas Conference, the O'Kelly schism, Methodist attitudes toward slavery, the denomination's system of circuit riders—all are competently discussed in this study. Since Gatch's early career centered in Maryland and Virginia, the readers of this *Magazine* will find Miss Connor's work of unusual interest. Because she has chosen to elucidate Gatch's life against his historical background, she has also produced a study that historians of American religion will appreciate.

The Old South: A Psychohistory. By Earl E. Thorpe. (Durham, N. C.: [Harrington Publications], 1972. Pp. xii, 313. \$8.75.) This eccentric book appears to be neither history nor psychology, but a strange blend of both to explain "the psychological exploitation of each race by the other." The foreword proclaims the book to be "probably the first scholarly attempt to connect the thoughts of Sigmund Freud and Southern and Black Studies." Psychohistory with a passion, it abounds with such incredible statements as "The paternalistic slaveowner was a phallic personality. . . ." Some will find this an intriguing if unorthodox treatment of old themes; most will be happy to have been forewarned.

The Historian's Handbook. A Descriptive Guide to Reference Works. By Helen J. Poulton. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972. Pp. xi, 304. Paper, \$4.95.) For most historians, especially beginners, this is a highly valuable reference volume. It is an unusually complete guide to the multitude of bibliographies, encyclopedias, yearbooks, gazetteers, legal codes, and catalogs of government publications which fill the reference rooms of large libraries. Experience, rumor, and tenacity have formerly led historians to whatever reference riches they found. This superbly indexed volume will be a godsend to the uninitiated.

English Defenders of American Freedoms, 1774-1778: Six Pamphlets Attacking British Policy. Compiled by Paul H. Smith. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1972. Pp. [x], 231. \$2.75.) This reprinting of six rare pamphlets illustrates both the significance of recent scholarship in intellectual history to illuminate the coming of the American Revolution, and the need for historians to examine with equal care the English "intellectual ferment" that preceded and accompanied the struggle. Cogent introductions by the compiler, complete with photographic

reproductions of the title pages, add to the value of this publication sponsored by the American Revolution Bicentennial Office. It may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402.

William Cobbett and the United States, 1792-1835: A Bibliography with Notes and Extracts. By Pierce W. Gaines. (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1971. Pp. xxi, 249. \$17.50.) William Cobbett was a pamphleteer of irrepressible pugnacity and incomparable ability in an age of great pamphleteering. He ripped into the heroic figures of his time with reckless abandon, first defending one side of the political spectrum, and then—late in life—the other. Finally we have a bibliography of all his works relating to America, regardless of where they were written or published. It also includes works by others printed by Cobbett, together with writings about him while he was in this country. Each work is described with exact bibliographical precision, a copy is located, and its flavor often revealed through apt quotation. The volume contains a selected bibliography of secondary materials, a short title list, an excellent index of names, and several pertinent appendixes. It is, in brief, a model bibliography.

Hereditary Register of the United States of America. Edited by J. G. R. Rountree and C. O. Johnson. (Washington: United States Hereditary Register, Inc., 1972. Pp. 474. \$25.00.) This is the initial attempt to issue a book of social and professional reference comparable to Burke's *Landed Gentry of Great Britain*. It has two sections; the first is devoted to hereditary societies, and the second has individual listings of prominent officers and members. There will undoubtedly be some controversy over the names chosen or omitted, but some changes can be made in the 1973 edition. [P. W. Filby]

Genealogies in the Library of Congress: A Bibliography. (Baltimore: Magna Carta Book Co., 1972. 2 vols. Pp. 1866. \$125.00.) The present work brings up to date (1971) the printed Library of Congress bibliographies of 1910 and 1919, with the micro-card edition of 1954. It is a complete file of the family name index in the Local History and Genealogy Room of the Library of Congress. Over 20,000 items are treated, and with them a 25,000 cross reference index. It is thus one of the most important genealogical reference works to be published in this century. [P. W. Filby]

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE CALVERT PAPERS

The Maryland Historical Society has received a grant from the National Historical Publications Commission to microfilm the Calvert papers. Any researcher intending to use this material should contact the editor before coming to the Society. Processing and filming schedules will necessitate closing parts, and at times, all of the collection.

Gary Arnold, Editor
Calvert papers

NATHANAEL GREENE PAPERS

The Rhode Island Historical Society, with the support of the National Historical Publications Commission and the co-sponsorship of the Clements Library at the University of Michigan, is engaged in collecting photocopies of all extant papers of the Revolutionary General, Nathanael Greene (1742-1786). The assembling of photocopies of original manuscripts is preliminary to a letterpress edition of selected papers to be published in several volumes during the next five years and an eventual microfilm edition of all manuscript material that will be excluded from the printed volumes.

It would be appreciated if anyone possessing letters to or from Greene or having knowledge of such letters in private hands (or in public repositories whose holdings are not listed in the National Union Catalog) would notify The Rhode Island Historical Society. Please address communications to: Richard K. Showman, Editor, Nathanael Greene Papers, 52 Power Street, Providence, Rhode Island, 02906.

THE ANDREW JACKSON PAPERS

Under the editorship of Professor Sam B. Smith, work has begun on *The Papers of Andrew Jackson* project. The project is sponsored by The Ladies' Hermitage Association, The University of Tennessee at Nashville, The Tennessee Historical Commission, and The National Historical Publications Commission. For many years The National Historical Publications Commission has cited the pressing need for an edition of the seventh President's papers. The publication of the initial volume in the series is anticipated in 1978; it is expected that the monumental series will contain 50 volumes when completed. Professor Sam B. Smith is on the history staff of The University of Tennessee at Nashville. Publishers of the project will be The University of Tennessee Press, who are also the publishers of *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*.

SCHLITT FAMILY

Information wanted to clear up genealogical puzzle of two men with the same name. Any descendants of JOSEPH SCHLITT who came to Baltimore from Hesse in 1834 and in 1839, or anyone with the name Schlitt, please contact:

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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, 1968 . . . \$ 1.50
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
Indians of Early Maryland. By Harold R. Manakee. 1959 \$ 2.00
Maryland in the Civil War. By Harold R. Manakee. 1961 \$ 5.00
Wheeler Leaflets on Maryland History. (24 titles) each \$.10
Master's Theses and Doctoral Dissertations on Maryland History. Richard R. Duncan and Dorothy M. Brown, comp. 1970 \$ 2.00

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 \$10.00
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
The Extinct Medical Schools of Baltimore, Maryland. By Harold J. Abrahams, Illustrated, 1969 \$10.00
Quakerism on the Eastern Shore. By Kenneth Carroll. Illustrated. 1970 \$12.50
Joshua Johnston, the First American Negro Portrait Painter. By J. Hall Pleasants. Reprint. Illustrated. 1970 \$ 1.00
Parade of Maryland Fashion. Catalog of costume exhibit. Illustrated. 1970 \$ 1.00
A. Hoen on Stone. By Lois B. McCauley. Catalog of lithograph exhibition. Illustrated. 1969 \$ 2.50
American and British Genealogy P. W. Filby, comp. 1970 \$10.00
Bodine: A Legend in His Time. By Harold A. Williams. Illustrated. 1971 \$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

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