
MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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Contest of 1859-1860
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William Lloyd Garrison in Baltimore,
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David K. Sullivan



Anna Ella Carroll

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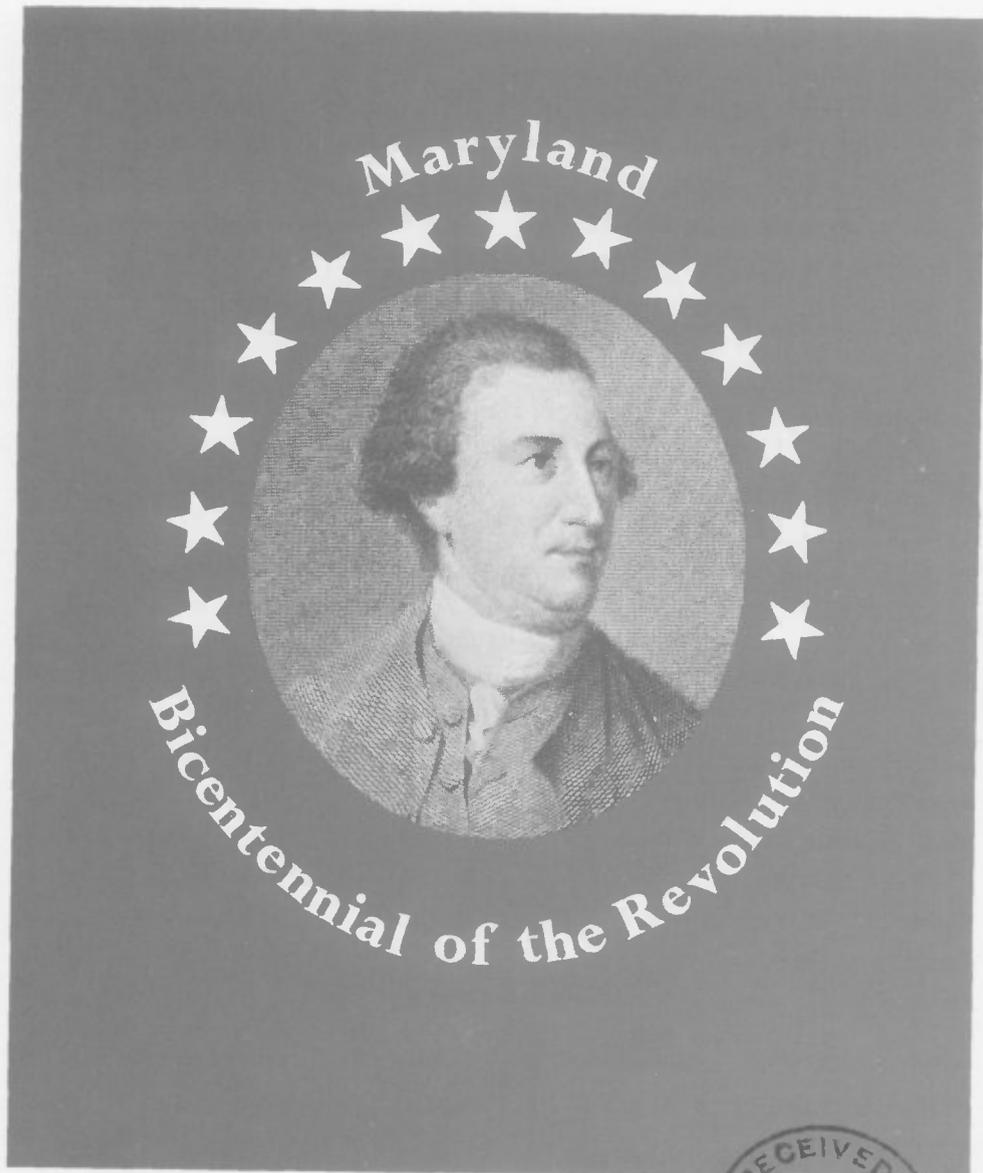
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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

William Paca (1740-1799)



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Henry Winter Davis and the Speakership Contest of 1859–1860

GERALD S. HENIG

IN DEALING WITH the House Speakership contest of 1859–1860, students of antebellum political history have entirely neglected to analyze the role played by Congressman Henry Winter Davis of Maryland.¹ This is somewhat surprising since it was Davis who, by casting his ballot for the Republican candidate, William Pennington, was responsible for breaking the grueling and turbulent eight-week-long deadlock. Yet the fact remains that scholars of the period have failed to explain why Davis crossed party lines, severely jeopardized his own political career, and subjected himself to a storm of abuse—all a result of his voting for the “Black Republican” candidate. For that matter, even his contemporaries found his conduct in the Speakership contest almost inexplicable. “Of H. Winter Davis I saw a good deal that winter,” wrote young Charles Francis Adams, Jr. “I don’t know what his game was; but, with him, I imagine it was all a game.”² More reflective observers were also at a loss to explain Davis’ behavior. The Washington cor-

¹See, for example, James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States From the Compromise of 1850 to the Final Restoration of Home Rule at the South in 1877* (7 vols., New York, 1907–1920), II, pp. 417–428; Roy Franklin Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York, 1948), pp. 270–276; Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln* (2 vols., New York, 1950), II, pp. 116–124; Ollinger Crenshaw, “The Speakership Contest of 1859–1860; John Sherman’s Election A Cause of Disruption?” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXIX (Dec., 1942), pp. 323–338.

²Charles F. Adams, Jr., *An Autobiography* (Boston, 1916), p. 46.

Henry Winter Davis. *Library of Congress*

respondent for the *New York Times* could do little better than to list several motives which he gleaned from rumors circulating throughout the capital. Davis' vote for Pennington, he reported, "is variously regarded: first as a bid for Republican support to retain him in his seat [Davis' recent election was being contested on the grounds of fraud and violence]; secondly as a bid for the Attorney-Generalship under a Republican President [the election was only ten months away]; and lastly, as resulting from a Plug-Ugly nature perverted into the channels of philanthropic heresy [Davis was a member of the nativist and anti-Catholic Know-Nothing party]."³

Actually these considerations exerted no influence on Davis' vote. What was in fact uppermost in his mind when he cast that decisive ballot was the effect it would have on helping to unite the anti-Democratic elements of the South (old-line Whigs and Know-Nothings) with the Republican forces of the North. The Marylander hoped that by breaking the deadlock in favor of Pennington it would cause the Republicans to reevaluate their position and possibly seek an alliance with the anti-administration men below the Mason-Dixon line. Such a coalition,

³*New York Times*, Feb. 3, 1860.

Davis believed, could easily defeat the Democrats in the forthcoming Presidential election.⁴

The formation of this “united opposition”—Davis often referred to it—was something which he had been working on for the past year and a half.⁵ Although many of his followers regarded his project as unfeasible, few were willing to break their ties with him. Indeed, Davis was an extraordinary man. Handsome, self-confident, and cultivated, his wide knowledge and electrifying oratory earned him the respect of friend and foe alike. In 1860, at forty-three years of age, he was considered “one of the most striking and graceful men on the floor [of the House]—certainly not surpassed by any member.”⁶

For the most part, Davis’ plan for a union of all anti-Democrats was a natural outgrowth of his overall political perspective—a perspective which was largely shaped during his formative years. “*My son, beware of the follies of Jacksonism,*” his father had warned him, and he never forgot it.⁷ Like many other border state Whigs, Davis had grown up “to despise a Democrat as the meanest and most despicable of creatures.”⁸ To him, they were the cause of every evil, and consequently their power would have to be destroyed. Davis was willing to employ all means and to ally himself with all persons to achieve this objective. In the early 1850’s, when the old Whig organization collapsed, he joined the Know-Nothings in order to continue the battle against the hated Democrats. During the Speakership controversy of 1855–1856—his first term in Congress—Davis steadfastly refused to vote for the so-called Southern candidate, William Aiken, a Democrat from South Carolina. By a narrow margin, Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts emerged the victor. Aiken, however, was given every vote from the slave states except the one cast by Davis and another border state congressman.⁹ Outraged by Davis’ lack of fidelity “*to the interests of the section which he represents,*” the Southern press bitterly condemned his actions. Several of Davis’ supporters tried to defend him, explaining that his “‘insane and inveterate’ hatred” of the Democratic party prevented him from casting his ballot for the Carolinian. But Southern fire-eaters merely regarded this explanation as a “flimsy pretext” for sectional disloyalty.¹⁰

By the latter part of the decade, with the demise of Know-Nothingism, the Maryland congressman had come to the conclusion that the only way to defeat the Democrats for the Presidency in 1860 (and in the process to still the dangerously

⁴Gerald S. Henig, “Henry Winter Davis: A Biography” (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1971), pp. 166, 175–176.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 148–157, 165.

⁶*New York Times*, Feb. 3, 1860.

⁷“Autobiography of Henry Winter Davis,” chapt. i, p. 5, Henry Winter Davis Papers, MS. 286, Md. Hist. Soc., Baltimore.

⁸Henry Adams, *The Great Secession Winter of 1860–1861 and Other Essays*, ed. by George Hochfield (New York, 1958), p. 15. See also Henig, “Henry Winter Davis,” pp. 6–7, 8–9, 12, 21, 33.

⁹Davis and Elisha Cullen of Delaware voted for the Know-Nothing candidate, Henry M. Fuller of Pennsylvania. *Congressional Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 337–342 (February 2, 1856).

¹⁰*Charleston Courier*, in *New York Times*, Jan. 21, 1857; *Baltimore American*, Feb 2, 1860.

increasing sectional discontent) was to create a united opposition. Confronted by a combination of Southern anti-administration men and Northern Republicans, the Democratic party, in Davis' opinion, would be "*destroyed* in the north & silenced in the south..."¹¹

In December 1858 Davis wrote to Amos A. Lawrence, a conservative politician from Boston, outlining the course of action to be pursued. The Know-Nothings and Republicans in Congress, he emphasized, had already scored a major triumph over James Buchanan's administration by preventing the admission of Kansas under the proslavery Lecompton Constitution. They should continue "to act together & vote together...till a sense of community of interest & sympathy from common victory & defeats efface the old standing line of division which the predominance of the slavery contest has made the boundary of party relations. . . ."¹²

With the reconvening of the Thirty-fifth Congress on December 6, 1858, Davis felt confident that his political hopes for the future could be realized. "To day Congress met," he informed his friend Samuel F. Du Pont, "the 2d Session of Buchanan's first Cong.; & a funny aspect it bore. All the opposition in high glee—every anti-Lecompton Democrat who voted against the Prest, returned by the opposition to the next House & in *this one* destroying the Dem. Majority.... Scarce 20 Dems. from the whole north will be in the next Cong.; &...there is every prospect of a union of the whole opposition...in 1860."¹³

The session, however, did not measure up to Davis' expectations. It soon became apparent that the unity achieved on the Lecompton issue was only temporary. Despite Davis' efforts, Southern anti-Democrats refused to side with the Republicans on such key legislative matters as the protective tariff and the agricultural land bill.¹⁴ While this was clearly a setback, Davis was far from discouraged, particularly in view of developments outside of Congress.

Throughout the spring and summer of 1859 the movement for a united opposition attracted wide attention. In several Southern states it was taken up with considerable enthusiasm.¹⁵ To Davis' great satisfaction, the members of the Know-Nothing State Council of Maryland, assembling in Baltimore on April 6, passed a resolution in which they proposed to cooperate with the anti-Democratic forces in every state for the purpose of nominating and electing a President and Vice President of the United States. The moderate men of Maryland were in full agreement with the proposition. Extreme proslavery advocates, on the other hand, viewed the platform as a call for a "*union with the Abolitionists.*" Augustus R. Sollers, a former Whig congressman from southern Maryland, was typical of those who were hostile to the resolution formulated by the Know-Nothing

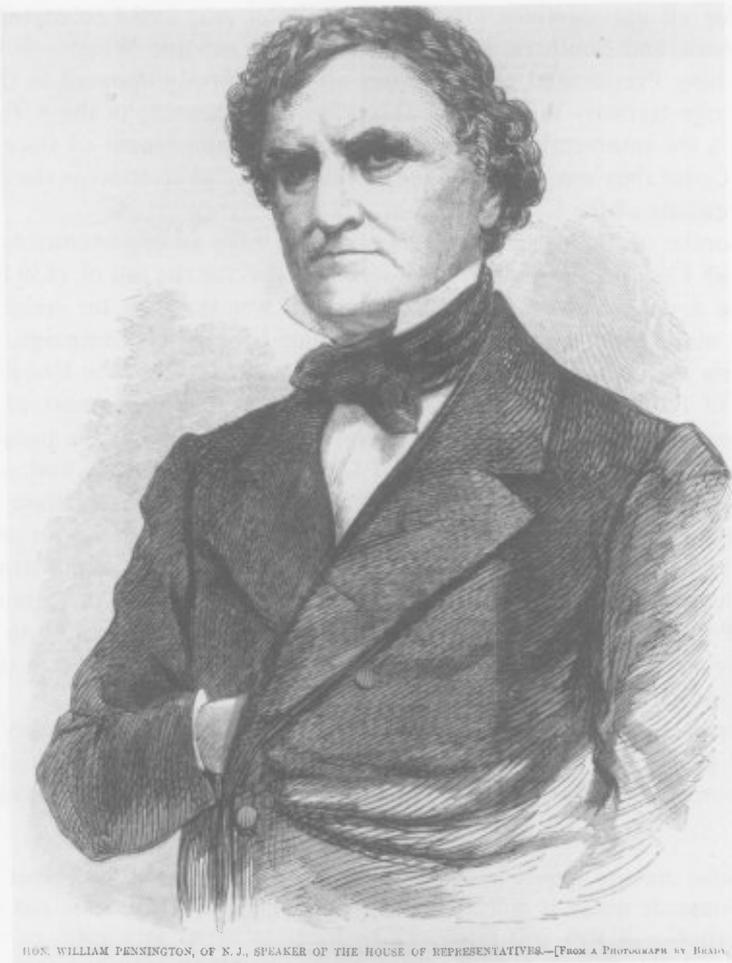
¹¹Davis to S. F. Du Pont [Dec., 1857], May 2, 1858, Samuel F. Du Pont Papers, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Delaware.

¹²Davis to Amos A. Lawrence [December, 1858], Amos A. Lawrence Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

¹³Davis to S. F. Du Pont, Dec. 6, 1858, Du Pont Papers.

¹⁴*Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 1194-1197 (Feb. 21, 1859), pp. 1409-1414 (Feb. 26, 1859), p. 1677 (March 3, 1859).

¹⁵Arthur C. Cole, *The Whig Party in the South* (Washington, 1913), pp. 333-334.



1108. WILLIAM PENNINGTON, OF N. J., SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—[FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY HEALD.]

William Pennington. *Library of Congress*

leaders. "I regard the action of the State Council as a deliberate and premeditated attempt to organize an Abolition party in this State," Sollers declared. And he went on to pledge his support to the Democratic party, "in spite of the prejudices engendered by twenty years of active opposition..."¹⁶

Davis anticipated the defection of men like Sollers. He was certain, however, that they represented a minority of the anti-Democratic elements in the South. His point of view was evidently shared by Horace Greeley, the nationally known editor of the *New York Tribune*. It was essential, Greeley emphatically wrote in

¹⁶A Citizen of Baltimore County, *An Earnest Appeal to Men of all Parties, Opposed to an Affiliation With the Abolitionists* [Baltimore? 1859?], pp. 5-6.

late July, for all anti-administration men—Republicans, anti-Lecompton Democrats, Northern and Southern Know-Nothings, and old-line Whigs—to unite for the approaching Presidential contest. They all stood firmly opposed to the acquisition of foreign territory suitable for slavery, to the reopening of the African slave trade, and to the intervention of Congress for the establishment of slavery in the territories. Could they not combine, the editor asked, “to overthrow the Nullifiers and Propagandists of the Calhoun school...?”¹⁷

The electorate, or at least part of it, would soon have an opportunity to respond to this appeal. Congressional elections were scheduled for the fall of 1859 in several states of the upper South. In fact, Davis himself was standing for reelection and intended to make the proposed coalition a major issue of his campaign. On September 5, less than a week after receiving the nomination from the Know-Nothing convention of Baltimore’s fourth district,¹⁸ he spoke to a large mass of his constituency assembled at the Maryland Institute. “[T]wo-thirds of the people of the United States,” he insisted, “are weary of Democratic domination, and anxious to expel them from power. So were they in 1856—and failed. A like failure will wait on a like policy: and disasters which no tongue can tell will plague us for our folly.” If the “union of the whole body of those opposed to the administration...of President Buchanan... be not effected,” Davis gravely warned, “a Democrat will be elected President by the people in 1860, and to the country it is of no moment who that Democrat may be; for the system of the Democrats is worse than their worst man and stronger than their best man.”

Those forces opposed to the “ruinous, agitating, and corrupt policy” of the Democratic party, therefore, must unite for the approaching Presidential contest. “None is more anxious for this union of the Opposition than I am,” Davis frankly admitted.

The Opposition are now largely in the majority in the free States; it has gained greatly in the slave States. If united it will be in the majority in every free State and in several Southern States.... If they will meet with us freely to agree on a man, as the Whigs North and South did, without platforms, then we can and ought to unite....

Of course, he carefully added, the anti-Democratic forces of the South “will fully protect the interests of the slaveholders against every aggression.... We do not agree with Northern men about slavery; nor do we agree with the extreme views of Southern Democratic politicians. On *that vexed* question our policy is to oppose *all* agitation—all aggression, from the North or the South—all schemes, direct or indirect, to alter by Congress the actual condition of the Territories, and the actual prohibition of the slave trade with Africa.... We will unite with anyone who will join us in preventing *any* change. Then will we have peace.... If you do not wish

¹⁷*New York Tribune*, July 25, 1859.

¹⁸The district was composed of the ninth to twentieth wards of the city, commonly referred to as the “upper wards.”



William Aiken. *Library of Congress.*

me to labor for such a result," Davis earnestly concluded, "do not send me to Washington."¹⁹

Until mid-October, Davis' reelection seemed beyond doubt. Moreover, his eloquent appeals in behalf of a united opposition elicited warm approval. Then, suddenly, disaster struck. On the evening of October 16, the fanatical abolitionist, John Brown, led an assault upon Harpers Ferry in nearby Virginia. Although the raid was quickly suppressed, it destroyed all possibilities of creating a national anti-Democratic coalition. Most Southerners were now frightened as well as infuriated; many assigned to the Republican party a large share of the blame for the incident.²⁰

Despite the turn of events, Davis was able to win reelection. His victory, however, was in no way an endorsement of him or his policies. The election, held on November 2, was the most lawless and riotous that Baltimore had ever experienced. The Know-Nothing clubs, infamous for their violent tactics, unleashed a reign of terror upon the city. Voters opposed to Know-Nothing candidates were beaten, pricked with awls, stabbed, shot, and several killed. According to the editor of the *Baltimore Sun*, the entire city was "literally disfranchised, defied, and laid helpless and prostrate at the feet of violent men."²¹

Driven by an inordinate hatred for his political foes, Davis was simply blinded to the crimes committed by the Know-Nothings. In fact he was sure that the events of

¹⁹*Baltimore Patriot*, in *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, Sept. 24, 1859.

²⁰Nevens, *Emergence of Lincoln*, II, 85–86, 104–105; Cole, *Whig Party in the South*, 336.

²¹*Baltimore Sun*, Nov. 3, 4, 5, 7, 1859; J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore: Being A Complete History of "Baltimore Town" and Baltimore City From the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Baltimore, 1874), pp. 570–574; Benjamin Tuska, "Know-Nothingism in Baltimore, 1854–1860," *Catholic Historical Review*, new series, V (July, 1925), pp. 242–244.

that bloody November 2 were not the fault of his supporters. The trouble, he wrote to a friend, was "chiefly occasioned by the incendiary & violent appeals of our opponents—followed up by a fair share of violence on their part."²²

In any case, Davis viewed his reelection as a mandate to continue his efforts toward the formation of an anti-Democratic coalition. To be sure, John Brown's raid had clearly reduced his chances for success. But all was not yet lost. Davis was hoping that the pending Speakership contest would once again point up to Republicans and Southern anti-Democrats alike the necessity for a united opposition.²³

Shortly before the opening of Congress, Davis met with Horace Greeley in New York. Much of their conversation centered around the anticipated struggle in the House. It was plain that no party would be able to muster the majority necessary to elect a presiding officer. The Republicans would have 109 members, the Democrats 101, and the Know-Nothings and Whigs, largely from the South, 27. In order to succeed, either of the two major parties would have to engineer an alliance with the Know-Nothing-Whig group. Davis informed Greeley that he was "anxious to fuse," but wanted it understood that if he helped to elect a Republican Speaker, his party must receive due recognition. More specifically, the Baltimore representative wanted Henry W. Hoffman, a Know-Nothing who had recently been defeated for Congress in Maryland, elected as Clerk of the House. This would go far toward solidifying a union of all anti-Democrats. Fully in agreement with these objectives, the editor of the *Tribune* promised to use his influence in support of them.²⁴ Davis was pleased with the response. He would soon find out, however, that very few others were as willing to commit themselves as quickly as Greeley had done.

Not long afterwards, Davis conferred with several Republican members of the congressional delegation from Pennsylvania. The Democrats, he told them, were continuously invoking the Harpers Ferry incident; the Southern anti-administration men were being frightened away from supporting any Northern Speaker. The Pennsylvanians would have "to take the lead & insist on a common candidate of the opposition." If they would do so, he argued, they could attract enough votes for a Northern man and elect him Speaker. This "will demoralize the Democrats & defeat them before the Presidential canvass is even opened." Davis received some half-hearted assurances from one or two of the congressmen, but nothing more.²⁵

Nor did he receive much encouragement when the Know-Nothing representatives met in caucus in early December 1859. The Southern members of the faction refused to vote for any Republican. No candidate was decided upon. The Republicans, too,

²²Davis to S. F. Du Pont [Nov. 3, 1859], Du Pont Papers.

²³*Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1859. See also Davis' public letter to the *New York Tribune* (Nov. 11, 1859), which he signed "A Friend of a Change." The letter can also be found in Henry Winter Davis, *Speeches and Addresses Delivered in the Congress of the United States, and on Several Public Occasions, by Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland* (New York, 1867), pp. 119-124 (hereafter cited as *Speeches and Addresses*).

²⁴Horace Greeley to Schuyler Colfax, Nov. 6, 13, 1859, Greeley-Colfax Papers, New York Public Library; *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 1 (Dec. 5, 1859).

²⁵Davis to S. F. Du Pont [Nov. 28, 1859], [Dec. 20, 1859], Du Pont Papers.



Nathaniel P. Banks. *Library of Congress.*

were unable to agree on a caucus nominee. The eastern members of the party generally favored a man who would firmly support a protective tariff, while the westerners were much more interested in someone with strong antislavery beliefs. They finally decided that the Republican receiving the highest vote on the first House ballot should be their candidate; it would be either Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania or John Sherman of Ohio. The Democrats, as it turned out, were the only ones able to come to an immediate agreement on a candidate. Thomas S. Bocock, a Virginian serving his seventh term in the House, was selected as their nominee for Speaker.²⁶

At noon on December 5, the Clerk from the previous Congress called the House to order. The voting for the Speakership began without delay. On the first ballot Bocock led the field with 86 votes, followed by Sherman with 66, and Grow with 43. The remaining 35 votes were scattered among 13 other candidates. Davis voted for John A. Gilmer, a Know-Nothing from North Carolina.²⁷ As expected, no candidate won a majority. But since Sherman received the highest Republican vote, he now became that party's formal nominee. The battle lines, at least, were more

²⁶*Ibid.* [Dec. 20, 1859]; Nichols, *Disruption of American Democracy*, pp. 272–273.

²⁷*Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 2 (Dec. 5, 1859).

clearly drawn; but for the next eight weeks little else would be accomplished.

This grueling struggle over the Speakership differed sharply from the one of 1855–1856. It was more desperate and much more violent. Sectional animosities, seriously incited by John Brown's raid, were now at a fever pitch. A number of Southerners, in no uncertain terms, were threatening secession if a "Black Republican" was elected. Many of them were well aware that the outcome of the present struggle would have a decisive effect upon the forthcoming Presidential contest. A Republican Speaker would undoubtedly set up committees favorable to Northern objectives. Furthermore, select committees would also be established to investigate the situation in Kansas, the foreign slave trade, and, most damaging of all to the Buchanan administration, the charges concerning departmental mismanagement. By these actions, the House could very well provide the necessary momentum for a Republican victory in the fall.²⁸

The Democrats were quick to take the offensive. Much of their attack was focused upon John Sherman. Along with a number of other Republican congressmen, Sherman had endorsed a book written by Hinton Rowan Helper, a Southern poor white, who had tried to prove that his class suffered because of slavery. In the opinion of most Southerners, *The Impending Crisis*, as the book was titled, contained "insurrectionary" doctrines which threatened "the domestic peace and tranquility of the country." On the very first day of the session, John B. Clark of Missouri introduced resolutions bitterly denouncing the volume and maintaining that any member who had recommended it was not fit to be Speaker.²⁹ Sherman explained that he had not read or even seen the controversial book and that he had permitted the use of his name merely to facilitate party work. His explanation was to no avail.³⁰

Davis was perhaps the only Southern representative who actually favored the Ohioan's elevation to the Speakership. Sherman, he informed his friend Du Pont, "is the best man in the House for the place. He will organize the Committees on the basis of recognizing *all* the opposition [i.e., anti-Democrats] whether they voted for him or not—so constitute them as to stifle the negro agitation—& to turn the whole activity of the session on exposing the administration." But despite Davis' remarks in private, he continued to cast his ballot for Gilmer. This is hardly surprising. Since he was unable to convince his fellow Know-Nothings to support the Republican candidate, his vote for Sherman would not materially change the situation. Consequently, he felt it wiser to remain within the Know-Nothing camp, hoping to possibly influence several of his party's members to reconsider their decision. Nevertheless, if a contingency arose where a single vote would be decisive, Davis "resolved to cast it for Mr. Sherman & face the storm. No Democrat," he boldly declared, "shall go into the Speaker's chair if my vote can prevent it."³¹

²⁸Davis to S. F. Du Pont [Dec. 25, 1859], Du Pont Papers; Crenshaw, "Speakership Contest of 1859–1860," pp. 328–338; Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln*, II, pp. 118–119.

²⁹*Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 3 (Dec. 5, 1859).

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 21 (December 6, 1859).

³¹Davis to S. F. Du Pont [Dec. 20, 1859], Du Pont Papers.



Horace Greeley. *Library of Congress.*

For the time being, however, it appeared that Sherman would need more than one vote. On several occasions he came within three votes of victory. But that was the closest he was able to come. The Democrats, meanwhile, formed and re-formed battle lines behind a number of candidates, after Bocock's withdrawal on the eleventh ballot. But they too seemed no closer to success.³² Nor was Davis making any significant progress. "As for my [Know-Nothing] friends," he wrote, "they are powerful at a debate—fling 'rocks' like demigods...but at a vote they dare not displease our *masters*.... They argue *vigorously* that Democrats agitate the slavery question & they vote with them to prove to the South that it is the Republicans & all northern men who are responsible for it & dangerous!"³³

Davis grew even more discouraged by political developments outside of the House. On December 19, Southern Know-Nothing and Whig members of Congress along with a number of Northern conservatives met privately to make arrangements

³² *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 338 (Jan. 4, 1860), pp. 587–588 (Jan. 25, 1860); Crenshaw, "Speakership Contest of 1859–1860," p. 326.

³³ Davis to S. F. Du Pont, Dec. 27, 1859, Du Pont Papers.

for holding their own Presidential convention. Convinced that the Republican party would not accept a conservative candidate, the anti-administration men, under the leadership of Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, sanctioned a call for a "National Union" convention to be held in the spring.³⁴ Davis was infuriated by the actions of "this preposterous squad of antiques." As he excitedly wrote to Du Pont: "They are willing to unite with all branches of the opposition—except the Republicans!! That is they will unite with *themselves*—ignore the party which holds the majority of the states now; play...with the ballot box—put in [Know-Nothing and Whig] votes—& take out a Democratic President!"³⁵

A week later, after conferring with a number of Southern anti-administration leaders, Davis came to the conclusion that the situation was not entirely hopeless. There was considerable talk that the newly formed Constitutional Union party would nominate Edward Bates of Missouri for the Presidency.³⁶ Davis himself was a strong supporter of Bates and considered him "the only *possible*" candidate who could successfully appeal to both sections.³⁷ If the Constitutional Unionists adopted the Missourian as their standard bearer, Davis believed, the Republicans might very well do likewise. In his view, then, there was a good chance that the Constitutional Union movement "will work to the practical *point of union* with, not opposition to, the Republicans; & that they will see in Mr. Bates the only *practicable* point of union."³⁸

In the meantime, Davis refocused his attention on the Speakership contest. As it continued to drag on, it was inevitable that the tension would mount. One after another, the Southern Democrats delivered angry harangues and denunciations against the abolitionists and "Black Republicans." Reuben Davis of Mississippi declared himself in favor of hanging Senator William Henry Seward of New York and any others who avowed "murderous sentiments." And Shelton F. Leake of Virginia thought it absurd to elect a man to the Speakership who, by endorsing "seditious" literature, was "stimulating my negroes at home to apply the torch to my dwelling and the knife to the throats of my wife and helpless children."³⁹ Such views, of course, served only to intensify an already inflammatory situation. On several occasions it seemed that a general affray would break loose. More and more members were arming themselves with pistols or bowie knives. There were even rumors circulating that the governors of Virginia and South Carolina were ready to

³⁴Cole, *Whig Party in the South*, pp. 336–337.

³⁵Davis to S. F. Du Pont [Dec. 20], Dec. 27, 1859, Du Pont Papers.

³⁶Howard K. Beale, ed., *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859–1866*, Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1930, IV (Washington, 1933), pp. 78–79, 81, 94; Cole, *Whig Party in the South*, p. 335.

³⁷Davis to S. F. Du Pont, Sept. 14, 1859, Du Pont Papers; Davis to Justin Morrill, Aug. 20, 1859, Justin Morrill Papers, Library of Congress.

³⁸Davis to S. F. Du Pont, Dec. 27, 1859, Du Pont Papers.

³⁹*Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 21 (Dec. 6, 1859); Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln*, II, p. 121.



Henry Winter Davis. *Library of Congress.*

send large numbers of state militia to the capital if fighting broke out in the House. But the Republican members, for the most part, sat quietly and waited.⁴⁰

Davis acted in a similar fashion. Throughout the entire eight week's struggle he neither delivered an address nor responded to any criticism. Like most of the Republicans, he also felt that restraint was imperative. But this did not prevent him

⁴⁰Governor William H. Gist of South Carolina had actually promised armed support to several congressmen from his state if they wished to forcibly resist the seating of John Sherman as Speaker. Crenshaw, "Speakership Contest of 1859-1860," pp. 334-335. See also Davis to S. F. Du Pont [Dec. 25, 1859], Du Pont Papers; Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln*, II, pp. 121-122.

from working behind the scenes. Convinced that Sherman would not be able to obtain the requisite majority,⁴¹ he began to urge the Republicans to adopt either Thomas Corwin of Ohio or William Pennington of New Jersey, both of whom were regarded as moderate members of the party. Several of Sherman's friends agreed. On consultation with the Know-Nothings, however, Davis found them unwilling to support either of the two newly proposed candidates. This reaction "*stiffened*" the Republicans. "A few swore they would vote for S[herman] till judgment day & [Thaddeus] Stevens said till the crack of doom."⁴² With the Republicans obstinate, the Know-Nothings weak and paralyzed, and the Democrats impudent and presumptuous, Davis was beginning to think that Corwin was probably right when he declared that it would take "pneumonia to organize the House!"⁴³

Suddenly, at the end of January, it seemed that the Democrats were about to triumph. Joining forces with the Southern Know-Nothings, they mustered 112 votes (3 short of victory) for William N. H. Smith, a North Carolina nativist.⁴⁴ At "a friend's solicitation" and "in ignorance of the arrangement" (Smith had promised to give the principal committees to the Democrats), Davis voted for the Carolinian.⁴⁵ The balloting continued. But in spite of Know-Nothing support, the Democrats were still unable to capture the Speakership.⁴⁶

The Republicans now took the initiative. On January 30, Sherman withdrew. His supporters immediately shifted to Pennington. On the fortieth ballot, the new Republican standard bearer received 115 votes, requiring only two more to be elected.⁴⁷ Davis was now confronted with a serious dilemma. He found it impossible to vote for Pennington while Smith, a member of his own party, was in the field. The Marylander let it be known, however, that once the Know-Nothing nominee was withdrawn he would cast his ballot for the Republican candidate. Finally, the Democrats, coming to the conclusion that their alliance with the Southern nativists would not produce a majority, decided to drop Smith in favor of John A. McClernand of Illinois. Davis would soon be held to his promise.⁴⁸

On the very next day, with the galleries "densely crowded," the representatives proceeded to vote for the Speakership. Pennington's election "seemed to be a foregone conclusion," wrote a Washington reporter. Yet the Democrats were "determined to die in the last ditch." When their names were called they not only cast their

⁴¹The Republican effort to adopt the plurality rule, which would have probably elected Sherman, was effectively blocked by the Democrats. *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 87 (Dec. 9, 1859), pp. 444-447 (Jan. 13, 1860).

⁴²Davis to S. F. Du Pont [Jan. 9], Feb. 3, 1860, Du Pont Papers.

⁴³*Ibid.*, Dec. 27, 1859, [Jan. 26, 1860].

⁴⁴*Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 611 (Jan. 27, 1860).

⁴⁵Davis to S. F. Du Pont, Feb. 3, 1860, S. F. Du Pont to Davis, Feb. 4, 1860, Du Pont Papers.

⁴⁶*Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 634 (Jan. 30, 1860); Crenshaw, "Speakership Contest of 1859-1860," p. 326.

⁴⁷*Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 634 (Jan. 30, 1860).

⁴⁸Davis to S. F. Du Pont, Feb. 3, 1860, Du Pont Papers; *New York Times*, Jan. 31, Feb. 1, 1860; *Chicago Press & Tribune*, Feb. 2, 1860.

ballots but gave long-winded explanations for their vote, remarks to which few persons paid any attention. It was not until the name of Henry Winter Davis was called “that every ear was strained to catch the response.” The Baltimore congressman, at the time, was in the rear of the hall with his back to the Clerk, when he suddenly wheeled around and answered “Pennington.” “Such a burst of applause, mingled with hisses,” as one observer put it, had never before been heard in the House. Several Democrats insisted that the galleries be cleared, but Sherman intervened and quiet was eventually restored. The final tally indicated that Pennington still needed one more vote for victory. At last, George Briggs, a Know-Nothing from New York, came forward and assured the Republicans that he would cast his ballot for Pennington on the following day “if Mr. Davis stood firm.”⁴⁹

The first of February 1860 would be memorable in more ways than one. Rabbi M. J. Raphall of New York opened the day’s proceedings in the House with a prayer in both Hebrew and English. Few members probably realized that this was “the first instance of the sort in our history.”⁵⁰ They were no doubt entirely consumed by the intense excitement prevailing over the Speakership contest. As everyone expected, Davis did stand firm. And Briggs, to the great relief of the Republicans, honored his pledge. On the forty-fourth ballot, Pennington obtained 117 votes and a majority.⁵¹

Many in the North went “wild with rejoicing.” Davis, having broken the deadlock in favor of the Republicans, was hailed as a national hero. “His boldness and his elevation above mere partisan considerations are worthy of all praise,” the *Chicago Press & Tribune* noted.⁵²

From the Southern press, of course, came only condemnation. Davis’ vote for Pennington was considered “a foul calumny, a reckless libel” upon the people of the South, and particularly upon the citizens of Baltimore.⁵³ “Whatever may be the future of this gentleman,” the editor of the *Baltimore American* maintained, “he will never represent any portion of this State hereafter....”⁵⁴

Davis thought otherwise. “My people are pleased or contented except a few jobbers in the Southern trade—who wished me to turn negro yelper,” he commented to Du Pont.⁵⁵ “It is for Maryland the strongest vote possible. It takes some time to digest the word Republican,” Davis added, “but the results are now already apparent....”⁵⁶ Although Henry Hoffman, the Maryland Know-Nothing, was

⁴⁹*Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 641 (Jan. 31, 1860); *New York Times*, Feb. 1, 3, 1860; *Baltimore Sun*, Feb. 1, 1860.

⁵⁰*Baltimore Sun*, Feb. 9, 1860.

⁵¹*Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 648–654 (Feb. 1, 1860); *New York Times*, Feb. 2, 1860.

⁵²*Chicago Press & Tribune*, Feb. 1, 1860.

⁵³*Baltimore Sun*, Feb. 1, 2, 1860. See also S. F. Du Pont to Davis, Feb. 4, 1860, Mrs. S. F. Du Pont to Jane Davis Syle, Feb. 8, 1860, Du Pont Papers; Raymond W. Tyson, “Henry Winter Davis: Orator for the Union,” *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVIII (March, 1963), p. 7.

⁵⁴*Baltimore American*, Feb. 2, 1860.

⁵⁵Davis to S. F. Du Pont, Feb. 3, 1860, Du Pont Papers.

⁵⁶*Ibid.* [Feb., 1860].



John A. Gilmer. *Library of Congress.*

not granted the Clerkship of the House, he was elected Sergeant-at-Arms. Moreover, John Gilmer, the nativist from North Carolina, was made chairman of the powerful Committee on Elections. Several other Southern anti-Democrats were also appointed to prestigious positions.⁵⁷ Davis himself was offered the chairmanship of any committee but that “of Ways & Means which belonged to Sherman by all laws of decency.”⁵⁸ Pennington especially wanted Davis to take charge of the Naval Committee. But the Marylander preferred to be reappointed as a member of the Committee of Ways and Means and advised the Speaker to “put men further south in the high places—where they could be seen.”⁵⁹ All in all, Davis was well satisfied with the appointments. Most important was the reaction of the Southern Democrats. For they were now clamoring that the Know-Nothings had become “niggerized”—in other words, made a part of the “Black Republican” majority.

⁵⁷ *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 663 (Feb. 3, 1860), p. 726 (Feb. 9, 1860). It is unclear whether Hoffman's appointment was a result of a definite bargain between Davis and the Republican leaders in the House. It seems likely, however, that some kind of a general understanding was worked out. See *New York Herald*, Feb. 3, 1860; *New York Times*, Feb. 3, 1860.

⁵⁸ Davis to S. F. Du Pont, Feb. 3, 1860, Du Pont Papers.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

Their outcry, Davis felt, would only serve to increase the possibility of a union of all anti-Democrats, North and South, for the coming Presidential election.⁶⁰ It seemed that his vote for Pennington had produced the desired effect.

Severe criticism of Davis' actions, however, did not diminish. Various groups of citizens in Maryland approved resolutions vehemently denouncing the congressman; in some places he was hanged in effigy.⁶¹ Even his closest supporters found themselves unable to agree with his position.⁶² Much of the dissent came to a head on February 9, 1860. By a vote of 62 to 1, the Maryland House of Delegates passed a resolution censuring Davis' conduct. His vote for "the candidate of the Black Republican party for the Speakership," the delegates maintained, "had misrepresented the sentiments of all portions of this State...."⁶³

Davis was not about to take this formal act of censure lightly. Less than two weeks later, while the House of Representatives was in a Committee of the Whole, he delivered a compelling address castigating the state legislators for their action, and, in addition, making his own position unmistakably clear. "I...have no apologies to make," he declared.

I have no excuses to render. What I did, I did on my own judgment, and did not look across my shoulder to see what my constituents would think. I told my constituents that I would come here a free man, or not at all; and they sent me here on that condition. I told them that if they wanted a slave to represent them, they could get plenty, but I was not one.... I wanted my people to know it, so that if they chose to have another one, who would go contrary to his judgment, and bend like a willow when the storm came, they might pick him out, and choose the material for their work. Mr. Chairman, they sent me here, and I have done what I *know* was my duty.⁶⁴

"I supposed that there would be clamor over that vote," Davis went on. "I did not intend to trouble myself about it." But the resolution of censure passed by the House of Delegates went beyond the usual channels of discontent. The spirit behind that resolution, he felt, was of "sinister import to the people of this country."⁶⁵ For it was not only prompted by his vote for a Republican Speaker, but also by the excited state of mind resulting from John Brown's raid. Countless Southerners were holding the Republican party to blame for that incident. And yet the most intensive investigations have "failed to trace a single connection with any body of men in any State.... To lay this blood at the door of a great political party of our fellow-citizens, who now control the government of every free state except two, in spite of the indignant denial of all their representatives here, and without a particle of proof, in fact, is not reasonable."⁶⁶

⁶⁰*Ibid.* [Feb., 1860].

⁶¹*Baltimore Sun*, Feb. 20, 1860; *Washington National Era*, Feb. 16, 1860.

⁶²*Baltimore Clipper*, Feb. 11, April 3, 1860.

⁶³*Journal of the Proceedings of the [Maryland] House of Delegates, January Session, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty* (Annapolis, 1860), pp. 353–355.

⁶⁴Davis, *Speeches and Addresses*, p. 134.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 136, 139.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 141–142.



Edward Bates. *Library of Congress.*

"I seek for signs of peace," Davis added. "I will explore every region of returning confidence. I think there is no ground for the excitement which has prevailed."⁶⁷ Of course, the *Marylander* emphasized,

There will always be more or less of that vague dissertation on impractical theories, such as the possibility of property in man, or whether slavery be hateful to God, and the like, and those views will always have, as they have heretofore had, their eight or ten representatives on this floor; but surely we can afford to leave such dissertations unanswered, and without an answer they will soon die out. Politically, they are of no decisive importance...and if we...investigate the signs of the times, we will find, I think, that from 1855 to this time, there has been no single bill proposed contemplating a change in the condition of affairs touching slavery as it existed before the repeal of the Missouri line...; not one that has looked beyond retaining the Territories free which were already free. We have, then, peace before us, if we will only accept it.⁶⁸

Davis was at his best. It was one of his most impressive political orations. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., who was present in the House that day, later maintained that it was probably "the most effective speech" he had ever heard.⁶⁹ James G. Blaine, soon to begin his own political career, thought that the "eloquence of expression, force, and conclusiveness of reasoning" contained in the address entitled it "to rank in the political classics of America as the Address to the Electors of Bristol ranks in the political classics of England."⁷⁰ And Greeley of the *Tribune* noted: "if the

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-145.

⁶⁹ Adams, *Autobiography*, p. 46.

⁷⁰ James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress: From Lincoln to Garfield* (2 vols., Norwich, Conn., 1884-1886), I, pp. 498-499.

[Maryland] Legislature shall come out ahead in the unprovoked war they have made on Mr. Davis, it will be because the case is decided by those who do not hear and cannot read the arguments.”⁷¹

The reaction to the address among many members of the House was also very favorable. The “Republicans were greatly pleased & my weak friends stiffened up...,” Davis informed Du Pont. “They all agree that the Legislature got thirty-nine [lashes] well laid on.”⁷²

Although Davis might have scored a triumph over the legislature, his ultimate goal—a union of all anti-Democrats—never materialized. Indeed, his vote for Pennington was in vain. On May 9 the Constitutional Union party nominated Senator John Bell of Tennessee, an old-line Whig of great prominence but with little appeal in the North. This destroyed any chance the movement might have had to serve as a “point of union” for all anti-administration men.⁷³ As Republican leaders now saw it, the borderland would support Bell rather than Edward Bates. The Missourian had thus lost his most compelling quality as a candidate. Of course, even if Bates had secured the Constitutional Union nomination, it seems highly unlikely, in view of his Southern background and conservatism, that he would have won a majority of the votes at the Republican convention.⁷⁴

In his attempt to create a united opposition, Davis obviously underestimated one crucial factor: slavery. Contrary to what he had told his congressional colleagues, the problem of the “peculiar institution” could not be ignored.⁷⁵ It had become a festering sore on the body politic; and until it was healed, no possibility existed for the creation of an alliance between Southern anti-Democrats and Northern Republicans.

⁷¹ *New York Tribune*, Feb. 22, 1860. See also *New York Times*, Feb. 22, 1860; *Chicago Press & Tribune*, Feb. 28, 1860.

⁷² Davis to S. F. Du Pont, Feb. 29, 1860, Du Pont Papers. The Maryland Senate, in fact, refused to even consider the House of Delegates' resolution censuring Davis. Nevertheless, a Democratic senator representing Baltimore County attempted to renew the conflict. He introduced a resolution calling for an appropriation of \$500 to transport Henry Winter Davis to Liberia. But the proposition was met “with such indignation by gentlemen of all parties” that the proposer himself secured unanimous consent to strike it from the journal. See *ibid.* [April, 1860]; *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 2583 (June 2, 1860).

⁷³ Davis to S. F. Du Pont, Feb. 29, 1860, Du Pont Papers; Cole, *Whig Party in the South*, p. 338.

⁷⁴ Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln*, II, pp. 233–239; Reinhard H. Luthin, *The First Lincoln Campaign* (Cambridge, 1944), pp. 61, 157.

⁷⁵ Scenote 68.

An Analysis of Baltimore's Population in the 1850's

M. RAY DELLA, JR.

THERE ARE TWO important aspects of Baltimore City of the 1850's which must be considered in any analysis of its population. The first is the unique role of the Negro as an intricate part of the city. The second aspect is the unusual position of Baltimore as a Northern city as well as a Southern city. Nestled between the North and South with its fine harbors on the Chesapeake Bay, Baltimore had Northern characteristics of finance and commerce which greatly resembled Philadelphia, New York or Boston, but culturally and socially Baltimore had Southern ties which were most evident. Those who came to visit Baltimore were struck by the role of the Negroes and the two faces of the city, that is, its Northern and Southern characteristics.

In the 1970's Baltimore's white laborer complains that the Negro is in a superior position for advancement because of the civil rights crisis. Indeed, since 1954, there has been a sharp rise in meaningful employment for the Negro nation-wide as employers respond to pressure from the federal government and the threat of Negro boycotts and riots. This transition is quite apparent in Los Angeles, Cleveland, and Detroit where riots have previously occurred. In Baltimore there were no riots before the death of civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr.; but the feelings of the people, especially the whites, have been extremely bitter for some time. Such feelings exist because of the nature and character of Baltimore and its inherent ties with the Old South.

A century ago the situation was almost exactly reversed, for it was white labor that replaced Negro labor throughout the city and especially in and around the docks and warehouses. This labor movement in Baltimore in the 1850's was a nineteenth century antithesis of what is going on today, that is, the trend toward complete segregation which began with unequal opportunities and complete desegregation.

In the 1850's Negroes constituted a substantial proportion of Baltimore's population and labor force. The census of 1850 shows that 32,021 Negroes lived in the city while the white population numbered 174,853. Of the 32,021 blacks only 2,946 were slaves. Alfred Pairpont, a European visitor to Baltimore around 1850, saw so many Negroes at the dock he said that he thought he was in Africa.¹ He observed "a very

¹ Richard C. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities* (New York, 1964), p. 29.

great contrast between this city and [others of the North] . . . where the heavy labour was chiefly performed by the Irish."² But, by 1860 the white population had increased to 184,520 and the black population had declined to 25,680 free Negroes and 2,218 slaves.³

The decrease in the number of Negroes in the 1850's came at a time when immigration was high in Baltimore,⁴ producing extensive labor competition. The immigrants took the Negro's job and in general displaced many black persons whenever and wherever possible. While statistics are not available, contemporary newspapers, speeches, and letters shed light on the fact that segregation was developing in Baltimore's labor market. Competition was the result of increased immigration which in turn led to the following complications: (1) immigrants opposed free Negroes and slaves in pure and simple competition; (2) native middle-to-low class whites found themselves not only in competition with the immigrants, but also with Negroes who had previously held semi-skilled and skilled jobs, and since there were now enough whites to perform the semi-skilled and skilled jobs, the Negro was no longer needed, or for that matter desired; (3) upper class whites, who often owned many slaves whom they hired out, thus had to face the problem of increased competition between their hired-out slaves and the whites and free blacks; (4) slaves who hired themselves out had to cope with the many new immigrants, whereas before the 1850's they competed with the free Negroes and native whites; and, (5) the free Negroes competed with everyone else including other free blacks, but had the least chance for survival since they were the only element of the labor force which was completely expendable and almost without defense. All of these complications served to reduce the number of Negroes employed and, in general, to decrease the black population.

A breakdown of who performed various kinds of jobs before 1850 would show mostly native whites but a few blacks in skilled jobs, many native whites, a few immigrants, and some Negroes in semi-skilled jobs, and mostly Negroes with a few native and immigrant whites in unskilled jobs. The decline of the Negro in the 1850's is clear by 1860, for by that time the situation had vastly changed with many more immigrants in unskilled work, and fewer Negroes in all three categories described above. The situation had been altered by the rapidly changing character of Baltimore's population and the resulting labor competition.

In order to comprehend the Negro problem, the white population must be examined briefly. Many poor whites were in a situation similar to the quasi-free Negro. Living conditions of the poor whites, for example, resembled those of the blacks. This similarity was observed by the noted English scientist, Charles Lyell, when he visited Baltimore in the 1840's.⁵ Richard B. Morris, elaborating on the position of the poor whites, has written, "Freedom, a mirage for the free Negro, was in fact difficult to achieve by the poor white of Maryland who constantly ran the risks, both

² Raphael Semmes, *Baltimore as Seen by Visitors, 1783-1860* (Baltimore, 1953), p. 166.

³ See Charts I and II for population statistics of 1850 and 1860.

⁴ See Table A for statistics on the number of immigrants in the city.

⁵ Charles Lyell, *Travels in North America* (London, 1845), I, p. 127.

CHART I

Baltimore City Population by Ward in 1850

Ward	White	Free Negro	Slave
1	13,483	1,091	79
2	8,490	917	85
3	9,764	1,862	195
4	6,611	766	250
5	4,430	1,190	84
6	6,766	2,145	104
7	6,590	1,013	57
8	8,125	750	78
9	4,268	333	139
10	4,196	596	241
11	6,593	2,078	252
12	7,214	1,911	158
13	4,495	807	264
14	6,013	1,221	177
15	7,753	2,242	307
16	4,555	1,189	134
17	7,389	2,400	45
18	10,644	934	168
19	7,095	717	63
20	6,192	1,272	66
Totals	174,853	29,075	2,946

Sources: Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Historical Account of Maryland* [no imprint], p. 26. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850. Population*, I, p. 211.

CHART II

Baltimore City Population by Ward in 1860

Ward	White	Free Negro	Slave
1	14,545	433	54
2	8,666	628	46
3	13,478	1,750	115
4	6,553	385	72
5	4,416	903	41
6	7,916	1,894	78
7	10,984	1,378	43
8	13,575	753	59
9	2,864	188	92
10	3,712	553	50
11	7,829	2,389	353
12	7,793	1,967	111
13	3,691	691	91
14	5,744	1,176	142
15	10,101	2,787	173
16	6,675	1,482	80
17	12,784	2,168	3
18	19,837	1,219	275
19	11,944	1,019	94
20	11,413	1,917	246
Totals	184,520	25,680	2,218

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860. Population*, I, p. 214.

with law and in fact, of falling into a status of quasi-bondage."⁶ In other words, for the white as well as the Negro, legal freedom did not necessarily mean practical freedom. For example, white paupers and orphans were bound out in greater numbers than Negroes, and private employers even used convicts as bound servants.⁷ It must be remembered, however, that the poor white's position was never as deplorable as the Negro's.

Most immigrants were in a situation similar to the native poor whites, but with one difference. The immigrant was always willing to do any kind of work, which often kept him from the kind of quasi-bondage which many native poor whites drifted into because of their unwillingness to engage in employment which they considered strictly "negro." These immigrants lived together in ghettos downtown and in northeast Baltimore, areas heavily populated by Negroes (see Table A).⁸ Their

⁶ Richard B. Morris, "Labor Controls in Maryland in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Southern History*, XIV (Aug., 1948), p. 387.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

⁸ See the map with ward divisions.

TABLE A
German and Irish Immigrants and Negroes by Ward in Baltimore
in 1850*

Ward	Negroes	Germans and Irish	Other Whites
1	1,170	2,440	11,043
2	1,002	3,065	5,426
3	2,057	1,406	8,358
4	1,016	1,104	5,507
5	1,274	722	3,708
6	2,246	907	5,859
7	1,070	1,028	5,562
8	828	2,462	5,663
9	472	1,306	2,962
10	837	911	3,285
11	2,330	1,232	5,361
12	2,069	1,118	6,096
13	1,071	827	3,668
14	1,398	1,064	4,949
15	2,549	1,248	6,505
16	1,321	601	3,954
17	2,445	1,441	5,948
18	1,102	1,490	9,154
19	780	1,667	5,428
20	1,338	1,207	4,985

* Sources: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850. Population*, 1, p. 221. Jean Harvey Baker, "Dark Lantern Crusade—An Analysis of the Know Nothing Party in Maryland" (unpublished Master's thesis, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1965), p. 119.

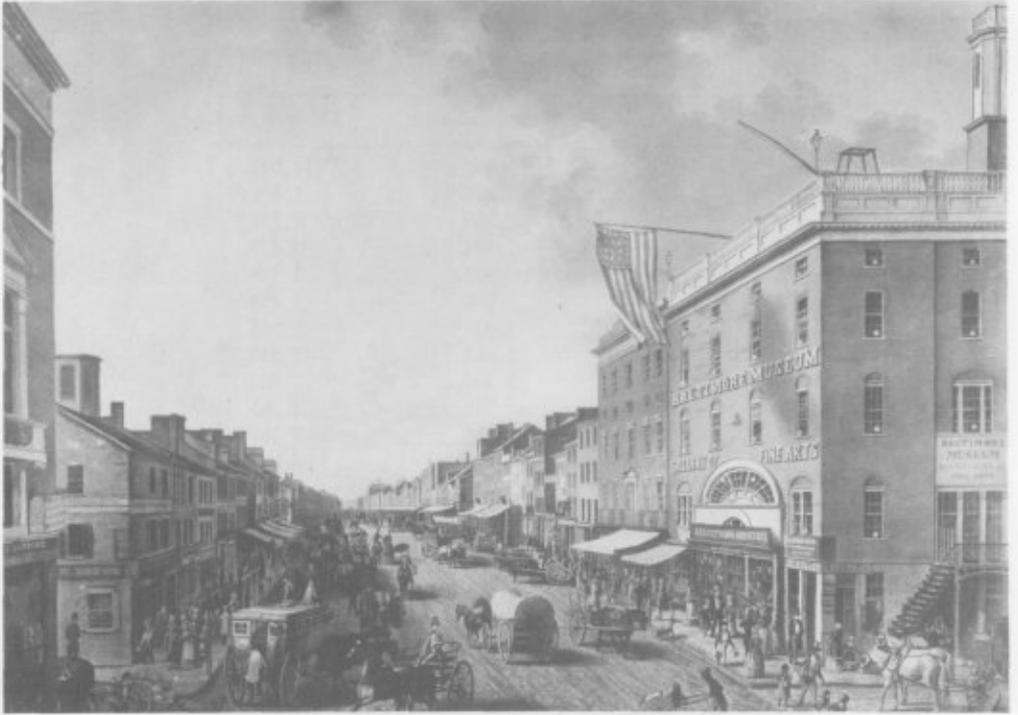
social activities were reminiscent of those in their native lands. Belonging to the middle and lower classes, these immigrants not only competed with native whites for jobs, but also with free Negroes and slaves. The leading nationalities in this immigration were the Irish and Germans. The Irish were prejudiced against the Negro, and the fact that they were prejudiced, when added to the fact that they were willing to do work formerly done by Negroes, meant that the Negro would be displaced. As more immigrants came, the need for jobs grew and the less the Negro was needed.⁹

Prior to the 1850's native whites had competed with increasing numbers of free Negroes.¹⁰ Yet there had been no trouble. The reason for this was that the native whites were not militant against blacks the way the immigrants of the 1850's were.

The blacks who faced the stiff immigrant competition of the 1850's were of two

⁹ See Table A.

¹⁰ Richard B. Morris, "The Measure of Bondage in the Slave States," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIV (1954), p. 238.



Baltimore Street Scene, 1850. Sachse Museum Print. *Maryland Historical Society*.

kinds—slave and free.¹¹ This slave-free distinction seems so clear and sharp to the mind of the 1970's, but in the 1850's the distinction was, in general, less clear. It is difficult for the mind of the 1970's to comprehend the shades of freedom and bondage which prevailed in the 1850's. It is important to realize this problem, for the terms "free" Negro, "quasi-free," "quasi-slave," and slave are used throughout, denoting in very general terms the kind of person being discussed. A "free" Negro was a black who legally had his freedom, but in the practical sense he seldom realized it because of the nature of Baltimore's Southern society and the incoming immigrants who were prejudiced and treated all Negroes as slaves regardless of the individual's legal status; in fact, both white groups felt the same about all "negroes." The "quasi-free" Negroes were legally free but either were unable to exercise freedom because of the factors affecting all Negroes in Baltimore, or they were unwilling to exercise their freedom because of economic reasons such as hiring themselves out as temporary "slaves." The "quasi-slave" was one who was granted freedom for a specific length of time by his owner; this slave thus obtained a kind of freedom sim-

¹¹ See Charts I and II but notice that these statistics must be read with reservations because of the overlapping of quasi-free slaves and free Negroes who were quasi-slave. See Morris, *ibid.*, p. 238.

ilar to the "quasi-free" Negro. Finally, there was the slave who was a slave in both a legal and practical sense; these were mostly domestics. To complicate matters there were various degrees of freedom and slavery within the four categories discussed here.

The status of being slave or free had little to do with the kinds of work performed by Negroes. Literally, they worked wherever there was a task to be performed and were necessarily a part of Baltimore's labor force. Seldom did a free Negro receive economic benefits of freedom other than wages.¹² It is true that receiving wages was important, but since many slaves were hired-out for wages too, the free black had little advantage over the slave. Furthermore, slaves who were hired-out were often put on their own, having only to pay a small amount of their wages to their owners who were for the most part Baltimoreans. Since money did have to be paid by the hired-out slave to the owner, an advantage did adhere to the status of the free Negro, but this advantage seems to have been a slight one since there is virtually no evidence that the economic lot of the average free Negro wage earner was any better than the average slave. Sometimes hired-out slaves received quarters and food as well as a wage thus compensating for the money which he had to pay to his real owner.

Legally, the Negro slave in Baltimore was like the average slave in the South. He had a master to whom he was bound and was obliged to abide by his master's wishes or face the consequence—usually a trip to the city jail where punishment, in the form of whipping, resulted. On occasion in the 1850's, Baltimore's jail was filled with these slaves.¹³

The slave trader in Baltimore as elsewhere in the South was necessarily an integral part of the slave system. In the pre-war period there were about twenty traders who handled the bulk of the slaves sold and bought in the city.¹⁴ Not all slave sales were handled by professional dealers, however, for some people preferred to do their selling privately, either to see that the slave got a good home,¹⁵ or to get a better price than the dealer would give. The center of slave dealing in Baltimore was the Camden area of Pratt Street near the docks and railroad station. The reason for this was twofold. First, it was close to main transportation centers where Negroes were brought into the city and shipped out. Secondly, it was in the midst of the bustling docks and trade centers, a high source of local sales because of the constant need for laborers.

The reputations of slave traders were not outstanding as they were accused of

¹² James M. Wright, "The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634-1860," [Columbia] *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*, XCVII, no. 3 (New York, 1921, p. 324.

¹³ Baltimore, City Jail, Baltimore City Jail Records, Accommodation Docket, 1850-1860, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

¹⁴ Wade, *Slavery in Cities*, p. 202. See also Fredrick Bancroft, *Slave Trading in the Old South* (Baltimore, 1931), p. 37.

¹⁵ Helen Tunnicliff Catterall, ed., *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, (Washington, D. C., 1936), IV, p. 130.

TABLE B
The Sale of Negro Slaves*

Description	Price
Likely fellows, aged 18 to 25	\$500 to \$650
Women of same age and quality	\$300 to \$500
The best field hands	\$300 to \$400

* Source: Stanton Tierman, "Baltimore's Old Slave Markets," *Baltimore Sun*, September 13, 1936, p. 10.

being sly, splitting-up families,¹⁶ and kidnapping free blacks.¹⁷ Reports of disapprobation like the following were not uncommon, and being widely circulated they angered Baltimore's leading dealer in the forties.

A colored man, poor, free, of good character, belonging in Frederick County, Maryland, went into Pennsylvania with a drove of cattle, and was gone more than the legal twenty days. On his return two miscreants, utterly worthless in purse and character, but with whitish faces, complained of him, got him in jail, and in various ways contrived to run up the bill [if a Negro could not pay his jail bill, he was sold into slavery] . . . to over \$70. For this he was *sold as a slave for life*, purchased by a slave trader in this city (Slatter, I think) and sent to the far South.¹⁸

The actual demand for Negro labor in the 1840's can be seen in the activities of slave traders such as Hope H. Slatter. Slatter advertised daily in the *Baltimore Sun*¹⁹ posting prices such as those given in Table B. Upon visiting Slatter's jail in 1841, an anti-slavery traveler found his place to be clean, the slaves well fed, and no evidence of malpractice such as kidnapping free Negroes or breaking-up families.²⁰ Yet James Watkins, a slave who visited the same jail a few years later, saw it in a less favorable light:

We found our relatives in a large prison, in Pratt-street, together with 8 or 900 [must have been an exaggeration] other slaves who belonged to two slave dealers named Slater [Slatter] and Woodfork [probably Woolfolk, another slave dealer not connected with Slatter], who

¹⁶ Semmes, *Baltimore*, p. 171.

¹⁷ Joseph Sturge, *A Visit to the United States in 1841* (London, 1842), p. 10. It was against the law to sell a kidnapped free Negro; so, all slave dealers had to swear out a legal document that all slaves being sent out of the state had not come in since the closing of the slave trade in 1808, and that they were slaves by Maryland law and not entitled to freedom at any time. See Charles Wesley, "Manifests of Slave Shipments Along the Waterway, 1808-1864," *The Journal of Negro History*, XXVII, no. 2 (1942), p. 171.

¹⁸ J. C. Lovejoy, *Memoirs of Reverend Charles T. Torrey* (Boston, 1847), p. 166.

¹⁹ For example, "Cash for Negroes. The subscriber has built a large and extensive establishment and private jail for the keeping of SLAVES. This new building, located on Pratt Street, one door from Howard . . . is not surpassed by any establishment of the kind in the U. S. All rooms above ground. Office in basement story. . . . Having as a wish to accommodate my Southern friends and others in the trade, I am determined to pay the highest prices at all times for likely slaves of both sexes with good and sufficient titles. Persons having such property to dispose of would do well to see me before they sell, as I am always purchasing for the New Orleans market. Hope H. Slatter." Stanton Tierman, "Baltimore's Old Slave Markets," *Baltimore Sun*, Sept. 13, 1936, p. 10.

²⁰ Sturge, *Visit to United States*, p. 31.

had bought them for the Southern market, and . . . they do all they can to keep up the spirits . . . by supplying them with plenty of whiskey and amusements of various kinds [cards, dancing, fiddle, and banjo]. . . .²¹

Judge Stockbridge, who took an avid interest in Slatter and described at length his large-scale business operation, claimed that Slatter was intelligent and tactful, yet he was placed under a ban by the citizens of Baltimore because they regarded him as a social outcast.²² Some of this evidence was probably a bit of folklore, but it must be considered as possible hatred of slavery by some of the white population. From the evidence, it is not clear exactly how representative these views were.

The business of other prominent slave traders in Baltimore in the pre-war period can be used as a measure of the success of slave labor. Slatter's success in the 1840's was superseded by that of John Denning who, advertising for 5,000 Negroes on several occasions, was the largest trader in the 1850's. There is no evidence, however, that Denning's trade ever approached 5,000 slaves; it appears that the use of the figure 5,000 was only an advertising gimmick. But Denning was prepared to buy all slaves that were marketable, whether "slaves for life or a term of years, in large or small families, or single Negroes," and even those restricted to stay in the state if they "sustained good characters."²³ He paid agents a commission to solicit business and had a motto, "families never separated!" but Fredrick Bancroft has stated that it is unlikely that he practiced such a high principle.²⁴

B. M. and W. L. Campbell's slave business, shipping nearly 400 slaves a year out of Baltimore, was at its height in the latter part of the decade.²⁵ Joseph S. Donovan, another big dealer of the fifties, in advertisements appealed for 500 Negroes, stressing the fact that he was near Camden Station (the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad), and had a jail in which to keep Negroes.²⁶ And finally, Jonathan M. Wilson, active from 1848 to 1859, was located near the others and advertised for young Negroes for the New Orleans market.²⁷ In addition to these professional slave traders there were almost an equal number (about fifteen to twenty) of general auctioneers and "agents" who sold slaves.

When considered as a group, the slave traders shipped a considerable number of slaves out of Baltimore from the 1840's to the Civil War. Such a slave trade indicates one of two things. Either large numbers of free Negroes were being abducted and sold as slaves, or there was a large turnover of slaves in the city. If the latter possibility was the case, it supports the argument that slavery was no longer profitable for the inner city as a result of immigration and the Panic of 1857. Table C

²¹ James Warkins, *Narrative of the Life of James Watkins* (Boston, 1852), pp. 11-12.

²² Henry Stockbridge, "Baltimore in 1846," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, VI (1911), p. 27.

²³ *Baltimore Sun*, February 27, 1852, p. 4. Some Negroes were restricted by law to stay in the state if they had records of misbehavior; i.e., unless they were sold.

²⁴ Bancroft, *Slave Trading*, p. 120.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 121. See also Tierman, "Baltimore's Old Slave Markets," p. 10.

²⁶ *Sun*, Jan. 1, 1850, p. 4.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1854, p. 4.

shows the declining slave population in the wards of the inner city from 1850 to 1860, thus enforcing this hypothesis.

Aside from Negroes who were slaves according to law, Baltimore's black population was made up of free Negroes who were not slaves in the strict sense of the term but who were "slaves" quite often in the practical sense. The free Negro did not have a master and, therefore, had to fend for himself and his family. While he might earn money, he was never certain to have a job the next day, especially in the 1850's when Negroes were laid off daily in increasing numbers because of economic depression and an abundance of white immigrant workers.²⁸ Negro freedom, moreover, was not usually equivalent to white freedom. Although his economic difficulties were not much different from those of the poor whites, the possibility of re-enslavement, discriminatory legislation, and social treatment negated much of the free Negro's legal and economic freedom. In general, he was treated as a slave by society and law; for example, nearly every state law concerning Negroes which was passed between 1790 and 1861 applied to slaves and free blacks alike.²⁹ Even the technical freedom was constantly in danger as any free Negro could be re-enslaved unless he could get white witnesses to defend his legal status in court. The economic aspect did, however, allow many Negroes to possess their own dwellings and seek their own livelihoods.³⁰

The technical distinctions in the two paragraphs above are all one can say about the economic and social differences between free Negroes and slaves. Not only most state laws but city ordinances and rules of caste applied to slaves and free Negroes alike. Nor could they vote or participate in politics in any way. There was a city ordinance prohibiting them to gather for social functions without permission, and even with permission, a white had to be present at all times.³¹ Another city ordinance even forbade Negroes from being out after 11:00 p.m. without the mayor's permission.³² The fact that there was little difference between the practical status

²⁸ *Baltimore American*, July 8, 1858, p. 1.

²⁹ Compare with other changes in Charts I and II; also, see the map to locate the wards in Table C. The important thing to see here is the considerable slave trade and the decline in slave population in the inner city.

³⁰ While the "Manuscript Census Materials" show that some Negroes lived in boarding houses, *Matchett's Baltimore Directory for 1849-50* lists more than 1,500 "Colored Householders." See U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Manuscript Census Materials, 1850, IV-VII*. See also *Matchett's Baltimore Directory for 1849-50* (Baltimore, 1849), pp. 439-473. Neither the Manuscript Census Materials nor *Matchett's Directory* gives any proof that this many Negroes owned houses, but it seems likely that they did since the boarding houses in the Census materials are listed separately from "houses."

³¹ Baltimore, City Council, *The Ordinances of the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore* (Baltimore), 1858, no. 33 and 1860, no. 39.

³² A pass had to be written by a white who could account for the Negro. The written pass was then sent to the mayor for approval. The following is an example of such a pass:

"The bearer of this, Joseph Armistead, a free Colored Man, was for several years a servant in my family. Whilst in my employ he was faithful in the discharge of his duties; honest, sober, this deportment strictly correct.

Baltimore. December 10th: 1846, Rob Bines."

Pass from Rob[ert] Bines to [Hon. J. G. Davis, Mayor of Baltimore], Correspondence of the Mayor of Baltimore, City Hall, Baltimore, Md., December 10, 1846.

TABLE C
The Slave Population Change in Baltimore's Inner City Wards*

Ward	1850	1860
2	85	46
3	195	115
4	250	72
5	84	41
6	104	78
9	139	92
10	241	50
12	158	111
13	264	91
14	177	142
15	307	173
16	134	80
17	45	3

* Sources: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850. Population*, 1, p. 221. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860. Population*, 1, p. 214.

of a slave and a free Negro can further be seen in newspaper advertisements. Occasionally, the advertisements would specify "slave" or "slave preferred,"³³ others only "colored" persons,³⁴ and there were few that did not specify "colored" or "white."³⁵ Thus, most employers had a job to be done, and although they might have preferred free colored or slave labor, they usually accepted either, so long as the need for labor was satisfied.

Many Negroes in Baltimore were employed by the "hiring-out method." This form of employment through which blacks were hired by the week, month, year, or term of years developed under the slave system and was used to prevent slaves from being idle when the laws of supply and demand dictated a lack of work.³⁶ The method was carried over to the hiring of free Negroes who hired themselves out and became quasi-slaves. These hired blacks were bound by labor contracts and could be returned to their employer by legal process. They could also be made to serve the rest of their terms, to forfeit their wages for the time lost, and to be liable for trial costs.³⁷ Their only compensation was that they received the wages instead of

³³ For example, "Wanted—To hire out by the month a COLORED BOY, (slave)." *Sun*, Feb. 2, 1850, p. 2.

³⁴ For example, "Wanted—A COLORED manservant to do the duties of waiter, . . . in a private family. One well recommended, (none other need apply.) . . ." *Ibid.*, Jan. 9, 1850, p. 3.

³⁵ For example, "A Cook Wanted—A good cook, wanted in a family of five persons. For such a one several dollars a month will be given. . . ." *Ibid.*, April 30, 1850, p. 3.

³⁶ In the 1850's Baltimore's commerce and industry was in a state of slow decline which lowered the labor demand, in general, compared to the 1830's and 1840's. In the 1850's the demand was increasing but slower than the supply because of a fall in the rate of Baltimore's growth and an increase in immigration. See Kathryn L. Behrens, "The Commerce of Baltimore" (unpublished Master's thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 1919), pp. 10–26.

³⁷ *Laws of Maryland*. (Annapolis), 1854, No. 273; 1850; No. 252.

CHART III
Baltimore's Population Statistics According to the Census of 1850

Age	White		Free Negro		Slave	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-1	2,738	2,689	413	408	56	61
1-5	9,682	9,828	1,476	1,499	307	329
5-10	10,436	10,432	1,574	1,749	393	465
10-15	9,210	9,541	1,468	1,721	496	575
15-20	8,207	9,446	1,102	1,776	438	632
20-30	19,064	17,652	2,451	3,577	577	790
30-40	14,253	11,913	1,929	2,508	247	405
40-50	7,817	7,201	1,129	1,518	149	300
50-60	3,918	4,320	649	885	121	148
60-70	1,866	2,377	288	472	50	91
70-80	744	992	98	197	31	32
80-90	159	309	38	74	6	15
90-100	16	40	16	42	1	7
100+	0	1	2	16	1	2
Totals	88,112	86,741	12,633	16,442	2,864	3,853

Note: Kennedy notes that 33 slaves were manumitted during the year of 1850, and there were 54 fugitive slaves. (p. 35)

Sources: Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Historical Account of Maryland* [no imprint], pp. 23-25, 35. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850. Population, I*, pp. 217-231.

the owner. This was an important fact, but it did little to improve the situation of the Negro since wages were usually low—four to six dollars a week. Indeed, it was a rare slave who saved enough money from his wages to buy his freedom. It is true that some free Negroes supported families and bought property; actually only 10 per cent or less owned their homes, and Richard C. Wade, in his revealing book, *Slavery in the Cities*, says that their lot was often worse than the slaves.³⁸

Varying levels of employment made the distinction between the free Negroes and slaves even more slight. A free Negro, for example, could hire himself out and thus become a quasi-slave; by doing so, he would become more of a slave in the strict sense of the term than a slave who was hired-out by his master (for example, as a caulker in a shipyard), for the hirer of the free Negro often was more demanding of the free man than the hirer of a slave. This circumstance occurred because the hirer of a slave had a responsibility, usually by contract, to the true owner of the slave, but the free man who lacked a master was vulnerable to exploitation by the hirer. Sometimes when a slave owner allowed his slave to seek his own employment rather than be hired out by the owner,³⁹ the slave lived as a pseudo-free Negro and was subject to the same kind of labor exploitation as the free black.

³⁸ Wade, *Slavery in Cities*, p. 141.

³⁹ When an owner allowed a slave to hire himself out, he often required the slave to pay a prescribed sum of money regularly (usually by the week). Other owners did not require any monetary kickbacks.

The technical differences between slaves and free Negroes were omnipresent, yet only in extreme cases could one be sure that the rigid definition of a slave or free black was valid. Perhaps the best way of putting this paradox is found in a section of the Baltimore *Ordinances* which summed up the difference between free Negroes and slaves in a single phrase, "negroes and other slaves."⁴⁰ The problem of manumission is a good example of the implications of the legal paradox above. Freedmen were, however, treated in the legal sense of the term by the Assembly which constantly had to cope with unsuccessful bills to prevent manumission. Other bills were passed in an effort to diminish the free Negro population, and the census statistics apparently demonstrate the success of those laws in the 1850's in Baltimore City. One must look at the statistics of the 1850 and 1860 censuses with "healthy reservations" because of the over-lapping zone between nominal slaves who were quasi-free and free Negroes who were quasi-slave.⁴¹ In summation, then, it has been said that color alone created the presumption that a man was a slave.⁴²

The psychological aspect of freedom must have been important to the Negro, but this assumption has been over-emphasized. The psychological value was quite important to the slave who was quasi-free; for example, a slave allowed to hire himself out. Fredrick Douglass made this fact clear when he was allowed to hire himself out in Baltimore. He felt additional freedom; he felt almost like what he imagined a freedman experienced. This feeling made him desire more freedom, and his goal to become a free Negro was enhanced. Hence, hiring out often became a step toward freedom.⁴³ On the other hand, some free blacks saw the advantages of slavery over freedom. A "good" slave owner would protect and defend his property, but the free Negro was always in danger of being kidnapped and sold into slavery.⁴⁴ For this reason free Negroes would often own the other members of their families as slaves.⁴⁵ One source indicates that at one time (no date is given) 136 free Negroes owned 240 slaves in Baltimore.⁴⁶

The fact that wages did not improve the Negro's lot was reflected in housing. Free Negroes lived in houses which were typically mere shacks and firetraps.

⁴⁰ Baltimore, City Council, "Acts of the [General] Assembly Relating to the City of Baltimore, Now in Force," LXXXI, Sect. 4, *The Ordinances of the Mayor and the City Council of Baltimore*, 1858, p. 369.

⁴¹ Morris, "The Measure of Bondage in the Slave States," p. 238.

⁴² Jeffrey R. Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1889), p. 183.

⁴³ Clement Eaton, "Slave-Hiring in the Upper South," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVI (1960), p. 678.

⁴⁴ See William Jay, "Inquiry into the Character and Tendency of American Colonization, and American Anti-Slavery Societies," American Colonization Society, *Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery* (Boston, 1853), Part I, pp. 42-93; Calvin D. Wilson, "Black Masters: A Side-Light on Slavery," *North American Review* (1905), p. 692; "Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the U. S. in 1830," *Journal of Negro History*, IX, no. 1 (Jan., 1924), p. 41. For a specific example of a free Negro being caught and convicted, see William Chambers, *American Slavery and Colour* (New York, 1857), pp. 186-188; see also *Laws of Maryland*, 1839, No. 38. For a report of a free Negro woman kidnapped on a Baltimore street by Woolfolk, a leading Baltimore slave trader of the 1840's, see Joseph Sturge, *Visit to United States*, p. 10.

⁴⁵ Wilson, "Black Masters," p. 692.

⁴⁶ A. Briscoe Koger, *The Maryland Negro* (Baltimore, 1953), p. 37.

CHART IV
Assessed Value of Baltimore's Slaves in 1853 by Ward

Ward	Value of Slaves	Total of All Values (Real Estate, etc.)
1	\$5,850	\$2,781,043
2	5,950	2,229,145
3	12,780	2,809,340
4	20,160	2,518,550
5	7,325	1,726,450
6	13,510	2,021,748
7	3,975	1,761,055
8	6,800	2,420,737
9	8,335	32,192,602
10	20,735	5,790,836
11	40,985	7,941,969
12	23,195	3,767,319
13	27,970	9,696,450
14	28,140	5,101,998
15	31,855	4,650,993
16	5,950	1,991,488
17	2,525	3,477,923
18	34,330	5,481,118
19	6,445	2,675,540
20	20,000	3,765,114
Totals	\$326,815	\$104,801,438

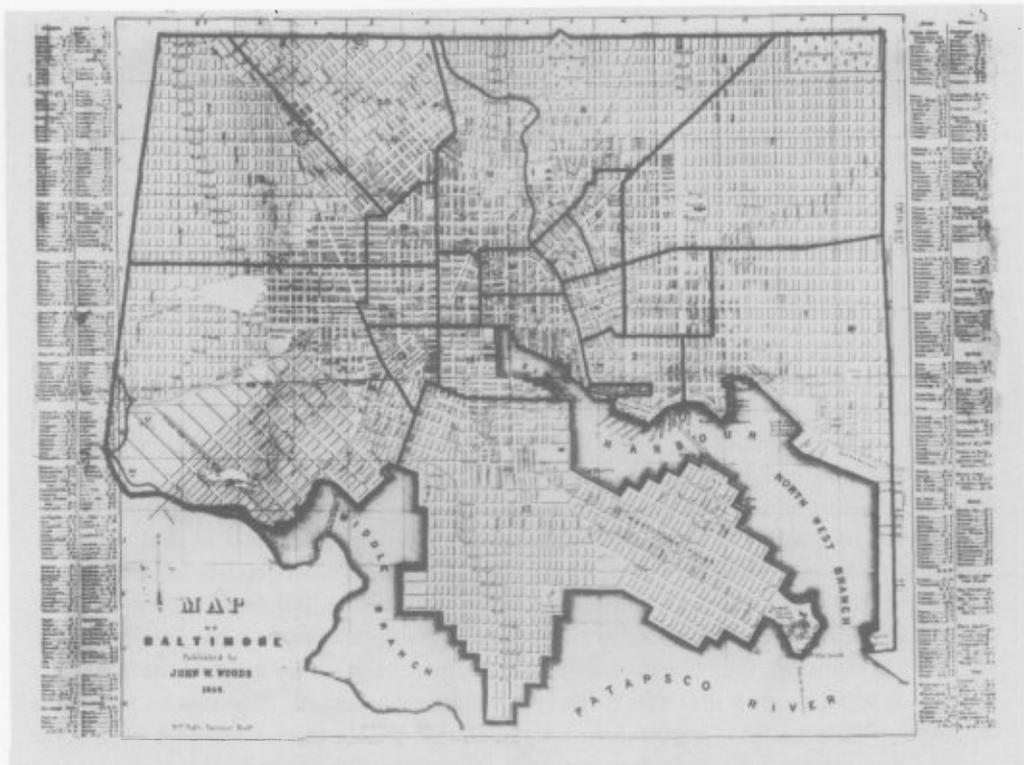
Source: *Baltimore Sun*, May 7, 1853, p. 1

Almost daily there were reports in the city newspapers of Negro homes which had burned down. The slaves in many cases were better off since they were usually dependent on their owners for housing which often proved to be a small brick building which provided better shelter and was less dangerous than the wooden ones of free blacks. But, in almost every case, the houses lacked heat, furniture, and space. Information on boarding houses in Baltimore is almost nonexistent, except that according to the Manuscript Census Materials segregation did not exist.⁴⁷

A lack of segregation was generally true for all housing as whites and blacks lived side by side in every ward of the city.⁴⁸ In the northern sector of the city there were more blocks which were totally white than elsewhere, except near the city limits, despite a large Negro population. These "white blocks" were probably there because of the numerous immigrants in the area. One might expect that wards with large numbers of Negroes would have segregated ghettos, streets, or blocks; yet this only existed on a few streets in south Baltimore, most notably Welcome Alley and Happy Alley. If, as historians such as Wade have suggested concerning other Southern

⁴⁷ U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Manuscript Census Materials* (State Library, Annapolis, Md.), 1850, IV-VII. See also *Matchett's Baltimore Directory for 1849-50*. For locations see map.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*



Map of Baltimore, 1856, with Ward Markings. *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

cities, integration was attempted deliberately in order to keep blacks separated and thereby make it more difficult for them to gather, it failed in Baltimore, because in an urban complex the Negroes were still close enough to gather almost at will.

One should see before going on, which attempts to analyze the implications of the labor aspects of Baltimore's population in the 1850's, that to the other people of the city the free Negro population was a hindrance to everyone—except to those who hired them—and was always expendable. Prior to the 1850's the only vigorous effort in Baltimore and all of Maryland to eliminate the free Negro element of the population came in the 1830's following Nat Turner's rebellion (1831). This effort was reflected in a series of laws passed in the thirties which were directed against the free Negro specifically.⁴⁹ In the 1840's the General Assembly did little to curb the growth of the free Negro population as most of the laws passed concerning him in the forties had to do with crime and minor points of law; some even repealed or revised the harsh laws of the thirties.⁵⁰ Then, after 1855 the so-called Jacobs' laws⁵¹

⁴⁹ *Laws of Maryland*, 1831, Nos. 271 and 323; 1832, No. R28; 1833, No. 87; 1835, Nos. 225 and 329; 1836, No. 150; 1837, No. 23; 1838, No. 375; 1839, Nos. 5, 15, 35, and 38.

⁵⁰ *Laws of Maryland*, 1844, Nos. 117 and 283; 1845, No. 94.

⁵¹ A series of laws, some of which did not pass, proposed by Curtis Jacobs who was chairman of the Committee on the Free Colored Population of Maryland in the House of Delegates.

were proposed in the legislature calling for complete elimination⁵² of free blacks. Anti-free Negro publicity was widespread in this period as indicated in the newspapers.

Contemporaries and some historians have listed four reasons for the renewed assault on the free Negro population, but were these standard reasons plausible in the late 1850's? The first reason held primarily by contemporaries was that free Negroes were the cause of no good and much evil.⁵³ That is, they robbed, murdered, practiced prostitution, and lived as uncivilized beings. The statistics show beyond doubt that the whites were about as guilty of committing uncivilized acts as Negroes; for example, in 1851 forty-eight whites were committed to jail for rioting while in the same year no Negroes were committed to jail for that offense, even though rioting was one of the chief complaints of whites against blacks. Table D shows several categories of crimes for which Negroes and whites were committed to jail.⁵⁴ A second reason offered by contemporaries and historians states that a certain fear of rebellion always existed among slaveholders.⁵⁵ This was true throughout the South, but in Baltimore between 1850 and 1861 not one report of a plot of insurrection can be found while the newspapers were filled with such reports in other slave areas. So this reason does not hold up. Thirdly, historians and contemporaries have held that the mere existence of "free negroes" was detrimental to the institution of slavery. Whites felt that the existence of freedmen near slaves enticed the slaves to escape or rebel to gain that which the free Negroes possessed. Free blacks were also accused of helping their brethren to escape. These points have merit and cannot be argued against strongly except to say that being free did not help the plight of the Negro very much. Furthermore, this explanation can be somewhat discounted by examining the fourth reason given, for it alleged that whites sought to reduce the free black population for the three reasons above because that element of the population was growing too rapidly. A glance at the census statistics of 1850 and 1860 shows that the free Negro population was waning, not growing.⁵⁶

The solution to the dilemma above is found in the implications of the labor situation. Briefly, it was the problem of competition. Immigrants disliked the free Negroes because those Negroes held jobs which the immigrants wanted. Slaveholding native whites opposed the freedman because as slaveholders they feared that they could not keep their hired-out slaves in competition with the immigrants so long as a substantial number of free blacks existed. In other words, the slaveholders who

⁵² Note: No mention was made about how the free Negroes were to be eliminated except by colonization which was too costly.

⁵³ Wright, "*Free Negro in Maryland*," p. 261.

⁵⁴ Even if one compares the statistics in Table D proportionately to the population, Negro convictions were still not significant except for felonies and safe keeping of a criminal and runaways (a category which does not really apply to our comparison).

⁵⁵ See Henry J. McGuinn, "The Historical Status of the Negro in Maryland," [reprint from] *The Quarterly Journal*, (October, 1939), p. 141.

⁵⁶ See Charts I and II.

TABLE D
Whites and Negroes Committed Jail^a in 1851 in Baltimore^{b*}

Category	Whites	Negroes
Felony	150	123
Fugitives from Justice	3	0
Burglary	22	1
Aiding runaways	0	2
Rape	8	1
Runaways	—	55
Safe keeping	7	11
Absconding seamen	23	1
Rioting	48	0
Destruction of property	12	0
Receiving stolen goods	1	0

^a 24 whites and 18 Negroes sent to the state penitentiary.

^b Where it was not feasible to compare whites and Negroes, categories were omitted such as embezzlement (for whites) and disobeying a slave master (for Negroes).

* Source: *Baltimore Sun*, January 6, 1852, p. 1.

hired out on the labor market felt as though they could compete with the immigrants or the free Negroes but not both elements, and since the competition of the free Negroes was easier to diminish, the slaveholders opposed the existence of that component of the labor force. And, when the Panic of 1857 struck and the competition increased even more, a free Negro labor force was intolerable. Even some hired-out slaves disliked the free Negroes because they had to compete with them for jobs. This solution, economic competition, to the dilemma is even more convincing when one considers that the renewed attempt to oust the freedmen came in the latter part of the decade when competition was extremely keen. Since the whites could successfully organize,⁵⁷ they were able to "push" the Negroes aside.⁵⁸ What the slaveholder failed to realize was that by pushing for an end to the free Negro population, he was in fact aiding the immigrant's attempt to limit labor in Baltimore to whites only.

⁵⁷ There was a convention of slaveholders in Baltimore in 1858. Robert S. Reeder, a leading Maryland politician, in a letter to Dr. Stouton W. Dent discussed the possibilities of another convention; see Letter from Robert S. Reeder to Dr. Stouton W. Dent on the Colored Population of Maryland, Port Tobacco. There was a colored convention in Baltimore in 1852, but it did not amount to much as few attended; see *Sun*, July 29-30, 1852. Also, white workers organized into labor unions.

⁵⁸ For example, Brackett in *The Negro in Maryland*, p. 210 notes that colored ship caulkers of Baltimore seem to have met with much injustice at the hands of their white rivals. See also *Sun*, July 5, 1858, for an account of a riot between black and white caulkers in Baltimore.

Anna Ella Carroll, Political Strategist and Gadfly of President Fillmore

CHARLES McCool SNYDER

FOR A CENTURY defenders of Anna Ella Carroll's claim that she was the principal architect of Union strategy in the western theatre of the Civil War have been on the alert to justify her. It was her contention that while she was in St. Louis in the fall of 1861 she saw the folly of a military offensive along the Mississippi River. Convinced of this, on returning to Washington she conferred with the leaders of Lincoln's administration and persuaded them to shift the operation to the valley of the Tennessee. The change in strategy took the Confederates by surprise and opened the way for the invasion of Georgia, the eventual conquest of the Mississippi River, and ultimate victory.

Miss Carroll subsequently alleged that the army, resenting her intervention because she was a civilian and a woman, accepted her plan but refused to give her the recognition she deserved. With backing from Edwin M. Stanton, Lincoln's Secretary of War, and the Assistant Secretary of War, Thomas Scott, as well as members of Congress, including Senator Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio and Congressman George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, along with abolitionists such as Gerrit Smith and Cassius M. Clay, she took her case to Congress to seek monetary compensation comparable to the salary of a general of the army for her efforts. The Senate Committee on Military Affairs approved the claim, but Congress repeatedly failed to vote the appropriation, and the payment was never made.

Accepting her position at face value, her defenders have represented her as a martyr, a sacrifice to the jealousy and pettiness of army top-brass, and have eulogized her as a "Woman With a Sword,"¹ "Lincoln's Secret Weapon,"² "A Military Genius,"³ and "The Great Unrecognized Member of Lincoln's Cabinet."⁴ And having cast her in the role of a heroine, they have viewed her entire life as a rehearsal for

¹ Hollister Noble, *Woman with a Sword* (New York, 1948).

² Winifred E. Wise, *Lincoln's Secret Weapon* (Philadelphia, 1961).

³ Sarah Ellen Blackwell, *A Military Genius, Life of Anna Ella Carroll of Maryland, The Great Unrecognized Member of Lincoln's Cabinet* (2 vols., Washington, 1891-1895).

⁴ Marjorie L. Greenbie, *My Dear Lady, The Story of Anna Ella Carroll, "The Great Unrecognized Member of Lincoln's Cabinet"* (New York, 1940).

martyrdom. In this atmosphere legends and myths have taken on the substance of reality.

Unfortunately, Miss Carroll saved only fragments of her extensive correspondence with the dozens of political leaders of her generation, and the paucity of her letters has compounded the problem for the historian, though her books and pamphlets might have provided an antidote to romanticism. But, now, quite unexpectedly, the discovery of more than fifty of her letters, written to President Fillmore before the shadow of "martyrdom" had distorted her image, reveal a Miss Carroll with flesh and bones and a zest for life which sustained her through an amazing career.⁵

Daughter of Governor Thomas King Carroll, a kin of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and the oldest of eight children, Anna was born on the Carroll plantation on Maryland's Eastern Shore on August 29, 1815. Precocious as a child, she imbibed a fascination for politics from her father, who served for a term as Governor of Maryland. At a tender age, she also became aware of the precarious state of the family's finances, and while yet in her teens she opened a school to ease the mounting burden of debt.

In her middle twenties she moved to Baltimore in search of a career as a commercial writer. Her identification with a distinguished family opened many doors for her, but achieving a career in a man's world was truly her own accomplishment. If she was not beautiful, neither was she unattractive. Fair, petite and curvacious, she could be regal or humble, impulsive or calculating, as a situation warranted. But when she had determined upon a course of action, she was aggressive and tenacious, occasionally ruthless, and almost indefatigable. She discovered that men were flattered by her attentions and that they were reluctant to deny her requests—and she made many of them. She tended to see issues in blacks and whites and assumed that her judgments coincided with those of God.

Details of her activities and her employments during the ensuing years in Baltimore, Washington, and New York remain sketchy, for much of her writing was done for others. The contents of her *Star of the West*, published in 1856, point to research and promotional articles for railroads—a tantalizing note from Jefferson Davis, when he was a member of the Senate of the United States, expressed concern for her health and enclosed a fifty dollar note, with no explanation!⁶

She was frequently an associate and sometimes confidante of Washington's leaders, including Robert J. Walker, Thomas Corwin, Jefferson Davis, John C. Breckinridge, John Minor Botts and Edward Bates. Professedly a Whig, she did not allow her predilections to interfere with her social and business relationships. As the Whig Party split and then disintegrated upon the rock of free-soilism she became an avid nativist, and when this movement subsided, she accepted Republicanism.

⁵ The letters are in the Fillmore papers at State University of New York, Oswego.

⁶ Jefferson Davis to Anna Ella Carroll, Dec. 22, 1857. Quoted in Greenbie, *My Dear Lady*, pp. 77-78.

When and where Miss Carroll met Millard Fillmore remains undetermined, but General Zachary Taylor's elevation to the presidency opened the possibility of a political post for her father, and she pursued it with her usual vigor. It seems unlikely that she would have overlook Vice President Fillmore. Her quest ended successfully when Taylor named her father Naval Officer of Baltimore, a position he continued to occupy through Fillmore's tenure in the White House.

What appears to have been Miss Carroll's initial letter to Fillmore, dated April 27, 1852, was a presentiment of what was to follow: a judicious mixture of extravagant praise with requests for favors. Discerning a similarity between Fillmore and Pericles, she insisted that only the spirit of partisanship had marred a universal acknowledgment of "the exalted virtues, and undoubted patriotism, and the wise and just administration of the present National Executive." She pointed to a recent article which she had written in a "sick chamber" in defense of his administration and closed her letter with an earnest appeal for the appointment of a friend to a federal office.⁷

A month later she wrote again. Her personal regard, she observed, was assuredly not less than her admiration for the "greatest and best Ruler the Republic has ever possessed." Waiving previous recommendations for offices, she now asked his consideration of her "first, and it shall be the only, case with which I shall ever presume to invite your especial interposition."⁸

After a personal interview on the following day, she acknowledged that, with the Whig national nominating convention only a few weeks away, the time was unpropitious for changes in patronage. But she pointed to "traitors" among the office holders and estimated that only one out of seven were supporting his nomination. "But I do believe in spite of all their vituperation, their daily defamation and jealous and indefatigable exertions to bring ruin and disaster upon our cause, you will [win the nomination] by the voice of the American people."⁹

Two weeks later she warned him of Attorney General Crittenden's "covert" maneuvers, Webster's "Great endeavors," and John Clayton's "ambitions" to obtain the presidential nomination, repeated her flattering evaluation of his service to the nation, and renewed her request for patronage.¹⁰ Writing from the convention at Baltimore, she expressed her "heart felt regret" at his defeat:

When I found that the friends of Webster would never come over to you and that *hope* had fled, I almost sunk under it in the gallery.

But you have nothing to regret. No man in the country or the World will ever occupy the true and elevated position to which you are *this day* exalted by the acclamation of the entire Country.

⁷ Carroll to Fillmore, Fillmore papers, Buffalo and Erie Co. Historical Society.

⁸ Carroll to Fillmore, May 27, 1852, *ibid.*

⁹ Carroll to Fillmore, May 28, 1852, *ibid.*

¹⁰ Carroll to Fillmore, June 14, 1852, *ibid.*



Kingston Hall. Birthplace of Anna Ella Carroll. From *Life of Anna Ella Carroll* by Sarah Ellen Blackwell.

I rejoice in Maryland's fidelity. Had *she* deserted you I would have felt that my name and birthright had been dishonored.
I shall see you in a day or two. . . .¹¹

She was soon back in Washington renewing pressure for appointments, and she did not withdraw it while Fillmore remained President. But with General Winfield Scott's nomination by the Whigs, she now hastily turned to Senator William H. Seward, recognizing his hand in Scott's victory, in the hope of establishing close relations with what she anticipated would be the incoming Administration.

She declared her admiration for his intellect, his championship of the rights of man and his leadership of the Whig party in the nation. "We of the South owe to you more than any other man the reputation we enjoy and the hopes with which we are inspired." She expressed only indignation for Southern Whigs who had hesitated to accept Scott, and she condemned Webster for the same reason. "And where would have been the prospects for success," she asked, "with any other name than Winfield Scott." She then pressed Seward for an answer and suggested that he should mail it in care of Colonel Warren, the Whig Committee Rooms, or Secretary Thomas Corwin.¹²

But Scott went down to defeat in November, and Miss Carroll again turned to Fillmore for help. As he attended his ailing wife and prepared to leave Washington for their home in Buffalo, she wrote him a note on Saturday, March 5, 1853.

¹¹ Carroll to Fillmore, June 21, 1852, *ibid.*

¹² Carroll to William Seward, Sept. 15, 1852, William Seward papers, University of Rochester.

Without referring to her purpose, she asked him to stop at the parlor of her rooming house on the following evening. "I beg you, let nothing prevent your coming, if you knew the cause of this request you would not hesitate."¹³ Worrying over the condition of his wife and possibly shrinking from a request to solicit political favors from President Pierce, he did not reply. Forty-eight hours later he received a second request.

I could not but feel that the *position* I occupy justified me in making . . . the small request, because I am your true and faithful and eternal friend.

I know as a father you can't but appreciate the filial devotion of a daughter.

I could not expect success when I consider the *machinations* of evil and designing men, did I not know that God is all powerful to defeat such, and that *His* eye and *His* blessing and *His* promise is *mine*.

I will count no sacrifice or regard any thing I may endure, so that I attain this end. The goal to be reached is *dear* enough to command the effort.

Will you, oh can you not *feel* a disposition to serve one, whose admiration for your public and you private virtues will exist and be *manifested* in all coming time.

Reply to this letter *today*, I entreat you, and consider me, *tho' a woman*, as one of your warmest admirers, one who will rejoice at the same elevation you have had, and *will strive* to see you again attain it as one who, without compare, is your best and truest friend.¹⁴

Fillmore's reply has been lost, but there is no evidence that he intervened to save her father's office.

On March 30 Mrs. Fillmore died in Washington, and the sorrowing family accompanied her body to Buffalo for burial. Two weeks later Miss Carroll despatched a letter of condolence:

Altho' it was not my fortune to know Mrs. Fillmore intimately, there is no one who more highly estimated the exalted character of her virtues or more truly appreciated that worth for which she was preeminent, and which gives to woman all that adorns and dignifies her in the Church and in the World.¹⁵

Eighteen months later Miss Carroll addressed another letter of condolence to Fillmore upon the death of his twenty-two year old daughter, Mary Abigail (Abby). After the usual platitudes, she acknowledged that it was scarcely the moment to dwell upon worldly themes, but she proceeded, nevertheless, to advert to the general belief that it was his "destiny" to preside again as the Chief Magistrate of this nation by the call of the American people.

The party who are now working this great moral reform [Know Nothing] will see that the Augean Stables shall be cleansed in the next two years, and the miasmatic influence removed which is working death and ruin on our beloved country.

¹³ Carroll to Fillmore, Fillmore Papers, Oswego.

¹⁴ Carroll to Fillmore, March 7, 1853, *ibid.*

¹⁵ Carroll to Fillmore, April 15, 1853, *ibid.*

... If you are to be our next President whatever my pen can do or my words express shall be so written and so expressed.

She also referred to reports that he was affianced, and, if so:

as I have reason to believe, I must sincerely wish you all the happiness you merit, and trust you may find in that other self a full complement for the deficiency which now exists. When in Washington I talked with you with all the frankness and confidence of a daughter, so high was my estimate of your excellence and worth, and I am sure, from me, a remark of this sort, will be readily ascribed to the motives which alone can govern me.

And I hope, dear Mr. Fillmore, you will ever look on me as a daughter and cherish for me the final interest you did then express.¹⁶

Her information regarding Fillmore's marital plans was false, but recurrent rumors persisted.

During 1854 and 1855 Miss Carroll spent much of her time in New York City and New England pursuing a project which neatly combined philanthropy with financial relief for her family. To raise money the Carrolls had mortgaged a number of their slaves; and lacking means to meet the payments, they faced the bitter prospect of seeing them fall into the hands of slave traders. Miss Carroll saw a possible solution in an appeal to northern philanthropists for funds—contributions which would serve a dual purpose of paying off the mortgages and freeing the slaves. She obtained a sympathetic response and collected a sum sufficient to pay for at least twenty.

Another activity in the spring of 1855 was an assignment from the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York to write a promotional history of that institution, then in its twelfth year. While engaged in it, she revived her correspondence with Fillmore.

After reviewing the responsibilities she had assumed to maintain her family, a labor "truly without a parallel," she noted that in her research she had discovered that Fillmore's name headed the list of "distinguished gentlemen who endorse this institution," and that there was a "great desire" to appoint him as a trustee. She urged him to buy stock in the company as an investment. "None can be more desirable or secure, whilst your influence in such an act would tell its results upon thousands."¹⁷ In the same mail Fillmore received a formal invitation from the company to serve as a trustee, and he accepted.¹⁸

Meanwhile, Miss Carroll had become absorbed in the Know Nothing movement and was devoting her literary talents to its propagation and sustenance. On Saturday, April 21, 1855, she met Fillmore in New York at a celebration honoring

¹⁶ Carroll to Fillmore, Oct. 12, 1853, *ibid.*

¹⁷ Carroll to Fillmore, March 31, 1855, *ibid.*

¹⁸ Henry R. Hyde, General Agent of the Mutual Life Insurance Co. of New York, to Fillmore, March 31, 1855, Fillmore papers, Oswego.



Millard Fillmore. *Library of Congress.*

the late Henry Clay. The same evening she dashed off a note to express her pleasure and invite him to see her:

Tho' language is given to express our thoughts I am sure mine did not fully indicate how my pure and true heart beat with delight in meeting you again.

With many causes of sadness my heart is of course *fresh* and *full* of all womanly enthusiasm. And to meet again after many and great trials made me forget all in the pleasure and gratification it inspired me this evening.

She enclosed a table of contents for a book she had agreed to write and asked him to send a response to it at her parlor the following evening [Sunday] "about gas light, or any hour after, convenient to yourself. . . . Always love me and feel for me the interest a daughter would give you and with all her affection."¹⁹

But Fillmore did not respond, and she wrote again on Monday asking for the return of the prospectus. "I do not think if you knew all I wished to say, anything would have caused you to leave this city without calling again. . . . P.S. I shall still hope to see you. Even as early as 10 o'clock in the morning, I could see you. If you have no desire to come just enclose the paper which I need at once."²⁰

Fillmore was again in New York on May 3 to complete preparations for an Atlantic crossing to Europe. He left for Boston on May 5 and was back in New York just prior to May 16, his sailing date. Meanwhile, Miss Carroll had tried to reach him at the St. Nicholas Hotel. "I had not expected you to call, but a new and unexpected trouble just upon me, impelled me to call on my friends today."

¹⁹ Carroll to Fillmore, April 21, 1855, Fillmore papers, *ibid.*

²⁰ Carroll to Fillmore, April 23, 1855, *ibid.*

She indicated that an execution would be served upon the personal effects of her family in Baltimore unless she could raise money to avert it. She did not mention the sum needed, but observed that an advance of "\$100 or less" by her friends would remedy the matter.

I shall have money from my own labors not yet available, when I will return to you and them this little amount.

This shows you that I freely forgive, as I have sincerely grieved, and nothing but this could have made me apply to you as a friend which I would not have done a week ago to save my own life.²¹

It is obvious that the emergency had eased her disenchantment over Fillmore's elusiveness. But again, he appears to have left her appeal unanswered.

Upon his return from Boston, she made still another attempt to see him. "I have very important reasons relating wholly to your own personal interest in saying as I now do that I wish to see you this afternoon," she emphasized.

Apart from all selfish consideration (which certainly would not have caused me to send for you) there is a *purpose* which you *cannot* neglect, and *will not* regret!

My parlor is on the first floor.

I will not detain you 15 minutes. I only knew I *must* see you an hour ago! Say what hour you will call. I will be in at 3 P.M. and after that all the time. I shall not go out. Call as soon as you can.²²

With his embarkation on the following morning, Fillmore undoubtedly had a tight schedule and could find obvious excuses if had he sought them. Therefore, later the same night Miss Carroll wrote a last note before his sailing. She noted that her message concerned his future:

You may smile, but I believe I can have very much to do with your nomination by [the American] Party which will as surely control the next election for President as that you and I live.

I wished to tell you what has recently transpired, and what was desired of you, etc. It is highly important I should have seen you for a few minutes . . . Tho' you have made one mistake in your estimate of me, I show you how nobly I forgive only because it is you. Shall I not see you before you leave—don't forget I wished to do so—for your good.

I shall pray for you and always love you.²³

Fillmore received her request before his departure; but again he did not respond. Meanwhile, he had not been unaware of the spectacular growth of Know Nothingism and its political potential to serve his own ambitions. After some soul searching he drafted a letter to a friend underlining the corrupting influence of the foreign vote and the need to restrict office holding to those "reared in a free country." And to

²¹ Carroll to Fillmore, May 5, 1855, *ibid.*

²² Carroll to Fillmore, May 15, 1855, *ibid.*

²³ Carroll to Fillmore, May 15, 1855, *ibid.*

remove any doubts regarding his availability, he received the order's secret rites shortly before his extended absence from the country.²⁴

Miss Carroll refused to be sidetracked by Fillmore's failure to see her and lost little time before communicating with him in Europe. She revealed that she had been authorized by certain American Party leaders to inform him that he would receive a letter asking for a statement of his feelings and wishes toward the party. It had been endorsed by every council in New York state and would be signed by party leaders.

She also disclosed that she was more than simply an intermediary. The idea and the query were both the products of "your own dear little friend, but without any knowledge on the part of the world." She reassured him that he need only to respond in generalities. She further added:

I don't imagine you would have imagined it to be of my authorship. Yet I thought it proper to say, that you may know the movement is sincere and in good faith.

With all the light before me, I believe you under Providence are to be elevated to the next Presidency by the will of the American Party.²⁵

She asked for his prompt response.

Fillmore received her letter in London on June 15 and answered it on the same day. From Miss Carroll's subsequent letter it is evident that he declined the proposal, preferring to remain on the sidelines and trust that his record would attract nationalists and moderates as well as oath-taking Know Nothings.

Acknowledging that she accepted his logic and that his decision had met with the approval of his friends, she forwarded him a copy of the letter in question for his perusal. "Under the circumstances," she added, "it evidences no very suicidal purpose . . . this however, is but the *opinion* of the author, which is too apt to be tinged with vanity." She only asked that he examine it and write her a letter "expressive of your regard for my effort. I am so well assured this will give you pleasure I cannot feel I impose a burden."

She enclosed the opening of a new book, *The American Battle*, which she had not contemplated when she had seen him and elatedly concluded:

I have the approbation and counsel of the distinguished author of the platform of the American Party, Hon. J. N. Reynolds, as well as the President of that convention [James W. Barker] and hosts of good and true friends through the Country, whom it is a credit to please; and to do so is the highest honor in the matter to which I aspire.

I am much gratified by the attention extended to you in the old world. It ought to be equally so to every true American—that one individual at least who has enjoyed the highest political consideration may be seen among sceptres and crowns upon whom all their candles may shine and all their eyes turn.²⁶

Fillmore received the letter eight weeks later in Rome.

²⁴ Fillmore to Isaac Newton, Jan. 1, 1855, Fillmore papers, Buffalo Hist. Soc.

²⁵ Carroll to Fillmore, May 28, 1855, Fillmore papers, Oswego.

²⁶ Carroll to Fillmore, July 7, 1855, *ibid.*

Five months elapsed before Miss Carroll seems to have written again. Fillmore had now been nominated by the American Party, and she was grinding out political tracts for the forthcoming campaign. She reported that she was completing her crowning work: *The American Battle or The Contest between Christianity and Political Romanism*, a diatribe replete with warnings against the power of the Papacy in America, the education of children in Catholic schools, the hazards of unrestricted immigration, and the corruption of the ballot box by masses of immigrants unfamiliar with the issues. She saw the hand of God in Fillmore's nomination. "He has required this of the American people as much so as He did Washington to lead our great revolutionary armies."

She informed him that she had attended the nominating convention in Philadelphia upon the advice of several delegates and that she had been truly a "Know Nothing" there. A pamphlet she had written anonymously had been termed "George Law's life and death," and she had been assured by Bartlett and others that her forthcoming volume would be the text book of the cause. She had staid its publication long enough to complete a chapter on the nominations at their request. She also noted that Vice Presidential nominee, Andrew Jackson Donelson, had called on her and that she was satisfied with him.

Verily the days of Jackson have returned and his relative is housed on his winged steed. . . .

I believe it the wisest and most available choice which could have been made to steal democratic thunder!

I now rejoice you are in Europe—that this matter has seemed and is without any effort, unsought and unsolicited in anyway whatever.²⁷

In her letter of May 23 Miss Carroll expressed apprehension lest a dissident American convention at New York called by free-soilers should repudiate Fillmore's nomination and make overtures for a merger with the Republicans, who in their first Presidential campaign were attracting free-soil men from the Whigs, Democrats and Know Nothings in the North.²⁸ Her fears were not unfounded. The dissidents went over to John C. Fremont, the Republican nominee, and exposed the deep-rooted cleavage in the American Party and virtually destroyed Fillmore's chances of carrying the state in the election. But this was not yet apparent.

Fillmore accepted the American nomination in Paris on May 21 and returned to the United States a month later, arriving at New York late on June 22. He was tendered a midnight reception at the dock by several thousand of his supporters, and through the next three days he toured New York and Brooklyn offering impromptu responses to dozens of delegations. On Thursday he boarded the steamboat *Alida* and moved up the Hudson River, making whistle stops enroute and delivering a more ambitious address at Albany. A night later he reached Rochester,

²⁷ Carroll to Fillmore, Feb. 28, 1856, *ibid.* Law was a wealthy Ship owner and merchant who had been Fillmore's most serious rival for the nomination.

²⁸ Carroll to Fillmore, Feb. 28, 1856, *ibid.*



Winfield Scott. *Library of Congress.*

and on Saturday, June 28, he arrived in Buffalo, where another massive turnout awaited him.

Meanwhile, Miss Carroll had impatiently awaited his call at her residence in Holdridge's Hotel at Broadway and Eighth Street. Early on Monday morning she had sent a note to his suite at the St. Nicholas Hotel:

I am too much delighted with your *midnight* address, so broad comprehensive and national, which has received and will receive, the universal commendation of every man who loves this, as the dearest of lands.

... When you come be sure to stop at the Broadway door a perfectly private entrance. If possible, come this evening, I have a great deal of importance to say to you. If you cannot, let me know when you will.²⁹

But his itinerary left almost no time for personal calls, had he been so inclined. And as he steamed up the river Miss Carroll's wrath increased with each mile.

Excuse me for this intrusion, [she exploded], but it is due myself that I say I am not insensible to a *discourtesy*, to say nothing of what I regard as disrespect. Tho' I bear no regal

²⁹ Carroll to Fillmore, June 23, 1856, *ibid.*

title of queen or empress I should be loth to believe I was on this account the less entitled to consideration. . . .

In the face of all I did, nay permitted, in your behalf, for I have been the author of articles which were made effective by ignorance of their source, then having informed you by note where I was and requested you to call for reasons connected with your own case and not in any wise with myself—to leave without any sort of notice argues a conclusion which I make in sorrow and damps my ardor in the cause and not *mine* only, but *many* of the truest advocates you have—who are supporting *you* like *myself* from patriotism and not price.

For the first time in our *history* a woman has ventured openly and without disguise to espouse the cause of her Country. . . . This has drawn the applause of your sex, and every distinguished member of the party, who has known of my sojourn here have [*sic*] called, while, you, whom I have made the embodiment of the creed, have seen fit, in view of all this, to show so much indifference as to create today the *remark* and *surprise* of my friends, who declare that some recognition was not less a duty than many others performed here. . . .

There was perfect propriety in calling to see me in *sight* of all the *world*. . . . I have more enthusiasm in the matter than I ought. Your coldness will be a good antidote.

Despite his rebuff, however, she admitted that she would feel an interest in his success. Only recently, she added, she had rejected a tender from a Fremont leader who had bid for her support. Her new book, *Star of the West, or National Men and National Measures*, would be ready for publication by August and she was called upon to write additional pamphlets. “But I don’t feel like entering with my whole soul into anything chilled by a want of proper appreciation for one I LABOR for. Those young ladies who never did and never can do anything for Country could have your calls and your civilities.”³⁰

In the same mail Fillmore received a bristling defense of Miss Carroll, presumably drafted with her collaboration, from W. S. Tisdale, one of her younger admirers. Referring to her as “the impersonation of the genius of America” and noting that the most prominent members of the American Party had done homage and called on her,

What must be the measure of their surprise to learn that you, who are more deeply indebted to her politically than any other man, have failed to pay her that mark of respect which she so richly merits. . . . Is it not natural for me to say, as some of them do, that if you are not true to a woman, and such a woman too, you cannot be true to men?

A “public” call upon Miss Carroll, he insisted, would have been looked upon as an endorsement of her “glorious work,” but instead, he had inflicted a “wicked slight.”³¹

Fillmore found Tisdale’s letter “exceedingly impertinent,” but he toned down his

³⁰ A reference to Fillmore’s appearance before an estimated 300 women in Brooklyn on June 25. Carroll to Fillmore, June 26, 1856, Fillmore papers, Oswego.

³¹ W. S. Tisdale to Fillmore, June 27, 1856, *ibid*.

rebuttal to Tisdale for fear that he might cool his enthusiasm for Fillmore's candidacy.³²

Rebounding from her depression, Miss Carroll drafted a pamphlet designed to expose Pierce's mediocrity by comparing him with his predecessor, and her more typical high spirits returned when a note from Fillmore, which had been missent, arrived with an explanation for his seeming neglect.

I much prefer to know indeed that your *inclination* prompted you [to call]. There was nothing to forgive. . . . The sight of you in the procession thrilled me with delight and I could, had it been possible, have jumped right out of the window and met you with open arms, and felt I did no wrong in the sight of Angels or men!³³

Fillmore found Miss Carroll's letter reassuring, and he expressed his pleasure in learning that she now knew the true causes which had prevented him "from doing myself the honor to give you a personal call. "He continued:

I should indeed be most happy to see you and were you at Niagara Falls, I should endeavor to do so. I can assure you I appreciate your friendship and devotion for me, and I am pained that I have unintentionally put your fidelity to so severe a test. But it is gratifying to know that I have at least one friend on whom I can rely through good and through evil report.³⁴

Miss Carroll's labors were truly prodigious. Beyond her books and pamphlets she made her parlor at Holdredge's a nerve center of the American Party. She importuned Thomas Corwin to campaign actively for his former chief and corresponded with a host of leaders including Erastus Brooks, nominee for Governor of New York; Thomas H. Clay; George Prentice, the Louisville publisher; E. B. Bartlett, National President of the Know Nothing Order; "Parson" Brownlow, the Tennessee abolitionist and orator; and Kenneth Raynor, the able North Carolina spokesman. In fact, she may have been in contact with more key personnel than any other member of Fillmore's team!

However, by August she was suffering from fatigue and was advised to rest. She considered a short vacation at Niagara Falls as one of several alternatives, provided she could discuss campaign strategy with Fillmore there. "It should be done in such a way," she conceded, "as to create no observation or remark."³⁵

Fillmore responded that it would be a great pleasure to see her and that he would endeavor to do so, but he cautioned her that he was temporarily confined by a portrait painter sent by the citizens of Talbot County, Maryland. "But do not fail to let me know if you come and where you stop. Of course our meeting must not attract attention."³⁶

³² Fillmore to Carroll, July 23, 1856, Anna Ella Carroll papers, MS. 1224, Md. Hist. Soc.

³³ Carroll to Fillmore, July 29, 1856, Fillmore papers, Oswego.

³⁴ Fillmore to Carroll, July 30, 1856, Carroll papers, Md. Hist. Soc.

³⁵ Carroll to Fillmore, Aug. 8, 1856, Fillmore papers, Oswego.

³⁶ Fillmore to Carroll, Aug. 13, 1856, Carroll papers, Md. Hist. Soc.



Mary Abigail Fillmore. *Library of Congress.*

While toying with the idea of a trip to Niagara, Miss Carroll continued to work on her publications. And claiming to voice the opinion of many of his friends, she now urged Fillmore to release a statement calculated to correct misinformation and alleviate apprehensions. She assumed that he would stand upon the platform of Henry Clay, oppose the extension of slavery into any territory where it had not heretofore existed, but resist interference with that institution where it continued under the sanction of the Constitution. She also advised him to support the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, which had been nullified by the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Corwin, she added, had consented to direct such an inquiry to him, if he approved the idea.³⁷

But Fillmore preferred to say nothing; and his unwillingness to accept her advice plunged her into despair.

I cannot tell you how [your] . . . few lines . . . chilled me. It was like a hail storm in an August evening. . . I wept over it and felt disheartened to think you should almost condemn the effort of trying to do you a benefit. . . I had no other motive and with my deep sensitivity and proud spirit I tell you I can't but feel hurt that you should think my

³⁷ Carroll to Fillmore, Aug. 18, 1856, Fillmore papers, Oswego.

efforts to serve you annoying. I know Mr. Fillmore you never meant to be *short* to the most disinterested and reliable friend you have on earth. But it seemed to some, and I silently suffered. None but my Maker will ever know it.³⁸

Fillmore responded to Miss Carroll's complaints with a seven page letter. Asking her pardon for his "seeming abruptness," he explained that he was literally overwhelmed with calls and correspondence; furthermore the weakness of his eyes limited his work to a few hours each day and none by candlelight. He agreed that her proposal of a Corwin letter would be helpful in the North, but Solomon G. Haven³⁹ and others feared its effects in the South.

Everybody who knows anything of me knows that I was decidedly and unequivocally opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. . . . I am also of opinion that the South could not do a wiser thing than to move for its restoration, but in the present exasperated state of the country, this can not be hoped for. Were it possible, it would annihilate Black Republicanism at a blow, and the Hydraheaded monster of disunion would be crushed, and every head seared so that it would never show its monstrous deformity again.

The only practical solution remaining, he added, was statehood for Kansas after first repealing its obnoxious laws and providing for a fair representation in a new legislature and permitting resident citizens to form their own constitution, with or without slavery according to their wishes. He saw little use in proclaiming his opposition to the extension of slavery into free territory or his willingness to sustain it where the Constitution sanctioned it, for he was attacked in the South as an abolitionist and at the North as a proslavery man.⁴⁰

Fillmore's explanation restored Miss Carroll's morale. She accepted the wisdom of his decision to "maintain [his] matchless dignity and be silent." Meanwhile, she had found Corwin's behavior perplexing. He had confided that it was hard to find any Fillmore men among former Whigs except himself and "a few old fogies" and that if the victory should be between Buchanan and Fremont, he would vote for the latter. However, he had agreed to write the introduction to *The Star of the West*, and she was hopeful that he would heed requests from American leaders in Ohio to join them in the campaign.⁴¹ As it turned out, Corwin had second thoughts about writing the introduction, and she had to look elsewhere.

Early in October she went to Boston to speed the publication of her book. Meeting Edward Everett, who had replaced Daniel Webster in Fillmore's Cabinet, she tried to persuade him to write a commendation of her volume, but he refused, not wishing thereby to endorse the American Party. She found other Whigs there undecided about a coalition with the Americans and reluctant to contribute financially to the campaign.⁴²

³⁸ Carroll to Fillmore, Sept. 4, 1856, *ibid.*

³⁹ Solomon G. Haven, member of Congress from Buffalo, former law partner and principal political adviser of Fillmore in Washington.

⁴⁰ Fillmore to Carroll, Sept. 8, 1856, Carroll papers, Md. Hist. Soc.

⁴¹ Carroll to Fillmore, Sept. 11, 1856, Fillmore papers, Oswego.

⁴² Carroll to Fillmore, Oct. 15, 1856, *ibid.*

She now made up her mind to go to Niagara Falls before returning to New York. "Wouldn't it then be convenient for you to come to Niagara in a private way," she asked Fillmore, "where I could have a talk with you without the observation of any one?" Fillmore answered her letter promptly, but there is no suggestion in her follow-up letter that he alluded to her plans to be at the Falls.

She forwarded a copy of *The Star of the West* and solicited his reactions.⁴³ It was a collection of some of her published articles relating to western railroads, filibustering in Central America, and the threat of Catholicism to the United States Navy, to which she had added analyses of the recent presidential administrations, the threat of Romanism to American liberties, eulogies of Fillmore and Erastus Brooks, and a reprint of the former's Albany speech. It was a hodgepodge of subjects held together by a tenuous theme of nativism. Fillmore's inflamed eyes forbade its examination.

A few days later she dispatched still another campaign publication: a pamphlet entitled *Which Shall Be President, Fillmore or Buchanan?* and divulged her plans for a trip to Niagara Falls:

On Monday morning [October 27] I propose to leave for the Falls and will drop a line some where on the route, if my health admits. I suppose I shall be in the Falls Tuesday night.⁴⁴

On Thursday, several days behind her original schedule, she addressed Fillmore from Albany. She expected to be at the Falls that night, and hoped to see him the next day at the Cataract House.⁴⁵

But upon her arrival, instead of Fillmore's call, she received only a note explaining his absence. "I frankly confess [it] does not honor either your head or heart and is not like you," she protested. After many months of labor and sacrifice, she argued, she had come to the Falls "principally because you said you would meet or see me here. . . . Had you not suggested this yourself, I never would, I assure you." She reminded him that he had declined an answer to inquiries on the ground that he would prefer discussing matters with her. She further observed that she had met a number of American leaders at Albany, and that "everywhere I was requested to see you at Buffalo."

When I consider that you are within a ride of $\frac{3}{4}$ hour of me, and taking *all* the circumstances into consideration, I cannot but believe there is some other reason than the one assigned.

Had the matter presented a different aspect there would have been no kind of impropriety in my seeing you at Buffalo, without suggesting that you should come here. It would have involved no delicacy whatever, for, comparatively, I am as well known as yourself.

It was obvious that Fillmore and Miss Carroll could find no acceptable definition for "a meeting which would not attract attention."

⁴³ Carroll to Fillmore, Oct. 21, 1856, *ibid.*

⁴⁴ Carroll to Fillmore, Oct. 24, 1856, *ibid.*

⁴⁵ Carroll to Fillmore, Oct. 30, 1856, *ibid.*

Denying any thought of reward for her contributions to his campaign, and finding the thought of his defeat "overwhelming," she expressed her determination to come to Buffalo and to meet him "without regard to your frigid note." She declared that she would be at the American House the next afternoon at four o'clock.

You may not like *political* women, but my friends say I have been more than a Jesse Fremont⁴⁶ to the Fillmore cause, and the material aid furnished especially by the document, *Who Shall Be President?* is now being circulated by the thousand and is declared to be the best effort now that can be made to save [New York].⁴⁷

After waiting for the last mail delivery, and receiving nothing, she dashed off a last note from the Falls. "I now request to see you if it be the last time in my life. The more I reflect upon the character of your notes the more I am convinced that some malignant influence has been affecting your mind. I think therefore I have a *right* in view of my friendship to you to make the request."

As promised or threatened she, carrying the above note with her, took the morning cars to Buffalo early Saturday. From the American House there she added a post script, "I shall have to remain here until Sunday evening. You better let me know what time it will suit you to call here."⁴⁸ Sometime Saturday or possibly on Sunday Fillmore made his call. No details of the meeting have survived but subsequent correspondence indicates that he assuaged her wounded pride.

Miss Carroll then returned to New York to await the election. It was evident that in a few hours after the polls closed New York state had gone to Fremont. Stunned and depressed, she still hoped that Kentucky and several other doubtful states would fall into the Fillmore column along with Maryland, and thereby send the election to the House of Representatives, where Fillmore might yet win. She attributed the loss of New York to the typical male approach to politics.

My heart enters into my acts and I, loving the cause, believe in its triumph, while theirs is only cold, selfish calculation.

In any result my dear friend, you have gained a triumph, and in losing the second elevation, we are saved, *you* and Anna Ella Carroll too!⁴⁹

After waiting in vain for Fillmore's reply she wrote another letter seeking a word of praise and recognition for her work. "I really did suppose I should have had one line from you, your sympathizing friend in defeat, as I would have been the most joyous in success. But again you have halted in the plain path of a little Christian office which would have honored you in the performance."

Under the circumstances, she insisted, few could have withheld a warm and cordial response. She reported a plan for a long trip with her brother to the West

⁴⁶ Mrs. John C. Fremont, glamorous daughter of Senator Thomas Hart Benton, who overshadowed her lackluster husband.

⁴⁷ Carroll to Fillmore, Oct. 31, 1856, Fillmore papers, Oswego.

⁴⁸ Carroll to Fillmore, Nov. 1, 1856, *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Carroll to Fillmore, Nov. 6, 1856, *ibid.*

and Southwest, where she would disseminate her books. “[I] mean to be a power yet in this land which it will be well to propitiate.” She noted that she had in mind another edition of *The Star of the West*, which would encompass chapters on the non-extension of slavery, the rights of suffrage, cheap postage, and a history of the Bank of England.

If you choose dear Mr. Fillmore to write a letter to me, expressing your estimate of my efforts and writings it might be of considerable aid, in connection with others I have, to facilitate my efforts. . . .

I cannot forbear to express my admiration of you in your grand and uncompromised integrity. Washington like, you stand out in bold relief to be admired by your whole country at a future day. My complaint is that you can't see me as I do you. I am *great* in my womanly sphere.⁵⁰

Her flattery softened Fillmore's reserve, and he complied with her request, only to regret it a few days later, when he discovered that his letter had been altered and used to promote a testimonial dinner and gift for Miss Carroll in New York City. Indignant over its misuse he contacted Daniel Ullmann, a former Silver Gray Whig and Know Nothing nominee for governor in 1854, for his impressions of Miss Carroll. While this letter has not been preserved, it is evident from Ullman's reply that he had inferred that he did not know her well. Ullmann characterized her as a “regular Jeremy Diddler⁵¹ in petticoats,” and noted that some months ago she had been arrested for swindling. “Your letter amused me very much. [It is] a repetition of enquiries that I have had addressed to me several times.”⁵²

Meanwhile, Miss Carroll advised Fillmore of the forthcoming testimonial in her honor “by the friends of the cause and the candidate I have espoused so fearlessly and faithfully.” Nothing, she added, “could possibly be more appropriate because most justly merited.” And unaware of his disapproval, she added that she had taken what she wished from his letter “and fixed it to suit.”⁵³

While seething over her duplicity, Fillmore received a communication from W. S. Tisdale, soliciting a monetary contribution for Miss Carroll. And assuming it would strengthen his case, Tisdale enclosed a newspaper clipping containing an excerpt from Fillmore's eulogy as edited for the press. It read:

I do not hesitate to declare that the American cause is greatly indebted to the gifted pen of Miss Anna Ella Carroll, of Maryland, and I am happy to know that her own native State, has, by its vote, done honor to its talented and accomplished daughter. I hope her writings may be disseminated far and wide, and like bread cast upon the waters, return with renewed blessings after many days.

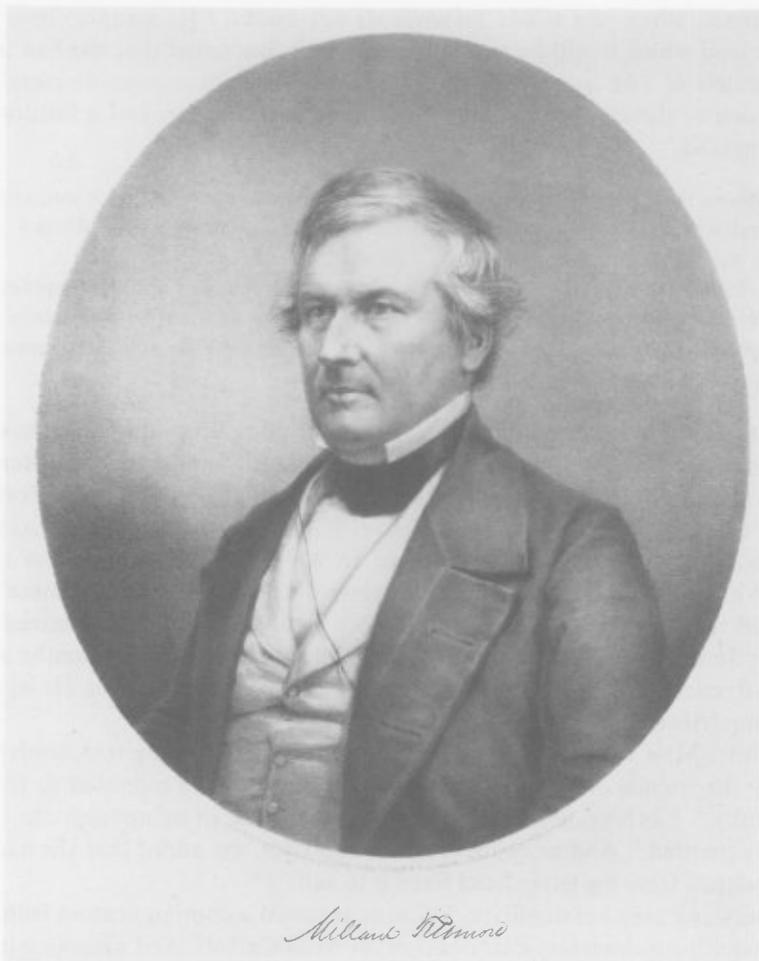
For myself, I should be wanting in the performance of the most grateful and pleasing duty

⁵⁰ Carroll to Fillmore, Nov. 16, 1856, *ibid.*

⁵¹ Jeremy Diddler was a character in James Kenney's farce, *Raising the Wind*, published in England in 1803. He borrowed sums of money but failed to pay them back.

⁵² Daniel Ullmann to Fillmore, Nov. 25, 1856, Fillmore papers, Oswego.

⁵³ Carroll to Fillmore, Dec. 5, 1856, *ibid.*



Millard Fillmore. *Library of Congress.*

of my life, if I omitted thus to acknowledge and return my sincere thanks for the valuable services she has rendered me and the American cause by her able and spirited writings, as well as by the exercise of her personal espousal of our cause. Well may Maryland be proud to claim the birthplace of this most noble specimen of a true American woman, while the whole Union should claim her as adopted daughter.⁵⁴

Since there appears to be no record of the original, the extent to which Miss Carroll altered it remains undetermined, but the style and sentiment smacks of pure Carroll!

⁵⁴ Unidentified clipping enclosed in Tisdale's letter, W. S. Tisdale to Fillmore, Dec. 8, 1856, Fillmore papers, Oswego.

Fillmore left Tisdale's appeal unanswered and wrote to Miss Carroll asking her to return his letter. He made no mention of the alteration or misuse, but she required no sixth sense to fathom his displeasure.

She replied that she had saved but two of his letters, having committed the others to the flames "in common with hundreds from other eminent men." She had retained only his last letter from Europe "in which you very justly attributed to me the *principal* agency in effecting your nomination" and his apology for not calling her "as you should have done on your return to New York in June last." She apparently did not look carefully for his letters. Several others remain in her papers.

No one had ever made such a request to her, she insisted, "and I have had correspondence with as many *distinguished* persons as any individual of my years in the Nation." She noted that she had letters from Henry Clay, and that she considered publishing them with others with "interesting reminiscences of men that I have seen with my opinion of the same. The title of this will be, 'Men as they seem and as they are.'"

Rising to the attack, she added,

"The part [of the letter] published has done you more good than any letter you ever wrote. . . . There is nothing in it that is not just and true. . . . I have had many letters commending the sentiments, but not one man or woman who thought it anything but my due. . . . It has occasioned no surprise in any quarter whatever. Why should it? Answer this! Why I would as soon think old *Buck* [President-elect Buchanan], that I have most flagrantly assailed to elevate you, should call on me to surrender a very complimentary letter which he wrote when I wished to retain my father's office four years ago. . . . Dear Mr. Fillmore, I have embalmed you so entirely in my Books that their sale is utterly destroyed in certain sections. No one being has done so much for you.

"I have repeatedly been invited of late to emasculate and alter my Books. I have refused. I will not depart from my principles to put money in my purse. There is no doubt of my course, I have sacrificed thousands of dollars.

"You have not *read*, you do not know the measure of my services for you as the *public* knows them.

"If you have anything to say for my publishing your letter, you can say it through the press or by private correspondence. . . .

"I see clearly you never *mean* to understand me.⁵⁵

Fillmore decided to avoid further recriminations, and seems to have refrained from sending a rebuke which he drafted on December 20.

I have your *spirited* letter in reply to mine desiring to see my former one to you. It is evident that you understand why I cannot. But we can have no controversy, and I shall make no complaint against you. But let me advise you to [be] ware of those who assume to act for you, lest they place you in a false position with your friends.

I have received two letters from Mr. Tisdale but respectfully decline all correspondence with him. When the matter to which he alludes [*sic*] shall be in the hands of persons

⁵⁵ Carroll to Fillmore, Dec. 18, 1856, *ibid.*



Thomas Corwin. *Library of Congress.*

whom I know and in whom I can confide, I shall most cheerfully contribute my *mite*, but not until then. I need not say more than that.⁵⁶

On December 22 Miss Carroll sent him a copy of the second edition to her *Star of the West* with a request that he deliver it to the editor of the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*.

I would have sent you a copy [she added,] but did not think you would trouble to read it, tho' it is about you.

Governor Floyd of Virginia and others have been spending the evening and discussing men and measures. You came in for your share and would you believe I could have defended the charge of your cold personelle [personality?].

Don't you mean to answer my last letter?"⁵⁷

Fillmore now responded, but his letter was brief and to the point.

Some letters, he observed, were best answered by silence. "The unauthorized use, not to say abuse, of my former private letter, should teach me caution. I would

⁵⁶ Fillmore to Carroll, Dec. 20, 1856, *ibid.*

⁵⁷ Carroll to Fillmore, Dec. 22, 1856, *ibid.*

fain believe the act was not yours, but that of your evil genius [Tisdale], who assumes too much.”⁵⁸

Miss Carroll replied in another “spirited” letter:

I could not have believed you capable of reproaching me for publishing to the world your letter in reference to me, when I had openly before the world done for you what no woman ever dared do before for any man in America!

You know that I requested some such letter to use if it was deemed best by my friends in connection with the others. You gave it under these circumstances, and neither enjoined confidence or marked it private, because that would have destroyed its use for which you gave it. A part of it was not proper to show. I tore it off and felt very sure that any change would meet your full concurrence. Heaven knows it was not strong enough, or warm enough to attract any particular notice.⁵⁹

In justifying her handling of the letter Miss Carroll overlooked the discrepancy between her stated purpose for the letter and her subsequent use of it.

The publication of no letter could make me feel any more or less in my own eyes, I tell you, and until your letter recalled it, I had allowed it, like all such trifles, to pass off my mind for the great and arduous engagements and responsibilities I have to encounter.

As to calling on you to aid in any such enterprise as that on foot [the testimonial and gift], I assure you I don't suppose you would believe I would allow or accept if I knew it.

She indicated her willingness to accept Tisdale as her “evil genius” and wrote him off as *one whose assistance was accepted during the campaign when she was sorely taxed to produce publications which “had no small share” in winning Maryland.*

Somewhat mollified by her conciliatory gesture, Fillmore drafted one of his longer letters to justify his irritation.

If this apparently trifling matter has been trying to you it has been doubly so to me. Indeed it has given me infinitely more pain than my defeat for that was a thing I might reasonably anticipate, but I regarded you as a friend in whom I might confide

My letter, obtained for travelling, was first altered, then published and then burned. And because you suspected I was offended at this, for I had said nothing, you read me a most extraordinary lecture, and informed me that you have been advised to strike my name from your publications. I can not doubt who gave that advice, nor for what purpose it was given. But you will pardon me for saying that such threats have no terror for me. And that I may relieve you and myself from all embarrassment on account [of] this, I beg leave to say in the kindest possible manner, and without any feeling of anger or defiance, that you have my cordial consent to follow the advice of your friend. It is true that I do not know what I may lose by this operation, for as I told you I have never read one of your publications; but whatever it may be I greatly prefer to submit to it rather than the indignities which have been offered.

But now, My Dear Miss Carroll, having disposed of your friend and his advice, and

⁵⁸ Fillmore to Carroll, Dec. 27, 1856, *ibid.*

⁵⁹ Carroll to Fillmore, Jan. 1, 1857, *ibid.*

thus freed myself from the imputation of acting under coercion, I beg leave to assure you in all sincerity, that if your friends see fit to testify their respect for your zeal in the American cause by a suitable present, I shall most cheerfully contribute my mite to that object. But decency and propriety forbid that my name should ever appear in the transaction. Standing as I do I can not, without appearing invidious, single out one friend from all the rest for public honors. Your own good sense must convince you of this, and hence the improper use made of my letter and my own name. But I will not dwell upon it nor suffer myself to speak further of the person whose insolent assumption to dictate to me what is due to you, can never be tolerated again. When this matter shall be in the hands of men whom I know and in whom I have confidence, I shall cheerfully unite with them, without my name appearing, to express in a proper manner my appreciation to your services for the American cause.

In conclusion, I can only say that I have written 'more in sorrow than in anger,' and am determined to believe that your *evil genius* and not your own upright and generous heart has induced you to suffer, rather than do, an act which has placed me in a false position with my other friends and given me infinite pain. . . .

I commenced this letter on Saturday and my eyes troubled me so much that I have not been able to finish it till now [Tuesday]. Please to regard it as *private* and *confidential*.⁶⁰

Fillmore's willingness to place the blame on Tisdale and his allusion to her "upright and generous heart" took the sting out of the encounter. Miss Carroll now regretted that she might have been

"... the innocent cause of inflicting a pain greater than that of your defeat. . . .

The whole thing was suggested by others, as you say. Truly I suffered but did not act in the matter. Sorry I am that I trusted to anyone the letters to a mortal, and the reason I destroyed most of them was that I am not able to keep letters secure in travelling. I burn my own father's. . . .

Now, about 'my friend,' I tell you sacredly that he is anything but that. . . . He will do no more for me, and what you say, shocks me. I never dreamed of his doing such a thing. But let it all pass and be consigned to oblivion.

I repeat in conclusion, I have great respect and esteem for you. And my heart and pride was wounded when you evidenced none for me. I am your tried and trusting friend, and I want to live and die with an unchanged feeling towards you.

I want no acknowledgment for anything I did, one half of which you don't even dream yet. For from the time I wrote the *only original* article for your nomination in the Administration Organ in Washington in 1852 [*National Intelligencer*] to the 4th of November last I had striven to see you where you ought now to be.

She closed her letter with a prescription for the treatment of his eyes!⁶¹

Fillmore appears to have left the letter unanswered; satisfied to drop their correspondence. But Miss Carroll wrote again the following September. She and her publisher (presumably J. French and Company of Boston) had disagreed on their

⁶⁰ Fillmore to Carroll, Jan. 10 and 13, 1857, *ibid*.

⁶¹ Carroll to Fillmore, Jan. 16, 1857, *ibid*.



James Buchanan. *Library of Congress.*

respective commitments, and referees ruled that she was responsible for the cost of the illustrations. She now asked Fillmore and others whom she had honored with their likenesses, to pay the costs. She asked Fillmore for twenty dollars. She enclosed several articles she had written relating to her recent visit to the West and a prospectus of the fourth edition of her *Star of the West* with a reminder that “honorable mention of you is made in this book. By remitting the cost of the book [\$1.50] to the author it will be immediately forwarded.”⁶²

Fillmore promptly drew a draft on Robinson’s Bank of New York City for \$21.50 as payment in full for the engraving and the new edition.⁶³

Upon the receipt of his contribution Miss Carroll acknowledged it and advised him that his copy of the *Star of the West* would be shipped within a few days. She added that she was awaiting a portrait of Commodore Stewart “who has been warmly patronizing the third edition, being dedicated to him”⁶⁴

On February 11, 1858, Fillmore married Miss Caroline (Blachly) McIntosh, a fifty-two year old widow of Albany, New York. If Miss Carroll forwarded a congratulatory note, it probably went into the keeping of Mrs. Fillmore, who did not save her correspondence.

The following October Miss Carroll dispatched a copy of a circular she had drafted as her “last contribution to the cause of *Truth and Liberty*.” For reasons, she assumed he would understand, she had withheld her name from the title page.

⁶² Carroll to Fillmore, Sept. 2, 1857, *ibid.*

⁶³ Copy dated Sept. 4, 1857 in the Fillmore papers, Oswego.

⁶⁴ Carroll to Fillmore, Sept. 5, 1857. Captain (later Admiral) Charles Stewart, naval hero of War of 1812.

She was mailing it to all the Protestant clergy as well as to the leading statesmen and literary men in the United States.

From my own friends, I shall request such an expression of the Book by letter, as will serve to be inserted in the appendix of the second edition; at the suggestion of the Publisher. In the meanwhile, I am sure you will take pleasure on commending this work to your friends and in having it noticed in some of your city papers.⁶⁵

He seems to have made no reply.

Several weeks later Fillmore made a brief business trip to New York, and, as was his custom, stopped at the St. Nicholas Hotel. Hearing that he was in the city, Miss Carroll extended an invitation to him to call on her at her residence in the Clinton Place Hotel at Eighth and Broadway. He declined.⁶⁶

When he was again in New York, the bitterness which had festered for eight months in Miss Carroll's breast burst to the surface. She again addressed a note to him at the St. Nicholas, but it was a threat rather than an invitation.

I have only waited for the opportunity, *publically* [*sic*] to resent [your] most unpardonable insult, as I intend to do. I do not, of course, associate you with politics anymore, but I should be forgetful of what is due to myself, if I allowed any man on earth, to treat me, with such an uncivility. . . .

You evidently supposed I had some pecuniary favor to ask, but in which, you were entirely mistaken. I had none of any kind and *wanted none*. . . .

Thank Heaven, I have been more than blessed, and can earn the bread of independence, fearing God and therefore, not fearing to say of any man, what I please. With my years, I may say, under the Divine blessing, my strength has increased, and I hope yet to be a power in this land. I am in correspondence etc. with the best and first men of the Country, not one of whom, but, would feel *more* than indignant upon the statement of the facts, which causes this note, but for which I will be avenged, and that before long.

I am not malicious, but as you know, forgiving to a fault, but I will not allow any man to treat me with disrespect. Nor do I consider that the attention of any King, Potentate, or President could confer anything whatever on me, even, if in enforcing my own dignity, I have to tax incessantly my mental powers.

I have quietly and silently, waited my time, for saying this, for to no one have I spoken of it or of you. I should have done so, on the instant, but for good and sufficient reasons. Now I apprise you, that, whatever is severe of you which shall pass into history, will have its origins in your incapability to appreciate the friendship of a true woman. It is proverbial that you do not, your own sex.⁶⁷

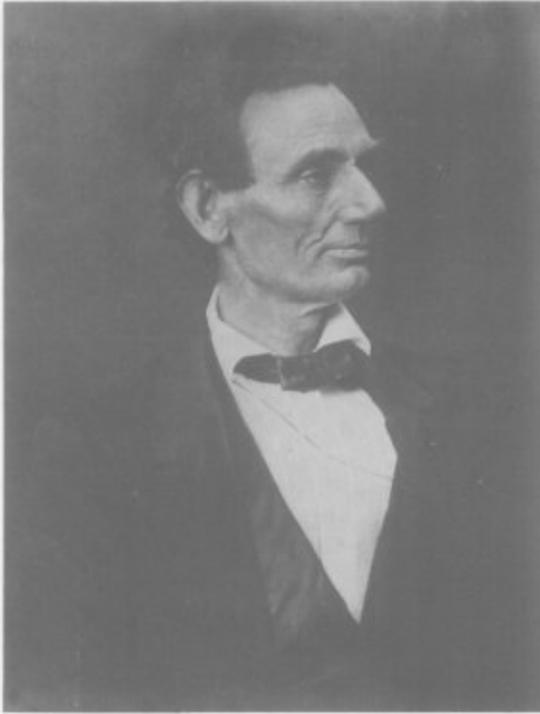
Her philippic was delivered to the hotel too late to reach Fillmore and he did not receive it until two months later in Buffalo. He replied the same day:

I have perused it with equal astonishment and pain. . . . Now do not for a moment sup-

⁶⁵ Carroll to Fillmore, Oct. 17, 1858, *ibid.*

⁶⁶ Carrol to Fillmore, ca., Oct. 28, 1858, *ibid.*

⁶⁷ Carroll to Fillmore, June 14, 1859, *ibid.*



Abraham Lincoln. *Library of Congress.*

pose that I am induced to answer this extraordinary letter from any fear of your vengeance; or that my object is in anyway to deprecate your wrath. . . .

But it is due to myself to say that no insult nor disrespect was intended in my response to your request. I do not now recall what reply I made, or rather in what language it was expressed. I only recollect that I was exceedingly busy, when the note was handed me, and gave the answer, either verbally or in pencil, to the messenger, and if it was not couched in polite language, I exceedingly regret it, and again assure you that no disrespect was intended.

Whatever may be your opinion of me, I shall ever rejoice in your prosperity and fame.⁶⁸

Miss Carroll seems to have reconsidered, and the nature of Fillmore's "unpardonable insult" remains undetermined.

Eighteen months later, on November 24, 1861, Miss Carroll, in company with Lemuel D. Evans, a frequent companion and source of perennial gossip regarding their relationship, stopped in Buffalo for a few hours. They were enroute to Washington from St. Louis, where Miss Carroll had surveyed the military strategy of the North and found it wanting. She sent a note to Fillmore inviting him to call on

⁶⁸ Fillmore to Carrol, Aug. 9, 1859, *ibid.*

her at the American Hotel. Rather surprisingly, in the light of previous invitations, he complied!

Ten years later, while Miss Carroll was pressing for Congressional action to compensate her for allegedly devising the strategy for a third front along the Tennessee River, she again wrote to Fillmore, asking him to recall their conversation on November 24, 1861, and in an effort to jog his memory added:

I stated to you [the Western Department's] unpromising condition, and expressed the very confident belief with which I was impressed, that the expedition then preparing to descend the Mississippi would be very disastrous to the Union cause, and if carried out would secure the independence of the South.

You asked me what better could be done as the battle of Bull Run had demonstrated the difficulty of sending a land force into the interior. I said, the Tennessee was the true line and not the Mississippi, and I meant on my return to demonstrate it to the government.

She asked Fillmore to write his recollection of the conversation and to forward it to her "as I wish to establish every fact in connection with the origins of that campaign now and for the truth of history."⁶⁹

Fillmore responded promptly, but again the contents of his letter are unknown. His version presumably did not help to document her case, or it is possible that his unpopularity among Radical Republican supporters of her claim would have destroyed its utility. In any event, she did not use it at this time. But in an article published in the *North American Review* in 1886 she offered her version of his reaction to her proposal.

He expressed his faith in the discovery I revealed to him, and asked if President Lincoln had heard from me, and advised me to lose no time in submitting my views to the Cabinet at Washington.⁷⁰

Two years after this inquiry regarding their Buffalo discussion—Fillmore was now seventy-three and she, fifty-eight—she drafted her final letter to him. She was still documenting her claim and was trying to contact Elbridge G. Spaulding, a member of Congress from Buffalo in 1861–1862, who had advised Secretary Chase on monetary matters. "Military men are ill disposed to concede such a service as mine to any civilian, much less a woman," she complained. "But of course they have not the power to impugn its genuineness."

She reported the recent death of her father, which had "overwhelmed" her with grief "deep unutterable."

I have lost the best Father, the most perfect of all the race, not in my judgment only, but in that of all who had the fortune to know him.

⁶⁹ Carroll to Fillmore, Nov. 7, 1871, *ibid.*

⁷⁰ Anna Ella Carroll, "Plan of the Tennessee Campaign," CXLII *North American Review* (1886), p. 345.

As an afterthought she added,

My precious father entertained for you a higher appreciation than for any other public man of the age.⁷¹

Fillmore replied immediately, presumably providing the information which she had requested.

If Fillmore's death four months later elicited a note of condolence from his old and sometimes petulant admirer, it was not saved.

During her declining years Miss Carroll lived her self-ascribed role as "A Military Genius," and "The Great Unrecognized Member of Lincoln's Cabinet." Obscured by this not altogether convincing characterization was a woman at war with Victorian conventions and fighting for the freedoms of the twentieth century as a pamphleteer, propagandist and politician. Her correspondence with Fillmore reveals a performance much more convincing, and in some respects, one which was truly remarkable.

⁷¹ Carroll to Fillmore, Nov. 19, 1873, Fillmore papers, Oswego.

William Lloyd Garrison in Baltimore, 1829–1830

DAVID K. SULLIVAN

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON spent less than one year of his long life in Baltimore, but his stay in that city in 1829–1830 proved to be a momentous one. Garrison's experiences there strengthened and finally confirmed his developing radical approach to antislavery agitation. Also, the events in which he was involved and the publicity they received—much of which originated from Garrison—were influential in introducing his name and doctrines to the nation. Thus, it was from Baltimore that the young crusader first emerged as a leading and distinct figure in the controversy that would eventually tear the Union apart.

I

In August, 1829, Garrison, then twenty-three years old, arrived in Baltimore to assume his duties as co-editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, the only journal in the United States devoted exclusively to the antislavery cause. The paper's founder, Benjamin Lundy, had recruited Garrison for the new post so that the *Genius* could be issued more frequently than once a month. This remained an impossibility as long as Lundy, who traveled extensively recruiting new followers, was the only editor. But now with Garrison stationed in Baltimore the paper could be published weekly, while Lundy could traverse the country lecturing, aiding colonization efforts, and attempting to expand the *Genius*'s list of 1,000 subscribers.¹

The co-editorship represented a major opportunity for the obscure but ambitious journalist-reformer from New England whose fledging career had been beset by disappointment.² He would now be associated with Lundy, an experienced and respected leader in reform circles, and the man who had inspired Garrison to take up the antislavery banner. Furthermore, as resident editor of the *Genius*, Garrison could achieve a prominent place in the movement in his own right. He therefore eagerly seized the challenge that the new position presented to him.

Baltimore was to have a profound influence on the impressionable young reformer.

¹ For accounts of the immediate events leading to Garrison's appointment as co-editor of the *Genius*, see Benjamin Lundy, *The Life, Travels and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy*, ed. Thomas Earle (Philadelphia, 1847), pp. 28–29; Merton L. Dillon, *Benjamin Lundy and the Struggle for Negro Freedom* (Urbana, Ill., 1966), pp. 131–133 and 138–146; and John L. Thomas, *The Liberator: William Lloyd Garrison* (Boston, 1963), pp. 74–81 and 89.

² See, for example, Thomas, *Garrison*, pp. 7–101; and, for a shorter version, Walter M. Merrill, ed., *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison: I Will Be Heard, 1822–1835* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), I, pp. 4–5.

For the first time in his adult life, Garrison now confronted the realities of the peculiar institution. He was naturally predisposed to ferret out the worst features of slavery, and, though Baltimore's slave population was relatively small—about 4,000 in a total population of 80,000—the system was sufficiently visible to permit his alert eyes and ears to gather considerable evidence to support his preconceptions. But even Garrison was apparently not completely prepared for all he saw, heard, and experienced. Before long, his positions on many of the issues of the anti-slavery movement became more extreme.

Garrison quickly familiarized himself with his new surroundings and rose to his new responsibilities. He observed numerous slave-related activities around Baltimore and earnestly conveyed the details to his readers. The most flagrant abuses and atrocities he reserved for a "Black List" on the front page of the *Genius*. On one occasion Garrison reported hearing, as he hurried past a home on a Baltimore street, the "application of a whip" followed by "shrieks of anguish" from the unfortunate victim, who Garrison assumed, without further investigation, was a slave. Another incident that aroused him to an angry declaration in the "Black List" was the sight of a slave who had just been whipped by a displeased overseer. According to the editor, the man's back, barely visible through the flowing blood, bore the marks of nearly forty lashes.³ For Garrison, who a month before his arrival in Baltimore had affirmed that complete and immediate emancipation was "not desirable" and a "wild . . . vision,"⁴ these and other brutalities clearly demonstrated the need to eradicate the slave system without delay.⁵

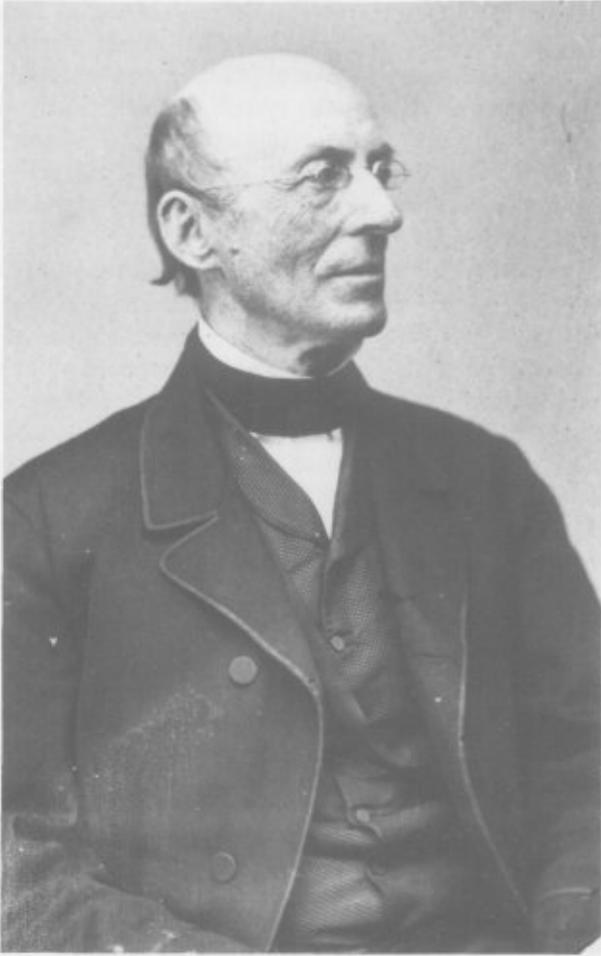
Garrison's conversations with members of Baltimore's sizeable free black community, which in 1830 numbered almost 15,000, likewise persuaded him to alter his opinions on colonization. Colonization, though supported by many well intentioned reformers, including Lundy, was viewed by some Negroes as a Southern ploy designed to divert attention from the more important issue of abolishing slavery and in doing so further strengthened the institution through the expulsion of potentially subversive blacks. Garrison had never been enthusiastic about colonization, but for a time he supported Lundy's efforts which, he said, "deserve[d] encouragement." Largely as a result of his associations with Baltimore's free blacks, however, Garrison progressively downgraded this assessment until he finally reached the conclusion that colonization was both "impotent" and "wrong."⁶

³ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Oct. 16, 1829, p. 43 and Oct. 2, 1829, p. 27, cited in Wendell P. and Francis J. Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison: 1805-1835* (New York, 1885), I, p. 150.

⁴ *National Philanthropist and Investigator*, July 29, 1829, cited in Wendell and Francis Garrison, *Garrison*, I, p. 140.

⁵ See, for example, Samuel J. May, *Some Recollections of Our Antislavery Conflict* (Boston, 1869), p. 15.

⁶ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Sept. 2, 1829, p. 1, Jan. 15, 1830, p. 147, Feb. 12, 1830, p. 179, and Mar. 5, 1830, p. 202, cited in Wendell and Francis Garrison, *Garrison*, I, pp. 142-143 and 147-150; and *Liberator*, Jan. 1, 1831, p. 1. See also, William Lloyd Garrison, *Thoughts on African Colonization . . .* (Boston, 1832), especially pp. 52-57, which contain articles written by a Baltimore free black for the *Genius*; A Friend of Liberty [William Lloyd Garrison], *The Maryland Scheme of Expatriation Examined* (Boston, 1834); and May, *Recollections*, pp. 15 and 18-19.



William Lloyd Garrison. *Library of Congress.*

Garrison's wrath was not directed solely at Baltimoreans and other Southerners. He soon came in contact with evidence of Northern complicity in the existence and viability of slavery, particularly in the form of ships and money to support the crucial slave trade. The editor had observed the frequent slave auctions and shipments of blacks from Baltimore's thriving harbor. His rising indignation was exacerbated when he learned that a ship owned by a leading citizen of his own hometown, Newburyport, Massachusetts, had transported slaves from Baltimore to New Orleans.

To "illustrate New England humanity and morality" and to "cover with thick

infamy all... concerned with this nefarious business," Garrison featured the *Francis* voyage in the "Black List" of the November 20, 1829, issue of the *Genius*. He charged that the vessel had been laden with seventy-five slaves, shackled in cramped quarters below deck. In bold, capital letters, Garrison then announced that the owner of the ship was Francis Todd of Newburyport and implied that he participated regularly in the slave trade. The article also included an attack on the trade generally and proclaimed that the mercenaries involved in it were robbers and murderers who deserved to be imprisoned for life.⁷

Todd, smarting from this bitter denunciation—which included Garrison's God-like decree that slave traders were destined for "final doom in the lowest depths of perdition"—and no doubt insulted by the editor's affrontery in sending him a copy of the article, filed a \$5,000 libel suit against Garrison. Soon after, a Baltimore grand jury indicted him on a criminal charge. Garrison was accused of "wickedly, unlawfully, and maliciously" intending to defame and disgrace Todd, "to the evil example of all others" and "against the peace, government, and dignity of the State."⁸

On March 1, 1830, the state's criminal case was tried before a Baltimore jury and Judge Nicholas Brice. The prosecution's main contention was that Garrison's article was not only inflammatory but untrue. Witnesses testified that, contrary to the editor's assertion, the slaves on board the *Francis* had been allowed to move freely on the deck of the ship. The defense, championed gratuitously by Charles Mitchell, a well known Baltimore lawyer, avoided a direct challenge to this testimony. Instead, Mitchell argued that the article did not constitute an attack on the shipowner, but only on the slave trade. That assault, he maintained, was not an actionable offense. Mitchell claimed that Garrison's condemnation of the slave trade should not even have been admitted as evidence, particularly since it had not been included in the indictment. The portion of the article that was included, the lawyer stated, had in essence simply named Todd as the owner of a vessel that transported slaves.⁹

But the jury, apparently impressed by the testimony of the prosecution's witnesses and probably unable to ignore the juxtaposition of the references to Todd and the angry denunciations of the slave trade, quickly returned a verdict of guilty. Defense motions for a new trial were made and quickly denied by Judge Brice. Later in the middle of April Brice fined Garrison fifty dollars and court costs. Unable to pay, the editor was sentenced to imprisonment in the Baltimore jail for six months.¹⁰

⁷ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Nov. 20, 1829, p. 83, cited in Wendell and Francis Garrison, *Garrison*, 1, pp. 165–166.

⁸ Wendell and Francis Garrison, *Garrison*, 1, pp. 167–168.

⁹ William Lloyd Garrison, *A Brief Sketch of the Trial of William Lloyd Garrison for an Alleged Libel on Francis Todd of Massachusetts* (2nd ed.: Boston, 1834), pp. 4–7.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8.

II

To the playful greetings of "fresh fish, fresh fish," from his new comrades,¹¹ Garrison began his jail term on April 17. By his own account, he did not find his confinement unpleasant. Garrison asserted that conditions were "perfectly agreeable" and that he was as healthy and happy as he had been before his "wings were clipped."¹² These statements may have been at least partially designed to reassure his friends in New England who had expressed concern for his well being. Or, as some historians have suggested, his attitude may have reflected his conviction that he was fulfilling his Christian obligation in a great moral crusade.¹³ He avowed, for example, that "a few white victims must be sacrificed to open the eyes of this nation, and to show the tyranny of our laws . . . I should deserve to be a slave myself if I shrunk from that duty or danger." Now that he had made that sacrifice, Garrison did indeed seem to find satisfaction in his new role. The sentiments, "A martyr's crown is richer than a king's" and "Think it an honor with thy Lord to bleed," from a poem Garrison composed while in jail, conveyed this sense of Christian fulfillment apparently felt by him.¹⁴

The prisoner also had good reasons to consider that his existence in the Baltimore jail was not an undue hardship. He was given complete freedom within the building and frequently even ate his meals with Warden David Hudson and his family. He regularly received visitors and, at times, counselled his fellow prisoners. In typical Garrisonian style, he cornered slave traders and owners who came to the prison and gave them lectures on the evils of human bondage. But most important, he had time to rethink and to write about his positions on the crusade to which he had committed his life.¹⁵

Garrison's writings during his confinement were prolific. Along with numerous letters and several poems, he produced three lectures on slavery, emancipation, and colonization for later use on tours. Garrison also composed a pamphlet in which he recorded his thoughts on the trial. Lundy printed several hundred copies of the document and distributed it across the country. In the pamphlet Garrison did not entirely ignore the more technical issues involved in the case, but he emphasized

¹¹ Wendell and Francis Garrison, *Garrison*, I, p. 171. Oliver Johnson, a future colleague of Garrison, had another version of Garrison's entry into prison. Johnson, though not an eyewitness, wrote that the "excitement in Baltimore was almost as intense as that in Jerusalem when Jesus was led away to be crucified." Oliver Johnson, *William Lloyd Garrison and His Times* (Boston, 1881), p. 33.

¹² Garrison to Joseph Buckingham, May 13, 1830, in *Boston Courier*, May 24, 1830, p. 3; and Garrison to Harriet F. Horton, May 12, 1830, cited in Merrill, *Letters of Garrison*, I, p. 91.

¹³ See, for example, Walter M. Merrill, *Against the Wind and Tide: A Biography of William Lloyd Garrison* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), p. 36; and Hazel C. Wolf, *On Freedom's Altar: The Martyr Complex in the Abolition Movement* (Madison, Wis., 1952), pp. 18-20. Nicholas Brice, the judge who presided over Garrison's first trial, anticipated these historians when he remarked—disparagingly—after the proceedings that the defendant appeared to be seeking martyrdom. Wendell and Francis Garrison, *Garrison*, I, p. 186.

¹⁴ Garrison, *Brief Sketch*, p. 8; and Wendell and Francis Garrison, *Garrison*, I, p. 182.

¹⁵ Thomas, *Garrison*, p. 112; Ralph Korngold, *Two Friends of Man* (Boston, 1950), pp. 39-42; and Garrison to Ebenezer Dole, July 14, 1830, cited in Merrill, *Letters of Garrison*, I, p. 104. For an account of one of Garrison's debates with a slave trader at the jail, see *Liberator*, Feb. 5, 1831, p. 1.



Arthur Tappan. *Courtesy of Oberlin College in Dictionary of American Portraits.*

what he considered to be a more significant consideration: liberty and independence of the press. This was no doubt partially done with an eye toward the newspapers and periodicals to which a majority of the pamphlets were sent. Garrison charged that the verdict against him amounted to a declaration that it was illegal to express opposition to a law. Such a judgement, he said, represented the suppression of free inquiry.¹⁶

Garrison considered that a good share of the blame for his conviction lay with the Baltimore press. He accused the papers of having relinquished their journalistic responsibilities due to fear of losing subscribers and advertisers. The city's press, Garrison maintained, was characterized only by a "...craven spirit," a "...cormorant selfishness," a "...stagnant quiescence," and an "...abject servility." Garrison prophesied that his conviction would make the Baltimore papers even more timid.¹⁷

Perhaps to demonstrate that he was not to be cowed, Garrison then strongly condemned Judge Brice for his conduct at the trial. He questioned the jurist's rulings by denouncing his decision which permitted the entire article, rather than just that part dealing directly with Todd, to be entered into evidence. Garrison also accused Brice of attempting to intimidate the participants of the trial "by his frowns" and to silence him "by his sentence." But, Garrison defiantly declared, the judge could never "stifle my voice on the subject of African oppression."¹⁸

¹⁶ Garrison, *Brief Sketch*, pp. 1-2 and 8.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2. A probable reason for Garrison's scathing assault on the Baltimore press was his anger, which he had noted earlier in the *Genius*, over the refusal of one of the city's newspapers to accept an advertisement from him even though it regularly ran notices of slave auctions. *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Oct. 30, 1829, p. 62, cited in Wendell and Francis Garrison, *Garrison*, 1, p. 150.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

According to Garrison, who solicited comments from his "editorial brethren," his pamphlet was received with enthusiasm throughout the country. Until its appearance, the author claimed, nothing connected with the anti-slavery crusade "had ever excited so much attention, or elicited such a spontaneous burst of general indignation. . . . I was in danger of being lifted up beyond measure, even in prison, by excessive panegyric and extraordinary sympathy."¹⁹ Lundy, characteristically less profuse, expressed his belief, nevertheless, that Garrison's exposé had led "more than a hundred periodical works" to denounce the trial for its attack on "our editorial privileges."²⁰

Based on an extensive survey of newspapers and periodicals in various parts of the country, the press did not respond to Garrison's plight as widely—and certainly not as enthusiastically—as he and Lundy claimed. The failure of the pamphlet to provoke a large response was understandable. Garrison was still a relatively obscure public figure. The antislavery movement was not the burning issue that it was later to become, and most of the country was indifferent toward it. In the North, the crusade—such as it was—was mild, almost benevolent. The South, not yet incited to fear by Nat Turner's rebellion or hatred by Garrison's *Liberator*, responded accordingly. Most politicians and politically sponsored newspapers and periodicals from both sections were reluctant to bring the emotionally charged and potentially divisive subject into the public arena. Under these circumstances, there was little reason for editors, whether in the North or South, to include accounts of Garrison's trials in the columns of their papers.

Even though there was limited commentary on Garrison's trial in the press, awareness of the event by journalists, if not the general public, was probably quite widespread. Hundreds of editors received the pamphlet and undoubtedly several read or at least scanned it. Garrison alleged that "as the news of my imprisonment became extensively known, and the merits of the case understood, not a mail rolled into the city but it brought me consolatory letters from individuals hitherto unknown to me, and [from] periodicals of all kinds."²¹ Allowing for Garrison's penchant for overstatement, knowledge of the events in Baltimore was probably considerably greater than the press coverage alone indicated.

The commentary that did appear was mixed in its reaction. The *Newburyport Herald*, the newspaper in the hometown of the principals of the libel case, naturally showed special interest in the trial. It did not, however, give Garrison the blessing that he wanted and no doubt expected since he had served his entire printer's apprenticeship under the paper's editor, Ephriam Allen. The *Herald* did express approval of Garrison's personal qualities, praising him for his "pure purpose and unshaken courage," but refused to support him in his confrontation with Todd. The

¹⁹ Wendell and Francis Garrison, *Garrison*, I, p. 183.

²⁰ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Jun. 30, 1830, p. 35, cited in *ibid.*

²¹ Garrison, *Brief Sketch*, n.p. These remarks were included in a short preface to the 1834 second edition of the pamphlet.

article in the *Genius*, Garrison's former mentor scolded, was poor journalism since it was based on "vague rumor, hasty conversation, and scattered facts," hardly the proper foundation for a "charge so odious" as Garrison had made. Because of this "rashness and indiscretion" and the "unwise" tenor of the entire piece, Allen refused to honor Garrison's request that it should be printed in the *Herald*. Allen did, however, publish a spirited defense by Garrison of these criticisms, but the paper, conceding only that the penalty imposed by the court may have been excessive, maintained its original position.²²

Garrison secured more sympathetic treatment from the *New England Weekly Review*, a moderately influential periodical published in Hartford, Connecticut by George Prentice, who, like Garrison, was an ardent supporter of Henry Clay. The *Review* asserted that Garrison had performed a public service by writing the article since he had exposed what had too long been ignored—the "murder" and the "piracy" of the slave trade. The magazine was as unreserved in its praise for Garrison as it was in its condemnation of his two antagonists, Brice and Todd. Prentice wrote that Garrison had "few equals and not one superior" and would triumph in his cause. Brice, on the other hand, had "disgraced his office," while Todd languished "in the midst of the guilty splendor of ill-gotten gold."²³

In Boston, where Garrison had spent considerable time working at his trade before coming to Baltimore, the press also took divergent views of the case. His friend, Joseph Buckingham, editor of the *Boston Courier*, to which Garrison had been a frequent contributor, avoided a direct stand on the issues, but he did extoll Garrison for his "high and honorable motives." Buckingham also printed a letter that Garrison had penned to Todd. Never content to let matters rest, Garrison declared: "I am in prison for denouncing slavery! You, who have assisted in oppressing your fellow creatures, are permitted to go at large, and to enjoy the fruits of your crimes." He suggested that if Todd consulted "his bible and heart" he would readily see the error of his actions and then repent,²⁴ Garrison no doubt presumed that Todd's contrition would include withdrawal of the yet untried damage suit.

Another Boston newspaper was not so tolerant of Garrison or his opinions. The *Boston Commercial Gazette* declared that businessmen who had a "proper regard for their own characters" would condemn Garrison's attack on a fellow merchant. Condescendingly, the paper's editor stated any person who had the "imprudence"

²² *Newburyport Herald*, May 25, 1830, p. 2 and Jun. 11, 1830, pp. 1 and 2. In the letter to Allen, Garrison admitted that he had "not proved" that the slaves on the *Francis* had been chained below deck, but he immediately speculated that they had probably been "restricted and bound" after the ship put out to sea.

²³ *New England Weekly Review*, May 31, 1830, cited in Wendell and Francis Garrison, *Garrison*, I, pp. 183-184. Prentice subsequently moved to Kentucky, where, as editor of the *Louisville Journal*, he understandably lost much of his enthusiasm for the antislavery cause.

²⁴ Garrison to Buckingham, May 13, 1830 and Garrison to Todd, May 13, 1830, in *Boston Courier*, May 24, 1830, p. 3.



Benjamin Lundy. *Library of Congress.*

to write such an "obnoxious" article deserved sympathy. Nevertheless, the *Gazette* concluded that the punishment should stand.²⁵

There were some references outside of New England to Garrison's case. In Virginia, the *Richmond Enquirer*, edited by Thomas Ritchie, Senior, reprinted an article, apparently in full support of its views, from an eastern Pennsylvania paper, the *Doylestown Demo*. The *Demo* assailed Garrison for calling Todd a robber and murderer and lambasted the *Bucks County Intelligencer* for having

²⁵ *Boston Commercial Gazette*, n.d., cited in Garrison to Allen, Jun. 1, 1830, in *Newburyport Herald*, Jun. 11, 1830, p. 1.

"taken up the cudgels in favor of the libellant" and attempting to "justify him in the outrageous attack on Mr. Todd." The *Demo*, however, seemed equally interested in using the controversy for political purposes. Referring to Garrison's past support—which he would soon abandon—of Henry Clay, the Pennsylvania newspaper asserted that the *Genius* should be called the "Genius of Henry Clayism" since its editor was "quite as anxious to get Mr. Clay into the presidential chair as to stand forth as the champion of the oppressed blacks." Eventually, the *Demo* predicted, the country would see "through this flimsy cloak of Universal Emancipation."²⁶

Even though Garrison's trial and written defense did not create the response that he had envisioned, the publicity did have one beneficial effect when a copy of his pamphlet came into the hands of Arthur Tappan, the New York businessman and financial angel of numerous reform efforts. He was not personally acquainted with Garrison, but he had read and had been influenced by Garrison's articles in the *Genius*. When Tappan reviewed Garrison's account of his misfortunes in Baltimore, he came forward with the necessary funds for his release. He also provided capital to aid the struggling Lundy, who, after a temporary suspension of the *Genius* at the time of the trial, had once again begun to publish the paper. With his erstwhile co-editor otherwise occupied, however, Lundy had to revert to issuing the paper just once a month.²⁷

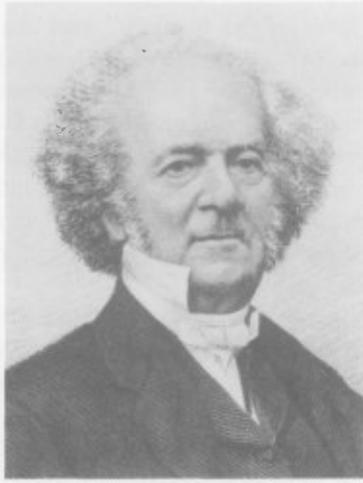
Soon after his release from the Baltimore jail on June 5, 1830, Garrison made a brief trip to Massachusetts, partially in an effort to garner support sufficient to resume the weekly publication of the *Genius* and, not incidentally, to assure himself of a job. Garrison rejected the earnest pleas of his friends to remain in the North. Instead, he returned to Baltimore in July in anticipation of the second trial and, he hoped, the resumption of his work on the *Genius*. Lundy, however, informed him that financial circumstances would not permit a weekly publication. The services of a resident co-editor were therefore no longer needed.²⁸

²⁶ *Doylestown Demo*, n.d., cited in *Richmond Enquirer*, Jun. 22, 1830, p. 3. Some papers simply reported on Garrison's trial and imprisonment without editorial comment. See, for example, *Boston Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser*, May 24, 1830, p. 2 and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, n.d., in *Richmond Enquirer*, May 28, 1830, p. 2. One newspaper, the *Washington Daily National Journal*, Jun. 1, 1830, p. 3, printed a poem Garrison had written while in prison.

²⁷ Lewis Tappan, *The Life of Arthur Tappan* (New York, 1870), p. 163 and Arthur Tappan to Lewis Tappan, May 29, 1830, cited in Wendell and Francis Garrison, *Garrison*, I, pp. 190-191. In 1863, Garrison, still displaying his tendency for hyperbole, wrote Tappan that "I might have died within those prison walls, if your sympathizing and philanthropic heart had not prompted you . . . to send the needed sum for my redemption." Wendell and Francis Garrison, *Garrison*, I, pp. 186-187.

John Whittier, whose poetry Garrison was the first to publish, had earlier asked Henry Clay to intervene on Garrison's behalf. Clay, reminded by Whittier of Garrison's past support, communicated with Hezekiah Niles, publisher of the *Niles Register* in Baltimore, but before any action was taken, Tappan had unexpectedly come to Garrison's aid. Whittier to Lewis Tappan, n.d., in Tappan, *Life of Tappan*, p. 167; and Wendell and Francis Garrison, *Garrison*, I, pp. 189-190.

²⁸ Wendell and Francis Garrison, *Garrison*, I, pp. 191-192; and Dillon, *Lundy*, pp. 159-161.



Lewis Tappan. *Dictionary of American Portraits*.

Garrison was probably not totally unprepared for this development, and he did not dwell long on the setback. Indeed, the idea of striking out on his own had positive appeal to the independent youth. His association with Lundy had been valuable in improving his capabilities and broadening his reputation. And his experiences in Baltimore had brought his ideas on the antislavery crusade into sharper focus. Moreover, and partially because of the latter, he probably found his ideological differences with Lundy increasingly difficult to ignore. These apparently were never a source of serious friction between the two editors, but the gap was widening. Garrison had become fully committed to immediate emancipation and thoroughly opposed to colonization, while Lundy maintained his more moderate, gradualist positions on these crucial issues.²⁹

The divergent temperaments of the two men may also have been a troublesome point in their affiliation. Garrison was fiery and, as his beliefs solidified, he became increasingly unyielding. Lundy was more restrained and flexible. Garrison stated many years later, seemingly more with pride than regret, that as Lundy enlisted one new subscriber, "I could knock a dozen off, and I did so."³⁰ The senior partner seemed painfully aware of this. Lundy stated, in vaguely critical tones, that though he could be "more severe" in his language than Garrison, "I so selected my words that they could not be construed into libels."³¹ This was as close as Lundy ever came to expressing himself openly on the subject, but he could hardly have avoided at least a fleeting thought that the *Genius'* difficulties, thought not

²⁹ See, for example, Dillon, *Lundy*, pp. 146–148 and 159; Merrill, *Against Wind and Tide*, pp. 37–38; Thomas, *Garrison*, p. 117; Dwight L. Dumond, *Antislavery: The Crusade for Freedom in America* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1961), p. 168; and Russell B. Nye, *William Lloyd Garrison and the Humanitarian Reformers* (Boston, 1955), p. 27.

³⁰ Wendell and Francis Garrison, *Garrison*, I, p. 158, citing a speech given by Garrison in 1878.

³¹ Lundy, *Life of Lundy*, p. 29. Lundy's language was strong enough, though, to provoke a slave trader, who Lundy had attacked in the *Genius*, to assault him. *Ibid.* and Dillon, *Lundy*, pp. 118–120.

unprecedented, could be traced to Garrison's outspoken rhetoric. Thus, while financial considerations were the basic cause of the breakup of their partnership, the separation, which was clean and amicable, probably brought some measure of relief to both Garrison and Lundy.

Garrison soon announced his intention to publish a new antislavery paper, the *Public Liberator and Journal of the Times*. He originally chose Washington as the "most eligible" location to establish his "mighty enterprise" because, as he said, the nation's capital "was the first citadel to be carried."³² The District of Columbia, controlled by Congress, was considered by antislavery forces to be more vulnerable to abolitionist efforts than any state. Also, Garrison knew that over 1,000 citizens of the capital, including many of its most prominent residents, had recently petitioned the national legislature to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District. He consequently believed that he would find there numerous supporters and sympathizers for his cause.

When Garrison learned in early August, 1830, that his second trial would be delayed, he again left Baltimore and set out for the North, this time to drum up support for his own journalistic venture.³³ He carried with him the three lectures that he had prepared while in the Baltimore jail. These described his now clearly defined radical approach to the eradication of slavery. Garrison delivered these speeches in several cities, including Philadelphia, New York, New Haven, Hartford, and Newburyport. In early October, he arrived in Boston and soon afterwards spoke on three evenings at Julien Hall to a small but generally enthusiastic audience.³⁴

While in Boston, Garrison once again found it necessary to revise his plans when he learned that Lundy had moved the headquarters of the *Genius* to Washington.³⁵ Never discouraged, Garrison quickly decided to establish the *Liberator* in Boston. Garrison made this adjustment with relative ease. He had long been sensitive to the need for a strong antislavery voice in the North, and his two recent tours had reinforced this opinion. Following his first trip back to New England, Garrison had declared the "minds of the people [were] strangely indifferent to the subject of slavery . . . Their prejudices were invincible—stronger, if possible, than those of slaveholders."³⁶

During his second tour Garrison encountered difficulties in obtaining lecture halls in several cities because of prejudices against him. His audiences were often sparse and sometimes hostile.³⁷ These and other experiences led him to assert

³² Wendell and Francis Garrison, *Garrison*, 1, p. 199.

³³ Garrison to George Shepard, Sep. 13, 1830, cited in Merrill, *Letters of Garrison*, 1, pp. 109–110.

³⁴ Wendell and Francis Garrison, *Garrison*, 1, pp. 203–04 and 207–15.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 217 and *Liberator*, Jan. 1, 1831, p. 1. Lundy stated that he left Baltimore for Washington to avoid "persecution." In the former city, he wrote, "the spirit of tyranny . . . became too strong and malignant for me. My language was forcibly construed into libels, and some half-dozen prosecutions threatened me with a long imprisonment." Lundy added that Washington, was also "dangerous," but at least there the authorities were "more friendly." Lundy *Life of Lundy*, p. 30.

³⁶ Garrison to Ebenezer Dole, July 14, 1830, cited in Merrill, *Letters of Garrison*, 1, p. 104.

³⁷ See, for example, Garrison to Ephriam Allen, Sept. 30, 1830, in *Newburyport Herald*, Oct. 1,

that the antislavery movement in the North produced greater contempt, opposition, and prejudice than in the South. But Garrison was not disheartened by this. The North, and particularly New England, he believed, could, unlike the South, undergo a "great revolution in public sentiment."³⁸ The attitude of Northerners, he said, was due to the "exceeding ignorance of the horrors of slavery."³⁹ It was not difficult for the confident young man to reason that since he had personally seen those horrors and been an indirect victim of them, he would be a most appropriate witness to awaken his fellow Northerners to the evil. Furthermore, Garrison was encouraged during his tour by the pledges of loyalty that he had received from a select group of followers, including Lucretia Mott in Philadelphia, John Whittier in Hartford, the Tappan brothers in New York, and Samuel May and Samuel Sewall in Boston.⁴⁰

Garrison's growing conviction that the antislavery movement had no future in the South also made it easier for him to accept Lundy's preemption of Washington and to decide to locate in Boston. When he had first become interested in the crusade, Garrison had believed, partially as a result of Lundy's assurances, that the general sentiments of the majority of Southerners and their open mindedness and humanitarianism would lead to a relatively quick end to the peculiar institution.⁴¹ But Garrison's experiences in Baltimore promptly convinced him otherwise. He saw only increasing intransigence toward any antislavery doctrines, particularly when advocated by "foreigners" from the North. If left to Southerners, Garrison decided, emancipation—immediate or gradual—would never come. And colonization was a cruel deception.⁴² This appraisal and Lundy's presence in Washington, the weak link in the slavery chain, convinced Garrison that he had no where else to turn but to the North. There at least, a possibility existed that public opinion could be marshalled against the institution, and eventually, somehow through that means, the South might be forced to abandon slavery.

III

The second libel trial began on October 30, 1830. This time, however, the defendant, in Boston energetically preparing the first issue of the *Liberator*, was not present. Garrison explained later that he did not attend because of the time and expense involved in the trip to Maryland and his belief that, given the sentiments

1830, cited in Merrill, *Letters of Garrison*, I, p. 111; Wendell and Francis Garrison, *Garrison*, I, pp. 207-13; May, *Recollections*, p. 24; and Johnson, *Garrison*, p. 36.

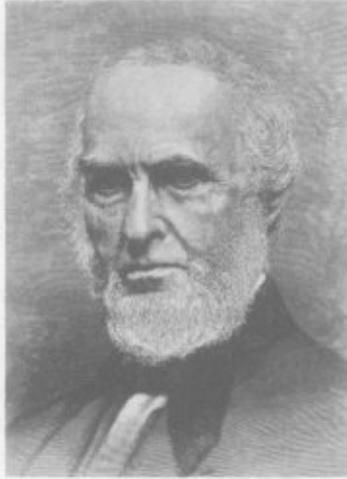
³⁸ *Liberator*, Jan. 1, 1931, p. 1.

³⁹ Garrison to Ebenezer Dole, July 14, 1830, cited in Merrill, *Letters of Garrison*, I, p. 104.

⁴⁰ See, for example, Wendell and Francis Garrison, *Garrison*, I, pp. 193, 203-04, and 212-17; May, *Recollections*, p. 18; and Johnson, *Garrison*, p. 36. One of Garrison's biographers, John L. Thomas, suggests that Garrison's October 15 speech was "the most important" one in his life because it converted May and Sewall, his two most steadfast supporters, to his cause. Thomas, *Garrison*, pp. 117 and 124-25.

⁴¹ See, for example, Garrison to Joseph Buckingham, in *Boston Courier*, Aug. 11, 1828, cited in Merrill, *Letters of Garrison*, I, pp. 63-65.

⁴² See, for example, May, *Recollections*, pp. 18-19.



John Greenleaf Whittier. *Dictionary of American Portraits*.

of Baltimore judges and juries—"men morally tainted with the leprosy of oppression"—⁴³ the outcome was foreordained. Garrison also believed that a second trial would serve no purpose except to gratify Todd's "avarice" and "vindictive spirit."⁴⁴

Accordingly, the trial was conducted without Garrison. His lawyer, apparently sharing Garrison's opinion that the proceeding was a charade, hardly put up a defense. Garrison was again found guilty and was ordered to pay Todd \$1,000.⁴⁵ The sum was considerably less than the \$5,000 originally claimed, but still more than Garrison could have afforded even if he had been willing to satisfy the judgment. Todd never collected the amount due to him.

A number of newspapers now took note of Garrison's second conviction and thereby widened the growing awareness of the young firebrand. The *Baltimore Gazette*, in commenting on the case, maintained that the second trial had indeed been unnecessary, but hastened to explain that the responsibility laid entirely with Garrison. According to the *Gazette*, he had rejected Todd's offer to withdraw his action if a "proper apology" were made.⁴⁶ While in Boston the *Massachusetts*

⁴³ *Liberator*, Jan. 15, 1831, p. 1. Years after Garrison's trial, when he had gained national notoriety, a pamphlet was published in Baltimore which was designed to refute Garrison's "delusion" that the trials were persecutions by slaveholders. The anonymous author contended that through interviews and affidavits he had established that, with one exception, the members of the grand and petit juries were opposed to slavery. He also produced a letter written by Judge Brice, dated May 20, 1834, in which the jurist expressed sympathy for emancipation and related that he had twelve or fifteen years earlier manumitted several slaves. *Proceedings against William Lloyd Garrison for a Libel* (Baltimore, 1847).

⁴⁴ *Liberator*, Jan. 15, 1831, p. 1.

⁴⁵ Wendell and Francis Garrison, *Garrison*, 1, p. 196.

⁴⁶ *Baltimore Gazette*, n.d., cited in *Liberator*, Jan. 1, 1831, p. 2.

Journal and Tribune sided with Garrison. The paper, as if partially prompted—as it may well have been—, by the arguments in Garrison's pamphlet, told its readers that the *Genius* article was an attack on the slave trade and not on Todd. And, the *Journal* affirmed, Garrison had not only a right but a duty to denounce the slave trade because it violated the "laws of God and nature, justice, and humanity."⁴⁷ From North Carolina, the *Greensborough Patriot*, whose editor, William Swain was a former assistant to Lundy, reported with approval that the state's manumission society had adopted a report which exonerated Garrison and declared that the court's decision had been unconstitutional.⁴⁸

But comments from South Carolina were, however, decidedly different. The *Charleston City Gazette and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, responding to an article praising Garrison in the *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*,⁴⁹ protested the "slave ravings" of "the man, Garrison." In vain, the *Gazette* advised Garrison to find "some decent honest employment" that would "keep him out of mischief, and prevent him from meddling with the concerns of those about whom he knows nothing." The paper added it would "not trouble . . . with him in the future, unless he again meddles improperly with matters upon which he has no civil right and but little capacity to speak."⁵⁰ Another South Carolina paper, the *Camden Journal*, was equally impassioned. It called Garrison an "officious and pestiferous fanatic" and expressed the wish that the damages against him at the trial had been \$50,000. Then, the editor concluded, Garrison could "lie in jail" until Arthur Tappan paid that fine.⁵¹

But Garrison managed to have the last words on the events that had occurred in Baltimore. In the first issues of the newly inaugurated *Liberator*, which began publication on January 1, 1831, Garrison devoted several columns to the subject. In answer to the recent charge that he could have avoided a second trial by apologizing to Todd, Garrison declared that he would "never apologize for telling the truth." Yet he did admit that he was "now disposed" to accept the testimony that the slaves on board the *Francis* had not been chained below deck. But, added Garrison, even if his original statement about their condition had been mistaken, it was not libellous. In any event, he wrote, the details of the voyage were immaterial and quibbling over them only disguised the main issue—slavery. And, Garrison reminded his readers,

It is my right . . . to interrogate the moral aspect and public utility of every pursuit or traffic. True, my views may be ridiculous or fanatical; but they may also be just and benevolent. Free inquiry is the essence, the life-blood of liberty; and they who deny men the right to use it, are the enemies of the republic.⁵²

⁴⁷ *Massachusetts Journal and Tribune*, n.d., cited in *Liberator*, Jan. 1, 1831, p. 2.

⁴⁸ *Greensborough Patriot*, n.d., cited in *Liberator*, Jan. 1, 1831, p. 2.

⁴⁹ *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, October 2, 1830, p. 2.

⁵⁰ *Charleston City Gazette and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 27, 1830, p. 2; and *Liberator*, Jan. 15, 1831, p. 1.

⁵¹ *Camden Journal*, n.d., cited in *Liberator*, Jan. 15, 1831, p. 1.

⁵² *Liberator*, Jan. 1, 1831, p. 2 and Jan. 15, 1831, p. 1.

With this final attempt by Garrison to vindicate himself, the debate receded into the background. But Garrison's experiences in Baltimore during 1829 and 1830 had left an indelible mark on him. They were instrumental in establishing the fundamental doctrine of Garrison's antislavery campaign thereafter—an uncompromising demand for nothing less than complete and immediate emancipation. In turn, Garrison's avid sponsorship of this position through the *Liberator* exerted a significant influence on the nature of the debates over slavery in the next three decades. Garrison's brief, but dramatic, residency in Baltimore had a far-reaching impact on the controversy which led to the great crisis of the Union.

SIDELIGHTS

Farm Prices of Maryland Tobacco, 1659-1710

RUSSELL R. MENARD

TOBACCO, "THAT STINCKING Weede of America" as Thomas Cornwallis called it, shaped the destiny of the Chesapeake region throughout the colonial period and beyond.¹ Precise knowledge of what a planter received for his crop is of central importance for a historical understanding of the area. Yet we still lack a dependable series of farm prices for tobacco in the seventeenth century, a fact often lamented by historians.² Scholars have not ignored this problem. There have been several presentations of price information, but all have suffered difficulties arising from the nature of the subject and the available data.³

In the seventeenth century there was no uniform marketing method shared by all planters, let alone a centralized and authoritative mechanism for determining price. Some planters shipped their tobacco to England on consignment. Others sold directly to a merchant or a ship captain in the colonies, while still others sold their crop to a large planter who then disposed of it along with his own.⁴ Whatever the marketing mechanism used, the price received by the planter was not determined at some distant exchange but resulted from negotiations between the pro-

¹ Cornwallis to Cecilius Lord Baltimore, April 16, 1638, in *Maryland Historical Society Fund Publications*, no. 28 (Baltimore, 1889), p. 176.

² Most recently, see Aubrey C. Land in "Economic Base and Social Structure: The Northern Chesapeake in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Economic History*, XXV (1965), p. 643.

³ The best discussion of farm prices is that of Lewis C. Gray, *The History of Agriculture in the Southern United States* (2 vols.: Washington, D. C., 1932), I, pp. 259-273. See also his article, "The Market Surplus Problems of Colonial Tobacco," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2nd ser., VII (1927), pp. 231-245; VIII (1928), pp. 1-16. The following works also contain helpful information. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *The Planters of Colonial Virginia* (Princeton, 1922), pp. 64-67, 88-91, 123; Margaret S. Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland, 1689-1715* [Johns Hopkins University, *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, ser. 32, no. 3 (Baltimore, 1914)], pp. 38-39; Vertress J. Wyckoff, *Tobacco Regulation in Colonial Maryland*, [J. H. U., *Studies*, new ser., no. 22, extra vol. (Baltimore, 1936)], pp. 10, 21, 65, 83, 89, 111, 119, 177, 195, 204.

⁴ Gray, *History of Agriculture*, I, pp. 219-224; Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, pp. 37-38; Wyckoff, *Tobacco Regulation*, pp. 62-63; Arthur Pierce Middleton, *Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era* (Newport News, 1953), pp. 104-110.

ducer or his agent and the buyer in which intangibles such as the shrewdness of the negotiators, as well as the more tangible factors of the quality and size of the crop and the general state of the market, played a crucial role.⁵ In such a situation the historian's task is not one of finding the exact price that a particular planter received for his crop in any given year but rather of determining price trends and developing measures of central tendency.

However, in the case of tobacco, establishing an average yearly price is not a simple task. Lewis C. Gray once pronounced the construction of a reliable series "virtually impossible" and decided instead to measure only "variations in general prosperity."⁶ It is easy to see why Gray despaired. The literature is full of contradictions: one historian's boom year is often another's bust. Margaret Morris, for example, published data indicating very high prices for the period 1703 to 1713, a decade described by Gray as one of "acute depression."⁷ Melvin Herndon reported a moderately good price for 1682 and a high one for 1683, two years that most historians consider among the very worst in the entire colonial period.⁸ Recently, Warren M. Billings suggested that planters received eighteen to twenty-four shillings per hundredweight in 1667, a price nearly twice as high as that usually accepted by scholars.⁹

These observations are not introduced with disparaging intent, for most historians have been well aware of the limitations of their data, but rather to point out a methodological difficulty in the traditional approach to the problem. Differences among historians over the price of tobacco in a particular year have usually resulted from differences in the kind of data employed. In attempting to measure tobacco prices, historians have drawn information from a variety of sources, often incompatible. Officially set prices, for example, were often higher or lower than the current market price according to the intention of the legislature. Farm prices did not fluctuate in direct relation to prices in Europe because of an inadequate marketing system. Writers of promotional literature probably exaggerated price and production levels to encourage immigration and investment. Planters selling on consignment received a price different from that obtained by planters selling locally. Shrewd bargainers with a large volume, high quality crop fared better than the small producer, inept at negotiations, with a poor crop. One cannot measure change over time by comparing a farm price of one year with an official price of another, or by comparing either to an English retail price or a Dutch wholesale price. Nor can one depend entirely on traditional materials to determine the gen-

⁵ For an interesting and detailed example of such negotiations see Somerset County Judicials, 1692-1693, f. 10-18, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁶ Gray, *History of Agriculture*, I, p. 262.

⁷ Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland*, pp. 38-39; Gray, *History of Agriculture*, I, pp. 268-269.

⁸ Melvin Herndon, "Tobacco in Colonial Virginia: The Sovereign Remedy," in E. G. Swem, ed., *Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklets* (Williamsburg, 1957), XX, p. 47.

⁹ Warren M. Billings, "The Causes of Bacon's Rebellion: Some Suggestions," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXVIII (1970), p. 420.

eral price level in a particular year, for the price will vary according to the source. What is needed, if absolute price levels and yearly fluctuations are to be measured, is a consistent and comprehensible source. That is, the data must be comparable and we must understand what is being reported. Fortunately, such data is available for the last part of the seventeenth century.

Inventories of estates contain the necessary information. Beginning in 1659, there is a complete series for Maryland at the Hall of Records in Annapolis.¹⁰ Shortly after a man's death, as part of the procedure for settling the estate, two men, usually his neighbors, were sworn appraisers by a county justice and sent to evaluate the decedent's personal property. The results of this process form a marvelous source for the study of colonial society, one often tapped by historians for a variety of purposes, including the ascertaining of prices.¹¹ Crops, of course, were personal property and were often appraised in inventories. There is every reason to believe that these evaluations reflect the current market value of tobacco. The appraisers were usually planters and therefore sensitive to changing price levels. Internal evidence shows that they applied their knowledge with some care. Distinctions in the quality of tobacco are often reflected in inventories. Thus, appraisers attached different values to "Topp Tobo" and "Ground Leafe," "culd tobo" and "Common tobo," and to "prime good" tobacco and "old Tobo."¹²

Constructing a price series from inventories did present some difficulties. For the period 1683 to 1710 the method was straightforward.¹³ Inventories in those years were usually taken in English sterling. All appraisals of crop on the plantation for which it was possible to determine the sterling price per pound were recorded and yearly means computed.¹⁴ In most years there were a sufficient number of observations to allow confidence in the result. An average of eighteen

¹⁰ The materials used in this study are described in Elisabeth Hartsook and Gust Skordas, *Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of Colonial Maryland*, Publications of the Hall of Records Commission, no. 4 (Annapolis, 1947). All the prices used were taken from Testamentary Proceedings, vols. I-VI, and Inventories and Accounts, vols. I-XXXII.

¹¹ For work on prices based on estate inventories see William I. Davisson, "Essex County Price Trends: Money and Markets in 17th Century Massachusetts," *Essex Institute, Historical Collections*, CIII (1967), pp. 144-185, and V. J. Wyckoff, "Seventeenth-Century Maryland Prices," *Agricultural History*, XII (1938), pp. 299-310.

¹² Inventories and Accounts, XIIB, p. 53; XV, pp. 103-104; XXV, pp. 189, 404; XXVI, p. 105.

¹³ I had originally intended to extend the series to 1720, but a change in appraisal practices led me to stop instead with 1710. In the decade 1710 to 1720, current money of Maryland—worth about a third less than sterling at that time—gradually became the standard by which estates were evaluated. Reducing current money to sterling would present no great difficulty. However, for the years 1710 to about 1715 it was usually impossible to tell whether an estate was appraised in current money or sterling. As early as 1740, Marylanders were finding it impossible to make this determination. See Chancery Record 7, Liber IR #4, 1738-1746, f. 3-4, 13, Hall of Records.

¹⁴ There are numerous other tobacco-sterling ratios expressed in the inventories, but only crop appraisals were used. Debts due in tobacco were often discounted when evaluated in sterling, probably to allow for the cost of collection. See Inventories and Accounts, VIII, p. 457; XIII A, p. 123. Numerous ratios also appear in estate accounts, but these rates were set by the courts and cannot be assumed to represent current market values. Averages computed from these prices show much less variation than do those based on crop appraisals.

prices per year was discovered. At least five observations were recorded for each year. Eight or more observations were found for all but four years. In the table that follows those means based on less than eight observations are enclosed in parentheses. The appended table also presents the range of prices observed in each year for the period 1683 to 1710.

There was apparently no consistent seasonal variation in tobacco prices. The price data was organized by month and by quarter. There were variations within each year, but no clear pattern emerged. Probably, the seasonal fluctuations that did appear were due to an inadequate number of observations rather than to actual shifts in the price level. The number of observations was also too small to permit analysis of regional price variations, although a tendency towards lower prices was noticed in Somerset and Dorchester counties on the lower Eastern Shore.

All price quotations for tobacco on the plantation found in inventories taken from 1683 to 1710 are included in the series. Quality distinctions mentioned in inventories were ignored. An attempt was made to exclude second rate tobacco from the calculations, but this was abandoned. Most appraisals do not distinguish the crop by grade but merely list its total weight and value. The crop of a planter included several grades of tobacco and the price for the entire crop that appears in the inventories reflects this fact. Thus, if second rate tobacco were excluded whenever quality was specified, it would also have been necessary to exclude all cases where the appraisers did not distinguish grades. This would have made the number of observations too small to produce a reliable average.

The period 1659 to 1682 presented a more difficult problem. Through 1680 most inventories were appraised in tobacco. The years of 1681 and 1682 were transitional, with some estates appraised in tobacco and some in sterling. Obviously, with most appraisals taken in tobacco, it was impossible to determine sterling prices by the method used for the period of 1683 to 1710. Fortunately, an alternative was available. Enough expressions of the prevailing tobacco-sterling ratio were found for 1677 to permit the construction of a reliable average price. Using data for inventories taken in 1677, a price series was constructed for a number of items. Items which appeared frequently in inventories and for which it was possible to determine a value per unit were chosen. Cattle, swine, pewter, gunpowder and servants proved most useful; brass, iron, nails and several types of cloth were also employed. A similar series of prices was constructed for each year for the period from 1659 to 1682.¹⁵ The percentage change from the base year was measured for each item for which sufficient (at least eight) observations were collected. These percentage changes were then averaged for each year. The average price of tobacco was calculated by adjusting the base year price by the average percentage change for the year in question. In most cases this is the figure that appears in the table. However, for a few years during the period several tobacco-sterling ratios were dis-

¹⁵ I hope to publish a commodity price index for the seventeenth century based in part on this work in the near future.

covered. When three or more were found a mean was taken and averaged with the figure arrived at by the method described above. The result was used in the table. For several years at the beginning of the period data proved inadequate for accurate determination of an average. The means for those years are enclosed in parentheses.¹⁶

The method used for the period from 1659 to 1682 is particularly vulnerable to criticism because it does not adequately deal with inflation or deflation of the prices of the items used. I do think, however, that using a number of items minimized the possible distortion. Furthermore, during this period a few inventories were taken in sterling in many of the years. Although not enough appeared to permit a systematic study, they were used as a spot check. The results suggest that inflation or deflation did not affect the figures very much, if at all.

The methods employed in this essay are crude and the results but rough approximations of the actual yearly average. However, the series describes trends with more precision than has hitherto been attained and the prices seem the best available given the limitations imposed by the data. If used with caution this price series can provide the historian of the tobacco coast a valuable interpretive tool.¹⁷

¹⁶ I arbitrarily defined adequate as at least three items with eight observations each. Five or more items were used for most years.

¹⁷ Although this price series is based entirely on Maryland materials, there is no reason to assume that it cannot also be applied to Virginia. Historians dealing with areas where sweetscented tobacco was grown extensively, especially the peninsula between the James and York Rivers, should note that these prices are based on oronoco tobacco, the type grown in Maryland. In the seventeenth century sweetscented brought prices as much as 50% higher than those paid for the coarser oronoco leaf. See Middleton, *Tobacco Coast*, pp. 97-98.

Farm Prices of Maryland Tobacco

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Farm Prices of Maryland Tobacco in Pence Sterling per Pound, 1659-1710*

Year	Mean	High	Low	Year	Mean	High	Low
1659	(1.65)			1685	1.00	1.80	0.70
1660	(1.50)			1686	1.00	1.20	0.55
1661	1.50			1687	0.85	1.00	0.60
1662	(1.60)			1688	0.75	1.00	0.50
1663	(1.55)			1689	0.70	1.00	0.50
1664	1.35			1690	(0.80)	1.00	0.50
1665	1.10			1691	(0.80)	1.00	0.60
1666	0.90			1692	(0.80)	1.00	0.60
1667	1.10			1693	0.75	1.00	0.55
1668	1.25			1694	0.75	1.25	0.35
1669	1.15			1695	0.75	1.00	0.50
1670	(1.15)			1696	0.85	1.00	0.60
1671	1.05			1697	0.90	1.50	0.60
1672	1.00			1698	1.00	1.20	0.60
1673	1.00			1699	1.05	1.50	0.60
1674	1.00			1700	1.00	1.20	0.60
1675	1.00			1701	0.95	1.20	0.60
1676	1.05			1702	1.00	1.30	0.70
1677	1.15			1703	0.85	1.00	0.30
1678	1.15			1704	0.90	1.20	0.60
1679	1.05			1705	0.80	1.20	0.35
1680	1.00			1706	0.80	1.20	0.25
1681	0.90			1707	0.90	1.20	0.60
1682	0.80			1708	0.90	1.20	0.40
1683	(0.80)	1.00	0.55	1709	0.90	1.20	0.50
1684	0.80	1.00	0.55	1710	0.85	1.00	0.30

* All figures rounded to the nearest twentieth of a penny.

Sidney Lanier: An Unpublished Letter to Mary Day Lanier

A. P. ANTIPPAS AND CAROL FLAKE

SIDNEY LANIER LEFT his wife, Mary Day, in Macon and returned to Baltimore late in December, 1874, to resume his place as first flutist in Hamerik's orchestra. Lanier's only compensation for this almost unendurable separation from his family was the appearance in the middle of January of the issue of *Lippincott's Magazine* containing "Corn." The poem's earlier rejection by William Dean Howells, the editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, had caused Lanier considerable mortification. Its acceptance and publication by an important literary journal understandably raised his spirits and strengthened his resolve to continue writing. In addition, the successful critical reception of "Corn" brought Lanier the enthusiastic recognition and good will of Gibson Peacock, the editor of the *Philadelphia Bulletin*, Bayard Taylor, the poet and journalist, and of Charlotte Cushman. Although Miss Cushman had officially retired in 1852 after a brilliant acting career in America and England, she remained active in literary circles and introduced Lanier to many important people.

The following letter describes Lanier's second meeting with Charlotte Cushman and concerns an amusing incident that almost embarrassed him.¹

64 Centre St.
Baltimore
Jany 29th 1875

My Too Sweet, was it not superbly absurd that I should have melted somebody else's poem up in my mint and recoined it!² But I thought it was thine: and I re-

¹ We are indebted to the assistance given us by Mrs. Connie G. Griffith, director of the Rare Books Collection at Tulane University, and to the donors of the letter, Mr. and Mrs. Frank W. Swacker, for making it available for publication.

² Mary Day Lanier had sent her husband her transcribed copy of a poem called "Sometime" which had appeared in *Appleton's Journal* on October 24, 1874, cf. *Centennial Edition of the Works of Sidney Lanier*, ed. Charles R. Anderson et al. (Baltimore, 1945), IX, pp. 144, 155 (hereinafter cited as *CE*). Lanier, assuming the poem was hers, revised it. In his subsequent letter of January 31, 1875 (*CE*, IX, p. 54) he admits that he had almost sent the poem to *Appleton's*. That he had also almost presented the poem to Miss Cushman has not hitherto been recorded. (The unpublished MS of his revision is in the Charles D. Lanier Collection.)



Sidney Lanier. *Dictionary of American Portraits*

ferred thy quotation marks merely to a certain desire-to-hide, wh. I have detected in thee when thou dost anything specially sweet. Thy telegram was inspired of Heaven; for in another hour I wd. have shown the poem to Miss Cushman,³ and was in the act of copying it out for that purpose, being on the second stanza—when thy message arrived. Failing in that, I straightway sat me down again and wrote the following little Shakespearian dedication to her,⁴ to go with a copy of “Corn”:⁵

Oh what a perilous waste, from low to high,
 Must this poor book, from me to you, o’er leap:
 From me, who wander in the nights that lie
 About Fame’s utmost vague foundations deep,
 To you who sit upon Fame’s absolute height,
 Distinctly starr’d, e’en in that awful light!”

Armed with this, a copy of “Corn” and my photograph, (the profile one) I went to the Carrollton on my second visit,⁶ wh. she had appointed, to receive *her* photograph: I found her and Miss Stebbins (the Sculptor, who has been travelling

³ According to an earlier letter to his wife (*CE*, IX, p. 148), Lanier had paid his first visit to Miss Cushman on January 26 after receiving a message from the latter. This meeting took place at the Carrollton and involved a heady mutual exchange of praise which resulted in a desire expressed by Miss Cushman that Lanier send her all of his work.

⁴ This dedicatory poem remained unpublished until it was collected in the *Centennial Edition* (*CE*, I, p. 44).

⁵ “Corn” had been accepted by *Lippincott’s Magazine* in November, 1874, and appeared in the February, 1875, issue (*CE*, VI, p. 382).

⁶ The occurrence of this second visit has not been recorded elsewhere. Both the biography of Lanier by Aubrey H. Starke and the *Centennial Edition* note that Lanier followed up his first meeting by sending Miss Cushman the dedicatory poem and a copy of “Corn” the next day.

with her for many years) along, and had a charming hour's talk with them. I told them all about thee, and the boys: and about Cliff's and my poem of the Old Negro and the Steamboat, which Miss Cushman may read in public after she sees it: (I had no copy):⁷ and a thousand other things. Then I took her photograph, after receiving an invitation to visit her at her beautiful house at Newport during the summer, and to visit also her and Miss Stebbins at the latter's house in Lennox, Massachusetts, where they will both be for a part of the summer.⁸ This morning comes a charming little note from her, enclosing a letter of introduction to Reverdy Johnson Jr⁹ and repeating the invitations. I will send it to thee in a day or two.

I enclose a note from Foster.¹⁰ I thought it wd. [here letter ends]

⁷ The poem he refers to is "The Power of Prayer," which he sold to *Scribner's Monthly* on October 1, 1874, and which appeared in the June, 1875, issue. Apparently during the first visit Miss Cushman had asked for something of Lanier's for public reading (*CE*, IX, p. 149).

⁸ Miss Cushman followed this first round of invitations by frequent messages to Lanier. In a letter of April 1, 1875, (*CE*, IX, p. 187), he speaks of paying her a visit in New York after having been "sent for." In a June 17, 1875, letter (*CE*, IX, p. 207) he mentions the possibility of going to find her either in Newport or Lennox. However, he could not find an occasion to visit her again until November, 1875, by which time she had become seriously ill.

⁹ The Reverdy Johnson referred to here is probably the prominent constitutional lawyer who held various important governmental posts and who resided in Baltimore for most of his life. Johnson was also a friend of Virginia Hankins, Lanier's former fiancée and constant friend. See *Dictionary of American Biography*.

¹⁰ A. Foster Higgins was Mary Lanier's first cousin residing in Perth Amboy with whom Lanier had spent considerable time during his stay in New York in the fall of 1873.

Notes on Maryland Historical Society Manuscript Collections

NANCY G. BOLES, Curator of Manuscripts

The Hammond Dugan Collection (MS. 1859)

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL Society has again been chosen as the repository of a most welcome and intriguing group of twentieth century papers. This time the subject is not business, law, or reform, but the U.S. Navy's brief lighter-than-air program. Hammond James Dugan (1903-1933) of Catonsville, perhaps the only Maryland native among the officers who became aeronauts in the dirigible program, loved flying. Some time after graduating from the Naval Academy in 1924, he was accepted into the Navy's lighter-than-air corps and went to Lakehurst, New Jersey. During his first tour of duty at Lakehurst, he was designated as the Navy's observer for the building of the metal-clad zeppelin *ZMC2* and became its first skipper. He continued his education in aeronautical engineering first in post graduate courses at the Naval Academy and later (in 1930) at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. By then he was a firm believer in the mammoth but graceful airships and their future promise. He argued so vigorously for continued study in aeronautics that a reassignment to diesel engines was rescinded. At graduation in 1932, he was designated Aeronautical Engineer—the only one of his classmates to be so named. On Lt. Dugan's return to Lakehurst in June, 1932, he was assigned to duty on the *Akron*, a 784 foot giant with a 133 foot diameter—the first American airship to be built on so large a scale. He could have been reassigned to the newly completed *Macon*, but chose to stay with his old ship. As a result he was aboard as watch officer when she crashed at sea off New Jersey on April 4, 1933—one of seventy-three men to perish in the tragic and never fully explained disaster.

Because Hammond Dugan's widow loved dirigibles as her husband had and because she wanted her children (Charles Hammond aged two, and Darnall yet unborn at their father's death) to understand his interests and life work, she carefully assembled everything she could find pertaining to "Red" Dugan's career and the lighter-than-air program he loved. The result is a superb collection of manuscripts, printed material, and graphics which collectively gives a remarkable picture of the man and the history of the long abandoned dirigible program.

The core and focal point of the collection is the scrapbook of Hammond J. Dugan's personal and very personable letters describing his flight training and experiences in the program. These bright and charming letters, faithfully pasted in a handsome scrapbook with pictures and other mementos, give genuine insight into the Navy's lighter-than-air program with a grace and wit that makes for excellent reading.

Besides this unusually rich letterbook, there is a second, entitled "Aftermath of the Akron," pertaining to the final days of the giant airships. It includes some of Mrs. Dugan's correspondence, an article by Lt. Com'dr. C. E. Rosendahl, "The Loss of the Akron," official printed reports of inquiries, and letters and clippings about Mrs. Dugan's article, "Even the Birds." It describes airships and the impression of an aeronaut's wife, an essay her husband had asked her to write just three days before the crash.

Next there are three scrapbooks of newsclippings and the like on the history of dirigibles and German zeppelins like the *Hindenburg*. Other boxes contain correspondence from Hugh Allen, then head of Public Relations for the Goodyear Corporation, and from Hanson W. Baldwin, a Baltimorean, family friend, and



U.S. Navy Dirigible. *Maryland Historical Society.*

military expert for the *New York Times*; Hammond Dugan's Naval Academy Scrapbook and Yearbook (class of 1924); and papers relating to his thesis written at M.I.T. There are mimeographed Naval handbooks, logs, and manuals. And there is information about the attempts to restore the double pension for widows of naval aviators.

The graphics material consists of photographs of Lt. Dugan and many pictures of the *Akron* and other airships. There are even medals, rings, and other memorabilia belonging to the aeronaut.

To complete the record as fully as possible, the donor has collected all sorts of printed articles and books about zeppelins, German dirigible activity, the American aeronautic program, and fifteen numbers of the *United States Naval Institute Proceedings* from 1933 to 1936. The January, 1934 issue contains Frances Dugan's article, "Even the Birds."

The donor wrote that it was a pity that only the aeronautical portion of Hammond Dugan's letters could be preserved because he wrote with such style and humor about an endless variety of topics. This no doubt is very true. But the Maryland Historical Society is grateful to have been given even this one-sided collection of a remarkable man, and we are pleased to make it available to all who would study a fascinating if brief aspect of our military history. We are deeply indebted to the donor for assembling the collection and sharing it with others, and to her brother-in-law, Daniel B. Dugan, for assisting in the deposition.

Accessions of the Manuscript Division Since the Publication of *Manuscript Collections of the Maryland Historical Society*¹ in August 1968

VIII

Armiger, George Jones, Collection (MS. 1928). Pertains to G. J. Armiger of Calvert County who enlisted in Navy and was lost at sea on board the U.S.S.

¹ Indexed listing and description of 1,724 of the Society's collections. Available from the Society for \$15.00.

Cyclops which disappeared in 1918. Some information about the fate of the ship too; 5 items, 1918–38. Donor: Mrs. Ethel H. Plumer.

Associated Friends of Ireland in the City of Baltimore Records (MS. 1830). Proceedings, constitution, members and officers of this group formed to support civil and religious liberty in Ireland. Called Irish Emancipation Society of Maryland until 1829; 1 vol., 1828–35. Purchase.

Autograph and Engraving Collection (MS. 1941). Miscellaneous collection of autographed letters and engravings of such famous literary and political figures as Monroe, Emerson, Franklin, Hamilton, and Napoleon; 66 items, 17th–20th c's. Donor: Not known.

Baltimore Account Book (MS. 1927). Large day book listing daily entries and quantity and price for such diverse items as cloth, hardware supplies, stair carpeting and tobacco boxes; 1 vol., 1804–06. Donor: Mrs. Joanna Grossfeld.

Baltimore Almshouse Admission and Discharge Book (MS. 1866.1). Gives a listing of all inmates, name, age, person admitting the patient, and reason for admission and disposition and date; 1 vol., 1814–26. Donor: Baltimore City Hospitals.

Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company Business Letters (MS. 1925). Contain inter-company communications, incoming letters and telegrams, many with notes penciled on by John W. Garrett, president of the railroad, and deal with iron and steel, patents and inventions, railroad cars, Central Ohio RR, Ohio and Mississippi RR, etc.; 18 boxes, 1854–81. Donor: Smithsonian Institution.

Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Reports of the Committee for Historical Markers (MS. 1856). Markers relate to Revolution and especially Civil War and reports include a complete list of B & O blockhouses in 1866, map of Craddock's route in 1775, etc.; 1 box, 1929–31. Donor: Lawrence W. Sagle via the Smithsonian Institution.

Baltimore Business Records, Miscellaneous Companies (MS. 1857). Bills and correspondence of such businesses as grain, automobile oils, farm produce, groceries, John Deere agricultural implements, coal, etc.; 1 box, 1893–1906. Donor: York County Historical Society.

Bokel Collection (MS. 1904). Correspondence about Helen Gallagher Bokel's membership in the Notre Dame College Alumnae Assn. and the contribution of her daughter, Dorothy Bokel; 7 items, 1896–1920. Donor: Miss Martha Bokel.

Boyd Legal Papers (MS. 1817). Petitions, warrants, commissions and testimony concerning the successful attempt of Augustus and Milcah Boyd for reimbursement of a loan, deeds and plats; 25 items, 1806–88. Donor: Not known.

Bradford, Samuel Webster, Collection (MS. 1870). Genealogical records of the Bradford, Kell and Skinner families, deeds, bills, receipts, correspondence primarily about brickmaking and some political letters pertaining to Gov. Bradford; 126 items, 1632–1931. Donor: John Rudolph.

Bruen Correspondence (MS. 1891). Personal letters between Union soldier Luther B. Bruen and his wife in Ohio; 1 box, 1858–63. Donor: Miss Alice Wright.

Campbell-McIlvain Correspondence (MS. 1844). Letters between James Mason Campbell and his cousin, Donald McIlvain; 15 items, 1829-64. Formerly Vertical File.

Carroll, Charles, of Carrollton Collection (MS. 1893). Family correspondence with his father and his children and business correspondence with most of the prominent Marylanders of his day; 31 items, 1757-1854, 1967. Formerly Vertical File.

Cooke Correspondence (MS. 1872). Family letters of George Cooke, Maryland artist, describing his travels in Europe, his exhibits and an account of his death; 10 items, 1826-52. Donor: Miss Merle S. Bateman.

Dashiell Papers (MS. 1804). Land deed, registers of the Stepney Parish for 1794, 1799, 1808, 1809, & 1833, and correspondence; 7 items, 18th-20th c's. Donor: Mrs. Benjamin J. Dashiell.

de Roth, Lydia Howard, Collection (MS. 1906). Diary of Mrs. de Roth, 1939-41, while she was an air warden during the London Blitz. Poetry, newsclippings, photographs, and other papers on the Blitz; 2 boxes, 1904-70. Donor: Estate of Mrs. Lydia Howard de Roth.

Dugan Collection (MS. 1859). Correspondence, newsclippings, printed articles, books, and photographs on the Navy's lighter-than-air program and one of the aeronauts involved, Hammond J. Dugan, who died in the crash of the dirigible, *Akron*, in 1933; 13 boxes, 20th c. Donor: Mrs. Hill Shine.

Dulany Family Papers (MS. 1919). Primarily family correspondence of Catharine Dulany Belt between 1793 and 1830, though there are two business letters of Daniel Dulany; 3 boxes, 1737-1897, 1920. Donor: Mrs. Charles T. Turner.

GENEALOGICA MARYLANDIA

The European Ancestors of Barbara Fritchie, born Hauer

CHARLES C. HOWER

THREE PRINCIPAL GROUPS of Hauer immigrants seemed to have come to America in pre-Revolutionary times, one in 1737,¹ another one in 1751,² and a third, the group to which Barbara Fritchie, born Hauer, belongs. While working up his own family history (the second of these groups) over the past thirty years the author of this article found the tradition in a number of places that we were related to Barbara Fritchie. This interest in the Hauer group to which Barbara belongs stemmed largely from desire to prove or disprove this supposed relationship. Though it now seems that the tradition is not true, there is nevertheless enough interest in Barbara, both among bearers of the Hauer/Hower name and the general public, to warrant publication of data about her father's family in Europe which has recently come to light.

It is widely known that the Bible of John Nicholas (Johan Nicklaus) Hauer, father of Barbara Fritchie, is on display in the Fritchie house in Frederick, Maryland; also that on the inside of the front cover he wrote the facts about his place and date of birth and the date of his migration to America. The place names in the difficult old German script have been variously read. For one who possesses some knowledge of the German language and German geography the correction of the regional names is easy. "Nassaur", as it sometimes appears, is Nassau; "Farbucken" is Saarbrücken; "Lithingen" is Lothringen, better known to Americans as Lorraine. The village name is more difficult, and its identification is the nub of this

¹ Ralph Beaver Strassburger and William John Hinke. *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* (1934: Repr. Baltimore, Genealogical Pub. Co., 1966). Vol. I, pp. 194, 195, 197. Ship, *William*, John Carter, Master, from Rotterdam Oct. 31, 1737. This group of Hauers are said to have come from Baden, but the name of the village is unknown. They may be related to the Hauer immigrants of 1751. *The Descendants of Hans Miehll Hauer, 1720-1970* by Mrs. Jane Hower Auker, of Mifflintown, Pennsylvania is a study of the descendants of the 1737 immigrants.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 464. Ship, *Brothers*, Capt. William Muir, from Rotterdam, September 16, 1751. This group of Hauer immigrants came from Blankenloch, near Karlsruhe, Germany. The writer has a good list of this family group from the records in Blankenloch. They are now well located in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania and the present Lebanon County, Pennsylvania. In collaboration with Mrs. Agnes Hower Wells of Huntsville, Ohio, the writer plans to publish this group this year.

article. Ignoring this problem for the present, the passage, in English translation with the regional names corrected, reads as follows:³ "This Bible belongs to me, Nicholas Hauer, born in Germany in Dildendorf situated in district Nassau, Saarbrücken in German Lothringen, born anno Domini 1733 on the 6th of August. Left my native land the 18th of May, 1754, arrived here and lived in Bentztown, Frederick, Maryland from the 8th of October."⁴

The name of the village has been variously reported as Dildendorf, Dillendorf, and Dellendorf. In the course of his search for the village the writer contacted Dr. Fritz Braun of Kaiserslautern, West Germany, and asked his advice in identifying and locating the village. Dr. Braun replied⁵ that there was no Dildendorf or Dillendorf which fitted the rest of the geographical description and reasoned that the village in question was actually *Diedendorf*: *Ich glaube nämlich dass es sich im Falle des Nickolaus Hauer um Diedendorf bei Finstingen in Lothringen handelt.*⁶ Diedendorf is on the Saar in Lorraine between Strasbourg and Saarbrücken, or more precisely, between Saar-Union to the north and Fénétrange to the south. Fénétrange is the French form for Dr. Braun's Finstingen.

There, unfortunately, the matter rested for twenty-seven years. Two or three attempts to check it by correspondence failed. In January, 1969, a faculty colleague of the writer, Prof. B. Pierre Lebeau, a native of France, visited his brother Prof. Jean Lebeau of the University of Strasbourg. As an act of friendship, having made arrangements in advance by telephone with the local pastor, *Mlle.* Klein, they drove to Diedendorf on January 10.

They found there the old birth records in a volume entitled *Geschicht der Alten Reformisten Kirche, 1699-1789.*⁷ The existing record book would seem to be a copy of the original since the records for the whole ninety-year span are in the same hand. There is evidence, however, of care and accuracy. No marriage or burial records were found. However, both the Lebeau brothers and the pastor were pressed for time, and it may be possible that a careful search would reveal more records. The pastor said that although Hauers live in that area now, they are newcomers and are not descended from the eighteenth century Hauers. Although it is a matter for regret that more was not found, even the discovery of the birth records was a piece of luck; many such records were lost or destroyed in World War II.

On receiving the book, the Lebeaus looked first for the birth record of Nicholas Hauer and immediately found it; the date of birth, 6 August 1733, agreed exactly with the one in the Bible at Frederick. Having thus proved that this was indeed the

³ Translation by Mr. Devilo Colgate Brish of Frederick, Maryland.

⁴ For information on this Bible and the present condition of the writing therein see Dorothy Mackay Quynn and William Rogers Quynn, "Barbara Frietschie", *Md. Hist. Mag.* (1942), XXXVII, Appendix II, "The Barbara Frietschie Bibles", pp. 401-403.

⁵ Letter Dr. Fritz Braun to Charles C. Hower, Oct. 19, 1952.

⁶ Translated freely: "I believe, that is to say, that in the case of Nicholas Hauer we are dealing with *Diedendorf near Finstingen in Lothringen.*"

⁷ English translation: *History of the Old Reformed Church, 1699-1789.*

right place and right set of records, they proceeded to scan the entire volume and excerpted thirty-two Hauer births spanning the years 1706-1766. The parents' names are given with each entry, but there seem to be no baptismal records with names of their sponsors. The mothers' names are listed sometimes with the feminine ending *-in*, sometimes without. Apparently a mother's name is found sometimes in a French form, sometimes in a German form, *e.g.* Ourz-Würz. These birth records were brought back to America as a single list in chronological order. The writer has arranged them by families as well as he could. Abbreviations and spellings in the original have been carefully retained. The list follows:

PETER HAUER and CATHARINA BURGUT
or **BURGERIN**

1. *Jacob Richard Hauer, 1 Jan. 1706*
2. *Marc. Quirin. Hauer, 9 Feb. 1710*

JOH. ADAM HAUER and MARGARETHA MANGEOT
or **MANGOT**

1. *Joh. Jacob Hauer, 7 Aug. 1718*
2. *Joh. Jacob Hauer, 25 Feb. 1727*
3. *Anna Catharina Hauer, 27 Feb. 1735*
4. *Maria Magdalena Hauer, 20 Aug. 1737*
5. *Anna Margaretha Hauer, 20 Aug. 1737*

OTTO HAUER and CATHARINA GUTH or GUTHIN

1. *Dorothea Maria Hauer, 13 June 1728*
2. *Anna Christina Hauer, 20 Nov 1729*
3. *Joh. Felix Daniel Hauer, 20 July 1731*
4. *Joh. Nicklaus Hauer, 6 Aug. 1733 (the father of Barbara Fritchie)*
5. *Anna Catharina Hauer, 16 Sept. 1737*
6. *Joh. Elias Hauer, 12 Feb. 1741*
7. *Anna Susanna Hauer, 1 May 1744*
8. *Johann Christian Hauer, 3 Apr. 1746*
9. *Daniel Hauer, 24 March 1748*
10. *Joh. Jacob Hauer, 16 May 1751*

JACOB HAUER and MARIA MAGDALENA SCHEURERIN

1. *Elias Heinrich Hauer, 21 May 1738*
2. *Maria Margretha Hauer, 15 Jan. 1741*
3. *Elias Hauer, 25 July 1744*

JOH. ADAM HAUER, JUN. and ELIZABETHA KOCH
or **KOCHIN**

1. *Johannes Hauer, 11 March 1743*
2. *Stephan Hauer, 1 Jan. 1745*
3. *Jeremias Hauer, 15 June 1747*
4. *Joh. Adam Hauer, 6 Sept. 1749*

5. Joh. Jacob Hauer, 6 March 1751

6. Paulus Hauer, 27 March 1756

JOH. ADAM HAUER and SUSANNA OURZ

(the same Adam as the above?)

7. Maria Sophia Hauer, 29 June 1760

8. Maria Hauer, 17 July 1762

9. Johann Ludwig Hauer, 6 Apr. 1766

JEREMIAS HAUER and MAGDALENA WURZ or OURZ

1. Joh. Adam Hauer, 19 Dec. 1754

2. Maria Magdalena Hauer, 26 Jan. 1761

3. Maria Sophia Hauer, 20 June 1762

It thus appears that Nicholas Hauer was one of ten children born to Otto and Catharina (Guth) Hauer. An interesting point here is that the Christian name Otto does not seem to be found elsewhere in this or any other known Hauer group, in Germany or America. This seems somewhat remarkable.

Now that we have unquestioned identification of Nicholas Hauer's birthplace and a complete, authentic list of his brothers and sisters, the question arises, "How many members of this family besides Nicholas migrated, and what became of them in America?" Two only, Nicholas and Daniel, are definitely proved to have migrated. It is quite probable that Jacob, the youngest, also did. Although this is somewhat outside the author's field of competence, he will attempt a listing of Nicholas' family and very brief accounts of Daniel's and Jacob's descendants.

It seems strange that a family as well-known and as intrinsically interesting as that of Nicholas Hauer has, apparently, never been well researched and published. Even Nicholas' wife is not well identified, and there seems not to be complete agreement on the list of their children. For the children's names the writer is dependent primarily upon two lists. One was supplied by Miss Eleanor Abbott of Frederick and by Mr. Devilo Colgate Brish, also of Frederick; their versions are identical, probably the same in origin. The other is published by Dorothy Mackay Quynn and William Rogers Quynn in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* and is the product of their own research in original sources.⁸ The writer acknowledges deep indebtedness to this article. The Abbott list omits Jacob whose birthdate is known and not open to question. The Quynn list omits John Lewis whose exact birthdate in Frederick is given in the Abbott list. They also omit Maria Elizabeth, the third child, apparently taking her as the Mary who married George Adams. This daughter, according to the Abbott list, married Jacob Steiner. Furthermore, the usage of the times was to employ the middle name rather than the first. This daughter was probably known as Elizabeth, not Mary.

But before listing the children we must consider the problem of the mother's

⁸ Quynn, "Barbara Frietschie," Appendix III, p. 404.



Barbara Fritchie. *Maryland Historical Society.*

identity. The only thing certain is that her name was Catherine. The Abbott tradition is that she was Catherine Zeiler, or Zealer. The Quynns believe that the name was more probably Ziegler, and they make a very plausible case.⁹ The writer can add this: in the records of the Evangelical Reformed Church at Frederick there appears an entry¹⁰ to the effect that the "Widow Hauer", aged ninety-one, was buried 24 July 1834. Someone has pencilled in "Barbara Fritchie's mother." This would place her birth about 1743. If this identification is correct, she was only about thirteen

⁹ On this whole problem see Quynn, "Barbara Frietschie," pp. 403-404.

¹⁰ William J. Hinke, trans. "Records of the Evangelical Reformed Church of Frederick, Maryland", 1941, at the Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa., p. 338.

years old when Nicholas Hauer migrated in 1754, and it would thus appear that their marriage took place in America. This identification, however, seems questionable. The Quynns state¹¹ that they had found no trace of her for many years before Nicholas' death and that she was not listed among his heirs. This too may be a small point in favor of the name Ziegler. The sponsor at Barbara's baptism in Lancaster was Mrs. Barbara Gamber, or Gampert, and Gambers and Zieglers are found in close association in Cumberland Co., Pa., in the early 1800's.¹²

Problems concerning the date and place of Nicholas Hauer's death are also complex. Miss Abbott told the writer only that he died in Kentucky while visiting his daughter Mary, Mrs. William Adams. The Quynns, citing the records of the Reformed Church in Frederick,¹³ say that the date was 11 Dec. 1799; family tradition names Madison Co., Ky. as the place. This version also calls Mary Hauer's husband George Adams instead of William Adams. George Adams has not been identified with certainty in Madison Co., Ky., and there is no trace of Nicholas Hauer there.

We come at last to the children of Nicholas Hauer noting again that available lists do not agree wholly. The writer has the birth and baptismal dates and the names of sponsors for the first four children from the records of First Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa., and will include them. The list:

1. Catherine Hauer; b. 16 Oct. 1760 at Lancaster; bpt. 16 Nov. 1760, sponsors Christ and Catherine Leib; she m. Major Peter Mantz, an aide-de-camp to Washington.
2. Jacob Hauer; b. 12 March 1762 at Lancaster; bpt. 4 Apr. 1762; sponsor Jacob Glatz; Jacob's name does not appear on the Abbott-Brish list, and nothing seems to be known about him; perhaps he died young.
3. Maria Elizabeth Hauer; b. 16 Mar. 1765 at Lancaster; bpt. 24 Mar. 1765; sponsors Justice (Justus?) Trepert and wife Dorothy; she m. Jacob Steiner.
4. Barbara Hauer; b. 3 Dec. 1766 at Lancaster; bpt. 14 Dec. 1766; sponsor Mrs. Barbara Gamber, or Gampert; she m. Casper Fritchie.
5. Daniel Hauer; b. 11 Nov. 1768 at Frederick, Md.; m. Margaret Mantz.
6. John Lewis Hauer; b. 25 Nov. 1770 at Frederick; no further information; his name does not appear on the Quynns' list.
7. Margaret Hauer; b. 1771 at Frederick; m. John Stover.
8. Henry Hauer; m. Catherine Keplinger.

¹¹ Quynn, "Barbara Frietschie," p. 404.

¹² William J. Hinke, "Records of Ziegler's Church, Mifflin Twsp., Cumberland Co., Pa., 1797-1840", p. 25, Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa. Among the confirmands at Zion Church on June 1, 1823, were Peter Gamber, Mary Ann Ziegler and Joseph Hower. These Howers would seem to be from the 1751 immigrant group. This Zion Church is probably Zion Lutheran Church at Newville, Pa. which later absorbed Ziegler's Church, as stated by the pastor at Newville in conversation with the author in October 1971.

¹³ Quynn, "Barbara Frietschie," p. 404, fn. 9.

9. Mary Hauer; m. William Adams (Abbott) or George Adams (Quynn); went to Kentucky and her father Nicholas is said to have died while visiting her there.
10. George Hauer; b. March, 1775 (Quynn).

In connection with the above list it is interesting to note that three of the four Hauer children born at Lancaster were given the Christian name of the sponsor at baptism. This might conceivably indicate relationship, and Nicholas did have a sister Catherine. However, the names Jacob and Catherine are extremely common, and the point should not be pressed. The name Barbara does not appear at all in the entire Diedendorf list. The writer's co-worker Agnes Hower Wells has recently made the ingenious suggestion that Mrs. Dorothy Trepert, sponsor at the baptism of Maria Elizabeth, might have been the eldest child of Otto and Catherine, Dorothea Maria, b. 13 June 1728. Chief objection to this would seem to be the custom, noted previously, of using the middle name rather than the first name.

We turn now to Nicholas Hauer's brother Daniel. If information on Nicholas' family seemed sparse, this is much more the case with Daniel. At least his identity is now unquestioned, and we have the exact places and dates of birth and death. Before the discovery of the Diedendorf list the source for his date and place of birth was the diary of one Jacob Englebrecht. The Quynns refer to it in their article,¹⁴ but there is a much fuller reference to it in an earlier issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.¹⁵ This item reads as follows: "Jacob Englebrecht says in his diary for July 6, 1827 that Daniel Hauer told him that he—Hauer was born in Lothringer [sic], Germany, March 24, 1748, left London for America August 24, 1769—Baron De Kalb being a passenger on the same ship—arrived in Philadelphia January, 1770. He came to Frederick about the year 1771. He died August 18, 1831." The exciting thing here is that again, as in the case of Nicholas, the birth date recorded on this side of the Atlantic agrees perfectly with the one found at Diedendorf.

Supplementing this statement a little is a letter¹⁶ by Daniel J. Hauer of Perry, Maine, a great-great grandson of Daniel Hauer. In this letter he traces his descent from Daniel and says that Daniel was born "in Dildendorf on the Rhine in German Loraine", was educated at Wittenberg being a schoolmate of Baron De Kalb, landed at Philadelphia in 1769, joined his brother Nicholas and that both of them moved to Frederick, Maryland. He explains that Daniel's name does not appear on the ship lists because he visited London and Southampton en route instead of sailing directly from Rotterdam. He concludes with the statement that he had a complete record of the descendants of these two brothers with dates and that they could only be related

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

¹⁵ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 81 under "Notes". Item contributed by Agnes Hower Wells.

¹⁶ Letter, 1914, Daniel J. Hauer to Lloyd C. Hower of Siegfried, Pa., historian of the second Hower group mentioned in the opening paragraph, in response to a reunion notice. Photostat of this one page, undated, in possession of the writer through the courtesy of Jane Hower Auker, present historian of that group.

to other Hauers through ancestors in Lorraine. He also noted that the male lines from Nicholas and Daniel were nearly extinct. Most unfortunately, Daniel J. Hauer's records were later burned and seem lost to posterity.

There are obvious errors here. Daniel's birthplace was Diedendorf, not Dildendorf, and was on the Saar, not the Rhine; he cannot have joined Nicholas in Lancaster in 1769 since Nicholas went from there to Frederick between 1766 and 1768. On the other hand there is at least one item of great interest here and in the Englebrecht diary, the linking of Daniel Hauer with Baron De Kalb. This would seem to be impossible, or at least highly improbable, since the Baron was some 27 years older than Daniel and it would seem that their stations in life were so different that their ways would be unlikely to cross. There is no record either, in biographies available to the writer, of a trip to America by the Baron in 1769 or 1770. He did come as a secret agent of the French government in 1762 and again in 1777 with LaFayette.

Still one hesitates to write off so specific a story completely, and there are certain other aspects of the history of these Hauer families which have led the writer to wonder if they may have been, in their European origins "a cut above" the Hauers from Baden. Would a man wholly devoid of learning have named a son Marcus Quirinius, as Peter Hauer of Diedendorf did in 1710? Another interesting complication is the ambivalence of this family with regard to denominational affiliation. The churches attended by them at Diedendorf, Lancaster, and Frederick were all Reformed. Yet Wittenberg is the citadel of Lutheranism, and the Rev. Daniel J. Hauer, D.D., a grandson of Daniel Hauer, was a prominent Lutheran clergyman; furthermore he named his son Luther Melancthon Hauer, nothing could be more Lutheran. It would be most interesting to know just what political and religious upheavals brought these Hauers to Diedendorf and what their economic and social status was. Before soaring too far, however, on such flights of fancy we should perhaps recall that in Frederick, Nicholas was a hatter and Daniel a drygoods merchant.

There is little information about Daniel Hauer's family. The Quynns remark¹⁷ that the 1790 census shows him with a large family, and indeed it does: 6 white males over 16; 2 free white males under 16; 8 free white females; no slaves. The Quynns say too¹⁸ that his wife's name was Catherine and that several apparent leads to Catherine, wife of Nicholas, turned out to be to Catherine, wife of Daniel. Nothing else seems to be known about her. Could the "Widow Hauer," buried in 1834, have been this Catherine instead of Nicholas' wife? Daniel himself died, as has been noted, 18 August 1831.¹⁹

Of all these children (though some of the young persons counted in the census may not have been Daniel's children) the only one known to the writer is George.

¹⁷ Quynn, "Barbara Frietschie," p. 403.

¹⁸ *ibid*, Appendix III, p. 403.

¹⁹ Englebrecht Diary and stone in Mt. Olivet Cemetery, Frederick, Md. the inscription of which copied by the author in 1947. Also, Jacob Mehrling Holdcraft, *Names in Stone*, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1966, p. 545.

He married Catherine Shellman²⁰ in Frederick, Maryland, 9 October 1803.²¹ Their son was the Rev. Daniel Jacob Hauer already referred to. He was born in Frederick on 3 March 1806, died 26 November 1901, and is buried at Hanover, Pennsylvania. He married Henrietta Warner who was born in Baltimore in 1811. Their son was Luther Melancthon Hauer born in Loudoun Co., Virginia, 15 Feb. 1831, and he married Anna Norris, a native of Baltimore, born 11 Feb. 1835. Of their 8 children we shall list here only the two whose letters have helped so greatly in this compilation. Their daughter Henrietta was born in Baltimore on 25 June 1856 and married Charles William Harvey on 4 Nov. 1880. A number of Harvey descendants live in Indianapolis, Indiana. Mrs. Harvey's brother, Daniel J. Hauer, was born in Baltimore on 26 May 1871 and married Abbie Clark. In 1913 he was living in Perry, Maine; was a civil engineer, editor, and author. He had a son Daniel J. Hauer, Jr. and a daughter, Edith May, who were living in 1969.

It seems rather likely that Joh. Jacob Hauer, born on 16 May 1751, also migrated. In 1951 the writer exchanged letters with Mrs. Ella Gerlaugh Howett of Elyria, Ohio. Mrs. Howett was a D.A.R. member by descent from one Jacob Hower who, according to her statement was born in Germany, migrated to Frederick County, Maryland and served in the Revolution under John Collars. Regarding Jacob's grave she stated: "We found the grave [Jacob Hower] in cemetery out in country of Frederick Co., Md."²² No one now living seems to know the location of the grave, and it is not listed in Holdcraft's *Names in Stone*.²³ Dr. John P. Dern has kindly examined the proof of the 3300-name supplement to *Names in Stone* now in process of publication and reports that this grave is not listed there either. If it could be found, with names still legible, this Jacob's identity might be either proved or disproved. This Jacob had a son, John Hower, 1784–1854, who lived near Clear Spring, Maryland, and migrated in 1833 to Alpha, Greene County, Ohio, where he is buried. His descendant, Mr. Lawrence D. Hower of Fairborn, Ohio, who died about a year ago, accumulated a great deal of information on this family.²⁴ There is really no evidence that this Jacob belongs to the Diedendorf group except the statement that he was born in Germany and migrated to Frederick County, Maryland. Also in favor of this identification is the apparent absence of other Hauer groups from Frederick County in early times. The absence of this Jacob from the 1790 census records seems strange.

²⁰ Letter, Henrietta Hauer Harvey of Indianapolis, Ind., sister of Daniel J. Hauer of Perry, Me., dated 16 July 1914.

²¹ War of 1812 Bounty Land Records at National Archives, Washington, D. C. B. L. Wt. 83,401. Catherine states she was a widow living in Frederick on 18 June 1856 and that George, her husband died 22 Oct. 1848.

²² Letter, Mrs. Ella Gerlaugh Howett to Charles C. Hower, dated 12 Apr. 1951.

²³ Jacob Mehrling Holdcraft. *Names in Stone*, p. 545.

²⁴ For information on this Jacob Hower and his descendants, see *Portraits and Biographical Album, Greene and Clark Counties, Ohio*, Chapman Brothers, 1880, pp. 553–554.

Finally, the writer has heard the story from two Hower-descended persons that their ancestor was a Rev. Christian Hower; that he was a Lutheran minister in Revolutionary times; that he was a brother to Barbara Fritchie's father; and that he was the youngest of five brothers, he being born in America, the others in Germany. It is now well demonstrated that the ancestor of these persons was indeed a Rev. Christian Hower. However, he was a Methodist, not a Lutheran, minister and was born at Stumpstown (Fredericksburg), now Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, 6 May 1791.²⁵ He died at Burbank, Wayne County, Ohio, 21 Nov. 1868. He is almost without doubt a member of the group descended from the 1751 immigrants from Blankenloch.

Although there were five brothers at Diedendorf (the first Daniel probably died) and one was named Christian, nothing else about this story seems to fit. Still it seems risky to dismiss categorically a story that is so specific in its details and a relationship which has been so firmly believed. Thus although the author has had qualms about rejecting belief in this relationship, he has found no evidence whatever to support it, and the negative opinions of Dr. Fritz Braun and Daniel J. Hauer should be rather conclusive.

²⁵ See lengthy obituary in *The Western Christian Advocate*, Jan. 27, 1869, p. 31. This is a Methodist Church publication. Though they print "Stempstown" instead of Stumpstown, there seems to be no doubt that this man was born at Stumpstown (now Fredericksburg). There is good evidence that he was a brother of a Hower woman well known to have been born there. Item courtesy of Agnes Hower Wells.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

For the Reputation of Truth: Politics, Religion and Conflict among the Pennsylvania Quakers 1750-1800. By Richard Bauman. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971. Pp. xviii, 258. \$10.00.)

Richard Bauman has presented an interesting and well-documented interpretation of the struggle which took place in the last half of the eighteenth century among Pennsylvania Friends over their proper role in the political sphere. Until 1755 Quakers not only participated in the government and political life of that colony without any apparent reservations but also actually dominated the Pennsylvania assembly. The outbreak of the French and Indian War and the first declaration of war by Pennsylvania, however, caused Friends there to see with increasing clarity the inconsistency of their political activities with the upholding of their peace testimony. Under attack by non-Quaker political opposition both at home and in England, and spurred on by advice (and pressure) from English Quakers and by multiplying demands from reformers in their own midst, Pennsylvania Friends increasingly withdrew from political office and activity and placed growing emphasis on efforts to improve public morality, work among the Indians, and attack slavery.

Dr. Bauman, drawing heavily from Pennsylvania Quaker records (especially those of the Yearly Meeting, Quarterly Meeting, and Meeting for Sufferings) and on several Quaker journals, identifies three "political types" in pre-Revolutionary Pennsylvania Quakerism: the worldly politicians, the politiqués ("committed to upholding the reputation and testimony of the church, but in the worldly arena"), and the reformers (including John and George Churchman, who after the drawing of the Mason and Dixon Line belonged to a Maryland meeting). His analysis seems sound and his conclusions rather convincing. The one point at which the reviewer would raise a serious question about his presentation is at that place where Bauman seems to suggest that the primary motive for the Indian and anti-slavery work was to obtain "public honor" for the Society and its "benevolent principles" (p. 210). While such was the *result* of this work it seems more likely that the "plain humanitarian motives" (which actually stemmed from an expanded understanding of the peace testimony which Quakers had been forced to examine anew) were primary.

The book is a good one, but it might have been strengthened by the examination of several other questions. What was the influence of Pennsylvania Quakers—through correspondence and visiting ministers—on other American Quakers on these matters? And *vice versa*? Why is there no discussion of the great influence of Mary Peisley (later Neale), Catharine Payton (later Phillips), and other English and Irish travelling Friends who so emphasized throughout America the importance

of the *Discipline* as the second half of the eighteenth century got underway? Among the very few minor flaws to be found in the book is the use of the word *each* instead of *east* (p. 202) when discussing the influx of settlers from east of the Ohio.

Southern Methodist University

KENNETH L. CARROLL

Seventy-Six: "Our Country! Right or Wrong." By John Neal, with an introduction by Robert A. Bain. (2 vols. in 1; Bainbridge, N.Y.: York Mail-Print, Inc., 1971. Pp. xliii, 268, 260.)

Professor Robert A. Bain has written a thoughtful, objective appraisal in his introduction to John Neal's historical novel *Seventy-Six*. After a short biographical account of the business and legal career of the ex-New Englander Neal, Bain explores the literary community of early nineteenth-century Baltimore and describes Neal's relation to that community. He justly evaluates Neal as a transitional writer between the Gothic tales of Brockden Brown and the romances of John Pendleton Kennedy. After an adequate but somewhat confused summary of the novel, Bain attempts to point out Neal's early attempts at psychological character analysis, colloquial language, and even the use of stream of consciousness by the narrator. However, Neal was one of the first American novelists to use the past as settings for fiction, and Bain, while discussing the realistic portrayal of George Washington, hardly explains why the work was set in the American Revolution, nor does he discuss Neal's reasons for using the past in fiction.

Neal himself was unable to use the historical setting to advantage. He wrote a tale about the folly of personal honor which resulted in spurned love, murder, and ultimately self-destruction. Probably based on *Caleb Williams*, the novel managed to depict the horrors of war and the brutality of the British, and it seemed to reflect Neal's own response to the War of 1812. The constant scene shift from the personal romantic glories of war to the destructive personal relationships among three young couples destroys any plot sequence, hardly leaves room for character development, and fails to explain the meaning of the past to the author. Aside from an occasional allusion to a braver and simpler past and a reflection of contemporary sectional animosity as shown in the hostilities between Virginia and New England soldiers, Neal's novel hardly serves as an example of why history was to become the most popular setting for fiction of the ante-bellum period.

Justly forgotten as a work which would influence writers of the next generation and certainly having little to redeem it as a work of fiction, Neal's *Seventy-Six* remains important for all students of the American novel. For all those who find that fiction can delineate the manners and customs of a generation, Neal's use of vulgarity and bawdy characterization of his females ought to break down the

stereotypes of gentility and piety in the era of good feelings. Neal claimed that people read novels who do not read history. One concludes that this novel should be read not for its historical setting, but for an understanding of life in 1823.

The Catholic University of America

JON L. WAKELYN

A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the William Wirt Papers. By John B. Boles. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society with the sponsorship of the National Historical Publications Commission, 1971. Pp. [vi], 23. \$1.00. [24 rolls of microfilm, with *Guide*, \$240.00.]

William Wirt (1772–1834) was a man of many talents. Author and historian, he was also an eminently successful lawyer who served as attorney general of the United States under two presidents. His papers, the bulk of which are owned by the Maryland Historical Society, reveal not only the details of a legal career which included most significant cases from 1800 to 1832, but also reflect the life and times of a cultured and public spirited gentleman. Born in the age of the Revolution, friend of founding fathers, Wirt lived to participate in the tumultuous politics of the age of Jackson when he ran for president on the Anti-Masonic ticket in 1832. Because much of his time was spent away from home and friends, he committed his observations of men and events to paper in a voluminous and revealing correspondence.

Wirt's papers at the Maryland Historical Society have been edited and filmed on twenty-four rolls of microfilm under the skilled and able guidance of Professor John B. Boles. Literary and political papers and drafts are included as well as personal letters. Dr. Boles' *Guide* serves as an excellent and perceptive introduction to Wirt's life and letters, and will be most helpful to scholars using the collection. The William Wirt Papers are a significant addition to the Society's growing number of microfilm publications.

Catonsville Community College

BAYLY ELLEN MARKS

The Southampton Slave Revolt of 1831: A Compilation of Source Material. By Henry Irving Tragle. (Amherst, Mass.: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1971. Pp. xviii, 489. \$15.00.)

This handsomely printed volume makes accessible the major sources on Nat Turner's bloody revolt of August 1831. The collection reveals more about the uprising itself than about Turner, who remains in part a mystery. The book has a

lengthy introduction, five sections of sources, and a bibliographical essay. Useful appendages are an "Approximate Chronology" of the event and a series of maps and illustrations.

Tragle begins by discussing his methodology and by placing the disorder in its historical context. This informative commentary sets the stage for the sources which follow, but some of the author's most arresting remarks are suggestive rather than fully convincing. He challenges the idea that the revolt occurred at a time of sharp economic adversity, contends that even before it took place "Virginia was an armed and garrisoned state" to control slavery (p. 17), and argues that the literal term for it "*must* be 'revolt,'" rather than insurrection or rebellion (p. 22). More significantly, he believes the surviving evidence can explain what happened but not why.

Section I consists of sixty-four newspaper extracts. Most are from Virginia sources; all but three are contemporary items. The reader finds a mix of hysteria and sanity, exaggeration and caution, polemics and straightforward reporting. Section II contains the verbatim court records for the fifty trials in Southampton County after the uprising and a convenient chronological summary of each case. With the proper legal trappings, "justice" was swift: fifty separate cases took a mere eighteen court days, and the total proceedings represent less than fifty printed pages. The records also reveal that Turner was valued at only \$375 and was not the last slave tried.

Virginia Governor John Floyd is the focal point of Section III. Diary excerpts and official correspondence are reproduced. Much of this was published years ago, including Floyd's famous letter assessing the cause of the disorder and placing chief blame on "the Yankee population" (p. 275). Section IV gives thirteen previously printed short accounts of the revolt. They begin with two pamphlets dated 1831—one being Thomas R. Gray's indispensable *Confessions*—and end with Tragle's own "Styron and His Sources" (1970), which discusses the historical shortcomings of William Styron's celebrated novel. These thirteen selections are monumentally repetitious, often subjective, and generally short on fresh evidence. Section V presents thirteen miscellaneous documents which are mainly legal records and items dealing with Turner's capture and execution. The concluding bibliographical note is somewhat anticlimactic but allows Tragle to evaluate earlier books on the subject. He finds William S. Drewry's old standard badly flawed but important, and regards Herbert Aptheker's 1966 work as the best now available.

Tragle's compilation contains few sources unknown to specialists, has some minor factual errors, and lacks an index. His editorial comment is scholarly, but occasionally it takes the cream off the documents. Finally, to mix a compliment with a complaint, it seems unfortunate that the author was content to publish his diligently collected and intelligently organized research, instead of using it as a basis for a much-needed monograph on this significant topic.

The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison, II, A House Dividing Against Itself, 1836–1840. Edited by Louis Ruchames. (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1971, Pp. xxxi, 769. \$20.00.)

The second installment of what promises to be William Lloyd Garrison's most imposing academic monument also marks Louis Ruchames' debut as editor, a task he divides with Walter M. Merrill, each man being responsible for alternate volumes. Professor Ruchames is zealous at his work: no name mentioned by Garrison is too obscure to escape being tracked down; no quotation appearing in Garrison's letters is so garbled or insignificant as to evade having its source searched out. So thorough is Professor Ruchames that the reader can find footnotes explaining who Demosthenes was and where the phrase "Dust to dust" comes from. Other citations, however, are usually of a higher order of helpfulness and all of them betray Professor Ruchames' deep admiration for Garrisonian abolitionism and his total immersion in its literature.

What the documents themselves reveal is another matter. Contrary to Garrison's vitriolic performances as a polemicist, he could be an engaging correspondent, warm to friends and loved-ones, and possessing something resembling a sense of humor. Still, such personal qualities say little about abolitionism as a movement; and this volume, covering years when the antislavery vanguard splintered beyond repair, ought to be most interesting for what it can tell us about forces impelling non-Garrisonians to secede from the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1840.

Despite Garrison's professions of forbearance for those who differed with him on tactics and on peripheral matters, his letters hint at a rather different personality than that emerging from recent scholarship, which portrays him as a supremely rational radical, willing to cooperate with more moderate reformers on specific issues. Yet Garrison's toleration, and the breadth of his antislavery platform, may well have been less than he and his defenders believed. Garrison, clearly regarding intramural criticism of his positions, beginning in 1837, as assault upon the cause itself, pressed for vindication from co-workers as well as from God and posterity: there is no vanity more deadly than the humility of a person claiming to be an insignificant soldier in the army of righteousness; there is no open-mindedness more delusive than that of a person engaging in brotherly dialogue with those whom he knows to be grievously in error. Although by the end of 1838 numerous abolitionists wished to be rid of Garrison and his manifold heresies, his own correspondence displays some of the emotionality and self-certainty which helped drive them to the breaking point.

It is in assessing the schism of 1840 that weaknesses in the whole series of *Garrison Letters* becomes apparent. Professors Merrill and Ruchames have chosen to publish only items written by Garrison, justifying exclusive focus upon him by his merit as a correspondent and by his supposed status as "Founding Father of the American civil rights movement" (never mind the considerable discontinuities between present-day radicalism and Garrison's). As a result, we see only Garrison—not even nec-

essarily the private Garrison since over one-fifth of the documents reprinted actually first appeared in the *Liberator* and were intended for public consumption. Without inclusion of letters written to Garrison, this series serves the limited function of memorializing a man who had a fine sense of what history might say about him; it cannot get us as close as it should to an understanding of relationships among various abolitionists and between the antislavery movement and its time. Nowhere is this deficiency more regrettable than in the present volume, comprehending a half-decade when interplay of personality and ideology was extremely important for the course of abolitionism. As it is, we are left with an expensive, thoroughly edited, well-printed collection which a reader may peruse with care, finally only to derive a firmer sense of Garrison's personality (including his self-delusions) than of his real and quite considerable significance within antebellum reform.

The Johns Hopkins University

RONALD G. WALTERS

The Image of Lincoln in the South. By Michael Davis. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1971. Pp. 205. \$7.95.)

Abraham Lincoln has never been as great a hero to white southerners as he is to other Americans. Few high schools, avenues, public squares, or monuments south of the Potomac are named for the Civil War president. His birthday usually passes unnoticed, and seldom is he mentioned as an equal of Washington or Jefferson. The unwary might conclude that southerners have always considered Lincoln an outsider, an invader, someone to be damned with good conscience. Not so, says Michael Davis. Indeed, the South's image of Lincoln underwent several transformations between 1860 and the centennial celebrations of his birth in 1909.

Most southerners knew little or nothing about the Illinois lawyer when the Republican party nominated him for the presidency in May 1860, but they suspected the intentions of anyone nominated by the hated "Black Republicans." Lincoln's attempt to relieve Fort Sumter crystallized opinion against him personally, and many Confederates were convinced that the President had lied and tricked the South into firing the first shot. The death, destruction, and suffering wreaked by Lincoln's armies in the Confederacy only deepened the South's hatred. The man whose soul shone brightly for freedmen and northerners was a revolting monster to white southerners.

After Lee's surrender, attitudes divided along the seam between those southerners who viewed the war as the destruction of the flower of western civilization and those who considered Appomattox an opportunity for a fresh start. The former, symbolized by unreconstructed rebels like Lyon Gardiner Tyler, damned Lincoln for releasing his hordes against a refined, democratic, agrarian society which had been far superior to anything else in American history. The other group, more numerous

and determined to forget old sectional hatreds and build a New South, praised Lincoln as an amalgam of Cavalier and Puritan, the perfect example of a new *American* breed that was greater than all breeds before it. When the nation celebrated the one-hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's birth in 1909, the South joined in to praise the fallen president as a symbol of all that was best in American civilization.

This is a fine little book with an interesting topic, tight organization, clear prose, and solid research. Two criticisms should be made, however. Mr. Davis's sources are limited to the writings of the more articulate members of southern society. Those are all that remain, however, and there is little reason to believe that more silent southerners viewed Lincoln any differently from Davis's witnesses. Second, specialists in this field will find few surprises here, for most of these shifts in public opinion have been detected before. Nevertheless, this is the first monograph describing those shifts in a complete and systematic manner.

North Texas State University

RICHARD LOWE

Letters of Louis D. Brandeis, I, 1870-1907, Urban Reformer. Edited by Melvin I. Urofsky and David W. Levy. (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1971. Pp. xlii, 610. \$20.00.)

One's perception of Louis D. Brandeis varies with one's age and political attitudes. People who remember the New Deal and before often have a mental image of the then Supreme Court Justice either as one of the liberal giants of the 20th century, or as that radical Jew threatening the conservative order. People under forty probably have only a vague knowledge of the man whom constitutional historians rank with the outstanding jurists of the American past.

Presumably editors Urofsky and Levy in their multi-volume collection of Brandeis's letters intend to update Alpheus Mason's valuable biography, as well as to provide for scholars an almost complete record of Brandeis's life. The book is a superbly edited work with detailed footnotes covering Brandeis's earlier career in law school, in partnership, and as a civic reformer. Following law school in the 1890s, partly as a result of the contemporary labor strife, the depression, and the ideas of Henry George, the corporation lawyer became increasingly concerned with the little man battling big business, labor-management relations, and the excessive privileges that public utility corporations obtained from complacent city and state governments at the taxpayer's and consumer's expense.

Working through the Public Franchise League, a voluntary association of enlightened Boston business and professional men, Brandeis secured improved regulation of street, gas, electric, and other utility companies, limiting special privilege and reducing costs to consumers. He joined with Clarence Darrow to provide free

legal support for the AF of L in the coal miners strike of 1902. He helped to expose the industrial insurance scandals in 1906, and supported the eight-hour day for workingmen. After the Spanish-American war, he joined with other anti-imperialists in opposing the acquisition of the Philippines, and subsequently the cruel American suppression of Filipino insurgency. Like his Baltimore counterpart, Charles J. Bonaparte, Brandeis repeatedly called for citizen involvement in politics to make the system work equitably. He particularly wanted the involvement of the educated and well-to-do, because their benefits and responsibilities were the greatest.

Despite all of the good works related, the reader leaves the *Letters* dissatisfied. Brandeis was not a litterateur; his correspondence was mostly business letters interesting to the scholar specializing in a field in which Brandeis worked, but too detailed and too dull for enjoyable reading by the history buff or general scholar.

The question inevitably arises as to why the *Letters* were published, especially at \$20 per volume. The answer probably lies in the importance of Brandeis as advisor to Woodrow Wilson and later Franklin Roosevelt, as well as in his role as associate justice of the United States Supreme Court. Yet unless subsequent volumes are greater in their general appeal, one wonders whether a microfilmed edition for scholars (less cost, less library space, less environmental abuse) might have been a preferable way to publish them. Another approach if the subsequent volumes rank in importance with the letters of Jefferson, Roosevelt, and Wilson would be greater selectivity in choosing letters from Brandeis's urban reform era to enable the reader to get more quickly to the meat of his career.

Clearly the thoroughness of the editors in this volume is not warranted from its contents. The quality of scholarship is high but the reader waits impatiently to get on with the great man's career.

University of North Florida

JAMES B. CROOKS

The Republican Command, 1897-1913. By Horace Samuel Merrill and Marion Galbraith Merrill. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1971. Pp. xi, 360. \$12.50.)

In this important work the authors evaluate the eight top Republican politicians who collectively dominated the American national scene between the Democratic administrations of Presidents Cleveland and Wilson. All are found wanting. These men—McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and Taft in the Executive Mansion; Aldrich of Rhode Island, Allison of Iowa, Platt of Connecticut, and Spooner of Wisconsin in the Senate; and House Speaker "Uncle Joe" Cannon—are depicted as refusing either to share their power with others or to use it meaningfully for the public good. Pressing economic problems involving the tariff, currency, and big business trusts were for the most part, according to the Merrills, evaded rather than solved. The

tragic condition of southern Negroes was not alleviated. The consuming passions of the "Command" were partisan: the maintenance of Republican unity and the continuation of Republican rule. Even the best of them, President Roosevelt, did not deviate excessively from such selfish concerns.

This hard hitting book most certainly will arouse major controversy and for that reason alone ought to be reprinted in an inexpensive paperback edition. But even more it deserves wide dissemination as a case study of the decision-making process at the highest level of our government, a process which, sadly, has changed all too little in the half century since the Progressive Era. A handful of men in supreme power in America still can dictate how the many shall live, or die on distant battlefields, democratic institutions notwithstanding. *The Republican Command* is truly relevant scholarship.

It is also eminently readable. The Merrills, as narrative historians, clearly are not in the same league as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., or Eric F. Goldman. But in their own less dramatic way they too offer an effective retort to those arcane students of the past, reveling in the mysteries of some quasi-scientific methodology, who write only for one another.

Towson State College

MYRON I. SCHOLNICK

Mary Adelaide Nutting, Pioneer of Modern Nursing. By Helen E. Marshall. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972. Pp. ix, 396. \$12.00.)

Two different but related themes run through Professor Marshall's biography of Mary Adelaide Nutting. The first is the personal history of Miss Nutting, and the second is a history of nursing as a profession. Less than 100 years have elapsed since the first nursing school was established in America, and when Miss Nutting enrolled in The Johns Hopkins University Training School for Nurses in 1889, nursing education was a rigorous and stultifying process. Influenced by Florence Nightingale and her military-trained followers, students were rigidly disciplined and molded to conform to a clear cut hierarchy. They worked in the hospital from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. with only one hour off for "lunch, rest, and study." Frequently lectures were given by physicians in the evenings from 8 to 9 p.m. The tired girls were expected to take notes and to recopy them neatly into notebooks which were then graded. Twice a week classes were held from 5 to 6 p.m., during which time the students recited by rote the material in their textbook. This fearsome schedule was varied by occasional 12 hour night shifts and part-time off on Sunday.

Since Miss Nutting was intelligent and well read, she rapidly forged ahead, and in 1894 became superintendent of nurses and principal of the training school. By this time she had been brought into intimate contact with the "Big Four" at Hopkins, Welch, Osler, Kelly, and Halsted, as well as a host of other medical luminaries. She

was active in organizing professional associations and journals in the nursing field, and constantly fought for higher educational standards for nursing schools. Her activities on behalf of graduate training for nurses led to her appointment to the first chair of Hospital Administration at Teachers College, Columbia. During World War I she served as chairman of the Committee on Nursing of the General Medical Board, a position which enabled her to prevent the mass descent upon army hospitals of enthusiastic but untrained volunteer nurses. When she retired from Teachers College in 1925, nursing education had come a long way and nursing was firmly established as a profession.

While Professor Marshall has given us an excellent picture of nursing developments in a crucial period, I am not enthusiastic about her biography. Miss Nutting was essentially a colorless individual, and a detailed day-by-day account of her innocent pleasures and travels has unnecessarily lengthened the book. Neither Miss Nutting nor her close friends and fellow-workers seemed to have had any faults, and the nobility so apparent on every page is almost overwhelming. Miss Nutting admired her friend Lavinia Dock for playing an active role in the woman suffrage movement, but she took no part herself. She praised another friend for sacrificing her position as nursing superintendent on behalf of an eight-hour day for nurses, an act which Miss Nutting was not likely to have done herself. Miss Nutting was a careful, cautious, and conscientious individual who contributed notably to the nursing profession, but the intimate details of her life do not make fascinating reading. Nonetheless, Miss Marshall has done a good research job, knows her field, and her book, if slightly over-written, is worthwhile.

University of Maryland

JOHN DUFFY

The New Deal in the Suburbs: A History of the Greenbelt Town Program, 1935-1954. By Joseph L. Arnold. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1971. Pp. xiii, 272. \$10.00.)

This study of the New Deal greenbelt program offers a fascinating glimpse into the innerworkings of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration and captures the hopes and frustrations, the promise and tragedy of the New Deal. Into Rexford Tugwell's Resettlement Administration came legions of architects and urban planners hopeful of designing a new type of community to merge the advantages of rural and metropolitan life. Their zeal and hard work were matched by thousands of work relief laborers whose proficiency amazed their superiors and demonstrated the common man's residue of untapped resourcefulness. Yet hovering over the project were fatal flaws which brought down the noble experiment—the exigencies of time and money, partisan politics, local distrust of change, and the shortsightedness of the planners themselves. At first New Dealers envisaged greenbelt cities arising all over

the country with tens of thousands of housing units. Only three model towns emerged—Greenbelt, Maryland (near Washington, D.C.), Greenhills, Ohio (near Cincinnati), and Greendale, Wisconsin (near Milwaukee)—with a combined total of approximately two thousand units. As author Arnold ruefully declares: “The history of the greenbelt towns is the story of a road not taken.” (p. 243)

The miniscule results of the greenbelt program point out the ironic and, incidentally, misleading nature of Arnold’s title. The federal government during the 1930s failed to affect suburban development. In fact, the government constructed more public housing during World War I—15,000 units in fifty-two localities—than under the Resettlement Administration. Thus, the significance of the greenbelt experiment lies elsewhere than in its size or as a suburban policy.

Arnold’s book can be read as a case study of failure in bureaucratic planning. The Suburban Division of the Resettlement Administration was forced to do too many disparate things. Part of a rural relocation agency and financed by work relief funds, it had to meet requirements that specified, among other things, that projects be self-liquidating, noncompetitive with private industry, located in areas of severe unemployment, and be payrolled with wages lower than private industry. The Suburban Division had to win approval in minor matters from several other agencies including the W.P.A., the P.W.A., and the Bureau of the Budget. Greenbelt planners, reacting to right-wing charges of regimentation, adopted policies of tenant selection and social control which, ironically, bore out their critics’ charges rather than assuaged them. Most tragically, blacks were excluded from the communities to appease local fears and guard against friction.

Arnold believes that the greenbelt program failed for want of support either from Congress or the private real estate and construction interests and because it was ahead of its time, a victim to the shibboleths of rugged individualism and the sanctity of private property. But if the blueprints had been brilliant and then followed, perhaps the public would have demanded its implementation. Without the Roosevelt administration’s full commitment to the concept of a federally planned, pluralistic, multiracial suburban community, the experiment’s workability was never tested pragmatically.

Greenbelt, Maryland, the largest and most publicized of the three towns, draws Arnold’s closest attention. He describes the bustle of civic activity that accompanied the early days of settlement. But as public interest in Greenbelt declined and the turn-over in residents accelerated, the town’s uniqueness began to fade. Finally during the 1950s, after Greenbelt had been transferred to a half dozen different agencies, like an unwanted foster child, an organization of tenants bought the row homes and other corporations purchased the apartments and commercial center.

In a few instances Arnold makes questionable statements on matters not central to his thesis. He incorrectly claims that the United States Steel Corporation allowed an independent corporation to construct its company town of Gary, Indiana, when in fact the steel trust assumed the task, albeit reluctantly, through a subsidiary. On balance, however, Arnold demonstrates skill at the historical craft, thoroughly docu-

menting his material and logically presenting his themes. The only major article he failed to consult was Leslie G. Hunter's "Greenbelt, Maryland: A City on a Hill," *Maryland Historical Magazine* (June 1968). Occasionally Arnold uses confusing verb tenses, reproduces overlong quotations, and belabors bureaucratic minutiae. For example, he lists the name and title of twenty-six planning directors whose individual significance was nowhere made apparent. Nevertheless, the book is readable, subtle, and represents a definitive study of an important episode in America's political and urban history.

Indiana University Northwest, Gary

JAMES B. LANE

Studies in Judaica Americana. By Rudolf Glanz. Foreword by Jacob R. Marcus. (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1971. Pp. vii, 407. \$14.95.)

Rudolf Glanz is well known to those working in minority history for his studies of the interaction between American Jews and other ethnic groups. The present collection of articles includes eighty-five pages of source materials on the history of Jewish immigration between 1800 and 1880, plus carefully documented, non-apologetic articles on Jewish peddling, Jewish clubs, Jews as they appear in American humor, German-American literature, and muckraking. One of the major themes in these as well as other articles is the dichotomy of American Jews, who are divided into "Bayer" (German) and "Pollack" (east European) camps, each looking badly upon the other either for his lack of material success or his lack of religious commitment. The development of the schism between Orthodox and Reform German Judaism also appears throughout the articles.

Aside from its obvious value to those in the field of American Jewish history, the book has considerable value for those studying German immigration. The German Jews in the 19th century were very much Teutonic in orientation, and remained in much of their private lives part of the German-American subculture. The article on Jews in early German-American literature is significant in this respect. The ethos of nineteenth century America in a more general sense is evident in the articles "Jewish Names in Early American Humor," "Jew and Yankee: A Historic Comparison," "The Rothschild Legend in America," and "Jewish Social Conditions as Seen by the Muckrakers."

Dr. Glanz's handling of the material reflects an acute awareness of the 19th century problems of transmigration and acculturation. His insights into economic and social trends are keen and penetrating. The heavy reliance on documents will interest the scholar, offering an unusual wealth of primary sources. The author's style places the book largely outside the realm of the popular reader.

Carmel College
Wallingford, England

JOSEPH A. FELD

Bodine: A Legend in His Time. By Harold A. Williams. (Baltimore: Bodine & Associates, 1971. Pp. 82 [with 79 pages of photographs]. \$12.50.)

Although a Baltimore resident during the nineteen fiftys and early sixtys, I confess that at that time the name A. Aubrey Bodine meant little except that he was the photographer responsible for those wonderful pictures in the *Sunday Sun's* rotogravure section. *Sun* readers were treated to something that was, and to my knowledge still is, unique in newspaper photography: excellence, in both content and quality of reproduction.

Harold A. Williams' *Bodine: A Legend in His Time* is an interesting biographical sketch, amply and well illustrated with photographs and anecdotes, that succeeds in attaching a personality to the name A. Aubrey Bodine for those who did not know him. It reveals a complex individual whose professional standing was only partly related to newspaper work. I had been unaware of Bodine's success as an exhibitor in salons and as an industrial photographer. Nor had I known of his work with amateur and professional photographic societies. In this connection the author passes on an important message to serious photographers. "... Bodine wrote 'I can say with complete sincerity that if I had not been associated with this vast number of amateurs (PSA exhibitors) I would never have attained the position I enjoy among the newspaper profession. . . . I have learned most of my tricks from these amateurs, and without exception I have found out very little from any newspaperman.'" (p. 43) Perhaps this is explained by the author's later observation "...neither in his writings nor in his lectures—in which he preferred to show his pictures—did he reveal his hard-learned darkroom secrets. He never even told them to colleagues on the *Sun*." (p. 59)

As a *Sun* editor who collaborated with the photographer on two books and a writer of local histories, Mr. Williams' interests and position afford an unique perspective for assessing the impact of Bodine's work on the future development of the Baltimore community and its surroundings. However, in this book he has not used the opportunity. Such an assessment would afford some insight as to the effectiveness of the "active" role of photography, namely, creation of a public awareness and appreciation which give rise to political pressure for preservation and conservation, in contrast to its "passive" role of documentation.

Charlottesville, Virginia

W. G. ROSE

Genealogical Research in Maryland: A Guide. By Mary Keysor Meyer. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1972. Pp. 83. \$4.50.)

Current demands on state historical societies for genealogical services have raised anew the question of how they should allocate their resources between history and genealogy. The Maryland Historical Society has pursued what is perhaps a some-

what typical course in its response to this recurring problem. Prior to the mid-nineteen-forties the *Maryland Historical Magazine* published a number of articles on Maryland genealogy. Then a more exclusively historical interest resulted in the almost complete elimination of genealogical material. Recently, however, due to an enormously increasing interest in the subject, a brief genealogical section has been introduced in the *Magazine*. This same interest was responsible for the appointment by the Society in 1967 of a reference librarian who is a genealogist. That reference librarian is the author of *Genealogical Research in Maryland: A Guide*.

A previous publication by Mrs. Meyer—*Divorces and Names Changed in Maryland by Act of the Legislature 1634-1854*—should have prepared those who have used it to expect other unique contributions from the author. The special contribution of this work, however, lies not in the subject matter, as did that of the previous publication, but in the organization and presentation of the material. This *Guide* is both comprehensive and concise. It makes available to both the professional genealogist and the amateur researcher a vast amount of archival information in small compass, and it provides them with extremely useful, although inconspicuous, tourist information about how to get to the sources, when the collections are open to researchers, and whom to write for information.

To say that the information is both comprehensive and concise fails to convey how important these accomplishments are unless one is aware of the vastness, complexity, and extraordinary aspects of the genealogical resources of Maryland. The great collections at the George Peabody Department of the Enoch Pratt Free Library contain one of the best collections of British county histories and parish registers in the United States. The Hall of Records in Annapolis is the official repository for all state records created by the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government prior to April 28, 1788, and for all records of counties, cities, and towns not in current use. The Library of the Maryland Historical Society contains some 65,000 books, 1400 bound volumes of Maryland newspapers, almost two million manuscripts, and 1100 rolls of microfilm. In addition to references to these, and other, large collections, the *Guide* includes a description of the kinds of records that are available—church, census, military, tax, oaths of fidelity, ship passenger lists, rent rolls, debt books, general and county bibliographical resources, and “special finding aids.” There is a list of county historical societies, with the names and addresses of the secretaries, and the names of the genealogical publishers in Maryland, some of whom are distinguished.

The author, who is a thoroughly competent genealogist, has refrained from trying to tell her readers how to do genealogical research. She offers no advice about how to interpret and evaluate records, no warning about the pitfalls of coincidence, tradition, and vanity, no personal testimony on the pleasures of ancestor hunting. All these omissions are refreshing. What she does do superbly well is to direct researchers to the records at whose mercy they succeed or fail.

BOOK NOTES

The Great South. By Edward King. Edited by W. Magruder Drake and Robert R. Jones. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972. Pp. lxxviii, 820. \$20.00.) A significant episode in what historian Paul H. Buck has called "the road to reunion" after reconstruction was the dedication of *Scribner's Magazine* in the 1870's to the South's history, culture, and business potential. Short stories, reportage, and travel accounts about the defeated region occupied a prominent position in the magazine. By far the most important of its southern pieces was the long, well illustrated, and friendly series, "The Great South," by Edward King. The popular articles, with slight revisions, combined with additional unpublished essays, were turned into a major book with the same title. King had traveled throughout the eleven Confederate states and their neighbors, visiting almost every promising commercial or manufacturing center, along with scenic and historic sites, and had written a detailed, colorful, promotional tract for his times. There is an extensive section on Baltimore and Maryland. Although King shared the racist attitudes of his fellow Americans, he was more moderate in his views of reconstruction than most contemporary observers. He was consciously seeking to reunite the nation culturally and economically as well as politically. As such *The Great South* is an important social document, significant both in itself and for the descriptive information it provides on the southern states. The introduction is useful, particularly for the biographical information on King. Professors Drake and Jones, however, try to claim too much for King: his book shows him to have been somewhat less moderate than they state. Nor have other scholars treated King in quite so stereotyped a manner as the editors suggest. Nevertheless they and their press are to be congratulated for making this handsome and significant volume available once more. The casual reader and the scholar will learn from it, and find enjoyment in the process.

The Politics of Fear: Joseph R. McCarthy and the Senate. By Robert Griffith. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1970. Pp. xi, 362. \$8.50.) This Turner Award study investigates the McCarthy phenomenon of the early 1950s within the context of American party politics and the institutional peculiarities of the United States Senate. Griffith blames politicians of both major parties and the structure of the Senate itself for allowing the talented demagogue from Wisconsin to wax mighty for so long. Solidly based on available manuscript sources and written with verve, this book is a significant addition to the growing body of scholarship which will someday make possible the definitive treatment of the tumultuous McCarthy years.

Vera F. Rollo has spent the last decade researching Maryland's past and writing books on the Free State's government, geography, and history. For many young

readers she needs no introduction. She has recently reprinted her *Your Maryland* (Lanham, Md.: Maryland Historical Press, 1971. Pp. xv, 414. \$6.50.), originally published in 1965. This revised version details the story of Maryland from the early days of exploration and colonization to the present, replete with photographs, line drawings, maps, anecdotes, and biographical sketches. She has just last year published a paperback which extracts some information from the earlier text and provides much more extensive data on *The Negro in Maryland: A Short History* (Lanham, Md.: Maryland Historical Press, 1972. Pp. vi, 70. \$2.75.) This booklet is intended to be both a needed introduction to its important topic and a supplement to standard histories of Maryland. These recent books will find a wide audience among Maryland children.

Black Utopia: Negro Communal Experiments in America. By William H. and Jane Pease. (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963. Paper edition, 1972. Pp. [x], 204. \$2.00.) Some observers in the age of slavery felt that neither the abolitionists nor the colonizationists offered viable programs for dealing with the paramount racial issue. Several efforts resulted in organized attempts to establish self-sufficient Negro communities. This intriguing subject is briefly though ably treated in a useful reprint of a study originally published ten years ago. More recent research has revised some of the details, but the authors' work holds up very well. Many readers should welcome it in its new, inexpensive format.

The Catskills: From Wilderness to Woodstock. By Alf Evers. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1972. Pp. xiv, 821. \$12.50.) For several centuries the beautiful Catskill region of New York has inspired naturalists, romantic painters, hikers, vacationists, and lately even hard rock enthusiasts. This attractive volume makes very clear that the Catskills have also inspired an excellent history. Mr. Evers knows the region well, and his rustic knowledge has been superbly buttressed with that gained in libraries. The result is a valuable account of all aspects—historical, ecological, and social—of a famed natural resource. Those who enjoy the outdoors, exploration, colorful social history, or just a story well told, will admire this book.

Where Have All the Robots Gone? Worker Dissatisfaction in the '70s. By Harold L. Sheppard and Neal Q. Herrick. With a foreword by Harvey Swados. (New York: The Free Press, 1972. Pp. xxxiv, 222. \$7.95.) A much discussed issue in public discourse today is the presumed decline of the work ethic and the concomitant dissatisfaction of workers. The authors of this volume make use of extensive surveys and interviews to document the obvious problem. They offer thoughtful suggestions for dealing with this modern dilemma.

Register of the General Society of the War of 1812. Edited by Frederick Ira Ordway. (Washington, D.C.: The Society, 1972. Pp. xxi, 688. \$15.00.) This beauti-

fully produced and expertly compiled register is the first to be published by the General Society. In it will be found the history of the Society, and brief sketches of members and their lines of descent. The index contains over 15,000 names, thereby making the whole a work of genealogical reference. The *Register* is available from the Society, 1307 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. [P. W. Filby]

Graveyards and Gravestones of Wicomico. By John E. Jacob. (Salisbury, Md.: *The Salisbury Advertiser*, 1971. Pp. 131. \$10.00.) This work of love covers the period 1739 to 1900 (though entries are predominately 19th century), and is the result of visits to over six hundred cemeteries and family graveyards. Over 5,000 grave markers have been transcribed, and the fine index lists all names mentioned. There is also an interesting foreword from the author noting that "the grave markers are more than genealogical records. They are records of custom, fashion, economic conditions, even the twang of Wicomico County speech." [P. W. Filby]

Bibliography of American Cookery Books 1742-1860. By Eleanor Lowenstein. (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1972. Pp. 132. \$15.00.) This bibliography is based on Waldo Lincoln's *American Cookery Books, 1742-1860*, which was revised in 1954. The original work in 1929 listed 490 items, and the 1954 revision, although retaining the original's numbering, listed another 250 new titles and editions. The present edition has 835 entries, with some of the original entries dropped mainly because they were "ghosts" or because they did not contain any recipes. Another helpful addition are the numbers from Evans, and Shaw & Shoemaker. It is an erudite work, useful for any library which has a bibliography or reference collection. The book may be ordered from Barre Publishers, South Street, Barre, Massachusetts, 01005. [P. W. Filby]

Archives of Maryland. Vol. 18. Muster rolls of and other records of service of Maryland troops in the American Revolution 1775-1783. (Reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1972. [Originally published in 1900.] Pp. 736. \$30.00.) Since 1883 the Maryland Historical Society has issued volumes of the Archives of Maryland, and although most have marginal interest for genealogists, volume 18 is by far the most sought after genealogical volume. Because the Society prefers to preserve certain heavily used and often purchased volumes (e.g. vol. 18) in stock for those who buy complete sets, this reprint (with permission of the State of Maryland) is especially welcomed. There are, of course, errors and omissions in the 1900 edition, but since a revised and corrected edition is not possible in the foreseeable future, the Society has kept a manuscript list of any amendments for readers. The reprint is produced with the usual good taste of the publishers and in view of its likely heavy use it has a strong binding. [P. W. Filby]

NOTES AND QUERIES

ELEUTHERIAN MILLS HISTORICAL LIBRARY

On May 11, 1973 the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library will sponsor a conference entitled *Early Development of Anthracite Coal in Pennsylvania*. Papers will be delivered by H. Benjamin Powell, Bloomsburg State College, on "Entrepreneurs and the Evolution of the Pennsylvania Anthracite Industry, 1769-1830," Simeon J. Crowther, Harvard University, on "Anthracite and the Development of Pennsylvania Industry to 1850," and John Hoffman, Smithsonian Institution, "The Technology of the Early Anthracite Industry." W. David Lewis, Auburn University, will act as discussant. Anyone desiring further information or an invitation please contact Richard L. Ehrlich, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Wilmington, Delaware 19807.

Information Wanted

Information desired on William Wesley Bromwell, spelled other ways, married in 1858 to Elizabeth Harrington, Dorchester County, Maryland. Will exchange Brummall data with other interested persons.

Oscar B. Watlington
Midlothian, Virginia

Connecticut artist George Freeman (1789-1868). Portrait and miniature painter, twenty-nine of whose works have been located. The largest collection is owned by the Mansfield Historical Society of Connecticut. The second largest collection is owned by the Maryland Historical Society. These are the eleven miniatures of members of the Williams-Greenway families of Baltimore. Among the miniatures of record, but unlocated, are those of Presidents Tyler and Van Buren. We are interested in any information about the artist and particularly the present location of portraits by the artist privately owned. The artist's signature appears as: *G. Freeman*, or *G. Freeman, pinxt*, and dated. Any information will be most gratefully received by Miss Eugenia Calvert Holland, Assistant Curator of the Maryland Historical Society or Miss Wilma Keyes, The William Benton Museum of Art, The University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut, 06268.

INFORMATION RELEVANT TO THE 36th ANNUAL MARYLAND
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PURPOSE: Funds raised are used to help restore and preserve historical houses, churches, and gardens throughout Maryland.

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SCHEDULE—1973

- April 29 — Queen Anne's County
- May 1 — Riderwood
- May 2 — Bolton Hill
- May 3 — Guilford
- May 4 — Western Run, Baltimore County
- May 5 — Anne Arundel County
- May 6 — St. Mary's County
- May 12 — Chesapeake Bay Cruise to St. Michaels on Maryland's Eastern Shore

STORY MATERIAL: Prepared articles, photographs, and maps are available upon request, or writers and photographers may visit prior to tours. For information contact Pilgrimage Headquarters, as above.

ADMISSION: Ticket for tours \$7.00. Tour Books \$1.00. Cruise tickets, including lunch \$15.00.

ACCOMMODATIONS: Attractive inns, comfortable hotels and motels, and city and rural restaurants are accessible. Luncheons are served in a local church on most tours.

Society Closings

The Maryland Historical Society will be closed on the following holidays during 1973.

Monday, January 1	New Year's Day
Monday, February 19	Washington's Birthday
Friday, April 20	Good Friday
Monday, May 28	Memorial Day
Wednesday, July 4	Independence Day
Saturday, September 1	Museum open, Library closed
Monday, September 3	Labor Day
Monday, October 8	Columbus Day
Monday, October 22	Veterans Day
Thursday, November 22	Thanksgiving
Tuesday, December 25	Christmas
Monday, December 31	Museum open, Library closed
Tuesday, January 1, 1974	New Year's Day

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Act of August 12, 1970; Section 3685, Title 39, United States Code). 1. Date of filing: Sept. 29, 1972. 2. Title of Publication: *Maryland Historical Magazine*. 3. Frequency of Issue: Quarterly. 4. Location of Known Office of Publication: 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. 5. Location of the Headquarters or General Business Offices of the Publishers: 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. 6. Names and Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor: Publisher: Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201; Editor: Dr. Richard R. Duncan, Department of History, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. 20007; Managing Editor: P. W. Filby, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. 7. Owner: Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. No stock—nonprofit organization. 8. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages or Other Securities: None. 9. The purpose, function and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes have not changed during preceding 12 months. 1. Extent and Nature of Circulation: A. Total No. Copies Printed (Quarterly) (Net Press Run): 4,600; B. Paid Circulation: 1. Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors and Counter Sales: None; 2. Mail Subscriptions (Memberships): 3,841; C. Total Paid Circulation: None; D. Free Distribution (Schools and Libraries): 659; E. Total Distribution: 4,500; F. Office Use, Left-over, Unaccounted, Spoiled After Printing: 100; G. Total 4,600.

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

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