

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Published Quarterly by the Maryland Historical Society



FALL 1975
Vol. 70, No. 3

BOARD OF EDITORS

JOSEPH L. ARNOLD, *University of Maryland, Baltimore County*

JEAN BAKER, *Goucher College*

GARY BROWNE, *Wayne State University*

JOSEPH W. COX, *Towson State College*

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS, *Baltimore*

RICHARD R. DUNCAN, *Georgetown University*

RONALD HOFFMAN, *University of Maryland, College Park*

H. H. WALKER LEWIS, *Baltimore*

EDWARD C. PAPPENFUSE, *Hall of Records*

BENJAMIN QUARLES, *Morgan State College*

JOHN B. BOLES, *Editor, Towson State College*

NANCY G. BOLES, *Assistant Editor*

RICHARD J. COX, *Manuscripts*

MARY K. MEYER, *Genealogy*

MARY KATHLEEN THOMSEN, *Graphics*

FORMER EDITORS

WILLIAM HAND BROWNE, 1906-1909

LOUIS H. DIELMAN, 1910-1937

JAMES W. FOSTER, 1938-1949, 1950-1951

HARRY AMMON, 1950

FRED SHELLEY, 1951-1955

FRANCIS C. HABER, 1955-1958

RICHARD WALSH, 1958-1967

RICHARD R. DUNCAN, 1967-1974

P. WILLIAM FILBY, *Director*

ROMAINE S. SOMERVILLE, *Assistant Director*

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* is published quarterly by the Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201. Contributions and correspondence relating to articles, book reviews, and any other editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor in care of the Society. All contributions should be submitted in duplicate, double-spaced, and consistent with the form outlined in *A Manual of Style* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969). The Maryland Historical Society disclaims responsibility for statements made by contributors.

Composed and printed at Waverly Press, Inc., Baltimore, Maryland 21202. Second-class postage paid at Baltimore, Maryland. © 1975, Maryland Historical Society.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 70
No. 3
Fall 1975

CONTENTS

Frank A. Cassell The Great Baltimore Riot of 1812 241

Andrea R. Andrews The Baltimore School Building Program, 1870 to 1900:
A Study of Urban Reform 260

Sidelights

Philip Sherman Baltimore's 104th Medical Regiment Armory 275

H. H. Walker Lewis The Lawyers' Round Table of Baltimore 279

Notes on Maryland Historical Society

Richard J. Cox and Patricia M. Vanorny The Records of a City: Baltimore and its Historical Sources 286

Mary K. Meyer Genealogica Marylandia: Reverend Lewis Richards' Marriage Records, 1784-1790 311

Reviews of Recent Books

Walsh and Fox, *Maryland: A History, 1632-1974*, by John Walton • **Wildes**, *William Penn*, by Kenneth L. Carroll • **Crowley**, *This Sheba, Self: The Conceptualization of Economic Life in America*, by Joseph A. Ernst • **Main**, *The Sovereign States, 1775-1783*, by W. W. Abbot • **Marks**, *Independence on Trial: Foreign Affairs and the Making of the Constitution*, by Ronald Hoffman • **Brown**, *Free Negroes in the District of Columbia, 1790-1846*, by M. Sammy Miller • **Weems**, *To Conquer a Peace: The War Between the United States and Mexico*, by John H. Schroeder • **Holland**, **Somerville**, **Colwill**, and **Young**, *Four Generations of Commissions: The Peale Collection of the Maryland Historical Society* by Robert G. Stewart 315

Notes and Queries 327

THE EDITOR'S PAGE

Interest in history seems to be staging a comeback. Alistair Cooke's beautifully illustrated version of the popular television series, *America*, was a bestseller in 1974, and Theodore White's *Breach of Faith* is simply the latest in a series of successful Watergate books. No one really knows why such works are selling so well, but on the whole non-fiction seems to be replacing novels as recreational reading. And even those novels that do become immensely popular—Gore Vidal's *Burr* in 1974 and E. L. Doctorow's skillful blending of fact and imagination, *Ragtime* (1975)—are varieties of historical fiction. Perhaps we live in an age so constantly being remade by change that we seek comforting ties to the past through the printed page. We are also celebrating the nation's bicentennial, and everything from folk festivals to fireplugs is being used to reacquaint us with our heritage. Maryland too is participating in this rediscovery of our past. Especially exciting work is being done on her early history, and we eagerly await the books now being finished. And at long last Baltimore's history—as this issue of the *Magazine* suggests—is beginning to be published. Until now urban scholars have almost completely neglected what since 1790 has been one of the nation's largest cities. Baltimore—the prototype of the boom city, with its unique mixture of European immigrants and free blacks—has long been crying out for such investigation. Hence the forthcoming Conference on Baltimore History being held at the Society this November 21 and 22 is especially gratifying. A wide variety of lectures, panels, and workshops have been planned to appeal to the widest possible audience.

In this context of a resurgence of interest in history it is saddening that the Maryland Historical Society has been forced by financial necessity to curtail its activities drastically. As this is being written the Society's buildings with their magnificent collections are closed to the public. And this is the beginning of a year of bicentennial celebration! The *Maryland Historical Magazine* has been shortened by a third, most illustrations omitted. With the emerging interest in the state's history, with exciting new work nearing completion, with many newly won converts to the challenge and inspiration offered by history, Maryland's pre-eminent historical society is forced to limp into the nation's third century. Its *Magazine*—the major forum for publishing Maryland history—seems threatened with extinction. We had hoped to celebrate the bicentennial in ways more memorable than ceremonial by publishing special articles on the Revolution, but that now looks impossible. Will Maryland let her history be so shabbily treated? Or in this age of fiscal crisis will Marylanders come to the aid of their historical society? The Maryland Historical Society must continue to play a large role in the preservation of the state's culture and heritage.

JOHN B. BOLES

The Great Baltimore Riot of 1812

FRANK A. CASSELL

THE HOUSE AT NUMBER 45 CHARLES STREET STOOD NEAR BALTIMORE'S TEEMING harbor area. Two stories, of brick construction, and surrounded by a decorative iron fence, the house was not particularly distinguished among its neighbors. Yet, in the oppressively hot summer of 1812, the house on Charles Street became the center of a bloody confrontation between deeply hostile political and social forces. There was, in short, a riot. Modern Americans, conditioned to massive outbreaks of urban violence, can be pardoned for not properly appreciating a riot that took place more than one hundred and seventy years ago, where only a few were killed, and in which the property damage amounted to thousands rather than millions of dollars. Yet the great Baltimore riot of 1812 was no minor affair to the citizens of Maryland or, for that matter, to all of the citizens of the United States. It was probably the most terrifying and brutal riot in the young nation's history up to that time. In it an enraged mob would kill one revolutionary war general, maim another, and ruthlessly beat a host of lesser figures. Because of the riot the reputations of Baltimore's most distinguished leaders would be severely damaged, and the city itself maligned from one end of America to the other. In its aftermath the politics of Maryland would be dramatically reversed as the Federalist party, after twelve years in the political wilderness, drove their Jeffersonian adversaries from the seats of power. This swift turnabout came at a most inopportune time, for the United States had recently declared war against Great Britain. The Federalists opposed the war, and they would use their control of state government to block needed defense measures.

The great Baltimore riot grew out of the social and political conditions that prevailed in Baltimore. Chartered as a city in 1799, Baltimore by 1814 had a population of nearly 50,000. It was the third largest city in America, and its leaders frankly dreamed of becoming number one. The explosive growth of Baltimore resulted from the unbounded economic opportunity that characterized the era. Profits in commerce were being matched by those in stock and land speculation. Everything about the city was new and somewhat raw. Its people were mostly immigrants from Europe, from other parts of Maryland, or from other states. Thousands had been born in foreign countries; Germans, Scotch-Irish, Scots, and French crowded the city's streets. Even in this early period ethnic groups struggled to maintain their identities by forming separate churches, private societies, and militia companies. The polyglot population,

Dr. Frank A. Cassell is an associate professor of history at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

newly arrived, generated a social structure that was quite different from the generations-old tobacco plantation culture of the Potomac region. In Baltimore there was little in the way of old established wealth. The rich were mainly men of modest background who had relied on luck and hard work to build up their fortunes. Thus there was crudeness in their style and an obvious anxiety about their continued control over the city. The huge middle class, made up of skilled artisans, mechanics, lawyers, and small manufacturers, was equally unstable. These groups were ambitious to achieve greater wealth and higher social status. Having the same origins as the upper class, they were little inclined to accept unquestioningly the political and social leadership of the one-generation rich. Beneath the rich and those who schemed to be rich existed a large propertyless class of apprentices, day laborers, sailors, and free blacks who frequently lived on the fringes of starvation and who constituted a permanently turbulent factor in the city's population.

Dynamic, fluid, and rude, Baltimore's society stood in stark contrast to the aged, ordered, and settled civilization of southern Maryland. Divided ethnically, religiously, and economically, the two regions developed a mutual distaste for each other. Their chief battleground was the state legislature, for whichever faction dominated there could benefit itself in many important ways including control over tax policies, voting requirements, and the approval of corporate charters. The political rivalry between Baltimore and the tobacco plantation area along the Potomac long antedated the creation of America's first national political party system in the 1790s. Yet the evolving Federalist and Jeffersonian Republican parties were easily integrated into Maryland's factional divisions. The Federalist party with its belief in nativism and social order soon attracted the tobacco patricians. Baltimoreans, on the other hand, tended to embrace the Republican party because of its democratic emphases and its more hospitable view of immigrants. The Federalist and Republican parties thus became simply more efficient mechanisms through which Baltimore and the Potomac region carried on their political struggles.¹

Baltimore since 1798 had been a solid Republican stronghold, regularly electing party loyalists to every level of government. From 1801 the Republicans had also controlled the state government almost without interruption. While the Federalists remained strong in portions of the Eastern Shore and in southern Maryland, they posed no real threat to Republican hegemony. Between 1801 and

1. For discussions of Baltimore and Maryland society and politics in this period see Robert Gilmore, "Recollections of Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 7 (September 1912): 233-42; Dorothy Brown, "Embargo Politics in Maryland," *ibid.*, 58 (September 1963): 193-210; Dorothy Brown, "Maryland and the Federalists," *ibid.*, 63 (March 1968): 1-21; Malcolm C. Clark, "Federalism at High Tide," *ibid.*, 61 (September 1966): 210-30; J. Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), pp. 300-309; Hamilton Owens, *Baltimore on the Chesapeake* (Garden City, N.Y., 1941), pp. 155-68; Raphael Semmes, *Baltimore as Seen by Visitors, 1783-1860* (Baltimore, 1953), pp. 1-43; Bruce Wheeler, "Urban Politics in Nature's Republic: The Development of Political Parties in the Seaport Cities in the Federalist Era." (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1967), pp. 144-209; L. Marx Renzulli, *Maryland: The Federalist Years* (Rutherford, N.J., 1972).

1807 Federalists rarely bothered to run candidates in Baltimore city or county.² But in 1808, coinciding with the Chesapeake Affair and the Embargo, there was a marked resurgence of Federalist activity throughout Maryland and particularly in Baltimore. Within the city the revitalized party was led by a group of brash young men, many of whom were lawyers. Jonathan Meredith, Robert Goodloe Harper, Virgil Maxey, and William H. Winder among others undertook to mobilize popular support and to build party machinery capable of unseating the Baltimore Republicans. The most radical of the young Federalists was Alexander Contee Hanson. A native of Montgomery County and son of a distinguished father, Hanson came to Baltimore in 1807 and helped found a newspaper, the *Federal Republican*. Under his editorial leadership it became one of the leading Federalist prints in the United States. Specializing in character assassination and violent rhetoric, the *Federal Republican* constantly angered the Republicans of Baltimore. In the years after 1807 Hanson frequently faced the threat of law suits and even challenges to duels. At one point, the Republican-dominated militia brigade of Baltimore tried to courtmartial Hanson, a lieutenant in a volunteer company, for what he had written in an editorial. The effort failed on a legal technicality, but the incident indicated how exasperated the Republicans were with the fiery editor.³

Hanson was also president of the Baltimore chapter of the Washington Benevolent Society, an organization that claimed as its purpose the education of poor children. In reality, the Society was the central organ of the Maryland Federalist party. By 1811 there were branch offices of the Society in nearly every county of the state. From the Baltimore headquarters of the Society funds for campaigning and printed propaganda flowed out to the county organizations. On Washington's birthday and on the Fourth of July the Washingtonians promoted celebrations and parades in Baltimore that were overtly political in their staging. Not infrequently minor violence attended these occasions as angry Republicans attempted to break up the demonstrations. By 1812 the young Federalists directing the Washington Society, claiming that they were in physical danger, often carried weapons. The armaments, the growing record of political violence, and the high passions of both Federalists and Republicans created an extremely dangerous situation, one that could explode at almost any moment.⁴

The issue that would set Republicans and Federalists to killing each other was whether or not America should declare war on Great Britain. For most Baltimoreans war had become an acceptable policy in 1807 when the British frigate *Leopard* attacked the American warship *Chesapeake* and impressed

2. See election results printed in the *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser* during the first week in October. Between 1801 and 1815 only one Federalist, Andrew Ellicott, was elected to the House of Delegates from Baltimore, and he purposely obscured his party loyalties.

3. *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser*, February 2, 1809.

4. *Ibid.*, November 19, 1807, and July 7, 1810; *Baltimore Whig*, August 10, 1810, August 7, 1811, and February 25, 1813; Catherine Howard Harper to Robert Goodloe Harper, March 5, 1810, and Alexander Contee Hanson to R. G. Harper, June 18, 1810, Harper-Pennington Papers (MS. 431), Maryland Historical Society.

several sailors. This national indignity had ignited a firestorm of militant patriotism in Baltimore. Already angered by British captures of Baltimore-owned commercial vessels and the impressment of many local sailors into the British navy, the city had prepared for war. Within weeks thousands of citizens were armed and drilling. But war had not come in 1807 largely because President Jefferson believed that there was a better way. Jefferson and his successor, James Madison, spent the next five years attempting to change British policies by withholding American trade. The Embargo and then the Non-Intercourse Act failed in their purpose, and by the fall of 1811 President Madison had decided that war was the only remaining option. In this decision he had the full support of the Baltimore Republicans.⁵

Because of American military unpreparedness and the hesitancy of many congressmen, it took nearly eight months for Congress to approve a declaration of war. This proved to be a time of rising tension in Baltimore as Republican and Federalist newspapers argued the merits of war versus submission to British policies. Hanson's *Federal Republican* naturally took the lead in opposing hostilities while the pro-war side was ably defended by William Pechin of the *American* and Baptiste Irvine of *The Whig*. The Federalists charged that the war movement was the project of Irish rebels who had immigrated to America and were now using the United States as a base to carry on their battles with Britain. At other times they alleged that Madison was a dupe, or perhaps worse, of Napoleon. What else, they asked, would explain Madison's willingness to war with Britain while he did nothing about the French who also had violated the rights of American commerce on the high seas? The Republican editors, while not excusing the French, pointed out that unchallenged control of the ocean by the British made them a far greater threat to American commercial interests. Moreover, evidence was mounting to show that British agents from Canada were actively encouraging the Indians to attack frontier settlers. To Republican editors, the Federalists were "old Tories," "monarchists," and "aristocrats," whose high-toned pro-British policies had been decisively defeated in the election of 1800. With increasing bluntness the Republicans accused the Federalists who opposed the war of being traitors to their country. Thus the newspaper debate, by attributing the most reprehensible motives to opponents, helped develop a climate in which violence and even murder could become acceptable.⁶

On June 18, 1812, America declared war against Great Britain. Four days later the office of the *Federal Republican* was destroyed by a mob that was apparently angered by the paper's editorials against the war policy. Hanson and his co-editor, Jacob Wagner, managed to escape the city unharmed. For two days the

5. For reports of Baltimore's reaction to the *Chesapeake* affair see the July and August 1807 issues of the *American and Daily Advertiser*, the *Baltimore Federal Gazette*, and the *Baltimore Whig*. There are numerous scholarly accounts of the American decision for war in 1812.

6. For information on the press and politics consult Frank Luther Mott, *Jefferson and the Press* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1943); Thomas D. Penniman, "The Early History of the *Baltimore American*," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 28 (September 1933): 272-78; James E. Pollard, *The Presidents and the Press* (N.Y., 1947); Donald H. Stewart, *The Opposition Press of the Federalist Period* (Albany, 1969).

mob roamed the city threatening the property of Federalists, although little actual damage was committed. Efforts by Mayor Edward Johnson and other magistrates to disperse the mob were useless.⁷

Through late June and early July Baltimore was in a high state of excitement. One Federalist observed on July 1 that “many Gentlemen in the City think it expedient to keep their Houses well armed.”⁸ Fortunately, no one had been seriously injured in the June 22–23 riot. Yet the ultra-patriotic passions of the Republicans had not abated. Indeed, they were kept at white heat by new issues of the *Federal Republican* now being published in Georgetown. Interestingly, many of Baltimore’s Federalists do not appear to have been particularly unhappy with Hanson’s exodus from the city. If anything, large numbers of Federalists believed that with the declaration of war it was now time for unity. Some joined militia companies while a few of the most eminent agreed to participate in a Republican-sponsored Fourth of July celebration. To an extent, of course, these Federalists were concerned that a posture other than support for the war would make them targets of mob action. But whether patriotism or fear explained their actions, most Baltimore Federalists were hardly vocal in their defense of Hanson.⁹

Alexander Contee Hanson never intended to accept permanent exile from Baltimore. Almost from the moment he reached Georgetown the young editor began planning his return. A cache of letters found at the house on Charles Street after the great riot and published in the Republican papers reveals that Hanson was plotting some kind of action within days of the destruction of his press. John Hanson Thomas, the Federalist boss of Frederick County, wrote Hanson on July 15 strongly approving a proposed “parade to Baltimore.” Thomas himself said he would not be coming since his wife was ill, a fact that may have saved his life.¹⁰ A few days later Federalist John Lynn, a militia colonel, wrote Thomas that he had just learned of Hanson’s plan to rent a house in Baltimore and issue the *Federal Republican*. Lynn promised that if possible “I will join those gallant spirits, going on the noble enterprise . . .” He added that “secrecy and great caution will be necessary until the party are actually in possession of the house.” Before closing his letter, Colonel Lynn indicated that he expected trouble and proposed a plan by which the “garrison” could protect the house. “In the first place,” Lynn lectured, “there ought to be a full quantity of gallant men to defend [the house]

7. Hollingsworth and Worthington to Levi Hollingsworth, July 1, 1812, Hollingsworth Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Maryland House of Delegates, “Report of the Committee of Grievances and Courts of Justice,” *Maryland Gazette*, December 31, 1812. Hereinafter cited as House of Delegates Riot Report.

8. Thomas and Samuel Hollingsworth to Levi Hollingsworth, July 1, 1812, Hollingsworth Papers.

9. *Ibid.*; *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser*, July 7, 1812; Robert Goodloe Harper to John Hanson Thomas, July 7, 1812, Harper-Pennington Papers.

10. John Hanson Thomas to A. C. Hanson, July 15, 1812, printed in *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser*, August 8, 1812. In a private letter to Robert Goodloe Harper dated July 24, 1812, Hanson noted: “In the course of human events I shall be in Baltimore to assert my rights with effect . . . For a moment I never abandoned the intention of reinstating myself in the full possession & exercise of every civil right & liberty successfully invaded by a handfull of insignificant disorganizers” (Harper-Pennington Papers).

at every door, window &c., muskets with the bayonets, and a plenty of good pistols, with a large store of ammunition." Lynn advised that buckshot should be available for "close work," and if the mob got too near "tomahawks or hatchets, with dirks for every man, be provided." Despite his enthusiasm Colonel Lynn did not come to Baltimore with Hanson.¹¹

At least one Federalist from Frederick County, Andrew Taney, was concerned about the legal implications of armed men garrisoning a house in Baltimore and inviting an attack. Taney refused to join the venture because his brother, a lawyer, had pointed out that if the defenders killed someone then all might be liable to a murder charge. It might be difficult to plead justifiable homicide in Baltimore, Taney argued, "particularly with a democratic judge to direct a democratic jury as to the law..." Taney's letter also indicated that Robert Goodloe Harper, the transplanted South Carolinian who had become a principal leader of the Baltimore Federalists, was also opposed to the project.¹²

By July 20 Hanson's plans were well along. His partner, Jacob Wagner, had secured a house at number 45 Charles Street that was suitable for the intended purpose. Wagner, however, had been unable to obtain a printing press. Eventually, Hanson would print the fatal edition of the *Federal Republican* in Georgetown but distribute it as if it had been produced in Baltimore. Wagner also told Hanson to expect little help from the Baltimore Federalists who were apathetic about re-establishing the *Federal Republican* because "they may be involved in inconvenience or broils."¹³ About this time Hanson managed to enlist General "Light-Horse Harry" Lee, a Virginian who had been an outstanding cavalry officer in the American Revolution. How Lee became involved in Hanson's scheme remains a mystery, but there is no doubt that he was to be the military commander of the intended expedition. On July 20 Lee sent Hanson a complete plan for fortifying and garrisoning the house on Charles Street. There were to be two men assigned to every window, the stairway was to be barricaded with furniture in case the mob broke down the door, and a supply of stones was to be kept by second floor windows suitable for dropping on the heads of any attacking force. Lee predicted that at least sixty men would be necessary to defend the house. Some military discipline would also be essential. A sheet was to be posted in a room on the first floor of the house, and the defenders would register as they entered or left. Roll call would be at 6 P.M. each night and no one would be permitted to leave after that time. Those leaving the house during the day were to be instructed to collect information on what their adversaries intended to do.¹⁴

11. John Lynn to John Hanson Thomas, July 15, 1812, printed in *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser*, August 8, 1812.

12. Andrew Taney to A. C. Hanson, July 24, 1812, *ibid.* For a general analysis of Harper see Joseph W. Cox, *Champion of Southern Federalism, Robert Goodloe Harper of South Carolina* (Port Washington, N.Y., 1972); Jacob Wagner to A. C. Hanson, undated but probably July 24, 1812, *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser*, August 8, 1812.

13. *Ibid.*; A. C. Hanson to R. G. Harper, July 24, 1812, Harper-Pennington Papers.

14. General Henry Lee to A. C. Hanson, July 20, 1812, printed in *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser*, August 8, 1812. See also Noel B. Gerson, *Light-Horse Harry; A Biography of Washington's Greatest Cavalryman* (New York, 1966), pp. 230-37.

All was in readiness for the "noble enterprise." Yet what were Hanson and his little band of political zealots trying to accomplish? Their plan called for secretly entering Baltimore and occupying a sturdy brick house. They were quite willing to kill, although the possibility of their own deaths does not seem to have seriously entered their minds. It was to be a great adventure. These mostly young Federalists, many from the first families of Anne Arundel and Montgomery counties, had nothing but disdain for Baltimore and its immigrant population. Schooled by Hanson and other Federalist editors to believe that the Baltimore Republicans were mostly European rabble out to pervert the true principles of the Constitution, they felt themselves justified in taking the law into their own hands. For decades the Potomac region and Baltimore, two distinct civilizations within the boundaries of Maryland, had struggled figuratively for dominance. That struggle was now to become more literal. The battle of Charles Street and its aftermath was much more than a conflict between two political factions: it was a confrontation between two cultures, between two ideologies, and between two styles of social organization.

On Saturday evening, July 26, Hanson and his friends slipped into Baltimore and found their way to the house on Charles Street. Under General Lee's supervision the garrison began fortifying the house and moving in guns and ammunition. The next morning Hanson distributed his previously printed paper that carried on its masthead the address on Charles Street as the place of publication. The paper directly and personally attacked Mayor Edward Johnson and a number of other leading Republicans for failing to punish those responsible for tearing down the *Federal Republican* office a month earlier. Having baited the city, Hanson and the other defenders waited inside their fortification for what they knew must inevitably happen.¹⁵

Hanson's return caused a considerable stir in Baltimore. Many local Federalists visited the house and at least a few decided to help defend it. By nightfall thirty or so armed men were available for combat. Meanwhile, the news of what was happening on Charles Street spread quickly, and by late afternoon people had started to gather across the street. Shortly before 8 P.M. a carriage arrived in front of the house and a number of muskets and other implements of war were quickly conveyed into the house. But the crowd saw the weapons and the armed guard that stood inside the front door. A city magistrate had arrived somewhat earlier and had partly succeeded in dispersing the crowd. The arrival of the armament, however, caused a sensation and the crowd swelled in number.¹⁶

The House of Delegates report on the riot, written several months later by Federalists, noted that "about early candle light the wicked and daring attempt to expel a citizen from his residence or to involve in one common ruin himself and his property, was commenced and continued."¹⁷ Accounts differ, but it appears that young boys began shouting obscenities and throwing rocks. No one seriously

15. "Report of the Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Causes of the Late Commotions in Baltimore," *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser*. Hereinafter cited as City Riot Report. See also House of Delegates Riot Report, *Maryland Gazette*, December 31, 1812.

16. *Ibid.*; James C. Boyd to James McHenry, August 2, 1812, James McHenry Papers (MS. 1476), Maryland Historical Society. Unless otherwise noted, the McHenry Papers cited are from the MHS.

tried to stop them, except for one unidentified man whose reward was having his foot mangled by a stone dropped from a second floor window in the house. This incident angered the crowd, and the volume of stone throwing increased. Within an hour all of the first floor windows were shattered and the inside wooden shutters demolished. The defenders, under strict orders from General Lee, did not retaliate. As for the city officials and judges, almost all Republicans, none made an appearance.¹⁸

By 9 P.M. the position of the garrison was becoming perilous. At least one defender, Harry Nelson, had his musket snatched away and was hit and injured by several stones. Finally, Hanson opened a second floor window and addressed the crowd. The editor warned that those in the house were armed and would defend themselves. The fact that Hanson, the most hated man in Baltimore, had threatened to shoot them had little impact on the several hundred citizens across the street. More stones were thrown and Hanson ordered two of his men to fire blanks at the crowd in an effort to frighten them. The effect was quite to the contrary. The mob, for that is what Hanson had made the crowd into, surged forward and battered down the front door, and the leaders rushed into the front hallway.¹⁹

General Lee, unlike Hanson, had acted with extreme caution until the splintering of the door made it clear that they all would be dead in minutes unless something was done. Shortly before the door gave way Lee ordered several men including Otho Sprigg to stations at the top of the stairs. They were told not to fire unless the mob actually entered the house. As the mob smashed through the door Sprigg and another man moved down the stairs and fired together. Six or eight other muskets were discharged about the same time. At least three of the attackers were seriously wounded by this volley and were hastily dragged away as the mob retreated. The victory was short-lived, for the sight of blood merely enraged the mob. Indeed, one account speaks of many in the mob tearing open their shirts, baring their chests, and shouting repeatedly "fire again!" Whether true or not the defenders must have experienced real fear for the first time. Their ultimate recourse had been to shoot at the mob. That had now been tried, and, contrary to a basic assumption in their planning, it had not driven off the besiegers.²⁰

At about 10 P.M., two hours after the assault began, city officials made their first tentative efforts to control the situation. Judge John Scott, chief justice of Baltimore's criminal court, finally arrived on the scene. Scott was an old Republican loyalist who had long been active in the politics of the city's third ward and had served one term in the Maryland House of Delegates. Twice a losing candidate for Congress, Scott had come close to appointment as

17. House of Delegates Riot Report, *Maryland Gazette*, December 31, 1812.

18. Narrative of John Thompson, *Maryland Gazette*, August 20, 1812.

19. Narrative of Otho Sprigg, *Maryland Gazette*, August 27, 1812; City Riot Report, *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser*, August 8, 1812.

20. Narrative of Otho Sprigg, *Maryland Gazette*, August 27, 1812; House of Delegates Riot Report, *ibid.*, December 31, 1812.

Maryland's Attorney General in 1805. His present position as chief justice was an honorable one, but it was a patronage job granted for political reasons. He was hardly in a position to defend vigorously a group of Federalist invaders from the wrath of a Republican mob. Still, he did try to persuade the crowd to disperse and he also talked with those in the house, although the nature of this conversation is unclear. One of the defenders, John Thompson, later claimed that Scott assured them they were acting within the law. This does not seem likely unless Scott was simply doing his best to cool tempers. Whatever his intentions, Scott was completely ineffective and he soon left the area.²¹

About the time Judge Scott was fruitlessly visiting the riot scene, some important discussions were taking place a short distance down the street, at 15 South Charles Street, the home of Brigadier General John Stricker who commanded the Baltimore Brigade of the Maryland militia. Like Judge Scott, General Stricker was a Republican. In fact he was one of the chief leaders of the party in Baltimore. His party loyalty had earned him his command as well as a federal government appointment as Navy Agent for Baltimore. A successful merchant, Stricker also was director of a bank and an insurance company. As a soldier he had served in the campaign against the Whiskey Rebels back in 1794, and in September of 1814 he would lead his men against the British at the Battle of North Point and help save the city from invasion. But on the night of July 27, 1812, General Stricker evidenced little aggressiveness and appeared reluctant to make decisions. Although the riot was only a few doors from his own home, Stricker had not ventured out to see what was happening. Numbers of citizens visited him and urged that all or part of the five thousand relatively well trained militia troops under his command ought to be mobilized to meet the growing crisis. After some hesitation Stricker agreed to do something if, as the law required, two magistrates would sign a statement saying the public peace was endangered. This was easier said than done. It was difficult to find justices of the peace who would take an action that was bound to be politically unpopular and perhaps personally dangerous.²²

Around midnight the requisite signatures were finally obtained. Stricker was now legally able, indeed he was bound, to produce sufficient military power to protect life and property. However, his judgment as to what constituted sufficient force was somewhat flawed. Against a mob estimated at three to five hundred and with approximately thirty heavily-armed men in the Charles Street house, the General chose to dispatch only one squadron of cavalry.²³ For this purpose he turned to Major William B. Barney, son of the naval hero Joshua Barney. Like his father young Barney was a Republican and at the time of the

21. See the *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser*, October 6, 1801, September 28, 1804, December 6, 1805, May 22, October 7, 1806, and April 7, 1808. Narrative of John Thompson, *Maryland Gazette*, August 20, 1812.

22. See "General John Stricker's Memoir," and the John Stricker Letterbook (MS. 789), Maryland Historical Society. *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser*, December 3, 1800, October 10, 1801, March 4, 1804, September 11, 1807, and August 8, 1812.

23. General John Stricker to Governor Robert Bowie, August 6, 1812, printed in the *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser*, August 8, 1812; City Riot Report, *ibid.*

great riot he was already campaigning for election to the House of Delegates. Now he was being asked to lead his troops against people whose votes he was soliciting. Barney had already demonstrated competence as a military officer and was destined to play a vital role in the defense of Baltimore in 1814. On this night, however, he joined Stricker in procrastination. By 2 A.M. Barney had managed to assemble only thirty of the ninety troops in his unit. With these he set out for the Charles Street house. His written orders were not to allow his men to fire except in the most extreme circumstances, and there is some evidence that Stricker verbally ordered Barney not to issue cartridges to his men. As another check on Barney, Stricker told him to take no action without the permission of magistrate David Fulton, who accompanied the troops. Fulton, a merchant and innkeeper, was another active leader of Baltimore Republicanism.²⁴

The situation Major Barney was supposed to control had deteriorated badly. After being repulsed at the front door the mob had resumed its rock-throwing assault on the house. The defenders, for their part, were firing occasional shots, some of which found their mark. One of the victims was Dr. Thaddeus Gales, an expert on electricity with no known political interests. He was shot to death some twelve feet from the front door of the house. The death of Gales again escalated the struggle. Arms began to appear among the mob and a few shots were fired in the direction of the house. More ominously, one of the defenders, Samuel Hoffman, had tried to escape from the house and been captured. He was barely saved from hanging by a group of his friends who fought their way through the mob to his rescue.²⁵

At approximately 3 A.M. Major Barney moved his small force down Charles Street. Federalist Richard H. Owens, who was apparently mingling with the mob, later testified in court that Barney halted his men some distance from the house and addressed the mob. He was quoted by Owens as follows: "Friends and fellow citizens, I come here to keep peace, and I will keep it. I am sent here by superior orders, or I would not be here. You all know I am of the same political sentiments with yourselves. I pledge my word and my honor that I will take every man in that house into custody." Barney's speech, the gist of which is confirmed in other sources, was hardly calculated to terrify the mob. But as an aspiring politician and as a military commander with only thirty men probably armed with empty guns, he may have said the only thing possible. Following his speech, Barney moved his men into a line in front of the house so as to separate the defenders from the mob. He then dismounted and entered the house where he met a flat refusal to surrender. On coming outside he announced that he would have to seek further instructions from General Stricker.²⁶

Before Barney could depart the situation became even more serious. Some of the mob had broken into a nearby armory and had managed to trundle a cannon

24. *Ibid.*, September 14, October 6, 1812. See also General John Stricker to Governor Robert Bowie, August 29, 1812, *ibid.*, September 9, 1812, and Stricker to Major William Barney, July 27, 1812, *ibid.*, August 18, 1812.

25. City Riot Report, *ibid.*, August 8, 1812; House of Delegates Riot Report, *Maryland Gazette*, December 31, 1812; James C. Boyd to James McHenry, August 2, 1812, McHenry Papers.

26. *Maryland Gazette*, October 29, 1812.

to a position across the street from the fortified house. Almost immediately someone tried to light the fuse with a match. The results would have been disastrous, although not for the defenders. Not only was the cannon pointed in the wrong direction, but there were many members of the mob and some of Barney's troopers in the line of fire. Fortunately, no one seemed to know much about artillery pieces and the cannon never fired. Barney, for obvious reasons, was concerned about the presence of the cannon and repeatedly asked that it be pointed away from his men. For over an hour Barney watched nervously while various members of the mob tried to discover how the cannon worked. About daylight he could stand the strain no longer. Mounting the cannon he again spoke to the mob. He offered to occupy the house with his troops and prevent any of the defenders from escaping if the crowd would disperse. For the moment this seemed satisfactory. The defenders, facing an angry mob with a cannon, had little choice but to admit Barney's men who took up positions on the first floor of the house. At least for the moment Barney had stabilized the situation. The shooting and rock throwing had stopped. But the mob did not disperse, and it remained to be determined how the Federalists could be gotten out of the house and then what should be done with them.²⁷

At 6 A.M. on the morning of the 28th Mayor Edward Johnson finally arrived on the scene. Johnson had been mayor of Baltimore for four years and was now seeking another term. In addition, he was one of the Republican nominees for presidential elector in the district.²⁸ He would win few friends and no elections by exerting himself on behalf of men whom the mob considered to be traitors and murderers. Accompanying Johnson were General Stricker, James Calhoun, Cumberland Dugan, and John Montgomery. Calhoun and Dugan were members of the city council as well as rich merchants with long records of Republican party activity. John Montgomery had also served the party faithfully and been rewarded with the position of Attorney General of Maryland. Inside the house Stricker and Johnson did most of the talking. They pointed out that the mob, with the aid of the cannon, could storm the house at any moment. They urged the defenders to surrender to them and then be lodged in the county jail for safe keeping. Hanson, preferring to fight, was adamant in refusing the offer. For an hour the argument raged as members of the Mayor's party shuttled back and forth seeking the opinion of the mob. The defenders considered and then discarded a plan proposed by Hanson to sally out with swords and cut their way to freedom. At one point Hanson and General Lee offered to surrender if Stricker would use his militia to disperse the mob. Why, they asked, did not Stricker call out the entire Baltimore Brigade? Reportedly the General pointed towards the mob and answered that there *was* the brigade.²⁹

27. *Ibid.*; City Riot Report, *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser*, August 8, 1812; James C. Boyd to James McHenry, August 2, 1812, McHenry Papers.

28. *Baltimore Whig*, October 3, 1808 and January 31, 1809; *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser*, September 5, September 11, 1812.

29. City Riot Report, *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser*, August 8, 1812; House of Delegates Riot Report, *Maryland Gazette*, December 31, 1812; Narrative of John Thompson, *ibid.*, August 20, 1812; Account of A. C. Hanson, et al. printed in J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1879), 3: 12.

In truth the position of the defenders was hopeless. Although a few additional militia units had arrived at the house, there was not sufficient military force on hand to protect the Federalists. Given the attitude of the military and political leaders of the city, the determination of the mob, the weariness of the defenders who had not slept for two days, and shortages of supplies in the house, Hanson and his men could only surrender and pray. By 7 A.M. the arrangements had been made. The militia would form a hollow square in which the Federalists would march to the jail together with Stricker, Johnson, and other prominent Republicans. It was hoped these precautions would discourage any effort to seize the prisoners. The siege of Charles Street was over, but the terrible ordeal of the Federalist defenders was only beginning.³⁰

At least some of the Federalists tried to escape from the house before the procession to the jail began. A few were successful, but several were captured by the mob. They were immediately beaten and preparations were begun to hang them. By one means or another, sometimes by sheer guile, their lives were saved by friends. Eventually twenty-three Federalists, including Hanson and Lee, filed out of the house and into the militia formation. Several carried pistols, but the muskets and swords were left behind. As the strange parade moved off towards the jail, part of the mob sacked the house and set about the job of tearing it down.³¹

The jail was approximately one mile from the Charles Street house; it took two hours to reach it. The moving square was totally surrounded by the mob which whistled the "Rogues March" and hurled stones as well as obscenities at the prisoners. Several Federalists were injured as was General Stricker, who nearly lost an eye. The terror felt by the Federalists must have been tremendous. There could be little comfort in knowing that those protecting them were of the same political persuasion as those trying to kill them. At any second the mob might have made a determined assault. Neither the militia nor the Republican city officials would likely have sacrificed their lives for men such as Alexander Contee Hanson. The mob, however, chose not to press its advantage and permitted the procession to reach the jail, a two-story stone structure that lacked a surrounding wall. The prisoners were deposited in one common cell that was virtually unfurnished.³²

For the moment things were peaceful. The militia units were disbanded after most of the crowd left the area. By 10 A.M. on the morning of July 28 it looked as if the Federalists might be able to slip away. The jailer, however, refused to release them, and instead sent for Judge Scott who steadfastly refused bail. To release the prisoners and move them beyond the reach of the mob only made sense, but to do so would blast Judge Scott's reputation and make him

30. General John Stricker to Governor Robert Bowie, August 29, 1812, printed in *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser*, September 9, 1812; narrative of John E. Hall, *Maryland Gazette*, September 3, 1812.

31. City Riot Report, *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser*, August 8, 1812.

32. Narrative of John Thompson, *Maryland Gazette*, August 20, 1812.

vulnerable to mob action himself. The judge took the prudent course and abandoned the prisoners to their fate.

A steady stream of other visitors arrived at the jail during the day. Friends of the prisoners brought food as well as rumors that the mob would assault the jail that night. In the early afternoon Mayor Johnson and General Stricker met with the prisoners and promised them full protection. A short while later two peculiar characters by the names of Mumma and Maxwell also gained entry to the cell. Little is known about these men beyond the fact they were meat butchers. During their stay they studied the faces of the prisoners and asked their names. All too obviously someone was anxious to learn who was in the cell. The Federalists protested to the jail keeper, another Republican patronage recipient, that Mumma and Maxwell had possessed a key to the cell. The security system of the prison, they felt, left something to be desired. In the late afternoon the prisoners began serious discussions as to what should be done if the mob stormed the jail. With only four pistols and a few knives among them, the chances for survival looked bleak. It was decided that should the mob break through the door they would rush out and try to mingle with the crowd.³³ Upon hearing this Otho Sprigg, who had fired the first shot during the Charles Street seige, decided to save himself. The next time the jail cell door was opened he and a companion simply followed the jailer out. Within a few minutes they were lodged in another cell with common criminals, but their chances of living had increased immeasurably.³⁴

While these events were taking place at the jail, the city's leaders were learning that there was substance to the rumors of renewed mob violence. Judge Scott, besieged by friends of the prisoners, finally asked Stricker to once again call out the militia. In this request he was joined by Mayor Johnson and Job Smith, a former Federalist mayor of Baltimore. About 1 P.M. Stricker issued orders to mobilize the Fifth Regiment, two companies of artillery, and one squad of cavalry, in all a force of nearly one thousand men. Stricker's selection of militia units was clearly political. The lieutenant colonel commanding the Fifth Regiment was Joseph Sterrett, a Federalist. Sterrett's principal lieutenant, Major Richard K. Heath, was also a Federalist as was Lieutenant Colonel David Harris who was to head the artillery units. Of the principal officers called to duty on July 28th, only William B. Barney of the cavalry was a Republican. Apparently Stricker felt that if the militia was going to confront a Republican mob, it was far better to have Federalist officers bear the blame for whatever happened.³⁵

Actually, Stricker need not have worried. Of the thousand troops called out, less than forty infantry and a half dozen cavalrymen bothered to report for duty.

33. James C. Boyd to James McHenry, August 2, 1812, McHenry Papers: Narrative of Otho Sprigg, *Maryland Gazette*, August 27, 1812; Narrative of John Thompson, *ibid.*, August 20, 1812.

34. Narrative of Otho Sprigg, *Maryland Gazette*, August 27, 1812.

35. Request for Militia, July 28, 1812, printed in *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser*, August 8, 1812; Stricker's orders to Sterrett, Harris, and Barney, July 28, 1812, *ibid.*

Later some captains in the Fifth Regiment would claim that they never received orders to mobilize. Others, like Captain Aaron R. Levering, said their men refused to respond or simply could not be found. Levering and the other captains in the Fifth Regiment were Republicans to a man. Major Barney explained the absence of his men in two ways. First, those who had been out the night before were too tired for more action. He quoted many others as saying "that they were always willing and ready to meet the enemies of their country, and to sacrifice their lives in its defence, but that they never would turn out to protect traitors and disorganizers." Only Harris's artillery troops were present in any numbers.³⁶

By mid-afternoon there were about two score of militia troops assembled on Gay Street. At Stricker's order none had been issued live ammunition. They were surrounded by a large crowd that made open threats on their lives and loudly boasted of the impending attack on the jail. Major Heath, who was directly in charge of the men, told Stricker that the force was far too small and should be dismissed. The General quickly agreed and, at the same time, ordered Harris to disband his artillery units. Stricker reasoned that artillery without infantry protection would be useless, and Harris did not object. Thus by late afternoon all efforts to protect the jail collapsed.³⁷

Shortly after dark the mob returned to the jail. Mayor Johnson tried to disperse them, but he was quickly brushed aside. An assault was made on the back door of the jail, which was soon inexplicably opened by the jailer. Now only two wooden doors stood between the mob and its intended victims. Wielding hatchets the crowd smashed through the first door and entered a long corridor with cells on both sides. Some confusion ensued as the attackers had difficulty finding the right room. At one point they began chopping at the door of the cell where Otho Sprigg had earlier sought refuge. By this time Sprigg had assumed a disguise: "I had a red handkerchief about my neck, a white one about my head, tied under my throat, and wore a drab, instead of a blue coat." His life, however, depended on his fellow prisoners, particularly a French immigrant, who did not betray him. The Frenchman protected his identity and directed the mob towards the right door. For the moment Sprigg was safe, but from his cell windows he would be forced to witness the fate of his friends.³⁸

Inside the Federalists' cell the approach of the mob elicited a variety of responses. Some felt that death was near. Most concentrated on the immediate problem of what to do when the cell door was opened. At least one man, John Thompson, faced the situation with uncommon bravado. One of the prisoners, John E. Hall, later testified that Thompson peered through the grating of the cell just as the mob was trying to break into Sprigg's cell and commented that "it was

36. Captain Aaron R. Levering to General Stricker, August 26, 1812; Captain Daniel Conn to General Stricker, August 24, 1812; Captain William Vance to General Stricker, August 22, 1812; Captain John Keller to General Stricker, August 22, 1812; Major William Barney to General Stricker, August 25, 1812; General Stricker to Governor Robert Bowie, August 29, 1812, *ibid.*

37. Major Richard Heath to General Stricker, August 17, 1812, and Lieutenant Colonel David Harris to General Stricker, August 26, 1812, *ibid.* House of Delegates Riot Report, *Maryland Gazette*, December 31, 1812.

38. Narrative of Otho Sprigg, *Maryland Gazette*, August 27, 1812.

a pity that they should kill those poor devils instead of us." He then shouted "you are at the wrong door—here we are."³⁹ The door to the Federalists' cell was easily opened, perhaps with the key Mumma had displayed earlier in the day or with one obtained from the jailer. Across a few feet of torch-illuminated floor the two groups eyed each other. The Federalists' plan was simple; Thompson and Captain Daniel Murray, the youngest and strongest, were to lead the rush out of the cell. As soon as the cell door opened Murray thrust a pistol in the faces of the leaders and shouted "my lads, you had better retire; we shall shoot some of you." The sight of the pistol caused the front ranks of the mob to pause and at that moment Murray and Thompson ran forward. The passageway erupted in chaos. Murray and Thompson managed to extinguish many of the mob's torches and in the confusion made their way to the front door followed closely by a few others. Some succeeded in escaping unhurt, but the majority were not so lucky. Sprigg, from his cell window, saw many of his friends systematically and brutally beaten in the passageway.⁴⁰

The muscular and energetic Thompson had arrived at the front door of the jail before he was struck down from behind. Dazed, he tumbled twelve feet down some steps and was attacked by six or seven men armed with clubs. After striking him about the head until he was nearly unconscious, the men dragged him to his feet. Looking around, Thompson spotted Lemuel Taylor, a well-known Republican merchant, and begged him to save his life. Taylor, who was obviously distressed at the situation, argued strenuously with Thompson's captors, but to no avail. Badly injured, Thompson was led off, tarred and feathered, and placed in a cart. "They drew me along in the cart in this condition," Thompson later remembered, "and called me traitor and tory, and other scandalous names. They did not cease to beat me with clubs, and cut me with old rusty swords." Thompson sustained eighteen sword slashes and was bleeding profusely about the head. Efforts were made to gouge out his eyes, and one man tried to break his legs with an iron bar. In desperation Thompson tried to feign death. He managed not to flinch when pins were stuck into him, but when the mob set fire to his coat of tar and feathers he was forced to roll over and smother the flames. He now pleaded for a swift death: "For God's sake be not worse than savages, if you want my life take it by shooting or stabbing. Often I begged them to put an end to it." The mob, however, could not seem to make up its collective mind whether he should be hanged or cremated. The debate over the method of Thompson's demise was interrupted by several newcomers who took him to the Bull's Head Tavern on Fell's Point and offered him his life if he would name all of those who had been in the cell with him. Thompson quickly told everything. After giving him some whiskey, Thompson's captors took him to a police station where he received some much-needed medical care.⁴¹

When Thompson and Murray had dashed through the cell door, John Hall and

39. Narrative of John E. Hall, *ibid.*, September 3, 1812.

40. *Ibid.*; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 3: 16.

41. Narrative of John Thompson, *Maryland Gazette*, August 20, 1812; James C. Boyd to James McHenry, August 2, 1812, McHenry Papers.

George Winchester were following close behind. They managed to reach the front door, but as they were about to leap down the steps to the ground Winchester was felled by a blow and Hall stooped to help him. Two men then seized Hall and held him in a corner. By the light of a single lantern hanging in the upper stairway he saw other Federalists beaten and dragged outside. The floor, he noted, was covered with blood. A lawyer who had practiced in Baltimore's criminal court, Hall claimed to recognize some members of the mob as persons who had participated in the raid on the *Federal Republican* office over a month earlier. About ten minutes after his capture Hall attempted to break free and was instantly clubbed senseless. "I was revived by someone jumping on my arm," Hall later testified, "and I found myself on the steps leading from the front door, with my head downwards." Thinking him dead, several members of the mob tossed Hall on a pile of bodies a short distance in front of the jail. General Lee was soon thrown across Hall's chest while Alexander Contee Hanson lay across his feet. In all there were perhaps as many as twelve badly injured men on that gruesome heap. General Lee was in great pain with knife wounds about the eyes and face, and he frequently groaned. Each groan brought new blows. One of the bodies on the pile was already a corpse. General James M. Lingan of Montgomery County, an aged veteran of the American Revolution, had been murdered while on his knees begging for mercy.⁴²

The mob outside the jail had now passed beyond all boundries of rationality or humanity. The mood was hysterical. As one Federalist ruefully observed, the crowd could not have been "more joyful at a dance, than they were at the abuse of the murdered." According to the accounts of the events outside the jail, entirely from the Federalists but not disputed by the Republicans, there were many women present. When the victims cried for mercy, the women "bawled out kill the tories." Many small boys were also in the area "exulting at the awful scene, clapping their hands, and *skipping* for joy." Perhaps the most bizarre occurrence was a song which the mob shouted as they joined hands around the pile of bodies. John Hall recalled only the refrain: "We'll feather and tar every d--d British tory. And this is the way for American glory." Between each verse three cheers would be offered up for Jefferson, Madison, or some other Republican hero.⁴³

After some hours the ordeal for the Federalists at the jail came to an end. Dr. Richard Hall, a Republican and the attending physician at the jail, decided to intervene. Some weeks later John Hall recalled the simple eloquence of the doctor in addressing the mob: "He said he was as much a republican as any of them—but his republicanism could not approve of such proceedings—it was shameful to insult a fallen foe, and shocking to murder our fellow citizens." Dr. Hall then announced that most of the victims were dead and that the rest would soon die of their wounds. The doctor knew this was not the case; it was an effort

42. Narrative of John E. Hall, *Maryland Gazette*, September 3, 1812; House of Delegates Riot Report, *ibid.*, December 31, 1812; City Riot Report, *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser*, August 8, 1812.

43. Narrative of John E. Hall, *Maryland Gazette*, September 3, 1812; James C. Boyd to James McHenry, August 2, 1812, McHenry Papers; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 3: 17.

to save lives. For a while the mob was reluctant to abandon their prey. The merits of hanging, burning, or burying the bodies were fully discussed. At one point there was a strong sentiment to throw the victims into nearby Jones' Falls. Eventually, however, someone remembered that Dr. Hall occasionally wanted corpses to dissect and suggested that those on the pile "would be very good tory skeletons." This met with unanimous approval and the bodies were more or less formally given over to Dr. Hall. A few even helped the doctor haul the bodies back to the jail cell where it had all started. Once the bulk of the mob had left, Dr. Hall moved quickly. Doctors from every part of the city were summoned and the cell was turned into a makeshift hospital.⁴⁴

As soon as he had recovered sufficiently, John Hall left the jail together with Harry Nelson and Hanson, who had miraculously survived. Helped by some of the doctors and several friends, they escaped on foot. Hall himself finally sought refuge in Philadelphia. One of the other wounded Federalists, George Winchester, was conveyed to a house in the country. His wife had the disconcerting experience of riding to his sanctuary with a stage driver who swore Winchester was dead since he had walked on his body the night before. General Lee, among the most seriously injured, was taken by Dr. Hall to the city hospital.⁴⁵ The remaining Federalists in the jail were soon carried away by friends.

In the meantime John Thompson, temporarily safe in a police station, was recovering somewhat from his painful experiences. Much of the tar and feathers had been scraped from his body, his wounds were dressed, and he had managed to borrow some clothes. He was too weak to walk, however, and that fact exposed him to more danger. Around 9 A.M. on what was now July 29, a mob collected outside the police station, and demands were made for hanging him unless he gave a statement to a magistrate concerning his role in the death of Dr. Gales. Thompson agreed and a justice of the peace was summoned to take his testimony. As this document was being read aloud to the crowd, Mayor Johnson and other officials arrived at the scene. Johnson called for a carriage to take Thompson to the hospital, but the mob insisted that a cart was good enough. Accompanied by the Mayor and surrounded by the mob, the cart moved slowly to the hospital and Thompson was deposited in a room next to General Lee's. Friends soon sent a carriage for the two men that carried them to a country estate owned by a Federalist. There they were visited by James C. Boyd who left the following description of their appearance: "Lee was as black as a negro, his head cut to pieces [and] without a Hat or any shirt but a Flannel one which was covered with Blood. One eye [was] apparently out, his clothes torn and covered with blood from tip to toe, and when he attempts to stir he tottered like an Infant just commencing to walk. Thompson [was] equally absurd and disgusting."⁴⁶

For some unaccountable reason Otho Sprigg in his disguise had remained in his

44. Narrative of John E. Hall, *Maryland Gazette*, September 3, 1812.

45. *Ibid.*; James C. Boyd to James McHenry, August 2, 1812, McHenry Papers; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 3: 17.

46. Narrative of John Thompson, *Maryland Gazette*, August 20, 1812; James C. Boyd to James McHenry, August 2, 1812, McHenry Papers. Boyd was wrong in thinking Lee had lost an eye.

jail cell throughout the entire night and into the morning hours. He apparently did not know of the escape of Hall, Hanson, and Nelson even though they would have had to pass by his cell. By 11 A.M. on the 29th he was once again in serious trouble as part of the mob returned to the jail and began searching for him specifically. Undoubtedly their information came from the list supplied by Thompson the previous night. One more Sprigg was saved by his fellow prisoners who again persuaded the mob that Sprigg was not present. A short time later Sprigg called for the jailer who released him and he walked to his home. Although unharmed, Sprigg had been deeply affected by what he had seen. In his deposition he confessed that the grotesque brutality in front of the jail had caused him to collapse in a flood of tears. It may be supposed that he also felt a twinge of guilt about abandoning his friends.⁴⁷

The great Baltimore riot was slowly coming to an end after two violent days. Still, long after the surviving Federalists had fled to safety, remnants of the mob roamed the city. The Republican leadership, however, finally realized that matters had gotten out of hand. When a crowd moved towards the post office to seize copies of the *Federal Republican* believed deposited there, General Stricker called out the entire Baltimore Brigade to protect the building. He even ordered a cavalry charge that soon scattered the rioters. For some days afterwards heavily armed militia patrols marched through the city until order was completely restored. While laudable, these actions came far too late. For two days all law had disappeared in America's third largest city. Two men had been killed and scores wounded while those who governed the city had done almost nothing.⁴⁸

News of these events spread quickly. Federalist refugees from Baltimore and the victims themselves were not backward in relating what happened in great and often exaggerated detail. Soon newspapers in every part of the United States were carrying accounts of the savagery. Republican papers did not try to justify the riot, although they did call attention to the provocative actions of Hanson and his friends. In general, a sense of outrage characterized public reaction. When a few of the alleged rioters were tried and found innocent in Baltimore, there were new waves of criticism. On the other hand, the acquittal of Hanson and twenty-two members of the Charles Street garrison for the murder of Dr. Gales attracted little attention.⁴⁹

Within Maryland the murdered Lingan became a powerful symbol for the Federalist party. He was portrayed as a hero of the American Revolution struck down by Irish immigrants. The riot itself was compared by the Federalist to the worst excesses of the French Revolution. Hanson, who must bear much of the responsibility for the violence, emerged as a popular hero among Federalists. His

47. Narrative of Otho Sprigg, *Maryland Gazette*, August 27, 1812.

48. House of Delegates Riot Report, *ibid.*, December 31, 1812; Richard H. Owen's testimony, *ibid.*, October 29, 1812; City Riot Report, *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser*, August 8, 1812; Thomas Hollingsworth to Levi Hollingsworth & Sons, August 8, 1812, Hollingsworth Papers.

49. See *Baltimore American and Daily Advertiser*, September 3 and September 25, 1812; *Maryland Gazette*, August 16, 1812; James C. Boyd to James McHenry, August 19, 1812, James McHenry Papers, Library of Congress.

neighbors in Montgomery County promptly elected him to Congress. Even those Federalists who had opposed Hanson's plan were anxious to make political capital out of the tragedy. Robert Goodloe Harper, for example, personally wrote several propaganda pieces on the subject.⁵⁰ By October the political tides were running strongly against the Republicans, and the election for state representatives proved an overwhelming Federalist triumph. So massive was the Federalist majority in the House of Delegates that the party was able to dictate the election of a Federalist as governor. Although Republican control of Baltimore city and county remained firm, the party's decade-long hegemony over state government was ended. Years of political activity had been neutralized almost overnight.⁵¹

The great Baltimore riot had demonstrated profound political and social divisions in Maryland. Two groups, only partly defined by the labels of Federalist and Republican, had not been able to resolve their differences without resorting to violence. The problem was not entirely local. In New England Federalists would soon launch a plan for secession and not for the first time. For nearly twenty years every party newspaper had vilified its political opponents; no lie was too great and no name too degrading. Public images had been created that had little relation to fact. All Federalists were not traitors and Tories more loyal to England than America. All Republicans were not foreign immigrants trying to bring the French Revolution to America and overthrow the Constitution. But in 1812 these images had become more compelling than reality. As the mob tortured and murdered outside the jail, they honestly believed they were destroying enemies of their country. Many of the men in Hanson's party went to Baltimore and killed a man because they thought they were dealing with foreign revolutionaries out to destroy constitutional liberty and social order. On Charles Street Federalists and Republicans had tilted with shadows: only the blood was real.

One contemporary observer called the great Baltimore riot a species of civil war, and so it was. Democracy failed in Baltimore in 1812. The real significance of that long-past tragedy may well be that it illustrated significant flaws in the American political character; namely, a propensity for intolerance, a tendency to elevate differences of interest to the level of uncompromising ideological confrontation, and an easy acceptance of violence as a substitute for constitutional process.⁵²

50. Baltimore *American and Daily Advertiser*, November 11, 1812, and January 6, 1813; Robert Goodloe Harper to Alexander Contee Hanson, August 26, 1812, Harper-Pennington Papers; James C. Boyd to James McHenry, October 26, 1812, James McHenry Papers, Library of Congress.

51. Baltimore *American and Daily Advertiser*, November 18, 1812.

52. James C. Boyd to James McHenry, August 2, 1812, McHenry Papers.

The Baltimore School Building Program, 1870 to 1900: A Study of Urban Reform

ANDREA R. ANDREWS

ONE PROMINENT HISTORIAN HAS PORTRAYED THE URBAN REFORM MOVEMENT AS A struggle for supremacy between two types of decision-making systems which represent the interests of conflicting classes.¹ The older system of the ward-based, machine-controlled City Council directly represented the diverse needs and views of the many sections of the city and was closely linked to working class and middle-income groups. The reform ideology of the late nineteenth century espoused a highly centralized and professionalized power structure in which neutral experts could deal objectively and efficiently with the problems of the city as a whole. The movement to create such a power structure originated in the business and upper classes who condemned the ward system as wasteful, corrupt, and inefficient largely because it was in the control of the city's lower and foreign elements.

There is much to applaud in the ward system of representation. As Samuel P. Hays has written:

Ward representation on city councils was an integral part of grass-roots influence, for it enabled diverse urban communities, invariably identified with particular geographical areas of the city, to express their views more clearly through councilmen peculiarly receptive to their concerns. There was a direct, reciprocal flow of power between wards and the center of city affairs in which voters felt a relatively close connection with public matters and city leaders gave special attention to their needs.²

Hays's view and that of Oscar Handlin, who emphasizes the beneficial aspects of the urban political machine,³ offer valuable correctives to the one-sided Progressive picture of the ward-based machine as totally evil and corrupt.

The balance of historical analysis may now, however, have shifted too far in the other direction. Certainly the localized system of representation enabled diverse urban communities to express their needs and problems directly at the center of

Ms. Andrea R. Andrews is a consultant with Price Waterhouse and Co., Washington, D.C.

1. Samuel P. Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 55 (October 1964): 157-69.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

3. Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted*, (New York, 1951), pp. 210-18. For other recent treatments of the machine, see Seymour Mandelbaum, *Boss Tweed's New York* (New York 1965), which presents the machine as the product of an inadequate urban communications system; Zane Miller, *Boss Cox's Cincinnati*, (New York 1968), which treats the machine as an institution especially suited to the center city that declined in effectiveness as the outer areas of the city gained power; Alexander B. Callow, *The Tweed Ring*, (New York, 1966), which portrays Tweed's machine as the logical result of the administrative chaos and confused lines of authority in the New York City government.

power. The machine provided much needed personal favors and a sense of security to immigrants and rural migrants. But in presenting the urban reform movement as a power struggle between class interests in which the reformers threaten a somewhat romanticized status quo, Hays and others obscure the fact that the rapidly-growing, late nineteenth century city was developing serious needs and problems with which the locally oriented city government was not equipped to deal. Many of these problems cut across class and ethnic lines. They were the unique problems of the city—a large, noisy, crowded, dirty product of rapid industrialization which threw people from totally different backgrounds into unwanted and disordered contact with one another. Recent historical studies of the reform period have been preoccupied with the class origin and motives of the reformers, and with the new problems caused by centralization. But the original problems created by the changing environment to which both the reformers and those who opposed them were attempting to adjust—the former by applying new solutions, the latter by clinging to a familiar system—were equally important.

In an effort to explore that environment this article offers a study of one aspect of Baltimore's development in the period 1870 to 1900—the problem of providing a growing school population with buildings and equipment. Baltimore's ward-based, machine-controlled system of representation was especially suited to solving community level and personal problems, but an effective school building program called for careful planning based on the analyzed needs of the city as a whole. Instead of bringing together the resources and coordinating the needs and interests of a diversified population of uprooted foreigners, frightened but hopeful rural migrants, and suspicious natives, the city government and the Democratic machine mirrored the fragmentation of the city's population and accentuated the reluctance to expend private resources on public needs. Of course school buildings were provided in the wards, but they were provided in the same manner and with the same considerations as jobs, personal favors, and Christmas food baskets because each ward's representatives sought to remain in office by "delivering the goods" to their constituents.

While the immediate responsibility for the management of the school system was vested in the Board of School Commissioners, working with an administrative superintendent, it is necessary to study the city government as a whole and its relationship to the Democratic machine in order to understand how the school building program functioned—both officially and informally. Jurisdiction over the physical plant was so decentralized that the School Board, the superintendents, the City Council, and the building inspector were all responsible in part, while behind the scenes the machine exerted its own influence.

The Democratic party machine of I. Freeman Rasin rose to power in the years immediately following the Civil War.⁴ While Baltimore did not have the high

4. Baltimore spent the war years under virtual Federal dictatorship. No one unsympathetic to the Union was allowed to hold public office, and those on the Union side were invariably Republicans. Known Confederate sympathizers were disenfranchised. By the time Federal control ended, the city residents were more than ready to embrace Democratic leadership. In 1867 the Republican candidate for mayor was overwhelmingly defeated. The legacy of bitterness and the turmoil left by the war were important elements in the rise of Rasin's machine.

percentage of immigrants usually associated with the big-city boss system,⁵ the rapid growth and the heterogeneity of its population created an environment in which the machine could function effectively. Large numbers of people needed the kind of individual attention and services which the city government could not provide. Although there was no language barrier, migrants from rural areas found assimilation almost as difficult as did immigrants. They, too, had been uprooted; they needed work, housing, and a new sense of security and identity. And there were always poor people who felt the city's institutional charities were too impersonal and patronizing. The city was so large that many of its inhabitants thought the city government too distant to represent them and their needs.

The Baltimore machine was able to do what the government could not do.⁶ The unemployed received jobs, the poor received aid, families in need of occasional help because of sickness or misfortune got it. An elaborate hierarchy of precinct workers and ward bosses provided a channel through which the most obscure voter could reach City Hall. In return, Rasin was able to retain absolute control over the City Council, which served as the base from which benefits were delivered to various segments of the populace.

The bicameral City Council was the major governing body of Baltimore. Representation in the first branch consisted of one councilman per ward; in the more powerful second branch one councilman represented two contiguous wards. By 1870 Baltimore was divided into twenty wards, and two more were added in 1888 with the annexation of territory to the northeast. In a smaller city in which wards were larger in comparison to total size, it was perhaps easier for councilmen to serve both local and city-wide interests. By 1870, however, a ward in Baltimore had become a relatively small part of the city. A councilman's view, especially in the first branch, was generally limited to the needs of his ward. His political future was all the more closely tied to the benefits which he managed to obtain for his constituents by the fact that he annually faced re-election. A second branch councilman's sphere of influence was larger and his term was two years, but still competition among small sections overrode a comprehensive view of city needs.

Most of the decision-making power was securely in the hands of the City Council. The mayor's power was minimal.⁷ The City Charter permitted the

5. In *The Age of Reform* (New York, 1955), p. 177, Richard Hofstadter described the native American city-dweller as resentful of the use the machine made of the immigrant vote. While he stated that cities such as Baltimore in which natives outnumbered immigrants were a rarity among large cities, he does not mention the fact that Baltimore did have a machine which depended very much on native support. Rasin himself was a native Marylander from an old Eastern Shore family.

6. For an excellent working definition of the machine, see Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York, 1949), p. 72.

7. The mayor was largely a figurehead, generally a member of the upper class, popular with both ward workers and civic leaders and friendly to the machine. According to James Crooks in *Politics and Progress: The Rise of Urban Progressivism in Baltimore, 1895-1911*, (Baton Rouge, 1968), pp. 11-12, the city's elite supported the machine for many years. Since the reform movement also began in the upper class, we are presented with the possibility of a class in conflict with itself; in this instance, the reform movement is far too complex to be described in terms of a two- or three-class conflict.

Council to pass ordinances regulating procedures for appointing city officials, and a two-thirds vote could pass any ordinance over the mayor's veto. Qualifications for offices were vague, and all high-level appointments were subject to Council approval. The Council's control over the city budget was absolute. Its own Ways and Means Committee drew up the budget, and the Council gave its approval. The Council's local orientation greatly influenced how money was spent. "Expenditure of money except for the gratification of local pride or local interests generally meets with adverse criticism and opposition," charged the assistant superintendent of schools in 1895. "Each City Councilman works for his ward rather than for public utility. For this reason it is difficult to enlist general attention upon matters of general interest."⁸

The City Council dictated the school system's finances. Budget requests were drawn up annually by the School Board, and the Council made appropriations based on those recommendations, invariably giving less than requested.⁹ Each item (for example, books, salaries, and administration) had a specific appropriation, and funds could not be shifted from one use to another. In the area of school construction, not only did the Council appropriate all funds for buildings and repairs, but it also decided on the number, size, location, and allotment per building. School Board members merely made recommendations. Local demands strongly influenced the manner in which new school sites were chosen, and as the *Baltimore Sun* remarked: "A Councilman frequently endeavors to have a schoolhouse erected in his ward without regard to the actual needs of the section or of the location of other schools, and in some instances in opposition to the School Board."¹⁰

One should not, however, stress unduly the potential for conflict between the School Board and the Council. Both groups had a local outlook. The Board consisted of twenty men, one representative from each ward. Before 1877 the entire Board had been reappointed annually. In that year the term was lengthened to four years and appointments were staggered so that one quarter of the seats were vacated per year. When the 1888 annexation brought two more wards into the city, two more commissioners were added to the Board. The position of school commissioner was unremunerative, the reasoning being that only public-spirited citizens genuinely interested in the schools should serve. In reality it was a political patronage job carrying certain rewards and opportunities. The rules governing the school system stipulated that appointments to the Board were to be made by the City Council as a body, sitting in convention.

8. "Report of the Assistant Superintendent," in *Report of the Board of School Commissioners*, (Baltimore, 1895) p. 76.

9. A city ordinance prevented any city department which ran out of funds before the end of the year from going into debt to continue operation. This frequently posed problems for the School Board. Several times they ran out of funds appropriated for teachers' salaries. This occurred in 1881, and to make matters worse the appropriation for 1882 was again lower than the Board's request. Teachers had to be dropped, and many schools did not get needed books and supplies. In 1899 part of that year's low appropriation had to be used to fill shortages incurred in 1898. Because of the shortage in 1899, fifty-three teachers had to be dropped.

10. *Baltimore Sun*, February 14, 1895.

Actually, each first branch councilman appointed his ward's school commissioner,¹¹ generally selecting a man instrumental in his own election campaign. Other qualifications were of minor importance, and the ordinance governing appointment of members was so vague that almost anyone could meet the specifications. The School Board could at any given time be composed of men far more interested in using the office for personal gain than in improving the school system.¹² The major interest of a school commissioner appears to have been to utilize the contact with voting parents and his control over teaching and school maintenance jobs in his ward to further his own political career.¹³ Several terms as school commissioner was apparently regarded as the best possible training for membership on the City Council.¹⁴

The school commissioner was one link in an elaborate chain which ran from the precinct worker to City Hall. Working inside the machine hierarchy, he was in close contact with the parents of his ward and knew their needs and problems.¹⁵ Although Board members had no power over either site selection or appropriations for buildings, they were responsible for bringing the needs of their wards to the attention to the City Council. The close contact between commissioners and councilmen meant that the circuitous official avenues of communication could be by-passed in favor of informal bargaining. The official procedure for decision-making on new buildings was: (a) The School Board, working with the superintendent and the city building inspector, annually drew up a list of the required buildings, indicating where needs were greatest; (b) on the basis of the list, the City Council was to decide where to build and how much to spend. In reality, commissioners bargained with councilmen, and councilmen bargained among themselves for a share of the annual expenditure for school buildings. As the Hays-Handlin thesis suggests, parents were thus furnished with an effective way of communicating their needs to the School Board and the City Council.

The relationship between each school commissioner and the councilman who

11. "The appointment of commissioners heretofore has been regarded as a kind of right by First Branch Councilmen, who generally named the men more or less actively engaged in their election" (Baltimore Sun, January 7, 1895).

12. In *Baltimore 1870-1900: Studies in Social History*, (Baltimore, 1941), Charles Hirschfeld stated that School Board members were generally small businessmen, doctors, and lawyers interested in pursuing political careers. He ascertained the composition of various Boards by identifying members for 1870, 1890 and 1895 in the *Baltimore Directory*. For a discussion of appointment procedures, see the *Baltimore Sun*, April 21, 1897.

13. "The office of School Commissioner is a payless one, but it offers opportunities for patronage and insures to the occupant a wide acquaintance with the parents of the children residing in his ward" (Baltimore Sun, April 21, 1897).

14. *Baltimore Sun*, October 14, 1890.

15. The only people who had absolutely no control over their schools were the blacks. There was an entirely separate school system for them, established after the Civil War. However, the system was totally controlled by whites. Councilmen and Commissioners, even in wards with heavy black populations, were always white because blacks were virtually disenfranchised. Since they generally were Republican in sympathy, various ruses were used by the Democratic machine to keep black voters away from the polls. Since their support was not needed, they did not even have any resources to bargain with. Even the teachers in the black schools were white, as the City Council and the School Board doubted the ability of blacks to teach their own kind. The black school system got its meager share of funds after the white system was taken care of.

had appointed him could involve conflict. While the commissioner owed his position to the councilman, he might also be seeking the councilman's position—unless he was a designated heir apparent. A commissioner could increase his influence by courting the favor of voting parents and trading teaching and maintenance jobs for political support. Teaching jobs were in great demand. Since candidates' names were placed on the roster with no indication of their rank on the qualifying examination, commissioners could ignore better qualified applicants in favor of prudent political choices.¹⁶

While the commissioner had no decision-making power, he could at least claim a share of the credit when his ward got a new building, pointing to his vigorous advocacy of the ward's requirements. In years when both he and his councilman failed to obtain a share of the building funds, the commissioner might try to absolve himself of responsibility by claiming that the councilman was ignoring needs which he himself had communicated fully and well. These tensions were reflected in the annual reports of the School Board, which usually contained comments on the problems of the building program stemming from the City Council's small appropriations.¹⁷ In years when voter concern over taxes was paramount, the report might just as readily praise the Board's economy in expending general funds on salaries, equipment, books, and administration.¹⁸ One can imagine that the relationship between the City Council and the School Board was delicate indeed as they competed for credit and passed blame back and forth.

Councilmen were in turn pressured into delivering as many benefits as possible in order to counteract the influence of the Board members. Machine backing of candidates was a reciprocal affair. In an election year assistance was likely to go to the man who could deliver the most voter support. The Council fixed the annual property tax levy, it controlled money for public works, and individual Council members had their own share of jobs to distribute. If a councilman could not win support by getting a new school in his ward, he could court votes through personal favors, patronage, and the usual promise of lower taxes.¹⁹

Baltimoreans' attitude towards taxes was well illustrated by their actions. Evasion of property tax payment was so commonplace that little over 70 percent of projected revenue could be collected even in a very good year.²⁰ Enforcement of tax regulations was lax, and the Tax Appeals Court, which could lower

16. Control over teachers' jobs implied political control as well. The teaching staff in a commissioner's ward represented a potential reserve of campaigners on his behalf, and certainly a substantial block of votes. Most of the teachers were young women who came from the neighborhoods in which they taught, and, while they could not vote, they had families and friends whom they could influence, and frequent contact with the parents of children they taught.

17. For example, see the School Board President's comments in the following *Reports of the Board of School Commissioners*: 1876, pp. xvii, xviii, xxi; 1878, p. xxxviii; 1882, p. xxviii; 1888, p. xxxi; 1893, p. xxiv; 1896, p. xv.

18. See President's reports in *School Board Reports*: 1871, p. 16; 1873, p. xii; 1874, p. xii; 1877, p. xv; 1889, p. 5; 1890, p. 3; 1895, p. xxviii.

19. According to Jacob Hollander in *The Financial History of Baltimore*, (Baltimore, 1899), p. 329, the low tax rate was always a central issue in election campaigns after the Civil War.

20. From 1879 to 1896 the amount collected ranged from 54.46 per cent to 74.79 per cent (*ibid.*, p. 270).

property assessments and grant abatements, was open to political influence. Manipulation to evade higher assessments was common.²¹ These problems were so serious that a system of graduated discounts was used to encourage citizens to pay taxes on time.

The reluctance to contribute private resources to the public domain was also demonstrated in agitation against the school book fee. Until 1885 parents sending children to the public schools were required to pay a fee of \$1.25 per quarter for the use of books. Families which could prove that they were too poor to afford the fee were exempt, but even parents who could afford it tried to avoid payment. "This privilege of exemption . . . has been much misused during the past few years, and many persons have doubtless educated their children free of this charge who were in good circumstances and able to pay," claimed the Board President in 1878.²² The small book fee represented a sizeable addition to the funds available to the school system.²³ In 1885 it was finally abolished.

Parents wanted both good schools and lower taxes, and the City Council was caught between the necessity of expending more city funds and the pressure to limit their source. The result was intense ward-by-ward competition for the available money. The two conflicting demands encouraged councilmen to promote highly visible short-term benefits which would create an illusion of progress while spending little enough to keep taxes down. Rather than counterbalancing the understandably narrow concerns of parents in their small communities, the Council and the School Board reflected and reinforced them.

Professionally qualified men with city-wide perspective could do little to forestall the damaging process of making school buildings one more benefit to be competed for on the ward level. Working with the School Board, the city building inspector and the superintendent and his assistant could make suggestions about where new buildings were needed. But they had no decision-making power. The Council set all priorities. The building inspector was responsible for selecting and purchasing sites, drawing up plans, choosing builders, and supervising construction, but the manner in which appropriations were made severely limited his ability to do his job. Instead of having plans for buildings drawn up in advance, and an estimate made of the probable construction cost plus cost of lot, the Council first made the appropriations and then expected the building inspector to stay within those limits.²⁴

The superintendent and assistant superintendent served in purely administrative capacities, and they had more duties than they could possibly be expected to handle. They were required to supervise and visit all schools regularly, examine all applicants for teaching positions and all pupils passing from the primary to secondary grades, receive all visitors to the schools, advise on curriculum and textbooks, assist in the publication of the annual Board reports, and help the building inspector in planning for new buildings as well as additions and repairs

21. *Ibid.*, p. 263.

22. "President's Report," *School Board Report*, 1878, p. xxviii.

23. *Ibid.*

24. "President's Report," *School Board Report*, 1895, p. xv.

to old ones.²⁵ They had no staff to assist them. The salary they were paid was commensurate neither with the workload nor with the qualifications required for such an array of responsibilities. In fact, Baltimore superintendents were paid less than superintendents in any other large city in the country.²⁶ Since they did visit the schools regularly and measured attendance, they were well acquainted with conditions in the buildings and with present and future space requirements. But they had little time to devote to these problems and, besides, they could only make recommendations which the City Council could either heed or disregard as it chose.

The result of localism, false economy, and lack of expertise and coordination at the decision-making stage was a building program so short-sighted and haphazard that it can hardly be called a program at all. Appropriations for new buildings were invariably too small to pay for any more than the bare minimum in construction, if indeed they provided even that. New buildings created the impression of fulfillment of school needs, but in the thirty-year period from 1870 to 1900 the impression slowly vanished. Conditions became steadily worse.

There was no established plan for putting up a certain number of buildings per year. The number could vary from none to as many as eleven in a year when a large loan made money available.²⁷ Always the building program was a slave to "economy"—that is, the pressure to keep taxes down. The City Council sometimes played both sides of the street by providing a large appropriation for public works, keeping the tax rate low, and borrowing heavily to make up the difference, thus driving the city deeper into debt.²⁸

In years when the Council did not resort to an increase in the funded debt, appropriations were frequently kept down in order to keep the tax rate low as Council members assessed their options and attempted to guess what benefits mattered most to the greatest number of voters at the time. In 1888 "application was made for the erection of several other school buildings, which were examined and favorably considered by the Committee on Education of the City Council, but in deference to the prevailing desire to avoid the increase of the tax levy, it was deemed proper to postpone further appropriations."²⁹ The same thing had happened the previous year.³⁰

The City Council's appropriations were generally too low to purchase adequate lots and attract good builders. Contracts were awarded to inferior firms. Buildings were erected which were "improperly designed and constructed, with

25. *School Board Report*, 1871, p. 15.

26. *Report of the Commission to Inquire into the Public Schools*, (Baltimore, 1877), p. 24.

27. Hollander, *Financial History*, p. 346. The only other source of revenue besides the property tax was a large funded loan or bond issue to finance many public works at one time. It required an enabling act of the state legislature, an ordinance of the City Council, and ratification by popular vote. In 1898 due to public reaction against a longtime accumulation of debt, a \$4,500,000 bond issue of which \$1,000,000 was for schools was defeated in a referendum. Till then the funded loan had been a very popular way of financing public improvements. "To the electorate, of whom considerably less than 50% were taxpayers, municipal borrowing was peculiarly an agreeable process" (*ibid.*).

28. *Ibid.*, p. 329.

29. "President's Report," *School Board Report*, 1888, p. xxiv.

30. "President's Report," *School Board Report*, 1887, p. xx.

TABLE 1: BUILDINGS COMPLETED, BUILDINGS REQUESTED,
BUILDINGS RENTED

Year	Completed	Requested	Rented
1870	3	3	11
1871	4	6	8
1872	3	5	6
1873	2	2	9
1874	2	3	5
1875	2	5	6
1876	4	4	6
1877	3	4	6
1878	2	5	8
1879	1	4	9
1880	1	4	5
1881	1	5	6
1882	3	8	6
1883	0	8	6
1884	1	13	5
1885	0	9	5
1886	4	8	6
1887	1	11	12
1888	2	15	25
1889	2	15	27
1890	11	15	17
1891	1	5	22
1892	5	15	23
1893	4	12	24
1894	2	12	29
1895	1	13	36
1896	5	11	33
1897	5	15	33
1898	0	23	34
1899	0	25	30
1900	0	38	28

TABLE 2: YEARLY INCREASE IN ENROLLMENT

Year	Increase	Year	Increase	Year	Increase
1870	346	1881	333	1891	1,644
1871	581	1882	9	1892	1,863
1872	613	1883	1,907	1893	2,642
1873	1,571	1884	1,072	1894	2,760
1874	971	1885	1,210	1895	1,463
1875	2,038	1886	-59	1896	1,816
1876	1,129	1887	1,420	1897	1,515
1877	1,452	1888	5,322 ^b	1898	568 ^c
1878	1,479	1889	2,329	1899	119
1879	1,593	1890	2,049	1900	-569
1880	-298 ^a				

a. This was an epidemic year. Epidemics were especially prevalent in the city, and most of all in the school, where large numbers of children were crowded together in unsanitary and poorly ventilated surroundings for long periods of time.

b. Share increase due to annexation of two boroughs.

c. This decline, and that for the following two years, can possibly be attributed to the increasing lack of facilities.

insufficient room, light and ventilation, and without enough space in the yards."³¹ Shoddy construction and cheap materials meant numerous repairs and replacements sooner than should have been necessary. In many cases modern heating and ventilation systems could not be provided. Although steam and hot air heat systems were in common use by 1879, the building superintendent's report for 1900 shows that only half of the forty-eight buildings erected after 1879 had either. All but six had a less expensive and efficient hot air system which required frequent maintenance after a few years.³² The remaining buildings were heated by coal or wood stoves—a grave fire hazard. In 1900 the building superintendent pointed out that one such school had thirty-two stoves. To compound the danger, many buildings had been constructed without adequate fire exits. Multiple classrooms opened onto narrow halls in two-story buildings with narrow stairways and only one entrance. In 1880 after a long-delayed inspection, thirty such schoolhouses were discovered.³³

All buildings which did not have modern heating systems had ventilation problems, since no provisions were made for air circulation in classrooms holding thirty, forty, fifty, or more students. Rooms heated by stoves were unbearably hot near the stoves and freezing a short distance away. In 1878 Charles W. Chancellor of the Maryland State Board of Health vividly described conditions in a poorly ventilated classroom: "The heat and stifling air, and nauseating effluvia in some of the rooms is indeed such as a human being has hardly been compelled to live in since the time of Jonah."³⁴ In 1898 the Report of the Arundell Good Government Club on conditions in the schools cited poor ventilation and heating as major problems in older buildings and estimated that improvements would cost \$200 to \$250 per room.³⁵

Instead of working together to allocate funds for buildings according to current and projected needs, councilmen competed and bargained with each other for their ward's share. After the pie was divided, each ward's portion was barely enough to provide more than new buildings of exactly the capacity to accommodate current enrollment. Since future growth was not provided for, schoolhouses could be overcrowded a year after they opened. Grammar School #20 was completed in 1892, enlarged by four rooms in 1893, and overcrowded again in 1894—only one example among many.³⁶ Referring to two buildings under construction in 1889, the School Board President stated: "an additional

31. *School Board Report*, 1878, p. xxi.

32. "Report of the Building Superintendent," *School Board Report*, 1900, pp. 79-80.

33. "President's Report," *School Board Report*, 1880, p. xx.

34. *School Board Report*, 1878. "Report to the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore Upon the Sanitary Condition of Male Primary and Grammar Schools #1," by C.W. Chancellor, MD, Secretary of the Maryland State Board of Health.

35. "Report of the Anne Arundell Good Government Club on the Baltimore School System," as published in the *Baltimore Sun*, April 18, 1898.

36. In reporting the opening of another new school two years earlier, the *Sun* of September 9, 1890 commented: "Although the schools gain from the new structures [completed this year] an increase of about 75 to 80 rooms, the main idea in building them was to bring the scattered departments together rather than to provide increased accommodations." In the same article the *Sun* reported that Primary #20 was so crowded on its opening day that children had to sit on the front steps. The average increase in enrollment was 1,660 a year.

appropriation of from \$5,000.00 to \$10,000.00 for each of these houses would have enabled the Inspector of Buildings to furnish sufficient room for all pupils who will probably attend these schools for a number of years, whereas the necessary result will now be that they will have to be enlarged after a short time at increased cost.³⁷

Sometimes an appropriation was not sufficient even to complete a building, and additional funds had to be requested. This could mean a delay of as much as a year while students and teachers worked under difficult and distracting conditions. In 1898 a Grand Jury cited this instance:

In one of our best new schools all the rooms are not completed. By reason of this one teacher in one grade, which should be divided into two classes, has nearly seventy children under her charge. . . . The result is that the teacher and the school are liable to unjust criticism. The trouble is not there, but is owing to a lack of sufficient appropriations to properly complete and equip sufficient of the building to supply the needs and demands of the school.³⁸

The city was so bogged down in replacing existing structures that it could not even begin to organize and build totally new schools to serve new areas or assume overloads from old schools. Newly-organized schools generally started out in rented buildings poorly suited to their use. Rented buildings were considered the cheapest and quickest way to alleviate overcrowding. They were, however, an inadequate solution, expensive in the long run and a poor substitute for specially-built schools.³⁹ In 1872 the School Board recommended that they be completely abandoned,⁴⁰ but during the next three decades the number increased greatly. Failure to build durable schools able to absorb population increase put pressure on the system, pressure which had to be relieved somehow.⁴¹ In the words of the superintendent in 1890: "The amount of space required over that furnished has so accumulated from year to year that the Council is called upon to furnish the ways and means of doing what should have been done by others in former years."⁴² As the century progressed even rented schools could not keep up with space needs.

Overcrowding in the schools became a serious problem, as did the fact that a number of children were forced out of the system because there was no room. In 1879 the School Board stated that many classrooms contained twice the number of students that should have been in them.⁴³ In 1883 the superintendent reported

37. President's Report," *School Board Report*, 1889, p. xxv.

38. "Report of the Grand Jury on Conditions in the Baltimore School System," as published in the *Baltimore Sun*, January 10, 1898.

39. It was expensive to rent buildings. Owners demanded high rents and frequently required the city to be responsible for all repairs except roof and ground maintenance. The buildings had to be equipped for school use and then restored to their original condition. As a result all benefits for expenditures on improvements were lost when a building was vacated, plus the expense of removing built-in equipment and partitions. In this period \$204,545.00 was spent on rents (compiled from Board Report figures), not including the cost of repairs and alterations.

40. "President's Report," *School Board Report*, 1872, p. xxi.

41. "President's Report," *School Board Report*, 1893, p. xxi.

42. "Superintendent's Report," *Board Report*, 1890, p. 40.

43. "President's Report," *Board Report*, 1879, p. xv.

that in some schools fifty, seventy, and even eighty children were crammed in one small room.⁴⁴ Charles Hirschfeld, using figures published by the U.S. Commissioner on Education, calculated that the enrollment in the schools was from 1,500 to 5,500 greater than the number of available seats.⁴⁵ It would appear that many parents would not or could not send their children to school due to overcrowding.⁴⁶

In 1892 the assistant superintendent remarked, "There is still in the minds of some that ancient idea that anything unfit for other uses is good enough for the public schools."⁴⁷ This aptly describes the buildings the Board often had to rent. Annexes to old schools were frequently some distance from the main building, so that a student body had to be split into several widely separated groups. Owners of large buildings in good condition were reluctant to rent them because of the risk of damage.⁴⁸ Often only church basements or old houses were available. Rooms were small and irregular; yards were too small to allow play areas; ventilation and lighting were poor; halls and stairways were narrow. In 1900 the building superintendent said that the rented buildings were simply unfit for occupancy by human beings.⁴⁹

According to the building superintendent's report in 1900, the overall results of years of low appropriations and lack of planning was a need for replacement of thirty-eight of the seventy-eight schoolhouses owned by the city and twenty-six of the twenty-eight rented buildings. Twenty-two other buildings were in need of repairs and improvements in heating and ventilation systems, lighting, sanitary facilities, and fire precautions. Only eighteen buildings received the top classifications of "good" or "modern."⁵⁰ Made in the year that the revised City Charter of 1898 was to go into effect, this report was a final indictment of the old system and a challenge to the new administrative structure which had been devised for the schools.

The City Charter of 1898 was the first major accomplishment of a reform movement that had been developing in Baltimore since the early 1880s—a movement which finally succeeded in replacing the Democratic machine with a Republican reform government in 1895. The most visible and vocal groups in the movement were from the upper class,⁵¹ but the question of how much support and opposition came from the lower and middle classes remains unclear. The purpose of this article is not, however, to examine the origins of and opposition to reform; instead our interest is primarily in the charter itself and, more specifically, in the manner in which it affected the mounting problem of providing adequate school buildings.

44. "Superintendent's Report," *Board Report*, 1883, p. 49.

45. Hirschfeld, *Baltimore 1870-1900*, p. 89.

46. See "President's Report," *Board Report*, 1873, p. vii; "Superintendent's Report," *Board Report*, 1882, p. 47.

47. "Assistant Superintendent's Report," *Board Report*, 1892, p. 114.

48. "President's Report," *Board Report*, 1895, p. xv.

49. "Building Superintendent's Report," *Board Report*, 1900, pp. 79-88.

50. *Ibid.*

51. The Baltimore Reform League, founded in 1885, recruited its membership almost entirely from Baltimore's Blue Book. The Arundell Good Government Club was another elite reform organization, especially active in the area of education reform.

The new charter attempted to solve the problems of the old system by achieving, as nearly as possible, its opposite. The sorry condition of the schools had come about under a decentralized, partisan administrative and representative structure. The new structure was highly centralized and far removed from political influence. There was never any question of creating an elected School Board under greater control of the people; this would encourage the very localism and partisanship that was seen to be at fault in the first place. The reformers moved in the opposite direction. The ward-based School Board was replaced by a nine-member Board to be appointed by the mayor from the city at large for a term of six years. Appointments were to be staggered so that one-third of the members retired every two years. Commissioners were still to be unpaid citizens serving out of a sense of duty, but the ideal was now a board of qualified educators with city-wide rather than neighborhood concerns, men completely free from association with local elected officials. The mayor himself was, of course, subject to political influences and not above making political appointments to the Board, but at least he was a very visible public official whose actions were, in theory at least, taken on behalf of all the voters. Above all, his loyalties, unlike those of a councilman, were not supposed to rest at the ward level.

The Board's major task was changed from one of control over administrative detail to that of broad policy-making. Within the guidelines set down by the Board, all administrative responsibility, including the appointment of teachers on the basis of merit, was to be centralized in the hands of the superintendent and his six new assistants, one of whom was in charge of buildings. These superintendents were still to be appointed by the Board, but the commissioners lost their control over all other jobs in the school system to the superintendent's office. An infant Department of Education had been created, although it was not called so at the time; the new institutional framework provided a bureaucratic hierarchy with authority flowing from the centralized Board to the superintendents to the principals to the teachers; this system replaced the direct, informal relationships among locally-known Board members, the teachers whose jobs they controlled, and the parents whose interests they had served.

Changes which were highly significant for the school building program were also made in the procedure for preparing the city budget. The new charter provided for the creation of a Board of Estimates composed of the "Mayor; the City Solicitor, representing the Department of Law; the Comptroller, representing the Department of Finance; the President of the Second Branch of the City Council; and the City Engineer, representing the Department of Public Improvements."⁵² This lineup included two paid professional appointees and three top elected officials—all men removed from local influence and hopefully more familiar with the problems of the city as a whole than with any particular ward. Estimates for all expenditures were to be made after consultation with the heads of the various departments and subdepartments. For the school system, the superintendent, working with the School Board and the building superin-

52. Hollander, *Financial History*, p. 363.

tendent, was responsible for drawing up recommendations for new buildings and repairs. The City Council could exercise no authority until the final stage in the process.⁵³ At that time, it could reduce expenditures in any areas, but it could not increase them, and it could not add new items or divert money from one area to another. The Board of Estimates was also given the power to fix the annual tax levy. Again, the City Council's final approval was required, but the Council could only increase the levy, not reduce it. Its power to court voter favor with low taxes was gone. There was little to gain politically from reducing the budget if councilmen could not also reduce the tax rate.

The locally oriented City Council's control over the school building program had been cut drastically. It had lost all power to decide on the number, location, size, and cost of schools. It retained only final approval of the annual program drafted by the Board of Estimates, a program based on information supplied by the centralized School Board, the superintendent, and the building superintendent. The estimate for the school system's appropriation was based on a tax levy, set by the Board of Estimates, which the City Council could not reduce.

The reformers had seen the need for change in the procedures governing the school building program. School construction for an urban population was a complex process requiring planning, special talents, and a city-wide perspective which neither the City Council nor the School Board working in a decentralized governmental structure could provide. There was clearly a need for participation of professionals in the decision-making process. The building program had suffered for many years from the City Council's tendency to insure re-election through lower taxes and to treat school buildings as simply another benefit to be distributed in the wards along with jobs, favors, and acts of practical charity. The reforms in the new charter were meant to correct this. The formula was simple; a good program would result from centralization, independence, objectivity, and expertise.

The new procedure could potentially provide the school system with decently-designed, well-constructed buildings located on the basis of analysis of present and future population pressures. Recommendations were to be presented by officials who had a knowledge of overall attendance patterns and no ties to any particular areas of the city; they worked with a building superintendent responsible only for the schools. Final decisions were in the hands of top elected and appointed officials who were not under constant pressure from the electorate in a single ward. Economy was still a problem; resources were scarce and the pressure to keep taxes down was balanced by the pressures of a growing city in need of costly public facilities. But under the new system the city could replace the false economy of the old school building program with a plan for realistic utilization of the available funds.

53. The City Council was not changed greatly. The bicameral structure was retained. The first branch still consisted of one member per ward, although the term was extended to two years. The second branch was to consist of eight members—two each from four Councilmanic districts, serving for four years. However, the Council lost many of its powers to the mayor and the newly-created Board of Estimates.

In attempting to solve machine-induced problems, however, the reformers actually created some new difficulties of their own. The channels of communication which the ward system and the machine had provided were cut. The parent in the ward lost almost all contact with the School Board. Local men who understood the problems of the area and knew the parents and children were replaced by a commission of nine remote officials. How did a workman approach former mayor Alceus Hooper, who served on the first new Board, with a complaint about a teacher or about sanitary conditions in Grammar School #14, ward 18? It did no good to complain to Council members. They no longer controlled the School Board. One further step removed from the people was the superintendent and his assistants. The superintendent had a great deal of freedom of action. The new City Charter took power out of the hands of officials directly responsible to the electorate and placed it in the hands of officials several steps removed from them. This was the independence that was meant to insure objectivity on the part of experts.

Independence, however, as Theodore Lowi has pointed out, is a two-edged sword.⁵⁴ The School Board and the superintendent's department were free to provide the city with the best possible school system: qualified teachers, progressive curriculum, good buildings. However, they were also free to become what Lowi has called "irresponsible structures of power," perpetuating their own pet theories, serving chosen interest groups, consolidating their own positions. Before, the School Board members owed their positions to their ability to respond to local parents' problems; now that need for personal interaction at the ward level was gone. The reformers believed that the new centralization and professionalization would guarantee the appointment of public-spirited men of integrity. But there was no natural barrier to prevent those within the centralized professional system from engaging in partisanship and pursuit of self-interest. No natural law of neutrality governed the mayor's choice of appointees. The potential for a machine still existed, but now it would be a machine far removed from popular, local control. And even further beyond local control was the Office of the Superintendent, in which there existed the same potential.⁵⁵ What was to prevent the superintendent from using his office in the same way school commissioners had used their positions in the wards?

In brief, reactive reform had created a new set of problems endemic to modern centralized bureaucracies, but in criticizing these difficulties and the class dimensions of reform, historians should not lose sight of the deficiencies of the ward system. As is revealed by the study of Baltimore's school building program, the ward machine could not satisfy some of the most important needs of a large, growing urban environment. A new measure of efficiency was needed. Some centralization and professionalization at the decision-making level had to be provided. Without these the grave problems summarized by the building superintendent in 1900 would have become steadily more serious.

54. Theodore Lowi, "Machine Politics—Old and New," *The Public Interest* 9 (Fall 1967): 86.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 89. Lowi described the potential power of an independent professional city agency: "Often . . . a policy proclaimed by the Board [of education] without the advice and consent of the professionals is quickly turned into mere paper policy . . . the veto power through passive resistance by professional administrators is virtually unbeatable."

SIDELIGHTS

Baltimore's 104th Medical Regiment Armory

PHILIP SHERMAN

LITTLE DID THE BALTIMORE CITY COUNCIL REALIZE WHEN IT PASSED RESOLUTION 77 on April 22, 1857, authorizing the construction of the first female high school in Baltimore City, that it was laying the foundation for Baltimore City's historic 104th Medical Regiment Armory.¹ On September 28, 1858, when the building was officially dedicated as the Western Female High School, an account stated with a prophetic choice of words that "troops of happy girls armed with books and slates, took possession."²

Twenty thousand dollars was originally allotted by the Baltimore City Council for the erection of the school on a parcel of land situated on West Fayette near Paca Street. The property was leased to the Commissioners of Public Schools by the Estate of Colonel John Eager Howard of Revolutionary War fame. The building, of modified Italian design, was planned by architect J. J. Husband and constructed by a local builder, George R. Callis. The final cost of the red sandstone structure amounted to \$37 thousand, nearly double the sum of the original authorization. When the building, which measured 125 × 77 feet, was completed, the local press described it as "one of the most spacious, commodious, and beautiful edifices in the City."³ On November 17, 1875, when the Edgar Allan Poe Monument was unveiled in the Westminister Presbyterian Churchyard adjacent to the school building, an elaborate ceremony was held in the main hall of the school. Walt Whitman was the honored guest and featured speaker.

For thirty-eight years the building remained the Western Female High School, but in 1896 the school was moved to new and larger quarters at Lafayette and McCulloh streets.⁴ The former school then drastically changed its purpose—it was completely remodeled and refurnished for utilization by the state as a regimental-size National Guard armory.⁵ With the addition of turrets and battlements, the building acquired an impressive military appearance.

The first military tenant of the newly renovated armory, the Fourth Regiment

Philip Sherman is a Lieutenant Colonel, Maryland National Guard.

1. Baltimore, Commissioners of Public Schools, *29th Annual Report to the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1858).

2. Ernest J. Becker, *Western High School. Past and Present* (Baltimore, 1944), p. 25.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

5. Baltimore, Commissioners of Public Schools, *76th Annual Report to the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore City* (Baltimore, 1896).

of Infantry, Maryland National Guard, was formed in 1885 by a group of young men associated with the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Ascension, located at Lafayette and Arlington avenues. In September 1885 Companies A and B were formed under the name of "The Baltimore Light Infantry." This militia unit was augmented later that year by a newly-formed Company C and the following year was joined by "The Ringgold Rifles," which became Company D. In 1893 the four companies were designated the Fourth Battalion of Infantry, Maryland National Guard, and mustered into service as part of the Fourth Regiment of Infantry, Maryland National Guard.

In 1886 the guardsmen moved from their first home in Hollins Hall at Hollins and Carrollton avenues to the old West End Skating Rink at Carrollton Avenue and Mulberry Street. Growing rapidly in strength, the unit was required to move into the Newton Academy at Baltimore Street near Carrollton Avenue in 1895, and finally in 1896 to the remodeled school on Fayette Street.

The first active service of the Fourth Regiment was a call to duty in 1894 to assist in the protection of lives and property following the outbreak of violence during the coal miners' strike in Frostburg, Maryland. In 1898 the regiment answered the call of President McKinley for volunteers and mobilized for the Spanish-American War. Only one battalion of the regiment saw service; the remainder of the men were demobilized after being quartered temporarily in a camp near the Pimlico Race Track.⁶ In February of 1904 the Fourth was called to safeguard lives and property during the devastating Baltimore Fire. The regiment's last active service came in 1916, when the entire unit was called to duty for the Mexican Border Campaign. In August 1917, after a brief return to Baltimore from the Mexican border, "The Fighting Fourth" was mustered into the United States Army for service in World War I. Shortly following mobilization, however, the regiment was disbanded at Camp McClellan, Alabama, and its members transferred to units forming the newly-organized 29th Division. The Fourth Regiment of Infantry, Maryland National Guard, was not reorganized after World War I.

When the next military tenant, the 104th Medical Regiment, Maryland National Guard, took possession of the armory following World War I, it was redesignated the 104th Medical Regiment Armory. This medical regiment was organized on October 1, 1917, as the 104th Sanitary Train, an element of the newly formed 29th Division. Its lineage stems from the year 1909, when Company A, Hospital Corps, Maryland National Guard, was formed by a transfer of men from the Hospital Detachments of the First, Fourth, and Fifth Maryland Infantry Regiments.⁷ Company A, Hospital Corps, was separated into Field Hospital Company No. 1 and Ambulance Company No. 1 in 1915. The two medical units were called into active service for the Mexican Border Campaign and served at Eagle Pass, Texas, from June 29, 1916, to January 1, 1917. When the 29th Division was organized in October 1917, these Maryland medical units

6. W. R. Schwartz and J. T. Milligan, *History of the Fourth Regiment of Infantry, Maryland National Guard* (Baltimore, 1916), p. 21.

7. U.S., Department of Army, *Lineage and Honors, 104th Medical Battalion*, 3 July 1961.

became incorporated as the 113th Field Hospital Company and the 113th Ambulance Company of the 104th Sanitary Train. The unit was called to active service for World War I and served as part of the 29th Division in France, taking part in the campaign of Alsace Sector and the Meuse-Argonne Offense. The 104th Sanitary Train was demobilized in June 1917 at Camp George G. Meade. After World War I the unit was reorganized as the 104th Medical Regiment, an element of the 29th Division, Maryland and Virginia National Guards, with headquarters in the old armory on Fayette Street.

Between World War I and World War II the 104th Medical Regiment remained quartered in the armory, performing its peacetime training mission. The unit was commanded during the period from 1923 to 1940 by Colonel Frederick Vinup, a well-known Baltimore physician, and from 1940 to 1941 by Colonel Dwight H. Mohr, who later became a Major General.

With the clouds of war massing on the international horizon, the peacetime training duty of the 104th ended on February 3, 1941, when the unit was activated into Federal service. From the armory on Fayette Street the unit moved to Camp George G. Meade, where on February 28, 1942, it was reorganized and redesignated as the 104th Medical Battalion. The unit served throughout World War II, rendering medical support to the 29th Division troops and participating in the Normandy, Northern France, Rhineland, and Central Europe campaigns. The 104th Medical Battalion was decorated with the French Croix de Guerre, with Palm, for its part in the Omaha Beach landing on June 6, 1944. The unit was also awarded the Meritorious Unit Commendation for outstanding medical support during the war.⁸

Inactivated after World War II at Camp Kilmer, New Jersey, on January 17, 1946, the 104th Medical Battalion was reorganized as a unit of the Maryland National Guard on November 13, 1946. The unit enthusiastically returned to its armory on Fayette Street. During the period from 1941 to 1946, when the 104th Medical Battalion was performing wartime service in Europe, the armory housed several small units of the Maryland State Guard which were temporarily organized to replace the activated Maryland National Guard.

Throughout its long history the armory served many civic, athletic, and veteran organizations as a meeting place and was host to many of Baltimore's most lavish dances and social functions. For a great many years the armory was known to the sporting element of Baltimore as "The Baltimore Garden," where Baltimoreans witnessed many famous boxing matches and basketball games played on the armory drill floor. During the Korean conflict the Armory was used as an overnight dormitory to accommodate members of the armed forces on leave.

For the next sixteen years, from the end of World War II until October 1, 1962, the armory remained the home of the 104th Medical Battalion. The unit was commanded during this long period of peacetime duty by Colonel Edmund G. Beacham, a distinguished Baltimore physician associated with the Baltimore City Hospital.

8. U.S., War Department, *General Order 303*, 1945.

The old armory's "death knell" was sounded when the University of Maryland School of Law announced its plans for expansion within the City of Baltimore. The property required for this expansion was the land upon which the armory was situated. After much debate, governmental authorities reluctantly gave way to progress and accepted the expansion plans of the University of Maryland. In the fall of 1962 the armory was demolished.

The final military formation in the armory was held on October 1, 1962, by the 104th Medical Battalion. At the close of the ceremony, Taps was sounded and the armory's colors lowered. An emotional chill rippled through the troops in formation as the reverent refrain echoed and reverberated throughout the vacant rooms, dark halls, and deserted turrets, as if the old armory itself was replying in sad farewell. Following this impressive ceremony, the troops marched slowly from the armory and closed the gigantic front doors behind them for the last time.

By strange coincidence, the 104th Medical Regiment Armory passed into Baltimore history after 104 years of service to city, state, and nation.

The Lawyers' Round Table of Baltimore

H. H. WALKER LEWIS

IN 1911 JUDGE ALFRED SALEM NILES OF THE SUPREME BENCH OF BALTIMORE CITY had the happy thought of organizing a group of lawyers to meet periodically at dinner "to enjoy professional talk somewhat beyond and above their daily routines." The idea was not original. Almost half a century before, there had been two other law clubs in Baltimore. But Judge Niles implemented the idea so successfully that the "Lawyers' Round Table" still flourishes. Moreover, its example has spawned a healthy progeny of like organizations within the Maryland bar, law clubs that hold dinner meetings for the presentation of papers and legal discussion.

So far as we know, this form of law club is unique to Baltimore. There are differing types elsewhere, but they do not operate on the model that has become so popular here. Does Maryland gastronomy add a special zest to dinner table law? Or can Judge Niles's success be explained on grounds other than abdominal?

The two earlier Baltimore examples were the Friday Club and the Temple Club.¹ These were organized before the Civil War and did not survive the strains of that conflict. Perhaps the Round Table would also have foundered, but Judge Niles built into it differences that made it more viable.

The primary objectives of the Friday and Temple clubs were intimacy and congeniality. The Friday Club, organized in 1852, was limited to twelve, and its members fell within an age range of eight years.² The Temple Club, organized two years later, was similar though drawn from a younger group.³ In contrast, the Round Table started with twenty-four members of widely differing interests and an age spectrum of thirty-four years. Congeniality was no doubt desired, but it was like an old-fashioned marriage in which love was the hope, not the motivation.

Mr. Lewis is a member of the Maryland bar and the Lawyers' Round Table.

1. The minute books of both clubs are in the manuscript collection of the Maryland Historical Society.

2. There is a framed group photograph of the Friday Club in the Baltimore Bar Library. Its members, including one to fill a vacancy, were: George William Brown, F. W. Brune, Jr., Henry Winter Davis, George W. Dobbin, Thomas Donaldson, William G. Dorsey, William F. Frick, William H. Norris, Charles H. Pitts, Benjamin C. Presstman, I. Nevitt Steele, William A. Talbot, and Severn Teackle Wallis.

3. The members of the Temple Club, including those elected to fill vacancies, were: E. Wyatt Blanchard, William S. Bryan, James A. Buchanan, Wilson C. N. Carr, H. Clay Dallam, Levin Gale, R. J. Gittings, Edward Israel, John Johns, Jr., Charles G. Kerr, A. W. Machen, Charles Marshall, William C. Pennington, Archibald Stirling, Jr., J. Shaaf Stockett, and Henry Webster.

Although all its charter members were lawyers, not all were in active practice. One was a full-time professor at Hopkins; one was an investment banker; two were what we might now call "house counsel," associated with the Standard Oil Company and the United Railways Company; two were judges; and several, including the future Governor Ritchie, were in the thick of political life.

The constitutions of the two earlier clubs were especially designed to assure congeniality. Both required unanimity to fill vacancies, and the Temple Club made express provision for expulsion of members upon a two-thirds vote. Although the Friday Club had no comparable provision, its minutes for November 18, 1859, record that: "A short time prior to this meeting a correspondence took place between the Club and Mr. Davis which resulted in his resignation." This was Henry Winter Davis, Civil War Congressman and ardent supporter of Unionism and antislavery.

Both these earlier clubs ceased to exist as a consequence of the events of April 19, 1861, in which Massachusetts troops were attacked in the streets of Baltimore on their way to Washington. So far as appears, no club members participated in the attack, and at least one intervened in an effort to stop it. But the Federal military commanders viewed all forms of local leadership with such suspicion that a continuance of organized club activity would in all likelihood have led to imprisonment. As it was, at least two members of the Friday Club, George William Brown⁴ and Severn Teackle Wallis,⁵ were arrested without charge or warrant and carted off to Fort Warren in Boston Harbor. There may have been others, and there were, of course, some who left Baltimore in the opposite direction, to join the Confederacy.

Prior to its demise the Friday Club had held bi-weekly meetings from October through April, mostly at the homes of members. Its constitution also provided for an annual spring party, to be financed from fines levied during the year for tardiness or absence. Although the minutes record the imposition of such penalties, the take was disappointingly meager, and the members had to be assessed for their annual splurge. In one year it came to all of five dollars apiece. The Temple Club, as befitting harder working and less plutocratic juniors, limited itself to monthly meetings at public eating places.

Among the more interesting aspects of these early clubs were their sumptuary rules. The Friday Club constitution said: "Not more than two kinds of wine and two dishes shall be offered by any Member at his regular entertainment; if Oysters be served, they shall not be dressed in more than two styles." The Temple Club ordained an even greater degree of self-denial, providing that: "At each meeting there shall be a plain supper provided at a cost not exceeding the sum of One Dollar per Member. No Member shall at a meeting order or provide

4. George William Brown (1812-1890) was Mayor of Baltimore at the time of the attack, which he described in *Baltimore and the 19th of April, 1861* (Baltimore, 1887). He later served as Chief Judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore.

5. Severn Teackle Wallis (1816-1894) is described in William Cabell Bruce's *Seven Great Baltimore Lawyers* (Baltimore, 1931; later included as Chapter 7 of his *Recollections*, Baltimore, 1936). As pointed out by Senator Bruce, Baltimore has more public statues of Wallis than of any other citizen.

at his own expense or at the expense of the Club any additional articles of food or drink."

Although these admirable resolves must have had the vastly beneficial effect of promoting attention to the speaker, we cannot help wondering how rigorously they were enforced. The history of law clubs is ordinarily one of transition from intellect to conviviality, and we doubt whether our sainted forbears at the Bar were immune to these same weaknesses of the flesh.

Judge Niles's emphasis on diversity has been discounted in the organization of most of the later law clubs. It is easier to start new groups that are small in size and close-knit in age, especially among the younger lawyers who usually furnish the initial impetus. But it is interesting to observe that they later tend to grow larger in size and more diverse in age and interest.

The reason is in part gastronomic. The initial intellectual urge dissipates as we approach the Shakespearean age of "fair round belly with good capon lined." Enthusiasm wanes for the preparation of papers, and the emphasis turns to conviviality. Infusions of younger blood become vital to intellectual content, and ultimately for survival. The trick is to maintain a balance between young and old, head and stomach.

Our most authentic source as to the origin of the Lawyers' Round Table is a letter of condolence addressed by the members of the club to Mrs. Alfred Salem Niles on November 13, 1926. They said in part:

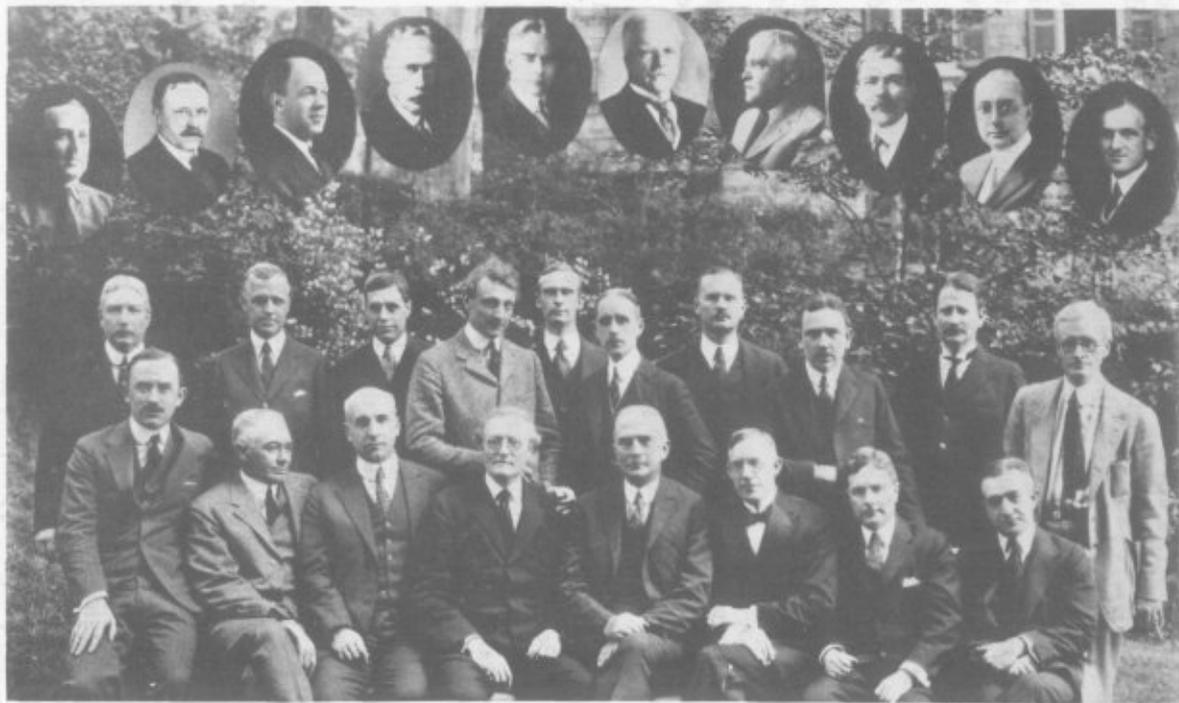
The first meeting of the Lawyers' Round Table since Judge Niles' death was held tonight. Judge Niles was the founder of this Club. Fifteen years ago, while still a judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City, he called a group of lawyers to his office in the Court House and laid before them a plan which he had originated and developed for periodical gatherings of a few men of his profession, to have dinner together and to enjoy professional talk somewhat beyond and above their daily routines. And for fifteen years this group of lawyers of his day and generation, necessarily with a few losses and additions in that length of time, have profited by Judge Niles' thoughtfulness and initiative on their behalf. . . .⁶

Judge Niles was born in St. Louis of parents who were natives of Massachusetts. His father, a Presbyterian minister, sent him to Princeton where he graduated with the now famous Class of 1879, one of whose members was Woodrow Wilson. He studied law at the University of Maryland, graduating in 1881. He was Dean of the old Baltimore Law School from 1904 until its merger with the University of Maryland Law School in 1913, and was professor of Constitutional Law in the latter, as well as a Regent of the University.

In 1906 Governor Warfield appointed him to the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City. Six years later, because of the inadequacy of the \$5,000 salary for the support of his family, he resigned and returned to private practice.⁷ In 1915 he published his well-known book on *Maryland Constitutional Law*.

6. The original letter is in the possession of the Hon. Emory H. Niles. Presumably, it was composed by the then secretary, Eugene O'Dunne.

7. The state salary of \$4,500 was supplemented by \$500 from the city.



Group picture of the Lawyers' Round Table, taken May 13, 1922. *Courtesy H. H. Walker Lewis.*

TOP ROW (Left to Right): German H. H. Emory, Charles McHenry Howard, William M. Maloy, Frank J. Goodnow, Albert C. Ritchie, John C. Rose, Joseph C. France, William L. Marbury, Osborne I. Yellott, Omer F. Hershey.

MIDDLE ROW (Left to Right): John Hinkley, George Weems Williams, Thos. F. Cadwalader, John Phelps, William L. Rawls, Randolph Barton, Jr., William C. Coleman, Arthur W. Machen, Jr., Charles Morris Howard, Eugene O'Dunne.

FRONT ROW (Left to Right): Raymond S. Williams, T. Scott Offutt, Carroll T. Bond, Oscar Leser, Alfred S. Niles, W. W. Willoughby, Morris A. Soper, Edgar Allan Poe.

Niles was tall, spare, and handsome. His pictures reveal a striking resemblance to his son Emory,⁸ who in 1935 became the Secretary of the Round Table. (Even while a non-member, Emory was twice pressed into service to pinch hit for his father.) Tom Cadwalader⁹ quoted Charles McHenry Howard¹⁰ as praising Niles as a judge. Coming from such a source, Cadwalader considered this the most discriminating of all possible encomiums. Fred Brune¹¹ remembered Niles as being particularly pleasant and helpful to younger lawyers, a trait which they greatly appreciated.

Inasmuch as Niles handpicked the original members of the Round Table, it is interesting to analyze the basis of his selections. Niles had been an officer of the Baltimore Reform League. In the great election fight of 1895, which broke the back of the corrupt Gorman-Rasin machine, he was bludgeoned on the head; on this or another occasion he is reported to have received a black eye in line of duty.¹² In organizing the Round Table it was natural that he should look first to those who had shared the heat of the battle. Thus we find among the charter members fellow Reform Leaguers Roger Cull, William L. Marbury, John C. Rose, and Charles Morris Howard. An additional reason for believing that they formed the nucleus of the club is that, as a group, they were substantially older than the other members. Niles was fifty, and the others were respectively sixty, fifty-two, forty-nine, and forty-seven, on average fifteen years older than the other members.

It is interesting to note that all the Reform League group except Howard lived in or near what is now Bolton Hill, making it a most uncomfortable spot for machine politicians. Howard lived on the east side of Charles Street, catty-corner from the old Baltimore Club, in the house to which his martial ancestor, Colonel John Eager Howard, points as he sits astride his horse in Washington Place.

Along with the Reform Leaguers Niles stirred in a few non-practicing brethren, as a sort of leaven in the professional pudding, and then created further diversity through age. From Niles downwards the ages progressed with almost the regularity of a flight of stairs, the baby of the group being William C. Coleman, then twenty-six. Out of the twenty-four, there were only three of any one age.¹³

The work of running a law club devolves on its secretary, or, more realistically, on its secretary's secretary. Most law clubs rotate the burden annually, which has the added advantage of setting a limit on despotism. The secretary inevitably becomes a tyrant, and his powers stop little short of capital punishment. By comparison, the powers of the Pope pale into insignificance.

The leader of the Wranglers, for example, is vested with the title of "Pooh Bah" and recognizes no limitations other than his own cussedness. The Round

8. Emory Hamilton Niles (1892 —); elected to the Round Table, Dec 7, 1940, and its Secretary 1945-69; Judge, Supreme Bench of Baltimore, 1938-54; Chief Judge, 1954-62.

9. Thomas Francis Cadwalader (1880-1970); elected to the Round Table, Apr 26, 1913.

10. Charles McHenry Howard (1870-1942); elected to the Round Table, Jan 6, 1912.

11. Frederick William Brune (1894-1972); elected to the Round Table, Dec 7, 1940; Chief Judge, Md. Ct. of Appeals, 1954-64; President, Md. Historical Society.

12. For accounts of the violence at the 1895 election, see: Frank R. Kent, *The Story of Maryland Politics* (Baltimore, 1911) p. 205; James B. Crooks, *Politics and Progress* (Baton Rouge, 1968) pp. 40-41.

Table, as better befits an organization sponsored by a judge, has an elaborate constitution, and perhaps in deference to this has changed secretaries only twice during its sixty-some years of existence. However, no one but the secretary any longer knows what the constitution says, so that his only limitation is self-restraint.

In the beginning, most meetings of the Lawyers' Round Table were held at the now defunct Baltimore Club, on the northwest corner of Charles and Madison streets. Occasionally they met at the homes of members, and Randolph Barton was particularly generous in entertaining the Club at "Airslic," his home near Pikesville. When it was Governor Ritchie's turn to present a paper, he did it at the Executive Mansion at Annapolis. And on the Club's fiftieth anniversary, Judge and Mrs. Coleman held a memorable feast for the members and their wives.

Prohibition created special problems for the Club's wining and dining. Secretary O'Dunne recorded:

With the advent of the 18th Amendment (and for some years thereafter) our regular monthly meetings and dinners were held at the home of the Secretary, then living at 513 Cathedral Street, and later at his changed location, 216 Ridgewood Road, Roland Park. These sessions at the home of the Secretary were held in strict legal

13. The charter members of the Lawyers' Round Table of Baltimore, with their date of birth, death, and age upon the founding of the club, are as follows:

Name	Birth	Death	Age on 4/8/11
Randolph Barton, Jr.	12/12/71	8/27/55	39
Carroll T. Bond	6/13/73	1/18/43	37
William C. Coleman	10/17/84	1/12/68	26
Roger W. Cull	8/7/50	7/30/22	60
German H. H. Emory	9/27/82	11/1/18	28
Joseph C. France	10/11/62	7/26/38	48
B. Howell Griswold, Jr.	8/1/74	7/27/46	36
Omer F. Hershey	9/23/67	5/9/59	43
John Hinkley	3/1/64	7/18/40	47
Charles Morris Howard	3/31/64	12/13/46	47
Oscar Leser	10/16/70	6/23/60	40
Arthur W. Machen	3/18/77	5/27/50	34
William M. Maloy	10/12/74	8/16/49	36
William L. Marbury	12/26/58	10/26/35	52
Alfred S. Niles	10/28/60	11/2/26	50
Eugene O'Dunne	6/22/75	10/30/59	35
John Phelps	7/25/73	12/16/55	37
William L. Rawls	5/1/83	7/26/46	27
Albert C. Ritchie	8/29/76	2/24/36	34
John C. Rose	4/27/61	3/26/27	49
Morris A. Soper	1/23/73	3/11/63	38
George W. Williams	6/25/74	6/23/37	36
Raymond S. Williams	8/2/83	2/14/44	27
Westel W. Willoughby	7/20/67	3/26/45	43

compliance with the 'bona fide guest' provisions of the strictures on human liberty contained in the 'late ignoble experiment.' But, when the well ran dry, augmented by two burglaries at the Roland Park location, we consistently refused to replenish our depleted 'pre-war stock.' Our attitude was more one of deference to the Federal Judges in our membership and to certain others of our members who were more or less inclined to a course of law-abiding action, than because many of us were profoundly impressed with the argument as to any great 'moral issue' being involved, except that of personal liberty.

Fortunately, Prohibition could not last forever. After it had subsided into a mere bad memory came the practice of annual spring dinners, usually with an outside speaker of prominence, preceded by mint juleps on the lawn of the Elkridge Club. The same is done by other law clubs, sometimes in combination.

Man is a clubbable animal, and Baltimore law clubs are one of his more pleasant inventions. They are also a means of self-preservation. Regardless of years, old age is when you stop learning. To this should be added Gerald Johnson's favorite bit of gospel: "While we laugh we live." It would be hard to find these twin remedies in more gratifying form.

Notes on Maryland Historical Society

THE RECORDS OF A CITY: BALTIMORE AND ITS HISTORICAL SOURCES

RICHARD J. COX AND PATRICIA M. VANORNY

PARTLY BECAUSE OF THE RELATIVE LATENESS OF AMERICA'S URBANIZATION, AND partly because of a continuing infatuation with the frontier, it was not until the 1930s that urban studies became a significant topic of historical research in America. The study of Baltimore City reflects the slow appreciation of the significance of urban history. Although histories of Baltimore began to be written in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, for a whole century they remained little more than year-by-year chronicles, guidebooks, advertising directories, commemorative volumes, and biographical dictionaries.¹ The title of Letitia Stockett's charming book, *Baltimore: A Not Too Serious History*, suggests the casual quality of historical work on the city through the first third of the twentieth century.² In the 1930s the new urban history stimulated researchers to investigate the virgin territory of Baltimore. Only three dissertations had been completed on Baltimore prior to 1930; eight were done during the 1930s.³

The scarcity of source materials for many years deterred the investigation of Baltimore's past. John Thomas Scharf in his work of a century ago had much to say in this regard. He noted the use of newspapers, pamphlets, laws, magazines, books, legislative journals, maps, and manuscripts, but the gathering of these records was no easy task. "In the volume are collected and preserved historical materials," he wrote, "obtained from widely separated sources, from private libraries and individuals, from musty records on the brink of decay, from odd places and unexplored corners, which by the accident of fire or flood or time's

Richard Cox, who is responsible for the general introduction and the section on private papers, is Curator of Manuscripts at the Maryland Historical Society; Patricia Vanorny, who compiled the section on public records, is an archivist III at the Hall of Records.

1. The first major work was Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1824), which was a yearly description. Other works that are representative of nineteenth century Baltimore historians are Charles Varle, *A Complete View of Baltimore. With a Statistical Sketch. . . . And An Advertising Directory* (Baltimore, 1833); *Baltimore: Past and Present. With Biographical Sketches of Its Representative Men* (Baltimore, 1871); George W. Howard, *The Monumental City, Its Past History and Present Resources* (Baltimore, 1873); 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) and *History of Baltimore City and County from the Earliest Period to the Present Day: Including Biographical Sketches of their Representative Men* (Philadelphia, 1881); and *Celebration of the 150th Anniversary of the Settlement of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1881).

2. (Baltimore, 1928).

3. For the dissertations see Richard R. Duncan and Dorothy M. Brown, comps., *Masters Theses and Doctoral Dissertations in Maryland History* (Baltimore, 1970). Besides the influence of urban history, much of the credit for this awakening in Baltimore's past goes to the Johns Hopkins University where all but one of the dissertations were submitted.

hard touches, might otherwise have been forever lost to us." For Scharf collecting was a hard but exciting journey, and he compared it to the ransacking of the "house of history."⁴

After 1844 with the founding of the Maryland Historical Society there existed within Baltimore an archival repository, but the Society did not emphasize collecting the city's historical records. The Society seemed primarily interested in obtaining manuscripts on the Eastern Shore and in England. The Society's small staff rarely refused a donation, but the current vogue of history prevented it from recognizing the value of urban materials.⁵ Thus for many years Baltimore's records were left to collectors⁶ and energetic historians such as Scharf.

The care of the public records is a somewhat different story, however. The first legislation to protect the city's official papers came in 1797 and 1798 at the time the city was incorporated. These acts provided that the Mayor appoint a person who would be responsible for the care of the records related to the incorporation.⁷ A quarter of a century later the city approved an ordinance more specifically discussing record care, but the extent of this act was merely to disallow the removal of papers from the various offices and to reaffirm that every person was entitled to have access to the public papers.⁸

Until the creation of the City Library in 1874 efforts to care for the records were minimal. The librarian's task was, among other things, to "take under his charge and keeping all the books and documents of every description, and the archives, records, papers and proceedings of the corporation. . . . now in the possession of the City authorities. . . ."⁹ Immediately the librarian began the arrangement of the papers, which he described in his first annual report as a "confused mass."¹⁰ But a shortage of staff and money, combined with too broad a range of duties, hampered the City Library's preservation and reference functions.¹¹

Finally in 1927 the functions of the City Library were divided when the Bureau of Archives was formed for the "systematic filing of all records. . . . of all departments, bureaus and city agencies."¹² Yet even though an "archives expert" was brought in to show how the records should be handled, and WPA workers helped during the Depression, little real progress was made in the care and utilization of city records.¹³ As the *Baltimore Sun* editorialized,

4. *Chronicles of Baltimore*, pp. v-viii.

5. Richard J. Cox, "The Historical Development of the Manuscript Division of the Maryland Historical Society," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 69 (Winter 1974): 409-17.

6. Yet even collectors were not interested in Baltimore. Robert Gilmor, Jr., for example, although a Baltimorean, tended to collect autographs of significant people (Francis C. Haber, "Robert Gilmor, Jr.—Pioneer American Autograph Collector," *Manuscripts*, 7 [Fall 1954]: 13-17).

7. *Ordinances of the Corporation of the City of Baltimore, Passed at their First and Second Sessions, held February, 1797, and February, 1798* (Baltimore, 1875), pp. 17-19, 141-42.

8. *The Ordinances of the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1826), p. 112 (hereafter cited as *Ordinances*).

9. *Ordinances* (1874), pp. 126-28.

10. *The Mayor's Message*. . . (Baltimore, 1877), pp. 803-808.

11. *Mayor's Message* (1881), pp. 1047-48; *ibid.* (1891), pp. 372-76; and *Reports of the City Officers*. . . (Baltimore, 1910), p. 3.

12. Augustus C. Binswangler, ed., *Facts and Figures, Maps, Charts, and Graphs and VIIIth Quadrennial Message Mayor William F. Browning to IInd Unicameral City Council With Reports From All City Agencies* (Baltimore, 1932), p. 40.

13. *Baltimore Sun*, (undated clipping) 1927; June 7, 1936; and April 22, 1937; in the Vertical File,

the preservation of these records is due as much to luck as to good management. The city has had a Bureau of Archives only about fifteen years, and it leads a piteous, Cinderella-like existence. Its dark life is spent in the cellar of the Courthouse, the attic and cellar of the City Hall and (unhappiest part of all) the Ridgely Street garage of the Bureau of Street Cleaning. As permanent staff it has a lone archivist, whose solitude is broken only by the visits of municipal laborers when someone decides that records shall be moved from cellar to attic or back again to cellar.¹⁴

Another editorial in 1947 describing puddles of water in the Archives prompted a series of articles suggesting that the city either take positive action or turn the records over to the Maryland Historical Society or the Maryland Hall of Records.¹⁵

Real improvement finally seemed to be coming when in 1953 Records Engineering, Inc. of Washington, D.C. was hired to make an exhaustive survey of Maryland state and Baltimore city records. This company suggested retention schedules, disposal criteria, equipment usage, and other means by which the city could better preserve its records.¹⁶ The immediate result was the creation on both state and city levels of detailed record management programs.¹⁷ Although the city program has had many successes, including the disposal of tons of useless materials and the discovery and salvaging of historically important papers,¹⁸ it has failed in one of its most important endeavors—the construction of a separate records building with modern research and storage facilities.¹⁹ The absence of this structure has severely handicapped the records program and prevented the proper care of Baltimore's public papers. Many of the documents remain in no better condition than they were a century ago.

Yet Baltimore is not alone in neglecting its historical treasures. Very few cities have made good efforts at record preservation.²⁰ And the attention of Baltimore over the past century has certainly salvaged many historically significant papers that would have otherwise been lost. The work of the city government, combined with a proliferation of repositories that are more than willing to accept both private and municipal records, present a much brighter picture than that of even

Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library (hereafter cited as V.F., EPFL). For an evaluation of the Historical Records Survey in Maryland, see Edward C. Papenfuse, "'A Modicum of Commitment': The Present and Future Importance of the Historical Records Survey," *American Archivist*, 37 (April 1974): 211-21. The HRS did not produce any published guides for Baltimore City and, at best, appears to have been an incomplete effort.

14. *Baltimore Sun*, February 13, 1944, in V.F., EPFL.

15. *Ibid.*, Nov. 18, 1947, Nov. 19, 1947, Nov. 20, 1947, V.F., EPFL. In fact both the Hall of Records and the Society had already had numerous early city records turned over to them.

16. See the series of thirty-one reports issued between July 1953 and February 1954; these reports are available at the Maryland Room, EPFL.

17. *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Archivist of the Hall of Records. . . July 1, 1953 to June 30, 1954*, pp. 50-58 and *Ordinances* (1955), pp. 107-14.

18. C. Frank Poole, "Screening the Papers of Baltimore's Mayors," *American Archivist*, 25 (April 1962): 219-22.

19. See the *Records Management Annual Report 1956*, p. 4.

20. For some of the good projects see Charles E. Hughes, Jr., "The Philadelphia Program," *American Archivist*, 21 (April 1958): 131-42; Dale A. Somers, Timothy J. Crimmins, and Merl E. Reed, "Surveying the Records of a City: The History of Atlanta Project," *ibid.*, 36 (July 1973): 353-60; and James B. Speer, Jr., "Houston Metropolitan Archives and Research Center," *Rice University Review*, 9 (Summer 1974): 11-15.

a generation ago. Ironically, though, the historian of Baltimore today faces nearly the same task of a Scharf of a century before in tracking down the records he needs. The "house of history" has better kept rooms, but there are now almost too many to keep track of.

To aid the researcher we have compiled a checklist of Maryland repositories that hold Baltimore City records. This list is divided into sections of private papers and public records. Although we have tried to describe the records, we have had to be brief. Furthermore, a complete guide to such records would include listings of published records, newspapers,²¹ and records held in private hands. Because of the limitations of both time and space these have not been included.

PRIVATE PAPERS

This checklist was compiled by a survey conducted by letter, phone and personal contact, the scanning of published guides, and consultation of the *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections*. There are many gaps in this list. Archives maintained by Baltimore business firms were not contacted, and this will have to be the subject of another article. A number of repositories did not report at all, and these have either been excluded or described as best as possible. As can be seen below, major collections are within this state. However, many Baltimoreans donated their papers elsewhere. Church records often were sent to their denominational archives. There are, as well, many repositories that collect regionally or by subject, and Baltimore records are often found in them. Hence the major university libraries often contain Baltimore sources, as do many of the great research libraries such as the Huntington. The Library of Congress and the National Archives also contain much of relevance. However, the *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* will guide the researcher, as will the various printed guides to major collections. Here we have restricted ourselves to those collections in Maryland.

Baltimore Region Institutional Studies Center. 847 N. Howard St., Baltimore 21201. Baltimore City Department of Planning; Baltimore College of Commerce; Baltimore Criminal Justice Commission; Chamber of Commerce of Metropolitan Baltimore; Citizens' Planning and Housing Association; Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc.; Greater Baltimore Committee, Inc.; Health and Welfare Council of Central Maryland; Higher Education Council of Urban Affairs; Independent Order of Odd Fellows; Maryland Conference of Social Concern; Maryland Council of Churches; Model Urban Neighborhood Demonstration; Planned Parenthood; Regional Planning Council; and United Fund of Central Maryland, Inc.

Catholic Center. 320 Cathedral Street, Baltimore 21201. Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 1782-1946; John Carroll, 1789-1815; Leonard Neale, 1815-17; Ambrose Marechal, 1817-28; James Whitfield, 1828-34; Samuel Eccleston, 1834-51; Francis Kenrick, 1851-63; Martin Spalding,

21: The largest collections of newspapers and published records are held by the Maryland Historical Society and the Maryland Room, EPFL.

1863-72; J. Roosevelt Bayley, 1872-77; James Gibbons, 1877-1921; Michael Curley, 1921-47; Francis Keough, 1947-61; and Lawrence Shehan, 1961-74, all Archbishops of Baltimore; Benjamin Henry Latrobe drawings and designs of the old Cathedral.²²

College of Notre Dame of Maryland. 4701 N. Charles St., Baltimore, 21210. Chronicles, 1862-present; photographs, newspaper clippings, programs and other memorabilia; includes materials on James Gibbons, Charles Bonaparte, Daniel Gilman, and J. Roosevelt Bayley.

Enoch Pratt Free Library. 400 Cathedral St., Baltimore 21201. Large collection of manuscripts, published writings, newspaper clippings, and the personal library of H. L. Mencken;²³ the Maryland Department holds newspapers, maps and atlases, publications, and clippings on the city.

Jewish Historical Society of Maryland, Inc. 5800 Park Heights Ave., Baltimore 21215. Hebrew Orphan Asylum; Jewish Family and Children's Service; papers of Benjamin and Henrietta Szold, Harry Friedenwald, and Herman Seidel; also conducting oral history project in the Baltimore Jewish community.

Johns Hopkins University. Milton S. Eisenhower Library, Baltimore 21218. Papers of the early presidents and professors of the university; records of the Maryland Mutual Insurance Company, 1862-79; account books of Francis F. Beirne, 1919-68; letters of the Turnbull family, 1887-1930s; personal and literary correspondence and manuscripts of Edward Lucas White, a Baltimore novelist.

Maryland Diocesan Archives. At Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore 21201. Collection of 50,000 items on Anglican and Episcopal churches of Baltimore; correspondence and biographical information on clergymen associated with Baltimore from mid-eighteenth century to 1880; and papers of prominent Baltimore laymen. Appointments must be set up through the Librarian of the Society or the Historiographer of the Diocese of Maryland, Mr. F. Gardner Ranney.²⁴

Maryland Hall of Records. P.O. Box 828, Annapolis 21404. Most important private records are of Baltimore churches: Baptist, 1826-99; Evangelical United Brethren, 1785-1960; Presbyterian, 1826-1962; Protestant Episcopal, 1710-1972; Methodist and Methodist Episcopal 1799-1972. Also some family papers related to the city.²⁵

Maryland Historical Society. 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore 21201. Holds extremely large amount of Baltimore business, family, and institutional records.

22. See John Tracy Ellis, "A Guide to the Baltimore Cathedral Archives," *Catholic Historical Review*, 32 (October 1946): 341-60.

23. Helpful guides to Mencken collections are Betty Adler's *A Descriptive List of H. L. Mencken Collections in the U.S.* (Baltimore, 1967) and *Man of Letters: A Census of the Correspondence of H. L. Mencken* (Baltimore, 1969).

24. For a dated but helpful description see Nelson W. Rightmyer, "The Maryland Diocesan Library," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 23 (March 1954): 69-71.

25. See below for the government records held here.

Typical are Robert Garrett and Sons, Inc., 1818–1965; Lumber Exchange of Baltimore, 1875–1960; Baltimore Chamber of Commerce Ship Arrivals and Departures, 1886–1943; St. Paul's Episcopal Church, 1710–1935; Baltimore City College, 1858–1973; Baltimore Battery of Light Artillery, 1862–65; Charles J. Bonaparte, politician, 1860–1923; Lawrence Hall Fowler, architect, 1879–1951; and Dr. John Campbell White and family, businessman, 1764–1930. Also have newspapers, rare books, genealogical publications and manuscripts on Baltimore families, and graphics collections.²⁶

Maryland Historical Trust. Shaw House, 21 State Circle, Annapolis 21401. Historical and architectural information with slides and photographs for about 300 Baltimore sites.

Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of the State of Maryland. 1211 Cathedral St., Baltimore 21201. Large collection of minutes, transactions, ledgers, clippings, and memorabilia related to medical profession in Baltimore. Also extensive set of books, monographs, and pamphlets on same subject.²⁷

National Library of Medicine. National Institute of Health, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Bethesda, Md. 20014. Monthly statistical reports, 1954–62, and the staff conference and medical advisory board minutes, 1934–65, of the Baltimore City Hospitals; case histories, correspondence, reports, and printed matter, 1909–41, of the Sydenham Hospital in Baltimore; correspondence and other material of Dr. John Shaw Billings, designer of the Johns Hopkins Hospital; oral history tapes of a number of events and doctors associated with Baltimore.

Society of Jesus, Maryland Province. Provincial's Residence, 5704 Roland Ave., Baltimore 21210. Manuscripts with references to Jesuit activities in the city such as the construction of the Cathedral in 1806 and Jesuit-run churches.

Sulpician Archives. 711 Maiden Choice Lane, Baltimore 21228. Records of St. Mary's Seminary and College, 1791–present, which include account books, registration records, minutes of faculty meetings, maps, catalogues, alumni publications, graphics, textbooks, letterbooks, baptism and marriage registers of the parish operated from Godefroy Chapel.

Towson State College. 7500 York Rd., Baltimore 21204. Records of the Maryland State Normal School and its successors, 1866–present. Includes student records, official correspondence, programs, faculty meeting minutes, records of student

26. The major guide is Avril J. M. Pedley, comp., *The Manuscript Collections of the Maryland Historical Society* (Baltimore, 1968); this has been brought up to date occasionally with lists of recent accessions in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. See also Mary N. Barton, "Rare Books and Other Bibliographical Resources in Baltimore Libraries," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 55 (First Quarter, 1961): 1–16. Richard Parsons, ed. and comp., *Guide to Specialized Subject Collections in Maryland Libraries*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore, 1974), is very helpful on the state level.

27. See Elizabeth G. Sanford, "The Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland Library, 1830–1975," *Maryland State Medical Journal*, 24 (June 1975): 35–40, and Joseph E. Jensen, "Bibliographies from the Faculty Library: 145 Years of Service," *ibid.* pp. 40–44.

organizations and classes, photographs, and artifacts.²⁸ Also has the records of the Baltimore Teachers Training School, 1902–24, which merged with this school in 1924.

United Methodist Historical Society of Baltimore Annual Conference. 2200 St. Paul St., Baltimore 21218. Large collection of manuscripts and published materials relating to Baltimore Methodism from the eighteenth century to the present.

University of Maryland. Maryland Room, McKeldin Library, College Park 20742. Contains records and papers of William Amoss; Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; John Alexander; Daniel Brewster; the Chesapeake Bay Foundation; the Cigar Makers International Union of America; Joseph Irwin France; Romeo Mansutti; the Maryland Grange; the Maryland League of Women Voters; Walter R. Mulligan; Murray Vandiver; and Millard Tydings; most of these collections have materials on Baltimore.

Walters Art Gallery. 600 N. Charles St., Baltimore 21201. Correspondence from artists to W. T. Walters pertaining to the acquisition of pictures for his collection; several letters concerning the Walters' endowment of the School of Art in Medicine at the Johns Hopkins University; fifty-one volumes of diaries of George A. Lucas, 1852–1908, discussing the purchase of art objects for the Walters family.

Women's Missionary Union Library of the Baptist Convention of Maryland. Baptist Building, 1313 York Road, Lutherville 21093. Historical materials on the work of the W.M.U.; Maryland Baptist records including Baltimore churches; church and associational minutes; books and pamphlets on Baptist history.

PUBLIC RECORDS

The following list of public records relating to Baltimore City does not purport to be exhaustive, nor does it more than briefly hint at the administrative history of the city so essential to beneficial use of the extant materials. This effort at describing Baltimore City records is merely a temporary measure designed to alert interested researchers about documents that are currently accessible. Entries are arranged within rough topical categories designed to group related series that may be among the records of several different agencies, some of which may no longer exist or whose functions have changed substantially. An example of the latter is the equity jurisdiction of the Baltimore City Superior Court, which it inherited from the Baltimore County Court in 1851 and lost in 1867.

Ultimately the Maryland Hall of Records will publish a guide to the records of Baltimore City modeled on the comprehensive Historical Records Survey guides of the late 1930s and early 1940s.²⁹ Records will be described by series and agency, with a history of each agency's functions. Topic indexes will bring together related series.

28. This school was located in Baltimore City from its founding in 1866 until 1915.

29. For an excellent example see Maryland Historical Records Survey, *Inventory of the County and Town Archives of Maryland: Anne Arundel County (Annapolis)* (Baltimore, 1941). The HRS inventory forms for Baltimore City were very useful for analyzing the contents of record series.

The categories of public records are noted and described alphabetically; under each is an alphabetical list of series titles with brief comments about the contents and available indexes. Following the title is the name of the agency or agencies, if known, that generated the record, date span for the series, quantity of material, and current location for which are used the following abbreviations: BCA—Baltimore City Archives in Baltimore, CH—Courthouse in Baltimore, HR—Hall of Records in Annapolis. Unless stated otherwise, indexes are located with the records. For further information about the public records of Baltimore City visit or write the Maryland Hall of Records, Box 828, Annapolis, Maryland 21404, which is open from 8:30 A.M. to 4:30 P.M., Monday through Saturday. For records at the courthouse the researcher should contact the individual court. The City Archives, 211 E. Pleasant St., is open from 8:30 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., Monday through Friday.

CITY ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS

The City of Baltimore dates from 1729 when the General Assembly provided for the town to be laid out and for commissioners to govern it. By 1796 the town had grown populous enough for its residents to petition for and obtain a city charter that provided for a mayor and council which began functioning in 1797. From this basic structure has evolved the present system of departments, commissions, and bureaus.³⁰ The various functions of these agencies are indicated by the records they generate. Some are included under this general heading of ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS, others in more specialized categories such as *Tax Records*.

Appointments, Mayor, 1797-1864, 3 vols., BCA. Record of municipal officers appointed by the Mayor.

City Papers, 1756-1938, 135 file drawers, BCA. Records of several different agencies that have been grouped together: Proceedings of Special Commissioners for paving and leveling streets and building and repairing bridges, 1783-97; reports of Port Wardens, Harbor Board, and Harbor Master, 1789-1938; market house licenses and rents, 1791-1938; petitions, correspondence, committee reports, messages, ordinances, and resolutions of the City Council, 1797-1938; proceedings of the City Commissioners and Department of Public Works on paving streets, establishing grades, maintaining bridges, and building sewers, 1797-1938, including opening and closing of streets, 1797-1841; correspondence and reports of the City Register, 1797-1938; correspondence and reports of the Board of Health and Health Commissioner, 1797-1882; reports of commodity inspectors, 1797-1850; correspondence of the Mayor, 1800-1938; legal opinions of the City Solicitor, 1815-36; ships' passenger lists, 1833-66; appointments and bonds of officials, 1829-1904; proceedings of Commissioners for Opening Streets, 1852-1938; reports, contracts, and correspondence of the Water Board, 1854-1938; bounty applications and payments, enlistment certificates, muster rolls, and discharges, 1861-67; insurance policies, 1872-91; reports and corre-

30. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, pp. 167-68, 170-72.

spondence of the Board of Estimates, 1900-38. Listed chronologically, topically, and alphabetically in 11 vols., BCA and HR. Card index of names and subjects, BCA.

Correspondence of the Mayor, 1882-1971, 231 cu. ft., BCA. Other records in *City Papers*.

Minutes of the Board of Estimates, 1898-1950, 50 reels of microfilm, BCA. Minutes of meetings. Other records in *City Papers*. The Board of Estimates, established in 1898, formulates fiscal policy by drawing up the annual budget, awarding contracts, supervising purchases, and determining salaries.

Oath Book, Mayor, 1860-90, 14 vols., BCA. Oaths of appointees to city offices.

Opinions of the City Solicitor, 1903-68, 12 reels of microfilm, BCA. The City Solicitor, as head of the Department of Law, furnishes legal opinions at the request of other city offices. Earlier records in *City Papers*.

Proceedings of the Commissioners of Baltimore Town, 1729-96, 1 vol., BCA. Printed in Wilbur F. Coyle, ed., *First Records of Baltimore Town and Jones Town, 1729-1797* (Baltimore, 1905). Record of meetings to lay out the lots and streets of the town, regulate boundaries, appoint inspectors and clerks, and pave streets. Other records in *City Papers*.

Proceedings of the Commissioners of Jones Town, 1732-45, 1 vol., BCA. Printed in *First Records of Baltimore Town and Jones Town*. Record of meetings to lay out the lots and streets of Jones Town which was merged with Baltimore in 1745.

CITY LEGISLATIVE RECORDS

Local legislation is enacted by the City Council through ordinances and resolutions. Prior to home rule, approved by the electorate in 1918, many local laws were passed by the General Assembly, including a multitude of acts that provided for the opening of streets. The City Council was composed of two bodies called First Branch and Second Branch until 1923 when a charter amendment established a unicameral system.³¹

Journal of Proceedings, City Council, 1801-72, 59 vols., BCA; 1873-, c. 100 vols., City Department of Legislative Reference; 1801-59, 21 reels of microfilm, BCA. Minutes of meetings showing actions on proposed legislation and nominations for city offices, communications from the Mayor, committee reports, and reports from city agencies. Other records in *City Papers*.

Ordinances and Resolutions, City Council, 1797-, c. 200 vols., BCA and City Department of Legislative Reference; 1797-1863, 10 reels of microfilm, BCA. Original recordings and printed copies. Other records in *City Papers*.

CORPORATION RECORDS

After passage of several general incorporation acts in 1852, religious, social, and business organizations within Baltimore City were required to file their

31. Department of Legislative Reference, *Baltimore Municipal Handbook*, 1969, pp. 5-6.

charters and amendments with the clerk of the Superior Court.³² Previously the General Assembly had incorporated all institutions except churches whose charters were recorded in the county courts. No separate series of these early church incorporations is extant for Baltimore City.

Agency Record, Superior Court, 1922-, c. 2 vols., CH. Certificates of corporations operated by agents or under a trade name. Separate volume index of firms and agents.

Charter Record, Superior Court, 1852-, c. 410 vols., CH. Charters, amendments, dissolutions, and mergers. Indexed by organization. Separate volume indexes.

Charters, Superior Court, 1928-60, 148 cu. ft., HR; 1961-, CH. Original papers recorded in *Charter Record*. Earlier papers in *Court Records*.

Co-partnership and Dissolution, Superior Court, 1904-, c. 2 vols., CH. Agreements, amendments, and dissolutions. Indexed by partnership. Other records in *Court Records*.

COURT RECORDS—ADMINISTRATIVE

The court system for Baltimore City has undergone considerable expansion and reorganization as case loads increased. At first the Baltimore County Court conducted all types of cases. By 1789 criminal cases were being tried in the Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery which was replaced by the Baltimore City Court in 1817. The Constitution of 1851 established an independent judicial system for the city, which by 1888 was expanded to six courts. The Superior Court, Court of Common Pleas, both established in 1851, and City Court, created in 1867, have civil jurisdiction; the Criminal Court, created in 1851, criminal jurisdiction; and the Circuit Court and Circuit Court No. 2, organized in 1853 and 1888 respectively, equity jurisdiction. Besides hearing cases the judges of each court must attend to administrative duties such as establishing rules of practice and appointing and qualifying court officials. Since 1867 the Supreme Bench, composed of all city court judges, has performed these functions for the six courts.³³ The administrative records of the Court of Oyer and Terminer and Baltimore City Court are found in *Criminal Docket and Minutes*.

Bond Record, Superior Court, 1936-, c. 11 vols., CH. Bonds of elected and appointed officials. Indexed by name.

Commissions, Superior Court, 1878-93, 1 vol., HR.; 1894-, c. 9 vols., CH. Commissions issued by the governor. Indexed by name.

Constables Commissions, Superior Court, 1892-1907, 1 vol., HR. Commissions and bonds of constables. Indexed.

32. Joseph G. Blandi, *Maryland Business Corporations, 1783-1852* (Baltimore, 1934), pp. 10-13.

33. Morris L. Radoff, Gust Skordas, and Phebe R. Jacobsen, *The County Courthouses and Records of Maryland. Part Two: The Records* (Annapolis, 1963), pp. 2-3; G. Kenneth Reiblich, *A Study of Judicial Administration in the State of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1929), pp. 44-45; Chap. 193, Acts of 1816.

Court Records, Baltimore County Court, Superior Court, 1729-1892, 26 file drawers, BCA. Miscellaneous papers that have been grouped together as a series: civil and criminal proceedings, 1729-1851; bills of sale, 1785-1856; notices of stray horses, 1800-1846; commissions and bonds of justices of the peace, magistrates, constables, coroners, and other public officials, 1793-1884; tax lists, 1737, 1773; petitions for land commissions to survey boundaries, 1773-1805; fines for failure to attend military duty, 1780-85; manumissions, 1785-1856; declarations of slaves brought into Maryland, 1793-1850; certificates of freedom of free Negroes, 1821-31; permits for free Negroes to leave Maryland temporarily, 1832-45; deeds, mortgages, and releases, 1786-1861; naturalizations, 1820-51; admission of attorneys, 1826-47; charters, 1843-49; trust estates, 1846-74; partnerships, 1852-74. Listed chronologically, topically, and alphabetically in 3 vols., BCA and HR.

Dockets, Supreme Bench, 1867-, c. 13 vols., CH. Motions for new trials and entries of disbarment proceedings.

Magistrates Commissions, Superior Court, 1872-92, 2 vols., HR. Commissions of trial magistrates.

Minutes, Baltimore County Court, Superior Court, 1832-62, 5 vols., HR. Impaneling of juries, presentments and indictments, admissions of attorneys, qualifications of civil officers, grand jury reports, and declarations of intent to become citizens. Earlier records in *Judgments* and *Rough Minutes*.

Minutes, Supreme Bench, 1867-, c. 40 vols., CH. Motions for new trials, misconduct hearing against lawyers, and rules of practice.

Rough Minutes, Baltimore County Court, 1755-1851, 15 vols., HR. Used for later recording in *Minutes*.

Rule Book, Baltimore County Court, 1807-21, 1 vol., HR. Rules of procedure in civil and criminal cases.

Test Book, Baltimore County Court, Superior Court, 1788-1904, 10 vols., HR; 1905-, c. 7 vols., CH. Oaths of elected and appointed officials and of attorneys admitted to practice. Indexed by office and name.

Test Book, Baltimore City Court, Criminal Court, 1845-53, 1 vol., HR. Oaths of constables.

Test Book, Supreme Bench, 1909-, c. 1 vol., CH. Oaths of court appointed officials and of attorneys admitted to the bar. Indexed by name.

COURT RECORDS—CIVIL

Civil proceedings are based on statute and common law, an unwritten system derived from usage and custom, and deal with recovery of private rights or compensation for their infraction. The cases involve recovery of debts or damages, insolvencies, land titles, and executions on judgments. The earlier records usually contain full proceedings for all types of cases and often include

court minutes and criminal proceedings. After 1817 full recording was required only when the decree related to the title or sale of land or when requested by one of the litigants. The papers, however, were usually retained because of possible appeals. During the colonial period, civil jurisdiction was also vested in the Provincial Court, a centralized court for the entire province of Maryland. It was succeeded by the General Court, a state court which existed from 1776 to 1805.³⁴

Appeal Docket, City Court, 1867-, c. 45 vols., CH. Brief entries of appeals from lower courts, licensing and regulatory boards, and municipal agencies.

Cases Instituted, Baltimore County Court, Superior Court, 1817-1924, 140 vols., HR; 1925-, c. 115 vols., CH; Court of Common Pleas, 1852-, c. 185 vols., CH; City Court, 1867-, c. 150 vols., CH. Docket entries for all cases. Indexed by defendant. Separate volume indexes of defendants for Court of Common Pleas and City Court. Records prior to 1817 in *Court Docket*.

City Appeal Docket, Baltimore County Court, 1829-46, 4 vols., HR. Brief entries of appeals from justices of the peace in Baltimore City.

Court Docket, Baltimore County Court, 1757-1816, 47 vols., HR. Brief entries for all cases. Indexed by defendant. Later records in *Cases Instituted*.

Court Papers, Baltimore County Court, Superior Court, 1819-c. 1940, 930 cu. ft., HR; c. 1940-, c. 350 file drawers, CH. Original papers filed in all types of civil proceedings. Arranged by box or document file number prior to 1946, thereafter by case number. Other records in *Court Records*.

Court Papers, Baltimore County Court, Court of Common Pleas, 1831-, c. 1,200 cu. ft., CH. Includes insolvencies and receiverships. Arranged alphabetically by defendant, 1831-1911, and by case number thereafter.

Court Papers, City Court, 1867-, c. 3,500 cu. ft., CH. Arranged chronologically.

Dockets and Minutes, Provincial Court, General Court of the Western Shore, 1758-1805, 53 vols., HR. Brief entries for all cases. Contains court minutes.

Ejectment Record, City Court, 1870-, 12 vols., CH; Court of Common Pleas, 1872-, 1 vol., CH. Proceedings in ejectment for trespass, recorded only when requested by the plaintiff. Indexed by plaintiff and defendant.

Execution Docket, Court of Common Pleas, 1851-, 10 vols., CH; City Court, 1868-, 13 vols., CH. Brief entries of executions on judgments. Indexed by defendant.

Insolvency Papers, Baltimore County Court, 1841-50, 12 cu. ft., HR. Papers filed in insolvency proceedings.

Insolvent Docket, Baltimore County Court, Court of Common Pleas, 1843-98, 6 vols., CH. Brief entries for insolvent cases. Indexed by defendant.

34. Radoff, Skordas, and Jacobsen, *County Courthouses*, pp. 2, 10-11.

Insolvent Record, Court of Common Pleas, 1852-98, 11 vols., CH. Record of insolvency proceedings. Separate volume index of plaintiffs and defendants. Later cases handled by the Federal District Court in Baltimore.

Judgments, Baltimore County Court, 1682-1771, 40 vols., HR. Record of civil proceedings. Contains criminal cases and court minutes prior to 1757.

Judgments, General Court of the Western Shore, 1779-1805, 40 vols., HR. Record of proceedings. Indexed by plaintiff and defendant.

Judicial Docket, Superior Court, 1854-1936, 5 vols., HR; 1937-, c. 5 vols., CH. Brief entries on execution proceedings. Indexed by defendant.

Judicial Record, Baltimore County Court, Superior Court, 1783-1910, 29 vols., HR; 1911-, c. 35 vols., CH. Record of execution proceedings and ejectment cases. Indexed by defendant.

Magistrates Judgments, Baltimore County Court, Superior Court, 1839-1939, 166 vols., HR. Cases heard by justices of the peace and trial magistrates. Indexed by defendant.

Provincial Court Judgments, Provincial Court, 1679-1776, 70 vols., HR. Record of civil and criminal cases. Card index of all names, 1679-1713; separate volume indexes of plaintiffs. Earlier cases in Provincial Court *Deeds*.

COURT RECORDS—CRIMINAL

Criminal law relates to crime and the legal process of punishing the criminal. As with civil proceedings, the earlier records are more likely to contain complete details of the trials, including indictment, testimony, verdict, and fine or sentence. The Baltimore City Court, not to be confused with the later common law court of the same name, also heard appeals from judgments of the justices of the peace and trial magistrates and decisions of municipal agencies. Criminal cases, mostly those involving sentences of death or dismemberment, heard before the Provincial Court are recorded with the civil *Judgments*.

Criminal Docket and Minutes, Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery, Baltimore City Court, 1789-1849, 18 vols., HR. Brief entries of trials; contains court minutes. Indexed by defendant.

Criminal Proceedings, Baltimore County Court, 1757-59, 1 vol., HR. Record of trials; contains court minutes. Earlier records in *Judgments*.

Grand Jury Docket, Criminal Court, 1868-95, 57 vols., HR. Brief record of cases heard by grand juries.

Indictment Docket, Criminal Court, 1853-, c. 225 vols., CH. Brief entries of indictments giving verdict and sentence or fine. Indexed by defendant.

Indictments, Criminal Court, 1872-1955, 646 cu. ft., HR; 1956-, c. 230 file drawers, CH. Original trial papers. Arranged by case number.

Police Report, Criminal Court, 1899–1971, c. 65 vols., CH. Dockets of cases heard by Police Magistrates. Indexed by defendant.

Proceedings, Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery, 1807–1808, 1 vol., HR. Record of trials.

COURT RECORDS—EQUITY

Equity proceedings, instituted to obtain remedial justice, are based on legal doctrines and rules developed to supplement the somewhat more rigid civil common law system. The cases involve disputes over settlement of a decedent's estate, petitions to divide or sell real property, divorces, foreclosures of mortgages, trust estates, conflicts over ownership of personal and real property, and adoptions. The records and papers consist of bills of complaint, answers, petitions, exhibits, testimony, reports, and decrees. The Chancery Court, a provincial and then state court which ceased existence in 1853, conducted most equity proceedings prior to 1814 when county courts were given concurrent jurisdiction.³⁵ Although the Superior Court heard no new cases after 1867, it retained authority to complete those already docketed.

Chancery Docket, Chancery Court, 1784–1851, 37 vols., HR; Baltimore County Court, Superior Court, 1815–67 (1906), 13 vols., HR. Brief entries for all cases. Indexed by defendant. Separate volume indexes of defendants for County and Superior Courts.

Chancery Papers, Chancery Court, 1785–1853, c. 200 cu. ft., HR; Baltimore County Court, Superior Court, 1833–67 (1906), 144 cu. ft., HR. Original papers, some of which are unrecorded. For Chancery Court card index of plaintiffs, defendants, and tract names; papers of County and Superior Courts indexed in *Chancery Docket*.

Chancery Papers, Circuit Court, 1853–, c. 4,500 cu. ft., CH; Circuit Court No. 2, 1888–, c. 1,700 cu. ft., HR; c. 1946–, c. 500 cu. ft., CH. Papers filed in all types of cases. Arranged by case number.

Chancery Record, Chancery Court, 1668–1853, 180 vols., HR; Baltimore County Court, Superior Court, 1815–67 (1906), 85 vols., HR. Record of proceedings. Chancery Court records indexed by plaintiff; card index of plaintiffs, defendants, other involved persons, and tract names. Indexed by plaintiff and defendant for County and Superior Courts.

Chancery Record, Circuit Court, 1853–, c. 1,680 vols., CH; Circuit Court No. 2, 1888–, c. 1,235 vols., CH. Record of proceedings. Separate volume indexes of defendants.

Chancery Record, Divorces, Circuit Court, 1908–, c. 50 vols., CH; Circuit Court No. 2, 1908–, c. 50 vols., CH. Indexed by plaintiff and defendant. Earlier records in *Chancery Record*.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

Equity Docket, Divorces, Circuit Court, 1926-, c. 50 vols., CH; Circuit Court No. 2, 1894-, c. 95 vols., CH. Indexed by defendant. Earlier entries in *Equity Docket, Miscellaneous* and *Equity Docket, Foreclosures*.

Equity Docket, Foreclosures, Circuit Court, 1875-, c. 90 vols., CH; Circuit Court No. 2, 1926-, c. 35 vols., CH. Indexed by defendant. Circuit Court dockets contain Divorces, 1875-1925. Earlier foreclosure entries in *Equity Docket, Miscellaneous*.

Equity Docket, Miscellaneous, Circuit Court, 1853-, c. 110 vols., CH; Circuit Court No. 2, 1888-, c. 75 vols., CH Indexed by defendant. Circuit Court dockets contain Divorces, 1853-74, and Foreclosures, 1853-74. Circuit Court No. 2 dockets contain Divorces, 1888-93, and Foreclosures, 1888-1925.

Trust Accounts, Trust Department of the Circuit Courts, 1895-, c. 740 file drawers, CH. Reports of trustees of trust estates.

Trust Docket, Trust Department of the Circuit Courts, 1890-, c. 22 vols., CH. Brief entries of trust estates.

Trust Reports, Circuit Court, Circuit Court No. 2, Trust Department, 1853-, c. 490 file drawers, CH. Reports of trustees in equity cases.

ELECTIONS AND VOTERS

Registration of voters and supervision of elections has at various times been vested in the Baltimore County executive bodies, Levy Court and County Commissioners, Board of Police Commissioners for Baltimore City in 1860, and since 1876 a state Board of Supervisors of Elections.³⁶ Election returns show total votes received by candidates for each office on state constitutional amendments, city charter amendments, and referendum issues. The poll books report election returns by ward and list the persons who vote.

Election Returns, 1789-, c. 130 cu. ft., HR. For all state and local issues and officials, except municipal officers. Includes returns for city ordinances and charter amendments and for the following officials: state senators and representatives, judges and clerks of the courts, States Attorney and sheriff.

Election Returns, 1896-1974, 1 reel of microfilm, BCA. For city officials: Mayor, members of the City Council, and Comptroller.

Poll Books, 1800-1889, c. 1,000 vols., BCA. Registry of voters returned by judges of elections of each ward.

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

Lists of immigrants were usually not maintained until the nineteenth century, except for the period of 1634-81 when persons acquired rights to land for transporting themselves and others into the province of Maryland. Their records are found in *Patents*. Naturalization of non-English subjects during the colonial

36. Thaddeus P. Thomas, *The City Government of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1896), pp. 30-31; Chap. 97, Acts of 1805; Chap. 333, Acts of 1837.

period was accomplished through a grant of citizenship from Lord Baltimore or the governor, acts of the General Assembly, or through the Provincial Court. From 1779 to 1789, state law provided for naturalization through county courts or the General Court. Since then procedures have been governed by federal law, but administered through local courts until 1933 when transferred to the Federal District Court of Baltimore. For Baltimore City specifically this meant the Baltimore City Court and Baltimore County Court, 1789–1851, all civil and criminal courts, 1851–1906, and Court of Common Pleas, 1906–33.³⁷ Besides the records listed below, others prior to 1851 are contained in *Provincial Court Judgments, Judgments and Dockets and Minutes* of the General Court, *Minutes* of the Baltimore County Court, and *Criminal Docket and Minutes* of the Baltimore City Court; a card index of names is located at HR.

Application for Naturalization, Superior Court, Court of Common Pleas, City Court, 1896–1906, 9 vols., HR. Applications for naturalization. Card index.

Declaration of Intention, Superior Court, Court of Common Pleas, City Court, 1852–1933, 37 vols., HR. Declarations of intent to become citizens. Card index.

Military Naturalization, Court of Common Pleas, 1872–1900, 1 vol., HR. Certificates of naturalization of aliens serving in the U.S. military. Card index.

Military Petition for Naturalization, Court of Common Pleas, 1918–24, 10 vols., HR. Petitions and proceedings for citizenship of aliens serving in the U.S. military. Separate volume index.

Naturalization Docket, Baltimore County Court, 1796–1851, 1 vol., HR. Brief entries showing date and place of declaration. Card index.

Naturalization Record, Baltimore County Court, Baltimore City Court, Superior Court, Criminal Court, City Court, Court of Common Pleas, 1832–1906, 24 vols., HR. Certificates of naturalization. Card index. Other records in *Court Records*.

Naturalization Record and Petition, Court of Common Pleas, 1906–29, 42 vols., HR. Petitions and proceedings for citizenship. Card index.

Naturalization Record of Minors, Baltimore County Court, Baltimore City Court, Superior Court, Criminal Court, City Court, Court of Common Pleas, 1827–1906, 27 vols., HR. Certificates of naturalization of aliens who arrived as minors. Card index.

Petition for Naturalization, Superior Court, Court of Common Pleas, 1900–1933, 4 vols., HR. Applications for naturalization. Card index.

Ships Passenger Lists, U.S. Collector of Customs, Port of Baltimore, 1820–1909, National Archives. Other records in *City Papers*.

JAIL RECORDS

When the Baltimore City Jail was first built, it was under the jurisdiction of the Baltimore County sheriff and housed both county and city prisoners. In 1827

37. Radoff, Skordas, and Jacobsen, *County Courthouses*, pp. 12–13.

the sheriff's duties were placed in a Board of Visitors of the Jail, appointed by the governor, which in turn appointed a warden to supervise routine matters. The board was subsequently renamed the Jail Board and its members appointed by the mayor.³⁸ The records of the jail concern, of course, the prisoners themselves, giving their names, offenses, sentences, and dates of commitment, death or release. Because of the sensitive nature of these records, only those at the Hall of Records are cited; they can be used only with permission of the State Archivist.

Accommodation Docket, Board of Visitors, 1837-93, 2 vols., HR. Ship deserters, runaway slaves, and escaped prisoners.

Assault and Battery Docket, Board of Visitors, 1855-99, 12 vols., HR. Prisoners awaiting grand jury hearings. Separate volume indexes.

City Civil Docket, Board of Visitors, 1827-51, 5 vols., HR. Debtors committed after suit by creditors.

City Criminal Docket, Board of Visitors, 1827-99, 35 vols., HR. Prisoners convicted in Baltimore City Court and Criminal Court. Separate volume index.

County Docket, Board of Visitors, 1827-56, 2 vols., HR. Prisoners convicted in the Baltimore County Court.

Proceedings, Board of Visitors, 1827-1900, 8 vols., HR. Minutes of meetings, correspondence, reports of the warden, and financial records.

Runaway Docket, Board of Visitors, 1831-64, 3 vols., HR. Runaway slaves and indentured servants.

Sentence Book, Board of Visitors, 1878-99, 7 vols., HR. Summary information on convicted prisoners.

United States Docket, Board of Visitors, 1835-99, 3 vols., HR. Prisoners convicted in federal courts.

War Docket, Board of Visitors, 1862-65, 1 vol., HR. Prisoners of war, blockade runners, and military deserters.

NEGROES: RECORDS PERTAINING TO PRIOR TO 1865

Information about blacks, both free and slave, can be found throughout almost all the records included in other categories. Free blacks bought and sold property, made wills, became involved in court cases, paid taxes, and took out marriage licenses. Slaves, as personal property, were purchased and sold, mortgaged, taxed, and distributed in settlements of estates. Records pertaining only to Negroes resulted from legal requirements and restrictions such as a 1752 law providing for manumission of slaves and one of 1805 for certifications of freedom.³⁹ Other regulations required masters to declare the slaves they brought into Maryland from other states or countries and free blacks to obtain permits

38. "Proceedings of the Board of Visitors of the Baltimore City Jail, 1827-1830," pp. 1-6; *Baltimore Municipal Handbook*, pp. 94-96.

39. Radoff, Skordas, and Jacobsen, *County Courthouses*, p. 15.

before leaving the state temporarily. Records of these actions are listed with *Court Records*.

Certificates of Freedom, Baltimore County Court, 1829-61, 3 vols., BCA. Certificates issued for freed Negroes; shows former master and name, sex, and physical description of the Negro. Other records in *Court Records*.

Manumissions, Baltimore County Court, 1806-1864, 6 vols., BCA. Record of slaves set free by their owners. Earlier records in *Chattel Records* and *Land Records*; others in *Court Records*.

PERSONAL PROPERTY RECORDS

Records pertaining to personal property, mostly bills of sale, chattel mortgages, conditional contracts of sale, and liens, were filed with the clerk of the Baltimore County Court and since 1851 with the Superior Court. Since 1939 the Circuit Court has handled some liens. Most records of personal property are maintained for only a specified period of time and then destroyed. The only exceptions have been a few early records, several of the twentieth century which contain mortgages where real property was used as security for small loans, and liens.

Boat Lien Docket, Superior Court, 1910-39, 1 vol., HR. Claims due for labor and materials used in construction of boats. Indexed by lienee.

Chattel Record, Baltimore County Court, 1750-1814, 3 vols., HR; Superior Court, 1920-38, c. 600 vols., CH. Bills of sale and chattel mortgages. Earliest volumes also contain cattle marks, freight rates, bonds of officials, indentures, and manumissions. Other early records in *Court Records* and *Land Records*.

Mechanics Lien Docket, Superior Court, 1906-39, 3 vols., CH; Circuit Court, 1939-, c. 5 vols., CH. Claims due for labor and materials in construction of buildings. Indexed by lienee. Separate volume indexes of lienor.

PORT RECORDS

The Port of Baltimore comes under the jurisdiction of federal, state, and municipal agencies. Prior to 1780, when a separate district was created for Baltimore, ships bound for that port were entered and cleared in Annapolis. Until the United States Customs Service was created in 1789, the provincial and then state Naval Officer collected customs duties and registered ships. The municipal government's role in regard to the port has consisted of maintaining navigation of the basin, river, and harbor, controlling construction and repair of wharves, and supervising city-owned piers, wharves, and docks.⁴⁰ The annual reports of the Port Wardens, Harbor Board, and Harbor Master are listed with *City Papers*.

40. "Customs' First 175 years." *Baltimore*, (July 1964), Vertical File, Hall of Records; Hall of Records Commission, *Catalogue of Archival Material* (Annapolis, 1942), p. 56; Thomas, *City Government*, pp. 14, 42.

Bonds for Licenses of Enrolled Vessels, U.S. Collector of Customs, Port of Baltimore, 1870-96, 174 vols., HR. Bonds for ships involved in domestic commerce.

Bonds for Licenses of Yachts, U.S. Collector of Customs, Port of Baltimore, 1880-95, 3 vols., HR. Bonds for yachts.

Enrollment Bonds, U.S. Collector of Customs, Port of Baltimore, 1812-72, 32 vols., HR. Licenses and bonds for ships involved in domestic commerce.

Financial Records, Port Warden, 1828-76, 1 vol., BCA. Collection of tonnage and wharfage fees at city-owned facilities, 1840-64; ledger, 1828-67; journal, 1867-76; and cash book, 1868-76.

Harbor Survey, Port Warden, 1822, 1 vol., BCA. Louis Brantz's survey of the Baltimore harbor, including water level tables and temperature and wind statistics.

Port of Entry Records, Naval Officer, Annapolis District, 1748-59, 1 vol., HR; 1751-75, 1 vol. and loose papers, Maryland Historical Society, and 1 reel of microfilm, HR. Lists of ships entering and leaving the port; gives cargo and port of origin or destination.

Register Bonds, U.S. Collector of Customs, Port of Baltimore, 1815-78, 28 vols., HR. Bonds for ships involved in foreign commerce.

Register Bonds and Oaths, U.S. Collector of Customs, Port of Baltimore, 1875-96, 9 vols., HR. Bonds for ships involved in foreign trade and oaths of managing owners or masters.

Returns of Naval Officers, 1761-89, 1 box, HR. Summary accounts of duties collected at all Maryland ports.

Ship Manifests, Naval Officer, Baltimore District, 1780-86, 2 cu. ft., HR. Lists of cargo being exported and imported.

PROBATE RECORDS

Probate pertains to the process of settling a decedent's estate, including the guardianship of orphans. Usually the records include a will, unless the person dies intestate, bond of the administrator or executor, inventory of personal property and after 1848 real estate, account of expenditures in administering the estate, and distribution of the balance. Settlement of an estate may involve sale of personal property, sale of real property within prescribed limitations, and court hearings. Guardians appointed by the court must file a bond and annual accounts until the ward comes of age; until 1927 orphans could be bound as apprentices. During the colonial period the county court had jurisdiction over guardianship of minors, the records of which are contained in *Minutes* of the Baltimore County Court. Decedents' estates were processed by a central court called the Prerogative Court and by a Deputy Commissary for each county to

handle routine business. This centralized system, resulting in the creation of duplicate records, was abolished in 1776 and replaced in 1777 with an Orphans Court in each county. In 1851 a separate court was established for Baltimore City.⁴¹

Accounts of Sale, Baltimore County and City Orphans Courts, 1780-, c. 185 vols., CH; 1780-1970, 109 reels of microfilm, HR. Sales of personal property. Indexed by decedent. Separate volume indexes, 1780-1899, HR; 1900-, CH; 1780-1960, microfilm, HR.

Administration Accounts, Deputy Commissary, Baltimore County and City Orphans Courts, 1674-1852, 58 vols., HR; 1852-, c. 450 vols., CH; 1674-1971, 281 reels of microfilm, HR. Accounts of administrators and executors. Includes distributions. Indexed by decedent. Separate volume indexes, 1684-1848, HR; 1848-, CH; 1674-1968, microfilm, HR.

Administration Accounts, Original, Deputy Commissary, Baltimore County Orphans Court, 1674-1788, 25 boxes, HR. Card index of decedents.

Administration Bonds, Deputy Commissary, Baltimore County and City Orphans Courts, 1667-1852, 20 vols. and 9 reels of microfilm, HR; 1852-, c. 200 vols., CH. Bonds of administrators and executors. Indexed by decedent.

Administration Docket, Baltimore County and City Orphans Courts, 1777-, c. 85 vols., CH; 1777-1950, 32 reels of microfilm, HR. Brief record of papers filed for each estate. Indexed by decedent. Separate volume index, 1777-1851, HR.

Annual Valuations, Baltimore County and City Orphans Courts, 1825-1904, 1 vol., HR. Reports on the annual value of real estate belonging to minors. Indexed by decedent. Earlier records in *Orphans Court Proceedings*.

Appeals and Issues, Baltimore County and City Orphans Courts, 1825-84, 8 vols., HR. Appeals from decisions of the Orphans Court and issues sent to a court of law for trial. Earlier records in *Orphans Court Proceedings*.

Court Docket, Baltimore County and City Orphans Courts, 1804-51, 54 vols., HR; 1851-, c. 75 vols., CH. Brief entries of court hearings. Indexed by administrator or executor until 1876, thereafter by decedent. Separate volume indexes of decedents, 1908-.

Guardian Accounts, Baltimore County and City Orphans Courts, 1786-1851, 25 vols., HR; 1851-, c. 110 vols., CH; 1786-1850, 11 reels of microfilm, HR. Accounts of guardians. Indexed by ward. Separate volume indexes of wards, CH.

Guardian Bonds, Baltimore County and City Orphans Courts, 1777-1852, 11 vols., and 4 reels of microfilm, HR; 1852-, c. 35 vols., CH. Bonds of guardians. Indexed by ward.

41. Radoff, Skordas, and Jacobsen, *County Courthouses*, pp. 7, 17-19. The records of the Prerogative Court, excluded from this listing, are enumerated in Elisabeth Hartsook and Gust Skordas, *Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of Colonial Maryland* (Annapolis, 1946; reprinted, 1967).

Guardian Docket, Baltimore County and City Orphans Court, 1777-1950, 22 vols., CH. Brief entries of papers filed during the term of guardianship. Indexed by ward.

Indentures, Baltimore County and City Orphans Courts, 1794-1916, 26 vols., HR. Apprentices of orphans. Indexed by apprentice. Earlier records in *Minutes* of the Baltimore County Court and *Chattel Records*.

Inventories, Deputy Commissary, Baltimore County and City Orphans Courts, 1666-1852, 66 vols., HR; 1852-, c. 350 vols., CH; 1666-1970, 186 reels of microfilm, HR. Inventories of personal property including lots subject to ground rent; contains real property 1848-1932. Indexed by decedent. Separate volume indexes 1666-1894, HR; 1895-, CH; 1666-1863, 1895-1965, microfilm, HR.

Inventories, Original, Deputy Commissary, Baltimore County Orphans Court, 1676-1788, 34 boxes, HR. Card index of decedents.

Inventories of Real Estate, Baltimore City Orphans Court, 1932-, c. 40 vols., CH; 1932-70, 29 reels of microfilm, HR. Earlier records in *Inventories*.

Orphans Court Proceedings, Baltimore County and City Orphans Court, 1777-1851, HR; 1851-, c. 250 vols., CH. Record of business transacted by the court concerning estates, guardianships, and apprenticeships. Includes valuations and appeals and issues, 1777-1824. Separate volume indexes of names, CH; 1777-1967, microfilm, HR.

Real Estate Docket, Baltimore City Orphans Court, 1870-, 3 vols., CH. Brief entries on sales of real estate. Indexed by decedent.

Real Estate Sales, Baltimore City Orphans Court, 1870-, c. 8 vols., CH. Proceedings in the sale of land. Indexed by decedent.

Releases and Receipts, Baltimore County and City Orphans Courts, 1810-, c. 370 vols., CH. Receipts of heirs and wards for money and property received and releases of executors, administrators, and guardians from further responsibility. Indexed by decedent, 1810-1948. Separate volume indexes of decedents.

Small Estates, Baltimore City Orphans Court, 1945-, c. 15 vols., CH. Settlement of estates of intestates valued under \$500.

Wills, Deputy Commissary, Baltimore County and City Orphans Court, 1666-1852, 24 vols., HR; 1852-, c. 320 vols., CH; 1666-1970, 162 reels of microfilm, HR. Wills and codicils. Indexed by decedent. Separate volume indexes, 1666-1850, HR; 1851-, CH; 1666-1969, microfilm, HR.

Wills, Original, Deputy Commissary, Baltimore County Orphans Court, 1665-1788, 1832, 23 boxes, HR. Card index of decedents.

REAL PROPERTY RECORDS

Real property records concern land and improvements thereon and encompass deeds, mortgages, releases, leases, assignments, powers of attorney, agreements,

rights-of-way, commissions to reestablish boundaries, and plats. Many plats actually originated as part of another series of records, but became separated because of their size. Although normally recorded in the county court, land transactions could be filed with the Provincial Court until 1776, with the General Court from 1776 to 1805, and from 1805 to 1861 with the Court of Appeals. In 1851 the Superior Court assumed responsibility from the Baltimore County Court for recording land records in Baltimore City. Original surveys and grants of tracts on which Baltimore City was subsequently laid out are found in the records of the Land Office through which people acquired vacant land first from Lord Baltimore, and after the Revolution, from the state of Maryland.⁴²

Baltimore City Plats, 1788–1875, 251 flds., HR. Surveys of tracts and lots in civil and equity cases of the Baltimore County Court, 1802–51, and Superior Court, 1860–75. Surveys of roads and streets, 1788–1830.

Baltimore City Plats, Copies, 1729–1829, 40 flds., HR. Copies of surveys of tracts, lots, and streets, including the first survey of the city in 1729.

Baltimore County Certificates of Survey, Land Office, 1704–, 25 cu. ft., HR. Original returns of the surveyor, showing metes and bounds and including plats.

Block Books, Superior Court, 1851–, c. 1,500 vols., CH; 1851–1959, 278 reels of microfilm, HR. Summary of property transactions, arranged by block number and listed chronologically. Gives references to *Land Records*.

Bouldins Field Books, c. 1796–c. 1855, c. 20 vols., BCA. Survey and plats done by John and Alexander J. Bouldin for Baltimore County and City Courts.

City Hall Construction, 1868–75, 2 file drawers, BCA. Papers pertaining to the building of city hall.

Commission Docket, Baltimore County Court, Superior Court, 1821–1922, 1 vol., HR. Commissions to divide estates, condemn land, divide the city into wards, open roads, and perpetuate boundaries. Indexed by parties involved and commissioners. Other records in *Court Records*.

Deeds, Provincial Court, General Court of the Western Shore, Court of Appeals, 1658–1861, 34 vols., HR. Deeds, mortgages, releases, assignments, powers of attorney, and agreements; also civil and criminal proceedings, 1658–1679. Separate volume indexes of grantors, grantees, and tracts.

Land Records, Baltimore County Court, Superior Court, 1659–1800, 116 vols., HR; 1800–, c. 15,000 vols., CH; 1659–, c. 4,800 reels of microfilm, HR. Deeds, mortgages, releases, leases, assignments, powers of attorney, agreements, rights-of-way, and land commissions. Records of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries contain bills of sale, chattel mortgages, depositions, manumissions, notices of strays, and cattle marks. Separate indexes of grantors and grantees, 1659–1800, HR; 1800–, CH; 1659–1849, microfilm, HR.

42. *Catalogue of Archival Material*, pp. 44, 49; Reiblich, *Judicial Administration*, p. 46.

Patents, Land Office, 1634–, 187 vols., HR. Record of certificates of survey and grants of land; contains lists of people coming into Maryland, 1634–81. Card index of patentees and tracts; volume indexes of settlers.

Plans of City-owned Buildings, n.d., 6 reels of microfilm, BCA. Floor plans of buildings owned by Baltimore City.

Proceedings for Opening Streets, City Commissioners, Commissioners for Opening Streets, Department of Assessments, 1828–1974, 1,107 vols., BCA. Minutes of meetings on the opening and closing of streets; includes plats, assessment of benefits, and award of damages. Other records in *City Papers*.

Proceedings of the City Commissioners, 1797–1813, 3 vols., BCA. Printed in Wilbur F. Coyle, ed., *Records of the City of Baltimore (City Commissioners), 1797–1813* (Baltimore, 1906). Minutes of meetings to grade, level, and pave streets, repair bridges, and build and maintain sewers. Other records in *City Papers*.

Proceedings of Commissioners of the Eastern Precincts, 1812–17, 2 vols., BCA. Printed in Wilbur F. Coyle, ed., *Records of the City of Baltimore (Eastern and Western Precinct Commissioners), 1810–1817* (Baltimore, 1906). Minutes of meetings to grade, level, and pave streets east of Jones Falls prior to annexation.

Proceedings of the Special Commissioners, 1782–97, 1 vol., BCA. Printed in Wilbur F. Coyle, ed., *Records of the City of Baltimore (Special Commissioners), 1782–1797* (Baltimore, 1909). Minutes of meetings to grade, level, and pave streets and repair bridges. Other records in *City Papers*.

Proceedings of Commissioners of the Western Precincts, 1810–1817, 2 vols., BCA. Printed in *Records of the City of Baltimore (Eastern and Western Precinct Commissioners), 1810–1817*. Minutes of meetings to grade, level, and pave streets west of Jones Falls, prior to annexation.

Structural Drawings, Department of Public Works, Department of Housing and Community Development, 1940–, 313 reels of microfilm, BCA. Plans of buildings submitted for approval.

TAX RECORDS

The levying and collection of taxes generate records that show the value and type of real property, improvements thereon, and personal property such as slaves and stocks owned by individuals and companies. Although permitted to levy nuisance taxes, the Baltimore City government was not at first authorized to assess property. In 1785 Commissioners of the Tax for Baltimore City were appointed, but were responsible to the Baltimore County Court and successively the County Levy Court. In 1841 the assessment functions were transferred to a municipal agency called the Appeal Tax Court where they remained until the present Department of Assessments was created in 1934.⁴³ For the colonial period

43. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, pp. 167–68; Chap. 23, Acts of 1841; *Baltimore Municipal Handbook*, pp. 44, 108.

the only extant tax records for Baltimore, based on taxable persons in a household, are dated 1737 and 1773 and are to be found among *City Papers*.

Assessment of 1783, Baltimore County, 1783, Maryland Historical Society; photostats and 1 reel of microfilm, HR. Reproduced in *Maryland Tax List, 1783: Baltimore County* (Philadelphia: Rhistoric Publications, 1970). State assessment on real and personal property, as provided by Chapter 6, Acts of November 1782. Card index of names, tracts, and lots, HR.

Assessment Record, Commissioners of the Tax for Baltimore City, Appeal Tax Court, Department of Assessments, 1799–1936, c. 1,750 vols., BCA; 1799–1856, 1936–57, 38 reels of microfilm, BCA; 1813, 3 vols., HR. Assessment of personal and real property. Arranged by ward and precinct.

Federal Direct Tax of 1798, Baltimore City, 1798, 8 vols., Maryland Historical Society, 2 reels of microfilm, HR. Federal assessment on lands, buildings, wharves, and slaves.

Field Book, Appeal Tax Court, 1838–98, c. 490 vols., BCA. Evaluations made by tax assessors in the field.

Tax Sales, City Collector, 1842–1936, 21 vols., BCA. Record of property sold for nonpayment of taxes.

VITAL RECORDS

Vital records refer to births, marriages, and deaths. Marriage licenses, first required in 1777, were issued by the Baltimore County Court until 1851 when the Court of Common Pleas assumed the function. Until 1941 licenses were unnecessary if marriage banns were used. The registration of births and deaths in Baltimore City began in 1875 when the Bureau of Vital Statistics, later renamed the Office of Vital Records, was established under the city Board of Health. Since 1972 the Division of Vital Records of the State Department of Health and Mental Hygiene has recorded births and deaths for the city.⁴⁴

Birth Records, City Bureau of Vital Statistics, City Office of Vital Records, Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, Division of Vital Records, 1875–. Gives date and place of birth, name and sex of the child, and names of parents. Indexed by child.

Death Records, City Bureau of Vital Statistics, City Office of Vital Records, Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, Division of Vital Records, 1875–. Gives date, place and cause of death and name, sex, age, occupation, and residence of the deceased. Index by decedent.

Marriage Licenses, Baltimore County Court, 8 vols., HR; Court of Common Pleas, 1851–65, 1 vol., CH; 1851–65, 1 reel of microfilm, HR. Gives date issued,

44. *Ibid.*, p. 85; Radoff, Skordas, and Jacobsen, *County Courthouses*, pp. 3, 13–14. The address for obtaining birth and death records is Division of Vital Records, 201 West Preston Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201.

name of each party, and occasionally name of the minister. Card index of males and females, 1777-1851, HR; card and microfilm index of males, 1851-65, HR.

Marriage Records, Court of Common Pleas, 1865-, c. 120 vols., CH; 1865-1914, 35 reels of microfilm, HR. Gives dates of license and marriage and name, age, marital status, residence, and occupation of each party. Arranged alphabetically by male and indexed by female. Card and microfilm index of males, 1865-85, HR; card index of males, 1885-, CH.

Marriages by Banns, Court of Common Pleas, 1890-1941, 4 vols., CH; 2 reels of microfilm, HR. Gives names and residences of each party and date of marriage. Arranged alphabetically by male and indexed by female.

Genealogica Marylandia

REVEREND LEWIS RICHARDS' MARRIAGE RECORDS,
1784-1790

MARY K. MEYER

REVEREND LEWIS RICHARDS WAS ELECTED PASTOR OF THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH OF Baltimore in 1784 and remained in that capacity until his retirement in 1818. He recorded in a small brown ledger all the marriages at which he officiated during those years. The record book evidently remained in the possession of the church after his death, and in 1835 Reverend Stephen P. Hill, upon becoming pastor of the church, started to record the marriages which he performed in the same ledger. In 1850 Reverend Hill removed to Washington, D. C., taking the record book with him and continuing to enter records until 1869.

After a lapse of almost a century, Reverend Richards' marriage record book has been returned to Baltimore and now rests among the manuscript collections of the Maryland Historical Society (MS 690). The following marriages represent only a small portion of these records. It is hoped that some interested person will volunteer to transcribe the balance so that they may be more readily available to researchers.

LIST OF MARRIAGES SINCE I CAME TO LIVE IN BALTIMORE TOWN NOVEMBER 22ND 1784—STATE OF MARYLAND—L. RICHARDS

	1784		Nov. 29	Wm. James & Mary Gilhampton L
Dec. 2	Marcus McCausland & Polly Presstman L ¹		Dec. 25	Wm. Wooden & Margaret Milligan L
	1785			1786
Mar. 4	Daubney B. Patridge & Elizabeth Porter L		Feb. 23	Edward Dorsey & Susannah Lawrence L
Apr. 7	John Allen & Elizabeth Lee L		Mar. 14	Walter R. Dollas & Catherine Crook L
June 30	William West & Jemimah Cross		Mar. 19	Edward Owens & Hannah Jones L
Aug. 13	John Dear & Hannah Mann L		Mar. 25	John Bryson & Catherine Green L
Aug. 25	Thomas Lamdin & Sarah Orrick L		Apr. 13	David Stansbury & Henrietta Maria Fowler L
Aug. 25	Wm. McGlachan & Isobel Primrose L		Apr. 16	John Perry & Margaret Mannen P
Nov. 15	Jerimiah Biddeson & Elizabeth Bond L		May 2	William Hughes & Ann Cantwell L
Nov. 17	Joseph Mannen & Mary Gone P ²		Sept. 1	James Nicholson & Hannah Airis(?) L
Nov. 29	Thomas James & Catherine Gilhampton L			

1. License.

2. Proclamation.

- Sept. 7 John Armatage & Jane Wright P
 Oct. 24 James Starr & Ann Grovier P
 Dec. 4 James Hay & Jane Dillan L
 Dec. 4 John Barney (Burney?) & Mary Wallace L
 Dec. 7 Patrick Lynch & Elizabeth Howlett L
 Dec. 19 Benjamin Tevis & Halin Elder L
 Dec. 21 Francis Deaver & Betty Wilson P
 Dec. 24 James Leonard & Ann Harris P
 Dec. 26 James Scott & Elizabeth Thomson P
- 1787
- Jan. 11 William Johnson & Sarah Brock L
 Feb. 10 John McCandhy & Jane Ewen L
 Feb. 13 Richard Duffield & Mary Macat (?) L
 Feb. 15 Thomas Brock & Mary Perrigo L
 Feb. 20 Richard Stansbury & Elizabeth Garritson L
 Mar. 9 David Newjent & Mary Ann Dramon L
 Mar. 12 Joseph Lobe & Jemima Loveall P
 Mar. 17 Andrew McRoberts & Nancy Garret
 Apr. 5 Lewis Evans & Rachel Ellicott L
 Apr. 12 Wm. Ingle & Dorcus Hendrickson L
 Apr. 13 Jacob Gordy & Nancy Grace L
 Apr. 15 John Hatton & Rachel Hatton L
 Apr. 25 Joseph Cornelius & Jemima Mason P
 Apr. 29 Frederic Grapevine & Elizabeth Mathews P
 May 1 John Battie & Eleanor Stansbury L
 May 8 Nathaniel Kingston & Abigail McMakin L
 May 24 John Primrose & Mary White L
 May 31 Jno. Anthony Honore & Maria McMakin L
 June 9 William Chew & Rebecca Holton L
 June 17 William Hustleton & Lydia Griffith P
- June 18 Jas. Friend & Susannah Sparrow P
 July 1 Wm. Hunt & Elizabeth Wright L
 July 2 James Simmons & Margaret Griffith P
 July 5 Evan Parker & Barbara Iams L
 July 7 Richard Fillers & Elizabeth West P
 July 10 Jesse Walker & Mary Price L
 July 12 Daniel Corm & Elizabeth Pontany L
 July 28 Wm. Savery & Rosannah Robinson L
 July 29 Thomas Bodley & Mary Rutter L
 Aug. 14 George Cooper & Elizabeth Sweitner L
 Aug. 26 David Wilson & Hannah Wilson
 Sept. 30 Daniel Gill & Nelly McCutchins P
 Oct. 6 Elijah Norwood & Rachel Price L
 Oct. 7 David Banks & Katherine Grant P
 Oct. 10 Edward Mason & Mary Evans P
 Oct. 13 John Shepherd & Eleanor Melony P
 Oct. 21 Joseph Pew & Peggy King L
 Oct. 23 Nathaniel Tevis & Kesiah Simpson L
 Nov. 4 Joseph Granger & Barbara Weaver P
 Nov. 11 John Kendal & Mary Barnes P
 Nov. 18 James Mack & Margaret Hammond P
 Nov. 25 Samuel Davidson & Jane Dunbar L
 Nov. 26 Wm. Quinley & Mary Causey L
 Nov. 29 Nathan China & Sarah Mansfield L
 Dec. 6 Benjamin Tolbert & Hannah Combs P
 Dec. 8 William Scott & Sarah Merryman L
 Dec. 23 Thomas Wood & Margaret Crook L
 Dec. 29 James Mosier & Nancy Ridgely L

1788

- Jan. 10 Thomas Dye Cockey & Elizabeth Cockey L
- Jan. 13 Joseph Perrigoy & Susanna Green L
- Jan. 22 Joseph Israel & Hester Thompson L
- Mar. 11 Thomas Cockey & Ruth Brown L
- Apr. 7 John Hiud & Ann Shields P
- Apr. 8 William Penn and Mary Iiams L
- Apr. 24 Daniel Holland & Rachel Cotrill L
- May 1 Daniel Stansbury & Elizabeth Stansbury L
- May 2 Thos. McDermott & ETTY Bryan P
- May 8 Joseph Stansbury & Ruth Chineth L
- May 8 John Divers & Belinda Eagles-ton L
- May 12 George Hall & Elizabeth Robinson L
- May 22 John Renddy & Deborah Bowen L
- June 28 James Hambleton & Cassandra Bond L
- July 6 Griffith Evans & Sarah Hewit L
- July 21 William Dunkin & Mary Dukin L
- Aug. 10 Moses Kelly and Ruth Rolls P
- Aug. 11 Hugh Finlay & Sarah Hughes L
- Sept. 7 William Evans & Rebecca Fowler L
- Sept. 28 Ely Rowles & Sarah Cord L
- Oct. 26 Henry Dayhuff & Sarah Parkinson P
- Nov. 6 Nathan Munro & Catharine Welsh L
- Nov. 8 John Aylworth & Elizabeth Wilson L
- Nov. 10 Dennis Dorsey & Tarisha Elder L
- Nov. 13 Othea French & Eleanor Waters L
- Nov. 18 Gavin Wilson & Delilah Roberts P
- Nov. 18 John Ross & Hannah Smith L

- Nov. 19 William Allender & Ann Sollars L
- Nov. 20 Abraham. Geo. Hammond & Mary Garetson L
- Nov. 27 Robert Menas & Hannah Coe P
- Dec. 11 Benjamin Norris & Margaret Butler L
- Dec. 17 Edward Kirby & Judith Landrews

1789

- Jan. 8 Caleb Cockey & Sally Rutter L
- Jan. 12 William Dizney & Elizabeth Parks L
- Jan. 19 Richard Plowman & Ruth Kelly P
- Jan. 20 Edward Welsh & Prudence Walker L
- Feb. 7 James Stansbury & Jemima Gorsuch L
- Feb. 15 Jacob Rudicill & Catharine Moser, F. City.³ L
- Feb. 22 John Cranford & Priscilla Seurgunt L
- Feb. 22 Thomas Morrow & Catharine Micrordy (?) L
- Feb. 26 Benjamin Gilbert & Eleanor Hudson L
- Mar. 5 Robert Shipley & Providence Elder
- Mar. 12 Jesse Haser & Mary McCulles-tor L
- Mar. 22 David Tucker & Mary Ward P
- Mar. 22 Joshua Richards & Sarah Cow-ard P
- Mar. 26 Joseph Green & Catharine Stansbury L
- Apr. 14 Richard Johns & Mary Luce L
- Apr. 18 John Steel & Mary Hays L
- Apr. 23 Mordecai Mobley & Elizabeth Brown L
- Apr. 25 John Wilderman & Margaret Wallar L
- May 28 John Wilkerson & Elizabeth Murrey L
- June 7 Josias Watts & Mary Todd L

3. Frederick County.

- June 7 David Gregory & Elizabeth Williams L
- June 11 James Crow & Rachel Tevis L
- June 30 Charles Sater & Ruth Beasman L
- July 7 John Stillwell & Deborah Allender L
- July 19 Thomas Dobbins & Mary Wild L
- July 21 Dennis McColm & Ann Dunkin L
- Aug. 20 James Sinklair & Kezia McLain L
- Sept. 24 James Roach & Ruth Jordan P
- Oct. 15 John Roberts & Susannah Orrick L
- Oct. 18 Richard Stephenson & Usilira Wood F. Cty. L
- Oct. 26 John Evans & Mary Byass L
- Nov. 19 William Hughes & Elizabeth McKirdy L
- Nov. 26 Edmd. Howard Stockdale & Naomi Evans L
- Nov. 28 John Shanassy & Rebecca Yeiser P
- Dec. 10 Thomas Philips & Margaret Welsh L
- Dec. 12 Robert Wallace & Rebecca Justice L
- Dec. 19 Benjamin Ogg & Mary Hooker L
- Dec. 20 Charles Evans & Ann Lamb F. C.⁴ L
- Dec. 20 William Cornell & Hannah Griffith F. C. P
- Dec. 24 Nathaniel Watts & Rebecca Stansbury L
- Dec. 31 Parker Philips & Anna Jacobs L
-
4. Frederick County.

Reviews of Recent Books

Maryland: A History, 1632-1974. Edited by Richard Walsh and Richard Lloyd Fox. (Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society, 1974. Pp. xvi, 935. \$12.50.)

What is now known as "the Free State of Maryland" had its origin in the dream of a great English nobleman who wanted to establish a feudal domain for his family and a refuge for people of his faith. In 1632 Charles I promised the first Lord Baltimore a proprietary colony in the new world, but before the charter was completed, the latter died and his son, Cecilius Calvert, succeeded to both the title and the dream. The colonists he dispatched to the new province sailed in the *Ark* and the *Dove* and disembarked on what is now St. Clement's Island on the Feast of the Annunciation 1634. They immediately erected a cross and heard a mass said in Latin by their priest, Father Andrew White. On October 10, 1973, Spiro T. Agnew, a former Governor of Maryland and Vice-President of the United States, entered a plea of *nolo contendere* to a charge of income tax evasion before a Federal District Court in Baltimore. The two events, separated as they are by three and a half centuries of social and scientific change, are held together by a bond much less tenuous than liturgical and legal Latin; they are connected by history. The eight contributors to *Maryland: A History, 1632-1974* have attempted to write that history. It is the purpose of this essay to give a critical account of their work.

Aubrey C. Land leads off with a chapter devoted appropriately to colonial Maryland. It is inappropriately brief. In what purports to be a general history half as many pages are allotted to a century and a half of colonial history as are devoted to the industrialization of the state from 1860 to 1914. A sense of disproportionate emphasis is not the only consequence; one leaves this chapter with an impression of having read a sketchy and conceptually disparate collection of facts and with a longing for authentic descriptions.

Obviously the authors of this volume intended that it should be history à la mode; the prevailing fashion would have been better served had Professor Land exploited the complex colonial social order that was made up of Lords of Manors, sot-weed factors, pirates, indentured servants, slaves, John Coode, Puritans, Quakers, and those who drank the Pretender's health and huzzaed the Tartan Plaid. Both social mobility, and the lack of it, could have been documented by records of individuals. For example, Richard Cloud, a laborer, raised his social status by marrying Judith Goldsmith, the widow of John, who in turn had risen from the rank of one of Thomas Gerard's indentured servants in 1650 to that of an owner of three estates in 1683. Moreover, one of Cloud's daughters married a grandson of Thomas Gerard. That humane, and even solicitous, provisions for the manumission of slaves were made is attested by the remarkable will of Michael Curtis, written in 1716, and there is abundant evidence of the inhumanity of the "peculiar institution" of slavery.

The social life of the colony as it is presented here lacks texture. That this is due to the general purpose of the book, rather than to the limitations of the author, is suggested by his brief but interesting description of social life and horse racing in Annapolis. Even so the cursoriness of the account is tantalizing and one wonders why no mention is made of the houses, now recognized as the finest examples of domestic Georgian in America.

After a second, even more prosaic, chapter entitled "The Era of the Revolution" and written by Richard Walsh, in which one encounters a reference to quarrels that kept "the fires of resistance stirring," one is afforded some relief. In "Economic Development, Social

and Cultural Changes: 1800–1850,” James Van Ness not only presents a well-organized social, political, cultural, and economic history of the state during this period, but he is also bold enough to introduce an occasional intellectual problem; for example, should Maryland be considered part of the South? He does well by Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman; he neglects neither the forgotten Chesapeake and Ohio Canal nor the unforgettable Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; and he deals fairly with the Methodists, Catholics, Lutherans, and Quakers. However, his complete neglect of the Episcopalians and the continuing influence of Anglicanism in Maryland is strange. It cannot be due to the fact that he erroneously identified Anglicans as Tories for in that event he surely would have ignored the Methodists. Perhaps it is another example of Puritan prejudice which, since so many leading American historians were educated at Harvard, has been partly to blame for the neglect of the continuing Anglican influence in our national government. More probable, as well as more charitable, is the assumption that the omission is simply an oversight.

“The Era of the Civil War” by Richard R. Duncan comes next. The author immediately informs his readers that “the period between 1854 and 1868 was a tumultuous one in the history of Maryland and the nation.” But despite this glimpse into the obvious, a reference to “past history,” and what may well be a serious understatement of Maryland’s strategic position in the Civil War, this chapter is informative on political events, and especially so on the activities of the “Know-Nothing Party,” during this dull and tragic era.

The chronology of events is slowed by the introduction of Eleanor Bruchey’s chapter on the industrialization of Maryland. It is factual—we learn, for example, that in 1883 the value of the straw hats manufactured in Baltimore was eight hundred and fifty-two thousand dollars—and is followed by an appendix of tables which, for all their accuracy and importance, are appropriately placed in an appendix. The narrative order is resumed by William Lloyd Fox with a long chapter, “Social [What happened to Socio-] Cultural Developments From the Civil War to 1920.” This enormous miscellany of facts includes some depressing information about the state’s lagging educational system and an account of one of the most significant events in educational history—the founding of The Johns Hopkins University. Included, also, are H. L. Mencken, the Orioles, the Elkridge Club, the Preakness, the ethnics of Baltimore, and the crab-cake cuisine.

A second slowing of the chronology occurs when the reader reaches James R. Crooks’s “Maryland Progressivism.” This overlay, in contrast to the one on industrialization, is the liveliest piece in the book. Particularly interesting is the story of urban reform. However, it closes with the current cliché about the Progressive Era—viz: “in Maryland, as across the nation, progressivism meant conservative reform”; and it is marred by a literary gaffe (the likes of which appears all too frequently in this book): the spoils system is referred to as “immorally wrong.”

“Maryland between the Wars” by Dorothy M. Brown provides grounds for optimism about Maryland, if not about this work. Albert Ritchie’s fourteen years as governor constitute a period of gubernatorial statesmanship, and the educational reforms that were instituted early in this period were not only promising but effective. Since clichés are frequently an expression of truth—that is why they become clichés—the statement that history repeats itself is hopeful.

Franklin L. Burdette brings the long and complicated story of Maryland to an end with a discussion of modern Maryland politics and social change. It is to the author’s credit that he gave Theodore McKeldin appropriate recognition. Responsibility for the fact that the name of Spiro T. Agnew is also recorded and is likely to be remembered longer than that of McKeldin must be attributed to Agnew himself. The chapter closes with a tribute

to Governor Marvin Mandell, a catalogue of challenges, and the "in" concept of "accountability."

Maryland: A History, 1632-1974 leaves us where we began; that is, hanging on the fragile historical continuity of technical Latin that runs from the *Introitus* of Father Andrew White to the *nolo contendere* of Spiro T. Agnew. We are compelled to say that the results of the ambitious effort to write a comprehensive history of Maryland are disappointing. Having made this statement we are obligated to explain why we think that this judgment is correct.

First, the book lacks literary quality; it is poorly written. History is not just a collection of facts. It is, in addition, an ordering of facts and an interpretation. It requires imagination, and the expression of an authentic, imaginative interpretation of complex human activity requires great literary ability.

Secondly, a state history is particularly difficult to write. In some respects it is not unlike a biography, and doing a biography of a complicated state like Maryland—a state that extends from the Eastern Shore to the western watershed of the Appalachians, that has been so ambivalent about whether it is North or South, that in the mid-seventeenth century combined Roman Catholicism with precocious religious toleration, and that is urban, sea-faring, and quintessentially rural—presents problems similar to those of writing a combined biography of Tallulah Bankhead and Bess Truman. There are subtleties in both combinations.

Thirdly, the monographic structure of this book is inappropriate for general history. Although the story is told with clear continuity, and there is a remarkable uniformity of style, one gets a strong impression that these qualities are achieved through the mediocrity of prose and the inclusion of several harmonized anthologies of snippets.

The above reason is closely related to the fourth, which is that the authors obviously tried to include too much, and this can be attributed in part at least to a desire to be involved in the "new history." The writing of current social history tends toward explaining all human activity as sociological phenomena. One interprets voting behavior, educational excellence, art in all its forms, crime and punishment, religion, technology, and recreation in socio-economic terms. Now there are obvious fallacies involved in all this; for example, a thorough understanding of a history of painting requires some expertness in aesthetics. But there is a practice, at once more subtle and more simple, apparently often unwittingly adopted; it is the assembling in rather naive fashion, and without a conceptual framework, of evidence of a broad array of human events, customs, and accomplishments, and then calling this assemblage social history. The prototype of this method is the sociological status study which is invaluable in portraying the way things are or were, but it does not explain how and why they got that way, how they can be changed, or the range of relationships among them. The results of sociological surveys, even though done of the past, do not constitute history, not even social history. *Maryland: A History, 1632-1974* is an example of this practice.

Finally, the authors have failed to write good history because, consciously or unconsciously, they have tried to get right with Descartes. In his *Discourse on Method*, Descartes said that histories

...omit circumstances of a meaner and less dignified kind in order to become more worthy of a readers attention; hence the things which they describe never happened exactly as they describe them, and men who try to model their own acts upon them are prone to the madness of romantic paladins and meditate hyperbolical deeds.

By their undue emphasis on the prosaic aspects of historical reality these eight historians have at least reduced the probability of palatine madness and futile mediation on hyperbolic deeds among their readers.

The Johns Hopkins University

JOHN WALTON

William Penn. By Harry Emmerson Wildes (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc., 1974. Pp. ix. 469. \$14.95.)

This volume is the most recent biography of William Penn, well-known Quaker leader, writer, and founder of Pennsylvania. The author's style, which is to be commended, makes the work a very readable one. Wildes has also used "the largest and most trustworthy collection of original Penn material in existence," a collection which until now has been "closed to the public."

Seven years of research and writing went into this book which really succeeds in making Penn come alive—both the public and the private Penn. Fifty short chapters, covering 385 pages of text, show his childhood, education, two marriages, and family life, as well as his work as a Quaker pamphleteer, lobbyist, and speaker. Penn's position as a proprietor and colonizer—with all the challenges, problems, and unhappiness—is presented in a balanced way. Of interest also are his efforts towards a "United Europe." In addition to thirty-seven pages of notes, there are nine short appendices dealing with such important questions as portraits of William Penn, the Penn ancestry, the Penn family, Pennsylvania publicity, the famous "Mather Hoax," the grave of William Penn, and Penn biographies.

American readers will be grateful that this comprehensive biography of Penn has been produced. They will find especially interesting the treatments of Penn's early association with East and West Jersey. Penn's attitudes towards Indians and blacks, his setting up of Pennsylvania, and his ongoing relationship with his last colony (including his two visits to America in 1682–1684 and 1699–1701). Readers of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* will be interested in the accounts of the boundary disputes between Penn and Lord Baltimore, the meetings between these two figures, and the mentions of the rather colorful George Talbot.

Although my overall reaction to this book is favorable, I do have criticisms. The most serious of these stems from Wildes's lack of understanding of the life and makeup of seventeenth century British Quakerism: he mistakenly makes Penn the "acting director of Friends' activities" in the absence of Fox (p. 72) and gives him "supervision over established meetings" (p. 78). Also Wildes seems to be unaware of Maryland Quaker History when he speaks of Penn in Maryland in 1682 visiting the "Quaker meetings which George Fox had founded twenty years before" (p. 185). Fox was in Maryland in 1672–1673, only ten years before, but he did not establish any of these meetings which Penn visited. They were already in existence before Fox's arrival, with some of them having originated in the 1650s. Fox's work in Maryland was to *organize* Maryland Quakerism, already well established, into a system of monthly and quarterly meetings and a single yearly meeting. A number of other errors mar the book, such as viewing Maryland as belonging to Lord Baltimore in 1696 (p. 281), rather than seeing it as a Royal Colony at that time.

Two other aspects of the author's work detracted a bit from the value of the book. One is his all-too-frequent interpretation (unsupported) of what others must have been thinking or doing at a given point—in one place even judging that Penn's horse must have been quite tired (p. 59). This same tendency is seen in his frequent "Penn *probably* did" this or that (as on p. 213). The second distraction is the author's constant tendency to throw in all

the little tidbits he picked up along the way, whether it was the location of Croydon and Gatwick airports (p. 108) or the "circle boundries" of some Tennessee counties (p. 161).
Southern Methodist University KENNETH L. CARROLL

This Sheba, Self: The Conceptualization of Economic Life in America. By J. E. Crowley.
The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Series xcii
 No. 2. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1974. Pp. xiv, 161. \$8.50.)

This Sheba, Self is an historical essay, not a monograph. It is also an important study that opens up a field of inquiry that historians have largely overlooked. But above all it is a difficult book to read and to understand, and it is flawed in a number of ways.

To begin with, *This Sheba, Self* is not, as the sub-title suggests, about *The Conceptualization of Economic Life in Eighteenth-Century America*. That would indeed be a fascinating subject, but Professor Crowley's interest lies elsewhere. His concern is with "good, honest work," and with its opposite, sloth, self-indulgence, idleness, and luxury. More specifically, Crowley is concerned about the way the colonists felt and what they said about their work in an increasingly commerical society and the bearing these attitudes had on the conceptualization of economic life. In the author's words, "This book is a study of the terms Americans used to express themselves publicly about work; it defines the limits within which economic action could be given meaning" (p. 2).

What precisely is meant by such explanations is not always clear or easy to comprehend, and in fact Crowley tries with only limited success, I believe, "to sum up" his thesis several different times at the beginning of his study. He is not altogether successful in part because his way of writing is to forego at all times the use of the simple declarative sentence and simple language in favor of a dense, tangled, and allusive prose style, and in part because his subject is complicated.

In any event, in my reading of what Professor Crowley is trying to do, I find three related considerations. First there is the assertion that in eighteenth-century America there existed "an inherent conflict" between two views of work. The one dealt with work as a social and moral problem that derived from "classical notions of justice and from Christian ethics"; the other treated work as a psychological and sociological subject to be analyzed in economic terms common to English mercantilist writings (p. 2). Crowley traces briefly the evolution of these two attitudes and finds a lessening of the religious importance of work and a growing secularization of the work ethic shortly after the first quarter of the eighteenth century when, as he puts it, "industry and frugality became matters more of virtue than of holy behavior" (p. 76).

Second, Crowley considers the impact of the two conflicting attitudes toward work, and especially the secular attitude, on the relations between self and society. The problem here is one of "Gesellschaft" and "Gemeinschaft." Unlike Professor Lemon who in his study of the historical geography of Southeastern Pennsylvania discerned patterns of "Liberalism" among colonists more concerned with individual freedom and material gain than with the public interest, Crowley discovers "a moral disposition toward social harmony which was reinforced by the prevailing paradigm of economic change (both individual and society wide)" (p. 4). In short, the relationship between the individual and the community were central to all considerations of work and turned up in virtually every economic discussion, "whether about paper money, imbalance of trade, commercial depression, the lack of manufactures, or the myriad of other problems associated with the colonial American economy" (p. 5).

Finally, *This Sheba, Self* touches on the relevance of these values to the American Revolution in general, and to the non-importation movement associated with the Townshend Acts, in particular. Here Crowley argues that "public opinion initially displayed an intensification of demands for reform of economic behavior and the subordination of individual interests to public ones, and then after the Revolution resignedly gave greater acceptance to actions justified on grounds of economic necessity alone" (p. 7).

It is to Crowley's credit that any reader of his book cannot help but come away with the feeling that the colonists' changing attitudes toward work is an important chapter in the continuing study of the social and intellectual life of early America. If the colonists' perception of the ideal relationship of self to the good society contrasted poorly with the actual place of work in an increasingly commercialized society and created tensions which were never altogether resolved, we now have some understanding of why that was so and what the problem was all about in the first place. But as Crowley himself points out, his work is not a basic study. It is an essay, and it presents certain difficulties, especially in the area of the sociology of knowledge.

For someone who desires, in his own words, to discover "the way in which men at a particular time and place communicated" about a subject of public discourse, Crowley takes enormous liberties with the word "particular" (pp. 7-8). References show no respect for time or place, and the disarmingly candid admission that "in explanations of the common wisdom on a topic, reference is simply made, with appropriate vagueness, to 'men,' 'people,' 'spokesmen,' 'colonists,' or 'Americans,'" (p. 8) does not inspire confidence in the author's ability to make distinctions and to understand change—spatial or temporal. Likewise Crowley argues that one spokesman is probably as good as another. If for instance he has neglected unprinted sources such as private correspondence and business letters in favor of printed sermons and newspapers, he comments that these expressions would doubtless present only "innumerable variations" on the theme.

It might be objected, of course, that this criticism is beside the point. Crowley is interested in examining attitudes, not interests. His analysis takes place on the level of "world view," or "Weltanschauung," a view that cuts across or subsumes classes, regions, and cultures. On this level, changes in values occur at a snail's pace, and one can legitimately sample literature over a long period of time, fifty or a hundred years. Perhaps so. Which is probably why the concluding section of the book on "The Non-importation Movement and American Self-Awareness" is the least satisfactory of all.

York University

JOSEPH A. ERNST

The Sovereign States, 1775-1783. By Jackson Turner Main. (New York: New Viewpoints, 1973. Pp. viii, 504. \$10.00.)

Jackson Turner Main is one of the very few American historians who can point to a substantial corpus of published works based upon his original research. His recent book on the states during the Revolution, though a worthy addition to the Main canon, represents a departure from his previous monographic studies. He decided that the time had come for him to try his hand at synthesis and to write for a more general reader. His purpose, as he says, is to provide "a brief, readable summary of existing knowledge about the American people and their state governments during the Revolutionary years."

Mr. Main presents in his first three chapters a clear and cogent discussion of how people lived and made livings in town and country from region to region and section to section in the America of 1776. This is vintage Main and is drawn largely from his own earlier works. It is in the context of this perceived social structure that Mr. Main wishes to delineate the

political response within each state to independence and war. The variations in the social situation of the individual states are seen to make both more comprehensible and more interesting the differences in political organization and public policy of the thirteen new republics. The introductory portion of the volume ends with a chapter called "The Political Background." In it, Mr. Main gives, among other things, his notion of the clash of ideologies in the Revolutionary era.

Beginning to rely a bit more on the work of others, albeit gingerly one senses, Mr. Main relates how each colony traveled its road to Revolution in 1775-76 and how each state devised a new and unique constitution. He goes on to consider in general the functioning of these state governments during the war years, in which he finds rather more consensus than conflict, more change than continuity, and to tell the story of politics state by state. There is also an over-long chapter on Loyalism, an important one on economic changes in the Revolution, and a conclusion called "Retrospect and Prospect." The notes on sources for each chapter at the end of the book are worth taking a look at.

The break with Britain and preparation for war initially stimulated both production and trade in America. Most colonists profited from this, and there was general prosperity. In the winter of 1776-77 "a period of steady inflation and diminishing profits" began. It lasted until the total collapse of the continental currency in 1780-81. Deflation and postwar depression were still to come. Mr. Main sees in the effects of inflation and in the prolonged struggle by Congress and the state legislatures to cope with it the key to economic change and the fulcrum of wartime politics. The cost to Americans of winning their independence he finds was great. All but a few were financially worse off at the end of the war than they had been at the start. Yet, the exigencies of war had forced America to take the first steps toward a national economy; vastly augmented national wealth with prosperity for the many was just around the corner.

No one knows more about America's society in the age of its revolution than Professor Main. For years there have been those who have urged him to explore the wider implications of his own rich findings and to give the fruits of his own reflections on the work of others in a "big book" on the Revolution. The present volume does not answer that purpose. It is not "big" enough, in its conception or its execution. Taking it on its own terms, one wonders, too, whether in his argument about the persistence of executive authority in the colonies to 1776 he entirely avoids the trap the British fell into when they took the royal governors' nominal powers to be descriptive of the effective power each had at his disposal; whether he makes a proper distinction for the reader between a society in which the rich are getting richer at the expense of the poor and a society in which increasing wealth is making the rich richer and more numerous without making the poor poorer; whether his Tory-Whig-Democratic categorization of ideologies is not too neat and does not exaggerate the importance of Tory thought in perceiving it as "a major political force" in eighteenth-century America; and, finally and more generally, whether his preoccupation with the ins and outs of public finance does not at times handicap him in his attempt to do full justice to the story of "the American people and their state governments during the Revolutionary years."

University of Virginia

W. W. ABBOT

Independence on Trial: Foreign Affairs and the Making of the Constitution. By Frederick W. Marks. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973. Pp. 256. \$10.00.)

A number of good things can be said of Frederick W. Marks's *Independence on Trial*. The book is soundly researched, smoothly written, and coherently argued. More to the point, his thesis is reasonable: that the international situation prevailing during the Con-

federation Era created a "consensus" conviction among the political elite that a stronger central government had to be established.

Still this hardly means, as Marks observes, that a "consensus" existed as to what the scope and character of that authority should be. Serious differences remained between the advocates and opponents of the Constitution, divisions which in the late 1780s sundered the nation's political community. Much of Marks's argument as to the critical role of foreign affairs, while not new, is persuasively stated. But he falls somewhat short in precisely evaluating the exact significance of those matters within the total context of the movement for a national government. Was the international situation of pivotal or secondary importance? Was the "consensus" formulated because of it, deep or shallow? This is all the more problematical since most Anti-Federalists acknowledged the essential correctness of the international arguments developed in support of the Constitution and yet maintained their opposition stance. Admittedly, the weighing of the international dimension is a very tough problem and a definitive answer is not possible. In this regard some will find Marks's position judicious while others will be disappointed in his taking the equivocating route of eclectic explanation: "Together with other forces it [the issue of national insecurity] not only gave rise to the convention but also determined the kind of document which emerged and ensured its ultimate acceptance."

Marks states his purpose to be the offering of a complementary perspective to the making of the Constitution and urges that his study be viewed "in conjunction with the socio-economic interpretation rather than as a substitute for it." Generally he organizes his data around the themes of national security and commercial distress. He depicts a frail Congress and feeble army, both paralyzed by fiscal limitations, facing three serious and potentially lethal foes in the West—the British, French, and Indian nations. Internally the problems were equally serious. British agents and numerous unrepentant Loyalists were thought to be responsible for much of the country's social unrest whose most vivid expressions were Shay's Rebellion and the rumored secessionist movements. Commercial conditions, argues Marks, paralleled and exacerbated these conditions. In the Mediterranean swaggering Barbary pirates cut off the southeastern European trade while the British closed their West Indian ports and the Spanish, the Mississippi River. And, in all of these areas, Congress, confined by the Articles of Confederation, could not act. Recognizing its limited capacity many of its members never bothered to attend. Congress, concludes the author, reflected a national mood of "apathy and depressed national morale," which curiously coexisted with a counter climate of intense patriotism.

Marks's case is, in essence, a brief for the Federalists whom he seems to admire. He shows how they employed their internationally "winning issues" at Philadelphia and in the ratification campaigns, though the political maneuvering behind the Constitution's ultimate adoption has yet to be conclusively explained. But more important, no matter how compelling the Federalists' case, the Constitution's opponents remained unconvinced. Most Anti-Federalists, Marks observes, "rarely discussed foreign affairs." True—but why? Certainly Samuel Adams, Elbridge Gerry, George Clinton, Samuel Chase, George Mason, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and James Monroe were not ignorant of these decisive matters. No, there is plenty of evidence, much of it well marshalled by the author, to suggest that they would have agreed with everything the Federalists had to say. Yet because these men both feared and hated the advocates of the Constitution, Washington remaining a basic exception, they vigorously contested the nationalists' policies of centralization. In other words, they were horrified by the Constitution's domestic implications, though their patriotic commitment made the consequences of violent opposition—disunion—equally horrible to contemplate. A letter written by Samuel Adams to Richard Henry Lee about the proposed government reflected

both the trenchant antagonism and the sadness of the popular leaders of 1776: "I confess, as I enter the building I meet with a National Government instead of a Federal union of Sovereign States. . . The few haughty families think *they* must govern. The body of the people tamely consent and submit to be their slaves."

Marks's study is thus provocative and he is to be congratulated for developing an interesting and subtle thesis. But, ironically, his volume also underlines the wisdom of those historians who, since Beard, have focused on the Confederation Era's domestic struggles in seeking to explain the Constitution.

University of Maryland

RONALD HOFFMAN

Free Negroes in the District of Columbia, 1790-1846. By Letitia Woods Brown. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972. Pp. v, 226, \$7.95.)

Although this short work presents itself as an urban history, it is closer to a legal analysis. First, there is an examination in depth of the origin of those laws from Maryland and Virginia which served as the foundation for the legal code in the territory that eventually became known as the District of Columbia; this study was necessary for an understanding of who, by definition, was or was not a slave in the new federal enclave. Secondly, Professor Brown gives considerable attention to two customary legal practices which enabled slaves to acquire their freedom: manumission by will and manumission by deed. Both methods made for innumerable legal entanglements and forever kept contests in the courts with challenges by heirs, by creditors seeking relief and wishing that slaves be assessed with the estate as property for purposes of possible confiscation, and by the slaves themselves who wished to purchase their own freedom. Self purchases, the author shows, created problems from the beginning for the local courts, since slaves could assume the character of legal persons only in suits for freedom. And these were based on allegations that the petitioners had been illegally detained as slaves. Lastly, the author cites a number of freedom suits tried in the circuit courts of the District of Columbia; some of the cases found their way to the Supreme Court. Grounds for these suits were based on legal loopholes found in the older Maryland and Virginia statutes that granted the slave his freedom if he were illegally sold or imported into these colonies. By this method a modest number of slaves, the author found, were successful in winning their freedom.

Professor Brown has thoughtfully included three excellent appendices covering the names of specific free Negro and mulatto families, the advertised occupations of Negroes, and their taxed assessable property. The bibliography and successive chapter footnotes appearing at the end show the depth of the author's research. One interesting point that Professor Brown's study raises is the extent to which slaves gained their freedom by descent from free mothers (black and white) as opposed to the generally held belief that manumission was chiefly responsible for the growth of the free Negro population. The author correctly suggests that the topic deserves further investigation.

Dr. Brown's book has been published in the Urban Life in America Series under the general editorship of Richard C. Wade, who rekindled interest in black urban biographies with his *Slavery in the Cities*. Like Wade, Professor Brown sees the incompatibility of slavery with urban phenomena: the very nature of the city in a curious way gave rise to various methods whereby both freedom and semi-free status could be achieved—a situation which did not develop under plantation slavery and would have been unacceptable to plantation owners. In reference to the slave's status in Washington, the author remarks: "Law, custom and tradition remained biased in favor of freedom" (p. 142). Urbanization, moreover, spelled a peculiar sense of humanitarianism for slavery,

despite the cruelties inherent in the system. It might prove profitable for some scholar in the future to explore the ramifications of this phenomenon to see if any correlation exists between it and the eventual migration that blacks would make to the cities.

Bowie State College

M. SAMMY MILLER

To Conquer a Peace: The War Between the United States and Mexico. By John Edward Weems. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1974. Pp. xxv, 500. \$12.50.)

Despite the controversy surrounding the causes and justice of the Mexican War, no war waged by the United States has witnessed a more striking series of military triumphs. Between 1846 and 1848, American forces, which were usually outnumbered, won an unbroken string of military victories in an area which stretched over hundreds of miles of territory in an irregular pattern from northern California to Mexico City. As a result, the Polk Administration was able to fulfill its territorial objectives by obtaining the sprawling areas of upper California and New Mexico. Among the historians in recent decades who have written about the military and diplomatic aspects of this dramatic and sweeping conflict are Alfred Bill, Seymour Connor and Odie Faulk, Bernard DeVoto, Norman Graebner, Robert Henry, Frederick Merk, David Pletcher, and Otis Singletary. But in spite of the contributions of these historians and the excellent diplomatic history of American expansion in the 1840s by David Pletcher, the definitive history of the Mexican War itself remains to be written.

In this book, John Edward Weems has written a narrative description of the military aspects and campaigns of the war. As a popularizing historian, Weems has not attempted to be definitive. His account describes the war primarily from the viewpoint of "ten principal characters who participated in the war and left behind written accounts" (p. xi). This emphasis on a limited number of individuals allows Weems to capture the drama and immediacy of the conflict as he moves from battle to battle. His account of the various aspects of the military effort is strengthened by his choice of participants. He selected relatively minor figures in the war such as Joseph Warren Revere, Sam French, Robert E. Lee, and Sam (U.S.) Grant as well as such dominating figures as Santa Anna, John C. Fremont, and James K. Polk. What emerges is a vivid account of the personal thoughts and small difficulties of junior officers and enlisted men as well as the major political and strategic problems of generals and presidents.

To Conquer a Peace includes material on the background and causes of the war as well as on political and diplomatic developments during the conflict. But the focus and strength of the book is its vivid military narrative. The reader is presented with detailed and dramatic descriptions of such battles as Monterrey, Buena Vista, Cerro Gordo, and the Chihuahua campaign. In addition, Weems is adept at capturing the vast sweep of the war as it developed in northern California, New Mexico, the provinces of northern Mexico, and the area around Mexico City.

Although general readers should find this descriptive account interesting, the value of the book is severely limited. The study is based only on printed sources and the majority of these are various secondary accounts and biographies. Apparently Weems did not use the extensive unpublished manuscript material available on the Mexican conflict. As a result, *To Conquer a Peace* adds nothing new to our understanding of the war. In addition, those who are interested in the diplomatic and political aspects of the conflicts will be disappointed. Weems's brief description of the Mexican and American national characters in the 1840s is superficial, ethnocentric, and misleading. Although he describes the war as "a needless but inevitable" conflict, his account of the coming of war lacks meaningful

historical analysis. And his treatment of political and diplomatic developments during the war is both superficial and inadequate. For example, he offers no satisfactory recounting of the intense American opposition to the war or of Polk's developing diplomacy during the conflict.

To Conquer a Peace, then, is a well written, popular narrative of the Mexican War based primarily on secondary sources. As such it should be of interest to general readers and military history buffs, but it will be of little use to historians of the period.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

JOHN H. SCHROEDER

Four Generations of Commissions: The Peale Collection of the Maryland Historical Society. By Eugenia Calvert Holland, Romaine Stec Somerville, Stiles Tuttle Colwill, and K. Beverley Whiting Young. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1975. Pp. 187. \$7.00.)

The talents of many experts in the fields of American art history, Maryland history, and the conservation of paintings have been pooled to create this book which is also the catalogue of an exhibition shown at the Maryland Historical Society March 3 through June 29, 1975. Biographies of the eleven members of the Peale family whose works are represented in the collection have been contributed by Edgar P. Richardson, Charles C. Sellers, Edward H. Dwight, and Wilbur H. Hunter. Miss Eugenia Calvert Holland has written a concise history of the Society's collection beginning in 1845. She and the Society's staff, utilizing the important but heretofore unpublished manuscript by J. Hall Pleasants, "Studies in Maryland Portrait Collections," have provided excellent technical information on the portraits, their provenance, and biographies of the subjects. Mrs. Romaine Somerville, who coordinated both the exhibition and the publication, is to be complimented. Each entry on a portrait contains not only the information on size, medium, date, and provenance but also the sources for this information as well as a discussion of the reasoning for changing an attribution, quoting experts. It is only regrettable that the biographies of the subjects were not included together with this data, thereby simplifying the use of the book for future scholars.

Portraits of each Peale artist are illustrated at the beginning of each artist's biography, but either because they were lent to the exhibition and not in the Society's collection, or through oversight, they are not listed in the subject index.

While I cannot agree with the attribution of two paintings, No. 10, *The Johnson Brothers* to Charles Willson Peale, and No. 85, *The Children of Commodore John Daniel Danels* to Sarah Peale, I cannot provide an alternate artist and commend the compilers for making the information readily available for future scholars to judge.

The book is certainly at once a standard reference for American art history and Maryland history. It gives Maryland full credit not only as the birthplace of Charles Willson Peale, the founder of this remarkable family of artists, but also to the intelligence and sensitivity of the eleven patrons of Annapolis who by subscribing 74 guineas and 8 pounds in 1766 enabled him to gain training in London. That the portraits and biographies of these men were not published in a special section of the book is a loss, as they were truly the first major patrons of art in Maryland and launched the career of one of America's best-known and best-loved artists.

Charles Willson Peale was born near Chestertown, Maryland, in 1747. He was supporting himself as a saddlemaker in Annapolis in 1766 when his talents were recognized. After studying in London, he returned to Maryland in 1769 bringing his technical knowledge with him. Suffice it to say here that Charles believed that anyone could be taught to paint and proceeded to instruct the members of the family throughout

his long and productive lifetime. The results of his theory and teaching can be seen in the exhibition and are illustrated in the book. The portraits range from inspired brilliance through mere competence to bad painting. In any case, no matter what artistic judgment is made, all the portraits are important historical documents and deserve all the attention and study they have been given. His life and the lives of his brother, nieces and nephews, children and grandchildren are recounted, along with stories about their paintings in the Society's collection.

The number of portraits of Marylanders shows that the Peales continued to be supported by this state throughout their careers.

With such a scholarly publication Maryland can prove its part in the development of the arts in the emerging nation of the United States. Too few know of the wealth of material not only in the Society but in other Maryland institutions and private collections. *Four Generations of Commissions* should set a goal for similar publications until the Society's entire collection of paintings is thoroughly catalogued and published and should encourage other Maryland institutions to do the same with their permanent collections. Until this is done, Maryland's contributions to American art history are hidden under a bushel, and the full story of the arts in America cannot be written.

The preservation of the tangible visual records of history—paintings, architecture, furniture, utensils, and costume—is as important as written records, and the effective way this has been combined in this exhibition is a credit to the Society.

*National Portrait Gallery
Smithsonian Institution*

ROBERT G. STEWART

Notes and Queries

CONFERENCE ON BALTIMORE HISTORY

The first Conference on Baltimore History will be held at the Maryland Historical Society, November 21-22, 1975. The conference will feature scholarly papers on Baltimore history, and panels and workshops on such topics as historic preservation, oral history, ethnic history, and immigration history. The Planning Committee would appreciate hearing from people working on Baltimore topics or comparative or broad-scale studies which deal with Baltimore. For programs or information, write Michael S. Franch, Coordinator, Conference on Baltimore History, Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland, 21201.

REGIONAL ECONOMIC HISTORY CONFERENCE

A conference on "Trade Associations and Public Policy: The National Association of Manufacturers," featuring papers by William H. Becker of the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, and Robert Asher of the University of Connecticut, with Louis Galambos of the Johns Hopkins University serving as commentator, will be held on October 24, 1975, at the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library. For further information contact Dr. Richmond D. Williams, Director, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Wilmington, Delaware, 19807.

SIMKINS AWARD IN SOUTHERN HISTORY

The Southern Historical Association, in connection with the Longwood College (Virginia) History Department, is pleased to announce the establishment of the Francis Butler Simkins Award for a first book by an author or authors in the field of southern history published during the biennial period designated. The award is a certificate and \$200. The first prize will be awarded in 1977 and will be chosen from books published in 1975 and 1976. The chairman of the first prize committee is Marvin W. Schlegel, who may be reached at: 476 Linkhorn Drive, Virginia Beach, Virginia 23451.

You are invited to write him and submit entries for this prize.

Further information may be obtained from: The Southern Historical Association, Bennett H. Wall, Secretary-Treasurer, History Department, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana 70118.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GENEALOGY

Mr. P. William Filby, Director of the Maryland Historical Society, compiled a work in 1970 entitled *American & British Genealogy & Heraldry*. It contained 1,825 titles and sold several thousand copies. In response to demands from genealogists and genealogical and historical societies, Mr. Filby has revised his book with a cut off date of December 1974 (as against December 1968). The book now contains over 5,200 titles, and it includes Latin America and definitive articles from journals. The index has over 10,000 entries, and the

book lists over 100 Maryland titles. As before the American Library Association is editing and publishing the work, with a publication date of Fall 1975.

INFORMATION WANTED

Anyone having items or information relative to the "Dandy Fifth" Regiment should contact Mr. Frederick Gaede, curator of their mementoes at the Armory, by calling 301-435-3822.

Ph.D. candidate doing research for dissertation would like to exchange information on Herman Husband (1724-1795), who lived in Cecil and Baltimore counties from 1724 to 1761. I would also appreciate further information on the two branches of the Husband family: Herman Kinkey, who settled in Newcastle County, Pennsylvania in 1684, resettled on Augustine Herrman's Bohemia Manor in Cecil County, and was Herman's maternal grandfather; William Husband, who came to Maryland (St. Mary's County?) in 1670 as an indentured servant, served three and one half years, and acquired property in Baltimore County, which Herman inherited.

Write to: Mark H. Jones, 835 Crane Drive, Apt. 604, DeKalb, Illinois, 60115, or to History Department, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Illinois, 60115.

BICENTENNIAL PROGRAM

To commemorate the bicentennial, the College of Notre Dame of Maryland is sponsoring a major intellectual celebration of the nation's founding. The series of lectures is made possible by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Maryland Committee for the Humanities and Public Policy, and a number of civic minded corporations and individuals. Entitled *Conversations with Humanists: Philosophical Views of the Declaration of Independence*, each program will feature an eminent Visiting Scholar. Following his presentation, four Host Scholars from the Baltimore-Washington area will exchange views. Each lecture begins at 8:00 P.M., and is free. Tickets may be obtained at no cost from Reservation Chairman, Sister Ruth Miriam, College of Notre Dame, Baltimore, Md. 21210. Please enclose a self-addressed, stamped return envelope. To make inquiries, phone (301)435-0100. The schedule through 1975 is as follows:

Sept. 28: Morton White, "The Philosophical Foundations of the Declaration of Independence."

Oct. 21: Lyman Butterfield, "John Adams, the Independent Philosopher and Statesman of '76."

Nov. 10: J. G. A. Pocock, "Philosophers, Philosophies, and the Founding Fathers."

Dec. 10: Merrill D. Peterson, "The Mind of Thomas Jefferson."

To be held in LeClerc Hall, College of Notre Dame, Charles St. and Homeland Ave., Baltimore.

TRADITIONAL FURNITURE

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

Complete interior planning
and advisory service in the
Williamsburg tradition

FALLON & HELLEN

11 and 13 W. Mulberry St.
Baltimore, Md. 21201
LExington 9-3345

TONGUE, BROOKS & COMPANY

I N S U R A N C E

Since 1898

213 ST. PAUL PLACE
BALTIMORE

Chimney Corner Antique Shop



FINE COLLECTION OF ANTIQUE FURNITURE
ANTIQUES RESTORED, REFINISHED, AND REPRODUCED
532 St. Paul Street Baltimore, Md. 21202
Phone: 837-6919

Enrico Liberti, Prop.

**ANTIQUES
&
FURNITURE
RESTORATION**
since 1899

J. W. BERRY & SON
222 West Read Street
Baltimore
Saratoga 7-4687

Consultants
by Appointment to
The Society

*Oil Paintings
Water Colors
Signed Graphics
Porcelains
Lalique Crystal
Expert Conservation
Correct Training*

**THE
PURNELL
GALLERIES**

407 North Charles Street

**COLLECTORS' AUCTIONS
CATALOG SALES**

of fine books, antiques, art works, letters & documents, antique weapons. Receive fair prices through competitive bidding. Appraisals, judicial sales, estate sales conducted for individuals, executors and attorneys.

Write for information concerning our catalog subscriptions, or phone (301) 728-7040

HARRIS AUCTION GALLERIES

873-875 N. HOWARD STREET, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21201

MEMBER: APPRAISERS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
AUCTIONEERS ASSOCIATION OF MARYLAND

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING

PHOTOGRAPHY

Since 1878

HUGHES CO.

Copy and Restoration Work a Specialty.

C. GAITHER SCOTT

Black and White or color.

115 E. 25th Street

Phone: 889-5540

Baltimore, Md. 21218

FAMILY COAT OF ARMS

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

Handpainted In Oils In Full Heraldic Colors—Size 11½ × 14½—\$18.00

Research When Necessary

ANNA DORSEY LINDER

PINES OF HOCKLEY

166 Detense Highway

Annapolis, Maryland 21401

Phone: 263-3384

PLUMBING—HEATING—AIR CONDITIONING

M. NELSON BARNES & SONS, INC.

Established 1909 Phone: 666-9330 117 Church Lane, Cockeysville 21030

IF your children do not want the family heirlooms, please let us help you. We have been finding good homes for handsome antiques since 1899, and we still do.

J. W. Berry & Son—Baltimore—Saratoga 7-4687

COATS OF ARMS

Engraved on Silver

Reproduced in Oil on Parchment

Silver Repairing

A. CLARK REID, JR.

139 C. Versailles Circle

Baltimore, Md. 21204

Phone: 828-8824



GARAMOND/PRIDEMARK PRESS, INC.

714 E. PRATT ST. ✦ BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21202 ✦ TEL: AREA CODE 301 727-7070 ✦ WASHINGTON TEL: 621-1177

**NOW AVAILABLE
GENEALOGICAL
RESEARCH IN
MARYLAND:
A GUIDE**

By Mary Keysor Meyer
Assistant Librarian and
Genealogist

83 pp.
8 1/2 x 11 Spiral Bound
\$4.50*

*Maryland resident please
add 4% sales tax.

**THE MARYLAND
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY**

201 West Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

*For nearly 20 years the
GENEALOGICAL
PUBLISHING CO.*

*has been actively reprinting
out-of-print books on*

**GENEALOGY
LOCAL HISTORY
HERALDRY**

Write for free catalogues.

*We also have a large stock
of books on*

BRITISH GENEALOGY

**GENEALOGICAL
PUBLISHING CO., INC.**
*Regional Publishing Company,
Affiliate*

521-523 ST. PAUL PLACE
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21202

RARE AMERICANA

Paintings
Prints
Furniture
Books
Stamps

Pewter
China
Bottles
Documents
Coins

BOUGHT — SOLD — APPRAISED

JAMES B. McCLOSKEY

Member American Society of Appraisers

6127 N. Charles Street
Baltimore

Phone: 821-5959
821-5966

By Appointment Only

What do you know about . . .

The Carrolls of Carrollton

A Signer of the Declaration of Independence and leader in many fields

The Dorseys of Hockley-in-the-Hole

The Howard County ancestors of President Abraham Lincoln

The Ellicotts, founders of Ellicott City

Builders, manufacturers, planters, teachers, surveyor of Washington

The Clarks of Clarksville

Planters, importers, soldiers, administrators

The Greenberrys of Whitehall

Leader in civil and military affairs, Governor of Maryland 1692

The Griffiths of ancient lineage

Descendants of Welsh kings and vigorous leaders in the colony since 1675

The Howards of noble ancestry

The county bears the name of this distinguished, aristocratic family

The Igleharts, distinguished in law and medicine

trace their Saxon lineage back to the Second Crusade

The Ridgelys of great distinction

One of the most aristocratic and active families in the colony

The Worthingtons of Worthington Valley

In the colony since 1664, this family was active and prominent in all its affairs

—and several score other Maryland families who distinguished themselves in Howard County history

Origin and History of Howard County

383 pages, richly illustrated; 29 coats-of-arms of distinguished families in full color; 54 reviews of prominent families and 32 photographs of their residences plus an ample bibliography and an extensive index.

On sale direct from the author, Mr. Charles Francis Stein, 17 Midvale Road, Baltimore, Maryland 21210 @ \$19.50 per copy, shipped postpaid. Where applicable 4% sales tax should be added.

THE HISTORY OF SHARPSBURG, MARYLAND

By LEE D. BARRON

The history covers early Western Maryland, 1730-1770; Joseph Chapline; Forts Cumberland and Frederick; French and Indian War; Antietam Iron Furnace; Churches; Swearingen Ferry; C. & O. Canal; Battle of Antietam; and many other topics of interest. 89 pages. \$2.60, tax included.

Also available 55 page book of *References & Sources of Facts* for all data presented in *The History of Sharpsburg, Maryland*. \$1.80, tax included.

Order from

BARRON'S - P. O. Box 356, Sharpsburg, Maryland. 21782

GIVE A CHRISTMAS GIFT

*that brings pleasure and
enrichment throughout the year*



Maryland Historical Society Membership

Memberships include subscription to the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, published quarterly, and all members receive *News and Notes of the Maryland Historical Society*, published six times annually. Members have free access to the Society's distinguished library of over 65,000 books and almost 2,000,000 manuscripts relating to Maryland and early America; the Society's extensive collections of art, furniture, glass, silver; period rooms; the Darnall Young People's Museum; and the George L. Radcliffe Maritime Museum. In addition members have the right to attend the monthly and special meetings, which include lectures and demonstrations on a wide variety of topics. But perhaps even more important, all members have the satisfaction of knowing they are supporting one of Baltimore's preeminent cultural institutions. What better way to celebrate the nation's bicentennial?



ANNUAL DUES

Individual \$12.00
 Husband and Wife 18.00
 Student 5.00

Dues and contributions are tax deductible. Make checks payable to the Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, Md. 21201. If paid by check, no receipt unless requested.

 Please enter M.H.S. gift memberships, in my name, _____, for the following:

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____
 Category: individual , joint , student

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____
 Category: individual , joint , student

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____
 Category: individual , joint , student

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____
 Category: individual , joint , student