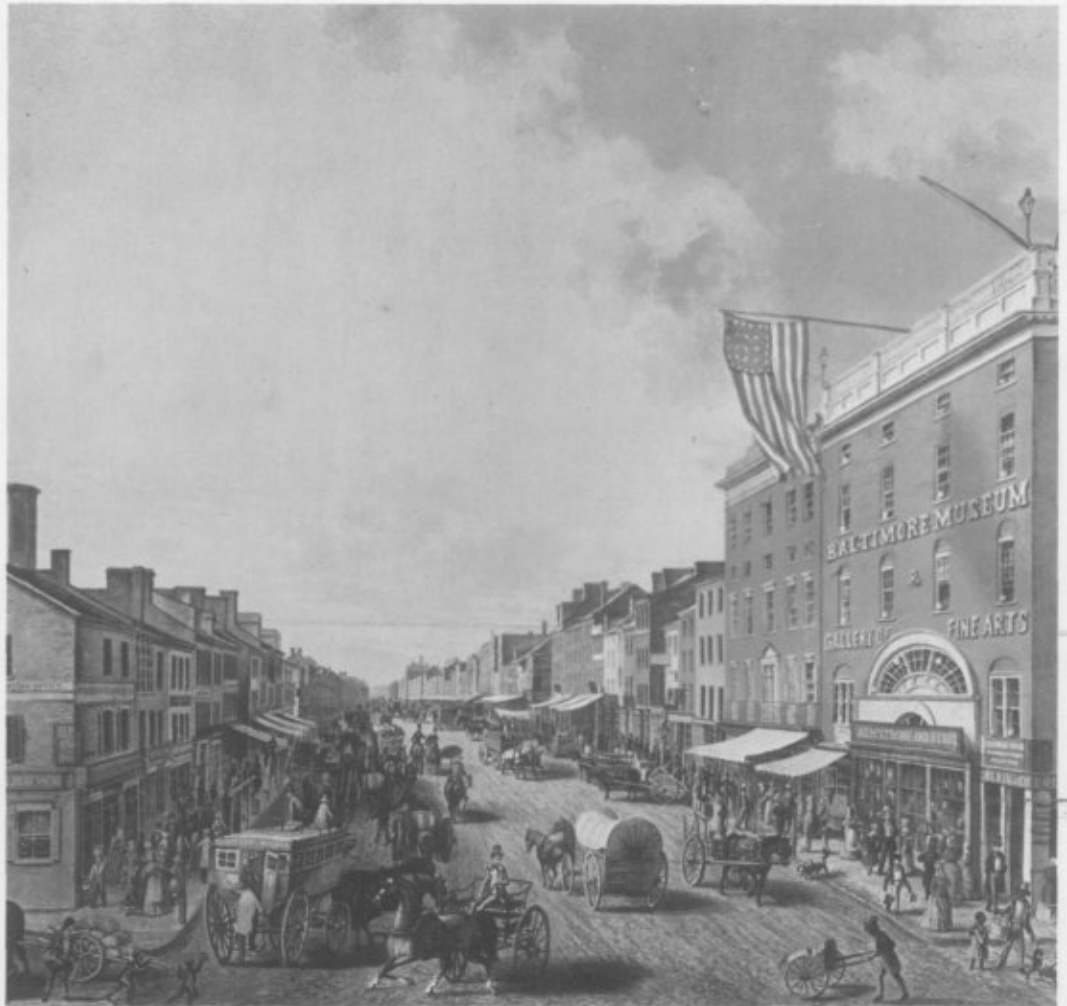


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Maryland Historical Magazine



Annual Report 1978-1979
Volume 74 Index

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Winter 1979

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[BALTIMORE STREET LOOKING WEST FROM CALVERT STREET] Trimmed impression laid down on grey mount and surrounded by two black borderlines with words LITHOGRAPHED AND IN COLOURS PRINTED BY E. SACHSE & COMP. 3 N. LIBERTY STR. BALTIMORE printed below. Stokes and Haskell mention a later state with words PRINTED IN COLOURS being the only change. ** Lithograph, printed in colors. 34.5 × 48.9 cm. MdBE, MdBPM (unmounted, lithographer's proof printed in black with hand coloring), MdHi, VBHo (framed, no letters visible), Washington County Museum (framed, no letters visible).

Baltimore Street (sometimes called Market) was the city's principal thoroughfare which, a visitor said, "forms a great promenade in fine weather, and contains many handsome shops." This enormously popular view, lithographed and printed in brilliant colors, shows the street in the early fifties. The tall building at the left is Carroll Hall, where Abraham Phillips, tailor and clothier, occupied the ground floor. On the opposite corner is the building shared by Robert Brown, Sr., jeweler and watchmaker and William Woody & Son, printers. The building at right, used principally at the time of this print as a theater, takes its name from Rembrandt Peale's Museum which originally occupied the top floors. Colvin & Company's lottery office is shown on the ground floor next to Armstrong & Berry's bookstore. Several nearby buildings are occupied by Alex. Brown & Sons, bankers; Fielding Lucas, Jr., book publisher; and Samuel Kirk & Son, silversmiths. One visitor, having the typical sidewalk awnings in mind, wrote that Baltimore is "principally distinguished from an English town by the tall, green posts, planted in the earth at the edge of the pavement, in front of the shops, to hand awnings upon."

[Lewis], *Across the Atlantic*, p. 153; Pairpoint, *Uncle Sam*, p. 222; Stokes and Haskell, *Historical Prints*, p. 115.

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1978-1979**

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Through the competent leadership of J. Fife Symington, Jr., Chairman, members of the Board of Trustees now represent all twenty-three Maryland Counties and Baltimore City. This board, which is the legal entity of your Society, has initiated, approved or recommended to standing committees many important policy matters pertinent to the day to day operations of the Museum and Library.

There are now fifteen standing committees. This number includes two new committees: namely, the Committee for Speakers chaired by Arthur L. Flinner and the Committee for Annual Giving with the President serving as Chairman. The Council, composed of officers and standing committee chairmen, all volunteers, have met quarterly to exchange ideas, report on the activities of their respective committees, and make recommendations to the Board of Trustees.

The total number of volunteers and volunteer hours have increased more in the 1978-79 fiscal year than in any previous year. The Society could not possibly operate without the expertise of all of these splendid volunteers advising and working with our capable staff.

The unique capabilities of the Society have been recognized by Governor and Mrs. Harry Hughes, who have turned to the Maryland Historical Society to assist and advise in the reinstallation of all public rooms in the Government House. Financing for this project will come from the private sector through the "Friends of Government House," a recently formed tax free corporation.

Capital expenditures for the 1978-79 fiscal year were limited to \$12,639.

Our accounting department made a major contribution to improve the operation of the Society by computerizing our membership list with addresses, categories and areas. This program is now a most successful reality and is helpful in our efforts to promote joint memberships with counties and to bring member dues up to date.

"Gifts-in-Kind" applies to almost any conceivable object or service donated to the Society. Those which are classed as "unrestricted" may be sold at any of our in-house auctions or through well-known public auction houses. This source of income has been increasing as a percentage of General Funds receipts.

Due to the receipts of an unrestricted legacy and property, income exceeded expenditures for the past three year period by \$80,000. However, in the 1978-79 fiscal year, the expenditures exceeded income by \$57,000. New monies must be found to counter the ever increasing wages and salaries, energy costs, supplies, etc. To help ourselves out of this predicament, increased membership dues have been approved to begin January 1980. A nominal admission charge to non-member visitors has been approved by the Membership Committee, the Council and the Board of Trustees. Extra effort is also being exerted to increase annual giving by individuals, businesses, industry and State, County and City grants. An ambitious program to increase our \$2.66 million dollar Endowment Fund by 100% should receive careful consideration.

Leonard C. Crewe, Jr.

DIRECTOR'S REPORT

A diversity of programs in the past year focused attention on the Museum and Library of Maryland History and drew an enthusiastic state-wide response. The First Annual Maryland Antiques Show and Sale, held in the ballroom of the newly restored Belvedere and chaired by Mrs. Mac K. Griswold, reflected the current direction in special events. Other 1978-79 programs contributed to the growing reputation of the Society as a place where solid scholarship and fun are combined. At a two-day seminar on the leisure arts and activities of the past, visiting experts lectured under titles such as "The Domestic Arts of Dicing, Drinking, Dancing and Dining." The Special Projects Committee, James W. Constable, Chairman, took the membership to Fort McHenry for a twilight picnic and an impressive evening of musical Americana, researched and sung by Bill Schustik. A major exhibit on the history of costume in Maryland opened with a well-attended gala reception featuring live fashion models in contemporary costumes and dancing in the Rare Book Room. A spring exhibit of paintings by Alfred and Trafford Klots marked the first major display of 20th-century art to be mounted at the Society and inspired a Society-sponsored trip to France where participants visited the Klots studio and chateau in Brittany. Material from the Radcliffe Maritime Museum collection, Helen Delich Bentley, Committee Chairman, was exhibited in the public galleries at City Hall in an interpretive presentation on transportation in Maryland. Maritime material was also featured in an exhibit on China Trade at the New World Trade Center. Endowed in memory of Morris Shapiro, a lecture on American decorative arts was added to the annual series arranged by the Addresses Committee, G. Luther Washington, Chairman. Lecture attendance broke all previous records under a policy of co-sponsorship with other community organizations. Bus trips to east coast museums and historic sites, sponsored by the Women's Committee, Mrs. William Kouwenhoven, Chairman, continued to be lively and well attended. Under the aegis of the Public Relations Committee, Mrs. Calhoun Bond, Chairman, the public was made aware of both the popular and educational aspects of these programs. The result was an outstanding year in participation as well as in quality of programs.

The library successfully completed a three-year challenge grant project, raising a total of \$99,110. to qualify for an equal amount from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The funds were used for library development and cataloging of library collections. A general inventory under newly appointed Head Librarian, Dr. Larry Sullivan, tabulated the book collection at 50,000 volumes in addition to thousands of pamphlets and bound newspapers. The Library Committee under the chairmanship of Edgar Heyl, received approximately 500 gifts for the collections, many of the gifts containing over a thousand items. Hester Rich, Librarian, celebrated her 25th anniversary of service with the Society. The Oral History Division published the Maryland Manual of Oral History and participated in numerous oral history projects including one on World War II entitled "The Last Days of the Old World."

The Gallery Committee, Bryden B. Hyde, Chairman, accessioned over 700 items in a year which was unparalleled for major additions to the decorative arts collection. Gifts included furniture from "Druid Hill," the Rogers Family Estate and an important silver beaker acquired with the aid of the Society of Colonial Wars. Gift-in-kind funds from the estate of Virginia Berkley Bowie Schoenfeld were used to purchase an outstanding Maryland 18th century high chest. And a rare 18th-century Maryland dressing table was acquired in memory of Michael and Marie Abrams. Volunteer assistance continued to be a major factor in the operation of the Society. In addition to time devoted by Trustees and Committee Members, volunteers were recruited for work on special assignment. John S. Williamson, Jr. and Ms. Kathy Farnsworth repaired doll houses and furniture, while Sharon Simpkins and the Betsy Patterson Doll Club worked extensively on the doll collection. Dr. Hammon J. Dugan, III completed an inventory of the tool collection and Mrs. James W. Seiler assisted in a primary research project for the furniture collection now in preparation.

The new color cover format for the *Maryland Historical Magazine* received much favorable comment. In addition, the membership welcomed a new publication, *Maryland Magazine of Genealogy*, prepared under the direction of the Genealogy Committee, Dr. John Walton, Chairman. The Publications Committee, Charles Wagandt, Chairman, defined the Society's publication policy and has been actively seeking appropriate new manuscripts. The Education Committee under Dr. Morgan Pritchett worked with city and county school officials to coordinate tours with the school curriculum. The result was a highly successful joint cooperative venture—a combined field trip to the Maryland Historical Society and Fort McHenry. A special energy conservation program announced last year and spearheaded by the Buildings and Grounds Committee, Allen C. Hopkins, Chairman, was highly successful and resulted in substantial saving both in energy and money.

In-house reorganization resulted in the formation of two new departments. Under the direction of Sandra Falls, assisted by Donna Brodsky, an Office of Annual Giving was set up to work with the newly appointed Annual Giving Committee, Leonard C. Crewe, Jr., Chairman, and the existing Membership Committee, Louis G. Hecht, Chairman. This office will also oversee the solicitation of government and foundation grants and the underwriting of publications and special events. The Office of Public Programs, headed by Nita Schultz, coordinates all public information activities and special programs such as the Annual Antiques Show and Sale, Society-sponsored trips, the public lecture series, the speakers program, exhibit openings and other special receptions and tours, in addition to overseeing the publication of News and Notes, and all volunteer activities with Ann Forbush as Volunteer Coordinator. To complete the reorganization the present Security and Building Maintenance sections were strengthened and joined together under Kay Pyatak in a Department of Building Services.

I want to thank members and volunteers for their enthusiastic support during the past year. A special vote of thanks is due J. Fife Symington, Jr.,

Chairman of the Board and Leonard C. Crewe, Jr., President, for their extraordinary dedication and generosity. They have given most willingly of their time and resources in the interests of the Society. The success of the past year is a direct result of the volunteer assistance received from members and officers alike.

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

General Fund

CONDENSED STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES FOR THE YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1979

INCOME

Dues	\$ 53,897	
Contributions and trusts	276,522	(1)
Legacies and trusts	111,715	(2)
Investment income	162,829	
Rentals, sales and service fees	67,759	
Other income	20,703	
	<u>693,425</u>	

EXPENSES

Museums and galleries	82,487	
Library, prints and manuscripts	85,361	
Magazine and history notes	50,720	
Educational services	15,604	
Public relations and development	42,959	
Building operations	131,202	(3)
Administrative and general	216,615	(3)
Cost of merchandise sold	18,304	
	<u>643,252</u>	

Excess of income over expenses from operations

	\$ 50,173	
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(1) Includes grants from city, county, state and federal governments totaling \$70,300.

(2) Includes \$106,936 received upon the death of the legatee of the Morris Tyson will.

(3) Includes services rendered to the Library, Museum, Gallery, Latrobe Project, and other operating departments of the Society

Funds for Specified Purposes

ENDOWMENT FUNDS

Income	\$ 79,934	
Expenses	<u>4,035</u>	
		\$75,899

PUBLICATION FUND

Income	9,562	
Expenses	<u>3,837</u>	
		5,725

SPECIAL FUNDS

Income	214,340	
Expenses	<u>210,535</u>	
		3,805

LATROBE FUNDS

Income	124,870	
Expenses	<u>104,651</u>	
		20,219

NOTE: This condensed report of income and expenses for the General Fund and Funds for Specified Purposes has been prepared by the Treasurer of the Maryland Historical Society. Detailed statements are available upon request to the Treasurer, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore 21201.

James Buchanan's Letters From Baltimore, 1798

ALEXANDRA LEE LEVIN

LITTLE IS KNOWN OF JAMES BUCHANAN, A SCOTSMAN FROM GLASGOW, WHO opened a mercantile establishment at Baltimore after the Revolution.¹ The major source of information about him is the Robert Liston papers at the National Library of Scotland. Buchanan's letters throw considerable light on politics, both national and in Baltimore, during the last years of the eighteenth century.

Early in July 1796 Robert Liston, second British Minister to the United States, set out from Philadelphia, the seat of government, for a visit to President and Mrs. Washington at Mount Vernon. Mr. Liston, a genial Scotsman aged fifty-three, had held various diplomatic posts in Europe before being tapped by the British Foreign Office for the sensitive American post. His wife, Henrietta, who accompanied him, was nine years his junior. A native of Antigua, Mrs. Liston had lived since early childhood with an aunt and uncle at Glasgow. The Listons' voyage to the United States aboard a British man-of-war was also their honeymoon. They anchored in New York harbor on May 1, 1796.

The British Minister and his bride spent two months adjusting to new surroundings and duties at Philadelphia. After Congress adjourned, they accepted the Washingtons' invitation to visit them in Virginia. The Listons' private coach drove through Maryland's Eastern Shore, then was ferried across the Chesapeake at the small fishing community of Rock Hall. A favorable wind carried them to Baltimore in three hours.

Henrietta Liston wrote in her journal:

Our first stop worth mentioning was at the City of Baltimore in Maryland, a very flourishing trading town, situated on the North side of Patapsco River at a small distance from its junction with the Chesapeake; this Town is built around what is called the Basin, & reckoned one of the finest Harbours in America.²

The Listons stayed two days at Mr. Holding's boarding house where callers soon found them. Although many Baltimoreans had a strong pro-French bias, the British Minister and his wife received a great many visits. They had a particularly warm welcome from merchant James Buchanan, a brother of Mrs. Liston's Glasgow friend, Mrs. Allen Scott. Buchanan, a man of

Alexandra Levin is a regular contributor to the *Magazine*.

forty-nine, lived at No. 9 Charles Street with his wife Susan, then around twenty-eight, and their young children.³ Henrietta Liston wrote to her uncle at Glasgow:

From the first week of our arrival he has been constantly corresponding with Mr. Liston as an old acquaintance of mine, & flew to us immediately after our arrival with great kindness, so much, indeed, as to fret and distress me, for he insisted we should remove to his house, tho' he acknowledged that his wife was so very big with child as to be scarcely able to walk. On this I refused even to dine with him, but agreed to drink tea and judge of her situation myself. I found a very beautiful woman, one of the finest women I have seen in America, and 3 or 4 very lovely children, but saw her extremely ill, at the same time anxious to entertain us, that I refused to enter the doors again.⁴

After leaving Baltimore, the Listons coached to Annapolis where they were "genteelly" entertained by Governor John Hoskins Stone. In honor of the occasion, Governor Stone assembled as many ladies as could be mustered in a hurry to see the wife of the British Minister, or, as Mrs. Liston put it, to be seen by her.⁵

Following their visit to Mount Vernon, the Listons settled for the winter at Philadelphia. It required a great deal of tact on their part to maintain a delicate balance, both socially and diplomatically, between the adherents of opposing political parties. At their rented house, 217 Arch Street, they entertained Federalists, Democrats, British, and French emigrés alike.

Benjamin Franklin Bache, a Jeffersonian Democrat and a grandson of Benjamin Franklin, published at Philadelphia the *Aurora*, a paper in which he regularly denounced the Federalists in vituperative terms. The British Minister also came under Bache's vicious attacks. Mr. Liston was accused of giving members of Congress "familiar taps on the shoulder," and trying to influence them and members of the Cabinet in favor of British interests. Among those supposedly influenced by Liston were Secretary of State Timothy Pickering and U.S. Congressman Robert Goodloe Harper, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. Both gentlemen had dined with the Listons.⁶

From Baltimore, merchant James Buchanan, a strong Federalist supporter, sent a communication to Robert Liston by way of a friend, Mr. Charles Duncan of Petersburg, Virginia, who was traveling to Philadelphia. "The Demos here say you advise Mr. Harper," Buchanan wrote. "If so, do Sir advise him to bring Mr. Oliver Wolcott forward with his accounts of depredation, for it would be extremely useful at this moment *here*." Apparently raiding privateers were harming Buchanan's business interests. Perhaps Secretary of the Treasury Wolcott could arouse a demand for retaliation against the foreign raiders if he made public the great losses sustained by American shipping.

Buchanan added a social note to his letter: "Sir John Oldmixon occasionally honors me with a call & told me the last time I saw him you were all well and happy on the 4th day of last June"—the King's birthday.⁷ In England Sir John Oldmixon had been celebrated as "the Bath beau," the equal in his day of Nash or Brummel. He had married the engaging actress and singer, Miss

George. In 1791, after actor Thomas Wignell persuaded a group of Philadelphians to finance a new theatrical company, he went abroad to recruit a company which included Mrs. Oldmixon.⁸ In order to extend their theatrical domain, actor Thomas Wignell and his partner, musician and composer Alexander Reinagle, built a small wooden theater on Holliday Street in Baltimore which opened in September 1795. There a preliminary season was annually conducted.⁹ Whenever Mrs. Oldmixon played in Baltimore, Sir John accompanied her and called on James Buchanan.

On April 3, 1798, the famous "XYZ" dispatches were made public, and the insolent behavior of the French government toward the United States aroused a patriotic furor in this country. War with France seemed imminent, and Robert Liston, in a gesture of friendship between his country and the United States, arranged for certain American merchant ships to be convoyed by British warships as a protection against French raiders.¹⁰

James Buchanan wrote to Mr. Liston on June 27 that the powerful Democratic Clubs might yet have Mr. Liston up before them to answer their "inquisitorial interrogatories" concerning his familiar intercourse with members of Congress. According to Buchanan, it was well known that the foreign ambassadors kept the members of Congress "in pay" and that no good could ever come of such intimacies. Take, for example, Robert Goodloe Harper. Buchanan wrote,

Some people here, who know more than I do, think you may now at this moment have a commission sign'd in your pocket for him, for a Duke or a Chief Judge at least; and as for your offensive and defensive alliances — it's all nonsense: we want none of it; & for your convoys — why it's only your own interest induces you to give them all this, Sir.

These matters were better known to every mechanic at Fell's Point, Baltimore, than to President Adams at Philadelphia or to the British Minister himself with Mr. Harper at his elbow! Robert Goodloe Harper, formerly a moderate Southern Federalist, had become an increasingly militant nationalist as the crisis with France worsened.¹¹

Eleven days earlier, on June 16, the merchants of Baltimore had held a meeting at the Exchange when it was resolved that a committee be appointed to receive subscriptions for the purpose of building and equipping two sloops of war. These vessels, launched the following year and named the *Maryland* and the *Chesapeake*, were to be offered to the United States government. The sum of \$40,300 was subscribed by the merchants present at the meeting.¹²

"We are going to build two ships here to assist in the defence of our country and our coast," Buchanan's letter of June 27 informed Mr. Liston. The "Demos," he felt sure, would have doubled the sum had the ships been intended for use against the British rather than the French.

Before Congress adjourned in mid-July it had stopped just short of an actual declaration of war on France because the Federal members, unable to agree among themselves, could not force the issue. Nonetheless the Americans were actually carrying on war against France without an open declaration of

hostilities. Recently one of the new American brigs had captured near the coast a French privateer with twenty men aboard who were treated as prisoners of war. The army was actively recruiting, and George Washington, after being named commander-in-chief had agreed to accept.¹³

The British Minister watched the course of events with considerable satisfaction. Federalist President John Adams was currently riding the crest of popular approval, and Robert Liston hoped for a definite alliance between his country and the United States. Secretary of State Pickering personally favored such a pact but felt that public opinion was not yet ready for such a move. Moreover he had no specific instructions on that head from the President.¹⁴

Bache's *Aurora* continued to hurl taunts at the Federalists, calling Pickering Liston's "bosom friend." It again mentioned Liston's taps on the shoulders of members of Congress such as Robert Goodloe Harper, and his close friendship with Treasury Secretary Oliver Wolcott, Jr., and Secretary of War James McHenry. In an outrageous statement it declared that the British Minister led President Adams by the nose.¹⁵ Somewhat later, *The Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser* countered with: "The *Aurora* has made its appearance again today, replenished with venom and French philosophy."¹⁶

Buchanan wrote to Liston on August 22: "I had the pleasure of tapping Mr. Harper on the shoulder myself about ten days ago, and he din'd with us next day. . . . What a villain that Bache is."¹⁷

Buchanan's letter was handed to Liston by Captain Presley Thornton, of Virginia, formerly an officer in the 12th British Grenadiers. Captain Thornton had served at Gibraltar throughout the great siege against the garrison by the Spanish, from 1779 to 1783.¹⁸ Early that July Thornton and his wife passed through Baltimore when the Buchanans' young son, George Anderson Buchanan, lay dangerously ill. A change of air held out a slim hope of recovery, so it was arranged that Susan Buchanan and her ailing child should accompany the Thorntons to Virginia. Five days after their departure an express rider arrived at midnight with a letter for Mr. Buchanan from a friend, Mr. Nicolls, who lived seven miles below Alexandria.¹⁹ The letter had a postscript from Dr. James Craik, Surgeon General to the American Army: "The event we dreaded has just taken place. . . . lose no time in coming down."²⁰

By eight o'clock that evening Buchanan had reached the Nicholls's house where he found everything dark. "I got to the porch, to the lobby and the lower rooms, all empty, all silent," he wrote Mr. Liston on August 22. "I went immediately upstairs and by a glimmering light on the stairs observed in an adjacent room several ladies and the doctor standing around a bed where my lovely Susan lay, pale, emaciated, and all but speechless!" For three days Buchanan watched over his wife's sickbed, and at night slept on a mattress placed on the floor near her. "Dr. Craik's great medical skill and her uncommon fortitude sav'd her," he explained. "I have got her back to her little family and we part not soon again." The day previous, Susan had walked out a short way for the first time, but the excessive heat of Baltimore's August weather was "very much against a quick recovery."

Buchanan did not get along well with Susan's family, and he and his partner split up. *The Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser* for September 4, 1798, printed this ad: "Buchanan & Young have removed their counting house to the 3rd door above Market St. in Charles St." A quantity of Osna-burg bags — bags made of a kind of coarse linen — and fifty tons of Brazil wood, together with other merchandise, were to be sold at a bargain. The *Gazette* for the previous day had carried a notice of the dissolution of the partnership of Buchanan & Young.

The contest for the Baltimore seat in the U.S. House of Representatives was heating up the local political scene when James Buchanan wrote to Robert Liston on August 22. The incumbent, Samuel Smith, a Republican, was being challenged by James Winchester, a Federalist. General Smith, a wealthy, successful businessman and a prominent Revolutionary War figure, had opposed President Washington's administration because he considered its policies inimical to the mercantile interests he represented. Smith's opposition in Congress to the Jay Treaty led the Baltimore Federalists to campaign against his reelection. General Smith then proceeded to build a strong political machine in Baltimore based in part on his personal command of the militia. His opponents complained with some justice that the militiamen, "after drinking the general's whiskey or rum," were not likely to vote against him.²¹ He also had great influence with many mercantile figures, with sailors, and with various societies representing the city's laborers and artisans. Many of the latter were settled in the area around Fell's Point, a harbor formed by a neck of land near the mouth of the basin, the harbor on the south side of town. It was among the residents of Fell's Point that Congressman Smith exerted much of his political clout.

The loyalties of Baltimore's Federalists were complicated by the fact that Smith's opponent, James Winchester, a Republican in 1796, had switched to Federalism following the XYZ Affair.²² Senator John Eager Howard, another Revolutionary War hero, acted as Winchester's campaign manager.²³ Charges and countercharges were hurled between the two camps.

"There is nothing here but *bella, horrida bella*," James Buchanan wrote, quoting Virgil's *Aeneid*: wars, horrid wars. "Winchester versus Smith, Howard versus Smith, and the whole gentlemen of Baltimore versus Smith, and yet I swear he will carry his election in spite of everything." Buchanan told Liston that Colonel Howard and Winchester were already "in the billings-gate way," resorting to vituperative, abusive charges. "But indeed I am quite aloof and a mere spectator," Buchanan's letter continued. "For there is such a number of Frenchified converts amongst Smith's enemies, and many of them till lately worse than himself, and whose principles are by no means chang'd. For I think with Hudibras: 'A man convinc'd against his will is of the same opinion still.'"²⁴

Throughout the summer the *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser* carried notices placed by both Winchester and Smith seeking votes from Baltimore city and county. The paper for Saturday the 29th printed Smith's suggestion to the city's election judges that some preparatory arrangements

be made to prevent as much as possible molestation of the voters. Smith queried,

Among other things, would it not be advisable for you to order & direct that no persons whatever appear at the place of election with *bludgeons* or *sticks* of any kind in the hands, & for you to apply to the mayor & other magistrates to direct the city constable & other constables to attend constantly in order to preserve peace, & particularly to take possession of all bludgeons & sticks that they may see in the possession of any person or persons whatsoever?²⁵

Yet two days earlier, on Thursday, General Smith had personally led a mob into a pro-Winchester rally in an attempt to disperse his rival's crowd. Smith's "friends" then proceeded to beat up a number of Winchester's supporters.²⁶ "A Citizen" promptly complained in the *Gazette*: "A very active partisan of Gen. Smith, & one of the foremost in the attempt to break the line of Mr. Winchester's friends on Thursday evening last is a Mr. George Keatinge, who is not a citizen & therefore not entitled to vote." The irate writer further harangued the *Gazette's* readers: "Fellow citizens! Gen. Smith has publicly stigmatized American sailors with the appellation of British privateers even while he stood by & did not attempt to restrain an unqualified alien from committing actual violence on our peaceable citizens."²⁷

Voting took place in the first week of October, with Smith winning by a slim margin. James Buchanan relayed the news to Mr. Liston in a lengthy letter on October 7:

The Ides of October having come and past & the glorious freedom of election most transcendently displayed at our *free election* held at the barrier of a tavern barricaded and strongly fenc'd in, as if against wild cattle, for the purpose of keeping off bipeds more wild than they. I mean, Sir, to give you a short sketch of the business . . .

Previous to the morning of the 1st instant, every tavern keeper, tavern keeper's wife, and every handsome maid in his family thruout the whole borough (not old Sarum, Sir, but one just as much bought and sold to the Smith family, as the General would say in his great conversancy in the dead languages — *durante vita*)²⁸ had taken their side — Smith, Liberty & the Constitution versus Winchester, the Friend of Government, Adams & Washington — and displayed their emblems on nice white silk.

Buchanan then described how election day began with the appearance of Paul Bentalou's cavalry company. Bentalou, a French cavalryman who came to America with Lafayette in 1776, later became chief officer of Count Pulaski's famous legion. After the Revolution he settled in Baltimore and became a successful shipping merchant. In 1798, when possible war with France loomed large, Bentalou organized and commanded a Baltimore troop of volunteer cavalry ready for service if needed. Buchanan wrote:

The morning was usher'd in with the sound of ci-devant French mavis (Paul Bentalou's) trumpeter, drum, colours, etc., and before seven, tho' the Judges of the election were not to meet until eight, Gen'l Smith's mob had possession of every barrier, and Winchester, Adams and Washington were in

the background. Many attempts were made to gain the polls, but in vain, and that day, tho' many battles were fought, the General's party, or French party, prevailed.

Tuesday morn the same ground was taken and by the same party. A reinforcement from the country was necessary. Exertions were made, and several hundreds of real country people joined with a hundred or upwards of our borough infantry mounted also, to give a better mob. Boldly advanc'd with colours flying, and seemed sufficiently in force to have drove all before them. But war, Sir, you know is doubtful, and Fortune a *female*, of course capricious entre-nous (am I safe, yes, I am alone!) The fine silk colours and the staff and staff beam were soon in unhallow'd Jacobin hands, torn into a thousand pieces, and like the leaves of the Sibyls scatter'd to the winds of Heaven. Winchester, good young man, flew one way, and Adams and Washington another, and left only the wreck of government behind!

Horse [corps] are great in victory, but infernal in defeat (at least I have heard my poor father say so when Hawley's Dragoons at the pretty Battle of Falkirk, in their hurry to get off rode over the poor Glasgow foot militia who were running the same way but could not run so fast as the Dragoon horses, and killed and wounded several of them.)²⁹ The brick bats, well aim'd by Jacobin French and Irish hands, having laid their leaders low and dismounted six or seven of their chiefs, off they flew at full gallop down streets, pelted at every corner. The yeomanry flew home in a thousand directions, and three fourths of them, like Hawley's Horse, never rallied.

In the evening of that memorable day, Tuesday, Winchester, Adams and Washington, and the government disappeared. The wearers [of their colors] made a silent retreat to their respective homes, and Wednesday and Thursday the General's ticket alone was visible, and at 6 at night the reviler of majesty, the Prince of Democrats was declar'd duly elected & 699 votes ahead of Winchester,³⁰ having baffl'd and bullied the whole respectable part of town and country, and entirely carried by a sanguinary Irish and French mob who would with full as much pleasure have carried Thornton's head and mine on a pike about three or four years ago as they did the General in his triumphal car.³¹

It is not true what Talleyrand generally says, in regard to Baltimore at least, viz. that we are a divided people. No, Mr. Bishop, you hopping rascal, much of an aristocrat as you was when you din'd with me.³² We are not a divided people *here*, for 19 out of 20 would join even you, or Robespierre, Murat or the Devil against Heaven itself.

When you, Sir, know that our mechanics have no rival but in England — hatters, carpenters, saddlers, blacksmiths, whitesmiths, brass-founders, copersmiths, and all the other Smiths — you can neither wonder nor be surpris'd at their hatred to us, or a *black* Smith carrying an election.

In 1796, when the Listons first visited Baltimore, they had breakfasted with Colonel Nicholas Rogers, a prominent citizen, at "Druid Hill," his fine estate near the city.³³ According to Buchanan, Rogers regretted the outcome of the recent election:

Our friend Col. Rogers is sadly mortified. As for myself, I feel none, and I am only more and more confirmed in my bad opinion of the vile principles of this *vile* town. . . & let me whisper a little word of comfort . . . in the ear of the

gentlemen opposing Genl. Smith. Pray, gentlemen, who three or four years ago disseminated and sowed their French principles, hatred to England, etc., more than yourselves? (Col. Rogers, Howard and Nicolls the almost only three exceptions, and not even the two first of them when it was France versus Britain.)³⁴ Who dined and drank with every mechanical rascal at Fells' Point, and who told him he was as good as any man? Indeed, gentlemen, you are very welcome for me to your defeat, and you have earned it, for as you sow, so will you reap. It's an old saying: "It's easier to raise the Devil than to lay him." So with Democracy, general suffrage, and all such d—d generals of European manufacture.³⁵

Pray, gentlemen, how much money and how much cheap coffee have you got by shipping gunpowder in biscuit kegs (crackers, it is true they were, and you cared not who they crack'd at) to the villain Victor Hugues in Guadeloupe and the brigand ports in St. Domingo, and have you had protections, etc., as well as Genl. Smith?³⁶ I know you have, and all the difference is you are not in Congress or have not made quite as much money as Samuel Smith, or having earn'd a sufficiency are afraid of Egalité taking it away from you. . . . Such being my unvarying and unchangeable opinion of you, the Baltimore merchants, let me dismiss you for any other theme.³⁷

The outcome of the recent election was still on Buchanan's mind when he wrote again on October 22:

Having done myself the honor of addressing you very lately, I have not much to say or communicate to my honored and respected friend, Mr. Liston, at this time. In order, however, to justly appreciate and illustrate the amiable and forgiving disposition of the gentlemen of the country generally, high in wealth and soliciting rank, and to show you, Sir, how much milder in their manners, less turbulent and ferocious they are than the nations of Europe or higher latitudes, that notwithstanding all the contradictions that pass'd at the election, the great General's friends taking his honor and himself into their keeping before and at the election, and openly saying he should not fight them. And Col. O'Donnell has not stirr'd in the matter since, being much troubled with chronical complaints.³⁸

According to Buchanan, both General Smith and Colonel John O'Donnell, a wealthy merchant who had been chosen an Elector of the Senate in 1791, had been "bound over" to preserve the peace in Maryland, and going out of the State to fight a duel was inconvenient. Whether Smith and Colonel John Eager Howard, or Smith and James Barry, vice-consul for Portugal for Maryland and Virginia, would ever "per hazard" meet in another State and fight on the field of honor, Buchanan could not say.³⁹ The letter continued:

Such peaceable demeanor, Sir, exemplifies in a singular degree how much more mild and less ferocious good Republicans and citizen soldiers are than the Palace Guards or Pretorian Bands of more military governments. Altho' I must for myself truly confess that 500 enlisted soldiers and Continentals stationed on us the week of the election might have given us a much fairer one, and sav'd many a *pauvre gens de bois* from returning to his family bleeding from brick bats thrown by Democratic hands.

But you know, Sir, or if you do not, Mr. Jefferson, T. Mifflin, and Mr. Dallas,⁴⁰ every gentleman (solecism) of that description not only knows but has said a thousand times since the commencement of anarchy in France — in their vocabulary Revolution — that in all *great* Revolutions *little matters* will happen but much be overlooked. So must the poor wounded peasants returning home from our *free* election in our virtuous Republic.

And as to expence, bribery, etc., I am confident the General (if otherwise qualified) might have been returned even for 22,000 Spanish dollars. The sum may be incorrect — it may be much more or over — but from 15 to 22 m. is very generally mentioned.⁴¹ For you must know, Sir, that for the first two days every tavern in town and Fell's Point (glorious place) was open, for one side or the other. However, on the evening of the second, the aides de camp to the unfortunate candidate went the rounds rapidly to tell them to lard their hands! And from that evening those unfortunate houses did no more business as the fortunate party would not then employ them, and the unfortunate had no wish to incur further expense. From three to six hundred dollars, I have been assur'd, was a common sum for the bill of those rendezvous. So that you will perceive we are not quite so immaculate as we might wish to be tho't, and General Smith, as long as he lives and has money to expend, will retain his seat for this borough, or as long as 2/3ds of the voters would rather fight for and with the French than against them.

It was early and easily seen that General Smith's mob was the best. For they were more numerous and better, in that their cloaths could not be injur'd or the gloss taken off by or in a battle. Theirs were also rougher looking gentlemen and had on no gloves, chitterlings or ruffles to incommode them. Vive l'Egalité.

The Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser announced on November 17, 1798: "Arrived last evening, ship Cleopatra, capt. Connor, from London. . . ." Captain Walter Connor brought news of Admiral Nelson's great victory at the Battle of the Nile, tidings that elated James Buchanan.⁴² Next day Buchanan enclosed in his letter to Robert Liston the *Gazette's* account of "the glorious victory gain'd over the villains of France by the gallant and noble Horatio Nelson as Captain Connor brings. . . ." Buchanan further explained: "I cannot omit forwarding you the same altho' I have hardly a minute to spare to do it in, owing to the villainous regulations at our free Republican yet insolent Post Office."⁴³ A hasty postscript read: "Mr. Brown who owns the Cleopatra we supp'd with en famille last evening."⁴⁴

Buchanan became upset when President John Adams did not show himself more hawk-like. Although allied with the anti-French Federalists, Adams held back from allowing the quasi-war with France to boil over into a real clash. "God knows how sincerely I esteem and honor him," Buchanan wrote to Liston on December 14, "despite his mild speech when he says, 'It remains with France to say whether *we* shall have war or peace.'" Buchanan wondered how the United States could call itself a great, free, independent nation and reason thusly: "Have we not, Mr. Adams, cause enough for war already?" Buchanan's business had suffered heavy losses from French depre-dations, and he claimed that when he had been a citizen of Great Britain, that

country would have done one of three things. It would have reimbursed him for his losses, or forced the French privateers to disgorge their plunder, or made war against them." And yet Mr. Adams says it remains with them," he protested. "Had Gallatin, Giles, Nicholas, Smith and a thousand more said so it would have been of no account with me, but from the once firm Adams it is too much!"⁴⁶ Buchanan wondered whether a "venal, villainous opposition" had frightened Adams, or had illness, either his own or in his family, enervated him. Otherwise how could one account for such mild language from the President?

Buchanan had been visited at Baltimore by a young relative, Donaldson Campbell, son of a respectable Glasgow merchant. Young Campbell's mother, nee Muirhead, was first cousin to Buchanan's mother, and his uncle, Mr. R. Muirhead, had been Buchanan's companion in youth and his classmate for seven years. Donaldson Campbell had come to America to try to recover sums of money owed by the Commonwealth of Virginia to some of his Glasgow friends.⁴⁶ At Baltimore Buchanan had introduced Campbell around to "very good quarters."

Buchanan still did not get along well with his wife's family, the Youngs. "I know not two people in existence from whom I would rather receive kind attention to my dear girl than yours and Mrs. Liston's," he assured the British Minister. "But her family, generally, are by no means agreeable to me, either in Philadelphia or here, tho' I sent Campbell to a grand Democratic Ball with Mrs. B. given in a splendid Hall last Tuesday . . ." Buchanan concluded his letter: "I thank you also for the good company you say you may occasionally show me should I ever visit you, and if my business leads me to New York this winter, I know not but I might leave Mrs. B. in your and Mrs. Liston's hands." He preferred having Susan stay with the Listons rather than with her family with whom he was at odds.⁴⁷

Buchanan's letter of December 14, 1798, is his last extant communication to the British Minister. A year later Henrietta Liston informed her uncle, James Jackson, postmaster of Glasgow, that Mr. Buchanan had notified her husband that he was to sail immediately for London. From there he planned to travel to Scotland and would bring Mr. Jackson "a great deal of American news."⁴⁸

On March 24, 1800, Rufus King, the American Minister to Great Britain, wrote from London a private letter in cipher to Secretary of State Timothy Pickering at Philadelphia:

James Buchanan, an adopted American, by birth Scotch, and who has lived many years as a merchant at Baltimore, has lately arrived in this country with the expectation of settling his affairs which are much deranged. He speaks of having been much acquainted with Mr. Liston, as well as his confidential correspondent. I have myself heard him express sentiments to this effect. In conversation he is loose, unguarded and imprudent, and from what I have heard of him, unworthy of confidence. He shews several letters from Liston to him . . .⁴⁹

Perhaps Buchanan hoped to give himself some importance at London, where he was trying to restore his mercantile credit, by showing that he corresponded with the British Minister in America.

Buchanan's brother, Thomas Buchanan, a well-known New York merchant, was a "particular acquaintance" of Timothy Pickering who described him as a "steady, worthy man."⁵⁰ So James Buchanan, on the grounds that his brother was a close friend of the Secretary of State, had attempted to draw Pickering into a correspondence by writing a number of letters filled with zeal for the Federal cause which Pickering never answered. Secretary of War James McHenry told Pickering that Buchanan frequently wrote to him also, and that he replied about once a year.⁵¹ Obviously James Buchanan was fond of corresponding with prominent people.

It is not known what Buchanan accomplished by his trip to London. Perhaps he succeeded in restoring his mercantile credit at that time, but in later years his fortunes plunged. When he died on April 13, 1822, in his seventy-fourth year, his obituary read: "James Buchanan, for 20 or 30 years one of the most opulent merchants of Baltimore and who in the end lost all."⁵²

REFERENCES

1. Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1824), pp. 103-104: "Directly after the peace several merchants from other states or other parts of the state settled here . . . ; and a number of European gentlemen, among whom were Messrs. S. Wilson, R. Oliver, A. Campbell, James Buchanan [etc.], . . . and established houses of trade." James Buchanan was in partnership with Charles B. Young, a relative of his wife.
2. Mrs. Liston's American travel diary, MS. 5696-5704, and three reels of Liston correspondence, Ac. no. 10,897, are on microfilm at the Library of Congress.
3. The Hayward File at the Maryland Historical Society has this item from the *Maryland Journal* for November 30, 1787: "Married 26 Nov. 1787, James Buchanan, merchant, to Miss Susannah Young of Phila." The Baltimore City Directory for 1796 lists their dwelling.
4. Henrietta Liston to James Jackson, September 6, 1796, Reel I.
5. *Ibid.* With one exception the remainder of the correspondence used in this study is on Reel II.
6. Robert Goodloe Harper to Henrietta Liston, February ?, 1797, and Timothy Pickering to the Listons, March 13, 1798.
7. Note is dated only 1798.
8. Sir John, whose luxurious equipage once merited the admiring gaze of Bond Street, became a gardener at Germantown. He drove his cabbages to market in Philadelphia in his own cart, and brought his wife home from performances at the new Chestnut Street Theatre in the same conveyance. Although the baronet was no longer a leader in the world of fashion, he still tapped and opened a snuffbox with a grace peculiarly his own. See Rufus Wilmot Griswold, *The Republican Court; or, American Society in the Days of Washington* (New York, 1879), pp. 372-373.
9. Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. (New York, 1935), 15:489-490; 20:196-197; Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore*, p. 146. See also Henrietta Liston, Germantown, to uncle, July 1, 1796: "By the way, amongst several old acquaintances I have met in the country is Reinagle, formerly our organist in Glasgow, & my master. He is at the head of his profession in Phila. — have given up teaching & is the principal manager of the Theatre." (Reel I).
10. Bernard Mayo, ed., "Instructions to the British Ministers to the United States, 1791-1912," *American Historical Association Annual Report for 1936* 3 (Washington, 1941), p. 129.
11. Joseph W. Cox, *Champion of Southern Federalism: Robert Goodloe Harper of South Carolina* (Port Washington, N.Y., 1972), p. 124.

12. J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1784), pp. 284-285.
13. Henrietta Liston to James Jackson, July 22, 1798.
14. Manning J. Dauer, *The Adams Federalists* (Baltimore, 1953), p. 180.
15. Charles R. King, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, 6 vols. (New York, 1894-1900), 3:261.
16. Saturday, November 3, 1798.
17. Robert Goodloe Harper, representing the Ninety-Sixth District of South Carolina in Congress, was deeply in debt from earlier land speculations. His visits to Baltimore were due to the fact that the city held a number of attractions for him. Baltimore's rapidly growing port offered excellent business and professional opportunities. Also, his friend Charles Carroll of Carrollton, had a daughter, Kitty, who was young, pretty, and very wealthy. See Bayly Ellen Marks, *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Robert Goodloe Harper Family Papers* (Baltimore, 1970), p. 5. Henrietta Liston had received a letter written on July 7, 1798, by Miss Duncanson, a friend in Washington, saying that Mr. Harper was to be married to Miss Carroll who would bring him "1200 a year." Miss Duncanson added: "That, I think, is a pretty speculation in the matrimonial way." A year later Harper opened a law practice at Baltimore. He and Kitty Carroll were married in May 1801.
18. William Spohn Baker, *Washington After the Revolution, 1784-1799* (Philadelphia, 1898), p. 369. George Washington's diary for Saturday, October 13, 1798 had this entry: "Genl. Lee, Captn. Presley Thornton & Mr. T. Peters came to dinner."
19. *Ibid.*, p. 357; March 28, 1798: "... the family here went to dine with Mr. Nicols."
20. Dr. James Craik, a native of Scotland and a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, settled in Virginia in 1753. He served in the Braddock campaign in 1755 and in the Revolutionary War. He attended George Washington in his last illness. Dr. Craik died in 1814, at age 82.
21. *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, August 7, 1798, quoted in John S. Pancake, *Samuel Smith and the Politics of Business: 1752-1839* (University, Alabama, 1972), p. 51.
22. John W. Kuehl, "The XYZ Affair and American Nationalism: Republican Victories in the Middle Atlantic States," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 67 (Spring, 1972): 7.
23. Frank A. Cassell, *Merchant Congressman in the Young Republic: Samuel Smith of Maryland, 1752-1839* (Madison, 1971), p. 85.
24. Hudibras is the title and hero of a mock-heroic satirical poem by Samuel Butler.
25. *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, September 29, 1798.
26. Cassell, *Merchant Congressman*, p. 88.
27. *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, September 29, 1798. The Baltimore City Directory for 1796 listed George Keatinge, bookseller, at 149 Baltimore Street; in 1799 his bookstore was at 107 Baltimore Street. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore*, p. 160, has this item: "Mr. George Keating published [in 1797] a small plan of the city. . ."
28. Old Sarum was the old name for Salisbury, Wiltshire, England. "Durante vita" means "during life" or "for life."
29. The second battle of Falkirk, fought on January 17, 1746, between Highlanders under Bonnie Prince Charlie and British forces under General Hawley, resulted in the defeat of the latter.
30. Cassell, *Merchant Congressman*, p. 88 states that Smith won reelection by a margin of 200 out of 3500 votes cast.
31. Edward Thornton, a young Englishman who served as the British Minister's secretary of legation, lived with the Listons at Philadelphia. In 1793 Thornton had become vice-consul and assistant to Phineas Bond, of Philadelphia, the British consul for the Middle States, and had his headquarters at Baltimore until April 1796. During the three years Thornton lived at Baltimore he found that many more people there opposed Great Britain than favored her. See S. W. Jackman, ed., "A Young Englishman Reports on the New Nation: Edward Thornton to James Bland Burges, 1791-1793," *William & Mary Quarterly* 18 (January, 1961): 93; S. W. Jackman, ed.; "Edward Thornton to James Bland Burges: Letters Written from Baltimore in the Eighteenth Century," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 57 (March, 1962): 23.
32. James Buchanan had entertained Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, a Frenchman born into the high nobility and named bishop of Autun by Louis XVI. Talleyrand had sided with the revolutionists in 1789, but when the French Revolution turned radical, he fled to England after the fall of the monarchy. In 1794 he sought refuge in the United States where he lived until the French Directory was established in November 1795. The Buchanans' former guest had become French Foreign Minister since then.

33. Alexandra Lee Levin, "Colonel Nicholas Rogers and His Country Seat, 'Druid Hill,' " *Maryland Historical Magazine* 72 (Spring, 1977): 78-82.
34. Col. Nicholas Rogers and Henry Nicholls, members of the Second Branch of the Baltimore City Council, and U.S. Senator John Eager Howard.
35. In 1797 a bill was introduced into the Maryland Legislature to establish universal manhood suffrage. It was opposed by conservatives who wanted property to be the sole basis of voting rights. Universal white manhood suffrage did not become constitutional in Maryland until 1802. See Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, eds., *Maryland: A History, 1632-1974* (Baltimore, 1974), pp. 151-152.
36. The British took Guadeloupe in April 1794, but in the following summer were driven out by Victor Hugues, French Commissaire of the Terror, assisted by slaves freed for the purpose. Buchanan characterized the "brigand" ports as "ports in the possession of rascals who have cut their masters' throats and robbed them, and we buy the stolen goods. The receiver would be tho't as bad as the thief!"
37. Buchanan addressed his letter from No. 9 Charles St. "for obvious reasons." He mentioned Robert Gilmor as one of the Baltimore merchants.
38. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore*, p. 133, and the *Maryland Historical Magazine* 25 (1920): 364-365 identify Col. John O'Donnell (1749-1805). He was an Irishman and master of the merchantman *Pallas* who arrived at Baltimore in 1785 with the first cargo of tea, china, silks and nankeens from Canton, China. He purchased the old tract called "Gorsuch" and various adjacent tracts on the waterfront east of Fell's Point, and built an Eastern-looking house which he named "Canton," in honor of his trade with China. In 1791 he became a partner in Baltimore's first powder mill. According to the *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser* for December 26, 1808, his estate comprised 25000 acres.
39. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore*, p. 137. Barry was appointed vice-consul in 1791.
40. Thomas Jefferson, U.S. Vice-President; Thomas Mifflin, governor of Pennsylvania; and Alexander Dallas, secretary of state of Pennsylvania.
41. Cassell, *Merchant Congressman*, p. 89, says that by one estimate Smith spent over \$6000 of his own money during the campaign.
42. News of the Battle of the Nile, fought in Aboukir Bay near Alexandria, Egypt, on August 1, 1798, did not reach Baltimore until three and a half months later.
43. The U.S. Post Office Department, founded in 1789, started out with a proliferation of regulations. Rates varied according to distance: 4¢ for a single sheet to be carried under 40 miles, and up to 25¢ for over 400 miles. James Buchanan's letters to Liston usually went for 12½¢.
44. Hayward File, Maryland Historical Society: "Aquila Brown, Jr., of Md. & Marie Charlotte Sophia Mangin, only dau. of A. Mangin, consul general for Genoa, m. June 4, 1792." The Browns lived at 274 Baltimore St., and Mr. Brown's counting house was at 16 Water Street. He exported sugar, coffee and tobacco to Hamburg, and imported bales of Silesia linens from Prussia and "best hempen and flaxen Ticklenburgs and Osnaburgs," coarse mixed linen fabrics made in Germany. See Sea-letter — 12/10/1798 in file at Maritime Museum of Maryland Historical Society, and *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser* for Tuesday, November 20, 1798. According to the *Gazette* for Saturday, November 17, Aquila Brown's ship, the *Cleopatra*, a 270-ton vessel carrying forty-two men and sixteen 6-pound guns, saluted Baltimore that morning.
45. Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, William Branch Giles and John Nicholas of Virginia, and Samuel Smith of Maryland were all Republican members of the U.S. Congress.
46. Daniel Macqueen to Robert Liston, January 17, 1798.
47. Susan Young Buchanan died on July 12, 1805, and was interred in St. Paul's Burial Ground. Only thirty-seven years old, she left, according to the Hayward File, "a distressed husband and seven children." A recent visit to the old cemetery to view her time-worn gravestone revealed that she was survived also by her parents, sisters and brothers.
48. Henrietta Liston to James Jackson, December 13, 1799. In late 1800 Robert Liston was granted leave to relinquish his American Post, mainly because he was somewhat unwell. During his four year stay the British Minister had done much to promote and maintain good relations between the United States and Great Britain. He played an important role in helping this nation defend its commerce against French privateers. Although he tried hard but unsuccessfully to persuade his government to stop seizing American merchant ships and impressing American seamen, the temporary Anglo-American accord of 1796-1800 resulted largely from his person efforts. Had his successors been as skillful, perhaps the War of 1812 could have been averted. See George W. Kyte, "Robert Liston and Anglo-

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49. King, ed., *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, 3:212.
 50. Timothy Pickering to Jacob Wagner, June 26, 1800, in George Gibbs, *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams, Edited from the Papers of Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury*, 2 vols. (New York, 1846) 2:392; Henrietta Liston, New York, to James Jackson, 16 June, 1799: "Tell George Anderson Mr. [Thomas] Buchanan is one of the most respectable merchants in America, and is getting off his daughters very fast — two lately married."
 51. Timothy Pickering to Jacob Wagner, June 26, 1800, In Gibbs, *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams*, 2:392.
 52. Hayward File, Maryland Historical Society.

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BOOK REVIEWS

A History of Baltimore County. By Neal A. Brooks and Eric G. Rockel. (Towson: Friends of the Towson Library, Inc., 1979. iii, 555 pp. \$15.95.)

Since the days of the prolific J. Thomas Scharf a century ago, there has been a drought in the writing of Baltimore's history. Occasional publications have appeared in the form of doctoral dissertations on the politics or economics of the metropolitan area, fond reminiscences by elderly residents, essays on specific topics in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, and popular pictorial collections of varying size and quality. Only recently, however, with the growth of interest in social history and its subfield urban history, has there been a genuine renewal of the effort to write the history of Baltimore. This renewal fortunately has come just as the city celebrates its 250th anniversary.

While this new book by authors Neal Brooks and Eric Rockel is about the county and not the city of Baltimore, it is impossible to entirely separate the two. Starting with the "Early Years of Settlement" and continuing through the political changes of 1978 that suggest a "New Era" for the county, the book tries to be nearly as comprehensive as Scharf was in his *History of Baltimore City and County* in 1881. The most space is given to the nineteenth century—seven chapters out of fourteen—with the rest split between the colonial period and the twentieth century. Like Scharf, too, this history of Baltimore County tries to cover a variety of topics. The second chapter, "The Maturing County of the Eighteenth Century" is a good example, since it meanders over the founding of Baltimore Town, the development of the early iron industry, the pattern of land distribution, the role of women in the pre-Revolutionary society, the rise of the county's towns, especially Towsontown, and finally finishes up with a description of religious change.

Of all the topics discussed throughout the book the most attention and the most useful information is on the economic and political history of the county. Transportation and mills in particular are described in detail in nineteenth-century Baltimore County. Flour mills, gunpowder, textile, iron, and paper mills all brought population and wealth to the region in the nineteenth century, even though most of these industries were on the decline by 1900.

The transportation that accompanied the industrial revolution in Baltimore County is also covered in detail, particularly turnpikes and railroads, which are each given a chapter. Nothing seems to have aroused the ire of county residents more than paying the tolls on turnpikes that were poorly maintained. In the end it was the public's opposition to the toll roads that led to their disappearance by the early twentieth century. Baltimore's railroads, which have been much written about, are also described from their origins to just after the turn of the century.

Among the most interesting parts of the book are the last three chapters that describe the political history of Baltimore County since the close of the Second World War. At a time when the county is still struggling to develop a comprehensive twenty-year growth plan, readers will find the review of suburbanization and the planning battles of the Christian Kahl and Spiro Agnew administrations particularly interesting. The rise and fall of the Democratic machine in the county is also a story most local readers will find fascinating because they will be able to supplement the book's descriptions with their own memories. The last chapter, contributed by William C. Hughes, is

on recent politics and carries the history of the contest between machine and non-machine politicians down to the end of 1978 and the election of Donald Hutchinson as County Executive.

While many parts of the book are enjoyable reading and provide tidbits of knowledge that Baltimore residents will find interesting, it has several flaws that limit its value. One limitation, for example, is that the book seems to fall between two stools. It does not offer enough new information or indepth analysis to be of significant value to the professional scholar and it is a little too long and dry for it to appeal to a more popular reading audience. Serious scholars who want to learn about Baltimore County's railroads or about the battles with the city over annexation will turn to more detailed and analytical accounts in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* or to specific monographs on those topics. Too much of the information in *A History of Baltimore County*, especially in the chapters covering the colonial and nineteenth-century periods, is taken from previously published secondary sources. The information on women in Chapter II, for example, seems to be largely based on Julia C. Spruill's *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies* and doesn't offer many new insights into the particular social history of Baltimore County. Social history in fact is too often given short shift throughout the book, while politics and economics are kept in the forefront. Only when the authors get to the story of post-World War II politics do they seem to be offering new material. The real value the book has for the serious history student is that it brings together in one place much information about the county that previously was scattered in dozens of books and articles. What new information the book contains is largely from research in the county and city newspapers.

For the general reader *A History of Baltimore County* may be too long (468 pages of text) to invite a thorough reading from cover to cover, but it is the type of book that can be enjoyed in smaller pieces. The founding and growth of individual communities like Towson or Catonsville, the role of the county in the Revolution and Civil War, or the recent history of the Venetoulis administration can be read separately since the book does not have a central thesis or theme that must be followed from beginning to end. Separate name and subject indexes make the book especially useful as a reference book. Less useful, however, is the bibliography which is a disappointing two pages in length. The reader who wants a more complete guide to source materials is directed to "see appropriate entries in the Notes" (p. 515). Unless the reader knows exactly which page to look on, however, he must dig through forty-five pages of notes. An annotated bibliography on both primary and secondary sources would have been a valuable addition to the book and would not have added much to the modest price.

Towson State University

DEAN ESSLINGER

Coal, Iron, and Slaves: Industrial Slavery in Maryland and Virginia, 1715-1865. By Ronald L. Lewis (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979. Pp. v, 283. \$22.95).

Studies in Afro-American slavery generally concentrate on the agricultural plantation which utilized the vast proportion of Negro labor. To that small, but growing corpus of literature dealing with industrial slavery, Ronald Lewis of the University of Delaware adds a useful analysis of the charcoal iron manufacture and coal mining in the Chesapeake region. But Lewis is concerned with more than merely describing the industrial bondage system; he also enters the thickets of argumentation over the profitability of slave labor industries and the place of slavery in the southern social milieu.

Therefore his study has broader implications than its title would indicate. For this reason, *Coal, Iron, and Slaves* must be seen in the context not only of the history of industrial slavery but also of the whole black American experience before emancipation.

Early studies of early southern iron manufacturing focused on the overall management of the industry rather than on the slave labor component. Similar emphasis came in the more particular studies dealing with the Baltimore Iron Works, the Tredegar Iron Works, and the Principio Company. Comparing his conclusions with those of Robert Starobin in *Industrial Slavery in the Old South* (1965), Lewis significantly augments our knowledge of slavery in the non-agricultural working environment.

When Lewis' arguments are related to the broader studies of scholars like Robert Fogel, Stanley Engerman, Vann Woodward, and Herbert Gutman, *Coal, Iron, and Slaves* takes on new importance. Lewis is not afraid to differ with some of the giants of American Negro history in his quest for the truth.

Lewis concentrates his research on materials relating to the Principio and Baltimore ironworks of colonial Maryland and the Oxford ironworks, the Richmond coal basin mines, and the extensive Tredegar enterprises of antebellum Virginia. His first two chapters provide a general survey of the two industries and, except for mining, his conclusions generally reaffirm those of earlier scholars: "From the very beginning of southern iron manufacture, slaves were the key ingredient in the labor force. Whenever possible, masters owned their skilled black artisans to insure stability at key positions in the production process. Common laborers were often owned as well, but as time wore on, they were increasingly hired from local owners and from slave-hiring marts which arose in various parts of the region. The pattern hardened into a tradition that lasted until it was destroyed in the Civil War" (p. 20).

After discussing the low percentage of black miners in the Kanawha fields of western Virginia and the Cumberland field of Maryland, Lewis concentrates his second chapter on "the now forgotten coal mines in eastern Virginia" which "played a crucial role in the industrial development of the rising towns and cities along the Atlantic seaboard" (p. 51) in the early nineteenth century. Although dwarfed by the massive production of the Pennsylvania fields by mid-century, "the Richmond Coal Basin . . . remained the most significant field in the South. Throughout the slave era, black bondsmen, both owned and hired, constituted the chief source of mine labor [in this field], and many coal companies invested significant amounts of capital in acquiring the services of their slave workers" (p. 74).

Lewis' emphasis shifts from colonial Maryland's iron manufacture to the iron and coal industries of antebellum Virginia because of Maryland's shift from slave to free labor in the course of the nineteenth century. This is unfortunate, since a comparison between the industrial labor force in the two Chesapeake states could have made this study more valuable. Most interesting is Lewis' rationale for the utilization of a free white labor force in the Cumberland coal field. Lewis found this situation the consequence of the domination of non-slave agriculture in the region, of the exploitation of the coal field late in the slave era, of the influx of northern capital behind such mining which had little interest in a black labor force, of the location of this field too close to the Mason-Dixon line to maintain a slave environment, and of the influx through Baltimore of immigrants with mining backgrounds who willingly worked the western Maryland collieries.

The third and fourth chapters describe "the web of interpersonal dynamics" between slaves, owners, and employers in which the Negroes played a "psychological game" with their masters in order to receive the best possible working conditions. Those conclusions, based upon the hired slave's ability to manipulate the sometimes

conflicting interests of his owner and employer to his own benefit, clearly contradict the scholarly tradition of the excessive exploitation of hired blacks as compared with owned slaves.

Confronting the problem of motivating and disciplining their hired and owned bondsmen, many masters found they had to provide economic, material, or psychological incentives to achieve the desired productivity. Brutality was a double-edged sword likely to result in lowered profits if utilized too severely. Consequently masters were prone to utilize positive incentives like free time, extra rations, production bonuses, credit, or overwork payments, all of which gave the enslaved "a considerable measure of control over the nature of their bondage—always within the limits of the institution, of course" (p. 119). Lewis argues this does not mean that masters acted totally rationally in their relations with their slaves or that the latter adopted a "Protestant work ethic" which supported the institution. In contrast to Fogel and Engerman, Lewis finds both sides often behaved "decidedly unlike the rational behavior of 'homo economicus'" (p. 127) portrayed by the authors of *Time on the Cross*.

When discussing iron plantation and coal mining productivity in Chapter 6, Lewis cannot accept Starobin's optimistic conclusions relative to the profitability of industrial slave labor enterprises. While Maryland's colonial iron works yielded significant economic rewards to their investors, Lewis finds that the slave labor industries did not compete successfully in the emerging national market economy of the antebellum South. The reasons for this vary. In the iron industry, the investment costs of qualified slaves forced manufacturers to forego technological improvements that allowed northern ironmasters lowered production costs. In the collieries, a peculiar geological condition of the Richmond Basin necessitated costly deep shaft mining rather than the horizontal mines of the North. In both industries, Lewis claims managerial inadequacies constituted the single most crucial factor in the lowered profitability of the slave industries when compared to their free labor competitors. One wonders if the failure to utilize corporate investment policies was not an additional limiting factor in southern industrial expansion and profitability.

Given these conclusions, why did southern manufacturers persist in using slave labor? Part of it was traditional, based upon the success of the colonial era and the desire by the southern manufacturer to have the same nearly absolute control over his labor force that the planters had over theirs. In his final chapter, Lewis concludes that "Southern entrepreneurs were not the vanguard of a modern industrial order, thwarted by a reactionary planter class . . . in the final analysis, both industrialists and planters were social conservatives. Neither group seriously questioned the economic value and social necessity of slave labor as the foundation of southern society" (p. 234).

Overall, *Coal, Iron, and Slaves* is a highly useful book. In numerous particulars there are inadequacies. A goodly number of these revolve around his failure to contrast the growing free labor industries of antebellum Maryland with the slave labor ones of Virginia. Consequently, we are unable to benefit from a comparison that would have made this book a seminal study.

In his fifth chapter dealing with the daily life of the workmen, Lewis tries to incorporate the concepts of Herbert Gutman to his discussion of the industrial slave's family. Here the conclusions are incomplete due to both a failure to fully utilize the evidence at hand and a failure to exploit fully the primary resources at his disposal. Nothing could better explain the high percentage of runaways from ironworks and mines than the sex ratio at these two industries. There were many more unmarried adult men than married ones. Such a sexual imbalance could only partially be augmented by marriages outside the industrial plantation. Sex ratios greatly exceed those

found by Allan Kulikoff for Maryland agricultural plantations during the eighteenth century and the failure of Lewis to comment on this is disturbing. "The disruptive potential" (p. 169) of this condition is not explored; but could it not have impaired the productivity of the work force? Did it not contribute to the high turnover in hired slave manpower which had a detrimental effect upon the performance of workers in the skilled occupations at the mines? It would appear that industrial slavery was far more detrimental than agricultural slavery to the development of families. In fact, Lewis failed to exploit the unexplored Principio Company archives at the Historical Society of Delaware which could have opened new vistas on both the slave family and the profitability of colonial ironworks.

While he does not provide the final word, Professor Lewis has moved the discussion of industrial slavery forward in a reasoned manner and all future commentators on the subject must be cognizant of his important contributions. Moreover, he has broken significant new ground in the analysis of the eastern Virginia coal fields.

Bowling Green State University

DAVID CURTIS SKAGGS

Interviewing the People of Pennsylvania: A Conceptual Guide to Oral History. By Carl Oblinger. (Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1978. Pp. 84. \$2.50.)

Demonstration books, usually built on oral history interview excerpts, are published regularly by oral history offices or projects, to publicize their collections, to reward the individuals or community from which intriguing and significant material was drawn and to point the way to continued activity in the design of future oral history projects.

This book from the Oral History Project of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission is distinguished not by its interview excerpts, which are few, but by the value of four highly descriptive essays which deal with experiences in four areas of investigation, analyze their findings up to now and then offer informed suggestions for further research using oral history interviewing. The last is more insightful and professional in very specific ways than anything this writer has seen.

The first essay describes the Commission's interview program with black residents of Pennsylvania cities who had moved up from the South in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s. Carl Oblinger, the author, emphasizes the importance of understanding the extensive kin network as it translated to Northern cities and points out other cultural values to be aware of and further questions to be asked.

Their second interview series dealt with the southeastern European immigrants of the early twentieth century, the apparent connection between certain ethnic groups and occupations, the position of women, the prevalence of the "American Dream" and so on. Once again questions are raised, based on what this series revealed.

A third essay deals with native working class families as they were in the early twentieth century and how values and aspirations have changed over two and three generations. Results are discussed and further lines of inquiry suggested.

In the final essay three investigative approaches are suggested for reconstructing the history of small town life in Pennsylvania, but these would be applicable in any small town, just as the lessons learned from the other Pennsylvania projects would be when interviewing for the life stories of the non-elite.

The Pennsylvania Oral History Project has amassed over one thousand interviews since 1971. Its approach has been sociological, its focus the hitherto unrecorded lives of

lower and middle class working people. The author, who is also director of the Project, clearly sets forth this orientation and the commitment he feels to a "grass roots" rationale for oral history. He offers the book as something "to help other groups of people recover and communicate their past. It is a guide which puts the stress on conceptualizing an entire project rather than on the mechanical and procedural technique!!! . . . discursive, random and idiosyncratic interviewing has all too often characterized local volunteer efforts. Because of such unsystematic though well-meaning efforts, the resulting information is usually an unmanageable pile that soon buries the most eager."

While such an indictment was all too true at one time, oral historians today are moving away from these scattered goals. Perhaps the realities of time and money expended, if nothing else, have made the point that preliminary thought, planning and determination of focus (conceptualization) are necessary to reap the best harvest.

The essays are based on three assumptions, two of which are basic to any historical research. First, oral history is a major source of historical evidence, but background research in the traditional written sources must not be neglected. Second, the importance of constant concern for accuracy cannot be over-rated and oral history techniques enable the oral historian to use new and unique methods to accomplish this, such as repeated interviewing and renewed probing after accumulating research.

His third point is "to conceptualize the project in terms of certain historical processes." He suggests examining the social processes of a specific group for a specific period of time, using a set of related, not random questions, looking for changes in values and behavior *over time*, leisurely autobiographical interviewing of carefully chosen narrators which will ultimately reconstruct life histories and remembering that future work in the areas of family life, occupational change or whatever must be comparative and so what is being done now should be available for future comparisons. He suggests that in any interview the interviewer will profit by asking what was the actual social structure or conduct and what was the desired or proper behavior.

Four appendices are of varying value. They include forms and instructions used by the Pennsylvania Commission and lists of questions for interviewing senior citizens, family and work respondents, ethnics and minorities, and community history informants.

Maryland Historical Society

BETTY MCKEEVER KEY

Maryland Naval Barges in the Revolutionary War. By John H. Jeffries.

This attractive little monograph of only 22 pages is quickly read, and for the general reader is doubtless satisfying, but for those with some knowledge of Maryland's history it leaves much unsaid that might well have been covered, but hardly in a book of this size. It was evidently not intended to be a work of great depth or wide scope.

A few names are mentioned, but since this book emanates from Somerset County, it seems strange that there is only the most casual reference to "Mr. Dashiell," meaning either the stalwart patriot, Col George Dashiell, of Somerset, or his brother, the equally staunch Col. Joseph Dashiell of Worcester, both of whom were much concerned with the barges, and were frequently writing to the Governor and Council, reporting on the state of affairs in their respective counties and imploring help in defending them from the truly savage depredations of the "Tory boats," as Col. Harry Hooper styled them, and their desperado crews. They also used barges and other types of vessels as well, and there were a number of encounters, less publicized but more successful than the famous Battle of Cage's Strait, a disaster for the Maryland barges and fatal to their

heroic Commodore Zedekiah Walley (or Whaley) and a number of his fellow officers and crew.

It is suggested on page 17 that the builders of the barges worked from half-models. Although this method was prevalent during much of the nineteenth century, there is no evidence that it was used before the 1790's on the Chesapeake or elsewhere.

On page 18 is a list of barges, evidently from pages 2 and 4 of Scharf's *History of Maryland*. Unfortunately, Scharf seems quite unreliable in matters maritime and naval as is evident from this list. *Venus* was a sloop belonging to Capt. Delisle, hired for the expedition of March 1783 (*Maryland Archives*, 5: 48, 384). And the *Dolphin* was a schooner, generally referred to simply as a "State Boat".

There is no question that authentic descriptive information about the barges is exceedingly scanty; whatever there may be is probably buried among contemporary manuscripts, which makes the preparation of a book about them a difficult undertaking.

It may seem strange to the casual reader that the surrender of Lord Cornwallis took place in October 1781, and that the war ended then. But not on tidewater Maryland and Virginia, where the depredations of the "Picaroons" persisted until March 1783, when word was received of the signing on November 30, 1782 of the preliminary Articles of Peace.

Maryland Historical Society

DR. F. E. CHATARD

Holy Trinity, Collington: Her People and their Church. By Constance Pelzer Ackerson. (Privately printed, 1978. Pp. 284. Obtainable from the Church, P.O. Box 560, Bowie, Maryland, 20715. \$12.50)

Holy Trinity Church, Collington, Prince George's County, traces its origin from the family chapel of Mareen Duvall established about 1704, through subsequent years as a chapel of ease of Queen Anne Parish, until independent status was achieved in 1844. Today it serves the rapidly developing community of Belair-Bowie. Much concerning its history is preserved in the Maryland Diocesan Archives, on deposit in the Maryland Historical Society, but now a comprehensive account, drawing on many sources, has been produced by a parishioner, Constance Pelzer Ackerson.

The dust jacket of this large and attractive volume bears the additional subtitle, *A History of People and Events, Two Hundred and Seventy Years*, which sums up the ambitious scope of this endeavor. This is no simple narrative of parochial affairs: one of the author's aims was to convey "the flavor of the past two centuries and more" in that part of Maryland, and she has evoked the past in a pleasantly conversational style, enlivened by reflections and anecdotes, chronicling matters both great and small. The work is an omnium-gatherum of information on local events, personalities, families, and social conditions, from colonial times to the present, with background material on the history of Britain, Maryland, the Church of England, and the Episcopal Church throughout the period. Some of this treatment is perforce superficial, and a net so widely cast was bound to gather in many miscellaneous items, of varying degrees of value, including some minutiae of only limited appeal, but it holds much of interest to those connected with Prince George's County.

The book does not claim to be a scholarly production, although evidently much care and research have gone into it—pedantic footnotes and an occasional citation are omitted, generalizations and family legends are included—but it may be all the more attractive to the general public on that account. It is embellished with many photo-

graphs, maps, and sketches, and it includes land records of the area, chronologies, copies of memorial inscriptions, items from old scrapbooks, and extracts from parish records. A host of individuals are mentioned, and there are brief biographies of thirteen rectors of the parish and some members of the laity.

References to local families comprise a substantial part of the work and are too numerous to list entirely. Genealogists will be interested in sections dealing with the Addison, Belt, Bowie, Clagett-Claggett, Duvall, Mullikin, Ogle, Roberts, Slingluff, Hardisty, Tyler, and Woodward families, among many others.

Maryland Diocesan Archives

GARNER RANNEY

Maryland Manual of Oral History. By Betty McKeever Key. (Oral History Office, Library of the Maryland Historical Society, 1979. 47 pp. \$2.00).

Betty McKeever Key's *Maryland Manual of Oral History* is a clearly written, thorough introduction for anyone planning to launch an oral history project. She discusses the kinds of oral history most often developed including projects interviewing senior citizens, library local history programs and its application in school. She provides sensible advice on how to define and monitor a project. She stresses the importance of insuring quality usefulness and accessibility of information. She shares with us the variety of forms necessary to control a project, release forms, guides to narrators, transcribers guide sheets. Anyone starting an oral history project would benefit from this pamphlet.

Towson State University

JEAN SCARPACI

Politics and Power in a Slave Society: Alabama, 1800-1860. By J. Mills Thornton III. (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1978. Pp. xxiv, 492. \$22.50).

As the author takes great pains to establish, this is not just another state level analysis of the secession crisis. Rather than define state political development from a national perspective, Thornton examines Alabama's indigenous political culture as it evolved from its creation as a state through the decision to secede from the union forty years later. The dominant political theme, from the Jacksonian era to the election of Lincoln, was a pride in individualism and a fear of enslavement. Citizens from all social classes, combining in every political party, fiercely resisted the economic enslavement epitomized by monopolies, and the sectional enslavement inherent in the Free Soil controversy. The political crisis of 1860, according to Thornton, was the denouement of the forces unleashed by Jacksonian politics. Alabamians seceded not to defend the institution of slavery, rather they mobilized to protect the South itself from Northern enslavement.

This thesis adds to the recent literature on the origins of the Civil War. According to Eric Foner in *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men*, the nation was divided against itself into two antithetical cultures, and the Republican party victory in 1860 was significant because it showed how many people from diverse political backgrounds embraced the northern cultural attitude. Foner, however, never directly investigated the southern mind set, instead he characterized it only from the northern perspective. Thornton corrects this bias. Besides organizing his book around the theme of power versus freedom, which serves to characterize the economic rivalries of the Jacksonian era and the sec-

tional conflict of the 1850s, he also analyzes who supported whom and for what reasons. The people fell in behind the secession movement not because they identified with the planter ideal, but rather because they shared the view that Southern economic prosperity was tied to slavery, which would inevitably fall to ruin with the adoption of the Free Soil doctrine. Furthermore, they despaired of a future in which there were more blacks than whites in an environment lacking the social controls built into the institution of slavery. If Congress closed the frontier to the expansion of slavery, the South would be enslaved, impoverished, and enervated due to selfish northern policy.

This book exhibits the complexity of political parties in a federal system. On one level, Thornton shows the difficulties state parties had in subscribing to regional and national party positions. On a more subtle level, he expands upon a theme introduced by Lee Benson in *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy*. Benson developed the idea of the positive and negative liberal state to explain how various political groups used legislation to control their rivals or to protect themselves. Thornton builds upon this insight to demonstrate how rival parties tried to use the state to attain political goals. The Whigs, for instance, advocated creating monopolies in order to stimulate economic development which would protect individual freedom; the Democrats, on the other hand, fought monopolies as retarding economic development and denying individual freedom. Economic issues characterized political rivalries through the 1850s and the victory of one party was not perceived as an essential denial of the rights of the other. The Free Soil crisis, involving the authority of the central government to deny the freedom of every citizen to settle on the frontier, unified southerners of various political persuasions in a common defense of individual rights. As national political parties disintegrated in the 1850s, this defense of "freedom" became the essence of the southern position.

Much of Thornton's analysis focuses on political leadership. Alabama's political leaders came from the Broad River group of former Georgia planters, whose dominance lasted into the early statehood years, when they fell to a rival planter elite from Tennessee. Despite the egalitarian campaign rhetoric of the second party period, political recruitment and leadership patterns remained constant through 1850. Most Alabamians took a detached view of the Nullification Crisis and found Calhoun's clarion call for aggrieved southern rights irrelevant to their situation. Perceiving a change in the electorate in the 1850s, which had become indifferent to the traditional economic issues, politicians from the traditional leadership class saw the sectional crisis as a way to rejuvenate lagging popular support and to keep themselves in power. The Fire-Eaters and the secession crisis did not challenge their power. Rather, it served to refocus the Southern mind on the external Northern threat, and to enlist Southerners of all persuasions in a crusade led by the traditional elite.

There are parts of this comprehensive and subtle analysis which remain unconvincing or unproven. Looking for the symbolic meaning of political conflict, Thornton analyzes popular voting in a cursory fashion, and then only on the county level. Similarly, although he posits regional divisions within the state, he does not elaborate upon this insight through a systematic analysis of local opinion. Most importantly, there is a paucity of direct evidence attesting to the fact that non-slave owning whites supported the secession movement because of a perceived fear of Northern enslavement.

This is a bold, new interpretation. It deserves to be read critically by Southern and Civil War historians alike. Not everyone will agree with his argument or with his conclusions, but no one can deny that it is well written and forcefully argued.

University of Maryland

WHITMAN H. RIDGWAY

The Gentlemen Theologians: American Theology in Southern Culture, 1795-1860. By E. Brooks Holifield. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1978. Pp. x, 3-262. \$14.75.)

Within the last decade southern religion has been recognized as a topic worthy of sustained historical investigation. Books and articles have been published on the "evangelical revolt" of revolutionary Virginia, on the Great Revival that swept across the South after 1800, on the resulting camp-meeting religion of the southern plain folk, on the religious myths of the white southerners, on the religion of the slaves; recently an interpretative general study of religion in the Old South was printed. Along with these broader works have been appearing an ever-increasing number of more particularistic studies on individual states, synods, associations, churches, and ministers. Now Professor Holifield of the Candler School of Theology at Emory University has provided another study that ably complements the emerging portrait of the religious life and mind of the Old South. Space permits here neither an extended analysis of this expanding field of research nor an attempt to synthesize the growing body of scholarship. Only the nature and scope of Professor Holifield's book can be indicated.

As its title suggests, *The Gentlemen Theologians* shifts away from what has been the primary focus of research—the religion of the southern folk, black and white—to an emphasis on the technical theological concerns of that tiny minority of scholarly clergymen who lived, preached, thought, and published in the South's scattered towns and cities. Employing more the history-of-ideas approach than cultural or religious history, Professor Holifield has considered carefully the careers and published writings of an elite one hundred southern urban white clergymen. (Although when discussing the theological ideas circulating in the South, Holifield rightfully does not restrict himself to citing only members of his control group.) Acknowledging that such a prosopographic profile of literary ministers "does not reveal much about the typical preacher in the rural South" (p. 25), Holifield's band of clergy vividly shows that there were in the region at least a handful of learned clergy who were concerned with ideas, who wanted to professionalize the ministry, and who wanted to acquire such a social class as to be able to expand their influence among emerging urban economic and political elites. These one hundred were far more wealthy, had far more education, and enjoyed far more influence than a typical preacher. This able minority edited southern religious periodicals, published theological tomes, taught in colleges and seminaries. As one would expect, this elite group did not accurately reflect denominational membership figures in the South. While about three-fourths of southern church members were Methodist or Baptists, only forty-one Baptists and Methodist ministers made the top 100. Thirty-seven Presbyterians, on the other, were listed among the elite. Clearly "typicality" was less important than "visibility" or "influence" as determined by social status, publications, and the like. Holifield, then, is directing his attention not at the "clerical populists" who most southern church-goers heard preach regularly, but instead at an influential few who, according to the author, shaped southern theology.

Well-educated, upper-middle class urban ministers, hoping by their dress, deportment, and sermons to commend their faith to fellow professionals and social leaders, conducted themselves in a much more refined manner than did frontier revivalists. These "gentlemen theologians" found that their social setting and genteel aspirations led them to emphasize a calmer, less emotional, more rational faith. Not only did such a theology better suit their sensibilities, but if they were to have any success attracting an influential urban congregation, their sermons had to reflect the qualities of reasonableness, literary style, and urbanity valued by the upper middle class. The result was a

stress on rational orthodoxy that came from an ancient tradition in Christianity. Holifield is at his best in the six chapters that discuss the theological ideas, their roots and consequences, of the southern religious elite. He traces the influence of traditions as broad as the early church fathers and Thomas Aquinas through the Scottish common-sense philosophers to German biblical critics. On a variety of topics Holifield provides fresh understanding and insight. One of his major intentions is to show that southern theologians did not abandon reason in a prolonged fit of emotional frenzy—the reasonableness of faith was a major concern of the gentlemen theologians. For them reason anticipated, confirmed, and illuminated revelation. Moreover, most of them taught that as rational beings persons were responsible not only for their beliefs but for their actions, hence an antebellum emphasis on moralism. God, man, and history they believed susceptible to understanding because everything was grounded in a universe of rationality, hence an antebellum emphasis on theodicy. On topics as diverse as the controversies over infant baptism to the rise of ministerial biographies Holifield provides well-researched information and careful analysis. His work is based on a solid foundation of research in the printed and manuscript sources.

Professor Holifield notes in his introduction that in part what he has attempted to do is reveal the complexity of the southern religious situation. He does not intend to deny that revivalistic emotionalism was prevalent in the antebellum South, nor does he argue that a sophisticated rationalistic orthodoxy was universal. He does imply that previous scholars have so overemphasized the emotionalism of southern religion and hence failed to acknowledge the rational element that the result has been an erroneously uni-dimensional portrait of the South. In part he is correct, and his description of the theological interests of a small urban elite of southern ministers provides a useful contrast and corrective to earlier studies. He is careful to explain that his gentlemen theologians were in the minority, though he claims for them great influence. Certainly they did have an influence out of proportion to their numbers, but he does not trace out this influence. Exactly how significant they were, who they influenced, how their ideas touched the lives of the huge mass of southern churchgoers he never explains. And in fact early scholars with different concerns who chose to emphasize the dominant “clerical populists” and the resulting “camp-meeting revivalism” of the folk did recognize a structure of rationality in the belief systems of the revival preachers. For example, the book quoted in Holifield’s introduction to the effect that southern faith was “‘almost totally’ from the heart, not the head” (p. 3) took pains to elaborate the theodicy through which evangelicals came to reason that a revival was imminent. Moreover, that same book explained that the revivalist preachers to a surprising degree desired intellectual and rational assent to their sermons. The emotional call for conversion was often like an appendix to the regular sermon, and sometimes even specialists in “exhortation” made what was called the “application.” The gospel was typically presented as a reasonable proposition, and often God’s attractive love was the prevalent emotion engendered, not fear of Satan’s wicked snares. This is, however, a false controversy, for Holifield surely recognizes the strength of the revivalistic tradition while reminding us not to forget the lesser though still important genteel theological tradition that was its contemporary. Because many of us have been so preoccupied with spelling out the origins and consequences of the popular folk belief, it is well and good to have Professor Holifield’s book with its preoccupation with the other side of southern religion.

Tulane University

JOHN B. BOLES

BOOK NOTE

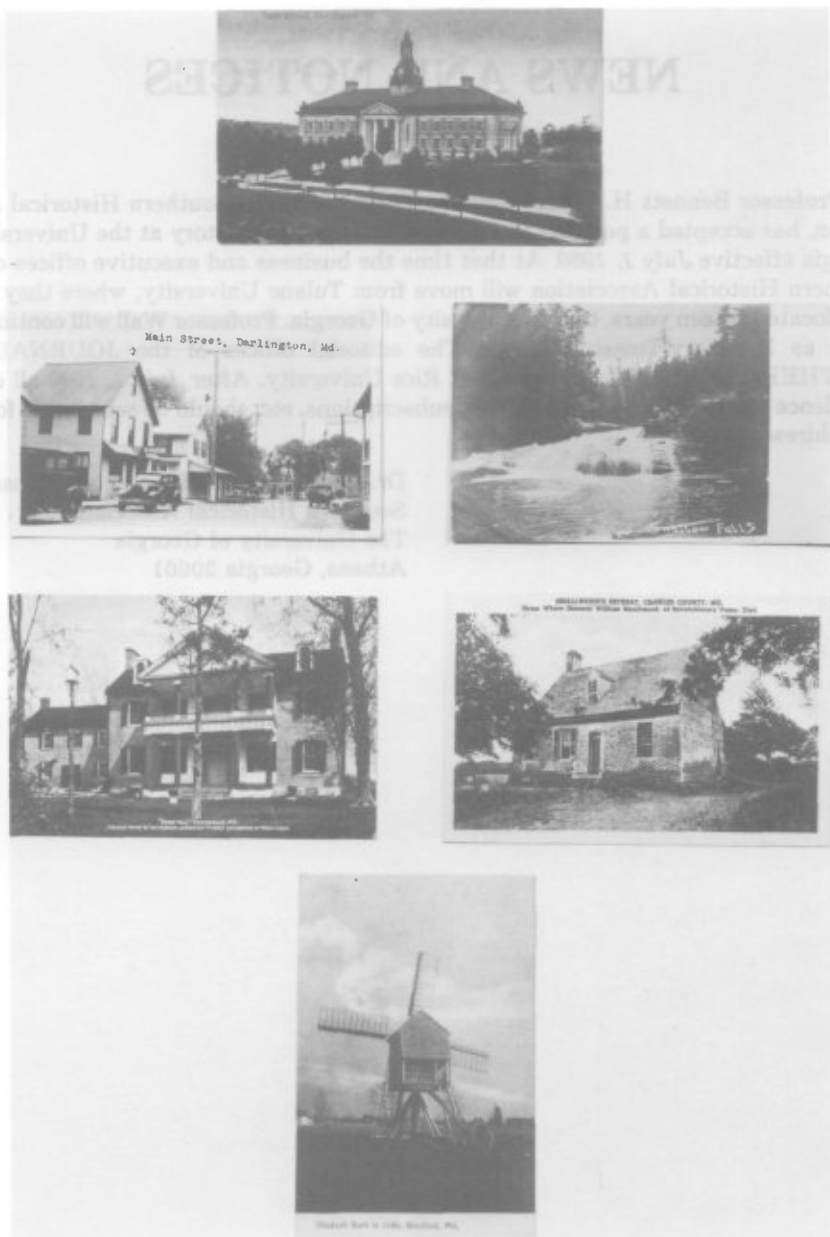
The Maryland Historical Society Library has received a grant from the Maryland Committee for the Humanities to publish a comprehensive directory of oral history collections, projects, and centers in Maryland. Used in conjunction with the *Maryland Manual of Oral History* and the Maryland Historical Society oral history information file, the directory will increase the research use of oral history collections and serve as a statewide union list and reference tool for continuing oral history work in Maryland. Dr. Larry E. Sullivan, project director, and Betty McKeever Key, director of the Library's Oral History Office and associate project director, will survey all Maryland oral history collections, including tapes held in libraries, colleges, high schools, historical organizations, institutions and business offices and by individuals. The number of interviews, the average length, the percentage transcribed, and the collection accessibility will be described. The directory will also describe in detail the subject of the interviews to enable researchers to determine the extent and depth of coverage. Publication is scheduled for fall, 1980. Requests for registration and entry forms may be directed to Mrs. Key at the Oral History Office.

NEWS AND NOTICES

Professor Bennett H. Wall, Secretary-Treasurer of the Southern Historical Association, has accepted a position as Lecturer in American History at the University of Georgia effective *July 1, 1980*. At that time the business and executive offices of the Southern Historical Association will move from Tulane University, where they have been located fifteen years, to the University of Georgia. Professor Wall will continue to serve as Secretary-Treasurer there. The editorial offices of the *JOURNAL OF SOUTHERN HISTORY* will remain at Rice University. After *July 1, 1980* all correspondence about SHA business affairs, subscriptions, etc. should be sent to the following address:

Dr. Bennett H. Wall, Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Historical Association
The University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia 30601

COUNTIES IN POSTCARDS



Second in the series representing Maryland counties are these cards which illustrate some of the types of subjects popularly considered to have scenic appeal. Staid portraits of official buildings and historic sites, informal photographs of friends enjoying the beauties of nature, and snapshot views with a hometown flavor have all satisfied the terse correspondent's sense of attractiveness and convenience. *Top*: Cecil County, Memorial Hall, Port Deposit. *2nd row*: Harford County, Main Street, Darlington; Garrett County, Swallow Falls. *3rd row*: Frederick County, Rose Hill; Charles County, Smallwood's Retreat. *Bottom*: Dorchester County, Windmill in Woolford.

COUNTY HISTORICAL HAPPENINGS



Cecil County: Located in the County Library Building, Elkton, the Cecil County Historical Society's museum has a colonial kitchen, country store and a charming children's room. A log cabin schoolhouse circa 1799, the first formal one in Elkton, is located behind the library—all are open Thursday, 1-5 p.m. Currently, an exhibit on local history features the Fassitt Family of Ury Farm named after the family estate in Scotland. Past exhibits included "Wrought Iron" by A. M. Moolsenschot, a designer with extensive knowledge of early iron pieces. A pamphlet on historic Elks Landing is available from the society. Its scholarship committee annually awards a cash prize to the county high school student sub-

mitting the best family genealogy with local roots. "Backroading through Cecil County," a lecture by Dr. Nancy Sawin, highlighted the group's spring meeting at Fort Hollingsworth followed by a tour of Perry Point Mansion, Perryville, during a summer/fall meeting.



PORT TOBACCO, MARYLAND

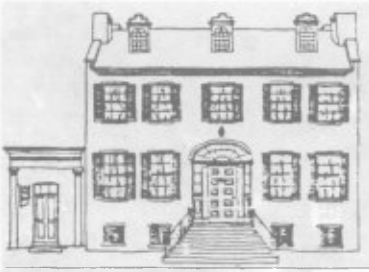
Charles County: Friendship House, circa 1680, now reconstructed on the campus of Charles County Community College, La Plata, is a Charles County Historical Society continuing project. Open by appointment, this small seventeenth-century structure even has its own charming rag doll originally found in its walls. The "Friendship House

Doll" is available at \$15.00 each from the Society, Port Tobacco, MD 20677, with proceeds being applied to the museum fund. The original rag doll may be seen at the Southern Maryland Room, Community College Library, where the Society's entire collection is housed. A January raffle of an American Sheraton sideboard generously donated by a Society member will benefit Friendship House, which is also the site of a Charles County Garden Club Wildflowers planting project. A lecture by a National Portrait Gallery Historian entitled "Abroad in America: Visitors to the New World and Their Impressions, 1776-1914," a program on historic Catslide House, Port Tobacco, and a "Surratt House and Family" presentation were featured at Charles County Historical Society meetings.



*Meredith House—Built 1760 - Dedicated 1960
Home of Dorchester County Historical Society*

Dorchester County: Installation of a formal garden at Meredith House, the Dorchester County Historical Society's headquarters in Cambridge, plus restoration of Stanley Institute, a one-room schoolhouse at Christ Rock, and the Church Creek schoolhouse were continuous projects along with the rapidly expanding Farm Museum. Special exhibits included a quilt show—1762-1979, a harvest festival, plus six seminars on "A Study of Cambridge—Its People and Its Culture." In conjunction with Chesapeake College, the Society presented a continuing education course entitled Tidewater Archaeology. A special lecture/showing Indian artifacts and "The Migration of the Adena People from the Ohio Valley to the Eastern Outpost in Dorchester County," by The Hon. W. B. Yates, II, John Barth's "Historical Fiction and Fictitious History" plus an illustrated talk, ("Coordination of Museums and Places of Historical Interest on the Eastern Shore"), by architect J. L. Graham, attracted many attendees. The Society's current winter exhibit is "Bronze Sculptures of Bayre's Animals."



Frederick County: Tours, elegant Christmas and memorable garden parties hold forth at the 26-room mansion and formal garden, 24 East Church Street, Frederick. The museum also houses a children's section, library and a War Room. Volunteers man Attic Treasures, the small annex shop of the museum. Two CETA employees are currently cataloguing the society's collection, while Hood College students continue to serve in an exciting intern program. Among

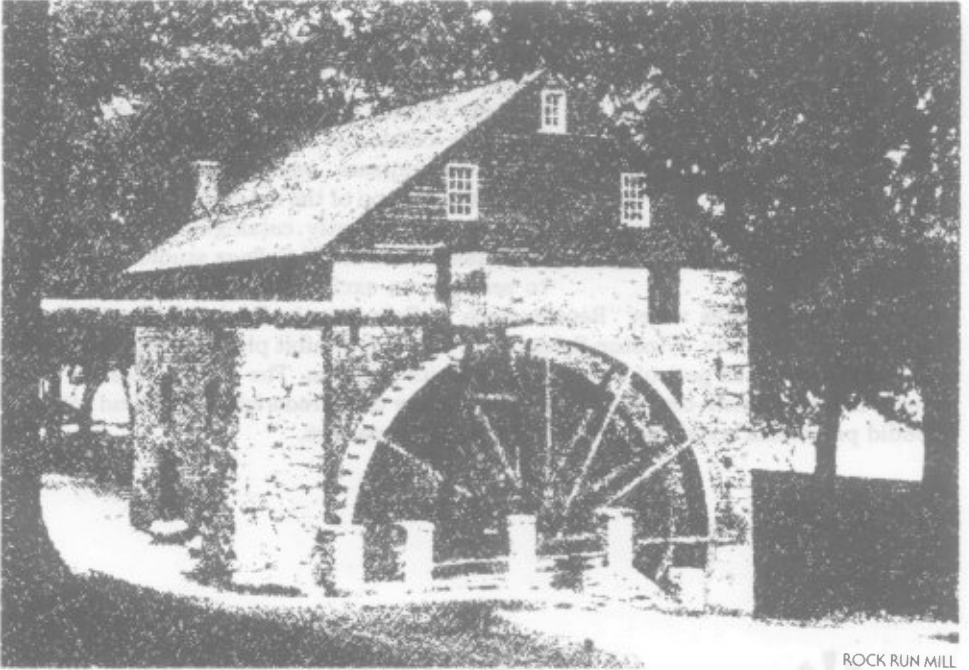
the six annual lectures were: "Recollections of Schooling in Frederick County" and "Local Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem, N.C. A textile exhibit plus artifacts from local digs were featured as part of a changing exhibits program. The society recently published a mid-nineteenth-century three-volume diary of a Frederick mayor, and offers a splendid paperback cookbook available at its headquarters.



Garrett County: Maryland's youngest county and its largest in area, the Garrett County Historical Society's quarterly magazine, *The Glades Star*, is currently mailed to members in 28 states. Many of the Society's members are involved with "the first written history of Maryland's Tableland," which is available from local libraries and/or the Society. Ongoing projects include the ten-year old Garrett County Historical Museum, Oakland, which takes full advantage of Deep Creek Lake's summer tourists through extended opening hours. Its main gallery is devoted to memorabilia and furniture usually attributed to

the County's founding families. The exhibit area is being expanded to include the lower level. An oral history project is "in the works." The Society's annual banquet featured a talk and demonstration on the heritage of the dulcimer followed by a fall tour of the Friendsville area, including the site of John Friend's cabin (the area's first permanent settler in approximately 1765).

Harford County: A special exhibit such as a recent "Miniatures—Doll Houses and their Furnishings," is open to the public each fourth Sunday of the month at the Harford County Historical Society's small house museum, the Hays House, (c. 1788) in Bel Air. Through the efforts of the Country Garden Club and HSHC members, the museum



ROCK RUN MILL

has an attractive new setting with period fencing. Because of road construction changing a quiet alley to a major state road, Hays House has become more visible reports the Society's president. The fall meeting at Little Falls Meeting House, Fallston, featured a program about the Society of Friends. A matching grant from the County Council Cultural Advisory Board has enabled painting restoration. The Society continues cataloging its archival collection, housed temporarily through the courtesy of a local business. A long-term project is a permanent archival depository... a challenge for the membership.

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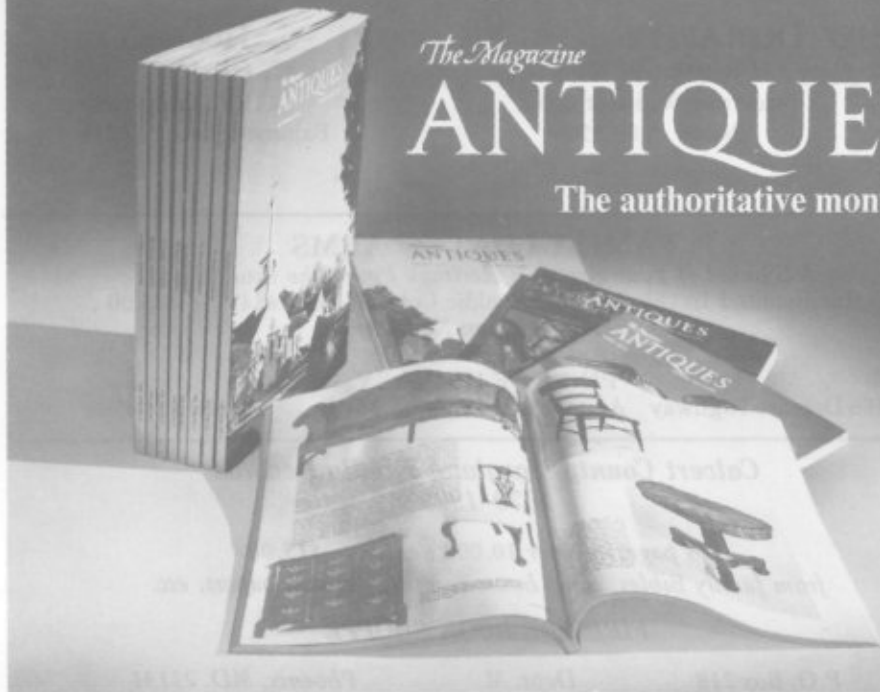
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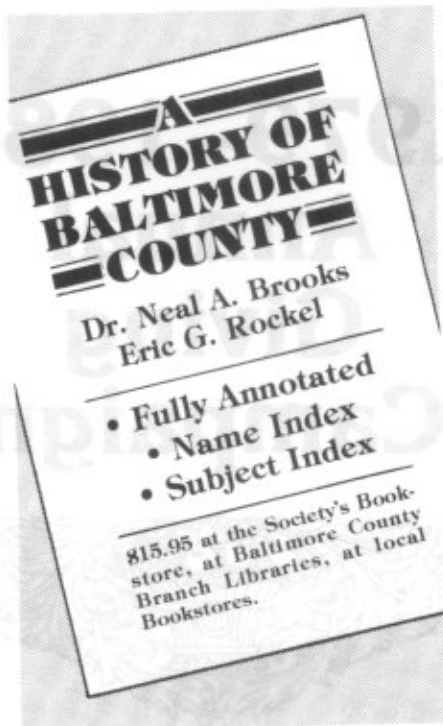
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