

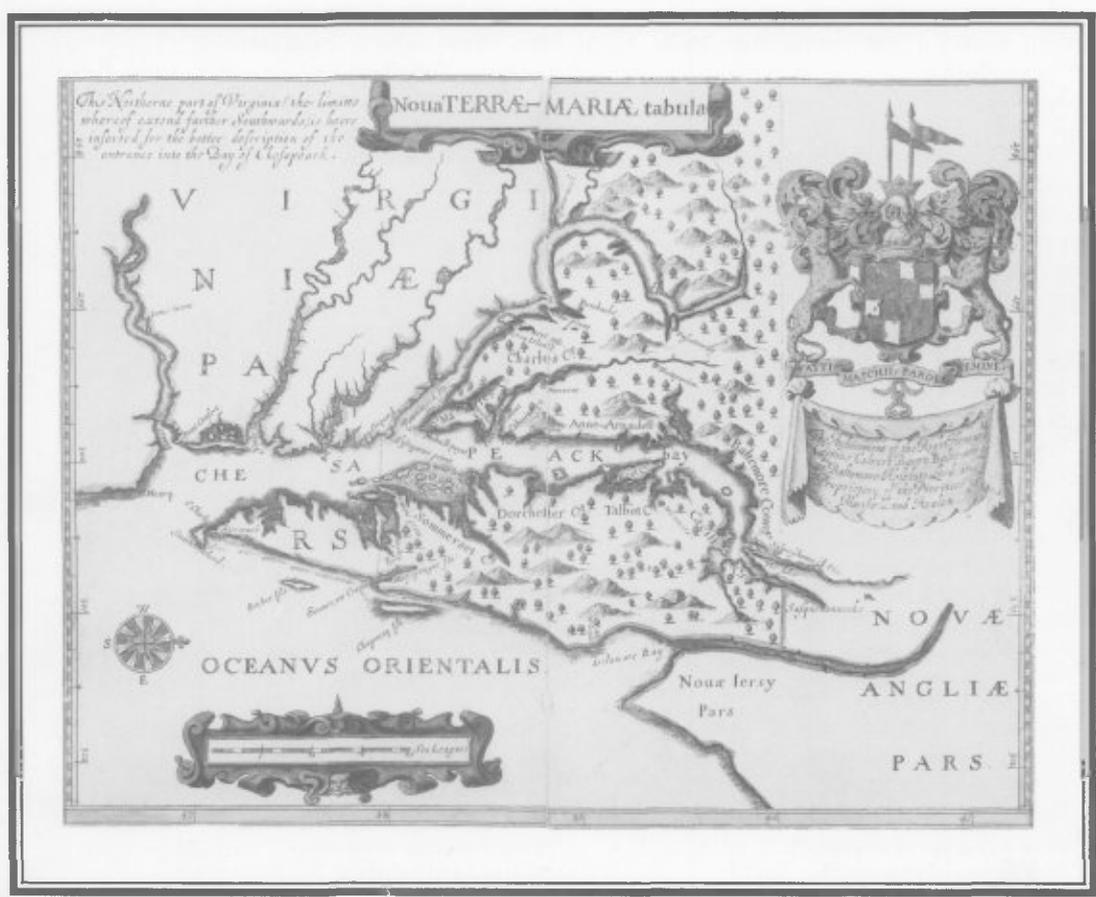
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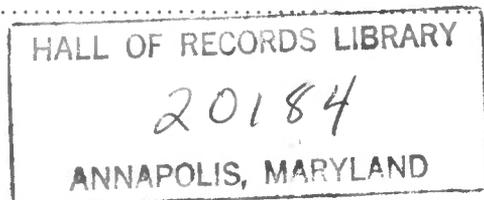
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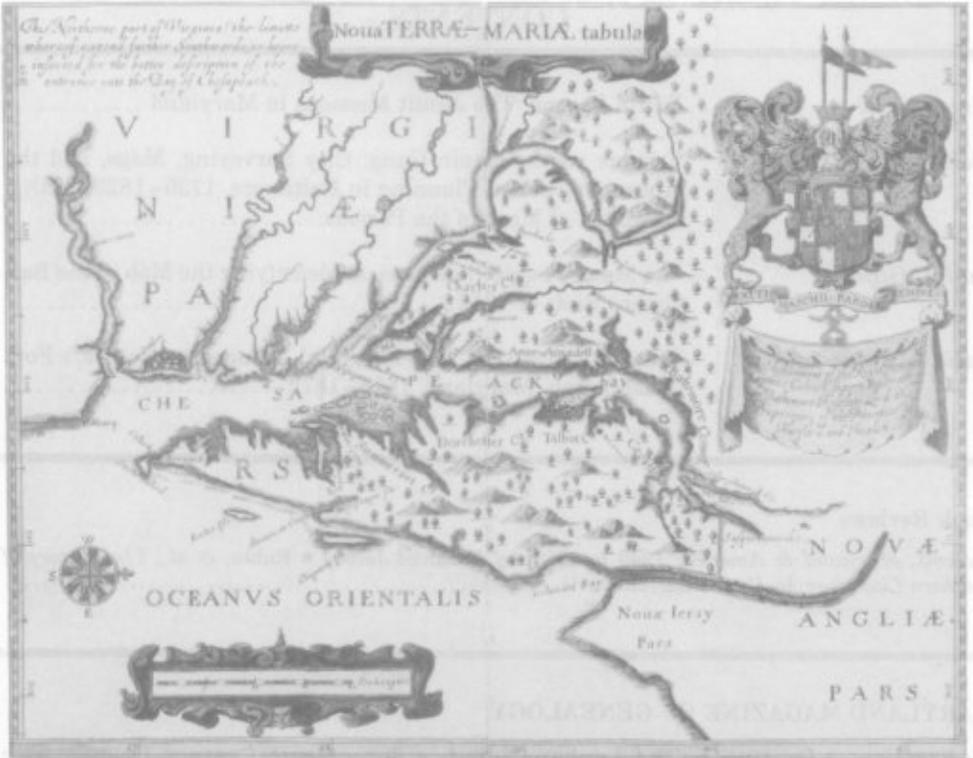
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John Ogilby. Noua TERRAE-MARIAE tabula.

From *America: being the latest, and most accurate description of the New World . . . adorn'd with maps and sculptures* (London, 1671).

Engraving, hand colored.

Plate 30.0 × 38.2 cm; on sheet 40.5 × 45.7 cm.

Prints and Photographs Division, Maryland Historical Society Library.

The Ogilby map is a slightly revised version of the "Lord Baltimore map," which first appeared in *A Relation of Maryland* (1635). The principal changes in the Ogilby map are its extension of the colony's northern boundary and its reference to Cecil County (three years before the county's official creation).



White Legend: The Jesuit Missions in Maryland

JAMES AXTELL

THE HISTORY OF JESUIT MISSIONS TO THE Indians in colonial Maryland is quickly told and, it must be said, merits little space in the history of the colony or of English colonization in general. Even in the larger history of the Society of Jesus it warrants only a small footnote and, given the amount of documentation we have, perhaps an even smaller one in the ethnohistory of the coastal Algonquians. But it is not totally without interest, particularly when we compare it with the longer and more remarkable experience of the Jesuits in New France. The strong contrasts in personnel, means, and results between the English Jesuits in Maryland and their French confrères in Canada do much to illuminate the history of both.

The *Ark* and the *Dove* were carrying two Jesuit priests and a lay brother when they tacked up the Potomac in the early spring of 1634. Another priest and brother followed close behind to help begin the hopeful work of inducing the natives of Maryland to "civility," seducing them to Christianity, and reducing them to allegiance to the English crown.

The Black Robes played a not unimportant and altogether characteristic role in the opening scenes of settlement. After erecting a cross on Blakiston's Island to take "solemn possession of the Country," the Jesuits—probably Father Andrew White, at fifty-five one of Leonard Calvert's wisest heads—advised the governor to confer with the "emperour" or tayac of the Piscataways, the Indian overlord of the region, before striking set-

tlement. So a party set off in a pinnace to pay a courtesy call some 120 miles upriver. One reason for the small size of the delegation was to allay the fears of the natives all along the river, who had been told by William Claiborne, a Virginia councillor with a fur trade empire on the upper Chesapeake, that the Spanish were coming with six ships to destroy them all and possess their country. While it was politically astute, White's tactic was also consonant with Loyola's *Constitutions* for the Jesuit order, which instructed missionaries to begin their labors with "important and public persons" whose conversion would "spread the good accomplished to many others who are under their influence or take guidance from them."¹

On their way to Piscataway, the party called on the acting headman at "Patomcke town," where Father John Altham lectured the man on some of the many errors in native religion. According to the Jesuits, the werowance "seemed well pleased" with his first lesson in Christian etiquette, perhaps because it was subtly modified by their indispensable but untrustworthy Protestant interpreter from Virginia. The response of Wannas, the tayac of Piscataway, was slightly less encouraging. When Calvert asked permission to settle within the tayac's domain, the Indian allowed "that he would not bid him goe, neither would hee bid him stay, but that he might use his owne discretion." Again, the tayac's words may have lost something in the translation. The interpreter Calvert found at Piscataway was Captain Henry Fleet, a sometime associate of Claiborne and a former captive "excellent in language, love, and experience with the Indians." As a Virginian and a fur trader, he was disposed no more

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than Claiborne to encourage the invasion of his commercial turf by rival Englishmen, no matter how well connected in Court circles they might be.²

To remove the interlopers from his best source of furs, Fleet cagily persuaded them to settle far downriver at what became St. Mary's. There Calvert "bought" some thirty miles of ground and a village from the Yoacomacoes, the local natives, for axes, knives, hatchets, hoes, and cloth. Though the English were grateful for the "miracle" of getting temporary housing, land, and cleared fields for what they considered a "trifle," it was actually the Indians who made out like bandits. For a trove of valuable trade goods, they gave up an old village that the previous year they had decided to abandon to escape the raids of the Susquehannocks, a fierce tribe living at the head of the Delmarva Peninsula. Thus an Algonquian longhouse came to be the Jesuits' first residence in Maryland.³

The settlers' initial good fortune in avoiding conflict with the Indians owed less to the ethnographic sensitivity of the Jesuits than to three preconditions over which the settlers had no control. The first was the widespread fear among the region's inhabitants of Susquehannock attacks, which caused the natives to welcome the well-armed colonists as potential allies and protectors. Secondly, having been introduced to the cloth and metal trade goods of the Virginia traders, the Indians welcomed the Marylanders as future and more reliable sources of the same. According to Father White, the natives "exceedingly desire[d] civill life and Christian apparel." The tayac of Piscataway wanted an English house built for him, and the chiefs of Patuxent and Portobacco affected English clothes and wanted some of their children to be educated at St. Mary's, no doubt to cement their new commercial alliance in traditional native fashion. While the Indians were familiar with some aspects of English material culture, they were even more deferential toward Calvert's crew because of larger products of their technology, namely huge floating "islands" that obviously were not made of one piece like the natives' dug-out canoes, and

heavy cannon at whose thunderous roar the natives "trembled." As in Canada, the natives' initial awe of European technology went some way toward gaining receptive audiences for the missionary message.⁴

But for nearly five years the message was not delivered. Part of the problem was personnel. By 1638 the Jesuits numbered only four priests and a lay brother. At least as many had come and gone after short stays, and two other Black Robes had succumbed to yellow fever in the late summer of 1637. A larger problem was their deployment. Governor Calvert and probably provincial Secretary John Lewger prevented the Jesuits from living among the Indians ostensibly because of fear of sickness and native hostility; an English trader had recently been killed and a general "conspiracy" against the English seemed to be brewing. Moreover, there was more than enough to do around St. Mary's. Catholic settlers needed spiritual sustenance, and the large numbers of Protestants who arrived in 1638 needed to be saved from heresy, as they and several servants and craftsmen hired in Virginia all were. The Jesuits' only preparation for Indian missions took place between weekly catechism and feast day sermons to the colonists when a few of the priests put their tongues to school in the native dialect. But without immersing themselves in the living language of an Indian village, progress was extremely slow and awkward.⁵

The following year they got their first chance to exercise their evangelical talents upon native souls. When the Indian "conspiracy" failed to materialize, all the Jesuits but one moved out of St. Mary's to carry the Gospel into the enemy camp. Ferdinand Poulton, the new superior, and a lay brother maintained the mission "storehouse" and fields at Mattapany, a plantation across the peninsula near the mouth of the Patuxent River given by Maquacomen, the "king" of the Patuxents. Father Altham lived sixty miles away on Claiborne's Kent Island, to which large numbers of Indians from the north and west resorted to trade. And Father White was well accepted by Kittamaquund, who had assassinated his

older brother Wannas to become tayac of the Piscataways. White had first attempted to work with the more proximate Patuxents, and had succeeded well enough to be given the Mattapany farm for the Society. But for some reason the chief's initial ardor for the English had cooled, and Calvert removed Father White to avoid having him held hostage in the event of war.⁶

Kittamaquund would have Father White live no where else but in his own lodge, where the priest was plied with cornbread and meat by the tayac's wife. Part of the reason for Kittamaquund's affection was his need for English support against tribesmen who resented his bloody usurpation of office. Another reason was two dreams or visions he and his late brother had had, which featured Fathers White and Altham, the governor, and a beautiful god of unimaginable whiteness "who gently beckoned the Emperor to him." After his dream Wannas called Father White "his parent," perhaps adopting him in the process, and tried to give the Jesuits his much-loved son to educate for seven years. Father White gained even more influence over Kittamaquund when the latter fell extremely ill and the ministrations of forty shamans brought no relief. When the Indian fully recovered after White bled him and administered a concoction of herbal powder and holy water, he resolved as soon as possible to lead his family into the Christian fold.⁷

While Father White instructed the royal family in the precepts of Roman Catholicism, Kittamaquund began to reform "the errors of their former life" in accordance with the priests' cultural and religious expectations. He exchanged his skin garments for clothes made in the English fashion, and made some effort to learn the English language. He also moved to monogamy by discarding what the Jesuits called his "concubines" and living contentedly with one wife. Delighting in religious conversion and prayer, he abstained from eating meat on fast days, and even told Governor Calvert, who was trying to sell him on the value of a healthy fur trade, that he esteemed earthly wealth "as nothing" compared

with the riches of heaven. From the Jesuit point of view, the tayac's most significant act was to abjure before a large assembly of the confederacy the stone, herb, and other amulets that the natives traditionally "idolized" in favor of the one true Christian God. After such a hopeful sign, the priests were convinced that after the baptism of his family the conversion of "the whole empire" would "speedily take place."⁸

While their hope was never realized, it was not misplaced. The following summer (1640) the tayac, his wife, their infant daughter, a leading councillor, and his little son were washed in the holy waters of baptism in a bark chapel constructed for the occasion. Surprisingly, the reborn were given common English names rather than appropriate names of saints or biblical characters. To celebrate the importance of the first native baptisms in Maryland, the governor, his secretary, and many other English notables attended and shouldered a great wooden cross in procession. Unfortunately, the weight of the occasion soon fell on two of the priests. In performing the long ceremony of baptism in the mid-summer sun, Father White contracted a chilling fever that sent him to St. Mary's and plagued him off and on for nearly a year. Father John Gravener developed a severe foot problem and could not walk; soon after he recovered, he died of an abscess.⁹

The hand of death lay on the new mission throughout the winter. An extreme drought the previous summer spread famine among the Piscataways. Though the Jesuits were sorely pinched themselves, their farm at Mattapany having been confiscated for constitutional reasons by Lord Baltimore, they considered it necessary to succor the Indians' bodies with cornbread lest they lose their souls. Father White had a relapse when he returned to Piscataway in February, which put the mission in danger of losing its best linguist. The tayac was not as fortunate. Perhaps weakened by the famine, he died in early March, before the new year's crops could even be planted.¹⁰

The prospects for the Maryland mission seemed so dim that Father Poulton had to pull out all stops to convince some of his

superiors not to dissolve it. Apparently they were affected by his heartfelt preference to “die lying on the bare ground under the open sky, than even once to think of abandoning this holy work of God through any fear of privation,” but not enough to send reinforcements. Even a petition from “the Catholics of Maryland” asking for a dozen priests and a prefect received no action until Father Poulton was accidentally shot in July 1641 and a single priest was sent to replace him at year’s end. The plea of the chief of the Anacostans to have a Black Robe live in his village near the present site of Washington, D.C. was a sad impossibility with only three priests. The missionaries rightly felt that it was “not right to be too anxious” to bring others into the fold lest they seem to abandon prematurely their “present tender flock.”¹¹

Unable with only three priests to maintain permanent missions in key native villages, the Jesuits after 1641 were forced to mount a series of flying “excursions” in search of souls. With only a servant and an interpreter, a priest would row a pinnace upriver to the Indians, camping ashore in a tent and living off wild game and a few staples carried in one of four small chests. At the targeted village, the priest erected an altar from a slab of wood he carried and dressed it with sacred vessels from one chest and bottles of baptismal water and sacramental wine from another. To attract an audience, he distributed gifts from the third chest, such as hawks’ bells, combs, knives, and—with appropriate symbolism—fishhooks.¹²

Then he catechized the listeners and conducted mass through the interpreter, for none of the Jesuits had mastered the native dialect sufficiently to discuss the mysteries of Christianity. For that matter, neither had the young interpreter—there seems to have been only one; even his employers admitted that he sometimes reduced the Indians to laughter with his strange accent and flawed grammar. Father White eventually wrote a native dictionary and grammar, but there is no evidence that

he was ever fluent. The best linguist seems to have been Roger Rigby, Father Poulton’s replacement. Despite a three-month bout with fever, the 34-year-old Rigby, who had been considered an excellent student by his superiors, was reported in early 1643 to be making good progress toward “ordinary” conversation with the Patuxents and had composed a short catechism with the help of the interpreter.¹³

The language barrier was not insurmountable, to judge by the number of Indian converts. In 1642 the missionaries added to their growing register of baptisms the headmen and chief councillors of several villages along the Patuxent and upper Potomac. Susquehannock raids kept the priests away from Piscataway, but most of the residents of Portobacco received the holy waters. In all, more than 130 pagans were added to the Church, which is the more remarkable because, like their Canadian brethren, the Maryland Jesuits administered baptism to healthy adults only after considerable instruction and testing in the doctrinal elements of the Faith. Their fear of apostasy was stronger than their desire for converts.¹⁴

Catholic ceremonialism undoubtedly helped to bridge the cultural gap when language was inadequate, as did political and economic self-interest. And the Jesuits’ shamanistic power to cure did its part to supplant the native priesthood. The day after Father White took from his necklace a piece of the original cross, applied it to a deadly arrow wound in the side of an Anacosta warrior, and recited the Gospel prayer for the sick and the litanies of the Blessed Virgin from the Holy House of Loretto, the man was briskly paddling a canoe with only a small red spot to show for his pains. In gratitude, he soon joined the ranks of the native converts who had prayed for his deliverance.¹⁵

We would like to know what happened during the next two years, but the annual reports to London and Rome apparently did not survive. We do know that two young priests of mediocre talent arrived early in 1643, and that some thought was

given to sending missions into "Virginia" and "New England," the ill-defined territory south and north of the "island" of Maryland (as the *Propaganda Fide* still called it in the eighteenth century).¹⁶ But as for the number and behavior of Indian converts, we are completely at sea—with one prominent exception: the seven-year-old daughter of Kittamaquund. Shortly before her father died in 1641, she was brought to St. Mary's, baptized 'Mary,' and placed under the gentle guardianship of Margaret Brent, a pious and wealthy Catholic lady. In an imposing brick house pitched on a hill called "the Lyon of Jude," the "Empress" of the Piscataways acquired the best of English manners, dress, and speech. She must have learned quickly and well; before she reached the age of consent, she had turned the head of Giles Brent, her guardian's brother, and married him. When the shockwaves of the English Civil War washed over Maryland, the Brents moved across the Potomac to northern Virginia, where they raised a numerous brood of *métis* children. Although by her marriage Mary had abdicated any claim to Piscataway land or office, a Virginia gentleman married her eldest daughter with one eye on her supposed "inheritance." He was as disappointed as Giles had once been in the quest for a huge chunk of Maryland, and "parted civilly" from her when his jig was up. Such a lesson must have completed Mary's education in the finer points of English "civilization."¹⁷

Whatever happened after 1642, the Jesuit mission to the Indians came to an ignominious end in 1645 when Virginia Protestants invaded the colony and turned out the Calverts. Father White and Copley were packed off to England in chains, where they spent three years in prison. Their three younger colleagues were taken to Virginia, where a year later they all died of unspecified causes; their superiors had no doubts that the cause was the murderous "cruelty of heretics."¹⁸

Obviously, the truncated mission was not able to accomplish much in only eleven years, particularly when the first

five years were needed to launch it and the restored Jesuits were never numerous or interested enough to renew it. Compared to the Canadian missions, which were nearly contemporaneous, the effort in Maryland was modest indeed. By 1643 the French Jesuits had baptized some 2700 natives, a third of them at death; the English Jesuits in Maryland had baptized fewer than 150.¹⁹ Why were the results so modest? The answer, I suggest, lies in personnel and resources.

In the eleven years after 1632, the year in which New France was restored by the English, the French provincial sent to Canada 40 priests and 13 lay brothers—53 highly educated masters of philosophy, divinity, and rhetoric, men of robust constitution and iron will, the cream of Europe's intellectual class. The embattled English province, which needed the best of its 338 members to serve the houses and clandestine chapels of the Catholic gentry, sent only 11 priests and 3 brothers in the same period, four of whom stayed very briefly. Eight of the remaining ten died by 1646, at an average age of 41. The brittle cold of Canada's snowy forests was clearly healthier for missionaries than the steamy heat and fever-ridden damp of the Chesapeake; only three French missionaries died in Canada before 1643, and only one of those from natural causes. Thus the Maryland mission never had more than five workers at one time; New France always had twenty to thirty.²⁰

The contrast in material resources was equally stark. Maryland's Jesuits were doing moderately well until Lord Baltimore decided that the Jesuits could receive land only from himself, not from grateful Indians, and confiscated the mission "storehouse" at Mattapan. The drastically reduced acreage they were eventually granted elsewhere was never sufficient to their needs, which included numerous gifts and food for their native audiences. The Catholic population of the colony was too small and too poor to make up the difference in alms, and wealthy English benefactors were few if any. The most reliable supply came from trade with the Indians, with whom the Jesuits

—through two agents—were allowed to barter in the absence of currency and as long as they paid Baltimore one-tenth of all beaver for the privilege. When funds ran dry, they had to depend on loans or gifts from the English provincial.²¹

By contrast, the French missions were comparatively flush. The first two French estates liberally subsidized the Canadian missions, inspired often by pleas from the field published annually in the Jesuit *Relations*. The Society also received rich endowments of land at home and in seigneurie along the St. Lawrence, and later annual subventions from the king. And like their southern brothers, the Jesuits of Canada dealt in Indian furs, but mostly as gifts from generous neophytes who also wished to decorate the mission churches in Baroque splendor. Maryland had no mission churches and certainly no Baroque splendor.²²

One final contract between the Canadian and Maryland Jesuits is suggested by the great difference in their long-term results. To this day, the vast majority of Algonquian and Iroquoian peoples converted by the French missionaries have retained their Catholicism, despite numerous attempts by traditionalists and Protestant preachers to effect a change. With the premature withdrawal of the Jesuits in Maryland, however, the Piscataways had little way to maintain their new faith and perhaps less need. As James Merrell has shown, the Piscataways were able to avoid the brunt of English colonization for so long that accommodations with the new order could be made largely on their own terms in their own time. Although they were tributaries of the Maryland government, this critical distance allowed them to chart their own course for most of the seventeenth century, and Christianity was simply not on the itinerary.²³

It may be hazarded that one reason for these contrasting results was a relatively minor but still significant difference in the length and quality of catechizing required for baptism and church membership. Two pieces of evidence speak to the point. First, Father White instructed Kit-tamaquand, the crucial first neophyte of

the new mission, for little more than a year to prepare him for baptism. In Canada the French Jesuits would not admit their first important candidate to the sacrament for more than three years of extremely rigorous testing.²⁴ A second suggestion that the admission standards of the English may have been somewhat low is the admittedly hostile observation of a Puritan minister detained in Maryland by contrary winds. When Thomas James landed in 1643, he saw “forty Indians baptized in new shirts, which the Catholics had given them for their encouragement unto baptism. But he tarried there so long for a fair wind,” wrote his correspondent John Cotton, “that before his departure, he saw the Indians (when their shirts were foul, and they knew not how to wash them) come again to make a new motion, either the Catholic English there must give them new shirts, or else they would renounce their baptism.” Canadian converts also received gifts to commemorate their baptism or first communion, but after their long immersion in the Faith they would never mistake them for bribes or pledges of sincerity.²⁵

A second, and I believe more important, reason for the French superiority as missionaries was their superior knowledge of Indian culture and mastery of native protocol. With the possible partial exception of Father White, the Maryland Jesuits never got inside native culture far enough to be accepted as bona fide members, the social and spiritual equivalent of the shamans they were trying to supplant. Such penetration was simply impossible because the English never became fluent in the native language or lived in native villages long enough to be adopted, given Indian names, or accepted as “men of sense.” Their French brothers did, and reaped a rich harvest of souls as a result.²⁶

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Trouble on the Chain Gang: City Surveying, Maps, and the Absence of Urban Planning in Baltimore 1730–1823; With a Checklist of Maps of the Period

RICHARD J. COX

LITTLE HAS BEEN WRITTEN ABOUT THE HISTORY of urban cartography in the United States. Yet, as can be seen in the study of at least one city, it is a subject inextricably connected to urban growth, planning, the development of municipal government, civil surveying and engineering, and urban iconography. The first century of surveying in Baltimore, leading to the important map of Thomas H. Poppleton published in 1823, is, perhaps, only typical of the experience of other cities. Its recounting points out the need for the similar study of other cities, and for understanding the role of cartography in American urban history.

Town growth in early Maryland was extremely slow. Although the future site of Baltimore had been seen and described in 1608 by Captain John Smith, well over a century passed before settlement began. Land patents of the 1660s in this region were speculative and considerably distant from the colonists clinging to the rivers and creeks for trade and travel. By 1700, there were fewer than five hundred families scattered over Baltimore County, which then encompassed most of central Maryland, and there were no towns despite the efforts of Maryland's political leadership to legislate their creation. A 1683 law designating North Point as a vessel anchorage and a similar law two decades later making Whetstone Point a public landing only helped a few

buildings to be constructed. In 1726, when "Cole's Harbour" was surveyed for Edward Fell, there were only three private dwellings, a mill, tobacco warehouse, and orchards. Although the region was not without colonists, it was hardly noticeable enough to attract much interest by speculators or planters.¹

Much has been made of the geographic location of Baltimore Town as mandated in the 1729 law and surveyed in early 1730. Fronting on a harbor of forty square miles at the intersection of the tidewater and the piedmont, with an abundance of water power and proximity to the best route to the west—the Cumberland Gap—many writers have seen Baltimore's future prosperity as inevitable.² None of its features, however, were an advantage until the colony's economic conditions changed. In fact, some of its features, marshland to the east and a shallow basin with a proclivity to silt up, were decided hindrances to the town's development.³ Baltimore's growth was slow and its existence fragile even by the 1750s. Baltimore was hardly the inevitable success that hindsight has sometimes made it seem. The Baltimore of 1729 simply reflected the colonial assembly's hope for increased town development.

As the piedmont's economy diversified, especially with the grain and flour trade of the backcountry, the town also began to prosper. By the 1750s, it had established trade connections with New York and Europe and roads stretched in all directions. This was the beginning of what

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one historian has recently called Baltimore's "spectacular process" of growth.⁴ Further stimulated by a succession of wars—the French and Indian Wars, the American Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, and the War of 1812—all of which intensified demand for the town's products and also generated a lucrative privateer trade, Baltimore steadily advanced to become this country's third largest city by the early nineteenth century.⁵

Baltimore's transformation from town to city, made official by the granting of its municipal charter in 1796, also carried with it important manifestations of a new, loftier self-image. Sherry Olson, in her recent history of the city, stated that post-revolutionary era Baltimore was "a community of immense self-confidence and creativity." As early as 1790, its inhabitants were "confident" enough to lobby energetically for Baltimore's designation as the United States capitol. Even the failure of that effort could not douse the fiery enthusiasm of the Baltimoreans, a fervor that carried the expanding metropolis into the 1820s. Banks, publishers, booksellers, the grand public and private buildings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Maximilian Godefroy, and Robert Mills, and numerous monuments made it a city unrecognizable to its pioneers.⁶

Accompanying Baltimore's population growth was an expansion in its physical size. From its original sixty acres in 1729, the town grew to nearly eight hundred acres in the early 1780s, and to 13.2 square miles in its first major annexation in 1816.⁷ Until this latter expansion, however, the city's physical spread was haphazard, completely lacking in plan. Despite Baltimore's increasing size and economic importance, especially in the early nineteenth century, the city still lacked a strong, central political organism that could provide the systematic planning needed to harness its energy. Until well after the War of 1812, Baltimore's municipal government remained largely voluntary and the state legislature, traditionally rural-dominated and antagonistic to the city, unwilling to allow change.⁸ Only in 1823, after a de-

cade of efforts, was a full plan of the city completed and published. Thomas H. Poppleton's plan would not only dominate, with mixed results, Baltimore's growth until 1888, it was also a reflection and symbol of the city's new cosmopolitan outlook in the early nineteenth century.⁹

When Baltimore Town was surveyed in January 1730 and the plat completed and filed with the Baltimore County records, general survey techniques in the American colonies were extremely crude. Even triangulation was not generally in use. Although some major maps were soon to appear, most notably John Mitchell's and Lewis Evans' printed maps of the colonies in 1755, it was not until the end of the century that an indigenous cartographic industry developed in America.¹⁰

The maps of Baltimore until the early 1780s generally reflected this lag. The early maps were nearly all surveys of additions to the town, consisting of little more than crude cadastral sketches of land tracts with streets, lot numbers, dimensions, and basic surveying notes.¹¹ (See figure 1). Not only were these maps primitive, but they represented areas with little relation to one another.¹² In 1792, an act passed the state legislature providing for the extension of a number of Baltimore streets because there was "no other commodious way for the inhabitants of the western part of Baltimore-town, and the parts adjacent, to approach the centre market, but through Baltimore, commonly called Market-street, which is so often crowded with cars, waggons and drays, that there is not sufficient room for the inhabitants to pass and repass to and from the said market, without incommodating and mutually obstructing each other. . . ."¹³ That the town's major thoroughfare was so congested shows the lack of planning in these early years.

The absence of urban planning was also due to the mechanism for completing such surveys and additions to Baltimore Town. Until after the Revolution, the town's primary administrative agency was its board of commissioners and that body's power was limited. Its main responsibility was to sell lots and settle

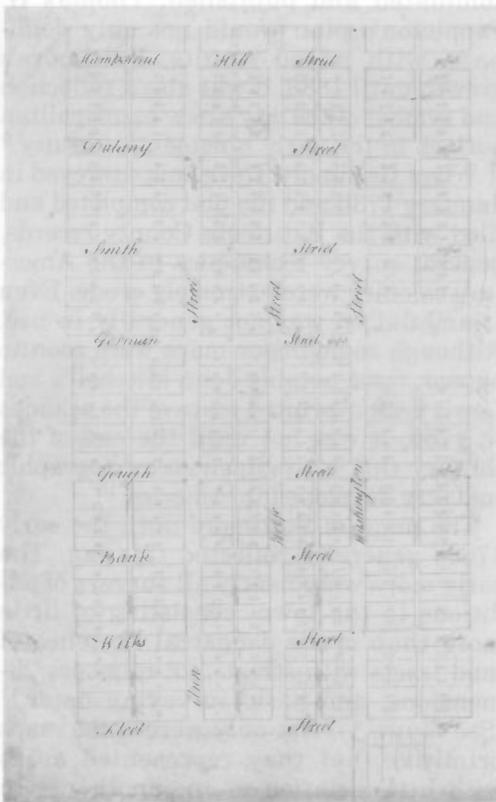


FIGURE 1. Survey of "Fells Prospect" by George Gouldsmith Presbury, Baltimore County Surveyor, 1782. This map of an area in Southeast Baltimore was little more than a sketch to show street and lot locations. Baltimore City Archives.

property squabbles. Although in the mid-1740s the commissioners were allowed to levy fines and an annual tax to pay a clerk and for such purposes "as may tend to the Improvement and Regulation of said Town in general,"¹⁴ the real authority continued to be vested in the colonial legislature. Property owners desiring to add their land to Baltimore sought approval in Annapolis and the Town Commissioners did little more than oversee the act's enforcement, usually the survey. Even these surveys, however, were completed through the office of the Baltimore County deputy surveyor, a system that had been in force since 1641 with little appreciable change. Although these surveyors filed copies of their work with both the Town Commissioners and Land Of-

fice, it is obvious from the results that their work required little more than following the wishes of the original tract owners or an occasional regard for the extant road systems.¹⁵

There were only a few significant exceptions to these early cadastral maps. In 1780 George Gouldsmith Presbury completed a manuscript map, "A New and Accurate Map of Baltimore Town," for Thomas Langdon. This map, by showing the basin and streets and locating the marshy ground and other such physical features, is the first topographical map of the town.¹⁶ Since it was privately commissioned, it remained in manuscript and does not show the large area ceded to the town's east in 1773.¹⁷ The other maps, completed in 1781 and 1782, were drawn by military engineers accompanying the French army of Rochambeau. These manuscript maps, drawn after the event, depict troop placements with detailed topographical features of the area surrounding Baltimore. These were the first military maps of Baltimore and among its most sophisticated topographical maps until well into the nineteenth century.¹⁸

The early 1780s also represented a significant turning point in Baltimore's general development. Now living in a major American city of approximately nine thousand persons, Baltimoreans began to grapple with all of the problems normally associated with urban places. In these years the residents first sought incorporation as a separate political entity, an effort that required fifteen years—an essential goal for the resolution of Baltimore's increasing problems.¹⁹ In the meantime several other agencies were created by the state which gave Baltimoreans better mechanisms for controlling the city's spread. In 1782, the same year as the first petition for incorporation, the Special Commissioners were created "with full power to direct and superintend the leveling, pitching, paving and repairing the streets, and the building and repairing the bridges. . . ." This act required that Baltimore Street, the city's major thoroughfare, be paved first along

with all others necessary for the "welfare and trade of the town."²⁰ Funds received from taxes on carriages and other vehicles also were to be used for the repair and cleaning of Baltimore's streets and bridges.²¹ A year later, in 1783, the Board of Port Wardens was created to preserve the navigation of the basin and harbor.²² Although these boards never really became involved in any city planning and the ultimate authority for opening and extending streets seems to have remained vested with the State, they represented a new concern for the future growth of Baltimore and its physical appearance.²³

The concern for control over Baltimore's growth affected, of course, the city's cartographic activity. In 1784, the Town Commissioners were authorized "to make a correct survey" of the city. The ostensible reasons for this work were to eliminate the "inconveniences" arising from inaccurate or misplaced property boundaries, the control of the rapid extension of wharfs and ground into the basin and Patapsco River, and the regulation of the "streets, lanes, and alleys" in additions which had been "heretofore been so negligently laid out, as not to correspond with the other streets throughout" Baltimore. The Town Commissioners were to advertise in local newspapers about their intent and then to complete the survey with the establishment of permanent stone boundaries.²⁴ The Town Commissioners proceeded to publish their notices,²⁵ and on May 23, 1785 hired George Gouldsmith Presbury and Zachariah McCubbin to do the survey and prepare the plat.²⁶ A municipal ordinance a quarter-of-a-century later confirmed that this survey was never completed,²⁷ but one portion of it was done. On April 23, 1787, the Special Commissioners paid Presbury £20 "for making out a plat of Baltimore Town,"²⁸ a manuscript map that is found today among the public records of the municipal government. This map shows the area of Fells Point, basin, and parts of the Jones Falls. Along with Presbury's map

of seven years before, it is one of the earliest and most important maps of Baltimore.²⁹ (See figure 2).

Although a municipally sponsored survey was not completed in these years, the last decade of the eighteenth century was an extremely significant era for the mapping of Baltimore, a trend evident in cartographic work elsewhere in the United States.³⁰ Perhaps symbolic for Baltimore's new-found national importance was its inclusion in Christopher Colles' 1789 road survey guide. Even though most of these maps were probably derivative efforts based upon the surveys of George Washington's military geographers rather than Colles' own work, the plate on Baltimore still suggested the city's importance as a site on the Eastern seaboard.³¹ More important than this publication, however, was the survey engraving of A. P. Folie which appeared in 1793 or 1794 and which remains the "first accurate depiction of all of the port of Baltimore."³² (See figure 3). Little is known about Folie other than his identity as a "French Geographer" and that by March 1793 he had, "at great Trouble and Expense," prepared a manuscript survey of the city, seeking three hundred subscriptions at one dollar each for its engraving.³³ This topographical map, representing the Baltimore of 1792, shows the entire city, with both actual and projected streets, and the surrounding area from Whetstone Point to just north of the city. This work was unique for Baltimore with its elaborate cartouche, drawings of frigates and other vessels, and the location of twenty-six landmarks including churches, jail, courthouse, markets, shipyards, and brickyard and kiln. It is difficult to believe that only a few years separated this map from the utilitarian maps of George Gouldsmith Presbury. That this map was published in three states indicates its usefulness.³⁴

The Baltimoreans' increasing self-awareness of their locale's importance, buttressed by a four-fold population increase between 1790 and 1797,³⁵ was reflected in a succession of published maps

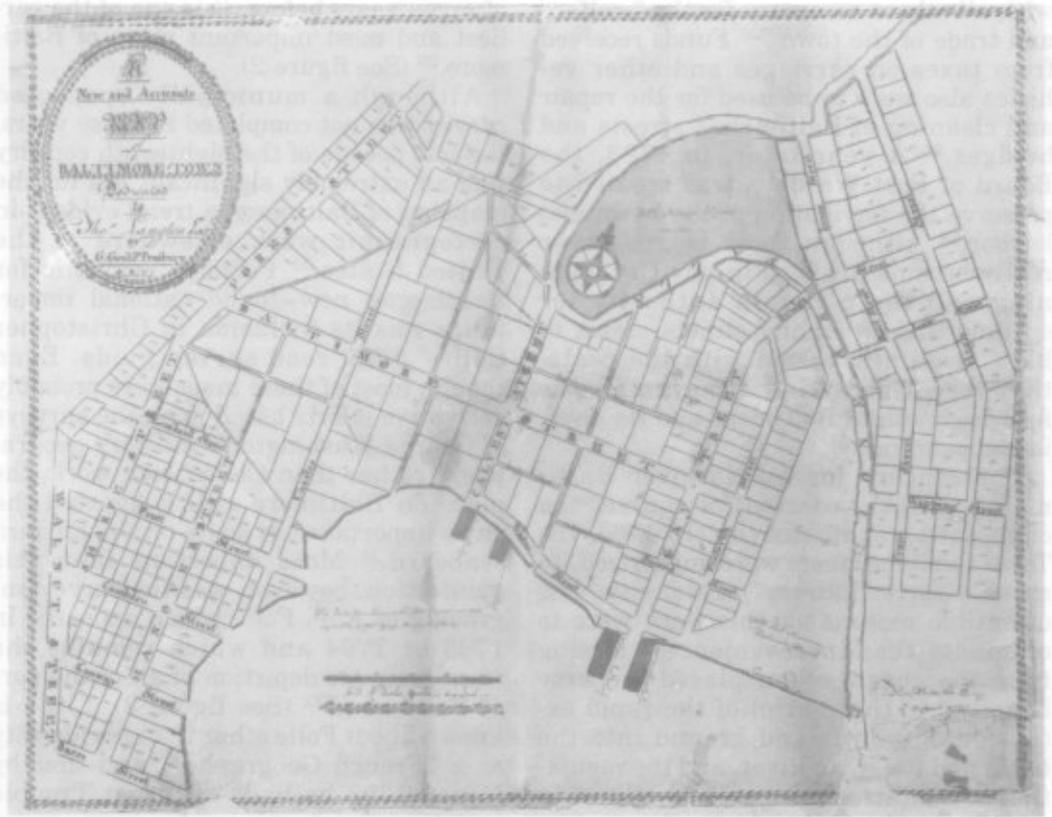


FIGURE 2. "A New and Accurate Map of Baltimore Town Dedicated to Thom[als] Langdon Esq. By G. Goulds[mith] Presbury." This 1780 manuscript map shows the skills of Presbury and his importance in the improving mapping of the city. Maryland Historical Society.

that started with the A. P. Folie map. Only a few years after Folie, a Baltimore newspaper announced the publication of a plan "with the names of all the streets, lanes and alleys, public buildings, [and] wharfs," engraved by John Galland and published by George Keatinge. Unfortunately, no copies of this important map have been located.³⁶ In 1799, Francis Shallus, also of Philadelphia, followed with his "plan" of the city. The original version apparently did not sell well, as Baltimore printers Warner and Hanna shortly after purchased the plates and brought out their slightly revised plan two years later. (See figure 4). According to their newspaper advertisement of Spring 1801 seeking subscriptions, this was a "newly improved and corrected plan" with "considerable amendments."

The advertisement went on: "It is supposed from the former high price, inaccuracies, & c. . . that few individuals procured a copy; but as cheapness, correctness and beauty are blended together in this *second* impression, the publishers anticipate a liberal subscription."³⁷ This map, reprinted a number of times since its original appearance, is probably the best known and most reproduced of the early Baltimore maps. It was a considerable improvement over the older Folie plan, providing a much more detailed view of the town's street plan, including landmarks, representations of the New Assembly Rooms and Market Space, owners of large private residences and landholdings, and a code to the built and unbuilt portions of the rapidly expanding city.³⁸ However, like the Folie plan, little



FIGURE 3. *Plan of the Town of Baltimore and Its Environs Dedicated to the Citizens of Baltimore Town upon the spot by their most humble Servant A. P. Folie French Geographer 1792.* This map was the major turning point in the mapping of Baltimore, being the first sophisticated map of the town. Maryland Historical Society.

is known of the map's original surveyor or engraver.³⁹

The fundamental difficulty with the Folie and Shallus surveys was that they were isolated commercial ventures, more prized today as attractive prints than for their accuracy of depiction of the Baltimore of the 1790s, and not connected with an authorized surveying or planning system. These maps were of little value for resolving property disputes and of no assistance for city planning.⁴⁰ The state law incorporating Baltimore as a municipality also authorized a "general survey,"⁴¹ a need quickly seized upon by the new mayor and city council in 1797. Such a "correct survey" was needed and

would be a "great security to the property of the inhabitants." The City Commissioners, generally responsible for the city's streets and water supply, were given authority to "contract with one or more skillful surveyor or surveyors" and to place permanent boundary markers at a cost not exceeding six hundred dollars.⁴² It was from the new municipality's actions that the modern era of Baltimore cartography emerged along with the city's first major comprehensive surveying project.

The municipality's desire for a general, accurate survey of Baltimore was quickly shelved under the weight of more pressing and immediate problems. This



FIGURE 4. One of the later prints of the Warner and Hanna plan of 1801. This remains the most famous map of early Baltimore. Maryland Historical Society.

was the natural result not only of more immediate needs but also of an initially uncertain municipal structure slowly emerging from voluntary regulatory agencies to a larger professional bureaucracy, a process not completed until the eve of the American Civil War. Until well after the War of 1812, Baltimore's municipal government was largely trial-and-error or strictly advisory, a trend that retarded long-range and large-scale projects. The new board of City Commissioners, the officials generally responsible for survey work except for the harbor and basin areas under the authority of the Board of Port Wardens, was swamped with the duties of street paving and repair, street openings and extensions, sewer repair, boundary disputes and markers, and the regulation of party walls, all responsibilities which thoroughly filled the time of the contracted municipal surveyors.⁴³ Typical of the energy absorbing problems encountered by this board was the petition of a number of property owners on the west side of

Philpot Street "that houses have been erected [there], and many of them upwards of thirty years ago, agreeably to what was believed and considered the true location of their lots . . . but upon a recent application to the city commissioners to establish the boundaries of said Philpot-street, it appears by the plot of the town that each of the owners of the said lots had built their houses nine feet too far northward. . . ."⁴⁴ The chief benefit of such concerns was the recopying and indexing of older plats that had been "so torn and defaced by their very frequent Examination"⁴⁵ and the large production of plats for individual streets and lots⁴⁶—a truly new form of Baltimore map.

A municipally supervised survey, one accurate enough for property rights and future development, became essential after the turn of the century as an annexation of the surrounding territory became not only desired but inevitable. In 1809 and 1811, special commissioners were appointed to supervise grading, leveling,

paving, and repairing of streets of the area adjacent to the city in anticipation of Baltimore's first major annexation in 1816.⁴⁷ Also in 1811, an ordinance was passed directing the City Commissioners to "contract with one or more skillful surveyors" for the long-awaited general survey.⁴⁸ For unexplained reasons no action resulted from this law, perhaps because not enough funds were provided for the work.⁴⁹ A year later a far more detailed law was passed, again empowering the City Commissioners to superintend a general survey, to establish a complete road system, and to resolve all property disputes with the establishment of permanent boundary markers. The final approved plat was to be signed by the Commissioners and placed in the City Register's office where it "shall forever after be deemed and taken as a correct survey and plat."⁵⁰ Once again, however, this important project was to barely get started as it first became enveloped in controversy and then was forgotten in the excitement of the War of 1812.

The initial and most serious controversy concerned the selection of the surveyor. Three men—Jehu Bouldin, John Lewis Wampler, and Thomas H. Poppleton—applied for the position. Bouldin was the most experienced local surveyor. As early as the middle 1790s he had assisted Baltimore County Surveyor Thomas Gist.⁵¹ From 1797 through 1811 he had completed no less than 63 surveys of the Baltimore City area⁵² and was known well enough to be asked to endorse the Warner and Hanna map of 1801 in local advertisements.⁵³ Bouldin's family, moreover, had been surveying in this region since the mid-seventeenth century,⁵⁴ and he was confident enough in his ability to offer to do the work for fifty dollars less than the next lower bidder; "my reason for this offer is that from my experience and knowledge of the City I am convinced that no person can Perform the business in the same time."⁵⁵ Although Wampler had been a Baltimore "surveyor & draftsman" since about 1802, he had done relatively few plats of Baltimore City.⁵⁶ The last applicant, Poppleton, could only cite long experience as

a surveyor, although he was not known in the city until 1811, almost the very year of his application.⁵⁷ Surprisingly, Thomas H. Poppleton was the heavily-favored choice of the City Commissioners.⁵⁸

Poppleton signed a contract agreeing to complete the survey for \$3000 under the conditions of the ordinance and also promised to prepare an atlas "containing from eight to ten sheets, on each of which shall be laid down one Section of the City. . . ."⁵⁹ Poppleton had little chance, however, to commence the survey before the project erupted into controversy. A disdainful City Commissioner immediately objected to the selection of a surveyor who was practically a stranger compared to Bouldin, who had "so much Practical & Experimental Knowledge for these three years past and by whom I found myself often very much assisted in the prosecution of my duty in making establishments through the City."⁶⁰ Within two weeks, the affair became even more complicated because Poppleton could not decide on a proper starting point for the survey and, of all things, suggested hiring Bouldin since "he [Poppleton] was a stranger & not acquainted with this subject."⁶¹ Bouldin not only declined such an insulting arrangement but, it seems, later considered publishing his own map by subscription.⁶² Within a few months, an additional debate about the mechanism of surveying—the traditional use of chains versus compass—had, in the estimation of the city's mayor, "arisen . . . to obstruct the progress of the work."⁶³ Poppleton's objection to the use of the compass, "the most inaccurate of all instruments for surveying purposes,"⁶⁴ meant spending more time and money for the survey, facts which shifted support among the City Commissioners away from the surveyor. In June, the City Commissioners first urged a closer supervision of Poppleton by appointment of a special mayoral board, which failed to pass the City Council, and then urged the appointment of another surveyor.⁶⁵ The commencement of the war brought such concerns to an end.

From the hindsight of a century—and—

a-half, it is still surprising that Jehu Bouldin did not receive the commission for this survey. There are two possible explanations. It is possible, although the evidence is scanty, that Poppleton received the assignment because he had been the only one to respond to the original 1811 municipal ordinance. There is an advertisement in a Baltimore newspaper of that year by Poppleton indicating that he intended to do "an accurate topographical plan" of the city.⁶⁶ A more likely reason concerns Poppleton's artistic abilities. The 1812 ordinance authorized the employment of "an experienced and skillful artist."⁶⁷ The English surveyor submitted, with his application, a specimen of work that showed far more ability than either of his competitors. (See figure 5). Bouldin's surveys always exhibited a rough, although practical, appearance. Poppleton's specimen, by contrast showing the area immediately south of Howard's Hill with both buildings and landmarks, was an attractive multi-colored drawing that certainly captured the new air of self-importance of the city's residents.⁶⁸

Activity on a complete new plan of the city resumed quickly after the resolution of the War of 1812. In 1816, the state legislature passed the law for the first major annexation of the city, an area covering the central portion of the present city and only a fraction of its modern size. This law called for the new "metes and bounds . . . to be forthwith surveyed and distinctly marked. . . ." with permanent boundary stones, a task accomplished by Jehu Bouldin who continued to be the city's busiest surveyor.⁶⁹ This annexation revived the idea of a complete survey and plan of Baltimore. A year later a special commission was established to oversee such a survey, a commission that would prepare a new plan of streets, street names, and an enlarged twelve ward system.⁷⁰

The entire project required four years of labor and at some early point, difficult to pin down because of the paucity of records on this work, Thomas H. Poppleton was rehired as chief surveyor. By 1818, plats for the establishment of the

wards had been completed.⁷¹ However, the remaining detailed work of street surveys and general plan proceeded much more slowly. The reasons for this are clearly revealed in a report by the commissioners prepared in early 1820. In this document, the commissioners chronicle "immense embarrassments and perplexities," the result of leaving the task too long uncompleted and the fact that individual property owners had often developed their grounds without regard to accurate property boundaries and then resisted changes. "It is easy to imagine how entangled these various and contradictory plots and projects made the whole surface to appear; and the wonder may be how any order and symmetry would be deduced out of so much confusion. . . ." ⁷² Finally, on January 1, 1822, two manuscript plats were delivered to the City Register and Baltimore County Clerk. Except for a brief controversy over the final payment for this work in mid-1822,⁷³ the final published maps appeared in 1823, the entire work having cost only little less than nine thousand dollars.⁷⁴

Over a year passed between Thomas Poppleton's announcement of the completion of his manuscript map, declaring that "no city in the Union can exhibit a more accurate and useful plan" and inviting public inspection and subscriptions,⁷⁵ and the final engraved version. (See figure 6). This engraving reflects both the contemporary urban pride of Baltimore and its residents' hope for its future growth. This published map is certainly the epitome of ornamental maps issued during Baltimore's first century. Designed by C. P. Harrison and engraved by local artist Joseph Cone, the survey is surrounded by depictions of thirty-seven public buildings and monuments, views of Federal Hill and Baltimore in 1752, and the original 1729 survey. Its great size (109.9 × 125.7 centimeters) was obviously designed to be large enough to capture all of the city's important features and to occupy an important place on the walls of public places.⁷⁶ The map also reveals the intent of the municipal government in this work. As announced in



FIGURE 6. The 1823 map of the city completed by Thomas H. Poppleton. Note the depiction of the numerous public buildings, the Federal Hill observatory, the 1729 survey, and Baltimore in 1752. Maryland Historical Society.

early 1822, the map has a “striking regularity” and the city’s “disjointed settlements which before made up the city, are interwoven and connected. . . .”⁷⁷ The 1823 engraving of the Poppleton plat was to be “a highly ornamental picture,” one in which the residents will see and take pride in the “regularity, spaciousness, and elegance” of the plan.⁷⁸

Attractive though it was, its “regularity” is questionable. Poppleton did not resurvey the older portions of the town because the original plats were accurate and available and their features already permanently established as Baltimore.⁷⁹ What Poppleton did was to extend out from these older areas a gridiron pattern, the easiest and most used form of urban planning in this period, thus creating

symmetry in those areas.⁸⁰ As geographer Sherry Olson has already pointed out, however, Poppleton ignored topographical features and the knitting together of the original sections of the earlier town would eventually create a modern traffic nightmare.⁸¹ In any case, the Poppleton map remained the major planning document of the city until 1888, when the next major annexation occurred. It was not until the twentieth century that dramatic new road patterns would reshape the city of 1816.

The publication of the Poppleton survey in 1823 left one major gap in the accurate mapping of Baltimore—a comprehensive charting of the basin and harbor. Poppleton’s map carefully showed the extension of wharfs into this area. In

comparison with Folie and Warner and Hanna maps of a generation earlier, it provided revealing information on the dramatic changing contours of the waterfront.⁸² None of these published charts, however, contained the type of information necessary for maneuvering ships and other vessels in the basin and harbor.

Baltimoreans had worried about the basin and harbor from the first settlement since it was, and in many ways has remained, the life blood of the settlement. It was not until 1783, however, that such concern was institutionalized. In that year, the state legislature created the Board of Port Wardens for the oversight of the harbor. Part of its responsibility was to prepare a chart of the harbor with depths and courses.⁸³ The early attention of this board was focused on the regulation of individual wharf construction and the alterations of the Jones Falls and no general chart was authorized or completed.⁸⁴ One of the first acts of the municipal government in 1797 was to reauthorize the continuation of the board and, again, call for "an exact survey or chart" of the harbor and basin.⁸⁵

The re-authorization act of 1797 brought little change to the Board of Port Wardens. In surveying, its emphasis largely remained the control of wharf construction. In 1799, 1814, and 1816, surveys depicting the limits of such construction were prepared.⁸⁶ In 1807 and 1812, surveys of the basin were completed by Baltimore County Surveyor Samuel Green, although these did not provide data on the soundings and courses.⁸⁷ Finally, in early 1820, probably stimulated by the near completion of the Poppleton manuscript, the mayor was authorized to procure a "correct chart of the Basin and Harbor of Baltimore as far southward as the line of the city, showing the channel and depth of water throughout the same. . . ."⁸⁸

Like the Poppleton general survey, the hydrographic survey of the harbor would require years for completion. Lewis Brantz, who had completed a survey of the harbor for the Marine Insurance Companies in 1819, was selected by the municipality for this work. Brantz's ear-

lier effort also showed channels and soundings in both the basin and out to the Patapsco River and was published by the city's leading publisher of maps and atlases, Fielding Lucas, Jr.⁸⁹ This chart was obviously designed as the main reference for navigation into Baltimore, a surprisingly late effort considering the long importance of Baltimore's waterborne trade.

Why, however, was this chart not presented to the city fathers? This question is particularly relevant because Brantz was willing to work only when the water was frozen and the project, as a consequence, was delayed one entire season by warmer temperatures.⁹⁰ The answer concerns the map's detail. The latter work of 1820-1822 was an intricately detailed survey of the entire water region with observations on depth changes and silting patterns that would be useful in the planning of the maintenance of the basin and harbor. Whereas the chart published in 1819 had only seven ranges completed for marking soundings, the latter includes 71 of those.⁹¹ In all ways this survey was a companion piece to the Poppleton survey and a decided bargain for the \$500 paid Brantz by the municipal government in early 1823.⁹² Unfortunately, it seems that Brantz's work was never published. Even the manuscript charts of his work have disappeared.

The history of the early surveying of Baltimore is illuminating in several ways. First it is a reflection of the city's maturation. The final completion of the city's first accurate surveys could not take place until the long process of a strong municipal government also was sufficiently complete to support such work. As such, the final products, the Poppleton city survey and Brantz hydrographic survey, dominated future growth and planning for most of the remainder of the century.⁹³ This history also depicts a period when civil surveying and engineering in the United States were still extremely crude.⁹⁴ The products of Baltimore's first century of surveying, even the published plans, were relatively simple and, as would be discovered through their use, often inaccurate. De-

bates among surveyors and municipal officials on techniques and equipment repeatedly hindered the process. Finally and perhaps most importantly, the history of Baltimore surveying is an excellent example of the state of early urban planning in this country. Unlike cities completely planned from the outset, such as Washington, D.C., Baltimore represents the uneven mix of unplanned growth and later planning that characterized most older American cities. Baltimore's plan was not premeditated, but evolved in a slow and stumbling way. The weaknesses of Thomas H. Poppleton's plan, in this context, were a result both of the imposition of the traditional gridiron street plan without regard to the realities of topography, and a resolve not to interfere with the patterns of the older sections of the city. Nevertheless, the deed was done by 1823, leaving forever its impress upon the face of the city on the Patapsco River. By 1823 Baltimore had the basis of its first planning system.

REFERENCES

- I would like to thank Dennis McDaniel, former Director of the Peale Museum in Baltimore, and other members of the Baltimore History Research Group who critically read an earlier draft of this essay.
1. John Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore; Being a Complete History of Baltimore Town and Baltimore City from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Baltimore: Turnbull Brothers, 1874), pp. 9, 11–12, 14–15; Neal A. Brooks and Eric G. Rockel, *A History of Baltimore County* (Towson: Friends of the Towson Library, Inc., 1979), pp. 4–5, 11, 17–18; and James F. Faull, "The Structural Growth of the Port of Baltimore 1729–1814," M.A., University of Maryland, 1973, pp. 18–19, 21–25. For an understanding of town growth in these years see John W. Reps, *Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland* (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972).
 2. The origins of such a notion are largely attributable to the nineteenth century booster histories of the city such as George Washington Howard's *The Monumental City, Its Past History and Present Resources* (Baltimore: J. D. Ehlers, 1873), a work that went through six editions by 1889, and John Thomas Scharf's *Chronicles and History of Baltimore City and County from the Earliest Period to the Present Day: Including Biographical Sketches of Their Representative Men*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881). Scharf's histories are very influential standard sources even in the present day.
 3. Efforts to rid the town of its "large miry marsh" extended from 1766 until the mid-1780s; *Laws of Maryland*, 1766, chapter 22; 1768, chapter 22; 1770, chapter 7; and 1779, chapter 20. The street survey of this area was finally completed in 1784; see Cartographic Records, RG12, Series 3, IB, Baltimore City Archives (hereafter cited as BCA). The silting of the harbor has remained a problem to this day; Harold Kanarek, *The Mid-Atlantic Engineers: A History of the Baltimore District U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1774–1974* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978) considers this problem in detail.
 4. Gary Lawson Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789–1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), p. 3.
 5. There is an excellent recent literature on the economic underpinnings of Baltimore's growth. See, for example, Browne, *Baltimore*; Geoffrey N. Gilbert, "Baltimore's Flour Trade to the Caribbean, 1750–1815," Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, 1975; G. Terry Sharrer, "Flour Milling and the Growth of Baltimore, 1783–1830," Ph.D., University of Maryland, 1975; Paul Kent Walker, "The Baltimore Community and the American Revolution: A Study in Urban Development, 1763–1783," Ph.D., University of North Carolina, 1973; and Sherry H. Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).
 6. The best overall analysis of this growth is Olson, *Baltimore*, pp. 1–70.
 7. Brooks and Rockel, *A History*, p. 127; Joseph L. Arnold, "Suburban Growth and Municipal Annexation in Baltimore, 1745–1918," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 73 (June 1978): 109–28.
 8. Dennis Rankin Clark, "Baltimore, 1729–1829: The Genesis of a Community," Ph.D., Catholic University of America, 1976.
 9. Olson, *Baltimore*, pp. 54–58.
 10. Seymour I. Schwartz and Ralph E. Ehrenberg, *The Mapping of America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1980), chapters 6–7.
 11. There is a collection of these maps at the Baltimore City Archives that represent the original survey of 1730 and the various additions of 1747, 1750, 1754, 1766, 1767, 1773, 1782, and 1783; see RG12.
 12. Olson, *Baltimore*, pp. 12–13.
 13. *Laws of Maryland*, 1792, chapter 27.
 14. *Laws of Maryland*, 1729, chapter 12; J. H. Hollander, *The Financial History of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1899), pp. 9–11, 14.
 15. For example, a group of Baltimoreans petitioned in 1747 that the eighteen acre area between Baltimore Town and the former Jones' Town be made part of Baltimore Town. This petition was approved by the legislature who then empowered the Town Commissioners to have the area surveyed and "with the consent and approbation of the owners of any lot or lots al-

- ready laid out in said town, to alter any lanes or alleys they shall think fit, and to widen the same, so as to render them commodious." The Town Commissioners then hired Nicholas Ruxton Gay, Baltimore County Deputy Surveyor, to complete the work. *Laws of Maryland*, 1747, chapter 21; Wilbur F. Coyle, *First Records of Baltimore Town and Jones' Town 1729-1797* (Baltimore: [City Library], 1905), p. 22.
- For information on the surveying system see Donnell MacClure Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland*, Studies in Maryland History, no. 1 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1953), pp. 84-86, and, especially, John Kilty, *The Land-Holder's Assistant, and Land-Office Guide; Being An Exposition of Original Titles. . .* (Baltimore: G. Dobbin and Murphy, 1808); for a typical set of regulations (1768) for deputy surveyors see pp. 284-90 of Kilty.
16. The original is located in the Maryland Historical Society.
 17. *Laws of Maryland*, 1773, chapter 21.
 18. See Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, eds., *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press and Providence: Brown University Press, 1972), 2: plates 80, 81, 129, and 130.
 19. Clark, "Baltimore, 1729-1829," pp. 95, 116-17.
 20. *Laws of Maryland*, April 1782, chapter 39.
 21. *Laws of Maryland*, November 1782, chapter 17.
 22. *Laws of Maryland*, June 1783, chapter 24.
 23. For the activities of the Special Commissioners see Wilbur F. Coyle, *Records of the City of Baltimore: (Special Commissioners) 1782 to 1797* (Baltimore: City Library, 1909). There is, however, no consistent pattern to the authority for opening and closing streets, although the majority seem to have been handled by state laws; the whole form of municipal government in this period is rather nebulous with a combination of state-dominated, voluntary, and municipally-controlled organisms working side-by-side until the mid-nineteenth century. The earliest opening street plat, for example, is for Holliday Street in 1783 done by the Baltimore County Surveyor George Gouldsmith Presbury and authorized by the Baltimore Town Commissioners; RG12, Series 3, 6, BCA and Coyle, *First Records*, pp. 47-48. In the same year the opening of Hanover Lane was authorized by a state law; *Laws of Maryland*, November 1783, chapter 22.
 24. *Laws of Maryland*, November 1784, chapter 39.
 25. Coyle, *First Records*, p. 51.
 26. Coyle, *First Records*, p. 53.
 27. Ordinance 28, 1812.
 28. Coyle, *Special Commissioners*, p. 29. It is possible that this map was based upon the survey work of Baltimore County Surveyor Cornelius Howard, Jr. In the Cornelius Howard Papers, MS.469.5, at the Maryland Historical Society is a volume entitled "Field Notes of a Survey of Part of Baltimore Town" compiled between July 1785 and April 8, 1786 and covering much of the town.
 29. "A Map of Part of Baltimore Town from Gay Street to the Extent of said Town Eastward which Map is a true Copy of a Resurvey of said Port made for and Presented to the Commissioners of said Town by Virtue of an Act of Assembly, Passed for that Purpose"; RG12, Series 11, 4, BCA.
 30. Schwartz and Ehrenberg, *Mapping*, p. 211.
 31. Christopher Colles, *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America 1789*, ed. Walter W. Ristow (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961). This map, plate 59, shows Patapsco Neck, Kingsbury Ironworks, Back River, and a market house, all features immediately adjacent to the road.
 32. Faul, "Structural Growth," p. 118.
 33. 12 March 1793, *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*.
 34. For information on the three states and a reproduction of the map, see Lois B. McCauley, *Maryland Historical Prints 1752 to 1889: A Selection from the Robert G. Merrick Collection Maryland Historical Society and Other Maryland Collections* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1975), p. 2. It is difficult to ascertain how involved Folie was in original surveying since there are few extant records of this effort. Folie, on the map itself, contends it was "taken upon the spot," a fact in part substantiated by its updated nature in comparison with the 1787 Presbury manuscript.
 35. Richard M. Bernard, "A Portrait of Baltimore in 1800: Economic and Occupational Patterns in an Early American City," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Winter 1974): 342-43.
 36. *Baltimore Telegraph and Daily Advertiser*, 9 December 1797, cited in James Clements Wheat and Christian F. Brun, *Maps and Charts Published in America Before 1800: A Bibliography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), p. 113.
 37. *Baltimore Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, 4 May 1801.
 38. For a reproduction of the map and further information, see McCauley, *Maryland Historical Prints*, p. 6.
 39. The plan has been traditionally ascribed to Charles Varle, another French engineer. See Richard W. Stephenson, "Charles Varle: Nineteenth Century Cartographer," *Proceedings of the American Congress on Surveying and Mapping . . . 1972* (Washington, D.C.: American Congress on Surveying and Mapping, 1972), pp. 189-98.
 40. The advertisement by Warner and Hanna for the 1801 plan included the carefully phrased endorsement by Jehu Bouldin, the municipal surveyor, that it was "more correct than any other yet published," a statement that definitely reflected the need for an accurate survey.
 41. *Laws of Maryland*, November 1796, chapter 68.
 42. Ordinance 47, 1797.
 43. Ordinance 14, 1797. See also Wilbur F. Coyle, *Records of the City of Baltimore: (City Commis-*

- sioners) 1797–1813 (Baltimore: City Library, 1906).
44. *Laws of Maryland*, 1807, chapter 76.
 45. Mayor James Calhoun to the City Council, 8 February 1802, City Council Records, RG16, Series 2, BCA.
 46. In the years just prior to municipal incorporation, 1792–96, there are only two street plats out of a total of six extant maps. In the period of 1797–1801 there are 39 such plats of a total of 47. Browne mentions that the largest single expenditure in the municipal budget of 1797–1813 was for the paving and repairing of streets; *Baltimore*, p. 48.
 47. Wilbur F. Coyle, *Records of the City of Baltimore: Eastern Precincts Commissioners 1812–1817; Western Precincts Commissioners 1810–1817* (Baltimore: City Library, 1909). For a general review of annexation see Arnold, "Suburban Growth."
 48. Ordinance 9, 1811.
 49. Only \$1200 was provided for doing this work, whereas the ordinance of a year later established a fund of \$3000. At least one City Commissioner dissented from the project, believing that "a Correct One Cannot at this Time be Made," although no specific reasons were provided; City Commissioners Records, RG3, Series 1, 1811-227, BCA.
 50. Ordinance 28, 1812.
 51. "Book C," Bouldin Survey Records, MS.4, BCA.
 52. This total represents the number of extant Bouldin maps at the Baltimore City Archives. In the entire period of 1797–1811 there are 202 extant plats, many unsigned and possibly also completed by Bouldin. A truer representation of Bouldin's activity as a municipal surveyor is the bill of his work for the period of March 2–December 31, 1802 which itemizes 36 survey plats, 23 days of work spent on the levelling of streets, and 4 surveys for the location of property lines; RG3, Series 1, 1803-170, BCA.
 53. Bouldin attested that the Warner and Hanna map was "more correct than any other yet published"; *Baltimore Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, 4 May 1801.
 54. There is an article on the family in the *Baltimore Sun*, 9 June 1912, available in the vertical subject file in the Maryland Department of the Enoch Pratt Free Library.
 55. Jehu Bouldin to the City Commissioners, RG3, Series 1, 1812-284, BCA.
 56. Wampler was listed as a surveyor in the Baltimore directories from 1802 to 1819. There are also six extant maps from 1810 to 1817 at the Maryland Department of the Enoch Pratt Free Library and Baltimore City Archives. Wampler was never in contention for this position probably because he was hesitant to commit himself to any sort of cost at all; J. Lewis Wampler to the City Commissioners, 12 April 1812, Bouldin Papers, MS.1212, MHS.
 57. Thomas Poppleton to the City Commissioners, 10 April 1812, RG3, Series 1, 1812-288, BCA. Poppleton was listed as a city surveyor in the Baltimore directories in 1812 and from 1822 to 1835. Little else is known about him than that he was an Englishman; McCauley, *Maryland Historical Prints*, p. 15.
 58. Of five votes cast by the City Commissioners Bouldin received one, Poppleton four, and Wampler none; RG3, Series 1, 1812-221-23, BCA.
 59. For a copy of the contract see RG3, Series 1, 1812-208, BCA.
 60. Henry Stouffer to the City Commissioners, 20 April 1812, RG3, Series 1, 1812-283, BCA.
 61. Proceedings of survey work by Thomas Poppleton, 29 April 1812, RG3, Series 1, 1812-287, BCA.
 62. Jehu Bouldin to the City Commissioners, 29 April 1812, RG3, Series 1, 1812-278, BCA. In the April 7, 1813 issue of the *Baltimore American & Commercial Advertiser*, Bouldin proposed to publish a 6 by 3½ foot map showing each lot distinctly so as to be of value in property squabbles. The map would sell for eight dollars and he would commence its work if he received an advance of two hundred subscriptions. The project was endorsed by the City Commissioners on the basis of his previous work.
 63. Edward Johnson to the City Council, 26 May 1812, RG16, Series 1, 1812-558, BCA.
 64. Thomas Poppleton to Edward Johnson, 4 May 1812, Mayoral Records, RG9, Series 2, 1812-640, BCA. Poppleton's judgement was supported by another experienced local surveyor, Cornelius Howard; Henry Stouffer to Cornelius Howard, 23 May 1812, and Cornelius Howard to Henry Stouffer, 25 May 1812, RG3, Series 1, 1812-277 and 281, BCA.
 65. Proceedings of City Commissioners, 15 June 1812, RG3, Series 1, 1812-222, 276, BCA. For the failed ordinance see RG16, Series 1, 1812-593, BCA.
 66. Ordinance 9, 1811 was passed on March 13, 1811. The advertisement appeared in the July 27, 1811 issue of the *Baltimore Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*; cited in Frank N. Jones, "Baltimore Mapmakers: An Account of an Exhibition at the Peabody Institute Library, July–August, 1961," *Surveying and Mapping* 21 (December 1961): 488.
 67. Ordinance 28, 1812.
 68. Edward Johnson to the City Council, 24 February 1812, RG16, Series 1, 1812-557, BCA. The Poppleton map is at the Peale Museum: "An Eye Sketch of Part of the Town and Environs of Baltimore taken without regard to accuracy, being intended, solely as various Specimens submitted to the Mayor and City Council for their approbation, should an accurate, new Survey and Plan thereof, be determined on." Bouldin also implied that the Mayor had selected Poppleton before any other applicants had even come forward; Jehu Bouldin to the City Commissioners, March–April 1812, Bouldin Papers, MS.1212, MHS.
 69. *Laws of Maryland*, chapter 209, 1816. Jehu Bouldin completed this work, with the placement of the boundary markers, between Oc-

- tober 15, 1817 and March 3, 1819 for slightly over eight hundred dollars; RG16, Series 1, 1819-451, BCA. For variant versions of the boundary plats see RG12, Series 4, 23 (1817) and RG12, Series 2, 79 (1818), both BCA.
70. *Laws of Maryland*, chapter 148, 1817.
 71. Ordinance 32, 1818. This ordinance stipulated that the ward maps prepared by Poppleton be considered the accurate designation of the city into twelve wards.
 72. Commissioners for laying off streets, etc. to the Mayor and City Council, 7 January 1820, RG16, Series 1, 1819-580, BCA.
 73. This controversy erupted because of the municipal government's desire to have the completed plats "examined by three practical and experienced Surveyors" who would be appointed by the Mayor. Such an examination would be necessary before a final payment would be made. The Commissioners, aware of some of the political ramifications of their work, protested that "the local authorities would be peculiarly liable, on a subject like this, to all the local prejudices, private interests, personal feelings, narrow views and contractual considerations. . . ." Although overstated, the substance of this protest was probably correct and the matter subsided in a few months. See 28 and 30 March, 6 April 1822, *Baltimore Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*.
 74. This sum included slightly over \$5800 for the surveyor, \$600 for a secretary for the commissioners, \$50 for two cases for the manuscript plats, \$60 for engraving, approximately \$1800 for the placement of boundary stones, and the remainder for miscellaneous expenses. Proceedings of the City Council, Second Branch, 21 February 1822, RG16, Series 2, BCA.
 75. *Baltimore American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, 1 January 1822. A review declared Poppleton's map as "one of the most beautiful and finished specimens of topographical drawings, which we have ever seen"; *North American Review* 18 (April 1824): 414.
 76. A reproduction and accompanying information of this map is in McCauley, *Maryland Historical Prints*, p. 15.
 77. 28 March 1822, *Baltimore Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*.
 78. Commission for laying off streets, etc. to the Mayor and City Council, 7 January 1820, RG16, Series 1, 1819-580, BCA.
 79. *Baltimore Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, 6 April 1822.
 80. Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, p. 296. For the fuller treatment of this see John W. Reps, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).
 81. Olson, *Baltimore*, pp. 57-58.
 82. On the building-up of the waterfront see Faull, "Structural Growth."
 83. *Laws of Maryland*, June 1783, chapter 24.
 84. For extant copies of such maps see RG12, Series 3, 16D and 36 and Series 11, 5, BCA. These surveys document alterations in the Jones Falls in 1784 and 1794.
 85. Ordinance 22, 1797.
 86. For extant copies of these maps see RG12, Series 3, 8 and Series 4, 12 and 35, all BCA.
 87. The 1807 survey is in RG12, Series 4, 2, BCA. A photograph of the 1812 survey is reproduced in Olson, *Baltimore*, p. 54.
 88. Resolution, 9 March 1820.
 89. A copy of this published chart is available at the Baltimore City Archives in RG12, Series 11, 8. It is divided into two sections, one showing the Patapsco River from its mouth up to the basin and the other a more detailed view of the immediate basin and harbor. On Lucas, see James W. Foster, *Fielding Lucas, Jr., . . . Early 19th Century Publisher of Fine Books and Maps* (Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society, 1956).
 90. Resolution, 22 January 1822; John Montgomery to the First Branch of the City Council, RG16, Series 1, 1821-996, BCA; Report of the Committee on the subject of the Lewis Brantz Letter, 17 January 1822, RG16, Series 1, 1822-199, BCA; and Lewis Brantz to John Montgomery, 7 January 1822, RG16, Series 1, 1822-298, BCA.
 91. The complete manuscript volume of Brantz's survey notes is located in the Baltimore City Archives.
 92. Report of William Patterson and Peter Gold, RG16, Series 1, 1823-287, BCA.
 93. I am uncertain about the ultimate importance of the Brantz survey since it was unpublished. However, the fact that the work was undertaken at all represents another major step in the early planning of the city.
 94. See, for example, Daniel Hovey Calhoun, *The American Civil Engineer: Origins and Conflict* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960).

INTRODUCTION TO THE CHECKLIST

The following checklist of maps is arranged chronologically and includes the following information for each map: title; name of surveyor; authorization; and repository location. The abbreviations for repositories include BCA, Baltimore City Archives; EPFL, Enoch Pratt Free Library; LC, Library of Congress; MdHi, Maryland Historical Society; MHR, Maryland Hall of Records; Peabody, Peabody Library of the Johns Hopkins University; and PM, Peale Museum. Titles have either been assigned for those maps not having them (enclosed in brackets) or are the exact ones that appear (in quotation marks for manuscripts and italicized for published maps).

This checklist is not meant to be comprehensive but an itemizing of maps in

the major Baltimore-area repositories. It is intended to be a reference for researchers needing maps of early Baltimore and is also a catalogue of the maps used in the preparation of the accompanying history of surveying of this city. Readers will notice that the majority of these maps are manuscript cadastral maps located at the Baltimore City Archives, a reflection of the state of surveying in this city during these years. Commercial map publication would transform a checklist of maps by the mid-nineteenth century.

Following the checklist is a name and subject index to facilitate the use of these maps. Users will note that some of the citations are to place names not in the checklist entry included here. The index is to a fuller description of maps, which is available at the Baltimore City Archives. However, since most researchers request maps for specific areas of the city, the fuller index has been reproduced here.

THE CHECKLIST

1. 1730 [Survey of Baltimore Town]
Survey of the original sixty one-acre lots. Philip Jones, Jr. *Laws of Maryland*, 1729, chapter 12.
BCA, RG12, S.1, 1464 (1776 manuscript copy on microfilm only); BCA, RG12, S.2, 1 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 1 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 216 (later linen tracing); MHR, 19958-4 (later linen tracing); BCA, RG12, S.15, 2 (later manuscript copy). A copy of this survey was included in Wilbur F. Coyle, *First Records of Baltimore Town and Jones' Town 1729-1797* (Baltimore: Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, 1905).
2. 1747 [Survey of the addition of Jones Town to Baltimore Town]
N. Ruxton Gay. *Laws of Maryland*, 1747, chapter 21.
BCA, RG12, S.1, 1463 (manuscript on microfilm only); BCA, RG12, S.2, 2 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 2 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 218 (later linen tracing); MHR, 19958-3 (later linen tracing); BCA, RG12, S.15, 4 (later manuscript copy). Reproduced in Wilbur F. Coyle, *First Records of Baltimore Town and Jones' Town 1729-1797* (Baltimore: Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, 1905).
3. 1750 [Survey of the enlargement of Baltimore north and east of Jones Town, known as the Sheridin and Sligh addition]

- N. Ruxton Gay. *Laws of Maryland*, 1750, chapter 11.
BCA, RG12, S.1, 1328 (manuscript on microfilm only); BCA, RG12, S.2, 3 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 3 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 217 (later linen tracing); BCA, RG12, S.15, 3 (later manuscript copy).
4. 1754 [Survey of twenty-seven acres west of Baltimore Town, known as Hall's addition]
N. Ruxton Gay. *Laws of Maryland*, 1753, chapter 20.
BCA, RG12, S.1, 1326 (manuscript on microfilm only); BCA, RG12, S.2, 4 (1816 manuscript copy of Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 4 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); MHR, 19958-5 (later linen tracing); BCA, RG12, S.15, 3 (later manuscript copy).
 5. 1756 "An Exact Platt of Baltimore Town in Baltimore County 1756"
Surveyor and authorization unknown.
MdHi (original manuscript); Peabody, M9-1756 (photocopy).
 6. 1766 [Survey of Lunn's Lot]
George Howard. *Laws of Maryland*, 1765, chapter 2.
BCA, RG12, S.2, 5 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 5 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.15, 5 (later manuscript copy).
 7. 1767 [Survey of the "Marshy Ground"]
Laws of Maryland, 1766, chapter 22.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 1A (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.1, 5293 (1800 manuscript signed by Mayor James Calhoun on microfilm only); BCA, RG12, S.2, 6 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 6 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 270 (later linen tracing).
 8. 1773 [Survey of Baltimore Town]
George Gouldsmith Presbury. *Laws of Maryland*, 1773, chapter 4.
BCA, RG12, S.1, 2211, 3927-28, 3994 (microfilm copies of different versions of this survey); BCA, RG12, S.6, 221-22 (1905-06 linen tracing completed by the Topographical Survey); BCA, RG12, S.15, 7 (later manuscript copy).
 9. 1780 "A New and Accurate Map of Baltimore Town Dedicated to Thom[as] Langdon Esq. By G. Goulds[mith] Presbury"
Authorization unknown.
MdHi (manuscript mounted on wallpaper).
 10. 1781 "34e. Camp à Baltimore le 12. Septembre, 10 miles de White Marsh Le 13, 14, & 15. Sejour."
Camp at Baltimore of Rochambeau's French army.
Princeton University Library, Berthier Papers, no. 21-34 (original manuscript); reproduced in Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, eds., *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783*, 2

- vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press and Providence: Brown University Press, 1972), 2, plate 80.
11. 1781 "Rade Et Port De Baltimore"
Road system for use by Rochambeau's French army.
Princeton University Library, Berthier Papers, no. 16-8 (original manuscript); reproduced in Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, eds., *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press and Providence: Brown University Press, 1972), 2, plate 81.
 12. 1782 [Survey of Fells Prospect]
George Gouldsmith Presbury. Laws of Maryland, 1781, chapter 24.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 2 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.1, 2874 (manuscript on microfilm only); BCA, RG12, S.2, 7 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 7 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 224 and 271 (additional linen tracings); BCA, RG12, S.15, 9 (later manuscript copy).
 13. 1782 [Survey of the land of John Moale and Andrew Stiger on the east side of the Jones Falls]
George Gouldsmith Presbury. Laws of Maryland, 1773, chapter 21 and 1781, chapter 24.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 3 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 8 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.1, 1492 (manuscript on microfilm only); BCA, RG12, S.6, 8 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 223 and 272 (additional linen tracings); BCA, RG12, S.15, 8 (later manuscript copy).
 14. 1782 [Survey of Lunn's Lot]
George Gouldsmith Presbury. Laws of Maryland, 1782, chapter 2.
BCA, RG12, S.11, 1 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.1, 1035 (manuscript on microfilm only); BCA, RG12, S.2, 9 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 9 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 225 and 273 (additional linen tracings); BCA, RG12, S.11, 2 (partial manuscript copy); RG12, S.15, 10 (later manuscript copy).
 15. 1782 "Map of Ridgely's Addition to the City of Baltimore"
Laws of Maryland, 1782, chapter 8.
BCA, RG12, S.1, 72 (1811 manuscript copy on microfilm only).
 16. 1782 "20 eme. Camp a Baltimore Le 24 Juillet. 13 M [] de Spurier's Tavern. S'ejou Turqu'au 24 Aoust."
Encampment of Rochambeau's Army. Princeton University Library, Berthier Papers, no. 39-20 (original manuscript); reproduced in Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, eds., *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press and Providence: Brown University Press, 1972), 2, plate 129.
 17. 1782 [Baltimore, harbor, and roadstead]
Encampment of Rochambeau's Army. Library of Congress, Map Division, Rochambeau Map no. 13 (original manuscript); reproduced in Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, eds., *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press and Providence: Brown University Press, 1972), 2, plate 130.
 18. 1783 [Survey of Howard's Timber Neck]
George Gouldsmith Presbury. Laws of Maryland, 1782, chapter 8.
BCA, RG12, S.11, 3 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.1, 670 (manuscript on microfilm only); BCA, RG12, S.2, 12 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 12 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.15, 13 (later manuscript copy).
 19. 1783 [Survey of Parker's Haven and Kemp's Addition for Benjamin Rogers]
George Gouldsmith Presbury. Laws of Maryland, 1782, chapter 8.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 5 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 10 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 10 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 226 and 274 (additional linen tracings); BCA, RG12, S.15, 11 (later manuscript copy).
 20. 1783 [Survey for the opening of Holliday Street]
George Gouldsmith Presbury. Probably authorized by the Baltimore Town Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 6 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.4, 32 (later manuscript copy); BCA, RG12, S.2, 13 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 13 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 265 and 275 (additional linen tracings).
 21. 1783 [Survey of Gist's Inspection]
George Gouldsmith Presbury. Laws of Maryland, 1782, chapter 8.
BCA, RG12, S.1, 5292 (manuscript on microfilm only); BCA, RG12, S.2, 11 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 11 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 219 (additional linen tracing); BCA, RG12, S.15, 5 (later manuscript copy).
 22. 1783 "A plat of the Lotts laid of to the West of the Mansion House"
James Baker. Authorization unknown.
PM (original manuscript).
 23. 1783 [Survey of Ridgely's Addition]
George Gouldsmith Presbury. Laws of Maryland, 1782, chapter 8.
BCA, RG12, S.6, 228 (linen tracing).
 24. 1783 [Survey of Lunn's Lot]
George Gouldsmith Presbury. Laws of Maryland, 1782, chapter 2.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 4 (original manuscript).

25. 1784 "A Plat of the proposed alteration of the lower part of Joneses Falls, to accompany a petition of Sundry inhabitants of that part of Baltimore Town to the Board of Wardens, for that purpose."
Laws of Maryland, 1784, chapter 62.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 16D (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 19 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 19 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley).
26. 1784 [Survey of Jones Falls]
Cornelius Howard. Board of Port Wardens.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 36 (1811 manuscript copy by Cornelius Howard); BCA, RG12, S.2, 46 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 304 (linen tracing); BCA, RG12, S.4, 10 (partial manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin).
27. 1784 [Survey of the "Marshy Ground"]
Cornelius Howard. Laws of Maryland, 1766, chapter 22, copied for use in the settlement of the estate of Thomas Harrison.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 1B (1800 manuscript copy by Cornelius Howard); PM (1811 manuscript copy by Cornelius Howard); BCA, RG12, S.2, 14 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 14 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 220 and 276 (additional linen tracings); BCA, RG12, S.15, 6 (later manuscript copy).
28. 1784 [Survey of lots on Hanover Street from Montgomery to Baltimore Streets]
Surveyor and authorization unknown.
MHR, 19957-135.
29. 1785 [Survey of Market House]
Laws of Maryland, 1784, chapter 62.
BCA, RG12, S.4, 20 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.6, 253 (linen tracing).
30. 1786 [Survey of Howard's Addition]
Surveyor and authorization unknown.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 7 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 15 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 15 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley).
31. 1786 "For the Honourable Commissioners of the Tax for Baltimore Town and its Precincts. A Map of the Lands adjoining the said Town, laid down for the Purpose of ascertaining what Tracts, and Parts of Tracts of Land, lay within the lines of the Precincts of the said Town—done by Z. Maccubbin Jun[io]r. Baltimore Town August 1786."
Z. Maccubbin, Jr. Laws of Maryland, 1785, chapter 53—"An act to ascertain the value of the land in the several counties of this state for the purpose of laying public assessment."
BCA, RG12, S.1, 2505 (manuscript on micro-
- film only); BCA, RG12, S.2, 16 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 16 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 215 (additional linen tracing); MHR, 19958-1 (additional linen tracing); BCA, RG12, S.15, 1 (later manuscript copy).
32. 1786 "A Plat of the Lands of Which Baltimore City is situated Aug[us]t 31 1786."
George Gouldsmith Presbury. Laws of Maryland, 1785, chapter 53.
MdHi, M39 (original manuscript).
33. 1786 [Survey of area bounded by Lee, Mill, Goodmans, and Forrest Streets]
Surveyor and authorization unknown.
MdHi, M246 (original manuscript).
34. 1787 "A Map of Part of Baltimore Town from Gay Street to the Extent of said Town Eastward which Map is a true Copy of a Resurvey of said Port made for and Presented to the Commissioners of said Town by Virtue of an Act of Assembly, Passed for that Purpose."
George Gouldsmith Presbury. Laws of Maryland, 1784, chapter 39.
BCA, RG12, S.11, 4 (original manuscript).
35. 1787 [Survey of Hanson's Wood Lot]
George Gouldsmith Presbury. Authorization unknown.
EPFL, Maryland Department, H1171.58 H33P7 (original manuscript).
36. 1787 [Survey for opening and widening York Street from Exeter to High Streets]
George Gouldsmith Presbury. Baltimore Town Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 9 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.3, 10 (contemporary manuscript copy); BCA, RG12, S.2, 17 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 17 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 278 (additional linen tracing).
37. 1789 *From Philadelphia (59) to Annapolis Md.*
Survey by Christopher Colles published in his *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America*.
For complete list of extant volumes and reproductions of all the maps see Walter W. Ristow's edition published by the Belknap Press of Harvard University Press in 1961.
38. ca. 1790 "West Presbyterian Burying Ground of First Presbyterian Church of Baltimore, Purchases 1786 Cor. Greene & Fayette St."
Authorized by the church.
MdHi, M90 and M90.1 (variant copy).
39. 1792 *Plan of the Town of Baltimore and It's Environs Dedicated to the Citizens of Baltimore Taken upon the spot by their most humble Servant A. P. Folie French Geographer 1792*

- A. P. Folie. Engraved by James Poapord of Philadelphia.
- MdHi; LC.
40. 1792 "A Map of Part of Ridgely's Delight and part of Timber Neck The Estate of Mr. Char[le]s Ridgely Deceased from an accurate Survey by Henry Hart."
Henry Hart. *Laws of Maryland*, 1791, chapter 59.
BCA, RG12, S.1, 2454 (manuscript on microfilm only); BCA, RG12, S.6, 227 and MHR, 19958-22 (linen tracings); BCA, RG12, S.15, 12 (later manuscript copy).
41. 1792 [Survey of Rogers Inspection]
George Gouldsmith Presbury. Probably authorized by the Baltimore Town Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.5, 29 (1820s manuscript copy by William Gibson); BCA, RG12, S.6, 110 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley).
42. 1794 [Survey for the alteration of Jones Falls]
Surveyor unknown. Board of Port Wardens.
BCA, RG12, S.11, 5 (original manuscript).
43. ca. 1794 [Survey of Whetstone Point]
George Gouldsmith Presbury. Authorization uncertain.
MdHi, M40 (later manuscript copy by J. Henry Colston).
44. 1795 "A Plat of Bowly & Ridgely's Addition"
George Gouldsmith Presbury. Baltimore Town Special Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 11 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 20 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 20 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 280 (additional linen tracing).
45. 1795 [Survey of Gay Street crossing Second and Water Streets]
George Gouldsmith Presbury. Baltimore Town Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 12 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.3, 13A (contemporary manuscript copy); BCA, RG12, S.2, 21 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 21 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 281 and 282 (additional linen tracings).
46. 1795 "A Platt of Three Original Lots No. 22, 23, 24 Lying in the First Addition to Baltimore Town on the East Side of Jones Falls, the property of Eleanor Addison Smith"
George Gouldsmith Presbury. Authorization unknown.
MHR, 19957-227 (original manuscript).
47. 1797 "Plat for Mr. John Smith of part of Chatsworth"
Jehu Bouldin. Probably authorized by John Smith.
MHR, 19957-109 (original manuscript).
48. 1797 "South end of Gay Street Corrected"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG2, S.1, 62 (original manuscript).
49. 1797 "Plat of the South end of Gay Street for Paving"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG2, S.1, 63 (original manuscript).
50. 1797 [Survey of Front Street]
Jehu Bouldin, City Commissioners.
BCA, RG2, S.1, 61 (original manuscript).
51. 1797 "Plat part of Light Street"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG2, S.1, 66 (original manuscript).
52. 1797 "Market Street for Paving Tax"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG2, S.1, 67 (original manuscript).
53. 1797 [Survey of Pratt Street from Eutaw Street to the turnpike from Baltimore to Frederick]
Surveyor unknown. *Laws of Maryland*, 1795, chapter 58.
MHR, 19957-138.
54. 1798 "A Plat of Charles Street Extended."
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 14A (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 22 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 22 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 283 (additional linen tracing); BCA, RG12, S.3, 1B (incomplete manuscript copy).
55. 1798 [Survey of sewer construction between Charles and Light Streets]
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 15 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 24 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 24 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 284 (additional linen tracing).
56. 1798 "A Map of 13 Feet Alley"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 14B (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 23 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 23 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 283 (additional linen tracing).
57. 1799 *A Plan of the City and Environs of Baltimore, Respectively dedicated to the Mayor, City Council, & Citizens thereof by the Author 1799.*
Possibly by Charles Varlé. Engraved by Francis Shallus of Philadelphia.
MdHi.
58. 1799 [Survey of the Baltimore Harbor]
Surveyor unknown. Baltimore ordinance 22 (1797).
BCA, RG12, S.3, 8 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 26 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.5, 26 (1820s manuscript copy); BCA, RG12, S.6, 26 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 277 (additional linen tracing).
59. 1799 [Survey of part of Lunn's Lot into lots, streets, and alleys]

- Jehu Bouldin. Baltimore ordinance 4 (1799).
 BCA, RG12, S.3, 16A (original manuscript);
 BCA, RG12, S.2, 25 (1816 manuscript copy by
 Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 25 (1906 linen
 tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6,
 279 (additional linen tracing).
60. ca. 1799 [Survey for auctions of lots 1 and 2 on
 Sharping Lane]
 Surveyor unknown. Probably author-
 ized by the City Commissioners.
 BCA, RG12, S.3, 16B (original manuscript);
 BCA, RG12, S.2, 18 (1816 manuscript copy by
 Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 18 (1906 linen
 tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6,
 279 (additional linen tracing).
61. 1799 "Plot of the Market Space between
 Water & Second Streets"
 Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
 BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 1, 1799-42 (original manu-
 script).
62. 1799 "Platt of Hanover Street for Paving
 Tax, Balt[imore] to Pratt St"
 Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
 BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 1, 1799-41 (original manu-
 script).
63. 1799 "Plans of the New Wharf Point . . ."
 Survey by "J.H." City Commis-
 sioners.
 BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 1, 1799-43 (original manu-
 script).
64. 1799 "Platt of Fayette Street for Paving
 Tax Warrant"
 Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
 BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 1, 1799-39 (original manu-
 script).
65. 1799 "Platt of Frederick Street for Paving
 Tax"
 Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
 BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 1, 1799-40 (original manu-
 script).
66. 1799 "A Platt and return of the opening of
 Second Street"
 Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
 BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 1, 1799-54 (original manu-
 script).
67. 1799 [Survey for the opening of Pratt
 Street from Franklin Lane to the
 Jones Falls]
 Surveyor and authorization un-
 known.
 BCA, RG12, S.3, 1 (original manuscript); BCA,
 RG12, S.2, 27 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu
 Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 27 (1906 linen
 tracing by James W. Shirley).
68. 1799 [Survey of the bridge over the Jones
 Falls connecting Pratt and Queen
 Streets]
 Jehu Bouldin. Baltimore ordinance
 21 (1797).
 BCA, RG12, S.6, 285 (1905-06 linen tracing by
 the Topographical Survey).
69. 1799 [Survey of the Port Wardens' Line
 from Philpot Street to States wharf]
 Surveyor and authorization un-
 known.
 BCA, RG12, S.6, 107 (1906 linen tracing by
 James W. Shirley).
70. ca. 18th century [Survey of area near Water,
 Gists, Burk, and Rogers Streets]
 Surveyor and authorization un-
 known.
 PM (original survey).
71. 1800 [Survey for the opening of McElderry
 Street]
 Surveyor unknown. City Commis-
 sioners upon the application of
 Thomas McElderry.
 BCA, RG12, S.3, 18 (original manuscript with
 application of Daniel Bowly and attached peti-
 tion for the opening of Wine Alley); BCA,
 RG12, S.2, 28 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu
 Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 28 (1906 linen
 tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6,
 286 (additional linen tracing).
72. 1800 "A Plat of Part of Todd's Range Laid
 out into Lots Streets Lanes and
 Alleys, being the Property of John
 Smith and heirs of Joseph Williams
 (deceased) and to which is annexed a
 part of said Tract the property of the
 aforesaid John Smith Junior and
 Benjamin and Samuel Williams con-
 veyed to them by Alexander Lawson
 Which said part is distinguished by
 yellow Shaded Lines"
 Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
 BCA, RG12, S.5, 32 (original manuscript);
 MHR, 19957-235 (original manuscript with
 survey notes); BCA, RG12, S.6, 113 (1906
 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA,
 RG12, S.6, 229 (additional linen tracing).
73. 1800 "Dutch Aley"
 Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
 BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 2, 1800-60 (original manu-
 script).
74. 1800 "Platt of Hanover Street from Pratt to
 Conway Sts."
 Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
 BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 2, 1800-61 (original manu-
 script).
75. 1800 "Wm. Buchanans' Platt"
 Surveyor unknown. City Commis-
 sioners.
 BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 2, 1800-62 (original manu-
 script).
76. 1800 [Survey of property between Market
 Street and Apple Alley at Smith
 Street to be sold at public auction]
 Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
 PM (original manuscript).
77. 1801 *Warner & Hanna's Plan of the City
 and Environs of Baltimore, Respect-
 fully dedicated to the Mayor, City
 Council & Citizens thereof by the Pro-
 prietors, 1801.*
 Same survey as that attributed to
 Charles Varlé in 1799 and engraved by
 Francis Shallus of Philadelphia,

- republished by Warner & Hanna in 1801.
- MdHi and PM (original copies); BCA, RG12, S.1, 2212 (microfilm copy); PM (linen tracing by F. H. Firoyed of the Topographical Survey). There are numerous reproductions of this map available, especially a 1947 stencil-colored Collotype reproduction by the Meriden Gravure Company prepared for the Peabody Institute Library.
78. 1801 [Survey for the widening of the intersection of Pratt and Gay Streets] Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners. BCA, RG12, S.3, 22 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 32 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 32 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 290 (additional linen tracing).
79. 1801 [Survey of opening of Dark Lane and New Church Street] Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners. BCA, RG12, S.2, 30 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 30 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 288 (additional linen tracing); BCA, RG12, S.3, 20 (partial contemporary manuscript copy by Bouldin showing Dark Lane only); BCA, RG12, S.3, 24B (partial contemporary manuscript copy by Bouldin of New Church Street only); BCA, RG12, S.6, 292A (linen tracing of partial New Church Street copy).
80. 1801 [Survey of opening of Smith and Buchanan's alley] Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners. BCA, RG12, S.3, 21 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 31 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 31 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 289 (additional linen tracing).
81. 1801 "Paving Acct. of Elijah Bailey." Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners. BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 3, 1801-65 (original manuscript).
82. 1801 [Survey of the corner at Hanover and Camden Streets] Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners. BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 3, 1801-66 (original manuscript).
83. 1801 "East Side of Howard Street between Mulberry & Franklin Streets" Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners. BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 3, 1801-67 (original manuscript).
84. 1801 "Plat of Lexington Street" Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners. BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 3, 1801-68 (original manuscript).
85. ca. 1801 "Light Street Repaved report" Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners. BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 3, 1801-69 (original manuscript).
86. ca. 1801 [Survey of intersection of South and Second Streets] Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners. BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 3, 1801-70 (original manuscript).
87. ca.1801 [Survey of Market Street] Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners. BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 3, 1801-70A (original manuscript).
88. 1801 "Mrs. Lawson's Application" Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners. BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 3, 1801-125 (original manuscript).
89. 1801 "Application . . . to widen Strawberry Alley" Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners. BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 3, 1801-126 (original manuscript).
90. 1801 [Survey of lots bounded by Caroline, Gough, Wolfe, and Aliceanna Streets] Jehu Bouldin. Completed for a court case. MHR, 19957-131 (original manuscript).
91. 1801 [Survey of Ten Feet Lane] Jehu Bouldin. Authorization unknown. MdHi, M47 (original manuscript); MdHi, M48 (contemporary manuscript copy).
92. 1801 [Survey of area bound by the Jones Falls and Aliceanna, Bond, and Pitt Streets] Jehu Bouldin, City Commissioners. BCA, RG12, S.1, 3905 (manuscript on microfilm only).
93. 1801 [Survey for the opening of Wine Alley from Charles to Light Streets] Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners. BCA, RG12, S.3, 19 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.6, 287 and 29 (additional linen tracings).
94. 1802 [Survey for the opening of Church Alley] Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners. BCA, RG12, S.3, 24A (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 34 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 34 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 292 (additional linen tracing).
95. 1802 [Survey for the opening of North Street] Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners. BCA, RG12, S.3, 23 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 33 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 33 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG.12, S.6, 291 (additional linen tracing).
96. 1802 [Survey for the opening of McClellan Street] Jehu Bouldin. Laws of Maryland, 1801, chapter 97.

- BCA, RG12, S.3, 25 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 35 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 35 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 293 (additional linen tracing); MdHi, M45 (contemporary manuscript copy).
97. 1802 [Survey for the opening of Wine Alley from Charles to Light Streets]
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners
BCA, RG12, S.2, 29 (1816 manuscript by Jehu Bouldin).
98. 1802 [Survey of Pratt Street from Frederick to Gay Streets]
Thomas H. Poppleton. Authorization unknown.
BCA, RG12, S.6, 93 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley). [Special note: this map is probably misdated as there is no evidence Poppleton was in Baltimore prior to 1811].
99. ca. 1802 "Plat of Baltimore Street Repaved"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 4, 1802-88 (original manuscript).
100. 1802 "Platt of Charles Street for Paving, Etc."
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 4, 1802-89 (original manuscript).
101. ca. 1802 [Survey of area bounded by Wapping, High, Baltimore, and Front Streets]
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 4, 1802-90 (original manuscript).
102. ca. 1802 "Platt of Paving in Gay St. Footway"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 4, 1802-91 (original manuscript).
103. ca. 1802 "Plat, Part of Gay Street Repaved"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 4, 1802-92 (original manuscript).
104. ca. 1802 "German Street for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 4, 1802-93 (original manuscript).
105. 1802 "Granby Street for Paving Tax. . ."
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 4, 1802-94 (original manuscript).
106. 1802 "Happy Alley for Paving Tax,"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 4, 1802-95 (original manuscript).
107. ca. 1802 [Survey of area between Aliceanna and Lancaster Streets]
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 4, 1802-96 (original manuscript).
108. ca. 1802 "Plat of Second Street. . ."
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 4, 1802-97 (original manuscript).
109. ca. 1802 "Plat of Wapping St. from Front to High Streets for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 4, 1802-98 (original manuscript).
110. ca. 1802 "Plat of Water Street Repaved"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 4, 1802-99 (original manuscript).
111. 1802 [Survey for the condemnation of Wine Alley between Charles and Light Streets]
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 4, 1802-100 (original manuscript).
112. ca. 1802 "Plat of Wolfe Street for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 4, 1802-101 (original manuscript).
113. 1803 [Survey for the widening and extension of the channel]
Jehu Bouldin. Baltimore ordinance 34 (1802) and ordinance 15 (1803).
BCA, RG12, S.4, 7 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.4, 8 (partial contemporary manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 241 (linen tracing).
114. 1803 [Survey of the public docks at Market Street]
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 5, 1803-36 (original manuscript).
115. 1803 "Plat of Howard Street"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 5, 1803-38 (original manuscript).
116. 1803 "Howard Street for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 5, 1803-38 (original manuscript).
117. 1803 [Survey of lots on Wilks, Caroline, and Fleet Streets]
Thomas Gist. Authorized by the 1803 October term of the General Court of the Western Shore.
MHR, 19957-23 (original manuscript).
118. 1803 [Survey of lots bound by High and Mechanical Streets]
Jehu Bouldin. Authorized by a court case.
MHR, 19957-134 (original manuscript).
119. 1804 *Improved Plan of the City of Baltimore*
Survey engraved by Warner and Hanna, originally part of a city directory.

- LC (original); EPFL, Maryland Department, H1171.55 B3 1804 (photocopy only).
120. 1804 [Survey for the opening of Still House Street, Still House Alley, and Stable Alley]
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 26 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 36 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 36 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 294 (additional linen tracing).
121. 1804 [Survey for the opening of an alley] Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 59 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 66 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 66 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 327 (additional linen tracing).
122. 1804 [Survey of sewer from Jones Falls to Potter Street] Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 56 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.6, 324 (linen tracing).
123. 1804 [Survey of Harrison's Improvement] Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.5, 9 (original manuscript).
124. 1804 [Survey of lots at German and Bond Streets] Thomas Gist. General Court of the Western Shore.
MHR, 19957-1 (original manuscript).
125. 1804 "Bridge and Forrest Streets for Paving. . ."
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 6, 1804-80 (original manuscript).
126. 1804 "German Lane for Paving Tax. . ."
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 6, 1804-81 (original manuscript).
127. 1804 "Lerews Alley for Paving Tax."
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 6, 1804-82 (original manuscript).
128. 1804 "Saratoga Street for Paving Tax."
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 6, 1804-83 (original manuscript).
129. 1804 [Survey of Water Company property bounded by Calvert, Franklin, and Pleasant Streets and the Jones Falls] Surveyor and authorization unknown.
BCA, RG12, S.6, 89-90 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley).
130. 1805 [Survey for the opening of a canal on the Jones Falls] Jehu Bouldin. Baltimore ordinance 34 (1803).
BCA, RG12, S.3, 27 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 37 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 37 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 295 (additional linen tracing).
131. 1805 [Survey for the extension of North Street] Jehu Bouldin. Laws of Maryland, 1804, chapter 56.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 28 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 38 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 38 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 296 (additional linen tracing).
132. 1805 [Survey for the opening of Union Alley] Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 29 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 39 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 39 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 297 (additional linen tracing).
133. 1805 "Barre Street for Paving Tax"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 7, 1805-88 (original manuscript).
134. 1805 "Plat of Charles Street for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 7, 1805-89 (original manuscript).
135. 1805 "Light Street part Repaved"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 7, 1805-90 (original manuscript).
136. 1805 "Plat South Street Foot Way Extended"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 7, 1805-92 (original manuscript).
137. 1805 "Whiskey Alley for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 7, 1805-93 (original manuscript).
138. ca. 1805 "Footway South Street Between Water"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 7, 1805-93A (original manuscript).
139. ca. 1805 "South Street Repaved"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 7, 1805-93B (original manuscript).
140. 1805 "A Plat of Part of Philpots Addition to Baltimore Town marked by and filed as an exhibit in the court in Chancery wherein Gabriel Wood and Edward Harris are Complainants and Daniel Bowly Defendant"
Surveyor unknown.
BCA, RG12, S.15, 15 (later manuscript copy); BCA, RG12, S.6, 230-231 (1905/6 linen tracing by the Topographical Survey).
141. 1806 [Survey to widen York Street between High and Temple Streets] Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.

- BCA, RG12, S.3, 31 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 41 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 41 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 299 (additional linen tracing).
142. 1806 [Survey for the widening of Lombard Street at the intersection of Liberty Street]
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 30 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 40 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 40 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 298 (additional linen tracing).
143. 1806 "Plat of part of Gay Street repaved"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 8, 1806-87 (original manuscript).
144. 1806 "A Plat of the Extension of Howard and Bolton Streets. . ."
Samuel Green. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 8, 1806-88 (original manuscript).
145. 1806 "Queen Street for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 8, 1806-89 (original manuscript).
146. 1806 [Survey of road from John Stansbury's plantation to road from Cromwell's bridge to Baltimore City]
David Smithson. Authorization unknown.
MHR, 19967-151 (original manuscript).
147. 1807 [Survey to alter and extend Granby and Exeter Streets]
Jehu Bouldin. Laws of Maryland, 1806, chapter 48.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 32 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 42 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 42 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 300 (additional linen tracing).
148. 1807 [Survey of the basin of Baltimore]
Samuel Green. Possibly authorized by Baltimore ordinance 41 (1807).
BCA, RG12, S.4, 2 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.1, 948 and 953 (manuscript on microfilm only); BCA, RG12, S.6, 235 (linen tracing).
149. 1807 "Plat of East Street Repaved"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 9, 1807-136 (original manuscript).
150. ca. 1807 "Harrison Street for Mr. John Meckle"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 9, 1807-137 (original manuscript).
151. ca. 1807 "Plat of Howard Street"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 9, 1807-138 (original manuscript).
152. ca. 1807 "Howard Street Footway, etc."
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 9, 1807-139 (original manuscript).
153. ca. 1807 "Plat of Lee Street for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 9, 1807-140 (original manuscript).
154. ca. 1807 "Second Street Repaved"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 9, 1807-141 (original manuscript).
155. 1807 "Strawberry Alley for Paving Tax"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 9, 1807-142 (original manuscript).
156. 1808 [Survey of the opening of Ten Feet Lane]
Surveyor unknown. Laws of Maryland, 1807, chapter 143.
BCA, RG3, S.3, 33 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 43 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 43 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 301 (additional linen tracing).
157. 1808 [Survey for the construction of James and Joseph Biay's wharf]
Surveyor unknown. Baltimore ordinance 61 (1808).
BCA, RG12, S.5, 27 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.6, 108 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley).
158. 1808 [Survey for the exchange of the private roads of Brian Philpot, Richard Caton and Richard Lawson with the City for newly surveyed roads]
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-102 (original manuscript).
159. ca. 1808 "Bridge Street Repaved by E. Bailey"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-141 (original manuscript).
160. ca. 1808 "Bridge Street Repaved"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-142 (original manuscript).
161. ca. 1808 "Plat of the Public Pavement in Dulaney & Bond Streets"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-143 (original manuscript).
162. ca. 1808 "Plat of East Street for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-144 (original manuscript).
163. ca. 1808 "East Street"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.

- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-145 (original manuscript).
164. ca. 1808 "Plat of Exchange Alley repaved"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-146 (original manuscript).
165. ca. 1808 [Survey for lots 51 and 52 in Fells Point]
Samuel Green. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-147 (original manuscript).
166. ca. 1808 "Public Pavement on Front and Short Streets"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-148 (original manuscript).
167. ca. 1808 "Gay Street Footway Extended"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-149 (original manuscript).
168. ca. 1808 "Part of Gay Street Repaved"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-150 (original manuscript).
169. ca. 1808 "Part of Gay Street repaved"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-151 (original manuscript).
170. 1808 "Plat Paving on Gay Street"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-152 (original manuscript).
171. ca. 1808 "Howard Street for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-153 (original manuscript).
172. ca. 1808 "Howard Street for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-154 (original manuscript).
173. ca. 1808 "Howard Street for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-155 (original manuscript).
174. ca. 1808 "Plat on Janes Street for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-156 (original manuscript).
175. ca. 1808 "Ten Feet Lane for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-157 (original manuscript).
176. ca. 1808 "Plat of Larew's Alley for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-158 (original manuscript).
177. ca. 1808 "Plat of Low Street for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-159 (original manuscript).
178. ca. 1808 "Low Street for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-160 (original manuscript).
179. ca. 1808 "Repavement Market Space and Baltimore Street"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-161 (original manuscript).
180. ca. 1808 "Plat of Peace Alley"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-162 (original manuscript).
181. ca. 1808 "Plat of Pitt Street for a Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-163 (original manuscript).
182. ca. 1808 "Pratt Street repaved"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-164 (original manuscript).
183. ca. 1808 "Short & Front Streets for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-165 (original manuscript).
184. ca. 1808 "South Street footway/South Street Repaved"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-166 (original manuscript).
185. ca. 1808 "Plat of Temple Street for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-167 (original manuscript).
186. ca. 1808 "Water Street Repaved"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-168 (original manuscript).
187. ca. 1808 "Water Street Repaved"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-169 (original manuscript).
188. ca. 1808 "Wolfe Street for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-170 (original manuscript).
189. ca. 1808 "Plat of York Street for Paving Tax"

- Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-171 (original manuscript).
190. ca. 1808 "Plat of York Street for Paving Tax"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 10, 1808-172 (original manuscript).
191. 1808 "A Map of Todd's Range, Mountany's Neck and Sundry adjoining Lands"
Z. Maccubbin, Jr. Authorization unknown.
Peabody, M9-1808 (copy by "J.D." noting that this was "copied from a Plat belonging to Col. Howard, November 14th, 1808").
192. 1808 [Survey of the Jones Falls from Pratt Street to the basin]
Darby Ensor. Baltimore County Court.
MHR, 19957-22 (original manuscript).
193. 1808 [Survey for the extension of George Stiles' wharf]
Jehu Bouldin. Baltimore ordinance 62 (1808).
BCA, RG12, S.4, 4 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.5, 20 (contemporary manuscript copy); BCA, RG12, S.6, 101 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 237 (additional linen tracing).
194. 1809 [Survey to establish property lines on the west side of Philpot Street between Will and Thames Street]
Jehu Bouldin. Laws of Maryland, 1807, chapter 76.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 34 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 44 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 44 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 302 (additional linen tracing).
195. 1809 [Survey of the land of the alms house]
Samuel Green. Authorization uncertain.
BCA, RG12, S.4, 22 (early 20th century linen tracing); BCA, RG12, S.6, 255 (additional linen tracing).
196. 1809 "Plat of ground belonging to the Baltimore Water Company, in Red Shaded lines"
John Davis. Probably authorized by the water company.
Peabody, M9-1809 (original manuscript).
197. ca. 1809 "Plat of 13 feet Alley"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-151 (original manuscript).
198. ca. 1809 "Ann Street"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-152 (original manuscript).
199. ca. 1809 "Rough Plat Ann Street"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-153 (original manuscript).
200. 1809 "... Sharp, Pratt & Hanover Streets"
Jehu Bouldin. "Commissioners of Appeal."
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-154 (original manuscript).
201. ca. 1809 "Platt of Bottle Alley incorrect"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-155 (original manuscript).
202. ca. 1809 "Brandy Alley for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-156 (original manuscript).
203. ca. 1809 "Plat of Brandy Alley for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-157 (original manuscript).
204. ca. 1809 "Charles Street repaved"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-158 (original manuscript).
205. ca. 1809 "Cannawago Street for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-159 (original manuscript).
206. ca. 1809 "Dugans Wharf for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-160 (original manuscript).
207. ca. 1809 "East Street for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-161 (original manuscript).
208. ca. 1809 "Plat of Eutaw Street for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-162 (original manuscript).
209. ca. 1809 "George Street Repaved by Brady & Nuckel"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-163 (original manuscript).
210. ca. 1809 "Green Street for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-164 (original manuscript).
211. ca. 1809 "Plat of the Public Pavement on Harford & Dulaney Streets"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-165 (original manuscript).
212. ca. 1809 "Plat of Hawk Street"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-166 (original manuscript).

213. 1809 "Hughes Street, Lots to Basin, Forest to Henry"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-168 (original manuscript).
214. ca. 1809 "Petticoat Alley South of Wilkes Street"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-169 (original manuscript).
215. ca. 1809 "Plat of Repairs Plowman Street"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-170 (original manuscript).
216. ca. 1809 "Second Street Repaved"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-171 (original manuscript).
217. ca. 1809 "Plat of Lots on Sharp [and] German Streets"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-172 (original manuscript).
218. ca. 1809 "Sharp Street for P[aving] Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-173 (original manuscript).
219. ca. 1809 "Smith Alley repaved by E. Baily"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-174 (original manuscript).
220. ca. 1809 "Plat of Starr Alley for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-175 (original manuscript).
221. ca. 1809 "Plat Strawberry Alley & Bank St."
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-176 (original manuscript).
222. ca. 1809 "Plat of Wilkes Street for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-177 (original manuscript).
223. 1809 [Survey of the extension of Thomas Tenant's wharf]
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-177A (original manuscript)
224. 1810 [Survey for the opening of Vulcan Alley]
Jehu Bouldin. Probably authorized by the City Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 35 (original manuscript);
BCA, RG12, S.2, 45 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 45 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 303 (additional linen tracing).
225. 1810 "J. Biay's Plat"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 13, 1810-181 ((original manuscript).
226. ca. 1810 "J. Biay's Plat"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 13, 1810-182 (original manuscript).
227. ca. 1810 [Survey of Thames Street Wharves]
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 13, 1810-183 (original manuscript).
228. ca. 1810 "Dulaney Street for Paving Tax"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 13, 1810-184 (original manuscript).
229. ca. 1810 [Survey of Dulaney Street between Harford and Market Streets]
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 13, 1810-185 (original manuscript).
230. 1810 "Platt of Milk Lane bet[ween] Pitt & York St."
Henry Stouffer, J. Robert Moore, and J. W. B. Luptun.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 13, 1810-186 (original manuscript).
231. ca. 1810 [Survey of lots between Courtland Street and St. Paul's Lane]
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 13, 1810-187 (newspaper clipping).
232. ca. 1810 "Strawberry Alley from Aliceanna to Fleet Streets, Platt"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 13, 1810-188 (original manuscript).
233. 1810 "Capt. Tenants plat Exhibited to the council. . ."
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 13, 1810-189 (original manuscript).
234. 1810 [Survey of "Christopher Raborg's Orchard"]
J. Lewis Wampler. Authorization unknown.
EPFL, Maryland Department, H1171.58 R5W32 (original manuscript).
235. 1810 [Survey of "Gists Inspection"]
Darby Ensor. Baltimore County Court, October term 1810.
MHR, 19957-61 (original manuscript).
236. 1810-12 [Survey of lots on Baltimore, Charles, Pratt, and Hanover Streets in "Howards Addition"]
Darby Ensor. Baltimore County

- Court, October term 1810, October term 1811, and March term 1812.
MHR, 19957-15 (original manuscript).
237. 1811 [Survey for extending Holliday Street]
J. Lewis Wampler. Laws of Maryland, 1810, chapter 153.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 37 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 47 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 47 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 305 (additional linen tracing).
238. 1811 [Survey of Jones Falls from the Baltimore Street bridge to Bridge Street bridge]
J. Lewis Wampler. Baltimore ordinance 3 (1811).
BCA, RG12, S.3, 39 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 49 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 49 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 307 (additional linen tracing).
239. 1811 [Resurvey of Halls Addition] Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 38 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 48 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin).
240. 1811 [Survey of the boundary of the north-west branch of the Patapsco River] Jehu Bouldin. Authorization unknown.
BCA, RG12, S.4, 5 (original manuscript).
241. 1811 [Survey of powder house ground] Jehu Bouldin. Authorization unknown.
BCA, RG12, S.6, 238 (1905/6 linen tracing by the Topographical Survey).
242. 1811 [Survey of Jones Falls from Moore's bridge to Peters' wharf] Cornelius Howard. Possibly authorized by Baltimore ordinance 11 (1811).
BCA, RG12, S.6, 46A (1906 linen tracing of an 1816 Jehu Bouldin copy by James W. Shirley).
243. 1811 [Survey of Jones Falls in the vicinity of Peters' wharf] Cornelius Howard. Possibly authorized by Baltimore ordinance 11 (1811).
BCA, RG12, S.6, 46B (1906 linen tracing of an 1816 Jehu Bouldin copy by James W. Shirley).
244. 1811 [Survey of boundary lines between Baltimore City and precincts in the vicinity of Charles Street] Jehu Bouldin. Authorization unknown.
BCA, RG12, S.6, 48 (1906 linen tracing of an 1816 Jehu Bouldin copy by James W. Shirley).
245. 1811 [Survey of part of the estate of the late William Clemm called Ridgelys Delight] J. Lewis Wampler. Authorization unknown
EPFL, Maryland Department, H 1171.58.R5W3 (later manuscript copy).
246. 1811 [Survey of Baltimore City lot 178]
- Darby Ensor. Baltimore County Court, March term 1811.
MHR, 19957-2 (original manuscript).
247. 1811 [Survey of Baltimore City lot 178] Darby Ensor. Baltimore County Court.
MHR, 19957-67 (original manuscript).
248. 1811 [Survey of Baltimore City lot 52] Darby Ensor. Baltimore County Court, March term 1810.
MHR, 19957-120 (original manuscript).
249. 1812 [Survey for the extension of St. Paul's Street] Jehu Bouldin. Laws of Maryland, 1811, chapter 133.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 41 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 52 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 52 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 310 (additional linen tracing).
250. 1810 [Survey for extension of a street between Gough and Wolfe Streets] Jehu Bouldin. Laws of Maryland, 1811, chapter 24.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 42 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 51 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 51 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 309 (additional linen tracing).
251. 1812 [Survey for opening of Straight Lane as a public highway] Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 43 (original manuscript); BCA, S.2, 52 1/2 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 52 1/2 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 311 (additional linen tracing).
252. 1812 [Survey for opening Kimmells Alley] Jehu Boulding. Possibly authorized by the City Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 44 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 53 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 53 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 312 (additional linen tracing).
253. [Survey for the enlargement and opening of North Lane] Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 40 (incomplete original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 50 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 50 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 308 (additional linen tracing).
254. 1812 [Survey for opening of Guilford Alley] Jehu Bouldin, City Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 45 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 54 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 54 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 313 (additional linen tracing).
255. 1812 [Survey for the extension of Aisquith Street] James Baker. Laws of Maryland, 1812, chapter 118.
BCA, RG12, S.5,33 (original manuscript);

- BCA, RG12, S.6, 114 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley).
256. 1812 "Bank Street for Paving Tax"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 16, 1812-215 (original manuscript).
257. 1812 "Platt of Carolina Street between Gough & Wilkens Streets, 1812"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 16, 1812-216 (original manuscript).
258. 1812 "Platt of Charles Street footways"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 16, 1812-217 (original manuscript).
259. 1812 "Platt of Potter Street for Paving Tax"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 16, 1812-218 (original manuscript).
260. 1812 "Plan of the Warf as concluded upon by the committee . . ."
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 16, 1812-219 (original manuscript).
261. ca. 1812 "Plat of York Street"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 16, 1812-220 (original manuscript).
262. 1812 "An Eye Sketch of Part of the Town and Environs of Baltimore taken without regard to accuracy, being intended, solely as various Specimens submitted to the Mayor and City Council for their approbation, should an accurate, new Survey and Plan thereof, be determined on"
Thomas H. Poppleton.
PM (original manuscript).
263. 1812 [Survey of area bounded by Eutaw Street, Dutch Alley, Welsh's Alley, and Lexington Street]
Thomas H. Poppleton. Authorization unknown.
EPFL, Maryland Department, H 1171.59 P6 (original manuscript).
264. 1812 [Survey of "Fells Prospect"]
Darby Ensor. Baltimore County Court.
MHR, 19957-3 (original manuscript).
265. 1813 [Survey for opening and extending Pratt Street]
Jehu Bouldin. Laws of Maryland, 1811, chapter 163.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 46 (original manuscript);
BCA, RG12, S.2, 55 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 55 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 314 (additional linen tracing).
266. 1813 [Survey for extending Green Street]
Jehu Bouldin. Laws of Maryland, 1812, chapter 34.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 47 (original manuscript);
- BCA, RG12, S.2, 56 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 56 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 315 (additional linen tracing).
267. 1813 [Survey of the east line of the Jones Falls in front of the home of John Gross]
Jehu Bouldin. Baltimore resolution 4 (1813).
BCA, RG12, S.3, 57 (original manuscript);
BCA, RG12, S.2, 64 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 64 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 325 (additional linen tracing).
268. 1813 [Survey for the extension of Low Street]
James Baker. Laws of Maryland, 1812, chapter 121.
BCA, RG12, S.5, 28 (1820 manuscript copy by William Gibson);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 109 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley);
MHR, 19957-139 (contemporary manuscript copy).
269. 1813 [Survey for opening Sharp Street]
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 49 (original manuscript);
BCA, RG12, S.2, 58 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 58 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 317 (additional linen tracing).
270. 1813 [Survey for opening of Bradenbaugh's Alley]
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 48 (original manuscript);
BCA, RG12, S.2, 57 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 57 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 316 (additional linen tracing).
271. 1813 [Survey of Baltimore City lots 505-11]
Darby Ensor. Baltimore County Court, September term 1813.
MHR, 19957-68 (three manuscript copies).
272. 1813 [Survey of part of "Fells Prospect" in the area bounded by Apple Alley, and German, Market, and Gough Streets]
Darby Ensor. Baltimore County Court.
MHR, 19957-214 (original manuscript).
273. 1814 [Survey for opening and extending Queen Street]
Jehu Bouldin. Laws of Maryland, 1813, chapter 97.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 50 (original manuscript);
BCA, RG12, S.2, 59 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 59 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 318 (additional linen tracing).
274. 1814 [Survey for opening and extending Aisquith Street]
Jehu Bouldin. Laws of Maryland, May 1813, chapter 12.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 52 and 53 (original manuscripts);
BCA, RG12, S.2, 61 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 61 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley);

- BCA, RG12, S.6, 320 and 321 (additional linen tracings).
275. 1814 "A Plan for Improving the Cove East of Jones' Falls, Proposed by the Subscribers. Wardens of the Port of Balto."
Surveyor unknown. Baltimore ordinance 12 (1814).
BCA, RG12, S.4, 17 (original manuscript); MHR, 19958-27 and BCA, RG12, S.6, 250 (additional linen tracings).
276. 1814 "Plan B, to be deposited in the Port Wardens Office, under the Ordinance, 'for the improvements of the Harbour of Baltimore,' passed this 26th of March 1814."
Survey by "S. Y." Baltimore ordinance 12 (1814).
BCA, RG12, S.4, 35 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.6, 267 and BCA, RG12, S.11, 6 (additional linen tracings).
277. 1814 "A Plat of the Grounds East of Ann Street to Harris Creek, with levels for a Canal, prepared by Jehu Bouldin, at the instance of the Subscribers Wardens of the Port of Baltimore; together with an estimate of the expence of constructing a Canal from Dulany at Ann Street to Harris Creek at Wilkes Street"
Jehu Bouldin. Baltimore ordinance 12 (1814).
BCA, RG12, S.4, 36 (original manuscript).
278. ca. 1814 "Plat of German Street for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 19, 1814-90 (original manuscript).
279. 1814 "John Foss' Plat for Mulberry Street"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 19, 1814-91 (original manuscript).
280. ca. 1814 "Plat of Wilkes St. for paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 19, 1814-92 (original manuscript).
281. 1814 "Sketch of the Military Topography of Baltimore and its vicinity and of Patapasco Neck to North Point made by order of [Br. Gen. Winder] 1814"
James Kearney. Probably authorized for the defenses of Baltimore against the British invasion. Also has inset of "Reconnoitring of Chesapeake Bay," made in 1818.
EPFL, Maryland Department, H 1171.56 M5K4 (photocopy of original manuscript).
282. 1814 [Survey of the dock and surrounding streets]
Surveyor unknown. Baltimore ordinance 12 (1814).
PM (original manuscript).
283. ca. 1814 [Survey of lots surrounded by Wash-
ington Square, Calvert and East Streets, and also showing Church, North, and Holliday Streets]
Surveyor and authorization unknown.
BCA, RG12, S.11, 28 (original manuscript).
284. 1815 [Survey for the opening of Sugar Alley]
Surveyor and authorization unknown.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 54 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 62 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 62 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 322 (additional linen tracing).
285. 1815 [Survey of St. Paul's Lane from Church to St. Paul's Streets]
Jehu Bouldin. Laws of Maryland, 1814, chapter 25.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 51 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 60 (1816 manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 60 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 319 (additional linen tracing).
286. 1815 [Survey of the wharves on the south side of the basin]
Jehu Bouldin. Baltimore resolution 1 (1814).
BCA, RG12, S.4, 6 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.6, 106 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 239 (additional linen tracing).
287. 1815 [Survey of the northwest branch of the Patapasco River from Harbaugh's Wharf to Fort McHenry]
Jehu Bouldin. Baltimore resolution 1 (1814).
BCA, RG12, S.4, 1 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.5, 25 (later manuscript copy); BCA, RG12, S.6, 234 (later linen tracing).
288. ca. 1815 [Survey of David Barnet's property bounded by Charles, Northwest, and Conawago Streets and Forrest Lane]
Jehu Bouldin. Authorization uncertain.
BCA, RG12, S.6, 112 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley).
289. ca. 1815 "Plat of German Street for Paving Tax"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 20, 1815-140 (original manuscript).
290. 1815 [Survey of lots bounded by Ensor Street, Apple Alley, and old Joppa Road]
Darby Ensor. Baltimore County Court, March term 1815.
MHR, 19957-74 (original manuscript).
291. 1816 [Survey of Accommodation Alley]
Jehu Bouldin. Probably authorized by the City Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 55 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 63 (manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 63 (1906 linen

- tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 323 (additional linen tracing).
292. 1816 [Survey opening an alley from Holiday to North Streets]
Jehu Bouldin. Laws of Maryland, 1812, chapter 40.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 58 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 65 (manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 65 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 326 (additional linen tracing).
293. 1816 [Survey of the extension of wharves of Thorndike Chase and Amos A. Williams]
Jehu Bouldin. Probably authorized by Baltimore ordinance 12 (1814).
BCA, RG12, S.5, 22 (later manuscript copy); BCA, RG12, S.65, 103 (1903 linen tracing by James W. Shirley).
294. 1816 [Survey of Port Warden's line from Hughes wharf to Wilson's wharf]
Jehu Bouldin. Baltimore resolution 2 (1816).
BCA, RG12, S.5, 21 (later manuscript copy); BCA, RG12, S.4, 12 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.6, 102 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 245 (additional linen tracing).
295. 1816 [Survey of the extension of Price's wharf on the east side of Wolfe Street, the shore line from Flanagan's wharf to the Sugar House wharf, and the extension of Biay's wharf near Aliceanna Street]
Jehu Bouldin. Baltimore resolution 2 (1816).
BCA, RG12, S.4, 11 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.6, 244 (1905/06 linen tracing by the Topographical Survey).
296. ca. 1816 [Survey of roads from Baltimore City to the Susquehanna River and Branches to the Gunpowder River, McCall's Ferry, and from Belair to the Pennsylvania line]
Jehu Bouldin. Laws of Maryland, 1815, chapter 48.
MHR, 19957-149 (original manuscript).
297. 1817 [Survey of the limits of Baltimore City]
Jehu Bouldin. Baltimore ordinance 14 (1817).
BCA, RG12, S.4, 23, 31; BCA, RG12, S.2, 77-78 (various contemporary manuscript copies); BCA, RG12, S.6, 77-78 (1906 linen tracings by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 256 and 264 (additional linen tracings).
298. 1817 [Survey of the wharves of Henry Thompson, Timothy Gardner, and James Ramsay]
Jehu Bouldin. Baltimore ordinance 24 (1817).
BCA, RG12, S.4, 18 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.5, 23 (later manuscript copy); BCA, RG12, S.6, 104 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 251 (additional linen tracing).
299. 1817 [Survey of William Patterson's wharf]
Jehu Bouldin. Baltimore ordinance 26 (1817).
BCA, RG12, S.4, 13 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.5, 24 (later manuscript copy); BCA, RG12, S.6, 105 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 246 (additional linen tracing).
300. 1817 [Survey for the opening of Tripolett's Alley]
Jehu Bouldin. Probably authorized by the City Commissioners.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 60 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 67 (manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 67 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 328 (additional linen tracing).
301. 1817 [Survey connecting Water Street with King Street at the Jones Falls]
Jehu Bouldin. Laws of Maryland, 1816, chapter 171.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 61 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 69 (manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 69 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 329 (additional linen tracing).
302. 1817 [Survey to widen Bridge Street]
Jehu Bouldin. Laws of Maryland, 1816, chapter 162.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 64 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 68 (manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 68 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 332 (additional linen tracing).
303. 1817 [Survey to widen and alter Ten Feet Lane]
Jehu Bouldin. Authorization uncertain.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 62 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.2, 70 (manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 70 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 330 (additional linen tracing).
304. 1817 [Survey for the establishment of lots of Ferry Point Road]
J. Lewis Wampler. Authorization uncertain.
BCA, RG12, S.5, 34 (later manuscript copy); BCA, RG12, S.6, 112 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley).
305. 1817 [Survey of the wharves of John Eager Howard, Richard Caton, and Caleb Hall]
Jehu Bouldin. Baltimore ordinance 41 (1817).
BCA, RG12, S.4, 14 (original manuscript); BCA, RG12, S.6, 247 (linen tracing).
306. 1817 [Survey for the extension of Light Street]
J. Lewis Wampler. Authorization unknown.
BCA, RG12, S.1, 2063 (microfilm only of manuscript).
307. 1817 "Plat part of Cox's Addition"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.

- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 22, 1817-156 (original manuscript).
308. 1817 "Report of the Committee on J[oh]n Hillen's Petition"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 22, 1817-157 (original manuscript).
309. ca. 1817 "Draft of Jones Falls at Peters Bridge"
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 22, 1817-158 (original manuscript).
310. 1817 [Survey of Goodman Street]
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-256 (partially complete original manuscript).
311. 1817 [Survey of Montgomery Street between Goodman and William Streets]
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-262 (partially complete original manuscript).
312. 1818 [Survey for the opening and extending of North Street]
Jehu Bouldin. Laws of Maryland, 1817, chapter 37.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 68 (original manuscript);
BCA, RG12, S.2, 75 (manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 75 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 336 (additional linen tracing).
313. 1818 [Survey for a "parcel of Ground at the junction of Bridge and Harford Streets"]
Jehu Bouldin. Laws of Maryland, 1817, chapter 85.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 63 (original manuscript);
BCA, RG12, S.2, 71 (manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 71 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 331 (additional linen tracing).
314. 1818 [Survey for the opening and extending of Chesnut Street]
Jehu Bouldin. Laws of Maryland, 1817, chapter 7.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 65 (original manuscript);
BCA, RG12, S.2, 72 (manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin);
BCA, RG12, S.1, 574 (microfilm copy of manuscript);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 72 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 333 (additional linen tracing).
315. 1818 [Survey for the extension of South Street]
Jehu Bouldin. Laws of Maryland, 1817, chapter 115.
BCA, RG12, S.2, 74 (original manuscript);
BCA, RG12, S.3, 67 (manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 74 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 335 (additional linen tracing).
316. 1818 [Survey for the opening and extending of Pratt Street]
Surveyor unknown. Laws of Maryland, 1817, chapter 71.
BCA, RG12, S.3, 66 (original manuscript);
BCA, RG12, S.2, 73 (manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin);
MHR, 19957-140 (contemporary manuscript copy);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 73 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley);
MHR, 19958-33-37 and BCA, RG12, S.6, 334 (additional linen tracings).
317. 1818 [Survey of the limits of Baltimore]
Jehu Bouldin. Laws of Maryland, 1817, chapter 148.
BCA, RG12, S.2, 79 (manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 79 (manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 79 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley).
318. 1818 [Survey for the improvement of the Jones Falls]
Jehu Bouldin. Baltimore ordinance 29 (1818).
BCA, RG12, S.4, 15 (original manuscript);
BCA, RG12, S.6, 248 (linen tracing).
319. 1818 [Survey of Caroline Street between Slighs Lane and Gough Avenue]
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-249 (incomplete original manuscript).
320. 1818 "Plat of Hill Street for Paving Tax"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 11, 1809-167 (original manuscript).
321. 1819 *This Survey of the River Patapsco and part of Chesapeake Bay Instituted by the Marine Insurance Companies of Baltimore And excuted at their expense, under the direction of Lewis Brantz, is respectfully dedicated by them to James Monroe*
Published by Fielding Lucas, Jr. Also includes an insert entitled *Annapolis: Harbour & Roads*, surveyed by Jonathan W. Sherberne of the United States Navy.
BCA, RG12, S.11, 7 (original published survey).
322. 1819 *This Survey of the River Patapsco and part of the Chesapeake Bay Instituted by the Marine Insurance Companies of Baltimore And excuted at their expense, under the direction of Lewis Brantz, is respectfully dedicated by them to James Monroe President of the United States, as a mark of the high sense they entertain of his exalted character*
Published by Fielding Lucas, Jr. Includes an insert entitled *Survey of the Harbour of Baltimore and the Waters Adjacent*.
BCA, RG12, S.11, 8 (original published survey);
BCA, RG12, S.1, 1238, 1316-17, 2526 (microfilm copies).
323. 1819 *Survey of the Harbour of Baltimore and the Waters adjacent*
Lewis Brantz. Marine Insurance Companies. The map has the following annotation: "We certify this Copper plate to be a true Copy from

- the Manuscript Plat of the Survey made us. Baltimore 14th February 1819 Lewis Brantz. Cha[r]les Wirgman.”
- MdHi (original published survey).
324. 1819 [Map of Maryland with inset of Baltimore]
Published by Fielding Lucas, Jr. with street names and prominent landmarks.
BCA, RG12, S.11, 9 and Maryland Room, University of Maryland (original published survey).
325. 1819 “This Plat is a true copy from Brantz’s Map executed in the year 1819, especially of the waters of the two harbours at the Spring garden and Baltimore Basin and of the Patapsco, which are here shaded pale blue; and of the numerical figures denoting the depth of water in feet. Some streets grounds beyond the City line, and the location of Mount Clare and the mills which are not on Brantz’s Map, are added to this”
Lewis Brantz. Marine Insurance Companies of Baltimore.
MdHi (1827 manuscript copy).
326. 1819 [Survey for the extension of Short Alley]
Jehu Bouldin. Baltimore ordinance 15 (1819).
BCA, RG12, S.4, 21 (later manuscript copy); BCA, RG12, S.2, 80 (later manuscript copy by Jehu Bouldin); BCA, RG12, S.6, 80 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 254 (additional linen tracing).
327. 1819 [Survey for the improvement of McLure’s dock]
Jehu Bouldin. Laws of Maryland, 1818, chapter 33.
BCA, RG12, S.4, 16 and S.5, 18 (later manuscript copies); BCA, RG12, S.1, 1357 (microfilm of manuscript only); BCA, RG12, S.6, 99 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); MHR, 19958-33 and BCA, RG12, S.6, 249 (additional linen tracings).
328. 1819 [Survey of the Jones Falls from Lancaster Street past Bath Street]
Jehu Bouldin. Baltimore ordinance 29 (1818).
BCA, RG12, S.5, 1 (later manuscript copy); BCA, RG12, S.6, 81 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley).
329. 1819 [Survey for the extension of Bottle Alley]
Surveyor unknown. Baltimore ordinance 16 (1819).
BCA, RG12, S.5, 3 (later manuscript copy); BCA, RG12, S.1, 954 (microfilm of manuscript only); BCA, RG12, S.6, 83 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley).
330. 1819 [Survey for the extension of Brandy Alley]
Surveyor unknown. Baltimore ordinance 17 (1819).
BCA, RG12, S.4, 19 and S.5, 2 (later manuscript copies); BCA, RG12, S.6, 82 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley); BCA, RG12, S.6, 252 (additional linen tracing).
331. 1819 “A little plat relating to dwellings in East Lafayette Street”
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 25, 1819-170 (original manuscript).
332. ca. 1819 [Survey of Pearl Street between Fayette and Baltimore Streets]
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 25, 1819-171 (original manuscript).
333. ca. 1819 [Survey of Baltimore and Pearl Streets]
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 25, 1819-172 (original manuscript).
334. 1819 [Survey of Goodman Street]
Surveyor unknown. Baltimore ordinance 9 (1819).
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-255A (partially complete original manuscript).
335. 1819 [Survey of Short Street between Jefferson and Orleans Streets]
A. J. Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-266 (original manuscript).
336. 1819 [Survey of lots 142-153 at St. Paul’s Street and Park Lane]
Darby Ensor. Baltimore County Court, September term 1819.
MHR, 19957-9 (original manuscript).
337. 1819 [Survey of lots bound by Duke, Exeter, King George, and Harford Streets]
Darby Ensor. Baltimore County Court.
MHR, 19957-82 (six manuscript copies).
338. 1819 [Survey of lots bound by Hanover Street, Frenchmans or Eulers Alley, and Charles Street]
Darby Ensor. Baltimore County Court.
MHR, 19957-111-112 (nine manuscript copies).
339. 1819 [Survey of lots bound by German, Hanover, Pratt, and Charles Streets]
Darby Ensor. Baltimore County Court.
MHR, 19957-121 (three manuscript copies).
340. ca. 1819 [Survey of Calvert Street from Water to Pratt Streets]
Surveyor and authorization unknown.
BCA, RG12, S.6, 84 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley).
341. 1820 “Plot Showing the Alteration of the Grade and Width of a Part of East Street”
Surveyor and authorization unknown.

- BCA, RG12, S.5, 13 (manuscript copy); BCA, RG12, S.6, 94 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley).
342. 1820 [Survey of Barre and York Streets] Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-244 (incomplete original manuscript).
343. ca. 1820 [Survey of Holliday Street] Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-245 (incomplete original manuscript).
344. ca. 1820 "Plat of Brandy Alley for Paving Tax" Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-246 (incomplete original manuscript).
345. ca. 1820 [Survey of Calvert and Pearl Streets] Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-247 (incomplete original manuscript).
346. ca. 1820 [Survey of the intersection of Paca and Camden Streets] Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-248 (original manuscript).
347. ca. 1820 "Plat of Constitution Street for Paving Tax" Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-250 (incomplete original manuscript).
348. 1820 [Survey of Courtland Street] A. J. Bouldin. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-251 (incomplete original manuscript).
349. 1820 [Survey of Eutaw Street from Saratoga to Louisiana Streets] Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-252 (incomplete original manuscript).
350. ca. 1820 [Survey of the intersection of Forest and Low Streets] Thomas P. Chiffelle. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-253 (original manuscript).
351. ca. 1820 "Plat of George Street for Paving Tax" Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-254 (incomplete original manuscript).
352. ca. 1820 [Survey of unnamed street intersecting Cross Street] Surveyor and authorization unknown.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-255 (incomplete original manuscript).
353. ca. 1820 [Survey of the intersection of Hookstown Road and Biddle Street] Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-257 (incomplete original manuscript).
354. ca. 1820 [Survey of Jefferson Street] Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-258 (incomplete original manuscript).
355. ca. 1820 [Survey of Lancaster Street] Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-259 (incomplete original manuscript).
356. 1820 [Survey of Liberty Alley between Falls and Buren Streets] Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-260 (incomplete original manuscript).
357. ca. 1820 [Survey of Montgomery Street between Forest and Hanover Streets] Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-261 (incomplete original manuscript).
358. ca. 1820 "Plat of Plover Alley for Paving Tax" Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-263 (incomplete original manuscript).
359. ca. 1820 [Survey of Saratoga and Pine Streets] Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-264 (incomplete original manuscript).
360. ca. 1820 "Saratoga Street for Paving Tax" Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-265 (original manuscript).
361. ca. 1820 [Survey of Sligh's Lane between Bond and Eden Streets] Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-267 (incomplete original manuscript).
362. 1820 [Survey of Smith's Alley and Pratt Street] Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-268 (original manuscript).
363. ca. 1820 [Survey of Spring and German Streets] Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-269 (incomplete original manuscript).
364. 1820 "Plat of Sugar Alley for Paving Tax" A. J. Bouldin. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-270 (incomplete original manuscript).
365. 1820 "Union Alley for Paving Tax" Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 26, 1820-271 (incomplete original manuscript).
366. 1820 [Survey of area bound by McMechen, Ross, and Mercer Streets, and Reisterstown Road]

- Thomas H. Poppleton. Authorization unknown.
MdHi, M135 (original manuscript).
367. ca. 1820 [Survey of lots surrounding the Washington Monument]
Survey and authorization unknown.
BCA, RG12, S.11, 27 (original manuscript).
368. 1821 [Survey of the extension of Robert and John Oliver's wharf on the west side of Union dock]
Jehu Bouldin. Baltimore ordinance 105 (1821).
BCA, RG12, S.5, 7 (manuscript copy); BCA RG12, S.6, 87 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley).
369. 1821 "Plat of Pitt Street for Paving Tax"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 28, 1821-253 (original manuscript).
370. 1821 [Survey of Calvert Street from Baltimore to Pratt Streets]
Jehu Bouldin. Possibly authorized by Baltimore ordinance 18 (1821).
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 28, 1821-254 (incomplete original manuscript).
371. 1821 "Plat of Commerce Street for Paving Tax"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 28, 1821-255 (original manuscript).
372. 1821 "Paving Plat, W. Side Dock Alley & E. Side Light Street"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 28, 1821-256 (incomplete original manuscript).
373. 1821 "Plat of Dock Alley for Paving Tax"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 28, 1821-257 (incomplete original manuscript).
374. 1821 "Paving Platt Dorsey's Alley"
A. J. Bouldin for Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 28, 1821-258 (original manuscript).
375. 1821 "Plat of Miltenberger's Alley for Paving Tax"
A. J. Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 28, 1821-259 (original manuscript).
376. 1821 "Plat of Union Alley for Paving Tax"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 28, 1821-260 (original manuscript).
377. 1821 "Paving Plat Vulcan Alley"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 28, 1821-261.
378. 1821 "Plat of Vulcan Alley for Paving Tax"
A. J. Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 28, 1821-261A (original manuscript).
379. 1821 "Plat of Vulcan Avenue for Paving Tax"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 28, 1821-262 (original manuscript).
380. 1821 "Plat of Welcome Alley for Paving Tax"
Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 28, 1821-263 (original manuscript).
381. ca. 1821 [Survey of intersection of Holland and Bond Streets]
Surveyor unknown. City Commissioners.
BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 28, 1821-263A (original manuscript).
382. 1822 [Survey of Chatsworth Run]
Jehu Bouldin. Baltimore resolution, January 31, 1822.
BCA, RG12, S.5, 5 and S.6, 85 (later manuscript copies).
383. 1822 [Survey for the opening and extension of Pratt Street]
Thomas H. Poppleton. Laws of Maryland, 1820, chapter 203.
BCA, RG12, S.5, 12 (later manuscript copy); MHR, 19957-137 (manuscript copy); BCA, RG12, S.1, 759 (microfilm of manuscript only).
384. 1822 [Survey for the widening of East Street]
Thomas H. Poppleton. Authorization unknown.
BCA, RG12, S.5, 14 (later manuscript copy); BCA, RG12, S.1, 676 (microfilm of manuscript only); BCA, RG12, S.6, 95 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley).
385. 1822 [Survey of part of Fells Point]
Jehu Bouldin. Authorization unknown.
BCA, RG12, S.6, 88 (later manuscript copy).
386. 1822 [Survey for water drainage south of Monument Street to the basin and Harris's Creek]
Jehu Bouldin. Authorization unknown.
BCA, RG12, S.5, 8 (later manuscript copy).
387. 1822 *Plan of the City of Baltimore, compiled from actual survey made under the direction of the Commissioners appointed by the Legislature of Maryland and by Lewis Brantz Esq. under the authority of the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore By Fielding Lucas, Jr.*
Fielding Lucas, Jr. engraved by B. T. Welch and Company based on the survey under Thomas H. Poppleton.
MdHi; LC, Geography and Map Division; BCA, RG12, S.1, 1225 (variant copy, microfilm only).
388. 1822 "A Plot of the City of Baltimore as Enlarged and Laid Off Pursuant to Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland"
Thomas H. Poppleton. Laws of Maryland, 1817, chapter 148.
BCA, RG12, S.1, 4553-55 (1898 copy by Augustus Bouldin, microfilm only).
389. 1823 [Survey of land of Henry Alexander]
Jehu Bouldin. Authorization unknown.
BCA, RG12, S.5, 6 (later manuscript copy);

- BCA, RG12, S.1, 1000 (microfilm of manuscript only).
390. 1823 [Survey of the Western potter's field] Jehu Bouldin. Authorization unknown.
- BCA, RG12, S.6, 86 (1906 linen tracing by James W. Shirley).
391. 1823 [Survey of lots bound by Baltimore, Cove, Pratt, Howard, Scott, Green, Fayette, North, and Aisquith Streets and Washington Avenues] Thomas H. Poppleton authorized by a chancery case to divide the real estate of the late Dr. James McHenry.
- MHR, 19957-196 (original manuscript).
392. 1823 [Survey of lots bounded by Albemarle, Granby, High, and Front Streets] Darby Ensor. Baltimore County Court.
- MHR, 19957-95 (original manuscript).
393. 1823 "Plat of North Street or Belvidere Street for Paving Tax" Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 29, 1823-134 (original manuscript).
394. 1823 "Plat of Comet Street for Paving Tax" Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 29, 1823-135 (original manuscript).
395. 1823 "Plat of An Alley 16 Feet Wide between Exeter & Wolfe Streets for Paving Tax" Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, box 29, 1823-136 (original manuscript).
396. 1823 "Plat of George Street for Paving Tax" Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 28, 1823-137 (original manuscript).
397. 1823 "Plat of Gough Street for Paving Tax" Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 29, 1823-138 (original manuscript).
398. 1823 "Plat of Pine Street for Paving Tax" Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 29, 1823-139 (original manuscript).
399. 1823 "Plat of Washington Street for Paving Tax" Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 29, 1823-140 (original manuscript).
400. 1823 "Plat of Union Alley for Paving Tax" Jehu Bouldin. City Commissioners.
- BCA, RG3, S.1, Box 29, 1823-141 (original manuscript).
401. 1823 *This Plan of The City of Baltimore as enlarged & Laid out under the direction of the Commissioners appointed by the General Assembly of Maryland in Feby. 1818 is Respectfully Dedicated to the Citizens By Their ob. Serv. thereof T. H. Poppleton Surveyor to the Board.*
- Thomas Poppleton. Baltimore ordinance 28 (1812). Engraved by C. P. Harrison of New York and J. Cone.
- MdHi; see McCauley for additional insitutional holdings.

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“Le Menu Peuple” in America: Identifying the Mob in the Baltimore Riots of 1812

PAUL A. GILJE

THE BALTIMORE RIOTS OF 1812 STAND AS the most significant example of urban disorder between the American Revolution and the Age of Jackson. Although the gruesome story of these riots recently has been recounted several times, an examination of exactly who participated in the disturbances has not been detailed.¹ Identifying specific rioters in Baltimore in 1812, or elsewhere, is a difficult, but important, task. While information on the rioters is scarce, knowing who participated in a disturbance dissolves the faceless image of the mob. The people in the crowd thereby become individuals with names, occupations, and lives of their own. The historian thus can gain not only an insight into the motivation of the mob, but also a better understanding of the interaction between the rioters, their victims, and the forces of law and order. This knowledge is particularly important in studying the social developments in Baltimore during the early national period and, in as much as Baltimore's experience is representative of larger changes, aids us in tracing the major social transformations occurring in both Europe and America during the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries.

Several European historians have examined the crowds of pre-industrial France and Great Britain. They deemphasize the criminal element and assert that the heart of the European mob was the *menu peuple*—the little people who

were the shopkeepers, master craftsmen, and skilled and unskilled wage earners. In the eighteenth-century the *menu peuple* rioted in defense of certain traditional values, such as the customary price of bread. Because many of these rioters owned property and identified with the local community, they seldom destroyed much property or challenged the social structure.² As economic transformations altered social relationships in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries, however, European crowds increasingly represented the new working classes. Their action, as described by E. P. Thompson and others, then became geared towards representing class differences.³

The story is different in the United States. American scholars, following the model offered by European historians, have also abandoned the idea that mobs were merely composed of the so-called dangerous classes. The ranks of the eighteenth-century American mob are now portrayed as being filled with artisans, shopkeepers, journeymen, day laborers, and sailors—all of whom make up an American *menu peuple*. Frequently, members of the elite joined this group.⁴ Some scholars, too, argue that the middle to lower levels of society, as well as “gentlemen of property and standing”⁵ also rioted in the nineteenth-century. By not distinguishing between the composition of eighteenth and nineteenth-century mobs, most American historians miss the changes traced in Europe by students of popular behavior. Even those scholars who discuss the emergence of class distinctions in late eighteenth-century American riots, have found it difficult to examine carefully the composition of the

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mob.⁶ The available evidence is just too limited: court records listing arrested rioters are rare and there is a heavy reliance on general descriptions or the identification of only a handful of rioters. Without better knowledge of who the rioters were, our understanding of changes in pre-industrial popular disturbances remains incomplete.

This lack of information on the composition of the mob between 1750 and 1850 is unfortunate because rioting changed dramatically during this period. This transition is evident in the range of popular action in the Baltimore riots of 1812. From the end of June to the beginning of August in 1812, there was a series of riots in Baltimore. On June 22 a mob, in an almost-organized manner, destroyed the office of the *Federal-Republican*—a Federalist newspaper which vehemently opposed the war with Great Britain. This action resembled the typical eighteenth-century riot in its limited scope. Its focus on property was symbolic of popular grievances and the riot had the general support of the community. The disturbances in the following weeks, however, quickly took on more of the attributes of later Jacksonian popular disorder as rioters struck out at a variety of objects, violently revealing a number of social tensions. Rioters expressed partisan furor, nascent class antagonisms, and racism as they harassed Federalist politicians, dismantled profiteering grain ships bound for British armies in Iberia, and attacked the homes of blacks. Ethnic animosities also were evident as Protestant and Catholic Irishmen battled in the streets. At the end of July the rioting peaked. On the night of the twenty-seventh, Republicans in Baltimore assaulted Federalists attempting to reestablish the *Federal-Republican* in Charles Street. Two men were killed. There was more bloodshed the following evening when a mob broke into the jail house and savagely beat Federalists left there for safe-keeping. Neither Alexander Contee Hanson, editor of the *Federal-Republican* and offspring of a prominent Maryland family, nor General “Light Horse” Harry Lee, the famous cavalry officer, ever fully

recovered from the wounds inflicted upon them that night. But they were lucky. A lesser known Revolutionary War hero, General James Lingan, was murdered on the spot. Only in early August, after Baltimore stood at the brink of anarchy, did community support for mob activity disappear and the rioting finally subside.⁷

In short, evident in the summer’s rioting in Baltimore is a variety of action which ranges from a limited, focused, and organized popular disturbance typical of the earlier eighteenth-century rioting to the violent and multi-focused pattern representative of Jacksonian disorder. Identifying some of the Baltimore mob, then, should suggest the changes in the composition of the mob which accompanied the transition from eighteenth to nineteenth-century rioting. Moreover, the process of analyzing mob membership reveals the methodological problems in identifying the early American crowd.

Fortunately, the records on Baltimore, together with newspaper and other accounts, allow us to etch a more detailed portrait of the rioters than is usually possible for early American disturbances. Least useful in identifying rioters are the partisan descriptions in newspapers and political pamphlets. But these sources do contain some pertinent information. Likewise, although the official account produced by a special committee of the Maryland state legislature is tinged with political bias, the depositions of eye witnesses published with the report present a more complete and balanced portrait of the riot, the rioters, and even mob leadership.⁸ The general image of the rioters in these depositions can be confirmed by the court records listing arrested rioters, while city directories, militia lists, and tax assessments reveal the social status of many of these rioters.⁹

There was a great deal of contemporary public discussion about the riots. The Federalist commentary on the identity of the mob was obviously biased and suggests the horror with which some Americans, in reaction to the French Revolution, viewed popular disorder. In August the *Federal-Republican*, twice closed down by Baltimore mobs, did not mod-

erate its vitriolic language and declared that the mob consisted of "copious extracts from foreign traitors, of pickpockets, highwaymen, of knights of the shade, of French apothecaries."¹⁰ Alexander Contee Hanson concisely summarized this view by describing the rioters as "a band of filthy dungeon miscreants."¹¹ The Republican response was more ambiguous, because while Republican leaders may have shared the goal of expelling the *Federal-Republican* from Baltimore, they generally opposed the means. Republican newspapers referred to the rioters as "the people" who were provoked to violence by "ill-timed abuse," while Mayor Edward Johnson used the innocuous term "misguided citizens" in a proclamation in August.¹² In either case, whether uttered by Federalists or Republicans, most of these partisan descriptions must be examined with caution when determining the composition of the mob.

A few of the Federalist accounts, however, do allow us a glimpse of individual rioters. These identifications were generally seized upon to cast a negative image of the mob. Perhaps the most notorious rioter was butcher John Mumma. "Light Horse" Harry Lee claimed that Mumma and another butcher stood by the door of the jail house during the July 28 riot and directed the beating of the Federalist prisoners. Several accounts of the disturbance repeated this charge.¹³ Moreover, Mumma's occupation played upon the popular imagination. The fact that he was a butcher lent credence to the portrayal of the mob as bloodthirsty and inhuman after the jail house attack. One Philadelphia paper headlined its story on the riot "Most horrible Butchery and MURDER!" and several other accounts similarly emphasized the connection between blood and butchers like Mumma.¹⁴ Moreover, butchers were then thought to have a penchant for brutality and were renowned as roughnecks and rioters.¹⁵

If Mumma's occupation helped type the Baltimore mob as especially sanguine, Dr. Thomas Gale's reputation added to the image of the rioters as foreign and unthinking.¹⁶ Gale was active in the

Charles Street disturbances the night before the attack at the jail house. As he led an assault on the Federalist stronghold, Gale was shot and killed. He instantly became a Republican martyr, and it was to seek revenge that Mumma and others broke open the jail and severely beat the Federalists.¹⁷ Gale's nationality—he was born in France—reinforced the Federalist notion that the Baltimore mob represented jacobinism and raised the spectre of the Parisian mob of the French Revolution. Moreover, Gale was no ordinary doctor. Instead, he was a druggist who may have been, as the Federalists claimed, a bit deranged. With some excess and third rate verse, William Leigh Pierce included a characterization of Gale in his self-proclaimed epic "The Year; a poem."

Among her hosts [the mob] a bawling
outcast stood
Eager to slake his thirst in streams of
blood;
A lurking villain aiming at the back
A magpie-politican, pander, quack;
The fellow held his dagger's point full
cheap.
And unconcern'd could hear the widow
weep.
Learn'd in the wily arts of Gallia's school
A very madman, and almost a fool.
With hollow eyes, and visage lank and
pale
The pimp of power—such a thing was
Gale.¹⁸

Pierce felt compelled to identify Gale further in a footnote by charging: "Dr. Gale, the electrician, as he is commonly termed, a renegado frenchman—a jacobin in principle, and a leveller in practice—a vendor of nostrums—a fellow who advertised to cure "all ills that flesh is air to, by electricity."¹⁹ This description of Gale is supported somewhat by the Republican newspapers which referred to Gale as an electrician, a label which indicated, in the early nineteenth-century, that Gale was involved in questionable activities.²⁰

If the Federalist political identification of the rioters centers around Mumma and Gale, thus giving us a slanted picture of deranged, bloodthirsty, and jacobin mob, a more useful description of the rioters

TABLE 1.
Rioters at the Destruction of the Office of the *Federal-Republican*,
June 22, 1812

Name	Occupation	Source of Occupation	Address	Source of Address	Assessment	Militia Rank
John Doughuty	unsure	—	—	—	—	—
Owen German	drummer, U.S. Army	CD	—	—	—	—
Lewis Hart	keeper of baths	C, R	Pratt, O.T.	D	\$1,295	—
Joseph Jeffers	carpenter	D	Little York, O.T.	D	\$ 215	—
James Lewis	son of Dr. Philip Lewis	CD	Pitt, O.T. ^a	D	—	private
Philip Lewis	druggist	D, R	Pitt, O.T.	D	—	—
James Linvall	—	—	—	—	—	private
George Metcalf	—	—	Annapolis	CD	—	—
John H. Pratty	comb manufac- turer	D	100 Baltimore	D	\$ 376	private
George Robinson	cooper ^b	CD	E. Fleet, F.P.	D	\$ 220	—
William Sprole	grocer	D	24 Market, F.P.	D	\$ 133	corporal
Edward Van Houver	sailor ^c	CD	—	—	—	—
George White	cooper	D	46 Fayette	D	\$ 325	private
George Wolleslager	shoemaker	— ^d	—	—	—	private
Jacob Wolleslager	shoemaker	D	Bath	D	—	private

Sources: Baltimore Court of Oyer and Terminer Dockets, 1812–1813, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis; William Fry, *The Baltimore Directory for 1810* . . . (Baltimore, 1810); Fry's *Baltimore Directory For the Year 1812* . . . (Baltimore, 1812); James Lakin, *The Baltimore Directory and Register, for 1814–1815* . . . (Baltimore, 1814); Baltimore City Assessment Records, 1813, Baltimore City Archives; *The Citizen Soldiers at North Point and Fort McHenry, September 12 and 13* (Baltimore, 1889); *Report of the Committee of Grievances . . . on the Subject of the Recent Riot in the City of Baltimore, Together with the Depositions taken for the Committee* (Annapolis, 1813).

Key: (Sources) CD—Court Docket
D—Directories
R—State Assembly Report
(Addresses) O.T.—Old Town
F.P.—Fell's Point

Notes: a) Assumes he lives with the father.
b) Listed in directory as a ship joiner.
c) On the privateer *Nonsuch*.

d) Identified in Charles G. Steffen, "Between Revolutions: The Pre-Factory Urban Worker in Baltimore, 1780–1820" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1977).

can be found in the Maryland state assembly's published report of the disturbances. Not only do the seventy-eight witnesses in the investigation give a general description of the mob, they also name a dozen or so rioters and indicate that a few of them acted as leaders.²¹ Overall, the report suggests that the leadership of the mob and most of the rioters were recruited from the middle and lower levels of society. The *menu peuple* were thus important in both the European and the American pre-industrial crowd. In fact, the *menu peuple* played an even larger role in America

than in Europe. George Rudé argues that in pre-industrial European riots, all but "the temporary and anonymous (or near-anonymous)" leaders came from "without" rather than from within the crowd and that only with the rise of working class movements in France and England in the 1830s did "a more permanent and articulate" leadership emerge from the *menu peuple*.²² Although changes in artisanal production were alienating journeymen from master craftsmen in early nineteenth-century Baltimore, there was no distinct working class movement. Yet mob leaders

emerged from the *menu peuple* who were very articulate and held more than temporary control over the mob. Apparently, the increased distances between social groups resulting from this greater commercialization of work relationships created a separate identity and leadership among the little people.²³ But, no doubt, the democratization of politics also contributed to the ability of the *menu peuple* to produce its own leadership. The opening up of political participation and leadership must have allowed some of the little people to become well rehearsed at leading their social peers.²⁴

One very articulate mob leader was "doctor" Philip Lewis. Like Gale, Lewis was a French born apothecary. As a druggist, he was really just a shopkeeper, and his accent marked him as one of the thousands of foreign-born French, German, and Irish immigrants who recently had moved to Baltimore. This member of the *menu peuple* was at the head of the rioters during the destruction of the office of the *Federal-Republican* in June and addressed Mayor Johnson when the latter attempted to quell the disturbance. In a coherent and incredibly concise statement, summarizing the eighteenth-century rationale for rioting, Lewis told the mayor that there were times when "the laws of the land must sleep, and the laws of nature and reason prevail." Because the *Federal-Republican* office was a "temple of infamy" it "must and shall come down to the ground."²⁵ Nor was Lewis' hold over the mob ephemeral. He was also at the Charles Street riot on July 27. There he played a less conspicuous role. But so renowned was he as a mob leader, that one witness mistakenly assumed that the French druggist leading the rioters was Lewis. Only later did the witness discover that it was Gale.²⁶

Shoemaker George Wolleslager was an even more persistent leader of the Baltimore mob. A journeyman cordwainer, Wolleslager's name does not appear in either the city directory or tax records. But it was not necessary to be an independent householder to lead the mob. He was active at the demolition of the newspaper

office in June, was probably at the Charles Street disturbance, and led one group of rioters who beat the Federalists on July 28. Mayor Johnson singled Wolleslager out at the jail house and attempted to get his assistance in quelling the riot because of the shoemaker's apparent influence with the mob.²⁷ Moreover, Wolleslager's experience with popular collective action was not limited to the summer of 1812. He participated in a tarring and feathering of another shoemaker for anti-American remarks in 1808, and was concerned in the cordwainers' strike of 1809.²⁸ No evidence exists as to how articulate George Wolleslager was, but there is no doubt that his hold over Baltimore's *menu peuple* was far from temporary.

Another rioter described as a ring-leader was John Gill. At the Charles Street riot this master tailor, listed in the 1812 directory as a "merchant tailor," took charge of a cannon brought up by the mob to intimidate the Federalists. Although Gill acted to prevent the firing of the cannon, he also used his command to insure that the Federalists trapped in No. 42 Charles Street would not escape. Gill's crowd leadership, like Lewis' and Wolleslager's, was not confined to a couple of excited moments. In a Protestant-Catholic confrontation that summer, a militia officer saw Gill at the head of a mob.²⁹

These men all came from the three different groups—shopkeepers, journeymen, and master craftsmen—which Rudé argues made up the bulk of the European *menu peuple*. Of course, there were other leaders who were more "temporary and anonymous" and who better fit Rudé's categorization of the leadership emerging out of the pre-industrial crowd. There is no evidence that either Mumma, the butcher, or Gale were leaders in more than one riot. The group which brought the cannon to Charles Street was led by a man described simply as "Jones, a carter."³⁰ Another mob leader is even more obscure for the historian: witness Peter White described one unnamed ring-leader as a man in the employ of George Benner, the porter-seller. The unidentified man whistled in the street and urged

TABLE 2.
Rioters at the Charles Street Disturbance,
July 27, 1812

Name	Occupation	Source of Occupation	Address	Source of Address	Assessment	Militia Rank
Hugh Beard	—	—	—	—	—	private
George Benner	porter bottler	D, R	72 Granby, O.T.	D	\$957	—
Jacob Brownson	—	—	—	—	—	—
James Darling	shoemaker	R	—	—	—	corporal
Marshal English	—	—	—	—	unsure	private
Frederick Fleming	porter bottler	CD	Brandy Alley	D	—	—
James Gale	druggist	R	—	—	—	—
Jere Garrett	—	—	—	—	—	—
John Gill	tailor	R	44 Calvert	D	unsure	—
William Glover	hatter	D	Public Alley	D	—	private
John Gracey	carpenter	D	Aisquith, O.T.	D	\$100	—
— Grey	—	—	—	—	—	—
John Hogner	tinman	D	5 North, O.T.	D	—	—
— Jones	carter	R	—	—	—	—
Jacob Kesler	—	—	—	—	—	—
James Lewis ^a	unsure	—	—	—	—	—
Philip Lewis	druggist	D, R	Pitt, O.T.	D	—	—
George Mason	unsure	—	—	—	—	—
James Maxwell	butcher	CD	—	—	—	quartermaster
Joseph Merriam	upholsterer	D	3 Light	D	—	—
Anthony Nolman	—	—	—	—	—	—
John Pervail	shoemaker	D	Union, O.T.	D	—	—
Soloman Purdy	milliner	D	6 Harrison	D	—	—
Mark Turner	—	—	—	—	—	—
John Whitlock	plasterer	D, R	Saratoga	D	—	private
Thomas Wilson ^b	editor	CD, R	31 South Gray	D	unsure	—
— Woolslinger	unsure	—	—	—	—	—
John F. Young	unsure	—	—	—	unsure	unsure

Sources: See Table 1.

Key: (Sources) CD—Court Docket

D—Directories

R—State Assembly Report

(Addresses) O.T.—Old Town

F.P.—Fell's Point

Notes: a) Probably Philip Lewis' son, but no comment about that in the records on this case so no identification made.

b) Editor of the *Baltimore Sun*.

others to follow him.³¹ The depositions in the report also name several other persons without indicating whether they were leaders or not. All of those whose occupations are included, like shopkeeper Lewis, journeyman Wolleslager, and master craftsman Gill, were members of the *menu peuple*.³²

In short, there were no "gentlemen of property and standing" directly involved in the rioting. After the disturbances, there were some political charges that certain individuals of higher social standing encouraged the mob. Federalists accused Tobias Stansbury, brigadier gen-

eral of the militia and member of a prominent Baltimore family, of supporting the attack on the Federalists at the jail house on July 28. But the depositions from the investigation include many denials of this and even Stansbury's detractors did not claim that he actually participated in the riot. Without more convincing evidence, it is impossible to be certain about Stansbury's role.³³ One thing is apparent, men like John Mumma and George Wolleslager had a much greater influence over the mob than did any members of the upper classes.

The identification of the mob with the

TABLE 3.
Rioters at the Jail House

Name	Occupation	Source of Occupation	Address	Source of Address	Assessment	Militia Rank
Hugh Beard	—	—	—	—	—	private
John Breneiser	—	—	—	—	—	—
John Burke	tailor	D	Forrest, O.T.	D	—	unsure
James Darling	shoemaker	R	—	—	—	corporal
John Derbs	soldier	CD	—	—	—	—
Bennett Grace	—	—	—	—	—	—
George Hayes	hack driver	CD	Camden	D	—	private
Edward Lathem	chair maker	CD	5 Jones, O.T.	D	—	—
James Lewis ^a	unsure	—	—	—	—	—
John Lightner	laborer	CD	Britton, O.T.	D	—	private
Bryan O'Laughlin	shoemaker	D	Gallow Hill, F.P.	D	\$ 26	—
John Mumma	butcher	R	— ^b	—	—	private ^c
George Rodemier	grocer	D	York Road, F.P.	D	—	private
Charles Smith	unsure	—	—	—	—	private ^d
James Ward	cabinetmaker	D	19 Comet, O.T.	D	\$ 120	private
Kenholn White	unsure	—	—	—	—	captain
Abraham Wright	cordwainer	D	Franklin near Eutaw, F.H.	D	—	private

Sources: See Table 1.

Key: (Sources) CD—Court Docket

D—Directories

R—State Assembly Report

(Addresses) O.T.—Old Town

F.P.—Fell's Point

F.H.—Federal Hill

Notes: a) Probably Philip Lewis' son, but no comment about that in the records on this case so no identification made.

b) No John Mumma in directories. But David Mumma, butcher, York Road, F.P., is listed.

c) Two John Mummias in the militia lists. Both were privates.

d) Two Charles Smiths in the militia lists. Both were privates.

menu peuple is supported by the general descriptions of the rioters included in the depositions. But there also appears to have been a slight shift in the social level of the rioters as the disturbances continued throughout the summer. Several witnesses emphasized that the men active on June 22 in destroying the office of the *Federal-Republican* came from the "middle of society" and included both immigrants and natives. As one witness put it, the rioters were "young mechanics and some foreigners of the laboring class."³⁴ When the deponents described the later stages of the rioting, especially the attack on the jail house of July 28, many of them emphasized more heavily the foreign and lower class component. Mayor Johnson, for example, admitted that there were some natives at the jail house riot, but also asserted that many in the mob were

"low Irish" and "Germans."³⁵ This charge does not alter the fact that the rioters were the *menu peuple*: both the "middle of the society" and the "low Irish" and Germans composed Baltimore's little people. Yet the suggestion of a shift within the mob, indicates that as the rioters became increasingly violent and abandoned the limited tactics and patterns of eighteenth-century rioting, the "middle of the society" withdrew from the mob.

The information within the state assembly's report, however, is not substantial enough by itself to prove that the composition of the mob changed. The comments of Mayor Johnson and other Republican witnesses labeling the rioters in late July as foreign may have been an attempt to disassociate their party and patriotic Americans from the mob and

they may not be accurate. Moreover, as the riots became more violent, observers may have assumed that the lower classes were predominant. The vast majority of the witnesses came from the upper levels of society and their description of the rioters could have a socio-economic bias. There are not enough individual rioters named in the report or in the newspapers to discern any clear pattern. More rioters must be identified. Fortunately for the historian, not so fortunate for the rioters, Baltimore's magistrates started to arrest some of the mob in the wake of the attack on the jail house. A larger list of rioters, therefore, can be made from the names of men charged with being in the disturbances, found in the dockets of the Baltimore Court of Oyer and Terminer, and those individuals mentioned in other sources.

Of course, this method of identifying rioters is not foolproof. Any list of rioters based on court records includes only those arrested and does not necessarily represent all those in the mob. Perhaps over one thousand people participated in the Baltimore riots in 1812, yet less than one hundred names appear in the court dockets.³⁶ Both political and practical considerations could affect police practices.³⁷ Throughout most of the summer Baltimore's magistrates used informal means of riot control. Fearing a violent confrontation, they hoped that their combined personal and official authority would carry enough influence with the rioters to enable them to talk the mob down. In short, they expected the amorphous lines of deference and patronage to be strong enough to restrain public disorder. As long as the magistrates pursued these "gentle" methods of riot control they avoided making arrests for fear of provoking the mob. Moreover, because so much of Republican Baltimore appeared to support the aims of the mob in the initial stages of the rioting, the magistrates, being good politicians, did not want to antagonize the electorate. After July 28, however, the magistrates took a harder line and began prosecutions for all stages of the rioting.³⁸ Because the rioters charged in the court records were not

taken at the scene of the disturbance, and because they were but a small proportion of the mob, we cannot be sure how representative they were.

Yet there is no evidence indicating that the identified rioters were not representative. In fact, a list of arrested rioters gives us a cross section of the mob.³⁹ If a number of the social elite had participated in the riots, the Federalist newspapers would have had a field day. As it was, they claimed that there was collusion between local and national Republican leaders and the mob.⁴⁰ If there had been any truth to this assertion, it would certainly have been exploited for all it was worth. Moreover, political considerations were minimized when the magistrates decided to initiate legal proceedings. It was unlikely that there were many Federalists attacking their political party's news organ, and, therefore, the Republican magistrates had to arrest Republican rioters. Thus, determining the socio-economic status of these identified rioters will present a more complete portrait of the Baltimore mob than was possible using just the newspaper accounts and the state assembly's report.

Problems arise, however, in obtaining more detailed information on who the rioters were. European scholars, especially George Rudé, have been able to tell us a great deal about the rioters they have studied. Compared to the records examined by Rudé in England and France, however, American criminal statistics before the 1830s are very inadequate. When there were arrests, rarely was there much personal information recorded. In Europe the police wanted to know everything about a suspect: where he was born, what did he do, where did he live, and so on.⁴¹ In Baltimore, if any of these questions were ever asked, the answers were not all recorded. Only about twenty percent of the cases in the court docket contain anything more than the name of the individual charged with rioting. Ordinarily, this information was confined to a brief comment on the defendant's occupation.

The city directories, tax records, and militia lists enable us to discover the oc-

TABLE 4.
Rioters Charged with Tar and Feathering Or Assaulting John Thompson

Name	Occupation	Source of Occupation	Address	Source of Address	Assessment	Militia Rank
Samuel Briley	carter	CD	F.P.	CD	—	—
Joseph Carey	boarding house	D	13 George St. F.P.	D	—	private
William Daley	unsure	—	—	—	—	private
Owen Duffy	cooper ^a	CD	—	A	\$ 90	—
Martin Fisher	—	—	—	—	—	private
Lewis Hart	keeper of baths	D	Pratt, foot of lower Bridge	D	\$1,295	—
Jacob Jencks	rigger	CD	Petticot Alley, F.P.	D	—	—
John Liddy	—	—	—	—	—	—
Patrick McNulty	grocer	D	50 Market, F.P.	D	\$ 255	—
James Ward	cabinetmaker ^b	D	19 Comet, O.T.	D	\$ 120	unsure
Andrew Wark	cabinetmaker	D	37 Bridge, O.T.	D	—	—
David Wilson	unsure	—	—	—	—	—

Sources: See Table 1.

Key: (Sources) CD—Court Docket

D—Directories

A—Tax Assessment Records

(Addresses) O.T.—Old Town

F.P.—Fell's Point

Notes: a) Court docket, September 1812, lists cooper. In September 1813 the court docket lists brick-maker.

b) Court docket in September 1813 says "gone away."

occupational and social status of many more rioters. But such identifications are not entirely reliable. The directories of the early nineteenth-century gave the name, occupation and address of many of the community's heads of household. Not everyone was included; transients, newcomers, boarders, and the poor were often overlooked. Dependents, unless they were older and rich, were never mentioned. As a result, over a third (N = 39, 39.4 percent) of the arrested rioters can be identified by name only.⁴² Moreover, there is no guarantee that the individual named in the court records is the same person listed in the directory. The Joseph Jeffers in Table 1 may not be the same Joseph Jeffers listed in the directories as a carpenter living on Little York Street. Yet, in lieu of evidence that another Joseph Jeffers existed, it is assumed that they are the same person.⁴³

Although there may be a few mistakes resulting from the inadequacies of the city directories, on the whole, these identifications are accurate. Twenty-two rioters can be identified with relative

confidence from the court dockets and eyewitness accounts. Half of these were not listed in the directories at all. Six were listed with complete accuracy. The other five cases, however, are a bit more ambiguous. There is no great gap, though, between the identifications in the court dockets and the directories. Philip Lewis, for example, is referred to as "Doctor" in the court records and is listed as a druggist in the directories. Likewise, George Robinson is referred to as a cooper in the court dockets and a ship joiner in Fry's directory in 1810.⁴⁴ Although there were differences between the two trades it is not impossible to imagine a man shifting from one to the other. Both were closely connected to the mercantile trades vital to Baltimore's economy and entailed similar skills.⁴⁵ In all, then, there are no glaring discrepancies between the court records and the directory listings which can be checked. We can therefore assume that most of the remaining identifications are correct.

All of the rioters in the tables seem to come from the "little people," and support

TABLE 5.
Rioters Who Attacked Blacks and Property Owned by Blacks

Name	Occupation	Source of Occupation	Address	Source of Address	Assessment	Militia Rank
Isaac Baker ^a	carpenter	D	Forest near Montgomery	D	\$ 50	corporal
Thomas Blaney ^b	painter & glazer	D	13 Green, O.T.	D	—	—
George Cambell ^c	unsure	—	—	—	—	—
John Carmical ^c	unsure	—	—	—	—	—
John Cohee ^c	carpenter	D	68 French, O.T.	—	—	—
Clement Hogan ^a	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nicholas Johnson ^b	carpenter	CD	Gilfert's Alley	—	—	private ^d
Amos Longwell ^b	—	—	—	—	—	—
George Mason ^a	unsure	—	—	—	—	—
John McBride ^b	ash gatherer	D	French, O.T.	D	—	—
John McLaughlin ^b	unsure	—	—	—	—	—
Lewis Mickerel ^b	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lewis Nicholwatz ^b	rigger ^e	D	42 Lancaster, F.P.	D	—	—
William Rickey ^b	bricklayer	D	Albemarle, O.T.	D	—	private
Daniel Sidenstriker ^c	soldier	CD	—	—	—	—
Daniel Wilson ^a	carpenter & enlisted	CD, R	—	—	—	—

Sources: See Table 1.

Key: (Sources) CD—Court Docket

D—Directories

R—State Assembly Report

(Addresses) O.T.—Old Town

F.P.—Fell's Point

Notes: a) Charged with pulling down James Briscoe's house.

b) Charged with beating slave of R. K. Watts.

c) Charged with riotously assaulting negro Remier.

d) Two Nicholas Johnsons in militia lists. Both are privates.

e) Identification based on Lewis Nichols.

the general impressions given by the state assembly's report. Occupations for over one-half ($N = 53$, 53.5 percent) of the rioters have been found and none of the rioters seem to be "gentlemen of property and standing."⁴⁶ Although the tax information is less complete, this data reinforces this conclusion. Only Lewis Hart, listed in Tables 1 and 4, held property over \$1000. But his occupation, keeper of baths, would seem to be much more akin to a shopkeeper's than Baltimore's lawyer and merchant elite. The same could be said of George Benner in Table 2 who was a porter seller owning almost \$1000 in property. The other rioters found in the tax assessment records were worth much less and most names were not even listed.⁴⁷ Many of the occupations in all of the tables seem to come from the shopkeeper, jour-

neyman, and master craftsman category which formed the bulwark of the *menu peuple*: grocers, butchers, men in the construction trades, shoemakers, hatters, and other mechanics. Only a few individuals are identified in less skilled areas—laborers, ash gatherers and military—but we can assume that many of the persons whose occupations are unknown probably fit into this category. The directories have a bias towards the more skilled workers and frequently the casually employed day laborer was not listed.

The residential distribution of the rioters further indicates the prominence of Baltimore's *menu peuple* in the mob. There were three neighborhoods in early nineteenth-century Baltimore where mechanics and laborers chiefly resided: Fell's Point, Old Town, and Federal

TABLE 6.
Other Rioters

Name	Occupation	Source of Occupation	Address	Source of Address	Assessment	Militia Rank
Hugh Beard ^a	—	—	—	—	—	private
Abraham Busby ^b	—	—	—	—	—	ensign
John Cord ^d	—	—	—	—	—	—
James Darling ^a	shoemaker	R	—	—	—	corporal
George Evans ^c	unsure	—	—	—	—	—
John Hughes ^b	—	—	—	—	\$ 50	private
Benedict Hurst ^b	—	—	—	—	—	—
George Infield ^d	—	—	—	—	—	—
Henry Kerts ^c	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mathew McLaughlin ^a	tailor	D	Fell & County Wharf	FD	\$ 160	—
George Nippard, Jr. ^a	—	—	—	—	—	private ^f
Mark Quilling ^a	—	—	—	—	—	—
Samuel Ryan ^b	—	—	—	—	—	—
Henry Traves ^g	—	—	—	—	—	—
Joshua Welsh ^b	—	—	Pennsylvania	CD	—	—
Mordecai Wheeler, Jr. ^b	—	—	—	—	—	—
Samuel Whisner ^b	—	—	—	—	—	—

Sources: See Table 1.

Key: (Sources) CD—Court Docket

D—Directories

R—State Assembly Report

(Addresses) O.T.—Old Town

F.P.—Fell's Point

Notes: a) Rioters charged with opposing sheriff in protecting the property of Jacob Wagner.

b) Rioters charged with tar and feathering and assaulting John Hale. There is no direct reference to this act in any of the accounts of that summer's rioting.

c) Rioters charged with unrigging a brig. Several ships were dismantled in late June and July. The ships were reportedly taking grain and goods to British troops in Iberia and Cuba.

d) Three men were charged with riot with no further explanation.

e) Two George Nippards in militia lists. Both are privates.

f) Probably means Welsh moved to Pennsylvania.

g) Charged with "aiding and abetting" in a riot and assaulting Joseph Gillman.

Hill.⁴⁸ Most of the rioters came from these areas, especially Fell's Point and Old Town. Although there were minor disturbances in these mechanics' neighborhoods, the major riots of the summer took place elsewhere. This fact suggests that the rioters had to travel some distance to reach the scenes of major disorder at the *Federal-Republican* office, on Charles Street, and at the jail house.

The evidence showing that the rioters came from the *menu peuple* is strengthened by their militia affiliation. About one-third of the rioters in the tables were found in the militia rolls of 1814.⁴⁹ In the early nineteenth-century a community recruited its militia from all but the lowest strata, excluding transients and criminals. But the upper crust served either as officers or in special elite compa-

nies, particularly in the cavalry. The rank and file of the militia came from the middle to lower levels of society. Because all but three of the known militia members were either privates or corporals, we can assume that they belonged to Baltimore's *menu peuple*. Of the three officers, Captain Kenholn White and Ensign Abraham Busby were not listed in the directories; their occupational status remains unclear. Butcher James Maxwell, on the other hand, served as quarter-master which was a likely position for someone in his trade.⁵⁰

Although all of the identified rioters that summer taken together came from Baltimore's *menu peuple*, examination of Tables 1-6 confirms the impression in the state assembly's report on the riots that there was a shift in mob membership

as the disturbances became less focused and more violent. This contrast is shown even more graphically in Tables 7 and 8. Table 7 puts all of the occupations listed in Tables 1–6 into four basic categories. The highest socio-economic groups, occupying a middle level in society, were the shopkeepers and master artisans. The shopkeepers include grocers, druggists, the keeper of baths, and the man who ran a boarding house. Master artisans were those craftsmen or mechanics who either owned more than \$100 worth of property, or were referred to as a master artisan in the directories. This group dominates only column 1 in Table 7, the column which represents the rioters at the destruction of the office of the *Federal-Republican* in June. That disturbance most closely followed the pattern of eighteenth-century rioting. Shopkeepers and artisans are not even listed in column 5, which represents the attacks on blacks during the summer, a form of rioting most similar to the disorder of the mid-nineteenth-century. Journeymen, who occupied a socio-economic level a notch below the masters and shopkeepers, were those mechanics who held less than \$100 worth of property or were not listed in the tax assessments. Admittedly, there might be some masters inadvertently listed with this group, but any error here is likely to be small. The trend remains clear. Journeymen were proportionately more active in the later stages of rioting, columns 2–5, than in the June 22 disturbance. Likewise, the number of laborers arrested for rioting increased after the destruction of the newspaper office. The laborer category includes unskilled workers, which are listed in Tables 1–6 as laborer, ash gatherer, soldier, and sailor, as well as minors and those individuals whose occupations were unidentified. Again, there is room for distortion here. Some individuals may have come from a higher social level and were either not in the directories or their names were so common as to elude identification. But the number of unsure identifications is small and because the directories tended to exclude individuals from the lowest levels of society and minors, the vast ma-

jority of those not listed in the directory can be viewed as occupying a socio-economic level below the journeymen.

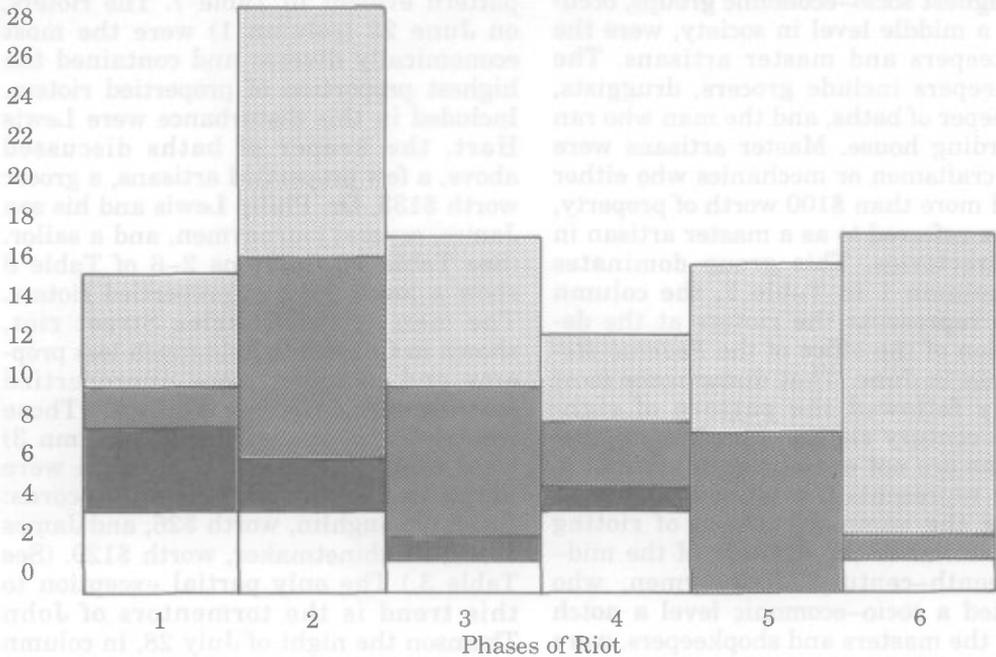
Table 8, comparing the propertied and unpropertied rioters, only reinforces the pattern evident in Table 7. The rioters, on June 22 (column 1) were the most economically diverse and contained the highest proportion of propertied rioters. Included in this disturbance were Lewis Hart, the keeper of baths discussed above, a few propertied artisans, a grocer worth \$133, Dr. Philip Lewis and his son James, several journeymen, and a sailor. (See Table 1.) Columns 2–6 of Table 8 show a lower ratio of propertied rioters. The men at the Charles Street riot, shown in Column 2, held much less property and included more unpropertied journeymen. (Also see Table 2.) Those who rioted at the jail house (column 3) were even poorer. Only two men were found in the tax assessment records: Brian O’Laughlin, worth \$26, and James Ward, a cabinetmaker, worth \$120. (See Table 3.) The only partial exception to this trend is the tormentors of John Thomson the night of July 28, in column 4. Here Lewis Hart and James Ward were again active (suggesting that they might have been at the jail house). In addition there were two other propertied men: Patrick McNulty, a grocer worth \$225, and mechanic Owen Duffy who had \$90 in property. (See Table 4.) But the tarring and feathering of Thomson, it should be added, was not as violent as the outright murder of Ligan and fits into traditions of mob behavior harking back to the American Revolution.⁵¹ In the several attacks against blacks in July, only Isaac Barker (worth \$50) had any assessed property. (See Table 5.) In short, as the summer wore on and the rioting became less restrained and increasingly violent, the middle members of society became less active in the mob.⁵²

This change in the composition of the mob within the *menu peuple* may be the reason that several witnesses believed that there were so many foreigners in the later stages of the rioting. Baltimore in 1812 was a dynamic city; tripling its population in twenty years between 1790

TABLE 7.

Comparison of Occupational Categories in Different Phases of the Baltimore Riots of 1812

Number of Rioters



Sources: See Table 1.

Key: (Phases of Riot).

Column 1. Destruction of the office of the *Federal-Republican*, June 24, 1812 (See Table 1).

Column 2. Charles Street Disturbance, July 27, 1812 (See Table 2).

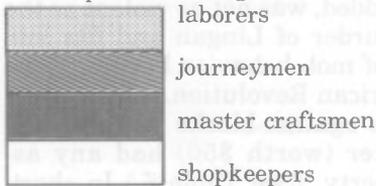
Column 3. Riot at the Jail House, July 28, 1812 (See Table 3).

Column 4. Tar and Feathering of John Thomson, July 29, 1812 (See Table 4).

Column 5. Harrassment of Blacks, June–July, 1812 (See Table 5).

Column 6. Miscellaneous Disorder, June–August, 1812 (See Table 6).

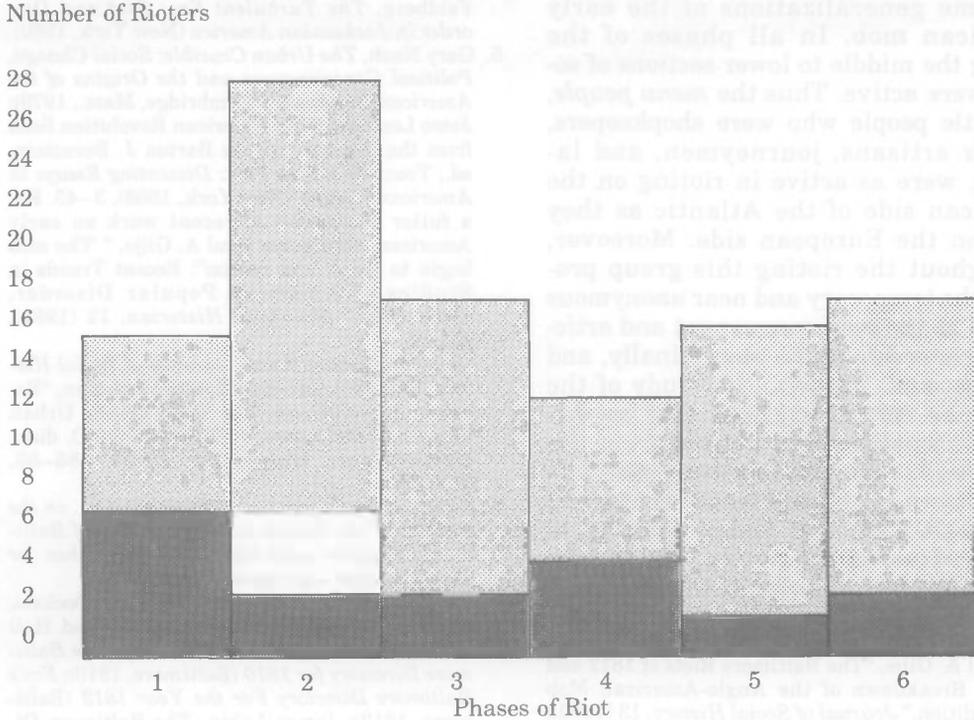
Occupational Categories:



and 1810. Much of this growth came from immigration which created an ever-increasing pool of unskilled workers.⁵³ Thus, many of Baltimore's poorest laborers were immigrants. Although there is no available information on where the men charged with rioting were born, many of their names suggest foreign origins. Perhaps a few of the McBrides, McLaughlins, Cohees or Sidenstrickers

and Rodemiers could trace a long line of ancestry in America. But far more of them must have had, in the words of a Federalist orator, "their shoes yet new, since they landed on our shores."⁵⁴ There were men with non-Anglo-Saxon surnames in all phases of the rioting, but there are fewer such names in Table 1, which lists rioters who attacked the *Federal-Republican* office in June, and more

TABLE 8.
Comparison of Propertied and Unpropertied Rioters in the Different Phases of the Baltimore Riots in 1812



Sources: See Table 1.

Key: (Phases of Riot).

Column 1. Destruction of the office of the *Federal-Republican*, June 24, 1812 (See Table 1).

Column 2. Charles Street Disturbance, July 27, 1812 (See Table 2).

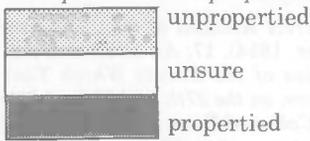
Column 3. Riot at the Jail House, July 28, 1812 (See Table 3).

Column 4. Tar and Feathering of John Thomson, July 29, 1812 (See Table 4).

Column 5. Harrassment of Blacks, June–July, 1812 (See Table 5).

Column 6. Miscellaneous Disorder, June–August, 1812 (See Table 6).

Propertied or Unpropertied Categories:



ethnic surnames in the tables covering the other stages of rioting. Interestingly, there is a particularly high concentration of non-Anglo-Saxon names among the rioters charged with harassing blacks in Table 5. Both Baltimore's blacks and immigrants competed for the same unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, and immigrants repeatedly assaulted blacks in riots during the 1830s and 1840s.⁵⁵

Because the identity of every Baltimore

rioter in the summer of 1812 will never be known, any conclusions about who was in the mob remain tentative. Political accounts in the newspapers and the literature of the period are obviously partisan and are of limited use in identifying the mob. Much more helpful in examining the faces in the Baltimore crowd are the depositions by witnesses in the state assembly report. These, too, are biased. But a more detailed analysis of court dockets,

directories, tax records and militia lists confirms many of the impressions contained in the report. By examining these different sources, then, we have the basis for some generalizations of the early American mob. In all phases of the rioting the middle to lower sections of society were active. Thus the *menu peuple*, the little people who were shopkeepers, master artisans, journeymen, and laborers, were as active in rioting on the American side of the Atlantic as they were on the European side. Moreover, throughout the rioting this group provided the temporary and near anonymous as well as the more permanent and articulate leadership of the mob. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, study of the Baltimore rioters suggests that as disorder intensified and shifted from the quasi-legitimate and relatively non-violent pattern of the eighteenth century to the illegitimate and violent pattern of nineteenth-century rioting, the middle levels of society abandoned the mob.

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34. *Ibid.*, 21, 48, 253, 337.
35. *Ibid.*, 138, 177, 267.
36. Estimates on the number of rioters during the different phases of the disturbances vary considerably. One witness reported that there were 300 to 400 people at the destruction of the *Federal Republican* office, but only 30 actively engaged in the demolition of the building. Another witness claimed that there were upwards of 1000 onlookers. At the Charles Street confrontation one estimate places 2000 people in the street with two thirds actively engaged in the disorder. In any case, given these figures on the size of the crowd, the number of separate disturbances, and the nearly one hundred persons named in the court dockets, it is reasonable to assume at least one thousand persons were involved in the riots. *Ibid.*, 21, 202, 305.
37. Cobb, *Police and the People*; David R. Johnson, *Policing the Urban Underworld: The Impact of Crime on the Development of American Police, 1800–1887* (Philadelphia, 1979).
38. Gilje, "Baltimore Riots," *Journal of Social History*, 13 (1980), 547–64.
39. Only fourteen convictions were obtained against the ninety rioters listed in the court dockets (15.4 percent). The assumption is that all those charged with rioting were involved in the disturbances whether they were convicted or not. There is evidence that the district attorney did not push the cases very hard. Baltimore Court of Oyer and Terminer Dockets, 1812–1813, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis; *Report*, 9–10.
40. *Federal-Republican* (Georgetown), August 24, 1812; *New York Evening Post*, July 8, 13, August 3, 8, 1812.
41. The French records were much more detailed than the English records. Rudé, *Crowd in History*, 195–215; *Paris and London*, 17–34, 96–129, 268–318. See also Cobb, *Police and the People*, 3–48.
42. Because some names were charged with rioting in more than one disturbance it is difficult to determine an absolute number of identified rioters. Tables 1–6 list ninety-nine different names not counting repeats. For statistical purposes each name was counted only once. Thirty occupations were found in the directories and twenty-three occupations were located in the court records. There is some information, not including occupation, for eight other men. Data suggesting socio-economic status thus exists for 61.6 percent of the rioters listed in the tables (N = 61, 61.6 percent). This identification rate is even higher for certain disturbances. In Table 1, 75 percent (N = 9) of the rioters' occupations are listed.
43. Three directories are available for examination covering from 1810 to 1814: Fry, *The Baltimore Directory for 1810*; Fry, *Fry's Baltimore Directory For the Year 1812*; Lakin, *The Baltimore Directory and Register, for 1814–1815*.
44. Baltimore Court of Oyer and Terminer Dockets, July Term, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis; Laskin, *Baltimore Directory . . . 1814–1815*; Fry, *Baltimore Directory for 1810*.
45. The other cases concern Frederick Fleming, John Pervail, and James Ward. Fleming is listed as a porter bottler in Fry's directory for 1812 and listed as a locksmith in the court dockets. The directory identification is accepted here because Fleming was arrested with George Benner, who is listed as a porter bottler with the same address as Fleming. There is also a reference to Fleming as a porter seller in the depositions published in the state assembly report. John Pervail is referred to in the court dockets as being from Old Town. It is assumed that they are the same person. James Ward's identification is more questionable. It is a

- common name. The court docket in March and September, 1813, says "runaway" and "gone away" respectively. Yet Lakin in 1814 lists a James Ward, cabinet maker. There may have been two James Wards. The table assumes that there is only one and that the report Ward ran away was either temporary or inaccurate. Baltimore Court of Oyer and Terminer Dockets, 1812-1813, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis; Lakin, *Baltimore Directory . . . 1814-1815*; Fry, *Fry's Baltimore Directory . . . 1812*.
46. Because the directories were written to serve as a mercantile and trade guide, if a person belonged to the elite he was ordinarily listed in the directory. Therefore, in all likelihood, those persons not found in the directories were from the lower classes. There were a few common names repeated in the directories and which therefore could not be identified. Some of these might be members of the elite. But because there can be no positive identification, their socio-economic status remains moot. These cases are listed as "unsure" occupations or addresses in the tables.
 47. Except in two cases—Owen Duffy and Benedict Hurst—only those individuals whose addresses were known were checked in the tax records. Baltimore City Assessment Records, 1813, Baltimore City Archives.
 48. Steffen, "Between Revolutions" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1977), 88-109; Richard M. Bernard, "A Portrait of Baltimore: Economic and Occupational Pattern in an Early American City," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 69 (1974), 341-61.
 49. The militia rolls are in *The Citizen Soldiers at North Point and Fort McHenry, September 12 & 13* (Baltimore, 1889).
 50. Robert Rheinders, "Militia and Public Order in Nineteenth Century America," *Journal of American Studies*, 11 (1977), 81-101.
 51. Gilje, "Mobocracy" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1980), 6; John Philip Reid, "In a Defensive Rage': The Uses of the Mob, the Justification in Law, and the Coming of the American Revolution," *New York University Law Review*, 49 (Dec., 1974), 1043-1091; Frank Hersey, "Tar and Feathers: The Adventures of Captain John Malcolm," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions* (1941), 429-473.
 52. Gilje, "Baltimore Riots," *Journal of Social History*, 13 (1980), 547-64.
 53. Dennis Rankin Clark, "Baltimore, 1729-1829: The Genesis of a Community" (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1976); Clarence P. Gould, "Economic Causes of the Rise of Baltimore," in *Essays in Colonial History Presented to Charles McLean Andrews by his Students* (New Haven, 1931), 225-31; Bernard, "Portrait of Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 69 (1974), 341-61; James S. Van Ness, "Economic Development, Social and Cultural Changes, 1800-1850," in Richard Walsh, et al., *Maryland, A History 1632-1974* (Baltimore, 1974), 156-238; Steffen, "Changes in Artisan Production," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 36 (1979), 101-117.
 54. George Washington Parke Custis, *Oration by Custis . . . with an Account of the Funeral Solemnities in honor of . . . Lingan* (Washington, D.C., 1812), 13.
 55. John Runcie, "'Hunting the Nigs' in Philadelphia: The Race Riot of August 1834," *Pennsylvania History*, 39 (1972), 187-218; Richards, "Gentlemen of Property and Standing"; Grimsted, "Rioting in its Jacksonian Setting," *American Historical Review*, 17 (1972), 361-97; Feldberg, *Turbulent Era*.

“very picturesque, but regarded as nearly useless”: Fort Washington, Maryland, 1816–1872

DAVID L. SALAY

DURING THE FIRST DECADES OF THE NINETEENTH century, America based its security on the development of a naval force, a system of seacoast fortifications, and a network of roads and canals (and later railroads) to supply the forts and navy and to transport troops.¹ Coastal fortifications were a central feature of America's nineteenth century military program; it was reasoned that fortifications would provide a deterrent to attack. This was an important consideration for a nation keyed to a defensive rather than an offensive strategy. Coastal fortifications could dissuade an enemy from attacking and, if not, would fulfill specific military objectives by protecting harbors and coastal cities, by barring an enemy army's advance, or by directing it along predetermined lines.

On March 20, 1794, Congress authorized its first series of defensive works to protect the harbors of major cities.² The monies allocated for these “first system” fortifications were small and the forts constructed were open works with earthen parapets or small blockhouses. They were manned sporadically and were either left incomplete or were allowed to deteriorate because of a lack of urgency and limited funds. Not even the undeclared war with France (1798–1800) had a significant impact on America's defensive program.

It was only after the dispute between France and England spilled into the Western Hemisphere during the Napoleonic Wars that America considered a

“second system” of fortifications. The *Chesapeake* incident of June 1807 prompted Congress to authorize a new defensive network and appropriate three million dollars for a building program.³ As part of this “second system” of fortifications Fort Warburton, the first Fort Washington, was built. But Fort Warburton had a short and a rather ignominious history. Completed on December 1, 1809, the fort was destroyed by its own garrison on August 27, 1814.⁴ Captain Samuel T. Dyson, the commanding officer, ordered the fort blown up on the approach of Rear Admiral Sir George Cockburn's British fleet. Washington had fallen to the enemy without Fort Warburton having fired a shot in her defense.

The destruction of the city of Washington by the British in 1814 demonstrated both the need for a strong network of fortifications and the weakness of the “second system” defenses. At Digges Point, site of Fort Warburton, rebuilding began almost immediately. From March to July 1815, Major Pierre L'Enfant directed the construction of a ravelin, a V-shaped earthwork, and the rebuilding of the wharf.⁵ His work was suspended on July 8. After a short delay, Lieutenant Colonel Walker K. Armistead and Captain Theodore Maurice, who did the design, were assigned to build a new fortification. Work began on the main fortification on February 27, 1816.⁶ The wharf and ravelin started by L'Enfant were retained, but the site of the fort, renamed Fort Washington, was now located on the bluff overlooking the Potomac.

Digges Point, the site of Fort Washington, is eleven miles south of the city of

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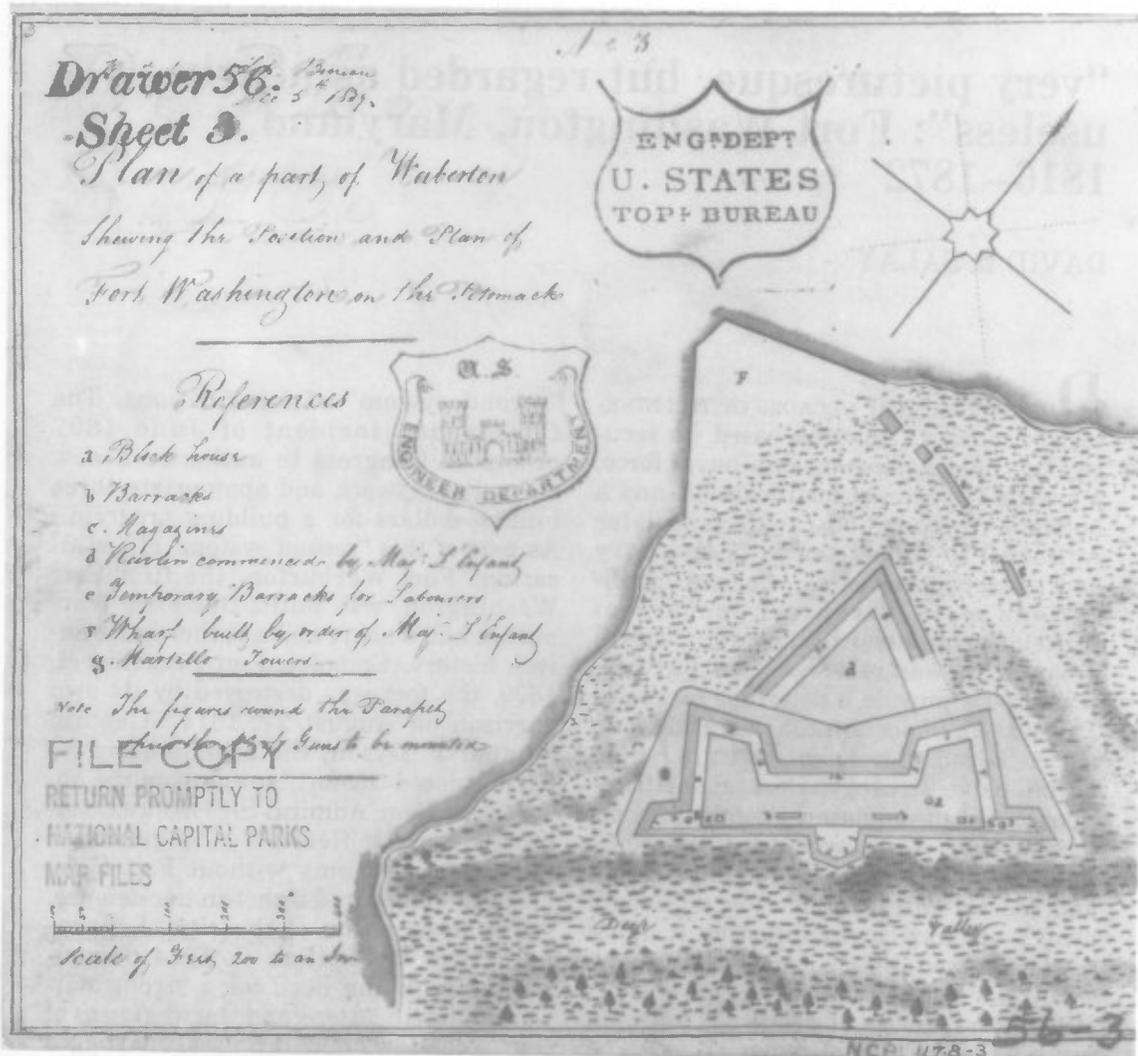


FIGURE 1. Plan of a part of Waberton Shewing the Position and Plan of Fort Washington on the Potomack, c. 1815. This view shows a plan of the fort while it was still under construction with its line of temporary workers' houses (e) and recommendations on the number of guns to be mounted. The scale of the barracks and officers' quarters is incorrect but the plan indicates the fort's relation to the Potomac and the surrounding topography. RG 79, NCP 117.8-39, Map Division, National Archives (NA).

Washington on the east bank of the Potomac River in Prince George County, Maryland. It is a seemingly ideal location for a fort to defend the Potomac River and the city of Washington. At Digges Point the river channel narrows and swings to the east or Maryland shore, forcing boats to approach the fort bow on and pass up-river "stern on"; only directly opposite the fort could a ship bring its guns to bear.⁷

At the same time, approaching ships were vulnerable to the fort's guns. The guns in the ravelin, or water battery, were 53 feet above the water level; the casemate guns were 89 feet above the river; and the guns mounted *en barbette*, to fire over the wall, were 115 feet above the water.⁸ From these heights Fort Washington's 24- and 32-pounders had a range of more than a mile up and down the river. An enemy ship coming up the

Potomac would have been subjected to a heavy fire before reaching the fort, would have come under a devastating fire directly opposite the fort, and still would have been under fire had it succeeded in getting past Digges Point.

In addition to providing a commanding view of the Potomac, Digges Point also provided some natural defenses for the fort itself. It was surrounded on three sides by water: Swan Creek to the north, the Potomac River to the west, and Piscataway Creek to the south. To the east, or land side, the terrain was a mixture of steep ravines and heavy forest. Even so, Fort Washington was vulnerable from the land side. It was particularly susceptible to attack from an enemy landing below Piscataway Creek and moving inland under protection of the ravine east of the fort to the hills in the northeast. From this point enemy cannon could have dominated the fort.

The Fort Washington that Armistead and Maurice designed and completed in 1824 was more substantial than the earthen works which had preceded it. The new fort was a casemated brick and stone fortification with earthen outerworks—basic elements of American fortifications during the early nineteenth century. Sited to provide the greatest firepower in the direction of the river,⁹ a long curtain, or wall, paralleled the river to provide a spacious placement for guns. To enfilade, or protect, the curtain, two demi-bastions (projections at the northwest corner and the southwest corner) were built. The demi-bastions had casemates, rooms within the walls, which added to the potential for armament and defense. The eastern, or landward, side of the fort had a long curtain broken by a lunette (a projecting work in the center to enfilade the curtain)¹⁰ At the northeast and southwest corners of the landside curtain, bastions with flank casemates were provided. The bastions covered the curtain and flanks of the fort and provided protection for two of the entries into the fort.

The fort was well protected and could be entered through only three gates.¹¹ The main gate was in the center of the north flank. As designed, the gatehouse

was a one-story structure with an arched brick bombproof passageway, heavy doors, and a bridge; a second story was added in the 1840s. A second entry provided access from the ravelin and water battery into the fort. The door was in the center of the west (or river) curtain and entry was through a covered passageway and ramp, a single stairway to the casemate level, and then a double stairway to the parade ground. The third entry, through the postern gate and a fixed bridge, provided access to the reverse fire casemate and mortar battery. Bridges were required at the main gate and postern gate because the fort was ditched on two faces by a thirty-foot wide dry moat.

In addition to the walls and ditch, Armistead and Maurice provided outerworks to strengthen Fort Washington's defenses.¹² The major outerwork was the large V-shaped ravelin started by L'Enfant. The ravelin protected the river front curtain and adjoining bastion flanks from the enemy's cannon fire and also covered the third entrance to the fort. South of the moat, on the fort's left flank, a mortar battery provided additional defense against attack. A reverse fire casemate on the counterscarp of the southeast bastion completed the outerworks. This was an L-shaped structure manned by soldiers to protect the ditch and mortar battery against attack.

Fort Washington was a substantial piece of military engineering. It included thick walls with twenty-two to twenty-six feet wide terrepleins on which to mount cannon, seven and one-half feet high parapets over which they could fire, and substantial arched casemates. As reported by the Board of Engineers in 1826, Fort Washington presented a formidable defense of the Potomac approaches to the city of Washington:

Fort Washington, a work recently completed, covers these cities from any attack by water—and will oblige an enemy to land at some 15 to 18 miles from Alexandria, should that city be the object. It will also serve the very valuable purpose of covering the troops crossing from Virginia with a view to fall upon the flanks of an enemy moving against the Metrop-

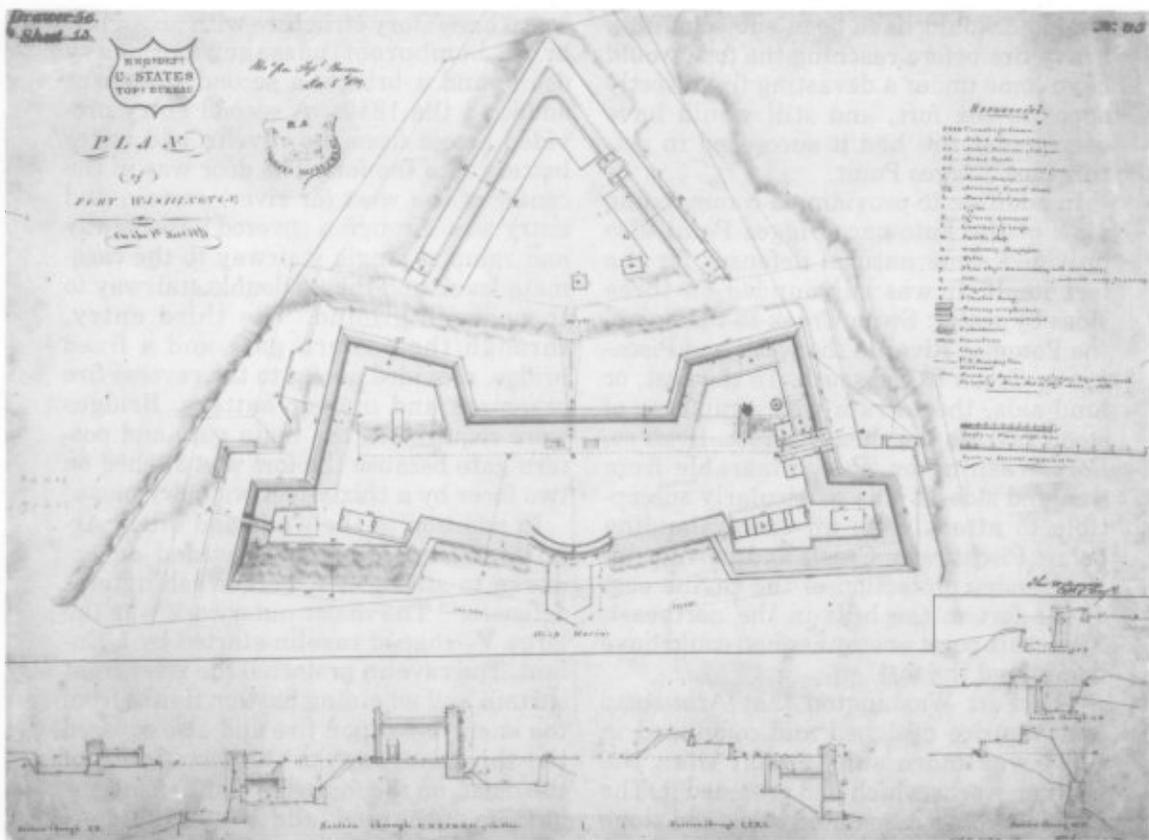


FIGURE 2. Plan of Fort Washington on the 1st Novr, 1821, by Captain Theodore Maurice. Maurice's map illustrates both the vertical profiles (at the bottom of the map) and a detailed layout of the fort including the officers' quarters (k), barracks (l), magazines (m), guard room (h), office (i), and the vaults (d) which were later used as prison cells. All of these still exist within the fort. The plan and location of the ravelin and the three entrances to the fort are also noted. RG 79, NCP 117.8-13, Map Division, NA.

olis. . . the works in the Patuxent being constructed & the militia of the surrounding country being in a due state of preparation, an enterprise against these cities would be one of great hazard.¹³

Because of these strengths, the Board of Engineers recommended that Fort Washington be included in a new general system of national defenses (the "third" or "permanent" system); this system lasted until the Civil War.¹⁴ The Board also may have been influenced by the \$446,467.37 recently spent on Fort Washington's construction.¹⁵

The fort accepted as part of the "third system" of fortifications was slightly different from the Fort Washington which stands today.¹⁶ Beginning in 1841, Cap-

tain Fred A. Smith, United States Engineer, undertook repairs needed to stabilize the fort and to improve its defenses. Much of Smith's effort was directed toward the stabilization of the earthen embankments to prevent the washouts which were under-mining the walls. He oversaw the addition of a second story and gun emplacements on the main gatehouse, had the parapets modified to accommodate the 32-pounder cannon, developed in 1829, and had the terreplein paved. He constructed hot shot furnaces¹⁷ in the fort and ravelin, and modified the magazine¹⁸ built in 1816. Smith also improved the fort's weak land defenses. He raised the east curtain and replaced the lunette bastion and its double ramp with

a capionnere and a single ramp. He also directed that the hill north of the fort be cleared of trees to prevent an enemy from placing guns there. Lastly, Smith, and his successor, Samuel Cooper, had the doors of the entries rebuilt and strengthened, and a drawbridge built for the main entrance. The fort Smith and Cooper left in 1848 was substantially as it stands today.

Fort Washington and other nineteenth century forts were designed to be defensible and self-sustaining until the enemy gave up and retired from the attack or until reinforcements arrived. Whether manned by local militia or a permanent garrison, shelter and support facilities had to be provided. Until the Civil War, post life at Fort Washington was centered within the fort walls and the ravelin.¹⁹

There were only three structures—the commanding officer's quarters, a frame dwelling for a junior officer, and a non-commissioned officer's house—outside of the defensive works. The commanding officer's quarters is a well constructed two-story brick building with a slate-covered gable roof located opposite the main gate.²⁰ Built on the side of a hill, it gives the appearance of a one-story building from the north and reveals its full height only on the south side. The commanding officers stationed at Fort Washington lived in those quarters. The junior officer's quarters, located nearby, appears on an early map but not on later ones; it may have been torn down in the 1830s.²¹ Just down the hill from the commanding officer's quarters is the small brick house which was listed as the non-commissioned officer's quarters. This was the residence of Ordnance Sergeant Joseph Cameron who was stationed at Fort Washington from 1835 until 1872.²²

The ravelin enclosed a stable, blacksmith's forge, storehouse, magazine, shot furnace, and two guardhouses, in addition to emplacements for guns. The stable, included in the original plan, was a story-and-a-half slate-roofed brick building with stalls for six horses, a feed bin at one end, and a loft overhead.²³ In

1870, two wooden additions were added: one for the storage of hay, and one with stalls for eight horses.²⁴ The blacksmith's shop also was included as part of the original 1816 plan for Fort Washington.²⁵ It was a small one-story building with double doors at one end, a forge on the opposite wall, and two windows on each side. If it conformed to the other buildings built in 1816, the blacksmith's shop was a brick building with a slate roof. The storehouse was a one-story, rough board and batten building next to the stable on the left flank of the ravelin.²⁶ Divided into six rooms, it may have been converted into an enlisted men's barrack in early 1861. The storehouse was destroyed by fire on May 12, 1872.²⁷ By 1870, a quartermaster's storehouse and a saddler's shop were added.²⁸ A boathouse and lighthouse were erected on the wharf, and an additional guardhouse was constructed nearby.²⁹

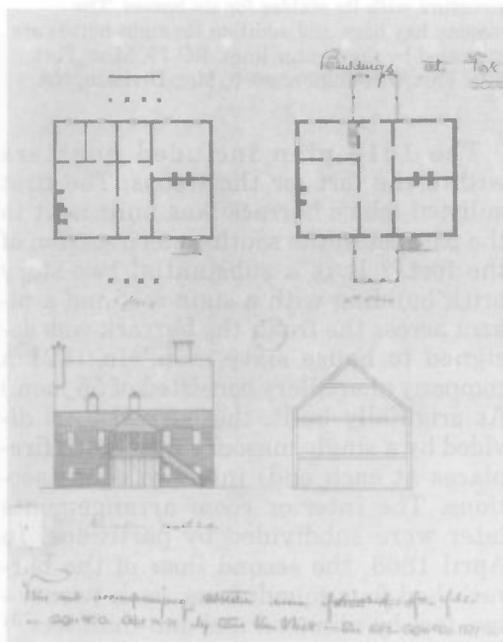


FIGURE 3. Commanding Officer's Quarters, April 1871. This shows the floor plan and one elevation of the building. The house, still standing, is built on the side of a hill. The south elevation is the side facing the fort. This was one of the few structures built outside the fort prior to the Civil War. RG 77, Misc. Fort File: Fort Washington, no. 8, Map Division, NA.

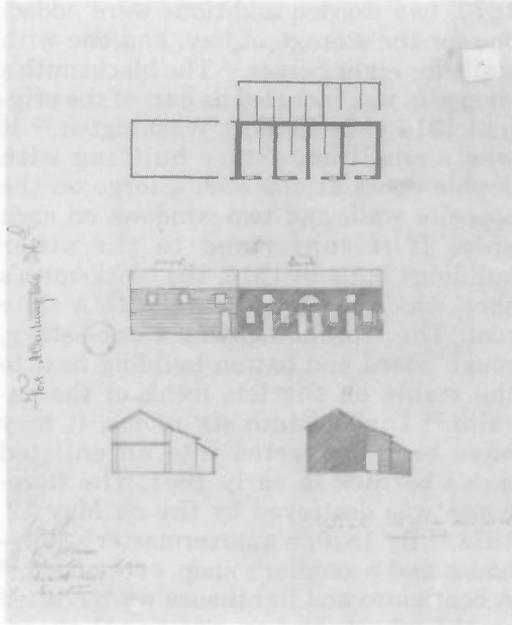


FIGURE 4. Stables, 1871. The stables were built in the ravelin during the initial phase of construction. The bold lines in the floor plan indicate the first structure with its stables for six horses. The wooden hay barn and addition for eight horses are indicated by the lighter lines. RG 77, Misc. Fort File: Fort Washington, no. 5, Map Division, NA.

The 1816 plan included quarters within the fort for the troops. The first enlisted men's barrack was built next to the parapet in the southeastern section of the fort.³⁰ It is a substantial two-story brick building with a slate roof and a piazza across the front; the barrack was designed to house sixty men. (In 1821 a company of artillery consisted of 55 men.) As originally built, the barrack was divided by a single masonry wall (with fireplaces at each end) into two equal sections. The interior room arrangements later were subdivided by partitions. In April 1868, the second floor of the barrack had four squadrooms, each twenty-two feet by nineteen and one-half feet.³¹ The partitions were removed shortly after this and in 1870 the second floor was divided into "two rooms for dormitories."³² The first floor was divided into three sections: a kitchen, mess room, and additional sleeping quarters.

Although barracks at permanent posts may have been substantial frame or brick

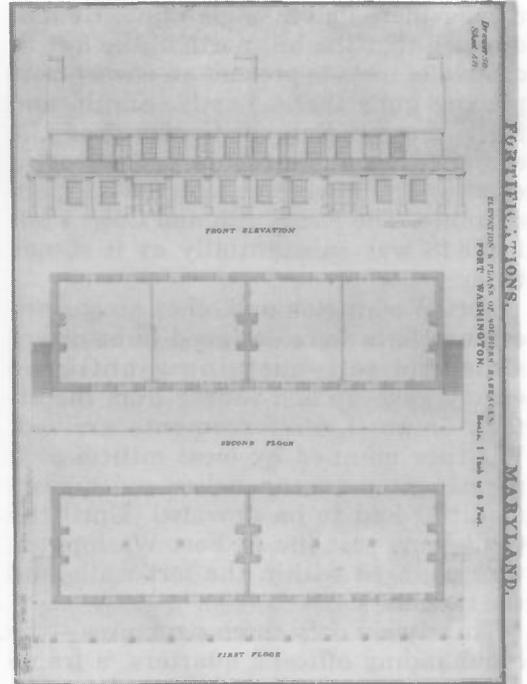


FIGURE 5. Elevation and Plans of Soldiers' Barracks, Fort Washington, drawn by G. C. Humphries after Samuel Cooper, 1849. This building, with altered porch and interior arrangements, still stands. The interior walls were changed from time to time to accommodate its different uses and tenants. The exterior is similar in design to the Officers' Quarters located near it on the parade. RG 79, NCP 117.8-48, Map Division, NA.

structures, they often were dark and crowded, and offered little privacy. One of the most frequent complaints army surgeons made about barracks was their lack of ventilation. These problems existed in the enlisted men's barrack at Fort Washington. In 1870, Dr. John Billings described it as "without means for proper ventilation."³³ This, he said, was because the "building stands close to the eastern parapet, and the lower story is badly ventilated and always damp; the air space per man is 360 cubic feet." Dr. Billings recommended 600 cubic feet of air per man.³⁴

Overcrowding was another problem. According to Army Regulations:

To every six non-commissioned officers, musicians and privates, servants and

washerwomen, 225 square feet of room north of 38 N, and 256 square feet south of that latitude.³⁵

In 1868, the squad rooms of Company A, 4th United States Artillery, allotted only 214 square feet of space for six men in two of the rooms and 143 square feet of space in one of the other rooms.

Despite these drawbacks, the enlisted men's barrack at Fort Washington was used whenever the post was garrisoned. From 1840 through 1848, while Fort Washington was not garrisoned, laborers may have occupied some of the rooms and the garret was used as a storeroom.³⁶ In October 1848, Companies F and H, 1st United States Artillery were sent to the post.³⁷ When they were withdrawn in 1850 detachments from Companies F and I, 4th United States Artillery manned the post.³⁸ During these years the complement of forty officers and enlisted men were adequately housed in the quarters at Fort Washington. The upper floor of the barrack provided sleeping quarters for the enlisted men; one-half of the first floor served as both a kitchen and mess hall while the other half served as a hospital. Between 1853 and 1860 Fort Washington was not garrisoned and the enlisted men's barrack was not needed.

The Civil War brought more troops to the post than the quarters could comfortably house. In 1861, with Company D, 1st United States Artillery, the Company of Recruits, the Logan Guards, and the Washington Artillerists, Fort Washington had 280 enlisted men; the barrack was designed to house sixty. The same holds true throughout the war: 117 enlisted men were on post in June 1862, 272 enlisted men were there in March 1863, 146 enlisted men were on post in May 1864, and 142 enlisted men were at Fort Washington in July 1865.³⁹ Other buildings or tents were used to relieve this overcrowding, but the brick enlisted men's barrack was filled. Even the attic was used. The Invalid Corps of the 4th United States Artillery was quartered there in December 1863.⁴⁰

After the war ended, the men of Company A, 4th United States Artillery, oc-

cupied the enlisted men's barrack during their tour at Fort Washington. They had to share the first floor kitchen and mess with the men of Company M.⁴¹ After 1867, when a new enlisted men's barrack was built outside the fort, Company A had the old barrack to themselves and the barrack remained in use until the post was abandoned in 1872.⁴²

The interior changed little during this time; the heating and lighting systems remained constant through 1870. The barrack had been built with a "medium size fire place" in each room.⁴³ In 1846, cranes were installed in the fireplaces used for cooking and Major Scott ordered "sheet iron fenders, and andirons placed in every fire place in the men's barracks rooms" in 1851.⁴⁴ The use of wood fireplaces put Fort Washington well behind the times. Open fireplaces were being replaced by stoves during the 1830s, and by the 1840s they were commonly used for heating at military posts.⁴⁵ Nearby Fort McHenry was supplied with wood stoves in 1854.⁴⁶ The candles issued to the men as part of their rations were the only authorized lighting until 1862.⁴⁷ Candles provided the lighting in the barrack at Fort Washington through 1870.⁴⁸

Furnishings in the barrack were kept to a minimum in terms of both number and cost—and the quality sometimes suffered as a result. This included the principal piece of furniture in the barrack, the bunk. The bunks were generally built on post by carpenters drawn from the ranks. Although there was no standard, the dimensions of each double bunk were a minimum of four feet wide and six feet in length. Most of these were designed so that two men shared each tier, with four men in a two-tiered bunk and six men in a three-tiered bunk. Through the end of the Civil War the army bunks at Fort Washington were two- or three-tiered wooden framed bunks.⁴⁹ In 1865, Fort Washington had double bunk space for 132 men and double bed sacks for 118 men; there were single bunks for 14 men and single bed sacks for more than twice that number. This would have stretched to the limit the requirement for adequate bedding for the troops stationed there.⁵⁰

Both the condition and design of wooden bunks came under attack. Many quartermasters thought that bunks were not durable, did not stand up to hard use, and were a "harbor for vermin"; bedbugs were a routine part of barracks life during these years.⁵¹ The double bunk and double bedsack also came under attack. Dr. Billings noted that "The only possible argument in favor of their retention is that they cost a little less than single bedsteads. . . ."⁵²

Billings, and others, argued for single iron bedsteads. Although recommended in the 1840s, iron bedsteads were not commonly adopted at military posts outside of New York City until after the Civil War.⁵³ Fort Washington's wooden bunks were replaced with 75 single iron bedsteads in 1866.⁵⁴ The post received double lockers and gun racks along with the iron bedsteads.

Housing also was provided for officers in accordance with prescribed regulations.⁵⁵ At Fort Washington, the officers' quarters was a brick two-story structure with a slate roof and a piazza running the length of the front of the building.⁵⁶ Started in 1816 and finished in 1824, it was divided into two equal sections, each with two apartments and a basement kitchen. Each section had a central hallway and three rooms (two large and one small) on each floor. The rooms were plastered with whitewashed walls, had painted trim, a fireplace, and shutters on the windows.

The officers' quarters at Fort Washington was designed to house four officers—with two rooms for each.⁵⁷ Beginning in 1828, when Company F, 1st United States Artillery was stationed at the post, the officers' quarters were used.⁵⁸ In 1834, a Lieutenant Mackay and a Lieutenant Chalmers lived in one-half of the officers' quarters and shared a kitchen. Assistant Surgeon Bryant and his family lived in the other half.⁵⁹ During the 1840s, one room was used as an office for the engineer, Captain Fred Smith, but the officers of Companies F and H, 1st United States Artillery shared these rooms when the post was re-garrisoned.⁶⁰

Beginning in 1861, Fort Washington's complement of officers exceeded the limits of quarters in the fort; in April, eleven officers were stationed there. Housing continued to be a problem throughout the war. In April 1866, while the 16th Indiana Battery was on post, Colonel Horace Brooks ordered that "Until there is an increase in the quarters for Officers at this Post no rooms will be assigned to the Chaplain, as quarters."⁶¹ This was in response to the arrival of Reverend J. L. Eliot. Eliot was permitted, however, to "temporarily occupy vacant quarters."

The lack of adequate housing continued after the war. In 1867, Post Commander Captain John Mendenhall reported that Chaplain Eliot occupied one attic room for his quarters, one lieutenant occupied another attic room, and two lieutenants occupied one room together.⁶² The construction of additional quarters outside of the fort walls relieved some of the strain, but the old officers' quarters remained in use until 1872.

In addition to sleeping and eating accommodations, the fort contained rooms to carry out military functions. The rooms in the gatehouse at the main entrance to the fort served a number of purposes. When the fort was originally planned, one room was to be an office; the other was to be a guard room.⁶³ Even after a second story was added, the first floor housed an office and guard house; the rooms on the second floor were used for storage.⁶⁴ During the Civil War, this room use changed and the number of offices was increased.⁶⁵ According to one report, the number of "public offices at this Post is two—the Office of the Commanding officer, who uses the same likewise as Commander of the fourth Regt. of Artillery, and my [C. von Woyna] office as A.A.Q.M. [Acting Assistant Quartermaster] and A.C.S. [Assistant Commissary of Subsistence]."⁶⁶ On March 24, 1862, Post Order 24 directed that "The room under the Adjutant's Office is assigned to the telegraph operators as an office. No one but them and officers are allowed to visit."⁶⁷

In this arrangement, offices on the

second floor would have been removed from the flow of traffic in and out of the fort and out of hearing of the main guard. This also established an office for the post commander adjacent to his chief assistant, the post adjutant. The post commanders had the overall direction of the post.⁶⁸ Although they had junior officers to assist them, they were responsible for the overall condition of the fort, including the buildings and ordnance, and for the well-being of the troops under their command. The adjutants carried out much of the commanding officers' clerical work and acted as executive secretaries.⁶⁹ They were responsible for a variety of post activities: parades, reviews, inspections, and work, picket, and guard details, as well as a series of reports.⁷⁰

When the war ended, there was a reshuffling of rooms once again, and the post commander's office may have been on the first floor of the gatehouse by 1870.⁷¹

One of the rooms on the first floor of the gatehouse had cells built into one wall in casemate fashion and was used as a guardhouse or military prison. These cells reflect the integral part military discipline played in nineteenth-century army service and life on post at Fort Washington. The post commanders at Fort Washington had to deal with gambling, drunkenness, fighting, desertion, insubordination, and theft, and they had to maintain the respect for rank which was central to military life. Infractions of army regulations resulted in a soldier's arrest and possible court-martial. Among the punishments they could receive were "confinement; confinement on bread and water diet; solitary confinement; hard labor; ball and chain."⁷² The guardhouse and prison cells were the places of detention.

In general, nineteenth-century military prisons were divided into two sections: a room for prisoners undergoing light punishment and cells for the worst offenders—the violent, the recalcitrant, or the mentally disturbed. Prisoners undergoing light sentences were housed together in one room; the serious offenders were locked up in prison cells. Cells were

classified as light (with a window) and dark (without an outside opening). The two prison cells at Fort Washington were brick, barrel-vaulted rooms built into the outer wall of the guardhouse room. The dark cell, five by nineteen feet, has no outside window. Ventilation is through a seven by eight inch pipe located over the door, designed so that light could not enter, and vents in the wall. The light cell, ten by nineteen feet, has door and wall vents, but it also has a small barred window which opens on the river.

Although well-built, the cells were damp and, as Lieutenant John M. Waite wrote in 1868, "not extremely comfortable in their furnishings. . . ."⁷³ The rooms were purposefully kept inhospitable. Not only did they lack any luxuries, they also had few basic conveniences. The men slept on the floor wrapped in their blankets, if permitted by the post commander to take them into the jail. They were allowed to do so at Fort Washington. When Privates John Gardiner and F. Cook, Company D, 1st United States Artillery, were confined for desertion, each was given one flannel shirt, one pair of drawers, one pair of stockings, and one blanket.⁷⁴ The furnishings were sparse at best.

By the 1860s, the guardhouse at Fort Washington was overcrowded. As a result, in 1867 and 1868, the prisoners were "confined in one small casemate and as there are about twenty prisoners at present in confinement here it makes the quarters very crowded."⁷⁵ Assistant Surgeon Alfred Delaney thought there was another problem as well. In May 1868, he reported on the "filthy condition of the Guard House, and the Cells."⁷⁶ Lieutenant Waite, officer of the day, disagreed about the cleanliness of the cells although he agreed that they were certainly damp.⁷⁷ Because of the dampness and poor ventilation, these rooms were withdrawn from use for a short time after 1868. But the United States Surgeon General's Office reported in 1870 that

The only arrangement for a guard-house was at the main sally-port, where there was one room, with two cells attached, but this had to be abandoned on account

of its want of ventilation. A casemate is now used for this purpose, but it is poorly ventilated and very damp; the old building on the wharf, which was for a time used for this purpose, was abandoned. A guard-house is much needed.⁷⁸

Evidently none was built and the gatehouse cells may have been in active service again in 1872.⁷⁹

The room used as a guardhouse and the one across the passageway also served from time to time as a guard room for the men on sentry duty. Each guard mount was on duty for twenty-four hours but this was divided into three shifts. This meant that a soldier manned a post for two hours and was off station but on call for four hours; in cold or stormy weather the guard may have changed more often. The time when they were on call was spent in the guard room. The number of guards and the frequency with which a soldier had to stand guard depended on the size of the command and the danger of attack. For a short period, when Fort Washington was the capital's only protection, as many as 91 guards were posted around the fort.⁸⁰ The number of guards after this initial enthusiasm was generally much less. By October 1861, there were nine guards posted around the fort and only seven by December.⁸¹ From April 10, 1862 through September 27, 1863, one sentry was posted at the privy gate, two on the ramparts, one on the rear casemate, one at the colonel's quarters, with others occasionally posted at the hospital and on the wharf.⁸²

The casemates at Fort Washington were vaulted brick rooms with openings or embrasures in the outer wall through which cannon could fire. As designed, Fort Washington was to have cannon mounted in twenty-six casemate openings. Of these, only six were finally mounted: the capionnere casemate to protect the northeast wall and the southeast bastion to protect the main entrance.⁸³ By the late 1840s, the idea of mounting heavy artillery in Fort Washington's casemates, except for flank defense, had been given up. This may have been for a functional reason. Although casemates

provided better protection for the artillery and artillerymen, inadequate ventilation caused smoke from the black powder to obscure the vision of the artillerymen and foul the air.⁸⁴ Casemates depended on an efficient ventilation system which those designed for Fort Washington did not have.

Instead of mounting cannon, the casemates at Fort Washington were used for a multitude of purposes. When the fort was garrisoned, some of the casemates were used to store ordnance stores, commissary stores, and quartermaster stores, even though dampness and heat caused damage to the quartermaster and food supplies.⁸⁵ Because of these problems, wooden buildings were built during the 1860s to store quartermaster and commissary supplies.⁸⁶ A sutler had his store in a casemate, at least until 1862 when he was ordered to move it.⁸⁷ Casemates also served as a hospital until 1863 when a new one was built outside of the fort walls.⁸⁸ Likewise, until the laundresses' quarters were constructed in 1868, some of the company laundresses were billeted in the casemates.⁸⁹ The deterioration of the other buildings used as prisons forced them to use a casemate as a guardhouse in 1870 and perhaps earlier. And, a casemate was used as the post bakery until 1867.⁹⁰

During the latter part of the Civil War, post life expanded beyond the defensive walls of the fort and ravelin. To the north and northeast of the commanding officer's quarters a complex of buildings was erected: a new barrack for enlisted men, three double houses for officers' quarters, a chapel (which also served as a schoolhouse), laundresses' quarters, a hospital, a hospital steward's quarters, and a post bakery. After the Civil War a larger part of daily life was conducted outside of the fort.

To relieve the overcrowding in the fort, a new two-story wooden barrack was built in 1867.⁹¹ Designed to house 100 men, the second story was divided into two squad rooms; the lower floor was arranged with a kitchen, mess hall, wash room, store room, and company offices.

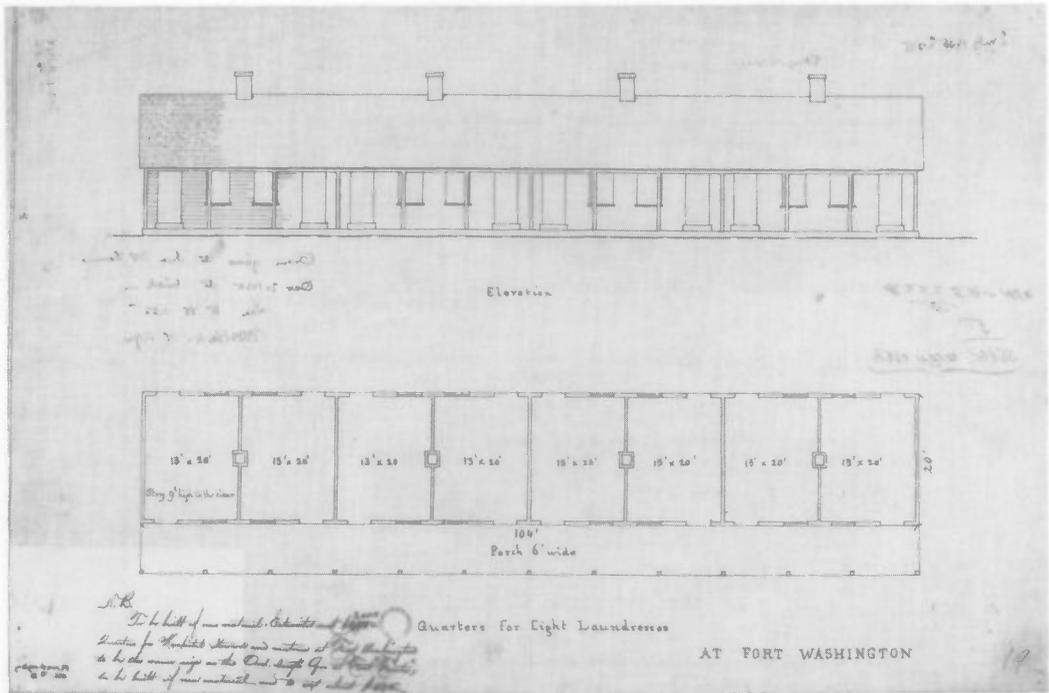


FIGURE 6. Quarters for Eight Laundresses at Fort Washington. These quarters were built in 1868. Before that the laundresses were housed in casemates or in temporary structures located around the fort. Laundresses were the wives of enlisted men. RG 77, Misc. Fort File: Fort Washington, no. 19, Map Division, NA.

Company M, 4th United States Artillery was housed here from 1867 until it left the post. To ease the shortage of quarters for officers, three double dwellings, each to house two officers, were built in 1867 and 1868.⁹² Each was a story and a half wooden building with horizontal weather boarding and a gable roof. Two of the cottages had two rooms and a small kitchen on the ground floor and a low attic above. The third cottage was smaller and did not have a kitchen until officers added one in the basement.⁹³ To provide adequate housing for the company laundresses living in the casemates and elsewhere about the post, a new wooden building was completed for them in 1868.⁹⁴ It was planned to house eight laundresses and was divided into eight rooms, each nineteen by twelve and one-half feet.

Fort Washington was considered an unhealthy post and the need for an adequate medical facility existed from the

outset. When the fort was first garrisoned, one-half of the enlisted men's barrack was used as a hospital.⁹⁵ This was sufficient when the garrison was small and all of the barrack was not needed to house troops. After the Civil War began, the large number of men at the post required a separate facility. In September 1862, post commander Colonel Henry Merchant wrote that "We have no hospital at this post for our sick, except Casemates which are considered damp and unhealthy."⁹⁶ Merchant's request to build a hospital to house 25 to 100 men was granted the following year. The hospital built in 1863 was a weather boarded building with a gabled shingle roof. It had two wards for sixteen patients. By 1870, it was considered badly arranged and incomplete: the dispensary and office were too small, there was no store room, the bathroom was unfinished, and the tongue and groove construction provided

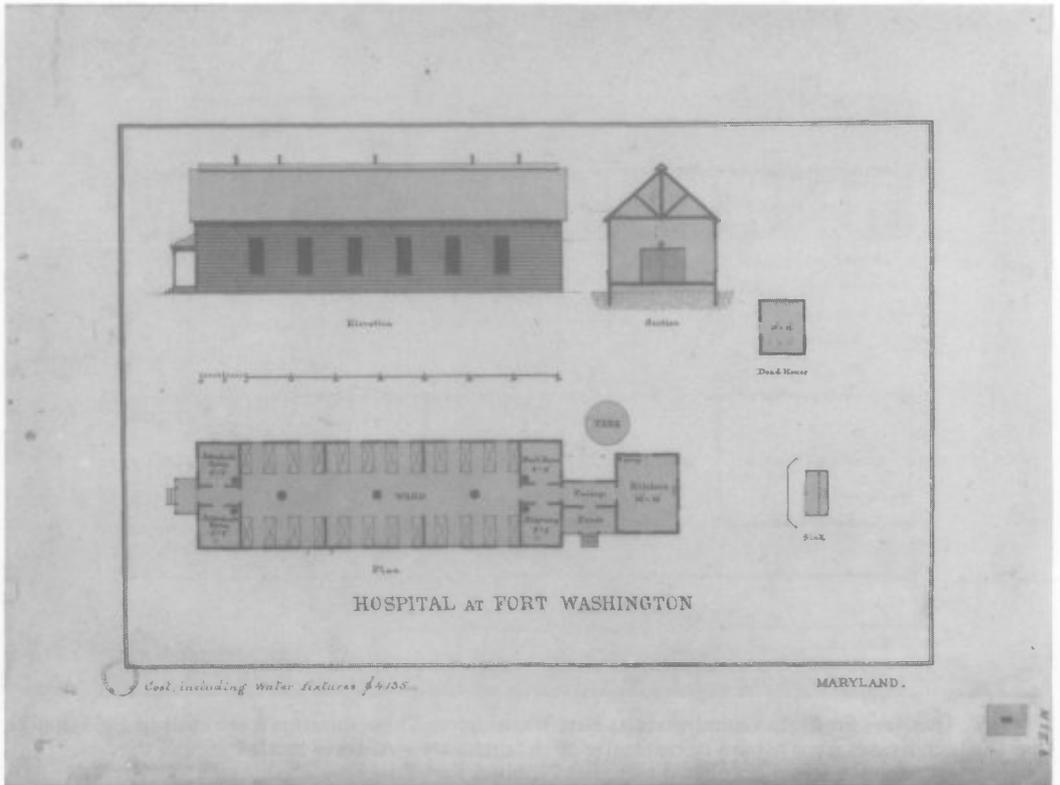


FIGURE 7. Hospital at Fort Washington, 1872. A hospital was made necessary by the general unhealthy location of the fort. "Potomac fever" was common as were other diseases. The size of the hospital indicates the scope of the health problem at this relatively small post. This hospital was built for \$4135 in 1872. RG 77, Misc. Fort File: Fort Washington, Map Division, NA.

a haven for bedbugs. In addition, it was impossible to plaster, difficult to heat, and the earth was eroding from beneath the building.⁹⁷ A new hospital was built in 1872.⁹⁸ This had beds for twenty-four men, two attendants' rooms, a dispensary, and a bathroom. A kitchen was separated from the hospital by a covered passage. A dead house, privy, and hospital steward's quarters completed the medical complex.

Two other buildings completed the facilities at the post—one for the men's bodies and one for their souls. A bakehouse was constructed in 1867 on the road leading from the wharf to the main gate.⁹⁹ It had a "well constructed oven of the best pressed brick" and replaced the leaky casemate bakehouse in the main fort.¹⁰⁰ The chapel was built next to the enlisted men's barrack. But since the last

post chaplain died in 1868, it stood empty and unused "there being neither chaplain or teacher" on post in 1870.¹⁰¹

Fort Washington was built to protect the Potomac River approach to the city of Washington and its defenders from the enemy. The parapets and casemates were constructed to provide mountings for the artillery and to protect the garrison. The buildings were to house the garrison and provide space for a variety of military activities. While the buildings, masonry, and earthworks were important, ordnance was central to Fort Washington's existence and purpose.

Between 1824 and 1842 Fort Washington was lightly armed. During this period the fort mounted only four iron 6-pounders on field carriages. These guns may have been suitable for artillery practice or to protect the fort's sally-port, but

they would not have provided the fire-power required to defend the city. Part of the reason for Fort Washington's limited armament was its unfinished state. When Captain Armistead and Lieutenant Maurice completed the initial construction of the fort in 1824, work on the gun platforms had not begun.

The installation of gun platforms suitable for heavy artillery was one of the renovations that Captain Fred Smith was ordered to undertake in 1841 after the Secretary of War directed that Fort Washington was to receive an allotment of the 417 heavy cannon and 440 gun carriages to be distributed among America's coastal fortifications.¹⁰² Captain Smith was to build platforms for barbette carriages for the 24-pounders allocated to Fort Washington. Barbette carriages were designed to mount a gun which fired over the wall or parapet (*en barbette*) rather than through an embrasure in the wall. The barbette carriage pivoted on an iron pintle mounted under the axis of the carriage; the trail of the carriage was mounted on a wheel or wheels which rode on a traverse circle of iron or stone. This system of pintle, wheels, and traverse arcs was to aid the artillerists in turning the gun over the field of fire. The barbette carriages at Fort Washington were concentrated on the terreplein of the flanks and curtain facing the river; only a few were mounted to defend against a land attack.

Smith requested the pintles, plates, and blocks required to construct the platforms in March 1841 and all but five were ready to receive their guns by the end of the year.¹⁰³ In March 1842 Smith mounted the first heavy artillery, a 32-pounder, at Fort Washington.¹⁰⁴ Work continued on the barbette carriage mountings in 1844 and 1845 and on the flank casemates in 1847; in September Smith could write that "The Embrasure of the flank casemates have been altered for carronades, the traverse stones laid, and the iron rails procured."¹⁰⁵ The Secretary of War could finally report that Fort Washington was in condition for defense.¹⁰⁶

When Captain George Nauman and

Company F, 1st United States Artillery, entered Fort Washington in October 1848, the post was better armed than it had ever been before. Nauman's return of ordnance for the first quarter of 1850 included thirty 24-pounder iron cannon and two 6-pounder field guns; evidently two of the field carriages had deteriorated and were no longer serviceable.¹⁰⁷ The largest increase in ordnance stores was in small arms; the fort's defenders were now armed with percussion lock muskets rather than the flintlock muskets that had seen service at the post previously.¹⁰⁸

Between October 1853 and January 1861, when Fort Washington was all but abandoned, the fort's guns were dismounted and the barbette carriages were stored in the ravelin. This was the state of the fort's defenses when Lieutenant Miles D. McAlester inspected the post on January 9, 1861. McAlester found the four 6-pounders in "doubtful condition" and he condemned the two remaining 6-pounder field carriages.¹⁰⁹ The necessity of putting Fort Washington in a state of defense increased progressively with the secession of the southern states from the Union, the seizure of Federal forts and arsenals in the south (which may have prompted Lieutenant McAlester's inspection trip), and finally, the bombardment of Fort Sumter.

In January 1861, troops were sent to Fort Washington and re-mounting of the guns began. With the arrival of the Logan Guards and Washington Artillerists work began in earnest. Sergeant Valentine Stichter, of the Washington Artillerists, noted the progress made in May:

- | | |
|--------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| May 1 | Mounted guns on water battery. |
| May 8 | Received 6 large guns, 24-pounders; lot of grape and canister shot, balls, etc. . . . Twenty head cattle engaged in hauling up cannon and mounting same. |
| May 9 | Received five 8- and 10-inch colombiads for shell. Lot bombs, ammunition. |
| May 11 | Hauled up 32-pounder on foot. . . . ¹¹⁰ |

The work was endless but it did show results. Even so, there was as much propaganda as truth in the *Democrat National Intelligencer* article of May 28, 1861 that stated

Commandant Maj. Joseph A. Haskin has strengthened his position. The 32-pounders are all mounted, furnaces for heating shot are in apple-pie order, magazines are full, hand grenades are ready for use at a moment's notice, bombs are lying around loose and the artillerymen sleep nightly beneath their guns.¹¹¹

This was quite different from the letter that Haskin had written a month earlier stating that the troops and armament on hand were too small for defense and that "All the guns are very old and I think nearly worthless."¹¹² At that time Haskin had only 375 24-pounder balls and no shells.¹¹³ During the first five months of 1861 the situation had changed dramatically and for a brief moment Fort Washington was at the center of military activity.

Ordnance supplies continued to arrive and requests for more were sent by Fort Washington's commanders during the remainder of 1861. In July, 50 barrels of gunpowder arrived; in August, Haskin requested 15,000 musket cartridges (.58 caliber) with percussion caps, 300 wooden fuses for 8-inch shells, 200 24-pound shells for coehorn mortars, 250 15-second fuses for 24-pound shells and 50 8-inch canisters.¹¹⁴ In September, he requested a "24 pdr. howitzer to mount over the Sally port on the most Commanding part of this work." Haskin added that "If sea coast howitzers and carriages cannot be sent for the other traverses" he thought he could make do with two 8-inch siege howitzers fitted to 24-pounder barbette carriages.¹¹⁵

Some of these requests were filled, others were not. New cannon were sent to Fort Washington and some of the old pieces were withdrawn. In November 1861 the post mounted:¹¹⁶

Heavy Artillery : 5 32-pounders
6 8-inch sea coast
howitzers

25 24-pounder guns,
mounted
6 24-pounder
howitzers, flank
casemate
1 8-inch siege
howitzer
2 coehorn mortars

Field Artillery : 1 12-pounder brass
howitzer

Mountain Howitzers: 2

Preparations for defense continued during 1862. Colonel Henry Merchant, commander of the post, wrote on January 1 asking for a sling cart and chain to mount some of the pieces which arrived at the fort.¹¹⁷ The increase in armament at the fort during 1862 can be traced in the Consolidated Morning Reports for January and June and in the Summary Statement of Ordnance for September:¹¹⁸

		Jan.	June	Sept.
<i>Bronze</i>				
6-pounder, Model 1840, '41	3.67 bore			4
12-pounder, Mountain Howitzer	4.62 bore	2	2	2
12-pounder, Field Howitzer		1	1	1
<i>Iron</i>				
24-pounder gun, Model 1819, '39	5.82 bore	26	26	41
32-pounder gun, Model 1829, '41	6.4 bore	5	17	17
24-pounder howitzer, flank defense		6	6	6
8-inch siege mortar, Model 1841		1	1	1
8-inch sea coast howitzer, Model 1841		6	6	6
<i>Bronze</i>				
24-pounder Coehorn mortar	5.82 bore	2	2	2
TOTAL		49	61	80

The artillery supplied to Fort Washington by 1862 represents the fort's full complement for the duration of the war. Between September 1862 and April 1866, Fort Washington had eighty pieces of artillery—primarily 24- and 32-pounders.

There was a large and varied array of ordnance stores used in conjunction with this artillery or for other forms of the

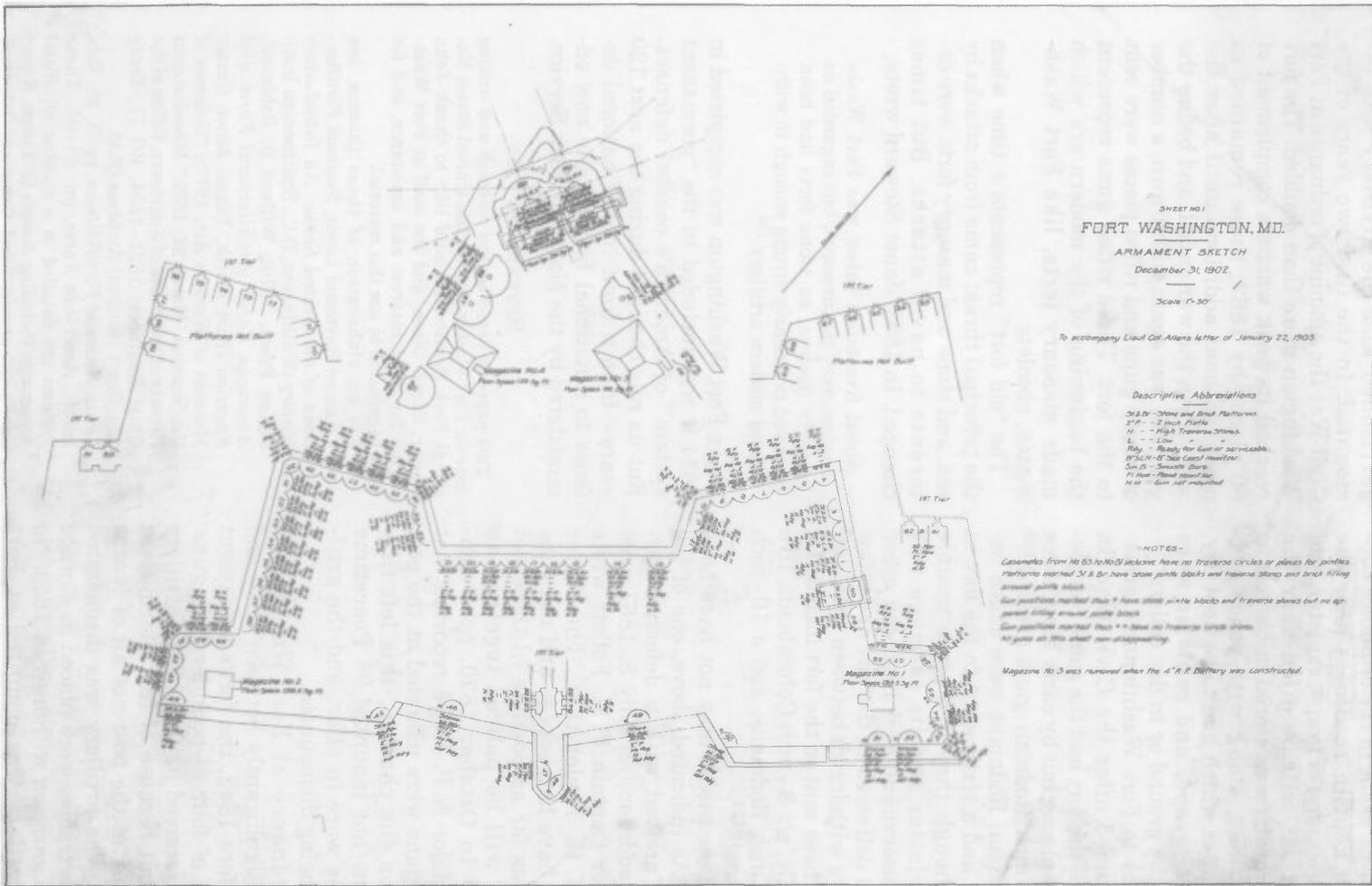


FIGURE 8. Fort Washington, Md. Armament Sketch, December 1902. This map, drawn to accompany Lieutenant Colonel Allen's letter, indicates all of the gun positions at the fort, both on the parapet and in the casemates (1st Tier). Only the gun positions in the ravelin were altered from their historic setting. The writing next to each position is a description of the piece that should be mounted there: No. 1—Stone and brick platform with a two-inch pintle to mount a 24-pounder rifle; ready but not mounted. Fort Washington Research File.

fort's defenses. Some of the ordnance supplies were kept in readiness near the guns: "A few stand of grape, canister, and solid shot . . . will be piled near the guns."¹¹⁹ Powder was stored in barrels in the magazines, along with other ordnance supplies which had to be kept dry. Solid shot, grape, and canister were stored on the ground or in dry cellars.

Additions to Fort Washington's armament resumed after the Civil War. In April 1866, the fort had the same complement of 80 pieces, but by early May, three large 15-inch Rodman guns arrived.¹²⁰ Two additional Rodmans were added before 1868, and a sixth went to the fort in 1869, although they had some trouble with the latter and its carriage was deemed unserviceable.¹²¹ Eighteen other guns were delivered to the fort and a few pieces were withdrawn between 1866 and 1872.¹²² Those sent to the fort included a 3-inch rifle, six 8-inch Columbiads, five more 15-inch Rodmans, and a 10-inch siege Rodman.¹²³

All of these pieces may not have been mounted. As indicated above, one of the Rodmans arrived with a defective carriage. In addition, on July 8, 1867, post commander Captain F. M. Follett wrote Colonel J. H. Taylor that "The Water Battery I have had policed and the guns mounted as far as possible [;] those not mounted will be policed together on skids."¹²⁴ In October 1870, post commander Major A. P. Howe reported that fifty-six guns were mounted at the post bearing on the channel; this left fifty large guns not mounted.¹²⁵ Peacetime procedures were in effect and the artillery was being dismantled.

The ordnance at Fort Washington changed significantly between 1840 and 1872. Before 1842, the fort's armament consisted of four 6-pounder iron guns. The post received its first heavy artillery in 1842 but because of the intermittent garrisoning of the post not all of it was mounted. The artillery was dismantled and the carriages were placed in storage when the garrison withdrew in 1853. No heavy artillery was mounted at Fort Washington between October 1853 and 1860. Beginning in 1861, the fort was re-

garrisoned and the artillery was remounted. In the first two years of the Civil War the amount of ordnance at Fort Washington more than doubled. The fort reached its peak wartime complement of 80 pieces by 1862; these remained in place, without additions until after the war. When the war ended, and before the garrison was again withdrawn, a number of heavy guns and rifled pieces were sent to the fort. These rifled guns represent the beginning of the modern era which made masonry forts, like Fort Washington, obsolete.

The "old fort" represents a time when the principal threat came from attacks by sea, and stone and masonry forts were deterrents to naval attacks. But times changed. In 1863, Janet Steward wrote,

About five miles below was Fort Washington, very picturesque, but regarded as nearly useless, as stone forts had been proved not nearly strong enough to withstand modern artillery.¹²⁶

When Fort Washington was completed in 1824 it was included in the "permanent system" of America's coastal defenses. But its role changed during the next 120 years—from a front line of national defense to a national historic site now administered by the National Park Service.

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This paper is based on the research and writing done on Fort Washington for the United States National Park Service. I would like to thank John Demer, Sarah Olson, and the staff at Fort Washington for their interest and assistance, and for their permission to use this material.

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 11. "Fort Washington on the Potomac, November 1823," RG 79, NCP 117.8–15, Map Division, NA ("Fort Washington, 1823"); Maurice, "Plan of Fort Washington"; McGarry, "Archeological Investigations," p. 4.
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 14. *Ibid.*, "Table B." See also, Robinson, *American Forts*, pp. 85ff.
 15. "Defenses of the Seacoast, March 24, 1826," p. 37.
 16. McClure, "Drawbridge," pp. 4–5; McGarry, "Archeological Investigations," p. 6. There is an extensive correspondence between Captain Fred A. Smith and Colonel Joseph G. Totten, Chief Engineer, and between Totten and Samuel Cooper relating to these improvements in the Office of the Chief Engineer, Letters Received: Volume 6 (1841–43), Volume 7 (1844–45) and Volume 8 (1846–48), RG 77, Entry 13, NA. Note especially, Smith to Totten, September 30, 1845, and Cooper to Totten, September 30, 1847.
 17. *The Instruction for Heavy Artillery* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1863) considered a shot furnace a basic element of seacoast forts (p. 94). Iron projectiles were heated until red hot and fired at enemy ships with the intention of setting afire their sails or wooden hulls. The shot furnace with the fort walls at Fort Washington was constructed in the 1840s on the parade near the southwest demi-bastion.
 18. The magazines at Fort Washington were waterproof, vaulted brick structures with one door. They measured 11 feet 10 inches wide and 18 feet 5 inches deep. One was in the northeast bastion; the other was in the southeast bastion. Each magazine could have housed the gunpowder and ordnance supplies for the guns near them.
 19. Maurice, "Plan of Fort Washington, 1821"; Maurice, "Plan of Fort Washington, 1823"; "Plan of Warberton"; Captain Fred A. Smith to Colonel Joseph G. Totten, September 30, 1845, RG 77, Entry 13, Office of the Chief Engineer, Letters Received, Volume 7; Samuel Cooper to Totten, September 30, 1847, *ibid.*, Volume 8, NA.
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 32. *Circular No. 4* (1870), p. 70.
 33. *Ibid.*
 34. *Ibid.*, pp. vi–xiv.
 35. *Revised Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1861* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1861), p. 61.
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 37. Fort Washington Post Returns, Microfilm 617, Reel 1383, NA.
 38. *Ibid.*, September 1849, October 1850, December 1850, January 1851.
 39. *Ibid.*, April 1861, June 1862, March 1863, May 1864, July 1865.
 40. Colonel Charles Merchant to Colonel William Hoffman, December 2, 1863, RG 393, Entry 1329, Letters Sent, 1861–65, p. 116; Merchant to Colonel Joseph H. Taylor, March 29, 1865, *ibid.*
 41. Captain John Mendenhall to Colonel Joseph H. Taylor, April 16, 1868, FW-PO: Letters Sent, 1865–72, p. 46, NA.
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BOOK REVIEWS

Maryland & America: 1940 to 1980. By George H. Callcott. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985. 376 p.p., tables, photographs, index. \$27.50.)

George Callcott has closed his teeth squarely on a juicy loin of the Maryland corpus, namely, the vibrant 40 years stretching forward from American's entry into World War II. Not everyone then alive relished that sometimes harsh, often creative stretch of state history. Before it opened, most Marylanders had been slouching along pretty comfortably, indeed pretty much as they had slouched since a few years after that bitter moment when the Civil War forced upon them their most wrenching choice ever—the one between blue uniforms and butternut. That matter settled, blacks and Jews stayed docile in place. Baltimore city and the countries, nicely balanced, swayed to a historic rhythm. Tobacco growing began its slow retreat, industry its slow advance. A university was founded, a great hospital, a public library, a museum. But not even Kaiser Wilhelm, the belch of his Big Berthas safely muffled off by thousands of miles of sea and land, by British sailors and French soldiers, seriously shook Maryland's dreamy aplomb. It was a time more of womanly words than manly deeds.

On the federal scene, one consequence seemed to be a gentle withering in the years up to 1940 of once-virile Maryland sinew. There occurred a loss of face for Marylanders as set against a newer, more muscular drive launched among Middle West manufacturers; also, among Texans and Californians and the fresh oil-based leverage by which they undertook to hustle slower, less urgent corners of the nation. In Washington, depression enforced a new purpose more national than federal, and state sovereignty eroded still more. Upon both Maryland shores, meanwhile, the Chesapeake Bay spread a sort of endless summertime. The livin' was easy, the steamed crabs plentiful, the state navel gracefully under contemplation.

What then was the consternation when Pearl Harbor loosed its fiery gusts. Marylanders started as if stabbed, never again to laze in the Ocean City sun in quite the same old way. Here is the point at which George Callcott takes hold, thoughtfully chronicling the four pulsing decades thereafter unfolded.

He offers the reader a calm, unbiased look not just at this or that aspect but at the totality of Maryland—public, private, cultural—as it was thrust out of adolescence into its mature years. Few if any predecessors have attempted so large a project, its widespread points so neatly interwoven. It will not soon be surpassed.

To be sure, this is a book hard to set to music, harder still to dance to. More often than non-scholars will like, the reader stumbles into thickets of prickly percentages. He must thread his way, a bit numbed, through no less than 39 separate "tables," each solemnly setting forth its figures and graphs in detail more precise than most people need to know. Footnoting is more considerate: ample and convincing, this is tucked away in back for the edification of eager students and out of sight of querulous old journalists. In all this, Professor Callcott seems to have a clear purpose, largely realized.

It is to treat the moods and machinery of a state with all the seriousness normally reserved for works of national or world scope. Consequently, Maryland emerges here as more than a charmingly quirky sub-division of something larger, something truly important. Professor Callcott sets out Maryland as important in itself, even as illustrative in its microcosmic way of the United States as a whole. Here Maryland is the focal point, the rest of the country no more than background lightly sketched in. To achieve this goal with authority all those percentages and pesky tables may well be necessary: at the least, they buttress Professor Callcott—and Maryland—as sound goods worth earnest attention. Anyway, once past those bleaker patches, the Callcott prose skips along almost airily. Casual readers need not stand back abashed.

Usefully he lines out at the outset the state's essential geography. We are offered Baltimore and its ethnic "wedges" at the political pivot point, then the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland counties with their "community elites," followed by the mountainous West, the scene of "personality politics". Special attention goes to the sudden swell of the suburbs: we discern the drain they impose on Baltimore's vital juices but also their unbridling of a new (to Maryland) cultural force—the middle-class ethic. Against this socio-

logical cyclorama is played out Professor Callcott's story of Maryland coming of age between 1940 and 1980.

Wartime pressures squeezed the old state out of its accustomed shape. Mobilization—airplane factories, weapons arsenals, the draft and rationing—strained family ties, induced big bustling industry to cross state lines. Boom towns arose overnight, soon to fill with hillbilly accents unfamiliar on the Maryland scene. The end of the war had its own residue: shopping centers revolutionized the housewife's world; anti-communist hysteria tortured the legislature; broad new highways invaded Maryland—but also invited Marylanders to venture afield. Beginning in the 1950s, black restlessness raised a fresh fever. In 1968, Baltimore blacks rioted. The 1960s and 1970s inflicted on the state an outburst of political corruption headed by Spiro Agnew, Marvin Mandel and all the dreary rest. For most of these Maryland developments, Professor Callcott uncovers national roots or anyway national echoes, thereby investing his book with a deeper resonance than a superficial picture of the state standing alone.

Less explosive, perhaps more durable, are the chapters dealing with that commonly misunderstood necessity—the practicalities of imposing government on people. Poverty and Maryland's well-meant, often misguided struggle to deal with its victims is well handled in the text. So is the growth of an official state bureaucracy, its good sides and bad, and the still nagging puzzle of what to do about great environmental challenges presented, for example, by the Chesapeake Bay. Particularly enlightening, if not really cheerful, is the Callcott study of what he calls with delicate disdain the "fashions" of public education as they rise—and fall—in Maryland; don't student test scores today, if marginally improved, suggest that the right track lies still largely undiscovered?

For chronology, also presumably for a certain humanizing of the narrative, Professor Callcott tends to slice up his chosen period according to the Maryland governors as they passed the throne along. It is a device which furnishes shape and direction; it also facilitates a clustering of contemporary moods, here called *zeitgeist*. In other ways it is a mixed success, especially when he tries to link governors and presidents to fit his perceived pattern. Probably W. Preston Lane, Jr. (not "William P. Lane") and Harry Truman shared a certain Fair Dealing drive; Agnew and Richard Nixon offer a scummy fit. But timorous Millard Tawes and thrusting Jack Ken-

nedy? McKeldin, the quintessential politician, laid beside Eisenhower, the politician hater? Fair's fair; too far's too far.

Indeed if this book carries among its riches a small flaw it is the notion, toyed with but never fully embraced except maybe in the title, that Maryland is truly "America in Miniature." It isn't, despite the vapid display on state automobile tags a few years back. Professor Callcott is too good a historian to dabble in defunct license tags.

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The History of Southern Literature. Edited by Louis D. Rubin, Jr., with Blyden Jackson, Rayburn S. Moore, Lewis P. Simpson, Thomas Baniel Young, Mary Ann Wimsatt, and Robert L. Phillips. (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press [1985], 626 pp., \$29.95.)

When Jay B. Hubbell's *The South in American Literature, 1607-1900* was reviewed in the December, 1954, issue of this magazine by the present writer, he felt justified in labelling the volume a "landmark." Hubbell was the High Lama of Southern literary studies in this country, and his university, Duke, published the over-all organ, *American Literature*. Such an endeavor (987 pages) by an individual scholar, constituting his life's accomplishment, was the first of its magnitude to tackle its subject on a professional basis without deference to the Moonlight & Magnolias tradition. It did this so comprehensively and meticulously that no other tag than "landmark" would do.

Much the same tag is owing the title now discussed. The fact that its appearance required the efforts of seven editors and some fifty-four contributors, each a specialist in his or her field, is both an implied compliment to Hubbell's accomplishment and a testimony to the wealth of pertinent scholarship that has emerged since his time. Each contributor speaks, like Hubbell, with an objective voice.

The merits and/or deficiencies of *The History of Southern Literature* are easily ticked off. To this reviewer its chief deficiency is a lack of individual bibliographies. Omitted "after much soul-searching" (p. 3), their absence is partially compensated by Appendix A: Thomas Inge's "The Study of Southern Literature," which provides basic references for the field in its entirety. As a result the text—which has no footnotes—does not ordinarily

credit an individual scholar with a given title. For example, John D. Allen is cited by reason of his book on Philip Pendleton Cooke (p. 125), but the book itself goes unmentioned; likewise for titles by this reviewer (pp. 96, 126). The academic affiliations of none of the contributors are given. The index is adequate, but could be fuller. Through Hubbell was no stylist, his presentation was entirely competent, and the same may be said for the *History*. Indeed, considering its multiple authorship, the evenness of tone is remarkable. There are far fewer sketches of individual writers than in Hubbell.

Of the volume's assets the most obvious is coverage of its topic up to the Eighteen Eighties: "Considerably more pages of this book are devoted to the writings of the twentieth century than to those of earlier periods" (p. 1). Hubbell did not treat Negro or Louisiana authors, whereas the *History* offers no less than six sections on the black contribution and two on the Pelican State.

Amid this far-ranging conspectus how does Maryland fare? Quite suitably, we think. Our colonial period gets four pages (pp. 41-45), not overlooking Thomas Atwood Digges, "whose *Adventures of Alonzo* (1776) is often

cited as the first novel by an American" (p. 34). Space-wise our major writers emerge roughly in this order; Edgar Poe, John Pendleton Kennedy (whose *Swallow Barn*, 1832, is called "the fountainhead of plantation literature" (p. 210), Sidney Lanier, and H. L. Mencken. Lesser or passing attention is granted proportionately to the following Old Line authors; John Barth, Lizette W. Reese, Anne Tyler, Francis Scott Key ("certainly the words of no song, written in the North or in the South, have been repeated more often, with more various accent, than those of his 'Star-Spangled Banner'" (p. 75), Gerald W. Johnson, Dr. John Williamson Palmer, James Ryder Randall, Edward Coote Pinkney, Father John Banister Tabb, and the Baltimore free-mulatto, Frances E. W. Harper.

Here, as Dryden would doubtless agree, is God's plenty. For the serious student of the subject, and for most libraries, this volume is mandatory. For that nebulous character, the cultivated amateur, it is strongly recommended. If either student or amateur possesses both Hubbell *and* the *History*, he will find his subject covered to the Nth degree.

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The Lanham Family's Seventeenth-Century Origins from Maryland's Eastern Shore

WILLIAM JOSEPH LANHAM

PREVIOUS GENEALOGICAL REPORTS AND related articles concernening the Lanham family in early America indicate the paternal progenitor as John Lanham, who came from England to Charles County, Maryland, in March 1678, and was later identified with Prince George's County. Research by this compiler reveals that another lineage, beginning in the early settlements of Maryland's Eastern Shore, also contributed directly to the Lanham family ancestry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The paternal progenitor of this lineage was Josias Lanham, from England to (Old) Kent County in November 1668. His son Edward migrated to Prince George's County in the early 1700s. In January 1778, Edward Lanham's grandson Solomon married Charity Lanham, the great granddaughter of John Lanham of Charles County and later Prince George's County.

Maryland's Eastern Shore, particularly Kent Island and its adjacent upper Chesapeake Bay shore area, became the established home of a small group of permanent settlers in the mid-to-late 1600s—only a few years after the 1634 settlement of St. Mary's on Maryland's lower Western Shore.¹ While these 1650–1680 immigrants were hardly less adventuresome than those who preceded them to the Eastern Shore, they certainly proved to be more durable and intense in spirit, dedication, and willingness to do whatever was necessary to successfully settle this new land.

When the lords–proprietary system failed in the 1630s and 1640s, the beginning of the second half of the seventeenth century in Maryland afforded visions of greater economic opportunity, more reli-

gious tolerance, and the much longed–for family and home relationships. Thus renewed and expanded horizons were seen as achievable realities to the few remaining landowners, to the immigrants who could obtain land through purchase, grant, or other means, and to the many indentured servants who came from England seeking a better life.

It was in this latter group—a group that in the 1660s and 1670s was comprised largely of “. . . the middling classes: farmers and skilled workers, the productive groups in England's working population”²—that we find the first record of Josias Lanham. He was the paternal progenitor of that line of the Lanham family of Old Kent County. The lineage was through his son, Edward, and later generations in Prince George's County. Josias Lanham's great grandson, Solomon Lanham, married Charity Lanham in January 1778. Charity Lanham was from the lineage of John Lanham who immigrated to Charles County, Maryland in March 1678, and settled in the area which is now Prince George's County.

In the developing economy of the mid– and late–seventeenth century, ship owners and ships' captains sailed the Atlantic between England and the new colonies in America with valuable cargoes of young people, mostly English–born males. These young men and women were anxious to take advantage of the opportunities for them in this new part of the world, and the ships' captains were equally anxious to reap their rewards from the government for transporting these individuals so desperately needed to settle the new lands. The Chesapeake Bay area, with its primitive but thriving tobacco economy and its politically ad-

Dr. Lanham is a resident of Seneca, South Carolina.

vantageous location for a strong English settlement between the boundary-conscious colonies of New York and Virginia, attracted a large number of the ships heavily laden with immigrants. As Horn noted, "These newcomers fulfilled two vital functions: they provided the labor necessary for the production of the colonies' staple, tobacco, and they replenished a declining population that was unable to reproduce itself by natural means until the last quarter of the century. Without sustained immigration the Chesapeake colonies would have failed."³

With respect to the particular instance of Josias Lanham's arrival in America the Kent County records of 1670 state: "Came Samuel Withers of the County of Ann Arundell and proved right to four hundred acres of land it being due to him for Transporting Josias Lanham, John Harris Evan, Ellis Richard Hurlock, Henry Harding, Roger Powell, James Balderstone and Elizabeth Cook into this Province to Inhabit in November 1668."

"Warrant thus issued in the name of the said Samuel Withers for four hundred acres of land it being due to him for the Consideration abovesaid." This item was signed, sealed and recorded January 19, 1670.⁴

While the safe passage and arrival was a major step forward in the life of nineteen-year-old Josias Lanham, he and his fellow travelers were immediately faced with basic survival in this new land. Health conditions were such that very few seventeenth century immigrants lived long enough to establish a family and leave descendants.

In addition to the high mortality rate, there were the problems of sexual imbalance and of getting enough land, or other means of livelihood, to marry and support a wife and family. Throughout the seventeenth century male immigrants greatly outnumbered females. Marriage tended to occur later, if it occurred at all, with the result that families were smaller. Many immigrants failed to survive their period of servitude; and many that did were never able to marry and found a family.⁵

By present day length of life standards,

a three, four, or even seven-year term of indentured service may not seem long. But length of life in seventeenth century Maryland was much different from that of today. Mid-century immigrant males who reached age twenty-two could expect to die in their early forties, and seventy percent failed to reach their fiftieth birthday.⁶

While this compiler has not yet located records of the specific background or origin⁷ of Josias Lanham prior to his arrival in Kent County, Maryland in 1668, there is recorded evidence of facts and activities that provide much information about him in Maryland. Beyond the record of his 1668 transport from England, other records shed much light on his most interesting and active life in Old Kent County.⁸ We know, for example, that he married into one of the most prominent families of that time located on the Eastern Shore; that among his personal skills were carpentry, farming, and much activity and success as a public servant; that he was held in high esteem by his fellow colonists; and that he felt strongly about, and acted accordingly to fulfill, his duties and responsibilities to his church, family and country.

Some brief comments and record citations regarding the life and environs of Josias Lanham seem appropriate. About 1680, he married Barbara Ringgold, the daughter of Major James Ringgold of Kent County, Maryland.⁹ Josias and Barbara Lanham had three children: Josias, Barbara, and Edward. Josias married Susannah Drew of Baltimore County in 1720 and he died in Kent County in 1728. Barbara married Robert Lusby of Kent County. Edward will continue to be the principal subject of our Lanham family lineage as we follow it later into Prince George's County.

Prior to and/or about the time of his marriage to Barbara Ringgold in 1680, Josias Lanham became a land owner in Kent County. One reference to land awarded to him for his service performed within the Province was recorded in the Land Office Records thusly: "Josias Lanham of Kent County has right to fifty acres of Land due to him for his time

of service duly performed within this Province. Legally approved this 27th December: 1680."¹⁰

Many of the day-to-day activities of Josias Lanham were closely associated with those of his economically and socially prominent father-in-law, Major James Ringgold, and with other settlers in and around the Eastern Neck area of Kent County. Of personal and historic interest is the account of the building by 1679 of a courthouse for Kent County, with the structure located on Eastern Neck at the town of New Yarmouth on Gray's Inn Creek. The record also states that Josias Lanham was the carpenter for building and finishing the courthouse and the prison.¹¹ Records provide numerous other citations of Josias' early and significant involvement with extensive farming operations and property holdings,¹² with law enforcement and jurisdictional concerns of the area and the County,¹³ with community security matters regarding Indian hostilities,¹⁴ and with many institutional and leadership roles with respect to Kent County during the final quarter of the seventeenth century.¹⁵

Edward Lanham, son of Josias and Barbara Ringgold Lanham, migrated from the Eastern Shore in the early 1700s and settled in Prince George's County, Maryland. Apparently this move occurred about 10–15 years after the death of Josias Lanham of Kent County in 1695 and the marriage of Barbara Ringgold Lanham to Edward Blay of Cecil County, Maryland, very soon thereafter.¹⁶

Upon settling in Prince George's County, Edward Lanham embarked on a lengthy lifetime of productive activities, both in farming and in family life. Prince George's County records indicate his extensive acquisitions of land during the period 1710–1750.¹⁷ His three marriages during his unusually long lifetime produced 13 children: seven by his first wife, Asenath; two by his second wife, Susane; and four by his third wife, Catherine, plus two adopted children during his third marriage.¹⁸ Edward Lanham died in 1766 in Prince George's County.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the area of Maryland just north of Piscataway Creek and in the vicinity of St. John's Parish (later called King George's) became populated to a large extent by the Lanham family offspring. In addition to the Edward Lanham family cited above, the family of John Lanham, who came into Maryland through Charles County, also settled in this same area. Thus the children of John and Dorothy Lanham, John, Jr., Richard, William, and Thomas, and most of their descendants, also settled in this southern portion of Prince George's County.

The convergent settlement of the descendants of the two Lanham lineages—from Josias Lanham of Kent County by his son, Edward, from the Eastern Shore and by John Lanham through Charles County from the south—in the southern portion of Prince George's County resulted in the inevitable social and economic mixing of the Lanham family lineages. One such instance led to the genealogical research presented in this paper. The particular instance was the marriage in Prince George's County on January 14, 1778 of Solomon Lanham and Charity Lanham. Solomon Lanham was the son of Josias and Mary Lanham of Prince George's County; Josias was the son of Edward and Asenath Lanham of Prince George's County; Edward was born in Kent County and was the son of Josias and Barbara Ringgold Lanham of Kent County. Charity Lanham was the daughter of John, III and Sarah Lanham; John, III was the son of John, Jr. and Mary Dickison Lanham; John, Jr. was the son of John, Sr. and Dorothy Lanham, all of Prince George's County. Solomon and Charity Lanham had five children: Salle, who married Benedict Barnes; Sarah, who married William Bryan; and three sons—Josias Wilder, Walter, and Rezen. The three sons migrated from Prince George's County, Maryland, to Edgefield County, South Carolina, about 1800.

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1. The descriptive adjectives "established" and "permanent" are purposefully used to emphasize the different type of immigrant in the

1650–1680 period as contrasted to the adventurous, but somewhat pompous and inflexible, lords-proprietors who arrived and settled in Maryland from 1634 and into the 1640s. The pre-1650 period feudal system of land ownership fared poorly in this new land's primitive environment and its lack of social, economic and political amenities to which the lords-proprietors were accustomed in England. For all these 17th century settlers, however, it was indeed a long and treacherous voyage across the Atlantic. But the stakes were high and the opportunities appeared to far outweigh the risks. An intense desire for freedom, adaptability to a new way of life, adventuresome spirit, and un-failing faith were prerequisites for successful settlement in seventeenth century America.

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3. Horn, James, "Servant Emigration to the Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century," in *The Chesapeake Bay in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society and Politics*, Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammermann, ed. (published as a Norton paperback 1979 by arrangement with The University of North Carolina Press), 51.
4. *Patents*, Anne Arundel County, Volume 16, p. 71, 1670 (State of Maryland, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.).
5. Whitaker, Beaumont W., "The Whitaker Family of Baltimore County, Maryland, 1677–1767," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 79, No. 2, Summer 1984, p. 167.
6. Carr, Lois Green, and Russell R. Menard, "Immigration and Opportunity: The Freedman in Early Maryland," in *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 209.
7. Extensive genealogical records are available which trace the Lanham (nee: Langham) family lineage in England from the 17th century back to the 13th century. Unfortunately, as of this writing, this compiler has not established a documented direct linkage from those records to Josias Lanham of Kent County nor to John Lanham of Charles County.
8. The term "Old Kent County" is used to designate the entire upper half of the Eastern Shore region of present-day Maryland. Thus, when later references to Josias Lanham of Kent County are made, the reader should be aware of this very large expanse of land area and political jurisdiction as it existed in the third quarter of 17th century Maryland.
9. This, and several other references that follow, provide specimen records and comments about the Ringgold family of Kent County, Maryland, in the second half of the 17th century. Hanson, in his book, *Old Kent: The Eastern Shore of Maryland*, Baltimore, 1876 (reprinted 1967), states on page 60 "Thomas Ringgold, being in the fortieth year of his age, came to Kent, with his two sons John and James, in the year 1650," and on page 61 "About or before the year 1657 he married a second time Mrs. Christian Hill, widow of Thomas Hill, Sr., and on the 5th of November 1657, by deed, secured to Thomas Hill, Jr. all his father's landed estate. On the 2nd of December 1661, he gave his sons, James and John Ringgold, 'the one-half of my land called Huntingfield, which is in estimation twelve hundred acres, lying on the east side of Chesapeake Bay.'" . . . "It does not appear that he had any children by his second marriage."
10. Wroth, in his article, "New Yarmouth," in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. III, 1908, page 273, wrote ". . . found evidence of the existence of a more ancient town (than Chester Town), the situation of which was on Gray's Inn Creek, one of the many tributaries of Chester River, on Land purchased from Major Thomas Ringgold by a man named Tovey. The 100 acres purchased . . . was part . . . of land called Hunting Field, which stretched from near the mouth of the Chester River, across Eastern Neck to Gray's Inn Creek . . ." and on page 274, "The Town built on Gray's Inn was named New Yarmouth." Old Kent County records of several years later show that James Ringgold deeded land on August 25, 1680 to Lord Baltimore for the site of a courthouse and jail at New Yarmouth.
10. *Land Office Records*, Patent Record Original W. C. #2, 1679–1681, Book 16, page 326 (State of Maryland, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.).
11. *The County Courthouses and Records of Maryland*, Part One: The Courthouses, by Morris L. Radoff, page 106, Publication No. 12, The Hall of Records Commission, State of Maryland, Annapolis, 1960, and Part Two: The Records, by Morris L. Radoff, Gust Skordas, and Phebe R. Jacobsen, page 132, Publication No. 13, The Hall of Records Commission, State of Maryland, Annapolis, 1963.
12. *Inventories and Accounts*, Kent County, Vol. 10, page 437, and *Kent County Accounts: Josias Lanham*, 1695, Box 1, Folder 14 (State of Maryland, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.). These records indicate that, following the death of Josias Lanham in 1695 and his wife's subsequent marriage to Edward Blay of Cecil County, Josias' estate was settled through transactions of £21,853, with a balance of £464, or the equivalent thereof in tobacco.
13. *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1681–85/86*, pp. 76–79 (State of Maryland, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.).
14. *Assembly Proceedings, October–November 1682*, pp. 405–406 (State of Maryland, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.).
15. *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1681–85/86*, pp. 291–295, and *Records Illustrating the History of Maryland in the Years 1689–90*, pp. 128–129 (State of Maryland, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.).
16. *Testamentary Proceedings: Kent County, 1695*, Vol. 16, p. 84 (State of Maryland, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.).
17. *Land Records Index*, Prince George's County, 1719–1746 (State of Maryland, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.).
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A Study of Some Unusual Names of People and Places in Early Maryland

AILENE W. HUTCHINS

DELIVRANCE LOVELY, BIGGER HEAD, Richard Petticoat, Lott's Daughter, Duck Pye, Frogg Hall, Hangman's Folly, Mourning Billingsley, Dry Dockett—what do names like these conjure up in your mind? Would you believe they are names of people and places as they existed in the early days of the settlement of Maryland?

There really was a Delivrance Lovely who owned a 600-acre tract in the late 1600s. As for Bigger Head, he was the grandson of John Bigger of Calvert County, through the marriage of his daughter Ann to William Head. Once, there was even a tract called Bigger, on Hunting Creek, in Calvert County. Just suppose, though, that Bigger Head had owned Foles Play or Crooked Intention. What then?

What reasons did families have for naming children and why did they give some of their newly acquired lands such unusual names as Land of Nod, or Lott's Daughter or Hangman's Folly or Plumtum's Saltash or Bread and Cheese?

Authorities tell us that surnames originated in several ways. Among these ways were 1) patronymic, from the father's name, such as Workman Harris (of Queen Anne County in 1734); 2) local, from the property owned or something special about the area such as Brooke or Wood; 3) type of work, such as Peter Numbers (of Cecil County in 1736—was he one of our first accountants?), or John Inch (of Kent County in 1734), who may have been a carpenter, or Baptist Barber (of Charles County in 1741); 4) offices held, such as Dockett Bowen (of Calvert

County in 1860), so-named because of her father's service in the county court system. One of the most unusual, perhaps, is that of Charles Whale (of Anne Arundel County in 1733), who was a mariner. Could you expect that he would have been anything else?

First, or given, names were (and still are) as unusual in Maryland's early days as were names of places. For example, what do you suppose prompted Adam Clarke of St. Mary's County (in 1733) to name his son Electious? Had Adam just become an official of the county? One of my most unusual "finds" was the name of Posthumous Thornton of Calvert County, whose will was written in 1734. Was this name chosen for him because he was born after his father had died? There are some names which seem to defy all reason—like Cepaphreditus Lawson, named as brother-in-law in the 1652 will of John Cornish of St. Mary's County, or Balderfort Lambrest, whose will appeared in 1698, or Bethija, named as daughter in the 1674 will of George Utie of Baltimore County, or Ubgat Reeves, witness to the 1733 Charles County will of Edward Anderson.

Research on Maryland land names provides equally interesting names and play of the imagination can classify some of these. The most obvious classification is one of British origin. For example, Winsor Cassell in Somerset County, in 1715, must have been a misspelling of England's well-known Windsor Castle. Scotland, one in Anne Arundel County in 1712, and one in St. Mary's County in 1734, certainly seem to relate to that country in the British Isles. Kilkenny in Queen Anne County in 1717 and Belfast in Talbot County in 1713, may have been

Mrs. Hutchins is a resident of Prince Frederick, Maryland.

so-named because their owners came from the Emerald Isle. Welsh names were prevalent, too, as noted in Bawmarrigs in Somerset County in 1713, Gacholichmoor in Talbot County in 1739, and Penmanmour in Calvert County, named in deeds of 1794.

Another classification selected was one of names of people. In 1738, Nicholas Day named some of his land William the Conqueror; Adam the First was located in Baltimore County in 1724; The Widow's Mite could be found in Prince Georges County in 1717, and Stepmother's Folly was there in 1728. One of the most interesting in this category was Brothers Dread and Sisters to Have and to Hold, located in St. Mary's County in 1733. Could you guess why the owner chose that name?

Birds, animals and insects were featured in some land names, also. The tract Mair and Colt was located in Prince Georges County in 1732, Cormorant was a marsh area in Somerset County in 1734, Duck Pye was in Kent County in 1714 and Frogg Hall was in St. Mary's County in 1718. Pheasant Tree could be found in Prince Georges County in 1715 and Raccoon Point was in Somerset in 1717. There was Buzzard Island, too, in Calvert County in 1733. Musketo Hammock was another place in Somerset. Do you suppose that's where the legend began about the size of Eastern Shore mosquitoes?

The Indians had their share in name places, also. Everybody already knows about the Indian names Pawtuxent, Potowmacke and Susquehanna for rivers and even our Chesapeake Bay, but did you ever hear of Assawamuk in Somerset County in 1716? How about Kequotan's Choice in Anne Arundel in 1717 or Accowatquoquin and Tassewandock, listed in Dorchester County in 1732?

Belief in the effects of weather, soil conditions and concern about adversity may have led some settlers to select names for their lands. As Good as We Could Get, found in Prince Georges County in 1734, or Hailstone, located in Kent County in 1718, or Poor Call, in Charles County in 1734—how else might these names be explained? Don't forget Prevention of Inconvenience in Kent

County in 1734, which Robert Hodges listed as his dwelling plantation. Sand Heap was a 100-acre tract in Somerset in 1737, Dear Bought appeared in Prince Georges in 1743, and Dirty Weeding was in Talbot in 1696. Makepeace still exists in Somerset County, noted as early as 1663.

Perhaps the categories already named have not intrigued you sufficiently, so let's try one like "state of mind." A name like Vale of Misery in Dorchester County in 1717, or Frushteration in Somerset in 1741 would seem to fit here. Might Have Had More was a tract in 1726, and End of Controversie was in Dorchester County in 1727. Crooked Intention, in Talbot County in 1717, might be cause for wonder. There was even land named Headake, in Prince Georges County in 1731.

Imagine, if you will, other classifications that might be found. The Land of Nod, in Baltimore County in 1729, was there before Peter Pan arrived in fiction, and where did Jugathorp, the dwelling place of John Shakeyly in 1718, derive from? Was the man who chose Knave Keep Out as the name for his land in Talbot County in 1730 a hermit or had he been involved in an unpleasant experience with a rogue? Was Thomas Billingsley's farm in Calvert County so large that he expanded to Kent County when he selected The Dining Room as the name for that tract? Were there dreamers who chose Fairy Dwelling in Dorchester County in 1740, or Forest of Dreams in Kent in 1743? The Devil's Woodyard, in Calvert County, for years carried with its name, superstitions about the creatures who haunted the area.

Research of this kind is fascinating, and a little tongue in cheek, coupled with some imagination, can lead to all sorts of ideas. What might have happened, I wonder, if Katherine Kitten owned Birds Head, or if Ambrose Shipwash lived at Polecat Ridge, or Innocense Wight owned Hangman's Folly, or Providence Delahyde bought Saturday's Work? Imagine!¹

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BOOK NOTES

Western Maryland Genealogy, vol. 1, no. 1, January 1985. Edited and published by Donna Valley Russell, Cactoctin Pr., 709 E. Main St., Middletown, 21769. Quarterly. \$15 p.a., single numbers \$4.50.

With the proliferation of genealogical magazines it is a delight to find a professional work on an area which needs such a work. The simplest manner to describe this exceptional work is to say that the first year's four numbers had 225 pages with illustrations. The area covered is Montgomery and Washington Counties established from Frederick County, 1776; Southeastern part of Montgomery County ceded to the New D.C., 1788; Allegany County established from Washington County, 1789; Carroll County established from parts of Frederick and Baltimore Counties, 1837; Garrett County established from part of Allegany County, 1872; and Frederick County established from part of Prince George's County, 1748. In this area there are church, land, cemetery and other records; family bibles, Civil War veterans, and the whole is topped off by book reviews (pertaining to Western Maryland only), and finally a subject to each volume. Nothing more may be said; the editor and publisher is Donna Valley Russell, guaranteeing accuracy and wide coverage. Quite the best new periodical I have seen for some time.

P. W. FILBY
Savage, Md.

1828 Tax List: Prince George's County, Maryland. Edited by Shirley Langdon Wilcox, C.G. (Prince George's County Genealogical Society: Special Publication No. 6; 1985.) 130 pp. Indexed. Price not stated. (Copies can be ordered from the Prince George's County Genealogical Society, Box 819, Bowie, Md., 20715).

The book contains a faithful transcription of the tax lists showing property owners listed by hundreds. In the first section the names of the property owner, number and assessed value of slaves (broken down by age categories), and the value of plate, are given. In the second part of the book the owners of real estate are given with the name of the tract, acreage, value of improvements and total amount (of

value of property or taxes owed) shown. The book contains a copy of the complete Act of 1826 which describes means by which roads were to be kept up, and a full description of the roads in each district. The appendix contains a list of tract names in the text whose spelling differs from the spelling in the original patent. *Schoolhouse* has become *Schoolhange*, and *Four Hills* has become *Fair Hills*. The book also contains a rough outline map of the Hundreds. Finally there is an index containing full names of individuals and of tracts. The Society is to be commended for the excellent quality of the publication and the book is highly recommended.

ROBERT BARNES
Perry Hall, Md.

Index to Marriages and Deaths in the Baltimore County Advocate, 1850-1864. Compiled by Robert W. Barnes. 78 pp., indexed, with an appendix. (Family Line Publications, 13405 Collingwood Terrace, Silver Spring, MD 20904; 1985; \$8.50.)

In this welcome new source book of marriages and deaths that occurred in Baltimore County and vicinity in the mid-19th century, Mr. Barnes has employed a straight-forward, alphabetical approach: An individual's name is followed by the date of the event, and then by the date of the issue of the *Advocate* in which it appeared. No one is "lost," i.e., "following the name of the wife is the name of her husband, whose entry give[s] the date of the issue" of the paper.

In addition, the compiler has discovered some of the presented vital records in news stories in the paper rather than in the conventional columns devoted to marriages and deaths.

The book reflects Mr. Barnes's systematic search for all possible issues of the *Advocate* for the 14-year period, although apparently some of these papers have not survived. Missing issues are listed in the Introduction. The appendix contains various types of lists (and the dates of their appearance), such as insolvencies, unpatented certificates, and draft exemptions, with which the user may be able to obtain "flesh" for genealogical bones.

WALTER E. ARPS, JR.
Annapolis

Holloways of the Eastern Shore and Descendants Near & Far, 1066-1985. By Bessie Gibbes Cheatham Holloway. (Baltimore: Gateway Press, Inc., 1985.) 546 pp. Indexed. \$45.00 plus \$3.00 postage and handling. (Copies can be ordered from Holloway Historicals, 513 N. Pinehurst Avenue, Salisbury, Md., 21801.)

The author has put together a wealth of materials resulting in a well documented family history and a book which contains numerous fascinating glimpses into life in a bygone era. Some of the topics dealt with in the section "Back on the Shore" include ordeals of wash days, more funerals, and muskrat dinners. The chapter "Friends and Neighbors" contains information on early land grantees in Somerset County, a discussion of early churches, and muster rolls of Revolutionary militia. The

genealogical section begins with a list of sources used, and an outline showing the code designations of various Holloway descendants. The genealogy is more than a dry recitation of names and dates, but contains biographical sketches of many family members. In the middle of a narrative the author will direct the reader to turn back to a certain map or illustration. The author has been gathering data since 1937 and has brought forth an excellent book. The reviewer only wishes that all names had been included in the index, and not only those names appearing four or more times on a page. The incomplete index and the user of numerals for dates do not detract from the value of the book, which is highly recommended for anyone working on the Holloways and related families.

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NEWS AND NOTICES

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It is the expectation of the conference planners that the symposia papers will be published in a special issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. Such decisions, however, remain the right of the Editorial Board of the *Magazine*.



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The National Genealogical Society (NGS) will hold its 1986 Annual Conference in the States in Columbus, Ohio, May 28 to 31. The Conference, which will feature programs, lectures, seminars and displays, for the beginning genealogist to the most sophisticated genealogical researcher, will be hosted by the Ohio Genealogical Society as part of its 25th Annual Convention. In all, 81 separate sessions are planned for the four day event which will attract international attention. Detailed conference agenda and price can be obtained by writing the Ohio Genealogical Society, P.O. Box 2625, Mansfield, Ohio, 44906. (Telephone 419-522-9077)

CORRECTION

One entry in the "Economic Studies" section of the article "Master's Theses and Doctoral Dissertations on Maryland History," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 80(Fall 1985), was incorrectly attributed to Paul Charles Callahan. The entry should have read *Callan*. We regret the error.

MARYLAND PICTURE PUZZLE

Each installment of the Maryland Picture Puzzle presents a photograph from the collection of the Prints and Photographs Division of the Maryland Historical Society. In this issue we have returned to our earlier format, showing a photograph which has already been

identified by our staff, and may be more familiar to our readers.

This image depicts a Baltimore street scene. Can you identify the intersection? What church is visible in the background? When was this photograph taken?



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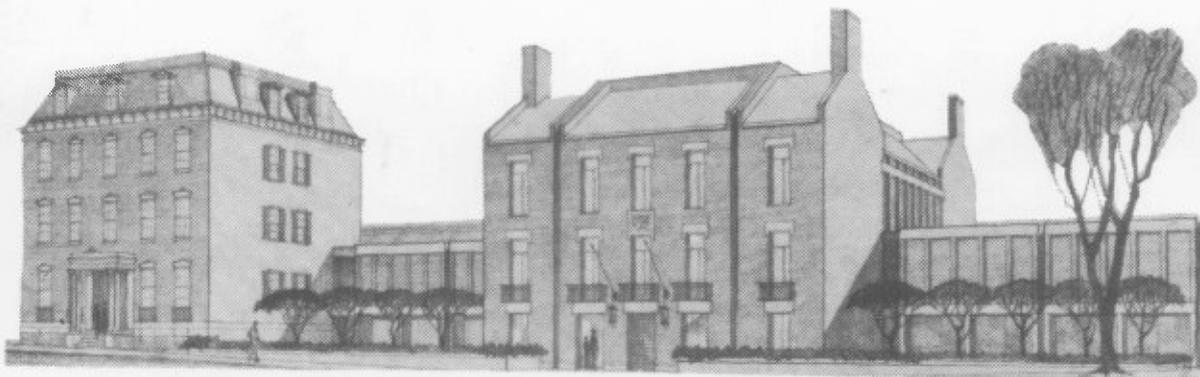
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