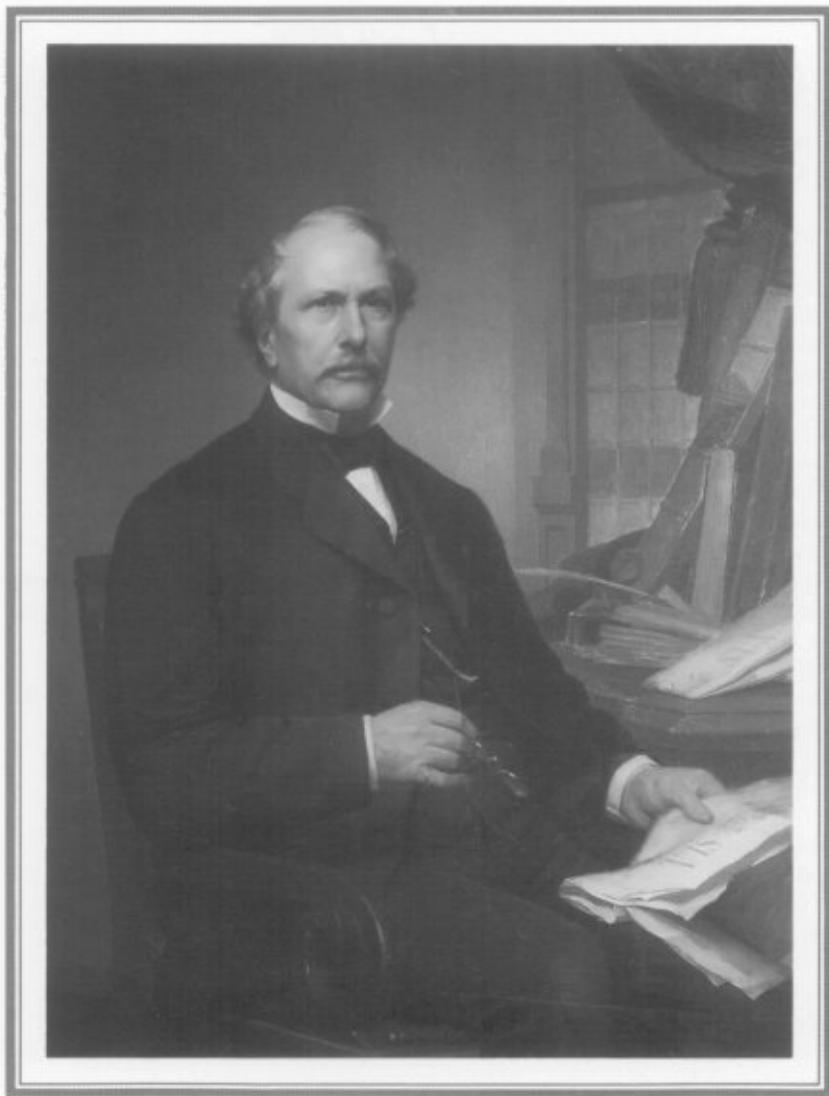


MSA SC 5881-1-328

Maryland Historical Magazine



Published Quarterly by the Museum and Library of Maryland History
The Maryland Historical Society
Fall 1987

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OFFICERS, 1986-1987

William C. Whitridge, *Chairman*

Brian B. Topping, *President*

Mrs. Charles W. Cole, Jr., *Vice President*

Mrs. Frederick W. Lafferty, *Vice President*

Walter D. Pinkard, Sr., *Vice President*

Truman T. Semans, *Vice President*

Frank H. Weller, Jr., *Vice President*

Richard P. Moran, *Secretary*

E. Phillips Hathaway, *Treasurer*

Samuel Hopkins, *Asst. Secretary/Treasurer*

Bryson L. Cook, *Counsel*

Leonard C. Crewe, Jr., *Past President*

J. Fife Symington, Jr.,

Past Chairman of the Board

The officers listed above constitute the Society's Executive Committee.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES, 1986-1987

H. Furlong Baldwin

Mrs. Emory J. Barber, *St. Mary's Co.*

Gary Black

John E. Boulais, *Caroline Co.*

Hon. Walter E. Buck, Jr.

Mrs. James Frederick Colwill (*Honorary*)

Donald L. DeVries

Leslie B. Disharoon

Jerome Geckle

William G. Gilchris, *Allegany Co.*

Hon. Louis L. Goldstein, *Calvert Co.*

Kingdon Gould, Jr., *Howard Co.*

Benjamin H. Griswold III

Willard Hackerman

R. Patrick Hayman, *Somerset Co.*

Louis G. Hecht

Edwin Mason Hendrickson, *Washington Co.*

T. Hughlerr Henry, Jr., *Talbot Co.*

Michael Hoffberger

Hon. William S. James, *Harford Co.*

H. Irvine Keyser II (*Honorary*)

Richard R. Kline, *Frederick Co.*

Hon. Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.

Robert G. Merrick, Jr.

Michael Middleton, *Charles Co.*

Jack Moseley

Thomas S. Nichols (*Honorary*)

James O. Olfson, *Anne Arundel Co.*

Mrs. David R. Owen

Mrs. Brice Phillips, *Worcester Co.*

J. Hurst Purnell, Jr., *Kent Co.*

George M. Radcliffe

Adrian P. Reed, *Queen Anne's Co.*

G. Donald Riley, *Carroll Co.*

John D. Schapiro

Jacques T. Schlenger

Jess Joseph Smith, Jr., *Prince George's Co.*

John T. Stinson

Bernard C. Trueschler

Thomas D. Washburne

Jeffrey P. Williamson, *Dorchester Co.*

COUNCIL, 1986-1987

Mrs. Howard Baetjer II

Dr. D. Randall Beirne

Dr. George H. Callcott

Mrs. Charles W. Cole, Jr.

P. McEvoy Cromwell

Mrs. Charles S. Garland, Jr.

Louis G. Hecht

Mrs. Jay Katz

J. Sidney King

Dr. Bayly Ellen Marks

Charles E. McCarthy III

James L. Nace

Walter D. Pinkard, Sr.

George M. Radcliffe

Mary Virginia Slaughter

J. Jefferson Miller II, *Director*

Barbara Wells Sarudy,

Administrative Director

Stiles Tuttle Colwill,

Museum Director

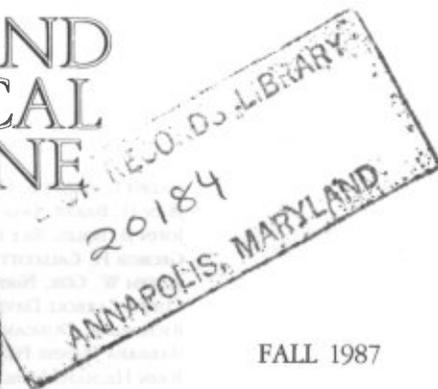
Karen A. Stuart,

Library Director

Judith Van Dyke,

Education Director

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



VOLUME 82

FALL 1987

CONTENTS

Light for All: Arunah S. Abell and the Rise of the <i>Baltimore Sun</i>	197
by <i>Harold A. Williams</i>	
From Party Tickets to Secret Ballots: The Evolution of the Electoral Process in Maryland During the Gilded Age	214
by <i>Peter H. Argersinger</i>	
Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany	240
Captain Robert Rowley Helps to Burn Washington, D.C., Part 1, ed. by <i>Peter Rowley</i>	
Book Reviews	251
Meyer, <i>Maryland Lost and Found</i> , by Carl Bode	
Shivers, Jr., <i>Maryland Wits and Baltimore Bards</i> , by Stephen J. Vicchio	
Jay, ed., <i>Havre de Grace: An Informal History</i> , by John E. Brown	
Jenkins, compiler, <i>Thomas Jenkins of Maryland 1670</i> , by Robert W. Barnes	
Salmon, <i>Women and the Law of Property in Early America</i> , by Toby L. Ditz	
Andrews, <i>To Tell a Free Story: The First Century of Afro-American Autobiography</i> , by Elaine G. Breslaw	
Lancaster and Lancaster, eds., <i>The Civil War Diary of Anne S. Froebel</i> , by Virginia Walcott Beauchamp	
Sheads, <i>The Rockets' Red Glare</i> , by Frank A. Cassell	
Ingle, <i>Quakers in Conflict, The Hicksite Reformation</i> , by Kenneth L. Carroll	
Wilson, Jr., ed., <i>Southern Travels: Journal of John H. B. Latrobe, 1834</i> , by Jane Turner Censer	
Hartzler, <i>Marylanders in the Confederacy</i> , by Brice M. Claggett	
Cleaves, <i>Rock of Chickamauga: The Life of General George H. Thomas</i> , by Brooks D. Simpson	
Books Received	266
News and Notices	268
Maryland Picture Puzzle	271

ISSN-0025-4258

Copyright 1987 by the Maryland Historical Society. Published in March, June, September, and December. Second Class postage paid at Baltimore, Maryland and at additional mailing offices: POSTMASTER please send address changes to the Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201, which disclaims responsibility for statements, whether of fact or opinion, made by contributors. Composed and printed by The Sheridan Press, Hanover, Pennsylvania 17331.

Editorial Board

JOSEPH L. ARNOLD, University of Maryland, Baltimore County
JEAN H. BAKER, Goucher College
JOHN B. BOLES, Rice University
GEORGE H. CALLCOTT, University of Maryland, College Park
JOSEPH W. COX, Northern Arizona University
CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS, Baltimore, Maryland
RICHARD R. DUNCAN, Georgetown University
BARBARA JEANNE FIELDS, Columbia University
JOHN HIGHAM, Johns Hopkins University
RONALD HOFFMAN, University of Maryland, College Park
EDWARD C. PAPPENFUSE, Maryland State Archives
BENJAMIN QUARLES, Emeritus, Morgan State University

ROBERT J. BRUGGER, *Editor*
SUSAN D. WEINANDY, *Associate Editor*
JO ANN E. ARGERSINGER, *Book Review Editor*
VIRGINIA DUVAL, *Business Secretary*

Assistant Editors

JOHN B. WISEMAN
Frostburg
State College

JANE C. SWEEN
Montgomery County
Historical Society

LOU ROSE
Calvert County
Historical Society

JOHN R. WENNERSTEN
University of Maryland,
Eastern Shore

Editor's Corner

Marylanders lucky enough to see the spectacular inner-harbor fireworks display the evening of 16 May or read the Baltimore *Sunday Sun* (heavy with historical notes) the morning after might well suppose the Sunpapers sesquicentennial celebration over. But this fall the Johns Hopkins University Press publishes a comprehensive history of the *Sun*—the first since 1937 and a book that should focus pleasurable attention on its subject for many years to come. Readers will recall that the centennial volume was the work of a famous Sunpapers quartet: Gerald W. Johnson, Frank R. Kent, H. L. Mencken, and Hamilton Owens. This latest one draws on the rich experience of a longtime *Sun* features editor who braved writing alone and kindly has consented to our printing here excerpts from his first two chapters.

The next article freshly examines the election-day ritual in post-Civil War Maryland and various attempts to purify it. Professor Argersinger presented an earlier draft of this essay at the “Torchlights to Television” symposium that the Maryland Historical Society, Maryland Humanities Council, and National Endowment for the Humanities sponsored last fall. His study appears especially for the benefit of persons who missed that informative and enjoyable Saturday morning.

With this issue we welcome as new book-review editor Professor Jo Ann E. Argersinger (whose own “Torchlights to Television” conference paper waits only for the winter number). To Joe Arnold, who gave so freely of his time before other obligations forced him to leave, go our deepest thanks.

Light for All: Arunah S. Abell and the Rise of the *Baltimore Sun*

HAROLD A. WILLIAMS

Arunah S. Abell's *Baltimore Sun*, the first penny paper in town, was only sixteen weeks old when with foresight and ingenuity Abell beat six established competitors on the biggest story of the day and, even more important, found a novel way to get the news faster.

His enterprise had Baltimoreans buzzing with excitement on 6 September 1837 when the *Sun* printed President Martin Van Buren's message to Congress in its entirety the day after it was delivered—an unprecedented feat. The twelve thousand-word message dealt with the country's volatile commercial crisis following the Panic of 1837, and to present it Abell used the first three pages of his four-page paper. "The President's message, which will be found entire in this day's paper, was received in our office at 2 o'clock precisely," he explained on page four—"the transmission from Washington to Baltimore occupying less than two hours. Its great length has excluded almost everything previously prepared for publication. Advertisements crowded out will hereafter be attended to. We, of course, have neither time nor room for a word of comment upon this important document."¹

The president's message was important because it affected everyone. The panic, the most severe in the history of the nation, had resulted in a tidal wave of inflation, forced banks to close, shut down factories and businesses, and put thousands out of work. Baltimoreans had been waiting impatiently and anxiously to learn what the president had said and what relief he might be able to promise. They wanted to read and study every word of the long message.

The *Sun* printed this news at least a full day ahead of its competitors. Usually the president's message was printed by a Washington paper in the form of a circular and sent by mail to Baltimore and other out-of-town papers, which would imprint their own nameplates before distributing it a day or two later. The *Sun* instead had ordered its courier to pick up the text at the Capitol and rush it to Baltimore by train, a breakthrough in strategy (the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad had completed its line to Washington only two years earlier and Abell was one of the first to see its potential in communications). Additionally, getting the lengthy message at 2:00 P.M. and having it set in type for the morning paper was an astounding achievement in itself. Abell undoubtedly had to hire extra compositors both inside and outside his small plant. Part of the president's message was set in a type size different from what the paper ordinarily used, which probably meant that

Harold A. Williams, for twenty-five years Sunday editor (features sections) of the *Baltimore Sun*, has just completed *The Baltimore Sun, 1837—1987* (Johns Hopkins).

it had been set in a job shop. These were the first of many ways in which Abell contrived to get the news out faster than his competitors.

Abell did even better on Tuesday, 7 December, with another Van Buren message. That morning the *Sun* announced that it would get the president's message by railroad express and hoped to distribute Wednesday's paper that same afternoon. Consequently, a competitor, the Baltimore *Federal Gazette*, announced that it would simply avoid the inconvenience and expense of an extra edition.

According to reminiscences in the *Sun's* fiftieth anniversary issue, the extra was produced this way: "Mr. Wilde brought the document to Baltimore on the 'William Cook' in one hour and seventeen minutes—making the actual time (by deducting four [minutes for taking water] one hour and thirteen) minutes, or 34 miles per hour." B&O trains were not permitted closer to the center of the city than Mount Clare Station in the western section. There the paper's messenger, "on a Canadian pony, nimble as a goat and fleet as the wind," met the special and raced with the message to the *Sun* office, "where 49 compositors stood ready at their cases for the 'takes' of copy." (Setting type was still a laborious hand craft. A compositor picked each tiny letter from a type case that was divided into upper- and lower-case letters and placed them in a composing stick held in one hand, justifying each line to make it flush on both sides. When the stick was full, he put the lines in a galley tray to draw a proof and make corrections of typographical errors. Finally he locked the columns in a form for printing. After the pages were printed the compositor had to disassemble the page, picking each letter from each line and replacing it in its slot in the case.) Papers came off the press a few minutes after 5:00 P.M. for "a tremendous crowd of persons, who had collected in and about our office, and a part of the carriers were enabled to supply their patrons with the paper before 9 o'clock that evening. Between 5 o'clock on Tuesday afternoon and 9 o'clock yesterday morning were delivered upwards of 15,000 copies."² The venture cost Abell \$600.



Abell was thirty-one years old when he published the first issue of the *Sun*. A photograph made in 1836 portrays him as shorter than his partners, with mutton-chop whiskers and a broad forehead; he was dressed in a cutaway and a waistcoat, flowing tie, and gray beaver. His expression was serious and resolute.

Little is known about the man himself. He did not write an autobiography or even keep a journal. None of his letters have turned up. The vanity biographical sketches of his time, littered with platitudes, tell little of what Abell was really like. Many of the personal bits and pieces about his life come from the jottings of the *Sun* men who heard about Abell from those who worked with him in his later years.

Arunah Shepherdson Abell was born in East Providence, Rhode Island, on 10 August 1806, the son of Caleb Abell and Elona (Shepherdson) Hodges and the seventh of nine children. The Abells were descended from Puritans who had settled in New England around 1630. His father had served in the War of 1812 as a quartermaster with the rank of captain and was a town clerk for fifty years. It was said of Caleb Abell, "He wrote a round distinct hand and the language is grammatical and terse."³



FIGURE 1. The founder of the *Baltimore Sun*, Arunah S. Abell, center, and his business partners, Azariah H. Simmons, left, and William M. Swain, right. (Baltimore Sunpapers.)

At age 14, after a few years of plain schooling, Arunah became a clerk in a store owned by P. Bishop, a dealer in West India Goods. But young Abell's ambition was to be a printer, and in October 1822 he was apprenticed by his father to the *Providence Patriot*, a Democratic journal of the Jeffersonian school. When his apprenticeship ended—known as “out of his time”—he journeyed to Boston, taking a seat on the outside of the coach. With letters of introduction to two influential newspapermen, he got a job as a journeyman and before long became foreman of a printing shop.

About 1828, when he was 22 years old, the young Abell gravitated to New York, where printers were in demand. There he befriended Azariah H. Simmons, 21, a native of Connecticut, and William M. Swain, perhaps in his mid-twenties, a friend of Benjamin H. Day. Day had worked as a printer on the *Springfield Republican*, and in 1831 moved to New York at the age of 20. For two years he ran a printing shop, but business was never brisk. To take up the slack and attract attention, Day talked about publishing a penny paper. He knew about penny papers that had been tried in Boston and New York, and even though they had failed he thought he could succeed with one. Swain tried to dissuade him from risking money on such a venture, and Abell, who had met Day through Swain, ridiculed the idea. Years later Day recalled that in planning his paper he struck off a headline and showed it to Abell, who was working on the *Mercantile Advertiser*. "He made no end of fun of it," Day said. "Every time he met me he would say, 'Well, Day, how is that penny *Sun*? Ha, ha! Ho, ho!' His jokes on the penny *Sun* were eternal."⁴

But Day was determined, and his New York *Sun* appeared on the morning of 3 September 1833 (Swain became foreman of its composing room). The *Sun* was tiny compared to other papers, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by 10 inches, less than the size of business stationery. Its four pages were packed with local happenings and accounts to titillate and shock the reader—stories of ghosts, monstrosities, miracles, murders, and its most popular feature, humorous and crude descriptions of police court news patterned after the London *Morning Herald's* reports of the Bow Street Court. Day hired as court reporter a printer whose vivid descriptions contributed so much to the success of the *Sun* that within a year Day made him a co-owner.

In 1833 most papers were still either mercantile or political and, since they were intended for people of means, usually conservative in their outlook. Mercantile papers—largely advertising—concentrated on trading and shipping news. They usually had the words "advertiser," "mercantile," or "commercial" in their titles. Political papers owed support and allegiance to a political party, a faction, or even a candidate. They emphasized a viewpoint and opinion rather than fact and news. Their editorials were partisan, personal, and quarrelsome. Penny papers stressed local news from the police, the courts, city government, and even social and cultural life. They made a point of being not only politically independent but even indifferent to politics.

The traditional papers were sold mainly by the year, \$8 or \$10 in advance, and cost more than a skilled worker earned in a week. Some were never sold as single copies. The papers were known as "six-pennies" or "fippennies," even though they cost $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents. The odd price resulted from a lack of standard coinage. Because the United States mint could not meet the needs of the rapidly expanding population, foreign coins were accepted as legal tender. British, Spanish, and Mexican coins were all welcomed for pocket change. The Spanish and Mexican half real were also known as a fippenny, or fip. The fip in Baltimore and Philadelphia, the sixpence in New York, and the picayune in New Orleans were worth $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents.

The penny paper emerged during the time of political, economic, social, and technological turmoil. Jacksonian Democracy had swept the nation, popularizing political equality and, at least in popular belief, broadening economic opportunity. The laboring and middle classes gained in power as mechanical inventions prolifer-

ated; cottage work gave way to factory work; towns turned into cities. With the spread of public schooling came more readers, more social awareness. In newspaper shops the cylinder press replaced hand-operated wooden and iron flatbed presses, and Henry Fourdrinier's papermaking machine reduced the price of newsprint. Faster means of communication gave more timeliness and immediacy to news, even news from great distances.

The penny press was a revolutionary development. The first such paper in America was probably the *Cent* of Philadelphia, which appeared briefly in 1830. In the summer of 1833, two Boston printers tried penny papers, but both soon failed. They were probably trying to duplicate the success of the English *Penny Magazine*, founded in 1832, which within a year had a circulation of 160,000 and was reprinted in the United States. The first inexpensive paper in New York was started by Horace Greeley and a Dr. H. D. Shepard, who wanted a penny paper but were persuaded to charge two cents. Known as the *New York Post*, it appeared on 1 January 1833, but lasted only a short time, even though in its final days it sold for one cent.

Benjamin Day's penny *Sun* was an immediate success. He had imported the "London plan" of circulation, by which newsboys both hawked the paper on the street and delivered it to homes on a route system. Because Day charged subscribers less for cash, he got circulation money in advance. In fourteen months he was selling 10,000 papers a day; in less than two years, 15,000; within four years, 30,000. Mercantile and political papers averaged fewer than 1,200 copies daily.

Day's example inspired printers to found rival papers, particularly in New York, where at least twelve started up between 1833 and 1837, some lasting only a few weeks. The most important, and the *Sun's* direct competitor, was James Gordon Bennett's *Morning Herald*, appearing on 6 May 1835. Bennett was a cut above the ordinary entrepreneur. He was not a printer, but a reporter, a Washington correspondent, and a news editor. Putting out a paper of his own, Bennett then initiated personal journalism, becoming as well known to readers as his paper. The *Herald* offered better and broader coverage of the city than the *Sun* did, objective political reporting, national and international news, and a money column that Bennett wrote about Wall Street, forerunner of the financial page. Bennett made himself notorious by writing about himself and his exploits.

Impressed with the success of the *Sun*, the *Herald*, and another penny paper, the *Transcript*, Abell, Swain, and Simmons talked about starting one of their own. Swain and Simmons wanted to publish it in New York, but Abell, believing that market too competitive, proposed Philadelphia, and they assented. On 29 February—Leap Year Day—1836, the three partners signed a twenty-one line agreement in New York to publish a Philadelphia daily paper, the *Public Ledger*, which was to be "neutral in politics": "Said parties are to appropriate each an equal amount in money and are each to devote his time and energy either as printer or in such other capacity as shall be deemed most conducive to the interest of said firm, to the commencement, establishment and success of said paper. In case of a difference of opinion with regard to any measure of policy to be pursued, not expressed above, the views of two shall be the governing principle."⁵

At first, the *Public Ledger* seemed likely to "add another tombstone to the many already in Philadelphia's journalistic cemetery"—it was poorly received and two of

the partners became so discouraged as to propose to discontinue publication."⁶ Abell argued so strenuously for holding on at least until their money was gone that they did persevere. Gradually the paper got readers, and before long it bought its struggling rival, the *Transcript*. The *Public Ledger* had little local news except for lurid police reports and other sensational matter. The traditional Philadelphia papers denounced it as "that virulent little sheet."⁷ There were libel suits, which at least helped circulation. In editorials the paper denounced local abuses and supported Catholics when their churches were burned during the Know-Nothing riots. Swain was the editor, a hardworking man who supposedly read every word that went into the paper. Abell and Simmons probably were the printers and handymen. At the end of the first year, Abell proposed that they start a paper in Baltimore. Swain and Simmons, although less than enthusiastic, agreed.



Abell visited Baltimore for the first time in April 1837 (the trip by coach took nine-and-a-half hours), bringing letters of introduction to Baltimore editors. They told Abell that the town was overcrowded with six-pennies, but Abell liked what he saw and in short order convinced his partners to put up their share of the venture. Here were three young printers of limited means, just a little more than a year from New York composing rooms, enterprising and daring enough to start their second paper in a town that two of them had never seen and the third had visited for less than seven weeks. Because Abell had pushed for the second paper, his partners made him responsible for it, although Simmons came to Baltimore to help get it under way. The preparations took about seven weeks, in which Abell surveyed the town, assessed its possibilities and limitations, rented an office, hired printers and other staff, secured a press, equipment, and paper, solicited advertising, and attended to perhaps hundreds of other details, routine and unforeseen.

On Wednesday, 17 May 1837, the *Sun* appeared. The logotype resembled that of the New York *Sun*. The paper was four pages, each four columns wide, 13½ by 9 inches, somewhat smaller than today's tabloid size, printed on rag paper. The price was one cent.

The *Sun's* reason for publication and what it hoped to accomplish were specified in a declaration "TO THE PUBLIC," on page two, more than a column-and-a-half long. The last paragraph was the most significant:

We shall give no place to religious controversy, nor to political discussions of merely partisan character. On political principles, and questions involving the interest or honor of the whole country, it will be free, firm and temperate. Our object will be the common good, without regard to that of sects, factions or parties; and for this object we shall labor without fear or partiality. The publication of this paper will be continued for *one year at least*, and the publishers hope to receive, as they will try to deserve, a liberal support.⁸

The reference to "one year at least," might have been an Abell nudge for his partners to recall their timidity in the first year of the *Public Ledger*. The statement was similar in tone and philosophy to that announcing the *Ledger*, but there were more references to the successes of the penny paper.

Baltimore had been selected because it offered "a favorable prospect to a new paper, upon a foundation different from that of the papers already established here." "With the numerous and ably conducted papers of this city, the affluent are well

supplied," the *Sun* continued. But, as in all the northern cities, a large portion of our population, with a laudable desire of knowledge, have not access to that fertile source of improvement, a newspaper." The answer, said the *Sun*, was to be found in the penny press. It referred to the beginnings of the penny press in England, New York, and Philadelphia, adding, "We have resolved upon the experiment of publishing a penny paper, entitled 'THE SUN.' . . . We shall strive to render it a channel of useful information to every citizen in every department of society . . . whether literary, professional, mercantile, manufacturing or miscellaneous."⁹

And a channel of useful information it was, that Wednesday. At the top of the right-hand column on page one was a report on the City Council's extraordinary session on Monday afternoon. The two branches authorized the issue of city scrip not to exceed \$100,000 to supply change in the absence of real coin in sums of five cents, ten cents, twenty-five cents, fifty cents, one dollar, and two dollars. This was important because gold and silver had practically disappeared from circulation. On 10 May, New York banks had suspended specie payments, followed by about eight hundred other banks, including those in Baltimore on 12 May. Gold and silver were scarce because of the financial panic sweeping the nation. The *Sun* was telling its readers how they could pay bills and buy groceries.

There were six other local items. Two dealt with specie. The post office, on orders from the postmaster general, could accept nothing but specie for postage, and "The Messrs. Cohen of this city have not suspended specie payment. They say that they are abundantly able to redeem all their bills, and will do so." News included a fire on Monday night at the coach manufactory of Mr. William Simpson, North Calvert Street, in which numerous coaches were destroyed; the Maryland Jockey Club races, which began the day before, with \$9,000 going to the winner of the Dorsey Stakes; the arrival of Mr. Pontis, "minister of the King of the French at Washington," on his way north, and a favorable mention of Marden's scales, which were advertised. It listed one marriage, three deaths, and marine intelligence, including the arrival of the "Brig Dido, 29 days from Rio Nunez, coast of Africa, 116 days from the Cape de Verde Islands, hides, ivory, camwood, &c. to J. I. Corner."¹⁰

One-paragraph items mentioned the proclamation for an extra session of Congress, and the visit of Colonel R. M. Johnson, vice president of the United States, to General Andrew Jackson, the former president, at the Hermitage, Jackson's home in Tennessee. Eight items came by Northern Express Mail. The New York stock market list for Monday included fifteen stocks for banks, trusts, railroads, the Morris Canal, and an insurance company. Specie was bringing an 8 to 10 percent premium, and "uncurrent money" a discount of up to 2.5 percent.

Much of the reading material was similar to that in other papers (the *Sun* competed with seven or more Baltimore dailies, seven weeklies, five semi-weeklies, and ten monthlies). Page one had a poem, "O Fairest of the Rural Maids." Other papers were quoted at length: the New York *Gazette* on Paganini, "the greatest prodigy that ever touched a violin" and his anticipated visit to the United States, the Norfolk *Beacon* on Indians, the New York *Star's* spoof on domestic life, and the New York *American* on a nine-year-old "from the West Indies whose head measured thirty-one inches in circumference and twenty-three inches from ear to ear over the crown, the weight being fifty pounds." Though it also quoted from the

London *Herald*, the *Sun* apologized for its limited selections: "Being new in the field, we of course have not yet established an exchange list, and cannot make our sheet so varied as we could wish. In a few days, however, the evil will be remedied, and we doubt not that we shall then be found quite as interesting as our neighbors."¹¹

Nearly two of the four pages were filled with ads—for the B&O Railroad, West Nottingham Academy, carriages, stoves, parasols, shovels, nails, segars, carpeting, butter boxes "in which butter may be transported with perfect safety by land or water," and a patent husk-splitter, "a very valuable and useful machine for splitting corn husks into fine fibres for mattresses." Most of the ads were for palliatives and nostrums. Brandreth, with two offices in the small downtown area, sold vegetable universal pills, and Dr. William Evans dispensed medicine for dyspepsia and "hypochondriasm." They were the biggest advertisers.

The first issue, vol. 1, no. 1, is a rarity today. The Library of Congress was consulted so often about copies and reprints of this issue that the staff prepared a circular telling how to determine the difference: On page one of the original the last paragraph in the second column begins "The Public Hotels in New York . . ." and the last paragraph in the third column begins "The Mayor of New York . . ." In reprints the two paragraphs are both in the third column, "The Public Hotels in New York" being at the bottom. One of the reprints is identified by the word "facsimile," but the reprint made in 1887 on the *Sun*'s fiftieth anniversary is not.

The *Sun* office, next to a stove manufacturer, was at 21 Light Street, a block below Market (later Baltimore) Street. Type was set by hand in lamplight, and the paper was printed on a single-cylinder hand-cranked Napier press with a capacity of 1,000 copies an hour. The *Sun* boasted that its first printing consisted of 15,000 "specimen" copies, which were then distributed to nearly every doorstep. Pressmen had to turn the press for fifteen hours. Abell advertised for "eight to ten sturdy men" as carriers and "active, thorough-going boys" to hawk the paper on the street in the manner of the "London plan." It was unique for Baltimore, where no one

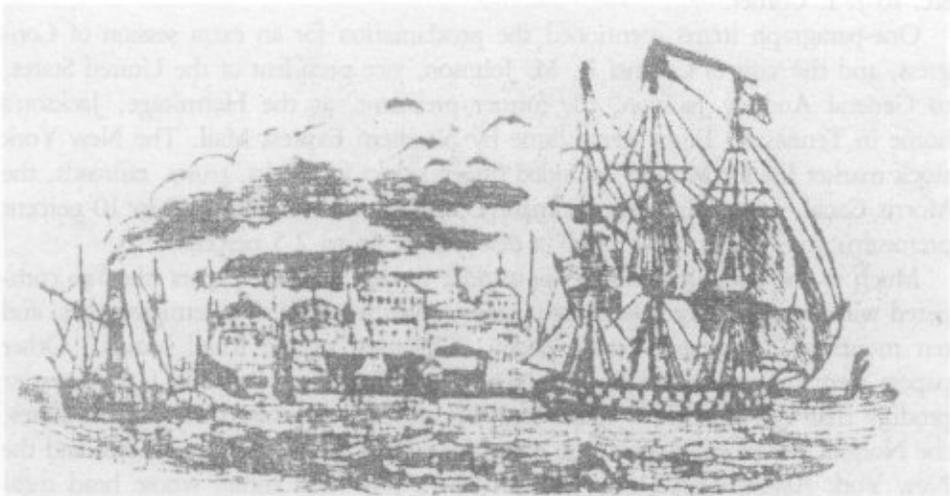


FIGURE 2. Baltimore as depicted in the original *Sun* vignette, May 1837–May 1839. The motto "Light for All" first appeared 18 May 1840.

had seen newsboy street sales or an independent carrier system. Other papers had apprentice printers deliver papers to subscribers. They were not paid for this, but traditionally on New Year's Day subscribers gave "a small pecuniary gratuity which in aggregate amounted to a snug equivalent for his labor. To evade the unpleasantness of personal solicitation," a rhymester-printer would furnish a string of verses that coyly requested a gift.¹²

On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, the *Sun* repeated its long statement "TO THE PUBLIC." The first cultural note was a paragraph on the performance of *Macbeth* at the Opera House to a "very intelligent and discriminating audience." Ads began appearing on page one on Monday, the same day the paper began reporting city court proceedings in the humorous but crude manner of the New York *Sun*, lampooning blacks and especially the Irish. The court was described as "a motley congregation of people who had assembled either to be tried themselves for petty offenses, or to witness the disgrace of their more indiscreet and unfortunate neighbors." One case weighed "a small matter of difficulty between two colored gemmen." Another involved a domestic altercation: "Mrs. Day, an Irish-woman, neat and respectable in her appearance, came to enter a complaint against her husband, a gentleman also from the *ould* country, a weaver by profession and a brute by practice. He had treated her with great unkindness, and neglected all the soft and tender offices of love." The report ended:

Prosecuting attorney: Did you kick her?

Accused: O yes, I kicked her.

Court: Stand aside.

(Accused bowed low and retired.)

The court report, usually two columns long, got more space than any other news—even the first live event the *Sun* covered, a meeting of 10,000 to 15,000 citizens in Monument Square to listen to speakers discuss the banking and paper currency quandary. The reporter described at length the "brilliant, lucid and eloquent" talks, "blended with unanswerable arguments," but gave almost nothing of the content.¹³



In these first days, editorials and news accounts, national and local, dwelt on the specie question ("We are a bankrupt nation"),¹⁴ land speculation, comment and letters about Harriet Martineau (an English novelist-economist who had written a book about the United States and was going to write about her travels on her next visit), and the burning of the steamboat *Ben Sherrod* with two hundred passengers on board when it raced with the *Prairie* on the Mississippi. The accident occurred, the *Sun* reported in a censuring tone, after the crew was encouraged to drink whiskey as an inducement to maintain excessive fires in the boilers. It printed a number of editorials on temperance.

On 13 June, less than a month after it began publication, the *Sun* published its first letter "From our Correspondent" in Washington, D.C. "Without intending to violate the Sabbath," it began, "I avail myself of this moment to drop you a line by a friend who is leaving here early in the morning for Baltimore." The dispatch dealt with mandamus proceedings against the postmaster general, to compel him to accept banknotes instead of specie at the post offices, although this was not clear in the article. The report concluded:

The city is exceedingly dull; the hotels and boarding houses are empty and all hands are looking forward for the commencement of the extra session, with the hope that it will relieve them from all embarrassment. The new furniture of the Palace is now going in. It is very splendid, and I am happy to say is of American manufacture. You will recollect that the late Mr. Monroe raised a breeze by importing his chairs from England. The President is well and, for aught I know, is happy. Yours truly.¹⁵

Though not signed, the letter was written by James Lawrenson, a Post Office clerk. Before long he was writing once or twice a week, and he continued until the Civil War.

Abell had many obstacles to overcome with the President's message of 1839, which was delayed day after day because of "squabbling among the members" of Congress. On 6 December the paper warned: "The President's message of last year has been clandestinely reprinted at the office of one of the New York papers, and hawked about the streets by the boys as the real message of this year. Look out for such tricks. The true document will be delivered to our desk—that is, if it ever be delivered in Washington."¹⁶

The *Sun* finally received the message, but it had to publish its first extra—on Christmas Day! Van Buren delivered the message on Monday, 23 December, and the *Sun* expected the text by train that afternoon. But a windstorm, "which had almost blown the dome off the rotunda," was followed by a snowstorm that blocked all traffic. Abell realized that the message would not arrive until Christmas Eve. In anticipation of its arrival, extra printers were rounded up from other shops. Abell waited and waited and at "midnight dismissed our hands."

We had scarcely navigated as far as the depot, when the jingling bells of a car were heard, and as the clock struck one we received our copies of the message. By this time every printer had gone to bed . . . dreaming of eggnog and a Christmas holiday. Scouts—fellows who are not afraid of a drop too much—were sent out and after wallowing in gutters and floundering through snow drifts, until they were drenching, they succeeded in disturbing the repose of some score of families and collecting some 17 compositors from different quarters of the city.

By 7:00 A.M. "an immense edition" was on the press. Then the forms were taken back to the composing room "for the purpose of making alterations necessary for printing the extras ordered by a large number of our country contemporaries, the inner form was knocked into pi [type mixed together indiscriminately] and we were left with an awkward predicament. Grieving, however, would not mend the matter and we succeeded yesterday [26 December] in obtaining the assistance of other offices, by which we were able to overcome the difficulties."¹⁷

On its fiftieth anniversary, the *Sun* recalled that when it began it had "but eight men in all departments, exclusive of the editorial." Abell was editor, probably business manager, circulation director, and possibly a printer too. He was a no-nonsense man, and a week after his paper began it was clear that he considered himself an experienced, tough editor, judging from this item: "Individual who forwarded an 'Ode to the *Sun*' to this office for publication is informed that his attempt did not succeed. If he wishes to impose upon us he must study a little originality, and get up rather early in the morning. We are not so young with the press as not to be familiar with all the acts that are attempted to be practiced on it by asses."¹⁸

In a book of not-always-reliable reminiscences published in 1877, John H. He-

witt, a poet-musician and editor, claimed that John D. Reed, "a man of very ordinary talent," was

attached to the *Sun* from the day of its first issue up to the time of his death; generally in the capacity of reporter attending mostly to court cases. He was 61 years of age when he died and did not "die in harness," as some papers stated; but, more probably broke down in harness. In his later years he became almost useless to the *Sun* establishment, the duties of his department requiring younger and more active men. Mr. Abell, the proprietor, assigned him to no particular station, but allowed him to be at the office and come and go when he pleased, leaving orders that he should receive his pay regularly. Reed was sincerely attached to the journal that carried him along, and bitter against its rival establishment, the *Clipper*. He fought many a hard battle.

If Hewitt was correct, Reed was the *Sun's* first reporter and must have been more highly regarded by Abell than by Hewitt. One of the first reporters disappeared, according to a note in the 6 December 1837, issue: "One of our reporters a few days since reported himself as having been taken up the night before, and put in the watch house, for getting drunk and trying to break into a porter house to get more liquor, and what is more singular, has not been here since to correct the error."¹⁹

In those days printers not only set type but also selected items from exchange papers to put into type. News items were often gathered by the editor by chance, not by design, or were handed to him by outsiders who had an interest in a particular event. The first reporters concentrated on covering courts for human interest stories, imitating the New York *Sun*. Gradually they widened their coverage to include police stations, city government, business, churches, and cultural and other news, following the lead of Bennett's New York *Herald*, a pioneer in directing reporters to systematically uncover news and write about it objectively. At first the work of the *Sun's* reporters was typical of the time—casual and haphazard. In his account of the Baltimore City Council action authorizing city scrip, the reporter wrote that an amendment "was offered by a member whose name we could not learn." At another meeting he concluded, "For want of time and room we are compelled to omit for the day the further report of the proceedings of the City Council, which by the way were not of unusual importance."²⁰ But through trial and error and the need to be competitive, the reporting improved. When a devastating thunderstorm flooded Jones Falls in June 1837, inundating a large section of the town, taking nearly twenty lives, some squatters, the *Sun* was able to identify a number of those lost, and the circumstances of their deaths and give a factual, graphic account of the damage in two-and-a-half columns, noting that water in the Presbyterian church rose to the cushion in the pulpit seat.



Because of Abell's drive to get news faster than traditional methods, and with Baltimore's proximity to Washington, it was expedient for him to supply Washington and southern news to the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, allied through identical ownership, and, at the same time, to New York papers because they, in turn, could relay news from the north and abroad quicker than the spotty mails. This was one of the first, if not the first, sustained and extensive systems of swift cooperative news gathering. It was ingenious and costly, involving complicated

combinations of pony express, four-horse post coaches, special locomotives, chartered ships—even carrier pigeons at times—linked, when possible, to the slowly expanding lines of the magnetic telegraph. Men conveying the news made heroic efforts battling winter storms, floods and other confronting obstacles and dangers. In those precedent-setting times, which changed the nature and significance of news, Abell was an innovator and leader.

The *Sun* forwarded President William Henry Harrison's inaugural address of 4 March 1841 to Philadelphia and New York faster than any presidential message had ever been delivered. It was presented at noon. The *Sun* had it on a special train by 12:45 P.M. An hour-and-a-quarter later it was in Baltimore and the *Sun* published an extra. Meeting the train at the Mount Clare depot on the edge of town was "a most distinguished express rider"²¹ who took the packages for Philadelphia and New York to the Canton depot on the eastern side of town where another special locomotive waited. The packages arrived in Philadelphia at 6 in the evening. Because the railroad did not extend to New York, the rest of the journey was made by horse express. The *Sun's* special delivery beat the mails by more than twenty-four hours.

The *Sun* not only cooperated in news gathering, it also, like other resourceful papers, sold copies of its extras to its exchange papers in Maryland, Ohio, and Kentucky. These supplements enabled those papers to beat their competitors by a day or more. Finding the speed of President Harrison's message unbelievable, the Cincinnati *Advertiser* thought the *Sun* extra might be a hoax, claiming it sounded like his stump speeches. (Newspaper hoaxes were not uncommon, and readers were wary of unexpected news. On 1 April, a Boston paper proclaimed a major victory by U.S. forces in the Mexican War. Previous dispatches had implied that the same units might be annihilated. Readers did not believe the good news, accusing the paper of an April Fool joke. In 1835 the New York *Sun* in a front page, four-part series described life on the moon as seen through an immense new telescope. In absorbing detail it portrayed flora and fauna, "strange amphibious creatures of a spherical form" and "man-bat inhabitants."²² Circulation soared. Yale University sent professors to the paper for more information. The series concluded with a report that the telescope had suddenly shattered, ending the observations.)

While the *Sun* printed supplements for its exchanges, on at least one occasion it bought one from the Washington *Union* containing a long official message from President James K. Polk; the *Sun* sold these on the street while preparing its own extra. *Sun* presses then ran for seven hours to supply the fifteen or twenty papers in its exchange network. Unlikely to meet his rail and mail deadlines for lack of composing room personnel, Abell once recruited actors who were former printers from a troupe at the Holliday Street Theater. Later, anticipating an extra with news from England on the volatile Oregon Territory question, the paper warned its agents to order extra copies and advertisers to plan ahead for that unusually important issue.

In October 1841 the *Sun* arranged for special coverage of the Alexander McLeod trial in Utica, New York. England had threatened war if McLeod were convicted. A Canadian citizen, he had been accused of murder during a rebellion in Canada and had escaped to the United States. England demanded his return; the United States refused. McLeod was acquitted—it turned out that he was not involved, just

a braggart—and the war cloud disappeared. Although the *Sun* boasted about beating its competitors, claiming “Never before was there brought to this city from so great a distance so large a quantity of original reporting,”²³ undoubtedly the trial report came from the New York *Sun*, which had run a special train from Utica to Schenectady and a horse express to the Albany-New York boat. Then the route was by horse express to Philadelphia and by train to Baltimore.

Like the New York *Sun*, the Baltimore *Sun* also had carrier pigeons. “Mr. Abell organized a carrier pigeon express for the transmission of news between the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington,” a chronicler of Baltimore later noted. “The pigeons for this service, about four hundred or five hundred in number, were kept in a house on Hampstead Hill, near the old Maryland Hospital for the Insane, and were carefully trained.”²⁴

In January 1846 the *Sun* was the first to inform the president and congressional leaders that the British ministry of Sir John Peel had unexpectedly resigned. The event had commercial overtones. Peel favored free trade; his successor might be a protectionist. The news was being carried by the ship *Liberty* and to get it even before the vessel docked in Boston, the New York *Herald's* fast dispatch boat met the *Liberty* one hundred miles offshore and rushed the bundles of English newspaper to New York. The *Sun's* “extraordinary express” brought copies of them to Baltimore, where the paper immediately “threw off an Exclusive Extra considerably in advance of the mails.” Characteristic of the time, the resignation business took second place to a breathless account of how the *Sun* got the story, and to a repetition of Abell’s dedication: “We thus present our claim to a sleepless enterprise before the citizens of Baltimore, in whose interests we are engaged.” After the extra was printed, “the intelligence was thrown into an abridged form and dispatched from this office to Mr. Polk, the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and other distinguished gentlemen, through the agency of the magnetic telegraph.” The B&O dispatched a locomotive to Washington with a large bundle of the *Sun* Extra, “and thus we have enjoyed the gratification, though at an outlay far beyond what such an enterprise can possibly compensate in a mere pecuniary point of view, of contributing to the relief of that anxiety which prevails at this period with reference to foreign intelligence.”²⁵

When war threatened between the United States and England over the Oregon Territory (stretching from the Rockies to the Pacific and from Mexican California to Russian Alaska), sixteen papers, dubbed the “Holy Alliance” by a paper excluded from the group, set up the Halifax Express. Halifax was the first port of call for mail steamers from Liverpool, and the Express was formed to out-race the steamers to Boston and New York. A horse express would travel the 130 miles across Nova Scotia to Annapolis on the Bay of Fundy. There a steamer with a picked crew would carry the bundles of English papers to Portland, Maine, where a locomotive express would take them to Boston. Then it would be by rail to New York, horse express again to Philadelphia and rail to Baltimore. The 1,070 miles were to be covered in fifty-five hours.

The *Sun* was the only Baltimore paper enrolled in the cooperative. Anxiously, late in February 1846, staff members awaited arrival of the first express, bearing London newspapers from the mail steamer *Cambria*. The *Sun* averred that “the news

will be the most important in years." First word from the *Cambria*, though, came not from the Halifax Express but from another newspaper express and the stout-hearted efforts of a Captain Wolfe, in charge of the *Sun's* chartered locomotive. The Philadelphia *United States Gazette* had set up its own express to connect with the *Cambria* when it docked in Boston. When the rival relay was the first to reach Philadelphia, Wolfe, who had been waiting for the Halifax Express, grabbed a bundle of English papers and sped off at 8 P.M. "in the greatest storm of the season." "The impediment to the track from the mass of snow and slush," the *Sun* reported, "compelled him to abandon the locomotive within a few miles of the city, and he finished the task on foot," arriving at 3 A.M. Before dawn, the *Sun* had an extra on the street.²⁶ It printed a second extra when, after much adventure, the package from the Halifax Express arrived.²⁷

As another means of getting the first news from England, the *Sun* joined with newspapers from New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Washington in chartering the New York pilot boat *William J. Romer*, a vessel of extraordinary speed, which was expected to cross the Atlantic faster than the *Cambria*. Boasting of the costly venture, the *Sun* said, "This is one of the great newspaper enterprises, furnishing the public important foreign news days in advance of what they would otherwise have received it."²⁸ But the *Cambria* won the race and no more was heard of the *Romer* as a dispatch boat. The Halifax Express made more than one trip but without the excitement of its first frenzied dash.

Newspapers were using a horse express as far back as the early days of the nineteenth century. By 1830 New York and Boston newspapermen had linked relays of horses with short rail lines to gather state election returns and print them the next morning. The New York *Courier and Enquirer* started frequent horse expresses to Philadelphia in 1832, and in 1833 the New York *Journal of Commerce* developed a regular service to Philadelphia with eight relays, later extending its line to Washington. It covered the 227 miles in twenty hours with twenty-four horses. In May 1848, six New York papers formed the New York Associated Press to share the costs of the foreign news being telegraphed from Boston when mail steamers arrived. That summer the organization, which later became the Associated Press, began selling its dispatches. The Philadelphia *Public Ledger* and the Baltimore *Sun*, though not yet members—the New York group restricted that privilege—were the first paying clients.



The magnetic telegraph at first only supplemented the horse express, but in fairly short order wires supplanted ponies. Telegraphy was invented by Samuel F. B. Morse, a portrait painter of note and a founder of the National Academy of Design, who on 24 May 1844 sent a message along a wire wrapped in yarn and tar from the Supreme Court room in Washington to an assistant in the B&O station on Pratt Street. The message, a series of dots and dashes, registered on a paper tape which, when decoded, read, "What hath God wrought?"

Thus began one of the most momentous advances in communication, not to say the biggest news story of that age. Even though A. S. Abell was understood to have been encouraging Morse, the *Sun* chronicled the event in a mere two sentences under Local Matters: "Magnetic telegraph: Some further experiments were con-

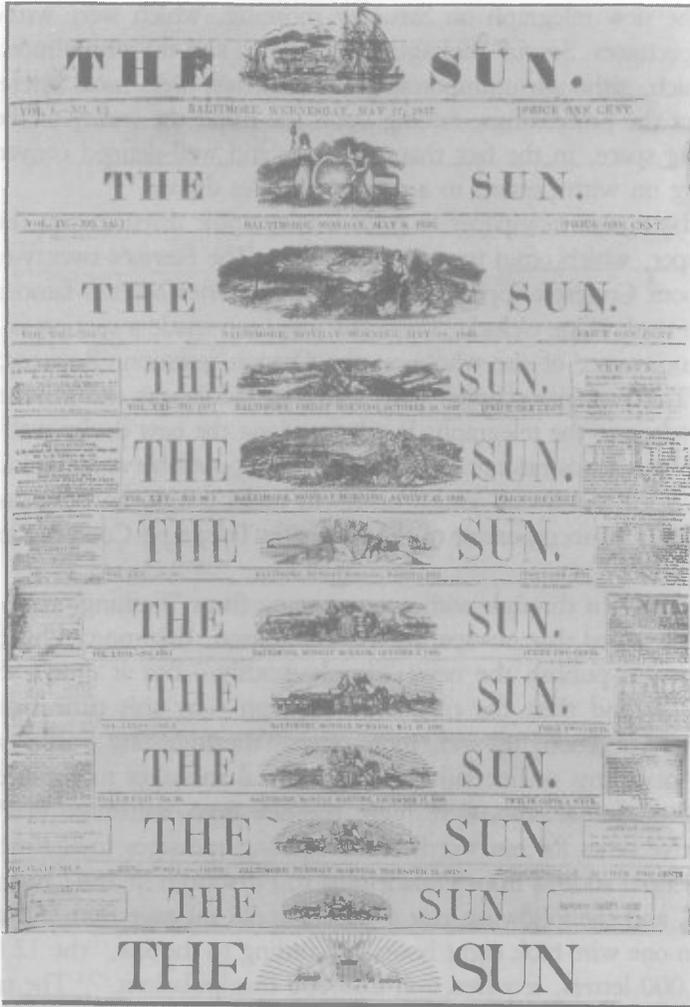
ducted on the new telegraph on Saturday morning, which were witnessed by a number of spectators. Several messages were sent to and fro with almost incredible dispatch, which, although unimportant in themselves, were most interesting from the novelty of the proceedings, forcing upon the mind the reality of the complete annihilation of space, in the fact that a distinct and well-defined conversation was actually going on with persons in a city forty miles distant."²⁹

The first Baltimore newspaper to print a telegraphic dispatch was the *Patriot*, a six-penny paper, which often tormented the *Sun*. The *Patriot's* twenty-eight-word-paragraph about Congress appeared only a few days after Morse's famous question. The dispatch read: "One o'clock. There has just been made a motion in the House to go into committee of the whole on the Oregon question. Rejected; ayes, 79, nays 86."³⁰ The *Sun*, preoccupied with using its saddlebags and steamer pouches, was slow to adapt to the telegraph. But before long the new device was being used effectively. When funds ran out after the line was opened between Philadelphia and New York, Abell and Swain joined others in underwriting an extension to Baltimore. Swain was an incorporator of the Magnetic Telegraph Company and later its president.

By 6 June 1846 a through wire was operating from Washington to New York and the *Sun* predicted that newspapers in Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York would publish the news "simultaneously." But it didn't always work that way. Now and then the magnetic telegraph—by this time hailed as "the Great Highway of Thought" and, more often, "the lightning line"—was inoperable because of storms or line failures. Commercial messages took precedence over press dispatches. Initial costs were high: the rate from Baltimore to Philadelphia was twenty-five cents for ten words. Sending long messages took time: transmitting a presidential address from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh in 1847 took more than fifteen hours, and the following year a gubernatorial message from Albany to New York City on one wire took eight hours. According to the *Sun*, "the 12,000 words, or about 72,000 letters, required over 288,000 manipulations."³¹ The transmission was so inaccurate that many papers reprinted the message after receiving it by mail (today the Associated Press's high speed wire transmits, aided by computer printing, 1,200 words a minute).

A high point occurred 11 May 1846, when President Polk sent his Mexican War message to Congress. The *Sun* ordered the message telegraphed in its entirety—a journalistic feat that later persuaded the French Academy to adopt a news-telegraph,³² and a week after Polk's message the *Sun* was first in Baltimore with news of the opening battle of the Mexican War. The paper's special report arrived in Washington fifteen minutes ahead of the Southern Mail; at once a *Sun* representative filed the exclusive dispatch by telegraph. A few more minutes and the *Sun* was "throwing extras from our press at the rates of 4,000 and 5,000 an hour." Next day, the *Patriot* accused Morse of "wrong done to the public at large and the *Patriot* in particular": the telegraph, supported with public funds, was public property, it said, and news of the battle should have gone to all papers. Because it did not, the *Patriot* said, Baltimore's 120,000 inhabitants were held "in suspense and torture for two hours." The *Sun* replied that as soon as it received the news it placed a summary at the telegraph office and another on its own bulletin board,

from which copies were made by representatives of other papers, the *Patriot* amongst the



number, and displayed at the respective offices. The whole city rejoiced, and instead of suffering 'torture and suspense,' congratulations springing from true patriotism were heard on every hand.³³

NOTES

1. *Baltimore Sun*, 6 September 1837.
2. *Baltimore Sun*, 24 June 1837.
3. Horace A. Abell, et al., *The Abell Family in America*, (Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle Publishing Company, 1940) p. 86.
4. Gerald W. Johnson, et al., *The Sunpapers of Baltimore, 1837-1937* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937), p. 32.
5. Original contract of A. S. Abell, Azariah H. Simmons, William M. Swain reproduced in *Sunpapers of Baltimore*, p. 22.

6. Johnson, et al., *Sunpapers of Baltimore*, p. 23
7. History of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. part 3, "The Public Ledger, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 16 September 1926 (page 16 of the magazine).
8. *Baltimore Sun*, 17 May 1837.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Baltimore Sun*, 24 June 1837 and 1 January 1847.
13. *Baltimore Sun*, 20 May 1837.
14. *Baltimore Sun*, 18 May 1837.
15. *Baltimore Sun*, 13 June 1837.
16. *Baltimore Sun*, 6 December 1837.
17. *Baltimore Sun*, 27 December 1839.
18. *Baltimore Sun*, 24 May 1837.
19. John H. Hewitt, *Shadows on the Wall; or, Glimpses of the Past* (Baltimore: Turnbull Brothers, 1877), p. 62.
20. *Baltimore Sun*, 17 May 1837.
21. *Baltimore Sun*, 5 March 1841.
22. Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism, A History: 1690–1960* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1962), p. 225.
23. *Baltimore Sun*, 16 October 1841.
24. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*. (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881), p. 620.
25. *Baltimore Sun*, 20 January 1846.
26. *Baltimore Sun*, 21 February 1846.
27. *Baltimore Sun*, 24 February 1846.
28. *Baltimore Sun*, 13 April 1846.
29. Johnson, et al., *Sunpapers of Baltimore*, p. 68.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
31. *Baltimore Sun*, 10 January 1848.
32. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, p. 621.
33. *Baltimore Sun*, 12 May 1846 and 20 May 1846.

From Party Tickets to Secret Ballots: The Evolution of the Electoral Process in Maryland During the Gilded Age

PETER H. ARGERSINGER

In recent years, historians have significantly altered our understanding of Gilded Age politics. They have shifted the focus from party elites and national platforms to the mass constituencies of political parties and the social issues that animated them. They have carefully specified typologies of elections and subtly explored the creation of partisan cultures.¹ But the reexamination of the period's politics is incomplete without an analysis of the role of the electoral process itself. This subject involves a number of apparently mundane matters, such as selecting election officials, managing the polls, identifying qualified voters, overseeing the mode of voting, counting the ballots, and reporting the returns. But historians must not regard election machinery and electoral rules merely as givens. As politicians and their opponents recognized, the electoral structure both reflected and shaped politics and had significant practical consequences for voters, parties, and public policy. The evolution of the electoral process in Maryland during the Gilded Age demonstrates this important reality.



During the 1870s and 1880s the electoral process in Maryland was dominated by the political parties, operating within a loose legal framework that facilitated electoral abuses and controversy. In the first place, the election officials designated to oversee the polls—three judges and two clerks at each voting precinct—were appointed by partisan politicians who had a vested interest in the conduct of elections. In Maryland's counties the elected county commissioners selected such officials; in Baltimore, the responsibility was assigned to a board of elections supervisors appointed by the governor. Fairness was supposedly guaranteed by mandating that the party affiliation of one judge differ from that of his two colleagues, but this requirement was sometimes blatantly ignored or, more often, subtly subverted. Partisan Democratic supervisors, for example, frequently appointed as the putative Republican judge representing the minority party "Democrats in Republican disguise," Republicans hostile to the ticket of their own party, or persons dependent on the goodwill of the Democratic officials for their occupation or liquor. As one Democratic elections supervisor admitted in 1885, his procedure was simply to appoint as judges "the two sharpest Democrats and the weakest Republican" he could find in each precinct. One Labor candidate for the Baltimore City

Peter H. Argersinger, University of Maryland, Baltimore County, is the author of *Populism and Politics: William Alfred Pepper and the People's Party* (Kentucky, 1974).

Council in 1886 observed that many people thought the Board of Supervisors should be tarred and feathered for their choice of election judges. And a Republican candidate in the 16th ward withdrew on election eve because "The character of the judges appointed by the Board of Supervisors is such that it would be a waste of time and money . . . to remain in the field." He noted that in five precincts the Republican minority was represented by "notorious Democrats." Indeed, an investigation of the election judges in Baltimore in 1886 revealed so many with criminal records that one critic concluded that possession of such a record was "a qualification for the position of judge." These officials were required impartially to judge the qualifications of voters, maintain order at the polls, receive and count the ballots, and prepare the election certificates, but frequently their partisanship influenced their actions. The behavior of such officials was a constant source of controversy, particularly their refusal to prevent illegal voting by members of their own party.²

Their determination of an individual's right to vote on election day was supposedly guided by the voter registry completed weeks before by another official appointed in each district by the governor. As the governor during this period was invariably a Democrat, so were the voting registrars. Sitting in session in local communities several times a year, registrars recorded the names of voters who presented themselves as meeting the state's sex, age, and residency requirements for suffrage and supposedly struck from the books the names of those who had died or moved from the district since the last election. But the registrars were partisan officials, and as one of the main functions of the political party was to maximize the enrollment of its potential constituents, registrars not infrequently approached their work with a zealous partisanship. In 1885, for example, in nearly a third of Baltimore's 180 precincts, registrars recorded on the books more voters than a simultaneous police census found living in the precinct.³

The use determined party workers could make of such padded registry rolls is revealed in an incident during the 1879 election which also demonstrated the failure of partisan judges to conduct elections fairly. A small-time Baltimore politico took nine hoodlums from the Baltimore jail to the nearby village of Clarksville in Howard County. There he lined them up, he later recalled, "and we filed past the poll. Each dropped in his ballot. Then we kept going around in a circle, each of us putting a ballot in every time round, until we had polled several hundred votes. We voted until we had voted all the names on the register, and we could not do more than that, could we?"⁴

Not only could registrars thus provide opportunity for illegal repeat voting by members of their own party, they also could (and did) deflate the potential vote of their party's opponents, simply by illegally removing from the registry the names of qualified voters. Judicial investigations, usually undertaken too late to have practical consequence for the election, frequently revealed such activities, particularly directed against black voters, who were assumed to be Republicans. Other voters found, to their dismay, that they had been stricken from the registry only when they attempted to vote or that, although still registered, someone else had already voted under their name. Not surprisingly, Republicans, Independent Democrats, and members of third parties like the Greenbackers all denounced Mary-

land's registration laws. "The registration laws of the State," declared the 1879 platform of the Independent Democrats, "instead of affording a protection against fraud, have been, by the criminal neglect of duty of many of the officers, used to perpetuate the greatest outrages against the purity of the ballot."⁵

One of the most important electoral processes, and the one that perhaps enabled political parties to exercise the most influence in shaping politics and political culture, involved the actual mode of voting. Although Maryland had long ago replaced viva voce voting with the use of ballots, the act of voting was still largely an open, not secret, one. There were no legal provisions to ensure secrecy and little practical attempt to provide it. Maryland's voters were required to carry their own ticket to a voting window, behind which sat the election officials. Standing in the street or on the steps or porch of the building housing the polls, in full view of all interested observers, the voter had to announce his name for the clerk to find on the registry and record on the poll list, and then hand his ballot through the window to the officials who were to deposit it in the unseen ballot box. The ballots were not provided by the election officials, and unlike other states Maryland had virtually no regulations specifying the format of the ballot to be used. In the absence of official machinery and legal regulations, the task of preparing and distributing ballots was assumed by the political parties. The natural consequence was the party ticket, a strip of paper usually headed by a party symbol, on which appeared the names of the candidates of only the party that issued it. Anxious to distinguish their followers and mobilize their support, party managers often differentiated their tickets from those of other parties by size, color, or other characteristics. Thus the voter's use of a ballot easily identified his choice of party as well.⁶

Partisan control of ballots also led to the appearance of "bogus ballots," tickets headed with the insignia of one party but listing the candidates of another. Bogus ballots were regularly issued by both major parties or factions thereof. All parties had to take elaborate precautions against the possibility of counterfeit tickets and constantly cautioned their partisans to scrutinize their tickets carefully before turning them in at the polls in order to avoid deception. The Washington County Republican Central Committee, for instance, warned party members in 1886 that "a large number of ballots" with a Republican heading but listing Democratic candidates "have been circulated with the intent to deceive voters." Conversely, in Allegany County, tickets purporting to be Democratic were issued with Republican candidates' names. "Examine your tickets carefully," the *Cumberland Times* urged its Democratic readers. "Beware of fraudulent tickets." In Baltimore, a favorite Democratic tactic was to circulate tickets among black voters listing Democratic nominees under a portrait of Abraham Lincoln or U.S. Grant. Local party organizations also sometimes deceived their own followers by the practice of "knifing" or "trading." This involved replacing a regular nominee with the favorite of another faction or even with the candidate of another party, sometimes out of spite or jealousy, sometimes for monetary reward. In the 1879 election in Anne Arundel County, for instance, the Democrats in charge of printing the party's tickets substituted the name of the Republican candidate for county commissioner for the Democratic nominee, reflecting and continuing a factional feud within the party.⁷

The unregulated private preparation of tickets also produced the famous "pudding tickets." These were tickets much shorter and narrower than usual and printed

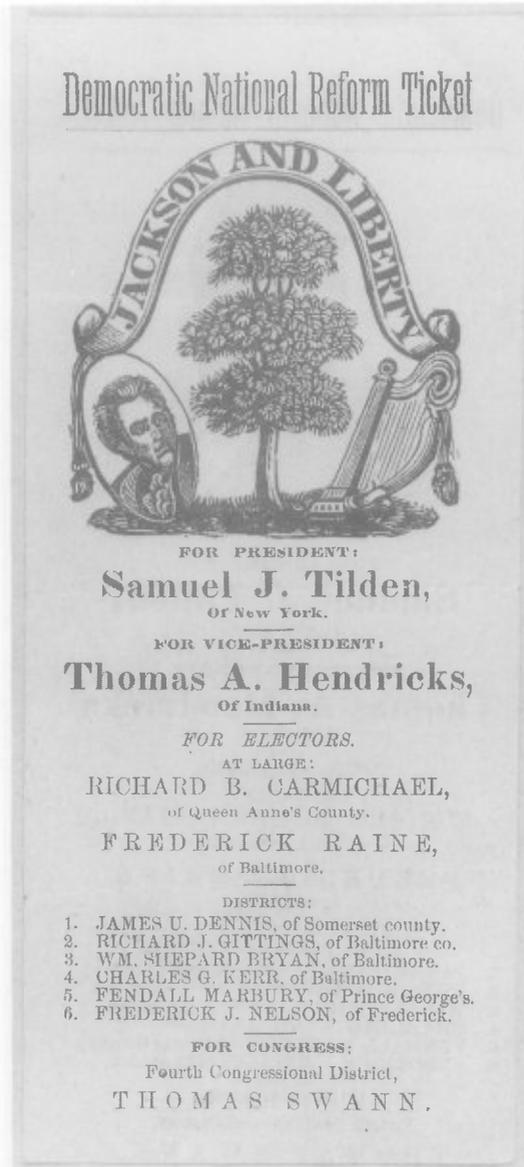


FIGURE 1. 1876 Democratic Party Ticket. (Maryland Historical Society. Photo: Jeff Goldman.)

on tissue paper, which were folded inside a regular ticket to permit multiple voting. The skilled voter could even crimp his ticket with accordion folds, as a fan, with a pudding ticket concealed in each fold; the skilled election judge, in depositing the ticket in the ballot box, could fan it out and cause the different pudding tickets to fall out and mix with other tickets already cast. In Baltimore's 1875 election, these tissue pudding tickets accounted for the discrepancy in one precinct between the 542 voters recorded on the poll list and the 819 ballots counted out of the box.⁸

The distribution and use of party tickets further prevented secrecy while facilitating voter intimidation and election fraud. The tickets were distributed or "ped-

Democratic National Reform Ticket.



FOR PRESIDENT:
Samuel J. Tilden,
Of New York.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT:
Thomas A. Hendricks,
Of Indiana.

FOR ELECTORS.
AT LARGE:
RICHARD B. CARMICHAEL,
of Queen Anne's County.
FREDERICK RAINE,
of Baltimore.

DISTRICTS:

1. JAMES U. DENNIS, of Somerset county.
2. RICHARD J. GITTINGS, of Baltimore co.
3. WM SHEPARD BRYAN, of Baltimore.
4. CHARLES G KERR, of Baltimore
5. FENDALL MARBURY, of Prince George's.
6. FREDERICK J. NELSON, of Frederick.

FOR CONGRESS:
Fourth Congressional District,
THOMAS SWANN.

FIGURE 2. A "bogus ballot" to deceive illiterate voters: an 1876 Democratic ticket headed by a portrait of Republican hero U. S. Grant. (Maryland Historical Society. Photo: Jeff Goldman.)

dled" to the party's supporters by paid party workers known as peddlers, hawkers, holders, or bummers, who stationed themselves near the polls and pressed their tickets on prospective voters. These contending hawkers, each trying to force his ticket upon the voter, contributed greatly to the tumult and chaos surrounding the polls on election day. At times workers of one party completely thronged the polls and allowed only their own partisans to approach the ticket window, driving from the vicinity the hawkers of the other party and, with them, the possibility of votes

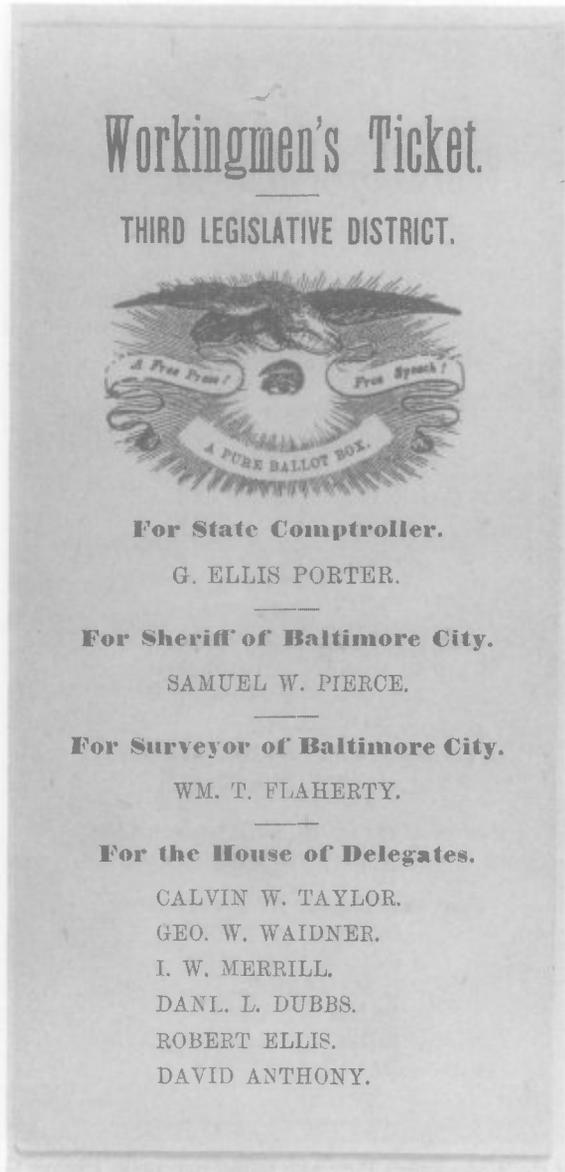


FIGURE 3. A ticket of the Workingmen's Party in Baltimore. (Maryland Historical Society. Photo: Jeff Goldman.)

for that party. Although the widespread and often fatal violence that characterized Baltimore's elections during the Know-Nothing period was not repeated, election day riots and disorder remained common as competing gangs attacked (and sometimes still murdered) voters, assaulted election officials, and even stormed the voting window to stuff the ballot box, a tactic known as "rushing" or "crowding" votes. Such "rushing" in Baltimore's 1875 election, for instance, placed in some ballot boxes large rolls of tickets that had never been separated and distributed but that "appeared in shape as they came from the printing press." What the *Frederick Citizen* called "radical bulldozing" of voters was commonplace, as voters were forced

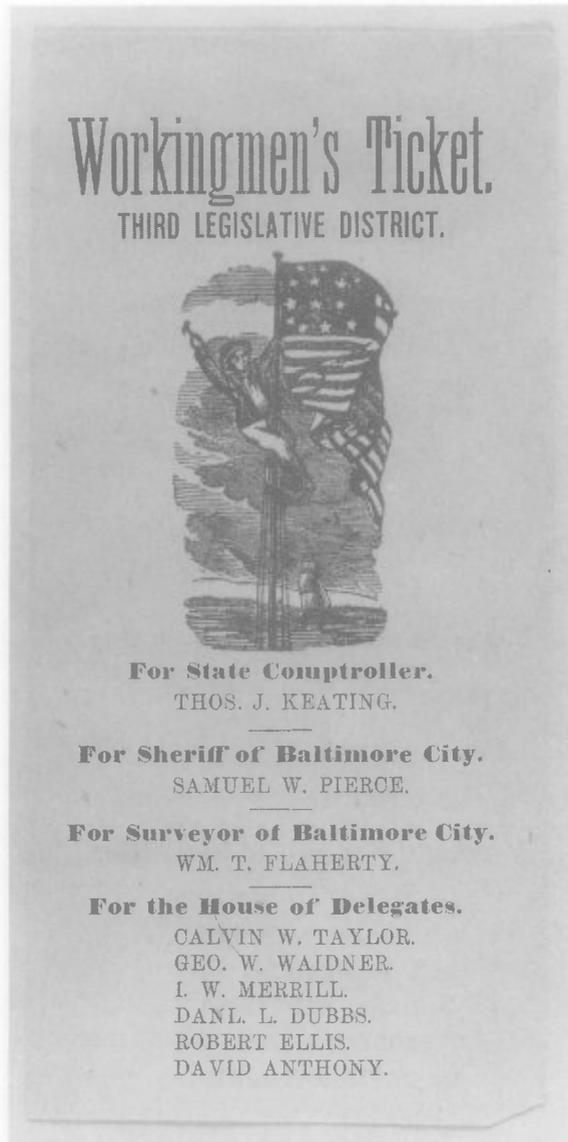


FIGURE 4. A ticket of the Workingmen's Party with regular comptroller nominee G. Ellis Porter "knifed" and replaced by Democratic nominee Thomas Keating. (Maryland Historical Society. Photo: Jeff Goldman.)

to reveal their tickets before being allowed to reach the voting window. Receiving party tickets in such an atmosphere, the voter often had little or no time to examine his ballot before being hustled to the window. Certainly he rarely had an opportunity to alter the ballot received and vote a split ticket by crossing out the name of an unacceptable candidate and substituting that of a more agreeable one in his place.⁹

One other way that party leaders mobilized a full vote for their party under these conditions involved vote-buying. The use of party tickets and the lack of secrecy insured that a purchased vote was delivered, and the buyer might also accompany the seller to the voting window to observe him submit the ticket. Party officials

regarded vote buying as a routine and necessary campaign tactic. One observer noted the interaction of party tickets, hawkers, vote-buying, and election day violence in describing the typical election day scenes in Washington County:

"What we see in Hagerstown is a ward worker off at some distance negotiating with a rounder. A group of men, or maybe one or two standing off and refusing to vote until they have been 'seen.' Then comes a politician to the window holding a floater by the arm and making him vote the ticket he has just given him. Or it may be that a politician on the other side claims this particular floater and grabs him by the other arm and thrusts a different ticket into his hands and then a struggle ensues, in which frequently the whole crowd becomes involved, and it becomes a question of physical strength which party shall receive this free and enlightened vote. It may be that the floater is a negro, in the hands of a Democrat, and then there is sure to be a riot. The unfortunate voter is in that case set upon by those of his own color."

The scene varied little "in the country districts" around Hagerstown, only in that the vote sellers stood "a little nearer to the voting window" and that "the men who are holding off, waiting to be 'fixed,' make less 'bones' about it."¹⁰

One final feature of Maryland's electoral process involved the Federal Elections Law. Although usually incorrectly regarded as part of Reconstruction legislation, this statute—enacted in 1871 and not repealed until 1894—responded to election fraud in the North and was designed to end impersonation, repeating, intimidation, and bribery in congressional elections. It authorized the appointment of federal supervisors and of deputy marshals to assist the supervisors and maintain order. Of course, federal supervision was limited only to congressional elections and did not cover mayoral, legislative, or state elections held in odd-numbered years, and its effects were controversial. Maryland Republicans contended that the federal law limited election fraud. And, indeed, the U.S. Supreme Court decision that upheld the constitutionality of the act involved the conviction of Baltimore judges for resisting the authority of federal supervisors who tried to stop them from stuffing the ballot box.¹¹

Maryland Democrats, on the other hand, charged that the federal law actually encouraged fraud. As the deputies were federal appointees, they were nearly invariably Republican. Indeed, deputies were usually chosen from lists supplied by local Republican party officials. Democrats maintained that such deputies intimidated potential Democratic voters, particularly immigrants. The number of deputies was often quite large, as in Baltimore in 1876, when more than one thousand two hundred deputies were appointed. At times such deputies served on election day virtually as Republican party workers. As the *Hagerstown Mail* declared, "We all know that Federal Election Supervisors are merely Republican hustlers." In session after session, Maryland's Democratic-controlled legislature appropriated money to defend state election officials charged with violating the federal election law or with obstructing federal election officials.¹²

These public and partisan aspects of Maryland's electoral process helped to shape the state's political culture during this period, with its strongest partisan commitments and identifications among the electorate, high levels of voter mobilization and participation, straight-ticket voting, and dramatic campaign techniques. The giant rallies, uniformed marches, and other features of "army-style" campaigns were designed to motivate an electorate that necessarily had to regard voting as a public

act involving the affirmation of group solidarity. To print and distribute tickets and organize voters for participation, parties had to develop the "machines" that constituted such a major feature of the period's political culture.¹³



The evolution of Maryland's electoral process during the Gilded Age was fitful and contentious. Most people could and did agree publicly upon the necessity for controlling violence and disorder during elections, and so it was with little difficulty, if surprisingly gradually, that the General Assembly passed laws disarming the electorate by prohibiting the carrying of guns, dirks, razors, billies, and bludgeons on election days: in Kent, Montgomery, and Queen Anne's counties in 1874, in Prince George's County in 1884, in Calvert County in 1886.¹⁴ In most other respects, however, the subject of election "reform" was a highly charged one, for the objectives and implications of procedural change were controversial and momentous. A variety of groups, all critical of the election machinery but with quite different motivations, led in the agitation for election reform: Republicans, patrician mugwumps, labor organizers, third party radicals, and conservative businessmen.

The Republican interest, at least, was obvious: Republicans were convinced that without election reform and effective bipartisan administration of the election machinery they would never be able to oust the entrenched Democratic party. Denouncing elections in Maryland under Democratic control of the election machinery as "a burlesque upon republican institutions," Republican platforms repeatedly demanded the enactment of laws to "secure an honest registry, a free vote, and a fair count." State Chairman H. C. Naill bitterly declared in 1886, "if the election system is rendered insecure by corrupting and polluting the ballot-box by fraud, the will of the people is circumvented, and the ballot-box, instead of reflecting the will of the people, becomes an instrumentality by which their will is absolutely silenced."¹⁵

Nominally nonpartisan and professedly disinterested, Maryland's small contingent of mugwumps constituted a second group that persistently demanded election reform. Their complaint, however, while couched in denunciations of election fraud, was actually directed against the political party and its function as a mobilizer of the popular will, undermining the public influence they felt they deserved. Thus in demanding electoral reform, they were interested not in democratizing the political system but the reverse. A self-conscious and elitist minority, sharing inherited social status, established economic position, and educational and professional interests, the mugwumps valued order, deference, and stability. Holding elitist views of the mass electorate as ignorant, venal, and incompetent, mugwumps were appalled by the ascendancy of mass political parties. The positive functions such parties fulfilled—mobilizing voters, recruiting candidates, and representing group values—they regarded as loathsome and dangerous. Party control of election machinery, they believed, stimulated political organization, developed politicians and party workers into a distinct class, and reinforced the electorate's partisan loyalties. The mugwumps' typical reform objectives, grandly styled as "good government," were accordingly restrictive, designed primarily to weaken the political influence of the masses and of the political party that functioned to mobi-

lize the popular will. In particular they condemned the party-ticket system. By permitting parties to print and distribute their own tickets at the polls, it required parties to collect large sums of money and create large and disciplined organizations or "machines." The money needed to prepare ballots and hire ticket peddlers in every election district provided parties with the excuse for the assessment of candidates, which in turn led the unscrupulous partisan, once elected, to use his public office to recoup his political expenses at the cost of the taxpayer, a process the mugwumps termed "the cycle of corruption."¹⁶

Maryland's mugwumps, led by the "peacock of Park Avenue," Charles J. Bonaparte, organized themselves into two major and overlapping groups, the Civil Service Association of Maryland and the Baltimore Reform League, virtually a who's who of the city's social register. Because of the Democratic dominance of state and city politics, they directed their energies at attacking the Democratic party organization, personified by state "boss" Senator Arthur P. Gorman and Baltimore City "boss" Isaac Rasin. They prided themselves that their attacks on electoral corruption produced among these Democratic politicians "rancorous and unremitting hostility, varied by occasional exhibitions of abject terror." The persistent class animus of such reformers was always obvious, as when they condemned the appointment as election officials of "drivers of hacks, peanut vendors"—people "whose very occupations . . . rendered their appointment a simple outrage." They demanded instead the appointment of election supervisors only "from the business community, who have neither the ambitions nor the temptations" of politicians.¹⁷

Not surprisingly, the mugwumps often found common cause with the Independent Democrats, a group of conservative Democrats based in the Baltimore business community, led most prominently by John K. Cowen of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. Their program resembled that of the mugwumps in condemning "machine politics" and "corrupt elections" and in advocating election reform and civil service. Their objectives, if different, were no more disinterested. Such reforms, they believed, would weaken the regular party organization by restricting its patronage, its control over nominations and thus public policy, and its capacity to mobilize Maryland's farmers and workers at the polls. Their ultimate motive was revealed in a public address they issued in 1887: "It is by power wielded through these fraudulent elections," they asserted, that the regular Democrats established public policy and levied taxes for "jobs and corrupt expenditures." What the Independents wanted was to reduce their existing taxes and prevent the adoption of any additional tax legislation. Indeed, the Independents' periodic crusades against "ring rule" paralleled the regular Democrats' periodic attempts to achieve tax reform in response to the complaints of farmers and workers. The Independents' opposition to tax reform reflected their determination to maintain the tax exemptions for corporations for which Maryland was notorious—"Cowenism," declared one regular Democrat, stood for the "aggrandizement of corporate influence in the State and nation"—and to preserve the immunity from taxation of other forms of business property. It took the form of an argument to restrict the functions of government, which they believed had been unnecessarily inflated by a party machine too responsive to the lower classes in its determination to win elections. R. E. Wright, a prominent Baltimore merchant, for instance, complained of the city's "rapidly enlarging and dangerous proletariat" which, because it was mobilized for elections by the regular

party organization, required appeasement by the subsequent adoption of extravagant public expenditures and by representation on the public payroll. "Our complaint," declared Wright to the Landlords Mutual Protective Association, "is that there is a party."¹⁸

Such conservative Democrats wanted to replace party-based government with a government run "like a business," with appointed officials motivated by "efficiency." "Our offices must no longer be scrambled for at every election, nor handed about as bribes," declared Cowen. A limited, efficient, and nonpartisan government would require less taxation and minimize the need for the more equitable tax laws that would reach their exempt intangible properties such as rents and mortgages. A report by Johns Hopkins University economist Richard Ely to the 1888 Maryland Tax Commission, recommending that the state shift to corporate and income taxes and the city to taxes levied on realty and business rents, particularly prompted business groups to invoke the issue of election reform to cover their objective of preserving their vested economic interests. Not surprisingly, the Landlords Mutual Protective Association was a major advocate of election reform. If revenue were needed, Cowen told an enthusiastic meeting of the Landlords Association, it should come not from taxation on businesses but from high license fees on saloons, a tactic that would force the city's lower classes to fund the government expenditures their presence demanded as well as weaken the regular party organization that depended upon saloons as organizing bases. "But to obtain these or other reforms," Cowen told the businessmen, "we should direct our efforts primarily to the enactment" of new election laws.¹⁹

In similarly attacking election fraud, machine rule, and the existing electoral system, third parties and labor organizations had still different objectives. Not surprisingly, labor organizations particularly condemned the intimidation of workers' voting by their employers under the system of open voting. Some labor leaders complained of intimidation by the workers' other "master, the political boss, . . . the ward-heeler." Improved conditions for the working class, it was argued, required the emancipation of the worker from the domination of either master. Greenbackers, Industrials, Prohibitionists, and other third-party groups all criticized the party-ticket system because of the hardships it imposed on small parties, thereby limiting their possible influence. The printing and distributing of ballots was expensive, excluding poor citizens from nomination and influence over public policy; the system also required a uniform organization across all election districts—something few third parties had—if every voter was to have an opportunity to vote his principles. Paying for the printing of tickets and their distribution at every polling place by hawkers was effectively beyond the reach of small third parties. Each major party spent \$7,000–8,000 per election on printing and distributing ballots and paying challengers in Baltimore's 180 precincts, but the total campaign funds collected by the Industrial Party for the city's 1886 election was only \$196.30. As a consequence, third parties often had no one in some precincts to distribute their tickets, which limited the possibility of their attracting votes. Labor parties and Prohibitionists sometimes took out advertisements in the newspapers directing their prospective voters to homes and offices where their tickets would be available, a necessary tactic that increased the "costs" of voting for their followers.²⁰

Third parties also complained about partisan control of election machinery. In 1877, for instance, candidates and supporters of the Workingmen's Party maintained that Democratic election judges in Baltimore cheated them out of victories in thirteen wards through ballot-box stuffing, intimidation of voters, and excluding their representatives from the windows and from witnessing the count. "We are called defeated," said one, "not defeated but defrauded." In the 1886 election, the Industrial Party, based on the Knights of Labor, similarly charged the election officials with miscounting, ballot-box stuffing, interference with voting and with witnessing the count, and destruction of the Industrial tickets, distinctive by their hickory tree symbol. Moreover, in working class wards Democratic election officials tried to minimize the potential vote for the Industrials by placing the voting windows out of reach of the voters. In one precinct of the third ward, for example, the Industrials had to build a platform so that their supporters could reach the voting window; in another precinct, voters had to climb a ladder to reach the window nine feet above the street. Other third parties, including the Prohibitionists, also regularly complained that election officials did not count their votes as cast. Greenback-Laborites reflected a common third-party interest, then, in their 1879 platform demand for election laws giving all parties, not just the two major ones, a judge and clerk at each poll and requiring party approval of their appointment in order to prevent the selection of bogus or renegade representatives.²¹

In advocating election reform, then, workers and political radicals, whether organized as interest groups or separate political parties, sought to democratize the electoral process and secure both equal political participation and legitimate and responsive republican government.



Despite their varying objectives, Republicans, mugwumps, conservative businessmen, labor organizations, and third parties all agreed on the necessity of electoral reform and agitated constantly for it. Frequently, they engaged in joint political activity and even, at times, campaigns, recognizing fusion as the only practical method of defeating the dominant Democratic organization. Independent Democrats and Republicans fused in 1875, for instance. In 1886 Republicans endorsed Industrial candidates in some wards and Independent Democrats in others. Some labor unions (like the Cigarmakers Union) endorsed the Independent Democrats. Mugwump lawyers from the Baltimore Reform League provided legal guidance to labor parties on the subject of election laws, and labor leaders encouraged the League's investigations of election officials for fraud. "Keep it up!" declared the *Baltimore Critic*, the leading labor newspaper. "We must have square men in the polling-places to secure square voting."²²

Popular anger over election practices reached a new height as a consequence of blatant fraud in the 1886 elections, which left the Democrats still in power but in a critical situation. The Reform League obtained the prosecution and conviction of numerous Democratic election judges for fraud in a series of trials holding public attention for months. The Knights of Labor, complaining bitterly of illegal Democratic manipulation of the labor vote, seemed ready to challenge the party's traditional hold over Baltimore's working class. Conservative Democrats, led by Cowen, again seized the emotional issue of election fraud as an attractive cover for their

demand for a party reorganization on the basis of opposition to tax reform and business regulation. And Republicans, seeking to capitalize on public sentiment and attract the Independents' support, campaigned in 1887 on "fair elections" as "the paramount issue before the people of this State," demanding the enactment of a sweeping election bill prepared by the Reform League and avoiding any mention of tax reassessment.²³

The Democratic organization responded to this challenge by making accommodations in an effort to retain its electoral coalition. Earlier it had appealed to its critical agrarian/labor wing by enacting tax and labor reform laws and by accepting minor modifications in election laws. Now, although again promising economic reforms, it shifted its emphasis to the elections issue and proposed major changes to head off the popular outcry. The party's 1887 state convention conceded that existing election laws were "ineffectual to accomplish . . . fair elections" and pledged the 1888 legislature to reform registry and election laws, appointing a committee to prepare such legislation immediately.²⁴

With election reform "almost the sole issue" in the 1887 campaign, Democrats narrowly defeated the fusion of Republicans and Independent Democrats and entered the 1888 legislature with both clear pledges to fulfill and a conviction that party interests dictated limits to electoral reform. They modified the registry law for Baltimore to provide bipartisan registrars and biennial registration, at the precinct rather than the ward level, but they rejected the Reform League demand for annual registration because of the expense and effort it would have imposed on the party. They also altered the election laws to require minority representation among Baltimore's Elections Supervisors and not merely among the election judges and clerks the supervisors appointed. In order to prevent the two supervisors representing the Democratic majority from imposing bogus or renegade Republican election officials on the supervisor representing the minority Republican party, the law gave each supervisor a veto over the appointment of such precinct officials. Election judges and clerks were finally required to be able to read and write English and to be "skilled" in arithmetic, the lack of which qualifications had often produced misunderstandings and errors which appeared to patrician critics to be as fraudulent as the deliberate falsification of ballots and counting. New laws also required glass ballot boxes in order to prevent ballot-box stuffing and authorized each party to have a representative in the polling room to watch the casting and count of the vote.²⁵

The Baltimore Reform League praised Democrats for these laws but remained unsatisfied, demanding voter registration annually in the city and quadrennially in the counties and the abolition of "the unhappy practice of voting through a window," which prevented strict surveillance of election officials. The failure to adopt these changes, declared the *Civil Service Reformer*, was "precisely in the direction in which the professional ballot box stuffer or false counter of votes would desire to remain unhampered by prohibitory or restrictive enactments." Moreover, the League was outraged that the new registry law repealed the 1882 provision that had permitted interested citizens to appeal to the courts against the registration of other voters. The League had repeatedly used that power to challenge the actions of registrars and to remove illegally registered names from the rolls. Mugwump anger increased upon discovery that a score of election judges awaiting trial for fraud had

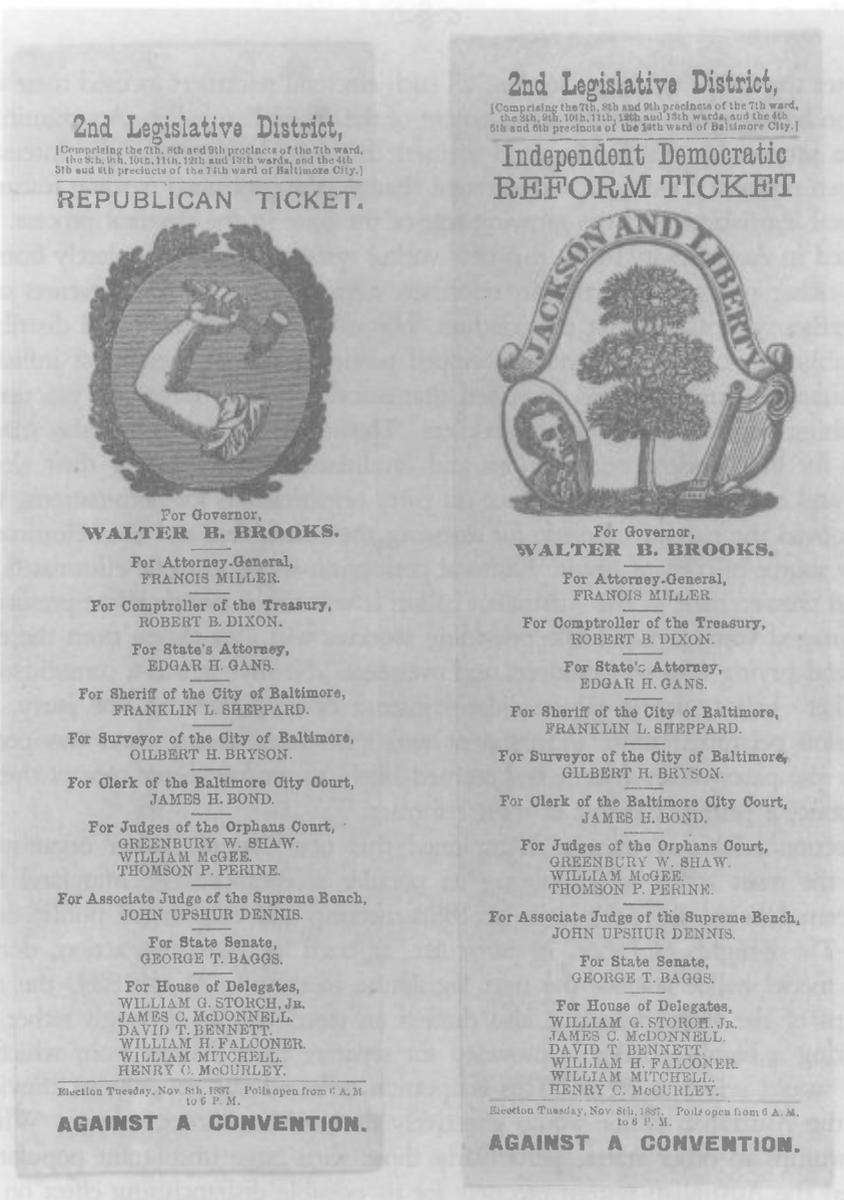


FIGURE 5. 1887 party tickets reflecting fusion: Republicans and Independent Democrats of Baltimore nominated the same candidates under their own separate headings. (Maryland Historical Society. Photo: Jeff Goldman.)

escaped prosecution when the legislature repealed the law under which they had been indicted and then re-enacted it without providing for pending prosecutions. When Democratic Governor Elihu Jackson pardoned other election judges and clerks convicted earlier for fraud, mugwumps were convinced that the Democratic party remained under boss control. Moreover, workers still sought assurance of their ability to wield political influence without interference, Independent Democrats remained hostile to the regular organization, and Republicans still sought victory at the polls.²⁶



After the 1888 legislative session, all such electoral reformers focused their activities on ballot reform and the achievement of the Australian ballot. An examination of the process by which Maryland secured this law demonstrates the interaction between political conditions and electoral change, the continued partisan features of electoral legislation, and the growing role of the state in the electoral process. First adopted in Australia in 1856, this new voting system differed completely from the party-ticket system. In particular, reformers were attracted by three features of the Australian system. First, it provided an "official" ballot, prepared and distributed by public authorities; it therefore stripped parties of one of their most influential organizational functions and promised dramatically to alter campaign practices by abolishing the disruptive ticket peddlers. Theoretically this feature also made it easier for independent organizations and candidates by minimizing their election costs and reducing their dependence on party organizations for nominations, while it removed the parties' rationale for assessing their nominees and thus eliminated a major source of corrupt funds. Electoral corruption was also to be eliminated by a second characteristic of the Australian ballot: it was secret and therefore presumably discouraged vote buying while providing workers with "an escape from the dictation and prying eyes of employers and overseers." Finally, it was a consolidated or "blanket" ballot, listing all candidates instead of only those of one party. This provision permitted more independent and split-ticket voting than was possible under the party-ticket system and seemed likely to weaken party control over the electorate, a prime objective of most reformers.²⁷

Election reformers eagerly championed this new system. Labor organizations were the most active in promoting its popular acceptance. The Maryland Labor Conference raised the subject in its 1888 meeting and encouraged public discussion. The Knights of Labor, in particular, agitated for legislative action, drawing up a model ballot law for the next legislature to consider.²⁸ In 1889, the mugwumps of the Reform League also drafted an election bill, although rather than requiring a blanket ballot it provided for separate party ballots from which the voter would select in secret. This adaptation reflected the mugwump conviction that the Australian ballot would effectively disfranchise illiterate voters. Whereas mugwumps in other states, particularly those with large immigrant populations, praised the Australian system precisely for its possible disfranchising effect on illiterates, in Maryland a substantial portion of the illiterate population consisted of blacks whose votes, mugwumps realized, were essential to any possible election victory of a fusion coalition. Both Republicans and Independent Democrats reached the same conclusion and accordingly euphemistically endorsed those aspects of the Australian system which were "appropriate" for Maryland.²⁹

Even many partisan Democrats joined in the demand for ballot reform. Among them was a new group, the Democratic Business Men's Association of Baltimore, which although opposed to the party machine refused to desert the party and join in the fusion of Independent Democrats and Republicans. They did, however, appoint a committee to draw up an Australian bill and to lobby for its enactment. Still another ballot bill was prepared by Kent County Democratic legislator J. A. Pearce. He feared that election reform might permit Republicans to gain more

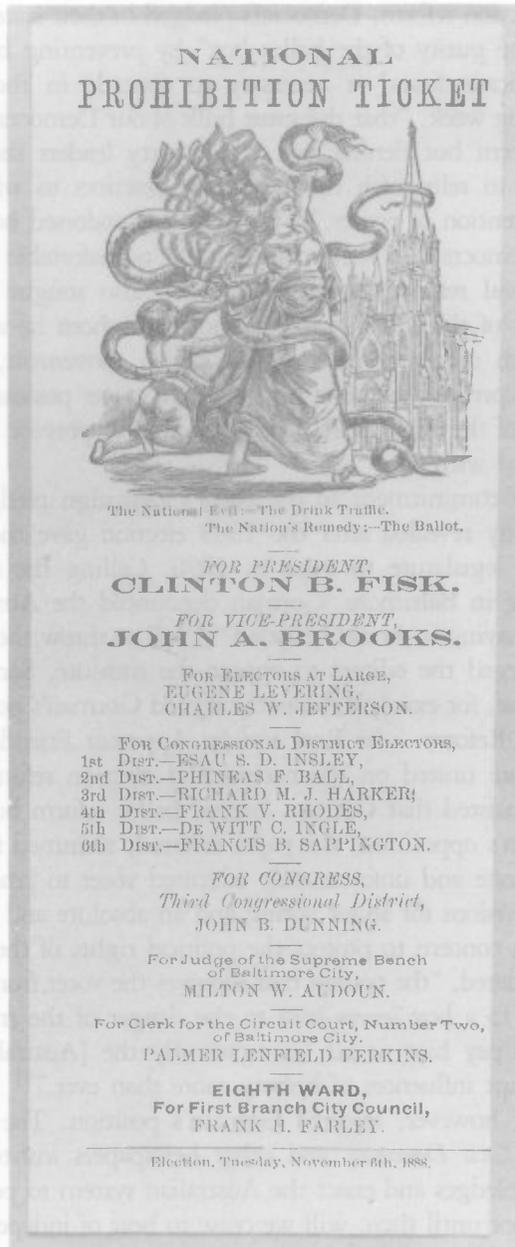


FIGURE 6. 1888 Prohibition Party Ticket: An example of the elaborate illustrations sometimes used on party tickets. (Maryland Historical Society. Photo: Jeff Goldman.)

power but declared, "I cannot fail to perceive the terrible and growing evil of fraudulent registration, voting, and election returns; nor the inevitable certainty with which it is converting the Democratic majority of Maryland into a minority . . . we must correct this evil at any cost, . . . the ultimate permanence of our party can only be secured in this way."³⁰

In 1889, as in 1887, the issue of election reform dominated the Maryland political campaign. Believing that electoral success again depended on a strong

stand in favor of election reform, Democrats pledged in their state platform to enact laws to preserve "the purity of the ballot box" by preventing bribery, fraud, and corruption. Republicans found it necessary to concede in their own platform, adopted the following week, "that the great bulk of our Democratic fellow-citizens" desired election reform but denied that "their party leaders share this desire, or propose voluntarily to relinquish the unworthy practices to which they have so often owed their retention of power." Thus they too endorsed ballot reform as did the Independent Democrats in their platform.³¹ Uncomfortable with the prospect of significant electoral reform, however, Gorman also sought to emphasize the reactionary purposes of the Independent Democrats, whom he attacked as "selfish men, identified with corporate greed." The fusion movement, Senator Gorman maintained, was "a corrupt scheme of Mr. Cowen's to get possession of the Legislature in the interest of the B&O R.R. Company, and to prevent its tax exemptions from being interfered with."³²

Gorman's lack of commitment to the party's campaign pledge for election reform was dramatically revealed after the 1889 election gave the Democrats solid control of the new legislature to meet in 1890. Calling the state's Democratic editors to a meeting in Baltimore, Gorman denounced the Australian ballot as a threat to the party, saying it should be titled "A bill to throw the Democratic party in the rear," and urged the editors to oppose the measure. Some editors agreed. The *Cumberland Times*, for example, ardently argued Gorman's position in an editorial entitled "Ballot Reform—Its Real and Its Apparent Friends." Declaring that Americans were more united on the necessity of election reform than any other subject, the *Times* insisted that Gorman favored ballot reform but not the Australian system. Gorman's opposition, the paper asserted, stemmed from "the extreme liability of the illiterate and unfortunately educated voter to practical disfranchisement under the provisions for secret voting and an absolute and exclusively official ballot" and from his concern to protect the political rights of the common people. Gorman himself declared, "the system that removes the voter from the influences of men of intelligence to a box leaves him to the danger of the money power. You pay a voter, if you pay him at all, in secret. By the [Australian] system he is exposed to the corrupt influences of bribery more than ever."³³

Most Democrats, however, rejected Gorman's position. The *Hagerstown Mail*, *Salisbury Advertiser*, *Cecil Democrat*, and other newspapers insisted that the party fulfill its campaign pledges and enact the Australian system to prevent bribery and fraud. "Then, and not until then, will we cease to hear of independent movements and fusion with Republicans." Democratic rallies throughout the state also revealed rank-and-file support for the Australian ballot. In Hagerstown, for example, a rally "representing every shade of opinion in the Democratic party" unanimously demanded the Australian ballot and sent delegations to Annapolis to lobby the Democratic legislators to fulfill their pledges. As for workers, labor organizations sharply rejected Gorman's expressed concerns. The *Baltimore Critic* reminded Gorman that the Knights of Labor were among the most vociferous advocates of the Australian system, and another labor editor declared that by "men of intelligence" Gorman meant "ward boss, foreman, and superintendent": Gorman sought not to protect workers' political rights but to retain Democratic control of Baltimore.³⁴

Having failed to divert popular sentiment for the Australian system, Gorman and the regular Democratic organization next attempted to use their control of the legislature to frustrate it. The senate elections committee put aside the numerous Australian bills introduced and reported a "sham bill," which the *Hagerstown Mail* declared should have been titled "A bill to protect the Bosses in suppressing the voice of the people." This measure, endorsed by Gorman and other regulars who had earlier announced their opposition to the Australian system, provided for separate ballots for each party rather than a blanket ballot. It failed in so many other respects to provide for the Australian system that one reporter described it "as full of loopholes as a shad seine."³⁵ Again there was a popular reaction. The *Critic* described the senate committee bill as "a farce and a fraud," and labor organizations took the lead in demanding an authentic Australian system. The Knights' District Assembly denounced the legislature for considering this "miserable substitution" and demanded enactment of their own ballot bill. "Never did public sentiment appeal more unanimously for a law," concluded a reporter for a New York newspaper. Democratic regulars retreated, reviving the Australian ballot bill prepared by the Democratic Business Men's Association, which they amended and promptly enacted into law. Although it applied to only fourteen of Maryland's counties, it represented the adoption of the state's modern system of voting.³⁶

Significantly, however, the Republican legislators, after clamoring for the Australian ballot, voted against the measure while regular Democrats supported its passage—suggesting that in their amendments the Democrats had learned how to shape the Australian system to their own purpose. Indeed, it is inaccurate to conclude, as some political scientists have done, that the adoption of the Australian ballot ended the previous practice of manipulating the electoral framework for partisan purposes. Although labor reformers, mugwumps, conservative businessmen, and political radicals had led the movement for ballot reform, the actual law was shaped and enacted by practical politicians who understood the electorate and how election machinery influenced political outcomes. The law derived from political conflict; not surprisingly, it also reflected it. "In matters of [electoral] legislation," one newspaper later concluded, "the 'professionals' beat the amateurs every day."³⁷

In the first place, the legislature attempted to retain some of the familiar partisan features of the old ballot system while providing the secret and official characteristics of the new. Rather than adopting an office-bloc ballot format, which would minimize partisanship and encourage split-ticket voting, the Maryland law adopted the party-column format. This grouped candidates by parties in parallel columns, at the head of which appeared party vignettes to enable the voter to distinguish the separate party slates. The new law, moreover, provided that a single mark by a vignette would constitute a vote for the entire party ticket, and thus it facilitated straight-ticket voting and minimized the demands placed upon the partisan voter.³⁸

Second, the law attempted to promote the particular interests of the dominant Democratic party. It authorized the governor, rather than county commissioners, to appoint a Board of Election Supervisors in each county. Although such three-member boards were to have minority representation, this measure gave the Demo-

crats control of the election machinery in every county, including those which formerly had been controlled by Republicans because of local political alignments. Next, the law authorized the appointment of state election police equal to the number of federal supervisors and deputies at each polling place. Regarding the federal election officials as "merely Republican hustlers," the Democrats seized the chance to offset them with state-appointed Democratic hustlers. But, of course, as the *Civil Service Reformer* observed bitterly, the Australian system was purportedly designed, by providing for public distribution of tickets, to eliminate hustlers, not to provide for them legally and at public not party expense. Since no qualifications, not even residency, were required of such election police, this provision seemed to improve Democratic opportunities to control voting while shifting party campaign expenses to the public. Another provision of the new law also seemed to provide opportunities for Democratic party workers to continue to influence voters. This authorized foreign-born voters (but not illiterate blacks likely to vote Republican) to be accompanied by a friend at the polls. Not only mugwumps and Republicans but many Democrats viewed this provision as a means to facilitate vote buying and other fraud.³⁹

Nor were third parties like the Prohibitionists altogether pleased with the legislation they had long demanded. Although it did authorize each party to have a challenger in the polling room, it also explicitly excluded third parties from being represented among the ballot clerks and practically excluded them from serving as election supervisors and judges by not explicitly providing for them. Moreover, while the law mandated printing and distributing ballots at public expense, thereby removing one of the major difficulties third parties had faced under the former ballot system, it also established rules for parties to gain access to those ballots. For existing parties, the rules were nominal but still restrictive: such parties must have received one percent of the vote in the preceding election. For new parties or independents, however, nomination and placement on the legal ballot required filing with public officials a petition of registered voters, with the number of signatures necessary ranging from two hundred to five hundred depending upon the office sought. An inability to meet those requirements, because of time, organization, or finances, effectively eliminated such citizens from equal participation in Maryland's elections, for the Australian ballot law prohibited the resort to ballots not sanctioned and issued by the state. One of Gorman's Democratic followers had earlier objected to the Australian system because it involved "the imperial coercion by the State of the voter's will in requiring the use of a single form of ballot." Such rhetoric reflected the Democratic image as the party of "personal liberty," but the practical effect of this concern would be felt by citizens of other partisan inclinations.⁴⁰

Finally, the Australian law also assigned to the state other powers of "coercion" over matters that formerly had been left to political parties or individual citizens. It authorized election supervisors to decide which group was entitled to party names and ballot vignettes when claimed by more than one group. This served to regularize the electoral process by removing some of the confusion possible under the old system and limited the possibility that a bolting faction of a party—such as the Independent Democrats—would be able to appropriate the advantages of the party's traditional symbolism. The law also discouraged factionalism and strength-

ened the regular party machinery by requiring that the nomination papers of candidates be signed by the regular officers of the party convention. By preventing the printing and issuance of "bogus tickets," moreover, the Australian system gave the regular party organization increased control over local party officials and the ability to impose its will on conflicting groups, an instance of the law's ability to strengthen the "machine."⁴¹

Republicans, Independents, and laborites were not satisfied with this ballot legislation but did support it as a great improvement over the previous system. The depth of Republican discontent was revealed, however, during the fall campaign when party officials filed suit against the law, challenging its constitutionality on technical grounds related to the circumstances of its passage and because it did not apply to all counties. Their real objection, however, was against the provision that empowered the governor to choose election supervisors. Under the previous arrangement of having the county commissioners appoint election judges, Republicans had controlled the election machinery in several counties, particularly in Western Maryland. Expediently employing traditional Democratic rhetoric in an effort to protect this partisan advantage, Republicans condemned this new provision as "a flagrant act of centralization and partisanship" which "cheated the people by robbing the counties of their right of self-government." The Democratic State Committee retained counsel to assist the state's attorney general in defending the law before the courts. Mugwumps and Democrats of all opinions were appalled at "the Republican assault" upon the Australian ballot, regarding the matter as "a political case, instituted for party purposes strictly," and revealing "a good deal of hypocrisy in this Republican cry for ballot reform." The *Sun* insisted that Republicans relied on bribery and intimidation to retain the votes of blacks and Western Maryland miners, respectively, and therefore opposed secret voting. "Yoked in an unholy alliance with the employing corporations, the Republican party is opposed to the enfranchisement of the workingman, the freedom and secrecy of the ballot."⁴²

Maryland's courts also rejected Republican arguments and upheld the Australian ballot law, clearing the way for the first election to be held under its provisions. To prepare the electorate for the new style of voting, both Democrats and Republicans organized campaign schools to instruct voters in the use of the new ballot. Party officials taught voters to select the right column by recognizing the party vignettes—the Democratic rooster, liberty tree, or Andrew Jackson portrait, depending on the voting district; the various pictures of Lincoln used by the Republicans; the Prohibitionist rose or flag. They carefully explained how to mark the ballots, a voter's task that had been not only unnecessary but actually discouraged under the party-ticket system. Finally, to overcome popular apprehension about being "shut up in a box" to vote, both major parties constructed voting booths and carried them around the state to illustrate the new system of voting at each political rally. Party newspapers also used the campaign to educate the voters, printing facsimiles of the official ballot and detailed directions on how to vote.⁴³

The 1890 election itself brought general satisfaction with the new system. Although many voters approached the Australian ballot experience and especially the booths "with trepidation," most were pleased. The major complaint in Baltimore was about the smallness of the voting compartments. "But even the worst booth,"

declared the *Baltimore American*, “was a great advance over the old system, where the voter was assailed by [party] workers and crowded by ticket holders and made generally uncomfortable.” Because the law prohibited electioneering within sixty feet of the polls, moreover, “it was one of the most quietly conducted elections ever held in Baltimore.” In the counties, voters and observers also rejoiced over the new system of voting. “It is the first time a poor and timid man could go up and vote as the equal of the greatest,” announced one Western Maryland newspaper. “It is the first time there was no collaring or hustling or intimidating. The vote is a free and true expression of the popular will.” The *Hagerstown Mail* concluded, “The most popular institution in Maryland at this time is the Australian ballot law.”⁴⁴



There remained problems, of course. Secret voting did not altogether end election bribery but merely required a change in tactics. Because the briber could no longer be assured that the vote was delivered, he now bribed opposing voters *not* to vote. “This method of bribery is rendered necessary by the Australian Ballot law,” declared one observer, and the cost increased to \$7–10 per voter.⁴⁵ In “the Bohemian districts” and other ethnic precincts in Baltimore, moreover, there was little secrecy in voting, and often Democratic workers still guided voters to the polls and controlled the conduct of the election. Labor groups, especially the Knights of Labor, complained that the voting compartments were too small to adequately shield the voter from observation and immediately began to lobby for larger and improved booths in order to prevent observation and guarantee secrecy in voting.⁴⁶

Because of popular satisfaction with the Australian system, Democratic Governor Elihu Jackson recommended in 1891 that the law be extended to all counties with proper revisions to accommodate the complaints. The Democratic-dominated

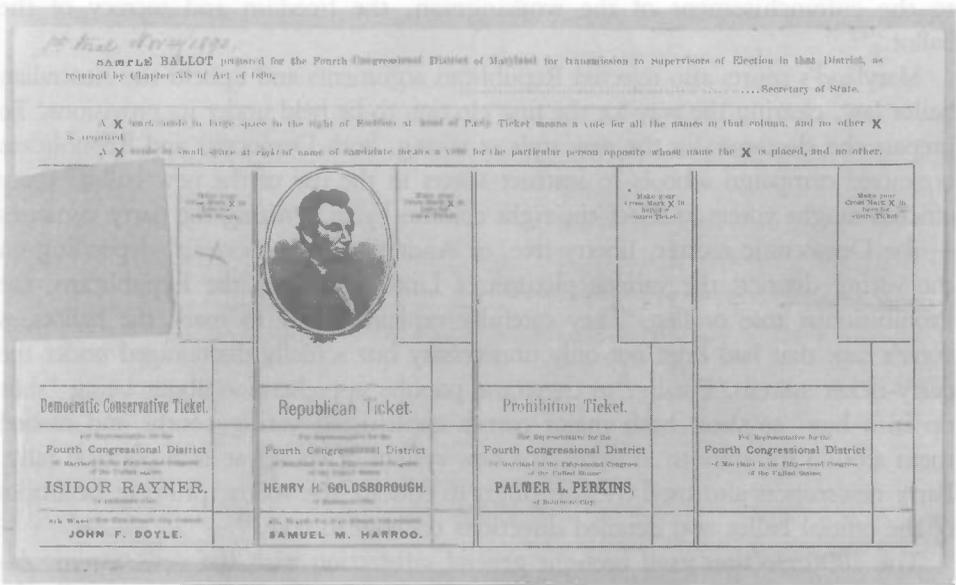


FIGURE 7. Partially mutilated sample ballot under the Australian system, permitting the voter to select from the available parties and nominees in the secrecy of a voting booth. (Maryland Historical Society. Photo: Jeff Goldman.)

Maryland legislature of 1892 promptly adopted legislation accomplishing these purposes but also seized the occasion to make further revisions in the ballot law that again demonstrated both the law's ability to achieve partisan purposes and the ironic effects of ballot "reform" upon its original advocates. Whereas ballot reformers had viewed the Australian system as a way to facilitate independent and third-party nominations and to guarantee independence to the voter, the Democrats now used the law to prevent both objectives.⁴⁷

These revisions reflected political developments in the 1891 campaign. The first was the unprecedented political activity of Maryland's farmers, organized into the militant Farmers' Alliance. They were largely responsible for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination of Frank Brown over Gorman's opposition and were determined to control the legislature to enact taxation reform. Newspapers described the Alliance activity as "a cause of anxiety to the leading Democrats." Most alarming was the possibility that the Alliance might even join with Baltimore's labor groups to form a radical new party—a specter raised by Alliance state president Hugh Mitchell of Port Deposit when he assailed both major parties for rejecting Alliance demands. Democratic leaders decided that "delicate and ingenious" steps were needed to control the Alliancemen within the party.⁴⁸ Gorman's command of the party and state politics was also threatened from the right by the Independent Democrats, and their actions in the 1891 campaign provided the incentive for a second electoral change by the 1892 legislature. As in the past, they fused with the Republicans, doing so under the new Australian system by filing petitions to place their joint nominees on the ballot under the heading of "Independent Democrats" as well as in the Republican column. This enabled them to vote for the fusion candidates as Democrats rather than as Republicans, a disagreeable prospect in such a partisan age. Gorman, a firm believer in party government, denounced the possibility of independent success as "more objectionable even than Republican success."⁴⁹

In the 1892 legislature, then, Democrats attempted to constrain voters within the partisan harness by amending the ballot law. Their objective, as the *Sun* observed, was to "limit, if not destroy, the possibility of any independent action in politics by multiplying difficulties in the way of independent nominations," either as independents or as new parties. One new law prohibited listing again on the ballot any candidate nominated by petition if he were already listed as the nominee of a party. Henceforth, Independent Democrats would have to sacrifice their partisan identifications and vote as Republicans or else lose the effectiveness of a fusion campaign. State control of the electoral process thus restricted the electoral possibilities which had been available under the party-ticket system and worked to the advantage of the dominant party.⁵⁰

More immediately controversial was a second new law. Dubbed the Carter amendment, after Gorman's House leader, this measure applied only to Baltimore and made major changes in the process of nomination by petition. Rather than permitting petitions to be circulated freely, it required citizens to go in person to Baltimore City Hall to sign the petition papers before the Board of Election Supervisors and to swear and sign an affidavit that they were registered voters, intended to support the candidate, desired to have him elected, and would not aid any other candidate. This law prevented citizens from signing petitions simply to give ev-

eryone an opportunity to vote for the candidate of their choice by assisting in placing his name on the ballot; it would also cause petitioners to lose at least half a day's work and pay; and by requiring them publicly to swear their voting intentions, it violated their voting privacy, effectively nullified the concept of a secret ballot, and subjected them to possible intimidation. It was expected that the difficulty, inconvenience, and expense would persuade most people not to try to nominate independent candidates. An attempt to organize a new party able to compete fully in Baltimore would be frustrated by the need for at least 4,400 voters, evenly distributed across the city's twenty-two wards, who were willing to make such personal sacrifices. Mugwump reformers, who often had organized independent candidacies in the past, condemned the Carter amendment as "a plan for making the nomination of any but machine candidates for the [City] Council almost impossible."⁵¹

Baltimore's labor organizations were even more vociferous in their opposition. Electrical Assembly 6280 of the Knights of Labor, one of the earliest and most active supporters of the Australian reform system, denounced the Carter amendment as destructive of popular rights, and other local assemblies as well as the Baltimore District Assembly 41 passed ardent resolutions against the measure. The Knights also sent delegations to Annapolis to lobby against this "disfranchising" measure. The *Critic* titled the measure "A bill to suppress independent candidacies in the city of Baltimore" and declared that it made the Australian ballot "an instrument of oppression, instead of one of freedom, which it was intended to be."⁵²

Democratic politicians agreed that the amended ballot law would "prevent any more independent candidates" and enjoyed the naiveté of their opponents. "No matter how often we fool the businessmen and innocent mullers," said one Baltimore machine politician, "they are always ready to be fooled again."⁵³

The political effect of the new ballot law was promptly demonstrated in the fall campaign when it effectively suppressed the new People's Party. Organized in August by members of the Farmers' Alliance and directed toward the labor organizations of Baltimore, the new party secured the necessary five hundred petitioners in each of the first, second, and fifth districts to nominate candidates for Congress and presidential elector but was prevented by the new law from nominating candidates in the two districts in Baltimore. "This law was passed after our party had obtained a foothold in other states, in order to keep us out of Maryland," charged Populist State Chairman Nelson Dunning of Sykesville. "It is a Democratic force bill to keep the People's Party out of this state." Dunning maintained that the Democrats themselves would find it difficult to make nominations under the legal restrictions but wisely noted "they were making laws for others, instead of themselves." He estimated that the ballot restrictions disfranchised five thousand voters in Baltimore, and the *Critic* agreed: "Many old labor men were in the party and are, no doubt, much discouraged. The so-called Australian ballot law militated against them very largely."⁵⁴



Thus the achievement of the Australian ballot "reform" and its extension to the whole state by 1892 did not end the partisan use of the electoral structure, and

subsequent revisions in the election law would often follow the same pattern. Rather than weakening the machine or facilitating independent nominations and voting or fostering third parties, ballot legislation often had the opposite effect, at least in the short run. What ballot laws really accomplished was the expansion of the role of the state in the political process, and that expansion, in turn, permitted the politicians in power to use state authority to promote self-serving conditions of order. The *Baltimore Sun* noted this ironic consequence of electoral reform when it concluded that the Australian ballot law had become "an engine in the hands of those who at first dreaded and opposed its enactment, and against whose influence the law was intended to operate as a barrier and a safeguard."⁵⁵

NOTES

1. See Paul Kleppner, *The Third Electoral System, 1853–1892: Parties, Voters, and Political Cultures* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979); Albert C. E. Parker, "Beating the Spread: Analyzing American Election Outcomes," *Journal of American History* 67 (1980): 61–87; Jean H. Baker, *Affairs of Party: The Political Culture of Northern Democrats in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).

2. *Laws of Maryland*, 1874, chap. 229; *Laws of Maryland*, 1876, chap. 223; *Civil Service Reformer* (Baltimore) 2 (1886): 6 and 3 (1887): 25; *Baltimore American*, 26, 27 October 1886.

3. *Laws of Maryland*, 1874, chap. 490; *Baltimore Sun*, 20 August 1885.

4. *New York Times*, 7 May 1880.

5. *Baltimore Sun*, 11 September 1879; *Civil Service Reformer* 2 (1886): 5, 77–79.

6. *Revised Code of the Public General Laws of Maryland*, 1878, Art. 5, pp. 46–7. See Baker, *Affairs of Party*, pp. 306–311, for a useful description of voting in Baltimore County in 1864. Despite the beliefs of several historians, Maryland apparently never prohibited colored ballots.

7. *Baltimore American*, 2 November 1886; *Cumberland Daily Times*, 5 November 1888, 2 November 1889; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, 27 October 1875; *Baltimore Sun*, 7 November 1879.

8. *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, 4 November 1875. The judge's dexterity was necessary for Maryland attempted to prohibit pudding tickets by providing that multiple ballots found "deceitfully folded together" in the ballot box should be rejected. *Maryland Code*, 1860, Art. 35, p. 262.

9. Elihu S. Riley, *A History of the General Assembly of Maryland* (Baltimore: Nunn & Co., 1905), p. 389; *Baltimore True Democrat*, 26 October 1875; *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, 28 October 1875; *Citizen* quoted in *Baltimore Sun*, 8 November 1879.

10. *Hagerstown Mail*, 29 November 1889. For an excellent account of this practice in New Jersey, see John Reynolds, "'The Silent Dollar': Vote Buying in New Jersey," *New Jersey History* 98 (1980): 191–211.

11. Albie Burke, "Federal Regulation of Congressional Elections in Northern Cities, 1871–1894" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1968); *Ex parte Siebold*, 100 U.S. 371 (1880).

12. *Hagerstown Mail*, 11 April 1890; Burke, "Federal Regulation," ii; *Maryland Laws*, 1872, chap. 208, 1874, chap. 61 and 361, 1880, chap. 375.

13. For a description of "army-style" campaigns, see Richard Jensen, "Armies,

Admen, and Crusaders: Types of Presidential Election Campaigns," *History Teacher* 2 (1969); 33-50.

14. *Maryland Laws*, 1874, chap. 250, 1884, chap. 190, 1886, chap. 189. Such restrictions had been decreed for Baltimore in 1860. *Maryland Code*, 1860, Art. IV.

15. *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1879 (New York: D. Appleton, 1880), 596, 1881 (New York: D. Appleton, 1882), 534; *Baltimore American*, 23 October 1886.

16. The best study of the mugwumps remains John Sproat, "*The Best Men*": *Liberal Reformers in the Gilded Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968). For Baltimore, see *Civil Service Reformer*, *passim*, and Eric F. Goldman, *Charles J. Bonaparte, Patrician Reformer* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1943).

17. Charles J. Bonaparte to James H. Raymond, 14 May 1895, Bonaparte Papers, Library of Congress; *Civil Service Reformer* 2 (1886): 6, 21-22 and 4 (1888): 39; *Baltimore American*, 30 October 1886; James B. Crooks, *Politics and Progress: The Rise of Urban Progressivism in Baltimore* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), 14.

18. *Civil Service Reformer* 3 (1887): 11-12, 23-31; John R. Lambert, *Arthur Pue Gorman* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953), 135; R. E. Wright, "Some Problems in City Government," *An Address to the Landlords Mutual Protective Association*, 26 November 1889; Margaret Law Callcott, *The Negro in Maryland Politics, 1870-1912* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969), 42.

19. *Civil Service Reformer* 5 (1889): 140; C. K. Yearley, *The Money Machines: The Breakdown and Reform of Governmental and Party Finance in the North, 1860-1920* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1970), 174-5.

20. *Baltimore Critic*, 16 June 1888; *Civil Service Reformer* 4 (1888): 7; *Baltimore American*, 2, 3, 5 November 1886.

21. *Baltimore Sun*, 27 October 1877, 11 September 1879; *Baltimore American*, 28, 29, 31 October 1886.

22. *Baltimore American*, 25 October, 1 November 1886; *Baltimore Critic*, 9 June 1888.

23. *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1887 (New York: D. Appleton, 1888), 457.

24. *Ibid.*; *Civil Service Reformer* 4 (1888): 34.

25. *Civil Service Reformer* 4 (1888): 30, 18; *Laws of Maryland*, 1888, chap. 155, 104, 112.

26. *Civil Service Reformer* 4 (1888): 39, 42-3, 76; 5 (1889): 7.

27. *Ibid.*, 4 (1888): 7; *Hagerstown Mail*, 3 January 1890.

28. *Baltimore Critic*, 14, 21 July 1888; *Baltimore Sun*, 18 March 1892.

29. *Civil Service Reformer* 4 (1888): 21 and 5 (1889): 19, 138-9; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1889 (New York: D. Appleton, 1890), 533. The Knights were insistent that the voting rights of illiterates be protected and proposed the use of party vignettes on the ballot for that purpose. The Reform League's proposal caused its members to be castigated as "pseudo reformers." The Reform League, declared the *Port Tobacco Times*, an organ of the regular Democracy, "is always careful that none of its alleged reforms shall in any way impinge upon the ignorant colored vote." "This great league has always directed its energies at the white Democrats," the *Times* continued. "It would not have mattered that a few illiterate white Democrats should have been disfranchised by the system." *Port Tobacco Times*, 27 December 1889.

30. *Civil Service Reformer* 5 (1889): 107-9, 145; *Hagerstown Mail*, 13 December 1889.

31. *Hagerstown Mail*, 31 January 1890; *Appleton's Cyclopaedia*, 1889, 533; *Civil Service Reformer* 5 (1889): 138-9.

32. Callcott, *The Negro in Maryland Politics*, 50; *Civil Service Reformer* 5 (1889): 137-8.

33. *Baltimore Critic*, 4 January 1890; *Cumberland Daily Times*, 11 January 1890; *Journal of the Knights of Labor* (Philadelphia), 23 January 1890.
34. *Hagerstown Mail*, 15, 22 November 1889; 3, 31 January, 21 February 1890; *Baltimore Critic*, 4 January 1890; *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, 23 January 1890.
35. *Hagerstown Mail*, 14 March 1890; *New York Times*, 17 March 1890.
36. *Baltimore Critic*, 1 March 1890; *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland*, 1890 (Annapolis: George Melvin, State Printer, 1890), 463, 1073; *New York Times*, 17 March 1890.
37. *Baltimore Sun*, 8 March 1892.
38. *Laws of Maryland*, 1890, chap. 538.
39. *Ibid.*; *Hagerstown Mail*, 11 April 1890; *Civil Service Reformer* 6 (1890): 30; *New York Times*, 17 March 1890.
40. *Laws of Maryland*, 1890, chap. 538; *Cumberland Daily Times*, 11 January 1890.
41. *Laws of Maryland*, 1890, chap. 538. For this feature of ballot legislation, see John Reynolds and Richard L. McCormick, "Outlawing 'Treachery': Split Tickets and Ballot Laws in New York and New Jersey," *Journal of American History* 72 (1986): 839–858.
42. *Baltimore Sun*, 22, 23 October 1890; *New York Times*, 28 August 1891; *Congressional Record*, 51st Cong., 1st sess., 1890, 21, pt. 7:6676; *Hagerstown Mail*, 12 September 1890; *Baltimore Critic*, 29 March 1890.
43. *Baltimore Sun*, 22 October 1890; *Lankford v. County Commissioners of Somerset County*, 73 Md. 105; *Hagerstown Mail*, 31 October 1890; *Baltimore American*, 1, 4 November 1890.
44. *Baltimore American*, 5 November 1890; *Hagerstown Mail*, 7 November 1890.
45. *Hagerstown Mail*, 17 October 1890. For this type of "deflationary" fraud, see Gary W. Cox and J. Morgan Kousser, "Turnout and Rural Corruption: New York as a Test Case," *American Journal of Political Science* 25 (1981): 646–63.
46. *Baltimore American*, 5 November 1890; *Baltimore Critic*, 26 March 1892.
47. *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1891 (New York: D. Appleton, 1892), 495.
48. *New York Times*, 20 July, 12 August 1891.
49. *Baltimore American*, 22, 24 October 1891.
50. *Baltimore Sun*, 8 March 1892; *Laws of Maryland*, 1892, chap. 236. This was not as strong a ballot restriction as the anti-fusion legislation enacted elsewhere, for the Maryland law still permitted a candidate nominated by two parties (as legally defined) to have his name listed in the ballot columns of each party; it simply restricted the freedom of "independents." For this other legislation, see Peter H. Argersinger, "'A Place on the Ballot': Fusion Politics and Antifusion Laws," *American Historical Review* 85 (1980): 287–306.
51. *Laws of Maryland*, 1892, chap. 205; *Baltimore Sun*, 8, 24 March 1892; *Civil Service Reformer* 8 (1892): 32.
52. *Baltimore Critic*, 12, 19, 26 March 1892; *Baltimore Sun*, 18 March 1892.
53. *Baltimore Sun*, 15 March 1892.
54. *Baltimore American*, 28, 30 October 1892; *Baltimore Critic*, 5, 12 November 1892; *Baltimore Sun*, 11 August 1892.
55. *Baltimore Sun*, 8 March 1892. Subsequent revisions in Maryland's election laws can be traced in Callcott, *The Negro in Maryland Politics*, and Crooks, *Politics and Progress*. For suggestive comments about the long-run effects of the Australian ballot in weakening party dominance in the electoral system, see John F. Reynolds, "Testing Democracy: Electoral Behavior and Progressive Reform in New Jersey," *Historian* 48 (1986): 231–254.

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

Captain Robert Rowley Helps to Burn Washington, D.C.

Part 1

PETER ROWLEY

While the fight against Napoleon continued in 1812, England also became embroiled in a war with the United States. Because of the French threat, the British attempted to prevent the Americans from trading with the French and often seized American sailors and ships. In June 1812 Congress, at the request of President James Madison, declared war on Great Britain.

One hundred seventy-two years later I was doing some research on my family's history, particularly that of my great-great-great grandfather, Owsley Rowley, who lived from 1754 to 1824. During his twenty-year tenure as Governor of Jamaica the 5th Duke of Manchester appointed Owsley to substitute for him as Lord Lieutenant of Huntingdonshire in England. Another actor in the story of the Rowley family was Captain Robert Rowley, first cousin, once removed, to Owsley Rowley.

Two bundles of letters from Robert to Owsley were found in a Midlands warehouse in 1984 by Ted Hofmann, an American manuscript expert living in England, who was recommended to me by Nicholas Poole-Wilson, managing director of the famous London rare-book firm, Bernard Quaritch. Because naval promotion in those days was dependent on ability and influence, Captain Rowley sought the powerful Owsley's help in advancing his career. In 1812 Owsley approached the First Lord of the Admiralty, Charles York, and Robert was promoted from lieutenant to commander. Later he became a captain.

Robert Rowley was born on 15 August 1784 and entered the Royal Navy at the age of 12. Dawson Rowley, grandson of Owsley, author of *The Chronicles of the Rowleys*, a handwritten family book, wrote that Robert was "good-looking, with fine teeth, blue eyes, dark hair, and had the reputation of being a capital Seaman and like his brothers in the Army a most determined and brave officer."

By April 1814, Napoleon had been defeated and the British government determined to send a force of Wellington's regulars and Royal Marines to reinforce Admiral Sir George Cockburn in harassing and blockading the American coastline, particularly the mid-Atlantic. There lay the Chesapeake Bay, Baltimore (the third largest city in America), and the federal capital, Washington. Captain Rowley

Peter Rowley, born in England, spent the first six years of his life at the Huntingdonshire (now Cambridge-shire) estate earlier belonging to the recipient of these letters. Mr. Rowley now lives in New York City; his books include *New Gods in America* (McKay, 1971) and *Ken Rosewell: Twenty Years at the Top* (Putnam, 1976).

commanded a troopship, *Melpomene* (Latin name for the Greek muse of tragedy), carrying several hundred British marines. Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane commanded the combined naval and army task force.

[Editors' note: This text attempts to render faithfully Captain Rowley's spelling, capitalization, punctuation, paragraphing, and abbreviation—except that (for the sake of readability and consistency) raised letters are lowered, marks that clearly end sentences appear as periods, and the first letters of sentences are capitalized. Where, in our judgment, inserting a sentence break might alter Rowley's intent, we have added no punctuation and instead supplied extra space where one sentence may have ended and the next one begun. Square brackets indicate an editorial intrusion; used sparingly, they supply words necessary for the apparent sense of a passage or mark a doubtful transcription. Angle brackets enclose words that Rowley probably wrote in the original document but that have been damaged by moisture, torn by breaking the letter's seal, or otherwise failed to survive the test of time. In order to save space, we have standardized the format of Captain Rowley's place-date notations; we omit H.M.S. *Melpomene* from that part of his letters.]

In the first of Captain Rowley's letters to his patron, Owsley, he described the outset of the campaign:

Siberian Anchorage Commonly called St. Helens, April 8th. 1814

My dear Sir,

We dropped down here yesterday, which is a perfect banishment. We are in sight of the world & yet out of it. The wind is getting favorable and I have an idea we shall proceed. I very much fear you did not get a letter I addressed you on the 2nd. inst. It contained a package for your amiable daughters, some verses I promised to send them. It was franked by Lord Torrington. Not having had any reply, strengthened by my servant running away who had it in Charge to put [it] in the Post Office, I fear it has not been received.

I therein stated having 300 Marines on board & the probability of sailing hourly under Lord Cochrane. But he does not go. And we are now under orders of Captn. Skeme whom you may have heard the Duke of Manchester mention. He is a pleasant Man. We are to meet Sir Alexr. Cochrane at Bermuda. We are there to join an Expedition formed—and what part of the Coast of America we start for from thence I know not—but I hope to God we shall be successful and lessen the dignity, and pomp of a misjudged, and impolitic people.

I beg you, Sir, Mrs. Rowley and every individual of your excellent and amiable family to accept my warmest wishes and high respects. God bless you all. Ever sincerely your attached & faithfully obliged R. Rowley

Because of Owsley Rowley's high position in Huntingdonshire and his connection with Jamaica, the lawyer in June 1814 received a petition against the slave trade. This petition was drawn up at a public meeting in London chaired first by the Duke of Gloucester and secondly by the Marquis of Lansdowne. The petition included "the warmest Thanks . . . to

William Wilberforce, Esq., the Father of this great cause." The petition protested that "the recent Treaty of Peace with France" would permit the resumption of slavery in the French territories of Africa. Owsley Rowley's response is not known, but we found the anti-slavery document among his papers.

Following the anti-slavery broadside came Robert Rowley's next letter describing the voyage from the waters north of Scotland to Bermuda, and dances on board the naval vessels. Men danced with men—usually. But on these ships were a few wives of officers and also, unofficially, women on the ship euphemistically described as the men's "wives." Rowley further mentions a "74," a large ship carrying 74-pound guns. *Thalia* in Greek mythology was the muse of comedy and bucolic poetry; *Jonathan* was a British nickname for Americans.

Bermuda June 18th 1814

My dear Sir,

An opportunity at length offers of sending to England by way of Halifax, and as I feel it a bounden duty to acquaint you with my movements and prospects I cannot but avail myself of it and I beg you to believe that gratitude prompts inclination. Our passage was excessively tedious having been out 62 days without seeing any land. The heat was intense. The first part we encountered adverse Gales, and on running to the South ward for the Trade Winds (which by the bye we never found) we came too quickly up with the Sun and had him nearly vertical three weeks continued. Celons I became very short of water for five weeks we had but $\frac{1}{2}$ Gallon of Water each man. For cooking indeed for everything, and on our arrival I had but 10 Tins of Water with 410 Souls on board. We arrived on the 6th. June. Sailed 7 April. We are now very busy completing stores and expect to sail about Sunday or Monday next about 21st. or 22nd. We found the Commander in Chief Sir Alexr. Cochrane here most anxiously awaiting our arrival. Our Expedition at present consists of two Ships of the line, *Tonnant & Asia*. The former flies the flag of the Chief. There are only three troopers of us viz. *Regulus*, *Brune*, & *Melpomene*. Two bombs *Terror* *Aetna*. The former we towed across the Atlantic she sailed so ill. Although the passage was long and unprofitable yet we made it out tolerably well comfortable and the Tragic Muse has changed her name or at least the Captains & officers of the Squadron have declared her to be *Thalia* and not *Melpomene*. Although so very hot I regularly turned the hands up every Evening to dance. The crew I gave one side of the Ship and on the opposite the Officers. And I most generally led off with one of my Young Midshipmen. I found it to answer excessively well. The ship was the most healthy for my Sick list never exceeded 10 when that of *Brune* and *Regulus* had from 30 to 50. We did not lose a Man either from ill health or accident which I consider peculiarly fortunate and the Old Ship bore the Gales far beyond my expectation and the Charge of Guns rendered her much more comfortable in every respect. The ship laboured less, and we did not ship one third the water she formerly did. I have written to the Admiralty to state my opinion on the subject. I was rather prejudiced against this Island on our approach to it for it is surrounded by Rocks which are of a terrific nature nearly even with the water's edge. And for leagues & leagues you are running among them. The pilot has no marks but is entirely guided by the look of the water, and in some places you absolutely form the letter S with the ship(s). In others the Channel is not as wide as the (beam) of a 74. In coming in my anxiety

was great—and my nervous system was somewhat effected. The Anchorage looks excessively wild for you are open to the Ocean more than half the Compass. The Moore's description of the Bermuda's is very correct there is a great diversity of scenery which is extremely pleasing to the eye. And I would recommend all strangers coming here to be contented with an Eye view—not to enter into any of their hovels, for they are neither more or less than what is described to be the residence of our Irish peasantry. The few natives that I have conversed with are illiterate, insipid & sadly deficient in intellect, manners uncouth, and indeed they appear a miserable race. The Islands from their soil would yield the choicest fruits and vegetables but alas! their indolence seems even to surpass their ignorance which is saying a great deal. Money seems to be their sole object, and when got, they have neither the Heart or Head to dispose of it. Every thing is insufferably dear: meat at 3.6 or 4.6 per lbs. To sum all up and denote the Bermudian Character no Jew can exist in the Colony. Two or three have attempted it but have been driven away—by the sharpness of the dealings of the native here. You will excuse this faint attempt to describe the Character of the Bermudians. I am but a sorry hand at the descriptive. The Cedar Groves are very luxuriant. I am sorry to say we came too late for the Arrow Root season or I would have got some to send Mrs. Rowley. The Island is famed for it.

June 24th. The Surprize did not sail immy. for England therefore with the hope of something going direct I have deferred sending this by way of Halifax. Since commencing to begin [?] this what an unexpected quick change in the affairs of the World. Of Europe in particularly what an aggrandizement to our blessed Isles to have so many Crowned Heads on a visit to its metropolis. I do most sincerely wish that the War with America may be carried on with the utmost vigour, & let their own destruction be hurled upon their own heads. Their unjust, unprovoked declaration of War came at a moment that will forever stamp their characters. They imagine their Mother Country was at the lowest Ebb. The Continent shut up by the Milan decrees—and that by declaring War all Supplies for her Navy would be cut off. How mistaken Jonathan has been. Our Dock Yards [contain] perhaps a greater portion of Stores in them than had been the whole war. Misguided people, they had better depose Maddison, until they do peace will never be restored.

Pray beg Mrs. Rowley and all your truly amiable family to accept my grateful regards and warmest wishes. I shall ever live mindful of your & their kindness to me. I shall write to David [Owsley's eldest son who became a barrister] very shortly—and the moment I know we are off I will again address you. God bless you and all yours, my dear Sir Believe me ever in Sincerity and faith Your faithful and obliged R. Rowley.

In August Captain Rowley reported on the British campaign against Potomac River communities in Maryland and Virginia.

My dear Sir,

From Bermuda I address'd you detailing particulars of our passage—and willing you should know our further movements I avail myself of the Jasseurs going from hence to Halifax taking with her under Convoy the Spoils of our active operations



FIGURE 1. The scene of Rowley's Potomac forays. Detail from Dennis Griffith, *Map of the State of Maryland*, 1794. (Maryland State Archives.)

here. We entered the heads of the Chesapeake on the 11th. Ulto. and on the 15th. joined our most active Gallant and admirable Admiral Cockburn up the Patuxent whither he had been to drive Commodore Barneys flotilla away. On the 17th. a division of our force took place—leaving 1 in the River Patuxent. The Severn Captain Nourse Brune another Trooper, Etna Bomb, and Manly Brig. The Admiral in the Albion, Loire, Regulus, and ourselves compos'd this Squadron. On the 18th we proceeded up this River, and at midnight of the 18th. we assembled in our boats under orders of Captn Browne of the Loire, Captn Ramsay of Regulus taking charge of first division, myself of the 2nd. At dawn of day we landed 7 miles up a Creek, and by six we were in quiet possession of the Town of St. Leonards having taken it by surprize. We here took 80 Hhds. of Tobacco, some flour, Military Clothing, several stand of Arms. The inhabitants being peaceable we did not fire any of their houses. The Ladies declared we were very civil and vastly polite—and by ten that night we were all on board again. Our force consists about 800 Marines & with the blue Jackets about 1500. But the latter are so wild we do not let them land unless absolutely to storm a field piece which they do in great style sword in hand. They desire no better fun. On the 20th we met resistance & took up a position for the night had two men killed two wounded and an attempt

to poison some of us by putting Arsenic in some Whiskey laid out for Jack to take. We burnt and destroyed Houses, Corn and every thing in our route, for which we are termed in the American papers a Merciless Enemy, Savages. These are foul Epithets but they come from a dastardly Yankee. They say also they have ascertained we have Cavalry—fools that they are. Our Cavalry consisted of Admiral Cockburn, Capt. Browne of Loire, myself occy. mounted & the Major Commanding. We returned on the night 21st. [On the] 23rd we were off again. The enemy showed themselves on a plain—but the moment our bayonets were seen & Bugle sounded to advance they fled. Our skirmishers are fine light troops. 'Tis astonishing with what rapidity & precision they advance. We here destroyed several vessels that had been run ashore on our approach brought off two light ones. Purchased live stock from a man who had not quitted his property which is an inviolable rule with Admiral Cockburn. Any person who stays by his property and does not drive his stock away he affords protection & purchases from him at the market price—but if they run away & stock driven off—then we hunt for stock, drive it down to the boats & take it off as plunder & fire their houses. Our next trip 26th destroyed 7 vessels brought off 22 Hd of oxen, 60 sheep. On 30th. we went 20 miles up the Wicomico River, there took possession of the Town of Chaptico—where some Ladies who had heard of our good behaviour at Leonards Town remained—and sang and played on the Piano. We took from thence 70 Hhds of tobacco, some flour, & military stores but preserved their houses purchased from them stock and various articles of provisions. The men all fled, but

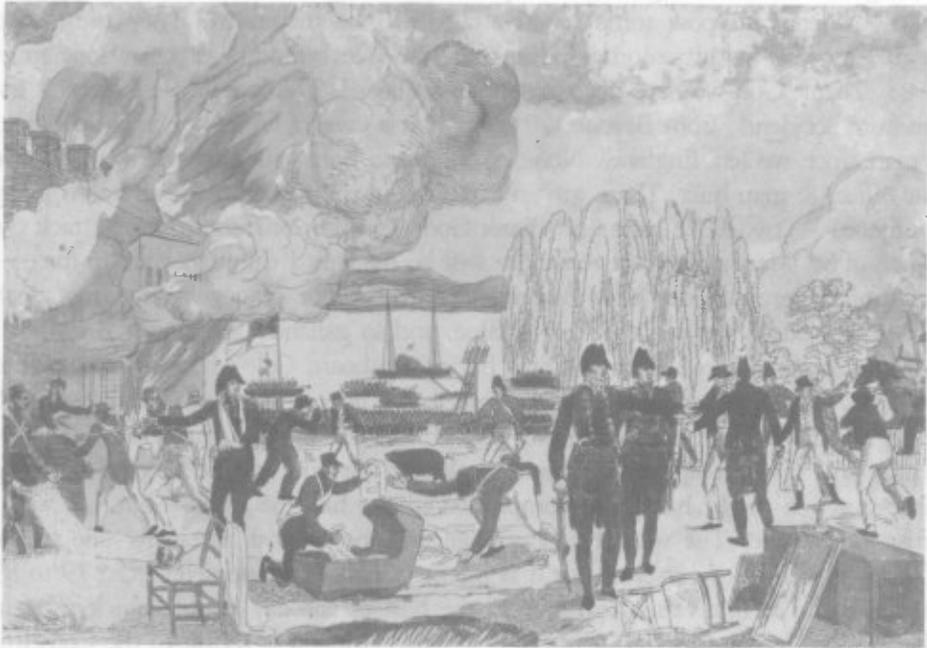


FIGURE 2. "Admiral Cockburn Burning & Plundering Havre de Grace on the 1st of June 1813. done from a Sketch taken on the Spot at the time." A year before Captain Rowley arrived in the Chesapeake, British landing parties had made life miserable for Marylanders living near the water. In this raid on the upper bay, a horseman shouts, "Stand aside you yankeys or I'll ride over you. Don't you know I'm a British officer?" (Hand-colored etching attributed to William Charles, MHS.)

the Ladies remained to see the wonderful Admrl. Cockburn and the British folks. On the 1st. we moved down again, and on the 3rd. we met the warmest resistance up the Yeocomico River. Field pieces opened on us just at day light, the Admiral far advanced. They fired some excellent shot. However it did not dismay our boats but caused them to pull in with greater rapidity. The boats grounded the troops were out in an instant though up to their hips in the water and galling 'fire' away we dashed. We saw them tackle their horses to the field pieces, but to no avail. The Admiral & skirmishers came up with them 8 miles off. They fled in all directions & we brought off the field piece in fine triumph. All this done between 6 A.M. & noon. At 1 P.M. we observed a body of Cavalry collected and infantry drawn up on a hill above the town of Kinsale. We got into our boats again pulled up directly for them, when at two they opened their fire, our boats & schooners with Guns returned a sharp fire and the Marines landed. They fled. Here we killed 8. Saw a quantity of blood evidently from wounded carried off. This village was immediately fired their breastworks & battery destroyed, burnt 3 schooners brought off four and 67 Hds of Tobacco, some flour. On the 6th in the Evg. we saw about 1000 Collect at the mouth of the River Coan throwing up breastworks: although the following morning was Sunday the Admiral made a dash. They kept up a brisk fire at our boats but retreated. We destroyed their batteries but could not come up with 4 field pieces—being obliged to keep the whole body together. However we fired their houses brought off 20 Hhds of Tobacco, 3 schooners. Since which Sir Peter Parker in the Menelaus, and the Hebrus have joined—informing the Admiral of the Commander in Chiefs intention of joining us immediately. Arrangements are making for his reception. He brings an additional force of 5,000 men—when I suppose some grand attack will be meditated. They must soon begin, for the sickly season is advancing fast. Next month all operations must cease. Thank God we have not a sick man on board. The few in the Surgeon's list are from accidents, from Bayonets, Thorns, not a Case of fever, nor have we buried a man since we left England. None of ours have been killed or wounded. I have one officer & man hurt. There was an explosion in my launch made all hands jump overboard two alone were hurt thank God. To night or tomorrow we attack the Town of St. Mary's. I expect resistance will be made as I think they are in force—but unless very superior they cannot stand the valour of our little Army, such unanimity exists between the Red & Blue, and so gallantly led by our Admiral. I am now become Head Quarter Ship, having on board Col. Malcolm. Recd. him yesterday. I will create additional expense, but I hope this month will clear £150 from Agents Debt if tobacco arrives safe at Halifax. Agents have been liberal—which will never escape my memory. I almost fear you will be tired of my long history which might have been compressed in one half the space—but you will I trust forgive me. The warfare is a strange one and a most harrassing one to the Enemy as well as to ourselves, for it is intensely Hot. Thermometer from 79 to 89 in the shade at intervals—to move in the heat of the day double quick time in chace of an Enemy Carrying a musket, & days provision is trying to the Constitution. I have had two attacks of Cholera Mortis—two or three doses of Calomel have removed it—but it produces such immediate debility. Admiral would not let me go this last attack but must have a touch at St. Mary's. I have quite an establishment on board—a very nice little Charger taken at Nomini where they

fired at us briskly. A Mule & Cow I have also. The Charger was saddled when taken so that I have him ready for the field. We are about to take possession of the Island of St. Georges at the mouth of a river of that name near the Entrance of the Potowmac when we shall land our troops and water the squadron. I shall land my Rosinante & go through Equestrian Evolutions. He is rather too much for me I fear. He has a vast deal of blood & I keep him too well. He gave me a precious kick the other day. Sailors spoil him. What think you Sir of the Naval Captain mounted as a Dragoon. After this long, viz my role, allow me to inquire after Mrs. Rowley & all your truly amiable family. I shall have a new subject to converse on whenever fortune, good fortune, allows me to pay my respects to you as to her. However, I must acknowledge I do not wish to quit these shores until the war is at an End, and that we have brought America to a right & proper understanding. Her declaration was unwarrantable & unjust in the extre(me.) The Federalists are gaining ground—the Cry for (peace) is resounded where they dare open their lips. The {torn} Virginians are Democrats. It is them we have been oposed to. Something 'Ere long must take place, there will be a division in the States no doubt their papers are filled with Bombast, and unjust illiberal sentiments and Cowardly abuse. I must now close. Pray offer to Mrs. Rowley, David and every individual of your excellent & amiable family my warmest regards. I have had no time to collect roots yet. May I beg you to remember me with respect to all those I am acquainted with in Huntingdonshire—particularly the “Ommission” [?] family—the Duberlys. I will have some Botanical history for Miss Duberly when next we meet. With every feeling of High respect & grateful regards believe me ever your obliged & faithful.

By the same conveyance I address'd you before I wrote Mr. Hay [a high official of the Admiralty] determining not to lose sight of his friendship. We are here very happy the Captains more like brothers than anything else our minds well employ'd by the Energetic movements of our Admiral. All Ennui all Hypochondriac complaints are here banished but one spirit prevails that is a thirst after Glory an anxious wish to meet the Enemy even upon more than equal terms. God bless you my dear Sir and all your treasures, an amiable & interesting family & believe me in sincerity & truth *Your faithful and grateful Captain, Robert Rowley.*

The next letter concerns the British attack on Washington, D.C. Historians support the basic outlines of Captain Rowley's story. The capture of Washington, though not a major military defeat, was a humiliating experience for the Americans, whose militia was indeed routed at Bladensburg. During that engagement, British Colonel Thornton performed an amazing act of bravery. Followed by a soldier, he ran across a strategically located foot bridge at Bladensburg despite intense enemy fire. Not surprisingly, he was severely wounded; but his action inspired other English soldiers to follow. Soon they were sufficient to rout the badly organized American troops.

River Patuxent Chesapeake Bay Augt 30th. 1814

My dear sir,

I cannot resist the opportunity that offers of acquainting you with the glorious news and of the almost incredible valour of our joint forces, and the Heroic Result.

On the 20th our army under Major Genl. Ross landed about 50 miles from Washington consisting of about 4,000 men Marines and seamen included. On that Evng they commenced their march skirting the River and the boats of the fleet under Adml. Cockburn [pulling] up to attack and destroy Commodore Barney's Flotilla consisting of 16 Sail of vessels with Heavy Artillery. On Sun 21st they were heard of and on the mornng. 22nd. just as our boats made their appearance they all blew up in succession with the exception of one now in our possession. This was at Upper Marlborough. Our army was in the vicinity. Here Adml. Cockburn, that indefatigable & Brave officer, joined Genl Ross, urging him to march on and attack the Federal City the seat of Government. No Commissariat being appd. no provisions for a marching Army. Here the Genl. paused and hesitated as to the propriety. However Adml. Cockburn prevailed to move on. Seamen shou'd carry provisions and ammunition. His suggestion was readily assented to and miles off our brave fellows moved on. The heat was intense, but they marched with incredible rapidity to a village called Bladensburgh where they meant to take up a position for the night of the 24th. much jaded with fatigue. The right Brigade to which our heavy artillery were attach'd were much in the Rear the roads being dreadful and only dragged by seamen. But the Americans seeing this opened their fire which was tremendous though their position was immensely strong, one hill covering the other, aided by a branch of the Potomac which we had to Cross. They



FIGURE 3. Flag of vessel taken by Capt. Robert Rowley in the Chesapeake campaign of 1814. Painting by Caroline Rowley (c. 1860) in a family book with an inscription reading "The Stars represent the States 16 in numb: at first there were only 13, in 1844 there were 26, and the numb: may increase." (From the collection of Peter Rowley.)

had destroyed their immense bridge, and there was only a small one which two men abreast alone cou'd cross. Genl Ross ordered the advance with the Light brigade consisting of not more than 1200. They were opposed to 14 Pieces of Artillery—24 & 18 prs. besides field pieces—8,000 Infantry, 600 Cavalry, 600 Seamen under Commodore Barney. They flew from before our little Band. The right brigade then 3 miles off, also moved on, on hearing the cannon fired, to such an excess that several sunk under it, absolutely died on the road from fatigue and anxiety to be up. By evening the American Army fled. Our troops entered Washington that night, burnt the House of Congress, Admiralty, President's Palace in fact all publick buildings. The following day destroyed the Arsenals, blew up the ordnance one—in which we lost several men. The explosion was so dreadful, & subterraneous magazines we knew nothing of blew up. The only man who made a stand with his seamen viz. Commr. Barney is desperately wounded fell into our hands, but was given his parole. Our loss in officers very great as is generally the case foremost in everything. Poor Col. Thornton who led light brigade I fear mortally [wounded was] left behind as indeed most of our wounded being chiefly grape wounds. Maddison & Monroe were in the field, but fled on Barney's being wounded. Words cannot be found to express the unanimity existing and the valour displayed throughout. Ross & Cockburn have immortalized themselves.

I was knocked up at Benedict [a town 50 miles south of Washington], and Adml Cockburn would not allow me to proceed. I have not got over my former exertions in the Potomac. Debility so soon takes place. I am hardly to be termed convalescent, and fear there is but little hope of returning Health during our stay in these waters. Medical men are of opinion that the air I breathe is inimical to my constitution. The sickly season has set it. I am in hopes we shall go to the northward & get bracing winds. I have here purchased you a Hogshead of the most superior Madeira, brought direct from thence by a person of my acquaintance. It was purchased the day of the Conflagration of Washington, & I have term'd it Washington Madeira. It is certainly dear but excellent. I have drawn a Bill on you at thirty days for £41.5. I have also got a Pipe for Lord Ilchester. It is warranted. For my immediate consumption I have a quarter Cask. Yours shall be cased and taken the utmost care of, in this weather it must improve greatly. I do not know whether I have exceeded your wishes. If I have, you will forgive me. Pray present my most respectful regards to Mrs. R & accept my most fervent prayers for the happiness of yourself and every individual of your amiable family. Ever most sincerely your faithful, R. Rowley.

The Captain then copied in his own handwriting, and endorsed in his letter to Owsley, an official dispatch that had been circulated among the soldiers and sailors of the marauding fleet, issuing from the commander, Admiral Cochrane.

Tonnant in the Patuxent 3rd Sept. 1814

Genl. Memo,

The Commander in Chief cannot permit the Fleet to separate without congratulating the Flag Officers, Captains, Commanders, Officers, Seamen and Marines

upon the brilliant success which has attended the combined exertions of the Army and Navy employed within the Chesapeake.

An intricate River of great extent has been navigated one extreme to the other without the loss of a single vessel.

The whole of the vaunted gun vessels of the enemy follow'd by our flotilla up to the very head of the River have been either burned or taken, our Army has beaten that of the enemy double their number, captured their Cannon and entered the City of Washington in triumph. The Capitol, the Palace of the President, the Military Arsenal, the Naval Yard, a fine frigate of the largest class just about to be launched, a sloop of war, a large Rope Walk, the Treasury, the War Office, the bridges on the two branches of the Potowmac and all other public buildings, about 20,000 stand of Arms, above two hundred pieces of Cannon and immense quantities of ammunition have all been either destroyed or rendered useless And the Army has been reembarked with a loss trifling in Comparison with the service performed and of consequence only on account of the high value of the suffering individuals.

The Commander in Chief has great reason to be satisfied with the Flag Officers, Captains, Commanders, Officers, Seamen and Marines for their conduct throughout this important service. His thanks are particularly due to Rear Adml. Cockburn and to those who composed the Flotilla and were attached to the Army of whom Major Genl. Ross has spoken in the strongest terms of approbation. He wishes to call their attention to the advantages which have in the present instance arisen from the harmony and united zeal that has been conspicuous betwixt the two Services, and he relies upon a similar good conduct on their part producing similar advantages hereafter. "To the respective Flag Officers, Captains Commrs, Officers, Seamen & Marines of HM Ships & Vessels empd within the Capes of Virginia Sigd Alexr. Cochrane Vice Adml & Commr in Chief Pr. Malcolm Rr Admiral

Captain Rowley then continued his letter.

The above I think strongly and handsomely worded, a well adjusted stimulus, though little is wanted in our small but brave Army. I do think it impossible for more perfect unanimity to exist than does at this moment between Army & Navy. General good humour pervades, and some of the military officers having brought their wives, the battle being ended we have regular Balls, Dinner parties, Pick Nicks on shore—landing, the bands serenading in the woods. Our Balls are held chiefly on board the Royal Oak, Adml. Malcolm and the Dictator Trooper Adml. G. Grofton commands her. All tends to enliven us, but alas! we shall feel the dull monotony of a tedious winter in the Chesapeake. The Army gone, God knows where, and poor us who have the Marine Battalion are doomed to winter in this dreary, and dreadful Chesapeake no one solace open to us.

I must now copy the thanks of the immortal Gordon & his brave squadron, whose conduct surpasses every thing and I do say it is unparalleled in Naval History.

Book Reviews

Maryland Lost and Found: People and Places from Chesapeake to Appalachia. By Eugene L. Meyer. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986. Pp. 244. Index. \$16.95.)

This is a book about Ida Richardson, a farmer's widow living out her days in Tilghman; and about Jay Seltzer, who grows the Mexican roses you see in the flowerpots at the Harbor Tunnel's toll booths; and about David Burdock, the undertaker in Kitzmiller. And about motel operators and tobacco growers and crab pickers.

In other words, it's about people—and more about everyday people than any other kind. Eugene L. Meyer has written a book about some of the many sides of Maryland that other authors have scanted. The result is populist history, for the most part recent populist history since much of the book is based on interviews with Maryland elders. One of the attractions of the book is that it avoids condenscension; Meyer seldom sees his people, whether old or young, as quaint. Also, though his point of view is personal, it's rarely, as we say nowadays, judgmental. Even when he describes the racism that has tainted Maryland life, he doesn't preach. The book is straightforward, the style workmanlike. Even if the thread that ties the chapters together is his first-person narrative, the book never turns into "Maryland and Me."

Meyer has reported for the *Washington Post* since 1970 and has covered Maryland matters for a substantial slice of that time. Still, the *Post's* customary haughtiness toward Maryland seldom surfaces in his book. The major exception is Baltimore. He begrudges Baltimore its notable renaissance, preferring to describe the problems that Baltimore shares with nearly every other American metropolis. "Beyond its renaissance," he sniffs, "Baltimore is a microcosm of urban ills." Take that, Baltimore!

Meyer's is a brief book, so the problem of selection has been crucial. He has to write about Baltimore but after that he's relatively free to pick and choose. What he chooses is often whimsical. His map of Maryland turns out to be interestingly odd. Smith Island looms large, for example, while affluent Montgomery County is represented only by a tiny Confederate enclave. Yet he's entitled to his preferences because the state is so rich in its variety. After all, there's no such thing as a typical Marylander; the fact validates the need for choice, both social and geographical. For instance, he obviously enjoys interviewing his octogenarians and they obviously enjoy talking to him. The book reveals that he has mined the recollections of older persons from the Eastern shore to Appalachia.

The best way to show the nature of his choices might simply be to give a run-down of his chapter titles. Chapter 1, "The Land of Gentry," is on the Eastern Shore moguls and their way of life. Chapter 2, "A Bridge in Time," is on the opening up of the Shore and the grim battle about racism in Cambridge. Chapter 3, "The Vanishing Islands," is an obituary. Islands once populated if not populous have been sinking inexorably into the Chesapeake Bay; the story Mr. Meyer tells is a melancholy one. Chapter 4, "The World of the Watermen," focuses on the men from Smith Island, the most unreconstructed place in the whole state of Maryland. Chapter 5, "Annapolis by the Bay," offers us a look mainly at the downside of that stately little city; while chapter 6, "Life after Slots," about the Western Shore, is all downside. Chapter 7, "Pride in Tobacco," describes what's happening to this beleaguered leaf especially in Prince George's County. The growers realize they're fighting a rear-guard action but they find it hard to give up. Mr. Meyer overhears a woman announce, "You don't know how to strip tobacco you ain't from Merr-lin."

Chapter 8, "Military Maryland: A Tale of Two Bases," contrasts the gaudy world of

Andrews Air Force Base, home of the president's plane, with somnolent Fort Meade, whose rebirth will come, in all probability, only with the threat of another war. Chapter 9, "Yesterday's Interstate," chronicles the rise and fall of US 1, a major artery on the trip from Washington to Baltimore, toward the towers of Manhattan. This comes out as one of the best chapters, for US 1 was truly a people's highway. It had everything from fancy motels to overnight havens for the "hot pillow" trade. Chapter 10, "Harbor Tunnel Vision," is another lively example of Mr. Meyer's eye for the unexpected. The tunnel isn't just a pass-through, it's a community of dedicated people trying to keep it working. Among them is the director, Bernie Jedrowicz, who knows an enormous lot about the tunnel that the public doesn't know, including the fact that it has catacombs prepared to shelter ten thousand in the event of a nuclear attack.

Chapter 11, "Baltimore Lost and Found," is sour. Meyer explains, with a touch of apology, that his assignments from the *Past* often had him reporting on the places with the worst problems. Slum housing is one of them, and he reports with glee that two aides in the Reagan White House own ill-kept Baltimore property. Chapter 12, "On the Metropolitan Frontier," takes us to Western Maryland, where we glimpse the battle against racism and other prejudices, in Buckeystown in particular. The area is being inundated by Washington's overflow population, and the result isn't always pleasant for the oldtimers. Chapter 13, "Maryland, C.S.A.," continues the complaining that began with the chapter on Baltimore. Chapter 13 is more genealogical and antiquarian than any other chapter; the result is boredom. Poolesville is the place, as he describes it, that tried longest to keep the Confederacy alive.

As the book nears its end it grows dreary. Somehow the zest Meyer brought to his watermen and motel operators and tobacco farmers leaks away. Chapter 14, "Channels," concentrates on the effect the closing of the railroad has had on the town of Brunswick. It has been the prime channel not only for goods and passengers but for jobs, for prosperity. Once Veterans Day had been the town's leading festival, but now it was withering like the railroads. Chapter 15, "Appalachian Springs," sounds as if it's going to be idyllic. It isn't. The closer we get to the mountains, the bleaker the prospect. The town of Kitzmiller is inhabited largely by elderly widows and they symbolize the situation the town finds itself in. The springs have been polluted through the coal mining of years past and aren't good to drink. They prove to be polluted metaphorically as well, for the town's beloved doctor has been convicted of selling "controlled substances." And chapter 16, "No Free Lunch," tells us about hard times in Garrett County, farthest west and highest up of all Maryland counties. Meyer opens this final chapter by telling us about an old man who froze to death in an unheated house in the mountains. That sets the tone.

I can only wonder what happened when Meyer got to writing the final chapters of the book. Did he run out of material or interest? Did he just grow tired? Or is it simply true that the further you venture west in Maryland, the rougher the terrain?

Regardless, he has given us a good book, one that helps to fill a void in Maryland's current history. The book is—to use a term the British invented—a good read; in fact, a very good read.

CARL BODE

Professor Emeritus

University of Maryland, College Park

Maryland Wits and Baltimore Bards. By Frank R. Shivers, Jr. (Baltimore: Maclay and Associates, 1985. Pp. 339. \$19.95.)

"... imagine a class of 20th century Maryland authors. At the head of the class H. L. Mencken and F. Scott Fitzgerald would receive A's. Many others would earn a C or less. (F. Hopkinson Smith would get F.) The class would be remarkable, though, for the

number of B's and B+'s. Shining there would be innovators such as Dashiell Hammett, James M. Cain and Ogden Nash."

Frank R. Shivers, Jr. shares this observation in the opening of chapter nine of *Maryland Wits and Baltimore Bards*, but it might also serve as a metaphor for the entire book. Mr. Shivers has taken on a monumental task—the writing of a readable literary history of Baltimore and Maryland from Ebenezer Cook's poetic satire, "The Sot-Weed Factor," to John Barth's contemporary novel, *The Sot-Weed Factor*.

Shivers makes brief but always insightful stops at the lives and works of Francis Scott Key, John Pendleton Kennedy, Edgar Allan Poe, Frederick Douglass, Henry Adams, Mencken, Fitzgerald, Gertrude Srein, John Dos Passos, Katherine Anne Porter, Anne Tyler, Russell Baker, Barth, and many others. Along the way, Shivers provides anecdotes, observations, and sound literary research about the major (and some not so major) figures of the 350-year history of literary Baltimore and Maryland. The project was such a massive one, Mr. Shivers must be forgiven if he did not get to know intimately each of the figures to whom he assigned a grade.

On pp. 20–21 Shivers offers a set of "general criteria for inclusion: works must have been published for the general reader and have had popular appeal." Given these criteria, one might argue about the inclusion of some scholars such as Ola Winslow and Edith Hamilton, while leaving out others like the existential essayist, Ralph Harper. Although we can't argue with the A's given to Poe, Mencken, and Fitzgerald, we might suggest there were some smaller children marked absent because they had the misfortune to be seated behind some of these bigger boys. Elliot Coleman, deceased Baltimore poet and director of the writing seminars for many years at the Johns Hopkins University, is a case in point. He receives a one line mention in the text, but does not appear in the index. Although the amount of Coleman's poetry was not immense, the individual poems are always well crafted and full of a vitality you don't find in the work of William Force Stead, one of the 20th century poets Shivers includes in his book.

There are stretches in *Maryland Wits and Baltimore Bards* (four or five pages at a time) where no page numbers appear. There may be a method to this madness, perhaps part of the design of the book, but it is disconcerting for a reader who likes to have some idea where he is. Other minor glitches include the picture on p. 281. The caption suggests it was taken on Katherine Anne Porter's 79th birthday, while the picture index indicates it was her 89th birthday.

These are minor quibbles when measured against Shiver's insight. His eye for the important detail, as well as the interestingly trivial, is more than just commendable. He reveals why Baltimore is called "Mobtown," where the expression "hooker" originated, and where the story of George Washington and the cherry tree can first be found.

Shivers has done the Maryland literary community, and literary historians in general, a tremendous service with this book. It is written in a crisp and always engaging style. It is a book any serious lover of Maryland literary history must read. Mr. Shivers should be given an A-.

STEPHEN J. VICCHIO
Department of Philosophy
College of Notre Dame

Havre de Grace: An Informal History. Edited by Peter A. Jay. (Havre de Grace, Md: The Susquehanna Publishing Company, 1986. Pp. 194. Appendix, bibliography. \$17.50 hard cover; \$10.95 paper.)

Throughout 1985 the good citizens of the River City that is Havre de Grace, Maryland, celebrated their bicentennial as an incorporated community. This volume is one important byproduct of that celebration, which included pageants, parades, exhibits,

speeches, displays, lectures, and a television documentary. The editor, publisher of the local newspaper, gives due credit to the many interviewees as well as to the comparative few who researched and wrote their own essays and recollections.

Recognized highpoints of county history receive topical treatment in the fifteen chapters. For example, "The Early Days" (Captain John Smith's 1608 discovery of the Susquehanna River to the establishment of the Susquehanna Canal in 1783); "The City Burns" (the 3 May 1813 sack by the British); "Crossings" (ferries to Cecil County, railroad bridges, and the Route 40 highway); and "The Tidewater Canal" (tow barges between Wrightsville, Pennsylvania, and Havre de Grace during the 1840s through the 1860s).

A town struggling to become a "city," town commissioners dealing with state legislative requirements and local community developments, local leaders vying for popularity and votes—happenings typical of other fledgling American towns make this story all the more fascinating. Still, not every town can boast such a locale: at the mouth of the Susquehanna River and the head of the Chesapeake Bay. This juxtaposition became a magnet to the magnates from Philadelphia and New York as they discovered the Susquehanna Flats, "a waterfowling paradise" filled with myriads of canvasbacks, Canadian geese, and shad.

Havre de Grace has been the home of such famous industries as the canal business, float fishing, duck hunting, canning, and decoy carving, and of such noteworthy Marylanders as Commodore John Rodgers (and sons), Senator Millard Tydings (and son, Senator Joseph D. Tydings), and the former state treasurer William S. James. Landmarks have included Concord Point Lighthouse, the Bayou Hotel, a well known racetrack, and—truly noteworthy—a literal gallery of historic American homes, church buildings, and commercial properties.

The chapter discussing blacks in Havre de Grace provides needed black perspective as it shows the several ways the black presence contributed to the social and economic history of the area, to say nothing of the educational system which for so long was segregated.

The editor recognizes this book to be "an informal history." The book's many black-and-white photographs help create a visual image of that vital history. Still, anecdote leaves many questions unanswered. Historical connections to the growth of the rest of the county and the state have not been substantively attempted. There is no index and no chapter end-notes to inform us regarding the use of source material. Nevertheless, the editor achieved his immediate purpose: to infuse the reader with an overview and appreciation of a home-town that's had quite a history and the promise of an even better future.

JOHN E. BROWN
Harford Community College

Thomas Jenkins of Maryland 1670: His Descendants and Allied Families. Compiled by Edward Felix Jenkins, O.S.A. (Published for the Museum and Library of Maryland History, 1985. Pp. xii, 392. Index, illustrations. \$20.75 plus \$2.00 postage and handling.)

The Jenkins Family of Southern Maryland traces its ancestry to Thomas Jenkins who arrived in Maryland in 1670 with his wife Ann. From Thomas Jenkins's original residence in Charles County the family spread through Southern Maryland and by the third generation had settled in Baltimore County. By the fourth generation members of the family reached Kentucky; one member of the fifth generation went to California, where he died. Included among the descendants are military officers, school administrators, clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, professors, judges, a mayor, and a winner of an academy award. Jenkins sons and daughters married into a number of other Maryland families, and the book contains information on Abells, Boarmans, Clarkes, Davises, Edelens, and others who trace their maternal ancestry back to Thomas and Ann Jenkins.

Information on the families is arranged according to the New England Historic Genealogical Society's "register" plan. All of the children of the immigrant are discussed in the chapter entitled "Second Generation," and the grandchildren are dealt with in the chapter, "Third Generation," and so on. Each child of a couple is given a small Roman numeral, and those children who are traced in the next generation are also given an Arabic numeral. Using these Arabic numerals it is easy to trace a given ancestor back to the progenitor. The style of the type, layout, numbering system, and biographical information included under many of the heads of families make this a highly readable, informative family history.

Following the text of the book is an appendix with a lengthy discussion of traditions concerning the European origins of Thomas Jenkins the Settler. Father Jenkins objectively examines these traditions, but admits that no conclusive evidence relating to the Settler's alleged kinfolk in England or Wales has been found. The book also contains almost thirty pages of data on allied families who married into the Jenkins family. These short narratives contain a chart showing the relationship between the "Allied Family" and the Jenkins line, and material on the origins and early generations of the family.

The compiler has placed at the end of each chapter a list of references used, but in the text itself there are numerous references to published family histories, tombstone inscriptions, obituaries and other sources. Wills, account books, family papers and Bibles, probate records, county histories, marriage licenses, newspaper items, and published family histories have been used to compile this history.

There are some illustrations in the text, mostly of old houses and churches in Maryland, and photographs of the book's compiler as well. There is a complete name index covering some sixty-eight pages.

In summary, the book is well documented, easy to read, and use, and replete with biographical information that not only highlights the achievements of the Jenkins family but also tells a good deal about the problems of a Roman Catholic family in early Maryland. Copies may be ordered from the Maryland Historical Society. The book is highly recommended.

ROBERT W. BARNES

Perry Hall

Women and the Law of Property in Early America. By Marylynn Salmon. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986. Pp. 267. \$24.00.)

For many years, Robert Morris's learned and elegant essay, "Women's Rights in Early American Law," was the single most important resource on property law and women's status in early America. Recently a number of specialized monographs and articles have undermined Morris's overly sanguine portrait of women's proprietary capacities. Until now, however, we have lacked a new synthesis. Marylynn Salmon's excellent *Women and the Law of Property in Early America* admirably fills this need, providing a comprehensive study richly informed by the latest scholarship in legal, social, and women's history.

The book covers several related and central topics—conveyancing and the contractual capacities of married women, equity law and separate estates for married women, inheritance and provisions for widows, and divorce and separation—by analyzing statute and case law in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. Professor Salmon highlights the decades between 1750 and 1830. She also rightly focuses on married women, because single women, despite their political disabilities, had in principle the same legal powers over property as men.

Professor Salmon concludes that her "inquiry into the property rights of American women revealed above all else a picture of their enforced dependence. . . . Only under

certain circumstances, at particular times, in precise ways, could a wife exercise even limited control over the family estate." Early American law was founded upon patriarchal images of a unitary family governed by its male head. Although the law offered protection to married women, it did not (by and large) grant them independence. Thus, for example, the common law gave a husband the right to manage his wife's real property, but did not grant him the power to alienate it permanently without her consent. Accordingly, most colonies and states required a married woman to undergo a private examination when her land was sold in order to ensure that her consent to the transaction was freely given. When properly enforced, private examinations increased the chance that a woman's property would be preserved for her own heirs rather than transferred to her husband's creditors. But this legislation was protectionist in spirit; it was founded on the premise that the inevitably dependent woman was liable to fall victim to the "coercive" power of her husband. Legislators and jurists did not try to alter the basic legal context that ordinarily denied married women the independent power to manage and dispose of their own property.

Professor Salmon does not, however, take a static view of the law. Although the overall framework remained one of dependence, there was movement toward increased autonomy for women. Legal reforms were gradual, uneven, and piecemeal, but their cumulative impact significantly enhanced women's formal powers over property by the opening decades of the nineteenth century. Reforms also signalled the beginnings of a new outlook on women's legal status as new viewpoints about marriage and family authority relations emerged and competed with older, patriarchal imagery. This view of change has several interesting implications. One is that the mid-nineteenth-century Married Women's Property Acts were as much the product of long-term legal developments rooted in the colonial past as they were the result of sudden reform impulses or shifts in social outlooks. Professor Salmon also finds that the Revolution was not a major turning point in the history of women's legal status. With a few significant exceptions, most reforms affecting the position of married women were either underway before the Revolution or cannot be attributed directly to it. This view supports those who hold that periods of significant change in women's history do not necessarily correspond to the conventional watersheds in political history.

Perhaps the most startling and interesting aspect of the book is the finding that women's rights in property were considerably more limited in New England than they were in the southern colonies and states. (New York and Pennsylvania were intermediate cases; the former most closely resembled the southern colonies, the latter, New England). The primary explanation is that the southern colonies had separate equity courts, while New England did not. In the colonies, as in England, equitable principles mitigated the harshest effects of common law. To give only the most important example, under the common law, a married woman could not manage, mortgage, or sell her own land, and her personal property became her husband's absolutely. However, equity law did recognize "separate estates" for married women that could grant them some or all of these powers of ownership. To be sure, it was complicated to create a separate estate, and the use of this device, both here and in England, was largely confined to elites. Indeed, the development of equity law owed as much to the desire to protect and augment large estates in a changing economic, demographic, and political environment as it did to altered concepts of womanhood and the family. But the fact remains that when equity law was well developed, as in the South, separate estates and other means for enhancing the proprietary capacities of women remained formal legal possibilities.

Thus, ironically, the aristocratic South, including South Carolina, provided a legal environment more hospitable overall to the rights of women than did comparatively egalitarian

tarian New England (there were specific exceptions, especially in the area of divorce law). Professor Salmon's explanation for the difference, apart from the bare existence of equity courts, is complex and may generate controversy, as interesting arguments often do. Pragmatic tinkering to suit local conditions aside, early southern legislators and jurists adhered to English precedent and procedure comparatively closely, partly out of inertia and partly from a slightly defensive admiration for British metropolitan culture. Letting well enough alone turned out to be a boon for women judging by what happened in New England. Puritans insisted on simplifying what they regarded as the suspiciously monarchical aspects of English law and procedure. Equity courts were a major casualty. Thus, the whole apparatus of "separate estates" for women remained stunted throughout the colonial era in New England, while it became more sophisticated and general in the South. But even common law protections were slighted in New England. For example, legislators in colonial Massachusetts never enacted a statute requiring private examinations, while Southerners insisted on strict enforcement of their statutes. Again, Professor Salmon evokes an ideological climate to explain developments in New England. Although patriarchal ideology was a universal feature of Anglo-American culture, Puritans, far more so than Southerners, were committed to reinforcing the peaceable harmony of families; they had horror of legal principles that tacitly admitted to the possibility of separate and divided interests among family members. In short, a zeal for legal simplification when combined with patriarchal ideology actually diminished the rights of married women in the era of early settlement. In many areas of the law, the New England states would still be playing "catch up" with their southern cousins in the early nineteenth century.

All told, Professor Salmon provides a striking argument to account for differences between New England and the South, an argument that is likely to hold up in main outline. My one minor reservation is that she may overemphasize the Puritan reform impulse and commitment to peaceable families, even for the seventeenth century. There are passages which, for this reader, evoked an older imagery of dour, fanatic dissenters, an imagery effectively dismantled by Edmund S. Morgan and John Demos.

Property law in the early modern era is a technically complex and potentially arcane subject, one that routinely drives first-year law students into torpor or despair. Not the least of this book's virtues is its accessibility. The author's prose is enviably clear and direct; it makes even the difficult subject of equitable estates easily intelligible to the general reader. *Women and the Law of Property in Early America* is a striking achievement that will be an indispensable reference for anyone interested in women and the law in early America.

TOBY L. DITZ
Johns Hopkins University

To Tell a Free Story: The First Century of Afro-American Autobiography, 1760-1865. By William Andrews. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986. Pp. 353. Annotated bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

To Tell a Free Story traces the changes in theme and structure of black autobiographical narratives written between the first appearance of such self-portraits in 1760 to the end of slavery in 1865. In addition to the better-known slave narratives, the author discusses spiritual autobiographies, criminal confessions, captivity narratives, travel accounts, and separately published interviews and memoirs that were not part of antislavery periodicals or anthologies.

Andrews had divided these narratives into four major chronological periods. During the first fifty years, from 1760 to 1810, the self-portraits were written according to the literary

formula of the time. Dominated by white editorial prerogatives, these earliest captivity-conversion-criminal confessions essentially ignored the peculiar status of blacks and treated the rebellious slave as a "skulker from duty, not a seeker of liberty." While still under editorial influence, an "experimental" period between 1810 and 1840 produced a new type of black literary form in the fugitive slave narrative, which matured in the third era, the 1840s. Andrews sees a further metamorphosis of this genre between 1850 and 1865 as the black storytellers freed themselves from the demands of the white reading public. Unfortunately he does not comment on the potential audience for this post-1850 literature.

The focus of Andrews' analysis is on the changes beginning with the emergence of the slave narrative in the 1830s. This type of narrative appealed to the abolitionists as good propaganda in their campaign against the institution of slavery. The stock character, Andrews notes, was the self-effacing slave who served as a contrast to the rapacious, self-indulgent slaveholder. To satisfy the abolitionist goal of focusing on the evil of the system, the individual was subordinated to the institution.

But the slave as a person gradually asserted himself or herself. By the 1840s the intellectual climate of Romantic reform—due mainly to the Transcendentalists, according to Andrews—helped to forge a new mode of slave narrative. The slave became a culture hero and the narrative itself either a morality play, as in the case of Josiah Hensen, or a Frederick Douglass version of the American jeremiad foretelling a hopeful future of freedom in the North. In Douglass' *Narrative* the heroic fugitive is the rugged individual whose struggle against repression culminates in his successful escape from it.

After 1850, following the Fugitive Slave Act and the Dred Scott decision, opportunities for fulfillment in the North were closed off and the black autobiography took on tones of increasing alienation and militancy. At the same time, the quest for the Afro-American (to use the black Marylander, Samuel Ringgold Ward's expression), to find his "appropriate place" in the world, led to greater independence from the rhetorical and symbolic conventions of the literate white society. Andrews sees these writers as marginal men and women hoping not to bury but to reclaim their past and with it their sense of identity either as a community of Afro-Americans or as an interracial community of women.

Discussing "The Uses of Marginality," Andrews draws on three neglected works: J. D. Green's *Narrative*, Frederick Douglass' later autobiography, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, and Harriet Jacobs' *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*. These autobiographies are usually ignored by historians because of departures from the earlier style of slave narrative, especially in the use of imaginative dialogue. But Andrews treats such anomalous qualities as acts of literary freedom. He argues that this shift in style is exactly what makes the authors able to tell a truly free story. New verbal motifs were essential and integral to the new type of self portrait.

The analysis throughout draws very heavily on the technical language and concepts of a variety of new fields in the humanities—hermeneutics, semiotics, tropology, speech-act theory, *distancia*, to name a few—as well as from the more traditional literary and historical works. Unfortunately the first two chapters drawing on the jargon of these linguistic concepts are written with such convoluted, painfully tortuous sentences that they verge on the unreadable. It is also difficult to overcome a personal prejudice against turning nouns into verbs—"novelize," "potentialise," "dialogize"—which interferes with the flow of the reading.

William Andrews, a Professor of English at the University of Wisconsin, has written several books on black literary sources. His previous experience in editing the works of black women is reflected in his sensitive handling of the black female experience, not as black men in female bodies, but as people with their own distinct goals.

In spite of its limitations, *To Tell a Free Story* is an absorbing tale of invisible people gradually acquiring substance as complex human beings through their verbal self portraits. The writers whose narratives Andrews probes become more than pawns in the hands of manipulative whites or simple tricksters outwitting their masters. In many ways, as precursors of the twentieth century novelists, these black storytellers emerge as creators of a unique literary style full of dialogue and verbal nuances, grappling with the struggle to discover who they are and where they fit into their society.

ELAINE G. BRESLAW
Morgan State University

The Civil War Diary of Anne S. Frobela of Wilton Hill in Virginia. Edited by Mary H. Lancaster and Dallas M. Lancaster. (Privately printed. Order from Mary H. Lancaster, P.O. Box 2068, Florence, AL 35630. Pp. 254. Introduction, appendixes, maps, and index. \$15.00, including postage.)

As Mary Chesnut recounts in her Civil War diary, the first three letters she received from home after Sherman's infamous march to the sea told how an earlier letter by each correspondent, written in rage, had been destroyed. Something in the implicit contract between a letter's writer and receiver seemed to rule out certain kinds of content. With the diary the case is different. A number survive telling their tale of Sherman's atrocities from the victim's point of view. Similarly, Anne Frobela, writing in 1875, admits how she "would like to pour into the ear of my quiet old friend, something more about myself, something more of my trials and difficulties, and how impatiently I take them some times." By then the more intense sufferings Frobela had endured during the Civil War had receded, but it is clear that her diary of that time was the one place where she could vent her helpless rage.

This had not been its immediate purpose. On 25 May 1861 she "determined," she writes, "to keep a daily account of all that occurs, or that we know anything of, hoping, that if . . . [she or her sister] should die before these troubles are over, or if we are destined never to see any of our relatives or friends again, this book may by some lucky chance find its way to the hands of some one who may feel an interest in our fate. . . ." What survives is in part not an actual diary—a day-by-day record—for as she later records, "unfortunately it fell into hands of a malicious [sic] person who destroyed the most of it, leaving a few leaves here and there which I have tried to fill in from memory." Perhaps for this reason it is more compelling than most diaries. The memories of infamous acts perpetrated on her and her sister seem condensed and concentrated, with the usual minutiae of daily life left out. Yet when this reconstructed text is compared with the segments truly written on the days in question, one finds that Frobela's regular style was intense and detailed. This is a record of what was extraordinary in her life, what broke the routine. One will *not* find accounts, as in many diaries, of habitual affairs.

Life during the four years of the war was never routine to the Frobela sisters. What a difference there must have been for those living on the west bank of the Potomac in Virginia from those within view across the river in Maryland! Wilton Hill, the family farm of 114 acres, lay just south of Alexandria, very near Mount Vernon. An 1857 inventory lists nineteen slaves. Anne's father had taught music to the children of Bushrod Washington. Now only two spinster sisters, both in their forties, occupied the place. On the day after the commencement of Anne's diary, the first of uncountable intruders during and after the years of the war entered the premises. These were Union officers searching through drawers in the dining room, they said, for firearms. They would be succeeded by other officers, in pairs or larger groups, who demanded lodging and board—sometimes

for months. Some officers took up residence with their wives, down from the North. One or two of these couples were sensitive and sympathetic to the plight of the women, in whose home they intruded. Others were patronizing and abusive.

Even worse was the almost constant occupation of the outlying fields and farm buildings by Union troops. The destruction they caused was enormous. The sisters lost virtually all of their animals and all of their crops. A prized forest was cut down for firewood. Fences were demolished, as were partitions in the barn. Personal valuables were stolen. Frobels recounts how boxes of fine china, linens, silver, and clothing belonging to her neighbors were shipped off by Union looters to destinations in the North. At any time of day or night, men might knock on the door, demanding food. The worst moment occurred in June 1861, when the sisters, coming back from town, were stopped on the road in view of their place in the broiling sun "for hours and hours." When at last they were permitted to return, "such a sickening, shocking, horrible tale to listen to—The servants had been attacked by the savage, beastly Zouaves—I can not recount it,—I can not think of it—it is too revolting to every feeling of human nature—O! that we could be forever rid of these detestable people! and they said they were coming back again at night." Told with the immediacy of the moment's anger, forcibly suppressed, Frobels' pages invite our empathy. I found I could not use this book for bedside reading; it made me too enraged. Nevertheless, the sheer accumulation day on day of uncertainty, fear, and deprivation—yet also of strategies, often supported by the black servants, to resist their tormenters—tells better than any text I have read before of what life was like for ordinary people whose lives were inalterably changed by the war.

The diary was carried to Alabama, where in 1879, desolate and in poverty, Frobels resumed her sad record. The roof of the house leaked so badly that within or outside the dwelling their feet were wet. "Sometimes when I am weary and worn almost to death," she writes. "I go away off where Lizzie will not hear me, and throwing myself down on the floor indulge in a long and loud fit of tears and lamentations. . . ." If Frobels was constrained to keep her feelings even from her sister, we understand why the two women did all their work "as early in the morning as possible and as late in the evenings as possible, so as not to be seen by passers by." They had been raised in gentility, and though they now were poor, no one would know of their true position. "I don't know why I write," says Anne in this later volume. "But there is a fascination about writing when no one knows of it." This is why only a diary—a record for posthumous reading—could tell the true tale of this underside of the Civil War.

VIRGINIA WALCOTT BEAUCHAMP
University of Maryland, College Park

The Rockets' Red Glare: The Maritime Defense of Baltimore in 1814. By Scott S. Sheads. (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1986. Pp. xii, 156. Illustrations, appendix, maps, bibliography, index. With a foreword by Walter Lord. \$8.95.)

The story of Baltimore's ordeal by fire in 1814 continues to fascinate both scholars and the general public. Drama, heroism, patriotism, and courage come together in this compelling saga of a city besieged and a nation at risk. And how could the ending be improved? Not only is the enemy splendidly repulsed by a citizen army, thereby preserving the national honor, but a young lawyer-poet is inspired by the grandeur of the battle to write a spirited anthem. The event is so central to American history that scholars frequently return to study what happened in an effort to discover new meaning.

Scott Sheads' study, unfortunately, does not add a great deal to either knowledge or understanding of Baltimore's travail. *The Rockets' Red Glare* has little analysis and draws upon manuscript sources that for the most part have already been well explored by other

historians. Sheads seems unfamiliar with large bodies of secondary works pertinent to his topic. His bibliography does not even cite some of the most standard books and articles about Baltimore and the War of 1812. As a result, the book does not occupy a clearly definable position in the historical literature of this period.

Perhaps the author, a ranger-historian with the National Park Service, felt that he was writing a brief, interesting chronicle of the events surrounding Baltimore's defense aimed at a general audience. However, the inherently complex chronology of the battle and its antecedents is not handled with clarity. Sheads further detracts from the flow of the story by frequently inserting lengthy quotations. The few maps accompanying his account are hard to read and will likely add to the frustration of readers overwhelmed with references to military units, ships, and commanders. General readers—as opposed to students of the naval battle for Baltimore—should consult Walter Lord, *The Dawn's Early Light*.

FRANK A. CASSELL

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Quakers in Conflict, The Hicksite Reformation. By H. Larry Ingle. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986. Pp. xv, 310. Illustrations, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$29.95.)

The author, a professor of history at the University of Tennessee, tackles a subject which has been dealt with frequently by Quaker historians in the past—the great schism which took place in Quakerism in the 1820s. Much of what he writes has, therefore, been said before. At the same time, however, he draws upon a number of sources which have been overlooked by earlier scholars: manuscript works by Benjamin Ferris, Thomas White Pryor, and several other leaders of the "Reformation," as well as writings by William Evans, Thomas Evans, and other Orthodox standard-bearers. Weaving all of this material together Ingle produces an interesting account of the forces and factors leading up to the great division in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends in 1827 (with subsequent schisms in Baltimore, New York, Ohio, and Indiana Yearly Meetings the following year). These include domination of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting by the rich "elders," rural distrust of city life and people, personal animosities, the incursion of evangelical theology, and visiting English Quakers (some of whom seem to have been not only insensitive but even real trouble-makers).

Not surprisingly, the author spends the first eleven chapters treating the background for the "Reformation" and the developments in Philadelphia Yearling Meeting where the "Reformation" started and where the events were the most dramatic. He succeeds in bringing many of the issues and some of the participants into sharper focus. Only in the twelfth (and final) chapter does Ingle really reach out to the events in other yearly meetings, although some slight mention of these other Quaker areas does appear from time to time. The developments in Baltimore Yearly Meeting (containing meetings on the Western Shore, in central Pennsylvania, and in parts of Virginia), draw only about four pages (primarily pp. 226–227, 244–245). There is no mention of the Baltimore Friends involved and very little information about the developments in Baltimore Yearly Meeting (except for the fact that as this yearly meeting became Hicksite twenty percent of its members withdrew to form the Orthodox Yearly Meeting). A bit more space is devoted to events in the Southern Quarter of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (which contained Eastern Shore and some southern Delaware meetings), even though it was one of the smaller quarters of that yearly meeting. Here the only Maryland Quaker mentioned by name is Dr. Robert Moore of Easton, a local spokesman for the "Reformation."

This reviewer was somewhat surprised to see Baltimore (one of the four major cities in the nation in the 1820s) referred to as "hardly more than [an] overgrown southern

[town],” (p. 226). More disturbing is the author’s statement that the Orthodox “never created even a show organization” in the Southern Quarter (p. 218), since there did exist—somewhat briefly, it is admitted—a monthly meeting of the Orthodox made up of the disaffected from Third Haven and Motherkill Monthly Meetings. A number of factual errors also show up in the text and the notes. “Pierce and Lloyd” (p. 103, fourth line from bottom) should be “Pierce and Lower.” New York’s Quaker history actually began some years before George Fox’s visits in the 1670s (p. 227). “Diary of Quaker Biography” (p. 258, n. 81) should be “Dictionary of Quaker Biography.” *Journal of the Friends Historical Association* (London) should read *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* (p. 229). A number of minor typographical errors also mar this work: *beris* instead of heirs (p. 92), *afifairs* instead of affairs (p. 177) and repetition of six words in the sentence on pp. 132–133. There are occasions when one wishes the author had taken more time to polish his manuscript, for there are places where a sentence is unclear at first reading, and even one or two spots where a sentence is not really a sentence or is two sentences held together by commas.

In the background material Ingle engages in too many generalizations about the history and nature of Quakerism, so that time after time while reading this book the reviewer was reminded of his old Hebrew professor’s dictum “All generalizations including this one are false.” Also one is troubled by some of Ingle’s “guesses.” An examination of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting’s minutes for 1815 would have shown what action, if any, the yearly meeting took, so that Ingle should not have been content to say: “they *no doubt* [italics added] sent leaders of the yearly meeting to visit subordinate meetings . . .” (p. 67). His concluding paragraph (p. 250) is also open to questions at several points. A reading of his manuscript by a professional historian or two (especially one well-grounded in Quaker studies) might have helped the author avoid some of these things, which detract from the value of his book.

KENNETH L. CARROLL

Professor Emeritus

Department of Religious Studies

Southern Methodist University

Southern Travels: Journal of John H. B. Latrobe, 1834. Edited with an introduction by Samuel Wilson, Jr. (New Orleans: Historic New Orleans Collection, 1986. Pp. xxii, 122. Illustrations. \$14.95.)

Southern Travels is the narrative, now deposited in the Maryland Historical Society, which John H. B. Latrobe wrote during his round trip journey between Baltimore and New Orleans in 1834. Although slender, this volume will be useful to those studying New Orleans or, more generally, nineteenth-century Southern manners and material conditions of life.

Latrobe, a Baltimore lawyer and son of the renowned architect, married a Mississippi belle and the following year during her recuperation from childbirth took her to visit her Southern relatives. Like his more famous father, Latrobe paid close attention to buildings and architecture, and his often minutely detailed descriptions of his surroundings make his writings particularly worthwhile to the modern reader. While Latrobe as an observer does not put forward any particularly new interpretation of the South or of life in New Orleans, his careful recounting of places and events suggests knowledge and trustworthiness. He also possessed a facility for writing clearly and reproducing conversation.

Latrobe’s account falls naturally into three main parts: the sea voyage, the visit to New Orleans and its environs, and the overland trip back to Baltimore. Engaging are his

accounts of the captain's former seawreck and of a choppy sea voyage. As Latrobe described the turbulent seas, he noted: "The cows look sea-sick, and the calves are completely overcome. Even the goat has a melancholy look" (p. 15). New Orleans he viewed through Victorian eyes—he reported with distaste on gambling and the system of *placage*, the concubinage of young quadroon women. Devotees of New Orleans will appreciate his many thumbnail sketches of streets and street vendors and typical barrooms. In one section Latrobe recounted his dialogue with a local man to illustrate the kaleidoscope of images in the Crescent City. The author's wry depiction of his journey back to Baltimore further demonstrated his intelligence and humor. He profiled in cameo the slave traders who shared his stagecoach much of the way and wrote convincingly of the lack of comforts a stagecoach passenger had to endure.

This eye for the pertinent or unusual detail sometimes yielded descriptions not usually available. Indeed Latrobe guardedly but still graphically described the operation of the watercloset in the ladies' cabin. In shocked genteel tones, he complained about one passenger's failure to use the modern convenience: "one of our lady passengers has three children on board, the eldest about four years old, and they all go through certain necessary operations in their mothers [sic] stateroom—The filthy stewardess never thinks of cleaning or emptying the utensils until the middle of the day . . ." (pp. 16–17).

Moreover, Latrobe's intention in compiling such an account probably increased its value as a travelogue. Unlike those who wrote with a general audience in mind, Latrobe did not intend publication. But neither did he write simply for self-examination or psychological scrutiny. Instead he meant his journal to be an extended letter to his brother. Thus while the author attempted a witty, polished manner, he also was conversing with an intimate and did not fear frankness toward social or political topics.

Samuel Wilson, the editor of Latrobe's journal, has presented his subject well. The annotation, while brief, is to the point and very informative regarding New Orleans sites and buildings. A brief account of Latrobe's life and an introduction help place the journal in a broader context. Still, some students of the colonization movement (in which Latrobe was active) and of slavery may wish for more information on Latrobe's own relationship with slavery vis-à-vis the holdings of his wife's family and her own inheritance. The inclusion of Latrobe's sketches and watercolor paintings and the reproduction of his manuscript dating the entries in the journal make this a handsome edition. Scholars and general readers will enjoy adding the story of this reliable observer to the ranks of nineteenth-century travel accounts.

JANE TURNER CENSER
Frederick Law Olmsted Papers
 American University

Marylanders in the Confederacy. By Daniel D. Hartzler. (Silver Spring, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1986. Pp. xi, 416. Appendixes, index. \$25.00.)

Mustering the Marylanders who served the Confederacy entails aggregation from scratch rather than subtraction from fictitious official totals, as is the case with the Unionists. Because of Maryland's ambiguous situation during the conflict, relatively few Maryland Confederate units were organized, and most Marylanders joined units of other states. These were largely Virginia units, some of which are indeed identifiable as composed primarily of Marylanders; but sons of the state were scattered widely among other units as well. The Confederate military records, incomplete in any event, rarely show a man's residence or place of origin, and ferreting out Marylanders requires a massive sleuthing operation.

Hartzler is the first to attempt that task in any systematic way. He has examined the astonishing total of 1,690 sources, including published memoirs and reminiscences, unit histories, rosters of postwar organizations, local and family histories, newspapers, unpublished diaries, private collections, court-house plaques, and many others. The sources are listed by number in Appendix B; all the military records in the National Archives are merely source no. 1, through 656 articles in the *Confederate Veteran Magazine* are listed separately.

Appendix A, the heart of the work, is a roster naming every Marylander Hartzler discovered to have served in the Confederacy in a military capacity, with his highest rank, unit, county of residence, and—a splendid device—the number of each Appendix B source that refers to him. For the more prominent, dozens of authorities are cited, and almost everyone has several. The book will thus direct biographical and genealogical researchers to a host of sources, often rare and obscure, whose existence or relevance they may never otherwise have suspected.

The appendices are preceded by seventy-three pages of fact-laden, single-spaced text, in which Mr. Hartzler discusses various aspects of Maryland Confederate allegiance and activity. The brief but pithy chapters include histories of the Maryland units, biographies of the generals and admirals (the only two admirals the Confederacy had were both Marylanders), surveys of sentiment at educational institutions and in the services and professions, and much more. Colorful details and anecdotes are woven in with skill and panache.

How many Marylanders were in the Confederate service? Hartzler has identified approximately 12,000 thus far. Informed estimates of the total have ranged from 20,000 to 25,000 and up; Hartzler appears to accept that range as probable. No doubt there are large numbers not listed in Appendix A. As a personal note, this reviewer, preparing a book on the Clagett family, found sixty-four Maryland Clagetts and descendants who served the Confederacy; Hartzler lists only forty of them and will be able to add the others in his hoped-for supplement. Others will doubtless make similar contributions. An accurate total, or even an approximation, will remain elusive if not impossible. The "J. Smith" who served in a Louisiana unit, residence and even age unrecorded, may never be identified as a Marylander if he is not mentioned as such in contemporary writings and if he left no family to preserve the memory.

Hartzler points out that every possible pressure and inducement was used to draw Marylanders into the Union service—military occupation, censorship, propaganda, rigged elections, the threat of the draft, cash bounties and so on—while one who opted for the Confederacy was subjected to severe disadvantages and disincentives, especially if he had property and a family. Hartzler is convinced that the majority sentiment in the state was heavily pro-Confederate. He offers many fascinating microcosmic illustrations to support that view. A few examples: seventeen native-born Marylanders achieved field or flag rank in the Confederate forces, as compared with five for the Union; four of the six Marylanders at West Point in 1861 resigned to join the Confederacy; ten of the seventeen Maryland graduates of the Naval Academy serving in 1861 became Confederates; four of the seven living former state governors opted for the Confederacy, while two took no active position; of the ninety-seven members of the class of 1860 at the University of Maryland, at least thirty fought for the South, nine for the Union; of the alumni of the Dental Department of the University, fifty-nine fought for the Confederacy, nine for the Union.

This exhaustively researched, well-presented work is a significant contribution to our knowledge of the period.

BRICE M. CLAGETT
Friendship, Maryland

Rock of Chickamauga: The Life of General George H. Thomas. By Freeman Cleaves. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984; paperback reprint, 1986. Pp. xii, 328. Illustrations, map, index. \$11.95.)

Historians have always argued about the place of George H. Thomas in the pantheon of Civil War generals. Overshadowed by Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and even Meade, Thomas nevertheless rendered distinguished service, especially at Chickamauga, where his stand on Snodgrass Hill saved an army, and at Nashville, where his thunderous assault smashed Hood's exhausted Confederates. Yet, his advice went unheeded at Chattanooga and during the Atlanta campaign, and at times he was shunned by his superiors. Grant and Sherman characterized him as slow and cautious; Grant was on his way to Nashville to relieve Thomas when news came of Hood's rout. Still, no one questioned Thomas's courage, for he had taken up arms against his native Virginia in 1861, and, as even Grant admitted, "He could not be driven from a point he was given to hold." Biographers of the commander of the Army of the Cumberland have failed to transcend this line of debate in vindicating their hero, and Freeman Cleaves is no exception.

On the whole, Cleaves provides a solid overview of Thomas's life, tracing his career from West Point cadet through his service in the Mexican War to his emergence as a capable field commander during the Civil War. However, he rarely delves beneath his subject's public façade, leaving unanswered many questions about Thomas's personality, thoughts, and motives. In part this is because Thomas prized his privacy. "All that I did for my government are matters of history," he once commented, "but my private life is my own and I will not have it hawked about in print for the amusement of the curious." There is no large collection of Thomas papers; unlike many of his peers, he never penned an autobiography; his Virginia family, embittered by his refusal to side with his state in 1861, led a conspiracy of silence about his early years. Still, Cleaves's handling of several issues, notably the friction between Thomas, Grant, and Sherman, leaves too much unexplained. Why did Grant and Thomas take an almost instant dislike to each other? Why did Sherman, once Thomas's close friend, slight his West Point classmate and allow the relationship to deteriorate? How did Thomas gain a reputation for sluggishness? For answers to these questions, crucial to an understanding of Thomas's career, readers will have to look elsewhere.

Although Civil War aficionados may welcome the decision to reissue this biography, the publishers overlooked the opportunity to correct several factual errors. Lee surrendered on 9 April, not 12 April, 1865 (p. 4); South Carolina seceded on 20 December, not 15 December, 1860 (p. 63); John M. Schofield was not Secretary of War in 1870 (p. 305); Salmon P. Chase was never Secretary of State (p. 269). Nor is it certain that Cleaves's work remains the best biography available, for Francis F. McKinney's 1961 study, *Education in Violence*, contains far more information about the general and his army, although some of his interpretations are questionable and he was not more successful in penetrating Thomas's veneer. It remains an open question whether the material exists for someone to craft a life of Thomas which will better fathom this enigmatic individual.

BROOKS D. SIMPSON
Papers of Andrew Johnson

Books Received

Russell R. Menard completed his Ph.D. dissertation, an important re-examination of early Maryland, at the University of Iowa in 1975. Afterward he published most of his findings in periodicals like the *Maryland Historical Magazine* and *William and Mary Quarterly*. Students of Maryland's formative years should note that Menard's work is now available in a single volume, *Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland*, printed largely for the library trade. *Economy and Society* repays close reading and contains all the data on households, landholdings, price structures, demography, etc., which sets off recent research on colonial America from earlier narrative histories.

Garland Publishing, \$70

The University of Wisconsin Press has published the third in its series on state politics following adoption of the new federal Constitution. Volume two of *The Documentary History of the First Federal Elections, 1788-1790* included events in Maryland; this one covers New Jersey and New York. Each volume reprints significant official documents—legislative records, proclamations, credentials, and the like—along with private letters, diary entries, pamphlets, and newspaper accounts that describe politicking for seats in the first Congress.

Wisconsin, \$50

In 1984, as part of Maryland's 350th anniversary, John M. and Roberta J. Wearmouth of Port Tobacco wrote a series of historical articles for the *Waldorf Independent*. The pieces discussed early railroading in Southern Maryland, the life of Thomas Stone, and Charles County's contributions to state and country. Two of these essays have appeared in booklet form, *Charles County Helps Shape the Nation* and *Baltimore and Potomac Railroad: The Pope's Creek Branch*. The second of these works, published jointly by Baltimore and Washington railway historians, draws on local newspapers, records of the Pennsylvania Railroad (whose Pope's Creek line broke the B&O monopoly on Baltimore-Washington rail traffic), and oral interviews; it reprints a helpful map and offers plenty of interesting illustrations. Furthermore, it's affordable.

Washington, D.C. Chapter,
National Railway Historical Society, Inc., \$5

Compilations of vital records are always welcome, and Henry C. Peden's latest volume, *St. John's & St. George's Parish Registers, 1696-1851*, will be of great assistance to Baltimore and Harford County researchers. The book publishes transcriptions made by Lucy H. Harrison from original parish registers. (Harrison's transcriptions are at the Maryland Historical Society). The reader should be warned that the transcriptions were named "St. John's and St. George's Parish" because for a short time the parishes were served by a single clergyman. The book is enhanced by an outline map of Baltimore and Harford Counties, showing the location of the churches, and by a full name index.

Family Line, \$18.50

The third volume of *Western Maryland Newspaper Abstracts, 1806-1810*, compiled by F. Edward Wright, has just appeared. Using the available newspapers of Hagerstown and Frederick, Maryland, Wright has put together an immensely helpful volume that contains

vital records, legal notices, personal advertisements, lists of delinquent taxpayers, real estate notices, and lists of letters left in the post offices of Hagerstown and Frederick. All such evidence helps researchers to understand the daily life of early nineteenth-century-rural Marylanders.

Family Line, \$12

In recent years a new genre of genealogical literature has developed: the guide to the records of a particular locale or repository. The latest example of these guides to appear is Donna Valley Russell's *Frederick County Maryland Genealogical Research Guide*. In addition to lengthy chapters dealing with the circuit court and orphans' court of Frederick County, there are sections dealing with vital records, the census, military records, churches, newspapers, and libraries. The book is enhanced by illustrations of churches and maps of Frederick County showing the boundaries of election districts at various times. The author has included information on published records pertaining to the county and a quick list of records that are at either the court house, the Maryland State Archives, or on microfilm at the Latter-day Saints Genealogical Society.

Catoctin Press, \$12

Genealogists have to keep up with the wealth of material published each year in the scores of periodicals. *Genealogical Periodical Annual Index, Key to the Genealogical Literature, Vol. 24, 1985*, compiled by Karen T. Ackerman and edited by Laird C. Towle, Ph.D., is one of a series of volumes designed to help researchers find the articles that might answer their questions. The articles are indexed by a descriptive phrase indicating their contents rather than by the formal title. The periodicals indexed in this volume are listed by their code letters, full title, and address in a bibliography at the front of the book. Like its predecessors, this volume fills a large gap in genealogical research.

Heritage Books, \$19.50

Family historians often wonder how a particular surname evolved. Lou Stein's *Clues to Our Family Names* will help to satisfy that curiosity. In addition to information on patronymics, occupational and residence surnames, the 155-page, illustrated book contains numerous anecdotes about the origins of phrases commonly in use. Both family genealogists and their friends and relatives will enjoy browsing through this book.

Heritage Books, \$10

News and Notices

"JOSHUA JOHNSON: FREEMAN AND EARLY AMERICAN PORTRAIT PAINTER" OPENS SEPTEMBER 25

The first major exhibition devoted to America's earliest professional black portrait painter opens 25 September at the Maryland Historical Society. Curators at the society and Colonial Williamsburg have spent years researching the artist, his patrons, and his work. From the twenty-odd paintings that J. Hall Pleasants identified in the 1940s, the list of Johnson's portraits now has risen to over eighty, many of which will be seen for the first time in this comprehensive exhibit. A richly illustrated catalog accompanies the show.

"FREEDOM FETTERED: BLACKS IN MARYLAND, 1776-1810"

Morgan State University will hold a two-day conference on all aspects of Afro-American life in Maryland from the first Maryland Constitution in 1776 to the amendment prohibiting the black vote in 1810, on 1 and 2 October 1987. The tentative program includes a film about Benjamin Banneker, a Joshua Johnson art exhibit at the Maryland Historical Society, a concert by the Morgan State University Choir, and three sessions of scholarly papers. For further information contact Dr. Elaine Breslaw, Professor of History, Morgan State University, Baltimore, MD 21239. Phone (301) 444-3344.

"MARYLAND: ITS CULTURAL HERITAGE AND SEARCH FOR IDENTITY"

Frostburg State College announces a conference on the history and culture of Maryland to be held at the college 6-8 November 1987. Featuring writers and scholars as well as prominent public officials, the weekend series of addresses and panel discussions will examine regional, religious, and ethnic diversity in Maryland life, uneven growth and economic interdependence, the role of the governor in uniting Maryland, and the quality of Maryland politics in light of the state's many centrifugal forces. Listed participants to date include John Barth, award-winning novelist and author of the recent *Tidewater Tales*; John Blassingame, Yale professor of Afro-American history; Elaine G. Breslaw, Morgan State University; Robert J. Brugger, author of *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634-1980* (Johns Hopkins, 1988); George H. Callcott, whose *Maryland and America, 1940-1980* appeared in 1985; poet Daniel Mark Epstein; former Maryland congressman Gilbert Gude; Bradford Jacobs, former Sunpapers political reporter; Eugene L. Meyer, author of *Maryland Lost and Found*; Senator Paul S. Sarbanes; Edward C. Papenfuse, state archivist; and William Warner, whose *Beautiful Swimmers* won a Pulitzer Prize.

NEW MARKET DAYS

The twenty-eighth annual New Market Days will be held on the streets of historic New Market, Maryland on 25, 26, and 27 September. Nineteenth-century craftsmen, old-time entertainment, and fine foods will be available for visitors, who may also wish to visit more than forty antique shops in the "Antiques Capital of Maryland." Admission is free.

INDIAN CULTURE DAY AT ST. MARY'S CITY

Historic St. Mary's City will stage this year's annual Indian Culture Day at the Chancellor's Point Natural History Area on Sunday, 4 October 1987, from noon until 4 P.M. Demonstrations include continuing work on the bark-covered longhouse, flintworking, tanning, fire starting, and native cooking—eel baked in clay, smoked bluefish, and a stew of wild plants. At nearby St. Mary's City, visitors may examine additional archaeological exhibits like Farthing's Ordinary and the Godiah Spray Plantation, the Maryland

Dove, and of course the reconstructed statehouse of 1676. Admission to all exhibits and Indian Culture Day events costs \$4.00 for adults, \$2.00 for senior citizens, and \$1.50 for children ages six to twelve. For further information call (301) 862-0990 or write Historic St. Mary's City, POB 39, St. Mary's City, Maryland 20686.

MASKED BALL PLANNED

The Membership Committee of the Maryland Historical Society announces a "Bal-Masque" to be held at the Maryland Club Saturday, 10 October 1987, beginning at 7 P.M. Tickets are \$125 each. For further information and reservations, call Mrs. Bernard McCrory (301) 653-3038.

CALL FOR PAPERS

"The Glorious Revolution in America—Three Hundred Years After" is the first in a biannual series of meetings growing out of the successful Washington Area Seminar on Early American History. It is to be held at the historic Rossborough Inn on the College Park campus of the University of Maryland in late Spring of 1988. Send paper proposals and requests for further information to John J. McCusker, Department of History, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742.

AWARDS ANNOUNCED

The Florida Historical Society annually awards three literary prizes for original work in Florida history. This year, the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History went to Dr. Harry Kersey, Jr. for his article, "Florida Seminoles in the Depression and New Deal, 1933-1942: An Indian Perspective," which appeared in the October 1986 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award was presented to Dr. William S. Coker and Dr. Thomas D. Watson for their book *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands*. The Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award went to *The Tomorrow Star*, written by Dorothy Francis.

TOURS AVAILABLE

Wheatland, the mansion home of James Buchanan, is open daily for tours from 10:00 to 4:00. Wheatland was the scene of Buchanan's presidency-making in 1856, and many important political figures visited there. Featured events include an exhibit, *Harriet Lane Johnston: The Triumphs and Tragedies of a Victorian First Lady*, to run from 5 to 21 November 1987, and special holiday tours to be held from 7 to 13 December 1987. For information call or write Wheatland, 1120 Marietta Avenue, Lancaster, PA 17603. Phone (717)-392-8721.

AUTHOR'S QUERIES

A scholar researching the construction of the St. Petersburg-Moscow railroad in the 1840s by Americans seeks correspondence of the Winans family of Baltimore, especially of Ross and his son Thomas with anyone during this period; also, their journals and diaries. Please contact Dr. Evelyn J. Harden, Department of Languages, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C., Canada V5A 1S6

Primary documentation is sought for a dissertation about the role played within national culture by public oratory and lectures concerning the visual arts in America from 1780 to c.1840. Desired sources include civic orations, governmental debates, art society addresses, monument or building dedications, public or academic lectures, sermons, funeral eulogies, collegiate debates, valedictorian addresses, educational reform speeches, etc. Please write Annie V. F. Storr, 111 Lee Avenue, Apt. 403, Takoma Park, MD 20912.

CORRECTIONS

Professor George F. Frick has called our attention to a problem in the caption to the Giovanni Borelli illustration on p. 135 of the summer issue: though we attribute the mechanical quality of Borelli's anatomical drawings to the influence of Sir Isaac Newton, Newton's *Principia Mathematica* appeared a few years after Borelli's death. We remind authors to provide us artwork and captions of their own making and agree with Professor Frick that intellectual history has its hazy areas. Here, evidently, Borelli breathed the air that made Newton sneeze.

The baseball cognoscenti point out that Ruth Bear Levy's piece on Lefty Grove in the same issue (p. 168) ever so slightly misspells the names of the old heroes Mickey Cochrane, Jack Coombs, and Christy Mathewson. The errors belong to youth, not Ms. Levy, and might go unmentioned except that baseball, like so many things, is a game of inches. Play ball.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Johns Hopkins University Press has published two books of interest to the Maryland Historical Magazine. The first is *The American West: A History* by Donald R. Martin, published in 1988. The second is *The American West: A History* by Donald R. Martin, published in 1988. The first book is a history of the American West, and the second is a history of the American West. The first book is a history of the American West, and the second is a history of the American West.

BOOKS AVAILABLE

A number of authors have written books of interest to the Maryland Historical Magazine. The first is *The American West: A History* by Donald R. Martin, published in 1988. The second is *The American West: A History* by Donald R. Martin, published in 1988. The first book is a history of the American West, and the second is a history of the American West.

ARTICLES - QUERIES

A article regarding the construction of the St. Nicholas-Martin canal in the 18th century was published in the Maryland Historical Magazine. The article was published in the Maryland Historical Magazine. The article was published in the Maryland Historical Magazine.

The Maryland Historical Magazine is a quarterly journal of the Maryland Historical Society. It is published in the Maryland Historical Magazine. The Maryland Historical Magazine is a quarterly journal of the Maryland Historical Society. It is published in the Maryland Historical Magazine.

Maryland Picture Puzzle

Each installment of the Maryland Picture Puzzle presents a photograph from the Prints and Photographs Division of the Maryland Historical Society Library. Test your knowledge of Maryland's past by identifying this colorful street scene in Baltimore. Guess the location and date of this photograph and send your response to the Prints and Photographs Division, Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201.

The Summer 1987 issue of the Picture Puzzle shows Liberty Street looking north from Lexington. It was taken between 1916 and 1919. The rectory of St. Paul's Parish still stands at the junction of Saratoga and Liberty Streets. The Hotel Rennert, which opened its doors in 1885, was closed in 1939 and demolished two years later. A parking garage now stands on the site of the hotel.

Walter C. Dippold correctly identified the Spring 1987 puzzle as the Jones Falls looking south from the Fayette Street bridge.

Best of luck to everyone with the puzzle.



THE CONFERENCE ON MARYLAND



***Its Cultural
Heritage,
and Its Search
for an Identity***

*November 6-8, 1987
Frostburg State University
Frostburg, Maryland*

Twelve sessions focusing on
Maryland's history and culture,
its diversity,
and its search for an identity.

Session Topics

- In Search of the Problem
- Striving Baltimoreans
- Colonial Origins of the Search
- Nineteenth Century Regional Patterns and Interdependence
- Women in their Society
- The Black Quest for Identity
- Diverse Regional Voices
- Diverse Class Images in Maryland Literature
- Poetry and Maryland's Regions
- Religious Divisions and the Growth of Ecumenism
- Unifying Forces
- On the Future of Conferences on Maryland

Sponsors

- Maryland Humanities Council
- Regional Education Service Agency
- Frostburg State University Foundation
- Frostburg State University

Presenters and Readers

- *Helene Baldwin*, Professor Emeritus, Frostburg State University
- *John Barth*, Author, Winner of the National Book Award
- *Virginia Beauchamp*, Assistant Professor of English, University of Maryland
- *John W. Blasingame*, Professor of History, Yale University
- *Carl Brode*, Maryland Historian
- *Elaine Breslau*, Professor of History, Morgan State University
- *Gary Browne*, Professor of American History, UMBC
- *Robert J. Brugger*, Editor, *Maryland Historical Magazine*
- *George Callcott*, Professor of History, University of Maryland
- *Daniel Mark Epstein*, Poet, Winner of the *Prix de Rome* and other distinctions
- *Dean Esslinger*, Professor of History, Towson State University
- *Vincent Fitzpatrick*, Curator, Mencken Collection, Enoch Pratt Library
- *Michael Franch*, Assistant Director, Maryland Department of Health and Mental Hygiene
- *Gilbert Gude*, Former Congressman and Director of Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress
- *Harry Hughes*, former governor
- *Brad Jacobs*, former editor of *The Baltimore Sun*, author
- *Eugene Meyer*, Maryland feature writer, *The Washington Post*
- *Cynthia Neverdon-Morton*, Professor of History, Coppin State College
- *Edward Papenfuse*, State Archivist and Commissioner of Land Patents
- *Frank Shivers*, Author and Historian, Baltimore, Maryland
- *David Tomlinson*, Chair, English Department, U.S. Naval Academy
- *William Warner*, Writer-in-Residence, Georgetown University, Winner of the Pulitzer Prize
- *John Wennersten*, Professor of History, UMES

For Further Information

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Dr. Frank Parks | Dr. John Wiseman |
| Department of English | Department of History |
| Frostburg State University | Frostburg State University |
| Frostburg, Maryland 21532 | Frostburg, Maryland 21532 |
| (301) 689-4221 | (301) 689-4215 |
-

THE COMPLETE BOOK OF EMIGRANTS, 1607-1660

A Comprehensive Listing Compiled from English Public Records of Those Who Took Ship to the Americas for Political, Religious, and Economic Reasons; of Those Who Were Deported for Vagrancy, Rognerly, or Non-Conformity; and of Those Who Were Sold to Labour in the New Colonies

By Peter Wilson Coldham

600 pp., indexed, cloth. 1987. \$29.95
Postage & handling: One book \$2.00; each addl. book 75c
Maryland residents add 5% sales tax.

GENEALOGICAL PUBLISHING CO., INC.
1001 N. Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 21202

HISTORICAL RESTORATION

We are looking for a few good contractors to do Historical Restoration work for M-NCPPC in Montgomery County, Md.—INTERESTED?

Contact: Jan Wilson/Maryland-National Capital Park & Planning
Commission
9500 Brunett Avenue
Silver Spring, Maryland 20901
(301) 495-2544

The M-NCPPC is an E.O.E. with special procurement rules for minorities, females, and the disabled. Commission procurement is subject to a Commission Resolution which provides that the Commission will not do business or purchase the products of firms which invest in or do business with the Republic of South Africa or Nambia. The Resolution provides for procurement from such firms when their exclusion would impair competition and on the condition that the firms have subscribed to the Sullivan Principles.



The Maryland Historical Society
acknowledges with sincere appreciation
the following corporate sponsors of the Bal Masque:

Alex. Brown & Sons, Inc.

First Maryland Bancorp & First National Bank of Maryland

Freestate Racing Association, Inc.

Laurel Racing Association, Inc.

Pimlico Racecourse

Hill & Company Real Estate

Hottman Edwards Advertising, Inc.

Martin Gillet & Company, Inc.

Monumental Corporation

Ober, Kaler, Grimes & Shriver

Panache

Phillips Seafood Restaurant

Riggs, Counselman, Michaels & Downes, Inc.

The Henry and Ruth Blaustein Rosenberg Foundation, Inc.

U.S.F.&G. & Company

Wolpoff & Company, Certified Public Accountants

Henry Wright, Producer of Chesapeake Spirits

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PUBLICATIONS LIST

Five copies of a single work may be ordered at a 40% discount (except for hardbound *Silver In Maryland* and *Furniture in Maryland 1740-1940*). All orders are to be prepaid. Postage and handling of \$2.00 for the first item and \$.50 for each additional item must accompany the order (except where noted). Maryland residents must include 5% state sales tax. Prices are subject to change without notice. Address all orders directly to the Publications Department, Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, Md. 21201.

ANDERSON, GEORGE MCC. *The Work of Adalbert Johann Volck, 1828-1912, who chose for his name the anagram V. Blada.* 222pp. Illus. 1970. \$20.00

ARNOLD, GARY. *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Lloyd Papers.* 27pp. 1973. 41 reels. \$2.00

BOLES, JOHN B. *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the John Pendleton Kennedy Papers.* 30pp. 1972. 27 reels. \$2.00

BOLES, JOHN B. *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the William Wirt Papers.* 23pp. 1971. 34 reels. \$2.00

BYRON, GILBERT. *The War of 1812 on the Chesapeake Bay.* 94pp. Illus. 1964. \$5.00

CALLCOTT, GEORGE H. *A History of the University of Maryland.* 422pp. Illus. 1966. \$9.50

CALLCOTT, GEORGE H. *Maryland Political Behavior.* 64pp. 1986. \$4.50

CARROLL, KENNETH. *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore.* 328pp. Illus. 1970. \$15.00

COLWILL, STILES T. *Francis Guy 1760-1820.* 139pp. Illus. 1981 (paperback) \$15.00

COLWILL, STILES T. *The Lives and Paintings of Alfred Partridge Klots and His Son, Trafford Partridge Klots.* 136pp. Illus. 1979. \$9.50

COX, RICHARD J. *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Calvert Papers.* 32pp. 1973. 27 reels. \$2.00

COX, RICHARD J. *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Mordecai Gist Papers.* 26pp. 1975. 2 reels. \$2.00

COX, RICHARD, J. AND SULLIVAN, LARRY E. *Guide to the Research Collections of the Maryland Historical Society. Historical and Genealogical Manuscripts and Oral History Interviews.* 348pp. 1981. \$22.00

DRAKE, JULIA A. AND ORNDORFF, J. R. *From Mill-wheel to Plowshare (Orndorff family genealogy).* 271pp. 1938. \$10.00

DUNCAN, RICHARD R. AND BROWN, D. M. *Master's Theses and Doctoral Dissertations on Maryland History.* 41pp. 1970. \$5.00

FILBY, P. WILLIAM AND HOWARD, EDWARD G. *Star-Spangled Books.* 175pp. Illus. 1972. \$17.50

FOSTER, JAMES W. *George Calvert: The Early Years.* 128pp. 1983. \$4.95

GOLDSBOROUGH, JENNIFER F. *Silver In Maryland.* 334pp. 1983. \$30.00

GUTMAN, ARTHUR J. *The Mapping of Maryland 1590-1914: An Overview.* 72pp. 1983. \$6.00

HAW, JAMES; BEIRNE, FRANCIS F. AND ROSAMOND R., AND JEIT, R. SAMUEL. *Stormy Patriot. The Life of Samuel Chase.* 305pp. 1980. \$14.95

HAYWARD, MARY ELLEN. *Maryland's Maritime Heritage.* 31pp. Illus. 1984. \$3.00

HEYL, EDGAR G. *I Didn't Know That. An Exhibition of First Happenings in Maryland.* 61pp. Illus. 1973. \$3.00

HEINTON, LOUISE JOYNER. *Prince George's Heritage.* 223pp. 1972. \$12.50

HYDE, BRYDEN B. *Bermuda's Antique Furniture & Silver.* 198pp. Illus. 1971. \$15.00

KAESSMANN, BETA; MANAKEE, HAROLD R.; AND WHEELER, JOSEPH L. *My Maryland.* 446pp. Illus. Rev. 1972. \$7.00

KENNY, HAMILL. *Placenames In Maryland.* 352pp. 1984. \$17.50

KEY, BETTY MCKEEVER. *Maryland Manual of Oral History.* 47pp. 1979. \$3.00

KEY, BETTY MCKEEVER. *Oral History in Maryland. A Directory.* 44pp. 1981. \$3.00

LEVY, RUTH BEAR. *A Wee Bit O'Scotland. Growing Up In Lonaconing, Maryland. At The Turn of The Century.* 67 pp. 1983. \$8.00

LEWIS, H. H. WALKER. *The Lawyers' Round Table of Baltimore and Its Charter Members.* 86pp. 1978. \$7.50

LEWIS, H. H. WALKER. *Without Fear or Favor (A biography of Roger Brooke Taney).* 556pp. 1965. \$7.50

MANAKEE, BETA K. AND HAROLD R. *The Star-Spangled Banner: The Story of its Writing by Francis Scott Key at Baltimore, 1814.* 26pp. Illus. 1954. \$1.00

MANAKEE, HAROLD R. *Indians of Early Maryland.* 47pp. 3rd printing. 1981. (paperback) \$3.00

MANAKEE, HAROLD R., AND WHITEFORD, ROGER S. *The Regimental Colors of the 175th Infantry (Fifth Maryland).* 78pp. 1959. \$5.00

MARKS, BAYLY ELLEN. *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the David Baillie Warden Papers.* 21pp. 1970. 5 reels. \$2.00

MARKS, BAYLY ELLEN. *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Robert Goodloe Harper Papers.* 25pp. 1970. 5 reels. \$2.00

MARKS, LILLIAN BAYLY. *Reister's Desire: The Origins of Reisterstown . . . (Reister and allied families).* 251pp. 1975. \$15.00

MARTZ, RALPH F. *The Martzes of Maryland.* 189pp. 1973. \$5.00

MCCAULEY, L. B. A. *Hoen on Stone: Lithographs of E. Weber & Co. and A. Hoen & Co., Baltimore 1835-1969.* 52pp. Illus. 1969. \$7.50

MEYER, MARY K. *Genealogical Research in Maryland—A Guide.* 3rd Ed. 80pp. 1983. \$8.00

PEDLEY, AVRIL J. M. *The Manuscript Collections of the Maryland Historical Society.* 390pp. 1968. \$20.00

PLEASANTS, J. HALL. *Joshua Johnston, The First American Negro Portrait Painter.* 39pp. Illus. repr. 1970. \$3.00

PORTER, FRANK W., III. *Maryland Indians Yesterday and Today.* 32pp. 1983. \$4.95

RADCLIFFE, GEORGE L. *Governor T. L. H. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War.* 131pp. Repr. 1965. \$5.00

SANNER, WILMER M. *The Mackey Family, 1729-1975.* 1974. \$7.50

SANNER, WILMER M. *The Samner Family In the United States.* 3 vols. each \$7.50

SANNER, WILMER, M. *The Samner Family In the United States.* 5 vols. in one cloth-bound volume. 1968. \$25.00

STIVERSON, G. A. AND JACOBSEN, P. R. *William Paca: A Biography.* 103pp. Illus. 1976. (soft cover) \$4.95 (hard cover) \$7.95

THOMAS, DAWN F. AND BARNES, ROBERT F. *The Greenspring Valley: Its History and Heritage.* 2 vols. 602pp. Illus., with genealogies. 1977. \$17.50

WEIDMAN, GREGORY R. *Furniture in Maryland, 1740-1940.* 344pp. 1984. \$37.50

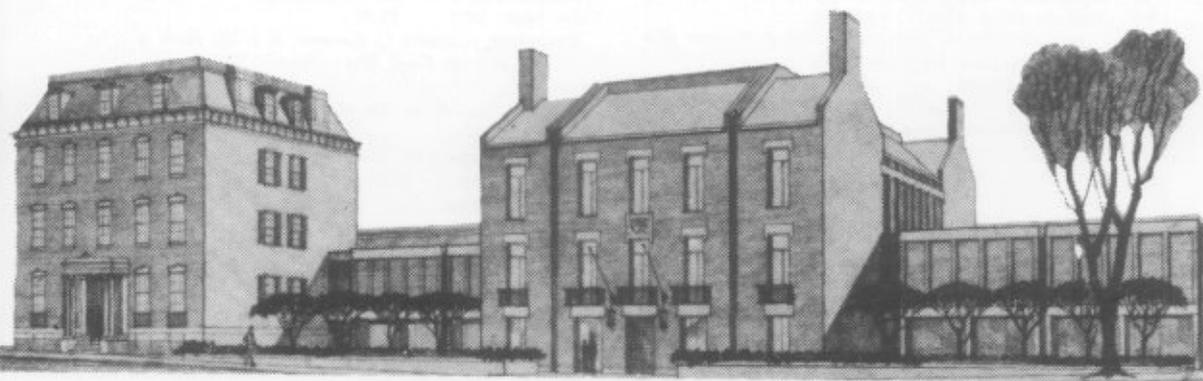
Maryland Heritage: Five Baltimore Institutions Celebrate the American Bicentennial. Ed. by J. B. Boles. 253pp. Illus. 1976. (soft cover) \$7.50 (hard cover) \$15.00

Parade of Fashion: Costume exhibit, 1750-1950. 35pp. Illus. 1970. \$4.00

(Peale Family) *Four Generations of Commissions: The Peale Collection of the Maryland Historical Society.* 187pp. Illus. 1975. \$7.00

Wheeler Leaflets on Maryland History. 24 titles, 1945-1962. Important for schools; all available. each \$2.25 set \$5.00

The Maryland Historical Society offers several classes of membership: individual, \$20; family, \$30; contributor, \$50; patron, \$100; sponsor, \$250; associate, \$500; benefactor, \$1,000. Membership benefits include free admission to the Museum and Library, invitations to lectures and exhibit openings, a 10% discount in the Museum Shop and Bookstore and on all society publications, and subscriptions to *News and Notes* and *Maryland Historical Magazine*. For additional membership information please write or telephone the society, (301) 685-3750.



The Museum and Library of Maryland History
The Maryland Historical Society
201 W. Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

Museum and Library: Tues.-Fri. 11-4:30; Sat. 9-4:30
For Exhibition Hours and Information, Call (301)685-3750