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*Editor's Corner*

This issue of the magazine examines a wide assortment of topics in religious, social, black, and local history but may be of particular interest for its references to women—Judith Catchpole, accused of infanticide and witchcraft and found innocent by a female jury in seventeenth-century Calvert County; Sarah Woodcock, the apparent victim of sexual exploitation in eighteenth-century London; Bettie Anderson, whose “hasty marriage” shocked antebellum Rockville; and women workers in nineteenth-century Baltimore sweatshops, oyster-shucking plants, and vegetable canneries.

We call our readers' attention in News and Notices to plans for future special issues.

*Cover design: Unidentified woman cleaning oysters, Baltimore, c. 1905. (Courtesy of Mame Warren and the Maryland State Archives.)*

It is with deep regret that we announce the death on 5 August 1988 of William Cushing Whitridge who served for the past three years as the Chairman of the Maryland Historical Society's Board of Trustees. Mr. Whitridge began his service as a trustee in 1976 and served on the Council, as Chairman of the Finance Committee, and as Vice Chairman of the Board before becoming Chairman in 1985. Mr. Whitridge devoted his energies on a full-time basis to the Maryland Historical Society for the past three years. He was very well liked by both the staff and the trustees and will be much missed by us all.

## Churching the Unchurched: The Establishment in Maryland, 1692–1724

MICHAEL GRAHAM

The Church of England's problems in Maryland after the revolution of 1689 are generally well known. Skillful Quaker lobbying helped unravel three successive attempts at Whitehall between 1692 and 1700 to establish the Church of England in Maryland. Roman Catholics objected to their growing exclusion from public life and sought to safeguard Catholic worship and practice. Anglican clergymen were occasionally dissolute and mercenary, and the bad example of a reckless handful colored impressions of the sober majority. Even a few Protestant laymen opposed the new order of establishment, complaining, for example, that the novel church tax did not always guarantee the services it was supposed to insure.<sup>1</sup> These were indeed serious obstacles for the Church of England to overcome. Yet the fundamental problem facing the infant church lay elsewhere, in the struggle to adapt to a world to which it came late.



Before the revolution of government in 1689, Maryland's policy of toleration precluded an established church. The Calverts' visionary program had many consequences, of course, but for the Church of England one was paramount: The world into which it was born after 1689 was unchurched. The privatization of religion Cecil Calvert demanded as the cornerstone of toleration barred churches from exercising some of their traditional powers—jurisdiction over certain testamentary matters, for example.<sup>2</sup> This arrangement created vacuums in the institutional life of early Maryland which the civil government filled. As a result, the early years of Anglican establishment witnessed struggles between the church and older, better established sources of power, all triggered by competition for ecclesiastical authority. Moreover—despite there having been some small number of Anglican ministers in Maryland (some of them transient) at one time or another before establishment and twenty-one churches (or parishes) begun before 1692—Maryland's people were themselves largely unchurched. A severe and chronic shortage of ministers meant that most seventeenth-century Marylanders, unless they were Catholic or Quaker, had little access to the religious life taken for granted in England. Children born and raised in this society lacked the familiarity with religion that their parents had from their own English experience, a fact increasingly

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A member of the Society of Jesus, Michael Graham completed his Ph.D. in history at the University of Michigan in 1983 and has finished the M.Div. degree at the Weston School of Theology, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

important in the late seventeenth century as natives began to dominate the population. Consequently, Anglican officials had to begin to meet the religious needs of the majority at the same time that they had to carve out a place for the church in the province's institutional life. Both were enormous problems, and both would be solved simultaneously. Just as Maryland's peculiar ecclesiastical history produced them, so a single force propelled Anglican leaders towards their solutions—the demographic transformation of Chesapeake society.

Conflicts over governance best reveal the struggle of the Church of England to make a place for itself within Maryland after 1692. The Establishment Act of 1702 settled important ecclesiastical powers on Maryland's governor, chief among them the power to match clergy with benefices. Royal instructions to Maryland's governors routinely confirmed these powers, and thus the early success of the church depended to a great extent on the enthusiasm and support of the royal governors. But who governed the church in Maryland was seldom clear. As one student of Maryland's Anglican clergy has noted, "with the exception of the period between 1728 and 1748 [when Maryland Anglicans explicitly served under the Bishop of London, John Robinson], the colonial clergy lacked a legal diocesan. . . . [This] meant that, in practice, none of the colonial churches was really episcopalian."<sup>3</sup> Members of the lower house of assembly consistently opposed a resident suffragan bishop, citing insufficient funds or the underdeveloped state of ecclesiastical life in the colony as reasons against such an office. Beneath their apologies one detects reluctance to invite a new and potentially competing source of power into the colony.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile vestries and clergy struggled for control of their parishes. With nearly complete control over the affairs of the parish and the distribution of the parish tobacco before a minister was inducted, vestries must have regarded his arrival as a mixed blessing and certainly would have resented the appointment of an unworthy cleric. Several vestries adopted an overly congregational approach to church governance and eventually earned reprimands from the governor for having dismissed some ministers and retained others. For its part, the clergy seems to have been anxious to maintain its own position and so sought to curb the powers of vestry, governor, and even the Bishop of London. In 1703, three ministers sided with the Reverend Joseph Holt, a wayward cleric, in a dispute pitting him against his vestry and Governor John Seymour. They complained about the exercise of ecclesiastical power both by the vestry and the governor, who issued them a sharp rebuke. Yet in 1718, the Reverend Christopher Wilkinson could still complain to Bishop Robinson about young clerics who arrived in Maryland fresh from Scottish universities "tainted with Presbyterian principles and no real friend[s] to our episcopal government." Such clergymen, he suggested to the bishop, were "averse to the establishment of your Jurisdiction." As late as 1724, the debate over who governed the Church remained unsettled.<sup>5</sup>

Several episodes from the career of the Reverend Jacob Henderson illustrate the problem. A missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Henderson was inducted into St. Ann's Parish in Annapolis in 1714 after extensive experience in other mainland colonies. Within a year of his induction, Henderson apprised Bishop Robinson that "a great part of the clergy are very loose



FIGURE 1. St. Paul's Episcopal Church (built in 1713), the oldest building in Maryland to be used continuously as a house of worship. (Prints and Photographs, Library, Maryland Historical Society.)

in their lives and negligent in their offices,” and that Governor Hart—claiming a lack of jurisdiction—had averred that he was powerless to act in disputes over erring clergymen (such as the Reverend William Tibbs, rector of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore County, who was presented to the governor for “misbehaviour and neglect of duty” in 1715). Henderson regarded this as an important test case and informed Robinson that

Several other parishes are waiting the Issue of this [affair of Tibbs] and I'm afraid if some speedy remedy is not applyed the Consequences will be very pernicious—the Roman Catholics and Dissenters are very numerous and make great advantages of these things.

To solve Hart's powerlessness, Henderson recommended the appointment of two commissaries—one for each shore of the Chesapeake—to extend the bishop's governance to Maryland.<sup>6</sup>

Henderson soon found himself appointed commissary for the Western Shore on Governor Hart's recommendation and almost as quickly became immersed in a controversy that pitted him against his clergy, his bishop, and the governor. Summoning Western Shore ministers for a visitation late in 1717, Henderson demanded that they present their ordination papers and licenses and pay certain traditional fees. The Reverend Henry Hall, Henderson's stepson-in-law, refused to present his credentials. Seizing the papers in question, Henderson moved to censure him. Hall appealed to the governor, who, apparently reconsidering the limits to his

own ecclesiastical powers, intervened on Hall's behalf. Stung by Hart's about-face and rebuke, Henderson appealed to his bishop, only to discover that Hart had gained his ear first. Bishop Robinson upbraided Henderson for acting autocratically in the affair and indicated to him that the "greatest part of the clergy" found Henderson's conduct inappropriate to "the Constitution of the Province."<sup>7</sup>

The rifts between Henderson and Hart and between Henderson and his clergy continued to widen. Hart convened the clergy several months later on his own authority, intending for them to consult together and suggest actions the assembly might take to aid them in their task of "Propagateing . . . True Religion and Virtue." Suggesting to them "Methods of mildness and Gentleness"—a clear jab at Henderson—Hart promised to take seriously whatever the clergy might together propose. The clergy lamented "the Progress of Popery in this Province" and joined in Hart's insult to Henderson by concurring with the governor's "Earnest Exhortation to Peace and Unity among Ourselves." To the assembly, the ministers suggested four specific actions. Controversy immediately arose over the first: "That the Bishop of London's Jurisdiction in this Province as Contained within his Diocese be asserted and Recognized." Members of the lower house balked at the request, "the Consideration of which," they reported, "would be a work that may require length of Time." Henderson believed that Hart had no desire to carry through such a reform but only sought to enhance his position as *de facto* leader of the clergy. For its part, the clergy invoked the power of the bishop, hoping to curb lay meddling in church affairs and perhaps to limit the authority of the commissary—both strategies designed to enhance its independence.<sup>8</sup> Henderson's high-handedness placed him in the middle of an ecclesiastical cross fire the significance of which he only partly understood. Lacking the delicacy and shrewdness required to compete effectively in the complicated world of provincial politics in early eighteenth-century Maryland, Henderson became a victim in a struggle for ecclesiastical power that a resident bishop might have moderated or eliminated.



When Commissary Henderson and Governor Hart squared off in 1717, the drama they enacted must have looked familiar to many Marylanders because the problem of power was one that each parish had to solve for itself. The individual parishes needed to become vital parts of pre-existing local communities and earn places in the already established hierarchies of local power, which embraced county courts, local offices, and provincial agencies. Patterns of vestry elections from 1693 to 1720 in two parishes, All Faith's Parish in St. Mary's County (in Calvert before the 1696 boundary change) and St. Paul's Parish in Kent County, reveal not only the range of ways in which the parishes were integrated into pre-existing structures of local power and authority but the strength of those local structures as well.<sup>9</sup>

Family networks and their political power created different conditions that the parishes had to accommodate. St. Mary's and Charles counties were the centers of Maryland's Catholic population. Catholic disability for office after the revolution—including, obviously, for vestry membership—forced the choice of lesser men at All Faith's to a greater extent than at St. Paul's.

Instead of appearing on the vestry roster only after annual elections that began in 1703 (as happened elsewhere), humble men were included on the All Faith's vestry

from the very beginning. Along with the assemblymen and county justices elected to the first vestry board in 1693, parish freeholders also chose John Gillam, an obscure planter of small estate. Between 1693 and 1703, the vestry replaced two members. One replacement, Thomas Taney, was a member of the Charles County court, while the other, John Davis, was a modest planter who appears to have held no other office. Prominent parishioners were usually well represented on the vestry board, but never at the expense of lesser men. The vestry of 1711 included three assemblymen (Thomas Crabb, Thomas Truman Greenfield, and Greenfield's brother-in-law, Henry Peregrine Jowles—all men of considerable wealth and important family connections), two county justices (Adam Beall and John Nuthall), and Joseph Edwards, a planter who owned approximately three hundred acres of land and whose personal estate was valued at less than £150 at his death. Because the parish quickly adopted the procedure of retiring the two senior members of the vestry each year, all men, regardless of their social standing, served a total of three years before moving off the vestry. No bars existed to reelection, but such later service was rare; when in 1716 Thomas Truman Greenfield returned to the vestry he was easily the most distinguished member of a board that included several future county justices and three men—Robert Dansey, John Seager, and John Burroughs—who do not seem to have held any other offices and who had small or medium-sized estates.<sup>10</sup>

With a strongly developed county government and a handful of powerful Protestant families, Kent County differed markedly from St. Mary's. Anglican establishment made St. Paul's Parish in Kent an extension of local authority and membership on its vestry an ecclesiastical counterpart to social and political prominence.<sup>11</sup> While in St. Mary's All Faith's retired the two most senior vestrymen each year, no pattern can be detected in the elections at St. Paul's Parish. Those of 1705 and 1706, for example, replaced only the church-wardens, the vestrymen themselves all being continued in office. Multiple terms were frequent, especially for prominent members; vestrymen often served more than the three-year terms routine in All Faith's Parish. Edward Scott, for example, won election three times, serving for more than nine years altogether. Robert Dunn was likewise elected three times, as were Thomas and William Ringgold. So prevalent was the system of reelection to multiple terms that, while the pool of potential vestrymen was larger in St. Paul's Parish than in All Faith's, the number of different men sitting on the vestry between 1693 and 1720 was slightly greater at All Faith's than at St. Paul's.<sup>12</sup> Indeed St. Paul's church offices often became entry-level offices for the sons of prominent families.<sup>13</sup> The importance of these families in the life of St. Paul's Parish was nowhere more strikingly witnessed than by the marriage of two of St. Paul's ministers, Stephen Bordley and his successor Alexander Wilkinson, into the complex network of families that controlled at least one-half of the vestry membership between 1693 and 1720.<sup>14</sup>



While the Church of England sought to consolidate its place in Maryland society, it likewise went about the business of meeting the religious needs of Protestant Marylanders. Its many difficulties after establishment mostly produced a troubled history. Problems over church government were chronic, of course, but they

were not the only ones the young church faced. The unavailability of ministers and the need to levy additional imposts to meet the high start-up costs required to raise churches from the ground exacerbated discontent over the forty-pound tobacco tax meant to support the church. Vestries sometimes acted in a high-handed manner towards their ministers or, alternately, were hamstrung by chronically inefficient collection of the tobacco tax. Parishes objected to having to share ministers, while the ministers complained that they were unable to live on what the vestries granted them, which in any event fluctuated with the price of tobacco. And all the while the royal governor and other church officials kept uneasy eyes on the Catholics and Quakers whom they suspected of scheming to undermine the fragile establishment.<sup>15</sup>

Troubles over dissenters, conflicts between vestries and ministers, and clerical immorality certainly seize our attention. Yet these problems should not camouflage the many signs that the Church of England was taking hold in Maryland. The church enjoyed fairly broad Protestant support, especially during the first years of its formation in the colony. Furthermore, Presbyterians joined Anglicans in working for establishment before the creation of the Philadelphia synod in 1705. In Piscattaway Parish, Charles County, half the original vestrymen were Presbyterians. Even after 1705, when Presbyterians began refusing election to parish vestries, some of them clung to the status pew holding conveyed. They likewise continued paying the tobacco tax.<sup>16</sup>

The placement of churches often excited controversies that demonstrate how much people wanted churches built. Because of their vast areas, most parishes built both a main church and one or more "chapels of ease" elsewhere in the parish. The large size of North Sassafras Parish in Cecil County prompted the vestrymen in 1695 to build a chapel of ease and in 1698 to build another in a different part of the parish. By 1709, St. Paul's Parish in Queen Anne's (earlier Talbot) County also had two strategically placed chapels supporting the main church, one at Wye River, where a Catholic chapel was located, and the other at Tuckahoe, near a Quaker meeting house. By 1724, the parish had to build a third.<sup>17</sup>

The steady pull towards a more stable religious life likewise appeared in petitions that reached the assembly to redistrict small parishes. In 1701 the vestry of King and Queen Parish in St. Mary's County petitioned to adjust its boundary with William and Mary Parish, thus providing more taxables and making King and Queen more attractive to a prospective minister. Similar petitions came from Christ Church on Kent Island in 1713, St. Paul's in Baltimore County in 1702, and St. Paul's in Prince George's County in 1701.<sup>18</sup> If such redistricting was defeated, vestries and congregations sometimes asked to share available clergymen with neighboring parishes—an arrangement requiring the governor's permission.<sup>19</sup>

Religious commonplaces also appeared more often in Maryland wills following Anglican Establishment. Testators variously described themselves as belonging to a certain parish, requested that their children be properly tutored as Protestants, or signalled through bequests religious bonds to godchildren. Such bequests suggest that the sacrament of baptism helped to color the framework of social relations in post-establishment Maryland as the population itself became increasingly native-born.<sup>20</sup>

Requests for Christian burials also grew following establishment—a sign, like

the appearance of godchildren, that people were making use of church services. Accounts of the charges against decedents' estates after establishment routinely listed funeral expenses, often including the tobacco due a minister for a funeral sermon.<sup>22</sup> Occasionally testators left little to chance, as when, in 1709, Edward Howard specified a bequest of five hundred pounds of tobacco to the minister who would bury him—provided that the minister took his text “out of the thirty-fourth psalm, the last verse.” In 1717, John Rogers, a plain-living and frugal man it seems, asked “to be decently buried without . . . an ostentatious or Expensive funeral but that my Executrix and friends be Satisfied with the Common office according to the Liturgie to be said over me by the minister without a Sermon.”<sup>23</sup>

Bequests to various churches likewise indicate support for the church in general. In 1711, James Rigbye left fifty acres to the parish glebe and £20 sterling for “Godly Books” for the parish. William Dent left £5 for ornaments to Nanjemoy Church. Anthony Workman and Solomon Jones left gifts to be used to build or repair their respective parish churches. George Irvine ordered his horse be sold to provide glass for the glebe house. Some testators left gifts to support their ministers, others to help relieve the parish poor. Still others provided for items needed for the church service, as when John Dansey left “twenty pounds to be paid to the vestry men for communion plate” and Michael Curtis left his parish “my best silver tumbler & one silver porringer, three damask napkins, two diaper towels, two pewter plates, my best pewter basin & my book of Homelys.”<sup>24</sup> The vestries recorded other donations, given individually or through parish subscriptions, including pulpit cloths and cushions, wine for communion, homily books, tobacco, and even tracts of land.<sup>25</sup>



Both hobbled by older lines of power in a society to which establishment came late and drawn along by a powerful undertow of popular support and devotion, the Church of England in Maryland in the generation after 1692 presented two contradictory pictures. These apparently conflicting images reflected the unique situation of seventeenth-century Maryland. After 1692 the church not only was heir to Maryland's peculiar religious history but also beneficiary and victim of other long-term forces at work in the Chesapeake region. Throughout the seventeenth century, most Protestants in Maryland lacked any kind of a regular church life. Catholic priests had relied on plantations to provide the financial basis for extensive missionary work, while the extraordinarily cohesive Quaker community did not depend upon a trained clergy and provided its own “speakers.” Similar missionary impulses inspired Catholic priests and Quaker missionaries.

In contrast, Maryland Anglicans lacked the missionary outlook that worked so well for various dissenters—a strategy they had learned in order to survive in England. The proprietor had refused to solve the Anglicans' problem; even when prodded by the Privy Council, Lord Baltimore declined to levy taxes in the province to support Protestant, not just Anglican, ministers. Lacking the assurance of a living, Anglican clergy rarely sought out Maryland. Some ministers came from Virginia to conduct occasional services; others lingered in Maryland before seeking more secure positions elsewhere. As a result Maryland's Protestant clergy in the seventeenth century had been few and uneven—orthodox and nonconformist in

their doctrine, high and low church in their practice, upright and dissolute in their lives—and Maryland's Protestants, forced to fend for themselves, angrily had developed the anti-Catholicism evident in Maryland from the era of the parliamentary commissioners in the 1650s to the collapse of proprietary government in 1689. These emotions partially explain popular acceptance of the Church of England after 1692.

So does social change in the era of establishment, especially change in Maryland's population. Maryland was an immigrant society for most of the seventeenth century, but around 1690 enough native-born residents appeared in the population to make the society self-sustaining by natural increase. These natives enjoyed a virtually equal ratio of men to women and married earlier and died later than had their immigrant parents. Consequently they had more children—a fact that accelerated the process by which they came to dominate Maryland socially, economically, and politically. Anglican establishment coincided with their growing political maturity and consolidation of power in the colony.<sup>27</sup> The church became one more part of the institutional landscape that this elite sought to control. Its frequent condemnations of Maryland's population as non-conformist reflected the natural congregationalist consequences of a drive to consolidate elite power throughout Maryland society, in religion as well as in politics.

The shift in Maryland's population from immigrant to native benefited the Church of England enormously. Increasing stability of family life created demand for a more regular religious life, which the church's cadenced ceremonies provided. Moreover, as Maryland's population more and more closely approximated the English norm, additional pressures were placed upon institutions to become more like England's. The Anglican church thus played an integral part in the transition from the immigrant society of the seventeenth century to the native-born society of the eighteenth.<sup>28</sup>

Driven by the maturing of Chesapeake society and framed within Maryland's own religious history, the Church of England within a generation of its establishment became as central a feature of Maryland's institutional structure as the assembly or county courts. The number of Anglican clergymen rose steadily in the colony—from fewer than ten in 1694 to eighteen in 1698 to thirty-two in 1722. Fewer and fewer parishioners had to make do without ministers.<sup>29</sup> In 1724 twenty-two of Maryland's parishes answered a questionnaire on parochial life sent by the Bishop of London. Their responses provided a snapshot of the church in the early eighteenth century—when enough time had passed for children to have been born into the established church, grown up within it, and begun families of their own. The picture of vitality and general concord these responses paint should not be surprising. The church catechized youth, administered the sacraments, celebrated the liturgy, and expanded the parish churches. The word of God was even preached to Maryland's growing slave population.<sup>30</sup>

It would be convenient to conclude that the Protestant revolution of 1689 in Maryland immediately led to a revolution in the lives of Maryland's Protestants, or that the Church of England burst forth gloriously in the wake of the Glorious Revolution. Such is not the case, however, nor need it be. The transformation of Maryland from an unchurched to a churched society was gradual, not rapid, and tentative, not dramatic, but it was nonetheless sure. Maturation of Maryland's

population ensured the position of the church. By 1724 the Church of England had become the Church of Maryland, its spirit appropriately expressed in this prologue to a local fund drive:

Wee the inhabitants of Queen Anne Parish in Prince George's County Maryland . . . [seek to join in the] veneration for the worship and praise of God which in heaven is allowed chiefly to consist in the most exquisite joys & exultations of Blessed Spirits and in eternal Hallelujahs and praises to that Infinite Being and consequently as much as in us lies ought to be imitated in all Devout raptures of Elevated minds here on earth. . . .<sup>31</sup>

## NOTES

1. On the problems Dissenters—especially Quakers—posed to the young establishment, see: David W. Jordan, "The Royal Period of Colonial Maryland, 1689–1715" (Ph.d. diss., Princeton University, 1966), pp. 267–81; Nelson Waite Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church* (Baltimore: Church Historical Society for the Diocese of Maryland, 1956), pp. 25–26; Fulham Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library (Library of Congress, microfilm), 1:76–77 (hereafter Fulham Papers); William Stevens Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church* (New York: AMS Press, 1969), 4:26–28; H. P. Thompson, *Thomas Bray* (London: Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, 1954), pp. 43, 48; Bernard C. Steiner, ed., *Rev. Thomas Bray* (Baltimore: J. Murphy Co., 1901), pp. 230–33; and Kenneth Carroll, "Quaker Opposition to the Establishment of the State Church in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 65 (1970): 149–70 (hereafter *MdHM*). On the problems with clergymen in early Maryland and disputes between vestries and clergymen, see: Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church*, pp. 50–51; Arthur L. Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1964), p. 33; and Nelson Waite Rightmyer, "The Character of the Anglican Clergy of Colonial Maryland," *MdHM*, 44 (1949): 229–50. Also see several articles by Gerald E. Hartdagen: "The Vestries and Morals in Colonial Maryland," *MdHM*, 63 (1968): 360–78; "The Anglican Vestry In Colonial Maryland: A Study in Corporate Responsibility," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 40 (1971): 315–35; and "The Vestry as a Unit of Local Government in Colonial Maryland," *MdHM*, 63 (1972): 363–88. Also see Alan L. Clem, "The Vestries and Local Government in Colonial Maryland," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 31 (1962): 219–29.

2. On the various roles the church played in society, see Lawrence Cremin, *American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607–1783* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), especially pp. 138–66.

3. Carol Lee Van Voorst, "The Anglican Clergy of Colonial Maryland" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1978), p. 26.

4. While Governor Francis Nicholson (1694–1698) earns high marks as a patron of the young church—he voluntarily set aside certain fees for its benefit and actively contributed to many parishes—John Seymour (1703–1709) clearly does not. A jealous guardian of his own prerogative powers, Seymour was angered at not being consulted over a successor to Commissary Thomas Bray and ensured that no commissary replaced Bray or oversaw the growth of the church during the early, critical years of its life. On Nicholson, see Bruce T. McCully, "Governor Francis Nicholson, Patron *Par Excellence* of Religion and Learning in Colonial America," *William and Mary Quarterly* (3rd ser.), 39 (1982):

310–33. On Governor Seymour, see Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church*, p. 48; Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, p. 69; and *Historical Collections*, ed. Perry, 4:57–63 (Bray's account of the disagreement). On Governor Hart, see Hart to Bishop Robinson (1714), Fulham Papers 2:209–210. William Hand Browne, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883– ), 23:545–46, 24:265–73, 25:131–35, 183–84, 26:49–50 (hereafter *Arch Md*).

5. See William Keith to Bishop Robinson (1714), Fulham Papers 2:211–12, and “The Vestry of St. Paul’s Parish against William Tibbs” (1715), *ibid.*, 2:213–14. The problem with Scottish clerics was suggested in a letter from Christopher Wilkinson to Robinson (1718), *ibid.*, 2:250–51. See also the letter from the clergy of the Eastern Shore to Bishop Gibson (1724), *ibid.*, 3:34–35.

6. Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church*, pp. 188–91. Quotation in a letter from Jacob Henderson to Bishop Robinson (1715), Fulham Papers 2:217–18.

7. Governor Hart to Bishop Robinson (1715), Fulham Papers, 2:219–20; Journal of Henderson’s Visitation (1717), *ibid.*, 2:235–38; Charges against Henry Hall (1717), *ibid.*, 239–42; Robinson to Hart (1718), *ibid.*, 2:244–45; Hart to the clergy of Maryland (1718), *ibid.*, 2:246–47.

8. *Arch Md*, 23:145–49, 154–55, 159, 162, 242–43; Jacob Henderson to Francis Astry (1718), Fulham Papers 2:252–53; Henderson to Bishop Robinson (1718), Fulham Papers 2:254–55.

9. Before 1702 and the provisions of the final Establishment Act, the vestry had been a closed corporate body, selecting replacements for members when death or voluntary retirement made it necessary. The terms of the 1702 act specified the annual election of two vestrymen and the annual retirement of two. The law did not determine which members were to be replaced, however, and would not do so until the late 1720’s, so each parish was left free to decide on its own procedures. The transition from a closed vestry to an elected one was important because it broadened popular participation in a quasi-political office. Vestrymen received the title “Mr.,” and serving on the vestry was often the only way men of humble estate could gain this title. Also, these humbler men found themselves sitting on the vestry board with prominent men of the county, men who also sat on the county bench or in the provincial assembly. The requirement for annual elections was also meant to help prevent the vestry from becoming a wing of the local elite, although (as St. Paul’s amply demonstrates) this intention was not always realized. See Lois Green Carr, “County Government in Maryland, 1689–1709” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1968), pp. 672–673.

10. Information on All Faith’s Parish vestrymen was taken from the St. Mary’s County Eighteenth-Century Inventory File, St. Mary’s City Commission, Hall of Records, Annapolis. I am grateful to Lois Carr, historian, St. Mary’s City Commission, for making this file available to me.

11. The arrangement by which men important in county affairs also governed the church had its advantages. When the vestry appealed to the county court for permission to levy additional taxes to support the church, it helped to have vestrymen sitting on the bench. However, the arrangement prevented the broad inclusion of lesser men in parish governance found elsewhere, and, insofar as the vestry became another institution controlled by the local oligarchy, it worked against the wishes of the English Whig reformers who had rewritten Maryland’s Establishment Act to avoid the disadvantages of closed corporate vestries, such as those in Virginia.

12. From 1693 to 1700, St. Paul’s on average had 25 percent more taxables than All Faith’s Parish. Furthermore, as many as one-fourth of All Faith’s taxables were Catholics and thus ineligible for vestry membership. Nevertheless, thirty-eight different men sat on the All Faith’s Parish vestry between 1693 and 1720, while only thirty-two different men

sat on the St. Paul's vestry. See Vestry Records, St. Paul's Parish, Kent County, (hereafter, St. Paul's—Kent), Hall of Records, Annapolis, p. 47; Vestry Records, All Faith's Parish, St. Mary's County, (hereafter, All Faith's—St. Mary's), Hall of Records, Annapolis, pp. 29–40, 41, 49, 53, 56; *Historical Collections*, ed. Perry, 4:197.

13. For example, Nathaniel Hynson, the son of John Hynson, held his first major county office as a vestryman in 1707. He was appointed county sheriff in 1708, was commissioned to the county bench in 1716, and won election to the assembly in 1719. St. Leger Codd, son of one assemblyman and the son-in-law of another, was elected to the vestry in 1712, several months before his own election to the assembly. His appointment to the county bench came in 1714. Michael Miller, Jr., son of an original vestrymen who had held prominent political office both before and after 1689, was elected a vestryman in 1713, a year before his appointment to the county bench. See Edward C. Papenfuse, Alan F. Day, David W. Jordan, and Gregory A. Stiverson, eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789* (2 vols.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), entries for Nathaniel Hynson, John Hynson, and St. Leger Codd, 2nd; Kent County Court Records, Hall of Records, Annapolis: 1714–1716, 1:52; 1707–1709, 1701–1705, pp. 207–541. See also Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church*, p. 219. The extent to which the local elite dominated St. Paul's Parish is further suggested when we compare the other important offices the St. Paul's and All Faith's vestrymen held: 62.5 percent of the St. Paul's vestrymen from 1692 to 1720 (<sup>29</sup>/<sub>32</sub>) sat on the county bench, compared to only 34.2 percent (<sup>13</sup>/<sub>38</sub>) of the All Faith's vestrymen. Eighteen St. Paul's vestrymen served in the assembly (56.3 percent) compared to only five (13.2 percent) for All Faith's. While four members of the St. Paul's vestry were members of the Provincial Court, only one from All Faith's ever achieved this distinction.

14. A vestry dominated by men well-connected to agencies of local and provincial power had its advantages, of course. All Faith's Parish lacked a minister of its own for eleven of the fifteen years between 1693 and 1708. St. Paul's Parish, on the other hand, secured a minister very quickly and had to depend on a lay reader to conduct services for only a few months in 1696–1697—until the Reverend Stephen Bordley's arrival in July. While St. Paul's Parish was larger, had more taxables, and thus could provide a minister with a more comfortable living than All Faith's, St. Paul's advantages included being able to dispatch distinguished assembly and Provincial Court members to the governor to petition for the placement of a minister (See All Faith's—St. Mary's, 4–8, 23, 28–29, 40–41, 49–52, 54–57; St. Paul's—Kent, 6–16, 20, 24, 27–28, 31–35; *Arch Md*, 23:432 and 22:97; Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church*, pp. 162–63, 210, 216; and Papenfuse et al., *Dictionary*, 1:475–76, 596, 750).

Other differences in parochial atmosphere may have followed from differences in the social and political distinction of parochial leadership. The control of the parish vestry by men accustomed to wielding political power in Kent County seems to have led to their active policing of the morals of their parishioners, the other governmental function reserved to the parish vestries besides collecting taxes. No other parish vestry for which records survive pursued suspected cohabitants more vigorously. While the vestry's efforts to keep its flock continent suggest the routine exercise of legitimate authority by men who viewed governing as their right and responsibility, these efforts may well reflect something deeper. With the complete interpenetration of civil and ecclesiastical authority in the parish, the efforts of the St. Paul's Parish fathers to control the moral lives of their parishioners may suggest that vestrymen in elite-dominated parishes viewed their role as paternal, and their parishioners as children for whose behavior they were responsible. See St. Paul's—Kent, pp. 11, 14, 43, 73, 76–78, 82, 88, 93, 95–102, 104–105, 109, 115, 116, 118–20.

15. See *Arch Md*, 23:81–84, 470–72; 25:131–35, 183–84, 580–84; 29:361–64;

33:145–55; and St. Paul's—Kent, pp. 3, 4, 11, 18, 27, 28, 31–35, 64–67, for examples at the parochial level.

16. Carr, "County Government," p. 669. The three Presbyterian vestrymen were William Hatton, William Hutcheson, and William Tannehill. The pew list for Piscataway Parish from 1715 lists at least three Presbyterians as holders; see Vestry Records, King George's Church, Charles County, (hereafter, King George's Church—Charles) (more accurately King George's Parish, Prince George's County), Hall of Records, Annapolis, pp. 36–37.

17. King George's Church—Charles, pp. 24, 28; Vestry Records, St. Paul's Parish, Talbot and Queen Anne's counties, (hereafter, St. Paul's—T/QA), Hall of Records, Annapolis, p. 26; *Historical Collections*, ed. Perry, 4:216 (quotation), 206, 207.

18. *Arch Md*, 24:137, 144, 170, 181, 211, 289–90; 26:62, 432–33, 624–25; 29:239. See also *ibid.*, 27:520.

19. See, for example, *Arch Md*, 19:234; 20:277; 26:495.

20. See at Hall of Records, Annapolis: Charles County Wills AB3:75; A2:6, 264; St. Mary's County Wills, 1:207; Wills 12, part 2:2, 27, 57; 13:306, 325; 11:168, 217, 328, 343, 377.

21. Requests for church burials had been rising throughout the last third of the seventeenth century. They rose steeply beginning about 1695 and levelled off about 1700; see Michael Graham, "Lord Baltimore's Pious Enterprise: Toleration and Community in Colonial Maryland, 1634–1725" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1983), pp. 313–15.

22. See, for example, Inventories and Accounts, Hall of Records, Annapolis: 30:182; 36A:36; 38B:127; Accounts 5:101, 11:47, 612; 35A:257.

23. Maryland Colonial Wills, 13:633; Charles County Wills, AB3:102–3.

24. Maryland Colonial Wills, 11:11; 3:75, 465; 12 (part 1): 305; St. Mary's County Wills, 1:241. Quotations from St. Mary's Wills, 1:210, 211–12. Also see Wills 3:450; 11:151; 12 (part 1):151; 14:76; Charles County Wills, 2:240–46; AB3:11–12, 102–3.

25. See Vestry Records, All Saint's Parish, Calvert County, Hall of Records, Annapolis, pp. 3–4; Vestry Records, North Sassafras Parish, Cecil County, *ibid.*, pp. 52, 53; St. Paul's—Kent, pp. 28, 31, 38, 45, 59, 64, 66; All Faith's—St. Mary's, pp. 3, 116, 119, 123; St. Paul's—T/QA, pp. 29, 36, 42.

26. For an able survey of Protestantism in seventeenth-century Maryland, see David W. Jordan, "The Miracle of the Age: Maryland's Experiment in Religious Toleration, 1648–1689," *The Historian*, 47 (1985): 338–59. Also see: Lawrence C. Wroth, "The First Sixty Years of the Church of England in Maryland, 1632–1692," *MdHM*, 11 (1916): 1–14; John G. Herndon, "The Rev. William Wilkinson of England, Virginia, and Maryland," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 57 (1949): 315–21; Daniell R. Randall, *A Puritan Colony in Maryland*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1886); Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church*, pp. 5–7; Louis Dow Scisco, "The First Church in Charles County Maryland," *MdHM*, 23 (1928): 155–62; and Arthur Pierce Middleton, "Toleration and the Established Church in Maryland," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 53 (1984): 13–24. Chapter 5 ("The Church's Progress in Maryland and Virginia") of John Frederick Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), also has some pertinent information. For problems arising from the "depressed" state of the "protestant ministry" in seventeenth-century Maryland, see *Arch Md*, 1:119; 4:35–36, 37–39; and especially 5:139. Protestant anti-Catholic paranoia contributed to occasions of civil disruption in the 1640s (*Arch Md*, 3:164–67, 169, 171, 173), 1650s (Leonard Strong's 1650 pamphlet, "Babylon's Fall," in Clayton Coleman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925] and "Virginia and Maryland, or the Lord Baltimore's Printed Case Uncased and Answered,"

ibid.; also see *Arch Md*, 10:425–29), and 1670s, when Lord Baltimore parried the attempts of the Privy Council to provide for some form of church support short of establishment through public levies (see *Arch Md*, 5:125–34, 252–54, 264–69). Moreover, anti-Catholic fears contributed to an abortive uprising in Calvert County in 1676 (see *Arch Md*, 5:134–54), and to the crisis in Maryland's government in the late 1680s (see Lois Green Carr and David William Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689–1692* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974]). A tantalizing suggestion of the kind of adaptation pious Marylanders had to make in a world lacking clergy is contained in David W. Jordan, "A Search for Salvation in the Corrupt New World," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 43 (1974): 45–55. See also *Arch Md*, 53:599.

27. For a summary and review of the literature on this topic, see David W. Jordan, *Foundations of Representative Government in Maryland, 1632–1715* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

28. The theme of the "Anglicization" of the American colonies in the eighteenth century has helped give rise to a new "Imperial" school of interpretation. John Murrin's work has been especially important in launching this theme of recent scholarship (see "The Legal Transformation: The Bench and Bar of Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts," in Stanley N. Katz, ed., *Colonial America: Essays in Politics and Social Development* [Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1971], 415–449). Jack P. Green and J. R. Pole have synthesized the conclusions of much of this work and posited a three-stage process of colonial social development embracing social simplification, social elaboration, and social replication. The "Anglicizing" of the colonies may be seen as beginning in the second phase with "demands, emanating largely from emerging elites, for a restructuring of their societies along lines that would make them demonstrably more British." See Green and Pole, eds., *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), pp. 14–15, and Richard R. Johnson, "Charles McLean Andrews and the Invention of American Colonial History," *William and Mary Quarterly* (3d ser.), 43 (1986): 519–41.

29. These figures for Maryland's Anglican clergy are from Fulham Papers, 2:103, 104–7; 3:20–21.

30. For questions in the inquiry, see William Wilson Manross, *The Fulham Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. xxiii. The responses may be found either in Fulham Papers 3:48–71 or in *Historical Collections*, ed. Perry, 4:190–231 (See especially 195–201, 206, 208, 218–19, 225–26). For an informative discussion of this census that places the situation in Maryland in the context of the larger American colonial experience, see Patricia U. Bonomi and Peter R. Eisenstadt, "Church Adherence in the Eighteenth-Century British American Colonies," *William and Mary Quarterly* (3d ser.), 39 (1982): 245–86.

31. Vestry Records, Queen Anne's Parish, Prince George's County, Hall of Records, Annapolis, p. 20.

## The Baron and the Milliner: Lord Baltimore's Rape Trial as a Mirror of Class Tensions in Mid-Georgian London

WALLACE SHUGG

On 26 March 1768, Frederick Calvert, sixth Baron Baltimore, went on trial for his life at Kingston, Surrey, for the alleged rape of Sarah Woodcock, a London milliner.<sup>1</sup> The case stirred up considerable public controversy, largely because of the social differences of the contestants: on one side the immensely rich "great man" with his pretensions to culture, belonging to the upper-class Established Church of England; on the other side the "fair citizen" with her pretensions to piety and virtue, belonging to the dissenting sect of Independents made up chiefly of London merchants, shopkeepers, and artisans.<sup>2</sup> The whole affair with its numerous writings attacking or defending the principals provides a vivid glimpse of class tensions in mid-Georgian London.



Born 6 February 1732, Calvert became the sixth Baron Baltimore in 1751 upon the death of his father.<sup>3</sup> In 1753 he married Lady Diana Egerton, daughter of the Duke of Bridgewater. They were legally separated three years later because of "incompatibility of temper." Along with his title Lord Baltimore inherited the proprietary colony of Maryland, and though it yielded him a huge annual income, he never once visited it nor looked upon it as other than a source of revenue.<sup>4</sup>

Contemporary evidence indicates that this wealthy young lord dabbled in the arts and sciences while indulging his tastes freely for women and travel—that he was a kind of eighteenth-century playboy who wasted himself physically and spiritually. Winckelmann, the German archaeologist, who served as his guide in Rome, described him soon after on 1 January 1763: "He thinks he has too much brain and it would have been better if God had substituted brawn for a third part of it. He has wearied of everything in the world; we went through the Villa Borghese in ten minutes."<sup>5</sup> And a year later on 30 January, Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore's uncle and Principal Secretary of Maryland, wrote him from England that his telescopes and globes had been sent on to Smyrna as directed and then closed with a mild rebuke: "I am concern'd for the Birth you mention'd 'tis unlucky an Embarassement, 'tis yr. own creating do the Best, comfort her my compts. to her"; a postscript urged his nephew's early return, saying "yr. affairs indeed & indeed want you."<sup>6</sup> But Lord Baltimore remained abroad for some months after, as is clear from an entry in Boswell's journal on 3 August 1764:

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FIGURE 1. "Frederick Calvert, Sixth and Last Lord Baltimore" (1732–1771). Oil painting by Johann Ludwig Tietz, c. 1762. (Reproduced with the permission of the Enoch Pratt Free Library.)

A Swiss gentleman . . . told me that Lord Baltimore was living at Constantinople as a Turk, with his seraglio around him. He said that this nobleman was quite the man of English whim. He lived luxuriously and inflamed his blood, then he grew melancholy and timorous and was constantly taking medicines. In short, he is there leading a strange, wild life, useless to his country, uneasy to himself, except when rased to a delirium, and must soon destroy his constitution.

At this time Boswell was struggling to control his own dissolute behaviour and took this bit of gossip as a moral lesson: "Lord Baltimore was a [warning] beacon to me. I trembled to think of my wild schemes."<sup>7</sup>

During his homeward trip from Constantinople in 1764 Lord Baltimore became embroiled in an unpleasant incident from which he should have learned prudence. Regarding this affair, only the rough drafts (in faulty French) of two of his letters and the fragment of another have survived among the Calvert papers, but they are enough to give some idea of what happened. While he was travelling through Poland in June, his interpreter ("le mechant Mr. Tyran") persuaded a young servant girl in his entourage to inform against Baltimore, apparently for sexual misconduct. The authorities came one night and forcibly took her away from his party. With his humiliation, anguish, and indignation showing in every line, Lord Baltimore was obliged to send them her papers and even justify his own behaviour toward her.<sup>8</sup> The fragment of another letter, apparently having to do with the same affair, indicates clearly that he was compelled at some point to pay blackmail.<sup>9</sup>

Back in London once more, Lord Baltimore set up another seraglio in his house in Southampton Row near Bloomsbury Square in the fashionable West End.<sup>10</sup> According to a contemporary satire, the young women were governed by a set of twenty-four rules, which included bathing three times a week and inoculation against smallpox. Besides a doctor in residence ("a German quack" who claimed to be able to cure "clap" in eight hours), there was a "governante" [*sic*] for the young ladies. Emissaries were sent throughout London periodically to procure fresh faces. Of especial interest, in light of the charge of rape brought against him, the satire describes the nobleman as diminutive, puny, and impotent.<sup>11</sup>

The victim of the alleged rape, Sarah Woodcock, was a single woman nearly thirty years old who worked as a milliner. Her exact place in the eighteenth-century social hierarchy is difficult to determine because, as a number of writers have pointed out, class distinctions in Hanoverian England were based on an elusive combination of economic, religious, and cultural differences.<sup>12</sup> Obviously, the milliner did not belong by birth to the aristocracy or gentry, nor—considering the product of her work (an item of luxury apparel)—to the great mass of "the labouring poor," but rather to "the middling sort." Her place here was probably among the lower ranks: she worked with her sister in a small shop in her father's house in King Street near the Tower in the unfashionable east end of London.<sup>13</sup> There her regular clientele most likely consisted of the wives of tradesmen, artisans, and merchants. A visit from a "great" person like Lord Baltimore would have been considered out of the ordinary. Also, her membership in one of the older dissenting groups, the Independents, would have placed her only a cut above the laboring poor, to whom the newer, rapidly growing Methodism mainly appealed.<sup>14</sup>

According to the epic tale unfolded by her later at the trial, Lord Baltimore decoyed her to his house on 6 December 1767, detained her against her will, and—after she heroically resisted his offers, persuasions, and threats—finally raped her on 22 December. She was unable to rejoin her family until 29 December, at which time she lodged a complaint resulting in his prosecution.

The news travelled quickly. Only two days later the story appeared in at least three newspapers.<sup>15</sup> By 5 January it had become "the talk of the town," as George Selwyn wrote Lord Carlisle; "the girl's parents . . . are determined to reject all



FIGURE 2. "Miss W\*\*\*\*\*, The Modern Lucretia." Engraving from a painting by J. Thompson, who said the subject agreeably sat for the work. Published in Joseph Gurney, *The Trial of Frederick Calvert Esq; Baron of Baltimore . . .* (London, 1768). (Library, Maryland Historical Society.)

offers at composition. . . . [Lord Baltimore] is mad, certainly, and had a narrow escape by a prank of the same nature, as I hear, at Constantinople."<sup>16</sup> And the first of many partisan publications appeared: "common catch-penny grubs," the *Monthly Review* of January, 1768, called them, "calculated to make the most of the public eagerness, curiosity and credulity."<sup>17</sup> Indeed, so numerous did they become that the *Monthly Review* later observed: "One would think his Lordship had ravished all Grub Street, there is such a confounded clamour among its inhabitants."<sup>18</sup>

News of the alleged rape reached Maryland later that spring: in an undated letter Governor Sharpe, who tried to censor any published account of the scandal in the

*Maryland Gazette*, wrote that it "hath made such a Noise in London and as You may suppose been much talked of in this Province since the Pennsylvania and other Northern Papers communicated to the Publick all the publishers could extract from the English papers relative thereto." Lord Baltimore's protégé, the Reverend Bennet Allen, then seeking preferment in the province, at once wrote a long and spirited but baseless defense of his patron, which first appeared in the *Pennsylvania Journal* in April of 1768 and was reprinted by the *Maryland Gazette* on 21 April 1768.<sup>18</sup>

The case was remarkably similar to the alleged rape of a newly hired servant girl in 1729 by Colonel Francis Charteris, which also created a great stir in its own day.<sup>19</sup> But unlike the case of Charteris, whose deed capped a career so scandalous that no one—not even of his own class—could find a good word for him,<sup>20</sup> public reaction to the Lord Baltimore affair divided itself largely along class lines.

Among the surviving published pieces in the controversy, one of the first was the *Memoirs of the Seraglio of the Bashaw of Merryland, by a Discarded Sultana* (London, 1768). This pseudonymous pamphlet satirizes both parties and aims principally at establishing Lord Baltimore's poor physique and impotence and Sarah Woodcock's willing acquiescence and false modesty. For example, when he tries to kiss "the beautiful Miss Lovecock [*sic*]," she "gently slaps his face."<sup>21</sup>

The anonymous author of *An Apology for Lord B——. In a letter to his Lordship, with an address to the town* (London, 1768) rebukes the town for its love of sensation or scandal and for condemning Lord Baltimore before the facts are known. He suggests that the High Church nobleman was being persecuted because of his religious affiliation, for he describes Sarah Woodcock as a "pious daughter, who can back her complaint with a whole troop of sectaries at her heels."<sup>22</sup> He was answered by *A Letter to the Apologist for L——. By One of the Town* (London, 1768) and *Remarks upon a Pamphlet Entitled An Apology for Lord B——. (London, 1768)*, both anonymous and both of which argue the need to protect the virtue and honor of the "fair" or "weaker" sex and deny the role of religious differences in the prosecution of Lord Baltimore.<sup>23</sup>

In contrast, the anonymous *History of a late infamous adventure, between a great man and a fair citizen. In a series of letters from a lady, near St. James's, to her friend in the country* (London, 1768) reflects the amusement, titillation, and cynicism of the upper class. The author is told by a baronet that "the ladies at St. James's are so full of this wonderful adventure, that they dream of nothing but rapes and all that. Sir Thomas . . . says the girl is a great fool, for that such offers have been made her as no woman in her senses would have refused." The author pokes fun at both Lord Baltimore and Sarah Woodcock but says the case is indeed mysterious—"a second Canning affair"—and that "this Great man" should be supposed innocent until proven guilty.<sup>24</sup>

In a letter written in March shortly before the trial, one credulous gossip spoke of having dined at the Earl of Essex's with Lord Baltimore, "who with a great deal of simplicity told us the whole story of his recent unfortunate love affair, and a greater impostor never existed than this much injured virgin. . . . [It] will be entertaining if half comes out in evidence which his Lordship related in conversation." A more judicious but ungallant letter-writer remarked, "I do not know enough of my Lord Baltimore to guess about his share in the story. By what I hear of the lady it should seem he need not have taken so violent a measure."<sup>25</sup>

The last publication in support of Lord Baltimore before his trial came from the playfully entitled *Modern Chastity, or the Agreeable Rape, a Poem by a young gentleman of sixteen in vindication of the Right Hon. Lord B*— (London, 1768).<sup>26</sup> In his preface the anonymous author heaps scorn on “the hypocritical villains” who rallied behind “this middle-aged lady.” The poem itself blames “Methodism’s frantic tribe” for leading her to perjure herself (“Thus W. . . . K acts, tho’ first she play’d the whore / Turn’d honest after, to hang B[altimore]”) and calls her a “Betsy Canning, new reviv’d. . . .”<sup>27</sup>



The trial was held Saturday, 26 March 1768, at Kingston-on-Thames, Surrey, and according to the *London Gazette* drew a “great crowd of nobility”; indeed, their carriages so filled the streets as to hinder the market people doing business.<sup>28</sup> It began at seven in the morning and lasted until four Sunday morning.<sup>29</sup> Such a marathon trial, rare for its time, was necessary because criminal courts were not then empowered to adjourn a case overnight.<sup>30</sup> An indication of its importance is suggested by the choice of the presiding judge, Sir Sydney Stafford Smythe, a baron of the Court of Exchequer. He permitted the publication of the recorded proceedings, which had been taken down in shorthand by Joseph Gurney, the official court reporter.<sup>31</sup>

Published reports of trials involving sex crimes of the aristocracy had already become popular with the reading public during the eighteenth century, some of the reports even being altered by the publishers so that they constituted a genre of



FIGURE 3. Woodcote Park, country house of the Calvert family and according to Miss Woodcock the scene of the crime. Completed by Frederick’s father, the Georgian Palladian mansion was “embosomed in trees” and surrounded by about 350 acres. It lay a mile south of Epsom, next to the racecourse. From Edward Wedlake Brayley, *A Topographical History of Surrey* (5 vols; London, G. Willis, 1850), 4:351. (Peabody Institute Library.)

pornography.<sup>32</sup> Unlike these spiced up versions, *The Trial of Frederick Calvert, Esq; Baron of Baltimore* . . . (London, 1768) appeared unembellished by editorial comments and erotic or obscene illustrations.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, this trial report was clearly expected to make money: three editions were published separately in London, Dublin, and Edinburgh<sup>34</sup> for those people waiting throughout the realm for the sensational details. They were not to be disappointed.

The indictment charged Frederick Calvert with raping Sarah Woodcock at Epsom on 22 December 1767, and named Elizabeth Griffinburg and Ann Harvey as accessories. As the proceedings make clear, this Irish baron was tried with the two women as a commoner<sup>35</sup> and so with them had to face a jury of twelve freeholders drawn from the county of Surrey, where the rape allegedly occurred. Of the twenty-seven prospective jurors called forward, fifteen were challenged.<sup>36</sup> The first witness was Sarah Woodcock herself. Under questioning by the counsel for the crown, she told her version of the story.

Lord Baltimore several times came into her shop early in December, 1767, and made some small purchases. On his last visit, she said,

he came in a great hurry, all over mud on one side; and said a coach had flung him down. . . . I said it was odd he should be so near the coach and not see it. He said it was [because he was] thinking on me. . . . He then said, he should be glad to accompany me to the play, if I would go. I made answer, I never was at a play, and never intended it.

He did not return, but several days later Mrs. Harvey, one of his servants, entered the shop and ordered some things to be delivered to his house.

On Wednesday, 16 December, Sarah delivered the order to Mrs. Harvey, who then took her to another house, supposedly to meet a lady who would place a large order. Instead, she met there Lord Baltimore, who was dressed in a nightgown. After serving her tea, he brought her some trinkets, which she refused. Despite her requests to be taken home, he insisted on showing her some of the house and played for her on the harpsichord. Then he took her behind a window curtain and "began to show indecencies." She struggled free and demanded to be taken to her family, but instead was detained in the company of Mrs. Harvey and Mrs. Griffinburg.

All that night Sarah walked about the bedroom, unable to sleep. When morning came she opened the window but found it too high for escape. Seeing a young woman pass by, she threw down her handkerchief—"wet with tears as if dipped in water"—and called out twice, but was pulled away by Mrs. Harvey and Mrs. Griffinburg.

Later that day Lord Baltimore said that she must stay because he loved her "to distraction," that he would write her father to come and hear his proposals, and that if she did not like them, then she could go home. Having written her father to say that she was "at a friend's house, safe and well, in all honesty and honour," Lord Baltimore had her write a postscript to confirm the story. After Sarah spent another sleepless, tearful night, Baltimore on Friday told her that she could write her father herself and that he had already sent Mr. Woodcock £200. In her letter she asked her father if he had received the money but did not mention Lord Baltimore's dishonorable behaviour: "I knew he would not send it," she said, "if I did not say something in favour of him."

Shortly after the letter was written, Richard Smith, a friend of Lord Baltimore, came to tell her he had met with her father. Upon discovering that Smith could not describe her father satisfactorily and hearing him converse with Lord Baltimore in a foreign language, she called them all "a parcel of Popish, rubbishing people." Around midnight, "a little Jew man" brought a letter from her father and friends asking her when and where they could meet her.

Exhausted and weak after two days without sleep or food, Sarah lay down that night fully clothed and managed to snatch a few moments of rest when she was not remonstrating with her companion, Mrs. Harvey. The next morning, Saturday the 19th, she pleaded with Lord Baltimore to let her go, telling him she was engaged to a young man:

With that he flew into a violent passion, and called me all the bitches and whores he could think of, and throwed the news-paper at me; and told me, if I offered to tell him anything more about another man, he would fling me out the window, or tie my petticoats about my head, and send me home in a wheelbarrow. . . . [H]e said to the Jew, Carry the slut to a mean house, like herself. With that I was terrified very much, and thought he meant a bawdy-house.

Fearfully she then told Lord Baltimore that if he allowed her father to come and made proposals to him in her presence, she would consider them.

After another restless night in the company of Mrs. Harvey, she spent six or seven hours of the next day discoursing with Lord Baltimore:

[H]e began to ridicule religion, and to say that all things came by nature; and that man, when he died, went to the dust: that he thought they had no living souls: and he said that, as a philosopher, he believed there was neither God nor devil, heaven nor hell. I desired they would bring me a Bible, and I would prove to him that there was all. With that the Bible was brought; and I proved to him, from the word, as much as was in my power, that there was a God, a devil, heaven and hell. . . .

Her only reason for talking with him at such length, she told him, was to convince him that she would never give in to his desires.

However, his lordship renewed his "indecentencies" when supper was over at nine:

[H]e pulled me into his lap. . . . and wanted to put his hand in my bosom; which I would not let him, and got out of his arms. Then . . . he pressed me to one corner of the room; and there pressed me up against the wainscot, as if he would press me to death. I struggled, and got from him: then he got me down in an elbow-chair . . . and strove to pull my petticoats up. I struggled, and cried out all I could, and begged and pleaded with him, that he would take my life; for I would never yield the other to any one, but upon honourable terms, which was marriage.

After nearly two hours of this, she was left to spend yet another sleepless, tearful night with Mrs. Harvey.

On Monday afternoon, 21 December, they all rode in the coach to Woodcote Park, Lord Baltimore's country seat.<sup>37</sup> There, after dinner, she again fought off Lord Baltimore's advances: "he said it must be so that night, whether I would or no." As a diversion, Lord Baltimore proposed a game of blindman's bluff, but she refused: "I was crying, and he swang<sup>38</sup> me round the room, and said I should play with them." After supper, Mrs. Harvey and Mrs. Griffinburg began to undress

her: "I was in such a tremble and fright . . . I was not able to resist them, but cried, and begged, and pleaded." Dr. Griffinburg, who was standing by, said, "O! my dear Miss Sally, don't cry so; don't take on so, it will be all well by and by." They pulled off the rest of her clothes and forced her in bed with Lord Baltimore and then drew the curtains and went away:

He turned upon me with all the force he could . . . and I cried and struggled all I could, but he held my mouth together with his fingers that I might not cry, and strove to lie over me, so much as to smother me. . . . then he turned off . . . and left me to live or die as I could.

She lay in fear and trembling all night, she said, the sweat running off her. Early Tuesday morning, he again raped her, despite her resistance: "After this he asked me if I wanted the pot? I said yes. I got out of bed, I don't know how, and there came a great quantity of blood from me."

Later that morning she told Mrs. Harvey of her ill usage and was answered roughly: "Yes; you made noise enough; I heard you. . . . [But] you will like it well enough by and by." Realizing her predicament, she then resolved to be more cooperative—that is, to join them in any innocent activities in order to avoid further ill treatment and perhaps gain her freedom. As one of the dissenting sects of Independents, she said she did not consider innocent such diversions as cards, dancing, or music.<sup>39</sup> During that same day Baltimore took her for a run to the canal and an airing in a boat. In the evening, he gave her the *Spectator* to read, "which, when I found something serious in it, he came and took it away, and gave me Dr. [Jonathan] Swift's works . . . which I would not read. . . . I said it was nonsense and stuff."<sup>40</sup> That night, as he did not want her company, she went to bed with Mrs. Harvey.

Sarah remained a prisoner for several more days. At tea time on Wednesday two gentlemen and a lady, friends of Lord Baltimore,<sup>41</sup> arrived from London. Sheets were hung up across a room for them "to act the magic lanthorn." She learned then the defendant's identity for the first time when she heard the lady say: "that is Lord Baltimore that is [behind the sheet] acting the old man." The following day, when the women took her for a run in the park, she tried to lose them, but without success. In the afternoon they rode back to London in the coach. That evening Lord Baltimore did want her in bed with him, but she made an excuse "applicable to her sex" (menstruation) and was allowed to spend the night with Mrs. Harvey. Christmas Day Lord Baltimore introduced Sarah to "the young ladies" (his illegitimate daughters) and their governess, Madame Saunier, with whom she spent the afternoon. That evening, he called her to bed, promising her he wanted only to lie by her. Fearful that they would use force, she at last complied:

As soon as I had got into bed, he jumped out of bed, and fetched the candle; and when he had done so, he strove to tear up my shift, to see my nakedness: I struggled with all my might, and would not let him get a full sight. . . . With that, he exposed himself in the same manner, and wanted me to look at him; but I would not. . . . I told him, I thought it was impossible that any creature could take such pleasure in such vile abominations. . . .

He did not accomplish his purpose that night because she was still menstruating. Apparently Lord Baltimore's interest in Sarah began to wane. A woman came at

the nobleman's bidding and measured her for a gown. She submitted listlessly to the whole proceeding, she said, without taking interest in choosing the color or the material. That night she slept alone in the garret. On Sunday, the 27th, while standing at the window after dinner, she saw her fiancé, Mr. Davis, outside looking up at her. After beckoning him to the window of the next room, she managed to cry out, "I cannot come to you!" but had to break off and shut the window again, she said, for fear of discovery by the others. That night she again slept in the garret, and Monday morning Baltimore promised she would see her father that very day, that if she would tell her father she was "satisfied and easy," he would do anything for her that she desired. She then took coach with "the little Miss" (one of the illegitimate daughters) and Mrs. Griffinburg to the latter's house in Dean Street, Soho, to meet her father, but he failed to appear. Some time later Lord Baltimore came and said Sarah's father had managed to have Mrs. Harvey taken into custody. Then various messengers reported that Justice Fielding's men<sup>42</sup> had surrounded Lord Baltimore's house and that there was also "a great mob in the yard"—"Methodists or Dissenters," according to a later witness.<sup>43</sup> After fruitless attempts to meet up with her father, they rode back to Lord Baltimore's house, the coach making its way with some difficulty past the men gathered there. That night, he said she must go to bed with him "or he should be wretched: I refused; he promised me he would not meddle with me; I thought if I did not, he would make me go to bed with him; so I did go to bed with him, and he did not meddle with me."

Sarah wrote her father the 29th and—to satisfy Lord Baltimore—begged her friends to come "with all the decency and respect becoming a nobleman's house." Lord Baltimore then promised her a house of her own if she would tell her father she was willing to stay. When brought for preliminary questioning before the magistrate, Lord Mansfield,<sup>44</sup> Sarah told him she was willing to stay with Lord Baltimore, but that she wanted to see her father. She did not tell Lord Mansfield about the rape, she said, because she did not know he was a magistrate and had the power to deliver her. But once she was left alone with her father and sisters, she told them she wanted to go home. They took her to Justice Fielding,<sup>45</sup> to whom she told the story of her rape for the first time. She then told him she wanted to prosecute Lord Baltimore "if it could be done with safety," meaning, "that as he was a man of so much money and power, that there might be a great deal of bribery, and that justice might not be done." Since that time, she told the court, she had not returned home "for fear" of Lord Baltimore and was "afraid to go into the street."



Under cross-examination she named Mr. Cay, a baker in White Cross Street, and six other men as friends with whom she stayed for safety's sake until the trial began. When asked directly if any of them had helped her in carrying on the prosecution, she answered merely that "a set of gentlemen" [without identifying them further] had lent her father money, "upon a note of hand."<sup>46</sup>

When asked her age, Sarah answered twenty seven, but with some prodding admitted she would be thirty in July.<sup>47</sup> She further admitted—among other things—that she had failed to make her predicament known to the men working

on the nearby canal or in the house; that she helped hang the sheets for the magic lantern show and even laughed with the others when the sheets fell down; that she did not try to escape when riding in a hackney coach in a public street when accompanied only by old Mrs. Griffinburg and an eight-year-old child, one of the illegitimate daughters, and that she had undressed and gone to bed with Lord Baltimore voluntarily on their last night together. She on her side repeated that she had complied only because she feared bodily harm or that she would never see her family again.

Her father, two sisters, and other witnesses for the prosecution testified that when Sarah failed to return, they made every effort to trace her through Mrs. Harvey. Then the doctor, who examined the plaintiff nine days after the alleged rape, gave his report: "I gave it my opinion she was not a virgin, and had been lately lain with.<sup>48</sup> There was a great deal of soreness. . . . There must have been great force used . . . but whether with her consent or not I cannot be positive."

In his defense, written out a day before the trial and now read aloud by his solicitor, Lord Baltimore asserted that he had come to face his accusers despite the general prejudice created against him among the public by malicious gossipers; that the charge of rape against him might well have been made to extort money from him or to save the girl's reputation; that "to inflame this accusation" he had been falsely represented by his detractors as a "libertine" (not in the sexual sense but as a freethinker or despiser of religion<sup>49</sup>); and that rape was for him not only a moral but a physical impossibility because of his weak constitution—"she is," he said, "as to bodily health, stronger than I am."

The first witness for the defense, Mr. Way (no further identification), was present by order of Lord Mansfield when he first questioned her and heard her tell him "several times" that she had agreed to stay with Lord Baltimore and—"with a positive smile"—that as she was of age, she knew Lord Mansfield could not take her away from him. During cross-examination Way called it "a smile of positiveness, not a direct smile," whereupon the Crown counsel suggested it was only a mannerism.

The second witness, Robert Rose (one of Lord Mansfield's servants), was present when she first met with her family and heard her tell them that "she was well and happy, and my Lord had used her very genteelly, and done a great deal for her, and that she should be able to do more for them." He then heard her say to her family, "all my friends will think me a whore." They said no; all her acquaintances had a good opinion of her. Hearing this, he said, she asked for Lord Mansfield and told him she would stay with her friends, that Lord Baltimore had confined her. Rose added that when they departed, her "sweetheart," Mr. Davis, "took her down the steps; he seemed very fond of her."<sup>50</sup>

The other witnesses, most of them servants or connected with the defendant in some way, testified that the complainant had appeared to be always "merry and cheerful," that she joined in the general diversions, and that she was at liberty to leave. According to Elizabeth Dunning, a governess to the daughters, Sarah even made an indecent joke on Christmas Eve: while talking about the Scriptures with Lord Baltimore, "Miss Woodcock said Adam was created upright; at which we all laughed."

Before the jury retired, the judge instructed them to disregard any public ac-

counts of the affair and also Lord Baltimore's enticement of Woodcock to his home—that act in itself did not constitute rape. Crucial to deciding the credibility of her testimony, he said—citing a rule laid down by Lord Chief Justice Matthew Hale in the seventeenth century<sup>51</sup>—was whether she made her complaint to the authorities as soon as possible after her supposed injury. If not, then “a strong presumption arises that the complaint is malicious.” The judge then pointed out, “The strong part of the case on behalf of the prisoners is her not complaining [at once] when she was at Lord Mansfield's, the supreme magistrate in the kingdom in criminal matters.” If the jury believed that she did not complain at the first opportunity—either during the week following the alleged rape, when she was still with Lord Baltimore, or when she was first brought before Lord Mansfield—then they should find the prisoners not guilty. After deliberating for one hour and twenty minutes, the jury returned with a verdict of not guilty.

Newspapers of the day add at least two vivid details to Joseph Gurney's unembellished official report. During the course of the trial, many of the spectators shed tears. And as the jury went out to deliberate, the faces of the prisoners showed terror.<sup>52</sup>

The published version of the trial was summarized in the April issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in which an anonymous, keen-eyed reviewer impartially made some astute observations on the testimony of each party. For example, Lord Baltimore wrote Sarah's father that she was “at a friend's house safe and well, in all honesty and honour,” and at his request she added a corroborating postscript. The reviewer comments: “My lord . . . thus artfully obtained an attestation which would appear to falsify a subsequent complaint.” And as to her statement that she did not at first complain to Lord Mansfield because she did not know he was a magistrate and had the power to deliver her, the reviewer observes that she must have known her seeing him was the result of steps taken by her friends and that she could speak freely.<sup>53</sup>

The impartial stance of the foregoing reviewer was an exception, however, for feelings still ran high. The vituperative author (also anonymous) of *Just and candid remarks on some critical observations on Ld Baltimore's Defence* (London, n.d.), evidently replying to another pamphlet's assertion that justice was not done, called the prosecution of Baltimore “a premeditated scheme, a conspiracy calculated to rob him of his life and property” and asked “has not the verdict of twelve worthy, honest, and unprejudiced men, proven it to the satisfaction of every honest man?” It *would* have been justice, he added, “to have shot every villain concerned in the conspiracy against him, and those that supported the subscription for so *pious* and *religious* a prosecution. . . .” He then called Sarah “sister in infamy to the renown'd Betty Canning, the famous Perjurers.” The author's religious antagonism showed clearly in his postscript, in which he characterized a “reverend gentleman's” testimony on behalf of Woodcock as “almost as absurd as his faith.” The passage is worth quoting at length:

He ingenuously confess'd he never saw Sarah W——, till this affair happened, but with a positiveness peculiar to fanatics, declared she was a *true child* of God. Being interrogated how he came by that knowledge—his answer was, ‘Because he had seen her at meeting.’—In this he contradicted himself, and being detected, replied ‘if he had not, his brethren had, and ‘twas all the same.’

A final shaft was aimed at the examining doctor who apparently had become tearful while giving his clinical report: referring to him contemptuously as "Mr. Gallipot" (a jesting nick-name for an apothecary), the author said it is unreasonable "to imagine a man whose profession is not only to introduce *his finger*, but to introduce children into the world, amputate, &c.—could cry at an affair (which allowing [for the sake of argument] to be true) was committed three months before."<sup>54</sup>

The last surviving pamphlet in the controversy, *Observations on S. W. \* \* \* \* k's own evidence relative to the pretended rape, as printed in the trial* (London, 1768), attacked the plaintiff with combined nastiness and shrewdness. For example, it has this to say about Woodcock's own statement that she ran to the canal with his lordship on the day after the alleged rape: "One would not imagine a woman, so sore as she is represented to be, could have run, or even walked."<sup>55</sup> A brief summary of the trial appeared in the *Maryland Gazette*, 9 June 1768, which deleted Lord Baltimore's name, substituting the requisite number of dashes. Thus, Governor Sharpe's efforts to suppress any account of the trial in Maryland were only partially successful.<sup>56</sup>



Since the reclusive Lord Baltimore never frequented the court or held political office but devoted himself to his private life of self-indulgence,<sup>57</sup> how can one explain the public furor? Most of the animosity came not from his own class but from the poor or "middling sort" of Londoners whose political awareness was growing and who were all too ready at this time to vent their anger against the rich for their luxurious way of life; the "great mob" that gathered at Lord Baltimore's house was only one of many—though not as destructive—that materialized throughout London in the late 1760s, when the Wilkite-Radical agitation was reaching a major phase.<sup>58</sup>

It should be noted that under the English system of criminal law at this time, there was no public prosecutor: it was up to the victim, acting as a private person, to set the law in motion. Sarah Woodcock could not have started her prosecution of Lord Baltimore without the financial as well as moral support of her family and friends.<sup>59</sup> And although one cannot be certain about the identity of the "set of gentlemen" who lent the milliner's father money to carry on the prosecution, it seems likely that they were motivated as much by resentment of the alleged rapist's high rank and great wealth as by the desire to see justice done. The sexual exploitation of lower-class women (especially servants, as in the case of Colonel Francis Charteris) by upper-class men was a common practice at this time, the perpetrators usually being able to avoid any unpleasant consequences by using money or intimidation.<sup>60</sup> Lord Baltimore, it will be remembered, promised her "any thing she desired" if she would stay with him. And she testified at the trial that she was at first afraid to prosecute him because she feared his "money and power, that there might be a great deal of bribery and that justice might not be done."<sup>61</sup> His subsequent acquittal would only have increased public hostility, as did the king's pardon of Charteris some forty years earlier after he had been convicted of rape.<sup>62</sup>

Religious antagonisms were especially evident throughout the affair: the mob at the High-Church nobleman's house was said by one of the trial witnesses to be composed of "Methodists and Dissenters."<sup>63</sup> The Methodists were also singled out

as "hypocritical villains" by the writer of *Modern Chastity, or the Agreeable Rape*. The cry of "sectary" is heard in several of the pamphlets. And in his written defense statement Lord Baltimore denied holding "libertine" (that is, anti-Christian) opinions attributed to him by his detractors, opinions that had become increasingly fashionable during the eighteenth century among the aristocracy and certain intellectuals both in England and France.<sup>64</sup> Religious differences also crop up repeatedly in the plaintiff's own testimony: after hearing Lord Baltimore and his friends converse in a foreign language, she called them all "a parcel of Popish, rubbishing people," a show of anti-Catholic feeling that was especially strong among the lower-classes at this time and that in 1780 contributed to the Gordon Riots.<sup>65</sup> Another time, when he "as a philosopher" supposedly ridiculed religion, Sarah tried with Bible in hand and missionary zeal to prove to him "that there was a God, a devil, heaven and hell"; and as a member of the dissecting sect of Independents she said she did not consider innocent such diversions as cards, dancing, or music. Her allusions to their religious differences seem pointed and could have been made by her to win the favor of the jury or the public.

Finally, there is Sarah's lower-class xenophobia, which contrasts strongly with Lord Baltimore's upper-class cosmopolitan tastes and which is also closely related to their religious differences. After calling him and his friends "a parcel of Popish, rubbishing people," she said she at first thought him "a Frenchman and a Papist," the context of this remark making her dislike quite evident. And several times in her testimony she referred to his messenger as "a little Jew man" or "the Jew" in a manner suggesting her dislike. This possible dislike may have had a religious basis (Jews regarded as "Christ-killers") or may have been a reflection of the general prejudice against foreigners of the lower classes. The immigration of poor Jews from the Continent was becoming a social and economic problem at this time, and while all obvious foreigners in London were subject to verbal or physical harrassment by the lower classes, Jews in particular were unpopular to the extent that "Jew-baiting became a sport."<sup>66</sup>

Given the hostile climate, Lord Baltimore's next action is understandable. He sold his house, gave away his furniture, and left England.<sup>67</sup> In the spring of 1771 he was reported to be living in Venice, "incognito to every one, excepting his own seraglio of Italians, Greeks, Blacks, etc."<sup>68</sup> He died that September in Naples at the age of forty.<sup>69</sup> His remains were brought back to England in late January of 1772 and lay in state at Exeter Exchange in the Strand before interment in the family vault at Epsom. But even in death and four years after the alleged rape, Baltimore was not to be spared a final show of contempt by the citizens of London: according to a report by the *Gentleman's Magazine*, "the populace paid no regard to his memory . . . but plundered the room where his body lay the moment it was removed."<sup>70</sup>

## NOTES

1. Rape had been a felony in England punishable by death from the time of the Second Statute of Westminster, 1285. See Edward Coke, *The Second Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England* (2 vols.; London: W. Clark, 1809), 2:432-36 (cited by Susan

Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape* [New York: Simon & Schuster, 1975], pp. 30 and 410n).

2. The composition and social class of each of the named religions is discussed in George Rudé, *Hanoverian London, 1714–1808* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 112, 114.

3. Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical History of the Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited, and Extinct Peerages of the British Empire* (London, 1883), p. 99. The designation here of Frederick Calvert as the 7th Baron Baltimore is an error.

4. Clayton Colman Hall, *The Lords Baltimore and the Maryland Palatinate* (Baltimore: Nunn & Co., 1904), pp. 158, 163–64, 166–67.

5. For Winckelmann's description of Lord Baltimore, see Frederick Pottle, ed., *Boswell on the Grand Tour: Germany and Switzerland, 1764* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1953), p. 48.

6. Calvert MSS, #1278, Maryland Historical Society (hereinafter cited MHS). The "unlucky" birth was that of Sophia Hales, one of Lord Baltimore's two illegitimate daughters born from his mistress Elizabeth Dawson. He had already fathered two other illegitimate children, Henry Harford (born 5 April 1758) and Frances Mary Harford (born 28 November 1759). See Vera Rollo, "Henry Harford," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 80 (1985):182, 184.

7. Pottle, *Boswell on the Grand Tour*, p. 48.

8. Calvert MSS, #1283, MHS: "J'espere que votre Excellence me fera la justice de croire que j'ai une peu meilleur gout d'avoir une passion amoureuse pour une Grenouille semblable et si Votre Excellence la veut accepter pour nettoyer ces bottes, je vous donne son contrat par cette lettre et vous en ferez d'elle comme vous jugez apropos." The other letter (#1282) is unsigned, but the handwriting is the same. It is addressed to another person and recounts the incident with slightly different details.

9. Calvert MSS, #1284, MHS. Though unsigned, the fragment is written in Frederick Calvert's hand. It reads as follows: "[E]nfin je me suis donnée la peine de vous trouver, ce papier, laquelle vous signerez de votre main et vous mettrez aussi une cachet, et vous le ferez en presence de trois temoins lesquelles signeront aussi a cote leurs noms. apres cella vous envoyerez cette papier, avec toutes les autres, a une de vos amis a Londre, lesquelles il me remettra, et je lui payerez l'argent. mais il faut être exact a m'envoyer tout les papiers, que vous avez sans cella, vous sentez bien que je ne donnerai rien et voila tout, car je ne veut plus dire et finissons."

10. Lord Baltimore occupied the end house on Southampton Row facing the Duke of Bedford's gardens, which lay just off the northeast corner of Bloomsbury Square (Hugh Phillips, *Mid-Georgian London: A Topographical and Social Survey of Central and Western London about 1750* [London, Collins, 1964], p. 212). The social disparity between the West End of London and the East is described by Rudé, *Hanoverian London*, pp. 9–10. Rudé also lists (p. 43) the "dignitaries of Church and Law" living in Bloomsbury Square, among whom were Lord Chief Justice Sir James Mansfield, at whose house Lord Baltimore was examined, and the Honorable Sir Sydney Stafford Smythe, presiding judge at the rape trial.

11. *Memoirs of the Seraglio of the Bashaw of Merryland, by a Discarded Sultana* (London, 1768), pp. 8–11, 25–29, 41–44. The sophisticated tone of these "memoirs" suggests strongly that the name of the supposed author, Sophia Watson, is a pseudonym. The reviewer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 38 (January, 1768), p. 31, calls the work "a mere imposition upon the public. . . . Those who expect to find any secret history of Lord Baltimore in this pamphlet, will be disappointed." The pamphlet's version of Lord Baltimore's relations with Sarah Woodcock may not be entirely trustworthy, but its description

of the seraglio seems too circumstantial to be merely invented, and many of the details are corroborated by the official account of the trial published later. In particular, Lord Baltimore's weak constitution does not appear to have been just a cliché of anti-aristocratic satire: he referred to it at the trial, when he said that it was physically impossible for him to rape Sarah Woodcock ("she is, as to bodily health, stronger than I am" p. 108). He could hardly have said this in a courtroom before the eyes of a jury unless there were some truth in his assertion.

12. The problem is discussed by Dorothy Marshall, *English People in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1956), pp. 50–1, 58–9, 61–3; Rudé, *Hanoverian London*, pp. 37–8; and Robert Malcolmson, *Life and Labour in England 1700–1780* (London: Hutchinson, 1981), pp. 11–12, 52.

13. Rudé, *Hanoverian London*, pp. 9–10. King Street was located in the district of East Smithfield and St. Katherine by the Tower, which had an unsavory reputation dating from Elizabethan times (*ibid.*, p. 86).

14. Marshall, *English People in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 59, and Rudé, *Hanoverian London*, pp. 108–109, 113. The social distance, if any, could not have been very great: when the news of her alleged rape became public, the Methodists were thought to have been among those who rallied to her cause (see below, n. 63).

15. The *St. James Chronicle*, the *Gazeteer*, and the *London Evening Post*, noticed by Charles W. Bump (1872–1908), who in 1901 researched Calvert sources extant in both America and England but died without publishing his findings. See James Foster, "George Calvert: His Yorkshire Boyhood," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 55 (1960):262. I am grateful to the Maryland Historical Society for allowing me to examine Bump's extensive (and fragile) ms. notes on the Calvert family. The present citation comes from the Bump Collection, MS 1524, Box #2, folder "Frederick, 6th Lord Baltimore," hereinafter cited as Bump MS 1524.

16. Mss of the Earl of Carlisle preserved at Castle Howard, Yorkshire (*Historical Manuscripts Commission. 15th Report. Appendix VI*, p. 226), noticed by Bump, MS 1524.

17. According to Bump (MS 1524), the *Monthly Review*, vol. 38, quotes four titles in January (pp. 69–70), five in February (p. 148), three in March (pp. 242, 248), and four in April (pp. 403–4); quoted by the *Scot's Magazine* 30: 152.

18. Horatio Sharpe to Philip Sharpe [1768], Ridout Papers, Hall of Records, Annapolis. Quoted by Richard J. Cox, "Notes on Maryland Historical Society Manuscripts Collections," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 70 (1975):100; see also Josephine Fisher, "Bennet Allen, Fighting Parson," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 38 (1943): 317. Allen failed in his efforts to secure a rich living, partly because his own notorious behaviour had alienated people high and low in the Province and partly because the rape scandal left Lord Baltimore in no position to offend further the people there by continuing to sponsor him (Aubrey Land, *Colonial Maryland: A History* [Millwood, New York: KTO Press, 1981], p. 258).

19. Charteris was tried, convicted, and sentenced to death but subsequently pardoned by George II as a political act. See E. Beresford Chancellor, *The Lives of the Rakes* (4 vols.; New York: Brentano's, 1926), 3:131–44.

20. When Charteris died in 1732, Arbuthnot composed a long, scathing epitaph; Swift and Pope also made unflattering allusions in their works; and several references to him appeared on the 1740 titlepage of Hogarth's *The Harlot's Progress* (Chancellor, *Lives of the Rakes*, 3:155–65).

21. See p. 36. On authorship, see n. 11. The oriental flavor of the title may have owed something to the current fashion of the "oriental tale," frequently erotic, which had started early in the century with the French translation of *The Arabian Nights*. See John

Butt, *English Literature in the Mid-Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 491. The word "Merryland" in the title was, of course, primarily a pun on Lord Baltimore's province of Maryland. But the author may also have been trying to capitalize on the popularity of three earlier bawdy works, Thomas Stretzer's *A New Description of Merryland* (1740), *Merryland Displayed* (1741), and *A Compleat Set of Charts of the Coasts of Merryland . . .* (1745). See Roger Thompson, *Unfit for Modest Ears* (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman & Littlefield, 1979), pp. 180, 193.

22. See 3rd edition, pp. 9, 13, 27, and the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 38 (1768):31. Authorship of this pamphlet has been attributed (MHS card catalogue) to Robert Morris (1734–1806), who was closely connected to the defendant. Morris was named an executor in Lord Baltimore's last will and later married Mary Francis Harford, one of Calvert's illegitimate daughters (John Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* [3 vols.; Baltimore, 1879], 2:137, 139n).

23. *A letter . . .*, p. 20, and *Remarks . . .*, p. 33.

24. See pp. 14, 46. In a case of great notoriety, Elizabeth Canning (1734–1773), a domestic servant, swore that she was abducted on New Year's Day of 1753 and held captive in a brothel for four weeks, finally making her escape. After the defendants were found guilty, the case was reopened on the basis of new evidence, and Elizabeth Canning was found guilty of perjury. But the whole truth of the affair has never been determined.

25. Gilly Williams and Lord Holland to George Selwyn (March, 1768), in John Henneage Jesse's *George Selwyn and His Contemporaries* (2 vols.; London, 1882), 2:266, 269–70; see Bump, MS 1524.

26. Reviewed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 38 (1768):188. The British Library copy has this contemporary ms. note on the titlepage: "undoubtedly, By the well known Rev.d Bennet Allen." But this seems unlikely: at the time the poem was written (the author's address "To the Town" is dated 24 February 1768), the Reverend Bennet Allen was seeking preferment in the colony of Maryland (Fisher, "Bennet Allen, Fighting Parson," p. 317).

27. See pp. 3, 12. On "Betsy Canning," see above, n. 24.

28. *London Gazette*, 28 March 1768, noticed by Bump, MS 1524.

29. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 38 (1768):140.

30. J. H. Baker, "Criminal Courts and Procedure at Common Law 1550–1800," in *Crime in England 1550–1800*, ed. J. S. Cockburn (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 38.

31. *The Trial of Frederick Calvert, Esq; Baron of Baltimore, in the Kingdom of Ireland, for a Rape on the Body of Sarab Woodcock; and of Eliz. Griffinburg, and Ann Harvey, otherwise Darby, as Accessaries before the Fact, for procuring, aiding and abetting him in committing the said Rape. At the Assizes held at Kingston, for the County of Surry, on Saturday, the 26th of March, 1768. Before the Hon. Sir Sydney Stafford Smythe, Knt. One of the Barons of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer. Published by Permission of the Judge. Taken in Shorthand by Joseph Gurney* (London: Printed for William Owen and Joseph Gurney, 1768). The account of the trial is followed by an advertisement for Gurney as a bookseller and binder and teacher of shorthand. Joseph Gurney and his father, Thomas, were the foremost shorthand writers of their day. Both served as official court reporters and supplemented their incomes by publishing uncondensed reports of celebrated trials.

32. Peter Wagner, "The Pornographer in the Courtroom: trial reports about cases of sexual crimes and delinquencies as a genre of eighteenth-century erotica," in *Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. P. G. Boucé (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1982), pp. 125, 127.

33. The quarto London edition does have a frontispiece portrait of Sarah Woodcock, modestly dressed. Since the artist painted her "*ad vivum*," one can assume she posed willingly and perhaps received some compensation.

34. See the British Library Catalogue. All references in the ensuing summary are to the Edinburgh edition.

35. Had he been tried by peers of the realm (temporal lords of Parliament)—a privilege his Irish peerage did not entitle him to—his triers would not have taken an oath. And when asked "How wilt thou be tried?", his formal response would have been, "by God and my peers" instead of "by God and my country" (Baker, "Criminal Courts and Procedure at Common Law 1550–1800," *Crime in England*, ed. Cockburn, p. 23).

36. As a prisoner on trial for his life, Baltimore was entitled to 36 peremptory challenges—that is, without needing to show cause (*ibid.*, p. 36). I have been unable to determine the grounds for these challenges. Six of those challenged came from Kingston-on-Thames, where the trial was being held; the other challenges came from as far away as Kew and as near as Thames Ditton: I see no evidence of his trying to stack the jury with his own tenantry or with people from near Epsom, where he had his estate.

37. The manor of Woodcote Park was located a mile south of Epsom, next to the race-course. For a full description of the luxurious mansion, see E. W. Brayley, *History of Surrey*, (4 vols.; London, 1850), 4:347–74.

38. Perhaps Lord Baltimore "swang" her as in a dance step at arms' length. Given the references to his poor physique (see above, n. 11), it seems unlikely that he lifted her bodily off the floor.

39. Although the Dissenters were generally stricter than the Church of England with regard to diversions, the severity of their discipline varied, not only among the dissenting groups, but often from one congregation to another (Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978], pp. 324–36, 334–35). Under questioning, Woodcock acknowledged that she had been "brought up in a very particular way" and "taught to think it a crime to dance or play at cards" (*ibid.*, p. 33).

40. She does not specify which of his works were handed to her, but the "serious" (i.e., moral) essays of the *Spectator* were bound to appeal to her shopkeeper's tastes more than either the satire or religious views of the High Church Dr. Swift. The dissenting sects encouraged their members to read and viewed that ability as a spiritual necessity. Members were expected to reject mere fiction in favor of religious and moralistic reading. On the education and reading tastes of the lower classes during this period, see Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800–1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), especially pp. 35–38, 46, 64.

41. Captain Henry Pezer, a German, and John David Smith, a London merchant, along with his young housekeeper, Elizabeth Forrest. I have been unable to discover anything more about these people.

42. The primitive metropolitan police force directed by Sir John Fielding, the blind half-brother of novelist Henry Fielding (Phillips, *Mid-Georgian London*, p. 152).

43. Giles Hitchcock, reporting what he had heard Mr. Watts say. The mob forced its way into the yard with tragic consequences: the porter resisted and received mortal injuries, and one of Lord Baltimore's illegitimate daughters, aged fourteen, went into convulsions and died three days later (*London Magazine*, 38 [1768]:215–20, noticed by Bump, MS 1524).

44. Lord Chief Justice Sir James Mansfield (1733–1821) is described in *The Trial of Frederick Calvert* . . . as "the supreme magistrate in the Kingdom in criminal matters" (p. 164), another indication of the importance of the case. His preliminary examination of the

complainant was to determine if there was sufficient evidence to have a bill of indictment drawn up (J. J. Tobias, *Crime and Police in England 1700–1900* [New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979], p. 128).

45. No. 4 Bow Street, the private house of police magistrate Sir John Fielding, where—according to the custom of the time—hearings were conducted (Phillips, *Mid-Georgian London*, p. 152).

46. Her vagueness may have been intentional, to shield her seven friends from possible harm. It was the baker, "Mr. Cay," who originally hired a lawyer, Mr. Watts, to serve Lord Baltimore with the writ of habeas corpus that started the legal process (see Mr. Watt's testimony, pp. 98–100).

47. Her marriage at nearly thirty to Mr. Davis, her fiancé, would be considered late by today's standards but not in the eighteenth century, when lower-middle class couples commonly postponed marriage in order to accumulate necessary capital (Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800* [New York, Harper & Row, 1977], pp. 294, 296, 362).

48. It should be noted that the doctor is not necessarily saying here that the plaintiff was a virgin *before* the alleged rape took place. Brownmiller, *Against Our Will*, p. 28, assumes she was, but I have found no grounds for such an assumption. According to a letter from Dr. Theodore M. King, Professor of Gynecology and Obstetrics at Johns Hopkins Hospital, the "great quantity of blood" mentioned by Sarah Woodcock (p. 32) as having come from her some hours after the first alleged attack could not have been the result of a torn hymen. Moreover, Brownmiller's assumption clouds the issue inasmuch as the plaintiff's prior virginity has nothing to do with the charge of rape.

49. He added, "I hold no such *opinions*" (my emphasis). Brownmiller, *Against Our Will*, p. 28, mistakes Baltimore's use of the word "libertine" to mean sexual libertinism.

50. "[A]ll my friends will think me a whore": Sarah Woodcock's concern for her reputation is understandable in view of its value in the marriage market at that time.

51. *History of the Pleas of the Crown* (2 vols.; London, 1736), 1:632–33.

52. *Gazetter and New Daily Advertiser*, 29 March 1768, and *St. James Chronicle*, 29 March 1768, noticed by Bump, MS 1524.

53. Pp. 181, 186.

54. Pp. 7, 10, 17. For "Betty Canning, the famous Perjurers," see above, n. 24.

55. See p. 11.

56. The scandal involving Maryland's proprietor came at an awkward time for Governor Sharpe, "when proprietary establishment and country party seemed ready for more harmonious relations . . ." (Land, *Colonial Maryland*, pp. 255, 258). It would have naturally increased the antagonism of the country party to their "absentee landlord" and his proprietary establishment, though to what extent I have been unable to determine. Whatever its negative influence may have been in the political life of Maryland, then Principal Secretary Hugh Hamersley felt able to write Sharpe two days after Lord Baltimore's acquittal: "the serious part of the business is at an end, & I most heartily Congratulate your Excellency and the whole Province upon it" (Hamersley to Sharpe, 28 March 1768, *Archives of Maryland*, ed. William Hand Browne (72 vols. to date; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–), 14:473. I have been unable to find any evidence that Lord Baltimore's trial affected Anglo-American rape law. According to an act of the Maryland Assembly in 1809, "Every person convicted of rape, or as being accessory thereto before the fact, [was] to suffer death by hanging, or undergo a confinement in the penitentiary not less than 1 nor more than 21 years." See William Kilty, *The Laws of Maryland, From the End of the Year 1799, With a Full Index* (6 vols.; Annapolis: Printed by Frederick

Green, 1799–), 6 (1800–1818):[n.p.]. Kilty makes no reference to Lord Baltimore's case. Neither is any reference to be found in Julian J. Alexander's *A Collection of the British Statutes in Force in Maryland, According to the Report thereof Made to the General Assembly by the late Chancellor Kilty: with Notes and References to the Acts of Assembly and the Code, and to the Principal English and Maryland Cases* (Baltimore: Cushings & Bailey, 1870).

57. Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz, *England und Italien* (Leipzig, 1786), p. 362.

58. Rudé, *Hanoverian London*, pp. 98, 192, 226.

59. The process could require much time, trouble, and especially expense; the victim-prosecutor could expect to pay fees to various officials involved (for example, the clerk at the magistrate's court and the clerk of the peace who drew up the indictment) and travelling expenses to and from court, meals and overnight accommodations (for witnesses too). See Tobias, *Crime and Police in England 1700–1900*, pp. 117–18, 123–24.

60. Wagner, "Pornographer in the Courtroom," pp. 126–27.

61. Her fear seems real enough: from December 29th (the day she told Justice Fielding she wanted to prosecute, "if it could be done with safety" [*Trial*, p. 51]) until March 26th (the day of the trial) she stayed at seven "safe" houses with her friends rather than return to her father's house where she might easily be found by Lord Baltimore's hirelings. These same seven friends (Messrs. Cay, Ridgeway, Wilson, Wallis, Yeoman, Rutt, and Keene [*Trial*, pp. 52–3]) may well have been the "set of gentlemen" who lent her father the money to start the prosecution.

62. After Charteris was pardoned, a crowd recognized him while he was on his way to Chelsea in his coach. They surrounded it, dragged him out, and thrashed him. Charteris realized London was no longer safe for him (Chancellor, *Lives of the Rakes*, 3:147–48).

63. Walpole, looking back on the affair, blamed the Methodists, calling them "hypocrites [who] had much incensed the populace against him" (*Horace Walpole: Memoirs and Portraits* [New York, MacMillan & Co., 1963]), pp. 193–94.

64. Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage in England*, p. 535.

65. Rudé, *Hanoverian England*, p. 220–24.

66. M. Dorothy George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965 [1925]), pp. 126–32.

67. Archenholz, *England und Italien*, p. 361. An interesting though undocumented passage bearing on the subsequent fate of Lord Baltimore and Sarah Woodcock occurs in a nineteenth-century pamphlet, *Injured Innocence: or, The Rape of Sarah Woodcock, A Tale. Founded on Facts. Compiled partly from the Trial of Lord Baltimore, partly from papers found after his decease, and arranged without the omission of any of the facts given in Evidence by Sarah Woodcock, at the Trial*. By S\_\_\_\_ J\_\_\_\_, Esq. of Magdalen College, Oxford, . . . (London, 1st ed. c. 1840; 2nd ed. c. 1860). I have been unable to examine a copy of this book, but the passage is quoted by Pisanus Fraxi (i.e., Henry Spencer Ashbee) in his *Bibliography of Prohibited Books: Catena Librorum Tacendorum* (3 vols.; New York: Jack Brussel, 1962 [1885]), 3:139–40: "[S]hortly after the trial SARAH and her sister JANE, nearly as lovely as herself, were sent to a relation's near Colchester, in Essex, under assumed names, from whence they both suddenly disappeared, nor was it until the death of his lordship, many years after, that any information of their fate was obtained; from his papers it appeared, although she had endeavoured to sacrifice his life to the injured laws of his country, this attempt had not in the least abated his passion for her, and after the trial he carefully sought for, and found out where she was secreted, and eventually not only persuaded her, but also her innocent sister to accompany him to Italy, where Jane, the youngest, it is reported, became also a victim to his uncontrollable licentiousness." The anonymous author of this pamphlet, however, was clearly a hackwriter (see the titles of his other works listed

by Fraxi) who would not be above inventing these "facts." Moreover, none of the papers surviving in the Calvert collection at the MHS gives any indication that Baltimore was reunited with Woodcock after the trial.

68. Lewis Melville, *The Life and Times of Tobias Smollett (1721-1771)* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1966 [1927]); John Gray to Smollett, 23 March 1771, p. 244.

69. Burke, *Extinct Peerage*, p. 99.

70. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 42 (1772): 44. Charteris fared even worse after his death in 1732. A large crowd of poor people gathered at his funeral in Edinburgh and made a rush for the coffin when it appeared: "It was with the utmost difficulty that the authorities were able to prevent its being broken up and the body torn limb from limb. As it was, its descent into the grave was a signal for a shower of dead cats and dogs and all sorts of offal to be hurled after it . . ." (Chancellor, *Lives of the Rakes*, 3:153).

# The Impact of Black Labor on European Immigration into Baltimore's Oldtown, 1790–1910

D. RANDALL BEIRNE

Between 1790 and 1900 the ethnic and racial composition of the Baltimore work force developed differently from that of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, and the reason may have been the strong economic and occupational influence that Baltimore's black population exercised. During that period industrial-port cities northeast of the Chesapeake contained higher numbers and proportions of immigrant workers and comparatively fewer blacks than did Baltimore (see table 1). The pattern suggests possible cause and effect, whereby black competition deterred European newcomers from entering Baltimore. Yet historians largely have neglected the issue. Studies of urban blacks in America often concentrate on the years following World War I; the works of Richard C. Wade, Leonard P. Curry, and Stanley L. Lieberman have dug deeper into black urban life but either overlook or pay short shrift to Baltimore. Examining that city, Ralph Clayton and Ray M. Della focus on one side of the equation—black struggles in the labor market—and reinforce the conclusion of Ira Berlin. "In Baltimore as in other southern cities," wrote Berlin in his landmark study of antebellum free blacks, "fierce competition with whites sometimes forced black craftsmen to exchange their saws for shovels, but blacks had become such an integral part of the Southern economy that they proved impossible to dislodge."<sup>1</sup>



An original Baltimore community, Oldtown serves as an excellent case study of the city's changing social and occupational patterns in the nineteenth century. Its geographical limits are that part of southeast Baltimore east of Jones Falls between Pratt and Monument streets and extending east as far as Central Avenue (figure 1). These boundaries conform to those designated "Old Town" on Warner and Hanna's plan of Baltimore in 1801 (figure 2).<sup>2</sup>

The original site of 380 acres was surveyed in 1661 for one David Jones, for whom the falls and the original community were named. Jonestown did not develop as a village until 1732, later than Baltimore Town and Fells Point. At that time the inhabitants petitioned the General Assembly to establish Jonestown on the eastern banks of the Jones Falls, to consist of four streets and twenty lots. It comprised the area bounded by Gay Street, High Street, Pratt Street, and the Jones Falls.<sup>3</sup> The community became known as Oldtown after 1745, when the assembly

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TABLE 1.  
Black and Foreign-born Population Patterns  
in Oldtown, Baltimore, and Three Northeastern Cities: 1870, 1900, 1910

	1870		1900		1910	
	Total Population	Percent of	Total Population	Percent of	Total Population	Percent of
Oldtown	22,800		42,088		59,470	
Black		19		16		31
Total Foreign						
Born		22		33		42
German		14.8*		—		3
Irish		8.9*		—		.5
Italian		—		—		6
Russian		—		—		29
Baltimore	267,354		508,957		558,485	
Black		14.8		15.6		15.5
Total Foreign						
Born		21		16		14
German		13.2		7.8		4.6
Irish		5.7		2		1.2
Italian		.05		.5		.9
Russian		.01		2.8		4.4
Philadelphia	674,022		1,293,697		1,549,008	
Black		3.3		4.8		4.8
Total Foreign						
Born		27		23		25
German		7.5		5.5		4
Irish		14.3		7.6		5.3
Italian		.08		1.4		3
Russian		.01		2.2		6
New York	942,292		3,446,931		4,766,883	
Black		1.4		1.8		2.7
Total Foreign						
Born		44.5		37		41
German		16		9		5.8
Irish		21.4		8		5.3
Italian		.3		4		7
Russian		.1		5		10
Boston	250,526		560,892		670,585	
Black		1.4		2		2
Total Foreign						
Born		35		35		36
German		2.2		2		1.3
Irish		23		12.5		9.8
Italian		.1		2.4		4.7
Russian		.04		3		6.2

Source: U.S. Census Office, Ninth Census, 1870, *Population*, Population of Civil Divisions Less Than Counties, table 3, and Nativities of the Populations of Principal Cities, table 8; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census, 1910, *Population*, vol. 2, Maryland, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York, general tables, V.

\* Figures based on 5 percent sample of manuscript records, U.S. Ninth Census, 1870, Maryland, Baltimore, 4th ward enumeration districts 180-200 and 5th ward districts 180-218 (National Archives).

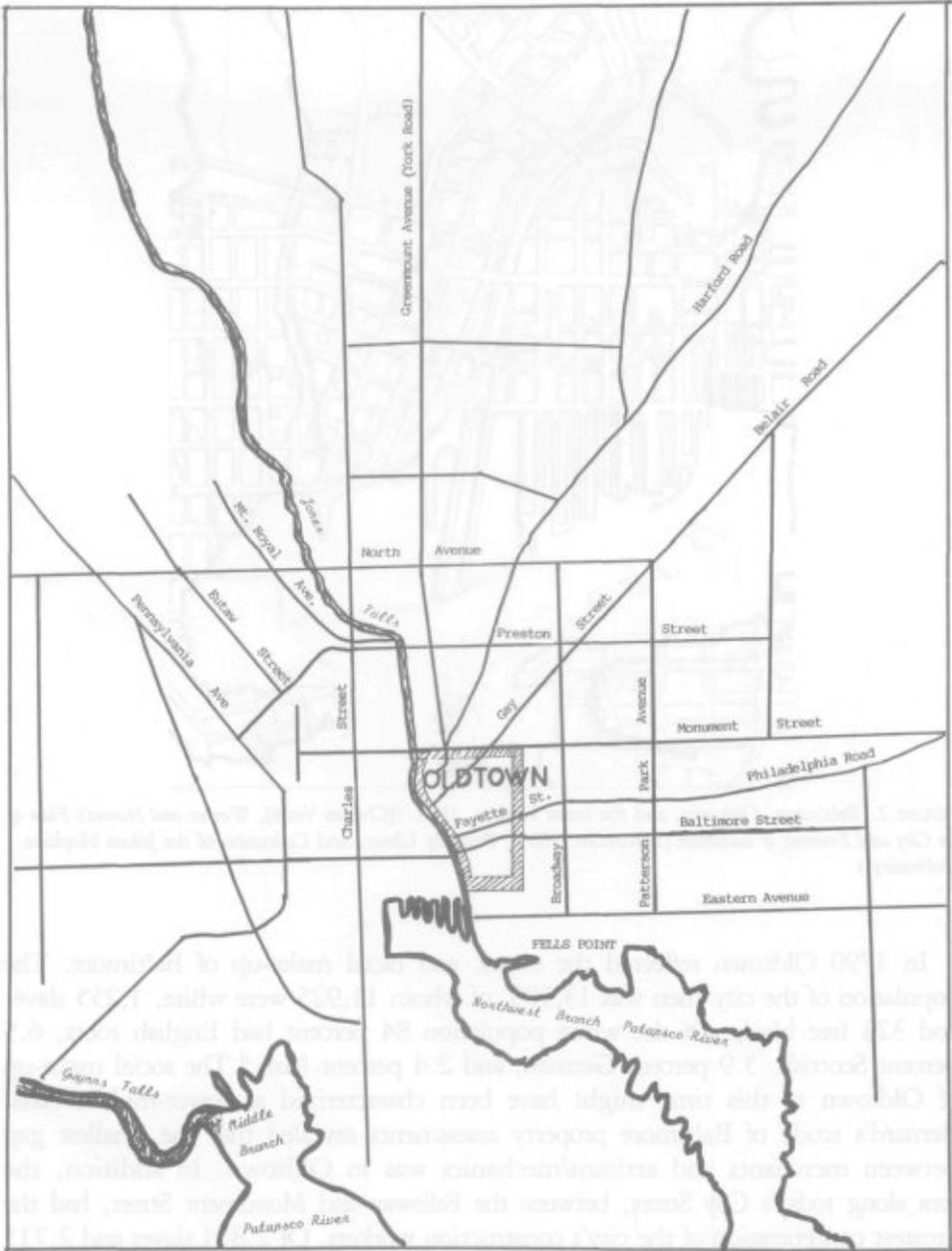


FIGURE 1. Baltimore and Oldtown, 1870-1910. (Author's sketch.)

consolidated Jonestown and Baltimore. The Revolution spurred rapid population growth in Baltimore Town and led to incorporation of the commercial and ship-building center of Fells Point. Oldtown, besides connecting these two communities, was ideally located at a junction of four major roads leading into the city. York Road (Greenmount Avenue) reached northward, linking wheat farmers of York, Pennsylvania, to Baltimore, while the Harford, Belair, and Philadelphia roads connected the city to the important commercial and agricultural areas to the northeast (see figure 1).



FIGURE 2. Baltimore, Oldtown, and the Inner Harbor, 1801. ([Charles Varlé], *Warner and Hanna's Plan of the City and Environs of Baltimore* [Baltimore, 1801]; Peabody Library and Collection of the Johns Hopkins University.)

In 1790 Oldtown reflected the ethnic and racial make-up of Baltimore. The population of the city then was 13,503, of whom 11,925 were white, 1,255 slave, and 323 free black. Of the white population 84 percent had English roots, 6.5 percent Scottish, 5.9 percent German, and 2.4 percent Irish.<sup>4</sup> The social make-up of Oldtown at this time might have been characterized as lower-middle class. Bernard's study of Baltimore property assessments revealed that the smallest gap between merchants and artisans/mechanics was in Oldtown. In addition, the area along today's Gay Street, between the Fallway and Monument Street, had the greatest concentration of the city's construction workers. Of 2,843 slaves and 2,711 free blacks who lived in Baltimore by 1800, approximately one-fifth lived in Oldtown.<sup>5</sup> All of this suggests that blacks, free and slave, were involved in occupations similar to those of the white population. In 1810 Baltimore's population had reached 35,583, 22 percent being black. Of these Negroes, 52 percent were free and worked in a wide variety of occupations.<sup>6</sup> The free black might practice one of the mechanical trades, engage in business, or hire himself to an employer. Many of them required real property.<sup>7</sup>

By 1812 conflicts between blacks and whites already had broken out in Baltimore. How much of it was political and how much economic is difficult to tell. What we do know is that after 1790 and up to the Civil War Baltimore suffered

TABLE 2.  
Leading Black Occupations in Oldtown, 1827

Laundresses	18
Carters, Draymen	16
Laborers	15
Sawyers	10
Blacksmiths	10
Barbers	5
Waiters	4
Caulkers	3
Gardeners	3
Hucksters and Surlers	3
Shopkeepers	3
Seamen	2
Bootblacks	1
Brass Founders	1
Brick Makers	1
Carriage Drivers	1
Carpenters	1
Cigar Makers	1
Cord Wainers (Rope)	1
Glazers	1
Ministers	1
Seamstresses	1
Stevedores	1
TOTAL	103

Source: *Matchett's Baltimore Directory for 1827* (Baltimore, 1827)

from periodic recessions and financial depressions. Baltimore's commerce tended to be a high-risk, multi-national operation, and resulting periods of unemployment and job competition often led to violence.<sup>8</sup> Paul Gilje's study of the 1812 riot reveals that many white rioters who attacked blacks were construction workers from Oldtown. Thomas Blane, a painter, John Cohee, a carpenter, William Rickey, a bricklayer, and John McBride, an ash gatherer, all were convicted for assaulting and beating blacks. Although in court the accused said that blacks were sympathetic toward the British, whites more likely feared that blacks were competing for jobs. According to Gilje, there was a high concentration of non-Anglo-Saxon (Irish) names among rioters charged with harassing blacks.<sup>9</sup> This suggests that many of the rioters from Oldtown were new Irish immigrants who struggled with blacks for unskilled and semi-skilled jobs.

In 1830 over 23 percent of Baltimore's population was black, and 78 percent of all Negroes were free. Oldtown blacks worked a broad spectrum of jobs or trades (see table 2). The 103 black heads of households living there in 1827 listed twenty-three different sources of income. Negroes most commonly were laundresses, laborers, blacksmiths, sawyers, carters, draymen, and barbers.<sup>10</sup> Just beyond the limits of Oldtown, in Fells Point, was a large concentration of blacks, many of whom listed their occupations as stevedore, caulker and mariner. "Baltimore's Harbor was so crowded with colored people," a traveler in 1830 remembered,

that it seemed at first, as if he had been transplanted to some unknown land. Away from the landing slaves could be seen in gangs repairing streets, digging sewers and performing other arduous labor.<sup>11</sup>

A brief scan of the city directory for common German and Irish names and their occupations in Oldtown at that time shows that almost none were in these occupations, which tends to support Della's view that blacks dominated a number of skilled and semi-skilled jobs.<sup>12</sup>



Later nineteenth-century immigration greatly altered that pattern. Between 1815 and 1845 approximately 850,000 Irish crossed the Atlantic. Following the potato famine of 1846 emigration increased, and by 1854 nearly a million and a quarter more Irish had arrived in the United States.<sup>13</sup> The southwestern states of Germany also suffered from crop failures, and political unrest plagued most of the country. Germans fled until by 1854 they represented half of all European emigration to America.<sup>14</sup>

As these two groups of Europeans poured into the four major cities of the northeast, they settled in different proportions. Based on the foreign-born figures from the 1870 U.S. Census, Irish outnumbered Germans 2 to 1 in Philadelphia, 4 to 1 in New York, and 10 to 1 in Boston. In Baltimore, by contrast, Germans exceeded Irish 2.5 to 1 (table 1).<sup>15</sup> All these cities were ports of entry with shipping lines to Europe. Baltimore had especially strong ties to Germany and the British Isles. In the year 1839 alone, fifty-seven vessels cleared Bremen for Baltimore compared to thirty-eight for New York.<sup>16</sup> During the first five months of 1849, twenty-one ships arrived in Baltimore from England and Ireland with almost 4,000 Irish passengers. At the same time thirteen ships landed 2,000 passengers from Bremen. In 1868 the North German Lloyd established direct passenger service to Baltimore. Soon afterward the Allen line linked the city to Liverpool.<sup>17</sup>

In spite of these direct links, the Irish did not settle in Baltimore as heavily as they did in other large, northeast port cities. A likely explanation was the presence of large numbers of blacks: The Irish may simply have found it more difficult to compete with them than did the Germans, fewer of whom filled semi- and unskilled occupations.

As Irish and German immigrants settled in Baltimore in the 1850s, they caused blacks to suffer job losses that forced some to move away. Between 1850 and 1860 the city's total black population fell from 32,021 to 27,898.<sup>18</sup> During this period some slave owners doubtless sold their slaves, believing employment opportunities for them limited in Baltimore, and by 1860 free Negroes made up 92 percent of Baltimore blacks.<sup>19</sup> In the 1850s Baltimore Negroes did in fact lose some 710 jobs.<sup>20</sup> Yet in trade and transportation, in industries such as oystering and brick making, and in services such as hair cutting blacks gained (see figure 3). As a struggle for jobs raged, each group found its own occupational niche or was forced to give up or share other occupations. Familiarity with local bay waters gave the blacks an advantage in the local maritime and seafood industry; the technical skills Germans had learned in their industrializing homeland gave them other advantages.

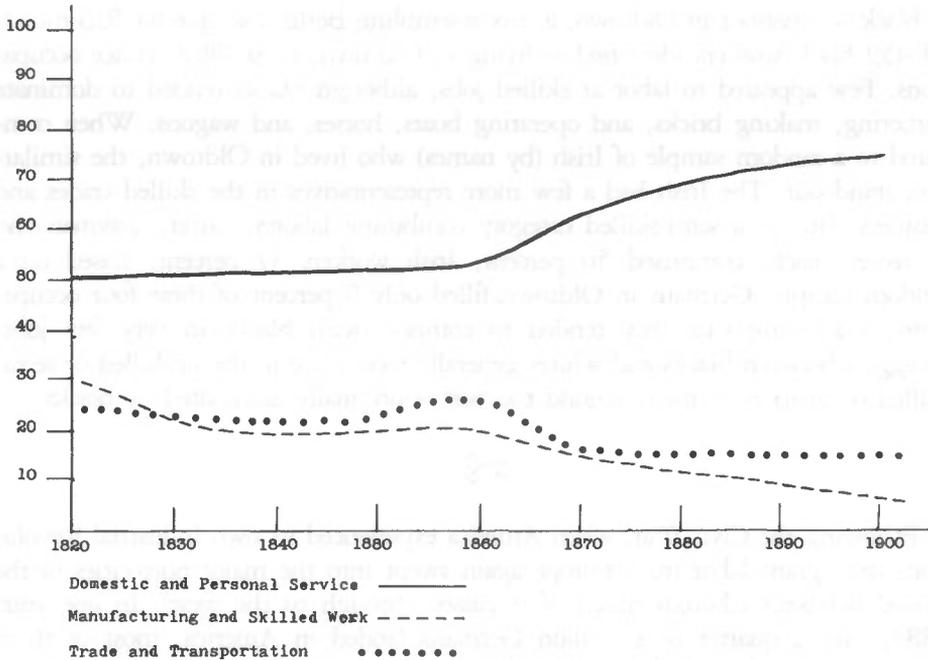


FIGURE 3. Percent of Employed Black Population Over Age Ten, 1820–1900, in Three Occupational Groups. (*Matchett's Baltimore Directory for 1827* [Baltimore, 1827]; M. Ray Della, "The Problems of Negro Labor in the 1850s," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 66 (1971): 28; *Wood's Baltimore City Directory* [Baltimore, 1871]; U.S. Census Office, Ninth Census, 1870, *Population*, table 30; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census, 1900, *Population*, Special Reports, Occupations, General Tables, Principal Cities, table 43.)

Ira Berlin's evidence for Richmond, Virginia—a city in 1860 somewhat similar to Baltimore with its free black and foreign-born Irish and German populations—sheds some light on competition for skilled jobs. Over 92 percent of Richmond Germans were in skilled occupations while only 39 percent of the Irish and 32 percent of blacks were in the same category. Unskilled jobs went to 61 percent of the Irish, 68 percent of the blacks, only 8 percent of the Germans, and 12 percent of native-born whites. These figures suggest that Irish and blacks competed at most levels and that blacks were able to hold onto some of the skilled occupations.<sup>21</sup>

For the unskilled and semi-skilled laborer in Baltimore, job conflict was inevitable. Like rural blacks the Irish mostly came from rural areas, had limited skills, and were quite willing to perform manual labor. "Job busting" became a normal tactic of the Irish, who eventually made many jobs for blacks scarce. As early as 1831 blacks and Irish had fought while building the B&O Railroad and C&O Canal in Western Maryland. In the shipyards violence and outrage against black caulkers took place whenever work was scarce up until the Civic War.<sup>22</sup> In spite of conflict with Irish in Fells Point and Oldtown, blacks continued to be the dominant labor force on the docks and in the coal and brick yards. After riots at Skinner's boat yard near Oldtown in July 1858, black caulkers founded the Association of Black Caulkers, possibly the first black union in the country. They set their own wages and insisted on black foremen.<sup>23</sup>

A close study of *Matchett's Baltimore Directory for 1855–56* reveals a great diversity

of black occupations in Oldtown, a mix resembling Berlin's sample for Richmond. Of 459 black workers identified as living in Oldtown, most filled service occupations. Few appeared to labor at skilled jobs, although blacks tended to dominate barbering, making bricks, and operating boats, horses, and wagons. When compared to a random sample of Irish (by names) who lived in Oldtown, the similarities stand out. The Irish had a few more representatives in the skilled trades and business. But in a semi-skilled category combining laborer, carter, drayman and teamster, blacks comprised 56 percent, Irish workers 37 percent. Based on a random sample, Germans in Oldtown filled only 9 percent of these four occupations, suggesting that they tended to compete with blacks in very few jobs. Struggles between blacks and whites generally took place in the unskilled or semi-skilled occupations—many around the port—originally dominated by blacks.



Following the Civil War, when America experienced its own Industrial Revolution, immigrant labor from Europe again swept into the major port cities of the coastal northeast (though much of it passed through to the west). In one year, 1882, over a quarter of a million Germans landed in America, most of them arriving with industrial skills. After that year the northern- and western-European flow declined while emigration from southern and eastern Europe increased rapidly. In 1907 alone, 1,285,000 newcomers entered the United States, 81 percent of them from southern and eastern Europe.<sup>24</sup>

By 1900 patterns of racial and foreign-born populations among the four port cities were as varied as they had been before the Civil War (see table 1). In 1900 and 1910 the percentage of foreign-born in the three northern cities averaged double that for Baltimore. Meantime the percentage of blacks in Baltimore trebled Philadelphia's and was more than six times that in New York and Boston. When black and foreign-born population percentages are compared, some interesting results appear. The two southernmost cities, Baltimore and Philadelphia, had higher proportions of blacks and lower shares of Irish and Italians. The 1910 figures in these two cities were relatively close for Germans and Russians. Boston tended to have fewer Germans, while New York's Russians far exceeded the others.

Several questions emerge. Why these contrasting percentages among immigrants? How much influence did the port of entry play in these distributions? Why should Italians who came through New York go to Boston and Philadelphia in greater numbers than to Baltimore? Assuming that rural Irish, Italians, and blacks arrived in these cities with similarly limited skills, a logical conclusion might be that in Baltimore black competition for jobs discouraged mass settlement of Irish and Italians.

Detailed analysis of Oldtown may help to explain this continuing pattern. Between 1870 and 1910 Oldtown became, even more so than earlier, a working-class neighborhood. The extension of the Baltimore City Passenger Railway along Gay Street in 1871 created new, affluent neighborhoods along Broadway to the northeast and drew many Germans and Irish out of Oldtown. Moving, they converted their larger houses into apartments.<sup>25</sup> This cheap housing offered distinct advantages to the Eastern European Jews who poured into Baltimore because of the city's

booming ready-made clothing industry. Thus Oldtown offered an unlimited supply of skilled tailors as well as unskilled family members to perform the simpler tasks in the manufacture of men's garments. Coming from countries where industry was carried out on a small scale, by the outside shop and task system, they produced the notorious sweatshop in Oldtown.<sup>26</sup>

Employment in the garment industry in Baltimore in 1900 varied with the level of skill. Tailors were almost always ethnic Russians, Germans, Poles and Austrians, most of them Jewish. The Germans and Irish were the skirt, collar, and cuff makers. The Germans, Irish, Russians and blacks dominated the skills of dress-maker and seamstress. A sample taken from the 1910 manuscript census of the 5th ward of Oldtown reflects these occupations. Almost all Russian men are listed as "Yiddish" and classified as tailors. Several are storekeepers. Italian men are listed as tailors, barbers, shoemakers and laborers. Many of the Italian women are listed as workers in the garment industry.

A sizable proportion of the semi-skilled phases of garment work fell to black workers, many of whom in 1900 had recently arrived in Oldtown (table 3). They numbered 35,000, mostly came from the regions of Maryland, and were part of the 114,000 native Americans who settled in Baltimore between 1870 and 1900. By 1900 over 15 percent had Virginia roots while many others had come from North

TABLE 3.  
Selected Occupations in Baltimore by Race and Foreign Birth, 1900

Occupation	TOTAL	Black	Austro- Hungary	Germany	Ireland	Italy	Poland	Russia	Great Britain
Servants and M	43,957	3,853		156	87	22		6	19
waiters F	16,761	11,967		1,717	1,042	14	27	42	98
Laborers (not specified)	23,377	9,307	380	4,683	2,224	221	441	172	235
Laundresses	7,765	6,817	14	337	174	2	2	3	20
Draymen, Hackmen Teamsters	6,988	3,003	32	1,266	517	24	10	47	71
Porters and Helpers	1,460	1,195	4	117	42	1	1	3	3
Dressmakers	4,912	531	23	917	635	20	21	56	128
Nurses and Midwives	1,498	451	13	202	125	1	1	12	56
Boatmen and Sailors	1,666	405		167	91			6	52
Barbers	1,483	359	12	643	18	59	2	29	13
Brick and Tile Makers	553	339		61	10				7
Mason (Brick and Stone)	1,419	325	4	196	119	9	5	3	36
Seamstresses	5,593	325	44	1,455	446	32	70	158	87
Hostlers	562	317	1	75	54			1	1
Marble and Stone	811	106	5	173	134	16			40
Tailors	6,157	34	731	2,072	64	33	395	2,256	34
Shirt, Collar and Cuff (Makers)	1,967	14	18	544	188	6	10	22	35

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census, 1900, *Population*, Special Reports, Occupations, General Tables, Principal Cities, table 43.

Carolina.<sup>27</sup> Since most of these rural blacks lacked the skills of the older, urban black residents, they took the few low-skilled jobs that were associated with heavy labor and service. Most of the men became hod carriers, stevedores, and laborers, while the women were laundresses and domestic servants. Other black women were able to find factory work in the garment industry at places like Wise Brothers shirt plant where, as sewing machine operators, they occupied a separate floor and had their own entrance.<sup>28</sup> Native blacks held on to their jobs as teamsters, boatmen, barbers, stone masons, brick makers, cooks and dressmakers.<sup>29</sup>

The high percentage of foreign-born in Oldtown between 1900 and 1910 suggests that the community was a major avenue for immigrants. By the year 1910, over 42 percent were foreign born, most of whom were Russian and Lithuanian Jews (table 1). At the same time 31 percent of the community was black. What is unique in Baltimore and in Oldtown is how these diverse racial and cultural groups adapted to the local environment. By 1910, most of the Germans and Irish had moved into the 10th ward directly north of Oldtown.<sup>30</sup> Jews, Italians, blacks, and a few remaining Irish resided in clusters in Oldtown. Although living near each other, each ethnic and racial group seems to have developed a residential and occupational niche. Russian and Lithuanian Jews, often unskilled, occupied many of the larger aristocratic houses on main streets formerly occupied by Germans and established natives. In a majority of these establishments, numbers of people of both sexes crowded into poorly ventilated second stories and attics.<sup>31</sup> On the narrow back streets and alleys lived clusters of blacks. At times black and white neighborhoods merged, with blacks residing adjacent to sweatshops. Some Jewish shopkeepers lived close to these black areas but usually on a main street. Most Italians lived in clusters of white residents on both the main streets and back alleys. Some Irish and Italians, however, lived on the same back alleys as the blacks (figure 4).

Occupational segregation took place in the sweatshops, where only white men, women, and children performed the limited skill work. The entire sweatshop operation was built around a Jewish family unit; while some Italian women and girls also worked in sweatshops, blacks did not.

Baltimore settlement patterns, similar to those in other northeastern cities, differed from them in the interdispersal or scattering of large black concentrations. Negro mass migration into Baltimore was a factor in the urban process not experienced to the same degree in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. As unskilled European immigrants arrived in Baltimore, they met a powerful, competitive work force of blacks who were willing to labor at even lower wages than they. To survive in the job market, unskilled whites embraced racial segregation—as in the sweatshops—or, like previous generations of Germans and Irish, tried forcibly to drive blacks out of their established occupations.<sup>32</sup> In 1870 organized Germans, imitating the Irish before them, had invaded the Baltimore waterfront and taken many stevedoring jobs from blacks; in 1910 the creation of a state Barber's Examining Board, a racially discriminatory licensing agency, replaced many black barbers with Italians.<sup>33</sup>

Still, blacks held their own. Their knowledge of the bay gave them distinct advantages in the seafood industry. They competed strongly for maritime jobs (after a major strike in 1900 they reclaimed their role in dock work,<sup>34</sup> which they

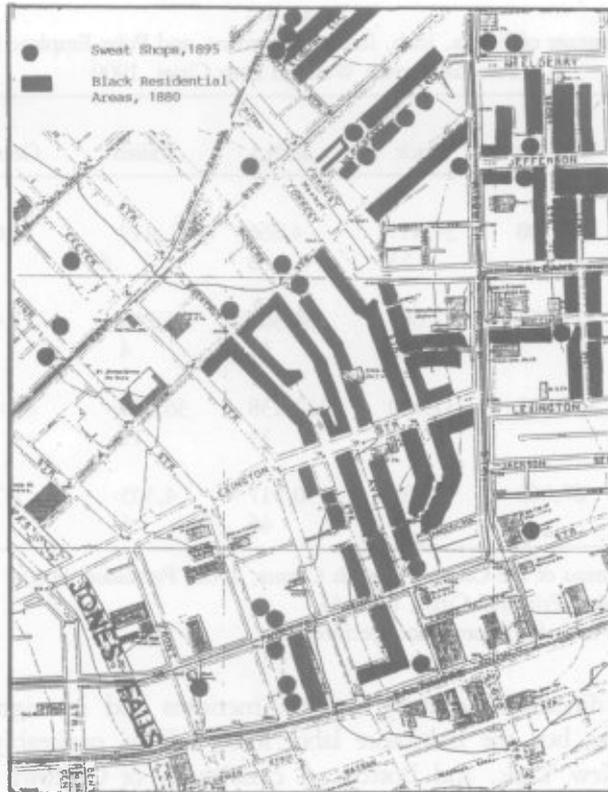


FIGURE 4. Oldtown Settlement Patterns, 1880–1895. (Author's rendering.)

continue to dominate to this day). Blacks clung to other jobs in trade and transportation. Clearly, however, they were most numerous in low-paying service occupations and manual labor. Table 4 shows that Baltimore blacks performed more than half of the domestic and personal service that in Boston the Irish did almost in the same proportion. Where, as in Philadelphia, more blacks were present, they performed a higher percentage of this work; elsewhere, in the absence of blacks, other groups filled these occupations.

More than any other force, black strength in the labor economy influenced the flow of Europeans into Baltimore. The argument that shipping lines influenced the directions of immigrant flow can only be applied to the Italians, most of whom came through New York. Some remained there. Others settled in Philadelphia and Boston, where they found construction and railroad work.<sup>35</sup> Why limited settlement in Baltimore? Perhaps they found too much competition from the black population in these fields. If East Europeans like Poles came through the port of Baltimore on German ships, why did they not remain in large numbers as did the Germans? In Philadelphia Poles landed but left the city, while Jews disembarked and stayed. The Polish immigrant who wished to settle in Philadelphia had to compete with Irish and blacks who were there before him and with Italians and Jews who arrived with him. As a result, large numbers of Poles moved through Philadelphia to the western cities with the coal mines and heavy industry that absorbed their unskilled labor.<sup>36</sup> After 1910, in like manner, blacks and others entrenched in Baltimore discouraged large Polish and Italian settlement.

TABLE 4.

Number and Percentage of Blacks, Irish, Italians, Germans, and Poles Employed in Domestic and Personal Service Work in Four Cities, 1900

	Total* Workers	Black	Irish	Italian	German	Polish
Baltimore						
Number	64,508	34,417	4,866	419	10,098	548
Percentage		53	8	.6	16	.8
Philadelphia						
Number	123,751	27,683	38,369	5,296	13,458	1,555
Percentage		22	31	4	11	1.3
New York						
Number	352,937	31,550	123,138	36,910	65,427	4,028
Percentage		9	35	11	19	1.2
Boston						
Number	67,068	5,929	30,517	4,305	1,712	213
Percentage		9	46	6	3	.3

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census, 1900, *Population*, Special Reports, Occupations, General Tables, Principal Cities, table 43.

\* Total workers includes laborers not specified.

During the nineteenth century native Americans and immigrants competed fiercely for work, but the Baltimore labor force differed noticeably from that of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. A close study of Oldtown suggests that, more than anything else, the Baltimore black community's successful struggle for

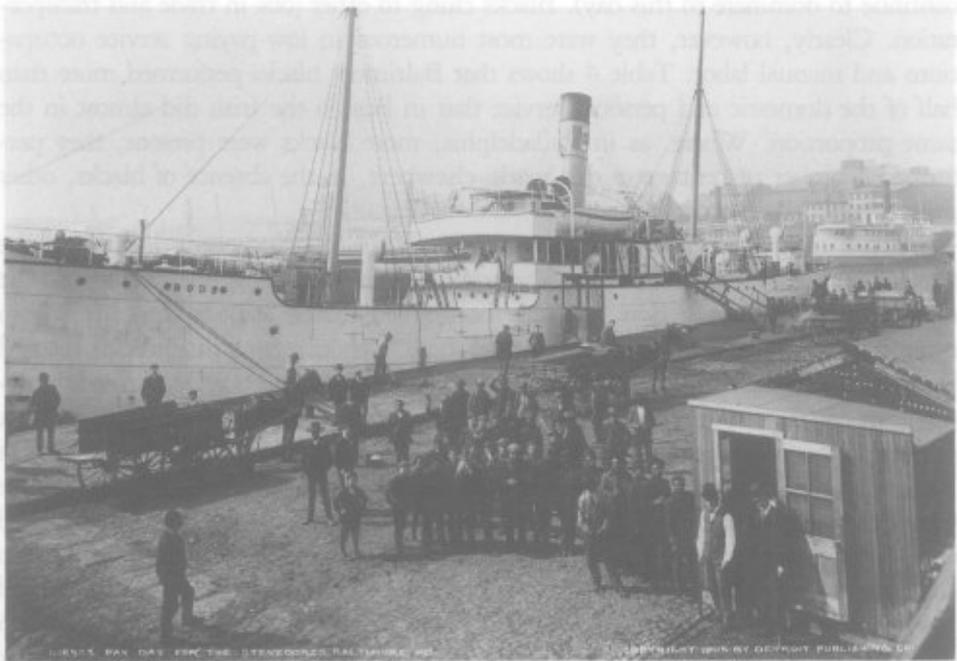


FIGURE 5. Payday for the Stevedores, Baltimore, 1905. (Prints and Photographs, Library, Maryland Historical Society.)

service jobs and manual labor played a large part in the decision of many unskilled Europeans to settle elsewhere.

#### NOTES

1. Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 240. Others who have included Baltimore in their studies of black labor are Leonard P. Curry, *The Free Black in Urban America, 1800-1850: The Shadow of a Dream* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Stanley N. Lieberman, *A Piece of the Pie: Blacks and White Immigrants Since 1880* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); and Richard C. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964). Baltimore studies that discuss black and immigrant labor as well as their conflicts and residential patterns include Ralph Clayton, *Black Baltimore 1820-1870* (Bowie: Heritage Books Inc., 1987); Ray M. Della, "The Problems of Negro Labor in the 1850s," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 60 (1971): 14-32; Leroy Graham, *Baltimore: The Nineteenth Century Black Capital* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982); Paul A. Groves and Edward K. Muller, "The Evolution of Black Residential Areas in Late Nineteenth Century Cities," *Journal of Historical Geography*, 1 and 2 (1975): 169-91; Sherry H. Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980). Black and immigrant competition for jobs in Philadelphia has been well researched by Caroline Golab, *Immigrant Destinations* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1977), and Theodore Hershberg, *Philadelphia: Work, Space, Family, and Group Experience in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

2. The method used to measure the populations of blacks and immigrants is to refer to city and ward figures for the U.S. censuses of 1790 through 1910. The total city figures can be compared to those of the other major cities. Measuring occupational status is more difficult. Comparing laborers and domestic workers among blacks, Irish and Italians is possible at a state level for 1870 through 1900. The U.S. Census for 1900 gives this information for specific cities. For specific areas of a city, however, the manuscript census is still the best source. Supporting it are various city directories that give occupations and addresses for heads of households. The best way to compare blacks and whites for occupations by neighborhood is to take samples from both the city directory and the manuscript census. Most nineteenth-century directories list blacks separately. Ethnicity can be measured by place of birth from the manuscript census; names in city directories are subject to error. Italians and Poles are the easiest to measure since few were in Maryland prior to 1870. Persons with Irish and German names may have had eighteenth-century roots in America.

3. Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore: W. Woody, 1824), p. 23. The political boundaries of Oldtown varied between 1780 and 1910. Generally, Oldtown consisted of specific districts and wards. After 1790 it was known as the 6th district. In 1840 it consisted of the 4th and 5th wards. By 1860 the 6th ward had been added. In 1870 it had returned to the 4th and 5th wards. In 1900 it consisted of the 3rd and 4th wards, while in 1910, it had become the 3rd and 5th wards. In all cases, the general geographical area remained much the same. The data used in this study was based on the areas in Oldtown specified in the manuscript censuses from 1840 through 1910. In addition the following maps were used: George W. Bromley, *Atlas of the City of Baltimore* (Philadelphia: G. W. Bromley & Co., 1896 and 1906); Fielding Lucas, Jr., *Plan of the*

*City of Baltimore* (Baltimore: 1836 and 1841); Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Maps of Baltimore, Md.*, vols. 1 and 2 (New York: 1901); John W. Woods, *Map of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Baltimore City Directory, 1865–66); Charles Varlé, *Warner and Hanna's Plan of the City and Environs of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1801).

4. *A Century of Population Growth 1790–1890* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1967), tables 45 and 105; see also U.S. censuses.

5. Richard M. Bernard, "A Portrait of Baltimore in 1800: Economic and Occupational Patterns in an Early American City," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 69 (1974): 348–57.

6. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Third Census of the U.S. 1810* (Washington, D.C., 1810).

7. Margaret L. Callcott, *The Negro in Maryland Politics, 1870–1912* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1969), p. 158.

8. Olson, *Baltimore*, p. 27.

9. Paul Gilje, "Le Menu Peuple' in America: Identifying the Mob in Baltimore Riots of 1812," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 81 (1986): 50–64.

10. R. J. Matchett, *Matchett's Baltimore Directory for 1837* (Baltimore, 1837).

11. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities*, p. 29.

12. Della, "Problems of Negro Labor," p. 15.

13. Philip Taylor, *The Distant Magnet: European Emigration to the U.S.A.* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 35.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

15. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population 1870* (Washington, D.C., 1970), table 8.

16. Robert C. Keith, *Baltimore Harbor* (Baltimore: Ocean World Press, 1982), p. 74.

17. U.S. Customs Service, *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Baltimore* (Washington D.C.: National Archives), Microcopy 255, rolls number 7 (1849), 17 (1870), 33 (1881) and 49 (1891). These samples show that in 1849 twice as many Irish as Germans arrived in Baltimore. In 1870 the Germans arrived in great numbers along with Austrians and Bohemians (Czechs). After 1881 German ships brought Russians and Scandinavians. Irish immigration appears to have dropped off after 1855. What is unusual is that in May 1881 five ships from Liverpool and two from Ireland carried only 159 Irish to Baltimore while during the same period five ships from Bremen brought in 5,317 immigrants, of whom 80 percent were German. Figures for 1882 show that overall only 76,000 Irish arrived in America as compared to 250,000 Germans. If the figures for 1881 are used to determine proportions of immigrants entering each port, the results would show that over 20 percent of the Germans came through Baltimore while less than 3 percent of the Irish did. Although these figures are only estimates for 1881–1882, they suggest that after 1855 the Irish entered the United States through other ports.

18. Della, "Problems of Negro Labor", p. 20.

19. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860 Population* (Washington, D.C., 1860), 1:214.

20. Della, "Problems of Negro Labor," p. 28.

21. Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, table 13, p. 220.

22. Olson, *Baltimore*, p. 99.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 118; Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, p. 241; and Clayton, *Black Baltimore*, p. 5.

24. Michael Kraus, *Immigration: The American Mosaic* (New York: Van Nostrand, 1966), pp. 67–68.

25. Michael R. Farrell, *Who Made All the Streetcars Go?* (Baltimore: National Railroad Historical Society, 1973), p. 25.

26. A. A. Imberman, "Report on Men's Clothing Industry," in *State Planning Commission Publication No. 14* (Washington, D.C.: Works Progress Administration, 1936), p. 7, and Edward K. Muller and Paul A. Groves, "The Changing Location of the Clothing Industry: A Link to the Social Geography of Baltimore in the Nineteenth Century," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 71 (1976): 413-420.
27. Charles Hirschfeld, *Baltimore 1870-1900*, *Studies in Social History*, 59, no. 2 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1941), pp. 21-22.
28. Olson, *Baltimore*, p. 274.
29. This information is based on the manuscript version (microfilm) of the 1910 federal census. See U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in 1910* (Washington, D.C., 1911), district 56, ward 5, sheets 1-12.
30. *Thirteenth Census of the United States 1910; Population Maryland*, table 5.
31. State of Maryland, *Bureau of Industrial Statistics: Third Annual Report, 1895* (Baltimore, 1895), p. 80.
32. Olson, *Baltimore*, p. 119 and 274.
33. Olson, *Baltimore*, p. 274; Groves and Muller, "Evolution of Black Residential Areas," pp. 177-178.
34. Lester Rubin, "The Negro in the Longshore Industry", *Report Number 29, Wharton School* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), pp. 77-79; James M. Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland 1634-1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1921), pp. 155, 169, and 172. A strike was launched in 1865 against black mechanics and longshoremen. More than a thousand were thrown out of work. At that time Isaac Myers established the first black-owned shipyard and railroad at the foot of Philpot Street. Several hundred blacks were employed.
35. Caroline Golab, "The Immigrants and the City: Poles, Italians and Jews in Philadelphia, 1870-1920," in *The Peoples of Philadelphia*, eds. Allen F. Davis and Mark H. Haller (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973), p. 207.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 206-210.

## “Human Creatures’ Lives”: Baltimore Women and Work in Factories, 1880–1917

RODERICK N. RYON

“O men, with sisters dear!  
O men, with mothers and wives!  
It is not linen you are wearing out,  
But human creatures’ lives!”

Anonymous poem, quoted in state of Maryland, Bureau of Industrial Statistics, *Annual Report*, 1896, p. 52.

Forty thousand Rosie Riveters, Baltimore women eager to learn male factory work and earn male wages, located jobs in city steel, aircraft, and shipyard industries during World War II.<sup>1</sup> But sixty years before, Rosie’s grandmother began a city tradition of female factory work. Between 1880 and 1917, 300,000 women, most of them white, single, and in their late teens and early twenties, numbering 30 to 60 percent of the female work force, labored in factories for several years.<sup>2</sup> Twenty to forty percent of an industrial work force that climbed from 30,000 to 90,000, the nation’s seventh largest by 1917, laboring in a city whose population doubled to 600,000, they toiled in thirty separate industries.<sup>3</sup> In the two most productive city enterprises, garments and canned foods, of workers hired 40 to 70 percent were female. Fast growing industries like steel, copper, ship building, and construction hired none, but four among fifteen preeminent trades—hats, shoes, tinwares, and cigars and cigarettes—employed tens of thousands. Older, stable manufacturers—producers of confectionary, textiles, and paper bags and boxes—relied heavily on young women until World War I.<sup>4</sup>

Omitted from the literature on American labor until 1970, female workers and union organizers now appear often, next to craftsmen and blue-collar men.<sup>5</sup> Just as histories of laboring men between 1880 and 1917, this literature focuses on immigrants and their children in highly industrial settings, often small cities where one or two industries employed all. “Women’s sources”—correspondence, testimony of strikers, records of their unions—disclose that women experienced and regarded factory labor very differently from men. Despite discrimination, they chose it over other options and resisted the rigid controls placed upon them. Their environment combined the isolation of immigrants to a few industries and tight-knit neighborhoods, the pressures of Old World traditions and New World ethnic institutions to make money through cooperative effort, and the example of aggressive male unions. These elements prodded ethnic women to sabotage factory discipline, wage strikes, and set up unions.<sup>6</sup>

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Toiling in a different industrial environment, Baltimore women also worked and esteemed work differently than did men. Immigrants, 17 percent of the population in 1880 and a declining portion thereafter, never provided manufacturers sufficient labor, and Baltimore natives (some but not all second- and third-generation Germans and Irish), so-called "Americans" from Appalachia and the tidewater South, Russian Jews, and eastern and southern European Roman Catholics typically worked in city plants side by side.<sup>7</sup> Employers in every female-hiring industry took on natives and newcomers alike. In east and south Baltimore, home to 80 percent of city workers, "Little Bohemias," "Polands," and others—ethnic enclaves tinier than those in other large cities—never segregated the foreign born. Natives populated all of them, and busy commercial streets—Fayette, Baltimore, and Pratt on the east side and Light in south Baltimore—tended to border and stitch immigrant sections together, not extend into them. Streetfront factories, markets, and schools there attracted a heterogenous mix of workers and families.<sup>8</sup> Fewer and smaller ethnic churches, clubs, and unions in the city served only fractions, not majorities of women workers in any industry; male labor unions in Baltimore never enrolled more than 20 percent of industrial men.<sup>9</sup>

The mostly male-written factory inspections, government reports, and newspaper articles point to no collective, sustained female effort to better conditions and no women's labor movement agitating against gender discrimination. But stakes in particular jobs—shopfloor benefits to be won or lost in many different places—animated working women. They staked out rights to tolerable, not equal, pay and working conditions; they claimed rewards that protected only a small measure of autonomy at work and at home. Along with ethnic institutions and male labor unions, city women—factory operatives and their allies—encouraged struggles against the harsh control of work.



Before 1900 both men and women typically worked in small plants. Short on capital and with no certain market for goods, entrepreneurs, many of them new to manufacturing, supervised production in tiny edifices. They operated sweatshops in the attics and back rooms of tiny east Baltimore row houses, in slightly larger town houses on Howard Street, and in downtown alleys. Owners also hired people to work in the spaces at the rear and above stores that sold workers' products and lined neighborhood commercial streets. Other manufacturers opened street-front factories, forty feet wide, two-to-three story edifices, also on neighborhood business streets and downtown. In 1900, 4,000 separate industrial plants took up space among residences and stores in a kind of manufacturing district of the city, a ten-block-square section south and west of Baltimore and Charles streets. Only a few textile mills in the northern suburb of Woodberry, shirt factories downtown, and packing houses south of Broadway and in Locust Point employed more than fifty women.<sup>10</sup>

Eager for cheap and abundant labor, manufacturers hired women for "women's work," that is, traditional home-making chores or jobs requiring neat, detailed, dexterous, or delicate labor. When an agent of the Maryland Industrial Statistics Bureau surveyed factory owners in thirty-five separate industries in 1888, he found that all claimed to uphold a rigid gender division of work. Plant men still did all



FIGURE 1. "Mine Oysters—'Shucking.'" Wood engraving by Harley, *Harper's Weekly*, 16 March 1872. (Prints and Photographs, Library, Maryland Historical Society.)

"heavy" labor and work that demanded "judgement"; women labored only where employees needed "nimbleness," "quickness of hand," and "natural [female] taste."<sup>11</sup> One manager avowed that having "ablebodied and strong men sitting down all day hulling peas, peeling tomatoes [and] peaches" would create a plant "spectacle."<sup>12</sup>

Restricting young women to "women's work" reassured families of nineteenth-century workers, encouraging their daughters to accept factory jobs. For the first generation of females to work for wages away from home, only the setting changed. Gender restrictions also satisfied middle-class Baltimore buyers who purchased most of the city's industrial goods. Factories transforming a mercantile city into an industrial one usually corrupted morals, impoverished workers, and dirtied neighborhoods.<sup>13</sup> Baltimore customers wanted to believe that local firms would not tamper with family and home life.

In practice the system guaranteed that women ordinarily worked in food processing or on male-made products. As machine tenders, women moved small levers or hand-size tools repetitively, attached small pieces, or trimmed, peeled, folded, sorted, labeled, and packed goods. Only 10 percent made things, and these items commonly were caps, vests, toys, and paper bags.<sup>14</sup> Wages paid for particular kinds of work in Baltimore tended to determine who did it, men monopolizing jobs in city bakeries and breweries and in the printing trades that had once employed women and elsewhere still depended on their labor. City craftsmen both constructed and carved delicate furniture. Sweatshop women sometimes lifted heavy piles of cloth and pressed garments, but only at female wages. Packing-house

women earned male piece rates—wages lower than average female rates in the city—for cold, dirty, outside work done in fall and winter. With black women and men of both races, white women shucked oysters.<sup>15</sup> Between 1880 and 1900 industrial women averaged \$3 to \$4 per week, while semi-skilled and unskilled men earned \$6 to \$9 and craftsmen \$12 to \$18. According to a survey of the federal commissioner of labor in 1888, Baltimore ranked twentieth among twenty-two cities for wages paid to women.

Low-paid "women's work" damaged a person's health. One in four industrial women were in "fair" or "poor" physical condition, reported the federal labor commissioner.<sup>17</sup> City males in heavy, outside industry—lifters of steel plate and wooden beams and loaders of crates—suffered many muscular and back ailments, but inside work exacted a massive toll in contagious diseases. All factory women except canners and shuckers worked in confined quarters. Plants typically lacked side windows, and in converted homes women toiled in entirely unventilated hallways and interior rooms.<sup>18</sup> Lint, dust, and detritus piled on the floors next to workers too busy to clean overcrowded workspaces and bred lung disorders, including tuberculosis. Women caught those diseases more than men, whose factory workspace included machinery, tool benches, and stacks of bulky materials—not other workers.

In the sweatshops contractors placed six or more women into attic rooms and narrow halls and even doubled them up with boarders and children. A state law enacted in 1894 mandated a minimum of 400 cubic feet of space per worker, but overcrowding persisted.<sup>19</sup> In East Baltimore inspectors reported that "girls" worked in a boarder's bedroom, entering the shop through an alley, a "filthy, foul-smelling one, the refuse from . . . houses . . . on both sides standing in stagnant pools for



FIGURE 2. "A Sample Sweatshop." Women and children at work in a clothing factory disapprovingly pictured in the Maryland Bureau of Industrial Statistics *Annual Report*, 1904, p. 33. (Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library.)

days." Others labored on "wet and dirty" shop floors strewn with "scraps and clippings," "unfinished garments," and "pots and pans," with children playing in the debris.<sup>20</sup> Male craftsmen also worked in the most crowded sweatshops, some of them for longer hours than women, but men moved on to outside industrial work more easily.<sup>21</sup> Only the pollutants changed—textile lint for tobacco dust, for example—when women located new jobs.

Male tailors and team leaders in sweatshops negotiated with wholesalers, distributed work to women, and set wages. Owners and foremen supervised in larger plants, where men worked in women's rooms or next door to them. Male bosses, porters, and outside buyers passed in and out of women's space throughout the day. Away from restraints of home and older and better paid than women, men sought relief from hard work and the tensions of the labor hierarchy. Foreman and common porter, boss and master craftsman plotted jokes, played cards, threw dice, and even brawled together in a kind of "man's world" away from home. The notorious language of men in the factories also intimidated young women.<sup>22</sup> When the state industrial statistics researcher asked factory owners about "loose morals" where women worked, some claimed that females "elevated" plant behavior, but others admitted that Baltimore factories required reforms. Owners needed to replace foremen with foreladies, choose "girls" "carefully," or give up hiring them at all.<sup>23</sup> Everyone agreed that low-paid women had to work next to and for men on whom there were few controls. Arms touching a shoulder or banter sinking to innuendo roused the protective devices of women, placing a premium on coquettishness and feminine wile—which themselves raised the level of shopfloor tensions. "A pretty face [is] . . . open sesame to the good graces of many of the attaches [or agents] of the large wholesale houses," men complained, "and many imperfections in the work [are] . . . passed over that would not would be passed if the poor work had been done by a man."<sup>24</sup>

Yet nineteenth-century women who had to work chose factory jobs. Peddling, prostitution, sewing, laundering, caring for boarders paid less, were disrespectable, or both. White women seldom looked for kitchen work in middle-class households in north and west Baltimore, where homes depended on black women from nearby alleys and back streets. Not only racist attitudes toward "colored work," but the distance to affluent neighborhoods deterred them. And few women sought jobs in city offices. While elsewhere women had begun to break a male monopoly on office work, until 1900 Baltimore offices and plant accounting departments mostly relied on male bookkeepers, stenographers, and typists—often graduates of business and high schools.<sup>25</sup>

Workers' mothers often cooked for boarders, took in industrial homework such as garments to be finished, and held outside jobs.<sup>26</sup> Expected to share housework, working daughters who walked only doors or blocks away to earn wages needed time to shop, clean, and mind young siblings. Even women who worked downtown remained near home, their plants close to their residences in south Baltimore. Trolley lines, opened on east and south Baltimore thoroughfares in the 1890s, placed women a few minutes from downtown factories.

In and out of plants during the day, women ran errands, looked in on young children, and fixed midday meals. Mothers and older sisters took children into the plants. Whole families went to the packing house, reported a state agent, who saw

"women, with infants at their breast, nurse . . . offspring while hulling peas for [a] . . . living."<sup>27</sup> "We decidedly prefer not having children," complained one employer, "but if we drive [them] . . . out (as we often threaten to do), the mothers tell us they will have to go."<sup>28</sup>

Women also regarded plants as places to escape home responsibilities and make new friends. Industrial males ordinarily experienced city social life apart from factory and family. Young men met one another at industrial night schools set up by manufacturers, union halls, and political and ethnic clubs that greeted members and nonmembers alike. Many men congregated at neighborhood taverns, and the city itself held out enticements: parks and playgrounds (sometimes with organized athletics for young men), vaudeville shows and amusement parks, and an exotic night life on the waterfront close to their own neighborhoods.<sup>29</sup> But male places bore a "No Trespassing" or at least "Beware" sign for women, molding a narrower female world of home and market. Women ventured away from neighborhoods to parks and public baths only in groups or with brothers and male friends as escorts. Trolleys, which attracted young male ruffians from all sections of the city, intimidated women, especially at night.<sup>30</sup> Women looked to factories, therefore, as places to joke and tease, converse and confide, trade favors and share wisdom. More than craftsmen and unskilled male wage earners, piece-rate women sat idle for short periods in the work day, especially in tiny, inefficient plants where bosses failed to keep them steadily supplied with materials. Blacks and whites engaged in small talk in the city's only racially integrated plants, a few tobacco factories, and packing houses. Elsewhere natives discovered ethnic customs, and immigrants from large households listened to talk of small families and strategies for birth control. Amidst the talk, women lunched, hummed and sang together, pooled pennies to hire a



FIGURE 3. Small children work alongside their mothers at a shucking house, 1911. (Lewis Hine Collection, University of Maryland, Baltimore County.)

reader or someone to write letters for them, and passed toddlers in their care back and forth to allow a minute's escape from the shopfloor.<sup>31</sup>

Heavily dependent on their families, nineteenth-century women counted on meager wages to save them from dire poverty and to win a measure of freedom from parents. Layoffs from seasonal work and the Depression of 1893 affected female-hiring industries more than all-male ones, and working class neighborhoods counted many unemployed. Newspapers and social workers reported that abused women, alienated from families and forced from homes by alcoholic fathers, peddled their bodies in alleys and along the waterfront. Penniless pregnant women resorted to street abortions or abandoned their infants.<sup>32</sup> But workers knew that, when they contributed wages, their parents kept younger siblings in school, acquired furniture and spacious flats, and even bought houses. Seventeen percent of industrial women, according to the federal commissioner, lived in homes owned by a family member, and the majority of the steadily employed earned enough to support themselves.<sup>33</sup> Perhaps one in seven women boarded away from families; country women and especially the separated and divorced lodged in others workers' homes.<sup>34</sup> Like men, plant women held back money they were supposed to contribute to a family fund, a deception piece workers found easy to practice. In larger plants, floor managers found "girls" as eager as men to set aside money in workers' savings funds.<sup>35</sup>



Inside the plants inexperienced supervisors expected to discipline women easier than men. With few skills and obliged to work close to home, toilers confined to "women's work" could not change jobs. Males, the managers assumed, might argue with bosses and disobey rules while young single women, worried that factory work itself detracted from their femininity, would risk no further damage to self-image. The notoriety of union men—their picket-line fist fights and drinking in the union halls—would cow female workers tempted to try to organize in the plants. As older men flattered, ordered, and threatened, women would submit.<sup>36</sup> Although most did acquiesce, the extent of resistance astonished supervisors. Employers who spoke to the state industrial statistics bureau about the "natural co-operativeness" of women also complained that many were "unreliable," "troublesome," "less practical," "hard to control."<sup>37</sup>

Managers tried to employ a kind of paternalism with females, dispensing with rules and dealing with them as individuals. Work routines and the pace of labor did vary from worker to worker. Even in plants that forewomen or very young men routinely supervised, male owners and general supervisors would appear in women's sections regularly to recognize and speak to individuals and to reprimand face to face as much as they flattered and flirted.<sup>38</sup>

Female behavior forced the larger plants to resort to shop rules for all. Women arrived late and left early even when unfinished work piled up in plants during busy seasons. Warned not to socialize, they talked and sang anyway, escaping to hallways and dressing rooms to meet friends. Employers reported that they enforced rules and regularly held back wages, charged fines, and locked plant doors (no grace period for late comers; no leaving before the whistle). City managers appar-

ently never resorted to the last of these practices in all male plants until World War I.<sup>39</sup>

Dissatisfied women sometimes quit. Managers complained of shop floors full of "curiosity seekers"—"girls," including country women new to industry, who hired on for a few weeks of training and then left for better jobs.<sup>40</sup> Men who conducted the "individual strike" walked the city for new work, relied on friends from taverns and trade schools, or checked lists of new jobs in union halls. Out-of-work women looked to women at home and in their neighborhoods. Confined to fewer industries but hired by many employers, sisters, female boarders, and neighbors divulged news from many shop floors: here a boss paid well, there a tolerable foreman ran the shop.<sup>41</sup> Quitters weighed options carefully. One buttonhole machine operator complained that she sacrificed "good wages" to escape the "petty tyranny of a . . . forelady."<sup>42</sup> Sometimes whole groups of women found jobs together. When textile manufacturers laid off scores in 1884, workers who probably had roomed together in a company hotel moved into the city and located jobs in tobacco factories.<sup>43</sup>

Nineteenth-century women also struck employers, not planning strategy at union halls or picketing plants but remaining home or sitting idle at work benches for a few hours. Unable to air their problems in taverns, union halls, and one another's homes (as did men dispersed in small plants), women seldom raised issues affecting an entire industry. They objected less to plant hazards, harrassment, and unequal treatment with men than to very low wages and arbitrary supervision. They struck when men walked out of city plants, but they walked out with their own demands and perhaps watched that concessions to males did not come out of their own wages. When male shoe bottomers struck one plant in 1886, women finishers did also, asking and winning higher piece rates. Native and foreign women (they worked as bunch breakers) joined male cigar makers and packers in 1892, protesting fines for trivial offenses. One thousand sweatshop women—garment finishers and felling hands—struck for higher wages in 1895, joining a walk-out of pressers and sewing machine operators.<sup>44</sup> Women also struck alone. China decorators, skilled at painting fourteen-piece sets of pottery, won a higher piece of rate for their pottery in 1887; the same year chair caners lost a struggle at a city plant when their piece rate was slashed. Seamstresses struck the city's largest shirtmaking company, the Chesapeake plant, in 1888 when foremen announced a 10 percent wage cut. Four years later tobacco women, striking the Marbury factory, a very large city plant, complained that a trust controlled city wages and allotted women newly hired from New York higher pay than natives.<sup>45</sup>

Worried about bad publicity, owners failed to report every episode of female "unrest" to the state bureau that tallied city strikes. Few women maintained close contact with another source of data, the *Critic*, a labor newspaper published in Baltimore between 1888 and 1893. Still, women in most industries and neighborhoods probably struck plants of all sizes before 1900.

One hundred shirt and overall makers set up a labor organization for women, the Myrtle Assembly, in 1886. Like male assemblies of the Knights of Labor, which donated money to the club, it established savings and sick funds for workers and sponsored weekly education programs. Lectures in the assembly's downtown hall reminded women of common problems throughout Baltimore industry:

women's work hazards endangered their health; foremen and coworkers harrassed them; and city middle classes misunderstood them, writing off their factory work as escape from home responsibilities, not poverty.<sup>46</sup> Pledged to work for near-radical reform ("working women . . . [must wrest] the full share of the wealth they create" from "the hands of selfish employers, who . . . care not how hard we battle for bread"), assembly members lobbied for female inspectors in city plants and endorsed women's suffrage.<sup>47</sup> "We find that in our order our vote is as good as any man's and . . . ask ourselves, why should it not be so everywhere?" They complained to male Knights of Labor lodges.<sup>48</sup> Yet the Myrtle Assembly worried male laborers, some of them fathers of working women, who suspected that its programs encouraged not only young needy girls but well-provided-for women to hold factory jobs. The *Critic* ridiculed meddlesome females who spoke at meetings of male clubs, calling them "cargoes of women" who merely "use the time" of men.<sup>49</sup> Too far from workers' homes and unwilling to sponsor strikes or organize in factories, the Assembly lost most of its members after 1893.



The depression of 1893 transformed Baltimore industry. Hundreds of small entrepreneurs closed their plants entirely, larger plants merged, and after 1898 outside corporations and banks began to invest in city manufacturing, providing capital for modern, multistoried dwellings that occupied entire city blocks. Neighborhood sweatshops and streetfront plants never disappeared entirely, but women typically worked in factories with one hundred or more other women.<sup>50</sup> Eager to tap labor from several neighborhoods, companies normally chose downtown sites close to the port and railroads and counted on streetcars to transport workers, more of whom now lived in eastern and southern suburbs. As native women began to secure jobs in offices and department stores, employers hired more immigrants, especially east-side Jews, Bohemians, and Italians and west-side Lithuanians. To lure homebound immigrants and supervise them efficiently, companies assigned whole sections of new neighborhood plants to one nationality so that workers would be comfortably segregated among friends and neighbors. Unable to attract enough foreign born, employers relaxed rules and hired natives, who, as always, outnumbered immigrants in the female workforce citywide.<sup>51</sup>

The setting but not the work changed.<sup>52</sup> A more elaborate hierarchy of males, floor foremen to plant supervisors, managed the plants and upheld the gender division of labor. In garment plants, for example, male pressers, cutters, and sewing machine operators who had shared sweatshop flats with female finishers now worked on separate floors.<sup>53</sup> Paid at piece rates, factory women earned one-third the wages of male craftsmen, money that still provided amenities to families and often allowed the steadily employed to board away from home though not support dependents.<sup>54</sup> Immigrants, in families where women worked and lived at home, even managed to afford trips home to Europe, according to one federal survey of city workers.<sup>55</sup>

The new circumstances of female labor—greater numbers in fewer places—put a premium on greater collaboration inside plants rather than individual acts of resistance. Negotiations and strikes in a few places now affected an entire industry, since companies were less able to replace dissatisfied workers with employees from

other plants. Women struck Baltimore plants at least forty-five times between 1900 and 1917, mostly in walkouts that men joined.<sup>56</sup> Women with grievances tried to organize co-workers throughout large plants; although companies segregated labor according to function (pocket attachers, button-hole stitchers, finishers, etc.), employers moved workers about to replace any dissatisfied women. Women now cooperated with union men and stood united against their bosses, avowing that accused troublemakers delivered materials to their sections on time, worked hard, and stayed sober. Unions, in turn, reported the harsh conditions of female workers to the labor press, often with accounts about the language and harassment of plant foremen.<sup>57</sup> Companies after 1893 detected a greater tendency of plant women to begin walk-outs in large plants and with greater effect than earlier. Spinners and spoolers struck a Woodberry cotton duck company in 1906, asking for higher wages. After male loom-fixers, forced out of work by the women, met to set up a union, plant employers, eager to resume production before men could organize, gave in to higher female wages.<sup>58</sup>

Women organized at least twelve all-female locals of national unions, enrolling 7,000 women, representing 5 percent of all women who worked after 1900.<sup>59</sup> Like male unions that survived the depression of 1893, bookbinders, paper bag makers, and ten or more garment women's groups aimed to negotiate and strike—not educate or lobby. Smacking of a protracted struggle and a permanent adversarial relationship with employers, these groups roused more fears than strikes. Union men believed that organized women might take craftsmen's jobs. The City Federation of Labor, committed in principle to organizing women but led by powerful printing trades craftsmen who excluded them from their own unions, admitted only one group to its central council.<sup>60</sup> More out of male "pride" than worry about effects on production, according to one organizer, employers recoiled from the clubs. Anna Neary, the bookbinders' organizer, claimed to have extracted union benefits and wages for one group of workers in exchange for a promise not to ask for union recognition.<sup>61</sup> Many low-paid women, eager to leave jobs and marry, hesitated to pay dues and give up free time. "They tell you [,] simperingly, 'young man, you know,'" complained Neary.<sup>62</sup>

Other women, however, encouraged workers to join unions. More than before, middle-class women in Baltimore—housewives who enrolled in neighborhood social clubs, religious and ethnic women in charity work, and the reform-minded in civic clubs—came in contact with factory "girls" and took an interest in industrial problems. Nurses and social workers in charities volunteered in East Baltimore hospitals and neighborhood clinics and playgrounds. Reformers, especially officers in three city-wide groups—the Consumers, Maryland Women's Suffrage, and Women's Trade Union Leagues—undertook to expose labor conditions where women worked. They interviewed plant women, attended labor meetings, served as health inspectors, and visited in slum neighborhoods.<sup>63</sup>

These progressive women's leagues enlisted female workers as members, but cultural differences and reform agendas often strained relationships. Well educated and supported by fathers and husbands, Protestant and German-Jewish reformers patronized, even as they befriended, immigrants and native workers. Young Jewish seamstresses, after ten hours or more on the shop floor and a long trolley ride to the Mount Washington estate of suffragist Edith Hooker, could sup on ice cream and

tea as they listened attentively to "lectures" for their benefit, but they rarely joined organizations.<sup>64</sup> Protective legislation, very dear to middle-class women, carried costs to workers: child-labor laws barred them from taking children onto plant floors, and bills restricting their work day to ten hours excluded them from the seasonal and night labor on which some still depended to compensate for periods of slack.<sup>65</sup>

The reformers' example nevertheless commended unions. City suffragists appeared not only before middle-class assemblies for many years, but also at labor halls and union meetings. They impressed workers as dedicated young women who put principles to work before they obtained the vote. Suffrage arguments probably roused more support from women workers than other Baltimore women, one city local even claiming every member an "earnest advocate".<sup>66</sup> When worker-advocates joined unions, attended meetings at night, debated issues, and conducted club elections, they gave witness to suffrage and even prepared themselves to vote.<sup>67</sup>

Middle-class reformers also served as excellent communicators. After 1900 male plant inspectors and the city's press insisted that spacious, airy, modern plants now afforded an almost homelike work environment.<sup>68</sup> But reformers reported hazards and low pay to state legislators, city politicians, and manufacturers. "Side by side" with men in factories, "hand . . . severed or a scalp removed by machinery," are women who labor not for pin money but to support families.<sup>69</sup> "Do something for [them], for they will eat bread out of the gutter."<sup>70</sup> Women browsed reformers' newspapers and read muckrakers' reports; when reformers spoke to craft unions and meetings of the Federation of Labor, they addressed males.<sup>71</sup>

On shop floors wives, widows, and older single women in the large plants cautioned young females not to count on escaping factories, and at home mothers reminded them that industrial homework paid poorly.<sup>72</sup> Because new unions demanded workers' time, women who had begun to escape home responsibilities joined more readily than others. Away from home, single women now not only lived in other workingclass households, where they exchanged housework for board, but in female hotels newly opened downtown and in workers' neighborhoods. Churches, synagogues, and ethnic clubs operated facilities for working women, lodging perhaps five hundred women each year.<sup>73</sup> More family women found themselves unable to spend daytime hours at home, the long trolley ride from very distant neighborhoods to downtown plants placing them too far away.

Six women's unions rented rooms in workers' own neighborhoods, some sharing facilities with male locals, and officers also conducted business on plant floors. They collected dues at work, convened committees at lunch hours, and assembled entire plant memberships for meetings after work.<sup>74</sup> Data about women on strike suggest that the unions worked primarily to raise wages, but they also took up "women's" issues. They struck to force companies to allow women to come to work late, without penalty, and they endorsed women's suffrage.<sup>75</sup> East Baltimore garment workers joined a citywide contingent of suffragists at the inauguration of Woodrow Wilson in 1913. They marched from the Labor Lyceum, a Baltimore Street union hall, through east-side neighborhoods to a downtown railroad station.<sup>76</sup>

Buttonhole Makers 170, the city's largest female local, joined men's garment locals in 1914 to organize gender-integrated locals of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Set up after large companies in the city cut female wages to raise those of



FIGURE 4. Miss Mamie Budwinick. Budwinick served as vice president of Local Union No. 60, Hand Buttonhole Makers of Baltimore, and was active in the women's suffrage movement. *Weekly Bulletin of the Clothing Trade*, 27 May 1910. (Milton S. Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins University.)

skilled men in the plants, the local had called a massive strike of the Grief Company, a large men's garment firm, the year before. Reformers joined workers on picket lines to protest long hours, inadequate lunch breaks, and locked doors in women's sections of the factory.<sup>77</sup> The strike failed, but officers, collaborating with male tailors, cutters, and pressers, voted to secede from the craft-based United

Garment Workers and organize industrial locals for workers, regardless of skill. In an industry of 12,000, immigrant men in the ACW anticipated that higher female wages for wives and daughters would swell family incomes. Men expected no challenge to their own jobs, hoping that enough women among the 6,000 who finished men's garments would join the locals to keep scab tailors, cutters, and pressers out of work until companies recognized the Amalgamated.<sup>78</sup> Rank-and-file men distrusted female organizers in the new locals. "[Even] professed radicals imagine that it is a terrible crime for a woman to have the nerve to legislate in [our union]," complained one officer.<sup>79</sup> But amidst strikes in every major company and twelve smaller ones, men came to depend on women, who convened meetings for the unorganized and spoke to mixed- and all-male assemblies. Invited by male organizers, women toured ethnic halls and visited workers' homes, reminding Roman Catholic men who resented Jewish leadership of the ACW, that daughters and wives worked together.<sup>80</sup>

To keep women loyal, companies offered parties and dances inside the plants, sponsored savings fund programs, and promised wage hikes. As workers' mothers and friends in neighborhood plants joined picket lines in 1916, large and small companies added new enticements—they promoted women into male jobs.<sup>81</sup> Angry men flooded into the ACW in 1916, urging new strikes to protect male jobs in companies busy with wartime orders for garments. But women officers submitted an extraordinary proposal: enroll in the union all females who held male jobs at male pay, protecting them from nonunion labor. "Unorganized [women] are a menace," argued Dorothy Jacobs, a full-time organizer. "It is time for the men to realize that women . . . [are] competitors[s] in all industries."<sup>82</sup> As the United States entered World War I, male ACW leaders agreed not to expel women. As garment men quit city plants to join the military, a handful of women organizers began a campaign to enlist new members among promoted women.<sup>83</sup>



Waves of women in Baltimore plants from 1880 to 1917—17,000 to 30,000 in any year, replaced by new women twice a decade—served rather to salvage families from the consequences of low-paid labor than to alter the economic dependence of women. Combined earnings in households allowed married laborers to weather layoffs, escape sweatshops, and avoid charity wards better than did single workers. Not factory work, but low-paid homework, unemployment, desertion by husbands, and the orphanhood of female workers took a toll in "human creatures lives."

To more traditional family moneymaking ventures Baltimore women brought an eagerness to locate and hold on to tolerable jobs. To protect their share of labor wages and to stave off utter dependence, a significant few moved beyond "feminine" strategies of informal cooperation and self-help; they broke the male monopoly on organized resistance. By 1917 enough had joined unions, walked picket lines, served as officers, organizers, and delegates to national conventions, and negotiated with employers to erode the male identity of the labor movement. For many factory women full participation in organized labor loomed ahead, either as hope or real possibility.

After 1917 the sheer number of working women challenged male domination of

industrial labor. In other cities, Rosies in both world wars and feminists in the 1970s encountered powerful taboos against any out-of-the-home women's labor, strictures that earlier generations of Baltimore women subtly had undermined. Too many "girls" in every white ethnic group remembered factory work and low wages, and newspapers reminded the young of each decade that Baltimore women had "always" worked.<sup>84</sup>

Veterans of "women's work" and unionized women stayed at work during World War I and began a tradition of struggle against discrimination. They, more than homemakers or country women new to industry, won wartime promotions into male work and fled women's industries for shipyards, steel mills, and munitions plants.<sup>85</sup> For a few months in 1918 they struck for "equal pay for equal work," organized women in industries that lacked unions, agitated for more women union organizers and officers, and persuaded the city Federation of Labor to endorse women's suffrage.<sup>86</sup> Before employers and male unions counterattacked, these women won a subordinate but permanent place in organized labor. From it they criticized gender discrimination after the war.<sup>87</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Estimates based on data in clippings, "Women-Baltimore-Employment," Vertical Files, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore (hereafter referred to as VF-EPFL). See also Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations, and the Status of Women During World War II* (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1981), pp. 17-19. The author thanks Jo Ann E. Argersinger, Joseph L. Arnold, Patricia Cooper, Michael Franch, and Grace Palladino for their suggestions.

2. Sources mostly designate males over fourteen as "men," females of all ages as "girls," and sometimes distinguish among "shop," "plant," "factory," and "mill," according to size. I use men and women for all workers over fourteen and workplace terms interchangeably to refer to places of industrial production apart from residences. Tabulations of women workers often fail to distinguish between children and adults, omit workers in small plants, seasonal workers, and the temporarily unemployed, and blur distinctions between industrial homework and factory work. For estimates based on tallies and data about female work tenure, see U.S., Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Compendium of the Tenth Census* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1883) 1:1031; Bureau of Labor, *Fourth Annual Report of the Commissioner* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1889) pp. 118-21, 181-82; Department of Commerce and Labor, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910: Manufactures, 1909* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1912) 9:480, 486; Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States: Population: Occupations* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1922), 4:132-40, 148; George E. Waring, comp., *Report on the Social Statistics of Cities: The Southern and Western States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1887; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1970), pp. 24-26; State of Maryland, Bureau of Industrial Statistics, *Biennial Report, 1888-89* (known variously as Bureau of Industrial Statistics and Information, Bureau of Statistics and Information of Maryland or State Board of Labor and Statistics; hereafter cited as BIS, *Ann Rep/Bien Rep*), pp. 124-25.

Factory women comprised a declining portion of the female labor force at work out of

the home. Always more numerous than office and sales workers, domestic workers, most of them black, outnumbered factory women after 1900. Except in canning and oyster shucking, where the married outnumbered singles, unmarried numbered 70 to 90 percent of factory women and blacks numbered 1 to 5 percent of factory women. (U.S., *Compendium of the Tenth Census*, 1:1031; Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900: Population* [Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1902] 2:511; Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910: Population* [Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1914], 4:152–64; *Fourth Annual Report*, pp. 304–5; Congress, House, *Seventh Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor: The Slums of Baltimore, Chicago, New York and Philadelphia*, by Carroll D. Wright, H. Doc. 257, 53rd Cong. 2d sess., 1894, pp. 32–33; Congress, Senate, *Men's Ready Made Clothing*, vol. 2 of *Report on the Condition of Women and Child Wage-Earners in the United States*, S. Doc. 645, 61st Cong., 2d sess., 1910, pp. 818–33; *Immigrants in Industries: Clothing Manufacture*, S. Doc. 633, 61st Cong., 2d sess., 1910, p. 406; BIS, *Ann Rep*, 1904, pp. 208–13.

3. U.S., Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report of Manufacturing Industries in the United States: Statistics and Cities* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1895), p. 48; Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census*, 4:132–40, 148; BIS, *Ann Rep*, 1917, p. 116; and Charles Hirschfeld, *Baltimore, 1870–1900: Studies in Social History*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, ser. 59, no. 2 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1941), pp. 33–53.

4. *Ibid.*; see also Eleanor S. Bruchey, *The Business Elite in Baltimore, 1880–1914* (New York: Arno Press, 1976), pp. 28–44.

5. *Labor History* published one book review and one entry on female labor in its annual bibliography of journal literature in 1971; it reviewed eight books and included eighteen entries in 1985.

6. Sample the literature with Carol A. Turbin, "Reconceptualizing Family, Work and Labor Organizing: Working Women in Troy, 1860–1890," *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 16 (Spring 1984): 1–16; Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, "A Flexible Tradition: South Italian Immigrants Confront a New York Experience," *Journal of Social History*, 7 (Summer 1974): 429–51; Patricia Cooper, "Women Workers, Work Culture, and Collective Action in the American Cigar Industry, 1900–1919," in *Life and Labor: Dimensions of American Working-Class History*, ed. Charles Stephenson and Robert Asher (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1986), pp. 104–204; Charlotte Baum, Paula Hyman, and Sonya Michel, *The Jewish Woman in America* (New York: Dial Press, 1976), p. 56 ff.; and Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 108–79. On female resistance, see the accessible Philip S. Foner, *Women and the American Labor Movement: From Colonial Times to the Eve of World War I* (New York: Free Press, 1979), pp. 185–255, and essays in Ruth Milkman, ed., *Women, Work and Protest: A century of U.S. Women's Labor History* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985).

7. U.S., *Compendium of Tenth Census*, 1:542; Census Office *Abstract of the Twelfth Census of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1902), p. 103.

8. On ethnic heterogeneity of industry and neighborhoods, see U.S., *Fourth Annual Report*, pp. 223, 252–53; U.S., *Seventh Special Report*, pp. 18–19; BIS, *Ann Rep*, 1904, pp. 208–13; "Some Facts about Shirt Factories," *Baltimore Critic*, 18 October 1890; and Patricia A. McDonald, "Baltimore Women, 1870–1900," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1976), pp. 80–86. Foreign-born employees numbered 30 percent (188 of 636 female workers) tallied from survey of Federal manuscript censuses of 1880 and 1900. (Survey, hereafter designated "Census Survey—1880 and 1900," was drawn from

enumerated districts 5, 84, 87, 90, and 130 for 1880, and 48, 50, 149, and 299 for 1900; data available from author on request.)

9. One Eastern newspaper designated Baltimore the "poorest union town on the map." Quoted in Baltimore *Labor Leader*, 17 August 1912. Estimates based on data in U.S. *Report on Manufacturing Industries*, p. 12; Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States: Population* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1902), 2:551; Baltimore Federation of Labor, *Illustrated History of the Baltimore Federation of Labor and Its Affiliated Organizations* (Baltimore: Baltimore Federation of Labor, 1900), pp. 122–22a.

10. The State Industrial Commissioner tallied 6,361 industrial "establishments," presumably including homes, in 1900 (BIS, *Ann Rep*, 1901, p. 91.). For data on size and location of plants, see "At Woodberry," *Critic*, 26 December 1891; "Garment-Workers," *Baltimore Sun*, 12 November 1895; and BIS, *Bien Rep*, 1884–85, pp. 86–95, 116, 215; 1888–89, pp. 8–17, 81–86; *Ann Rep*, 1894, pp. 80–114; 1896, p. 51; 1900, p. 115.

11. Quoted in BIS, *Bien Rep*, 1888–89, pp. 56–60.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

13. U.S., *Seventh Special Report*, p. 18 ff.

14. U.S., *Fourth Annual Report*, pp. 533–38; BIS, *Bien Rep*, 1884–85, pp. 74, 90, and 1888–89, pp. 6–11, 17.

15. BIS, *Bien Rep*, 1884–85, pp. 65, 116–18, 129; 1888–89, pp. 124–25; *Ann Rep*, 1894, pp. 81, 110–12; "An Incipient Strike," *Critic*, 13 May 1892.

16. Estimates based on data in U.S., *Fourth Annual Report*, p. 68, and BIS, *Bien Rep*, 1884–85, pp. 62–95, 98, 125–29; 1886–87, pp. 58, 61, 72, 133–34; *Ann Rep*, 1897, pp. 138–46.

17. U.S. *Fourth Annual Report*, pp. 369–70.

18. BIS, *Bien Rep*, 1884–85, pp. 93–94, 215; 1888–89, pp. 8–10; and *Ann Rep*, 1894, pp. 80–114.

19. BIS, *Ann Rep*, 1894, pp. 83–84.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 103.

21. Of ninety-four brothers and sons of female workers, tallied in "Census Survey—1880 and 1900" and identified in city directories, 1881–85, 1902, and 1905, sixty changed jobs at least once in five years.

22. BIS, *Bien Rep*, 1888–89, pp. 51–55.

23. *Ibid.*

24. BIS, *Ann Rep*, 1894, p. 103.

25. BIS, *Bien Rep*, 1888–89, pp. 80, 86, 134; McDonald, "Baltimore Women," pp. 192–94; Herbert B. Adams, *Work among the Working Women of Baltimore: A Social Study* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1889), p. 9. See also Margery W. Davies, *Woman's Place Is at the Typewriter: Office Work and Office Workers, 1870–1900* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), pp. 79–80.

26. Thirty-nine percent of female workers resided in households renting to one or more boarders ("Census Survey—1880 and 1900").

27. BIS, *Bien Rep*, 1884–85, p. 60.

28. *Ibid.*, 1888–89, p. 81; see also *Ann Rep*, 1894, p. 80, *passim*.

29. One east Baltimore working-class slum district numbered one saloon per 105 inhabitants, the city one per 229, in 1894 (U.S., *Seventh Special Report*, p. 12). See columns labeled "Labor Notes," in *Critic*, 1888–93, *passim*; "The Night School of the Hebrew Literary Society," and Ms. Workmen's Circle History folder, Jewish Historical Society, Baltimore; and clippings and William T. Snyder, "Patterson Park," in "Parks—Baltimore—Patterson," VF-EPFL.

30. Clippings and Snyder, *Ibid.*; "Bob Tail Cars Must Go," *Critic*, 29 September 1888; "Ruffianism on Street Cars," *Sun*, 6 July 1900. For insight on women in cities, see Claude Enjoy and Joana Sane, "The City: Off Limits," *Liberation* 8 (July–August 1974): 9–13.

31. Avrum K. Rifman "Centennial of Eastern European Jewish Immigration, 1882–1982: Exploring the Immigrants Experience of Baltimore as a Gateway City," unpublished paper, Enoch Pratt Free Library, p. 13; Issac M. Fein, *The Making of an American Jewish Community: The History of Baltimore Jewry from 1773 to 1920* (Philadelphia: Publication Society of America, 1971), pp. 169–70; "Notes," *Critic*, 6 April 1889; BIS, *Ann Rep*, 1894, pp. 80–114.

32. See McDonald, "Baltimore Women," pp. 186–94, on the poor. See also U.S., *Seventh Special Report*, pp. 18–19, and "Some Facts about Shirt Factories," *Critic*, 18 October 1893. Seventy percent of garment and tobacco workers may have lost jobs during the Depression of 1893 (BIS, *Ann Rep*, 1894, p. 117).

33. U.S., *Fourth Annual Report*, pp. 351–52; see also pp. 394–97, and 533–38, and McDonald, "Baltimore Women," p. 157 ff.

34. Estimates based on data in "Census Survey—1880 and 1900," and U.S., *Fourth Annual Report*, pp. 326–27.

35. BIS, *Bien Rep*, 1888–89, p. 84; "Myrtle Assembly," *Critic*, 11 May 1889 and 6 September 1890.

36. "Strike in a Shirt Factory," "The Cigarmakers' Strike," "No Coercion," and "The Strike," *Critic*, 21 September, 11 April 1891, 20 June 1891, and 13 August 1892, respectively.

37. BIS, *Bien Rep*, 1888–89, pp. 56–59.

38. "Strike in a Shirt Factory," *Critic*, 21 September 1889.

39. "Notes," *Critic*, 6 April 1889; BIS, *Bien Rep*, 1884–85, p. 21, 1888–89, p. 61.

40. "Some Facts about Shirt Factories," *Critic*, 18 October 1890.

41. Thirteen percent of female workers in "Census Survey—1880 and 1900," resided in households where one or more other females also held jobs in the same industry.

42. "Some Facts about Shirt Factories," *Critic*, 18 October 1890.

43. BIS, *Bien Rep*, 1884–85, p. 94.

44. BIS, *Bien Rep*, 1886–87, p. 61 and *Ann Rep*, 1895, pp. 164–65; "Still Firm," *Critic*, 4 June 1892.

45. BIS, *Bien Rep*, 1886–87, p. 72; "Strike in a Shirt Factory," and "An Incipient Strike," *Critic*, 21 September 1889, and 13 May 1892, respectively.

46. "Among Workers," "Myrtle Assembly," and "Women's Convention," *Critic*, 23 March 1889, 6 September 1890, and 18 October 1890, respectively.

47. "Myrtle Assembly to Friend," quoted in BIS, *Bien Rep*, 1888–89, pp. 25–26.

48. "Myrtle Assembly, Knights of Labor," *Critic*, 16 August 1890.

49. "In Labor Circles," *Critic*, 1 March 1890; see also "Local Labor Notes," *Ibid.*, 2 June 1892.

50. BIS, *Ann Rep*, 1901, p. 146 and 1917, p. 118; "How Clothing Is Made in a Baltimore Factory," *Sun*, 26 January 1908. On industrial growth and reorganization, see Sherry H. Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), pp. 242–49, 258–61.

51. D. Wolf to J[oseph] Schlossberg, February 3, 1916, Amalgamated Clothing Workers Papers (hereafter referred to as ACWP), Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.; "Lithuanians," VF-EPFL; "Wanted—Girls to Work," *Sun*, 25 August 1905; BIS, *Ann Rep*, 1906, p. 60; 1909, pp. 69–70; 1914, pp. 104–17. U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *Immigrants and Their Children: 1920* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1927), pp. 26, 137, 374; U.S., Congress, Senate, *Report on Women and*

*Children in Selected Industries*, vol. 18 of *Report on the Condition of Women and Child Wage-Earners in the United States*, S. Doc. 645, 61st Cong., 2d sess., 1910, pp. 94, 105; U.S., *Immigrants in Industries*, pp. 406–20.

52. Mechanization, which elsewhere increased opportunities for female employment, affected employment and the division of labor in Baltimore only marginally. In the dominant needle trades, men replaced female machine operators in factories. Other industries that mechanized, confectionary, tobacco, and shoes, employed diminishing portions of the work force. Except for garment trades, machine tenders did repetitive work, void of planning and design. (BIS, *Ann Rep*, 1900, p. 146, and 1912, p. 74; U.S., *Men's Ready Made Clothing*, vol. 2, pp. 444 ff., 494–95; U.S., *Report of Women and Children*, vol. 18, pp. 47–53, and *Labor Laws and Factory Conditions*, vol. 19 of *Report on the Condition of Women and Child Wage-Earners*, p. 312; see also Maurine W. Greenwald, *Women, War, and Work: The Impact of World War I on Women Workers in the United States* (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1980), p. 5 ff., on mechanization and female employment.

53. BIS, *Ann Rep*, 1901, p. 146; "Baltimore's Great Canneries," and "How Clothing Is Made in a Baltimore Factory," *Sun*, 16 August 1906 and 26 January 1908, respectively; U.S., Congress, Senate, *Men's Ready Made Clothing*, vol. 2, p. 444 ff.

54. Prices and wages averaged 20 to 50 percent higher, 1900–1917 than 1880–1900. Male craftsmen who worked regularly, but not the semi- and unskilled of either sex, could support spouses and small families. Seasonal work, recessions, and arbitrary wage slashes in canning, confectionary, and men's garments forced at least a large minority of women below self-support levels. Estimates based on data in BIS, *Ann Rep*, 1901, p. 170, 1906, pp. 146–51, 1910, pp. 180–85, and 1912, 208–9; U.S., Congress, Senate, *Men's Ready Made Clothing*, 2:138, 818–33.

55. U.S., Congress, Senate, *Immigrants in Industries*, p. 422.

56. Male craftsmen struck at least 170 times, semi- and unskilled males, 13. Compiled from BIS, *Ann Rep*, 1900 to 1917; correspondence in ACWP, 1914–17; "Garment Makers War," and "Strikers Are Returning," *Sun*, 4 August and 30 August 1913, respectively.

57. "Lockout in Baltimore," *Weekly Bulletin of the Clothing Trade*, 9 (17 December 1909):1; Madanick to Sidney Hillman, 18 February 1915, ACWP.

58. BIS, *Ann Rep*, 1906, p. 76.

59. Estimates based on data in BIS, *Ann Rep*, 1900 to 1917, *passim*.

60. BIS, *Ann Rep*, 1905, p. 248; H[yman] Blumberg to Schlossberg, 8 June 1916, ACWP; Nina Asher, "Dorothy Jacobs Bellanca: Feminist Trade Unionist, 1894–1946," (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1982), pp. 87–88.

61. "To Organize Working Women, Miss Neary's Task," *Sun*, 2 February 1913.

62. *Ibid*.

63. See "History of the Consumer's League, 1900–1917," typed copy in "Consumer's League," VF-EPFL; *Baltimore Maryland Suffrage News*, 7 December 1912, 22 March 1913, 13 June 1914, 3 October 1914, and 29 May 1915; Mali Hee Son Wallace, "Edith Houghton Hooker, 1879–1948: Suffragist Leader," in *Notable Maryland Women*, ed. Winifred J. Helmes (Cambridge, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1977), pp. 183–85.

64. See "Ice Cream Social," *Sun* 26 May 1914.

65. Carolyn D. McCresh, "On the Picket Line: Militant Women Campaign to Organize Garment Workers, 1880–1917," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1975), pp. 232–34, 242.

66. "Officers of Local Union No. 69, Baltimore, Md.," *Weekly Bulletin of the Clothing Trade*, 9 (23 May 1910):3.

67. *Ibid*.; "To Organize Working Women," *Sun*, 2 February 1913.

68. See BIS, *Ann Rep*, 1909, pp. 69–71.

69. *Maryland Suffrage News*, 29 May 1915.
70. *Ibid.*, 12 December 1912.
71. See, for example, "Suffragists Win Favor," and "Union for Girls Now," *Sun*, 12 May 1910 and 21 September 1912.
72. Baltimore women numbered most of those tabulated and designated as married, Maryland workers in U.S., *Men's Ready Made Clothing and Report on Women and Children*, 2-420, and 18:47, 53, 135, respectively.
73. Charitable Organization Society, *Directory of the Charitable and Beneficent Organizations of Baltimore*, 3d ed. (Baltimore; n.p., 1901), pp. 69-73; Isidor Blum, *The Jews of Baltimore: An Historical Summary of Their Progress and Status as Citizens of Baltimore from Early Days to the Year Nineteen Hundred and Ten* (Baltimore: Historical Review Publishing Co., 1910), p. 52; Federated Jewish Charities of Baltimore, *Eighth Joint Report* (Baltimore: Kohn and Pollack, 1915), pp. 6-7.
74. P. Sinkus to Schlossberg, 3 October 1915; Blumberg to Schlossberg, 8 June 1916; and Dorothy Jacobs to Schlossberg, 17 September 1916, ACWP.
75. "Officers of Local Union," p. 3; and "8 Women in Strike Net," and "Miss Hasaw Replies," *Sun*, 2 February and 13 February 1913, respectively.
76. "Garment Workers to March," *Sun*, 3 March 1913.
77. BIS, *Ann Rep*, 1914, pp. 130-31, and "8 Women in Strike Net," *Sun*, 2 February 1913.
78. See Asher, "Dorothy Jacobs Bellanca," p. 86, *passim*; Blumberg to Schlossberg, 17 May and 8 August 1916, and Blumberg to Hillman 17 July 1917, ACWP.
79. Blumberg to Schlossberg, 17 May 1916, ACWP.
80. Bellanca to Schlossberg, 14 April 1916; Jacobs to Schlossberg, 17 September 1916; Blumberg to Schlossberg, 20 October 1917; J. A. Bekampis to Schlossberg, 5 November 1917, ACWP.
81. Madanick to Hillman, 29 January 1916; Wolf to Schlossberg, 1 February 1916; Bellanca to Schlossberg, 14 April 1916; Blumberg to Schlossberg, 8 August 1916, ACWP.
82. Quoted in Asher, "Dorothy Jacobs Bellanca," p. 94.
83. Blumberg to Schlossberg, 8 August 1916, ACWP; Jo Ann E. Argersinger, "To Discipline an Industry: Garment Workers, Employers, and the ACWA in Baltimore," (unpublished paper, 1985), pp. 23-28.
84. See collection of obituaries, feature stories, etc., in "Women-Baltimore-Employment," VF-EPFL.
85. Greenwald, *Women, War, and Work*, pp. 117-19, 120, 123; BIS, *Ann Rep*, 1918, pp. 193-94.
86. See Josephine A. Roche, *Wage Earning Women and Girls in Baltimore*, (New York: National Consumer's League, 1918), p. 6 ff.; BIS, *Ann Rep*, 1918, pp. 193-94 and 1919, p. 187; minutes of the Baltimore Federation of 29, May 1918, Maryland-District of Columbia Federation of Labor, Labor, Baltimore, Maryland.
87. On female activity and leadership in the 1930s, see "Women of the Steel and Can Industries, Join Your Union," "First Baltimore Sit Down Strike Ended," and "Women's Place in the Trade Union," Baltimore *Labor Herald*, 24 December 1936, 9 April 1937, and 25 February 1938, respectively.

## Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

### A Memorable Trial in Seventeenth-Century Maryland

LOU ROSE

On 22 September 1656, at the home of Richard Preston in what then was Patuxent County, a trial was held that later became a part of Southern Maryland folklore.<sup>1</sup> The accused, Judith Catchpole, was an indentured servant of William Dorrington, a prominent citizen. After an overly long voyage, Catchpole had arrived in Maryland that January aboard the ship *Mary and Francis*. Eight months later she found herself facing charges of infanticide and possible additional charges of witchcraft, both capital offenses in seventeenth-century Maryland.<sup>2</sup>

Preston was a leader of the self-appointed Puritan governing body that exercised de facto power in Maryland from 1654–58. The decisions of his court and deliberations of the Puritan council, of dubious legality until Lord Baltimore later sanctioned them, eventually formed part of the *Archives of Maryland*, where we find a description of this interesting trial.<sup>3</sup> The circumstances of the case were unusual and come to life even in the stilted, impersonal language of the records.

All that is known about ocean voyages from England to the American colonies in the seventeenth century leaves no doubt that during her three to four months at sea Catchpole must have endured a nightmarish experience. The *Mary and Francis*, sailing late in the year, faced a choice between ugly North Atlantic weather and a lengthy voyage along the southern route via the Canary Islands. Even passengers "of quality" suffered privations, living in cabins "allowed for such as had any bedding to lay in them, and room to stow any box or trunk for clothes, and linen if they had it."<sup>4</sup> Daniel Defoe's vivid account of an Atlantic crossing in *Moll Flanders*, set later than Judith's journey and admittedly fictitious, nevertheless presents a reasonably accurate picture of such a voyage, which for the lesser sort was notoriously uncomfortable. We are justified in assuming that Catchpole as an indentured servant belonged to the class of passengers who, in Defoe's words, "had neither shirt or shift, linen or woolen, but what was on their backs, or one farthing of money to help themselves." Food aboard ship sometimes ran out or spoiled; while affluent passengers might lay in fresh stores at ports of call, hunger often drove poorer emigrants to fight over the ship's rats. Scurvy, smallpox, and all kinds of intestinal trouble were commonplace. Defoe's *Moll Flanders* observes that women "fared well enough on the ship," getting "money of the seamen for washing their clothes, etc."<sup>5</sup> But the "etc." sounds ominous as uttered by Moll—a lady of many talents and never overscrupulous about *how* she got her money. In fact young women of

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Ms. Rose, a research psychologist, edits the *Calvert Historian*.

the poorer classes, traveling alone, were perforce exposed to the crudest forms of sexual harassment, not only by sailors but also by their male fellow-emigrants with whom they were crowded below decks with little privacy and less sanitation. Women who gave birth on board ship did not count themselves fortunate.

Thus the infanticide charge was plausible enough and, in retrospect, so were the possibilities of sexual fantasy and scapegoating in already-stressful circumstances. To a remarkable degree the Catchpole case turned on mere plausibility and sheer fantasy. We do not know by whom the charges against Judith were formally filed; the court referred to the originator of the damaging story only as a servant, dead by the time of the trial, who had belonged to William Bramhall and who also had arrived in Maryland on the *Mary and Francis*. Some time after the vessel landed (the court tells us only that it was a week before Bramhall's servant died), the "said servant," while visiting John Grammer's house, had spun a yarn to an audience evidently made up of other servants who likely were enjoying themselves of an evening.

The story was that, during their voyage to the Maryland colony, the narrator and Judith had become very friendly, indeed, intimate. According to the records,

Andrew Wilcox sworne and Examined Saith that William Bramhalls man Servant that dyed Said that when the Murther was done all the people and Seamen in the Ship were asleep and after it was done Iudith Catchpole and the Said Servant of William Bramhall went up upon the Deck and walked a quarter of an hour afterward off the[y] went to their lodging this being at Sea in the middle of the Night and further Saith not.

By this account Catchpole seems a cool, hardened criminal. After disposing of the corpus delicti (presumably by throwing it overboard), the alleged murderess and her accomplice (or accessory-after-the-fact)—according to the original narrator—had taken a leisurely stroll, a kind of lovers' walk, in the middle of the night, on the main deck of a vessel underway.

According to further hearsay testimony, Catchpole while on board ship performed some magic tricks for no apparent reason and to no conceivable advantage to herself or others. According to two sworn witnesses, James Jolly and Elizabeth Norton,

Iudith Catchpole cut the Skinn of a maids throat when She was a Sleep and Said maid never felt it, and the Said Iudith sowed up the wound again with a Needle and thread and the Said Servant Said if he Should deny it, it would be worse for him.

If the witnesses against Catchpole recalled accurately, her now-dead shipmate had himself raised the question of the reliability or reality of his account—and the perils of denying what, it now appears to us, he desperately wished to believe. Another witness, Elizabeth Norton, testified that

William Bramhalls man Said that Iudith Catchpole and he did Grind a knife Dutch fashion<sup>6</sup> and the Said Iudith prickt a Seaman in the back with it and She beged a Little Grease of the Chirurgeon and greased his back and he Stood up again, And the Said Servant said Iudith was to kill three or four men more.

After listening to all these strange stories, the all-female jury<sup>7</sup> took up center stage and proceeded—in an obviously efficient and businesslike manner—to carry out

their assigned task, namely, to examine Catchpole's body for telltale signs of recent childbirth. "Which being done" the ladies of the jury issued the following statement:

We the Iury of Women having according to our Charge and oath Searched the body of Iudith Catchpole doe give in our Verdict that according to our best Judgment that the Said Iudith Catchpole hath not had any Child within the time Charged.

Both judges and jury ignored the charges of witchcraft. To her certain relief and happiness, Judith must have realized that her nightmare was finally over when she heard that

appearing to this Court by Severall Testimonies that the party accusing was not in Sound Mind, whereby it is conceived that said Iudith Catchpole is not Inditable. The Court doth therefore order that upon the reasons aforesaid that She the Said Iudith Catchpole be acquitted of that Charge unless further Evidence appeare.

We can safely assume that no further evidence did appear because Catchpole seems to have vanished, after her brief moment of notoriety, into historical anonymity. Her trial may have testified to the waning strength of belief in witchcraft during this period. It did commend the sobriety of the jurors who simply asked whether Judith had been pregnant on board ship. Even before that point in the proceedings the "case" against her may very well have begun to unwind, for many of those who attended the trial themselves had sailed from Britain on vessels as small as the *Mary and Francis* and thus may have doubted the secret-murder fable. Magistrates and jury probably realized early in the trial that the infanticide and witchcraft charges were no more than a tale "told by an idiot," signifying nothing. The court finally declared Judith's deceased accuser to have been of unsound mind.

The sexual psychology and politics of the incident remain interesting, however. Judith's accusation suggests the possibility of a lover's quarrel—of her having spurned the advances of a young man who then became tortured by the rejection or grew jealous of the liberties men in the more comfortable quarters of the ship might take with her. He may have been jealous of Judith's master, William Dorrington, whose wealth and public service placed him far above his servants. Another of Dorrington's female servants, Jane Palldin, became famous for her liaison with a married man and her paternity suit against him. The court enjoined Dorrington to keep Jane and her lover apart.<sup>8</sup> For whatever reason, Dorrington had not testified as a character witness on Judith Catchpole's behalf.

#### NOTES

1. The noted novelist and amateur historian Hulbert Footner acquired Preston's property early in this century and made it the subject of *Charles's Gift: Salute to a Maryland House of 1650* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1939).

2. For the context of this accusation, see Peter Hoffer and N. E. H. Hull, *Murdering Mothers: Infanticide in England and New England, 1558–1803* (New York: New York University Press, 1981). For information on the incidence of witchcraft in these years, see

Francis Neal Parke, "Witchcraft in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 31 (1936): 271-98.

3. William Hand Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland* (72 vols. to date; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-), 10:456-58. All references to the trial herein come from these pages.

4. George Carrington Mason, "An Atlantic Crossing of the Seventeenth Century," *American Neptune*, 11 (1951): 35-41.

5. Daniel Defoe, *Moll Flanders* (London: Everyman's Library, 1966), pp. 264-65.

6. The author would like to know how one ground a knife in "Dutch fashion" in the seventeenth century and welcomes information on the topic.

7. The members of the jury appeared in the records as follows:

"Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ Belcher  
 Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ Chaplin  
 Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ Brooke  
 Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ Battin  
 Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ Cannady  
 Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ Bussey  
 [Another] Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ Brooke  
 Rose Smith  
 Elizabeth Claxton  
 Elizabeth Potter  
 Dorothy Day"

The author can find nothing to identify any of the participants.

Although women may commonly have played a courtroom role in deciding gynecological matters in seventeenth-century British and provincial practice, in this trial magistrates impanelled a jury of women both to present findings and render a verdict. Thus the Catchpole jury was a judicial hybrid, partaking of some of the functions of a grand jury (deciding whether a defendant was "inditable") yet also wielding the powers of a petit jury since it could acquit or convict. The provincial court included, in addition to Preston (the presiding judge), four others, all, like Preston, prominent Puritan dissidents: Captain William Fuller, Mr. Edward Lloyd, Mr. Michael Brooke, and Mr. John Pott.

8. Raphael Semmes, *Crime and Punishment in Early Maryland* (Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith, 1970 [repr.]), pp. 193-94.

## “Premature Matrimony”: The Hasty Marriage of Bettie Anderson and Philemon Crabb Griffith

GEORGE M. ANDERSON, S.J.

“Premature Matrimony,” an essay that appeared in the *Montgomery County Sentinel* in March 1857, was sharply critical of men and women who contracted marriage alliances without sufficient forethought:

Premature marriages are among the greatest evils of these times: and it would not be a bad idea in these days of reform, if an anti-marrying-in-a-hurry society were instituted. Nowadays, people leap into the magic life circle, with no more consideration than they would partake of a dinner—little thinking that they are there until their end comes.<sup>1</sup>

The piece may have been quickly forgotten by most who read it. Such, however, was probably not the case with Dr. John Wallace Anderson and his wife, Mira (or Myra) Magruder Anderson; three months later their eldest daughter, Bettie (Ann Elizabeth)<sup>2</sup> was married to a young Rockville man—Philemon Crabb Griffith—in a manner that was, to say the least, precipitous. The character of the marriage was scarcely to be guessed from the four-line notice that appeared in the *Sentinel* on 12 June 1857: “Married, on the 6th instant, by the Rev. Thomas Jones, Mr. Philemon C. Griffith, to Miss Bettie, daughter of Dr. John W. Anderson, all of this county.” Despite the matter-of-fact tone of the announcement, the circumstances of the wedding were highly unusual in that the ceremony was performed at two o’clock in the morning, with no member of either bride or groom’s family present.

For all the dismay it caused John and Mira Anderson at the time, the wedding would have passed from memory long ago had it not been for references in family correspondence.<sup>3</sup> The bride’s cousin, Mary Edith Anderson (daughter of John’s brother, James Wallace Anderson),<sup>4</sup> wrote of it in a state of youthful excitement only two days after the marriage. And within two weeks James’s wife, Mary Minor Anderson, described a visit from her newly wed niece. These two letters, together with other references to Bettie and Philemon in the Anderson correspondence, provide glimpses into the various activities of middle-class Rockville citizens during the period immediately preceding the Civil War.

As in any small community, news of the wedding—tinged as it was with the overtones of an elopement—spread quickly, hastened by the highly public reaction of Bettie’s mother. Mary Edith Anderson wrote that “Aunt Mira fainted three times in succession, and her screams could be heard almost anywhere in Rockville.” Mary Edith went on to say that on hearing the shrieks, “a crowd of at least two hundred persons collected in front of Uncle John’s house” (located at the corner of

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Father Anderson, a Rockville native, is pastor at St. Aloysius Church, Washington, D.C.

Washington and Jefferson Streets, diagonally across from the Rockville court house). A more central location could hardly be imagined. On a warm summer evening, with the windows of the surrounding houses open, Mira Anderson's cries would have been heard by many.

At the end of the same block of Washington Street was the Episcopal church. Both the Andersons and the Griffiths were members; indeed, Bettie's father and her uncle James had been vestrymen there in previous years. The rector, L. S. Russell, however, was unwilling to marry the young couple—perhaps out of fear of offending two leading members of his congregation. But the clergymen at the Christian church on Jefferson Street and the Methodist church on Wood Lane also refused, and so there clearly existed a general sense of disapproval, if not of the marriage itself, at least of the manner in which it was to take place. Only the Baptist minister, Thomas Jones—whose church was just a few doors away from the Christian church—agreed to perform the ceremony.

One might suspect that the couple's desire to wed with such suddenness stemmed from an unintended pregnancy. Were this the case, the urge to marry would presumably have come from Bettie. But the Anderson letters leave no doubt that the pressure came instead from Philemon. It was he who insisted on the marriage, making the preparations on a day when he knew that Bettie's family would be away at a picnic at Great Falls.

Only a few miles from Rockville, Great Falls on the Potomac River was a favorite spot for outings in the spring and summer. An item in the June, 1859, *Sentinel* reflects the retreat's popularity among Rockville residents:

Pic Nics to the Great Falls. Almost every day for the last fortnight, there has been a Pic Nic party to the Great Falls. It is a most delightful way to pass a day; some enjoy fishing, some spend their time in rowing upon the canal, others in the dance, while many roam over the hills, collecting rare and beautiful flowers, or clamber the rocky cliffs, admiring the wild and picturesque scenery which everywhere meets the eye. From time immemorial Whit Monday has been a great day at the Falls, and we learn that this year the largest party of the season will assemble there. We wish all a merry and joyous time.<sup>5</sup>

After returning from the picnic, Dr. Anderson may have regretted his day-long absence. He was met at the house by a friend, Captain Zachariah F. Johnston, with the news that Bettie and Philemon were already at the Baptist church (Anderson and the rest of his family would have passed it on their way back from Great Falls). The marriage at that point was to take place at 9 P.M. Accompanied by Johnston, Dr. Anderson went to the church and managed to persuade Bettie to come back to the house to speak with her mother before proceeding with the ceremony.

It was at this juncture that Mira Anderson's fainting spells and screams began. Bettie remained at the house briefly, then left and returned with Philemon, whom one of her sisters promptly pushed out the door. The comic implications of the scene were by no means lost upon Mary Edith in describing it.

Helped, doubtless, by the reputation of his father, Dr. Anderson was a man of prominence in Rockville.<sup>6</sup> He was active at several levels of the community's daily life, and appears to have been in considerable demand as a physician. Mary Minor Anderson observed of her brother-in-law in early 1856: "There is a great deal of

sickness in the county [and] John says he is worn down with constant going, night and day."<sup>7</sup> Dr. Anderson was also a judge of the Orphans Court, served for many years as treasurer on the board of trustees of the Rockville Academy, and owned a farm of approximately 250 acres on the outskirts of Rockville. Near the present site of Montgomery College, the farm was his share of his father's 1,200 acre property, which had been divided among several heirs after Dr. James Anderson's death in 1836. It lay adjacent to the farm of his brother and sister-in-law, James and Mary Anderson. For the sake of his practice, John and his family spent part of their time at the house in Rockville. But the farm was their home too; it provided sufficient produce to supply their own needs, with enough remaining to be sold at market in Washington.<sup>8</sup> John Anderson accordingly appeared in the 1860 census as both "Doctor and Farmer." His assets were substantial: \$16,000 in real estate and \$8000 in personal property.

Only twenty-two (Bettie was a year younger) in 1857, Philemon Crabb Griffith also belonged to a Montgomery County family of some distinction. He was a descendant of Henry Griffith, member of the colonial House of Delegates and grandson of Captain Philemon Griffith, who served in the Revolutionary War.<sup>9</sup> Philemon's father, Philemon M. Griffith, was listed in the 1860 census for Montgomery County as a tobacco inspector. His means were somewhat more modest than those of Dr. Anderson, but not inconsequential. The same census notes that he owned real estate valued at \$6,000 and personal property valued at \$5,600. His financial worth, together with his lineage and his respectable employment as tobacco inspector, were more than enough to assure him a position of standing among the middle-class families of the area. The match between Bettie and young Philemon would have been viewed by most Rockville residents as a comparatively equal one.

Although not adjoining them, the Griffith property was less than a mile north of the farms of Dr. John Anderson and his brother, James. All three were, in effect, neighbors. Mary Anderson refers to the Griffiths in a letter written while James W. Anderson was in Annapolis as a delegate to the constitutional convention: "I have very little news from our neighborhood except that Hunter<sup>10</sup> is building and neighbor Phil has been steaming it high all winter."<sup>11</sup> Mary probably referred to Philemon, Senior, because young Philemon was only seventeen at the time. Although the meaning of "steaming it high" is unclear, the suggestion of socially unacceptable behavior is evident. The reference may have been to heavy drinking. Whether for this or for other reasons, Dr. Anderson's disapproval of Bettie's husband extended to the Griffith family as a whole, and this dislike placed the fainting spells and screams of Bettie's mother in perspective.

Mary Edith Anderson's account of the wedding and her mother's later remarks are of additional interest for their references to several local figures prominent in Rockville in the 1850s. One, Captain Johnston, appears a number of times in the correspondence. According to the official record, Zachariah F. Johnston in 1853 was a commander in the United States Navy.<sup>12</sup> The 1850 census lists him as having five children. The third, Eulalie, is mentioned in Mary Edith's letter. Bettie's friend and contemporary, Eulalie acted in the capacity of impromptu bridesmaid and witness at the wedding, along with a wealthy Rockville spinster,

Miss Margaret Beall.<sup>13</sup> Less than a year after the marriage, Johnston moved to Baltimore, and in 1859 he died. His obituary notice, which appeared in the *Sentinel*, stated that he was originally from St. Mary's County and had been in the navy for forty-one years. He was awaiting orders at the time of his death.<sup>14</sup>

The Captain sided with Dr. Anderson in trying to prevent the wedding, but not all others in Rockville shared their opposition. Bettie said that her new mother-and father-in-law had been kind to her and that, moreover, Julius West gave a party in honor of the couple. West owned a farm on the outskirts of Rockville. His will stipulated that, following his wife's death, the farm be devised to the Rockville Academy,<sup>15</sup> of which he was a graduate. His interest in the academy would have brought him into recurrent contact both with John Anderson as treasurer of the board of trustees and with James Anderson, the board of trustees' president for some two decades. West was moderately active in other aspects of civil affairs as well. He served as a county commissioner for the years 1854–1855 and, like most of the more affluent landowners in the area, he participated in the activities of the Montgomery County Agricultural Society. In June 1847 he was appointed a member of the committee on sheep for the September fair.

The very fact that Bettie would have paid a visit to her aunt and uncle less than two weeks after the wedding suggests that they, too, entertained no ill feeling toward the wedding couple. Indeed, James may have had prior knowledge of the wedding. "Two bandboxes were brought into the office today for Miss Bettie, directed to my care," he wrote his wife the day before the ceremony, "but no instructions accompanied them, and they are here awaiting orders."<sup>16</sup> It must have at least crossed James's mind that the bandboxes might be part of a bridal trousseau. His family seems to have been quite aware of the attachment between Bettie and Philemon. Shortly before the wedding took place, Mary Edith wrote to her father:

Bettie and Phil are not married yet, but I believe Aunt Mira is still expecting it. I heard she had another fainting fit last night, owing to some note of Bettie's she found—something about the time she intended being married.

Mary Edith Anderson's description of the marriage now follows:<sup>17</sup>

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Monday Morning, June 8, 1857

Dear Pa,

I know you will be pleased to hear from home today, and as Ma doesn't seem to be in a *writing humor*, I've taken it upon myself to give you the latest news—which is, that Miss Bettie Anderson and Mr. Philemon Griffith were married at two O'clock, Saturday *night*, by Mr. Jones, in the Baptist church!! Now as I know you will be surprised at the *time*, and *place*, I will tell you why it was. Aunt Mira, Uncle John, and *every member* of their family (with the exception of Bettie) spent the day at the falls Saturday. Phil, hearing they were gone, went down to see Bettie, when they made their arrangements to be married by Mr. Jones (every other Minister in Rockville had refused to marry them) at nine O'clock.

Captain Johnston found it out and stopped it until Uncle John got home, when

he immediately went after him, and took him to the church where Bettie was. Uncle John used every means in his power to get her to go home with him; but to all his solicitations she merely replied, "Pa, I am not going home anymore." He then promised her, if she would go home with him, he would not use force to detain her, if she wished to go, after seeing her mother. (Aunt Mira fainted three times in succession, and her screams could be heard almost anywhere in Rockville. There was a crowd of at least two hundred persons collected in front of Uncle John's house.)

Bettie stayed on in the house a few minutes, and then went up the street, and brought Phil down, and carried him in the house, when one of her sisters pushed him out, and slammed the door on him. Bettie then went back out the back way with one of the Miss Bealls, promising to stay at Miss Beall's all night, and be married Sunday morning. But Phil met her up the street, and insisted on her being married that night. So Miss Margaret Beall, and Miss Eulalie Johnston, went over to the church with her, and they were *married*.

I was not present, nor have I seen any of them since, but they say Uncle John takes it dreadfully. You know he dislikes the Griffiths so much. Jinnie<sup>18</sup> had a delightful day at the falls. We all intend going back this week. Tom<sup>19</sup> is entirely well, and I think looks much better than he did before his sickness. Henry Wootton<sup>20</sup> was to see him yesterday. Ma wants me to write to Grandpa<sup>21</sup> so I must conclude. Yours etc., M.E.A.

Excuse this apology for a letter, for really Bettie's marriage has made me *sick*; and I don't feel like writing. The baby is quite well again.

*A week and a half afterward Mary's mother wrote an account of Bettie and Philemon's visit to her home, Vallombrosa.*

Tuesday Morning, June 16 {1857}

Dear Husband,

I was disappointed that I did not receive a letter yesterday. I had forgotten that you might be expecting to hear from me. Well, we are all getting on pretty well, considering the wet weather. That is, all hands have plenty of leisure. We can do no work except haul stone and pull weeds.

I have seen none of John's family since the wedding. The bride spent Friday evening here; she seems very contented and thinks she may become a much better woman, now that she has left the atmosphere of home. She says she wants to see her Father, but thinks her Mother has prejudiced him so much against her that he will never notice her again. She says the Griffiths are very kind to her. Julius West gave them a party last night. Our children were invited, but none of them went in consequence of the rain. . . .

I hope you will come up next Saturday when we will have some nice lamb and peas and strawberries. We had a fine mess of strawberries last Sunday, and every day since. We shall not have a great many, though what we have are very fine. I think they will last until next Sunday, and cherries will be ripe by that time *perhaps*. Write soon, if not sooner, and say whether you want to come. I went to see Mrs.

Hutner a few days since. They are all well. John and Scott<sup>22</sup> started for St. Louis Saturday.

Aunt Kitty<sup>23</sup> and Aunt Eleanor<sup>24</sup> went to bed when they heard of Betty's marriage. The latter came up to condole with the family, but I think she met with a pretty cold reception, as she talks of going back in a few days. I think I will let George<sup>25</sup> go down [to Washington] when I send for you; he is very much in need of summer clothes. Mary [Edith Anderson] wrote to Father<sup>26</sup> some days ago. Have you heard anything of him? Ellen got a letter from Mary yesterday. She says Mother is well but never expects to see Rockville again. I will now conclude, hoping soon to see you. I will write again before or when I send for you. Your Affectionate Wife.

*Eventually the young couple and Bettie's parents reconciled. In an 1861 letter to his wife,<sup>27</sup> James Anderson mentioned having encountered Philemon in Washington in company with several of Dr. Anderson's daughters; the fact that Philemon was accompanying them on a shopping trip in itself points to a reestablished harmony. Bettie and her new husband took up residence with Philemon's parents and therefore continued to be neighbors both to James and Mary Anderson and to the family of Dr. John Anderson. Mary Minor Anderson included Bettie's name in a list of five acquaintances to whom she sent strawberries, and statements like "Bettie was here a day or two ago" are not uncommon in the correspondence.<sup>28</sup>*

*But Bettie's life may have been rather lonely. Early in 1861 James Anderson received a letter from his wife in which she said: "Bettie sent a boy over here yesterday morning to invite Mary and Jinnie to spend the day with Mrs. Nelson and Mrs. Patterson. They did not go. Bettie wants to get very intimate."<sup>29</sup> A certain undercurrent of disapproval is implied in "Bettie wants to get very intimate," as well as in Mary Edith's and Jinnie's refusal.*

*There were other indications of apartness and a corresponding desire to be accepted, as suggested in a letter to Mary Edith written sometime between the marriage and the beginning of the Civil War:*

Dear Mary,

Phil is very anxious to be home, when you all come over to spend the day with me, and as the rain today has prevented his going to Georgetown, and his load being already measured up, he will be obliged to go tomorrow. So if it will suit you all *just* as well, to oblige him I had rather you would come Friday, but, if it is not *just as convenient* to you, be sure and come over early in the morning.

Tell your grandpa to come with you. I will promise him a glass of apple tody, but cannot promise that it will be as nice as that Aunt Mary [Minor Anderson] made for him. Did Mrs. Rosier<sup>30</sup> get up yesterday? Tell Jinnie to bring her worsted over with her, and I will put her cap on for her. I have a needle which will be a nice size for it. Your friend, Bettie

*Addressed on the envelope to "Miss M. Anderson, Present," Bettie's letter had a poignant, almost pleading tone in the use of words like anxious, obliged, convenient, and promise.*

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Bettie's own life was brief. She died at the age of thirty-three on 25 May 1868.

Philemon lived on for another seventeen years, dying at forty-nine on 18 July 1885.<sup>31</sup> By the time of his death, his social standing in the community had declined, although the decline was not necessarily related to his marriage. In view of the reconciliation that took place with his father- and mother-in-law afterward, his ties with the Andersons would, if anything, have strengthened his social position. That some deliberate effort was made in this direction is seen in the fact that Alfred and Sarah, the two children who survived to adult life, were both baptized at the Episcopal church in Rockville in 1864 and 1873, respectively.<sup>32</sup>

To some extent, the stages of Philemon's decline were mirrored in the Montgomery County census records. In 1870, two years after Bettie's death, he was listed as a farmer with no assets in either real estate or personal estate. By contrast, his older brother, Mortimer, was listed in the same year as possessing real estate valued at \$5,000 and personal estate worth \$1,000. Economically, at least, Philemon was the younger brother who did not thrive.

In 1880, five years before his own death, the census records cite his occupation simply as a farm laborer, indicating another drop in status. The two children are described as being "at school," almost certainly at the expense of others. By then, his fragile ties with the Andersons seem to have dissolved entirely. His death itself was characterized by isolation. It took place not in the home of either Anderson or Griffith relatives, but in the home of William Horner, for whom he had been working as a hired hand.<sup>33</sup> Those who had known Philemon as the dashing impetuous young man who had insisted on marrying the daughter of Dr. John Anderson in a postmidnight ceremony in June, 1857, may well have been struck by the change in his fortunes during a life, which, even by the standards of the day, was a relatively brief one.

#### NOTES

1. "Premature Matrimony" signed "Eclectic," headed the Miscellaneous column on the first page of the *Montgomery County Sentinel* 20 March 1857. For helpful background information on nineteenth-century courtship, see Ellen K. Rothman, *Hands and Hearts: A History of Courtship in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1984).

2. Ann Elizabeth Anderson (family Bible of Dr. John W. Anderson, in the possession of Dr. Richard Buckingham of Rockville).

3. The letters of James and Mary Anderson of Rockville began in the early 1850s when the former took a position with the U.S. Treasury's Sixth Auditor's Office, which handled the accounts of the U.S. Post Office. James retained the job until the spring of 1861 when, after the outbreak of the Civil War, he refused to sign the loyalty oath required of all the employees in his office.

4. Mary Edith Anderson later married Charles B. Rozer of Charles County, but they lived in Montgomery County. The 1880 census for Montgomery County lists his age as 45, so he would have been born around 1835. He enlisted as a private in the Confederate Army during the Civil War.

5. *Sentinel*, 10 June 1859.

6. Dr. James Anderson (1760-1836) helped to introduce inoculation for smallpox

into the state of Maryland (E. F. Cordell) *Medical Annals of Maryland, 1799–1899* (Baltimore, 1903), p. 47.

7. Mary Minor Anderson to James Anderson, 20 January 1856.

8. In a letter dated simply April 21 but probably written in the late 1850s, Mary Anderson wrote to her husband, James: "Your brother John has planted twenty bushels of potatoes with guano. I wish we had some guano up for ours." James and other Rockville residents supplemented their incomes by selling produce at the market in Washington.

9. Rieman Steuart, *A History of the Maryland Line in the Revolutionary War* (Towson, 1969), p. 80. For a full account of the Griffith family, see R. R. Griffith, *The Genealogy of the Griffith Family, The Descendants of William and Sarah Maccubbin Griffith* (Baltimore: W. K. Boyle & Son, 1882). Philemon Crabb Griffith was the youngest of the three children of Philemon M. Griffith. The 1850 census for Montgomery County lists the other two as Mortimer Crabb Griffith, 18, and Emeline Crabb Griffith, 17.

10. Thomas and Susanna Hunter had the farm just north of the farm of James and Mary Anderson, on the road between Rockville and Gaithersburg. It is identified by name on Martenet and Bond's 1865 map of Montgomery County, although by then Thomas Hunter had died and so the farm is shown as being owned by Mrs. S. Hunter. Mrs. Hunter apparently supplemented her income by teaching neighborhood children. In a letter from Mary Anderson to James Anderson dated 26 November 1860, Mary writes: "I think Mrs. Hunter would be glad to have Lily go to school there altogether, but I think she learns more at home and music is all I ask from Mrs. Hunter." Lily (1850–68) was the youngest daughter of James and Mary Anderson.

11. Mary Minor Anderson to James Anderson, 9 May 1851.

12. *Register of Officers, Agents, Civil, Military, and Naval, in the Service of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1853), p. 204. Zachariah Johnston's name was spelled without the *t* in the 1849 edition of *The Register of Officers*, as it also was in the Montgomery County census of 1850. It was a fairly frequent error, one made by James Anderson in his letter to Mary Anderson, dated 30 March 1854. The 1853 edition of the *Register of Officers* spells his name correctly; so does the obituary.

13. Having tried to help Dr. Anderson forestall the marriage, Captain Johnston must have been chagrined to find that his daughter performed the role of witness at the marriage. Margaret Johns Beall (30 May 1813–18 April 1901) was the third daughter of Upton Beall (d. 1857). The three oldest daughters were the only children to reach adulthood. The other two were Matilda Bowen Lee Beall (1812–1870) and Jane Elizabeth Beall (1815–1863). They lived together in their father's large red brick house on North Adams Street in Rockville. Their assets were considerable. The three daughters are listed in the 1860 census as having combined real estate assets of \$19,500. Their home, now known as the Beall-Dawson house, is the headquarters of the Montgomery County Historical Society.

14. Captain Johnston's removal to Baltimore received mention in a letter from Mary Anderson to James Anderson dated 12 February 1858: "Frank . . . told me yesterday that Captain Johnston's sale was advertised for Wednesday next. I suppose then he leaves directly." For Johnston's obituary notice see the *Sentinel*, 25 March 1859.

15. The Rockville Academy's trustees sold the West farm in 1888 and with the proceeds built the present brick structure at the corner of South Adams and Jefferson streets, replacing an earlier building that had burned. The farm was developed into West End Park (R. E. Hiebert and R. K. McMaster, *A Grateful Remembrance: The Story of Montgomery County* (Rockville: Montgomery County Government and the Montgomery County Historical Society, 1976), p. 217.

16. James Anderson to Mary Minor Anderson, 6 June 1857.

17. Mary Edith Anderson to James Anderson, 7 June 1857.
18. Frances Virginia or Jinnie Anderson, Mary Edith Anderson's younger sister.
19. Thomas Anderson (1835–1900), second eldest son of James and Mary Anderson; see George M. Anderson, ed., "Correspondence of Thomas Anderson of Rockville with His Parents, James and Mary Anderson, 1855–1859," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 78 (1983): 1–21.
20. Henry Wootton, who was a frequent visitor at the home of James and Mary Anderson, wrote on 19 December 1856: "We had the pleasure of Henry Wootton's company one night this past week, and I think it likely we shall have it quite often, as he seems fond of coming and the boys like his company." He was a contemporary of James and Mary's second son, Thomas Anderson, and, like Thomas, was preparing for a career in law. He was practicing by 1859.
21. Mary Edith Anderson's maternal grandfather, Colonel George Minor of Fairfax County, Virginia.
22. John H. Hunter, twenty-one-year-old son of Thomas and Susanna Hunter, and perhaps Scott Elder, a young man who was a beau of Jinnie.
23. James Anderson's sister, Katherine Ann Gantt (1807–81).
24. Another of James Anderson's sisters, Eleanor Birckhead Anderson. She never married. The 1850 census of Montgomery County gives her age as thirty-one, so she would have been about thirty-eight at the time of Bettie's marriage. In a letter from Mary Minor Anderson to James Anderson written in the late 1850s (no year is given, only the day—February 2), Mary says of Eleanor: "She is a strange compound, and yet I like her."
25. George was a boy of German parentage who boarded for a time at the farm of James and Mary Anderson. Mary was open to such opportunities for increasing the family's income. George was introduced into the household through a German friend, Dr. Alexander Falk, who conducted a school in the neighborhood. Mary wrote to James on 29 August 1855, to say that Dr. Falk had proposed that she take "George, the little German boy, to board." Dr. Falk later joined the faculty of St. James College near Hagerstown.
26. Colonel George Minor.
27. James Anderson to Mary Minor Anderson, 31 May 1861.
28. Mary Minor Anderson to James Anderson, n.d. (probably written in the late 1850s), and 17 May 1861.
29. Mary Minor Anderson to James Anderson, 9 February 1861.
30. The letter is undated, the reference to Jinnie Anderson as Mrs. Rozer makes it clear that it was written after her marriage to Frank Rozer in the fall of 1860. Although the correct spelling is Rozer—spelled thus by Charles B. Rozer, whom Mary Edith Anderson eventually married—the name is also spelled Rosier in the Anderson correspondence, indicating the manner in which the name was pronounced.
31. Philemon's obituary appeared in the *Sentinel* of 25 July 1885.
32. The records of Christ Episcopal Church in Rockville indicate that Alfred was baptized on 28 August 1864, and Sarah on 9 March 1873. Both had the middle name of their father, Crabb. Alfred died in 1921 and Sarah in 1900. Sarah married Dr. Ernest Fearon in 1897 and had one child, Julie Fearon Stout, who died in Rockville in 1976.
33. William Horner is listed in the 1870 census as a farmer with modest assets in real estate of \$2,000.

## Book Reviews

*Maryland Government and Politics*. By Laslo V. Boyd. (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1987. Pp. 180. Notes, index. \$14.95)

Maryland is relatively small in area and population, but its state and local governments are large and complex. They employ approximately 250,000 people, collect billions of dollars in taxes, and operate a gigantic system of services and facilities. Professor Laslo Boyd, director of the Schaefer Center for Public Policy at the University of Baltimore (and currently an executive assistant in the office of the governor), has written an excellent, concise guide to these governments. In addition, he provides a brief introduction to state and local politics.

Maryland still operates under the lengthy, somewhat arcane, and much amended state constitution of 1867, so Boyd's discussion of Maryland state government begins with a brief, clear explanation of this formidable document. Subsequent chapters describe the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the state government. The Maryland judicial system is unusually complicated, and the chapter on the state courts is particularly informative and helpful. A chapter on the administration of state government is too brief to do real justice to this large subject, but it portrays nicely the general structure and problems of the state's overworked and underpaid bureaucracy (Boyd cites a 1984 U.S. Census report showing that Maryland ranked 7th in the nation in per capita income, but paid its state employees less than 33 other states).

The chapter on local government is informative but again is too brief to explain very fully the twenty-three counties in the state which operate under four different forms of local government. The four large urbanized counties of the Baltimore-Washington corridor (Baltimore, Anne Arundel, Prince George's and Montgomery) all have home rule charters like Baltimore City's. Since these four counties account for over 70% of all the funds expended by the state's 23 counties and for double the amount spent by Baltimore City, one would like to learn more about their structure and politics.

The one local government to receive detailed treatment is Baltimore City. This chapter is full of good information and thoughtful insights reflecting the author's years of service and observations in Baltimore. It is one of the best overviews of the city government and its problems that has appeared in recent years. Baltimore City certainly deserves a separate discussion. As Boyd himself states, the Chesapeake metropolis "is not just another unit of local government in Maryland. It constitutes a distinct category." Baltimore City's special status as the financial, cultural, communications, and tourist center of Maryland makes it worthy of special treatment.

*Maryland Government and Politics* is the latest example of a type of reference work, guide book, and commentary that goes back to Bernard Steiner's *Institutions and Civil Government of Maryland*, published in 1899. Boyd's volume, while too compressed to satisfy more curious readers, is certainly the best available introduction to the state's governmental and political system. It should be ready by every high school student in the state, and even those older citizens who think they are fairly well informed about the subject will probably gain some new knowledge or insights from it. Throughout the book are a number of excellent statistical tables that given an overview of such items as state and local taxes, expenditures and income transfers, population, and the economy. The footnotes provide a

useful bibliography of more detailed works for those who would like to learn more about Maryland government.

JOSEPH L. ARNOLD  
*University of Maryland, Baltimore*

*A Student's View of the College of St. James on the Eve of the Civil War: The Letters of W. Wilkins Davis (1842-1866)*. Edited with an introduction by David Hein. (Studies in American Religion, vol. 30. Lewiston, N.Y. and Queenston, Ont.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1988. Pp. ix, 145. Photographs, notes. \$39.95.

This is essentially the story of a religiously-oriented boarding school: its pioneering purpose and its significance in American education. The author describes his objective as providing "a glimpse of the school from the inside by one who was neither teacher nor trustee nor ecclesiastic" (p. 1), and along with it he has given us insights into the conflicting social and economic viewpoints that beset Marylanders in the years just before and during the Civil War.

The principal elements in the narrative are the College of St. James and various lay and ecclesiastical members of the Episcopal Church in Maryland, including the family of Allen Bowie Davis, a substantial owner of land and slaves in Montgomery County and of property in Baltimore. The letters exchanged between Wilkins Davis and his parents and sisters provide the threads that bind these elements together.

As the former head of an Episcopal boarding school, I was especially interested in the part played by St. James College in the development of American boarding schools. It was founded in 1842 as "an educational institution that would function as a church family, a Christian home, in which the rector would act as a church family, a Christian home, in which the rector would act as a father to a whole community" (p. 5), a description which seems normal enough to us now, but which was a departure from the prevalent academies of that period, whose students lived as a rule in the community and were subject to school authority and guidance only for class and chapel attendance. Although St. James was not the first school of this nature, the demise of two earlier models left it as the heir of the innovations they had begun and the transmitter thereof to important later models such as St. Paul's School in New Hampshire and St. Mark's in Massachusetts.

The founding father of St. James was the Right Reverend William Rollinson Whittingham, Bishop of Maryland from 1840 to 1870, for whom the school was his "most personal and most cherished project" (p. 5). One can commend his wisdom as he conveys to the school's rector, the Reverend John Barrett Kerfoot, his wish "that there be no heated evanescent religiosity among the boys . . . no hasty committal to superficial emotions" (p. 3). Also, one may approve his strong support of the Union, but regret his rigid insistence on the use in church services of his trenchant pastorals on the subject, which served mainly to exacerbate the divisions within his diocese.

The book has no happy ending. Wilkins has to leave St. James in 1861 because of poor health and dies a few years later. St. James shrivels under the impact of the war and closes its doors in 1864, causing Bishop Whittingham to express poignant regret at the loss that "makes a large part of the work of a quarter of a century a blank" (p. 19).

For some reason, the author makes no reference to the fact that the College of St. James was reopened in 1869 with the same name (much later the name was changed to St. James School), at the same site near Hagerstown, and with Bishop Whittingham still the diocesan—and that it survives and flourishes to this day. True, it was resurrected as a preparatory school rather than as a college, but its basic mission was unchanged, its pre-war program included a secondary school, and its influence on subsequent boarding

schools was entirely in the area of secondary education. This is hardly a criticism, however, and I mention it just to suggest that the revival of what the bishop regarded as his "most cherished project" must have been quite gratifying to him and that the book does not have to end on such a gloomy note.

The problems of the Episcopal Church, a pioneering educational venture, and a substantial Maryland family caught up in the throes and ambivalences of the Civil War are vividly portrayed through the letters, which are skillfully used to bring out the personalities, concerns, and deeply-held religious convictions of the persons involved. I commend the author and his book.

RICHARD PORTER THOMSEN  
Alexandria, Virginia

*Steamboat on the Chesapeake: Emma Giles and the Tolchester Line.* By David C. Holly. (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1987. Pp. xvi, 347. Appendices, notes, bibliography, index, \$24.95.)

Should you ever come down with a bad case of nostalgia for the old steamboat days on Chesapeake Bay, you need look no farther than the pages of this fine book for a cure. David C. Holly has worked miracles with his ability to transport us back nearly a century to the colorful days of steamboats on the Chesapeake.

When the steamer *Emma Giles* was launched in 1887, steamboating was in its heyday, with the bay being criss-crossed by numerous vessels carrying passengers and freight to dozens of out-of-the-way ports. In those days, the boats were the main link with big cities like Baltimore. In 1988, it's difficult to believe that only a few decades ago the steamboat was the most efficient method of transportation between Baltimore and ports in Anne Arundel County just a few miles away. When Baltimoreans think longingly of trips of old by steamboat, more often than not they recall voyages on the *Emma Giles*. This steamer, more than any other, epitomized the steamboat on Chesapeake Bay, with her excursions to Tolchester Beach and her passenger and freight runs to the Choptank, West, and Rhode Rivers. What set the *Emma Giles* apart from other steamers? There's no easy answer to that one. Perhaps it was because she did yeoman service from the good years to the lean ones—a period spanning half a century—and saw the steamboat era come full circle. Or perhaps it was her personality—that special "something"—that she possessed.

It may be safe to say that no book on Chesapeake Bay steamboating has ever captured the unique flavor of that era like this one. The author has somehow managed to dredge up incredibly detailed bits of information that enable the story to tell itself, details that had just about been absorbed in the sands of time. It is this method of detailed story-telling that allows us to be transported from the 1980s to the turn of the century, where we may enjoy the sights and sounds of the *Emma Giles*' antique steam engine, her beehive paddlebox, her saloon and dining room. We are reminded by the presence of the freight deck with its cargo of poultry and livestock and its peculiar smells that this is no mere pleasure boat, but a working steamer so vital to the commerce of Chesapeake Bay.

There is much more to this work than just a chronological history of a bay steamer. It is a close-up look at the steamboat industry, its people, and the mechanical workings of sidewheel steamers as well as a comparison of Chesapeake Bay boats to Mississippi River boats. Holly seems to feel that the bay boats could have been the more popular of the two had they had a Mark Twain to glamorize them in writing. David Holly's work is unquestionably a labor of love. His engaging history of the *Emma Giles* and the Tolchester Line treats us to vivid descriptions of those backwater ports and the intricate workings of steamboats in a way that has seldom been done before. Actually, Holly's attention to detail should come as no surprise to anyone who is familiar with his *Exodus 1947* (1969)

—a history of the Old Bay Line steamer *President Warfield* and a supreme example of how a biography of a ship could be written.

Illustrations do much to convey the feeling of the steamboat era, and there are many fascinating and heretofore unpublished ones in this book. Particularly attractive are the drawings of steamboat plans and engine layouts. It is to be regretted that the photographs aren't sharper; perhaps a different grade of paper would have served them better. Rounding things out are several very useful appendices full of fascinating information. The notes and bibliography are equally captivating.

It is unlikely that anything like the steamboat era will ever again be seen on Chesapeake Bay or elsewhere. But it will continue to live on as long as authors like David C. Holly turn out works of this magnitude. Without a doubt, this is the best Chesapeake Bay steamboat book to appear in many years. It will be equally appealing to the steamship historian and casual reader alike.

JOHN H. SHAUM, JR.  
*Baltimore, Maryland*

*Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates.* By Robert C. Ritchie. (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1986, Pp. vii, 306, Frontpiece, preface, illustrations, notes, index. \$20.)

On Friday, 23 May 1701, four men faced the hangman at Wapping, in London, England, to atone for the crime of piracy and murder on the high seas. For the multitudes assembled to watch, it was a holiday extravaganza, for the most notorious of the lot, a man whom history and legend have come to identify with the "Golden Age" of piracy, was Captain William Kidd. Yet it was an execution of wide ranging import well beyond the ken of those assembled, for it signaled to the world a dramatic shift in British policy regarding trade, maritime law, and international relations.

In what is certainly among the most thoroughly researched accounts to date of the life and times of William Kidd, Robert C. Ritchie, Professor of History at the University of California at San Diego, weaves a fascinating and intricate tale of power, political corruption, and the maritime world of the late seventeenth century. It is a tale steeped in adventure on the high seas and the devious search for patronage and influence in the courts of England and America. And finally, it is an examination of the socio-economic world of the Anglo-American mariner, from the jails, alehouses, and brothels of British and American outports to the far corners of the globe and of the forces that drove honest seamen into the fraternity of piracy. Employing the backdrop of the economic and political struggles of the seventeenth century—on a world stage ranging from the Caribbean to the Malabar Coast—the author focuses on the shadowy figure of a man hitherto more myth than flesh and blood. In so doing, he presents not only a detailed reconstruction of Kidd's place in history, but also an accurate and colorful portrait of the subculture of piracy in its prime.

In an age of autocratic, stratified social order, piracy was a uniquely democratic society where "every man had as much say as the captain and each man carried his own weapon in his blanket." It was also a community in which Kidd himself was an anomaly—a corporate pirate chaser turned pirate. Curiously enough, he was also a buccaneer who commanded not at the pleasure and election of his crew, like most, but under the edicts of a performance bond and a corporate body of politically powerful investors.

Kidd emerged from the buccaneering heart of the Caribbean and obscurity in 1689 as a petty chief elected by a sea-roving crew to the command of a stolen twenty-gun ship called *Blessed William*. Soon afterwards he and his ship joined in a successful Royal Navy expedition against the French-held island of Mariegalante and then in another against the island of Nevis. Ignoring his buccaneering past in exchange for his support, the Royal Navy was

merely continuing a policy of employing freebooters as paramilitary forces, a policy that had proved beneficial since the days of Henry Morgan. Kidd earned the praise of the navy for his gallant support but soon lost favor with his crew, which promptly abandoned him, taking with them his ship and booty. As a reward for his services, however, the government of the Leeward Islands presented him with a French prize with which he immediately set off in fruitless pursuit of *Blessed William* and personal revenge. Following the mutineers northward, he arrived in New York City, a port already famed as a safe haven for pirates and their booty.

When Kidd arrived in New York, it was a time of ferment, change, and war in which England was severely tested. The English colonies, New York in particular, suffered from commercial stagnation, depression, and corruption at the highest levels of government. Indeed, the only growth economy for the city of New York was directly related to piracy, in the refitting and reprovisioning of pirate ships, and the sale of supplies and marketing of booty. Every official and merchant, it seemed, from the governor on down, had a stake in piracy. Yet even for the buccaneers, it was a harrowing period. The West Indies, now the scene of major international naval conflict, left little room for freebooters. Piratical attentions began to focus on remote sections of the globe where the navies of the great European powers failed to patrol—regions such as the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. Here were waters in which the rich Moslem pilgrim fleets and the heavily laden ships of the Great Mogul of India, as well as the Dutch and English East India Companies, sailed with valuable cargoes of spices, silks, gold, silver, and exotic goods.

Kidd remained in New York for some time, actively establishing close ties to powerful New Yorkers such as Robert Livingston and Attorney General James Graham. It is not surprising that the life of a peaceful burgher soon proved unappealing, and Kidd sailed to England to secure a legal privateering commission through the aid of his patrons' connections. Ultimately, through the influence of Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont, a zealous Whig eternally in need of money, Kidd and Livingston crystalized an innovative plan designed to capitalize on both the upsurge of Red Sea piracy and on New York's affinity for freebooters. Bellomont, destined to become governor of both Massachusetts and New York, proved a formidable ally. With the Royal Navy unable to cope with the task of patrolling distant seas, the trio developed a plan, embracing Kidd's intimate knowledge of piracy and Bellomont's connections, to secure a commission to capture pirate ships leaving the Red Sea.

Ritchie is perhaps most effective in narrating the travails of Kidd's voyage—first to Madagascar, then to the Indian subcontinent, and finally to the West Indies—and tracing the degeneration from pirate chaser to buccaneer and murderer. Along the way he introduces a colorful cast of characters such as "Tolinor Rex" Abraham Samuel, self-proclaimed king of Fort Daphne, Madagascar, the sagacious and legendary Captain Henry Avery, and the cunning Robert Culliford.

Even as a pirate, Kidd was careful to avoid directly antagonizing those forces which might jeopardize the success of his voyage, such as the English East India Company and its politically powerful patrons back home. Yet his very presence in the Indian Ocean and his piratical intentions could not be ignored. With mutiny abrewing and pressure to secure a return for his investors, Kidd crossed the borders of piracy, attacked and captured several ships, including the rich Moslem ship *Quedah Merchant*, a vessel in which a powerful member of the Mogul Emperor Aurangzeb's own court held a personal stake. The capture by an English pirate served to exacerbate an already open breach between the East India Company and the emperor's government. Aurangzeb and his court blamed all Englishmen for the plague of pirates and demanded full restitution from the company. Already in a desperate struggle for its very survival, the company, in turn, utilized all of

its political influence at home and demanded of the British government Kidd's capture and execution.

Bellomont (then governor of Massachusetts) and his patrons in Parliament were beset by Tory attacks over the issue—attacks that indirectly threatened Whig control of the government. Faced with the choice of minimal returns for his money as an investor and likely censure, or, as vice admiral of the Massachusetts court of admiralty, a third of all booty taken if Kidd were arrested, his decision was simple. As Admiral Vernon succinctly put it: "Parliaments are in the habit of finding fault, and some Jonah or other must be thrown overboard, if the storm cannot otherwise be laid. . . . Little men are certainly the pro-prest for these purposes."

Though he had great aspirations and powerful patrons, Captain William Kidd was a little man indeed, at once a pariah endemic to the age and a victim of a social system that his execution helped alter. Robert Ritchie has presented his story well. And a fine bit of history it is.

DONALD G. SHOMETTE  
*Upper Marlboro, Maryland*

*Colonial American Portraiture: The Economic, Religious, Social, Cultural, Philosophical, Scientific, and Aesthetic Foundations.* By Wayne Craven. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1986. Pp. xx. 459. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.50.)

As the lengthy subtitle of this work suggests, art historian Wayne Craven casts his net widely. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century portraits, he argues, were the product of a "colonial character" rooted in Anglo-Americans' middle-class origins and Calvinist religion. The painters, their subjects, and the images they jointly created embraced "a common code [that] revolved around moral and economic responsibility, religious piety, industry, individualism, pragmatism, and prosperity" (p. xvii).

According to Craven, colonial portraiture developed in three stages, epitomized respectively by John Calvin, Cotton Mather, and Benjamin Franklin. Puritan disciples of Calvin brought with them to New England an already anachronistic "Elizabethan-Jacobean tradition" of portraiture (p. 22), a tradition they cherished in opposition to the luxurious aristocratic and Catholic styles favored at Charles I's court. In the late seventeenth century, as limners began to paint portraits in New England, they employed the Elizabethan-Jacobean tradition to portray in muted terms the material prosperity with which God rewarded his saints. By the turn of the eighteenth century, however, the decline of Puritanism and the tightening bonds of economic and political empire led to the rise of a secular merchant class willing to embrace the more extravagant styles their Puritan forebears had reviled. The triumph of the new aesthetic order was symbolized by the fact that even Mather—the leading Puritan clergyman of his day—sat for a mezzotint image in the imported aristocratic mode. But ultimately Americans demanded that artists modify European formalism to capture individual characteristics and faces more realistically (even if the faces were homely) and that, while vigorously depicting the subject's material prosperity, avoided aristocratic excess. By mid-century such native-born American painters as Robert Feke, John Singleton Copley, and Charles Willson Peale had perfected a portraiture that fully embodied the middle-class materialism and secularized Calvinism of Franklin's era.

Specialists in any number of fields could point to holes in Craven's argument. Readers of this journal will recognize at once the volume's unabashed New Englandcentrism; indeed Craven must literally interrupt his tale to include chapters on Maryland, South Carolina, and Virginia, where planters apparently preferred imported aristocratic to American middle-class styles. Craven's treatment of the religious issues so important to his

definition of the "colonial character" is particularly troublesome: the interpretation of Calvinism comes close to what Puritans called "works righteousness"; the Puritan ministers' rhetoric is read too literally as evidence of decaying lay piety; and the Church of England is divorced from the Reformation through such assertions as "Anglican Virginians were not exactly Protestants" (p. 179). Throughout the work, loose terminology and sweeping generalizations abound. The anachronistic term *middle class* is never defined; the contrast between mercantile New England and aristocratic Chesapeake is overdrawn; and an awfully heavy load of cultural significance is placed on the backs of the tiny band of painters who labored in the colonies. Yet for all its weaknesses, *Colonial American Portraiture* boldly explores one of the most illusive issues in Anglo-American cultural history—the emergence of a peculiarly "American" identity within the transatlantic context of the British Empire. Readers could do worse than to leave their methodological scruples behind and go along for the ride.

DANIEL K. RICHTER

*Dickinson College*

*Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways in the Old South.* By Grady McWhiney. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988. Pp. xliii, 290. Prologue, illustrations, appendix, index, \$29.95.)

In *Cracker Culture*, Grady McWhiney spells out "the Celtic interpretation of Southern history" (p. xxi). He intends to establish that the antebellum North and the Old South comprised contrasting culture basins and, furthermore, that those dissimilarities are to be attributed not to New World slavery but to Old World differences.

It is an ambitious project. In a lengthy prologue, Forrest McDonald, McWhiney's collaborator on the project, traces two millennia of history to demonstrate that "Celtic" Britons differed sharply in their history and culture from the "English." He defines Celtic Britain as included all of Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, as well as adjoining portions of England. In turn, McWhiney considers New England as an outpost of English culture, the South as overwhelmingly Celtic. The distinction can be described in terms of numbers, projected in terms of settlement patterns, explained in terms of acculturation. Among Britons in the Upper North, at least three-fifths were "English"; among those in the South, three-fifths—including Andrew Jackson, Jefferson Davis, and the heroine of *Gone with the Wind*—had Celtic ancestry. Just as the borderlands in Britain ended up "Anglicized" or "Celticized," so with the British North American colonies and successor states.

McWhiney's sources are, for the most part, travelers' accounts from the two centuries before the American Civil War. Given the Celtic disinclination to write, first-person sources are rare. Moreover, third-person descriptions are particularly valuable for McWhiney's purpose because they emphasize the perceived peculiarities. His method is to follow English observers to Wales, Scotland, or Ireland and to repeat the process with Yankee visitors to the South. He reinforces the procedure by citing Southern sojourners in the American North, Yankees in Celtic Britain, and so on.

According to McWhiney the basic economic activity of the South, like that of Celtic Britain, was stock raising on the open range. Herdsmen did not have to work hard, nor was it essential that they own their own land. An economy of that sort permitted a culture of leisure in which the greatest value was ascribed not to work for its own sake, nor to wealth accumulation, but to minimal work—enough to get by. Wishing primarily to be "free from work," a Celtic or Southern white man "spent his time pleasantly—hunting, fishing, dancing, drinking, gambling, fighting, or just loafing and talking. He could not understand why anyone would work when livestock could make a living for him . . . .

Nor did he see any good reason to have more than he could eat, or drink, or wear, or ride" (pp. 78-79).

Southerners, we read, displayed much more "profaneness, licentiousness, and ferocity" (p. 172) than did Northerners, who were more enterprising, "more puritanical, less mercurial" (p. 268). Southerners were more "hospitable, generous, frank, courteous, spontaneous, lazy, lawless, militaristic, wasteful, impractical, and reckless" (p. 268). In a clash of cultures, "Just as good Englishmen looked down upon the unacquisitive and improvident Celts, so good Northerners despised the unacquisitive and improvident Southerners" (p. 246).

Sectional differences relate to everything from food and housing to education and transportation. Northern diet consisted of wheat, beef, fresh milk, and cider; Southern, of corn, pork, "clabber" (sour milk), and whiskey. Yankees, like the English, invested time, money, and attention on nice houses and neat landscaping; Southerners could not be bothered. Low rates of literacy and poor schooling related to the preferences of Southerners, who "admired more the skills of the hunter, fisher, fighter, and fiddler" (p. 210). Illiteracy resulted from a lack of interest—an attribute of Celtic culture—more than a lack of opportunity. Even poor southern roads reflected subjective preference. A Celtic heritage, not slavery, accounts for cultural differences between the South and the North, argues McWhiney, and he emphasizes that "Celtic" culture remained least adulterated in the Southern upcountry, where slavery remained marginal.

Problems appear to abound. Though McWhiney makes infrequent references across lines of sex and race, his eyes are on "Southerners" who turn out to be white men. Averse to work, "Celts and Southerners . . . much preferred to enjoy life while their animals, their women, or their slaves made a living for them," he writes (p. 41), for example. Nor do all the examples that McWhiney provides fit comfortably into the scheme he outlines. He is content to shift emphasis as his subjects dictate. Despite Southerners' lack of interest in formal education and in reading, for example, one man, in his pursuit of leisurely activities, happily "read history" and "hunted squirrels" (p. 73) in alternation. When a planter failed to interest his son in schooling, McWhiney views the episode as highlighting the tenacity of Celtic culture. Southerners who failed to exhibit "Celtic" attitudes are discounted as "Yankeeified" (pp. 192, 199); these include ministers in opposition to Celtic ways and planters who imported tutors from outside the region for their children. Celts judged people less by their wealth than did Yankees or Englishmen; one imported tutor noted that her employer, in selecting companions for his daughters, valued education rather than wealth. McWhiney's definition of "Celtic Britain" is not universally shared, and much of the thesis follows from it.

Not all readers will succumb readily to "the Celtic interpretation." Many, however, can agree that we have here a provocative, fresh effort to come to grips with central themes in the American past. And regardless, McWhiney supplies a rich, readable survey of the culture of the antebellum white South in general and of Appalachia in particular.

PETER WALLENSTEIN

*Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University*

*A House Divided: Sectionalism and Civil War, 1848-1865.* By Richard H. Sewell. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988. Pp. xii, 223. Maps, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$29.50.)

Amid the crowded shelves of Civil War studies there is always room for a lucid synthesis that provides a brief account of the most critical period in American history. Richard Sewell, a professor of history at the University of Wisconsin, has provided just such a volume.

As his contribution to the Johns Hopkins University Press's American Moment Series, Sewell covers the period from the Mexican-American War to Reconstruction in less than two hundred pages. Indeed this is the same period on which James McPherson in *Battle Cry of Freedom* lavishes nearly nine hundred pages. Along with his succinctness, Sewell deserves credit for his ability to include new scholarship, while at the same time serving as an unobtrusive guide to current controversies among professional historians.

Because Sewell presents complicated topics in accessible prose, some of the more opaque issues of the period such as Stephen Douglas's connection to the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Dred Scott decision are rendered intelligible. Moving between analysis and narrative (most historians adopt either one mode or the other and are accordingly criticized by those who favor the other approach), Sewell is able to maintain the drama of the war years. This is especially the case in the nicely proportioned chapter on the fighting of the Civil War in which, in accordance with recent scholarship, Robert E. Lee is gently demoted from his status as a brilliant strategist.

There is nothing new in the familiar outlines of Sewell's story. What is fresh is the illustrative material that is employed. Thus in his discussion of corrupt voting in Kansas during the 1850s Sewell makes his point by noting that in one of that territory's troubled elections the names of voters were copied out of a Cincinnati directory. And in his comparison of the wartime North and South Sewell perfectly conveys the Confederacy's weakness by noting its inability for months to replace its one and only rifle-barrel straightener.

Nor is there anything new in Sewell's contention that slavery was the taproot of the divisiveness that led to Southern secession. And it is slavery, its erosion during the war, and the issue of the status of freedmen that serve as the organizing spine of *A House Divided*.

As Sewell makes clear, the "peculiar institution" was not the phantasmagoric issue that an earlier generation of historians made it. Increasingly slavery stood at the heart of the differing perceptions that Southerners and Northerners held of each other. Moreover the process of self-emancipation by Southern blacks during the war contributed to the loss of morale that many historians now find as the critical factor in the surrender of Southern armies in the field in 1865. And finally the rights of the male ex-slaves (for those of females slaves were not considered) complicated the emerging issues of Reconstruction, which Sewell correctly views as having begun during the war in the liberated states of Louisiana, Tennessee, and North Carolina.

Comprehensive yet brief, traditional yet up-to-date, Richard Sewell's *House Divided* is a welcomed new look at an old topic.

JEAN H. BAKER  
Goucher College

*The March to the Sea and Beyond: Sherman's Troops in the Savannah and Carolinas Campaigns.*

By Joseph T. Glatthaar. (American Social Experience Series. New York and London: New York University Press, 1985. Pp. xvi, 318. Illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.95.)

*The Fiery Trail: A Union Officer's Account of Sherman's Last Campaigns.* Edited by Richard Harwell and Phillip N. Racine; Foreword by William S. McFeely. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986. Pp. xlv, 238. Illustrations, notes, references, index. \$22.50.)

The perception of an army's character depends upon the viewer's particular posture; whether the viewer is fighting with the army, fighting against the army, or a denizen in the path of the army. Perhaps the American army that has generated the most divergent opinions concerning its character is the army Major General William Tecumseh Sherman

led on his famous "March to the Sea." To the Lincoln administration Sherman's army was a war-winning machine, a political necessity, and to Northerners, it was a victory-producing instrument of revenge. But to Georgians and Carolinians, along the army's route of destruction, it was a diabolical horde. Although there are many excellent studies recounting the march and Sherman's policy of total war, these two recent works offer fresh perspectives of the army's character.

Unlike most studies of Sherman's campaigns that concentrate on the General's personality, strategy, and command decisions, *The March to the Sea and Beyond* focuses upon the rank-and-file enlisted men and field officers who accompanied Sherman to Savannah and through the Carolinas—on the character of the army that implemented total war. As his extensive bibliography attests, Glatthaar conducted an impressive and exhaustive investigation of many participating soldiers' journals, letters, and published works to obtain his insights. The result is an illuminating narrative, generously injected with selected quotes from the men involved.

Sherman's army was a unique body of troops, quite different from the more familiar Army of the Potomac. Three of its four army corps were composed of Western troops. Perhaps more important, and one of Glatthaar's significant points, the army as a whole was composed predominantly of veteran troops, purposely selected for their combat experience, physical fitness, and hardiness. As products of the western United States, their rugged individualism fostered an informal brand of discipline. Relationships between officers and men were relaxed, and military protocol was held in low esteem. The author also discusses the prejudices and social attitudes the soldiers brought with them from civilian life and those developed during years of tough campaigning. He knows Sherman's army well, and this is the strength of the book.

Glatthaar's analysis leads to a key argument: the implementation of the total war concept was the direct product of the character of Sherman's army. And in this respect, Sherman and his troops fashioned a collective strategic initiative.

*The Fiery Trail* is a view of Sherman and his army from another angle, that of Major Thomas Osborn, a ranking officer commanding half of Sherman's artillery. Although many Civil War soldiers wrote letters home and/or maintained journals, rarely does such literature exhibit the rich detail and sense of history displayed in Osborn's writings. Osborn realized the value of his observations and made a conscious effort to provide precise and full accounts of his involvement and that of his compatriots in Sherman's capture of Atlanta and subsequent campaigns through the South. The editors have supplemented Osborn's letters and journal with superb annotation for each entry. Much of the additional information is derived from the papers of such prominent players as Generals Sherman and Oliver O. Howard. The result is not just a recollection, but a significant study of Sherman's campaigns.

Osborn's personal experiences lend to the uniqueness of his observations. Enlisting shortly after the Battle of Bull Run, he served with the Army of the Potomac until transferred, with General Howard's 11th Corps, to Sherman's army in July 1864. During his tenure in the East, Osborn participated in several major battles and, of especial interest, was in command of the batteries that stifled Pickett's charge at Gettysburg.

Osborn was fascinated by Sherman's army. He was intrigued by the different brand of military discipline, the foragers or "bummers" who supplied the army on its march, the relish with which Sherman's troops revengefully devastated South Carolina, and the suffering of the soldiers marching through hostile territory and the Southern citizens left in the army's wake. Osborn was also disdainful of the poor organization of the Union Army, especially where artillery was concerned.

Whether one is a Civil War historian, student, or buff, *The March to the Sea and Beyond*

and *The Fiery Trail* are worth reading. Indeed, these works nicely complement and support each other. Although they are not pathbreaking interpretations, they are, nevertheless, solid histories that enhance the reader's knowledge of the "March to the Sea."

MICHAEL SMITH

*Walter Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs*

*The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted*. Vol. 4: *Defending the Union: The Civil War and the U.S. Sanitary Commission, 1861-1863*. Edited by Jane Turner Censer (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986. Pp. xxv, 757. Introduction, biographical directory, illustrations, chronology, index. \$40.00.)

Jane Turner Censer's edition of Olmsted's Civil War papers is more than just a superbly edited collection of published writings, reports, and correspondence; it is also a wonderfully rich documentary history of an important man during a crucial era. As creator of New York City's Central Park and as a widely read author of works on slavery and the prewar South, Olmsted had already established his place in history when he was appointed general secretary of the United States Sanitary Commission in 1861. Working for the commission, which supplemented the government's rather inadequate efforts to look after the health and well-being of its volunteer armies, Olmsted was both a participant and a strategically placed observer of the Union's war effort. The 145 documents published here illustrate the enormous problems that the North had to overcome in order to maintain the fighting strength sufficient to crush Southern resistance. Olmsted's letters are filled with bitterness toward the forces of localism, sentimentality, and institutional inefficiency which, he felt, hindered the war effort. His great organizational and executive abilities were, unfortunately, matched by an equally evident lack of patience when petty obstructionists and bureaucratic rivals stood in the way of his reformer's zeal. By the summer of 1863, when the volume ends, the overstressed Olmsted was suffering from a classic case of burnout and was more than willing to leave the field of action for a more rewarding position in California.

The editor has produced a work that is at once a reliable research tool and a solidly grounded historical study. A seventy-page introduction serves to alert readers to the major themes in Olmsted's works and to provide an analytical framework so that his career may be placed in historical context. A thirty-seven page biographical directory gives readers all the information they will need about the major figures in his life. The documents themselves appear in chronological order and are divided among nine chapters. Each chapter has an introductory note that briefly describes the major issues to be found within. The annotations accompanying the documents are rich, detailed, and based on extensive research. The notes covering the history of the Sanitary Commission are especially thorough since, as the editor points out, scholarly monographs in this area are lacking. All editorial changes in document texts are dutifully noted, and a complete list of textual alterations follows the last document selected.

This volume is also a treat for the general reader who desires nothing more than to browse through the firsthand accounts of an astute observer. Olmsted's vivid writings on the first battle of Manassas, the Peninsula Campaign, and the Union operations against Vicksburg bring these dramatic events to life. His descriptions of Lincoln, Grant, Sherman and other wartime figures will be of great interest to all. Through the volume runs the theme of a prewar antislavery reformer beginning to witness the fulfillment of his hopes and dreams while at the same time encountering the frustrations inherent whenever a visionary has to work through bureaucratic institutions to accomplish his aims.

DAUN VAN EE

*Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower*

## Books Received

Michael Kammen's forays into early American political, constitutional, and cultural history need no introduction. In *Selvages & Biases: The Fabric of History in American Culture*, he gathers some of his most important essays on the work of historical writing itself. He explores the development of the academic discipline of history, its relationship to American nationalism and cultural change. He argues the case for a new cultural history that partakes heavily of particularism. One superbly illustrated chapter examines changing American perceptions of the life cycle. Another, "Challenges and Opportunities in Writing State and Local History," discusses the multiple significance of local history. Besides grounding us with a sense of place, he says, it has helped us "to understand, as never before, just how pluralistic and decentralized American society has always been" (p. 160). These two essays, but the entire collection, will enlighten and inspire.

Cornell \$24.95

"Maryland is 'alive' with the dead," begins Trish Gallagher's charming survey of *Ghosts and Haunted Houses of Maryland*. Her short chapters recount all manner of "things that go bump in the night," among them the spirit of Dr. Samuel Mudd, who set Booth's broken leg and then not long ago returned to walk the halls and staircases of his old home as if to protest its decay; the troubled ghost of a Confederate soldier irreverently buried near Mount St. Mary's College; and poltergeists who speak to children at Judge George Dobbin's nineteenth-century summer cottage near Ellicott City. Ms. Gallagher found that Westminster has been so haunted that the public library there recommends a walking tour of ghostly points, including the site of an opera-house murder. A quick and thoroughly enjoyable read.

Tidewater Publishers, \$6.95

Michael S. Miller's compilation, *The Maryland Court of Appeals: A Bibliography of Its History*, supplies a valuable guide to studies of the court, its workings, and proposals to alter it by amending the constitution.

Maryland State Law Library, \$3.00

For two years the Family History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, has been at work compiling a series of state guides to genealogical research. *Research Outline: Maryland*, now completed, contains fifteen pages of abundant information arranged topically by record type. It covers broadly the Maryland Historical Society, Maryland State Archives, Pratt Library, church records, directories, gazeteers, newspapers, maps, and federal census materials.

Family History Library, Salt Lake City, \$.75

Frank N. Schubert, ed., *The Nation Builders: A Sesquicentennial History of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, 1838-1863*—an excellent brief history of the "topogs" as they were called,—is written by several historians in the Office of History, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. The U.S. Army occasionally used topographical engineers from the Revolutionary War until 1838 when they were established as a permanent unit. In 1863 they were merged into the Corps of Engineers. Their major work was surveying and mapping, but they also were involved in a variety of civil and military engineering projects in

Maryland and elsewhere in the nation. They surveyed the nations' major rivers, the Great Lakes, harbors, and transportation routes. In Maryland they surveyed the National Road, the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad. While there is little discussion of the topographic specific projects in Maryland, this little volume gives a concise overview of Topographical unit as a whole and provides short portraits of some of its leading members—many of whom were active in Maryland in the 1820s and 1830s.

U.S. Government Printing Office, \$2.75

While Genealogical Librarian at the Maryland Historical Society, Mary K. Meyer received about 10,000 questions annually. She realized that many questions could be answered if the questioner had details of the many societies that exist in America and Canada. So in 1974 she issued the first edition of her *Directory of Genealogical Societies in the USA and Canada, with an Appended List of Independent Genealogical Periodicals*, and it has appeared every two years since then. The present edition contains details on 1,675 societies. For ten dollars a society can have full details given, such as address, number of members, and cost of membership. Of great value are the size of the library, hours, and publications, including the periodical if any. Regrettable is the fact that many medium to large libraries did not reply to the questionnaire. This is a short-sighted approach for if the society gains one new member, the cost of the fee is more than covered. A most useful section gives a list of over two hundred independent genealogical periodicals. Over the fourteen years of its existence there have been a few other listings, but this is the most authoritative work of its kind and is needed in any library where genealogists gather. Any publisher and professional genealogist should have the current edition immediately available.

Privately published, \$19.00

A bibliographical listing of over 50,000 volumes of state and local histories and source records maintained in the Memorial Continental Hall Library of the DAR in Washington, D.C., the *National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution Library Catalog, Volume Two: State and Local Histories and Records* will be of inestimable value to genealogists and historians. Besides an introduction and a glossary, there are chapters on the materials for each of the fifty states. In addition there are a number of listings under general sources ranging from architecture and census through heraldry, history and indexes, to wills and women. The book concludes with author and subject indexes. There are seventeen pages (577 entries) devoted to Maryland. The latest date of publication for Maryland materials is 1984, so the bibliography remains as up to date as one would expect in a work of this size and includes published titles and manuscript materials, greatly enhancing the catalog's value. Each entry includes the serial number assigned to the work, its author, title, and publication and library data, which DAR Chapter submitted the work, and the designation by which the volume may be found on the shelves (the DAR library does not use call numbers, but a system of word designations). Thus Ridgely's *Historic Graves* is designated as "MD/VITAL/REC." This bibliography will be of great help to researchers and should be found on all library shelves.

National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, \$25.00

## News and Notices

### MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE CALLS FOR PAPERS

September 1989 will mark the 175th anniversary of the Battle of Baltimore. Scholars and amateur historians are invited to submit papers on this topic.

In 1990 the editors of the magazine would like to publish a special issue on voting rights and the struggle for blacks, women, and youth in Maryland to win the suffrage. All our readers are invited to write with research ideas; we would encourage faculty members to send us word of anyone with work underway on the subject with a Maryland focus.

We also solicit interesting, unpublished private letters that might shed light on state history. Please see Contributors' Guidelines, published in this issue, and write for further assistance.

### AMERICAN REVOLUTION SYMPOSIUM

The United States Capitol Historical Society will sponsor a symposium entitled "The Transforming Hand of Revolution: Reconsidering the American Revolution as a Social Movement" on 15-16 March 1989. The meeting will be held in the Senate Caucus Room, SR-325, in the Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. The program will consist of four sessions and a concluding lecture, followed by a reception. Edward Countryman, Jacqueline A. Goggin, Robert A. Gross and Nathan O. Hatch are some of the scheduled speakers. All proceedings, including the reception, will be open to interested persons free of charge, no advance registration is required. For additional information write to Professor Ronald Hoffman, Department of History, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland 20742.

### CALL FOR PAPERS

The Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference will be held at the Riverview Hotel in Mobile 9-11 March 1989 for the first time in its eighteen-year history. Submit papers to Dr. George Daniels or Dr. Michael Thomason, Department of History, University of South Alabama, Mobile, Alabama 36688.

The Society for Historians of the Early American Republic will hold its annual meeting at Charlottesville, Virginia 20-22 July 1989. Proposals are invited for individual papers, entire sessions, and discussion panels on any aspect of American history from about 1789 to 1850. Younger scholars, local or regional historians, and public historians are especially invited to participate. Proposals should be no more than one page long and should include a synopsis of the thesis, methodology, and significance of each paper. Please include a one-page curricula vita for each author. Send all communications to Dr. John L. Larson, Department of History, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana 47907. Deadline is 1 January 1989.

The Twenty-first Annual Centennial Dakota History Conference will be held 6-8 April 1989 at Madison, South Dakota on the campus of Dakota State College. All papers submitted for competition must be read by the author and, if desired, will be published. Prizes will be awarded. Address all correspondence to H. W. Blakely, Director, Dakota History Conference, Business and Education Institute, Dakota State College, Madison, South Dakota 57042-1799. Deadline is 31 January 1989.

### DELAWARE ART MUSEUM ANNOUNCES ADVANCED EXHIBITION SCHEDULE

Ten large recent drawings of figure subjects by James Windram (b. 1946) will be

exhibited 4 November–31 December 1988. Then, Quilt International '87, a juried exhibition featuring fifty contemporary quilts, can be seen from 18 November 1988–8 January 1989. On display from 18 November 1988–15 January 1989 will be dolls, toys, and teddy bears. A showing of forty paintings by David Bates (b. 1952), a leading contemporary realist artist from Texas, can be viewed from 20 January–5 March 1989.

#### A SEARCH FOR UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS

The Wesleyan/Holiness Study Project of Asbury Theological Seminary is preparing a union list of unpublished manuscript collections that document the Holiness movement in the United States and Canada. The American Holiness movement is rooted in a type of Methodism that subscribes to a second definite religious experience following conversion. Major Holiness denominations include the Wesleyan Church, Free Methodist Church, Church of God (Anderson), Church of the Nazarene and the Salvation Army. If you have any information concerning the location of records for these bodies or other related Holiness bodies, please contact Mr. William C. Kostlevy, Project Bibliographer, Wesleyan/Holiness Study Project, Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, Kentucky 40390.

#### NEW MAGAZINE PUBLISHED IN OREGON

William Michaelian and Jay Thomas Collins have begun to publish *Harvest Magazine*. This magazine publishes reminiscences, personal and family histories, and poetry written by people age fifty and over.

#### GENEALOGICAL INFORMATION SOUGHT

Seeking genealogical information concerning Harriet (Jones) White, a black woman born in Maryland in 1859 and who died 27 January 1899 in Dames Quarter, Maryland. Daughter of Alfred and Martha Jones. Married Charles White ca. 1879. If you have any information please contact SK2 Charmaine C. White, CFAY Supply Box 40, Code 430, FPO Seattle, Washington 98762-1100.

#### VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY 1989 RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

The Virginia Historical Society invites applications for its 1989 resident fellows program, funded in part by a grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. Grants will be awarded on the basis of the applicants' scholarly qualifications, the merits of the proposals submitted, and the appropriateness of the proposals to the collections at the Society. Primary consideration will be given to applicants whose research promises to result in contributions either to the Society's Documents Series of edited texts or to the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*.

Applicants should send a resume, two letters of recommendation, a description of the research project stating the expected length of residency in the library, and a cover letter. Applications must be received by 15 February to be considered for awards in 1989. Awards will be made at the rate of \$250 per week and will be announced by 15 March. No grant will be given for more than a one-month residency, and applications will not be considered for work on theses or dissertations.

Applications should be sent to: Nelson D. Lankford, Chairman, Research Fellowship Committee, Virginia Historical Society, P.O. Box 7311, Richmond, Virginia 23221-0311.

## 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 history by identifying this eastern Maryland scene. What town is it? What street? When was this photograph taken?

The Fall 1988 Picture Puzzle depicts the parade of the 79th Liberty Division from Camp Meade along Mount Royal Avenue. The event was held on 6 April 1918 to inaugurate the third Liberty Loan Drive to raise money for the United States war effort. President Woodrow Wilson is seated in the reviewing stand between St. Paul and Calvert Streets.

Mr. Albert L. Morris and Col. J. A. M. Lettre correctly identified the Summer 1988 Picture Puzzle.

Please send your response to:

Prints and Photographs Division  
 Maryland Historical Society  
 Baltimore, Maryland 21201



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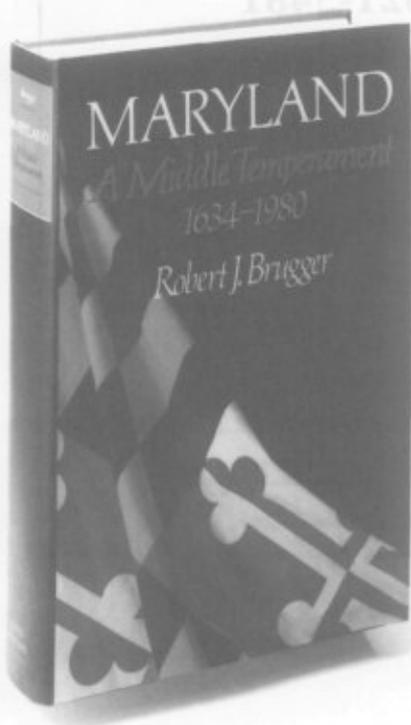
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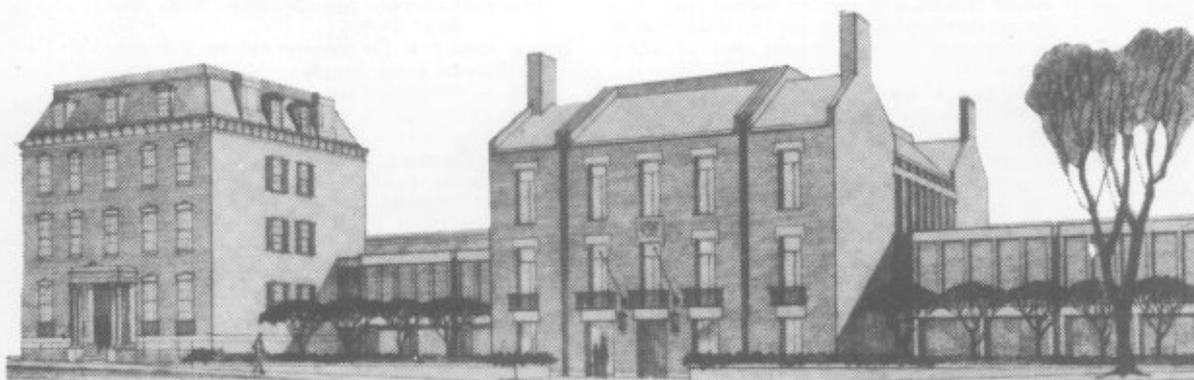
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