Maryland Historical Magazine

Published Quarterly by the Museum and Library of Maryland History
The Maryland Historical Society
Winter 1990

Maryland Historical Magazine
Vol. 85, No. 4
Winter 1990

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OFFICERS AND BOARD OF TRUSTEES, 1990-91

L. Patrick Deering, Chairman
E. Mason Hendrickson, President

Bryson L. Cook, *Counsel*
William R. Amos, *Treasurer*
Brian B. Topping
Leonard C. Crewe, Jr., *Past Presidents*
Samuel Hopkins
J. Fife Symington, Jr., *Past Chairmen of the Board*

Jack S. Griswold, *Vice President*
Mrs. David R. Owen, *Vice President*
Walter D. Pinkard, Sr., *Vice President*
A. MacDonough Plant, *Vice President*
E. Phillips Hathaway, *Vice President*

Together with those board members whose names are marked below with an asterisk, the persons above form the Society's Executive Committee

H. Furlong Baldwin (1991)
Gary Black, Jr. (1992)
Clarence W. Blount (1990)
Forrest F. Bramble, Jr. (1991)
Mrs. Charles W. Cole, Jr. (1994)*
Stiles T. Colwill (1994)
George D. Edwards II (1994)
Jerome Geckle (1991)
C. William Gilchrist, *Allegany Co.* (1992)
Louis L. Goldstein, *Calvert Co.* (1991)
Kingdon Gould, Jr., *Howard Co.* (1992)
Benjamin H. Griswold III (1991)
Arthur J. Gutman (1991)
Willard Hackerman (1991)
Louis G. Hecht (1992)
Michael S. Hoffberger (1992)
Bryden B. Hyde (1994)
William S. James, *Harford Co.* (1991)
Richard R. Kline, *Frederick Co.* (1992)*
Stanard T. Klinefelter (1994)
Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. (1990)
Robert G. Merrick, Jr. (1991)
F. Grove Miller (1992)
J. Jefferson Miller II (1992)
Milton H. Miller, Sr. (1991)
Jack Moseley (1992)
John J. Neubauer, Jr. (1992)
James O. Olfson, *Anne Arundel Co.* (1991)
Mrs. Timothy E. Parker (1994)
Mrs. Brice Phillips, *Worcester Co.* (1991)
J. Hurst Purnell, Jr., *Kent Co.* (1991)
George M. Radcliffe (1992)
Richard H. Randall, Jr. (1994)
Dennis F. Rasmussen (1993)
Howard P. Rawlings (1992)
Adrian P. Reed, *Queen Anne's Co.* (1991)
G. Donald Riley, Jr., *Carroll Co.* (1991)
John D. Schapiro (1991)*
Jacques T. Schlenger (1992)
Dorothy McIlvain Scott (1992)
Truman T. Semans (1994)
Jess Joseph Smith, Jr., *Prince George's Co.* (1991)
John T. Stinson (1992)
Orwin C. Talbott (1994)
M. David Testa (1994)
Bernard C. Trueschler (1991)
H. Mebane Turner (1994)

Dates note expiration of terms

COUNCIL, 1990-91

Phyllis Bailey, *Education*
Robert J. Brugger, *Publications*
Mrs. Charles W. Cole, Jr., *Membership*
P. McEvoy Cromwell, *Finance*
Alan N. Gamse, *Building and Grounds*
Louis G. Hecht, *Addresses and Programs*
Mrs. Jay Katz, *Antiques Show*
Bayly Ellen Marks, *Library*
Charles E. McCarthy III, *Annual Giving*
William E. Miller, *Genealogy*
James L. Nace, *Special Projects*
Charles E. Scarlett III, *Maritime Collection*
Dorothy McIlvain Scott, *Gallery*
Mrs. Aristides C. Alevizatos, *Women's Committee*

STAFF

Charles T. Lyle, *Director*
Jennifer F. Goldsborough, *Chief Curator*
Penny Catzen, *Acting Head Librarian*
Judith Van Dyke, *Education Director*

Maryland Historical Magazine

VOLUME 85 WINTER 1990

CONTENTS

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY WISHES TO THANK
C. A. PORTER HOPKINS
AND
W. WALLACE LANAHAN, JR.
FOR THEIR INVALUABLE ASSISTANCE IN PUBLISHING
THIS SPECIAL ISSUE OF THE MAGAZINE

Editor's Corner:
This issue combines as well as any in recent memory the results of professional and nonacademic historical research. Jean B. Lee's essay on Charles County contributes to scholarly discourse on social-political change during the revolutionary era. Both Kenneth L. Carroll and Margaret W. Sparrow—though coming from different research backgrounds—write compellingly of family history in its context. James H. Bready, long a favorite among readers of the Baltimore *Sun*, herein demonstrates what a lover of a special subject can accomplish with vivid historical imagination and plenty of hard work in dusty sources. Compliments to them all.

Cover Design: The Maryland Rye back bar bottle on the cover, unearthed by a bottle digger in Massachusetts in May 1990, probably dates from the 1880s. The accompanying shot glasses are typical of the turn of the century. Photographed by Jeff Goldman.

ISSN-0025-4258
 Published in March, June, September, and December. Second Class postage paid at Baltimore, Maryland and at additional mailing offices: POSTMASTER please send address changes to the Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201, which disclaims responsibility for statements, whether of fact or opinion, made by contributors. Composed by Publishing Concepts, Inc., Baltimore, Maryland and printed by The Sheridan Press, Hanover, Pennsylvania 17331.

THE HISTORY OF THE

Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club

by Dr. Alexander Hamilton
Edited by Robert Micklus

"Hamilton's literary hi-jinks reflect a serious purpose that will require a good deal of serious attention. The *History* is the most important addition to our sense of the literature of the colonial period since the publication of Edward Taylor's poems."—Norman S. Grabo, University of Tulsa

The publication of *The History of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club*, never before in print, is a major event in early American history and literature. Written in the 1750s by the Scottish physician Alexander Hamilton, one of the founding members of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis, the *History* is a mock-heroic narrative of ten years in the life of an eighteenth-century social club. Here, in the rollicking company of Jonathan Grog, Quirpum Comic, and their cronies, Hamilton provides a comic anatomy of eighteenth-century society and the most articulate presentation available of Enlightenment thought from the southern colonies.

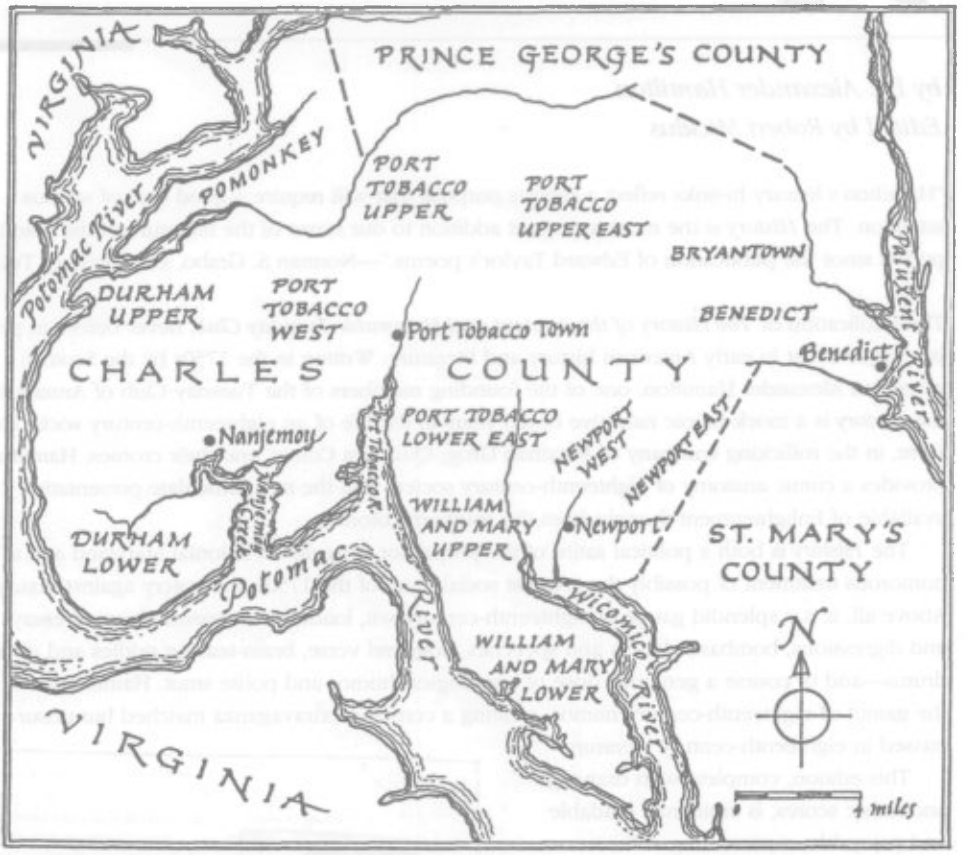
The *History* is both a political satire of the proprietor struggles in colonial Maryland and a humorous treatment of possibly the greatest social issue of the 1750s, the outcry against luxury. Above all, it is a splendid gauge of eighteenth-century wit, loaded with pseudo-learned essays and digressions, bombastic letters and speeches, doggerel verse, brain-teasing riddles and conundrums—and of course a generous dose of scatological humor and polite smut. Hamilton's wit runs the gamut of eighteenth-century humor, creating a comedic extravaganza matched but unsurpassed in eighteenth-century literature.

This edition, complete with drawings and music scores, is eminently readable and enjoyable, representing at the same time the highest scholarly standards, with full textual apparatus.

1416 pp., 107 illus., 3 vols., $150.00
Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia

available at
bookstores or from
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS
Post Office Box 2288
Chapel Hill, NC 27515-2288

Toll-free orders: 1-800-848-6224



Map of Charles County, Maryland, circa 1782, drawn by Richard Stinely.

Maryland's "Dangerous Insurrection" of 1786

JEAN BUTENHOFF LEE

During the mid-1780s, civil unrest occasionally flared throughout the United States. In New Jersey, for example, men determined to halt debt litigation hit upon the ingenious idea of nailing shut the courthouse doors. In Pennsylvania, a large mob armed with clubs and guns attempted to retrieve property that had been seized for nonpayment of taxes. In Virginia, several public buildings were put to the torch, and in at least one county, reported James Madison, "the course of Justice has been mutinously stopped." In South Carolina, a sheriff who tried to serve a writ was forced to eat it instead, while a justice in Camden, who single-handedly managed to scare off a disruptive crowd, found himself "in some measure confined a Prisoner to the Court House" when the "malcontents" stationed themselves outside. Although typically ignited by local economic problems, these episodes sparked fears that revolution and war had undermined respect for civil authority and that Americans' bold experiments in self-government might be short-lived. While the largest and most famous instance of civil unrest in this period—Shays's Rebellion of 1786-87 in Massachusetts—provided impetus for establishment of the national government under the Constitution of 1787, smaller episodes tested the ability of state governments to maintain order.[1]

The most serious moment of civil unrest in Maryland was a riot at the courthouse in Port Tobacco, seat of Charles County, in June of 1786. It was not, in living memory, the first disruption of the court's proceedings. During the Stamp Act crisis of 1765, the court closed its doors rather than use stamped paper. In late 1774, just after the Continental Congress adopted a trade embargo to protest British imperial policies, a group of Charles County men forced the court to adjourn. To justify their action, they argued that enabling British merchants to recover debts through litigation "would be furnishing our enemies with weapons to fight us...which we ought by

---

Dr. Lee completed work on this article while serving as director of the Institute for Early American History and Culture in Williamsburg. The Institute and University of North Carolina Press will soon publish her book on the revolutionary transformation of the governing elite in Charles County.

every Method in our power to prevent." Where these earlier episodes contributed to the coming of the Revolution, many perceived the riot of 1786 as a threat to it.[2] For if rebellious Marylanders successfully challenged the locus of civil authority within one county, the stability of every other county—and of the young state itself—would be at risk. Because rather full records have survived, the episode can be reconstructed, beginning with the conditions that spawned it.

When the War for Independence started, Charles County inhabitants owed thousands of pounds of tobacco and money to English and Scottish merchants. With the war in progress and Maryland's traditional trade within the British empire halted, no one was in a hurry to satisfy the creditors. At one store alone—Cunninghame, Findlay & Company of Port Tobacco—about 350 persons had not settled their accounts as of 1777. In the county court, debt cases pending on behalf of British merchants were quashed through a simple legal device: the defendants merely asked the court to require the plaintiffs to post security. Since the war prevented the creditors and their representatives from coming forward, the plaintiffs automatically lost the cases. Intoned the justices in a typical suit, "Cunninghame Findlay and Company being Solemly called to come and give Security for the payment of the Costs...comes not but makes default." The state government also abetted debtors by permitting them to pay into the state treasury, with dramatically depreciated paper money, what they owed British creditors. Such facile maneuvers help explain why the British government insisted that the Peace of Paris of 1783 protect its subjects' right to recover all legitimate prewar debts, in full and at sterling value.[3]

Fortified by the treaty, agents of British creditors soon were active in Maryland. Alexander Hamilton, a Scottish tobacco factor who lived at Piscataway, Prince George's County, and represented the Glasgow firm of James Brown & Company, promptly decided that debt collection on the lower Western Shore was "a damned business for an old grey hair'd man to be pestered with." Not that he harbored great expectations. "Collecting debts in this world was att all times a very fatiguing as well as a dissagreeable business," he complained, but "it is now greatly more so" because the rule of law was relaxed during the Revolution, and "A relaxation of Law always vitiates the Morals of Mankind." Furthermore, because planters "generaly" assumed, or at least argued, that the break with England had canceled the debts, their reappearance and protection in the Peace of Paris was "a Stroke so unexpected that it has created a general amazement." His best hope was that favorable tobacco prices would induce people to remit part of what they owed.[4]

Convinced that "Collection will be a work of time" and unhappy at having "to be troublesome to those who owe by teazing them for payment," Hamilton nevertheless persisted in the face of "sorry excuses." Although he

felt that he "dare not yet use threats ex[c]ept to some whom I know well," he knew William Hanson, former Charles County sheriff, well enough to threaten him with a lawsuit. In addition, the Scotsman broached a topic about which the peace treaty was unclear: interest. To Walter Pye, a member of the county gentry who was well endowed with slaves, silver plate, and over five hundred acres of land, Hamilton wrote, "I must again intreat you will pay me your debt, if not the whole at least the Interest of it." From a planter named Henry Speake, Hamilton expected to receive interest because "I told him he must pay."[5]

Local people had other ideas, however, and in the summer of 1784 the justices and jurors of the Charles County court rejected British creditors' attempts to collect interest. A furious Hamilton told Robert Fergusson, a fellow Scot who traded at Port Tobacco:

> The dread bodys has taken it into their heads, especially your County Gentry, to refuse to pay the Interest. It is said some of your Wiseacres of Majestrates has determined that point. How they may reconcile this conduct with their oaths to do justice according to the Laws of the Land, is, you may say, another affair.

Because court records for the 1780s are missing, no one knows how the court justified its action, but one argument then circulating held that the war was Britain's fault, that it prevented Marylanders from earning the money needed to pay interest on their debts, and therefore that the British government was liable to the creditors. Hamilton found that "Interest is the Cry,...[people] will not pay it." He also feared that "if that point be given up, they will refuse to pay the principal." Indeed, the court had made "the business with debtors living in that County extremely troublesome and they can pay nothing they say 'till next year." Collections during the remainder of 1784 were "trifling." The court's "troublesome precedant," Hamilton was certain, made a bad situation infinitely worse, and he foresaw "nothing but plague and trouble for many years to come in this business."[6]

More than prewar indebtedness soon plagued the lower Western Shore. When Hamilton wrote, imports and credit were plentiful, tobacco sold well, people were confident that "trade properly conducted will certainly be the most lucrative pursuit in America," and Port Tobacco was advertised as "a most convenient stand for any merchant who proposes to carry on the purchase of tobacco, or any other produce of this part of Maryland." In late 1785, however, the Chesapeake economy sank into a severe depression. Even as planters had bought large cargoes of British goods (and thus drained specie from the economy and increased indebtedness), the British government had barred Americans from the West Indian trade (and thereby denied them significant earnings with which to pay for European goods). In addition, overproduction of tobacco satiated English demand and

depressed prices, while Robert Morris's monopoly of the French market had a comparable effect. Amid low commodity prices and contracted credit, Marylanders were not successful in developing alternate markets for their staples during the 1780s. At the same time, the state's monetary policy of retiring large amounts of paper money emitted during the war had a deflationary effect on the economy.[7]

The depression was acute in Charles County during 1786. Cash and credit were scarce for merchants and planters alike. Notwithstanding a location "well known to be equal, if not superior, to any in Charles county," the firm of Simms and Dyson closed its doors at Allen's Fresh. By mid-summer John Hoskins Stone, a war hero who allegedly had "it in his Power to furnish more Tobo than any other man upon the Maryland side of Potow[mac] riv[e]r," decided that he and his trading partners needed to reduce inventories, virtually cease offering credit, and otherwise minimize risks. Several months later he groaned, "never was money so hard to procure, I have been disappointed in every one of my resources, nor is there any such thing as attaining it at present for debts."[8]

Exacerbating the Charles County situation was Maryland's public debt, incurred in prosecuting the war and maintaining republican state government. At war's end, most counties were in arrears in paying taxes into the state treasury, but Charles owed the most—more than 50,000 in several currencies then in circulation. That in a county whose white population numbered just under ten thousand people. Collecting delinquent taxes and subsequent levies would not be easy while Marylanders complained that "We are really in a most deplorable situation."[9]

Just how deporable has long been subject to debate, but whether accurate or exaggerated, perceptions of economic distress produced dramatic consequences in 1786 and 1787. At the state level, agitation for paper money pitted the two houses of assembly against one another. Because the senate successfully resisted popular pressure, it and its electoral system became a model for the federal government under the Constitution. At the county level, several courts, including the one at Port Tobacco, adjourned their spring 1786 sessions to delay the day when debtors had to settle their accounts or go to jail. In June, matters reached a crisis at the Charles County courthouse.[10]

On the morning of 12 June 1786, ten of the twelve incumbent justices stayed away and thus prevented the court from convening. The two who appeared were Chief Justice Walter Hanson, who had been on the bench for forty-five years and had been active locally in the Revolution, and John Dent, who had been on the bench since the 1760s and had served as a brigadier general of the militia during the war. A third justice was needed to complete the quorum, but the morning passed and none appeared. Finally, someone suggested that Hanson and Dent send for another

magistrate, a common procedure. Yet, "these two Gentlemen never moved one Step to forward the Execution of Justice," according to John Allen Thomas, one of the attorneys present. Hanson and Dent contended that they did not summon an additional magistrate because only Samuel Hanson, Jr., a war veteran and a nephew of the chief justice, was within nine miles of Port Tobacco. Since he was then serving as a public tobacco inspector, "'twas Understood that he Apprehended he could not Serve in the double Capacity of a Justice of the peace and Inspector." Two attorneys nevertheless sent an urgent message asking the younger Hanson to hasten to Port Tobacco. He did, only to announce that he "did not Choose to make one of the Court 'til he rode home to Consult the [Maryland] Constitution and form of Government" about his "double Capacity"—a question that seems not to have bothered him until that day. He did not return to town until late in the afternoon, just as the elder Hanson and Dent were on the verge of adjourning the court. They probably regretted his arrival.[11]

When the three magistrates finally got down to business, sitting beside them on the bench were Sheriff Francis Ware, Josias Hawkins, formerly a member of the assembly, and Henry Massey Hanson. Neither Hawkins nor Hanson was a court official, and their presence on the bench suggests the easy familiarity among the gentry that characterized court days in eighteenth-century Maryland. Attorney Thomas, himself a former member of the legislature, justice of St. Mary's County, and army officer, undoubtedly was eager to proceed. He had filed one hundred suits that session on behalf of Alexander Hamilton. No other lawyer practicing in Charles County had brought so many, and friends familiar with Thomas's "Early, and Active part to Accomplish the Revolution" allegedly were shocked. Some men decided to thwart the litigation. Walking to the courthouse that afternoon, Hawkins heard rumors that several people "threat'ned to Use Mr. Jno. Allen Thomas very rudely for bringing a great number of suits for British Creditors against the inhabitants of s[ai]d County."[12]

Proceeding down a docket that, by all accounts, was loaded with debt cases, the magistrates began with several defendants who had already lost their suits and, because they had not paid their debts, faced imprisonment. After ordering them jailed, the court abruptly reversed itself and asked the creditors' attorneys whether they really intended to send people to debtors' prison. Whereupon Chief Justice Walter Hanson reportedly said that "he could not bear to send a Man to Goal for debt" (although he had done just that since the 1740s). Furthermore, he expressed the hope that the legislature would exempt from prison any debtor who surrendered his effects to his creditors, especially "at a time when Debts to a most Enormous amount that have lain Dormant ever since the commencement of the War without any demand made or any person Empower'd to receive are now called for with such Rapidity that the Goals must be filld with Wretched and Unhappy

Debtors." Unmoved, Thomas persevered. After he delivered what he politely called an "Expostulation," the court returned to the docket and—as evening came on—again began sentencing delinquent debtors to jail. Thomas was sure that Hanson's soliloquy had "no Purpose under Heaven but...shewing the Sense of the Court, and to rouse the People."[13]

Roused they were. Sometime after taking a seat on the bench, Hawkins noticed approximately ten men lined up on the courthouse green and warned Walter Hanson that "he fancyed that he would soon have some disagreeable company, & Mr. Hanson replyed he supposed so." The crowd quickly grew to a hundred, then rushed the courtroom "in a most riotous and tumultuous Manner" and demanded that Thomas remove his name from every British suit he had filed, which would render them moot. By now the mob was convinced that no other attorney would dare represent British creditors and that, with the court openly sympathetic to postponing debt litigation, only Thomas blocked the way. He, however, refused to strike his name from the docket. Thereupon a middling planter named William Ward threatened to use "Arbitrary power," a compatriot named Joseph Nelson "spoke to some men that stood near him & bid them come on boys," and the mob pressed forward to the bar. As Thomas later told the story, "the Rioters immediately advanced and laid violent hands" on him. All Nelson and Ward publicly admitted to was taking Thomas by the coat and hand. On this point memory somehow failed the presiding justices and Hawkins, but they vividly recalled the beleaguered attorney beating a hasty retreat to the bench, ensconcing himself between the chief justice and the sheriff, and throwing himself on "the Protection of the Law and the Court."[14]

Several versions of what happened next, and why, exist. Thomas accused the justices of sitting "perfectly silent and apparently indifferent, not once endeavouring by Persuasion Expostulation, Threats, or even by Commanding the Officers of the Court to preserve the Peace, to rescue...[Thomas] from the impending Danger." Instead, the court allowed the mob to force him to submit to its demand. The shaken attorney believed that the chief justice and Dent, "so far from discountenancing such riotous Conduct, were actually behind the Curtain supporting it" and that Hanson particularly had incited the mob:

> [F]or this very humane tender hearted Old Gentleman who a few Minutes before could not bear to see a Man goe to Goal for debt, could sit in Court perfectly unmoved, and forgetful of his Humanity & of his Oath, see a fellow Citizen assaulted and shamefully abused by a riotous and tumultuous Mob, without using one single Effort to prevent it.[15]

The justices' version of what happened was slightly more heroic. Disclaiming any prior knowledge, much less incitement of the riot, they described themselves as "Apprehensive some Mischief was Intended to Mr.

Thomas." Concluding it would be futile to order Sheriff Ware "to raise a Superior force" to quell the disturbance because "Nine tenths of the Multitude the[re] present were Engaged in it," the justices took a different approach. While Justice Dent tried to persuade Thomas to remove his name from the docket "to Save his Person," Chief Justice Hanson counseled the ringleaders "not [to] be so violent," "not to be out of temper but keep the Peace[,] observing to them that he was glad to See them all perfectly sober." After Hanson predicted that the hapless attorney would probably satisfy them, a quieter but no less determined mob waited until Thomas acquiesced to its demand, then dispersed as Hanson loudly remarked that filing so many lawsuits was "shameful."[16]

Thomas's client, Alexander Hamilton, was in Port Tobacco but not at the courthouse during the riot. He thought he escaped injury only because the mob could not find him. Upon returning home to Piscataway, he learned that a man named Walter Smallwood "has been here boasting of his Exploits at the head of the Liberty Boys of Charles County" and that he and others were threatening to break into Hamilton's house to seize and burn account books and other evidence of indebtedness. Several weeks later the old Scotsman still suspected he might be assassinated and announced, "I have made my Will."[17]

In words echoed during the 1780s from Massachusetts to South Carolina, from Shays's Rebellion to the Camden court riot, Hamilton attributed the Charles County episode and continuing harassment to "some radical Deffect in our Constitution." Magistrates who disregarded their oaths actually encouraged "dangerous risings," he charged, and under the 1776 state constitution the governor lacked power to hold "the most worthless part of the Society" in check. "I am affraied by aiming at too much Liberty we shall lose it altogether," he confided to Robert Fergusson. "You are a Republican and so must I be, and I am, with the greatest deference & respect to the established mode of Government, of opinion that in the Nature of things it cannot long subsist in this Continent."[18]

John Allen Thomas, Hamilton's attorney, offered his own interpretation of events. Three days after the riot, he sent a memorial to Governor William Smallwood and the Maryland council, in which he first refuted any imputation of loyalist sympathies by recalling, correctly, his "early and active Part in his Countrys Cause" and his "utmost Endeavours to accomplish the Revolution." Then Thomas asked for an investigation of the justices' conduct during the riot and promised that he himself would bring the rioters' actions to the attention of an unspecified "Tribunal." He justified these measures "not only from the Injury he [Thomas] has received in his own Person and Fortune, but also from the Injury the Community at large thro[ugh] him has received." Furthermore, he framed what was at stake in

unequivocal terms: "if Proceedings of this kind pass unnoticed...all civil Liberty is at an End."[19]

Others agreed. Governor Smallwood reportedly was "much displeased with this affair" in his home county and "determined to have it searched to the bottom." According to Hamilton, "the independent & honest part of the Society"—that is, people attached to law, the state constitution, and peace—"are exceedingly alarmed at the Consequences of this affair and wish he [Smallwood] may as far as the Constitution will allow him, act with a decided vigour in putting a Stop to such behaviour in the bud." On 13 July Smallwood issued a strongly worded proclamation emphasizing that "riotous proceedings" like those at Port Tobacco threatened the welfare of the state and "are highly criminal and punishable with severe pains and penalties." Admonishing "all persons to refrain from committing such violences and outrages," he promised strict enforcement of the laws, urged all sheriffs and magistrates "to be vigilant and active in suppressing such disorderly and tumultuous assemblies," and exhorted the citizenry to support these efforts. Smallwood then ordered Sheriff Ware to read the proclamation at the courthouse and other public gathering places and to pepper the county with printed copies. In addition, the proclamation was disseminated throughout the state in the *Maryland Gazette*.[20]

The governor's subsequent investigation of the riot did not match the ardor of his denunciation, for the executive in Revolutionary Maryland, as in other states, was notably limited. Thus, Smallwood and the council did not order, but merely requested, the accused justices, the clerk of the county court, and Thomas to appear at an inquiry in Annapolis on 10 August. Because the executive branch had no authority to compel anyone to attend, the summonses simply read, "we expect you'l attend."[21]

Walter Hanson orchestrated the justices' official defense of their conduct. He declined to go to Annapolis on the grounds that age and infirmities had long since prevented him from traveling more than ten miles from home. Nor did his presumably healthier colleagues deign to appear. Instead, the three men offered a single, written response to Thomas's accusations. In addition, the chief justice persuaded the other men seated at the bench during the riot—Sheriff Ware, Hawkins, and Henry Massey Hanson—to volunteer sworn depositions.[22]

The defense that the accused justices thereby mounted was three-pronged. First, they held themselves up as examples of rectitude and impartiality. Pointedly mentioning his forty-five years on the bench, the elder Hanson asserted that in all that time "many worthy Gentlemen Eminent in their profession have practic'd the Law at our Bar...and I dare say that neither my self or any of my associates were ever thought wilfully failing in their duty Until we Unfortunately happened to disoblige Mr. Thomas." All three men were particularly incensed at Thomas's suggestion

that Samuel Hanson, on the court less than a decade, was under the influence of his senior colleagues. The younger Hanson's retort was laden with republican rhetoric: as an officer in the war, he had "Servd the public in a much higher Station" than as a county justice, and to intimate that "he was so much of a Cypher as to have no Oppinion of his own or was under the Influence of any one living" was "very Ungenteel," to say the least.[23]

The second prong of the defense was that the courthouse had been the scene of "such Uproar and Confusion" during the riot, and the mob so large, that it would have been futile for the justices to "command the peace"—a telling admission that they had not read the riot act, ordered the mob to cease and desist, and, that failing, called out a posse. Commanding the peace "would not have answered any good purpose," mused Hawkins, because the rioters seemed "determined & sober." Asked what might have happened had a posse been called out, Henry Massey Hanson answered that "the consequence must have been Very bad, and that in his Oppinion Nothing More could have been done then what was done by the Court." The justices agreed, even as they sought to reassure the governor and council that "nothing in our power ever has or shall be wanting to discourage all...Unlawful assemblys."[24]

The coup de grace of the justices' defense was a concerted effort to undermine Thomas's credibility. They labeled him passionate, angry, and so skilled at elocution that he might mislead "an ordinary Judicature," and they cautioned that he might surfeit the forthcoming inquiry with "Surmises, Conjectures or Suppositions" and exaggerations. Rather than attacking their behavior, Thomas owed them thanks for saving his life, for which Walter Hanson took sole credit because he had calmed the crowd. Surely, the justices concluded, Thomas would withdraw his memorial once he read their answer—"Unless his Intention be to get us displaced, and the Commission of the Peace filld up with Members a little more plyable, and Suple, and more ready to come into his Measures."[25]

Despite their bravado the justices obviously were worried about the forthcoming inquiry. Dent even quizzed two leaders of the mob, Nelson and Ward, in the presence of several gentlemen and extracted a statement that he had not encouraged the rioters. Chief Justice Hanson was uneasy, too, because on 3 August he volunteered that if Thomas wanted his name reinstated on the one hundred debt cases, "I dare say he will meet with no hindrance from the Court." He did not reveal what the court intended to do if another riot ensued.[26]

When the governor and council held the inquiry on 10 August, their only options under the state constitution were to exonerate the justices of misconduct or remove them from office. They had to decide, moreover, without being able to question the justices. Thomas, their accuser, attended the inquiry fortified with a list of questions. Are magistrates bound to

suppress rioting? Of course, answered the governor and councilors. Are magistrates bound to see that rioters are apprehended? Yes, "on proper Information" (not otherwise defined). And had the Charles County magistrates done anything to apprehend the culprits? To this the panel replied, "It may be asked has Mr. Thomas obliged to have them arrested?-or could the Justices have done it."[27]

In the end, Smallwood and the council declined "to exercise the only constitutional power we have with regard to persons in the Judicial Department[,] that of displacing them," and pronounced the Charles County magistrates not guilty "of any wilfull violation of their duty." No one could read that statement as commendation. The only person praised, and then rather faintly, was Thomas, whose questioning of the justices' conduct "manifested a becoming Zeal & Regard for Order & good Government."[28]

If the justices were not excoriated, the riot was. Its immediate impact and potential dangers for country justice in Maryland simply could not be ignored. British debts may have been the ostensible cause, but suspicion was widespread that all debts—and even the payment of taxes—were in jeopardy. In the wake of the riot, moveover, the county court system throughout the state nearly ground to a halt. One observer commented in mid-August that "scarcely any of the Courts have since met to proceed with Business, nor is it expected they will do more than just meet & adjourn the Courts which by Law are to be held in most of the Counties this Month." Shades of 1765, when Maryland courts closed during the Stamp Act crisis, and of 1775, when they closed again as proprietary rule disintegrated. This time, however, the riot and court closings threatened not the British and proprietary governments but the new republican state. Should that state prove impotent, what would replace it? Hence the alarm beneath the strident language of Smallwood's 13 July proclamation—and in a notice that twenty grand jurors on the Eastern Shore placed in the *Maryland Gazette* in September of 1786. Promoting the riot to a "dangerous insurrection"—one "excited, raised and committed, by a set of infatuated men in Charles county"—they warned that such disorder would have "dangerous and fatal consequences...if not timely discountenanced and suppressed." Under a government with a constitution and laws adequate to address citizens' legitimate grievances, there could be no pretext for tumult. As a means of protest, rioting and court closings had lost legitimacy in the state.[29]

For the gentlemen justices of Charles County, the entire episode carried a loud message. No matter how understandable or regrettable local problems were, the wider community would not tolerate perceived threats to the welfare and survival of the young state government. During the fall of 1786 a chastened court "severely reprimanded & fined" the riot leaders, after which Hamilton reported, "they are quiet but do not pay any better."

In 1787 the General Assembly recognized the Peace of Paris—including the debt clause—as legal within Maryland. By December, when the postwar depression was still so severe that public officers went unpaid and merchant John Hoskins Stone lamented that "our Affairs wear such a Gloomy Aspect," calm nonetheless prevailed at the courthouse. Fergusson informed the governor that, in a court session lasting more than two weeks, "much business was done, and the sitting Magistrates gave much consent to the Bar and Suitors. In short we have the pleasing prospect of our Court business in this County being in an agreeable situation soon to the satisfaction of all concerned." Not all. Dent and Walter Hanson stayed home.[30]

The episode in Charles County was a classic eighteenth-century riot. The mob was disciplined and determined, had a specific objective, and disbanded rapidly once that objective was attained. Town dwellers and local planters closed ranks behind the rioters and the justices, whose behavior protected everyone from British debt litigation. No one came forward to name the members of the mob, to support Thomas's version and interpretation of events, or to provide a detailed narrative of the events from beginning to end. Finally, it was a common form of early American riot because what sparked it was a problem for which no legal remedy then existed.[31]

The riot broke out, it will be remembered, as the court reluctantly began consigning debtors to jail—the only possible judicial response in cases where creditors had earlier obtained judgment and the defendants proved unable to pay. During the colonial period, such insolvents languished in dark, dank confinement or were sold into indentured servitude to satisfy their creditors. As Walter Hanson perceived, however, such measures seemed inappropriate for the freemen of a republican state. At the courthouse shortly before the mob formed, he "wish'd the Wisdom of the Legislature could fall upon some Expedient to Exempt the Body of a free Citizen from Imprisonment for Debt." Responding to intense public pressure, the assembly did just that when it passed the state's first comprehensive bankruptcy act in May of 1787. Charles County insolvents promptly sought refuge in it.[32]

NOTES

1. Contemporary accounts of the episodes are in Philadelphia *Pennsylvania Mercury and Universal Advertiser*, 8 June 1787; John Dawson to James Madison, 15 April and [12 June] 1787, James McClurg to Madison, 22 August and 10 September 1787, and Madison to James Madison, Sr., 4 September 1787, and to Thomas Jefferson, 6 September 1787, in Robert A. Rutland et al., eds., *The Papers of James Madison* (15 vols. to date; Chicago and Charlottesville: University of Chicago Press and University Press of Virginia, 1962-), 9:381 and 10:47, 155-56, 165, 161-62, 164, respectively; "Diary of Timothy Ford, 1785-1786," *South Carolina*

Historical and Genealogical Magazine, 13 (1912): 193; Robert A. Becker, ed., "John F. Grimke's Eyewitness Account of the Camden Court Riot, April 27-28, 1785," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 83 (1982): 209-13. On Shays's Rebellion see David P. Szatmary, *Shays' Rebellion: The Making of an Agrarian Insurrection* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980); John L. Brooke, "To the Quiet of the People: Revolutionary Settlements and Civil Unrest in Western Massachusetts, 1774-1789," *William and Mary Quarterly* (3d ser.), 46 (1989): 425-62; Richard D. Brown, "Shays's Rebellion and the Ratification of the Federal Constitution in Massachusetts," in Richard Beeman et al., eds., *Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1987), pp. 113-27; and Robert A. Gross, ed., *In Debt to Shays: The Legacy of an Agrarian Rebellion* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, forthcoming).

The author wishes to thank the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and the Institute of Early American History and Culture for research support, and Stephen Innes and Christopher F. Lee for valuable comments and suggestions.

2. Charles County Court Records, N3 (1764-66), Maryland State Archives, Annapolis; Alexander Hamilton to James Brown & Company, 23 December 1774, in Richard K. MacMaster and David C. Skaggs, eds., "The Letterbooks of Alexander Hamilton, Piscataway Factor: Part II, 1774-1775," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 61 (1966): 321; and Jean Butenhoff Lee, *Revolution Along the Tobacco Coast: Charles County, Maryland, 1750-1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, forthcoming).

3. List of balances due the Port Tobacco store of Cunninghame, Findlay & Co., 1 September 1777, A.O. 13/29, P.R.O., Virginia Colonial Records Project, reel 250, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville (cf. list of pre-1777 bonds and notes from the Benedict store of John Glassford & Co., 24 May 1785, Hamilton Papers, 1760-1800, MS. 1301, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore); Charles County Court Records, Y3 (1778-80), fols. 85, 99-103; Philip A. Crowl, *Maryland during and after the Revolution: A Political and Economic Study* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1943), pp. 67-68; and Charles R. Ritcheson, *Aftermath of Revolution: British Policy toward the United States, 1783-1795* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1969), p. 63.

4. Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, 2 October 1783, 19 February and 27 May 1784; and Hamilton to James Brown & Co., 25 January and 10 March 1784, and to Matthew Blair, 21 October 1784, in David C. Skaggs and Richard K. MacMaster, eds., "Post-Revolutionary Letters of Alexander Hamilton, Piscataway Merchant: Part 1, January-June 1784," and "Post-Revolutionary Letters...Part 2, July-October 1784," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 63 (1968): 26 and 30, and 65 (1970): 35, respectively.

5. Hamilton to William Hanson, May [1784], to Walter Pye, 14 May 1784, to James Brown & Co., 20 May 1784, and to Robert Fergusson, 17 July 1784, in "Post-Revolutionary Letters," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 63:34-35, 37, and 65:20. Walter Pye's estate was assessed at £2,629 in the 1782 Charles County Tax Assessment Lists (Maryland State Papers, ser. Z, Scharf Collection, box 96, item 5, MdSA). While the peace treaty was silent about interest, the assembly was not. In 1782 it postponed

certain debt litigation "unless the debtor shall refuse or neglect to pay the interest due." See *Laws of Maryland...[April Session 1782]* (Annapolis, n.d.), chap. 55.

6. Hamilton to Fergusson, 17 July 1784, to James Brown & Co., 20 July and 2 October 1784, and to Blair, 21 October 1784, in "Post-Revolutionary Letters," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 65:20, 22-24, 28, 35; Hamilton to Fergusson, 12 February 1785, Hamilton Papers; and Richard Henderson to Edward Matthews [1785], Chancery Record SHH3 (1797-98), fol. 521, MdSA. Fergusson was a partner in the tobacco firm of Henderson, Fergusson & Gibson, which succeeded the prewar firm of John Glassford & Co.

7. Quoted material is in Thomas Stone to Walter Stone, 26 April 1783, Gratz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; and *Maryland Gazette*, 9 June 1785. Other contemporary observations are in Hamilton to James Brown & Co., 10 March and 2 October 1784, in "Post-Revolutionary Letters," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 63:30-31, and 65:28-29; Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, 12 November 1785 and 23 February 1786, Tilghman Letterbook, 1785-86, fols. 249, 350, in the Tench Tilghman Letter and Account Books, 1784-98, MS. 2690, MdHS; Wallace, Johnson & Muir (Annapolis) to Alexander Ogg, 20 January 1785, and to Wallace, Johnson & Muir (London), 19 February 1785, Wallace, Johnson & Muir Letterbook, fols. 128, 195, MS. 1180, MdHS; and Thomas Jefferson to John Adams, 9 July 1786, in Julian P. Boyd et al., eds., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (20 vols. to date; Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1950-), 10:106. On British policy, see Ritcheson, *Aftermath of Revolution*, pp. 6-13. John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard treat postwar economic conditions in *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1985), pp. 367-77. On conditions in Maryland, consult Louis Maganzin, "Economic Depression in Maryland and Virginia, 1783-1787" (Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 1967). Kathryn L. Behrens, *Paper Money in Maryland, 1727-1789* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1923), remains the standard treatment of that subject. On the French monopoly, see Jacob M. Price, *France and the Chesapeake: A History of the French Tobacco Monopoly, 1674-1791, and of Its Relationship to the British and American Tobacco Trades* (2 vols.; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1973), vol. 2, chap. 27.

8. Tilghman to Morris, 15 November 1785, Tilghman Letterbook, 1785-86, fol. 250; Tilghman & Co. to Thomas How Ridgate, 8 March 1786, and Tilghman to Morris, 21 March 1786, Tilghman Letterbook, 1786-89, fols. 5, 14; *Maryland Gazette*, 15 June 1786; John Hoskins Stone to W. Stone, 7 July 1786, in the possession of the descendants of Mrs. Michael Stone; and J. H. Stone to W. Stone, 30 October 1786, Stone Family Papers, MS. 406, MdHS.

9. Account of balances due from county tax collectors for 1779-82, in Maryland State Papers, ser. B, Pforzheimer Papers, box 1, item 78, MdSA; *The American Museum, Or, Universal Magazine*, 7 (1790): 159; and "To his Excellency the Governor, and the honorable Council of the State of Maryland. The Address of the subscribers...," n.d., Broadside Portfolio 28, no. 20, Rare Book Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. For an overview of public policy regarding the state debt, see Edward C. Papenfuse, "The Legislative Response to a Costly War: Fiscal Policy and Factional Politics in Maryland, 1777-1789," in Ronald Hoffman and Peter

J. Albert, eds., *Sovereign States in an Age of Uncertainty* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981), pp. 134-56.

10. On the agitation for paper money and the role of the state senate, see Melvin Yazawa, ed., *Representative Government and the Revolution: The Maryland Constitutional Crisis of 1787* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975); Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1969), pp. 251-55; and Crowl, *Maryland during and after the Revolution*, chap. 4. Alexander Hamilton kept track of court closings. See his letter to James Brown & Co., 24 May 1786, Letterbook, 1773-76 and 1784-90, Piscataway, Md. (hereinafter cited as Piscataway Letterbook) in the John Glassford & Co. Papers, container no. 44, Manuscripts Division, LC.

11. Memorial of John Allen Thomas to Governor William Smallwood, 15 June 1786, and Walter Hanson, John Dent, and Samuel Hanson, Jr., to Smallwood [July 1786], in Maryland State Papers, ser. A, Executive Papers (hereinafter cited as Executive Papers), box 59, items 2/3, 2/11, MdSA. Every justice appointed to the court in 1786 is named in the Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 27 November 1784 to 10 November 1788, MdSA. For biographical data on the three justices, see Edward C. Papenfuse et al., eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635-1789* (2 vols.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979, 1985), 1:264, 409-10. Samuel Hanson, Jr., was also known as Samuel of Samuel.

12. W. Hanson, Dent, and S. Hanson, Jr., to Smallwood [July 1786]; and depositions of Henry Massey Hanson, 22 July 1786, Francis Ware, 1 August 1786, and Josias Hawkins, 1 August 1786, Executive Papers, box 59, items 2/14-16. On John Allen Thomas, see Papenfuse et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary*, 2:808-09; Charles County Court Records, X3 (1774-78), fols. 618-19, and Y3 (1778-80), fol. 604; and George Plater to George Washington, 9 November 1789, George Washington Papers, ser. 7, 27:38, Manuscripts Division, LC. On Hawkins, see Papenfuse et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary*, 1:425-26. Henry Massey Hanson had been a lieutenant in the militia. His relationship to the large Hanson clan of Charles County has not been ascertained. William H. Browne et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland* (64 vols. to date; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-), 11:186.

13. Thomas to Smallwood, 15 June 1786, and W. Hanson, Dent, and S. Hanson, Jr., to Smallwood [July 1786].

14. Hawkins deposition, 1 August 1786; Thomas to Smallwood, 15 June 1786; H. M. Hanson deposition, 22 July 1786; John Muschett deposition, 8 August 1786, Executive Papers, box 59, item 2/13; and W. Hanson, Dent, and S. Hanson, Jr., to Smallwood [July 1786]. William Ward served as a private in the Maryland Line of the Continental Army from July 1778 through February 1779. His total assessed property in 1782 was £167 common money, including two slaves but no land. The only Joseph Nelson named in the tax records for that year owned one hundred acres but no other assessed property. Both men lived in Pomonkey Hundred. See *Archives of Maryland*, 18:255; and 1782 Charles County Tax Lists, in Maryland State Papers, ser. Z—Scharf Collection, box 96, item 13.

15. Thomas to Smallwood, 15 June 1786.

16. W. Hanson, Dent, and S. Hanson, Jr., to Smallwood [July 1786]; Hawkins deposition, 1 Aug. 1786; and H. M. Hanson deposition, 22 July 1786.

17. Hamilton to Fergusson, 18 June 1786, photocopy in Collection G333, MdSA; and Hamilton to James Brown & Co., 10 July 1786, Piscataway Letterbook, fol. 73. Hamilton may have been referring to Walter B. Smallwood, who in June 1781 enlisted in the army for a three-year term. Browne et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland*, 18:392, 429.

18. Hamilton to Fergusson, 18 June 1786.

19. Thomas to Smallwood, 15 June 1786. When he did not receive a prompt reply, Thomas wrote Smallwood again on 3 July 1786 (Executive Papers, box 59, item 2/8). Thomas was commissioned a captain in Smallwood's batallion of regular troops in January 1776, saw action in New York that summer, and the following year was appointed a major in the St. Mary's County militia. Because of the county's vulnerability to enemy raiding via Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac and Patuxent rivers, Thomas made important contributions to the defense of Maryland during the war. See Papenfuse et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary*, 2:809.

20. Hamilton to James Brown & Co., 10 July 1786, Piscataway Letterbook, fols. 73-74; Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 27 November 1784 to 10 November 1788, fol. 149; Smallwood to Ware, 14 July 1786, Council Letter Book, 1780-87, fol. 504, MdSA; *Maryland Gazette*, 20 July 1786.

21. Smallwood to W. Hanson and Dent, to John Gwinn, to Ware, and to Thomas, 12 July 1786, and to Samuel Hanson, 5 Aug. 1786, Council Letter Book, 1780-87, fols. 503-05. Replies: Gwinn to Smallwood, 17 July 1786, William Thompson deposition, 24 July 1786, Ware to Smallwood, 25 July 1786, and Thomas to Smallwood [early August 1786], Executive Papers, box 59, items 52, 2/5-7.

22. W. Hanson to Smallwood, 3 August 1786, Executive Papers, box 59, item 2/2; and W. Hanson, Dent, and S. Hanson, Jr., to Smallwood [July 1786].

23. W. Hanson to Smallwood, 3 August 1786; and W. Hanson, Dent, and S. Hanson, Jr., to Smallwood [July 1786].

24. W. Hanson to Smallwood, 3 August 1786; and W. Hanson, Dent, and S. Hanson, Jr., to Smallwood [July 1786]; H. M. Hanson deposition, 22 July 1786; Ware and Hawkins depositions, 1 August 1786.

25. W. Hanson to Smallwood, 3 August 1786; and W. Hanson, Dent, and S. Hanson, Jr., to Smallwood [July 1786].

26. Muschett deposition, 8 August 1786; and W. Hanson to Smallwood, 3 August 1786.

27. Thomas to Smallwood, 12 August 1786, and Council hearing notes [10 August 1786], Executive Papers, box 59, items 2/9A&B, 2/10.

28. Council hearing notes [10 August 1786].

29. John Ridout to Horiatio Sharpe, 9 August 1786, Ridout Papers, M290, MdSA; *Maryland Gazette*, 21 September 1786; and Hamilton to James Brown & Co., 10 July 1786, Piscataway Letterbook, fol. 73.

30. Hamilton to James Brown & Co., 21 January 1787, Piscataway Letterbook, fols. 75-77; Fergusson to John Stewart, 28 November 1787, to Smallwood, 10 December 1787, and to John Gibson, 23 December 1787, Letterbook, 1787-88, Port Tobacco, Maryland, in John Glassford & Co. Papers, container 62; and J. H. Stone to W. Stone, 27 December 1786, Stone Family Papers.

Curiously, the three justices who presided at the time of the riot, together with a fourth, Richard Barnes, tried to blame the court's huge backlog of cases on Thomas

Stone, a prominent local attorney and member of the state senate. He had witnessed the riot and was called to the 10 August council hearing. Whether he offered testimony is unknown, but the four justices subsequently published a notice in the *Maryland Gazette* which claimed that Stone's absences from court had "loaded and swelled" the docket "to a most enormous size" and that henceforth suits would not be carried over from one session to the next merely because counsel was not present. Stone, pointedly observing that "the *majority* of the justices" had not complained, published a rejoinder, whereupon three more justices sided with their colleagues to make a majority. See Smallwood to T. Stone, 10 August 1786, Council Letter Book, 1780-87, fol. 505; and *Maryland Gazette*, 14 and 28 December 1786, 8 March 1787.

31. Pauline Maier, "Popular Uprisings and Civil Authority in Eighteenth-Century America," *William and Mary Quarterly* (3rd ser.), 27 (1970): 3-35. See also Richard Maxwell Brown, "Violence and the American Revolution," in Stephen G. Kurtz and James H. Hutson, eds., *Essays on the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1973), pp. 81-120, and Paul A. Gilje, *The Road to Mobocracy: Popular Dissent in New York City, 1763-1834* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1987). Thomas P. Slaughter, "Crowds in Eighteenth-Century America: Reflections and New Directions," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, CV (1991) suggests a typology of crowd actions.

32. W. Hanson, Dent, and S. Hanson, Jr., to Smallwood [July 1786]. Under the insolvency act passed during the April 1787 session of the legislature, persons who deeded all of their property to their creditors were absolved of their debts. See *Laws of Maryland...[April Session 1787]* (Annapolis [1787]), chap. 34; see also *Maryland Gazette*, 21 March 1793. Charles County debtors regularly availed themselves of the bankruptcy legislation. For examples, see the *Maryland Gazette*, 2 and 23 August, 20 September, 11 October, 1 and 11 November 1787. At first, imprisonment was still possible until a debtor completed the proper bankruptcy procedures. In 1796, Governor John Hoskins Stone asked the assembly to abolish imprisonment for debt. See Papenfuse et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary*, 2:785. The confusing history of debtor relief in post-Revolutionary Maryland is outlined in Peter J. Coleman, *Debtors and Creditors in America: Insolvency, Imprisonment for Debt, and Bankruptcy, 1607-1900* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1974), pp. 171-78.

Maryland Rye: A Whiskey the Nation Long Fancied—But Now Has Let Vanish

JAMES H. BREADY

Since very early in the [nineteenth] Century the whiskies distilled in Maryland have been renowned.... The equable climate, remarkably soft water, together with the Superior rye grown on the uplands of Maryland, combine to make the product of her stills peerless among the whiskies of America.

From the back label (c. 1900) of Waldorf Maryland Old Rye Whiskey.

The finest all-rye whiskey in the United States.

From an advertisement (c. 1910) for Braddock Maryland Rye, Cumberland.

All Whiskey is Good. Some is Better. Tourist is Best.

From a 1906 house-brand advertisement, Thomas F. McNulty & Son, 414-16 North Gay Street., Baltimore.

There is no one article made in Baltimore that has done more to spread the fame of the city as a commercial centre than has Hunter Baltimore Rye.

From *Baltimore: Its History and Its People* (New York & Chicago: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1912), p. 508.

You might've liked our special house brand, Sunshine Whiskey. It sure beat moonshine.

Zanvyl Krieger, 1987, on behalf of H. Krieger & Sons, formerly of 1 East Lee Street, Baltimore.

Across two centuries, the distilling of whiskey from rye grain was an important Maryland industry. Beginning quietly before and during the Revolutionary War and lapsing into abeyance within the decade just past, the story of this industry is overdue for systematic attention.[1]

The narrative divides into a long section and a short: the years before 1920, when the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act implementing

---

James H. Bready, a retired newspaperman, has also written *This Parish Under God*, a history of the Church of the Redeemer and *The Home Team*, a history of baseball in Baltimore.

it forbade the production and distribution of beverage alcohol, and the years following 1933, when the Twenty-first Amendment restored legality. Of the two periods, the earlier is the less known and the more interesting. Between 1865 and 1917—the years of coast-to-coast marketing's inception—Maryland Rye commanded national respect. To a legion of fanciers, the best Maryland Rye was on a par with whatever else might be nominated as the *ne plus ultra* of American whiskey. In manufacture and sales, small Maryland stood a distant but unvarying third, behind only the vastness of Kentucky's bourbon and Pennsylvania's rye.

After an apex at about 1900, however, slippage was manifest, the consequence of rising anti-alcohol sentiment, suggestions of product inconsistency, and evident undercapitalization in Baltimore. Meanwhile, growing New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago firms moved toward industry dominance and built new, large distilleries in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

Following the repeal of Prohibition, a new group of local distillers emerged, their ambition being to reawaken regional demand, at least, for Maryland Rye; they, too, eventually lost out as national enterprisers bought them up and, in many instances, closed their plants. After World War II the downturn accelerated as American tastes changed or were changed. Favor went to whiskies less pronounced in taste than Maryland Rye; then, away from whiskey to other alcoholic drinks. In 1983 Standard Distillers Products, Inc., of Baltimore, the one remaining distributor of Maryland Rye, closed its doors and commerce ended. The present business-history survey concentrates on the earlier of these two periods, the years before 1920.

A scarcity of information frustrates the researcher trying to explore Maryland whiskey. Particularly between the Civil War and World War I, the attitude of most members of polite society toward the drinking of alcohol was to see, smell, hear, say, and record nothing. That silence among educated people bespoke a stigma overlying the liquor business: it was

TABLE 1

U.S. WHISKEY PRODUCTION IN MILLIONS OF GALLONS, 1881-1913
(The first, second and third states, nationally)

	Kentucky	Pennsylvania	Maryland
1881-82	30.4	4.7	2.4
1890-91	33.4	6.4	2.5
1900-01	30.6	7.2	3.9
1911-12	43.6	10.6	5.6

Number of states with commercial distilleries (1886): 31
Number of states producing rye whiskey (1886): 17
(Sources: *Durner's Price List*; *Bonfort's Wine & Spirit Guide*)

legitimate, yes; genteel, no. What historical work, what turn-of-the-century guidebook mentions the presence, in their odorousness, of two good-sized operating distilleries within a five-minute walk of Baltimore City Hall? (Monticello, at Holliday and Bath streets; Maryland, at Guilford and Saratoga.) William T. Walters (1820-1894) first attained wealth by wholesaling whiskey in Baltimore, from 1847 until well after the Civil War; but on his death the Baltimore *Sun*, in its half-page news story, tiptoed wordlessly by that phase of Walters' career. A second obstacle is the emotionalism of those who did speak out regarding liquor, hard or soft. While abstinence organizations like the Sons of Temperance and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union were growing more and more hostile, their adversaries in the Liquor Dealers' Protective Association of Baltimore City sometimes organized mass meetings too, but more often hugged the ground. Neither side in the long-drawn-out wet/dry war had a statistical bent or disseminated facts unadorned. Finally, there were occasional public-print salutes to Maryland Rye, subject to discounting for local patriotism, yet sometimes of value. For example, the contemporary author and critic Frederick Gutheim, of Dickerson, evokes a glorious echo: "In olden time, the men drank beer; the heroes, rye."[2]

In general, the single largest scholarly difficulty is the absence of extended business records from any pre-World War I distiller, rectifier, wholesaler, or retailer (rectifying is the process of mingling the contents of barreled whiskies of diverse origins and ages, and bottling them under brand names in supposedly uniform flavors). Equally absent are printed interviews with reliable persons who had careers in the liquor trade. How helpful it would be, had some Baltimorean ever monitored the flow of business at a neighborhood saloon (or downtown club), noting the quantity of whiskey consumed per month, the number and range of patrons and their bar orders, the ingredient variety and taste difference if any among competing brands. Lacking such aids, the student must delve among directories, obituaries, advertisements, sales-promotion objects, photographs, government and industry statistics, and artifacts in historical societies or private collections.

Beneath distilling success in Maryland was the Middle West's great limestone shield, which spreads eastward into Pennsylvania and western Maryland, with one prong reaching Baltimore. "American whiskey had its beginnings in Pennsylvania and Maryland," writes Michael Jackson, the present day's top international whiskey critic.[3] Soft limestone water can reconcile throats to the rasp of ardent spirits. To start with, it is true, the strong drink of popular favor, in manor or cabin and at the traveler's tavern

or ordinary, was rum.[4] Its source was distilleries mostly in Massachusetts and Rhode Island (in the colonies' notorious slaves-molasses-rum trade triangle). But in the 1770s, owing to parliamentary excises and then to naval blockade, rum became scarce. A replacement was at once available: grain whiskey from the western counties, distilled by settlers from Scotland and Ulster. These farmers, desiring a strong drink for themselves, knew ancestrally how to make it, with or without the manuals available from London publishers. A further incentive was the mile/pound shipping contrast: barreled whiskey was more cost-effective than barreled grain or flour. Whiskey made in crude lambecs (pot-stills) and aged briefly in rough-hewn cooperage must have taken some getting used to; but, as quartermaster records indicate, the Continental Army was equal to that task. An oft-told detail is that one or more stills was in operation on the right bank of the Potomac River, on the estate named Mount Vernon.

Hardly was the new federal government in organized operation when in 1791 Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, raising money to pay off the large national debt, induced Congress to enact its first domestic levy—on the distilling of spirituous liquors. (Three of Maryland's four congressmen voted against "the excise law.") This was big-business legislation. The tax applied not only to its output but, if a still were idle, to its capacity. More, by insensitively requiring payment in cash, the new government gouged the people of the moneyless frontier, where barter was the custom. In the ensuing 1794 Whiskey Rebellion, suppressed almost without bloodshed by federal militia from four states including Maryland, two points have escaped attention. The locus for noncompliance and violence against tax agents was largely western Pennsylvania, but not entirely. Early local newspapers reported disturbances, such as the erection of 1776-style townsquare liberty poles, in Cumberland, Hagerstown, and Middletown.[5] Marylanders were reluctant to be called up, partly because their summons came at the height of the harvest, partly because their farms, too, had stills. At one point, even Frederick was tense—rumor had "the Whiskey Boys" headed that way, to empty its state arsenal of weapons. Second, the outcome—the triumphant imposition of the central government's will—led directly to the quiet departure of many a tax resister, coasting down the Ohio River to collector-free Kentucky. Bourbon whiskey, rye's victorious rival, would have happened eventually anyway; but in the Whiskey Rebellion, a modern view holds, western Marylanders lost twice.

Once Thomas Jefferson had become president his adherents in Congress reduced the whiskey excise in 1802 to a minimum.[6] There followed, roughly between 1810 and 1840, the heaviest drinking in American experience. The modern scholar W. J. Rohrabaugh estimated that "the number of distilleries...rose from 14,000 in 1810 to 20,000 in 1830."[7] Then the number fell, but capacity per distillery kept increasing. For Maryland, these totals would

Luke A. Sweeney's saloon, pictured in the background, was on Greenmount Avenue, below Eager Street. Photograph from the author's collection. Royal Blue Club was from Southern Distilling Co.

pro-rate to many hundreds of farm and tavern distilleries. And whiskey was one more of the consumer goods available at the county seat or crossroads general store. In the later 1860s, in the then-rural village of Waverly, Lizette Woodworth Reese as a girl filed away a memory of the two rival "dispensers of groceries, bacon, small drygoods and liquors."[8] "Each [Waverly general store] had a bar"—saloons, a specialized venue, came later. Nationally, the advertising word "grocer" meant retail liquor on the premises.

In Baltimore there was circumstantial evidence: Whiskey Alley and Bottle Alley (dating from before 1800) and the four commercial distilleries listed in Baltimore's first published census— Thompson and Walker's *Baltimore Town and Fell's Point Directory* (Baltimore: Pechin, 1796). It is unclear just what liquids Peter Garts, Conrad Hoburg, Francis Johonnot, and John Tool, the separate proprietors, distilled, but turpentine was among them. Among early distilleries, the longest lived (from the 1810s into at least the 1840s) was that of Joseph White, chiefly at Holliday and Centre streets, hard by Jones' Falls. No telling today as to the quantity and quality of output, but gin would have been prominent; storage adding nothing to its palatability, that form of spirits could go directly to the customer without aging. Leftover mash went to nearby hog-raisers. In any event, the typical American city was equipped with distilleries just as it was with breweries. One other set of remains: bottles in aqua, cobalt, green, amber and clear glass—pocket liquor containers, spoken of today as historical flasks. To make them,

Baltimore glassblowers blew molten glass into wooden molds bearing designs that related to politics, wars, architecture, fraternal orders. Locally and nationally, these still-glowing wares now rank as high-priced aesthetic triumphs.[9]

In the western reaches, distilling was no less commonplace. Washington County offered the richest detail. Robert Downey and Jacob Leiter had been active there in the mid-eighteenth century; shortly before the Civil War, the Washington County Historical Society has estimated, twenty-six grain distilleries were doing business (these were commercial operations, not the individual farmer's barnyard coil). The route to market was by wagon to Williamsport, and thence on barges down the Potomac or, later, the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal. The county's most active sector was perhaps Leitersburg, north of Hagerstown. In 1898 Herbert C. Bell, Leitersburg's historian, reported that the largest of the sixteen local distilleries before 1861 was that on Antietam Creek operated by Robert Fowler and Frederick K. Ziegler.[10] It had "a twenty-horsepower engine" and consumed fifty or sixty bushels of grain daily. Then came the Civil War, with baneful effects on the small operator. The federal need for revenue translated into a rapidly increasing liquor excise. Bell observed sententiously that, for the "wealthy, prominent and influential men engaged in it," the distilling business "almost invariably resulted disastrously to their fortunes and families." Other distilling centers in Washington County included Indian Springs, Clear Spring, Kemp's Mill, Pen-Mar, and Smithsburg.

Transportation improvements in mid-century were in one respect something of a detriment. Since earliest times, Pennsylvania and its broad uplands had been home to many times the number of Maryland stills, and in 1810 the United States Trademark Registry entered Pennsylvania's A. Overholt & Co. Pure Rye as its first whiskey brand name. A Pennsylvania river name, Monongahela, early assumed a cachet rather like that held today by the word Highland in Scotch whiskey. In the advertising of Baltimore merchants, Monongahela whiskey commanded a premium—an early example of the inferiority complex enveloping many a home product or attainment, of the attitude that "imported excels domestic." Was Pennsylvania whiskey really pleasanter in taste, kinder in after-effect? The Baltimore firm founded in 1847 by William T. Walters and Charles Harvey encouraged its clientele to think so, Walters being the agent for four upstate Pennsylvania distillers.[11] One early Baltimore label read, "Maryland Monongahela Rye Whiskey," as if counting on consumers not to know that the Monongahela River never touches Maryland.

What in the latter part of the century upgraded Maryland Rye's reputation, locally and nationally? Was there nothing to equal western Maryland's waving fields of rye grain?[12] Hardly; a reverse consequence of rail transport was the opportunity it gave Maryland distillers to try rye grown elsewhere

(especially New York and Wisconsin), and scattered admissions indicate that they found the imported article preferable, for wild onion kept intruding into Maryland ryefields. Was Maryland's advantage a matter of superior distilling technique? Perhaps, although the backgrounds, the devices, the very identities of the master distillers employed in Maryland are largely lacking.[13] Cleverer advertising, then, and larger ad budgets? Yes; the same gimmickry, however, assisted whiskies in a spreading number of other states. (In this connection, what was the earliest proprietary brand name, distinct from the generic Maryland Rye? No definitive answer is possible; but Helen Hopkins Thom, profiling her famous Quaker ancestor, averred that Johns Hopkins, soon after founding the Baltimore wholesale-grocery firm of Hopkins Brothers, accepted payment in kind from some of its Virginia and North Carolina customers.[14] Their staple of barter was grain, liquefied. Hopkins Brothers then "sold it under the brand of 'Hopkins' Best'" in the 1840s or earlier. That this consumer good came in a glass bottle with a paper label is doubtful. For dealing in whiskey, Hopkins was temporarily turned out of Friends' Meeting; late in life he told a nephew "he wished he had never sold liquor.")

As distribution progressed, the name stenciled on barrelheads or printed on labels, and used as a brand, was often that of distiller or distillery; still oftener, a whiskey's name repeated that of its wholesaler or retailer. What put "sell" into it was the nineteenth century's invention of consumer-commodity advertising. In Maryland the first documented stretch of the whiskey trade's imagination was at Lanahan & Stewart, Baltimore rectifiers and wholesalers. In 1855 the firm federally registered Hunter Pure Rye, invoking the timber-topper's image (later the phrase changed to Hunter Baltimore Rye; the brand survived into Repeal times). In 1860 the first known published ad for a Baltimore whiskey trade name appeared in the city directory—Old Diploma Rye Whiskey, proffered by John E. Wilson, a Baltimore firm dating itself to 1807. The "diploma" harked back to the 1852 Exhibition of Articles of American Manufacture at the Maryland Institute. In reality, not only was a diploma inferior to the gold, silver, and bronze medals there awarded but, as both *Sun* and *American* reported at the time, Wilson's diploma was "for [a] lot of American wines." By 1860, a cynic seems to have been thinking, the public would have forgotten such details.

To the later eye, it has to have been something other than catchy names that vaulted Maryland Rye to eminence—though Maryland's dealerships or agencies did harbor a few playful, or sentimental, minds. As with the christening of pets, boats and streets, so with the printing of whiskey labels. Local brand names included Solace, Comforter, Faultless, Marieland, Royal Blue Club, Lake Roland, Maryland Queen, Belle of Baltimore, Triple (horse racing, not baseball), Verdict, and Old Velvet, Cahn, Belt Co.'s Emory Grove whiskey was an evident attempt to annoy the abstemious Methodists for

whom Emory Grove was a Baltimore camp-meeting site. Swallow Maryland Rye pictured, on its label, a bird. Another brand, another quip: "Full Dress Maryland Rye (picture of a man wearing white tie and tails) Will Suit You." Hunter (by this time the company name was William Lanahan & Son) captioned its picture of a steeplechase rider with, "First Across the Bars." Another Lanahan brand name was 365, the number suggesting a daily nip. Soon after the fire of 1904 had burned itself out, the citizen proposing a salute to the new Baltimore could pour from a bottle of New Baltimore.[15]

Elsewhere about the country, however, keener or livelier wits were devising such zingers as Kriskrinkel, Old Parchment, Silk Velvet, Old Blarney Stone, Tarantula Juice, Palmam Qui Meruit Ferit, Custer's Reserve, Hoo Hoo, Pompeii, Prehistoric Rye, Hercules Rye, Rubicon Rye, Old Glory, Battle Ax Rye, McKinley Rye, Bryan Rye, King of Baltimore, Sweet Violets, and To Hell With Spain. The customer could have Bedroom Whiskey, Climax Whiskey, Tea Kettle Whiskey, Police Whiskey, Doctor's Prescription Whiskey and W.C.T.U. Whiskey. As the vogue for Maryland Rye strengthened, G. H. Goodman, a four-state transmontane wholesaler, put on sale something called Marland [sic] Rye.

To repeat: how account for the sudden prominence of Maryland Rye in the last third of the century? The student falls back on an obvious circumstance: the Civil War, which brought thousands and thousands of outsiders into Maryland, where many of them would have given the local liquor a try and then gone home deeming Maryland's rye preferable to more familiar beverages. Thanks to the postwar advances in rail freight service, it had become possible to satisfy quickly this wide demand for Maryland's product. In the distance, distillers were imitative—in a recurring 1885 *Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Guide* ad, B. J. Semmes & Co. of Memphis, Tennessee, declared, "We have been distilling the Celebrated Yannissee Whiskey since 1823. It is a Pure, Sour Mash, Rye Malt Whiskey, made on the Old Maryland Plan...."

In Baltimore, at least five individuals or groups of business men moved fast, after war's end, to meet this demand. Who first? The honor is uncertain, but Malcolm Crichton at Holliday and Bath streets was distilling as early as 1865. Born in Illinois in 1842, the son of a Scottish-born wholesale grocer, Crichton took over the defunct Joseph White distillery and rebuilt it—twice. On 24 July 1868, a Jones Falls flood, Baltimore's greatest natural disaster of the nineteenth century, "washed away [his plant] with all its contents." Whiskey, but with too much of a splash. Help came from a partner, Charles E. Dickey, a next-door meter manufacturer. Crichton meanwhile christened plant and product Monticello. A self-styled "perfect distillation," Monticello Pure Rye asserted 1789 as its date of birth, without elaborating. By Crichton's death in 1891, Monticello was available nationally.

The work force at Edwin Walters' Orient Distillery in Canton (probably 1880s). "Orient Pure Rye Whiskey" appears on barrelhead labels. Photograph from the author's collection.

Simultaneously, Edwin Walters, fourteen years younger than his brother and employer, William T., went into business for himself. (W. T. Walters & Co. disbanded in 1882, its principal figure having turned to marine and rail transportation.) No doubt with family backing, Edwin Walters bought Maitland & Bryan's Canton Distillery, one of the city's three or four existing commercial installations. The new owner renamed it Orient Distilleries, called his top product Orient Pure Rye and presently proclaimed his expanded plant to be Baltimore's largest. The 1869 *Sachse Bird's Eye View of Baltimore* pictured and identified Orient, showing it to have its own dock; in time Orient whiskey was on sale in San Francisco.

In a third transaction, Edward Hyatt bought into a small Cockeysville distillery and raised it to national eminence. Begun in 1868 by (John J.) Wight & (William H.) Lentz, local grocers, the enlarged distillery took the name Sherwood, from a nearby land tract. Hyatt, born in 1829, the son of Alpheus Hyatt, a downtown grocer, entered business with his own West Baltimore Street liquor store; in 1860 he and Nicholas R. Griffith were Water Street whiskey dealers. (Griffith & Hyatt rye came in a memorable handled flask.) In 1863 Hyatt left for New York; after five years there, as Hyatt & Clark, he had amassed sufficient capital and connections to move back and realize his dream: the broad-scale producing and marketing of a brand-name Maryland Rye. By 1878 the Army's Medical Purveying Depot in New York was stockpiling Sherwood Rye Whiskey for hospital use. In 1882 Hyatt incorporated the firm as Sherwood Distilling Co., with himself as president. Sherwood and Orient each had headquarters in downtown Baltimore office

buildings. After Hyatt's death in 1894, John Hyatt Wight took over. Altogether, during the last century and this, four generations of Wights distilled whiskey in Maryland, the last being John Hyatt Wight 2d, who died aged seventy-eight in 1990.[16]

Mount Vernon, though, was the distillery and brand that brought Maryland Rye most effectively to public notice—at the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. This time the origin was Baltimore's other leading commercial distillery of the 1850s, that of Edwin A. Clabaugh and George U. Graff at Ostend and Russell streets. About 1873 they sold it to Henry S. Hannis, a Philadelphia liquor merchant. Hannis stayed put, but his Baltimore agents rebuilt and enlarged the distillery. Shortly, the plans for the exposition's Agriculture Building included an operating model distillery, with numerous states eligible. Did Hannis's Philadelphia presence affect the outcome? The specific U.S. distilling apparatus thus reproduced, for the awed gaze of the strolling multitudes, was that of the new Mount Vernon Distillery in Baltimore.

Finally, in 1873 Thomas J. Flack & Sons, a downtown wholesaler dating itself back to 1825, took over a second small, lower-harbor distillery. Named Globe, and situated only a block from Orient Distilleries, the operation seems soon to have lapsed into brewing.

Two factors were controlling in all distilling locations: water (Orient and doubtless others drew from artesian wells) and transport. Always rail lines were close by and, therefore, access to shipping. Success was never guaranteed, but the canny distiller did well. The residential addresses of men such as Walters, Crichton, Lanahan, Hyatt, and Wight were large, gentry-district townhouses.

By 1881 J. Thomas Scharf in his *History of Baltimore City and County* was asserting, "The rye whiskies of Baltimore have for years been appreciated all over the country, and many of their brands are so well known as to be preferred beyond all others."[17] A year later, for a different audience, Scharf in his *History of Western Maryland* trained the same pleased regard on its product. And he narrowed his focus. "Probably no whiskey in the United States bears a better reputation than that produced at the Needwood Distillery," Scharf declared.[18] Near Burkittsville in Frederick County, Outerbridge Horsey, a former United States senator from Delaware, settled on an estate called Needwood that had passed down in his wife's family from Maryland's second governor. In the 1840s Outerbridge Horsey II set up a commercial distillery, using water from Catoctin Mountain. The Civil War's passing armies were privy to the location; soon the distillery was in ruins. Horsey, abroad in those years, studied Scottish and other distilling techniques. With peace, he returned to Needwood and rebuilt, installing late-model machinery. He imported Irish rye grain. James Dall (later, Oliver Flook) supervised the manufacture, and Needwood Distillery acquired a

Baltimore agent. Prospering, Horsey and his wife (a Carroll, of Signer stock) wintered elegantly in Washington. Horsey, born in 1819 and deceased in 1902, sat on the board of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal and for years was Maryland's member of the Democratic National Committee.

The firm seems to have marketed a single, prime grade only—a deliberately high-priced whiskey. But it was a technique for aging that brought Old Horsey its greatest reclame. Routinely, barrels of it went via ship around Cape Horn to San Francisco, and thence via rail back to Maryland for bottling. The sloshing about during ocean travel, so the notion went, outdid warehouse calm as a mellowing agent. The practice was far from unique (or unimitated?); some early Sherwood Rye was shipped to Cuba and back; according to Scharf, Antietam Rye, from Burkittsville's other distillery, that of John D. Ahalt, went to Rio de Janeiro and back. Glasgow merchants may have originated the idea (cf. the "'Round the World" version of King's Ransom Scotch). But a statement stenciled on the crate containing Old Horsey beguiled the connoisseur: "This whiskey...was shipped by sea to San Francisco per S.S. _____, thus acquiring a unique and most agreeable softness."

George Alfred Townsend ("Gath"), one of Horsey's postwar neighbors, gave the brand a free ad in his 1887 novel of Civil War times, *Katy of Catoctin*. At one point a local civilian says, "Here's a flask of old Needwood whiskey I know I can recommend."[19] In its advertising Horsey's Pure Rye (later Old Horsey Very Fine Rye and Old Horsey Maryland Rye) called itself "The First Eastern Pure Rye Distillery in the U.S." (perhaps in the sense of foremost). And for many years, this funny-name whiskey from an obscure coil somewhere in the outback, this hundred-proof Maryland marvel, "rich in all the qualities that epicures require," had a Massachusetts-to-California clientele—at hotels and clubs, not corner saloons.

Other salutes to Maryland distillations occurred in this era. The lower-Manhattan firm of P. W. Engs & Sons, Wine Merchants ("Established 1808," its ads said; New York City directories concur), put on sale a special whiskey in two varieties of handled, embossed, heavy-earthenware jugs. They read, "1808 Engs Baltimore Rye 1808." Support for this age assertion is lacking now, but it may be that the firm had brought up from its cellar a barrel or two that had been there from the start. Philip W. Engs (the name is akin to Inglis) and his descendants were prominent New York figures. In the nineteenth century, the trade had not yet acknowledged that whiskey left in the barrel ceases to improve after a decade or so—and the public was not yet aware of the extent to which barreled whiskey evaporates. For commercial advantage, would a firm owning aged elixir augment it with later liquids? No way to check, then or now. What matters is that in the liquor-trade annals of Kentucky or Pennsylvania, nothing comparable to "1808 Baltimore Rye 1808" occurs.

Ten leading turn-of-the-century brands: (rear) Hunter, Old Horsey, Braddock, Sherwood, Wilson, (front) Monticello, Melrose, Roxbury, Maryland Club, Friedenwald's Maryland.

In the 1880s and 1890s the flow of Maryland Rye entering the market sizably increased. In or near Baltimore at least eight additional distilleries opened for business: Pikesville, operated by L. Winand & Bro. in Scott's Level (adjacent to today's Pikesville); Melvale, operated by John T. Cummings, at what is now Cold Spring Lane and Jones Falls; Maryland, founded by the business leader Albert Gottschalk, at Guilford Avenue and Saratoga Street (the premises of a former brewery); Spring Garden, operated by Baltimore Distilling Co., hard by Mount Vernon Distillery; Carroll Springs, also in southwest Baltimore; in then-separate Highlandtown, Monumental, operated by Charles H. Ross & Co., wholesalers, on O'Donnell Street, and Stewart, operated by Robert Stewart, on Bank Street; and farther east, on the banks of Colgate Creek, Malone, operated by Daniel Malone.

Western Maryland was a similar scene, enterprisers constructing twenty or so commercial distilleries. Many were small. Some sold their entire output to city wholesalers, and thus had no house brand or label. Distilleries in general slacked off from the end of May till the first of October, and some shut down altogether during market slumps. The small workforce—at Canton's big Orient Distilleries, the employee lineup in an early photo comprises only sixteen people—could, in rural districts, then hire out as farmhands.

Among the more prominent western Maryland distillers and distilleries were Melchior (Melky) J. Miller, near Accident (Garrett County, with warehouse at Westernport); Braddock (in a self-evaluation, "America's Greatest Whiskey!"), owned by the James Clark Distilling Co., at LaVale (Allegany County); James T. Draper, at Clear Spring (Washington County); Benjamin Shockey, at Leitersburg (Washington County); Roxbury, "The Purest Rye Whiskey Made in the United States," also "The Pure Food Whiskey," founded and headed by George T. Gambrill (Charles E. Shadrach, manager), at Roxbury (Washington County); Levi Price, at Hyattstown (Montgomery County); Luther G. King, at Kings Valley (Montgomery County); Abram S. Burkholder, at Cranberry Station (Carroll County); Adam Rohrback, at Lineboro (Carroll County).[20] The largest by far were Roxbury and Braddock: the one, a former grist mill bought by Gambrill (who was from a prominent Frederick milling family) and converted in the 1870s to large-scale whiskey making; the other, an 1856 distillery (Clabaugh & James) bought in 1883 and rebuilt by James Clark who, born aboard ship en route from Ireland in 1846, was by his death in 1932 a principal Cumberland property holder. Washington and the Shenandoah Valley were Braddock strongholds.

A century later, the ownership of many of these distilleries, even the exact site, is hard to ascertain. The word for these buildings' architectural design would be "functional." (Few photographs remain. Sometimes labels and billheads offer a likeness—a drawing, stylized and flattering.) A rare clue to technology occurs in a description of the Ahalt Distillery at Burkittsville: the "triple distillation" it boasts is the method still favored in Ireland (in Scotland and the United States, the spirit is ordinarily condensed only twice).

Simultaneously, three interstate episodes illustrated the complexity, then as ever, of private enterprise. S. (Samuel) Taylor Suit, born in Bladensburg in 1830 and schooled in commerce and manufacturing in Iowa, Kentucky and New York, returned to the Washington suburbs in 1867 and assembled an estate of some 8,000 acres, calling it Suitland. He served a term as state senator; he went into the whiskey business. With characteristic flair Suit marketed a Little Brown Jug—glazed earthenware quarts reading, "The Whiskey in This Jug Was Made 1869 and Jugged by Me 1880." Collectors have unearthed jugs thus impressed or stenciled as far away as Colorado. Did Suit Distilling Co. erect a distillery and use Prince George's County water, or did Suit, a Kentucky colonel, have his old Louisville distillery invoice carloads to him? Possibly both. (In those times, many a self-styled "distilling company" was merely a rectifier, or even a jobber.) Suit Distilling Co.'s outward shipments went via Anacostia Wharf. This is the same S. Taylor Suit who later turned up, aged fifty-three, at Berkeley Springs, West Virginia,

At Wolfe and Aliceanna streets, about 1910, a Phillip Lobe Co. vehicle speeds barrels of Ram's Horn whiskey to saloons. Photograph courtesy Baltimore Public Works Museum.

building a facsimile English castle to please his twenty-two-year-old third wife; he died within five years.

In 1884, Walter P. Duffy arrived from Rochester, New York, hoping to cash in on Maryland's prestige. The Duffy's Pure Malt Whiskey Co. set up a large rectifying plant in downtown Baltimore. It contracted for ad space across the bottom of all 1,684 pages of Woods's Baltimore City Directory for 1886 to proclaim:

Duffy's Pure Malt Whiskey!
Cures Malaria. Price One Dollar Per Bottle.
Sold by Druggists, Grocers and Dealers.

Duffy also launched Maryland Star Rye Whiskey, in XX, XXX and XXXX grades. But by 1887 the firm was bankrupt and Walter P. Duffy had gone back to Rochester. There, he rebuilt and recouped—indeed, his malt nostrum won lasting national popularity.

Alfred J. Ulman and Charles H. Goldsborough, whose South Gay Street firms had merged about 1878 with Ulman as president, soon after assumed control of a leading Pennsylvania distillery. The location was Highspire, downriver from Harrisburg. Its founder, in 1823, had been Robert Wilson, an immigrant from Ulster.[21] The Ulman-Goldsborough Co. then built a large

bottling plant at 10 Belair Road; soon advertising emphasis shifted, coast to coast, from Atlas, the firm's previous main brand, to Wilson Whiskey ("Wilson, That's All"). The only clue to origin was, on every bottle, the firm's address: "Baltimore, Md." (until just before World War I, when "New York, N.Y" replaced it). Buyers could thus assume, wrongly, that this was a Maryland whiskey. Concurrently, whiskey labeled Highspire was in stock at several of the fancy grocers on North Charles Street.

The national economy's periodic slumps notwithstanding, success, nay a family fortune, awaited the whiskey merchant of intelligence and self-control, particularly in Maryland's principal city. Today's public remains well aware of William T. and Henry Walters (as a youth, Henry worked briefly for his father in W. T. Walters & Co.), their rail and maritime wealth, their art holdings—even if it is no longer cognizant of that fortune's beverage-alcohol base. Baltimore's second most noteworthy example was the Lanahan clan. Born in Virginia in 1813, William Lanahan was the founder, a Baltimore confectioner who in the mid-1850s formed a Cheapside wine-and-liquor partnership. Following the founder's death in 1868, Wm. Lanahan & Son (three sons, actually: Samuel J., William Jr.,[22] and Charles M., all of whom went into the business) replaced Walters as the city's largest rectifier. The third Lanahan generation turned to banking and investing—E. A. Clabaugh, in the 1860s, similarly used his liquor profits to enter banking. The Irish immigrant Arthur McGinnis offered yet another example of liquor as ladder. An east Baltimore wagoner, McGinnis in the 1880s entered employ at a Bowley's Wharf whiskey wholesaler, John B. Brown & Co. (sons J. Badger Brown, J. Barkloe Brown). A decade later the firm name was Brown-McGinnis & Co. In 1901 the name had become A. McGinnis Co. (sons James, John, Patrick), and it was taking the ultimate step—construction of a distillery of its own. From that plant beside the Western Maryland Railroad tracks, four miles east of Westminster, McGinnis Bonded Rye came to the consumer in an instantly identifiable tall, square, embossed, amber quart.

All in all, the turn of the century was sunny noontime for Maryland Rye. Indeed the two words went together in everyday speech, perhaps as familiarly as "Georgia" and "peach" or "Rhode Island" and "red." On Maryland Rye bottle labels, the superfluous word "whiskey" was often left

TABLE 2

WHISKEY HELD IN BOND, 1912,
(in millions of gallons)

Kentucky	Pennsylvania	Maryland	Indiana	Illinois
140.5	37.9	19.3	14	13

(Sources: *Durner's Price List*; *Bonfort's Wine & Spirit Guide*)

out. The full phrase was simply Roxbury Rye, Pocomoke Rye, Old Mountain Rye, Melvale Pure Rye, Orient Pure Rye, The Old Solution Pure Rye, Spring Dale Pure Rye, Bal-Mar Quality Rye, Pointer Maryland Rye, Old National Pike Maryland Rye, Old Troy Maryland Rye, Calvert Maryland Rye, Westmoreland Club Maryland Rye, Wicomico Club Maryland Rye, Little Straight Maryland Rye, Four Bells Maryland Rye, Carroll's Carrollton Maryland Rye, Gordon Maryland Rye; not to mention Solace Baltimore Rye, Carvel Baltimore Rye, Mallard Baltimore Rye, Gordon Baltimore Rye, and many another—all lacking the generic. (On Repeal-era containers, federal law mandated the word "whiskey.") Typical of the times was an 1884 advertisement from Michael J. Redding, a retailer at Park Avenue and Howard Street (which then intersected):

> Ripe Old Whiskies of All the Maryland Brands.
> Goods Delivered to All Parts of the City.

Nationally, the industry's weekly newsletter, (Philip) *Bonfort's Wine & Spirit Circular*, published in New York, regularly printed reports from field correspondents. In the 1880s the pen-name at the end of those datelined Baltimore was "Maryland Rye." In 1895, as Baltimore's population passed 500,000, there was one saloon for every 250 persons of all ages. Liquor licenses, at $250 a year, totaled 2,045. Sixty-eight whiskey wholesalers serviced the saloons (some of which, financed by brewers, may have stocked only beer).

A cloud in this sky was the liquor industry's propensity nationally for deceiving the saloon and package-store customer as to the worth of what was being bought and drunk (e.g., the ubiquitous, meaningless label word "Pure"). But in 1897 a federal law (taking the British system for its model) instituted bonding, in government-supervised warehouses. Distillers could deposit barrels of proof-tested whiskey there, for a minimum of four years, paying a fee on withdrawal. Numerous Maryland distillers contracted for such warehousing on their premises; soon, bottled-in-bond was on its way to confident customers. Violations were a criminal offense.

Rye whiskey was visible and audible in local culture. "The best Maryland (mint) juleps were made with old rye," wrote the author and playwright Frederic Arnold Kummer.[23] Long afterward, the Baltimore portrait photographer Meredith Janvier recorded a jingle:

> Little grains of quinine, little drops of rye
> Make la grippe that's got you drop its head and fly.
> This will quickly help you if you'll only try,
> But when you take the quinine, don't forget the rye.[24]

An oft-repeated printed-label theme ("Bottled Expressly for Family and Medicinal Use") was that every household should have a bottle of hard liquor in the medicine cabinet, to administer in medical emergencies: the sovereign remedy.[25] Testimony to whiskey's universality also pervades the published recollections of H. L. Mencken—himself mostly a beer-drinker; his father, a devoted whiskey-drinker, bade the store send him Monticello. "Dr. Z. K. Wiley, our family practitioner,...believed and taught that a shot of Maryland whiskey was the best preventive of pneumonia in the R months." A gourmand of Mencken's acquaintance always "ate rye-bread instead of wheat because rye was the bone and sinew of Maryland whiskey—the most healthful appetizer yet discovered by man." Mencken's succinct picture of the pre-1917 saloon and its atmospheric delights is masterly.[26] He and his brother August also gave wordless testimony. In 1967, when August Mencken's death left the house at 1524 Hollins Street unoccupied, the cellar yielded numerous undrunk bottles of fermented and distilled liquors, and one quart each of Bal-Mar Quality Rye and Braddock Pure Rye, empty.

At baseball parks, signpainters brightened the boards of outfield fences with large-letter advertising, and in New York, Chicago, Baltimore, and perhaps beyond, Hunter Whiskey beckoned.[27] Unlike most liquor firms, Hunter employed its own, independent sales force of six men. In 1902 Hunter ("The Perfection of Aroma and Taste...The Leading Whiskey of America") was angling for an import concession from the imperial court at Peking, China.[28] Three years later one of the advertisements on the program for a William Gillette performance of "Sherlock Holmes" at the Duke of York Theater in London proffered Hunter Baltimore Rye, "The Popular American Whisky" [*sic*]—a lone outlander among the scotches on sale at the theater's bar. Domestically, Hunter struck a more elitist note: "The American Gentleman's Whiskey." A random issue (30 May 1901) of *Life*, the national humor magazine, contained six display ads for brand-name whiskey: one from Pennsylvania, two from Kentucky, three from Baltimore (Hunter, Wilson, Maryland Club). (Neither Maryland Club nor a rival local whiskey named Baltimore Club had any connection with Charles Street's stag citadels of the same names.) The larger wholesalers—Charles H. Ross; Cahn, Belt; and Gottschalk—maintained branch offices in Boston, New York, Washington, Chicago, and New Orleans. Further illumination is available from two surviving 1902 salesman's rate books (which list the prices per gallon at which specific brands were obtainable from his wholesaler employer—in these instances, M. Durner & Co. and V. Monarch Sons Co., both of Cincinnati, Ohio). At that time Cincinnati was probably the busiest American whiskey entrepot. Naturally, bourbons from across the Ohio River predominated in the Durner and Monarch lists, but Eastern Rye rated a separate section. Twenty-six of these thirty-seven latter listings were from Pennsylvania, the rest from Maryland (Antietam, Braddock, Old Horsey and

Beckoning to the traveler at the pre-1904 Basin: Altamont Pure Rye. This sign was painted on the rear wall of N.H. Matthews Co.'s offices. From a postcard in the author's collection.

Roxbury from western Maryland; Calvert, Melvale, Monticello, Mount Vernon, Orient, Stewart, and Sherwood from Baltimore). In addition, a roster of malt whiskies (made from different ingredients) included Braddock, among ten nationally. Wholesale quotations ranged from forty-five cents a gallon (Roxbury, made that same spring) to $1.45 (Melvale 1896, Stewart 1897), with one striking exception: Sherwood distilled in the spring of 1892 sold at $3.15.

The records yield one further suggestion of a prevailing concord as the centuries changed. At that time of social immobility, when various vocations excluded persons of Jewish ancestry, Baltimore's liquor business was relatively accessible. A noteworthy success was that of Albert Gottschalk, who arrived in 1855, aged twenty-one, from Germany. At his death in 1898, he was a one-man Baltimore conglomerate, owning a distillery (founded in 1894 and named Maryland),[29] a rectifying plant, a wholesale liquor distributorship, a North Charles Street fancy grocery (Fairall), and a brewery. The Gottschalk Co.'s management included gentiles. After the marriage of a Gottschalk to a Fleischmann (of Viennese Jewish origin), the Fleischmanns, who held a front rank in the liquor business of Cincinnati and other cities, built a rectifying plant at North Avenue and Gay Street.[30]

Also striking was the frequency of Jewish-gentile partnerships. Benjamin, Alfred and Solomon Ulman, arriving from Germany via the Eastern Shore, in 1858 founded the Ulman Co. on North Gay Street. Benjamin Ulman, the chief figure, became a director of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. His brothers developing other interests, Alfred J. Ulman took charge. About 1878, on South Gay Street, the Ulman Co. as noted above combined with

the firm of Charles and William T. of the whiskey business's four or more Goldsboroughs; at once, the Ulman-Goldsborough Co. ranked with Baltimore's largest whiskey businesses. A rival was Cahn, Belt & Co., formed in 1868 by Bernard Cahn and Eugene N. Belt. After Malcolm Crichton's death, Cahn, Belt bought his Monticello Distillery, and the firm's Maryland Club brand ("It Tastes Old Because It Is Old"—but no stated number of years in cask) may have been more widely known than the actual Maryland Club. Another exemplar of this interfaith pattern was Ulman, Boykin & Co. (Nathan Ulman—from Salisbury, and apparently related to Benjamin Ulman—and William A. Boykin). Abraham D. Lamdin, William A. Thompson, W. Grayson Bond, and David G. Fluharty, of Lamdin, Thompson & Co., adhered to the same model.

As for Alfred J. Ulman, dead in 1906 at seventy, his son and successor as president, Jacob A. Ulman, having married Katharine Cary of West Virginia (on whose family tree Thomas Jefferson appeared), undertook a career in Baltimore society. A subscriber to the Bachelors Cotillon and a member of the Elkridge Club and the Gibson Island Club, Jacob Ulman lived to count himself the last survivor of the five steeplechase enthusiasts who in 1894 founded the Maryland Hunt Cup. His membership in the Maryland Club provided H. L. Mencken (following Ulman's death at seventy in 1935) with ethnic gossip for his diary.[31]

When the twentieth century was new, a visitor to Baltimore, coming up the harbor by Bay steamer, beheld a plenitude of advertising signs. Painted on exterior walls, they proclaimed the importance of a firm here, a service or commodity there. One conspicuous sign was a three-line plug for the city's distilled liquor business in general, as well as for a specific brand. It read,

Altamont
Pure Rye
Finest American Whiskey

Achievement, prosperity, even legality—before the new century was twenty years old, a Maryland Rye dealer had lost them all. So had every whiskey trader, every participant nationally in the manufacture and sale of strong drink. Primarily, revulsion against the abuse of intoxicants brought on this upheaval, as a growing candor exposed more and more of the human damage. Yet well before the movement to outlaw beverage alcohol climaxed in the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act, tarnish was evident on the good name of Maryland whiskey. Among the forces at work were three

national situations and one local: continuing uneasiness as to the reliability of saloon and package-store whiskey; improvements in refrigeration that enabled brewers to compete with distillers far more widely; the withdrawal of medical support for whiskey's claim to therapeutic value; and, particularly in Maryland, a decline in the local ownership and local character of whiskey distilling. To these many danger signals the industry, though aware and on the defensive, made scant public response.

On the face of it, the Baltimore fire of 6-8 February 1904 was still another body blow to the whiskey trade. Monticello and Maryland, the two downtown distilleries, were safely north of the Burnt District. But over the years wholesalers had clumped together, often side by side, along South Gay Street, Exchange Place (the 300 and 400 blocks of East Lombard Street), and Pratt Street; their offices and warehouses went up in flames. N. M. Matthews & Co. on East Pratt, the purveyor of Altamont Pure Rye, was one of the forty-eight wholesalers who lost both records and inventory (the 1904 city directory listed seventy-four wholesalers altogether, and virtually all the larger whiskey firms lay squarely in the great fire's eastward path.) Not one firm seems to have gone out of business, however. For whiskey resupply, the main requirement is patience during the pause for maturation. The 1904 fire's one tangible effect on whiskey merchants was dispersal: afterward, though still downtown, their new home offices were no longer a phalanx.

Also departed to quieter new surroundings was state headquarters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Before the fire, the W.C.T.U.'s policy in site-choosing was confrontational: it had long occupied a building at 8 South Gay Street, the very heart of enemy country. With how much mock deference, a modern imagination asks, did that concentration of self-important business men, of sweating laborers, acknowledge their starchy foe? With how much audible obscenity? How for their part spoke those educated, moralistic, and outraged women, when one more horse-drawn dray of plugged barrels rumbled by?

Individual calls for abstinence (or moderation) became audible in the nation's earliest years. Such an outcry was inevitable, for behind the jolly-tippler jesting and the prissy-bluenose jeering lay a spectral expanse of American ruins: alcohol-tortured families, alcohol-wrecked careers. At the 1810-1840 apex of drinking and drunkenness, individual protests coalesced. The Washington Temperance Society, founded in Baltimore in 1840, generally ranks as the first such effort with a national organization. Timothy Shay Arthur, who wrote the scathing 1854 novel (later, also a play) *Ten Nights in a Bar-room, and What I Saw There* (the Sickle & Sheaf, run by the nefarious Simon Slade), grew up in Baltimore. After the Civil War, leadership in the dry movement passed from men to women, most notably in the W.C.T.U., founded in 1874 (Maryland chapter, 1875). Occasionally, saloons came under physical attack. On 19 November 1903, Carry A. Nation,

Kelly's Family Liquor Store was at Forrest and Hillen streets. This 1911 photograph is from *Souvenir of Baltimore*, published by the Old Town Business Men's Association.

the celebrated bar-wrecker, came to Baltimore—to the Lyric Theater, starring in a production of *Ten Nights in a Bar-room*. More typical was a temperance "procession" described by Lizette Reese that "wound through the streets of Baltimore. It was composed entirely of women—college students and graduates, teachers, doctors, professors, and members from the various evangelical churches."[32] Women's "reformative instincts are generally sharper than men's," she noted, and "the subject of temperance, instead of a personal, became a universal one."

In 1851 Maine pioneered statutory, statewide prohibition; at intervals, other states (and provinces of Canada) enacted dry laws, though as debate and voting raged some areas reneged. Maryland was soon a battleground. As early as 1862, a law banned the sale of "any spirituous or fermented liquors" within two miles of Brookville, two and a half miles of Sandy Spring meeting house, and "a radius of four miles from Emory chapel and school," all in Montgomery County. In Baltimore County no license for such sales was legal for Calverton. By 1870 Tangier Island (an entire election district) and Tilghman's Island had sought and obtained the same protection. Occasionally manufacturers, e.g., Baltimore's Mount Vernon Mills, hoping

Printers' specimen labels from the author's collection.

to reduce workforce drunkenness, sought a liquor ban near their factories. By 1885, following passage of a county-option law, the sale of liquor was banned in Anne Arundel, Calvert, Caroline, Cecil, Dorchester, Harford, Howard, Kent, Montgomery, and Talbot counties, and in most of Somerset and Queen Anne's. The wets' losses mounted: in 1916 the dries obtained a general, not local, statute, one requiring the wet/dry question to go on the ballot (the dries promptly picked up Carroll, Frederick, and Washington counties).[33] By 1918, 84 percent of Maryland's land area was statutorily dry—the cities (including Annapolis) turning into oases of a sort. Six residential districts in north and west Baltimore itself had opted for an end to saloons and liquor retailing.[34] Throughout, the *American* and most other Baltimore dailies accepted liquor advertising. The *Sun*, on the other hand, spurned such income until about 1905. The contrast with its wet or anti-Prohibition vehemence in the 1920s and early 1930s is startling.

Pro-liquor forces, meanwhile, attempted to impugn the character and motives of their foe; sometimes, they asserted the underlying healthiness of drinking alcohol, if in small amount, and only now and then. But the industry had brought some of its troubles upon itself. The successful 1897 idea of marketing a government-inspected, 100 proof, four-years-or-more-old whiskey had practical limits. Bonded whiskey retailed at a steady one dollar a quart—beyond the means of many a wage-earner. This pre-1917 scale descended to as little as fifteen cents a quart for some forms of moonshine. (At saloons, beer was typically a nickel a schooner, whiskey a dime a shot, good whiskey fifteen cents on up.) Informed estimates for bottled-in-bond credited it with 9 percent of the market; "pure" or "straight" grain whiskies with perhaps 20 percent; for "blended" whiskies (in small part or large, just grain neutral spirits), 70 or more percent of the industry's output.[35] The typical pre-Prohibition bottle label was pleasantly uncluttered—the seller did not have to specify his whiskey's proof, components, period of aging in casks (except with bottled-in-bond), or even contents in

ounces. The customer took "bourbon" to mean all-whiskey, distilled from corn, and "rye" to mean all-whiskey, distilled from grain of that name. Often the customer was a dupe. And across the country, a great many grocery and drugstore items were similarly fraudulent—i.e., composed of unmentioned or misrepresented ingredients (such as the beverage alcohol in most bitters and patent medicines), and devoid of claimed therapeutic effects. A mounting tide of indignation resulted in the Pure Food and Drug Act (also known as the Wiley Law) of 1906, in which the federal government mandated honesty and imposed penalties for infractions. For legal use of the name rye whiskey, at least 51 percent of any set quantity must be whiskey made from rye mash.

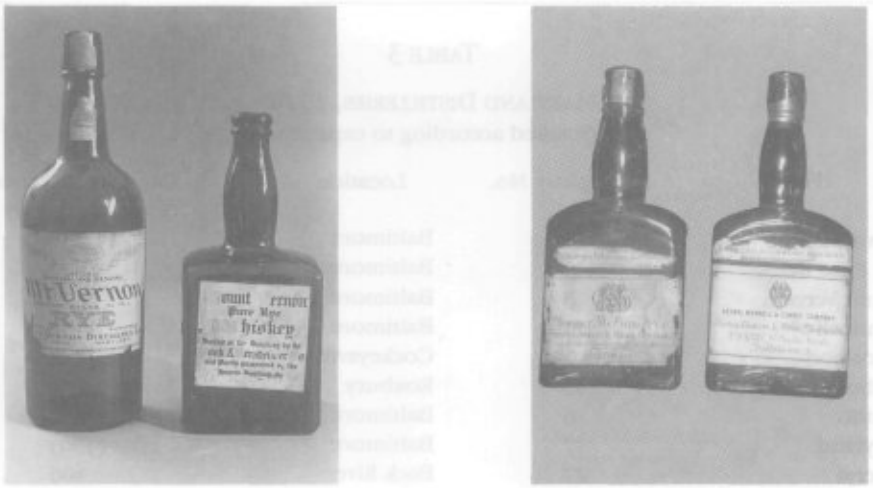
After 1906 the image of Maryland Rye blurred. Some Maryland rectifiers may have tried to purify their "pure" rye, but many did not. Suddenly, many a well-regarded brand changed to "Maryland Whiskey" or even, in small letters, "Whiskey—A Blend." Among those no longer using the word "rye": Maryland Club (marketed by Cahn, Belt), Baltimore Club (Thomas G. Carroll & Son), Albion and Little Corporal (Lamdin, Thompson), Triple (J. H. Friedenwald), Spring Dale (H. Rosenheim & Son), and Old Cumberland and Queen City Club (James Clark). Of the half dozen biggest retail names in Maryland Rye, two had relinquished the phrase years before (Monticello, Wilson); two stood fast (Hunter, Mount Vernon), and two had it both ways. Sherwood and Braddock made a label (and price) distinction—rye here, blended there. Out in western Maryland, Old Horsey, the nonpareil, let down the side. Its direction now in the hands of Outerbridge Horsey II's half dozen children, Needwood Distillery shifted half or more of its production to corn whiskey.

Harvey W. Wiley of Indiana, the leading force behind food-and-drug regulation, was both physician and chemist. He spoke for the growing conviction among doctors that, in most illnesses, strong drink was without medical value. Alcohol administered when the body was in shock did not, after all, keep it warm; and the correct physiological classification for

alcohol was not stimulant but depressant. Gone, accordingly, were the days when whiskey was one more of the products that a professional medical journal looked to for advertising support.[36] Attitudes were slow to adjust (witness the medical prescriptions by means of which whiskey was still being obtained during Repeal), but adjust they did. To H. L. Mencken, medicine's reversal was the single most significant factor behind whiskey's loss of standing.[37]

In the final years, players of substance continued to enter or leave the whiskey game. In 1897, when injuries to Edwin Walters in a Druid Hill Park buggy accident at age 63 proved fatal, Melvale Distillery's Cummings family, the Baltimore rectifiers (George J.) Records & (Harry P.) Goldsborough, and the wholesalers Ulman-Boykin formed a syndicate that took over Orient Distilleries, renaming the plant Canton Distilleries. (In the post-Repeal era, Records & Goldsborough with its Melrose brand was to be one of the very few Maryland whiskey enterprises reappearing under the same name and management.) An occasional business failure occurred, e.g., Roxbury Distilling Co. in Washington County, which in 1910 underwent receivership and shut down. An energetic sales effort had brought Roxbury Rye close to parity with Maryland's top national brands but its president, George T. Gambrill of Baltimore, was also a wheat speculator; he lost his shirt and more, and Roxbury collapsed.[38] Among the new enterprises were Wills Brook Distillery, at Ellerslie in Allegany County; Savage Distilling Co. at Weverton in Washington County, and Pen-Mar Rye, from a distillery in Waynesboro, Pennsylvania, which was owned all or in part in Baltimore and Hagerstown. But everywhere the trend was toward fewer and larger, as in so many industries. To the so-called whiskey trust, local pride and distinctiveness were of minor interest; the weak capitalization of most of Maryland's distillers, importers and jobbers, meaning inability to expand—or resist takeover—was of major interest.

After the dissolution of Hyatt & Clark, Sherwood Distilling Co. formed ties with Pringle & Gontran, a new and larger New York City wholesaler. About 1905 Carstairs Bros. of Philadelphia bought out Highlandtown's Stewart Distillery. New York interests bought out Monticello. Frensdorf & Brown of Chicago, distilling at Back River, sold out to Federal Distilling Co. of New York. Julius Kessler of Chicago bought up Monumental. (Kessler was at least flamboyant: an immigrant from Hungary at age eighteen, he got his start selling booze to parched Colorado miners. Going national, he captured control of forty-seven distilleries. For his Baltimore outlet, he was content to use Maryland Pure Rye Whiskey, nothing else, as the brand name.) About 1908 Philadelphia interests built a large distillery, called Gwynnbrook, outside Owings Mills. In the same period, the Fleischmanns entered from Cincinnati.



Retail wars: (Left) Mount Vernon's square bottle, Mt. Vernon's round. (Right) The message atop one North Charles Street's fancy grocer's label: "Old Sherwood Whiskey"; atop its rival's, "Very Old Sherwood Whiskey." Bottles from the author's collection.

The noisiest invasion of all was in consequence of a decision by Hannis Distilling of Philadelphia to sell its Mount Vernon Rye (the brand, not the distillery). The buyer was the Cook and Bernheimer Co., a New York City wholesaler. But the decision left a Boston liquor kingpin, George W. Torrey, apparently feeling jilted. He vowed reprisal. Taking over a Fleet Street brewery that the Wineke-Airey Co. had converted to whiskey-making (under the name Cecil Distillery), Torrey put out an imitation. His brand, also sold nationally, was "The Only Original and Genuine Mt. Vernon Rye." The distinction between "Mount" and "Mt.," he calculated, would be lost on the multitude. In an advertising war, New York versus Boston, Cook and Bernheimer cried, "SQUARE BOTTLE"; Torrey, "ROUND BOTTLE." Mt. Vernon boasted that it was bottled in bond; Mount Vernon (which was not) boasted that it had won first prizes at world's fairs (Philadelphia 1876, New Orleans 1885, Australia 1887, Chicago 1893). And east Baltimore had its Mt. Vernon Distillery; west Baltimore, its Mount Vernon Distillery. Such shenanigans could not last, and did not. The public's favor remained with the square bottle. But absentee ownership was the main story, twice told. Before Prohibition and again after Repeal, outsiders took over, consolidated, and in time suppressed local whiskey making.

Even as the domain of unlimited liquor selling contracted before the prohibitionist onslaught—the Anti-Saloon League, run by men and focused on legislators, set up Washington headquarters in 1895 and a clergy-dominated Baltimore branch about 1910—business in the remaining wet areas ironically improved.[39] The variously framed statewide bans in North

TABLE 3

MARYLAND DISTILLERIES, 1910
(Ranked according to capacity.)

Firms	Registry No.	Location	Capacity in bushels of mash daily
Melvale	5	Baltimore	1,000
Md. Pure Rye*	9	Baltimore	900
Mount Vernon	3	Baltimore	835
Monticello*	1	Baltimore	750
Sherwood	2	Cockeysville	722
Roxbury*	15	Roxbury	650
Canton	6	Baltimore	612
Maryland	7	Baltimore	(450)
Federal	27	Back River	400
Gwynnbrook	33	Owings Mills	400
Outerbridge Horsey*	17	Burkittsville	347
Frensdorf & Brown	31	Back River	311
Braddock*	20	LaVale	300
Wineke-Airey* (Cecil, Mt. Vernon)	10	Highlandtown	291
Winand	25	Scotts Level (Roslyn)	275
McGinnis*	28	Carrollton	(250)
Mountain Spring (Ahalt)	14	Burkittsville	120
Levi Price	18	Hyattstown	35
M. J. Miller's Sons*	19	Accident	29

Source: mostly *Bonfort's Directory*, 1909
* = Own bonded brand sold, from own bonded warehouse
Parentheses indicate estimate

Data lacking on Luther G. King (Registry No. 4, King's Valley); Stewart (12, Highlandtown; later, Carstairs); Carroll Springs (21, Baltimore); Malone (29, east of Baltimore); later, Baltland); John R. Lewis (Clarksburg); J.B. Gunning (? Cresaptown); Loreley (? Loreley); J. Frank Shipley (? Pleasant Pool); Savage (? Weverton).

Highspire (Pennsylvania) mashing capacity, 508 bushels a day; Pen-Mar (Pennsylvania), 250.

Kentucky's several hundred distilleries were in the same range as Maryland's; one 1910s distillery in Indiana and another in Illinois announced a capacity of 10,000 bushels of mash daily.

For comparison: Calvert (post-Repeal) Distillery at Relay, owned by Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, Inc., had a capacity of 7,000 bushels daily.

Carolina (1908), West Virginia (1912), and Virginia (1914) were a Baltimore boon, because residents journeyed to the big city to stock up.[40] Immigration's rapid enlargement of the population, meanwhile, also meant more customers. On the producer level, Wm. Lanahan & Son replaced its rectifying plant, destroyed in the fire of 1904, with an imposing six-story building on the same 20 Light Street site; the firm went on turning out Hunter Baltimore Rye and other brands. (Today, renamed the United Way

Building, the Lanahan Building remains, its old lettering still visible.) As for retailing, liquor had always been widely available,[41] and still was—at Baltimore pharmacies, department stores, and especially groceries. Catering to the upper crust, fancy grocers were spotted mostly along Baltimore and North Charles streets. House brands were the thing, in those temples of *bon ton*; tellingly, fashion in time embraced Maryland's rye, neglecting Monongahela's.

Retailer exuberance was manifest at the Family Wine and Liquor Emporium of Jacob H. Friedenwald, in business from 1898 to 1911, eventually at 101 to 113 North Eutaw Street. One of seven dynamic brothers, the proprietor invited all to come see "The Finest Liquor Store in America," with its "lady clerks." One of his brands was B.L.O.E. (that is, Best Liquor on Earth). Some of Friedenwald's wares were discounted but not his Superior Old Maryland Rye, in amber quarts with embossed institutional shield—to modern collectors, the "greatest Eastern whiskey" bottle. The letterhead of I. Ulman & Sons, meanwhile, pictured a sidewheel steamer named Ulman—presumably that Basin-side firm's means for Chesapeake-landing deliveries. At the Family Liquor Store run by Joseph F. Kelly, at Hillen and Forrest streets, one blandishment was free games of pool at tables upstairs. Kelly's was visible from afar, thanks to the large wood bottle mounted on its roof.

In the waning days, at Pratt and Light streets, Tidewater and Old Dominion Distilling Co. catered to the traveler from Prohibition territory, coaxing him to buy in quantity. "When you come to Baltimore be sure to look for our auto at the wharf or R.R. station," its price list counseled; "our autos...are absolutely free." Its whiskey sold for as little as thirty-nine cents a quart, and some of its labels were a caution: Chesapeake Pilot Whiskey, Old Tide Whiskey, Nip & Tuck Whiskey. The firm, H. H. and Joseph Deane, proprietors, carried many a Kentucky and Pennsylvania brand (as did other retailers, throughout these years). It divulged no origin for its Old Ellison Rye, at $1.59 a quart and "fifteen years old to the minute." Tidewater and Old Dominion, an emigrant from dry Norfolk, adjudged itself "the largest cut-rate mail order liquor house in the U.S.A." Also on the premises, for those whose thirst was immediate, was "the finest bar in the city."

The end came quietly—amid the thousand bangs of wartime. Soon after the nation's entry into World War I, the federal government diverted alcohol production to military purposes. With so many of the customers gone overseas, stores and bars decreased in number. Numerous changes in ownership occurred at distilleries and wholesalers; investment capital was in flight from the oncoming shutdown. In November 1918, the nation toasted its victory over the Central Powers alcoholically; but the thirty-sixth state to ratify the Eighteenth Amendment did so on 16 January 1919. (Maryland ratified the amendment, but legislated no state enforcement.) The terms included a year's delay, during which the consumer had full

opportunity (and display ad encouragement) to lay by many a bottle or case of Maryland Rye. As he and she took measures to obviate the great drought, it was, however inconsistently, often with the hope that the new, universal ban would benefit the people next door, forcing *them* to end *their* glaring immoderation.

There was a curtain call. In November 1943, with newspaper clamor, pre-Prohibition Maryland Rye made a last public stand, at the now-vanished Ritz-Carlton Hotel on Park Avenue in New York City. The recent death of Mrs. Henry Walters had made possible a public sale of the liquors assembled decades before by the late Henry Walters, son of William T. and nephew of Edwin Walters. Not personally fond of alcoholic drink, Mrs. Walters had never touched these many cases of full bottles. As Prohibition went by, and then the Depression, the row on row of bottles simply lay there, unknown to the passing public, in the cellar at 5 West Mount Vernon Place.

At the 1943 sale, of sixty-three lots catalogued and priced by Peter Greig of New York, the final dozen were 982 quarts and fifths of "Maryland Rye Whiskies"—specifically, Baltimore Club, Melvale (case-dated 1887, 1888, 1890, 1891), Orient (label-dated 1890, 1892) and Sherwood (stamped 1911). The sale's highest price, fifty dollars a bottle, was for the Sherwood.[42] A small 1943 sticker was affixed to the back of each bottle. A few such certified Walters Sale relics, emptied, still turn up in the antiques market. In current times, the various old-liquor auctions have listed no whiskies from Kentucky, Pennsylvania or the like of anywhere near such venerability.

What physical evidence of Maryland Rye during its ascendance is likely to last longest? In 1990 unbroken-seal quarts of Mount Vernon, Monticello, Waldorf and Sherwood (and very likely a few other brands) remained, all seventy-plus years old, all in private Maryland hands. The owners were of a mind to preserve, not uncork, these rarities. As for the sites of their contents' manufacture, little still stood, other than the stone Melvale Distillery buildings alongside Jones Falls Expressway at Cold Spring Lane and, near Breathedsville, some crumbled walls of Roxbury Distillery.

What does endure is the earthenware jugs in which liquor was often dispensed, before Prohibition. Jugs bearing the names and addresses of Maryland merchants (a reminder where to take them for refilling) came in three sorts: impressed, stenciled, and (by far the fewest) paper-labeled. The stenciled, straight-sided jug of 1895-1919 was an assembly-line product. Its predecessor was individually thrown, shaped in one of four configurations, and slug-stamped while the clay was still wet. Decorations do not occur on these handled, utilitarian objects; the one potter who signed (i.e., seal-stamped) his whiskey jugs was Peter Herrmann of Jackson Square. Approximate dates for impressed Baltimore jugs—all precede 1900—are establishable through city directories. The capacity ranging from one pint to three gallons, the lettering occasionally prone to typographical mis-

chance, the addresses a tour of streets subsequently obliterated or renamed, and the individual silhouettes aesthetically engaging, these durable grayware vessels emanated from other East Coast localities as well; but their largest number may well have come from the potteries of Baltimore. Yet—ever a note of wry—the legends on these jugs, couched in such sober language as "M. & J. Duffy / 164 Cathedral Street / Baltimore," uniformly and discreetly omitted, per se, the message: Maryland Rye.

What of the fluid itself? What did olden-time Maryland Rye taste like? "Rye whiskey," writes the present-day international whiskey expert Michael Jackson, "has [a] hint of bitterness....[It is] spicy, a little oily, almost peppermint. The bitterness arouses the appetite."[43] As to pre-1920 Maryland Rye, variations between brands and within a single brand were, it would seem, more a matter of barroom conversation than of printed pronouncement. Generalizing, old-timers described Maryland Rye as having a heavy body, robust rather than subtle, yet complex, and with a decided after-taste. One sufficiently interested newcomer put her pre-1920 glass down again saying, "A bit like varnish remover. Or a liquid form of sandpaper." Her spouse, drinking from the same ancient bottle, remarked, "When properly made and aged, as this seems to have been, a warm, mellow, care-lightening experience." Maryland Rye took getting used to, but many Maryland drinkers started young. The loyalty, once formed, was strong.

NOTES

1. The one recent, knowledgeable work is Oscar Getz, *Whiskey, An American Pictorial History* (New York: David McKay, 1978). Getz, retired from a career in the manufacture and sale of bourbon, ignores Maryland whiskey.

Wonderful help has come from Mary Hortop Bready, Richard Bready, Chris Bready, Stephen Bready, Ken Lovell, Robert Snyder, Paul Van Vactor, Bud Copley Jr., Fritz Gutheim, R. P. Harriss, Louis H. Diehlman, Patricia Cloud Sawyer, William C. and Nancy C. Trimble, Phil Heisler, Drew Andersen, Paul Brashears, Hugh Smith, Mike Muhl, Bill Thomas, Fred Parks, Dan Knode, Ken McLanahan, John Grimm, Jim Kappler, Lloyd Cargile, Tony Zipp, Jim Phillips, Rick Lease, Everett Ford, Garry Trott, Bob Gerber, Roger Poffenbarger, Joe Greenville, Jeff Strong, Harry Biddinger, Leonard Plein, Bob Weatherby, Lucy Edmunds, Allan Dorsey, Jeff Strong, Harry Biddinger, Mary Collins, Nick Benedict, Ferd Meyer, Sheila and Joe Sears, Josephine Cannizzo, Tim Roche, Glen Mansberger, Stuart Cornett, Zanvyl Krieger, Bob Brugger, Mary Ellen Hayward, John A. Hayward, Ric Cottom, Penny Catzen, Marcy Silver, Mary Mannix, Francis O'Neill, Wesley Wilson, Richard Flint, Harry Wright, Isadore Strouse, Elise Cheslock, Jeff Miller, Barr and Lun Harris, Edgar Heyl, Mary Gallion Yingling, Karol Menzie, Jacques Kelly, Fred Rasmussen, Hunter Cox, Mary Louise Gutman, Betty F. Lewison, Rita Newnham, Jeff Goldman, and others. Also from the Baltimore Antique Bottle Club, Peabody Institute Library, Maryland Historical Society, Enoch Pratt Free Library's Maryland Department, Baltimore Book Co.,

Library of Congress, New York Public Library, Virginia State Library, University of California (Berkeley) Library, Washington County Historical Society, and the National Bottle Museum (Ballston Spa, New York).

2. Gutheim to the author, 3 April 1987.

3. Michael Jackson, *The World Guide to Whiskey* (Topsfield, Mass.: Salem House, 1988), p. 135. Jackson pictures the present plight of rye-drinkers feelingly: "Even the small towns and suburbs in Maryland once had their own rye whiskies. There are still people who search hopelessly for Cockeysville rye" (p. 147).

4. As far back as February 1695, liquor-selling was before the Baltimore County Circuit Court, in the case of Moses Groome of Gunpowder. The charge was "vending and selling liquors by retail to his Majesty's Justices of this said County Court," which sat nearby; the defendant, who lacked the papers required for tavern-keeping, petitioned to be "saved harmless." Groome's judicial patrons resolved the matter by bestowing on him "a license to keep an ordinary." See the first article in the first issue of *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 1908, p. 8: "The Early County Seats and Court Houses of Baltimore County," by Albert C. Ritchie, father of the subsequent governor.

5. Leland D. Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1939), passim.

6. The excise on distilled liquors has remained an important federal revenue source (rising sharply when wars must be paid for, as in 1861-1865 and 1917-1919), but has never again led to armed uprising. Rather, stiff increase in the excise has often inspired the operation of unlicensed stills—in Maryland, apparently more often in the forested western hills than in the eastern cities.

7. W. J. Rohrabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 87.

8. Lizette Woodworth Reese, *A Victorian Village: Reminiscences of Other Days* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1929), pp. 120-25.

9. See T. J. C. Williams, *History of Frederick County, Maryland* (Hagerstown: John M. Runk and L. R. Titsworth, 1910) pp. 91-92, for a lively view of these glass pocket flasks in pre-Civil War use:

"The amount of whiskey consumed in Hagerstown at that time and down to recent years is fearful to contemplate. Nearly every man in this county had his 'George Washington' which he took to the nearest grocery to get filled. Every grocery sold whiskey and many other stores kept a bottle in a back room to 'treat' customers. On Saturday a grocery clerk in Hagerstown was kept busy from morning to night filling 'George Washingtons' [today's historical flasks] from a barrel until frequently a boy engaged in this work would topple over, drunk from the fumes."

(Broadly, there were two sorts of grocery stores: staple—the vast majority; and fancy—in big cities.)

According to Williams, the contracts of workers building the National Pike, C&O Canal, and Franklin Railroad called for daily rations from a jigger boss; on his rounds, he doled to each man roughly a cupful of whiskey every half hour throughout nine work hours, plus a (lottery) chance on the whiskey jug at the end of the day—all that the winner could swallow. Williams (1851-1929) was a Baltimore *Sun* editorial writer and then a Baltimore judge, but he had a Hagerstown back-

ground. In his histories of Washington (1906), Frederick (1910), and Allegany (1923) counties he tells the above stories more than once.

10. Herbert C. Bell, *History, Leitersburg District, Washington County, Maryland* (Leitersburg, Md.: published by the author, 1898), pp . 98-100.

11. John C. Gobright, *The Monumental City or Baltimore Guide Book* (Baltimore: Gobright & Torsch, 1858), pp. 196-97, vividly describes the counting house (offices) and rectifying plant, at 68 Exchange Place downtown, built by W. T. Walters & Co. for its own use. Five stories (and cellar) high, the building contained "enormous Vats...barrels filled, or in progress of filling, for shipment...great Discharging pipes...immense (whiskey) reservoirs...machinery driven by mule power."

12. On the roster of Maryland agriculture, rye ranked behind corn, wheat, and oats—a consistent fourth. In the typical year 1860, five counties produced two thirds of the annual rye crop: Frederick (94,251 bushels), Washington (77,993), Allegany (73,224), Carroll (63,269), Baltimore (59,831). Source: Simon J. Martenet, *Map of Maryland, Atlas Edition* (Baltimore, 1866).

13. A possible clue to distillery superintendents exists in the scattered brand names that are surnames without historical or other known derivation; e.g., J. Jackson (marketed by Charles H. Ross & Co.), Jim Hackler (Mallard), Original Martin (Cahn, Belt), Mark Rogers (Bluthenthal & Bickart), Patterson (Meyer, Pitts), Thompson (also C. H. Ross), Cartwright (also Cahn, Belt), Hagerdon (Garrett-Williams).

14. Helen Hopkins Thom, *Johns Hopkins, A Silhouette* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1929), p. 31.

15. Under how many different brand names did pre-Prohibition Maryland Rye circulate? Perhaps between five hundred and one thousand. The most frequent of them (with cartouche of the dealer's initials) was Monogram; next, Private Stock. A century afterward, some brand names defy comprehension: Buckwater, A.A.A., Oliver's O.K., Bortner (all from the Gottschalk Co.). But most brand names were never advertised and no label-bearing bottles survive; so they are lost. On liquor labels, the earliest known instance of trading on geography was that of Charles H. Ross & Co. of Baltimore, which in 1860 and 1867 registered the brand names Monumental and Patapsco ryes. Registration of brand names that include "Maryland Pure Rye" and "Baltimore Pure Rye" begins in the 1870s. As the vogue spread, F. Madlener (Chicago, 1882) touted a house brand called Blue Ridge Maryland Malted Rye Whiskey; G. Riesmeyer (St. Louis, 1882) packaged Maryland Rye in expensive white china jugs; Sherbrook Distilling Co. (Cincinnati, 1905) offered a brand called My Maryland. Others among the many firms proffering Maryland Rye under their own label, then or soon after: Ulman, Einstein (Cleveland); O. B. Cook (Detroit); Danciger Bros. (Kansas City); Hanley Mercantile Co. (San Francisco); Davis & Drake (Boston); Steinhardt Bros. (New York); Straus, Gunst (Richmond).

Trading on dates was another sales idea, in the late 1870s and early 1880s. The goal was to persuade the public that from year to year grain harvests, like vintage wines, rose or fell in excellence. (At the time, cognac distillers were doing it too.) But how was the customer to tell Spring Dale 1877 Baltimore Rye apart from Spring Dale 1878, when, blindfolded in a taste test, he could not hope to distinguish between Spring Dale and dozens of different rye whiskey brands? The idea of a printed vintage year on distilled-liquor bottle labels soon languished.

16. For a photograph of the Sherwood Distillery in Cockeysville, see *The Monumental City* (Baltimore: Baltimore American, 1895), p. 112.

17. J. Thomas Scharf, History of Baltimore City and County (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881), p. 111.

18. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1882), pp. 621-22. See also "Horsey Distillery Road," by Michael L. Spaur, Frederick *Post*, 6 December 1978.

19. George Alfred Townsend, *Katy of Catoctin* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1887), p. 13.

20. For a photograph of the Melchior J. Miller (1833-1915) & Sons Distillery, see Felix G. Robinson, ed., *Tableland Trails* (Oakland, Md.), 2 (No. 2, 1956) 47.

The Washington County Historical Society has a 1900 photograph of Roxbury's exceptionally large, eight-story warehouse.

21. Letter to author from Highspire (Pa.) Historical Society, 9 June 1990.

22. Hunter Baltimore Rye's bottle label pictured a mounted, formally attired foxhunter. Appropriately, William Lanahan, Jr. in 1913 attained the rank of master of the Elkridge Hounds.

23. Cited in Frederick Philip Stieff, *Eat, Drink and Be Merry in Maryland* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1932).

24. Meredith Janvier, *Baltimore in the Eighties and Nineties* (Baltimore: H. G. Roebuck & Son, 1933), p. 47.

25. See Gilbert Byron, *The Lord's Oysters* (New York: Macmillan, 1957), p. 44: "Mama [a teetotaler, went] to the closet...and pulled out a pint bottle of whiskey. Mama always kept it for medicine in case somebody got sick and she couldn't get the doctor quick enough."

26. H. L. Mencken, *Happy Days* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1940), pp. 236-37; *Newspaper Days* (1941), pp. 179-90.

27. Was hard liquor (whiskey) on sale by the drink at the successive ballparks of the pre-1920 Baltimore Orioles? Nothing found in print from the time documents it (although the presence of whiskies among scorecard and fence advertisements is suggestive); but Genevieve Rogers of Rodgers Forge, a cousin of the then owner-manager, Jack Dunn, recalled both sellers and sales of whiskey at Oriole Park, Greenmount Avenue and 29th Street (International League, 1916-1919). Conversation with the author, 1989.

28. Letters from Wm. Lanahan & Son to Gen. Thaddeus L. Sharretts (in Shanghai), 3 March and 17 May 1902. Author's possession.

29. The Gottschalk Co.'s Pointer Maryland Rye ("A Superior Article") ("THE Maryland Rye") was the only Baltimore whiskey marketed in an expensive, glazed, transfer-decorated pottery jug.

30. A junior officer in the firm, Edwin N. (Bates) Fleischmann (1892-1953), was to play a major role in Maryland's post-Repeal rye production. In 1933, having retained title to the Calvert brand, Fleischmann built a new distillery, at Relay. After selling this to Joseph E. Seagram & Sons of Montreal and New York, he built a smaller distillery at Landsowne (Majestic); later yet, he operated a distillery (Harford County) at Havre de Grace. A salesman and then partner in a rival firm, Meyer, Pitts & Co., was Andrew W. Merle (1879-1965). In 1933, having obtained title to the Pikesville and K&L straight rye brands, Merle founded Standard Distillers Products,

Inc., a distributorship, at 310 East Lombard Street. The building was that put up as headquarters for Meyer, Pitts after the 1904 fire. Merle, whose estate was valued in probate at five-plus million dollars, was succeeded by his son, Andrew W. Merle, Jr. (1909-1987). It was Merle, Jr.'s destiny, when Standard Distillers had become the product's last remaining distributor, to cease sending distillers orders for barrels of rye, sell off the inventory, disband the company early in 1983, and end commercial Maryland Rye.

31. Charles A. Fecher, ed., *The Diary of H. L. Mencken* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), p. 287.

32. Reese, *Victorian Village*, p. 127. She gives no date.

33. Cited in Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634-1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press/Maryland Historical Society, 1988), p. 449.

34. See Baltimore *Sun* almanacs of the period.

35. Figures from James M. Doran, supervisor of the Distillers Code Authority under NRA (cited in a 1930s advertisement of Chesapeake Distilling & Distributing Co., Baltimore). This leaves the post-1906 proportion of local whiskey that qualified as pure or straight Maryland rye at about 20 percent. Before passage of the 1906 act, there is every reason to believe, the proportion calling itself Maryland Rye was much higher.

36. For an example: Melvale Distilling Co.'s display ad (*Maryland Medical Journal*, Baltimore, 14 January 1899, p. xxiv) for Melvale Pure Rye Whiskey. "This whiskey...conforms in every way to the requirements of the United States Dispensatory."

37. Mencken, *Newspaper Days*, p. 179.

38. Gambrill (c. 1845-1930) starred in a memorable Baltimore court case. Accused in 1910 of having put up the same whiskey as collateral for separate, forfeited loans totaling some $500,000, he was tried, found guilty and sentenced to four years in prison. He appealed. Twelve years later, somehow Gambrill still was not in jail. Citing his unspecified age, a judge finally quashed the conviction.

39. Two demonstrations of latter-day liquor activity and profitability: In the federal census of 1910, distilled liquors ranked sixteenth among Maryland manufactures by value of product ($5,362,000—first was men's clothing, $36,921,000). But distillers had only 387 persons on their payrolls (clothing, 21,946), at salaries and wages totaling $357,000 (clothing, $9,364,000); distilling materials cost $1,149,000 (clothing, $20,966,000). J. E. Aldred and E. V. Illmer, *Industrial Survey of Baltimore* (Baltimore: n.p., 1914), p. 4, Statements 1 and 2, declared that "Maryland manufactured approximately 4,750,000 gallons of whiskey in 1913, 85 per cent of which was produced in the Baltimore Metropolitan District.... Cooperage is purchased largely in Baltimore.... Malted grain is shipped in from Wisconsin and Michigan." Among the 441 persons employed by distilleries (skilled, 141; unskilled, 188; executive, clerical, sales, 105), seven were women. In a seventeen-category breakdown of "merchandise jobbed" in Baltimore in 1913, spirituous liquors (not including beer) had total sales of $25,785,658; only food products and textiles did better. "Maryland," the survey found, "with Baltimore as the logical distributing point, enjoys an international reputation [for] the superior quality of her whiskies."

40. For the methods and gains of alcohol's adversaries, see Sean Dennis Cashman, *Prohibition, The Lie of the Land* (New York: The Free Press, 1981), pp. 1-26.

41. One 1850s Baltimore store advertised liquor and also glue; another, in the 1860s, liquor and also guano. Across Saratoga Street from Old St. Paul's Church, liquor was for sale. Among downtown's fancy grocers over the years were (all with whiskey on their shelves) George Hollins; R. Courtney & Bro., which boasted of a Paris branch and had its bottle labels lithographed by A. Hoen & Co.; Green & Yoe; William D. Randall; G. H. Reese & Bro.; McConkey & Lawson; Taylor Bros.; Sattler & Co.; Jordan Stabler; Fairall; George E. French; Hopper & Cator, later Hopper, McGaw; Acker, Merrall & Condit, subsidiary of a Manhattan firm.

42. Frank L. Wight (1886-1958), a major figure in Maryland's post-Repeal distilling, was at work in the family's Cockeysville distillery by 1914. In a 1943 newspaper interview, he recalled the 1911 "make"—from unusually good New York state rye grain. Wight headed the post-Repeal Frank L. Wight Distilling Co., which built a distillery at Loreley, just east of Baltimore, and marketed Sherbrook and Wight's Old Reserve Maryland straight ryes. Following its purchase and shutdown by Hiram Walker, Inc., of Canada, Wight organized the Cockeysville Distilling Co., built a distillery close to the original Sherwood site, and marketed a Maryland straight rye called Ryebrook. Following his death, the principal backer, Heublein, Inc., of Connecticut, shut down the distillery.

43. Jackson, *Guide to Whiskey*, p. 139. Frederick Gutheim has repeatedly pointed out the opportunity in present-day Maryland to distill and market a spectrum of small, aged, choice ryes, after the manner of Scottish single malts. A dozen years or so would pass before returns on the investment. No one seems to have given it a try.

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

The Honorable Thomas Taillor: A Tale of Two Wives

KENNETH L. CARROLL

The British Public Records Office in London houses a mass of material relating to Thomas Taillor of The Ridge in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. These papers present a fascinating picture of a man who raises many questions.[1] While throwing light on seventeenth-century life in both Maryland and England, the file also documents Taillor's bigamous marriage in England (which occasioned the collecting of most of the documents).

Thomas Taillor (also spelled Tailer, Tailler, and Taylor) came to Maryland from England by 1656. A bachelor, he found lodging in the house of Elizabeth Sparrow.[2] The recent widow of Thomas Sparrow, she had been left with at least four small children. Two of the Sparrow children, Thomas and another one, entered Maryland with their parents in 1649. Others, born after that time, included Sarah and Solomon. The Sparrows, along with her parents and other relatives, arrived as part of the Puritan community that came out of Virginia into Maryland in 1649-1650, settling for the most part in Anne Arundel County.[3]

Sometime after Thomas Taillor's arrival in the Sparrow household he proposed marriage, and Elizabeth accepted. They were married in late 1656 or early 1657[4] before a justice of the peace or magistrate, there being no clergy in the province at that time. Thomas Besson, a neighbor, later noted that "the usual form and method of Marriages in those days was for both partys to goe to a Justice of the Peace and without previous publication to Selebrate the Marriage."[5] About eleven months after her marriage to Thomas Taillor, Elizabeth gave birth to a son, John.[6] Two female children followed John, one of them stillborn and the other dying when a month old.[7]

Professor Carroll, a distinguished student of the religious history of early Maryland, publishes often in the magazine. He describes research for this article as one of his "most exciting adventures into 'detective work.'"

Thomas Taillor appears to have been a person of real ability. This quality, coupled with his wife's family and religious connections, carried him far. He was simply Thomas Taillor when he entered Maryland, becoming "Mr." by 1658,[8] "Esquire" and "Honourable" by 1673 (the latter title reserved mostly for the final period of his life in Maryland).[9]

He began to amass sizeable land holdings, possessing at least two hundred acres by 1659, 1,100 by 1669, and 2,600 by 1675.[10] In 1678 Forest on the north side of the Patapsco River was surveyed for him; in 1684 he received Land of Promise (containing two thousand acres) on the west side of the Susquehanna River.[11] His political rise paralleled the growth of his holdings and the elevation of his social rank from "Mr." to "Honourable." He served as a justice in Anne Arundel County in 1658-1661 and 1663-1668 and as a member of the Lower House of the Maryland General Assembly in 1659/60, 1669, 1671.[12] During the spring 1671 session, Taillor was chosen Speaker of the House, but when the second session began on 10 October he had not yet returned from a journey to England and was replaced by Thomas Notley.[13] (He appears to have arrived home, however, before the 17 October meeting.)[14] Taillor then became a member of the Upper House from 1674 to 1685 as well as a justice of the Provincial Court from 1673 to 1688/9.[15] He acquired the rank of lieutenant colonel by July 1676, was raised to colonel soon after, and commanded "the horse of Baltimore, Ann Arrundell and part of Calvert County."[16]

Thomas and Elizabeth Taillor's home apparently offered hospitality to those from far and near. Charles Calvert, first as governor and then as proprietor, was a frequent visitor between 1661 and his return to England in 1684. Sometimes Lord Baltimore was there on business; at other times he was simply visiting (remaining "a fortnight or 3 weeks at a time").[17] Samuel Galloway (ca. 1659-1720) reported in 1713 that, from the time he was old enough to remember, he was frequently in the Taillor house.[18] Thomas Besson (ca. 1638-), a neighbor who served as a commissioner with Taillor, knew Thomas and Elizabeth well.[19] When William Penn came down from Pennsylvania into Maryland (in 1682) to meet with Lord Baltimore concerning their boundary dispute, they met at the Taillor home at The Ridge.[20] The full Maryland Assembly met at Taillor's house on 10 April 1685.[21]

The great harvest reaped by early Quaker missionaries caused George Fox to spend half of his American stay in Maryland, strengthening and organizing the Quaker centers that had sprung up on both the Western and Eastern Shores of the province. Elizabeth Harris, the pioneer Quaker missionary in Maryland, had met with great success in the area in the 1656/57 period—winning many converts among the Puritan settlers in the South River, Rhoad River, and West River sections (as well as on Kent Island and at the Clifts).[22] Other early Quaker "publishers of Truth" followed up her work, including

Josiah Coale and Thomas Thurston in the 1658-1661 period and John Burnyeat in 1666.[23]

Elizabeth Sparrow Taillor was probably a Friend by 1672, as were most of her family. Thomas Taillor and his wife were greatly attracted to George Fox and his Western Shore meetings during his 1672/73 labors in Maryland. Fox, on several occasions, noted the presence of the "Speaker of the Assembly" and his wife at his meetings, and at one point believed that the "Speaker of the Assembly" had been convinced.[24] He also stated that the "Speaker" and his wife, both of whom had been very "loving" toward him, expressed a desire to see him—so that he visited them at their home.[25]

In past years there has been a debate concerning the identity of the "Speaker" who was "convinced." Thomas Notley, a Roman Catholic who showed no interest in Quakerism, became Speaker of the House in 1671.[26] That Fox meant Thomas Taillor though, is made clear by Fox's instructions, upon his return to England in 1673, that a copy of Edward Burrough's *Memorable Works of a Son of Thunder and Consolation* (1772) be sent to Thomas Taylor [Taillor], "a member of the Council and Speaker of the Assembly."[27] Although Thomas's son John and his Sparrow stepchildren all became Friends, there is no evidence that Taillor himself ever fully converted to Quakerism—later colonial records simply list his religious affiliation as "Protestant."[28]

Relationships in the Taillor family were apparently close, both between husband and wife and parents and child (as well as Elizabeth's children by her first marriage). After ten years of marriage and just as he was about to leave Maryland for a visit to his mother, Thomas wrote a letter which reflects the extent of his love for Elizabeth.

> Deare Hart After the deare & tender Love of thy lovinge husband whose true Love is unseperable as Light is to the day wherfore my deare hart Know this Although wee are Seperated in our prizable bodys yet shall my love never be seperated whilest our bodie Remaines in this Transetory, My Love Lett me heare from thee by all oppertunetys for I shall not be wanting to send to thee....to Morrow Morninge wee shall sayle so Remember me to my son Jo[h]n & all ye rest of ye Children & Capt Wm Burgis & his wife and all the Rest of our friends.[29]

This letter, written 16 March 1667, on board the *Thomas & Mary* in "Potoxon" [Patuxent], also contains certain business instructions which Thomas Taillor wanted his wife to follow up. She was to tell Captain Morris that twenty hogsheads of tobacco were at the home plantation, while Thomas Sparrow [her son] would inform her where the other six were to be found. He added "be Carefull to take my bills of Ladinge & send the first to mee in a letter Direct to my Mothers....Remember to send for the Bill of Sara Jordon w[hi]ch I Left with Richardson which beinge three thousand

pounds of tobacco." Thomas then ended with another expression of his love for his wife Elizabeth: "I Leave thee to be preserved by hime whoe is the preserver of all Man Kinde—desireing wee may see on[e] another againe to Rejoycing of Each other & Remaine thy Ever Loving husband till death."[30]

The letter quoted above throws light on Thomas Taillor's business enterprises. Not only was he a planter growing tobacco to be sold on the English market, but he also, as early as 1667, was buying tobacco from others. It is likely that this trade continued to expand in the years following and probably was the reason for sending his son John to England to handle the London end of the business. John Brown, who had carried goods for Thomas Taillor on a ship he commanded, brought John Taillor to London in 1681 at the request of his mother and father.[31]

Already a Quaker, John settled in Ratcliff in the County of Middlesex—where Samuel Groome, a Quaker sea captain and a Maryland landowner also lived. He soon fell in love with Mary Groome, daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth, and they were given permission by Ratcliff Monthly Meeting of Friends to present their intentions of marriage to the Two Weeks Meeting in London.[32] They then made known their intentions to marry on Fifth Month (July) 10 and 24, 1682, at the London Two Weeks Meeting.[33] John Taillor produced a certificate from Friends (including his mother) in Maryland, showing their unity with him and his "clearness" in marriage, and a letter from his father to Samuel Groome dated 18 March giving his consent.[34] The marriage then took place at Ratcliff Meeting in August 1682.[35] Mary Groome Taillor [Taylor], only twenty-two years old, died of fever less than sixteen months later and was buried at Ratcliff.[36] In May 1686 Ratcliff Monthly Meeting of Friends gave permission to John Taillor, "merchant" dwelling in Ratcliff (and son of Thomas Taylor [Taillor] of "Merreland in America merchant") and Margaret Moore (daughter of Francis Moore, deceased) to present their intentions of marriage to the Two Weeks Meeting.[37] This was done on 4 and 21 June 1686, when John once again produced a certificate of permission from his father.[38] John Taillor and Margaret Moore were then married on 24 June 1686, at Devonshire House Meeting.[39] Their only child, Margaret, was born in February 1696/7, when they lived in the Parish of All Hallows, Barking, and were members of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting.[40]

Sometime after John Taillor settled in London, his father became involved with Mary Hedge, wife of Thomas, who was a neighbor of the Taillors at the Ridge. The Hedges visited the Taillor home on several occasions before John Taillor sailed for Europe.[41] They stayed several times for a week or two at a stretch.[42] Soon it was rumored that Thomas Taillor and Mary Hedge "now and then kept Company in an indecent and Scandilous manner."[43] John Young, a servant in the Taillor household for six years, later gave information that "by Common Report...they kept Company together in a Lycentious

manner, And she was looked upon to be his Miss[tress], Her own Husband Thomas Hedge being then liveing."[44]

In early 1689 Thomas Taillor, who had already made several earlier journeys to England, left on what was to become his final trip across the Atlantic, travelling in the ship *Baltimore*, commanded by Captain Samuel Philips.[45] When he arrived in England he made his way to Tower Dock[46] (just by the Tower of London) where his son John lived. Although he probably then had no intention of remaining in England permanently, he lived with John and his family for the next sixteen or seventeen years! Solomon Sparrow, Thomas' stepson and John's halfbrother, must have come over at the same time but returned to Maryland shortly thereafter. (In a 1714 deposition he noted that the last time he saw Thomas and John Taillor was in England about twenty-five years earlier when they were all three at Gravesend.)[47]

Business matters and efforts on behalf of Lord Baltimore filled much of Thomas Taillor's time in 1689/90. His return home, if he ever really intended to go back to Maryland, was delayed. In a 13 August 1689 letter Thomas wrote to his wife Elizabeth that the dangers of travel at that time postponed his travel:

> Loving Wife: These are to aquaint thee that I have Recd both thy Letters & am very Glad to heare of thy wellfaire & the Rest of our friends. I am Sorry for the Loss of Eliz[abeth] Carter,[48] I send this after one I sent about 6 weeks Since not Knowing whether it may Come to hand by the way of New York; the tymes are at p[re]sent very trouble some. Several Ships taken by the French from Virginia and MaryLand as John Yow, Abraham Coild, John Harris, Charles Partis, Wiseman & Samuel Dobson, heare hath beene and [sic] Imbargo this 3 Months upon all Shipping and Great Pressing & Still is for Seamen Soe that [I] Cannot get a Shipp out yett: therefore have no oppertunity to Send Supply for my family [but will do so] the first oppertunity that presents, make much of Your Salt for that Comodity is not to be had heare, pray see that Care be taken to order my tobacco well on my Pl[an]tation, and gett it Reddy Arely, and what Tobacco Can possible be Recd be sure [to] Shipp home, the Tobacco in Staples proved bad & Came to Nothing. Tobacco Now advances Something, my Love to Solomon [Sparrow] and tell him I desire his Care to Receave Tobacco for me Neare hime & desire his Assistance in Ordering my Crop Tobacco, this is all at Present but my deare Love to thee from this Loving Husband. My Son, daughter [in-law] and Sam[uel] Gallaway desires to be Remembered to thee.[49]

In January 1690 Taillor, described as an "Old Inhabitant" of Maryland, and Samuel Groome, called "Merchant and Trader to Maryland" (the Quaker brother of John Taillor's first wife) appeared before the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations to testify on behalf of Lord Baltimore

against the charges brought by John Coode and his adherents who had seized power in Maryland.[50] Delaying Taillor's return to Maryland further, Mary Hedge abandoned her husband in Maryland and followed Taillor to London, coming over on the same ship as John Young, who had earlier served the Taillor family for six years (and who was already aware of the rumors circulating about Hedge and Taillor).[51] Taillor soon obtained a house of his own at Plaistow (then a village in Essex, but now a part of East London), where he installed Mary Hedge. Taillor himself continued to live with his son, daughter-in-law, and granddaughter at Tower Dock five days a week, retiring to Plaistow for the weekends.

Mary Hedge's arrival must have been by early 1691, for one of her children by Thomas Taillor (a daughter named Sara) was baptized in Westham Parish Church 27 December 1691.[52] This child died while young, so that a second Sara was baptized 12 March 1692/3.[53] At least one more child was born to them—a son named Thomas, whom the father in 1698 described as his "natural" son Thomas "borne of the body of Mary Taylor al[ia]s Hedge."[54]

For years Mary pressured Thomas to marry her, ultimately persuading him (it would seem) that his marriage to Elizabeth Sparrow had only been their "reciting of words" and not a real marriage, for no priest had been present at the wedding. Late in the 1690s Mary told the wife of John Wilkes (one of her neighbors in Plaistow) that Thomas "had done what she had long pressed him to do," hinting to Wilkes's wife that she and Taillor had recently married. When Taillor took out the marriage license he listed himself as "widower" and Mary Hedge as "widow," even though both of them still had spouses back in Maryland.[55] (Thomas Hedge, Mary's husband, was still living in 1700, while Elizabeth Taillor did not die until 1709.) The application for the marriage license listed Westham Parish Church as the place where the ceremony was to take place. Perhaps the two were embarrassed by the fact that they had earlier had several children baptized there, as well as having already led their neighbors to view them as husband and wife, for the wedding took place at St. Dunstan's in the West (Fleet Street), rather than at the Westham Parish Church, with the ceremony occurring 12 October 1698.[56]

Some months before Taillor actually married Hedge he entered into a secret tripartite indenture involving a large amount of property in Essex. In this legal instrument he transferred control of his "Mannor Grange or farm" and other properties in six different parishes in the north of Essex near the Suffolk border to John Pettit (a London merchant) and Herbert Springett (Gentleman, of London) to hold for Taillor's "use and behoofe" as long as he lived, so that he would receive all rents and profits from them. At his death all of this was to benefit his granddaughter Margaret Taillor and, in case of her death, his son John and daughter-in-law Margaret and any heirs these might have. If there were no further issue, then on the death of the

last of these three, everything should go to the "use and behoofe of Thomas Taylor the natural son of the said Thomas Taylor born of the Body of Mary Taylor al[ia]s Hedge and his heirs forever."[57]

Following his bigamous marriage Taillor (now in his late sixties) continued to live at his son's home at Tower Dock Monday through Friday, returning to Plaistow each Saturday—a practice he followed until the death of John's wife Margaret in April 1707.[58] Neither John nor others living in the household at Tower Hill had any inkling of this cohabitation of Hedge and Taillor before or after the 1698 marriage. This was especially true of Samuel Galloway who was a "boarder...for a long time" in John Taillor's house, staying there before his own remarriage (following the death of Sarah Sparrow Galloway) to Ann Webb of London in 1689 and again when he returned as a member of a four-man delegation of Maryland Quakers (all of whom knew both Thomas Taillor and John Taillor).[59] These four Maryland Friends and the London "Correspondents for Maryland," who included John Taillor and Samuel Groome in their number,[60] had an important task assigned to them—to persuade the King in Council to overturn the latest act providing for the "maintenance of ministers" in Maryland, a part of the 1692-1702 efforts to establish the Anglican Church as the state church in Maryland.[61] In a 1714 deposition Galloway stated that he had not known that Thomas Taillor and Mary Hedge had lived together for fourteen years before Taillor died.[62]

Once Thomas and Mary were married they developed more of a social life, albeit one limited to Saturday and Sunday, when Thomas was not living with his son on Tower Hill. John Wilkes later reported that he and his wife frequently visited the Taillors in their house and in turn "received visits from them in a neighbourly way and had many times eat at their table and entertained them at...[his own] table."[63] Wilkes, perhaps without knowing it, also pointed out the excessive religiosity of Mary Hedge Tailler once her days of adultery had been brought to an end by a bigamous wedding. He reported that about 1698, to the best of his remembrance, he had invited the Taillor couple to dinner, where a venison pasty was served. After Thomas and Mary had dined, Mary told Wilkes's wife that she "would not have come to dine with [them] on that Day being a Sacrament day but that it was to oblidge...[Thomas Taillor] who had then lately done what she had long been pressing him to do." Later Wilkes and his wife learned from Rowland Buckle (who had been at the Taillor wedding dinner) that the Taillors were married. From that time on, Wilkes reported, Mary Hedge Taillor came frequently to church and received "the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper" and Taillor later also "several times received the said Sacrament with her at Church."[64]

While Mary Hedge and Thomas Taillor were cavorting through Anglican ceremonies, rituals, and sacraments in England, Elizabeth Taillor remained

in the Taillor plantation house in Anne Arundel County. Her son Thomas Sparrow had already died, as had her daughter Sarah who had married Samuel Galloway (and had four children, at least one of which, Hannah, lived beyond Galloway's death in 1720). Her son Solomon Sparrow lived nearby, giving her help when necessary. It may well be that another Sparrow child or two was still living in the neighborhood.

Elizabeth Taillor continued in the Quaker movement which she had embraced quite early. She remained active in the West River Meeting, as well as participating in the affairs of the monthly meeting, quarterly meeting, and yearly meeting. Her appointments to committees were often significant. She was one of four weighty women Friends chosen to write to London Friends in 1687 and one of two selected for this same task in 1689.[65] In 1700 Elizabeth Taillor was one of ten West River Friends picked to join others from Herring Creek, Clifts, and Patuxent Meetings three times a year to discuss the "weightiest" problems facing Friends.[66] She was also remembered for a vision she had received, which Friends thought worthy of being recorded and circulated.[67] Elizabeth Taillor's Quaker neighbors, who attended West River Meeting with her, were often at The Ridge, giving her support and companionship during those lonely post-1689 years. Among these were Samuel and Ann Galloway. Although Samuel, Elizabeth's former son-in-law, had remarried and fathered numerous additional children, he continued his frequent visits.[68] Other neighbors, largely Friends, who called upon her during these years of living alone on the Taillor plantation included Thomas Larkin and his wife.[69]

Off in England Thomas Taillor engaged in several strange activities after his secret marriage. He continued to send gifts to Elizabeth—addressing them to Mrs. Thomas Taillor and sending them by John Brown (the very same sea captain who had carried John Taillor to London about 1680). Even more surprising were his letters, addressing Elizabeth as "wife" and signing himself as "Your loving husband." The latest extant was dated 1705, seven years after his bigamous marriage! This one was short and rather cruel, lacking both the warmth and the "plain language" of thou, thee, and thine which had pervaded the 1667 letter and dominated the 1689 letter:

> Honest Wife London Aprill 12th 1705
>
> I Rec[eive]d your [last letter] but not one word about bills of Exchange which for this once I have payd but if you or any for you draw any more They Shall be Returned, for [I] will nott pay Mony for other people—But what Nessesary you have ocation for Your Selfe while you and I live, you shall not want it. And for [the] Pl[an]tation & Serv[an]ts I must finde some better way for Managment of them, or dispose of them to somebody that will order them, for I shall not feed them & cloth[e] them out of my Estate heare & Keep them in Idleness. Wee are all in good health & desire to be Remem-

bered to you. My Love to all friends & Relations Your Lo[ving] H[us]band Thomas Taillor[70]

In the early spring of 1707 Margaret Taillor, wife of John, died and was buried in Bunhill Fields, London.[71] Sometime thereafter Thomas Taillor left his son's house on Tower Hill, giving John and his daughter Margaret more freedom and privacy. From this time until Thomas's own death in 1713 he dwelt full-time at his house in Plaistow. Although Thomas increasingly withdrew from his merchant business, he was in London frequently—often found in one or another of the coffee houses with his son John or visiting the Taillor merchant facilities at Tower Dock.

About 20 February 1708/9, Elizabeth Taillor died at The Ridge[72] and was probably buried in the West River Quaker burial ground. Even before her death Thomas had started the process of transferring his lands in Anne Arundel to his son John.[73] In 1709, for a token fee of five shillings, Thomas sold the remaining 2,400 acres of his Maryland land to John, noting in the indenture the "natural Love and Affection" which he had for his son.[74] Taillor himself died on or about 26 January 1712/13[75] leaving no will (even though he had earlier been cautioned to do so by his friend John Silk).[76]

Taillor's insistence on dying intestate is consistent with several of his other actions both before and after his bigamous marriage to Mary Hedge: continuing to send letters to his wife in Maryland, dispatching occasional gifts to her, and transferring property to his son John (just as he had done to his granddaughter Margaret, prior to his second marriage). It was, in turn, this stubbornness on his part that led to the lawsuit over the administration of his estate and therefore to the gathering of those letters, depositions, and indentures which enable us to part the curtains on this hitherto unknown chapter in Thomas Taillor's life. Both John Taillor and Mary Hedge appeared before the Prerogative Court and sought administration of the estate—John as "next of kin" and Mary claiming to be the "Lawful widow"!

Hedge's argument was that Thomas Taillor and Elizabeth Sparrow were never really married, having only "spoken words." Thus, John Taillor must be seen as illegitimate and, therefore, unable to administer the estate. She herself, however, was married to Thomas Taillor by an "Arch Episcopal Lycense" dated 12 October 1698 in St. Dunstan's Church in the West. She produced a statement from Dr. John Grant, the minister at St. Dunstan's, as well as depositions from several neighbors, friends, and even a servant, showing that "She Cohabited with the Deceased, as his Lawfull Wife until his Death."[77] One of her supporting depositions was by John Silk, who late in 1713 testified that Thomas Taillor had told him that "as to his son John's Mother...they took one another's words, but that he was lawfully married" to Mary Hedge.[78]

John Taillor, in turn, argued that the marriage of Thomas and Elizabeth was valid and that he was their "natural and lawful son." He likewise declared that "if any pretended marriage [between Thomas Taillor and Mary Hedge] was solemnized as Sett forth [in Mary Hedge's suit] the Same was illegal and only a profanation of a marriage."[79] Taillor took longer than Hedge to collect his evidence. Three of Thomas's letters to Elizabeth were produced, calling Elizabeth "wife" and signed by Thomas as her "husband." Thomas Taillor's signature was verified by Thomas Moore (who had lived in the Tower Hill house with Thomas and John Taillor for seven years and who had seen him sign many letters and several ship's books)[80] and by John Brown (who had known Thomas Taillor for forty years and who had brought John Taillor to London about 1681.[81] The indentures transferring Essex lands to Margaret Taillor and Maryland properties to John Taillor (each of which identified John as Thomas Taillor's son) also were entered into evidence.[82] John produced other depositions, gathered in 1714 and 1715, from a number of Marylanders who had known Thomas and Elizabeth Taillor to live together as husband and wife for more than thirty years before he left for England in 1689: Solomon Sparrow (John Taillor's half brother), Samuel Galloway (well-known Quaker merchant who had once been Elizabeth Taillor's son-in-law), John Young (who had once been a servant in the Taillor home at The Ridge for six years, ca. 1678-1684), Samuel Young (a judge in the Provincial Court and a member of her Majesty's Council in Maryland), Col. William Holland (a member of her Majesty's Council), Capt. Richard Smith, and Thomas Besson.[83]

One of the more significant depositions supporting John Taillor's position was that by Charles, Third Lord Baltimore, dated 24 March 1713. Baltimore said that he had known Thomas Taillor since 1661 and that from 1664 to 1684 (when Charles had left Maryland) he was frequently in the Taillor home at the Ridge. Elizabeth Taillor was viewed both by Baltimore and the other inhabitants of Maryland as Thomas's wife. Lord Baltimore also noted that he was aware that Thomas Taillor kept Mary Hedge at "bed and board," but that he had always viewed her as Taillor's mistress. Charles believed that there may have been two or three ministers in Maryland in the 1654-1657 period and that, although they performed weddings where they lived, justices of the peace also solemnized marriages in those years.[84]

William Loch, a chirugeon who last saw Elizabeth Taillor on her deathbed (when Thomas Larkin, his wife, and several others of her neighbors were present), testified in 1714 that it was still customary for justices of the peace to "marry persons according to a form of Matrimony in the book of Common Prayer in such places where there are not any Clergymen and such marriages are allowed to be lawfull there and have so been for many years."[85] Samuel Young, a member of the Council as well as a Justice in the Provincial Court, stated his belief that "Should the Marriages of persons Contracted fifty years

ago be now called into question, nine in tenn of most Issues might be bastardized for want of Evidence—that were present at the said marriages to prove them, there being no Church ministers nor Registers kept in those days of the Infancy of the Country as the Deponent has heard."[86]

When all the depositions and other evidence were examined, the Prerogative Court of Canterbury ruled in favor of the first marriage and against the second. Mary Hedge then appealed to the Crown in the High Court of Delegates. On 20 December 1715, Dr. John Evans (Lord Bishop of Bangor), Sir Thomas Bury (Baron of the Exchequer), Sir Richard Eyre (Justice of the King's Bench), Dr. William Strahan, Dr. John Audley, and Dr. Edward Kinaston affirmed the earlier decision of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.[87]

Whether or not Thomas Taillor settled some Plaistow property on Mary Hedge before his death is unknown. She was still living in the area a few years later, and their "natural" son Thomas was married in the Westham Parish Church to Sarah Collingwood in 1721/2.[88] This Thomas, however, never inherited those lands made over to Margaret Taillor which were to come to him if Margaret failed to have issue which survived her.

John Taillor, well-known Quaker merchant trading out of Tower Dock in London, took on as his partner his son-in-law Gilbert Higgison [Higginson], who had married Margaret. In 1725 Higgison was granted power of attorney by John Taillor to collect debts, both present and future, owed to Taillor in America.[89] Higgison himself was dead by the end of 1739, leaving his wife Margaret, a son Taillor, and a daughter Margaret.[90]

John Taillor, son of Thomas and Elizabeth, died in December 1742, at the age of eighty-four.[91] In accordance with his own wishes, he was buried in the Quaker burial ground at Bunhill Fields in London—where his wife Margaret and many other Friends, including the great George Fox himself, had found their resting places. John's will, dated 10 May 1742, was probated the day after his death.[92] A copy of the will was recorded in Annapolis,[93] probably because of the large amount of land he had possessed in Maryland. By his will all of his Maryland holdings became the property of his daughter Margaret Higgison, widow of Gilbert. Margaret Higgison sold over 6,200 acres of her Maryland inheritance in 1744,[94] as well as another small holding in 1752.[95] Margaret Higgison died in 1770, leaving a daughter, Margaret Rowe.[96]

Here ends, in a sense, the story of the "Honourable" Thomas Taillor and his two wives. Although it is quite possible that there may be some of Thomas Taillor's descendants (by both Elizabeth Sparrow Taillor and Mary Hedge) alive today, the final curtain in this interesting drama comes down as we discover that Thomas Taillor had a great-granddaughter, so that the Essex property remained in the hands of Elizabeth Sparrow Taillor's des-

cendants rather than going over to those of Mary Hedge and her son Thomas.

NOTES

1. Edward C. Papenfuse, Alan F. Day, David W. Jordan, and Gregory A. Stiverson, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635-1789* (2 vols.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 2:796-97.

2. Delegates I, vol. 343, no. 775, pp. 110a, 126a, Public Records Office, Chancery Lane, London (hereafter PRO). This volume of depositions contains records from many people who knew Thomas Taillor both in Maryland and England.

3. Concerning early Puritan settlement in Maryland see Babette M. Levy, *Early Puritanism in the Southern and Island Colonies* (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1960), pp. 201-8.

4. Delegates I, 343:126a, 135b, 143b. Thomas Besson (who lived within a mile of Taillor) reported that the marriage took place "soon" after Taillor's arrival and seems to place it in 1655 or 1656 in his 1714 deposition. Solomon Sparrow suggests that it must have been about 1657 (when Sparrow was four or five years old). John Taillor, the son of Elizabeth and Thomas, reports that it must have been somewhere between 1654 and 1657.

5.Ibid., pp. 126a-126b. He also reported that there were three justices in that part of Maryland at that time (which he seems to think of as 1655-56, although the dates were confused in the transcriptions found here), but he also says that he does not know by which one they were married.

6. Ibid., p. 136a. Solomon Sparrow said that his mother (Elizabeth Taillor) told him that John's birth was about eleven months after her marriage to Thomas Taillor. The London and Middlesex Friends Burial Digests (Friends House, London) report that John Taillor [Taylor] died 2 December 1742, at the age of eighty-four.

7. Delegates I, 343:136b, 142a. Solomon Sparrow, "by being of the same family with them," lived in the Taillor household while growing up and gave these details—which came to him either through personal knowledge or from later conversations with his mother.

8. William Hand Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland* (72 vols. to date; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-), 2:345, 346 *passim*; 15:23.

9. Ibid., 5:329; 7:112, 259-312; 8:12, 19, 22, 44, 46, 47, 52, 53, 66.

10. Papenfuse, *Biographical Dictionary*, 2:797.

11. *Maryland Rent Rolls: Baltimore and Anne Arundel Counties, 1700-1707, 1705-1724, A Consolidation of Articles from the Maryland Historical Magazine* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1976), pp. 17, 74.

12. Papenfuse, *Biographical Dictionary*, 2:797.

13. *Archives of Maryland*, 2:312.

14. Ibid., 2:318.

15. Papenfuse, *Biographical Dictionary*, 2:797. He also served in several other offices in addition to those mentioned.

16. *Archives of Maryland*, 5:310; 15:99.

17. Delgates I, 343:239a-239b.

18. Ibid., p. 144a.

19. Ibid., p. 125b. He knew Thomas Taillor "from his first coming into the said Province" (of Maryland).

20. *Archives of Maryland*, 5:379, 382-390. The date given here is 13 December 1682. See also Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, *The Papers of William Penn* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 2:258, who date it 11 December 1682. Taillor and a "troop of horse" then accompanied Lord Baltimore to the Eastern Shore to meet with Penn once more.

21. *Archives of Maryland*, 17:363. Cf. 17:168, where the assembly met at the house of John Larkin, Taillor's neighbor at The Ridge.

22. Kenneth L. Carroll, "Elizabeth Harris, the Founder of American Quakerism, *Quaker History*, 57 (1968): 96-111.

23. Kenneth L. Carroll, "Thomas Thurston, Renegade Maryland Quaker," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 63 (1967): 170-192; "Persecution of Quakers in Early Maryland (1658-1661)," *Quaker History*, 53 (1964); 67-80; *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1970), pp. 27, 30-31.

24. George Fox, *The Journal of George Fox*, ed. John L. Nickalls (London: Religious Society of Friends, 1975), p. 638.

25. Ibid., p. 655.

26. *Archives of Maryland*, 2:312. Cf. Papenfuse, *Biographical Dictionary*, 2:616, and Fox, *Journal*, p. 638.

27. James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America* (London: Charles Gilpin, 1850), 1:358. Bowden quotes from the Bristol Monthly Meeting Manuscripts, PRO, Bristol (microfilm copy available at Friends House Library, London). Burrough's works, produced by one of the outstanding early Quakers, were thought to be so valuable in helping people in power understand and appreciate Quaker thought, principles, and practices that Fox sent twenty-three copies of this folio volume to America as gifts to designated recipients—including twelve in Maryland and four in Virginia.

28. *Archives of Maryland*, 5:309-10 contain several such designations.

29. Delegates 2, Box 85.

30. Ibid.

31. Delegates I, 343:229a.

32. Ratcliff Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1 (1681-1701): 9b, Friends House Library, London.

33. Two Weeks Meeting Minutes, 2 (1680-1691): 73, 77, ibid.

34. Ibid., 2:73.

35. London and Middlesex Marriage Digests, 1657-1719 (no pagination but listed alphabetically and chronologically), Friends House Library, London. The marriage is listed twice in this digest, once as Taylor and once as Tailer. In both cases John is identified as the son of Thomas of Anne Arundel County, Maryland.

36. London and Middlesex Burial Digests (Friends House Library, London) give the date of death as 10th Month [December] 6, 1683.

37. Ratcliff Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1:21.

38. London Two Weeks Meeting Minutes, 2:136.

39. London and Middlesex Marriage Digests (no page). John's father Thomas attended this wedding.

40. London and Middlesex Birth Registers, Friends House Library, London.
41. Delegates I, 343:114a-114b.
42. Ibid., 343:136a-136b.
43. Ibid., 343:144a. This was the 1714 testimony of Samuel Galloway who had married Sarah Sparrow, daughter of Elizabeth Sparrow Taillor.
44. Ibid., 343:175a.
45. *Archives of Maryland*, 8:66. He was reported to be underway on February 16, 1688-1699.
46. Ralph Hyde, ed., *The A to Z of Georgian London* (Lympne Castle, Kent: Harry Margary, 1981), p. 26.
47. Delegates I, 343:141b-142a.
48. Elizabeth Carter was a Barbados Friend who traveled widely in the American colonies, visiting Maryland several times on religious service.
49. Delegates 2, Box 85.
50. *Archives of Maryland*, 8:163. Cf. Ibid., 8:212-13 for a petition, dated 20 November 1690, signed by Thomas Taillor and ten other Marylanders.
51. Delegates I, 343:175a.
52. Register of Westham Parish Church, Passmore Edwards Museum, Strafford, Essex.
53. Ibid. Both of these children are listed as the daughters of Thomas Taylor [Taillor], with the name of the mother missing.
54. Delegates I, 343:189a.
55. Ibid., 343:38b-39a, 46a.
56. Ibid., 343:46a, 218b-219a.
57. Ibid., 343:181a-194a. In addition to the Manor farm there were other properties "being in the towne Fields or Parishes of Pentlow, Liston, Foxheath, Otten, Bellchampe, and Bellchampe St. Paul." This indenture was signed 30 April, 1698.
58. London and Middlesex Burial Registers. Margaret, aged twenty-nine years, died 3 April 1707 and was buried in the Quaker burial ground at Bunhill Fields, London.
59. Meeting for Sufferings Minutes, 11(1696-1697):281 and 12(1697-1698):32, Friends House Library, London. The four Maryland Friends were Galloway, Richard Johns, Nehemial Burkett [Birkhead], and Samuel Chew (who had served in several political offices with Thomas Taillor).
60. John Taillor, a native-born Marylander living in London and having strong trading ties with Maryland, was a "natural" for this position in which he served for many years (as well as being a member of Meeting for Sufferings). Samuel Groome, Quaker sea captain trading with Maryland, was also very useful.
61. Kenneth L. Carroll, "Quaker Opposition to the Establishment of a State Church in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 65 (1970): 149-70; "American Quakers and Their London Lobby," *Quaker History*, 70 (1981): 22-39.
62. Delegates I, 343:153b.
63. Ibid., 343:99b-100a.
64. Ibid., 343:101a-102a.
65. Minutes of Maryland Half Years Meeting for Women, 1677-1683 and 1683- pp. 39, 43. Other weighty Western Shore women who shared this task with Elizabeth Taillor were Ann Chew, Elizabeth Talbot, and Elizabeth Richardson.
66. Ibid., p. 79.

67. Quarterly Meeting of the Western Shore Minutes, 1680-1709, p. 89, contain this minute: "A Vision Seene by Elizabeth Tailler in 1683 being put in writeing & read in this meeting, and it is the advise of this Meeting that it might be fairly coppyed over, for its further service." These records are on deposit at the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College. I have not yet found a copy of this paper.

68. Delegates I, 343:230a-231a. For some unkown reason the births of the fifteen children of Samuel and Ann Galloway are listed on pp. 266-267 in the Clifts Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1698-1759, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College. The first child was born in London, 5 January 1689/90 and the last in 1709 at West River.

69. Delegates I, 343:224b.

70. Delegates 2, Box 85.

71. London and Middlesex Burial Registers, Friends House Library, London. Maragaret died 3 April of "cholick" and was buried in the Quaker Burial ground at Bunhill Fields.

72. Delegates I, 343:113a.

73. *Maryland Rent Rolls: Baltimore and Anne Arundel Counties, 1700-1707, 1705-1724*, pp. 172, 181.

74. Delegates I, 343:195a-199b. A second indenture, also dated September 9, 1709, conveyed the very same lands, plus his "Negroe stock," household goods, etc. These lands included the six-hundred acre home plantation on The Ridge. These indentures are dated eight and a half months after the death of Elizabeth Taillor.

75. Ibid., 343:40a-40b.

76. Ibid., 343:56a-58b. Taillor's answer to Silk was that "I have settled my Estate in Essex on John Taylor's Daughter and my effect in Virginia [Maryland] I have or will make over to him, And what effects he has of mine in his hands are his own; and what I have will be for my wife (meaning Mary Taylor) *and her children*" [emphasis added]. Throughout the seventeenth century and even into the eighteenth century "Virginia" was often used to describe the whole area opening off the Chesapeake Bay.

77. Book of Cases, 2 (1695-1738): 249, Friends House Library, London.

78. Delegates I, 343:58b.

79. Ibid., 343:218b. John also stated that he had never heard his father "own the Said pretended marriage," not hearing of it until Mary Hedge's suit was filed.

80. Delegates 2, Box 85, deposition dated June 28, 1715. These letters seem to have been located by Solomon Sparrow among Elizabeth Taillor's effects and sent to London by him.

81. Ibid., Box 85, deposition dated June 28, 1715. Cf. Delegates I, 343:227a-231a. Brown saw Thomas Taillor at the George and Vulture Tavern in Cornhill, London, two or three weeks before he died, as well as seeing Elizabeth Taillor a short time before her death (when Samuel Galloway and the servants of the house were present).

82. Delegates 2, Box 85.

83. Delegates I, 343:130b-181b, 227a-233a. Most of these depositions, except that by Thomas Besson, were given before Edward Lloyd, while his was sworn before Samuel Young. Charles Carroll, Esquire, served as substitute proctor for Charles Humphreys in gathering these depositions.

84. Ibid., 343:237a-238b.

85. Ibid., 343:225a.

86. Ibid., 343:170a.

87. Book of Cases, 2:250.

88. Cf. Boyd's Marriage List (Society of Genealogists, London), which simply gives a date of 1721. The Westham Marriage Index, ibid., dates the marriage on 16 January 1721 (O.S.).

89. Anne Arundel County Deeds, SY#1 (1724-1728), pp. 369-371. In the case of Higgison's death Thomas Bordley was given this power of attorney.

90. Probate Records 12/109, #699, Quire 262, PRO, list the will of Gilbert Higgison dated 28 August 1738 and probated 19 December 1739. The son is not named and the daughter is not mentioned in this document.

91. London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting Burial Digests, Friends House Library. The cause of death is simply listed as "age."

92. Probate 11, 722 (Section 367), Rolls Room, PRO.

93. Annapolis Wills, 23:325-329.

94. Anne Arundel Deeds, Liber RB#2, folios 9, 17, 21, 25, 58. Part of this sale included three hundred acres, a portion of "Hickory Ridge," sold to Col. Henry Ridgely.

95. Ibid., Liber RB#3, folio 543.

96. Probate 12/140, #959, Rolls Room, PRO. In her will Margaret Higgison speaks of her daughter Margaret Rowe, "commonly called Margaret Lewis." This suggests that the daughter had remarried rather recently.

The Sparrows of Sparrow's Point

MARGARET W. SPARROW

Musing over the derivation of place-names, Lou Azrael once cited as an example the theory that "Sparrow's Point" was so called because of all the sparrows there. In fact, the Point owes its name to the early immigrant who obtained one of Baltimore County's first land grants—Thomas Sparrow.

The early Sparrows of Maryland were part and parcel of America's colonial, religious, and historical adventures. Tracing their movements brings to life the social and religious forces of the seventeenth century—a time of great ferment. James I of England caused the Sparrow migration when he began persecution of the Puritans, saying in 1604, "I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of the land."[1] While some of the nonconformists fled to Holland, others looked to the New World for refuge. These Puritans embarked for Virginia beginning in 1611 and settled south of the James River in Isle of Wight, Nansemond, and Lower Norfolk Counties.[2] Their leader was Sir Thomas Dale, friend of the "Apostle of Virginia," the Reverend Alexander Whitaker. In 1621 a wealthy London merchant, Edward Bennett, acquired a large grant of land on the Nansemond River, where he settled with another band of Puritans.[3] In the Great Emigration of 1630 about eight hundred more braved the perilous three-month voyage into these parts. Alarmed by such large migrations, Charles I in 1637 forbade any nonconformists to leave the kingdom; from then on, they were forced to emigrate secretly.[4] By 1638 Virginia sheltered more than one thousand Puritans, about seven percent of its total population.[5]

Thomas Sparrow arrived sometime in this period, for in March 1635 James Knott secured a grant of twelve hundred acres in Elizabeth City County on the Nansemond for transporting twenty-three colonists, including this Sparrow and Thomas Taylor.[6] In 1640 in Lower Norfolk County Sparrow married Elizabeth Marsh, sister of Thomas Marsh, who had arrived in Virginia before 1637. In December 1640 Sparrow patented in his own right three hundred acres in Lower Norfolk County on the western branch of the Elizabeth River for transporting himself and five others. This land was "to be doubled" when he had "sufficiently peopled and planted it."[7]

Mrs. Sparrow, a graduate of Goucher College, holds an M.A. from Johns Hopkins and serves on the library committee of the Maryland Historical Society.

The Puritans had organized a committee in May 1640 to build a church, and in 1643 obtained three ministers from Massachusetts. Governor William Berkeley also arrived in 1643. He and his chaplain frowned on the nonconformists and in 1644 imposed a law forbidding their worship and requiring them to attend the Anglican church every Sunday and to pay tithes there.[8] One month later Indians attacked the colonists and killed about five hundred. Governor Berkeley then seized the Puritans' ammunition, "which was very harsh in such a country where the heathen live round about them," and banished their ministers. To Governor Berkeley's surprise, his own chaplain soon converted to Puritanism and left the Established Church in order to preach to the nonconformists.[9] In the midst of all the turmoil, in April 1646 Thomas Sparrow was appointed constable of the Elizabeth River Parish, Lower Norfolk County.[10]

Meantime, in order to establish a religiously tolerant colony in America, Lord Baltimore in 1634 had obtained a charter to land that had belonged in Virginia's original grant and that on Kent Island Virginians already had settled. So many Puritans began to move north (and south) to escape persecution that in 1645 the Virginia House of Burgesses passed an act forbidding any colonist to leave for Maryland without permission. After the Puritan Parliament in England ordered King Charles's execution in 1649, the Virginia burgesses passed another law denouncing the deed, proclaiming Charles II king, and making it an act of treason for anyone even to think something in favor of the Puritan Parliament.[11]

Lord Baltimore granted adventurers one hundred acres for each adult settler transported to Maryland, yet few immigrants accepted his offer. Protestants regarded Baltimore, a "Papist," with suspicion. He then appointed a Protestant governor, William Stone, with the directive "to provide 500 people of British or Irish descent to reside within our said province of Maryland."[12] Governor Stone then negotiated with the Virginia Puritans. Under Maryland's manorial system, all colonists were forced to swear fealty to Baltimore with an oath of fidelity calling him "Almighty Lord." Puritans objected to this requirement, and Stone promised to modify it and grant freedom of religion. The Puritans requested that this promise be put into writing, like the English statute of 1647 providing religious toleration, for "such who upon Conscientious Grounds, may differ from the common Rights...belonging equally to all."[13] Maryland's Act of Toleration passed on 21 April 1649.

In Virginia persecution became increasingly severe. In August 1649 the high sheriff presented eight members of the Puritan congregation, including Thomas Marsh, for refusing to attend the Anglican parish church in Elizabeth River. The Lower Norfolk Court ordered them to conform themselves (as Anglicans) before 1 October.[14] As a result, more than three hundred members of the Puritan group moved to Maryland that spring and

1667 - "Kinsey Situate" and "Walnut Neck," Baltimore County, 100 acres

1652 - "Sparrow's Nest," Baltimore County, 1,000 acres on the Patapsco River, now Sparrow's Point.

1749 - "Elk Ridge," Baltimore County, 100 acres

1649 - "Sparrow's Rest," Anne Arundell County, Maryland, 590 acres on the Rhode River

1673 - Anne Arundel County, 400 acres on Rhode River

1675 - Anne Arundel County, 100 acres on Rhode River

1685 - "Painter's Range," Dorchester County, 1700 acres

1750 - "Sparrow's Request," Frederick County, Maryland, 100 acres

1667 - "The Cliffs," Calvert County, 300 acres

1710 - Accomac County, Virginia, 750 acres

1640 - Lower Norfolk County, Virginia, 300 acres on the Elizabeth River and Nansemond River.

1705 - (Not shown) Pamlico River, North Carolina, 1040 acres and "Crany Island," Pamlico Sound, North Carolina, 2400 acres.

Sparrow plantations in three colonies demonstrate early settlement patterns along the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries. (Map courtesy of the Chesapeake Bay Foundation.)

summer and settled on the Severn River and along the Chesapeake, calling their new area "Providence."[15] Marsh, as one of the leaders of the Puritans, was again cited by the court for having "deserted this Collony and carried away many."[16] Among the immigrant party were Thomas Sparrow, his wife Elizabeth (Marsh), their children Thomas II and Elizabeth, and a servant John Dennis. Sparrow obtained 590 acres in the West River hundred on the west side of the Rhode River, naming their home "Sparrow's Nest."[17] (This acreage, later incorporated into "Java" and "Contee Farm," today is the site of the Smithsonian Environmental Research Center for environmental studies. The shell of the house still stands, after having been struck by lightning some years ago.[18]) Evidently, Sparrow retained his land in Lower Norfolk County, for later deeds still mentioned him.[19] At the same time, Virginia settlers began to migrate through the Nansemond Valley into what is now North Carolina, settling north of Albemarle Sound between the Chowan River and the ocean.[20]

Anne Arundel Puritans, remembering the terrible massacres in Virginia, were anxious to have peace with the nearby Susquehannocks, who at this time also desired peace. On 5 July 1652 leaders of the two groups—white delegates included Thomas Marsh—negotiated a treaty under a poplar in Annapolis (local legend places this "liberty tree," still standing, on the St. John's College green).[21] Setting territorial boundaries, the treaty opened settlement northward to the head of the bay. English planters spread rapidly through the tidewater areas. In November 1652 the surveyor-general started marking off grants on the Patapsco River. He surveyed four hundred acres for Thomas Sparrow on the south side, "South Canton" (canton meaning quarter) on Humley Marsh Creek, and another on the north side on Old Road Bay at the mouth of Broad Creek running south to a marked persimmon tree on a point called Sparrow's Point.[22]

The agreement with the Indians continued to benefit the colonists in other ways, as evidenced by an alarm the Susquehannocks gave in the 1690s. When the Provincial Council summoned the Indians to give evidence, it was Solomon Sparrow who offered support for them. He declared that he and some friends, while "out a-hunting back in the woods," were tracked by the local Indians, who warned them not to hunt, for "the naked Indians were abroad and would kill them if they met."[23] These natives were the ferocious Senecas, who paddled their canoes down the Susquehanna River each spring to raid the peaceful Marylanders—Indians and Englishmen alike.

Unfortunately, no records of any Puritan congregation in Maryland survive. Perhaps they were destroyed at the time of the Battle of the Severn on 25 March 1655/6, after which Thomas Marsh died of wounds received in the engagement.[24] The Great Seal of Maryland also disappeared at this time. (Interestingly enough, Thomas Sparrow's great-great-grandson Thomas

Sparrow V, Annapolis silversmith, later made some official seals for the new state of Maryland. They are now on display in the State House.)

After the trauma of religious persecution, emigration, Indian wars, and the Battle of the Severn, it is not surprising that the Puritan colony flocked to the ideals of Quakerism as a logical outgrowth of Puritanism. In 1656 Elizabeth Harris, the first Quaker missionary or "Publisher of the Truth," preached one of her first sermons in America at the West River Meeting House, and many Puritans, including the Sparrow family, were converted.[25] Thomas Sparrow I evidently died in the 1650s, and his son Thomas II inherited "Sparrow's Rest" in Anne Arundel County, obtaining the patent in September 1659.[26] Thomas I's widow married Col. Thomas Taylor, a prominent Quaker who had close ties with William Penn. He later hosted at his home on the Severn Ridge a conference between Penn and Lord Baltimore in December 1682 concerning the Maryland/Pennsylvania boundary.[27] Colonel and Mrs. Taylor patented two hundred acres of "South Canton" in September 1659, stating that Thomas Sparrow, deceased, bequeathed to his son Solomon six hundred acres of "Sparrow's Nest." Solomon, born some time after his parents' move to Maryland, repatented this land in January 1666.[28]

Reared in his Quaker home atmosphere, Thomas Sparrow II became such a wholehearted Friend that in 1661 he was fined five hundred pounds of tobacco for refusing to bear arms in the colonial militia under Capt. William Burgess.[29] (Seemingly, there was no ill will between the two families, for Thomas Sparrow III grew up to marry Ann, Burgess's daughter.[30]) In May 1667 Thomas Sparrow II married Elizabeth Kinsey, youngest daughter of Hugh and Margaret Kinsey and sister of Paul, all of whom had come to Maryland from Virginia in 1659. (Hugh had obtained a grant on the north side of the Patapsco for four hundred acres, "Walnut Neck" and "Kinsey Situate."[31]) Thomas Sparrow died in 1675, leaving two children, Elizabeth and Thomas III. In July 1675 his widow married Richard Johns, who had emigrated to the Calvert Cliffs four years earlier. Calvert County in 1694 elected Johns to the House of Delegates, which refused to seat him because as a Quaker he could not swear the required oath. From that time on, no Quaker participated in Maryland colonial government.[32] The Johnses held Quaker meetings in their home for thirty years. (Their descendants included the great philanthropist Johns Hopkins.)

The Sparrows pursued various interests while frequently renting their land holdings to be farmed by others. Thomas Sparrow III, in addition to the "plantation at Patapsico,"[33] inherited the Sparrow property of three hundred acres on Calvert Cliffs and the Patapsco lands "Kinsey Situate" and "Walnut Neck" from his mother in 1715/16. Thomas III had a fascinating career. Married three times—to daughters of Col. William Burgess, Col. William Richardson and Col. John West—he inherited land from each one,

on both the Eastern and Western Shores. Beginning life as a merchant in Annapolis, he developed plantations of more than three thousand acres in North Carolina and there in 1706 held one of the original plots in the new Town of Bath.[34] Father of eight children, Thomas III left land to each one in his two wills—in Maryland in 1713 and in North Carolina in 1717. The first clause in the Maryland will stated that Thomas Sparrow of Road River in Anne Arundel County was about to take a voyage, and "not knowing how God may please to dispose of me and calling to mind the uncertainties of this life," he was writing his last testament.[35]

Uncertainties was putting it mildly! With hurricanes, yellow-fever epidemics, the danger of drought, occasional Tuscarora Indian uprisings, and pirate Blackbeard's raids, life in North Carolina certainly was insecure. Then in 1711 Sparrow joined the Cary Rebellion, whose leaders were called traitors and hunted up and down the coast until wiser authorities in England gave them back their freedom in 1713.[36] As a result of the outbreak Governor Eden appointed North Carolina's first assembly, which in 1715 passed an Act on Liberty and Conscience, permitting Quakers the right of affirmation.[37] (Some of Thomas Sparrow III's descendants are still living there.)

Thomas Sparrow IV inherited "The Cliffs" in Calvert County; "Sparrow's Rest," "Sparrow's Addition" and "Squirrel Neck" in Anne Arundel, and "Kinsey Situate" in Baltimore County. With a crippling disability, Thomas IV was not able to farm. His guardian Thomas Gassaway persuaded him to convey his "very good quality of land" in Anne Arundel in return for £250 sterling and an annual subsistence. Later, however, Thomas's uncle William Richardson and stepfather William Sellman advised Thomas to sue Gassaway to return the land, estimated as being worth £700 sterling a year. The Chancery Court ordered the land restored in 1724.[38] Thomas evidently farmed out the land and lived in Annapolis, at the corner of Charles and South East streets. One of his neighbors, Daniel Dulaney, speculated in Frederick County land, as did Charles Carroll of Annapolis. Carrollton Manor, ten thousand acres in the lower Monocacy valley, was settled mostly by tidewater families, especially Quakers. Thomas Sparrow IV bought one hundred acres there, calling the land "Sparrow's Request." At the same time he sold Carroll "Kinsey Situate."[39] Sparrow, who stayed in Annapolis, became crier of the provincial and Anne Arundel county courts and in 1744 doorkeeper of the assembly.[40] A man who loved fishing, Thomas also invented a machine to catch and cure fish for export.[41]

When in 1753 Thomas Sparrow IV died Jonas and Anna Catherine Green, publishers of the *Maryland Gazette* acted as guardians of his children. Sparrow's daughter Mary, who married Mayberry Helms, lived in Baltimore County and in 1811 left her estate, including "Sparrow's Point" and "Squirrel Neck" to their daughter Ann Ernest.[42]

The house at "Sparrow's Rest" is no longer standing. Photograph courtesy of Mrs. C. Edward Sparrow, Jr.

The Greens sent young Thomas Sparrow V to Philadelphia to learn gold and silversmithing. He returned to Annapolis in 1763 to open his own shop. Like Paul Revere, he turned his talents to war during the Revolution and channeled his skills into the manufacture of ammunition. After the war, when Annapolis sank into a deep depression, he moved to Virginia, then to Georgetown to continue to work in the iron industry. This branch of the family stayed in manufacturing for 130 years, following new discoveries of iron and coal deposits up the Potomac River to Shepherdstown (now West Virginia) and then Sharpsburg, where they made the Sharpsburg Rifles. (The Sparrow house was used as a hospital by Union troops during the Battle of Antietam.) This branch later went west as far as South Dakota, and then came back east to the Scranton, Pennsylvania, Nut and Bolt Works.

In search of "good bottom land"and better hunting, another branch of the family followed the expanding drive to the West. They moved, together with Shipley, Hanks and Lincoln families, to Kentucky with Daniel Boone. Later they moved on to Indiana, where some Sparrow descendants still live.

To return to the family of Thomas Sparrow the immigrant, his other son Solomon I in 1672 patented forty-five acres next to "Sparrow's Nest," which he named "Sparrow's Addition" (it has also been called "Lloyd's Point").[43] Apparently, Solomon planned to lay out a town there, for the Baltimore County Court in March 1683/4 ordered a jury to meet at "Sparrow's Point in the Patapsco River on Thursday the twentieth...to appraise one hundred acres to be laid out for a town."[44] Solomon must have "farmed out" the land, for in August 1691 Charles Gorsuch and his wife sold three adjacent

parcels, including fifty-eight acres, part of "Sparrow's Nest" on Block House Cove or Sparrow's Branch, next to "Hopewell" and "Walltown" on Welshman's and Sparrow's Creeks.[45]

Solomon and his wife Sarah (Smith) lived at "The Angles" on Rhode River. When Lord Baltimore's manor on the Ridge was re-surveyed in April 1698, it was found to contain Solomon's 250 acres. The same 1700 Rent Rolls listed "Triangle," 100 acres of which had been surveyed on the north side of Ann Arrundell Manor in July 1669 for Thomas Taylor, Gentleman, as now owned by his stepson Solomon Sparrow, with a rent of two shillings.[46]

A quick look at the map demonstrates how simple it was to live in Anne Arundel County and tend to business at Sparrow's Point. Colonists sailed back and forth and up and down the bay as easily as we drive the distance. As a zealous member of the West River/Herring Creek Meeting, Solomon not only participated in activities such as establishing a library for both shores, but also gave counsel to other Quakers. Solomon and Richard Johns joined other prominent Friends in signing a letter in November 1688 thanking Lord Baltimore for his acceptance of a law permitting Quakers to affirm rather than swear oaths in court.[47]

"Being sick, lame and very low," Solomon wrote his last will in April 1718, leaving most of his land to his wife and her heirs. He also left to Sarah, his wife's niece, "the now wife of Richard Gott," fifty acres out of "Sparrow's Nest" on the north side of the Patapsco and the eastern side of Bear Creek. Upon his wife's demise, Solomon left to his namesake and brother Thomas I's grandson Solomon Sparrow II forty-five acres of "Lloyd's Point" and fifty-five acres out of "Sparrow's Nest." To Richard Galloway, Jr., and his wife Sophia, Solomon left, also after his wife's death, the remainder of "Sparrow's Nest."[48] His widow Sarah then married Richard Galloway II, and they lived at his plantation, "Cedar Park" on the West River, where they continued to hold Quaker meetings. (This house is the oldest site used for religious services still standing in Anne Arundel County.) On Richard's death Sarah married Captain Henry Hill in 1738.[49]

Solomon Sparrow I's great-nephew Solomon Sparrow II conveyed to Richard Galloway his 100 acres of "Lloyd's Point" and "Sparrow's Nest." Solomon II built a house at "Sparrow's Nest"; in 1840 William Talbert, Baltimore County member of Congress from 1873 to 1875, built a brick house on the site. Later used as a public school, it was torn down in 1957.[50]

Although "Sparrow's Point" thus passed out of the family's hands, descendants fondly remembered its early history and maintained contact with "the Point." Ernest Carvel Sparrow, son of Jacob S. and Martha Caroline (Kroeber) Sparrow, born in 1875, became an inspector at the Bethlehem Steel Company now at Sparrow's Point. Another of Jacob's sons, Frederick Kroeber Sparrow, was married in 1901 to Minnie M. Tomlinson in the Methodist Episcopal church there.[51]

Of the first eight pioneers in Baltimore County, Thomas Sparrow I was the only one to have his name perpetuated on the land. "Sparrow's Point" was also the only grant owned in that county by one family for so long a time—over 160 years. Family members have been farmers but also physicians, merchants, public officials, artisans, educators, artists, newspaper editors, lawyers, engineers, scientists, athletes, etc. It is too bad, though, that none ever created an irredeemable ground rent on "Sparrow's Point." Imagine collecting annual rents from the Bethlehem Steel Company!

NOTES

1. Antonia Fraser, *King James* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975), p. 105.
2. John Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1907), p. 353.
3. Ida M. Shirk, *The Talbott Family of West River* (Baltimore: n.p., 1927), p. 24.
4. Mary Walton Ferris, *Dawes-Gates Ancestral Lines* (2 vols.; n.p., 1948), 1: 689-692.
5. Fiske, *Old Virginia*, p. 365.
6. Nell Marion Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers. Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants 1623-1666* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1963), pp. 37, 66.
7. Alice Granbery Walter, comp., *Book B Lower Norfolk County, Virginia, 2 November 1646-15 January 1651/2* (Virginia Beach: n.p., 1978), pp. 43-44.
8. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Oxford History of the American People* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 90.
9. John Hammond, "Leah and Rachel," in Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland 1633-1684*, Original Narratives of Early American History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), p. 301.
10. Walter, *Book B Lower Norfolk*, p. 36.
11. John Bennett Boddie, *Seventeenth Century Isle of Wight County, Virginia* (Baltimore: Southern Book Co., 1959), pp. 55-59.
12. Mrs. Arthur Barneveld Bibbins, *The Beginning of Maryland in England and America* (Baltimore: Norman Remington Co., 1934), p. 80.
13. Robert Ashton, *The English Civil War: Conservatism and Revolution, 1603-1649* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979), p. 297.
14. Walter, *Book B Lower Norfolk*, p. 115.
15. Babette M. Levy, "Early Puritanism in the Southern and Island Colonies," American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, 60 (1960): 69-348.
16. Walter, *Book B Lower Norfolk*, p. 179.
17. Anne Arundel County Deeds 1653-1895, WT 1:20, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis (hereafter MdSA).
18. Dorothy Kinsman, "Fourteen Square Miles under a Microscope," Baltimore *Sun* Magazine, 8 October 1972, p. 14.
19. Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, pp. 228, 499, 560.
20. Lindsey S. Butler, "The Early Settlement of Carolina: Virginia's Southern Frontier," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 79 (1971): 20-28.

21. Boddie, *Isle of Wight*, p. 65.
22. Anne Arundel County Deeds, 4:107-109.
23. William Hand Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland* (72 vols. to date; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-), p. 349.
24. Edward C. Papenfuse, Alan F. Day, David W. Jordan, and Gregory A. Stiverson, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature 1635-1789* (2 vols.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979) 2:575.
25. J. Reaney Kelly, *Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1963), p. 2.
26. Anne Arundel County Deeds, 4:97, MdSA
27. *Archives of Maryland*, 17:145-67; 5:378-91.
28. Anne Arundel County Deeds, WT 1:20, MdSA
29. Kenneth Carroll, *Quakerism on the Eastern Shore* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1970), p. 19.
30. All Hallows Parish Register 1685-1858, MdHS, p. 37.
31. Christopher Johnston, "Kinsey and Sparrow" (ms., filing case A, MdHS).
32. Lois Green Carr and David William Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution in Government 1689-1692* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), p. 200.
33. Anne Arundel County Wills, Probate Records of the Prerogative Court 1635-1777, 2:11:76, MdSA.
34. *Archives of Maryland*, Proceedings of the Council 1696/7-1698, 23: 170-71.
35. Anne Arundel County Wills, box S, folder 75, 15 June 1713 and 17 May 1719, MdSA; and North Carolina Wills 1712-1722, Book 2, pp. 120-21, North Carolina Colonial Records, Hall of Records, Raleigh.
36. North Carolina Colonial Records, Hall of Records, Raleigh, 2:776-77.
37. C. Wingate Reed, *Beaufort County* (Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards and Broughton Co., 1962), p. 52.
38. Chancery Court Record, 1730-1736, 5 IR #2, MdSA, pp. 354-402.
39. Anne Arundel County Deeds, RB #3, p. 308, MdSA.
40. *Archives of Maryland*, Proceedings and Acts of the Assembly 1740-1744, p. 20.
41. *Archives of Maryland*, 46:560.
42. Baltimore County Wills 1665-1850, 9:123, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis.
43. *Maryland Rent Rolls, Baltimore and Anne Arundel Counties 1700-1707, 1705-1724* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1976), p. 92.
44. McHenry Howard, "Some Abstracts of Old Baltimore County Records," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 28 (1933): 2.
45. William Ross Marye, "The Place-Names of Baltimore and Harford Counties," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 25 (1930): 346.
46. *Maryland Rent Rolls*, pp. 120, 172, MdSA.
47. Kelly, *Quakers in Anne Arundel County*, p. 67.
48. Anne Arundel County Wills, 14:707, MdSA.
49. West River Meeting Minutes, MdHS, pp. 59, 65.
50. *300th Anniversary Book of Baltimore County* (Baltimore: Directories of Maryland, 1959), p. 264.
51. Frederick K. Sparrow, Jr. "The Sparrow Family" (unpub. ms. in possession of the author).

Book Reviews

Maryland Folklore. By George G. Carey. (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1989. Pp. 161. Bibliography. $12.95.)

Thankfully, not much has changed in the stuff of folklore in the almost twenty years since George Carey's 1970 publications, *Maryland Folk Legends and Folk Songs*, *Maryland Folklore and Folklife*, and *A Faraway Time and Place: Lore of the Eastern Shore*. Perpetually out-of-print and known and desired by enthusiasts state-wide, the reappearance of the trio combined in this single volume with thoughtful omissions is a welcome gift.

To be able to read tales handed down in communities that could only be Maryland is a familiar and affirmative experience. Although sprinkled with folklore genres from all parts of the state, this newest volume is especially rich in Carey's highly personal collections of the words of Eastern Shore watermen and their kin. The richness of the language sends the reader to the Liar's Bench in Crisfield or to the country store on Smith Island. Equally graphic are the student collections that put the reader in the lap of Black Aggie, the infamous grave marker long in residence in a Baltimore cemetery.

The book's value lies in identifying the many forms of folklore, ranging from the urban legend to healing practices. Because so much of the laundry lists of proverbs and other short forms could be found in any state, the question remains, "What is Maryland about Maryland?" Carey avoids the question altogether but allows the volume as a whole to stand as the answer to this as yet unexplored query. The material culture chapter, a tease at best, whets the appetite for more on the subject.

I suspect that many readers would be curious to know the sources of the various folklore forms retold in this volume. Knowing who, what, where, when, and how would help to educate us about the process of learning traditional items and perhaps lend some insight into the context of performance and transmission of verbal arts.

Carey was in Maryland at a time (the late 1960s and early 1970s) when the likes of Alex Kellam, the Eastern Shore's most renowned storyteller, could exhaust a tape recorder in no time, when skipjacks were not yet bygones, and when the biggest complaint from watermen was the direction of the wind.

The reappearance of *Maryland Folklore* should encourage professional and amateur folklorists to identify, document, and share the bounty of expressive forms in our state. We are indeed lucky to benefit from Carey's timely, all too short-lived, and colorful presence in Maryland.

ELAINE EFF
Cultural Conservation Program
Maryland Division of Historical and Cultural Programs

The Comic Genius of Dr. Alexander Hamilton. By Robert Micklus. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990. Pp. 221. Bibliography, index. $24.95.)

The writings of Dr. Alexander Hamilton have received a well-deserved upsurge in interest in recent years. The various articles by Robert Micklus and Elaine G. Breslaw, the latter's edition of the *Records of the Tuesday Club* (University of Illinois Press, 1988), and John Barry Talley's *Secular Music in Colonial Annapolis: The Tuesday Club, 1745-1756* (University of Illinois Press, 1988) demonstrate the increased attention Hamilton has been receiving. Hamilton, Maryland's greatest eighteenth-century belletrist, combined wit, satire, humor, and brilliant social observation into some of early America's best documents of cultural life and most distinguished achievements of literary artistry. He wrote colonial America's most remarkable travel diary, *The Itinerarium*, as well as periodical pieces, and the masterpiece *The History of the Tuesday Club*.

Robert Micklus's *The Comic Genius of Dr. Alexander Hamilton*, the first book-length study of Hamilton, offers the most comprehensive examination of Hamilton's life and writings to date. The publication of *The Comic Genius* is perfectly timed with the long-awaited appearance of Micklus's three-volume edition of Hamilton's *The History of the Tuesday Club*, first published by the University of North Carolina Press. Seeking to "provide an itinerary to the expansive world of his life and literature" (p. 18), Micklus examines all of Hamilton's writings, including the *Itinerarium*, periodical pieces from the *Maryland Gazette*, and *The History of the Tuesday Club*. Two central arguments form the basis of Micklus's analysis of Hamilton.

First, Micklus insists on the importance of viewing Hamilton within the larger context of eighteenth-century British culture. Arguing that Hamilton would have had "little wish to think of himself as anything but British" (p.5), Micklus asserts the validity of his point by sheer force of example. The importance of Hamilton's excellent medical education at the University of Edinburgh during the heyday of the Scottish Enlightenment, his active social life in Scottish club circles (the ideals of which he transplanted to Annapolis), his frequent use of Edinburgh as a standard for cultural comparison, his clear familiarity with and brilliant use of British comic modes of satire and humor, and his continuous self-identification with British culture—all adeptly support Micklus's perspective on Hamilton as a British colonial author. His introductory tracing of literary scholarship on the issues of reconstructionist approaches to early American literary history and his somewhat circumspect linking of such diverse scholars as William C. Spengemann, Philip Gura, Annette Kolodny, J. A. Leo Lemay, and Richard Beale Davis under the guise of being "more inclusive" (p. 2) are less convincing minor points.

Second, Micklus examines Hamilton's literary achievements against the backdrop of prevailing English literary modes and genres and argues for the importance of Hamilton's writings in the context of shifting trends in comic modes at mid-century. By placing Hamilton in the company of Fielding, Addison, and Sterne, Micklus persuasively argues that "the many comic theories and comic forms prevalent during

the first half of the eighteenth century were operating in full force, cojointly, by mid century" (p. 17), and that Hamilton's writings, and The *History of the Tuesday Club* in particular, demonstrate that the apparent decline of satire and wit and the rise of humor and incongruity more accurately involved a convergence of numerous comic modes.

In chapter one, "A Life of Liberality," Micklus provides an excellent overview of Hamilton's life and works while effectively managing to capture his witty and exuberant personality. Much of the chapter appropriately focuses on Hamilton's club life, both in Edinburgh and in Annapolis, and the role of club life in eighteenth-century Maryland society. In subsequent chapters Micklus turns his attention specifically to Hamilton's writings, examining the *Itinerarium*, numerous periodical pieces from the *Maryland Gazette*, and *The History of the Tuesday Club*.

Micklus' discussion of the *Itinerarium* revises an earlier article appearing in *American Literature* (vol. 60, [1988]: 359-384). Emphasizing Hamilton's empirical and scientific training as a physician, Micklus argues that Hamilton's "method of perception" (p.85) was typical of the optically oriented, "nonmetamorphic scrutiny" of eighteenth-century travellers and travel writers (p. 80) who endeavored to both please and instruct their audiences. Maintaining that the *Itinerarium* is a "first rate eighteenth-century travel diary," Micklus examines the extent to which the *Itinerarium* reflects "the method of perception typical of the age in which Hamilton lived" and employs the "conventions" and "critical standards imposed upon travel literature during the eighteenth century" (p. 81).

The chapters on the periodical pieces and on *The History of the Tuesday Club* are, along with chapter one, the most important and exciting of the book. Hamilton's periodical publications were often sharply satirical, reflecting his "contempt for the general state of letters in colonial Maryland" (p. 138). As Micklus reveals, Hamilton constantly ridiculed poetry as "*monstrous Births*" or scatological effusions (p.139). Micklus connects Hamilton's derogation of poetry to contemporary trends which supplanted the status of poetry with history, travel narrative, and biography. In addition to discussing previously attributed periodical pieces by Hamilton, Micklus newly attributes three pieces to Hamilton: a 27 January 1747 piece on curiosity signed "O. O."; an 31 August 1748 "Epistle to a Friend"; and a 24 January 1750 parody of Masonic ceremonies signed "Nic. Turntype" (pp. 122, 131, 136).

Micklus devotes his final chapter to Hamilton's masterpiece, *The History of the Tuesday Club*. Reading *The History* as a "comic novel whose narrative centers around the social behavior of a humorous cast of characters" (p. 144), Micklus argues for its similarities to other monumental eighteenth-century comic novels like Fielding's *Tom Jones* or *Joseph Andrews* and Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*. The "introductory essays to each of its fourteen books and the dominant voice of its witty, self-dramatizing narrator" link the work to Fielding, while its heavy borrowing from the genre of the "anatomy" connects it to *Tristram Shandy* (p. 142-43). Hamilton's conscious literary revision of the earlier *Records of the Tuesday Club* into *The History* and his addition of the elaborate chapter structure and introductory essays

to *The History* distinguishes its literary merits. Nevertheless, Hamilton would not have called his *History* a novel, as Micklus points out, because during much of the eighteenth century the word "novel" carried implications of "romance," a trait Hamilton disliked in any writing. As with many mid-century works like *Tom Jones* or *Tristram Shandy*, *The History of the Tuesday Club* identifies itself as a "history" while ironically manipulating the reader's understanding of "true history" and continually commenting upon the function of narrative and the role of the historian in history writing. Micklus examines the manner in which Hamilton frequently undercuts his own authority as reliable historian by deliberately deflating the importance of his narrative, by offering a variety of editorial maneuvers, and even, in one instance, by creating a mistake in order to editorially correct it. "Through satire, burlesque, wit, humor, farce, irony, and other comic forms," Hamilton demonstrates his versatility as a comic genius and creates a "comic labyrinth" characteristic of the great eighteenth-century novels like *Tom Jones* or *Tristram Shandy* (p. 157). "Hamilton's ironic tone and facetious moralizing undercut," according to Micklus, "the moral baggage that the novel had inherited and point toward laughter...as the only sensible moral stance for modern men and women" (p. 196).

The History of the Tuesday Club emerges as the major focus of Micklus's book as he carefully weaves sections of it throughout all of his chapters. The *Itinerarium* has long been the best known and most studied testament of Dr. Alexander Hamilton's literary skill, but with the appearance of an authoritative edition of *The History of the Tuesday Club* that may change. Tantamount to the discovery of an unknown work by Fielding, Richardson, or Sterne, the publication of *The History of the Tuesday Club* will have a significant impact on our estimation of Chesapeake, American, and British literary culture. Robert Micklus's *The Comic Genius of Dr. Alexander Hamilton* offers a comprehensive analysis of all of Hamilton's works, but it is his excellent critical analysis and justification of *The History of the Tuesday Club* that will set the high standard for widespread critical appraisal of Hamilton in the coming years.

DARIN E. FIELDS
University of Delaware

Building the Octagon. By Orlando Ridout V. (Washington, D.C.: American Institute of Architects Press, 1989. Pp. xi, 161. Appendices, notes, index. $16.95.)

Building the Octagon is a readable and finely crafted account of the design process leading to the construction of the Octagon in Washington, D.C., during the years from 1799 to 1802. Built by the prominent and wealthy Virginia planter, John Tayloe III, and his wife Ann Ogle of Maryland, the Octagon was a notable architectural contribution to the developing federal city, a sophisticated and high-style urban dwelling. William Thornton's design was influenced by current architectural trends, yet at the same time, it reflected the idiosyncracies of its triangular site and the specific needs of its owners.

The author's primary concern is to give the reader an understanding of the ways in which the owners shaped the design of the house, based on their common background of town and country living and their families' substantial wealth that made it possible. The Tayloe's home, as Ridout establishes, was not typical of late eighteenth-century domestic architecture. In fact, the Octagon differed in every significant respect. It consisted of rooms designed for specific functions, a greater number of stories than average, clear distinctions between public and private space, and elaborate architectural detail.

The Tayloes moved from their home plantation, Mount Airy, in the fall to the Octagon, where they stayed until late spring. Their large family—fifteen children, family relations, tutor, and servants—made the move with them. They therefore required a good deal of space with the flexibility to accommodate all those people. And, as would be expected, they needed an environment providing the refinement and decorative elegance befitting their social standing among the gentry in Maryland and Virginia, as well as in Washington.

A gentleman architect, William Thornton brought with him to the design of the Octagon not the credentials of a professionally-trained architect but a confidence and familiarity with European prototypes and architectural pattern books. He had also won the design competition for the national Capitol in 1793. Thornton's final design for the Octagon of balanced geometric shapes (one circle juxtaposed with two rectangles and two triangles) reflected the influence of neo-classical architects in Europe such as Robert and James Adam, but they served more as a departure point. Within the formal plan Thornton employed a hierarchical system of decoration, in that the most elaborately decorated spaces were on the first floor where the primary entertaining and business transactions occurred. As one moved beyond these spaces towards the service areas, details such as moldings, flooring, paint, and mantel pieces became more utilitarian and less detailed. Ridout concludes that "what distinguished the Octagon...was the remarkable degree of specialization and the subtleties with which refinement and social control were incorporated into the finished house" (p. 122).

Ridout approaches his investigation of the house and its owners in a careful manner, making studied conclusions from the physical evidence—the house and its form. Yet, he also approaches it from the other side, looking at the principal needs of the family as expressed in the written record, and is then able to "examine the ways in which these needs were met in the house and on the adjacent grounds" (p. 99). He utilizes a variety of primary documents, including letters, newspapers, travel journals, and architectural drawings. The availability of the account book kept by Tayloe's agent, William H. Dorsey, has allowed Ridout to get a very detailed look into the economics and minutiae of eighteen-century building, and the inclusion of a facsimile of the Dorsey account book gives the reader a truer understanding of the extent of the undertaking. Ridout's conclusions are therefore more thoroughgoing and interesting to all disciplines, not just architectural history. His attempt to understand the ways in which the house was a product of the architect *and* the

people who commissioned its design, rather than an isolated objet d'art, is welcome and, hopefully, a portent of the nature of architectural histories to come.

SUSAN HOLBROOK PERDUE
Papers of James Madison
University of Virginia

The Diary of H. L. Mencken. Edited by Charles A. Fecher. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989. Pp. xxx, 476. Illustrations, notes, index. $30.00.)

As Maryland readers know better than those in most other parts of the country, *The Diary of H. L. Mencken*, immediately after it appeared in December 1989, was caught up in a swirl of controversy over the allegations that he was anti-Semitic and anti-black. Charles A. Fecher, who edited the massive typescript of the diary for publication, was at least partly responsible for the avidity with which the media seized upon these issues. After reading the diary typescript, Fecher veered strongly away from the solid endorsement he had given in his earlier book, *Mencken: A Study of His Thought* (1978). In the introduction to the *Diary*, Mr. Fecher asserts, "Let it be said at once, clearly and unequivocally: Mencken was an anti-Semite." He also contends that Mencken had "a deeply ingrained conviction that black people were by their very nature inferior to white." Fecher himself is well aware of Mencken's greatness as a journalist and magazine editor, a literary critic, a staunch libertarian, a humorist and satirist, a scholarly champion of the American language, and, in all these capacities, a shaper of the cultural renaissance of the 1920s, but many in his audience knew next to nothing about the Sage of Baltimore and his era. Although some older critics, recalling earlier disputes over Mencken's ethnic outlook, counseled a healthy skepticism about the charges, many commentators all but ignored the *Diary* itself and condemned Mencken as an out-and-out racist. The intellectual atmosphere in which this downgrading took place seemed to demand a greater degree of purity on ethnic issues from a long-dead public figure than exists among most people at the present time. "Mencken the horrible," proclaimed one headline, "Bitter humor concealed soul of bigot."

What was needed in this carnival of name-calling was an effort to define terms and to view Mencken in historical perspective. As a boy from a prosperous German-American family growing up in Baltimore between 1880 and 1900, he absorbed from his environment stereotypes that were partly unfavorable to both Jews and blacks. From his reading in the social Darwinists he derived the concept, then widely accepted, that blacks lag behind whites in their evolutionary development. As Bernard Lewis emphasizes in *Semites and Anti-Semites* (1986), this kind of "common" prejudice should be sharply distinguished from real anti-Semitism—the hatred of Jews based on the assumption that they are an evil force to be curbed or destroyed—and from the equivalent animus in those who want to dominate and exploit blacks. Both these extremes represent the kind of Klu Kluxry Mencken consistently denounced and opposed. In the *Diary* he used a few such epithets as "dubious Jew" and in the typescript even called two businessmen "dreadful kikes"

(as quoted by Fecher in the introduction). In a fit of anger with his black maid Emma, who slipped and fell on the floor she had polished too highly, he accused her and black women in general of being unable to learn from "even hard experience." At the same time he had high praise for Jews like Charles Angoff, his assistant on the *American Mercury*, for Emma and his cook Hester, whom he paid well and treated considerately, and for the black journalist George S. Schuyler, whom he considered in 1945 greatly superior "to any of the dunderheads now roaring on the *Sun*." While Mencken's ethnic stereotyping was partly a habit of thought, it was also an aspect of his literary technique of exaggeration for humorous or persuasive effect. He tended to like, or at least tolerate, those he perceived as individuals rather than as nameless faces in a crowd. He quickly exempted from the negative part of a stereotype anyone whose personal code, at least to some degree, resembled his own, with its emphasis on courtesy, good humor, appreciation of the arts, honesty, competence, hard work. As the *Diary* shows, he was also drawn to some people with whose ideas he sharply disagreed, especially colorful mavericks like the Old-Age Revolving Pensions advocate Dr. Francis E. Townsend, the fiery revivalist and rabble-rouser Gerald L.K. Smith, and the Methodist bishop and Anti-Saloon League stalwart James Cannon. This quick response to personalities helps account for Mencken's numbering many Jews among his closest friends and for his encouraging black writers and welcoming their contributions to the *Mercury*.

Mencken's concern for the civil rights of all people, whatever their race or nationality, also transcended traditional stereotypes. For example, in his *Sun* column for 1 January 1939, when the Hitler regime still permitted Jews to flee the country, he called upon the United States to alter its restrictive immigration laws and freely admit the German Jews, "bringing them in by the first available ships, and staking them sufficiently to set them on their feet." In making this proposal, Mencken was far more enlightened than either the New Deal administration and Congress or the American public, seventy-two percent of which, according to a 1938 poll, were against more generous policies for admitting Jews. On behalf of blacks, Mencken vigorously objected to the lynching still common on Maryland's Eastern Shore in the 1930s and urged open access to Baltimore's public tennis courts and golf courses. As he wrote to Walter White, the NAACP leader, in 1943, he sought to persuade whites that "the American Negro...is, as men go in this world, a decent fellow and that amicable living with him is not only possible but desirable."

Mencken was fifty when he made the first entry in his diary on 5 November 1930, just three months after his marriage to Sara Haardt, a talented young writer. He was sixty-eight when he wrote the final entry on 15 November 1948, only eight days before the cerebral thrombosis that left him physically active but unable to read and write. What Mr. Fecher has chosen to fit between these dates constitutes about one-third of the original typescript. Through judicious selection, he has shaped a lively text—an important social and literary, as well as a personal, record of the Great Depression and the New Deal. He also provides a host of useful footnotes on the people, organizations, and institutions Mencken refers to but does not fully identify. The *Diary*, readers soon discover, does not belong in the few-lines-a-day category.

Mencken's typical method was to make entries at intervals from a few days to a week or more, sometimes jotting down only a few sentences, but more commonly developing his observations into informal essays running in print from two or three paragraphs up to seven or eight pages.

By 1930 his national reputation as a redoubtable iconoclast scorching Ku Kluxers, censors, prohibitionists, and professors with his acid wit began to fade. With the onset of the Depression, his basic conservatism became more conspicuous. In the midst of unemployment, poverty, suffering, and social unrest, few were willing to heed his message to let economic laws run their course until the system righted itself. While most citizens welcomed the New Deal, Mencken decried its experimental public programs as useless and extravagant and in a *Diary* comment in 1939 dismissed Franklin Roosevelt as "a fraud from snout to tail." From a German-American point of view, Mencken's campaign in 1914-1918 against the Wilson administration's violations of neutrality and its entry into World War I made good sense, but his resistance to America's participation in World War II is much harder to justify. The great faith in the German people that made him predict, in letters dating from 1934 and 1935, that they would soon get rid of an "idiot" like Hitler proved illusory, and he seemed to have little notion of the disastrous consequences a German-Japanese victory would have had for the West. "At the moment, with the Roosevelt crusade to save humanity in full blast," he wrote in a 1942 *Diary* entry, "my ideas are so unpopular that it is impossible, as it was from 1915 to 1920, for me to print them."

If, as one critic said, Mencken was nationally "almost a forgotten man," he was still a force to be reckoned with in Baltimore, where he continued as a salaried adviser to the *Sunpapers* even after withdrawing as a contributor in 1941, and in New York, where he attended the board meetings of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., his publisher, and where the *New Yorker* and other magazines to which he contributed had their headquarters. During the eighteen years spanned by the *Diary* there was no diminution in his wit. After meeting an "alarming" woman convinced that Catholics were hatching a plot to seize the public schools, for instance, he told her dryly "that if it succeeded the schools would be greatly improved." Nor was there any letup in his relish for the wit of others, as shown in his quoting the quip that [William Randolph] "Hearst married a prostitute, and then gradually dragged her down to his own level." As many notations in the *Diary* make clear, Mencken, despite a heavy writing schedule often extending well into the evening, led an active social life. Among the many guests he entertained either at his home in Hollins Street or at the Maryland Club were Justice Felix Frankfurter, George S. Schuyler, Ellery Sedgwick of the *Atlantic Monthly*, Samuel E. Morison, William Lyon Phelps, Louis Untermeyer, the F. Scott Fitzgeralds, Ellen Glasgow, and James T. Farrell. With a remarkable knowledge of medicine for a layman, Mencken was on convivial terms with many of the physicians at the Johns Hopkins. As for many years past, he played second piano at the regular musical gatherings of the Saturday Night Club. In New York he had congenial sessions with old friends like the Knopfs, Dreiser, George Jean Nathan, the Sinclair Lewises, Edgar Lee Masters, James M. Cain, and James

Thurber. Mencken was also well known in Washington D.C., where he hobnobbed with politicians, office-holders, and newsmen. As for his writing, the period 1930-1948 was one of his most productive, with books ranging from *Treatise on the Gods* and *Treatise on Right and Wrong* to the fourth edition of *The American Language* and its two hefty *Supplements*, the *New Dictionary of Quotations*, and the autobiographical *Happy Days*, *Newspaper Days*, and *Heathen Days*.

Mencken relived the past as intensely as he lived the present. This is evident not only in his highly entertaining *Days* volumes, but also in his everyday experience as he recorded it in the *Diary*. Few days went by without some incident that reminded him of the vitality of the past. A copy of H. Kyd Douglas's *I Rode with Stonewall*, for example, immediately brought to mind the author as Mencken remembered him from back in 1902: "a white-haired old fellow" noted for his speeches at "Confederate potlatches." When Max Brodel, the anatomical illustrator, died, Mencken described, in addition to the final illness and the funeral, their thirty-year comradeship as fellow piano players at the Saturday Night Club. His perceptive and sympathetic portrayals of Sinclair Lewis, Joseph Hergesheimer, and F. Scott Fitzgerald, all novelists his reviews had helped bring to national prominence, constantly involve a contrast between their earlier success and their current physical and artistic decline, compounded by self-pity and a thirst for liquor. It was more sad than amusing to witness the drunken antics of Lewis and Fitzgerald or hear Hergesheimer reiterate his naive hope that he would soon recover enough to produce a salable book. As a confirmed hypochondriac Mencken carefully monitored every symptom of his own physical decay, but he drank only moderately and consciously reined in his self-indulgent moods in order to make the most of the working hours left to him. He was so determined to leave "careful accounts of himself and his contemporaries" that he commandeered the time to compile two distinct chronicles running to about 1,800 pages each: "My Life as Author and Editor" and "Thirty-five Years of Newspaper Work," both locked away in the Enoch Pratt Free Library not to be opened until early 1991.

In encountering the various selves that emerge from the *Diary*—the caustic Tory, the genial companion, the veteran journalist, the serious scholar, the compulsive keeper of annals—readers should not overlook a little known private Mencken. This private Mencken—a bourgeois gentleman with respect for family tradition, concern for others, and a vein of romantic sentiment—is foreshadowed in the *Days* books and in some of his letters, but appears in much more substantial form in the *Diary*. Proud of his descent from prominent seventeenth and eighteenth-century German scholars and lawyers, he was relieved to hear in 1948 that their portraits at the University of Leipzig had survived the war. He fondly memorialized his father for having left, despite having died in his mid-forties, an estate that comfortably supported the three younger children, Charlie, Gertrude, and August, while they were growing up and their mother Anna until she died in 1925, with enough left over to provide half of Gertrude's income. With similar satisfaction he noted his own sizable income and savings. He visited and looked after the family tomb and called on and helped financially his crippled and ailing uncle Charles Abhau, who

was confined to a nursing home. Within less than a year after Sara's death on 31 May 1935, Mencken had returned to live with August in the old family row house in West Baltimore, the focus of childhood memories and a haven where he could work undisturbed. In his enjoyment of the walled back garden, with its pear tree that had flourished since 1883, there was in this self-styled "cockney" a touch of the romantic love of nature. At different seasons over the years he wrote a series of paeans to it, seeing it as both a link with the past and the harbinger of countless daffodil and dogwood blossoms to come. Always reticent about what affected him most deeply, he could not bring himself to dwell on Sara's many illnesses, her death, and his love for her until five years afterward. In this, the first of several moving tributes, he said, "It is a literal fact that I still think of Sara every day of my life, and almost every hour of the day.... I'll have her in mind until thought and memory adjourn."

DOUGLAS C. STENERSON
Roosevelt University

The Baseball Business: Pursuing Pennants and Profits in Baltimore. By James Edward Miller. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 190. Pp. ix, 382. Notes, bibliography, index. $24.95.)

In the vast library of sports literature, baseball books outnumber all other subjects by at least three to one. Everything from technical discussions about pitching and hitting to comical inside looks at individuals and teams has been explored by baseball authors. But one aspect has been overlooked for the most part by baseball writers—the front office. Perhaps because baseball purists are reluctant to admit that money is a vital part of the game, baseball books tend to ignore the fact that baseball is a business. Even when discussing player trades and acquisitions, possible monetary motives are routinely given no attention. John Miller's *The Baseball Business* is an attempt to explain why the activities and personalities of baseball owners and their front office staff cannot be divorced from the team's on-the-field performance.

Using as a backdrop the Baltimore Orioles from the time they moved to Baltimore in 1953 to the present, Miller describes the changes that took place in the business side of baseball in the last forty years and explains how these changes have influenced the game. He notes how major league baseball's relationship with the minor leagues altered as television eroded public support for the minor league teams while the major leagues became more involved financially and organizationally with minor-league operations. He also outlines the developments in labor relations between players and management as the Major League Players Association grew from a limp detail to an energetic force.

The book shows how the Orioles' management dealt with both public officials and with the public at large and how the success (or lack thereof) of marketing efforts affected the overall team budget. It explains how the Orioles' and the American League's indifference to black fans and late entrance into the market for

black players hurt the league both on the field and at the box office. Lagging behind the National League in race relations eventually forced the American League to introduce the designated hitter to increase offensive punch and fan interest.

The Baseball Business contains a wealth of detail gained through monumental library research (and aided by the propensity of baseball men to write books about their experiences) but is lacking in new information and recent interviews. Though Miller lists seven interviews in his bibliography, information from these interviews rarely shows up in the text. This omission is especially glaring because most of the people involved in the Orioles' operations from 1953 to the present are still alive and working in the world of baseball.

The book is supposedly divided into three parts arranged chronologically and separated by changes in the team ownership, but the chronological order is muddled by frequent flashbacks and repetition. Even with a general knowledge of the personnel and events in baseball over the past forty years, it is easy to lose oneself in the disorder and end up flipping back through the pages. Still, because Miller's book explores the often ignored marriage of front office operations and on-field performance, and because it is especially enlightening in the area of the Orioles' relationship with black fans and with the city of Baltimore, the patient reader will come away with a better understanding of how baseball works.

KATRINA WAUGH
Frederick

Black Odyssey: The Seafaring Traditions of Afro-Americans. By James Barker Farr. (Culture, Ethnicity and Nation series, vol. 1. New York, Bern, Frankfurt am Main, Paris: Peter Lang, 1989. Pp. 310. Appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $42.95.)

James Baker Farr begins *Black Odyssey* by asserting that the "dual dependence" of New World plantation societies "on black labor and maritime resources developed the Afro-American seaman" (p. 1). He goes on to chronicle black participation in the Atlantic maritime world from the late 1400s through the first half of the twentieth century. The book focuses primarily on the United States during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Farr has organized his study into seven topical chapters that follow a rough chronological order. He provides a brief overview of blacks who sailed the Atlantic under various European flags or as pirates during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Many men of African heritage took advantage of the eighteenth-century wars among European powers to raid commerce between the Old and New Worlds. Some of these men were free blacks, but others were slaves whose masters leased them to privateers for a share of the booty taken at sea. Not surprisingly, some slaves fled bondage by joining privateers without their masters' knowledge.

Farr then describes black participation in whaling, the navy, and the merchant marine during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He points out that whaling was particularly unpleasant, with "years-long voyages, primitive shipboard condi-

tions, and meager compensation." As a result, it attracted unskilled sailors "with little money and poor prospects ashore." In nineteenth-century America, "many of these men were black" (p. 77). Especially after the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts in 1780, Afro-Americans began to fill a disproportionately large percentage of the crew positions on American whalers. Despite their numerical prominence, however, the share of a whaling voyage's "profits earned by Afro-American hands did not equal that of whites" (p. 82). In part this reflected occupational discrimination ("black whalemen found it impossible to earn the berth of a mate or captain" [p. 82]), and in part "the direction of the industry's labor policy; those who would take less would get less" (p. 83). Nonetheless, blacks continued to man whaling ships until the discovery of oil in Pennsylvania destroyed the industry during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Farr chronicles the black experience in the United States Navy from the War of 1812 to World War II. From its "inception in the late eighteenth century, the Navy maintained a policy towards black sailors that was...discriminatory" (p. 142). African-Americans "customarily held a disproportionate share of the more menial shipboard tasks," and following the Civil War they were "increasingly concentrated in the positions of cook and steward" (p. 143). Segregation increased in the wake of the Spanish-American War, and fewer African-Americans joined the service: between 1865 and 1895 blacks comprised "10-14% of the 5,000-6,000 man force" (p. 142), but "by 1906, black representation [in the Navy] dropped to...less than 5%" (p. 149). World War II "transformed the position of black men in the United States Navy" (p. 154). Blacks were admitted to the general service rather than being limited to the messman branch, and, though they were trained in segregated schools, by 1943 "the number of black sailors rated as seamen exceeded those ranked as messmen" (p. 155). Although racial discrimination persisted, the black sailor of the postwar years had achieved "a legal framework for the coming struggle for complete equality" (p. 155).

The final three chapters trace black sailors' experiences in the merchant marine from the colonial era to the present. During colonial times "the maritime trades of the Chesapeake employed the greatest numbers of black sailors" (p. 170). Following the post-revolutionary abolition of slavery in the North, many free blacks migrated to port cities like New York and Philadelphia and drifted into seagoing trades. Though Maryland remained a slave state, its free black population grew rapidly following the Revolution. Many free black Marylanders moved to the burgeoning city of Baltimore and shipped out, comprising between fifteen and seventeen percent of the crews of ships leaving the port during five sample years between 1806 and 1857. Conditions in the merchant marine worsened rapidly following the Civil War, and many native white sailors abandoned the sea to economically disadvantaged immigrants and blacks. Farr briefly describes the way racism hindered unionization among sailors, and thus perpetuated the degrading conditions of labor for all seamen. Finally during the New Deal, the National Maritime Union, whose leadership "recognized that success would require a racially integrated organization" (p. 258), was formed, and conditions began to improve. Farr claims that during

the last few decades "black activism" has succeeded "in winning something approaching equality of opportunity...at sea as well as on land" (p. 259).

This brief volume surveys a vast area and a broad sweep of time. It sacrifices depth and analytic rigor for its wide scope. Scholars looking for an analysis of why blacks chose to go to sea will find little more than the assertion that "Afro-Americans have turned to the sea when life ashore proved uncertain, taking work that did not arouse the envy of whites, perhaps finding a certain solace in the sea's endless harmonies of wind and wave" (p. 269). Those seeking to understand the meaning of race in American shipboard culture will have to settle for the observation that "the historical record offers abundant evidence that Afro-Americans played a significant role in our nation's seafaring traditions" (p. 273). Farr's book does, however, remind us of the prominent role which African-Americans have played in American maritime culture.

JAMES SIDBURY
Johns Hopkins University

The Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series. Edited by W. W. Abbot. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1988. Vol. 5: October 1757-September 1758. Pp. xx, 500. Index. $35.00; Vol.6: September 1758-December 1760. Pp. xviii, 549. Map, 2 illustrations, index. $42.00.)

The publication of *The Papers of George Washington* represents a mammoth project that is now in its second decade, with years of work still to be done. The collected papers have been organized into four distinct series to permit work to move forward simultaneously on the major periods of Washington's life. *The Colonial Series*, projected to require nine volumes, will cover the period 1748-75, and traces Washington's life from his teens to the eve of the Revolution. The *Revolutionary Series* covers the period 1775-83, the *Confederation Series* continues from 1784-88, and the *Presidential Series* covers the final period of 1788-99. Work is proceeding simultaneously on all four series but is farthest advanced on the *Colonial Series*. As a companion, Washington's diaries for the entire period have been published in six volumes. When complete, this collection will provide a comprehensive and rigorously annotated edition of all of Washington's personal papers, including a wealth of incoming correspondence and other related documents.

The fifth volume of the *Colonial Series* begins in October 1757 with Colonel Washington at Winchester, Virginia embroiled in the complexities of life on the western frontier. Through his correspondence, the reader learns the tedious details of running a military outpost on the edge of the wilderness, periodically interrupted by brief but harrowing skirmishes with the French and marauding bands of Indians in French employ. Washington and his fellow officers must deal with erratic means of supply and communication, deserters, a dishonest quartermaster, sickness, and military strategy. This volume ends the following September, as the colonial forces assemble for an assault on Fort Duquesne at the modern site of Pittsburgh.

The march on Fort Duquesne is described in Volume Six and is ultimately anticlimactic, since the French burned and abandoned this key site as the British forces closed in. The tenor of Washington's correspondence shifts rapidly after the French withdrawal. The youthful colonel resigns his commission, returns to Mount Vernon, and early in 1759 marries Martha Custis, widow of Daniel Parke Custis. As the legal master of his wife's extensive inherited estate and guardian of her two children, Washington assumes responsibility for the settlement of the Custis estate and the management of the business affairs of both his new wife and her children. Here, the editors have taken special care to provide an introductory essay placing the settlement of the Custis estate in perspective. As a result, this volume becomes an important source for exploring the minutia of managing a large and complicated Tidewater plantation in the late colonial period.

Ultimately, the value of a collection such as this is both particularistic and expansive. Taken singly, many of the documents are mundane. As the weeks pass and the letters pile up, however, the reader is inevitably drawn into the fray and left the richer for it. The portrayal of Washington's experience on the frontier illustrates the cumulative value of these often routine documents. The period covered in these two volumes includes only one event sufficiently important for most colonial histories—the march on Fort Duquesne—yet the broader experience Washington gained here formed an important part of the training he would apply during the American Revolution.

The image that emerges of the frontier campaign is not one of grand, sweeping strategy, but of the realities of warfare in a pre-industrial world. Patrols are sent out in search of information and to harass the French. Sometimes the forays are uneventful and the men return empty handed. Other times they return bearing French prisoners and scalps of both French soldiers and their Indian allies. Occasionally, only a few stragglers come back, themselves the lucky survivors of an ambush. First-person descriptions of these skirmishes are chilling in detail, and even in major engagements the casualty rates are sometimes as high as 50 percent. The men tolerate poor medical care, irregular pay, and boredom. The officers wrestle with discipline among the troops, plead for timely supplies and pay, and debate strategy with their superiors. In the background, livestock are put out to graze under guard, skilled artisans direct construction of the fort, and small bands of Indians drift in and out of camp, trading information, prisoners and scalps. Drawn together, these varied images meld into a vivid patchwork of life on the edge of the wilderness, and leave us with a much better understanding of the events and experiences that shaped Washington's life and career.

The same may be said of the events portrayed in the latter part of Volume Six, following Washington's return to Mount Vernon. Here, the strongest material relates to the management of plantation affairs. Meticulous inventories of the Custis estate provide an exhaustive portrait of a large plantation, and Washington's correspondence with London merchants fills in many useful and at times humorous details. The difficulties of managing a trans-Atlantic business without benefit of rapid communication are clearly articulated, as Washington grapples with disappointing

prices for the Custis tobacco in London, high prices for the British goods he wishes to order, and the threat posed by French privateers.

By the close of Volume Six, a clear portrait of Washington has emerged. Although still in his twenties, he has fully assumed the role of a leader. An experienced military officer with a seat in the House of Burgesses, he is also an attentive businessman inclined to careful deliberation and thoughtful planning. Here, among the mostly routine events of a military campaign and the management of a tobacco plantation, are the building blocks for his ascent into national leadership.

ORLANDO RIDOUT V
Maryland Historical Trust

When They Weren't Doing Shakespeare: Essays on Nineteenth-Century British and American Theatre. Edited by Judith L. Fisher and Stephen Watt. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989. Pp. xxii, 345. Illustrations, notes, index. $40.00.)

For almost four hundred years the shadow of the Bard has enveloped the British and, later, the American stage. In developing a near-universal dramatic canon, Shakespeare left a defining imprint on playwrights, performers, and audiences as they sought to develop theater to suit prevailing social and cultural conventions. While twentieth-century theater has entered many new realms, it was during the leap from romanticism to modernism in the nineteenth century that popular, and populist, theater blossomed and the theatrical establishment began to move slowly out of the long Elizabethan shadow. Although Shakespeare remained a beacon for both sides of the Atlantic, genre and performance began to shed artistic pretensions to satisfy popular taste.

As a complement to Charles Shattuck's two-volume *Shakespeare on the American Stage* (Folger Shakespeare Library, 1976, 1987), Judith L. Fisher and Stephen Watt have compiled a collection of eighteen essays by American and British scholars grouped according to three themes. These themes are set forth in an all-too-brief introductory essay that outlines the broad scope of the volume. The six essays in the first section, "Actors and Their Roles," convincingly demonstrate that nineteenth-century theater on both sides of the Atlantic was dominated by star performers who both attracted audiences and developed and interpreted theatrical fare. In an era when popular theater was often escapist spectacle (audiences went to see and react to rather than to hear and reflect upon), actors and actresses took considerable dramatic license and adapted roles or even entire performances to suit this style. For leading actors such as Maryland native Edwin Booth or William MacCready, such a style was invariably developed in a signature Shakespearean role (Hamlet for Booth; Julius Caesar and Henry V for MacCready) and then adapted to non-Shakespearean roles. But less prominent performers could gain considerable popularity through vivid, impassioned performances in lesser known works—Charlotte Cushman's "grotesque" portrayal of Meg Merrilies, Sir Walter Scott's gypsy-

loving hag in *Guy Mannering*, and on Olga Nethersole's title role in the sultry shocker, *Sappho*. Success depended heavily on borrowing interpretations, scenery, and even plot conventions from Shakespeare to provide audiences a familiar context. Theater critics derided this "vulgar" entertainment. The seven essays in the second part, "Playwrights and Genres," reveal that a major consequence of the ascendancy of actors over playwrights was an emphasis on visual effects of performance and the devaluation of text and plot. Far from being a literary art form, playwriting was often practiced by hacks who sought to produce maximum visual and emotional impact through florid dialogue, elaborate costumes, and wildly melodramatic plots. Although essays on facets of melodrama, nautical drama, pantomime, and several other theatrical forms provide important coverage of understudied genres, considerable socio-cultural differences between Victorian Britain and nineteenth-century America make comparisons and generalizations difficult.

A distinctive feature of Charles Shattuck's work and an important scholarly purpose in studying nineteenth-century "popular" theater is its connection to broader themes in cultural history during a period when social life was being rapidly transformed and the foundations of modern mass culture were being laid. The last group of five essays on "Comedy and Social Drama" examines important transitional elements—Boucicault's sensational comedy and W.S. Gilbert's subtle manipulation of conventional comedic devices. Both foreshadowed developments in modern theater and popular culture. Bruce McConachie's essay on Edwin Forrest and Jacksonian populism and Tice Miller's portrayal of "Fashionable Society" in American comedy place the theater firmly in the context of American socio-cultural development and suggest how fruitful this type of analysis can be. On the whole, however, links to larger cultural patterns remain unforged.

Nineteenth-century popular tastes were conservative; not surprisingly, theatrical innovations were largely derivative and highly dependent upon a Shakespearean legacy. In looking beyond the shadow of the Bard and deemphasizing artistic pretensions, this volume offers a valuable exposition of British and American popular theater in the nineteenth century.

JIM LONG
Oxford University

Books Received

As the Chesapeake is increasingly altered by urban encroachments, amateur "Bay watching" begins to resemble the activity of air raid wardens alert for signs of attack and destruction. Now they have a useful manual, *Chesapeake Bay: Nature of the Estuary, A Field Guide*, written by Christopher P. White and illustrated by Karen Teramura. Mr. White, former staff biologist at the Chesapeake Bay Foundation, prepares for the enemy by dividing the watch into nine habitats encompassing the rivers, tributaries, swamps, flats, beaches, depths and shallows of "the greatest shell and finfish bay in North America. Second to none." The 212-page guide is well-written with brief introductory chapters that aptly summarize current ecological knowledge, followed by descriptions of specific flora and fauna found together in bionomic microcosms. Sensitivity to life cycles, selected references, and a common name index also highlight this welcome addition to Bay lore. Necessarily limited in detail, the book is larger (6 x 9) than most field guides; and the paperback format raises questions about its durability outside the library. But the size offers space for 350 detailed, pen-and-ink drawings that enhance its appeal.

Tidewater Publishers, $12.95

In *You Can't Go Home Again* Helen M. Saville relates her youthful experiences in Cumberland, Maryland. Her father epitomized working-class America for his time and place, she believes, toiling as a boilermaker and carpenter. Saville herself, now retired, worked in the textile mills.

Vantage Books, $6.95

Born in Baltimore before the United States had made the transition from rural to industrial nation, Harry Straus—writes John C. Schmidt in *Win, Place, Show: A Biography of Harry Strauss, the Man Who Gave America the Tote*—"was a curious blend of traditions nurtured in the nineteenth century and the materialism which accompanied the rampant mechanization of the twentieth" (p. ix). A 1917 graduate of the Johns Hopkins School of Engineering, Straus loved horse breeding, fox hunting, art, business, and invention. Racing fans may remember him for the device he developed in the 1920s—a totalisator or "tote board" that swiftly and accurately registered bets placed on horses before races. Straus's system of rotary switches and relay chains foreshadowed the calculating technology that eventually led to computers. Schmidt's volume pays tribute to this notable Baltimorean, who died unexpectedly in 1949.

G.W.C. Whiting School of Engineering, Johns Hopkins University, $25

Notices

Meyer Receives Award for Article

Capt. Sam Meyer, USNR (Ret.) has been selected by the 1990 National Award Jury to receive the George Washington Honor Medal for excellence in the category of Public Communications for his article, "Religion, Patriotism and Poetry in the Life of Francis Scott Key," which appeared in the fall 1989 issue of this magazine. Our hearty congratulations go out to Capt. Meyer!

Capitol Symposium

The United States Capitol Historical Society will sponsor a symposium entitled "The Bill of Rights: Government Proscribed" on 13-14 March 1991. 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. Speakers will include Akhil R. Amar, Kenneth R. Bowling, Jacob E. Cooke, Saul Cornell, Paul Finkelman, Kermit L. Hall, John Kaminsky, Stanley N. Katz, Michael Lienesch, Donald S. Lutz, Forrest McDonald, Stephen B. Presser, Whitman H. Ridgway, Bernard Schwartz, Lois G. Schwoerer, and Suzanna Sherry. All proceedings will be open to interested persons free of charge, and no advance registration is required. For additional information, write to Professor Ronald Hoffman, Department of History, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland 20742-7315.

Publication Prizes for Women's History and Historians

The Southern Association for Women Historians announces a new round of competition for two publication prizes: the $500.00 Julia Cherry Spruill Publication Prize for the best published book in Southern women's history and the $750.00 Willie Lee Rose Publication Prize for the best book in Southern history authored by a woman. The prize winners will be announced at the annual meeting of the Southern Association for Women Historians in November of odd-numbered years. Authors, publishers and third parties may submit manuscripts. To be eligible, manuscripts must be written in English, but the competition is not restricted to publications printed in the United States. No type of historical publication is excluded from consideration. The period of eligibility for these prizes will include works published between 1 January 1989 and 31 December 1990. One copy of each entry must be sent to each of the committee members no later than 1 March 1991: Martha Swain, Department of History, Texas Woman's University, Denton, Texas 76204; Catherine Clinton, 12 Hancock Street, Winchester, Massachusetts 01890; and Wayne Flynt, Department of History, Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama

36849. A separate letter listing each entry should also be sent to the members of the committee so that they can verify the arrival of all volumes. All entries must be clearly marked either "Spruill Prize Entry" or "Rose Prize Entry."

The Parker Genealogical Contest

In 1946 Mrs. Sumner A. Parker presented the Society with a sum of money in memory of her husband, the late Sumner A. Parker, with the suggestion that the income should be used to furnish cash prizes for an annual contest to determine the best genealogical works concerning families of or originating in Maryland.

Rules

1. Entries must be typewritten or in printed form and include an index.
2. References to sources from which information was obtained must be cited.
3. Entries will be judged on quality of content, scope and organization of material, and clarity of presentation.
4. The decision of the judges will be final.
5. Contest entries for any given year must be mailed prior to 31 December of the year to Parker Genealogical Contest, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201.
6. All entries will become the property of the Maryland Historical Society. Publication rights and/or copyright remain with the author.

Norris Harris Genealogical Source Record Contest

Mrs. Norris Harris, a member of the Maryland Historical and the Maryland Genealogical Societies as well as a number of lineal societies, has established a monetary award for the best compilation of genealogical source records of Maryland. This prize, to be awarded annually, was established in memory of the late Norris Harris, who was an ardent genealogist for many years.

Rules

1. All entries must be submitted in typewritten or published form and include an index if not arranged in alphabetical order.
2. Entries will be judged on scope, originality of the project, volume, and value to the genealogical researcher.
3. Entries must be original work, i.e., never before abstracted for public use or published in any other work, serially or otherwise.
4. Entries should be submitted to the Norris Harris Genealogical Source Record Contest, c/o Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201, and must be received by 31 March of the contest year.
5. All entries will become the property of the Maryland Historical Society. Publication rights and/or copyright remain with the entrant.

CALL FOR PAPERS

The North American Society for Sport History will hold its Nineteenth Annual Convention at Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois, 25-27 May 1991. Those scholars interested in presenting a paper or organizing a thematic session should contact or submit abstracts to Robert K. Barney, Faculty of Kinesiology, Thames Hall, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada, N6A 3K7.

UMCP LIBRARIES RECEIVE JAMES CABELL BRUCE PAPERS

The personal papers of the late James Cabell Bruce, former U.S. Ambassador to Argentina, financier, industrialist, and member of a prominent Maryland family, have been given to the University of Maryland at College Park Libraries for permanent placement in its Historical Manuscripts and Archives Department.

SOUTHERN MARYLAND STUDIES CENTER PUBLISHES BOOK ON ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

The Southern Maryland Studies Center at Charles County Community College has recently published a book by J. Richard Rivoire on the architectural history of Charles County, called *Homeplaces: Traditional Domestic Architecture of Charles County, Maryland*. The 183-page book traces the evolution of local building customs from the 17th century to the Civil War.

Rivoire has donated to the studies center his manuscript collection composed of thousands of slides, photographs, architectural drawings and extensive research materials developed over a twenty-year career.

Maryland Picture Puzzle

Test your knowledge of Maryland history by identifying this western Maryland scene. Where and when was this photograph taken? What event is taking place in the photo?

The fall Picture Puzzle shows a view of the south side of West Fayette Street between Howard and Eutaw streets. The Baltimore Equitable Society and the Eutaw Savings Bank in the background are still standing. The photograph was taken after the bank had built an addition but before a movie theater was constructed in 1914.

The following people correctly identified the summer 1990 Picture Puzzle: Mr. Wayne R. Schaumburg, Mrs. Judith G. Oates, Mr. John Riggs Orrick, Mr. Albert L. Morris, Mr. John W. McGrain, Mr. Robert F. Mansfield, and Mr. Carlos P. Avery.

INDEX TO VOLUME 85

The names of contributors and the titles of articles appearing in the magazine are set in capitals. Titles of books are set in italics. An "n" following the page number indicates that the entry is located in a footnote reference.

H

I

J

X-Y-Z

U.S. Postal Service

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1A. Title of Publication	1B. PUBLICATION NO.	2. Date of Filing
MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE	0 0 2 5 4 2 5 8	9/20/1990
3. Frequency of Issue	3A. No. of Issues Published Annually	3B. Annual Subscription Price
Quarterly: Spring, Summer, Fall, Winter	4	$14.00

4. Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication *(Street, City, County, State and ZIP+4 Code) (Not printers)*
Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201-4674

5. Complete Mailing Address of the Headquarters of General Business Offices of the Publisher *(Not printer)*
Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201-4674

6. Full Names and Complete Mailing Address of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor *(This item MUST NOT be blank)*

Publisher *(Name and Complete Mailing Address)*
Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201-4674

Editor *(Name and Complete Mailing Address)*
Robert J. Brugger, Ph.D.
Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201-4674

Managing Editor *(Name and Complete Mailing Address)*
Melinda K. Friend
Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201-4674

7. Owner *(If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, its name and address must be stated.) (Item must be completed.)*

Full Name	Complete Mailing Address
Maryland Historical Society (non-profit organization)	201 West Monument Street Baltimore, Maryland 21201-4674

8. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages or Other Securities *(If there are none, so state)*

Full Name	Complete Mailing Address
None	

9. For Completion by Nonprofit Organizations Authorized To Mail at Special Rates *(DMM Section 423.12 only)*
The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes *(Check one)*

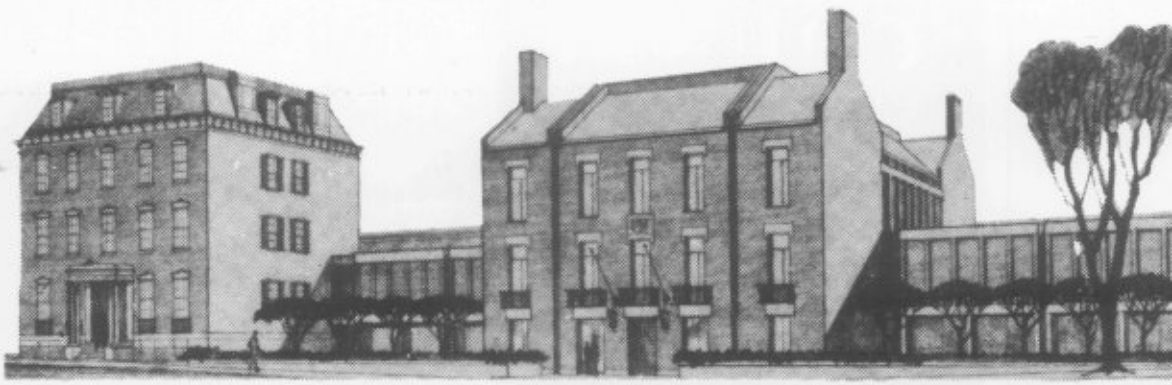
[X] (1) Has Not Changed During Preceding 12 Months
[ ] (2) Has Changed During Preceding 12 Months *(If changed, publisher must submit explanation of change with this statement.)*

10. Extent and Nature of Circulation *(See instructions on reverse side)*	Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Actual No. Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date
A. Total No. Copies *(Net Press Run)*	5,810	5,614
B. Paid and/or Requested Circulation 1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	12	12
2. Mail Subscription *(Paid and/or requested)*	5,213	5,030
C. Total Paid and/or Requested Circulation *(Sum of 10B1 and 10B2)*	5,226	5,042
D. Free Distribution by Mail, Carrier or Other Means Samples, Complimentary, and Other Free Copies	24	21
E. Total Distribution *(Sum of C and D)*	5,250	5,063
F. Copies Not Distributed 1. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	560	551
2. Return from News Agents	-	-
G. TOTAL *(Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A)*	5,810	5,614

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete

Signature and Title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager, or Owner
R. J. Brugger, Editor

PS Form **3526**, Feb. 1989 *(See instructions on reverse)*



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

Museum and Library: Tues.—Fri. 10 - 4:30, Sat. 9 - 4:30
For Exhibition Hours and Information, Call (301) 685-3750