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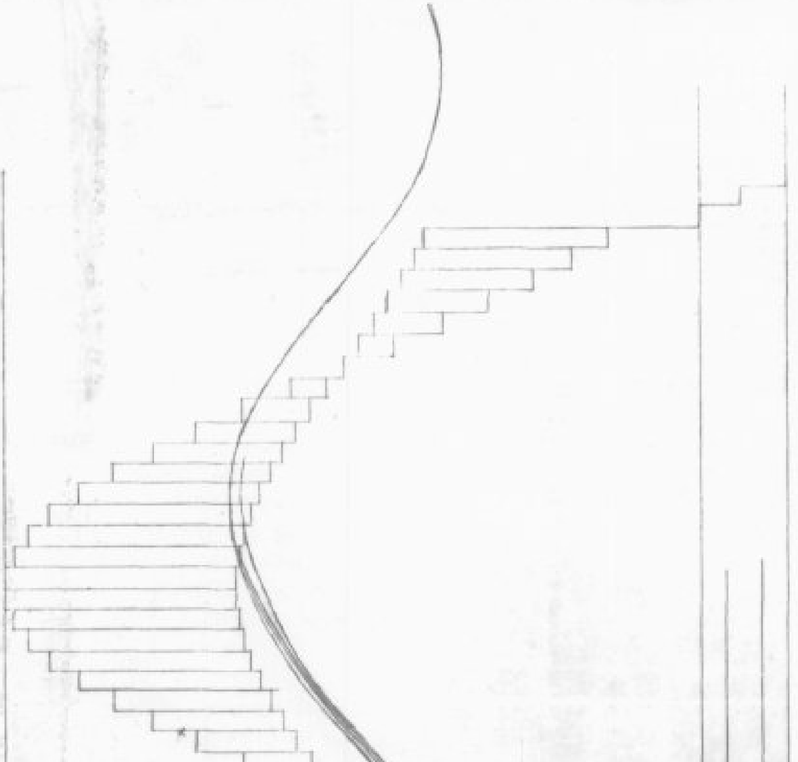

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Editor's Corner: This issue of the magazine should please students of Maryland archaeology, literature, agriculture, and architecture. Our first two articles take the especially interesting tack of detective stories, reminding us that history begins with getting the facts straight (on which see also the list of colonial governors' commissions in the Research Notes section).

We dedicate our final number of the year to the memory of William A. Sager, a steadfast friend of the magazine and Maryland history who died recently. We will miss his warmth, his judgment, his many kindnesses.

Cover design: Edmund G. Lind's elevation for the cast-iron staircase in the Peabody Institute, c. 1858.

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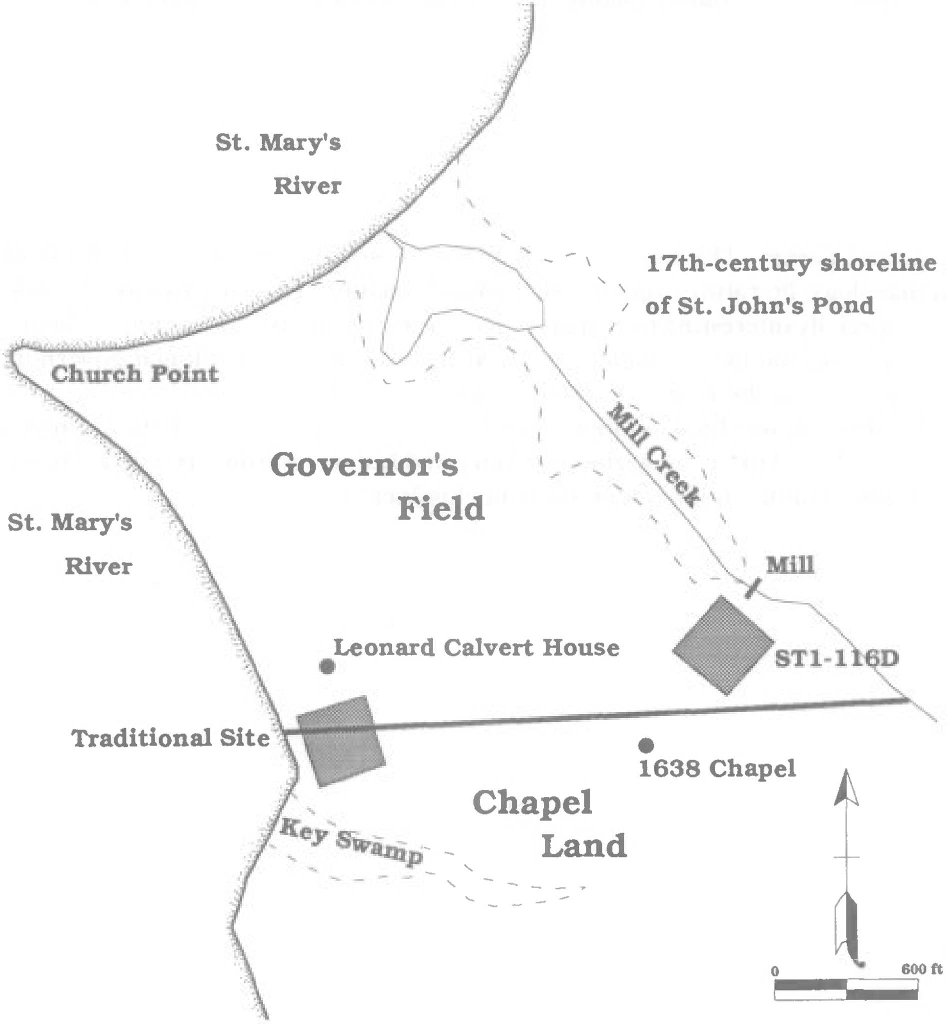

St. Mary's River
17th-century shoreline of St. John's Pond
Church Point
Governor's Field
Mill Creek
St. Mary's River
Mill
Leonard Calvert House
ST1-116D
Traditional Site
1638 Chapel
Chapel Land
Key Swamp
0
600 ft

Layout of St. Mary's City, showing two possible locations for the original fort. (Historic St. Mary's City.)

The Location of Fort St. Mary's: A Speculative Essay

TIMOTHY B. RIORDAN

Fort St. Mary's, built by colonists in March-April 1634, is one of the most important historical and archaeological properties in the state of Maryland. Here Governor Leonard Calvert and the other adventurers established the province of Maryland; within the fort they laid the foundation of Maryland's government and held the first three assemblies of freemen.[1] For almost three years, the fort was the settlement. The lack of historical records for this period makes the fort even more significant. Archaeological excavation may be the only way we can glimpse, even briefly, what life was like in Maryland during the earliest period of settlement. Because of the importance of this site to the history of Maryland, scholars have sought to identify its location for many years. Both local tradition and historical scholarship have settled on a piece of ground overlooking the St. Mary's River, near a creek referred to, in the seventeenth century, as Key Swamp (see map on opposite page).[2] This essay reviews the known history of Fort St. Mary's, explores the evidence to support the riverside location, and reviews some recent archaeological evidence that bears on the fort's location.

◆

The erection of a fort was specifically called for in Lord Baltimore's instructions to his colonists. Suspecting danger not only from the native population but also from the Virginians on Kent Island, Lord Baltimore made finding an easily fortified location one of the three criteria for his commissioners to use in their selection of a location for the settlement. In article 9 of his instructions, Cecil Calvert told the colonists that they must "first make choice of a fitt place, and a competent quantity of ground for a fort. . . . "[3] The importance of the fort is indicated by the fact that the colonists were set to splitting logs for the palisade even before a specific place was chosen for settlement.[4] Construction began soon after the colonists' arrival at St. Mary's, and it was reportedly finished within a month.[5]

Few details of the fort's construction were recorded. Governor Leonard Calvert described it as a square, 120 yards on a side with four flankers or bastions. He

---

Dr. Riordan, field archaeologist at Historic St. Mary's City, has been directing excavations at the site of the Jesuit chapels and at Pope's Fort in the historic district.

termed it a "pallizado," which probably meant that it had a wall of split logs or pales set vertically in a trench and joined by stringers at the top. It was a rough structure but "sufficient to defend against any such weake enemies" as they expected to meet in Maryland. The colonists set up at least one large cannon and mounted six small cannons or "murtherers" on the walls.[6] According to local tradition, the fort had a ditch or moat around it.[7] There is no contemporary description referring to this feature, but it was common to forts of the time.

In his description Governor Calvert said, "We have seated ourselves . . . within a pallizado," indicating that the palisade enclosed the fledgling settlement.[8] The fort provided almost one thousand square feet for each of the colonists. Had it been built merely as a place of refuge in an emergency, it would not have been so large. The palisade not only enclosed the homes of the first colonists but allowed for the growth of a town, as Lord Baltimore had envisioned. We know nothing of the internal arrangement of this settlement, but the colonists may have followed Lord Baltimore's instructions to build their houses "neere adjoining one to another and for that purpose to cause streets to be marked out. . . ."[9] In addition to the individual houses or tenements, the fort contained a storehouse and a guardhouse.[10] During the first year, almost all of the colonists lived within the walls,[11] but its existence was very brief.

The lure of cheap land and the promise of economic advancement soon led individuals to move away from its confines. Probably the first of these was Governor Calvert, who built his house on the bank of the St. Mary's River as early as 1635.[12] In 1636 the Jesuits began their plantation at St. Inigoes, and by 1637, when Lord Baltimore's elaborate conditions for plantation arrived, the exodus had become general.[13] Expansion was rapid after the first years, with houses built at St. Peter's (ca. 1638), St. John's (1638), St.Thomas's (ca. 1639) and the White House (1639).[14] These major plantations are relatively well documented, but we also know that at least one former servant, Phillip West, had a house on the banks of Mill Creek in 1638.[15] A Catholic chapel had been built by 1638 as well.[16] Other immigrants spread out farther from the fort, and by the time of the Assembly in 1637-38, planters were living in St. Mary's, St. George's, and Mattapanient Hundreds.[17]

With the decline of this incipient village and the division of the fields in and around St. Mary's, a large fort was no longer necessary. Leonard Calvert patented the hundred acres of the Governor's Field "neerest together about the fort. . . ." in 1641.[18] This tract became Calvert's personal plantation, and the land within the fort reverted to him. We know that he had dispossessed at least one inhabitant of the fort by December 1642.[19] After 1642 there are no further references to St. Mary's Fort except in several commissions sent from England by Lord Baltimore in 1644. These are regarded as copies of earlier commissions that retained the same wording even though the fort no longer stood at St. Mary's.[20] The abrupt cessation of references to the fort has been taken to indicate that Governor Calvert had the fort torn down at that time.[21] Certainly Fort St. Mary's played no role in the rebellion of 1645.[22]

The site of Maryland's first settlement gradually disappeared from the landscape. The palisade was removed and the "cottages" torn down.[23] Vegetation and time covered the refuse. In 1662 the province bought Governor Calvert's former home for a statehouse, and the hundred acres of the Governor's Field became part of the late-seventeenth-century town of St. Mary's. With the removal of the government to Annapolis in 1694, the Governor's Field was incorporated into a series of plantations and the land used for agriculture. Little trace of the fort remained above ground.

There are few references to the fort over the next two centuries. Perhaps the earliest semi-historical reference was John Pendleton Kennedy's description of the fort in his historical novel *Rob of the Bowl*.[24]

> . . . through it a pathway led to a dry moat which formed one of the defenses of the stronghold, into which admission was obtained from this quarter by a narrow bridge and postern gate. A palisade of sharp pickets fringed the outer and inner slopes of the ditch, or, to speak more technically, guarded the scarp and counterscarp. The fort itself sat like a square bonnet on the brow of the headland. Its ramparts of earth were faced outwardly by a heavy framework of hewn logs, which, on the side looking askant towards the town, were penetrated by an arched gateway and secured by heavy doors studded thick with nails. This portal opened upon a road which lay along the beach beneath the cliff, all the way to the upper extremity of the town. Several low buildings within, appropriated to barracks and magazines, just peered above the ramparts. A few pieces of brass cannon showed like watch-dogs against the horizon, and, high above all, fluttered the provincial banner bearing the cross of England, and holding the relation of a feather to the squat bonnet which the outline of the work might suggest to one curious to trace resemblances.

As fanciful and embroidered as this description may be, it is important because it set the tone for all future descriptions of the fort. Because of its significance, we must look at the sources used to produce it. Kennedy made a trip to St. Mary's in 1836 and collected many of the local traditions concerning the old town. Upon his return to Baltimore, he visited Annapolis and began research in the old provincial records. These studies formed the basis for *Rob of the Bowl*, which he published in 1838. Kennedy stated that the novel was as much history as invention, and so it was taken by many later historians.[25] First, Kennedy placed the fort on the river bank in the area of Key Swamp, which would become the traditionally accepted location. Second, he reported that there was a ditch or moat around the fort. Finally, his description of the fort's interior suggests a small structure, big enough to enclose only "several low buildings."

One of the earliest historical references to the structure, published in 1849, apparently repeated the same local tradition that Kennedy collected. It described the fort as a wooden blockhouse in the nineteenth-century style. James Thomas accepted this tradition in 1913 and added that it was a blockhouse built of logs, surrounded by a stockade and ramparts of earth. He placed the fort on the bluff on the north side of Key Swamp and asserted that others had incorrectly placed it on the south side of the swamp.[26] This is interesting because as late as 1705 there is a reference to an "old fort" in a deed for the White House Field, just south of Key Swamp.[27] Thomas commented that "intrenchments" were still visible in the nineteenth century.[28] Based on local tradition and the identification of these "intrenchments," the north bluff of Key Swamp became the traditional locus of Calvert's first settlement.

Because Thomas claimed that the fort ditch was still visible, it is important to consider the kind of fort he thought he saw. Thomas fell heir (or victim) to the local legend that the fort was a log blockhouse, but he was also aware of Leonard Calvert's description of it. He interpreted the phrase "one hundred and twentie yards square" to mean square yardage rather than linear measurement. This would make the fort roughly thirty-three feet on a side. He believed, in keeping with tradition, that the fort was designed as a place of refuge and did not enclose the entire settlement. On his published map, the fort is slightly exaggerated, but it is not more than one hundred feet on a side. Clearly, Thomas envisioned a small fort, as tradition implied. The entrenchments he refers to must have been small as well. If, as modern scholars believe, Calvert's description refers to a fort 120 yards on a side, then the entrenchments could not represent St. Mary's Fort.

❧

Modern scholarship on the fort's location began in the late 1960s with Lois Green Carr's article, "The Founding of St. Mary's City."[29] Carr summarized the available sources that pertain to the founding and analyzed both the documentary sources and the local traditions. She clearly demonstrated that the colonists first landed on Church Point and not Chancellor's Point, as most nineteenth-century historians had assumed.[30] She reviewed the evidence for the traditional site and concluded that while a location on the river bank was still a possibility, there were serious problems in reconciling the historical documents with such a location. Much of my criticism of the traditional site follows her arguments.

An evaluation of the traditional site must start with the contemporary narratives of the first settlement. All of the accounts, despite some apparent translation problems, describe the settlement as a half mile from the water.[31] Nineteenth-century authors, placing the fort on the river bank, handled this discrepancy by supposing that the colonists landed at some spot (e.g. Chancellor's Point) and then walked along the river bank to the settlement.[32] Yet it is difficult to reconcile this view with Leonard Calvert's simple and direct statement: "We have seated ourselves within one half mile of the river. . . ."[33] It stretches the imagination to believe that Calvert would have used this specific language if the fort were located on the traditional site directly above the river.

Another line of evidence important to this discussion is the record of land patents.[34] The 1641 patent for the Governor's Field describes a one-hundred-acre parcel of town land laid out for Governor Calvert as "lying nearest together about the fort."[35] This statement is interesting both for what it says and what it does not say. The phrase "lying nearest together about" we routinely interpret to mean that the feature so described (in this case the fort) is entirely enclosed within the property. That is the implied meaning in the contemporary patents for St. John's, the Chapel Land, the White House (Giles Brent's land), and St. Thomas's. By this language then, the fort must be on the Governor's Field property.[36] The boundary between the Governor's Field and the Chapel Land is known from both historical documents and from recent archaeological work.[37] This boundary passes through the traditional site of the fort, leaving most of the fort on the Chapel Land (see map above). Such a location contradicts the exclusive language of the Governor's Field patent and is a significant problem with the traditional site.

The language of the Governor's Field patent points out the paramount importance of the fort as a landmark in the early seventeenth century. In all of the patents cited above, the surveyor chose the most prominent cultural feature within the property to make his description more precise and intelligible to his contemporaries. In the case of the Governor's Field, he chose to describe the fort and ignore Governor Calvert's house. This house, known later as the Country's House, was the largest home in Maryland built before 1645. In final form it was 67.5 feet long and 40 feet wide.[38] Half of the house was probably the "Townhouse" authorized by the assembly for governmental use in 1639.[39] It is uncertain whether this section of the house was built by the time of the patent, but by 1642 the burgesses began meeting in the Governor's House.[40] Even if the townhouse was not completed by then, the original house was still impressive by Maryland standards.[41] Yet it was the presence of the fort that the surveyor chose to note.

The significance of this fact is only revealed when one looks at the patents for the nearby Chapel Land. The 1639 patent for the Chapel Land does not mention the fort at all.[42] Even an incompetent surveyor could not have failed to take notice of such a feature. The lack of any mention of the fort in the Chapel Land patent precludes this location because the surveyor would certainly have used this landmark. A resurvey of the Chapel Land in 1641 provides an obscure reference that has been used to support the fort's location near Key Swamp. It mentions a "vayle" or "rayle" that formerly stood on the bluff above Key Swamp.[43] This has been interpreted to mean that the fort had been there but had decayed by 1641. If the fort were sufficiently decayed by 1641 that the surveyor failed to refer to it in the Chapel survey, why did he mention it in the Governor's Field survey of the same year? More important, why was it not mentioned in the 1639 survey when it must still have been standing and in good repair? The "rayle" also appears in the Governor's Field patent of 1641. It describes a point above St. George's (now St. Mary's) River where the "rayle" began, implying that it was no longer there. If this description referred to the fort walls, why did the patent not refer to the fort in the past tense as well? To the colonists, the fort was a geographic place and reference point. No surveyor would omit it, particularly if the boundary being surveyed passed right through it. The lack of a reference to the fort in the 1639 patent and the suggested exclusive language of the Governor's Field patent strongly hint that the traditional site above Key Swamp could not be the fort's location.

There is one other piece of evidence about the location of the fort that bears mention. In 1639 the assembly passed the Act for Military Discipline which, in case of alarm, called on the militia of St. Mary's Hundred to gather in the chapel yard, "neere the fort."[44] Researchers have recently discovered the possible location of the wooden chapel that was standing in 1638 (see map above)[45] The chapel lies more than a quarter mile from the traditional site on the river bank—much too great a distance to be considered "neere."

The foregoing arguments demonstrate that the fort was not located on the traditional site above Key Swamp. That something once stood on that bluff seems certain. Both the reference to the "vayle" in the 1641 Chapel Land patent and Thomas's recollection of entrenchments in the area bear this out. The function and identity of these features will only be clear after further archaeological work.

* * *

If the fort was not located where it was thought to have been, then where was it? Recent archaeological survey work in an area near Mill Creek has provided a possible answer. In 1984 and 1985, archaeologists from Historic St. Mary's City, supported by a grant from the Maryland Historical Trust, surveyed a tract known as the Mill Field.[46] The survey was successful and discovered a number of previously unknown prehistoric and colonial-period sites. One of these is a large, early period component at the southeast end of the field, which we have designated ST1-116 D, and consists of a scatter of materials roughly 350 feet long. The width of this component is only 250 feet, and the northern edge adjoins the steeply eroded bank of Mill Creek. This information is derived from a surface collection made on the plowed surface of the field and is subject to some smearing caused by the plowing. The artifacts associated with this site date to the first half of the seventeenth century.[47] The sample includes forty ceramic sherds of types that have recently been identified as important on early period sites in Maryland, including Martincamp earthenware (ca. 1635-60), Chalky Pasted earthenware (ca. 1635-65), and Red Sandy Pasted earthenware (ca. 1635-75).[48] Lead Backed Tin Glaze earthenware, also an early ceramic type, is prominent in the surface collection. Archaeologists often use the size of the hole in the stems of clay pipes as a dating tool with larger bores indicating earlier time periods.[49] Unfortunately, much of ST1-116 D is overlaid by a late-seventeenth- through mid-eighteenth-century component that obscures much of the pipe evidence. A portion of the site on the eastern edge however, is free of this mixture. Twenty-two of the fifty measurable pipes recovered from this area have bore diameters of 9/64 inch with a significant number of 8/64 pipes. This sample fits easily into the period 1634-42. One complete pipe bowl was found in the surface collection and, based on its shape, is dated to circa 1600-40.[50] The artifacts date site ST1-116 D to the first decade of Maryland's settlement.

More to the point, a number of artifact groups collected by the survey support the identification of this site as that of St. Mary's Fort. One interesting group of materials is iron-working slag and metal scrap, indicating that a blacksmith was working in this area of the field. Who could this craftsman have been? One of the first iron workers in colonial Maryland was the blacksmith John Dandy. He had been a servant of Cloberry & Company on Kent Island before being transported down to St. Mary's by George Evelin in 1638. Evelin granted Dandy his freedom from the last year of his indenture for eight hundred pounds of tobacco. Dandy's proxy was accepted at the assembly of 1638, where he was reported to be living in St. Mary's Hundred.[51] The patent for laying out the bounds of St. John's places Dandy in the vicinity of Mill Creek because it refers to a house on the north side of Mill Creek as "lately" tenanted by Philip West and John Dandy.[52] Thus as early as 1638 John Dandy was living across Mill Creek from the area of slag and metal scrap concentration. Dandy reportedly made nails and other iron hardware such as chest hinges, but, more important, he was also a gunsmith, a trade vital to the fledgling colony.[53] At a later time he had a shop at St. Inigoes Fort, where a Captain Smith seized eleven guns and ten gunlocks after the disastrous Battle of the Severn in 1655.[54] The survey found two seventeenth-century gun parts in the area of the iron-working refuse.

Dandy's checkered career in Maryland indirectly yields an insight on the fort location. The blacksmith had been sentenced to death three times—in 1641, 1643, and 1657—for murdering servants and Indians. On the first two occasions, the sentence had been exchanged for service to the proprietary government, first for three years and then for seven years. A skilled gunsmith was not used as a field hand but was put to work at his trade, and in March 1643-44 he was referred to as the blacksmith of St. Mary's Hundred. At this time, March-April 1644, Dandy was living on Snowhill Manor.[55]

Where was Dandy's residence between the time he was reported to be living in a house with Philip West and when he lived in his later abode on Snowhill Manor? In April of 1643, a year before Dandy was reported to be living on the manor, Nicholas Harvey testified that he had contracted with Thomas Todd to deliver twenty deer skins "at the fort either to him the said Tho. Todd or in his absence unto the said John Dandy."[56] The contract was made around December 1642 and indicated that the fort stood at least until that time. If Dandy had remained in the house above West's Valley it would indicate close proximity to the fort. The reference implies that Dandy could normally be found at the fort. As mentioned above, December 1642 was the last reference to anyone's living at the fort, and it suggested that Governor Calvert had only recently forced Robinson to relinquish his tenement there. Perhaps Dandy's shop remained at the fort because at this time he was a servant to the proprietor. When the fort was torn down and the property became the plantation of Leonard Calvert, Dandy may have been free to live elsewhere.

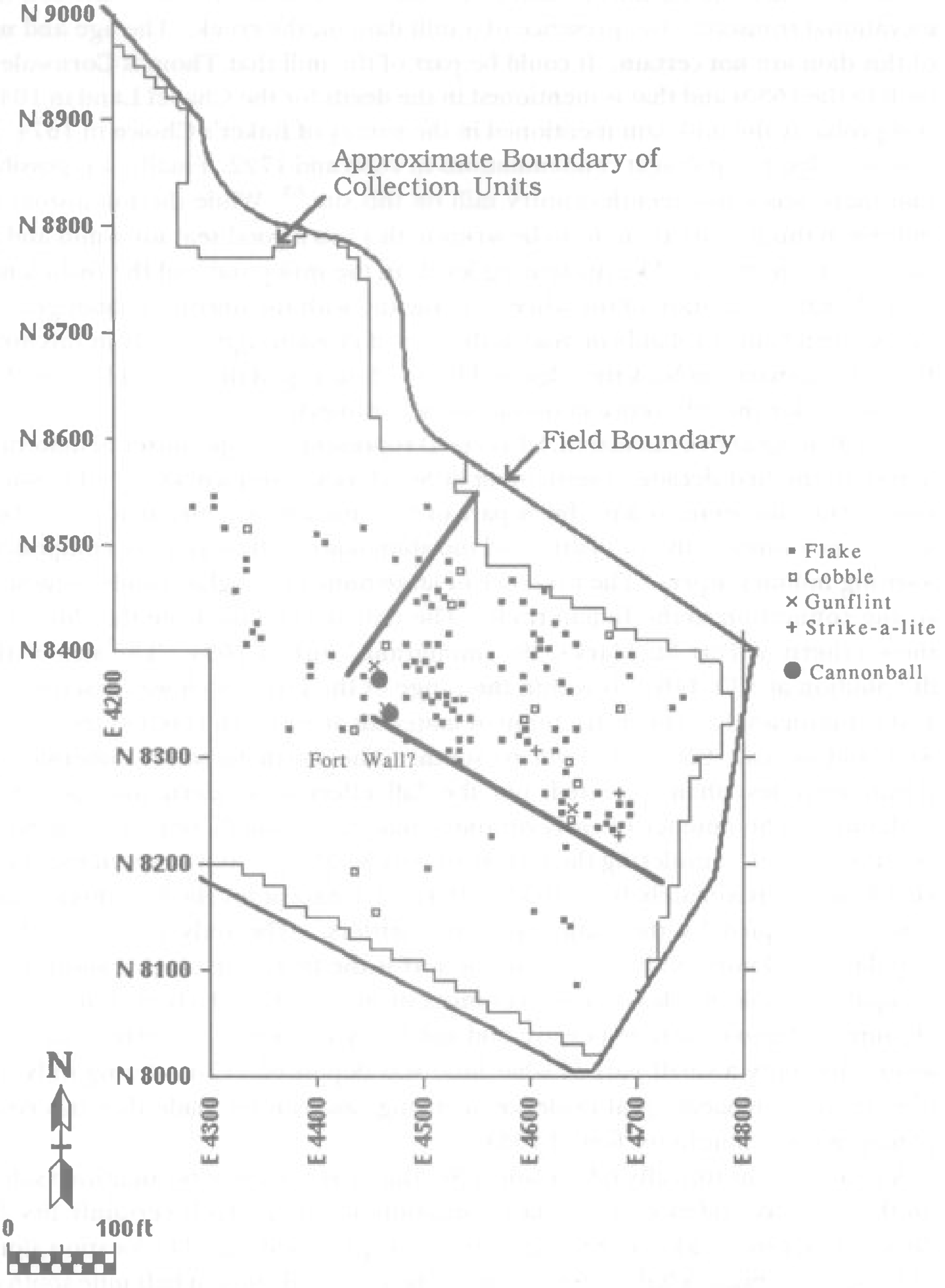
The glass beads are another artifact group of importance to this argument. The survey recovered twenty-five glass beads in this area. For a surface collection this is a large number of beads and, from what we know of the relationship of surface materials to the rest of the plow zone, these beads represent a density two to three times higher than on other early period sites in St. Mary's City.[57] The large number of beads at this site is important because of their association with the Indian trade. In a study of the archaeological occurrence of glass beads in the Chesapeake, Miller, Pogue and Smolek point out that large numbers of glass beads only occur in contexts dating to the first half of the seventeenth century.[58] While their place in the overall trade was small, beads are clearly associated with that economic pursuit and at St. Mary's City, the greatest fur trading activity took place between 1634 and 1640.[59] Afterward most of the trade was conducted at outlying posts.[60]

The final artifact group important to this discussion is the European flint, which was used to make gunflints. The survey collected 142 pieces of European flint, including several large cobbles. Again, using plow zone studies to develop an estimate, ST1-116 D has a density of European flint that is two to six times as great as other early sites in St. Mary's City.[61] Some of this extra flint undoubtedly derives from John Dandy's shop. However, the tightly concentrated, almost L-shaped distribution of the flint suggests the walls of the fort (see figure on opposite page). In the corner of this L-shaped distribution, where a bastion with a cannon in it would be expected, the survey recovered two cannonballs.

This interesting and suggestive distribution creates a serious interpretive problem. If we select a mid-point on the supposed south wall of the fort and stretch a line of elevations northwest towards the creek, we find that the land is relatively flat for the first 260 feet. Over that distance the elevation falls only 5 feet, producing about a 1 percent slope. Over the next 100 feet, the ground drops 18 feet in elevation for an 18 percent slope. It is highly unlikely that the northern edge of the fort would be located on such a steep slope, for it would have been exposed to enemy fire from the other bank of Mill Creek.

But the edge of the creek is not uniformly sloped. If we assume that the cannonballs mark a corner of the fort and if we run the same kind of elevational transect along the suggested west wall, the results are significantly different. Along this transect, the elevation falls only 3 feet over a distance of 340 feet, producing a less than 1 percent slope. Over the next 20 feet, the elevation decreases 2 feet for a 1 percent slope. After 360 feet, the bank drops off sharply, losing 34 feet over a distance of 80 feet, for a 42 percent slope. In this area, a fort 360 feet wide would have its northern wall directly on a very steep bank.

How can we account for the striking differences between these elevational transects? I believe the answer lies in a careful consideration of the soils, geomorphology, and history of the Mill Creek Valley. The soil along the edge of the creek is classified as Sassafras sandy loam, severely eroded. It normally has slopes of 10 to 15 percent. The soil consists of unconsolidated subsoil materials with high percentages of a type of gravel subject to massive erosion. The edge of the creek has not uniformly suffered such erosion.[62] If it had, there would not be such a difference between elevational transects spaced only 180 feet apart. In fact, except for the area in question, the bank of Mill Creek is relatively uniform.


N 9000
N 8900
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N 8300
N 8200
N 8100
N 8000
E 4200
E 4300
E 4400
E 4500
E 4600
E 4700
E 4800
Approximate Boundary of Collection Units
Field Boundary
Fort Wall?
▪ Flake
▫ Cobble
× Gunflint
+ Strike-a-lite
● Cannonball
N
0
100 ft

St. Mary's Site ST1-116 D, where the first settlers may have built their first stockade. Note distribution of European flint remnants. (Historic St. Mary's City.)

There is only one significant change in Mill Creek in the 180 feet between the elevational transects—the presence of a mill dam on the creek. The age and use of this dam are not certain. It could be part of the mill that Thomas Cornwaleys built in the 1630s and that is mentioned in the deeds for the Chapel Land in 1641. It is probably the mill dam mentioned in the survey of Baker's Choice in 1674. It was the subject of mill seat condemnations in 1693 and 1722. Finally, it is possible that there was a nineteenth-century mill on this site.[63] While the full history of milling in this locality remains to be written, this was a good seat for a mill and as such used repeatedly. The fluctuating levels in the mill pond and the turbulence caused by the operation of the wheel, interacting with the unconsolidated gravels of the steep bank, probably increased the rate of erosion significantly in this area. It is likely to have cut back the edge and lowered the top of the bank. I believe that it accounts for the difference between the two transects.

Based on the above discussion, ST1-116 D represents a large cluster of materials dating to the first decade of settlement at St. Mary's. Iron working and possibly iron extraction seem to have been part of the cultural activities that took place here. The cannonballs, gun parts, and the abundance of flint give the component a strong military aspect. The presence of large numbers of glass beads suggests a strong connection to the Indian trade. The only documented site that fits all of these criteria is Fort St. Mary's, the immigrants' fort of 1634. The size of the distribution at ST1-116 D is within the range of the fort, which was described as 120 yards on a side. The distribution of materials at ST1-116 D is 350 feet east to west and at least 250 feet north to south. The north to south dimension is significantly less than expected, but the full effect of modern soil erosion is undefined. The number of early ceramics and pipes is small, but a low recovery rate is expected, considering the history of Fort St. Mary's. It was not in existence very long, approximately from 1634 to 1642, and, except for the first three years, was not occupied by the majority of the settlers. The only time the whole population is known to have been in the fort is the first year. Such a short, light occupation would not leave many ceramics or pipes, particularly at a time when all imported goods were expensive and not easily replaced. A surface collection would find only a small part of what little was deposited. Considering only the physical and archaeological evidence, a strong case can be made that this component is the immigrants' fort of 1634.

A location as historically important as St. Mary's Fort cannot be identified solely on the tenuous evidence of a surface collection, but ST1-116 D certainly fits the documentary sources better than any previously proposed site. The location along Mill Creek is almost a half mile due east of the river and about a half mile south of the landing spot on Church Point. No matter how one looks at the language of the early narratives, ST1-116 D fits the distance description. The second requirement was a location entirely on the Governor's Field. While it is difficult to determine the exact boundaries of the component from the surface collected materials, it is almost certain that the site is entirely on the Governor's Field. Finally, the surface scatter is at most 125 yards from the early chapel mentioned in the militia law of 1639—a closer fit than the traditional site.

* * *

And yet why would Governor Calvert choose such a site? From the very beginning of settlement in the Chesapeake the economy was based on water transport.[64] A settlement on the river bank or on Church Point would have easy access to the water. The Chesapeake and its tributaries are a natural highway that allows the export of bulky crops and the import of vitally needed manufactured goods. An inland site would be isolated from this highway and require a great deal of effort to move goods back and forth. Calvert and the other colonists were aware of the importance of this vital link to England. It makes little sense that the location chosen as the main settlement of the colony would be isolated from the river.

ST1-116 D is isolated from the river if we look at conditions as they exist today. However the hydrology and topography were very different in the seventeenth century. Cores taken in St. John's Pond and in MIll Creek indicate that at the time of the arrival of the colonists, St. John's Pond was an open embayment of the St. Mary's River and the shore line extended up Mill Creek almost 900 feet farther than it does today.[65] A core taken in Mill Creek shows that approximately 6.5 to 7 feet of sediment has accumulated since 1634. This measurement was taken from near the side of the valley. It is likely that the central portion of the creek would have been even deeper. In the seventeenth century it might have been possible to get a ship the size of the *Dove* up Mill Creek and close to the site of ST1-116 D. With the barge the colonists brought with them, access to the river would be easy. Indeed Governor Calvert used the barge as his exploring vessel when he went in search of a settlement location. As the *Relation of Maryland* said, "and so leaving the Ship and Pinnances there, he tooke his barge (as most fit to search the Creekes and small rivers)."[66] When Leonard Calvert went in search of a place to establish the province of Maryland, he was looking for a spot that was not on any main river. That the author of the *Relation* felt obliged to explain why Calvert took the barge may indicate that the governor already had decided that he wanted a location on a creek or small river. It might be argued that the St. Mary's River was a "small river," but this is not the intention of the passage. The governor was directed to the St. Mary's area by Capt. Henry Fleet, who had been there several times and knew how deep the river was. The colonists could have sailed there directly. Calvert was looking for a location with easy access to the main river but tucked back away from it. ST1-116 D met this requirement. It had ample access to cargo ships like the *Dove,* but not to larger ships such as the *Ark*.

The significance of this is at first hard to appreciate, but it may explain a nagging problem shared by most of the early narratives that talk about the landing. All of these accounts report that the colonists landed and then hiked overland to reach the selected location. What possible reason could they have had for doing so? If the fort had been on the bluff above Key Swamp or on Church Point, there would have been no reason for this half-mile migration. There are equally deep anchorages in both locations and the colonists would simply have come ashore. It would be easier to haul goods up a ravine near the site than to drag them a half mile across what at best would have been rough Indian fields. If the colonists got off the ship and walked inland a half mile, it must have been because there was no other way to get there. The answer to this problem lies in the difference in size between the *Dove* and the *Ark*. The *Dove* required only 6-7 feet of water, while the *Ark* drew as much as 20 feet. The *Dove* probably could get up Mill Creek close to the site, while the *Ark* could not even get in the mouth of the creek. Since the *Ark* carried most of the passengers, they had to disembark and walk overland to their new home. The location of ST1-116 D not only reconciles the historical information but also helps to explain better the events of the first settlement.

This inquiry into the location of Fort St. Mary's casts serious doubt on the traditional site on the bluff above Key Swamp as the location of the fort. To place the fort in this area requires one either to ignore the wording of the documentary sources or explain away their inconsistencies with the local topography. The meaning of the documents is clear, and it is very unlikely that the fort could have been located on the traditional site.

This study also has suggested a possible inland location for the fort. ST1-116 D is known archaeologically to be a large, early-seventeenth-century site. Artifacts recovered from this area suggest functions that were associated with the brief occupancy of the fort. This site easily fits all the requirements derived from the historical documents. It does not require any unwarranted interpretations of what the authors' intentions were but allows them to be read at face value. Further, when taken with the coring evidence, this location actually makes the narratives clearer in their meaning. While no definite conclusions can be reached until ST1-116 D is tested archaeologically, the preponderance of the evidence suggests that this is the location of Maryland's founding settlement.

NOTES

1. The first assembly of the freemen was held on 26 February 1635, but no record of the proceedings survives. It is known only from references in later records. William Hand Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland* (72 vols. to date; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-), 1:23. For later assemblies see *Archives of Maryland,* 1:1, 27.

2. H. Chandlee Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's: Buried Cities of Romance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1938), p. 198.

3. "Instructions to the Colonists by Lord Baltimore, 1633," in Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684,* Original Narratives of Early American History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910; repr., 1967), pp. 17, 21. The passage can be read in two ways. The first indicates that the colonists were to find a place to settle and then set aside land for a fort. The second way indicates

that finding a good location for a fort was the first priority. Given that the settlement developed within the fort, I tend toward the second interpretation.

4. "A Relation of Maryland, 1635" in Hall, *Narratives*, p. 72. This was on St. Clement's Island while Governor Calvert was out exploring for a suitable location.

5. Ibid., p. 76.

6. *The Calvert Papers, Number Three*, Fund Publication No. 35 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1889), p. 21.

7. James Thomas, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland* (Cumberland, Md.: Eddy Press Corporation, 1913), p. 25.

8. *Calvert Papers*, 3:21. Evidence of individuals living at the fort is scarce, but some does exist. On 2 December 1642 John Robinson sued Anthony Rawlins for the price of a tenement at the fort (*Archives of Maryland*, 4:159).

9. Hall, *Narratives*, p. 22.

10. Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, p. 197.

11. Garry Wheeler Stone, "Manorial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 82 (1987): 7.

12. Garry Wheeler Stone, "Society, Housing, and Architecture in Early Maryland: John Lewgar's St. John's" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1982), p. 381

13. Lois Green Carr, "'The Metropolis of Maryland': A Comment on Town Development Along the Tobacco Coast," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 69 (1974): 126; Stone, "Society, Housing, and Architecture," pp. 14-15.

14. Information on these houses comes from a number of sources. St. Peter's is known to have been standing by the time Jerome Hawley died in 1638 and was part of a well developed plantation (Stone, "Society, Housing and Architecture," pp. 390-93); John Lewgar had St. John's constructed in 1638 (ibid., pp. 90-91); the Brent sisters were living in St. Thomas's when the property was patented in October 1639 ("Land Notes, 1634-1655," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 5 [1910]: 264); the patent of Giles Brent's townland refers to the housing "lately built" by him (ibid., p. 265).

15. This house is referred to as a landmark in the 1640 patent for St. John's. See Lois Green Carr, "St. John's Freehold Land File," n.d., Research Files, Historic St. Mary's City, Maryland (hereafter cited as HSMC).

16. The exact date of the construction of the wooden chapel is not known. Father White reported that they celebrated Mass in an Indian hut but expected to build something better soon (Hall, *Narratives*, p. 44). By 1638 a chapel had been built as it is mentioned in prosecution of William Lewis and in an Act for Military Discipline (*Archives of Maryland*, 1:78, 4:35).

17. *Archives of Maryland*, 1:2. For an account of the early settlement in St. George's Hundred, see Jeanette L. Fox, "The Settlement of Wickliff's Creek," *Chronicles of St. Mary's*, 31 (1983): 81-88; for St. Michael's Hundred, see Garry Wheeler Stone, "Notes on the Settlement of St. Michael's Hundred, 1634-1644," April 1978, Research Files, HSMC.

18. Abstract of the Governor's Field Patent in Lois Green Carr, "Governor's Field Land History File," n.d., Research Files, HSMC; "Land Notes," 6:264.

19. In December 1642 John Robinson sued Anthony Rawlins for five hundred pounds of tobacco, which was the price paid for a tenement at the fort. Robinson was dispossessed of this tenement by Governor Calvert (*Archives of Maryland* 4:159).

20. Ibid., 3:151-60.

21. Stone, "Society, Housing and Architecture," p. 21.

22. The fort is not mentioned in the extensive testimony taken by the High Court of Admiralty after Ingle's raid in Maryland. Several crew members of the Dutch ship, *Speagle*, taken by Ingle in St. Inigoes Creek, testified that Maryland was not fortified before Ingle came (Ingle vs. the Looking Glass, London, England, Public Records Office, High Court of Admiralty, HCA 13/60).

23. Thomas Cornwaleys was almost certainly referring to the houses in the fort when he described early Maryland dwellings as cottages in a letter to Lord Baltimore, 16 April 1638. See *The Calvert Papers, Number One*, Fund Publication No. 28 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1889), p. 174.

24. John Pendleton Kennedy, *Rob of the Bowl: A Legend of St. Inigoe's* (Philadelphia, 1838; repr., 1965), p. 41.

25. Charles H. Bohner, "'As Much History as . . . Invention': John P. Kennedy's *Rob of the Bowl*," *William and Mary Quarterly* (3d ser.), 17 (1960): 329-40.

26. James McSherry, *History of Maryland*, (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1849), p. 40.

27. Lois Green Carr, "The Founding of St. Mary's City," *Smithsonian Journal of History*, 3 (1968-9): 90. If these remains were part of a fort, they might be St. Thomas Fort, a little known structure dating to the period of Ingle's Rebellion.

28. Thomas, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland*, p. 25.

29. See n. 27.

30. The identification of Chancellor's Point as the landing spot was apparently based on the need to reconcile the location of the Indian village with both the description of the "seat of the Indian King" being on the left side of the river and the report that the colonists lived in part of the Indian town. Thomas stated that these two locations had to be on the same side of the river since the colonists walked to the site of their settlement. Carr concluded, based on historical evidence, that the Indians lived on both sides of the river. This eliminates the problem and allows the accounts to be read as they were written. See Carr, "Founding of St. Mary's City," p. 89. Modern archaeological research has expanded this argument. Evidence of Late Woodland-Contact Period settlement in St. Mary's City occurs all along the bank of the St. Mary's River, along Mill Creek and around St. John's Pond. On the Lower Patuxent River Late Woodland villages were dispersed across the landscape with houses widely separated from each other. See Laurie Cameron Steponaitis, "Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Lower Patuxent Drainage, Maryland" (Ph. D. diss., State University of New York at Binghamton, 1986), p. 39.

31. Carr presents a detailed description of the early sources and a comparative analysis of the various texts ("Founding of St. Mary's City," pp. 77-79). Complete texts of several of these sources have been published. See Hall, *Narratives*, pp. 25-45, 63-112; *Calvert Papers*, 3:1 9-24, 26-45.

32. There had been some confusion about the distance in the early narratives. Carr reports that the original phrase was "mille passus," which should translate as

a mile. At least one of the early narratives, a loose translation of this document, does relate it this way. If, as Carr points out, it meant not a mile but a thousand paces, then it would amount to a half mile. This agrees with Leonard Calvert's clear statement that the settlement was within a half mile from the river. See Carr, "Founding of St. Mary's City," p. 83.

33. *Calvert Papers* 3:21.

34. Carr, "Founding of St. Mary's City," pp. 82-83.

35. Quoted in Carr, "Founding of St. Mary's City," p. 82. An abstract of the patent can be found in "Land Notes," 6:264.

36. St. John's, "Land Notes," 5:266; the Chapel Land, 6:202; Giles Brent's land, 5:265; St. Thomas's, 5:264.

37. Carr plotted this boundary based on a thorough examination of the surviving historical records. Its location is shown in Figure 6 of her article (Carr, "Founding of St. Mary's City," p. 88). Recent archaeological work in the town center at St. Mary's City has revealed the northern paling of the Smith's Townland tract (Henry M. Miller, "Discovering Maryland's First City," *St. Mary's City Archaeology Series, Number 2* (1986), p. 98). This fence is at an angle of 5 degrees north of east. Using this information and the known dimensions of the Smith's Townland tract, I plotted the southern boundary of the tract, which also happens to be the boundary of the Governor's Field. There is no appreciable difference between Carr's boundary and that based on the archaeology.

38. Miller, "Discovering Maryland's First City," p. 18.

39. *Archives of Maryland*, 1: 75-76.

40. Stone, "Society, Housing, and Architecture in Early Maryland," p. 96.

41. Cary Carson et. al., "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 2-3 (1981): 156,161.

42. "Land Notes," 6:202.

43. Carr, "Founding of St. Mary's City," p. 82.

44. *Archives of Maryland* 1:78.

45. Timothy B. Riordan, "Preliminary Report on the 1988 Excavations in the Chapel Field at St. Mary's City," 1989, Research Files, HSMC.

46. Timothy B. Riordan, "The Mill Field at St. Mary's City: An Intensive Surface Collection of a Portion of the Seventeenth-Century Townlands," 1990, Research Files, HSMC, Maryland.

47. Ibid., pp. 65-72.

48. Silas D. Hurry and Henry M. Miller, "Ceramic Type Descriptions from Historic St. Mary's City," paper presented at the Jamestown Conference, Fredericksburg, Virginia, May 1989.

49. Ivor Noel Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), pp. 296-301.

50. Adrian Oswald, "Clay Pipes for the Archaeologist," *British Archaeological Reports*, 14 (1975): 37,39.

51. *Archives of Maryland*, 5:183; 4:28; 1:29.

52. Abstracted in Carr, "St. John's Freehold Land File."

53. On 27 August 1647 John Dandy identified a gunlock in question as one that he had made for Nicholas Harvey in 1639 and said that that gun had been taken away from Harvey by the rebels in 1645 (*Archives of Maryland,* 4:324).

54. Ibid., 10:429.

55. Ibid., 3:98, 146; 4:260, 544.

56. Ibid., 4:192.

57. Controlled experiments in plow zone archaeology have shown that surface materials represent about 5 percent of the total artifact population in the plow zone. Recent research on actual sites in St. Mary's City has shown that the actual recovery rate is often much lower, in many cases, less than 1 percent. Thus the twenty-five beads from the surface collection represent a total population of between 840-2500 beads in the plow zone, assuming that the surface collection represents between 1 and 3 percent of the total population. Dividing this figure by the total area yields a density of 0.01-0.02 beads per square foot of plow zone. This density can then be compared with those of other early sites such as the Village Center with a density of 0.003 and St. John's with a density of 0.006. See Riordan, "Mill Field," p. 74.

58. Henry M. Miller, Dennis J. Pogue, and Michael A. Smolek, "Beads from the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake," 1982, Research Files, HSMC.

59. Ibid., p. 4.

60. Riordan, "Mill Field," pp. 74-76.

61. See note 57. The density of flint at ST1-116 D is between 0.06 and 0.18 pieces per square foot. This can be compared with 0.03 pieces at the Village Center and 0.09 pieces at St. John's (Riordan, "Mill Field," pp. 72-74).

62. Joseph W. Gibson, *Soil Survey of St. Mary's County, Maryland.* (Washington, D.C.: USDA Soil Conservation Service, 1978), pp. 38-39.

63. Thomas Cornwaleys had a mill built by 1638 (*Calvert Papers,* 1:174). This must be the mill used as a reference point in the Chapel Land patent ("Land Notes," 6:202). The mill property was resurveyed in 1687, 1693, and 1723 (Carr, "Governor's Field Land History"). The final reference to a possible mill on this site was in a listing of property for the Brome estate in 1834 (St. Mary's County Annual Valuations, 1826-1841, f. 200-201, Maryland State Archives).

64. Arthur Pierce Middleton, *Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era* (Newport News, Va.: Mariners Museum, 1953; repr., 1984).

65. John C. Kraft and Grace S. Brush, "A Geological-Paleoenviornmental Analysis of the Sediments in St. John's Pond and the Nearshore Zone Near Howard's Wharf at St. Mary's City," 1981, Research Files, HSMC.

66. Hall, *Narratives,* p. 73.

Poe's Mystery House: The Search for Mechanics Row

MARY MARKEY and DEAN KRIMMEL

In February 1831 a despondent Edgar Allan Poe found himself in Baltimore. Just turned twenty-two, he had been an orphan, the ward of a wealthy merchant, a college student, a runaway teenager, a clerk, a soldier, a West Point cadet, and a published author. All of these enterprises had come to nothing. At loose ends, lonely and defeated, he found himself in Baltimore—the one place on earth where someone might still take him in.

He found a home with his aunt Maria Clemm who, in addition to her own two children, was caring for her mother and Edgar's brother in a house in Mechanics Row, on Wilks Street. Poe lived with them until the spring of 1833, two years during which he looked unsuccessfully for a steady job (including a teaching position in Reisterstown), began publishing his writings in area newspapers, watched his brother die, and courted a neighbor girl named Mary. Baltimore legend pictures him marching the neighborhood children down to Fells Point with West Point drills, playing flute duets with a sailor named Tuhey, hoaxing the town with a proposed flight from the Shot Tower to the Lighthouse on April Fool's Day, and supporting his new-found family by working in a brickyard.

It could be said that Poe began his adult life in Mechanics Row, for it was there that he came to the realization that a reconciliation with his foster father was impossible, that his dreams of a college education were over, and that he was truly left to his own devices. In Mechanics Row he forged the bonds of affection for his aunt Maria and cousin Virginia Clemm that would last the rest of his life, and he began his apprenticeship as a writer in the ephemeral world of magazines and newspapers. Any Poe enthusiast would be interested in paying a visit to that house.

But where is it? Each of Poe's biographers seems to answer the question differently, and all of the answers are wrong. Arthur Hobson Quinn's authoritative biography states that:

> the Plan of the City of Baltimore, T. H. Poppleton, published in 1823 clearly shows the block, Mechanics Row, Wilks Street, lying between Exeter and High Streets. The block of buildings was L shaped with the longer arm on Exeter. Wilks St. is now Eastern Avenue and this area is occupied by a large

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Both authors are employed by the Baltimore City Life Museums—Dean Krimmel as curator of local history and Mary Markey as reference center supervisor.

> modern garage. . . . The site of the Poe House is now the 400 block, probably 408-410 Eastern Avenue.[1]

Actually, the Poppleton map gives no indication that that particular group of buildings was designated Mechanics Row. Mary E. Phillips earlier had placed Mechanics Row on Wilks between Caroline and Canal streets, on the north side.[2] She cited no reasons for coming to this conclusion.

Christopher George's "A Poe Tour of Baltimore" claims that the still-existing houses at 902-908 Eastern Avenue were known as Mechanics Row.[3] Dwight Thomas and David K. Jackson, in their recently published *The Poe Log* simply state that the row was "located on Wilks Street (later Eastern Avenue) between Exeter and High."[4]

Hervey Allen's *Israfel*, the beautifully written but sometimes inaccurate epic-length biography of 1927, stated that Poe "joined the Clemm household on Milk Street, where his attic room looked out on the houses upon Essex Street in 'Old Town.'"[5] A succession of authors following Allen in the 1930s repeated his Milk Street location. Among them is Lettitia Stockett, whose *Baltimore: A Not Too Serious History* explains that Milk Street was an early name for East Street.[6]

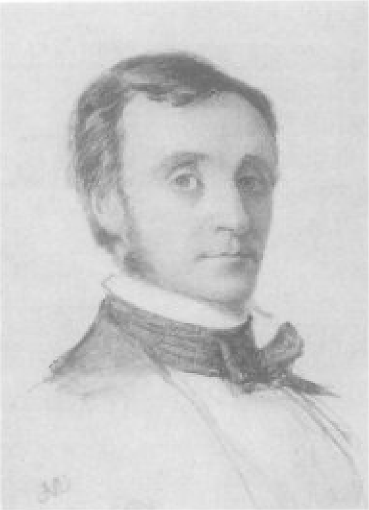
East Street was called Milk Street early in Baltimore's history, but certainly not in the 1830s. Maps of the period are clearly marked East Street. Since Allen mentions that Poe's room looked out on Essex Street, he probably took his information from the reminiscences of "Poe's Mary," published in *Harper's Monthly* in 1889. Mary, who recalled her relationship with Poe during the period that he lived in Mechanics Row, said that "Mrs. Clemm's attic room looked out upon the rear of the houses upon Essex Street in Old Town."[7]

Essex Street is a short diagonal street running from Canton Street to Burke Street in Fells Point. It never touches Milk/East Street, nor does it reach Old Town. Most authorities agree that Mary probably meant Exeter Street, but even if Exeter is read for Essex, Allen's location still does not work. East/Milk Street runs parallel to Exeter, never really touching it. There is a short block at the point where both streets intersect Pitt Street; that is the only point at which one could possibly say that the attics of one house looked into the rear of the houses of the other.

"Milk" could conceivably have been misprinted "Wilk" in a Baltimore city directory, but directories from the 1820s through the 1830s list all Mechanics Row addresses as Wilk Street, simply too many separate instances to be misprinted. In addition, the obituary of Edgar's brother Henry mentioned that the funeral took place from the home of Mrs. Clemm on Wilks Street (contemporary sources use Wilk and Wilks interchangably when referring to the street).

It seems obvious that Hervey Allen based his information on some misprinted secondary source. His mistake was perpetuated by authors who elaborated on Allen but did so without checking the city directories or looking at a Baltimore map.

So, Mechanics Row was located on Wilks Street. A. H. Quinn, M. E. Phillips, and Christopher George all place it on the north side of Wilks. This is a natural

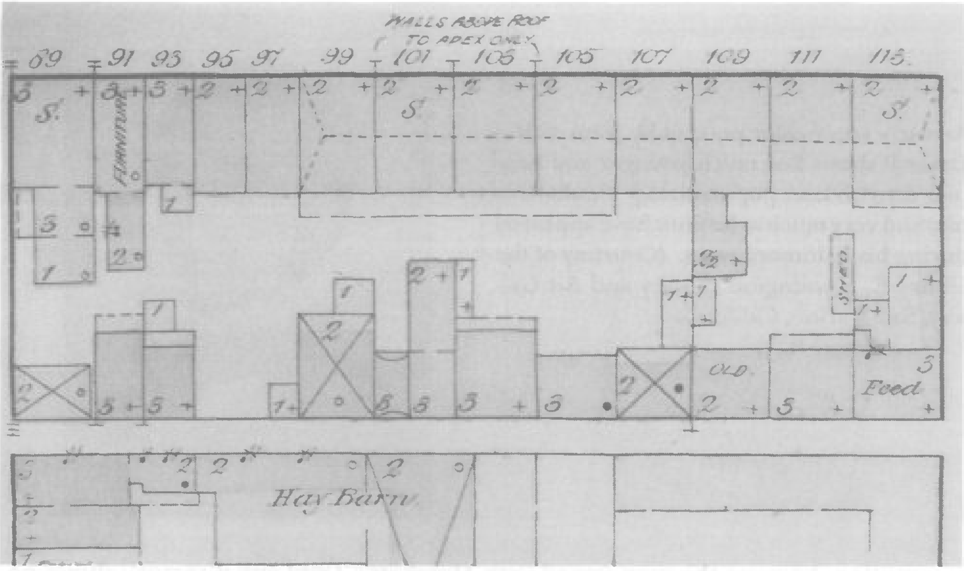


An early water-color portrait by John A. McDougall shows Poe much younger and happier than his later popular image would have him and very much as he must have appeared during his Baltimore years. (Courtesy of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.

assumption, because the map issued with Matchett's 1829 city directory shows no buildings on Wilks' south side from the Jones Falls to Caroline Street. Moreover, the 1831 city directory's Mechanics Row listings do not specify the side of the street. As to which block of Wilks Street Mechanics Row occupied, Phillips argues that it was between Caroline and Canal, Quinn and Thomas and Jackson between Exeter and High, and George between Exeter and Central. Again, previous assumptions are logical but incorrect.

Both the side of the street and the block in question can be found in the following entry in the 1822 city directory: "Miles, David M. sea captain, Wilk S side E of Exeter Mechanics' row, o t [Old Town]."[8] Harmon Perry, sea captain, Rachel Cross, widow, and John Lowry, customs official, are given identical addresses. Therefore, Mechanics Row was located on the south side of Wilks Street, between Exeter Street and Harford Run. Today this would be in the 1000 block of Eastern Avenue, between Exeter Street and Central Avenue.

Mechanics Row got its start in 1810, when Eliza Hollins inherited the land from her father, Daniel Bowley. Her husband William Hollins sold lots to carpenter Robert Bingham, lumber merchant Andrew Cross, bricklayer Charles Stansbury, and brickmakers William and Luke Ensor. By 1813 these mechanics or craftsmen had completed the row of houses. These early rows were often named; a look at city directories of the first quarter of the century turns up such names as Pattersons Row, Shroeders Row, and Widows Row in addition to the well-known Pascaults and Waterloo Rows. Use of the name Mechanics Row disappears from the directories in the late 1830s, around the time that street numbers were coming into common use. In appearance, the houses were probably typical of Baltimore rowhouses constructed during the building boom just before and after the War of 1812. Sanborn maps show two-story brick dwellings with a width of twenty-two feet, which gave ample room for three bays on the facade. The houses' depth was thirty-seven feet, and the lots extended back ninety feet to Dunker Alley. Tax



This late-nineteenth-century fire insurance map of Baltimore shows Mechanics Row as numbers 99 through 113 Eastern Avenue—eight two-story brick buildings with their common roofline indicated by a dotted line. (The Peale Museum, Baltimore City Life Museums.)

records indicate that numbers 1011, 1023, and 1025 all had basements. A rear view of all eight houses of the little row is clearly visible in the 1869 Sachse bird's-eye view of Baltimore, but, unfortunately, the details are not quite clear. An educated imagination provides a picture of the dormers, low-pitched roof, and small stoop that were the hallmarks of the vernacular interpretation of the Federal style.

Having established the whereabouts and appearance of Mechanics Row, the next step is to determine in which house Poe lived with his Clemm and Poe relatives. This is a more complex problem and can only be answered through a process of elimination. Since the Clemms as tenants never owned a house, their home must be pinpointed by determining who else lived in the row, and where. In the 1829 and 1831 city directories, the following persons were listed with Mechanics Row addresses:

Clemm, Maria	Mechanics Row, Wilk St.
Ensor, Luke	Mechanics Row, Wilk St.w. of Harford Run
Frazier, Walter	Mechanics Row, Wilk St.
Lowry, John	Mechanics Row, Wilk St near the run
Lorman, William	Mechanics Row, Wilk St.
Logan, Jas.	Mechanics Row, Wilk St.
Miles, Elizabeth	Mechanics Row, near Harford Run
Perkins, Eben.	Mechanics Row, Wilk St.
Perry, Susana	Mechanics Row, Wilk St, near Harford run

In the 1820 and 1830 censuses, the inhabitants of Mechanics Row appear in this order on the page:

1820 CENSUS	1830 CENSUS
Rachel Cross	Letty Armour
Dixon B. Watts	Elizabeth Miles
Thos. Perkins	Eben. Perkins
John Lowry	John Lowry
Harmon Perry	Susana Perry
Luke Ensor	Luke Ensor
Henry Vicary	Jas. Logan
	Walter Frazier
	Wm. Lorman
	Maria Clemm

Given the arrangement, one might assume that the enumerator simply walked down the street, recording households in order as he came to them. To test this theory, the residents' names must be matched to the street numbers of houses within the row.

The earliest map available showing the street numbers of Mechanics Row is the Hoen business map of 1867. It shows the south side of the block of Eastern Avenue between Exeter and Central Avenue numbered in consecutive odd numbers from 99 through 113. (In 1887 Baltimore street numbering was changed to the system in use today. For simplicity's sake, this article will use this modern sequence of numbers, 1011 through 1025.)

The 1880 Sanborn fire insurance map gives a detailed picture of the block. Numbers 89 through 97 are clearly separate from numbers 99 through 113, which share a single roof line. These houses exactly coincide with the eight lots of Mechanics Row, as determined by land and tax records.

A search of tax and land records, city directories, and the 1820-1840 censuses reveals that in 1830 five of the eight houses were occupied by long-term owners. Number 1011 was owned by widow Rachel Cross, whose husband Andrew had purchased it from William Hollins in 1813. By 1830 Rachel was no longer living in Mechanics Row. The house may have been rented out from 1830 until 1837. If so, Letty Armour, the name preceding Elizabeth Miles in the 1830 census, was probably the tenant. Her household included one teen-aged girl and three small children.

At number 1013 lived Elizabeth Miles, widow of sea captain David Miles. Captain Miles had leased the house from William Hollins in 1821. One child and five adults, including a free black man, were in the household.

Ebenezer Perkins, a merchant, lived at 1015 Wilks Street. His father, wheelwright Thomas Perkins, had acquired the house from Robert Bingham in 1815. The residents of the house included four children and six adults, two of whom were female slaves.

Number 1017 was home to customs official John Lowry, who leased the property in 1820 from William Hollins. Four children and six adults, two of whom were slaves, comprised Lowry's large household.

Susana Perry, widow of sea captain Harmon Perry, lived at number 1019. Her husband had purchased the house from Robert Bingham in 1813. The Perry household consisted of three children and three adults, among them a free black woman who was probably the mother of one of the children.

Brickmaker Luke Ensor lived at 1021, which he had leased from William Hollins in 1813. His family consisted of one child and six adults, including a free black couple.

Numbers 1023 and 1025 were both owned by the Union Bank and were rental property. From 1819 until 1822, Henry Vicary's bookstore occupied the first floor of 1025. The corner buildings of blocks often housed a business on the first floor with living quarters for the shopkeeper above. And Vicary's is the last name in the 1820 Census list.

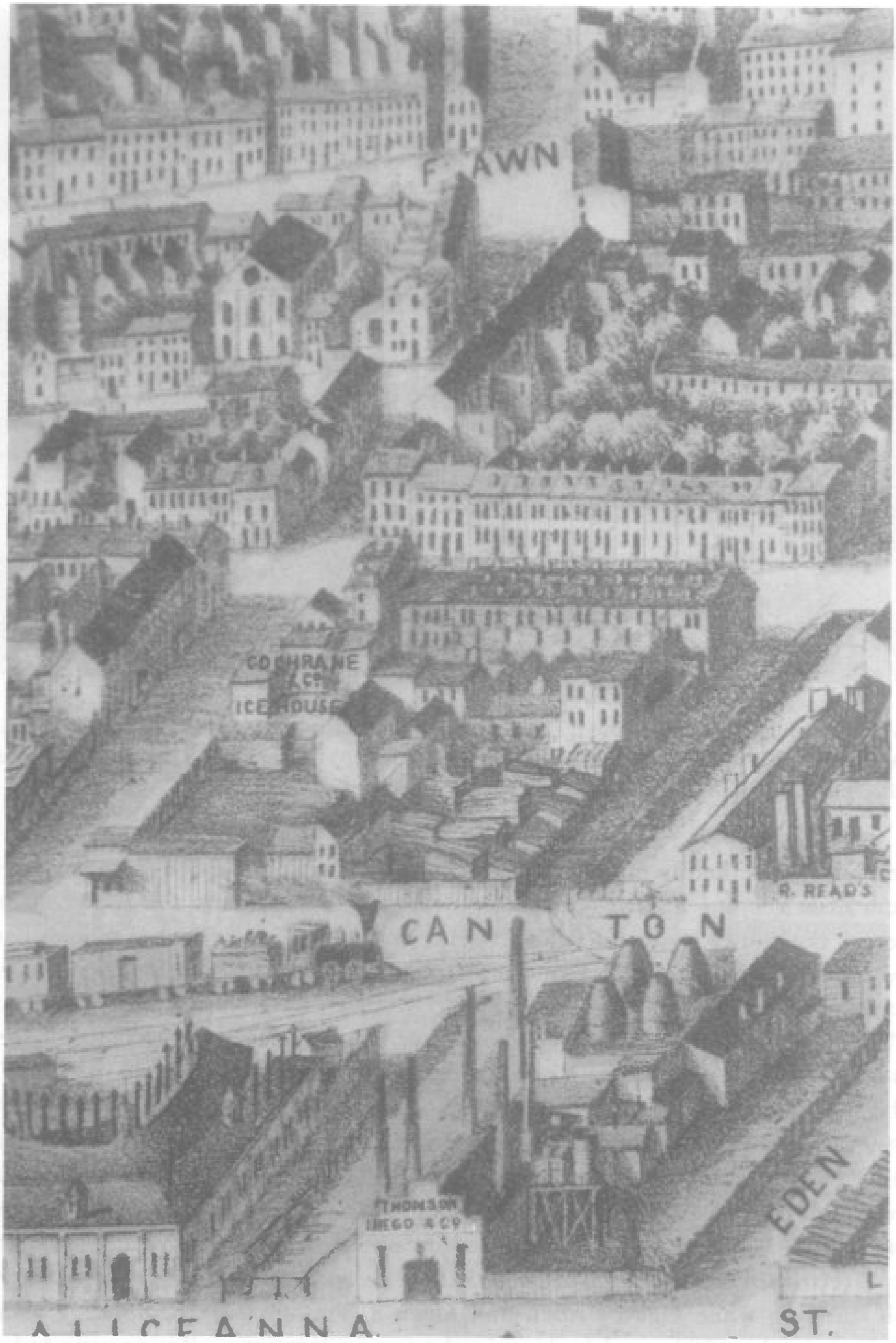
Therefore, the persons whose residences are unknown are James Logan, Walter Frazier, William Lorman, and Maria Clemm. In the sequence of the census page, these names coincide with numbers 1023 and 1025 Wilks Street.

James Logan's family consisted of five persons—two adults and three children. Walter Frazier's household contained two children and seven adults. Maria Clemm's family is listed as having two children, (Henry and Virginia Clemm) and three adult women (Maria Clemm, her mother, Elizabeth Cairnes Poe, and a young slave). Henry Poe may have been at sea in 1830, and Edgar was not yet living in Baltimore. William Lorman's small household consisted of only two adults, one child, and one free black woman.

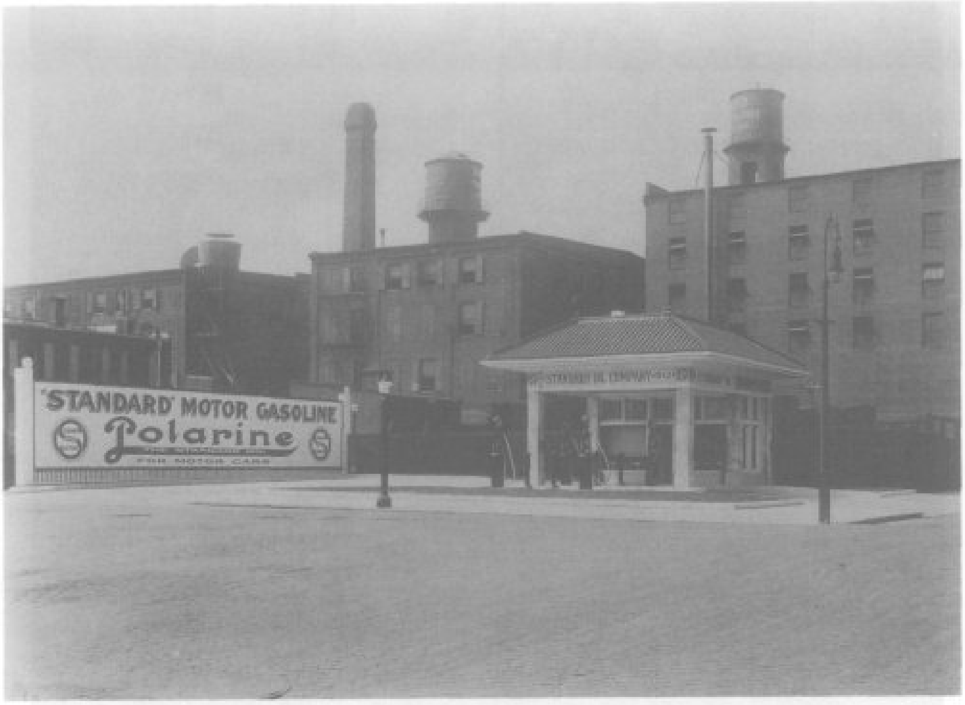
It is not coincidental that these four families had the lowest social status of the row's inhabitants. James Logan and Walter Frazier were laborers; William Lorman was a drayman; and Maria Clemm, according to "Baltimore Mary," was taking in sewing. It is logical to infer that these families were renters and that neither house was a single-family dwelling. How should these four households be distributed between two houses? Is it correct to assume what the census would seem to indicate—that the Logan and Frazier families shared number 1023 and the Lorman and Clemm families shared number 1025?

We may never be able to produce concrete proof for the exact house in which Poe lived on Mechanics Row. But "Baltimore Mary" stated that, "Mrs. Clemm lived around the corner from us on a street which crossed mine. She lived in the upper part of a house."[9] As can be seen, the census list tallies perfectly with the picture of the enumerator walking down the street and writing down households in order. Does the census corroborate Mary's account by listing first-floor occupants first, and second-floor tenants second? If so, that puts the Clemms on the second floor of the last house, number 1025, with the Lormans living on the first floor.

In contrast to the dismal surroundings of dire poverty usually attributed to the Poes by romantic biographers, during this period the family was living in a comfortable house in a solidly respectable middle-class neighborhood. The six


FAWN
COCHRANE & Co. ICE HOUSE
CAN TON
R. READ'S
EDEN
THOMSON
ALICEANNA ST.
L

On the "E. Sachse & Co. Bird's Eye View of the City at Baltimore in 1869" Mechanics Row appears northeast of the Cochrane & Co. icehouse. Maria Clemm evidently lived in the house at the far right of the row, next to the Harford Run canal (now Central Avenue). (The Peale Museum, Baltimore City Life Museums.)



With Mechanics Row demolished, a Standard Oil Company gas station went up on the site of what probably was Edgar Allan Poe's home between 1831 and 1833. (The Peale Museum, Baltimore City Life Museums.)

members of the family may have been crowded, but lack of space did not hinder them from keeping a slave—the young woman who appears in the 1830 census. Indeed, the houses were almost all densely populated. Five of the households had seven or more members. Also, out of nine households, seven had live-in slaves or free black servants.

The question remains, can a Poe enthusiast of today pay a visit to these houses on Mechanics Row? The answer, unfortunately, is no. As late as 1896, Bromley's atlas shows the block still intact. By 1906, however, the atlas indicates that numbers 1009 through 1019 had been demolished to make room for a lumberyard maintained by the Bagby Furniture Company. The 1914 Sanborn map, in a correction probably dating to 1925, shows a filling station taking the place of those last three remnants of Mechanics Row. Mention of this station first appears in the Baltimore city directory in 1923. It is sad to think that the house that Poe lived in was probably still standing while Hervey Allen and Mary E. Phillips were completing their research in the 1920s, and looking in the wrong locations. But anyone today seeking to make a pilgrimage to Mechanics Row would find themselves laying their wreath on a wide expanse of fenced-in concrete!

NOTES

1. Arthur Hobson Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe: A Critical Biography* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1941), p. 188.

2. Mary E. Phillips, *Edgar Allan Poe the Man* (Chicago: John C. Winston Co., 1926), endpaper map marked "A Poe-Plan of Baltimore."

3. Christopher George, "A Poe Tour of Baltimore," *Maryland*, 6 (Summer, 1974): 27.

4. Dwight Thomas and David K. Jackson, *The Poe Log: A Documentary Life of Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston: G.K. Hall and Co., 1987), p. 20.

5. Hervey Allen, *Israfel: The Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe* (2 vols.; New York: George H. Doran Co., 1927), 1:251.

6. Lettitia Stockett, *Baltimore: A Not Too Serious History* (Baltimore: Grace Gore Norman Publishers, 1936), p. 161.

7. Augustus Van Cleef, "Poe's Mary," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 78 (March, 1889): 635.

8. C. Keenan, *The Baltimore Directory* (Baltimore: Richard J. Matchett, 1822), p. 194.

9. Van Cleef, "Poe's Mary," p. 635.

Growth, Civil War, and Change: The Montgomery County Agricultural Society, 1850-1876

GEORGE M. ANDERSON

In the years between the founding of the Montgomery County Agricultural Society in 1846 and 1861 Allen Bowie Davis, Edward Stabler, and other leaders focused attention on the group's original goal: restoration of land depleted by the over-cultivation of tobacco and corn.[1] Extensive use of guano and strategies like crop rotation yielded impressive results. By 1854 the Washington *National Intelligencer* referred to improvements that it considered close to miraculous.[2] Five years later the Rockville *Montgomery County Sentinel* made the same point in a piece contrasting the condition of land in the 1830s with its later revival.

> The entire county of Montgomery was then everywhere spoken of as the "Sahara of Maryland." Such, however, have been the improvements made in agriculture . . . that I was scarcely able to realize that I had ever before passed through it. . . . Fields, once turned out as unworthy of any further attention of the plough and the hoe, have again been gathered under the farmer's protecting fences, and bear evidence of great productiveness.[3]

❧

The new productivity paralleled growing interest in the annual September fair. Originally located on several borrowed lots in the western part of Rockville and around the court house, the fair by 1850 took place at the eastern end of town on Samuel Stonestreet's two-acre woodlot, next to St. Mary's Catholic Church. The society wanted to purchase the woodlot, but Stonestreet, while lending it at no charge, refused to sell. Consequently the society in June 1856 decided to buy a nearby tract from Mrs. Anna Forrest.[4]

The much-larger Forrest property served as an inducement to expand the fairs. The society established a permanent riding ring on the fairgrounds, the better to display horses and other farm animals. Near the driving ring, as it was called by 1857, a slope gave spectators a view of livestock and of equestrian exhibits. A grove

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Father Anderson, a member of the Society of Jesus, is a Rockville native who contributes frequently to the magazine.

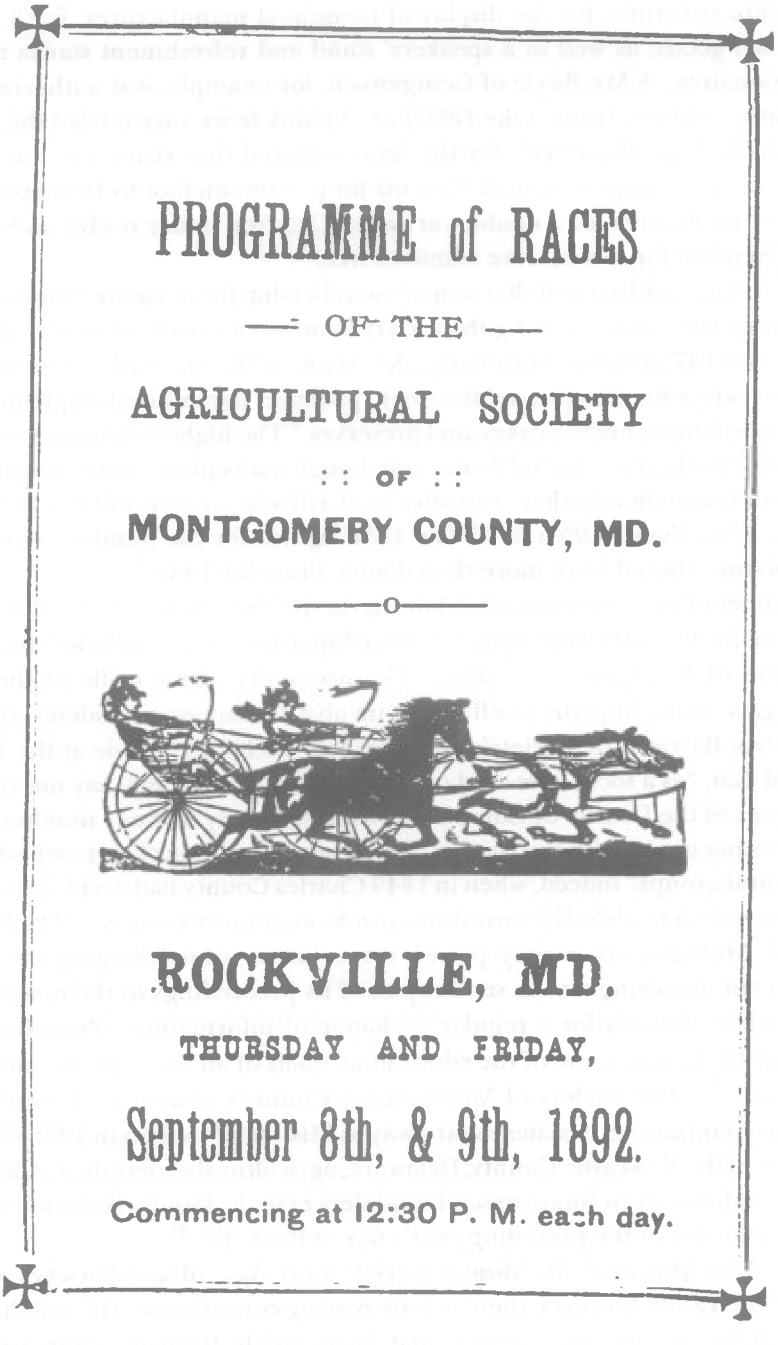
of trees shaded family groups gathered for picnic lunches. Besides animal pens, there were structures for the display of household manufactures, fresh produce, and baked goods, as well as a speakers' stand and refreshment stands rented to concessionaires. A Mr. Boyle of Georgetown, for example, was authorized to sell soda waters and ice cream at the 1856 fair. A plank fence surrounded the grounds. It was more than decorative, for the fence ensured that visitors to the fair paid admission. Fees ranged from 12 ½ cents for persons on foot to 12 cents for horse and rider to 50 cents for a double carriage. Children under twelve and servants, the euphemism for slaves, were admitted free.

Gate receipts and a one-dollar annual membership fee permitted improvements to continue while also allowing the society to award a variety of small cash prizes. In 1858 the 147 premiums (averaging less than two dollars each) went to farmers and their wives for exceptional livestock, produce, agricultural implements, and homemade fabrics, breads, cakes, and preserves.[5] The highest premium was fifteen dollars (for the best conducted farm), and though many prizes were only one dollar it is worth remembering that even after the Civil War a laborer in Rockville might earn no more than $1.25 a day.[6] The 1858 figures for the number of premiums and amounts offered were more than double those for 1848.[7]

A number of those who attended fairs in the 1850s were residents of the District of Columbia. From the beginning membership in the society included them as well as citizens of Montgomery County.[8] The proximity of Rockville to the federal capital gave extra impetus to efforts to involve Washington residents and lent a semi-urban flavor to the society's membership. Richard J. Bowie at the 1857 fair declared that, "as a society we are both rural and urban, I might say metropolitan, for citizens of the District of Columbia constitute nearly half our number."[9]

Cultivating its ties with the District, the society was also in close touch with other agricultural groups. Indeed, when in 1849 Charles County had decided to establish its own society, it modeled its constitution on Montgomery County's. The following year the Montgomery society passed a resolution acknowledging the implied compliment, resolving also to send copies of its proceedings to the newly formed society with a request for a regular exchange of information. Providing for an exchange of ideas was one of the educational goals of all the agricultural societies of the time.[10] The leaders of Montgomery County's society made contact with farming organizations in states as far away as Missouri.[11] When in 1855 Chauncey Holcomb of the Newcastle County, Delaware, agricultural society died, Allen Bowie Davis introduced a resolution to send condolences to the family; Holcomb had been orator of the day at the preceding year's fair in Rockville.[12]

Even as the growth of the Montgomery County Agricultural Society continued through the 1850s, however, there was increasing concern over the stability of the Union. At the 1853 fair the greenery that decorated the front of the speakers' stand spelled out the words, "The Union, it must be preserved."[13] The question of slave ownership, too, sounded a discordant note. One of the society's most prominent officers in the 1850s was Francis Preston Blair—Kentucky native, close friend of Andrew Jackson during his presidency, and owner of the estate Blair named Silver



PROGRAMME of RACES

OF THE

AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY

OF

MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MD.

ROCKVILLE, MD.

THURSDAY AND FRIDAY,

September 8th, & 9th, 1892.

Commencing at 12:30 P. M. each day.

Program of trotting races for the fall 1892 Montgomery County Fair. The advertisement was pasted into the minutes for the 5 April 1892 meeting. (Courtesy Montgomery County Historical Society.)

Spring. Though a slave owner himself, Blair considered slavery to be "a terrible institution," one that should be gradually abolished.[14] After 1852 he was a member of the Committee for the Reception of Strangers that welcomed distinguished visitors and speakers at the fairs. Blair also served as vice-president for the fifth election district, which included Silver Spring.

Because of Blair's stance on slavery and affiliation with the newly formed Republican party, proslavery members in the summer of 1856 moved to strip him of his offices. Blair's presence was no longer welcome. The resolution condemned both Blair and the Republicans as enemies of the rights of slaveholders and the peace of the Union.

Tension apparently grew worse, and thus the Civil War took its toll. The society's minutes continued through June 1859, but entries grew brief. In 1860 there were none at all, only clippings from the *Sentinel* describing that year's fair pasted in the ledger. The fairs ceased altogether in 1861. During the war years Rockville civilians occasionally used the hall that had been built on the grounds. A young lawyer, Richard Williams, later corresponding secretary for the society, wrote in September 1863 that a festival was held in the hall for the benefit of the Episcopal Church.[15] But for the most part, military authorities used the grounds which, with their buildings, pens, and well, made an ideal campsite. Considerable damage resulted: "fencing, outbuildings, stables, etc. were very badly used by both the Union and Confederate soldiers, necessitating considerable expenditure to restore the grounds to their ante-bellum appearance."[16] Confederate troops were in the Rockville area on two occasions. Gen. J. E. B. Stuart's cavalry visited the site in June 1863, and in July 1864 Gen. Jubal Early moved through the town with a contingent of infantry and cavalry. Union troops were responsible for most of the damage.

* * *

After the war the executive committee appointed three members to ascertain the extent of the damages done by federal troops. The committee set the figure at nearly $8,300 and authorized the treasurer, George Peter,[17] to request reimbursement. After a year's wait the government paid $3,000.[18] The society was grateful for even this sum and voted special thanks to John T. Vinson, a strong Union supporter during the war, whose assistance may have been particularly useful.

County agricultural fairs resumed in 1868, and it was a sign of the society's renewed optimism that the length was extended from two days to three. In announcing the fair, the *National Intelligencer* made encouraging reference to the beginning of a new era and emphasized the close relationship between the District of Columbia and the residents of Montgomery County, who, it said, "are stretching out anew their old arms and connections, to be met, renewed and reinforced by our helping and mutually interested hands, hearts, and trade."[19] Washington's own W. W. Corcoran, the banker and philanthropist, served on the Committee for the Reception of Strangers in 1869 and for several succeeding years. His prestige clearly would have enhanced the society's position as an important organization with more than local ties. Montgomery Blair,[20] son of the earlier-purged anti-slavery spokesman, joined Corcoran on the committee. Having served in Lincoln's cabinet as postmaster general, the younger Blair continued to exercise influence in federal circles after the war, and his presence at the fairs added lustre to the society. His wife attended the September events, and her name appears in the minutes as a member of one of the committees connected with the 1870 exhibition. That both should be involved in the society's postwar activities suggests that his father's expulsion no longer was an issue.

Although the revenues from the 1868 fair were sizeable,[21] the financial effects of the war continued. As the 1869 fair approached, the society was obliged to announce through the *Sentinel* that cash premiums would be less than expected because money was still needed to repair buildings and grounds.[22] On this occasion, as at fairs from the beginning, some winners turned back their premiums to the society, and so the work went forward. The riding ring was expanded to what was now called a trotting ring or race course, which the executive committee ordered to be graded, ditched, and trenched; twenty more animal stalls were built, and the addition of water closets provided a new amenity.[23] Black men and women attended the postwar fairs—now as hired helpers rather than as slaves in plowing matches or as attendants on their owners. At a planning meeting in 1869, the Committee of Arrangements decided to hire ten of them (they were still referred to as servants): five hostlers in the picnic grove, two at the main gate, one above the spring, two at the hall, and one—Ann Busey—as an assistant in the newly purchased ladies tent.[24] Ann Busey appeared in the 1860 census as a thirty-two-year-old mulatto washerwoman with a fourteen-year-old son. Because the census for that year listed only free inhabitants of Montgomery County, she was clearly not a slave. By 1870 if not earlier she was married to a fifty-year-old farm hand, Hezekiah Busey—another of the ten hired for the 1869 fair.[25] Two others also appeared in the 1870 census as black farm laborers: Andrew Davis and Philip Jackson.

The fair now shifted markedly from an agrarian emphasis to one including the interests of city people. In August 1869 the Committee of Arrangements decided to provide a new prize of five dollars for the most skillful velocipede rider at that September's fair. The same committee granted permission to a concessionaire to set up a flying swing on payment of twenty-five dollars. It permitted the Montgomery Baseball Club and the Alert Baseball Club of Darnestown to compete on the grounds on the third day of the fair, with a premium of six bats and two balls for the winning team (the Alerts won).[26] By 1869, however, trotting races and other trials of speed, the most popular postwar attractions, carried the largest premiums. A prize of three hundred dollars was awarded that year for the fastest horse trotting in harness on the final day of the fair, with lesser prizes on the first and second days.

The minutes make no reference to prohibitions against betting on the various races, and unofficial wagering undoubtedly did take place, but in general gambling and miscellaneous immorality was discouraged. The Washington *Sunday Herald* praised organizers of the 1876 fair for excluding games of chance such as spin-jenny, wheel of fortune, and three-card monte. The newspaper claimed that one man who had offered the society four hundred dollars to operate a wheel of fortune was summarily refused.[27] There were rules against drunkenness and the sale of intoxicating beverages on the grounds; marshals were on hand to enforce them. Occasional incidents still required prompt action on the part of law enforcement officers. During the 1874 fair the *Sentinel* reported that John H. Garrett had been attacked at his refreshment stand by gypsies who took cigars without paying and bit him on the ear. They were jailed and then next day released on bail.[28]

The fair marshals wore bright sashes—the chief marshal's red, the assistant marshal's blue. Similarly, the society's officers and committee members wore ribbons of white, green, and blue as identification, thereby adding still further to the colorfulness of the scene.[29] With the color went sound. From the early 1850s onward, bands from Washington provided music throughout the day.

Completion of the Metropolitan Railroad line to Rockville in 1872 helped to increase attendance at the fairs. A branch of the Baltimore and Ohio, the line was finished a year later, connecting Washington and Point of Rocks.[30] Originally organized in 1853, the Metropolitan Railroad had a director for each of the Maryland counties through which it passed. Montgomery County's was Francis Cassatt Clopper[31] of Woodlands, a few miles west of Gaithersburg. One of the founders of the Montgomery County Agricultural Society and an active member, Clopper was undoubtedly aware of the favorable economic impact the line would have not only on the county but on the annual fair as well.

Travel time between Rockville and Washington was suddenly reduced to less than an hour. As the *Sentinel* put it, county residents could bid farewell to slow coaches and muddy roads because the trip from Rockville to the capital now took only forty-five minutes and cost just sixty cents.[32] But the reverse was also true: District residents could travel to the fairs in speed and comfort. The impact was immediate. The *Sentinel* in 1872 observed that the train from Washington brought between three and four hundred people on the first day of the fair, and between eight hundred and a thousand on the second. For their part, Montgomery County residents found the train a source of amazement equal to anything on the fairgrounds, a spectacle they could observe a few hundred yards from the main gate. "This being the first passenger train over the Metropolitan Branch R.R. (a special train being put on [for] the purpose)," wrote the *Sentinel*, "it was an occasion of much interest and the novelty of the sight, to many, drew crowds from the grounds when they heard the whistle of the iron horse."[33]

The advent of new technologies was also evident on the grounds. By 1870 the society awarded premiums not only for homemade fabrics, such as linsey and flannel, but also for a new category: fabrics made in factories. At the 1870 fair prizes were given for the best and second-best sewing machines; Mrs. Montgomery Blair served on the committee for judging them.

Memories of the Civil War were fresh. In opening the 1873 fair the society's president, Elisha J. Hall, noted that he missed "some familiar faces, that were wont to meet with us before the clangor of arms."[34] But the war was already distant enough for the *Sentinel*'s reporter to make light reference to the conflict. Having gazed upon the copious displays of breads, cakes, hams, jellies, and other edibles, he commented that a Confederate soldier "would have been pardoned if he had 'gone for them' and then shouldered his musket and marched to the tented field, though he would have foregone the pleasure at any time to capture a 'live Yankee.'"[35]

Illustrating the changing nature of the postwar fairs, annual addresses declined in importance. In the 1850s on some occasions the orator of the day was followed by other speakers, often all men of national prominence. In 1853, for instance, the main address by Francis P. Blair (read by Montgomery Blair) was followed by a second speech, this one the work of Caleb Cushing, United States attorney general from 1852 to 1857.[36] In 1858 the orator was Robert Ould, later assistant secretary of war under Jefferson Davis. Following Ould that day was Charles Benedict Calvert of Prince George's County—a principal founder of the Maryland Agricultural College (later the University of Maryland) and a representative in Congress during the war.[37] Other prominent speakers in the 1850s included George Washington Parke Custis, son of John Parke Custis and stepson of George Washington, and Andrew Stevenson, United States minister to Great Britain.[38] Men of this distinction seldom spoke at fairs after the war.[39] While postwar addresses were still delivered on the first of the three days, attendance then was lowest.[40]

As oratory grew less prominent, the intellectual tone of the society dropped a key. In the early years, committee reports on methods of restoring soil productivity had been common. In 1847 and 1848 the *American Farmer* printed three: John A. Carter's "On Fields and Fencing," John Parke Custis Peter's report from the committee on manures, and Allen Bowie Davis's report on the rotation of crops. In addition, some early members' essays appeared in the *American Farmer*, which considered Edward Stabler's "On the Renovation of Worn Out Land" so outstanding that it awarded it a prize in 1848 and thirty years later reprinted it as proof of its enduring value.[41]

Despite these changes, continuity among leading members stabilized the organization. At the 1873 fair the orator was Henry Hallowell, son of Benjamin Hallowell, the Sandy Spring Quaker educator and farmer who had been orator at the very first fair in 1846. The younger Hallowell contributed an essay, "Farm Improvement in Montgomery Co., Maryland," to the October 1875 issue of the *American Farmer*. In it he described the striking changes in the county's productivity, using his father's farm as an example of the effectiveness of agricultural methods which the elder Hallowell had introduced there in the 1840s.[42] The first recording secretary, William Veirs Bouic, held the position through 1869. In 1870 his son, William Veirs Bouic, Jr., assumed the office. Others, too, helped to maintain ties between the society's origins and its postwar character. When in 1874 the General Assembly incorporated the society, directors, besides the younger Hallowell, included Robert W. Carter, who had been elected the first treasurer. Carter was at the fairgrounds in 1876 for the double centennial celebration of the United States and of the separation of Montgomery County from Frederick County. Others present who played important early roles in the society were Richard J. Bowie, George Peter, and Francis Valdenar.[43]

Perhaps Allen Bowie Davis provided the strongest link between the early years and the end of the third quarter of the century. After the death of John Parke Custis Peter, he became the second and most influential of the society's presidents during three terms in office (1848-51). Among other accomplishments, he helped to make guano more available to Montgomery County farmers by successfully negotiating with the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company and the Baltimore and Washington Railroad to reduce freight charges on manures.[44] In his *History of Western Maryland*, J. Thomas Scharf paid Davis the compliment of saying that "as president of the County Agricultural Society he introduced reforms and changes which were instrumental in laying the foundation for its growth and prosperity."[45] In view of his achievements, it was all the more fitting that he should serve as chairman of the committee in charge of the double centennial celebration and fitting, too, that both the celebration and the 1876 fair took place scarcely one week apart on the same grounds that would be the society's home until far into the twentieth century.

NOTES

1. On Davis, Stabler, and the early years of the society, see George M. Anderson, S.J., "The Montgomery County Agricultural Society: The Beginning Years, 1846-1850," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 81 (1986): 305-15.

2. Washington *National Intelligencer*, 13 September 1854.

3. *Montgomery County Sentinel* (hereafter cited as *Sentinel*), 1 July 1859. The article is signed "Viator" (traveler).

4. Minutes of the Montgomery County Agricultural Society (hereafter cited as Minutes), 12 June 1854, 11-12 September 1856. The 1860 census listed Anna Forrest as sixty-one years old but supplied no information about real estate, personal estate, or occupation.

5. Minutes, 1 and 19 June 1857.

6. See Minutes, 3 July 1869. For manual work at the fairgrounds, $1.25 was to be paid "for a single hand."

7. Ibid. At the 1848 fair seventy-two premiums were offered for a total of $187. At the 1858 fair 147 premiums were offered for $286.

8. Minutes, 1 June 1846.

9. *National Intelligencer*, 12 September 1857.

10. The Montgomery County Agricultural Society also exchanged minutes with the Prince George's County Agricultural Society. The United States Agricultural Society, established in 1852, promoted sharing of information at the national level. In its first issue the *Journal of the United States Agricultural Society*, 1 (August 1852): iii, stated that one of the goals of the new organization was "to procure by an

exchange with journals of similar societies, in all foreign countries and in the several states and territories of the Republic, such information as will be most useful to farmers . . . of the United States." The same issue referred to the existence of three hundred agricultural societies in the thirty-one states and five territories.

11. The minutes for 14-15 September 1854 state that "the Society was especially gratified at having received from the Lafayette Agricultural and Mechanical Association of Missouri, a list of premiums for its exhibition, to be held on the 20th, 21st, and 22d of this month."

12. Chauncey P. Holcomb was one of the founders of the United States Agricultural Society and its vice-president for Delaware. Each state was represented by a vice-president, who was spokesman for his geographical area. In similar fashion, the Montgomery County Agricultural Society had a vice-president for each of the county's five election districts.

13. Minutes, 8-9 September 1853.

14. Elbert B. Smith, *Francis Preston Blair* (New York: Free Press, 1980). The phrase occurs in a letter from Blair to an unknown addressee. Blair hoped that the South would voluntarily emancipate its slaves over a period of time and send them to form a colony in Central America, but as Smith points out (p. 253) "it was an impossible dream."

15. For Richard Williams's life and extracts from his diary, see George M. Anderson, S.J., "The Civil War Courtship of Richard Mortimer Williams and Rose Anderson of Rockville," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 80 (1985): 119-38.

16. *Sentinel*, 13 September 1872.

17. Maj. George Peter lived both in Georgetown and at Montanverde, his summer home in upper Montgomery County. He served in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and nineteenth Congresses.

18. For the Montgomery County Agricultural Society claim see number 6260, Register of Accounts for Claims Due from and to the United States, 29 January 1868, Report 56 of the office of the third auditor of the United States Treasury, RG 39, National Archives, Washington, D.C. The exact amount granted was $2999.66.

19. *National Intelligencer*, 2 September 1868.

20. Montgomery Blair is listed in the 1870 census as residing in the fifth election district of Montgomery County. His assets were significant: $145,000. Martenet and Bond's 1865 map of Montgomery County shows his home to have been close to his father's, near the District Line. Both men spent much time at the latter's house opposite the White House (Blair House), which Montgomery eventually inherited.

21. The minutes for 23 September 1868 note that gate receipts, membership payments, and other contributions at the 1868 fair totaled $2330.17.

22. The brief notice from the *Sentinel*, pasted into the minutes for 13 July 1869, reads: "In consequence of the buildings having been partially destroyed and the Grounds much abused, during the late war, by the occupation of the same United States troops, the Society regrets that they are not able to offer larger premiums at the present Fair."

23. Minutes, 7 June 1869.

24. Ibid., 24 July and 10 August 1869.

25. Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), points out that in the mid-nineteenth century in Maryland, "marriage between slaves and free blacks was a phenomenon common enough to be unremarkable," in part because Maryland at that time had the largest free black population of any state (pp. 28-29). According to the 1870 census, Hezekiah Busey had managed to acquire assets of $500 in real estate and $200 in personal estate.

26. Minutes, 3 September 1869.

27. Washington *Sunday Herald*, 17 September 1876.

28. *Sentinel*, 18 September 1874.

29. Minutes, 10 August 1869.

30. For a brief history of the Metropolitan line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, see J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Louis H. Evarts, 1882), 1:699-701. For a more recent account see W. E. Hutchinson and Carlos Avery, *Historical Sites Inventory Survey of the Metropolitan Branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad* (Annapolis: Maryland Historical Trust, 1979).

31. Francis C. Clopper (1786-1868) moved to Maryland from Philadelphia in 1811 and ran a sawmill on his farm. But as Scharf points out (*History of Western Maryland*, 1:784-85), Clopper devoted most of his attention in the last twenty years of his life to the construction of the railroad. The *Sentinel* of 14 June 1856 reprinted from the *National Intelligencer* a letter from Clopper to Chauncey Brooks, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, describing the advantages of a rail line between Washington and Point of Rocks, and urging the B&O to invest in the Metropolitan Railroad. The financial depression of 1858, however, and then the Civil War caused a long delay in construction, which did not begin until 1866. By then the franchise of the Metropolitan Railroad had expired, and the B&O took over the work. The delays must have been disappointing to Clopper, who did not live to see any portion of the new railroad completed.

32. *Sentinel*, 30 May 1873.

33. Ibid., 13 September 1872.

34. Ibid., 12 September 1873. Elisha J. Hall was for a number of years the principal of the Brookeville Academy.

35. *Sentinel*, 12 September 1873.

36. Minutes, 8-9 September 1853.

37. Ibid., 9-10 September 1858.

38. Ibid., 12-13 September 1850. Andrew Stevenson's September 1856 address was printed in the *American Farmer*, 11 (January 1856): 201-2. George Washington Parke Custis, who died in 1857, was eulogized by the president of the United States Agricultural Society, Marshall P. Wilder, at its annual meeting in January 1858. Wilder said that Custis "was known to us as the 'Farmer of Arlington,' an honorable title conferred upon him on this platform by Daniel Webster" (*Journal of the United States Agricultural Society*, 6 [1859]: 14).

39. There were two exceptions. The 1882 orator, Barnes Compton, was a St. Mary's County native who served in the House of Representatives from 1885 to

1894. The 1884 orator, John Randolph Tucker from Winchester, Virginia, had been attorney for Jefferson Davis in his trial for treason and was a Virginia congressman from 1875 to 1887.

40. In its accounts of the fairs in the 1870s, the *Sentinel* often made no reference to the orators at all. Perhaps in recognition of the slender attendance on the first of the three days of the fair, the annual oration was changed in 1877 to the second day, when attendance was greatest.

41. *American Farmer* (new ser.), 7 (October 1878): 341-48.

42. Henry Hallowell claimed in the article that between 1845 and 1870 the yield of wheat on his father's farm increased nine-fold and that corn production increased almost twenty-fold.

43. Francis Valdenar (1797-1884) was one of the original vice-presidents of the society, having been elected on 1 June 1846. He was admitted to the Montgomery County bar in 1848. The 1860 census listed him as a farmer with assets of $40,000. His home was in the fifth election district, the same for which Francis P. Blair would later be elected a vice-president of the society in the 1850s.

44. Minutes, 2 April 1849.

45. Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, 1:771.

"The Expenses Are Borne by Parents": Freedmen's Schools in Southern Maryland, 1865-1870

JOSEPH L. BROWNE

Maryland, like other southern states, lagged behind the rest of the nation in creating public schools, and in 1864, when a Unionist state constitution required the counties to create and maintain public school systems for white children, the new charter made no mention of schools for blacks—an omission of great consequence considering that the same document also emancipated all slaves in Maryland. Though a majority of white Marylanders favored emancipation, many of them, products of their time and place, opposed any initiative that might lead to racial equality. By 1868 federal military occupation and reconstruction policies in the former Confederate states led to the election of Reconstruction legislatures that mandated public, though segregated, schools. In the border states, conservatives retained or soon regained power, and thus for four years after the war Maryland state and local governments, like those in Kentucky and Delaware, refused to fund or create public schools for freedmen. And yet freedmen in Anne Arundel and Calvert counties in those years successfully financed, constructed, and maintained as many as sixteen semi-private schools for their children. Previous studies of the development of black schools have surveyed state-wide developments and trends and focused especially on the role of white dominated agencies like the Freedmen's Bureau and the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People.[1] However valuable, these studies generally neglected the role that local blacks—and whites—outside of Baltimore played in beginning and supporting black schools, as well as the interaction between black communities and outside agencies. While the Freedmen's Bureau and the freedmen's aid societies played critical roles in the development of black education in Southern Maryland, they raised expectations they failed to sustain and sometimes created obstacles to the rapid completion of schools.

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As early as 1865 the Maryland state superintendent of public instruction proposed state-supported but segregated schools for black children as a part of a state-wide system of public schools, but the General Assembly refused to enact his recommendations. The assembly did require the counties to set aside taxes paid by blacks for a separate black education fund. Like other Maryland counties, Anne Arundel and Calvert declined to comply. Even if the counties enforced the law, that procedure gave little hope of financing a black school system, since relatively few blacks owned land.[2]

The assembly enacted a funding procedure which, in the long run, held out more promise for black schooling but which, in the short run, favored the preservation of white supremacy. After heated debate legislators agreed to include no mention of race and to base state school aid strictly on each county's population, both black and white. As a result, Anne Arundel County received an average of $10.12 per pupil for 1865-66, all of which the board of school commissioners spent on the education of whites. Calvert County received $13.27. Other counties, with smaller percentages of blacks, received less state aid and actually spent much less per white pupil. Allegany County, for example, spent $4.32, and Baltimore County spent $4.26 per pupil. Until the early 1870s neither Anne Arundel nor Calvert County took any action to promote the education of their black residents. Reports of the Anne Arundel and Calvert boards of school commissioners not once mentioned black children in their jurisdictions. The decisions of each board came as no surprise in counties that had rejected the Constitution of 1864 by a six-to-one margin and that preserved their rural, tobacco-growing culture much as it had been for the previous two centuries.[3]

Frustrated by the lack of meaningful state and county aid, the freedmen of Annapolis in October 1865 opened the Stanton School, named for Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, whose orders allowed blacks to obtain lumber for school projects from abandoned army barracks and hospitals. The school enrolled 98 students the first year and 107 by the fall of 1866. Black churches in Annapolis also sponsored weekly Sunday schools that in 1866 recruited as many as 200 children. Many black families lacked the incomes to send their children to the Stanton School; the Sunday schools furnished a less costly, part-time alternative. By October 1866, as a result of the growth in full-time enrollment, Annapolis blacks debated whether to enlarge their school or to build another. St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church relieved some of the pressure in 1866, when it established a parochial school for black children.[4]

While Annapolis blacks apparently obtained and transported the lumber and constructed the Stanton School building, they relied on a Baltimore organization for help with the recruitment and compensation of a teacher. Organized in 1864 by professional and business people in Baltimore, the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People by 1866 supplied fifty-one schools in thirteen counties with teachers. The group relied on donations from sympathetic persons in northern states and England to help compensate teachers at schools like Stanton, "the contributions from our city and state being far below the amount necessary." For the Stanton School the Baltimore Association arranged for assistance from the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, which recruited and partially compensated C. V. Smith, Stanton's first teacher. During the first year the Baltimore Association paid other expenses for Stanton totalling \$6.20, a very small sum compared to the amounts they supplied for schools in Cumberland (\$76.25), St. Michaels (\$60.00), or Easton (\$293.00).[5] The Annapolis agent of the Freedmen's Bureau confirmed that Stanton School depended mostly on its own resources. "The expenses are born[e] by parents," he reported to the bureau in the fall of 1866. "I have visited Annapolis during the month and found two good schools in operation there taught by colored teachers," the bureau superintendent of education for Washington D.C. and Southern Maryland wrote in December 1866. He acknowledged that the freedmen in Annapolis had insufficient funds to support the school and that the trustees of Stanton believed that only state funding could remedy the shortfall.[6]

Blacks in Annapolis, some of whom owned businesses and property and held positions in the trades, found it difficult to support their schools. Black residents of rural Anne Arundel and Calvert counties encountered far greater challenges. Two years passed from the opening of Stanton School to the opening of any other schools for African-American children in the two counties. Widespread white resistance to emancipation and opposition to freedmen's schools discouraged black efforts. Mob violence and the burning of black churches intimidated blacks and their white supporters. James Spencer and Matthew Turner complained to the Freedmen's Bureau in August 1865 that arsonists burned their church in Magothy "for no other cause only for the teaching of a Sunday School." As in Annapolis, such schools apparently sprang up in many black churches soon after emancipation, taking the place of more formal schools for a few years in rural parts of the county. Not even the state capital was safe for black schools. The superintendent of education for the Freedmen's Bureau reported in January 1866 that "a guard had to be placed over the school house at Annapolis." A riot at a Methodist camp meeting in northern Anne Arundel County in August 1866, in which white men attacked blacks, demonstrated the vulnerability of the freedmen in the two years following the war.[7]

These events help to explain why the Baltimore Association reported at the end of 1866, "we have been unable to open two schools we had established in Anne Arundel County, for the colored people, not unnaturally, hesitate to seek the knowledge of reading and writing at the daily and nightly peril of life." The association complained that throughout the state whites insulted the children on the road to and from school . . . attacked and defamed the teachers . . . burned the schoolhouses . . . [and] destroyed the churches in which schools were held."[8]

A few whites in the two counties, however, responded with compassion and support. George Heldt of West River reported that his daughter "every night teaches all the colored people on my small farm, both old and young." Heldt also recounted the efforts of James Cheston, of nearby Mt. Zion, who, "assisted by a number of young ladies," conducted a school every Sunday afternoon, "largely attended by the colored people." In Calvert County at least one white merchant, Joseph Hall, supported emancipation and education for the freedmen. Hall, who continued to promote education for blacks in the following years, did so at some risk. He asked for the strictest confidence "as it would not be well for the writer if it was known here in this hot bed of treason."[9] Though few whites emulated the examples set by Heldt, Cheston, and Hall, most did relax their opposition to black schools. By January 1867 the Freedmen's Bureau superintendent of education proclaimed that in Maryland "for the last few months hostility to the schools in the counties has ceased." Later in 1867 a bureau official downplayed an effort to set Stanton School on fire, blaming it on "a crazy white man." "The white people," the official asserted, "have been generally friendly to the school."[10]

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In the meantime, the federal government took action that continued and expanded the work of the Freedmen's Bureau. Congress in July 1866 extended for another two years the bureau's work in assisting former slaves to adjust to freedom and, significantly, added the border states of Kentucky, Delaware, West Virginia, and Maryland to its jurisdiction. The new law proclaimed education as a primary goal. Congress ordered the bureau "to provide for the education of the freed people . . . to cooperate with benevolent associations and with agents and teachers accredited by them . . . to rent or lease buildings to provide schoolhouses . . . [and] to serve as a coordinating agency." The law authorized the Freedmen's Bureau to assign agents to any area where freedmen lived in large numbers.[11]

Under this authority, the bureau in June 1866 sent Maj. William L. Vanderlip to supervise work in Anne Arundel and Calvert counties. Born in Albany, New York, and educated as a lawyer, Vanderlip had joined the 44th New York Infantry at the age of twenty-nine. Wounded twice in the peninsular campaign, he returned to Albany in 1862, "badly crippled." Within a year, however, he volunteered for the Veterans Reserve Corps. He remained in service with that organization until June 1866, when the army transferred him to the Freedmen's Bureau.[12]

Vanderlip immediately set out on an inspection tour. He found little progress in either county. Although it had the largest black population of any county in the state, Anne Arundel by 1868 contained only two black schools. Calvert had none. The two counties lagged far behind other areas of Southern Maryland, where the Freedmen's Bureau built and operated schools as early as 1865 as part of its Washington D.C. district. Prince George's County had nine African-American schools, and St. Mary's had eleven. In that same year Anne Arundel's white citizens supported forty-five schools for white children with funds from state and county tax receipts. Calvert County supported nineteen schools for white children, but Vanderlip found almost no prospect there for building any black schools. "I do not believe the whites would allow them to exist," he said after his visit. "There are a large number of young men who served in the rebel army and threaten any who come there with a helping hand to the blacks. I believe they would burn the schoolhouses. . . ."[13] Perhaps the "rebels" threatened Vanderlip; in the remaining four years of his bureau assignment, he did not again visit Calvert County.

Maj. Vanderlip discovered another impediment to black education on his tour. Following emancipation in 1864, white landowners in southern and eastern Maryland called upon the Orphans Courts to assign school-aged children to work for them in the fields without obtaining the consent of the children's parents. Between 1864, when slavery legally ended, and 1867 the courts forced as many as 10,000 black children throughout the state into apprenticeships, thus restoring a form of bondage and denying the children any opportunity for schooling.[14]

The Freedmen's Bureau made the apprentice system its first priority in Maryland. Vanderlip devoted much of his time to hearing parents' complaints, trying to locate the children, and instituting court actions to free them. In October 1867 the bureau's effort succeeded when the U.S. Supreme Court declared the Maryland apprenticeships a violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1866. The new Maryland Constitution of 1867 also prohibited the practice, and gradually it engaged less of Vanderlip's time.[15]

With the apprenticeship problem solved, Vanderlip's superiors expected him to move quickly to promote black schools. In the fall of 1867 blacks in Anne Arundel and Calvert counties initiated their own plans for schools in several locations. As early as 1866 blacks in Chesterfield had constructed and prepared to open a school near the Mt. Tabor Methodist Church. "They made every preparation to open a school," Vanderlip reported. They "made arrangements for the board of the teacher and for the incidental expenses." They built the school themselves, without assistance from the bureau. The school sat empty for the 1866-67 school year because the Baltimore Association, which continued to locate and partially compensate teachers for black schools throughout the state, "had no teachers available." By September 1867, however, the association assigned a teacher to Mt. Tabor school, which became the first freedmen's school in the rural part of either county.[16] Freedmen in Davidsonville also organized a school and secured a teacher from the Baltimore Association. A total of sixty-five children attended classes that fall in the black Methodist Church while awaiting the completion of their new building. In Calvert County, where Vanderlip himself saw little chance of safely organizing schools, Joseph Hall reported that blacks organized school societies and could pay the "board and washing" for the teachers.[17]

With the freedmen initiating schools and requesting help, Gen. Charles Howard, sub-commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau for the District of Columbia and Southern Maryland, decided to send a second agent to Anne Arundel and Calvert counties. Howard assigned the task to a black agent. He wrote to Vanderlip in August 1867, "I propose to send Butler (col.) (reporting to you) to Calvert County to attend to school matters. . . ." John H. Butler assumed his new responsibilities after serving many years as a respected leader of the black community in Baltimore. Butler worked for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. One historian described him as "one of Baltimore's wealthiest blacks." He chaired the board of trustees and owned a major portion of the stock of the Douglass Institute, the most important black cultural institution in the city. Shortly after his appointment with the bureau, Butler also became one of three black trustees of the Baltimore Normal School, which later in the century evolved into the Bowie State Normal School, and is today's Bowie State University.[18]

Within two months Butler helped local black leaders buy land and begin construction of six schools. He encountered white resistance to the schools throughout the two counties. "Landowners are hard in this part of the world," he lamented in early September. Nearly two months later, often travelling as much as five to ten miles a day on foot, he complained to Vanderlip that, "owners of land are so much opposed to schools down in these counties that it keeps me all the time going to different farms and see this one and that one. . . ." "The weather is becoming unsettled and roads so muddy" Butler wrote in November, "that I am compelled to make application to the government for a horse so that I may attend to my duties more fully. . . ."[19]

Butler's frustrations included working with the government bureaucracy. In November 1867 he sent the bureau a deed for land for a school, but it failed to send the promised lumber. Butler wrote to Vanderlip, "you will please send the lumber to Plum Point. . . . I have written to you 7 or 8 times and have not herd from you for 13 days. I do not know what is the matter. My stationary is out and if I get no mail I must come up and see what is the matter."[20]

Butler worked diligently raising money, organizing local black communities, negotiating for land, and assuaging the fears of whites. He worked with all of the black communities and knew their leaders well. Joseph Hall, the white merchant who cooperated with the black agent in Calvert County, reported that Butler was "all the time going." Because the construction of schools depended so much on the labor and contributions of blacks themselves, Butler spoke frequently at church meetings, where, Hall reported, he "urges them to do their duty." Butler almost certainly understated his role when he remarked to Vanderlip, "These people both white and colored wants continued looking after." Butler oversaw the building of eight schools in less than a year, a goal far beyond anyone's expectations in a region where whites' proslavery and pro-Confederate feelings persisted. When at the end of 1867 the bureau considered eliminating Butler's position as an economy measure, Hall petitioned on his behalf. "The colored people," Hall wrote, "is very anxious that John Butler shall be continued in his present position as he has done more to aid the cause of education than any other man white or black. . . . Butler is the favorite of all the colored people and the white people have nothing to say against him."[21]

Both Vanderlip and Butler devoted much of their travel and correspondence to the surprisingly complex problem of building schools. The bureau required black communities to appoint trustees and to buy and pay for school land before it approved payment for construction materials. The agency encouraged blacks, who worked on the project in their spare time, to construct schools quickly. Frequently the bureau's demands were at odds with the conditions and aspirations of black people in the counties.[23]

The building of a freedmen's school in Davidsonville in Anne Arundel County illustrated some of the conflicts. The black community there already conducted a school in its church when in September 1867 it formally requested, through a white landowner, bureau assistance in building a school. Thomas Davidson's letter on behalf of the black community informed the bureau that church trustees wanted to build a school, forty-nine by thirty feet, and would "do all in their power toward erecting the house, they think they can get the hauling done by those favorable to the enterprize." Davidson included a detailed list of lumber and other materials the trustees said they needed, and he urged a quick reply "as they feel very anxious on the subject." John Kimball, the bureau's superintendent of schools for the District of Columbia and Southern Maryland, replied three weeks later. He offered $200 to pay for the materials but sent plans for a considerably smaller school than the Davidsonville group had planned. The trustees responded through Davidson that Kimball's plan was "too small for a school-house." They had ninety children enrolled and expected more during the following year. Kimball did not object; neither did he offer any additional funds or materials.[23]

Bureau agents did not always appreciate the sacrifices the freedmen made to build and support schools. Black communities raised money much more slowly than bureau agents wished. Having to purchase land and other supplies from whites who often opposed black schools posed one problem. In Calvert County, Butler complained, "it is very hard to raise money here for anything[;] the colored people are cheated so badly that they have not the money."[24] Butler frequently protested that whites who sold land to blacks for schools took unfair advantage of the freedmen. Even "friendly whites" charged unfair interest or rent. Butler reported to Major Vanderlip, for example, that Davidson cheated blacks in Davidsonville:

> I understood you to say that Mr. Davidson gave the lot for the school house but the way that is managed it is a very dear gift. When you come down to this place you get some of the trustees to show you the lot and explain the way they have the lot and you will be as much surprised as I am.[25]

Land prices varied considerably. While Davidsonville blacks paid $425 for two acres and a "shanty" already on the property, blacks who organized the Mt. Zion School paid $200 for a total of three acres for their church and school. Butler recounted that Dr. James Cheston who sold the land to the Mt. Zion blacks, "says that he wants the colored people to have a good school house here."[26]

Because the Freedmen's Bureau withheld materials or money for school construction until each community acquired and paid for a lot, school trustees exploited every occasion for fund-raising. Black communities often requested speakers from the bureau or from the Baltimore Association to attend public meetings. Davidsonville blacks, invited the district superintendent of schools for the bureau to attend their cornerstone laying. They urged him "to bring some one to give [us] a good speech on the occasion (white or black) . . . [we] have to pay $120 this week . . . and hope to be able to raise some money on Sunday." No one from the bureau showed up except John Butler, who at the last minute filled in as the speaker. A collection taken up that day netted $54.18. In Calvert County Butler reported on the success of holding fairs. He recounted that blacks raised $140 at a two-day fair in Prince Frederick in November 1867.[27]

Annapolis blacks, who began their school before the Freedmen's Bureau offered assistance, confronted a different fund-raising problem. Although they obtained a lot and erected a school, they accumulated a debt of $1,366.46, of which they owed $900 for their school lot. In January 1868 school trustees held a meeting at one of the churches attended by six hundred people and secured subscriptions of $250 towards the amount owed on the lot. "We intend pushing the collection of those subscriptions as soon as possible," Major Vanderlip reported to his superiors in Washington. One year and perhaps other subscription campaigns later, the Stanton School trustees paid in full their debt and received a deed.[28]

Even after paying for land, school trustees encountered other financial problems. Although the Freedmen's Bureau promised to send $200 worth of lumber from abandoned army barracks or hospitals in Annapolis or Baltimore, the bureau underestimated the costs. In the case of the Davidsonville School for instance, Butler reported to Vanderlip that "the people have had many disadvantages to labor under" and that desks and benches remained wanting. When the bureau finally sent lumber for the school, Butler found that the trustees, in addition to paying for the land, "paid $39.85 to get the old lumber down besides the hauling." Butler reported that the building would not open for the 1866-67 school year. Since white carpenters declined to work on the schools and the school trustees had no money to pay in advance, they usually hired black carpenters who performed the work and then waited for their pay.[29]

In addition to bearing the cost of desks, benches, tearing down, hauling, and construction labor, the bureau also expected school trustees to raise the money to pay for plastering the buildings. In November 1867 Vanderlip reported to the district superintendent in Washington on the progress of school construction:

> Mr. Butler is pushing the schools as fast as possible and hopes to have all ready by Christmas. Several are all done but plastering. He has now to go to work and raise money to finish them. He says the people are very poor but will try to raise the money.[30]

Disappointed with what he considered the slow pace of construction, the superintendent, John Kimball, urged that the trustees open the schools as soon as they enclosed them. "If the people cannot raise the funds to finish the houses right off, let us have the schools started and raise the money during the winter." Despite Kimball's pronouncement, many schools remained only partially completed, but by the 1868-69 school year the number of black schools in Anne Arundel County increased to five, and the number of Calvert County schools stood at seven.[31]

Superintendent Kimball visited Anne Arundel County in September 1868 to evaluate the progress that the black communities had made. Knowing of the efforts in many communities to raise money and buy land, Kimball confidently predicted that "we may be able to start eight schools there." Kimball exaggerated what blacks could accomplish, but by the end of that school year, black communities opened four more schools in Anne Arundel County. Kimball must have been especially encouraged by Vanderlip's description of the black community at Patuxent Switch, where the freedmen benefited from the gift of land and building from Joseph Cowman, a Quaker:

> [They are] so much in earnest that last winter they procured permission to use the Quaker meeting house and employed a lady to teach in it. . . . They have bought three acres of land adjoining the Church . . . [and] have heavy timbers and other lumber, used shingle boards, weatherboard lumber for desks and wainscotting and a door and windows.[32]

While construction advanced slowly, agents reported less prejudice towards black schools. After Superintendent Kimball visited Annapolis in 1867 he told the assistant commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau that "prejudice among the whites against the colored schools" was "very rapidly disappearing." As Kimball knew, however, opposition declined because whites sensed no threat to their supremacy. "The whites are nearly all opposed to white teachers," Kimball wrote a few months later. "If they must have colored schools, they want them taught by colored teachers."[33]

The problems of locating, paying, and housing teachers severely strained the resources of all parties involved in supporting freedmen's schools. Each school's trustees supposedly hired and paid its own teachers. Yet the trustees possessed neither the means to pay nor the access to prospective teachers and so relied on the Freedman's Bureau to arrange for both. Since Congress appropriated no funds for salaries, bureau agents went, hat in hand, to other organizations to recruit and pay teachers. The Baltimore Association continually solicited donations from within the state, but to little avail. They mostly developed into a disbursing agent for funds donated by other freedmen's aid groups in northern states.

From 1865 to 1869 several northern freedmen's aid societies assisted the Baltimore Association by recruiting teachers and contributing funds for their salaries. Often they paid some of the schools' operating expenses. The New England Freedman's Aid Society, the American Missionary Association, the Freedman's Union Association, and the New York Presbyterian Freedman's Mission all sent teachers to Anne Arundel County and Calvert County while also contributing toward teachers' salaries and other major expenses like fuel bills.[34] Prospective teachers, often from northern cities, typically preferred positions in cities or towns rather than rural counties. As Superintendent Kimball admitted, "Great difficulty is found in getting good teachers, or societies to pay their salaries, in the country districts."[35]

Sometimes those who sought teaching jobs in black schools lacked the necessary training. Vanderlip complained about a new teacher at the Stanton School in Annapolis at the beginning of the new term in 1867. The teacher, he said, "is not energetic enough." Even John Butler admitted that teaching the children of recently freed, rural blacks required special skills. "They want an experienced teacher at Parker Creek," he said. "The people there are not half civilized. . . . Hard teachers will suit them best."[36]

The issue of race complicated the search for teachers. While Stanton School had an integrated staff during its first several years, most school trustees apparently favored black teachers. "I presume all the teachers will have to be colored," Vanderlip told Kimball in November 1867. The issue remained open, and a month later Vanderlip asked Butler for advice on the matter: "Let me know what kind to send to teach school weather men or women or white or colored."[37] School trustees preferred black teachers for at least two reasons. First, white teachers often expected amenities that black communities could not afford. In September 1867 the Baltimore Association asked Vanderlip to "find a comfortable place of boarding for two of our lady teachers from New England—Boston. They are white ladies and are altogether above what we would call mediocrity."[38] Most school trustees lacked the resources to meet those kinds of expectations. Second, trustees knew that local whites opposed the use of white teachers, especially their boarding with black families. Kimball believed that blacks, trained in black normal schools and "accustomed to their own modes of life," belonged in freedmen's schools. By 1868 black teachers presided over fifteen of the sixteen schools in the two counties. Stanton School in Annapolis had four black and two white teachers.[39]

The experience of the black teacher assigned to the Davidsonville School illustrates some of the problems encountered by teachers and trustees. Martha S. Hoy arrived in Davidsonville in July 1867, an experienced teacher after assignments in Frederick and Talbot counties. While the school trustees waited for materials to build a school, Miss Hoy began holding classes in a black church near the school site while rooming in the attic of the adjacent minister's house. She began her work with enthusiasm and dedication. "I am pleased to inform you," she wrote to Major Vanderlip in November 1867,

> that my scholars are doing finely and I feel greatly encouraged for the short period that I have been teaching here. I hope the progression will continue and the seed that I am sowing will take root and in due season bring forth good fruit. . . . It is my sincere wishes that God will crown my labors with success and that my efforts to assist in enlightening the minds of a once oppressed people will not prove ineffectual.[40]

Though Miss Hoy taught as many as forty students each day, she also informed Vanderlip that she would take charge of the Sunday school and open night school. One month later Hoy departed for Baltimore, complaining of the lack of suitable accommodations for herself and her students. That the trustees had not yet finished the school building and that she possessed only a small attic room in a house referred to as a "shanty" discouraged this idealistic woman. Nevertheless by January Hoy had returned to Davidsonville and resumed teaching. Perhaps the opening of the school building in early 1868 lured her back.[41]

During the spring of 1868, Martha Hoy again complained. She wrote to the benevolent society that supported her work, informing it that the school trustees had not paid her the "Missionary Fund" of $12.00 per month, their share of her salary, for the previous four months. Vanderlip sent Butler to investigate. He met with the trustees and found that the teacher had no income to pay for meals:

> [I]t seems to be very hard for her to get provisions to keep her going on[;] she says that a piece of butter is a stranger with her and very seldom get any milk or rice and sometimes nothing but some corn meal and when I arrived there Saturday all she had was some meal and if the minister's wife had not give her something to eat that was all she had to live on till Monday."[42]

The trustees accepted responsibility for the problem, and Butler noted their "want of an understanding with each other." They assured Butler of their respect and admiration for Miss Hoy: "[A] better teacher for them and their people they believe could not have been sent to this place[;] they say that she treats all alike and the children all love her and if they could help it would not part with her for nothing."[43]

Misunderstanding on both sides probably accounted for Martha Hoy's difficulties. Everyone assumed, quite unrealistically, that the black community in Davidsonville could afford to pay its teacher $12.00 per month while at the same time paying off their $425 debt to Thomas Davidson for the land the school stood on and also completing the building, for which the Freedmen's Bureau contributed only lumber. Perhaps Davidsonville blacks expected the Brooklyn-bred teacher to adjust to their impoverished conditions. Perhaps the trustees, lacking the cash to pay their teacher, simply procrastinated.

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As the Davidsonville case illustrated, blacks in the two counties initiated plans for the new schools but, at crucial times, relied heavily on the Freedmen's Bureau, Baltimore Association, and northern freedmen's aid societies. Misunderstandings sometimes occurred. Soon after assignment to Annapolis, Major Vanderlip reported his disappointment in the small number of students who attended the first day of school. "The poor people do not send their children," he lamented, even while acknowledging that parents paid much of the costs of the school. Not a single adult attended the evening high school. "A revival is in progress in both of the churches and as long as it continues," he observed, "the school will languish as all the people go to church." Placing education ahead of redemption, he believed that "the preachers ought to give way to the teachers." The Freedmen's Bureau official who supervised the Calvert and Anne Arundel areas also visited Annapolis in 1866. "The people do not sustain the school as they ought," he complained, ignoring the fact that Annapolis blacks had organized, constructed, and supported their school without any contribution from the Freedmen's Bureau or other outside sources.[44] "Freedmen give liberally considering their circumstances," but they could do more, he believed, "if they would give up all bad habits; but this is perhaps too much to expect." After touring Anne Arundel and Calvert counties in 1868, Kimball thought he understood the origins of some of those bad habits. Blacks, he said, "emulate whites by using a great deal of whiskey and tobacco."[45]

But for the most part cooperation marked the relationship between the black communities and the agencies. Jointly they planned visits, speeches, and public rallies. Soon after he arrived in Annapolis, for instance, Vanderlip conveyed an invitation to Superintendent Kimball from the black leaders in Annapolis: "The freed people would be very much pleased if General Howard [Gen. C. H. Howard, sub-commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau for the Washington, D.C. district and brother of Gen. O. O. Howard, commissioner of the bureau] could come to say a few words to them," during the closing exercises at Stanton School at the end of its first year. Six months later Vanderlip arranged a similar visit at which Gen. Edgar M. Gregory, sub-commissioner for the Maryland and Delaware district of the Freedmen's Bureau, and U.S. Court of Appeals Judge Hugh S. Bond of Baltimore spoke to hundreds of Annapolis freedmen. In January 1868 Howard and Kimball spoke to more than six hundred people in Annapolis. Kimball believed that the meeting resulted in "a good disposition . . . to carry on the work of education." Both sets of leaders realized that public rallies and meetings encouraged the freedmen to send their children to school on a regular basis and to contribute to the support of the school. In June 1868 Kimball told Vanderlip that as part of the closing exercises, Stanton School should conduct a public examination of students to which teachers should invite parents. Stanton School held its closing exercise a few weeks later, and Kimball proudly reported that the parents crowded into the building even though the school trustees charged an admission fee. "The recitations, readings and singing were very good," he reported proudly.[46]

By 1869, despite the obstacles and occasional black-white friction, black communities in the two counties operated and supported nine schools in Anne Arundel County and seven in Calvert County, which represented significant sacrifices for a mostly impoverished people. The Freedmen's Bureau valued the schools at $600 to $1,000 each except for Stanton School, appraised at $2,000.[47] Freedmen often paid as much as half of the costs of opening a new school. They usually paid somewhat more than half the cost of sustaining a teacher. Whatever success the schools enjoyed depended ultimately on the sacrifices and motivation of the freedmen.

Still, they relied heavily on public and private, northern and local white support. That cooperation weakened in 1868-69 and collapsed entirely in 1869-70. Contributions from northern freedmen's aid societies began to wane as early as 1867, when the Baltimore Association first reported limited funds. By April 1868 it ceased its operations entirely, with a deficit of $6,000. Other organizations suffered a similar fate.[48] This decline directly affected the salaries of teachers in Anne Arundel and Calvert counties. "When the salaries are withdrawn, the schools will go down," Kimball predicted in February 1868. By the beginning of the 1869-70 school year, his prediction had come true. With fewer funds from outside sources, many communities closed their school for part or all of the school year. In September four schools in Anne Arundel County, together enrolling 305 students, closed. Five schools with a combined enrollment of 370 remained open. Blacks struggled throughout the year to sustain or reopen their schools. In November they maintained seven schools with a total enrollment of 316, but one Annapolis school with 114 students closed that month. By April only three schools remained open, serving a total of 140 children.[49]

While blacks looked to the federal government for assistance, by July 1868 it, too, began to retrench. Although Congress passed a bill that month to continue the Freedmen's Bureau for another two years, it also slashed its funds and restricted its mission. The bureau released many of its agents and transferred others to more important positions. When in October 1869 Kimball resigned, Vanderlip replaced him, but the bureau left Vanderlip's position in Annapolis vacant.[50]

With the bureau and the freedmen's aid societies in full retreat and with the freedmen already giving as best they could, some bureau officials looked hopefully to the state and counties for help. Vanderlip pleaded for continued federal responsibility. "The colored people," he said in 1870, "are the wards of the government." The withdrawal of federal support constituted "a blow which will be almost irreparable." Vanderlip did not trust local school boards even if they assumed responsibility for the freedmen's schools. "Not one of them to my personal knowledge is a friend of the education of the freedmen," he said in 1870.[51]

Though Vanderlip preferred a federal solution, the state and county officials whom he distrusted ultimately assumed control of the black schools. State funding, begun in 1873 after the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, gave blacks some political leverage and required the county school commissioners to operate the schools. When they took them over none of Calvert County's black schools still operated, and only two still functioned in Anne Arundel County. "The colored people are reaping the benefits of our school system," Anne Arundel school commissioners soon reported, "by availing themselves of its advantages."[52] In fact, for the freedmen, state funding began another, much longer struggle for educational opportunity, one that would begin to end only with the intervention of the United States Supreme Court in 1954.

NOTES

1. See Franklin William Delaney, "Negro Education in Maryland, 1865-1867," (M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, 1969); Rickard Paul Fuke, "The Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People, 1864-1870," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 66 (1971): 369-71; and W. A. Lowe, "The Freedmen's Bureau and Education in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 47 (1952), 29-40.

2. Charles L. Wagandt, *Mighty Revolution: Negro Emancipation in Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1964), p. 262; "First Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction," *Journal of the House of Delegates* (1865), document K, p. 12.

3. See the annual *Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1866-70*, which includes the reports of the board of school commissioners for each county.

4. *First Annual Report of the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People* (Baltimore, 1866), pp. 6-7; *Second Annual Report of the Baltimore Association* (Baltimore, 1866), p. 15; Superintendent's Monthly Report, Maryland and Delaware District (hereafter Monthly Report), April 1867, box 6, Record Group 105, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (hereafter BRFAL), National Archives, Washington, D. C.; William H. Rogers to William L. Vanderlip, 8 October 1866, Letters Received—Annapolis, box 11, BRFAL; and *Saint Mary's Church* (Annapolis: St Mary's Church, 1978), p. 46.

5. Lowe, "Freedmen's Bureau and Education in Maryland," p. 34; *First Annual Report of the Baltimore Association*, p. 9.

6. William L. Vanderlip to John Kimball 2 October 1866, Letters Sent—Annapolis, vol. 48, and Monthly Report, December 1866, box 6. BRFAL.

7. George R. Bentley, *A History of the Freedmen's Bureau* (New York: Octagon Books, 1974), p. 177; Monthly Report, September 1865, box 6, BRFAL; John W. Alvord, *Semi-Annual Report on Schools for the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands*, (Washington, 1866), p. 13; and Isabel Shipley Cunningham, "Riot Camp," *Anne Arundel County History Notes*, 21 (1990): 1-2, 9.

8. *Second Annual Report of the Baltimore Association*, p. 5.

9. *First Annual Report of the Baltimore Association*, p. 12; *Journal of the House of Delegates* (1865), document A, p. 60.

10. Alvord, *Third Semi-Annual Report on Schools . . .* (Washington, 1867), p. 9; William L. Vanderlip to John Kimball, 1 June 1867, Letters Sent—Annapolis, vol. 48, BRFAL.

11. William S. McFeeley, *Yankee Stepfather: General O. O. Howard and the Freedmen* (New York: W. W. Norton Co., 1983), pp. 206, 234; *United States Statutes at Large*, 13:507 and 14:174.

12. Charles Edwin Booth, *The Vanderlip Family in America* (New York, 1914), p. 143; Lewis W. Hallenbeck to author, 16 March 1990.

13. State of Maryland, House and Senate Documents, "Second Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction," Document BB, pp. 40, 69; Vanderlip to C. H. Howard, 30 June 1866, Letters Received—District of Columbia, EB vol. 2, and Vanderlip to William Rogers, 11 July 1866, Annapolis—Letters Received, box 11, BRFAL.

14. See Lowe, "Freedmen's Bureau," pp. 30-31.

15. Delaney, "Negro Education," p. 67.

16. William H. Rogers to Vanderlip, 12 September 1867, Letters Received—Annapolis, box 11; Vanderlip to John Kimball, 22 June 1867, Letters Sent—Annapolis, vol. 48; Monthly Report, October 1867, box 6, BRFAL.

17. Vanderlip to Joseph Gross, 16 July 1867, Letters Sent—Annapolis, box 6; and Hall to Vanderlip, 4 September 1866, Letters Received—Annapolis, box 11, BRFAL.

18. Howard to Vanderlip, 11 August 1867, Annapolis—Letters Received, box 11, BRFAL; *Wood's City Directory* (Baltimore:, 1860), p. 432; Leroy Graham, *Baltimore: The Nineteenth Century Black Capital* (Washington: Union Press of America, 1982), pp. 133, 136; and Martha S. Putney, "The Baltimore Normal School for the Education of Colored Teachers: Its Founding and Its Founders," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 70 (1977): 240.

19. Butler to Vanderlip, 9 September 1867 and 31 October 1867, Letters Received—Annapolis, box 11, and Butler to Vanderlip, 6 November 1867. vol. 47, Letters Received—Annapolis, BRFAL.

20. Butler to Vanderlip, 9 November 1867, Letters Received—Annapolis, box 11. BRFAL.

21. Butler to Vanderlip, 31 October 1867, Letters Received - Annapolis, box 11; John Kimball to Vanderlip, 11 September 1867; Hall to C. H. Howard, Letters Received—Annapolis, vol. 47, all in BRFAL.

22. William H. Rogers to Vanderlip, 12 September 1867, Letters Received—Annapolis, box 11, BRFAL.

23. Davidson to Vanderlip, 15 August 1867, Letters Received—Annapolis, vol. 47; Kimball to Davidson, 27 August 1867; and Davidson to Kimball, 13 September 1867, Letters Received—Annapolis, box 11, BRFAL.

24. Butler to Vanderlip, 18 November 1867, Letters Received—Annapolis, box 11, BRFAL.

25. Butler to Vanderlip, 18 May 1868, Letters Received—Annapolis, box 11, BRFAL.

26. Copies of Deeds, Maryland-Delaware District, box 16, BRFAL; Butler to Vanderlip, 23 November 1867, and Cheston to Vanderlip, 8 February 1868, Letters Received—Annapolis, box 11, BRFAL.

27. Davidson to Vanderlip, 25 November 1867; Butler to Vanderlip, 2 December 1867 and 29 November 1867, Letters Received—Annapolis, box 11, BRFAL.

28. Vanderlip to Stewart Eldridge, 23 January 1868, Letters Received—Annapolis, vol. 48; Kimball to Eldridge, 20 January 1868, Letters Sent—D.C. Superintendent, vols. 41 and 42, BRFAL ; and document dated 25 January 1869, Anne Arundel County Deeds, SH 3, p. 165, Anne Arundel County Courthouse, Annapolis.

29. Butler to Vanderlip, 22 August 1867, Letters Received - Annapolis, vol. 47, BRFAL; and Alvord, *Sixth Semi-Annual Report on Schools* . . . (Washington, 1868), p. 11.

30. Vanderlip to Kimball, 25 November 1867, and Vanderlip to Butler, 4 December 1867, Letters Sent—Annapolis, vol. 48, BRFAL.

31. Vanderlip to Butler, 4 December 1867, Letters Sent—Annapolis, vol. 48: Vanderlip to S. W. Clark, 7 June 1868, Letters Received—Annapolis, vol. 47: and Superintendent's Supplemental Report, March 1868, box 6, BRFAL.

32. Kimball to C. H. Howard, 1 February 1868, Monthly Report, July 1868, box 6; and Vanderlip to Kimball, 22 September 1868, Letters Sent—Annapolis, vol. 49, BRFAL.

33. Kimball to Howard, 1 February 1868, Monthly Report, October 1868, box 6, BRFAL; Alvord, *Sixth Semi-Annual Report on Schools*, p. 11.

34. Monthly Report, March 1868 and October 1868, box 6, BRFAL. See Also Kimball to Vanderlip, 19 February 1868, Letters Sent—D.C. Superintendent of Education, BRFAL; Fluke, "Baltimore Association," p. 372; and Alvord, *Eighth Semi-Annual Report on Schools* (Washington, 1869), p. 40.

35. Alvord, *Sixth Semi-Annual Report on Schools*, p. 11.

36. Vanderlip to Kimball, 2 October 1866, Letters Sent—Annapolis. vol. 48; Kimball to R. R. Carson, 13 January 1868, Letters Sent—D.C. Superintendent, vols. 41 and 42, BRFAL.

37. Vanderlip to Kimball, 25 November 1867, and Vanderlip to Butler, 4 December 1867, Letters Sent—Annapolis, vol. 48, BRFAL.

38. R. M. Janney to Vanderlip, 7 September 1867, Letters Received—Annapolis, box 11, BRFAL.

39. Alvord, *Seventh Semi-Annual Report on Schools* (Washington, 1869), p. 11; and Monthly Report, March 1869, box 6, BRFAL.

40. Hoy to Vanderlip. 16 November 1867, Letters Received—Annapolis. box 11, BRFAL.

41. Ibid.; Vanderlip to Kimball, 9 December 1867, Letters Sent—Annapolis, vol. 48, BRFAL.

42. R. M. Janney to Vanderlip, 23 May 1868; and Butler to Vanderlip, 18 May 1868, Letters Received—Annapolis, box 11, BRFAL.

43. Butler to Vanderlip, 18 May 1868, Letters Received—Annapolis, box 11, BRFAL.

44. Vanderlip to Kimball, 10 February 1866, Letters Sent—Annapolis, vol. 48; Monthly Report, December 1866, box 6, BRFAL .

45. Alvord, *Sixth Annual Report on Schools*, pp. 8, 11, and Kimball to Vanderlip, 24 June 1868, Letters Sent—D.C. Superintendent of Education, vols. 41 and 42.

46. Vanderlip to Kimball, 14 July 1866, Letters Sent—Annapolis, vol. 48, BRFAL; Fuke, p. 397; Kimball to Stuart Eldridge, 20 January 1868, Letters Sent—D.C. Superintendent of Education, vol. 41 and 42, BRFAL.

47. Monthly Report, August 1869, box 6, BRFAL.

48. *Third Annual Report of the Baltimore Association* (Baltimore, 1868), pp. 5-7; William J. Albert to Executive Committee of the American Freedmen's Union Commission, 21 March 1868, MS. 94, MdHS; and Richard B. Drake, Freedmen's Aid Societies and Sectional Compromise," *Journal of Southern History*, 29 (1963): 180.

49. Kimball to Janney, 10 February 1868, Letters Sent—D.C. Superintendent of Education, vols. 41 and 42, BRFAL; Monthly Reports, September 1869, November 1869, and April 1870, box 6, BRFAL.

50. Alvord, *Ninth Semi-Annual Report on Schools* (Washington, 1870), p. 11.

51. Ibid.

52. Annual Report of the Maryland State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 5 (1872): 30.

The Peabody Library

PHOEBE B. STANTON

The Peabody buildings exemplify the response of the nineteenth century when it confronted, thanks to the Industrial Revolution, nontraditional building materials and methods of construction. The Peabody Institute, 1859-66, at the southeast corner of the Washington Monument, and the library to its east, 1876-78, also typify the architectural tastes and requirements of Baltimore gentlemen of those years.

Before Americans faced the problems raised by the arrival of new ways of building and new materials, two parties in Europe had already come to grips with the question of whether to accept and how to employ these new techniques. Some clients, architects, and critics were convinced that architecture should cleave to the historic styles—Gothic or classical were those most used—and that buildings and the talents of their designers ought to be appraised according to the extent that they achieved the impossible—eclectic accuracy. These were often political conservatives who also refused to acknowledge that a new age, accompanied by fresh political needs as well as a new kind and style of building, had arrived. Relating the historical styles to an idealized view of the political, religious, and social virtues of the time that had first produced them, they insisted that revival of the style of an admired historic period could play a part in reform of society in their own time. In 1831, in The Spirit of the Age (essays written for the London *Examiner*), John Stuart Mill described those who held such views as "men who carry their eyes in the back of their heads and can see no other portion of the destined track of humanity than that which it has already travelled." In 1872 the anonymous writer who dealt with the subject of architectural ironwork in Horace Greeley's *The Great Industries of the United States* pointed to John Ruskin as a writer who objected "to iron in architecture for sentimental reasons."[1]

A second party, as far to the left as the other was to the right, was linked to liberal ideas. It declared that a new age demanding architectural design responsive to its needs had been born, that new building materials and techniques would create a modern architectural style as characteristic of the nineteenth century as Gothic and classical had been of theirs, and that, rather than the works of architects, the bridges, canals, tunnels and even factory buildings being created by engineers were the significant modern monuments. Thoughts of these kinds were being expressed

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in Germany as early as 1835, when a critic announced, "Intimately acquainted as we are now become with the properties of every kind of material, whether wood, metal, or artificial substitutes for stone, and with the laws of statics in respect to them, we possess the means of providing whatever we require," and called for an inventive architecture "unfettered by formal precedents." In 1837 an English commentator on architecture looked to the United States, where there were no powerful stylistic precedents, to create "an entirely new and independent style of architecture" that would "accommodate itself to all the exigencies of a community."[2]

The contrast between these two positions raised issues larger than the dilemma of the styles. It suggested that, with the employment of prefabrication, construction could become less labor intensive because parts of structures were standardized and manufactured repetitively; that the many large buildings and engineering projects required to serve the new age would encourage the development and use of innovative building methods; and that the introduction of iron could lead to a new aesthetic.

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But most architects and their clients—the builders of the Peabody were among them—took a position midway between these parties. They wanted the economy and efficiency of metal construction, yet they were unwilling to forsake the associational pleasures and ornament of the historical styles. No building is more typical of this response than the Houses of Parliament in London, begun in 1836 and completed in the 1860s. A masterpiece of revived Gothic, it was, beneath its ornament, a functional building of the new age, equipped with an elaborate system of mechanical ventilation and walls and floors of iron and tile designed to be as fireproof as advanced architectural technology could make it.

Inexorable social and economic pressures and innovations led to the development of prefabrication. The expansion of the dominion of Europe in the nineteenth century and improvements in transportation caused movements of people and the need for shelter in distant places. Industry responded with dwellings that could travel "knocked down" with their owners to Australia, South America, and San Francisco to be assembled at their destinations without specialized labor. Such buildings were responsive to need rather than to disagreements about the meaning of the historic styles. Today we know that prefabrication of this kind was one manifestation of the process that led to widespread use of cast iron in building, that it foreshadowed methods of construction that prevail in the twentieth century, and that it brought stylistic changes in architectural design. Gilbert Herbert says that "this transfer from ad hoc building to planned multiple production is one of the fascinating break points in the curve of architectural evolution."[3]

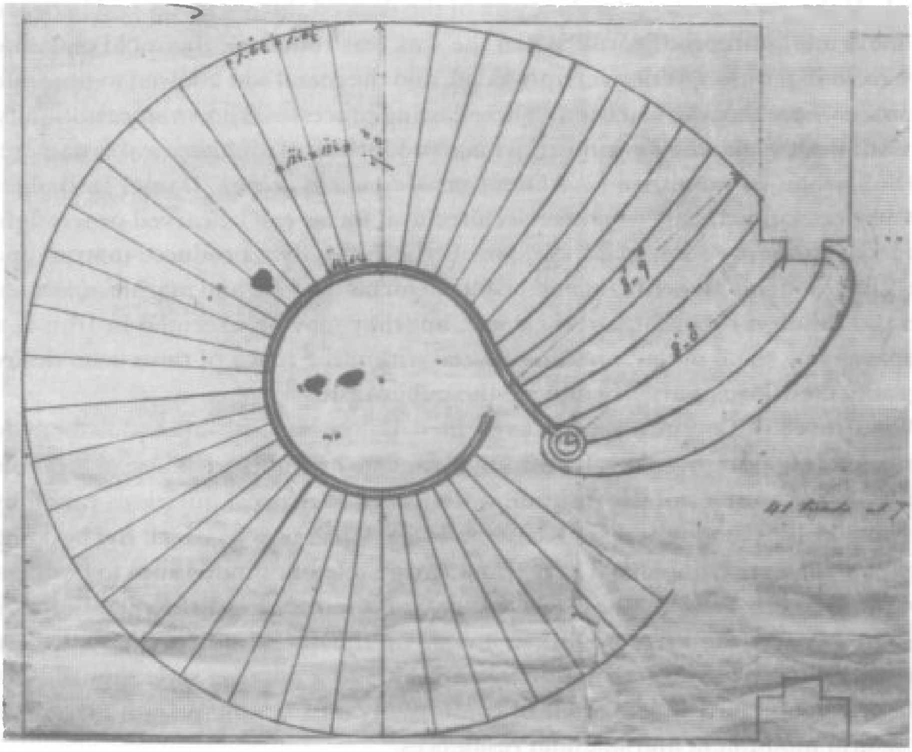
In the 1840s Baltimore was a thriving industrial community, shipbuilding center, and port from which people departed for California and South America. Eighteen forty-nine was the year of what were called "California houses" produced by both American and English industrialists. At least four manufacturers in Baltimore—B. S. Benson; Lapouraille and Mauglin; Rhoads; and McComas—were building prefabricated structures with cast-iron frames into which precut wooden walls and windows fitted, that could be assembled when they reached their destinations.[4] The city was also endowed with inventors and iron founders—Denmead, Poole and Ferguson, Murray and Hazlehurst, Millholland, and Hayward and Bartlett (the last would figure in the construction of the Peabody buildings)—who designed and manufactured iron castings of various kinds.[5] Baltimore, for example, required bridges to join the parts of the town as it developed, materials to supply the burgeoning railroad industry, and castings for ships. The Baltimore *Sun* could report that "the Baltimore iron business in castings is equal to any."[6]

Cast iron for architectural purposes was both structural and decorative. It could replace wooden beams and trusses in the support of roofs, and masonry in the construction of walls; its rigidity and capacity to bear loads meant that an iron frame of relatively slender dimensions could replace larger supports and so open up exterior walls and interior spaces. It also made decoration cheap. A carved wooden pattern was required, and once it was prepared, a sand mold in which the image of the pattern was impressed could be used repeatedly to receive molten metal. If the casting was to be thin, wax of the desired thickness was laid between the mold and a fireproof core. When the wax was removed, the mold and core were fixed in position, vents were provided, and the metal was allowed to flow into the space where the wax had been. These casting processes, known since antiquity, were admirably adapted for industrial mass production of architectural ornament. In 1865, when he published his *Illustrations of Iron Architecture*, Daniel D. Badger with justice claimed that "whatever architectural forms can be carved or wrought in wood or stone, or other materials, can also be faithfully reproduced in iron" and that "the cost of highly-wrought and beautiful forms in stone and marble, executed with the chisel, is often fatal to their use; but they may be executed in Iron at a comparatively small outlay, and thus placed within the reach of those who desire to gratify their love of art, or cultivate the public taste."[7]

When in 1857 George Peabody presented Baltimore with an endowment to create and support a cultural institution, and a building to house it became necessary, the trustees of the institute were forced to address questions raised by the relationships among function, cost, and style. The uses to which the building would be put were complex. There was a reasonable but limited sum to be spent on construction. Sensibly they decided to avail themselves of the qualities iron could offer. They also made up their minds on the question of style: they were from the outset convinced that although Gothic was a popular style they did not want to use it because it would not fit comfortably into Mount Vernon Place with its classical monument and splendid residences.

They resolved to open the design to competition, a questionable device, for architects had often been exploited by such an arrangement. The competition for the Peabody was no exception, and complaints about its terms were promptly forthcoming in the national press. But the trustees soldiered on and selected what they defined as a "Grecian-Italian" design by a young architect, Edmund G. Lind, who had come from England in 1855 and was in practice in Baltimore. Lind produced a set of polished plans in 1858; James Crawford Neilson, a senior local architect, was designated to collaborate with him on practical details as the building developed. The trustees were convinced that the design they proposed would accord with "the quiet purpose of the building by its broad intervals, its distinct openings and its ample but classic proportions."[8] As well as their respect for the architectural context of the new institute, they seem to have been inspired by the Renaissance Revival designs of Charles Barry and others for the new clubhouses on Pall Mall in London—buildings that must have been known to the trustees, who travelled abroad, often to England, where they could have been entertained in one or another of the clubs.

In their minutes, the trustees of the institute expressed their conviction that iron, readily available in Baltimore, was a practical expedient. The trustees, pragmatic gentlemen who insisted on control of costs, design, construction, and any flights of fancy the architect might experience, demanded durability and, later, when they undertook to build the new library, fireproof construction. But they were unwilling



Overhead view of Edmund G. Lind's magnificent staircase in the Peabody Institute, c. 1858 (see also the elevation drawing on the magazine's cover). The graceful sweep of the stairs and the complicated newel post—more elaborate than the one finally installed—suggest some of the foundry's difficulties in executing the design.

to carry iron prefabrication to its logical conclusion and accept buildings devoid of historical reminiscence and decorative detail.

The Peabody Institute building, the earlier of the two, was well underway when the Civil War delayed its completion. It had been necessary to husband the building fund, for, when the institute was finally dedicated in 1866, the trustees were aware that, sooner rather than later, they would be forced to undertake construction of an additional structure to house the library. Because the Peabody's book collection was expanding prodigiously, it would quickly outgrow the room originally allotted it.

In the institute building iron was used sparingly, and it was employed in both structural and decorative ways. The complexity of the plan suggested employment of innovative building materials. The principal problem was the need for a two-story lecture hall (now the concert hall), above which there were to be, parallel with each other, two large rooms, oriented north-south and running the length of the hall below. The library would occupy the one on the east and, in that on the west, the Maryland Historical Society would have its headquarters. Because the interior space of the lecture hall was to be unobstructed, the floors of these rooms had somehow to be supported without bearing walls or piers below them.

Metal was the answer and, accordingly, four huge cast-iron trusses were set in the masonry outer walls of the building, east to west, at the height of the ceiling of the lecture hall. These were connected by girders to form a rigid framework on which the floor of the chambers above could rest. Perhaps because there was some feeling that this platform would not be adequate to carry the load of the library, which must have been immense, precautions for further support for the iron structural floor were provided. The wall between the two long rooms was built hollow and through its inner space cables under tension connected the iron girders to the wooden roof trusses. This construction resembled a bridge. In 1860-61 Hayward, Bartlett & Co., Baltimore specialists in structural iron, supplied all these iron members at a cost of $15,000. The only iron visible in the lecture hall was in the slender columns beneath the balcony.

Externally the building was austere but elegant. Cubic in form, it was enriched only by the local marble of which it was constructed (the trustees had gone to great lengths to select a durable stone and one which would accord with the material of the Washington Monument) and by the decorative treatment of its windows, doors, quoins, and the iron railing on its west side. Interior decoration was confined to the plaster caryatids in the hall—cast in 1861 from a wooden original prepared by a local carver, James I. Randolph, who worked from an illustration, not of a Greek, but of a Roman example—plaster moldings, the marble floor of the lobby, and the splendid cantilevered cast-iron spiral staircase that rises the full height of the building at the east end of the lobby. In 1861 Hayward, Bartlett & Co., for $3,378, manufactured the structure from designs by Lind. Drawings in the archive of the institute reveal how he struggled to prepare a design that could be fitted into the available space. Its decoration can be defined as generally rococo in character, consisting of plants, flowers, and vines. It certainly was not Greek; that would come later.

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By 1875 the library had grown to 60,000 volumes, so space was a problem and, because as many as a hundred readers visited it each day, so were heating and ventilation. The time had come for the anticipated addition of a new building. Lind was again hired as architect to work, as he had earlier, in tandem with Neilson. In preparation for the great undertaking, Lind and Reverdy Johnson, a member of the board of trustees, went to New York to confer with James Renwick (1818-95), a reigning arbiter of architectural taste who had designed the Smithsonian Museum. Later the trustees would call on Richard Morris Hunt (1827-95), another fashionable architect, to render an opinion on how the front of the new building should be managed. The trustees and N. H. Morison, the provost, also studied the design of the Astor Library in New York, and there are in the minutes of the meetings of the building committee references to the two libraries with iron interiors in the old War and Navy building in Washington (now the Executive Office Building). All of these were galleried chambers.

When he undertook the design of the library Lind could have drawn on many sources for ideas. He last practiced in England in the Midlands, so he would have seen the Renaissance Revival that prevailed in Liverpool and other cities in the region. He had, in fact, sailed for New York from Liverpool. As a student architect in London he visited the Crystal Palace, and, when he travelled about, he made a point of examining new and old buildings of note. He was a regular reader of *The Builder*, the leading English journal on architecture. He could have known first-hand, or seen illustrated, the Sailor's Home in Liverpool (1846-48) by John Cunningham, which had a skylit interior court surrounded by five stories of iron galleries and a magnificent cast-iron entrance gate. *The Builder* published an account and illustration of Peter Ellis's innovative Oriel Chambers (1864), also in Liverpool. There were books on construction, including William Fairbairn *On the Application of Cast and Wrought Iron to Building Purposes*, 1857-58, in the Peabody Institute library. Iron was also being recommended for and widely used in American commercial architecture.

In addition, Lind was prepared for the challenge of the new building by the commission he had received in 1871 for the library at Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia where, within a rectangular brick outer shell, he built a cast-iron interior of two floors surrounding an internal court with spiral staircases at the corners and an ornate gallery railing around the upper level of the stacks. This library was a prototype, a miniature version, of what he would build at the Peabody Institute. He had at hand the services of Bartlett, Robbins & Co. (the new name of what had been Hayward, Bartlett & Co.). It is not known whether this firm supplied the iron for the library at Hampden-Sydney, but it seems probable.

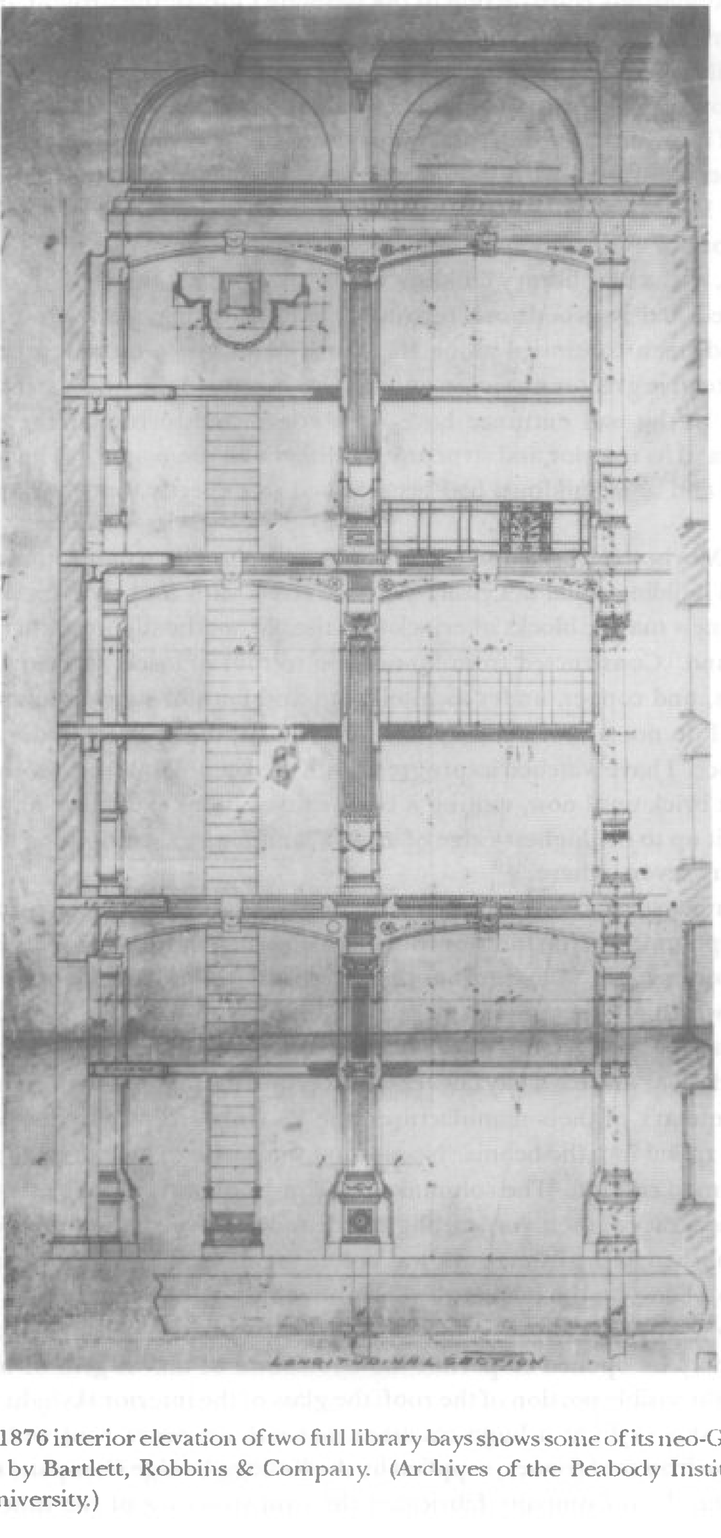
As they undertook construction of the Peabody Library, the provost and trustees were determined to acquire a fire-resistant structure, to unite the new with the earlier building in as seamless a way as could be accomplished, to make repairs to the interior and exterior of the latter (which had developed leaks in the roof because of its insufficient slope and poorly designed skylights), and to adapt to new uses the second-floor space that would be vacated by both the library and the Maryland Historical Society. Some of the space so acquired was to house the conservatory of music that had been operating off-site.

In 1878, as the new library building was being finished, the front of the institute was cleaned and its woodwork repainted; the balustrade at the roofline of the library had been continued along the north front and west side of the earlier building "to give greater elevation and greater beauty to the whole structure"; and "the steps at the hall entrance have been contracted to render them less conspicuous" and its interior and structure modified and renovated.[9] The north front of the old and new buildings had been joined so expertly that they appeared as one.

Provost Morison celebrated what had been accomplished: "A more thoroughly built, substantial building could not easily be constructed. It is fireproof throughout, and where the new marble blocks interlock with the old not the slightest trace of settling can be found. Constructed from foundation to roof of brick, stone, iron, lime of Teil blocks, and copper, under as intelligent and faithful supervision as building ever had, I do not see why it may not rival the Pantheon itself in durability and permanence. I have watched its progress, with the keenest interest, from the laying of the first brick until now, visiting it two or three times every day, and as it rose, following it up to the highest ridge of its roof, and I have seen nothing but faithful, honest work, every where."[10]

The library stack room consists of masonry exterior walls surrounding and lending support to an iron interior frame, which, when the ground floor is included, is seven stories high. The internal rigid iron framework is composed of vertical supports, which are rectangular in section and run up from the foundations and out into the space at the top of the stack chamber, and wrought-iron beams that pass at each floor and each bay between the vertical members and the east and west walls. The mark of their manufacturer, the Phoenix Iron Company of Pennsylvania, was rolled into the beams. No attempt was made to hide the huge bolts that attach beam to column. The columns must consist of parts as long as each floor is tall. The accuracy of their vertical alignment and the level of their tops would have been established as the framework was bolted together. This structural skeleton is hidden from view on the interior by decorative cast-iron dressings.

The room is surmounted by a series of masonry arches that form a cove, parts of which may be opened to permit the circulation of air. A grid of iron beams composes the visible portion of the roof; the glass of the interior skylight rests upon it. Above this skylight a huge chamber, beneath an outer roof with skylights, contains the iron roof trusses, supplied by the Kellogg Bridge Company of Buffalo. The Phoenix Iron Company fabricated the iron structure of the inner skylight.



Lind's May 1876 interior elevation of two full library bays shows some of its neo-Grec devices cast in iron by Bartlett, Robbins & Company. (Archives of the Peabody Institute, Johns Hopkins University.)

The forced-air ventilation system and the hot water heating apparatus were designed and supplied by Bartlett, Robbins & Co., which also manufactured the decorative iron skin that covers the frame on the interior. Warm air entered the chamber through cast-iron grills in the marble floor of the court and exited at the top of the room. The chamber was lighted by decorative gas fixtures.

In the course of their search for fire-resistant materials, the trustees interviewed a representative of the Fireproof Building Company of New York and concluded that the famous cement and artificial stone it marketed (manufactured at Teil, Ardeche, France, and which had won an award when exhibited at the Paris Exposition of 1867) were the best that could be found. The material of all the internal masonry in the library, including the arches at the top of the stack room, came from Teil. The choice of cast iron for the framework was wise; the World War II blitz of the city of London would disclose that cast-iron frames stand up to fire even better than does steel. The floors of the stacks are composed of sheet-iron panels that rest on the transverse beams. Further security against fire was provided by iron rolling shutters, produced by James Wilson of Baltimore. (It is unfortunate that many of these were removed in a recent renovation.) Wooden bookshelves were the only departure from fire-resistant materials.

In 1879 the trustees reported that, exclusive of the land but including fittings and furniture and the 1878 extensive renovation and improvement of the original institute building, they had invested $517,086 in the two structures. In a sense the library was the work of Bartlett, Robbins & Co.; receipts in the archive of the institute indicate that this firm received more than $100,000 for its part in construction.[11]

Lind's skill in planning and design, his taste in decoration, and his ability to work with the members of the building committee (who were bossy) and the provost and the foundry were fundamental to the success of the venture.

This second building campaign, involving the construction of the library, also called for rearrangement of the spaces in the institute building to accommodate new uses when the library moved out. This was a planning challenge. The buildings were separated by a wide areaway, open on the south, and were to be connected only at the lobbies along the north front and via a brick-and-iron bridge at second-floor level across the south end of the areaway.

Reading from the ground up, the library building consisted of a sizable lecture hall, half in and half out of the earth, with windows at ground level (an arrangement that was possible because the site sloped to the east), a classroom parallel with the north front, satellite service rooms for lecturers, an office, staircases, and corridors. Lind shoehorned all this in around the iron supports of the internal frame as they rose from the footings. They appear in the plan and became part of the decorative treatment of the hall. This floor is now utterly changed to accommodate a small rehearsal room and two levels of bookstacks beneath part of the main floor.

The main floor, reached from the street by a tall flight of steps under a columned porch, is more than a half-story above street level. It contains a vestibule—which appears to be a cube room, a bit of Lindian elegance—from which one could move into the lofty library reading room with huge windows that stretches to the east wall of the building. To its south is the stack chamber, sixty-one feet tall, containing six visible floors, the first being one foot taller than those above. There are windows on the outer sides of all but the sixth of the stack floors. The staff offices are beyond the stack room at the extreme south.

The next floor is more complex. Lind was asked to adapt to a new use the room in the institute building vacated by the library, and connect it with two rooms on the second floor of the new library building to create a U-shaped suite of three chambers. They would house the art collection, which, like the library, had been growing by leaps and bounds. Above the reading room of the library building he created a new room, as large as the one below, entered directly from the older building. This would be the sculpture gallery. It is one of the finest and best-proportioned spaces in the entire complex. Lind put art galleries in the room where the library had been and in the room on the south second floor of the library building contiguous with it. The reason for the bridge across the areaway becomes clear: it would connect the two buildings at this level in such a way that the library would be insulated from the rest of the institute. In the interests of fireproofing and separation of functions, the only direct connection above the main floor between the two structures was provided by the sculpture gallery, which did not, however, open into the library space and was separated from it by a heavy wall of fireproof blocks. There were iron doors wherever the two buildings approached one another. This discontinuity between the two parts of the institute required internal staircases—which were also iron—in the south ends of both buildings. The music conservatory was housed in the second and third floors along the west wall of the earlier building.

The ingenuity of Lind's plan is matched only by the glorious decoration of the stack room. The columns are covered with a veneer of decorative cast iron that is painted grey-green and touched with gold leaf. The ornament is Neo-Grec, a style that was often used in the nineteenth century in conjunction with Renaissance Revival architecture, and one which enjoyed considerable popularity in Baltimore buildings of the 1870s. It is called Neo-Grec because many of its details were taken from Greek decorative designs, well known from Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* (1856), a copy of which was in the Peabody Library, and other pattern books. But in the nineteenth century such details were used at a scale and in ways that bear no relationship to their original appearance in Greek art, for most are extracted from the painted details on ancient pottery. The galleries are faced with a rich railing that used the Greek anthemion repeatedly. As is characteristic of the later nineteenth century, the decoration of this room is borrowed from historic ornament of various periods and these details are combined in an original way.

The Neo-Grec style is recognizable because of its Greek motifs, the symmetry of each part of the design, the use of plant forms with sharply pointed leaves, and the incised ornament which could be so effectively produced in iron casting. As in the decoration of the library, its motifs were often combined in ways (such as the pendants on the undersurface of the skylight, the delicacy of the plant forms in the incised ornament, their curvilinearity and pointed terminations) that suggest not Greek but the inspiration of Gothic—even of the illuminations in manuscripts—and Elizabethan decoration. Midway up the cast iron on the columns in the stack room of the library there is a small intaglio ornament that is axiomatic of this style. To all this, Lind added a splendid black and white marble floor in which are set cast-iron grates—formerly part of the heating and ventilating system and now unfortunately covered.

Because the parts of the iron veneer were to be cast over and over again, Lind had only to draw one bay of the gallery railing, two column types and capitals—for that is all that are used in the library—and one of the decorative spandrel beams that bridge the bays at the level of the capitals on the second, fourth, and sixth floors, and to indicate where the various moldings for which he supplied patterns were to be applied. These details and the composition of the whole were his. Of course he had to get the designs right in the first place, decide exactly where he wished to put which of his patterns (not a mean responsibility), and see to it that the correct numbers of each molding and part were made for the job. When one stands in the center of the stack room and looks up, everything visible—from the floor through the crest of the moldings beneath the arches of the cove and the ceiling— is iron, attached with large screws and bolts. At ground level these screws were carefully countersunk, but high up under the masonry arches, no attempt was made to disguise the fastenings. There the cast iron is thin, and much of the actual decoration is sheet metal. The load-bearing iron structural frame is hidden beneath all this decoration.

Decoration is but a part of the design of the chamber. Its marvelous proportions are also owed to Lind. The six-story height is made more dramatic because there are but three columnar bays and each embraces two floors. Had there been a bay for each floor, the horizontal lines created by the capitals and the arches that join them would have made the ceiling appear lower than it is. The long dimension of the room is emphasized because the galleries and their railings on the ends are forward of the columns that are there engaged to the walls, a visual trick that pulls the walls back, qualifies the density of the ornament, and removes any possibility that the room might seem claustrophobic. In 1865 Badger had illustrated iron facades in which window openings on two floors are contained in one columnar bay. It can be said that Lind lined the interior of the library with a beautifully designed and custom-made cast-iron front.

It should be noted that the stack room was once even more handsome than it now is. The shelves that have been added in the middle of each bay tend to break the effects of height, airiness, and delicacy. But these additions were planned from the beginning to permit growth of the collection. Their weight was calculated into the load-bearing strength of the iron frame.

In the Peabody Institute and its library one can step back in time to appreciate Baltimore's past and sense the history of the city and the part it plays in life today. They give scale to the present and tell of the intellectual attainment, the building skills and the precision of the tastes of a century ago. The books in the library, the art collection of the institute, and the buildings belong together. They are a unique treasure and are inextricably a whole.

NOTES

1. John Stuart Mill, introduction by Frederick A. von Hayek, *The Spirit of the Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942 [1851]), Horace Greeley, Leon Case, et al., *The Great Industries of the United States, being an Historical Summary of the Origin, Growth, and Perfection of the Chief Industrial Arts of This Country* (Hartford and Chicago, 1872), p. 575. This account is particularly interesting in the context of the history of the manufacture of architectural iron in Baltimore for it stresses the importance of Bartlett, Robbins and Co., the development of the firm and the excellence of its work.

2. "Influence of Construction on Style in Architecture," *Foreign Quarterly Review*, 19 (April 1837): 45. For the German source see Hugo Ritgen (translated from the German), *Contributions Relative to Constructions in Wood and Iron, and the Forming of a Character for a Newer and More Appropriate Species of Architecture* (Leipzig and Darmstadt, 1835).

3. Gilbert Herbert, *Pioneers of Prefabrication: The British Contribution in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1978), p. 1.

4. The Baltimore *Sun*, 24 April 1849, reported that Benson's factory was in President Street and that he was producing decorative iron railings for cemeteries as well as demountable buildings. The shop of Lapouraille and Mauglin was at Falls Avenue and Pratt Street. Rhoads made houses with rubber roofs lined on either side with canvas. He was sending two sailmakers and two carpenters out with the houses "expenses paid and their clothes for 18 months. On arriving they will either work at their trades or dig gold, 1/2 their produce to go to the firm." The *Sun* on 15 November 1849 reported that K. McComas's shop was at Alice Anne Street and Harford Run [now Central Avenue]. He had already made eighteen houses and had more in the course of construction.

5. The *Sun*, 25 July 1848, reported that Adam Denmead, who was an inventor as well as an iron founder, had three cupola furnaces in his plant and could melt eight tons of iron an hour. On 27 December 1848 the paper stated that, at his Monumental Iron Works, Denmead had built railway cars for the Washington branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. On 3 January 1849 it reported that the elegant rooms of the Temperance Temple in Gay Street, where only water was available at marble fountains, had a front and interior columns of cast iron "adorned with cornices of rich and classic finish" manufactured by Poole and Ferguson. On 4 August 1848 the *Sun* stated that Murray and Hazlehurst had an iron shop, called the Vulcan Works, at Federal Hill and were making the iron for a U.S. frigate under construction in the Gosport Naval Yards and all the machinery for the frigate *Susquehanna* then building in Philadelphia. In May 1849 they were reported to have built the iron boilers for the steamer *Powhatten* that was to run between Washington and Baltimore. The *Sun*, 26 April 1846, reported that James Millhol-

land had built an iron bridge over Carroll's Run for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. It was made at Ellicott's rolling mill in Baltimore. On 15 February 1847 a new locomotive of his design, manufactured at the Bolton works, made the journey from Baltimore to Woodbury.

6. *Sun*, 28 July 1848.

7. See *Illustrations of Iron Architecture Made by the Architectural Ironworks of the City of New York, Daniel G. Badger, President* (New York, 1865; repr. Da Capo Press, 1970), p. 5.

8. Peabody Institute Annual Report, 1858.

9. Ibid., 1878.

10. Ibid., 1878.

11. Ibid., 1879.

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

Guide to the Commissions of Maryland's Colonial Governors

DAVID R. OWEN and MICHAEL C. TOLLEY

For the past three years we have been researching and writing a study of Maryland's courts of admiralty and vice admiralty between 1634 and 1776. As a starting point, we identified the authority for the establishment of these special courts, then analyzed the governors' commissions as the source of such authority. The analysis was complicated by the fact that until 1734 the language of the High Court of Admiralty was Latin[1] and by the colony's troubled political history. From 1634 to 1691 the lords Baltimore were proprietors with absolute power to appoint governors who, in turn, could erect courts and appoint judges. For example, the first governor, Leonard Calvert, was commissioned by his brother, Cecil, second Lord Baltimore, as "Lieutenant Generall, Admirall, Chief Captain and Commander," and also as "Chancellor, Chief Justice, and Chief Magistrate" (with no mention of governor). In the second proprietary period, the title was shortened to "Lieutenant Generall and Chief Governour."

Following the revolution of government in 1691, Maryland became a royal colony, with governors commissioned by the Crown, and so remained until 1715. The title became "Captain Generall and Governor in Chief." The governor was authorized to "erect, constitute, and establish such and so many Courts of Judicature and publick Justice," and to appoint judges thereof.

During the royal period the governors also had important commissions as vice admirals issued by the lords of the admiralty through the judge of the High Court of Admiralty. All of the royal governors of Maryland—Copley, Nicholson, Blakiston, Seymour and Hart—held such dual commissions. The royal commissioning system has been authoritatively and completely described by Professor L. W. Labaree of Yale.[2]

Mr. Owen, past president of the Maritime Law Association of the United States, graduated from the University of Virginia Law School. Professor Tolley, a Johns Hopkins Ph.D. in political science, teaches at Northeastern University, Boston.

The office of vice admiral was judicial rather than naval, and under it the governor could erect courts of vice admiralty that were royal courts rather than colonial courts. Their chief function was the enforcement of the English Acts of Trade, particularly the 1696 act which enlarged the jurisdiction of the vice admiralty courts for this special purpose. In 1715 governmental power reverted to the lords Baltimore, subject to the right of the Crown to approve the appointment of governors. This situation continued until the American Revolution.

Although the attorney general of England had ruled in 1696 that the king could commission vice admiralty courts in the proprietary colonies (which in fact he did in Pennsylvania), there is no record of any royal vice admiralty commission to a Maryland governor after the issuance of Hart's in 1714. Though it seems doubtful that the lord proprietor had the legal power to commission a governor as vice admiral and thereby erect true vice admiralty courts, we have discovered in the Calvert Papers at the Maryland Historical Society an abbreviated commission from the sixth Lord Baltimore to Governor Horatio Sharpe in 1756. In any event, Sharpe did commission a vice admiralty court, and his successor Robert Eden renewed the commission.

Some of this ground has been plowed before, but not deeply enough for our purposes. Nothing at all has been published about the vice admiralty commissions. On the other hand, lists of chief executive officers of Maryland with their dates of service are nothing new. The first attempt to compile such a list was undertaken by the late Bernard C. Steiner in 1912 and published in the seventh volume of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, pages 321-28. Steiner included some data that are extraneous to our study, such as archival references to the arrival of a new governor in Maryland, his reading of his commission to the council, and so forth. He cited references only to such commissions as were reproduced in the *Archives of Maryland*, which did not by any means purport to print all original manuscripts. The most recent list appears in volume one of the *Archives of Maryland*, new series (Maryland State Archives), pages 3-4. It differs from ours in that it includes individuals and ad hoc groups who exercised executive power without having been directly commissioned by the proprietor or the Crown.

Understanding the nature of the power the lords proprietor or the Crown conferred on Maryland governors provides insight into the way in which the province of Maryland was governed, and the best way to begin is to study the commissions themselves. Having unearthed a veritable gold mine of gubernatorial commissions in an unlikely place—the libers of the Provincial Court Land Records in the Maryland State Archives[3]—we below list all *commissioned* governors and their terms in office, commission references and dates, letters of instructions where applicable, and the location of their commissions.

In some instances, the dates of tenure are discontinuous. These apparent interruptions can be explained either by insurrection (such as Captain Richard Ingle's usurpation of the government in 1645), experiment with parliamentary government between 1652-1657, or leaves of absence during which the governor turned the government over to the president of the council.

GUBERNATORIAL COMMISSIONS, 1634-1776

First Proprietary Period

Governor	Tenure	Commission Reference	Date of Commission	Letter of Instruction
Leonard Calvert	1634-1643 1644-1647	AM, 3:48-55 AM, 3:108-14 AM, 3:151-57	15 Apr. 1637 4 Sept. 1642 6 Sept. 1644	Given instructions as "Deputy Governor" 13 November 1633
Thomas Greene	1647-1649	AM, 3:187	9 June 1647	——
William Stone	1649-1654	AM, 3:201-9	6 Aug. 1648	——
Josias Fendall	1657-1660	AM, 3:323-24	10 July 1656	——
Philip Calvert	1660-1661	AM, 3:391-92	14 June 1660	——
Charles Calvert	1661-1676	AM, 3:439 (abbreviated commission) AM, 3:542-45; AM, 15:3-6 (full commission)	14 Sept. 1661 16 Feb. 1665 [1666] (recommissioned)	——
Thomas Notley (Governor for Caecilius Calvert, infant son of Charles)	1676-1679	AM, 15:132-35	14 Oct. 1676	——
Charles Calvert, Third Lord Baltimore and second Lord Proprietor	1679-1684	——	——	AM, 5:446-52 (10 August 1685) Instructions emphasized Navigation Act enforcement
Benedict Leonard Calvert, infant son of Charles	1684-1689	——	——	——

AM: *Archives of Maryland*
MHS: Calvert Papers (Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.)
Prov. Court Land Rec: Provincial Court Land Records (Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Md.)
—— : Unknown

GUBERNATORIAL COMMISSIONS, 1634-1776

Royal Period

Governor	Tenure	Commission Reference	Date of Commission	Letter of Instruction
Lionel Copley	1691-1693	1) AM 8:263-70 [Commission as Governor]	1) 27 June 1691	AM, 8:271-80 26 August 1691
		2) Prov. Court Land Rec: Liber WRC (1676-1700) ff. 575-79 [Commission as Vice Admiral]	2) 20 Jan. 1691 [1692]	
Edmund Andros	1693-1694	AM, 20:6-8 [short, interim commission as governor effective upon Copley's death]	3 Mar. 1691 [1692]	——
Francis Nicholson	1694-1699	1)AM, 20:83-91 AM, 20:299-301 [Commission as Governor]	1) 10 Feb. 1693 [1694]	AM, 23:540-49 8 March 1693 [1694]
		2) AM, 20:91-97 [Commission as Vice Admiral]	2) 5 Mar. 1693 [1694]	AM, 23:311-21 Instructions emphasized Navigation Act enforcement
Nathaniel Blakiston	1698-1702	1) Prov. Court Land Rec: Liber WRC (1687-1700) ff. 882-86 [Commission as Governor]	1) 19 Oct. 1698	——
		2) AM, 25:61-67 [Commission as Vice Admiral]	2) 23 May 1699	

GUBERNATORIAL COMMISSIONS, 1634-1776

Royal Period

Governor	Tenure	Commission Reference	Date of Commission	Letter of Instruction
Thomas Tench	1702-1704	AM, 25:121-22, 125-26 [During Blakiston's absence in England, the Council assigned his commissions as Governor and as Vice Admiral to Tench]	——	——
John Seymour	1704-1709	1) Prov. Court Land Rec: Liber TL 2 (1699-1707) ff. 740-49 [Commission as Governor]	1) 12 Feb. 1702 [1703]	AM, 24:330-34, 367-71 (27 April 1704)
		2) Prov. Court Land Rec: Liber TL 2 (1699-1707) ff. 750-58 [Commission as Vice Admiral]	2) 22 Mar. 1702 [1703]	
		3) Prov. Court Land Rec: Liber TL 2 (1699-1707) ff. 853-59 [short-form vice admiralty commission]	3) 21 Oct. 1705	
		4) AM, 25:191-93 [Special vice admiralty commission]	4) 20 Oct. 1705	
Edward Lloyd	1709-1714	As President of the Council, Lloyd assumed the government on Seymour's death	——	——
John Hart	1714-1715	1) Prov. Court Land Rec: Liber TP 4 (1709-1719) ff. 259-69 [Commission as Governor]	1) 12 Feb. 1713 [1714]	——
		2) Prov. Court Land Rec: Liber TPi (1709-1719) ff. 270-77 [Commission as Vice Admiral]	2) 17 Feb. 1713 [1714]	

GUBERNATORIAL COMMISSIONS, 1634-1776

Second Proprietary Period

Governor	Tenure		Date of Commission	Letter of Instruction
John Hart	1715-1720	AM, 25:323-25	30 May 1715	—
Thomas Brooke, II	1720	President of Council. Acting Governor in Hart's absence	—	—
Charles Calvert	1720-1727	Prov. Court Land Rec: Liber PL 5 (1709-1723) ff. 116-21	1 June 1720	—
Benedict Leonard Calvert	1727-1731	Prov. Court Land Rec: Liber PL 6 (1724-1731) ff. 211-13	14 March 1726 [1727]	—
Samuel Ogle	1731-1732	Prov. Court Land Rec: Liber PL 8 (1731-1737) ff. 45-47	16 September 1731	—
Charles Calvert, Fifth Lord Baltimore and Lord Proprietor	1732-1733	(Present in Council 11 Dec. 1732)	—	—
Samuel Ogle	1733-1742	Prov. Court Land Rec: Liber PL 8 (1731-1737) ff. 197-99	20 June 1733	—
Thomas Bladen	1742-1747	Prov. Court Land Rec: Liber EI 3 (1737-1744) ff. 330-32	19 April 1742	—
Samuel Ogle	1747-1752	Prov. Court Land Rec: Liber EI 8 (1744-1749) ff. 248-50	3 October 1746	—
Benjamin Tasker	1752-1753	Prov. Court Land Rec: Liber EI 9 (1753-1756) ff. 446-52	—	—
Horatio Sharpe	1753-1769	1) Prov. Court Land Rec: Liber EI 9A (1749-1756) ff. 383-85	1) 17 March 1753	AM, 31:8-14 (17 March 1753)

GUBERNATORIAL COMMISSIONS, 1634-1776

Second Proprietary Period

Governor	Tenure	Commission Reference	Date of Commission	Letter of Instruction
		2) MHS: Calvert Papers, MS. 174, Roll 25, Doc. 574 [Commission as Vice Admiral]	2) 16 Dec. 1756	
Robert Eden	1769-1776	Prov. Court Land Rec: Liber DD4i (1765-1770) ff. 575-76	1 Aug. 1768	AM, 32:283-300 (30 Nov. 1768) Instructions emphasized Navigation Act enforcement

NOTES

1. To aid future researchers, we have had the commissions issued to Maryland's royal governors translated into English. The authors wish to acknowledge the assistance of John Siman, graduate student in classics, Johns Hopkins University, in translating the vice admiralty commissions into English. Though the Admiralty developed a rather structured form of commission, which in modern English can be found in Elijah E. Jhirad, comp., *Benedict on Admiralty* (7th ed.; New York: Matthew Bender, 1988), vol. 1, sec. 65, the subtle differences between the standard form and the actual commission would have gone unnoticed if not for the careful work of the translator.

2. See Labaree, *Royal Government in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930) and *Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors, 1670-1776* (2 vols.; New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1935). Instructions supplemented commissions and were of a more private nature. In the eighteenth century, royal instructions were on occasion limited to a single subject, such as enforcement of the Acts of Trade.4. That list differs from ours in that it includes individuals and ad hoc groups who exercised executive power without having been directly commissioned by the Proprietor or the Crown.

3. The liber in the archives identified as *Governor and Council—Commission Records (1733-1773)* [MDHR: 4012-1], would seem to be the likely place to find commissions to governors. It includes instead commissions granted by the governors to a variety of officials.

Defense of Baltimore Correspondence, 1814

MELINDA K. FRIEND

During the Napoleonic wars with France, Great Britain, in the face of a severe manpower shortage, began impressing American sailors into the British naval service. The British also seized any American vessel engaging in trade with French-controlled Europe. Angered mostly by the impressment of sailors, Congress on 18 June 1812 declared war on Britain. The British response to the declaration of war and the subsequent capture and looting of their ships by American privateers (mostly from Baltimore) came on 12 December, when Britain proclaimed a naval blockade of the Delaware and Chesapeake bays. Thus began the war for "free trade and sailor's rights."

In late August, 1814, Baltimore stood alone, a tantalizing prize for a British invasion force fresh from their victory at Bladensburg, and the burning of Washington, D.C. In charge of the city's defenses since March, 1813, was the capable Maj. Gen. Samuel Smith,[1] who on 11 September would officially become the United States military commander of Baltimore. Maj. George Armistead[2] commanded Fort McHenry and Commodore John Rodgers[3] the American naval forces.

While citizens, militia, and sailors scrambled to prepare defenses for their beloved Baltimore, still in a state of unreadiness, Alexandria, Virginia, and all of its supplies capitulated to the British on 29 August. By order of William Jones, secretary of the navy, Commodore Rodgers—as well as Commodores Oliver H. Perry and David Porter—were ordered from Baltimore to Bladensburg, Maryland, with 650 men. In his absence, Rodgers placed Lt. Robert T. Spence[4] in temporary command[5] of the naval contingent.

Spence to Rodgers

Baltimore August 31, 1814

Sir,

The Oars were not to be procured in Baltimore, on the arrival of your order. All the Carpenters which could be collected, have been at work; and the order has been executed as expeditiously, as under existing circumstances, was possible.

We deplore your absence, as you were looked upon the Bulwark of the City.

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By a return made me from the Lazaretto,[6] I find there are but 25 men able to leave here for Washington: they will set out immediately.[7] I have the honor to remain yr vy obt st

General Smith became uneasy, almost desperate, at the absence of Rodgers and his sizeable force from Baltimore.

Smith to Rodgers

Head Quarters 1 Sept 1814

Sir,

I have recieved your letter of yesterday. Your retrograde to Snowden's,[8] is forwithin,[9] but unless you return to Baltimore immediately the injury done cannot be retrieved,[10] inde[e]d I doubt whether it can be repaired. The preparations you had intended can (I presume) not be perfected, and this day all of our 12 and 18 pounders depart for Washington as I informed you yesterday. I hope you will have sufficient influence to cause them also to retrograde and have the honor to be Your obt.

Smith refused to allow Rodgers to carry away the field guns. Rodgers acted under orders from the War Department, which owned the guns. The carriages belonged to Baltimore.[11] *Once again Smith wrote Rodgers asking him to return to Baltimore and strengthen the city's defenses. But the new secretary of war, James Monroe, had other plans for Rodgers. Monroe wanted to send a flotilla from Washington to seize the British force while it moored at Alexandria, Virginia, and recover captured supplies. About 5* A.M. *on 2 September the British disembarked. Rodgers followed, hoping to use fire vessels to set fire to the tail of the British squadron.*[12]

Smith to Rodgers

Head Quarters, Baltimore 2nd Septr 1814

Sir,

I have recd yours & regret that the Idea of setting fire to two frigates[13] should induce the Government to detain so large & so efficient a force as yours from our aid, because altho you come at the time the British are before us, your Station is not assigned & in the Meantime the Sloops of War intended to defend the Western Branch [of the Patapsco River] are not prepared.[14] If we are attacked on that side we are not defended, it is the Weak point. I am persuaded you can do no good where you are. You may cause the Burning of Alexandria. What has become of the Ammunition secured in the Chapel. In haste yours,

The letters resume after the Battle of Baltimore, 12-14 September, with mention of the British departure from the Patapsco River.

John Kiddall[15] to Rodgers

Sepr 15th 2 pm

Sir,

By Order of Leutenant Rutter,[16] I called to inform you, that this morning the Enemy sent a Cutter and took up their Buoys and at 11 am a Brig took up the anchor that whas left by the Frigate[17] that grounded yesterday; in every other respect the Enemy remains as last evening. The axeltree of our gun has been replaced and the gun is now fit for service. Sir I remain with respect Your Obt St

Even after the British had retreated, the Americans fully expected them to return and launch another attack on Fort McHenry from a different direction. The militia, however, dispersed. "My force is wasting away most rapidly," Smith wrote to Monroe. "800 Virginia who had been called en masse insisted on their discharge. 1200 Pensylvania Volunteers and as many Marylanders whose time had expired have gone & more will go daily."[18] *This problem was enlarged by the ordered departure to Philadelphia of Rodgers and his forces.*

Spence to Rodgers

Baltimore September 21st 1814

Dear Sir,

General Winder[19] having taken the command of Fort McHenry, I am relieved from that duty,[20] and have a moment of leisu[r]e to express to you, the sincere, the deep, regret *I*, and all of us feel, at your departure; which leaves us in gloom, nay in despendency. I feel your absence more than others, because I know better how to appreciate your presence.

Our protection is hourly diminishing, the troops both from Pennsylvania and Vi[r]ginia being about to part here for their respective states, this will leave us "poor indeed."

I have this evening seen Gen. Smiths general order.[21] He seems to have lavished praise on all, and forgotten no one but me. Thus you are my reward for the unwearied labour, nay slavery I have performed during this late affair. This pointed neglect I should not feel in so indiscriminate a *Bill* of eulogy. Did not my rank require some mention of my name. However, to you my exertions are known; and I need not say, that a word of commendation from some, is worth volumes of praise from others. I could wish my dear Sir, should you have occasion to write General Smith, that you would hint this omission.

I hope you found Mrs. Rodgers well. I can readily conceive her feelings at meeting you after an absence filled by her imagination with a thousand dangers. Be so good as to present my respects to her as also my sincere congratulatiens upon your resteration, and to receive the warmest assurance of admeratien, and friendship.

After the battle, some of the ranking officers issued general or division orders or wrote letters in which they extolled the performance of their men and thanked them. Spence referred to such correspondence in his previous letter and in the following one.

Spence to Rodgers

Baltimore Sept 29th 181[4]

Dear Sir,

I have been honored after some delay in the office, with your kind letter of the 23rd as also with a Copy of your dispatch to the Secretary.[22] The offer you make to interest yourself for Mrs. Hall,[23] with a view to obtain from Government some small provession for her maintenance, evinces a sensibility to the distress of others which, does you honor: I avail myself of your proffer, and doubt not, but a representation from you would have the desired effect. Your communication to the Dempt [department] on the subject of the services rendered by the Navy at this place, is the only one I have seen free of the bombast which characterises the elaborate effusions of our Militia Officers. I have often mentally asked, how you came with the good style which so marks your productions? My surprise arises from your having been all your life on the ocean, which you know is not the best school in the world for letters. I know of no two officers who have had a more circumscribed opportunity of making literary acquirements than ourselves—having been both of us, at sea, from the earliest boyhood. This deprivation of academic instruction is not discoverable in your writtings, for I have ever admired the pithy simplicity of your letters. I feel myself greatly indebted, for the eloquent manner you have been pleased to speak of my slender services: It is grateful to receive commendation from one who is so much the object of praise as yourself—whose labours for his country have been so multeplied and important. I have ever viewed you as one of the patreachs of a Navy which, under your care and example has flourished and heaped glory on the land. Much aid has this honorable establishment received from you. How many officers of merit have been schooled in it by your tuition? Yes; I am informed that General Scott is to take command of this district,[24] such a change perhaps is necessary. It appears to be the opinion of many, that Men of a different stamp from those at present in command, are necessary for the safety of the City. We require a Commander of Martial genius—of spirit, and of solid judgment. A Man who on critical occasions can inspire those who are under him with confidence in his abilities, & intripidity. In fine, we want a soldier with capacity to create an army out of materials good, but uncombined; who has penetration to see the want of, and the necessity of discipline; with firmness and resolution to introduce and establish it. Such is the General we stand in need of; whether Smith has these requisite qualifications you can better judge than myself. Come who may, I hope you will be with us in the hour of trial. Your name is worth a thousand Men to us, and the animating influence of your presence a thousand More.

Since your departure I [. . .][25] unwell, indeed there is scarcely a Navy Officer on the station who has not been confined to his bed.[26] Mull[27] has been given over by his Phisician. An others have been dangerously ill.

Before I conclude I must again express the great pleasure I feel in a reperusal of your official communication. Be assured that it will please universally. Those sentintious paragraphs are full of expression. Independence forms in it a very prominant feature. Was it intentional, or was in inadvertency, that Major General Smith's name is not mentioned? Eulogy from such a source, I am persuaded would have been highly acceptable to him. If it was a designed omission, you certainly have a great deal of candour.

I fear you will be deprived of all chance of getting to sea this Winter; should this be the case, I sincerely hope that your next cruise may be made with the high sounding appellation of Admiral.[28] This rank the Navy is richly entitled to; and I most heartily hope, that it may this session reward your past toil and unwearied exertions for your country. With this wish I remain, most truly yours.

NOTES

1. Samuel Smith (1752-1839) served in the U.S. Congress and Senate from 1792-1833 and in 1835 was elected mayor of Baltimore, an office he held until his death.

2. George Armistead (1780-1818) had been commissioned major of the 3rd Artillery on 3 March 1813. In July of that year, Secretary of War Armstrong appointed him commander at Fort McHenry.

3. John Rodgers (1773-1838), a native Marylander, found himself early in life apprenticed to a ship master in the merchant service. He began his naval career in 1798 and fought in the Barbary Wars. During the War of 1812, he was the ranking officer in active service and commanded a fleet in the Patapsco River during the defense of Baltimore.

4. Robert Trail Spence (c.1785-1826) belonged to a wealthy Portsmouth, New Hampshire family. He became a midshipman in 1800, distinguished himself during the Barbary Wars, and in 1813 replaced Charles Gordon as the commandant of the Baltimore naval station. His postwar career included service in the West Indies in 1822 and the building of the first fort at Mesurado in Liberia. Ordered to take command of the West India fleet in 1826, he died in Baltimore before setting sail.

5. While Rodgers travelled to Bladensburg, a question of command arose between Spence and Lt. Solomon Frazier, a former Maryland state senator then serving with the U.S. Chesapeake Flotilla. Frazier refused to take orders from the lieutenant on the grounds that the flotilla was an entity separate from the regular navy and therefore not subject to orders of U.S. naval officers. Spence wrote to Secretary of the Navy William Jones asking him to resolve the conflict. Jones wrote, "In ordinary cases the Commodore [Rodgers] would not have interfered with the command of the flotilla, which being a special service was under the

command of the flotilla officer specially appointed and under the distinct order of the Navy Department. It is however self evident that whenever it shall be necessary to combine these forces the senior officer whether of the Navy proper or of the flotilla, will command.... you will report yourself and the force under you to Capt. Spence . . ." (Jones to Frazier, 3 September 1814, Letters Sent by the Secretary of the Navy to Officers, National Archives, RG 80, p. 56).

6. Spence referred to Lazaretto Point, located east of Fort McHenry at the mouth of the Northwest Branch of the Patapsco River on which a gun battery stood during the Battle of Baltimore.

7. The word "immediately" replaced "tomorrow."

8. The Snowden family's plantation, Montpelier, lay approximately eight miles north of Bladensburg.

9. This phrase actually appears superscript in a writing style different from that in the body of the letter. Maj. Gen. Smith may have penned the phrase himself as the ink is similar to that used for his signature at the letter's conclusion. I could only interpret the phrase to read "is forwithin."

10. In the Samuel Smith Papers, Library of Congress, the word is "remedied," but written as "retrieved" in the manuscript copy found in the War of 1812 Collection, Ms. 1846, Manuscripts Division, Maryland Historical Society Library.

11. See Scott S. Sheads, *The Rockets' Red Glare* (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1986), p. 69.

12. See Walter F. Lord, *The Dawn's Early Light* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1972), pp. 207-208.

13. The two frigates used by the British at Alexandria, Virginia, were the flagship *Seahorse* commanded by Capt. James Alexander Gordon and the *Euryalus* commanded by Capt. Charles Napier.

14. On the evening of 5 September, Rodgers was ordered back to Baltimore as the British position became more threatening to the city.

15. John Kiddall was a sailing master attached to the U.S. Chesapeake Flotilla. He served in the U.S. Navy from 16 October 1813 until his discharge of 15 April 1815.

16. Solomon Rutter served as a captain in the Marine Artillery until his appointment on 25 April 1814 as first lieutenant and second in command under Commodore Joshua Barney, commander of the U.S. Chesapeake Flotilla. During the Battle of Baltimore he directed barges in the passage between the Lazaretto and Fort McHenry.

17. An unknown British frigate.

18. Smith to Monroe, 19 September 1814, Smith Papers, Library of Congress.

19. William H. Winder (1775-1824), lawyer and soldier, was a native of Somerset County, Maryland. He attained the rank of brigadier general by appointment on 12 March 1813. During the War of 1812, he commanded at the Bladensburg fiasco of August, 1814, but later redeemed himself commanding the western defenses during the Battle of Baltimore.

20. Rodgers took command of Fort McHenry from Armistead at Smith's request on 15 September 1814 because of the major's incapacitating fever. Spence then

assumed command when on 19 September Rodgers was ordered with his men to Philadelphia. Captain Evans, Armistead's second-in-command, relieved Spence on 21 September, and not Winder. Armistead resumed his command on the 24th.

21. Spence referred to Smith's general order of 19 September 1814 (*Niles Weekly Register*, 24 September 1814), in which the general did seem to mention everyone but Spence. The omission of his name may have been intentional; Spence was not liked either by the militia or the flotilla men.

22. Rodgers to Jones, 23 September 1814, *Niles Weekly Register*, supplement, 7, 156-57. Here Spence finally received recognition for his efforts.

23. Possibly the widow of Sailing Master Leonard Hall who served with Spence aboard the *Ontario*.

24. Gen. Winfield Scott (1786-1866) took command of the tenth military district, headquartered in Washington, D.C., on 16 October 1814.

25. A small portion of the letter has been torn away.

26. A bilious fever had gripped Fort McHenry since 1813.

27. Jacob Mull became a master in the U.S. Navy on 13 February 1809. On 23 April 1813 he was ordered to report to the commanding naval officer at Baltimore and served aboard the *Java* and the *Macedonia*. Mull survived the fever; he died on 29 January 1851.

28. Rodgers never attained the rank of admiral, for until 1862 the highest rank in the U.S. Navy was captain.

Book Reviews

Archives of Maryland, new series, I: An Historical List of Public Officials of Maryland: Governors, Legislators, and Other Principal Officers of Government, 1632 to 1990 Volume I. Edward C. Papenfuse, Editor; Lynne M. Browne, Diane P. Frese, and Jane W. McWilliams, Associate Editors. (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, 1990. Pp. x, 542. Index. $30.)

The first series of *Archives of Maryland* was published from 1883 to 1972 and contained transcriptions of legislative proceedings, court proceedings and records of Maryland in the colonial period and Revolutionary-War era. The first volume in this new series contains the first comprehensive list of Maryland's public officials from 1632 to 1990. Colonial and state government officials, selected local officials, members of Congress, and other federal officeholders. Although historical lists of officials have been published in earlier editions of the *Maryland Manual,* this list contains more information and more names.

Part I consists of a list of offices and those who held them. Dates of service are given and there are notations when a person did not serve a full term. In the colonial period one finds the names of the great—the barons of Baltimore, governors of Maryland, secretaries (principal and deputy), agents, receivers general and commissaries general, judges—and the small: surveyors, rent-roll keepers as well as collectors (of customs).

The section dealing with the state government, beginning in 1777, not only lists the governors, lieutenant governors, and members of the governors' councils, but also attorneys general, adjutants general, and heads of executive departments. Also listed are those who held office in the legislature. Sections on the judicial branch and constitutional conventions list the officeholders for those government agencies. County executives and mayors of Annapolis and Baltimore City are listed by name, with their years of service, as are members of congress as well as Marylanders who held posts in the cabinet and federal judiciary.

Part II the,of the book is an index to the names of the officeholders. Here the entries show the name, office held and date of service. Those individuals who were included in the two-volume Biographical Directory of the Maryland Legislature, 1635-1789 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979, 1985) are shown in this name index in boldface type. It was not always possible to determine whether individuals who held offices at widely different times, and who had the same name, were really the same person or different people. The book concludes with an index to offices and a list of abbreviations.

Handsomely printed and bound, this first volume of the new series of the *Archives of Maryland* provides a much needed listing of Maryland's officeholders. It is to be hoped that future volumes will be added to this new series.

ROBERT BARNES
Perry Hall

Over the Hills and Far Away: Being a Collection of Music from 18th-Century Annapolis. By David and Ginger Hildebrand. (Albany, N.Y.: Albany Records, 1990. CD H103 Digital. Sound recording, liner notes. $16.95.)

American music historians have examined extensively the history of music in colonial America; the bicentennial, in particular, precipitated a flurry of activity that resulted in numerous books, articles, and recordings. The history of musical performance in certain areas, in fact, has been thoroughly investigated: New England and tidewater Virginia (especially colonial Williamsburg) come immediately to mind. Other areas and towns, however, have virtually been ignored. The recording *Over the Hills and Far Away* by David and Ginger Hildebrand fills one such gap.

The extensive and well documented liner notes to the recording commence with background information. Hildebrand offers a thumbnail sketch of life in the colonial Chesapeake and into this context he then places music in general and music in Annapolis in particular. The musical selections on the recording are divided into six categories: "The Scottish Vogue," "The Theatre," "The Tuesday Club," "Local Music," "The Tavern," and "The Church." The compositions differentiated by these headings illustrate both disparate styles of music, and, to a certain extent, the varieties of music favored by individuals of different social and economic strata; Hildebrand touches briefly on some of these issues in the short explanatory notes specific to each composition.

The music itself is quite ably performed by the Hildebrands (with the assistance of four other musicians), for the most part on period or reproduction instruments. The performing forces are pleasingly varied; they include accompanied and unaccompanied solo song, duets, vocal ensembles, solo instruments, and instrumental ensembles. All of the performances were recorded in historical locations in Annapolis, including the Hammond-Harwood House, William Reynolds' Tavern, St. Anne's Church, and the houses of Charles Carroll, William Paca, and Jonas Green.

I can single out several cuts on the recording for specific praise. In "The Birks of Endermay" and "If the Heart of a Man," Ginger Hildebrand (on a violin built ca. 1820) creates a sound that is wonderfully warm and rich. Likewise, her playing of the hammered dulcimer (on "Corn Riggs" and the set "Planxty Fanny Power"/"Oyle of Barley") is skillful and exciting, and the blend of dulcimer with the Spanish guitar and English flute works well. The English tune "See, See My Boys," sung as a round for four voices, is as exciting and diverting to listen to as it must be to sing. The high points of the recording, however, are the Hildebrands's duets: the close, warm harmony of Ginger's soprano descant sung to David's warm tenor melody (in "Rose Tree" and "Over the Hills and Far Away") is splendid; their two voices blend magically.

One complaint I have has to do with the liner notes. First, although it is fiendishly difficult to exclude hard-won scholarly facts, Hildebrand should have pruned his text more judiciously. Some of the information, although interesting, is peripheral, and there are too many footnotes for a set of liner notes. It would have been more useful to provide the texts of the numerous songs. It also would have been very helpful—in particular, for the general listener/reader—if the discussion of each musical selection had included a listening pointer or two. For example, in his description of Scotch songs, Hildebrand mentions musical characteristics such as "the pentatonic scale, use of drone, and the rhythmic 'Scotch snap.'" Unfortunately, he does not help the neophyte listener by pointing out examples of these characteristics in the Scottish works performed.

Overall, the quality of the recording is quite good. A minor quibble is that since the performing was done in different locations, the sound varies slightly from cut to cut. A more serious criticism has to do with the ambiance of the recording. The singing of tavern and theater songs in what is obviously an empty hall tends to work against the performers' subtext of historic recreation (why else perform the works in historical locations?) When listening to the theater songs I wished at least for some bodies in the hall to absorb some of the empty sound; during the tavern songs, I longed for the clink of glasses and the low murmur of voices. The decision to perform the works in recording-studio ambiance is an artistic one; it seems to me, however, that this works against the suitability of the historical surroundings.

A final criticism concerns performance style: specifically, the songs, although divided into different categories, sound remarkably similar. Hildebrand points out that "Ianthe the Lovely," a "refined, poetic, upperclass art song," is a far cry from the earthy "She Tells Me with Claret" or "Handsome Cabin Boy." Although it is true that the words to the more earthy songs are less refined than are those of the more elevated tunes, from a strictly musical point of view there is little difference between them: the earthy and bawdy songs sound musically as refined as the elevated ones. Perhaps the performance ambiance (or lack of one) has something to do with this.

Despite the minor drawbacks, this recording is a real contribution to our understanding of the place of music in colonial Maryland: it is of use to both scholars and teachers of music, theater, history, and American studies. Perhaps more important, the recording should also appeal to a more general public interested in the colonial period. Finally, even those individuals who are not particularly interested in history but who enjoy good and diverting music, well performed, will be rewarded by the addition of this disc to their collection.

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Homeplaces: Traditional Domestic Architecture of Charles County, Maryland. By J. Richard Rivoire. (La Plata, Md.: Southern Maryland Studies Center, Charles County Community College, 1990. Pp xiii, 183. Drawings, photographs, textual note. $25.00.)

There are books in which illustrations merely supplement the text. And there are books in which the text merely supplements the illustrations. And then there are books like *Homeplaces* in which the illustrations and text form a highly interdependent synthesis. This is a rare type of publication generated not as much by its informative regional survey of architectural resources in Charles County, Maryland, as by the exceptional manner in which those resources were recorded through measured drawings. Fortunately, those drawings are not simply included as a catalog; they have been carefully edited and included where best used for the information they contain.

While *Homeplaces* represents a professional work produced for professionals, it is not exclusively so. Rivoire divided the book into two parts. Part I provides a history and an architectural history of Charles County from its beginnings to the Civil War. While this section could have used more editing to eliminate some confusing generalizations, contradictory statements, and drawings without directional arrows, it is crucial to understanding the buildings in a county, state, or national context. One wishes that this history had been more developed. For example, the influence of non-countian styles, builders, and materials in the nineteenth century did not substantially affect the architectural provincialism in Charles County. Why was this so? Is this different from other Maryland counties? Still, the introductory essay reflects many current socioeconomic theories directed at professionals and dispels many architectural myths directed at non-professionals.

The second part of the book features twenty-five separate essays covering twenty-nine individual houses, ranging in length between four and twelve pages each. Chronologically arranged, each essay contains a mixture of title search/estate inventory history, architectural descriptions, reconstructed alteration history, and comparative analysis. While relatively short and concise, the construction history in each essay is supported by genealogical and economic material. The text of each essay explains and supports what the professionally produced, and nicely reproduced, measured drawings tell us. What the drawings tell us is a matter of reading and understanding them. While the text itself may be explicit, much of the information is implicitly coded and found in the drawings. The healthy effort of reading the drawings produces a "right brain" activity which is both stimulating as well as informative. Plans, elevations, sections, details, and photographs occur where they are needed without redundancy. The author's most central contribution is that of negotiating a clearly confident path of understanding and explaining the practical, social, stylistic, and technological transformations of each house. While there are a number of reconstructed elevation or perspective drawings, most houses are presented in their entire evolutionary form, with the construction sequences indicated on the plans. This undoubtedly stems from extensive in-the-field investigative skills. Since only a minimum amount of investigative physical evidence is discussed in the text, and even less in the clean, easy-to-read drawings, we can only hope that the author left voluminous documentary files and heavily annotated drawings as a public record. So-called "smart drawings" are not only as smart as the person who drew them, as the foreword tells us, but they are only as smart as the documented physical evidence on which they are based.

Homeplaces represents one man's extensive fieldwork, documentary knowledge, and careful analysis of a county's architectural heritage. In many ways the book argues against the premature publication of knowledge, for its author demonstrates what a patient approach can yield. It definitely argues in favor of a consistently produced set of drawings as fundamental to the understanding of a microcosmic work of architectural history. Together with larger, more comprehensive studies of regional and national histories, this is a crucial type of artifactual knowledge. Through it, one not only learns about traditional construction, but, more importantly, about the idiosyncratic quirks of regional architecture which make such an extensive recording effort essential to the larger understanding of the built environment. We are fortunate that Rivoire made the effort.

TRAVIS C. MCDONALD
Thomas Jefferson 's Poplar Forest

Smith Island, Chesapeake Bay. By Frances W. Dize. (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1990. Pp. 214. Notes, bibliography, index. $22.95.)

Smith Island—the cluster of small islands located twelve miles offshore from Crisfield in Chesapeake Bay—has probably received more attention from print and electronic media than any place its size in Maryland. The picturesque villages of Ewell, Tylerton, and Rhodes Point that lie nestled in the Chesapeake marshes plus the island's rugged watermen and their colorful dialect all add up to good copy. Smith Island has even received national exposure with the 1985 *National Geographic* television program, "Chesapeake Born," which featured several island watermen and their families. Yet despite this seeming plethora of available information about Smith Island, Frances W. Dize has added substantially to the store of knowledge about this special place and its people.

In *Smith Island, Chesapeake Bay*, Dize examines how Smith Islanders and their culture have been shaped by historical events as well as by their raw and difficult natural surroundings. She characterizes the islanders as independent, self-reliant, hardy, tenacious, religious, fun-loving, home and community-oriented, loyal, trustworthy, and suspicious of outsiders. She argues that these qualities are in part a result of a long history of isolation, interrupted periodically by assaults from outsiders.

In the first half of her book Dize presents a detailed history of Smith Island painstakingly gleaned from early land records, court proceedings, and other archival materials. Readers will come to appreciate that from its settlement in the late seventeenth century until the present, the island and its people have been threatened by one kind of enemy or another. While the island location isolated them from the outside world, it also made Smith Islanders vulnerable during every major conflict waged on the bay. The many harbors among the marshy islands provided hiding places for colonial-era pirates and smugglers involved in illicit activities. During the Revolutionary War the island was used as a way station for escapees, refugees and Tories who plundered Eastern Shore farms and captured vessels. In addition, the British raided the islands for supplies and food during both the Revolution and the War of 1812. And during the Civil War the islanders' movements were seriously curtailed by Union blockades set up to prevent smuggling operations by Marylanders sympathetic to Virginia and the Confederacy. Finally. the islanders were on the front lines of the long and sometimes violent boundary dispute between Virginians and Marylanders known as the oyster wars.

As if these events were not enough, the forces of nature also have conspired against Smith Island. While residents have survived severe weather, which has torn away at the island for centuries, erosion has been a tremendous problem for all generations of islanders. Through the years they have responded to erosion by moving houses and churches over the marsh to safer ground. Still, erosion remains the most serious threat to Smith Island's future.

Frances Dize married a Smith Island waterman and lived on the island for many years. While she does not emphasize her personal connections with islanders, it is apparent throughout her book that she knows the people of Smith Island very well and has a great deal of affection for them. She has listened to their stories, participated in their religious and community activities, visited in their homes, and observed the work of the island's main occupational group—watermen. Her book brims with details of community life and lore that only an insider could know.

Smith Island has an especially rich oral tradition of stories and legends. Dize recounts many of the stories islanders tell about their own history, important events in the community or favorite community characters. These stories and legends provide a fuller portrait of the island than would have been possible otherwise. Unfortunately, Dize all too often paraphrases these narratives rather than quoting a version of the tale as told by one of her neighbors. In cases where she does use the words of a Smith Islander, the passage comes alive with the speech and phrasing of a true folk narrative. This narrative voice is most strongly heard near the end of the book in a chapter, "Tall Tales and Traditions." Here direct quotations are used, although, curiously, the sources are not always given.

Smith Island, Chesapeake Bay will be of interest to anyone wishing to know about Maryland's only populated offshore island. It provides the kind of historical background that travel writers, journalists, and film-makers can't or won't include in their glimpses of the Smith Island they portray. Frances Dize dedicated her book to "the people of Smith Island, who welcomed me into their hearts and homes, as if I belonged." The people of Smith Island should be proud of this volume.

PAULA J. JOHNSON
National Museum of American History

Country Dances of Colonial America. By John Fitzhugh Millar. (Williamsburg, Va.: Thirteen Colonies Press, 1990. Pp. vi, 186. Illustrations, bibliographical notes, dance instructions, accompanying tunes, no bibliography, no index, no appendix. Library binding $30.00; paper $20.00)

This book was written to mark the 200th anniversary of the oldest surviving dance book published in America. A facsimile of this landmark book, published by

John Griffiths in 1788, is included in this volume. Also included is a history of country dancing, buildings in which colonial Americans danced, and instructions for performing dance figures and steps with accompanying tunes for 203 longways country dances and 47 cotillions which were danced in America, Canada, and the Caribbean through 1800. Millar states that these dances can add "color to historic reenactments and anniversaries, bringing museums to life, teaching in schools, and just plain fun from age 8 to 80." Although the writing style is relaxed and conversational and the book is physically attractive externally, internally the organization, factual information, and illustrations are problematic.

The history chapter, a loosely organized collection of facts, assumptions, and interpretations, is sometimes enlightening, but more often than not, results in misleading and incorrect broad general statements. For example, "Morris dancing included country dance and also entertainment between the acts on the theatre stage beginning sometime in the fifteenth century. . . . Morris has undoubtedly been changed over the years and was once more or less identical to country dancing" (p. 1). When the author provides specific information, he gives no references. For example, no reference was offered to substantiate that Newport Gardner, an African, had "dances and tunes attributed to him . . . " as Millar states on page 9. Also, statements about French court dances reflect limited knowledge of Renaissance and Baroque dance.

The book provides excellent information on dance of colonial Virginia, but the lack of documentation makes it questionable. That the author includes little material on dance in colonial Maryland reveals the lack of thorough research.

The author often jumps to conclusions without thorough investigation of more than one source. For example, Millar states that "Cotillions consisted of any of over a dozen well-known verses or 'changes'. . ." (p. 3) and that "Normally, three or four changes are selected by the Dance master from a pool of changes known to all the dancers, except that the Grand Round is always the first change" (p. 17). According to *A Treatise on Dancing and Various Other Matters* . . . (Boston, 1802, pp. 54-59, 79), this was not always the case.

Throughout the book, Millar mentions a dispute among experts concerning whether or not exotic French steps were performed in country dances. He did not give the names of the experts nor their arguments, missing a golden opportunity to show both sides of this dispute. Rather, he merely gives his conclusion without adequate references to support his argument. The descriptions of the dance figures were understandable, but twentieth-century and eighteenth-century terminology and performance styles were intermixed.

Millar does not always differentiate between assumption and fact. For example, on page 15, "The bouree-4 [*sic*] and the contretemps are the only exotic French steps used in duple-time dances, . . . probably only a small percentage of English and American dancers ever used them at all before 1792. Second, they were not used all the way through a dance, but only in certain figures." His descriptive notations of how to do the Renaissance double and single, and Baroque minuet, rigaudon, balancer [*sic*] and beaten step [*sic*] lack comprehensive knowledge and coherent analysis of timing and level changes. Perhaps a more significant contribution could have been made if both descriptive and analytical dance notations had been presented for all dance steps discussed in the text.

Millar's knowledge of eighteenth century architecture and decorative arts, presents insights into how fireplaces, clothes, and room sizes influenced the country dances. The locations of homes, taverns, assembly rooms, state houses, and governors' mansions where dances occurred is valuable information to reenactors and scholars dancing in historical sites.

Most valuable are the dances which Millar selected to illustrate: dances in America, Canada, Bermuda, Caribbean Islands; dances in English and European books with names referring to American or things American; dances in English or European books that are known to have been owned by people living in America; dances mentioned in historical American accounts; dances found in early American manuscripts or published book; and dances whose tunes are found in early American manuscripts. Each dance is described as a longways triple-minor or duple-minor, or cotillion along with historical contexts, dancing instructions, and tune. Millar's choice of tunes to match select dances included in this volume are subjective and do not agree with other scholars such as Charles Cyril Herdrickson, *Early American Dance and Music: John Griffiths, Dancing Master, 29 Country Dances 1788* (Hendrickson Group, 1989. p. 54.)

Millar could have made a significant contribution to dance scholarship *if* he had provided a complete bibliography and endnotes citing primary sources and the location of archives in which these primary materials can be found in order to verify, clarify, and make distinctions between facts and interpretations presented in the text. The in-text "bibliographical notes" do not adequately cover the sources, and they lump sources in run-on sentences with incomplete, strangely abbreviated and generic bibliographical citations.

With engravings, photographs, paintings, water colors by Thomas Rowlandson, Hogarth, John Collet, Philip Wickstead, and Lewis Miller, among others, Millar illustrates dancing as a manifestation, of American culture. But captions do not always give complete references from which the illustrations were taken (see p. 42). Unfortunately, the wonderful illustrations are cluttered on top of each other. The patterns and drawings of period clothing from other uncredited sources included were helpful hut the accompanying text contained errors about eighteenth century shoes.

"The Rules for the Regulation of the Assembly Commenced Octbr 28th: 1747 in Newport" are delightful, but the author neglects to cite the source. Millar continues by saying, "There follows a list of 32 women and only 13 men involved in the Assembly" (p. 12). A discerning reader wants the names of the people as well—therefore frustration mounts.

A reader who wishes to learn about colonial American dances for recreational purposes may be satisfied with this book, but a discriminating reader will use this book with great discretion *if at all* because, as Shelby Foote told *Newsweek*, (8

October 1990, p. 60), "All historians know that any untruth stains everything around it."

CHRYSTELLE TRUMP BOND
Goucher College

The North Carolina Railroad, 1849-1871, and the Modernization of North Carolina. By Allen W. Trelease. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1991. Pp.xvi, 486. Illustrations, maps, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. $37.50.)

Railroad history as a subject area offers tremendous rewards and subtle pitfalls. The railroad offers a dozen major, and perhaps another dozen peripheral, approaches to whatever particular time, place, or company the historian might wish to consider. In *The North Carolina Railroad, 1849-1871,* Professor Trelease successfully integrates the complexities of railroading itself with its larger social, economic, and political contexts. The result is an impressive work of North Carolina and Southern history, and a model for the larger field of railroad history.

The North Carolina Railroad originated in the same circumstances that led to the creation of Maryland's Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and dozens of others throughout the East and South. The legislature of North Carolina, recognizing the threats to the state's economy posed by isolation and the wretched conditions of inland travel, authorized the construction of a railroad linking existing railroads in the eastern part of the state with others in the western half. The state wished to divert commerce bound for rival ports in Virginia to North Carolina's own fledgling seaports, and to improve the economy of the entire state by providing reliable, all-weather transportation for "passengers and freights."

The legislature passed a charter for the railroad only after the predictable sectional compromises and political hard sell. The NCRR managed to sell the required stocks and bonds stock and build the railroad, but not without cost overruns and increased state support. North Carolina retained a 75 percent stock interest and regarded the internal improvements as a public trust. Despite its controlling interest, the state did not meddle too much with the actual operation of the road, even through the trauma of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Politics and patronage, however, were central factors in the staffing of the road.

Professor Trelease divides his study into three parts, corresponding with the major phases of the railroad's independent existence. The first covers the antebellum period, including the organization of the company in 1850, its construction and completion in early 1856, and how the railroad operated up to the beginning of hostilities in 1861. The second section treats the railroad in wartime, with detailed accounts of the travails of operating a complex technological system with few spare parts, huge increases in traffic, little money, and misguided, if not incompetent, management and employees.

The final section describes the railroad as it rebuilt after the war and found itself in a completely different economic environment from the Old South of ten years earlier. Trelease closes with the lease of the North Carolina Railroad to a subsidiary of the mighty Pennsylvania Railroad, which was battling the B&O for routes to New Orleans. Later, the state leased the NCRR to the Southern Railway (now Norfolk Southern). That arrangement is due soon for renewal, making this a timely, topical book.

In each of the sections, the author describes the operations of the road, the personalities at work, and the general business and social climate of the areas in which the railroad ran. Trelease unearthed new and significant details of what travel was like for passengers and soldiers. He adds to our understanding of the role of black chattel slavery in building and running an antebellum railroad. The text conveys a good sense of the physical geography and operating problems of this utterly typical mid-century railroad. His word pictures could equally well describe any of hundreds of railroads from New York to the Gulf of Mexico.

This is a substantial book by a seasoned academic historian. As such, it contains an impressive number of details and small facts that aggregate to a well documented, convincing portrait of a particular railroad. Trelease's conclusions are likewise solid: the NCRR fulfilled its promise to improve the state's links to outside commerce, defend and improve the prospects for North Carolina agriculture and industries, and in general wake up this "Rip Van Winkle state." Nevertheless, the very nature of railroad history, and the book's own title, suggest several critical observations.

My first comment in no way diminishes the importance of Professor Trelease's vast research and clear, well-ordered presentation. However, I feel that the author might have drawn broader, more synthetic conclusions about the time, place, or people so arduously reconstituted in the book. This is a fine railroad history book, but with little additional interpretation it might have provided an even richer understanding of why people built railroads in places like North Carolina. Dr. Trelease perhaps could have addressed some of the "big ideas" rattling around the field: nation building, technological transfer and innovation, work history, the effects of communication on a rural society, and the process of modernization itself.

The North Carolina Railroad was an agent of profound change within the state. The complex of terms that describe "modernization" best sum up the nature and mechanisms of those changes. Despite the book's stated goals—adequately met with statistics and narrative details—of assessing the NCRR's broader impact and "the road's rapid integration into an ever-larger regional, national, and international transportation network," some readers may be left desiring a more sophisticated interpretation of how indeed the railroad modernized North Carolina. This admirable model of "new" railroad history might also have stood as a model of social history or history of technology that happened to have a railroad as its subject.

I direct a particular criticism toward UNC Press, and toward academic publishers in general. Why, for a narrative that stretches 200-odd miles through an allegedly well surveyed state, do we have but two maps of mediocre quality and dubious use tucked in the front of the book? This work describes not just business history but a railroad linking dozens of towns and distinct economic and geographical units.

The NCRR was a complex linear technological system intersecting rivers, other railroads, roads, and existing patterns of trade. The dearth of good maps and diagrams is inexcusable. The subject matter itself is difficult enough without the publisher presupposing intimate knowledge of North Carolina geography. The readers of a serious study deserve better than this customary ignorance of coherent, accessible, maps.

Nonetheless, this is a fine work of history. The notes are superb, as are the appendixes and bibliographies. The North Carolina Railroad will be useful to students of travel and transportation, the Civil War, business history, the South, and of course, North Carolina. The book has much to offer students of Maryland, for the informing motives, processes, and technical details of the NCRR are very much like those of our own railroads, especially the B&O, Northern Central Railroad, and Western Maryland Railway. The reader will profit in proportion to the time he or she invests in Allen Trelease's work.

JOHN P. HANKEY
B&O Railroad Museum

The Road to Disunion: Secessionists at Bay, 1776-1854. By William W. Freehling. (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. Pp. xii, 640. Notes, index. $30.00.)

In this brilliant and at times infuriating synthesis of existing arguments, William W. Freehling has shown that his years of reflection on just what led the Old South to disunion have not been wasted. Known as the finest interpreter of the South Carolina nullification movement, he must now be ranked as a keen analyst of the entire antebellum South. His thesis is original yet slightly jaded. In 1972 he offered a theory about many conflicting souths to explain both sectionalism and secession. These many years later Freehling's work suffers from over exposure, as a number of able studies have built on his previous work. But few books have captured so splendidly the myriad differences among so-called southerners as has this present volume. He has made historians wiser in their understanding of the southern trials over sectional confrontation. (A second volume will describe the events that resulted in disunion.)

Freehling offers a complicated pattern of differences among the southern regions. Perhaps key to this artfully presented mosaic, although never stated baldly, is the centrality of racism to that society's identity and divisions. No sympathizer with the class-based theorists of the Old South, he nevertheless concedes that class drove the politics and society of coastal South Carolina and tidewater Virginia. He is concerned also with the white-racist base for democracy in the southeastern upcountry and the new states of the southwest. From the views of Jefferson to the upper-south writers and partisans of the late antebellum period, Freehling discerns real fear of being trapped with a growing free black population. Even class-based conservatives, such as Prof. Thomas R. Dew of William and Mary, at times understood the role of racism in his state's divisions over white representation.

Those racialist worries, Freehling surmises, may well have led state leaders eventually to want to rid themselves of their black people. Thus, any threat to slavery's expansion westward left the upper South's whites without an escape exit.

What sustains this argument, and it is well worked out in the early chapters on white resettlement and agri-business markets, is analysis of the states' uneven numbers of slave population. These chapters reveal just how many souths existed. Although a bit crude and untutored on how those dissimilarities influenced internal population movements, Freehling does grasp the fears East Coast southern states had of loss of people to the dynamic Southwest. Nowhere is this made clearer than in the descriptions of dissension over war with Mexico, movements to reopen the slave trade, and arguments over declining political power.

To add to the theme, Freehling develops the interaction between political values and political action among conservative Virginians and South Carolinians. But he neglects the important southwestern political and social theorists. Nowhere do Judge Augustus B. Longstreet, James G. Baldwin, or Daniel Hundley get to show their conservative fears of race-based democracy. Nowhere do the speeches and writings of Alexander Stephens or Jefferson Davis receive the sensitive analysis Freehling gives to the political writings of Abel Upshur, James H. Hammond, or John C. Calhoun. In fact, the thesis generally falters when the author fails to compare race-based political differences among the various southern regions.

An old-fashioned personal political account of the lives—values, quirks, and needs—of the southern leaders is used to further the argument. Chapter after chapter covers what most historians know by heart—the presidential elections, the Compromise of 1850, the various premature secession movements, and the Kansas issue. They dull the senses and reveal the inadequacies of traditional political narrative. Excessive attention to the rumors of political conspiracies, which convey the author's talents for debunking simplistic analysis, also detracts from the overall narrative. But his rendering of all of the political permutations of that long neglected gag rule controversy shows to best advantage chronological narrative style.

The author's stylistic habits both detract from and add to the argument for narrative history. Slang and anachronisms abound to push the dramatic aspects of the story, but they clang and clunk in this reader's skull. Newly coined phrases to label old political activities merely confuse. Yet when Freehling describes personal events in the lives of key political figures the prose virtually sings off the page. It is as if one were transported to the very spot, or secret chamber, to see and hear partisans at work. Here, where human foible meets action, is indeed where one realizes description itself conveys meaning.

Except for the occasional flaws in style and to some extent substance, Freehling has written a book that belongs alongside the efforts of his master David Potter and with Roy Franklin Nichols. Freehling's intuitive sense for personalities and motivation based on years of careful reading in the sources and his passion as an engaged scholar reveal the mind and the soul of the historian. Like those other great historians, he understands that there is no simplistic formula for explaining why that society disrupted the Union. With feeling and compassion he uses Mary

Chesnut's personal torments and doubts over slavery to show his own horror at the indecisiveness which resulted in that awful gore of civil war.

JON L. WAKELYN
Catholic University of America

Destroyer of the Iron Horse: General Joseph E. Johnston and Confederate Rail Transport, 1861-1865. By Jeffrey N. Lash. (Kent, Ohio, and London: Kent State University Press. Pp. viii, 228. Bibliography, notes, index. $28.00.)

Primarily, military historians of the Civil War have focused on battles, successes and failures of campaigns, and the nature of leadership. But sadly, the more prosaic matter of logistics, especially the use and coordination of railroads by generals, is largely ignored. Its recognition is more implicit than explicit. Yet, the importance of the nexus between them is inescapable. As Jeffrey N. Lash laments, scholars in their fascination with "strategic and tactical studies . . . generally minimize the contribution of the railroads to the solution of logistical and supply problems . . ." (p. vii). He believes that in the current re-evaluation of Union and Confederate commanders "historians should more carefully consider the exploitation of the railroad . . . " (p. vii). As a case study, Lash examines Gen. Joseph E. Johnston's vision and ability to use rail transport as a tool of war. His conclusion is that the general was guilty of "egregious errors in logistical judgment" (p. vii).

Johnston's background offered considerable promise for the realization of the value and use of railroads. An 1829 graduate of West Point, he served in the southwest and, after a brief civilian hiatus, rejoined the army in the Corps of Topographical Engineers in 1837. Following the Mexican War, the San Antonio & Mexican Gulf Railroad engaged Johnston, while still serving in the army, to survey and make recommendations for a route to Indianola. Despite his exposure to the most current technology, Lash charges that "his remarkable forgetfulness with advancing years, and his severely limited imagination . . . left him largely unprepared to use the railroad as an instrument of war . . . "(p. 3). That challenge soon came with the Civil War. Unfortunately, Johnston's career as a wartime commander would reflect inconsistency, indifference, neglect, and poor judgment, although there were times when he did exhibit perceptive insights and an understanding of that tool. At the war's outset, his lack of technological comprehension and his political insensitivity to the destruction of railroad facilities quickly surfaced in Virginia. The lesson in shifting his army by rail from the Shenandoah Valley to Beauregard's aid at Manassas was not lost on him. However, neither he nor Beauregard seemed to recognize the complexities involved in its management. The Centreville Railroad project did reflect credit on him, but the inability to coordinate civilian and military officials fully would remain a serious flaw.

Johnston's ineptitude in comprehensive and cooperative planning was underscored even more in the west. There, his failings—lack of supervision, neglect, and misunderstandings—proved perilous for the Confederacy. His inadequate precautions in preventing the destruction of rolling stock by the federals at Grenada, as

Lash notes, "was devastating to the Confederate transportation system of the Southwest" (p. 102). Politics in Georgia, involving a state-owned railroad and a system with its special problems, presented a tangled web which would have tested any general. And as Lash writes, "Johnston seriously erred . . . by mixing politics with logistics . . . " (p. 130). During the Atlanta campaign he was confused and inconsistent. Ultimately, he resorted to destroying the Western & Atlantic Railroad "in a futile and misguided effort to cripple" Sherman's army (p. 152). Resuming command in North Carolina, his continued inconsistency marked his failure "to develop a coherent strategic plan," but sadly he was consistent in one respect: "he never hesitated to order the destruction of rolling stock or other railroad property" (p. 180-81).

There are a number of fine scholarly works on the role of railroads in the Civil War, and Lash's book, based on extensive research and analysis, is a significant contribution in broadening that literature. The connection between civilian management and Johnston's military leadership, as Lash denotes, was indeed important to the conduct of the war. The author's meticulous detailing of that relationship is most impressive. The result is a telling study of foibles, blunders, but also at times perceptiveness. Lash's interpretations are critical but based on the evidence. Sadly for the general, he proves his indictment that "historians have greatly overrated Johnston as a strategist and logistician" (p. viii). The author's point that judgments of leadership must also take logistics into account is well made in *Destroyer of the Iron Horse*.

RICHARD R. DUNCAN
Georgetown University

Prison Life among the Rebels: Recollections of a Union Chaplain. Edited by Edward D. Jervey. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1990. Pp. xiii, 94. Introduction, epilogue, notes, index. $26.00.)

The eighteen "letters to the editor" of a religious journal that comprise this small text were written between October 1864 and the following May by a Methodist minister, Henry S. White (1828-1916), chaplain to the 5th Regiment, Rhode Island Heavy Artillery. The first one was composed only a few weeks after his exchange from a five-month stint as a prisoner of war, most of that time at the lesser known officers' prison at Macon, Georgia, with but a day's stay at the infamous Andersonville en route. White had been captured with members of Company A of his regiment, manning a nondescript dirt fort in an obscure location near New Bern, North Carolina, protecting a segment of railroad. He happened to be there on a visit, doing his duty, distributing tracts and books. There was nothing noble about the capitulation of the fort—it was overwhelmed; no one was killed. But thereafter occurred the events that still burned hot in the chaplain's mind as he penned his letters.

White wrote from the standpoint of a man as convinced of the rightness of his cause and his political beliefs as he was of his religion. The reader is warned that his "very strong anti-Southern biases warped his judgment, as well as his memory. His opinions should not be confused with facts" (p. xiii). He was a keen and interested observer, but all he saw was filtered through prejudice, resentment, and intolerance. (For example, in one rare act of kindness conceded of a "rebel," he wrote of encountering on a rail car "a confederate soldier, a kind looking old man, sitting just behind me . . . eating his lunch. He had a roasted sweet potato. He gave me a piece, and also a bit of bread and meat. It would be useless to attempt to tell how that potato tasted. It was not much the lack of quantity, as it was the *kind* of food" (p. 78). When he saw anyone other than women or slaves, young children or old men, it was soldiers. Fields lay fallow, "vast quantities of rosin going to waste" (p. 36); railroads were disintegrating. Yet White viewed all of this, not as evidence of dedication to a cause, or even of a cause in extremis, but as retributive justice from above for misguided rebels. There is no hint of Christian charity, no appreciation for a shared crust of—as it were, sweet potato, in this case—rather, the letters burn with righteous indignation. One gains a fair idea of how Elder White must have sounded while standing in the pulpit. That notion will not make this an attractive book to most readers. No need to stir the very soul of the reader today, to preach the righteousness of the Union cause or damnation for the rebels.

Why, then, add this to the annual outpouring of Civil War literature? The personalities and military actions are of no special significance in the grander scheme of things. The letters had been previously published, at least in part, albeit in historical quarterlies. What argues for a permanent form? Certainly, man's inhumanity to man has been amply covered in the genre of Civil War prison narratives and echoes in the halls of the "Hanoi Hilton" today. No map or illustrations, other than an engraving of White himself, enhance the book. Too easily it can be overlooked on the shelf. The editor argues that it is "remarkable," noting that few records of Civil War chaplains have been published. This may explain why. And yet, there is something remarkable in the tenacity and perseverance of a man that emerges from White's letters. It is interesting to ponder, too, that he had identical counterparts on the Confederate side. Each prayed to the same God.

DAVID WINFRED GADDY
New Carrollton

Custer Victorious: The Civil War Battles of General George Armstrong Custer. By Gregory J. W. Urwin. (Bison Book Edition; Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. Pp. 308. Illustrations, maps, appendix, notes, index. $9.95 paper.)

In a war that produced more than its share of individualistic commanders, George Armstrong Custer was surely the most colorful. With his shoulder-length hair, gold-braided velveteen jacket, wide-collared sailor's shirt and flowing red cravat, Custer was a truly remarkable sight; one Union officer thought he resembled "a circus rider gone mad" (p. 58). Possessed of almost hyperactive zeal and unflagging self-confidence, Custer's flamboyant personality invariably struck some critics as part and parcel of a supremely inflated ego. "Custer had devoted friends and bitter enemies" (p. 32), his friend Gen. Nelson Miles recalled. And it is certainly true that many later historians, focusing on Custer the Indian-fighter, have condemned him as an ultimately self-destructive glory hunter.

In this attractive paperbound edition of a work originally published in 1983, author Gregory J. W. Urwin, an associate professor of history at the University of Central Arkansas, attempts to set the record straight. Drawing heavily on primary material—the diaries, memoirs and unpublished correspondence of men who served with Custer—Urwin convincingly refutes what he calls "Custer's bastardized image" (p. 265) as "a perpetual adolescent—self-centered, shallow, half mad . . . the arrogant monster of film and folklore" (pp. 266, 290). Urwin sees Custer as "the classic example of the tarnished American hero," the victim "repeated defamation, degradation, and vilification at the hands of an ungrateful posterity" (p. 265).

While *Custer Victorious* is in one sense an apologia, Urwin's extensive research confirms his protagonist as one of the Civil War's most dynamic and successful commanders. A man whose personal bravery was legend—seven horses were shot from under him in the Gettysburg campaign alone—Custer's reckless daring was tempered by a remarkable eye for terrain and an ability instantly to recognize and exploit tactical opportunities. As one officer put it, "beneath the golden curls and broad-brimmed hat was a cool brain and a level head" (p. 269).

Well-written and replete with dramatic personal accounts of Custer's campaigns from Bull Run to Appomattox, Urwin's narrative thunders along in a style eminently suited to its swashbuckling subject. Though not the youngest of the Union's "boy generals"—twenty-year-old Galusha Pennypacker held that honor—Custer's rise was indeed meteoric, and saw him jumped from captain to brigadier at the age of twenty-three. Despite his undeniable tactical prowess, Custer's success was due more than anything else to sheer personal gallantry, an example that infused his troopers with an unquenchable *élan*. "He never ordered his men to go where he would not lead," one subordinate recalled, "and he never led where he did not expect his men to follow" (p. 272). His consistent success as commander of the famous Michigan Brigade, and later the Third Division of Gen. Philip Sheridan's cavalry corps, made Custer a key player in the talented military ensemble that ultimately vanquished Robert E. Lee's redoubtable Army of Northern Virginia.

In his obvious admiration for his subject, Urwin is occasionally harsher on Custer's federal rivals than they deserve. Gen. Wesley Merritt, Custer's equal in talent if not flamboyance, is judged guilty of "growing spite" (p. 191) and "petulant behavior" (p. 217), while the usually well-regarded Gen. George Crook is labeled "a petty and shabby soldier" (p. 279). Gen. Judson Kilpatrick, whose rashness made even Custer seem tame by comparison, was unquestionably flawed; but the historical record does not bear out Urwin's allegation that Kilpatrick "picked . . . Custer to be the victim sacrificed upon the altar of his vain-glory" (p. 116).

Although as his title suggests, Urwin's narrative is confined to Custer's wartime experiences, one would have hoped for at least a chapter or two on his formative years, particularly his tenure at West Point. And, unaccountably, the author overlooks one important aspect of his subject's Civil War service: the acrimonious vendetta of "Gray Ghost" John Singleton Mosby, who hanged a detachment of Custer's men in retaliation for the general's alleged complicity in the execution of seven Confederate partisans.

Despite these minor flaws, *Custer Victorious* is both a persuasive vindication of the "boy general" and rattling good history. In the end one must conclude that so far as his Civil War record was concerned, Custer was in reality not all that far removed from what one admiring newspaperman called him: the "Golden Haired Apotheosis of War."

BRIAN C. POHANKA
Alexandria, Virginia

Making America Corporate, 1870-1920. By Olivier Zunz. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990. Pp. x, 267. Notes, index. $24.95.)

Who carried out the grand ambitions and policies of the business magnates who usually get credit for industrializing and bureaucratizing America? We learned why the American manager evolved to accomplish that task between 1870 and 1920 in Alfred D. Chandler's classic, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Harvard, 1977). In *Making America Corporate, 1870-1920,* Olivier Zunz explores how and with what social and personal effects managers became the intermediaries between corporate heads and the working classes. From that base, he then explores several important issues which, together, analyze the development of the American middle class.

Zunz begins by explaining how a managerial class developed in America during the second half of the nineteenth century as "the educated middle class" split into those who participated in the "corporate political economy" and those who rejected it, often vehemently, as did the Progressives. He discusses both groups but focuses on the former, those for whom the attractions of the corporation overrode losing their traditional autonomy as independent entrepreneurs. Managing corporate affairs gave these men power over massive resources and armies of workers and "a means to live an interesting life and participate in innovation beyond the reach of any single entrepreneur without exposing themselves to as much personal risk" (p. 65). Recognizing the multi-faceted nature of human motivations, Zunz includes concerns for community prestige, reform, and familial objectives as factors that determine people's business-related ambitions. The resulting analyses have a depth that humanizes business-world developments which, at a distance, too often appear deterministic or derivative of "great men's" decisions. Zunz purposefully shows how historical processes result from multitudes of individuals making countless decisions according to their understandings, attitudes, and goals.

Analyses of the interactions between the business and non-business worlds continually enrich Zunz' s story. Indeed, the core of his argument is that the activities of middle-level managers generated both corporate and broad social changes that reverberated up and down the hierarchies of business and society. For example, he discusses how control by middle-class managers over hiring and firing rewarded middle-class attitudes and skills among the growing ranks of clerical workers. The resulting schism between white- and blue-collar workers reflected and deepened parallel differences in society. Out of Zunz's interweaving of business and social evolution comes a most valuable insight, namely that working conditions and interests can only be usefully interpreted in the context of social and cultural conditions and interests outside of the work place. Zunz employs brief biographies as well as extensive surveys of the personnel archives of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad; E. I. Du Pont de Nemours Powder Company; Ford Motor Company; McCormack, which became the International Harvester Company; and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. The resulting portraits of individuals and of groups color in the identities and personalities of many of those who participated in this important transition to bureaucratic, corporate America.

In many cases, however, Zunz's portraiture seems an end in itself and is inappropriately detailed. For instance, in the story of W. S. Perry we learn almost as much of peripheral biographical details as we do of his career as an executive mechanical engineer with the CB&Q (pp. 56-57). A lesser problem is the relationship of the introductory and concluding discussions to the text. Zunz begins with the theoretical context for his work. Rather than supporting his historical analysis, which stands on its own merits quite well, this section portends a level of abstraction that belies the book's concreteness and liveliness. The pertinence of this theoretical discussion becomes much more apparent after reading the book. It might, therefore, have been fruitfully switched with the conclusion, which instead might have been used to introduce the book and the many directions Zunz takes in presenting his evidence. With the exception of the theoretical discussion, Zunz's arguments and style are accessible and appealing to the general reader as well as the scholar.

That America was made corporate by managers pursuing their own ambitions Zunz demonstrates very well. One of the dynamics he describes entailed corporations "dispatching" their sales agents travel and to live in rural America. These representatives brought their urban, middle class attitudes, families, and lifestyles along with their commercial materials. Zunz argues that middle managers thereby carried out the corporate goals of imposing "homogenization on the farm landscape so as to develop the new patterns of production and consumption" (p. 173). Indeed, to salesmen in general, Zunz attributes a vision promoted by their managers that "they were consciously participating in a vast venture that was larger than their individual selling job" (p. 194), namely modernizing America by serving it. Fueled by a system of "material and moral incentives" (p. 189), corporate interests supposedly filtered down from top to middle management and from them to the masses of white- and blue-collar workers and to American society at large. Zunz's research illustrates how "growing managerial groups embraced the corporate project of building a continental economy" that reduced social and cultural diversity by the 1920s (pp. 202-203). By combining the methods and insights of social and business history, Zunz shows us how the managerial classes expanded middle-class boundaries and helped spread middle-class values to the majority of the American population.

PAMELA WALKER LAIRD
Boston University

Political Leadership in a Southern City: New Orleans in the Progressive Era, 1896-1902. By Edward F. Haas. (McGinty Monograph Series. Rustin, La.: McGinty Publications, 1988. Pp. xiv, 175. Figures and tables, appendices, essay on sources, footnotes, index, $15.95.)

Political Leadership in a Southern City: New Orleans in the Progressive Era, 1896-1902 is a short, pithy, little book with only one hundred pages of text. The remaining pages consist of very elementary and most unnecessary figures, tables and appendices. According to the author, Edward F. Haas, this "work" is a collection of related essays; it reads like it.

Political Leadership in a Southern City purports to tell the story of how the Democratic machine of New Orleans bounced back from the defeat of 1896 to gain control of the city for the next half century. In that year, the reform-minded Citizens League gained control of city hall but, failing to consolidate their position, were ousted barely three years later. Within another three years, by 1902, the machine had regained such control that reformers were moving back into its ranks. According to Haas, the machine continued to dominate New Orleans for the next fifty years.

Instead of explaining why these turn of events occurred, Haas' focus is on the political, social, economic, and cultural characteristics of those belonging to both the Citizens League and the Regular Democratic machine. He concludes that the latter was composed of men of stability and influence and that the former were men of prominence and principle. The only other noticed differences were that the reformers were older men from well-established New Orleans families while the machine politicians were younger men often descended from immigrant roots. These finding are interesting, but when interesting findings are not woven into the fabric of the story they fail to achieve any perceptible purpose. This book follows suit.

The overwhelming problem with Haas' work is that the material is not integrated into a coherent theme. The mere listing of the reformers' and machine politicians' various affiliations does not a thesis make. There must be much more. Haas needs to illustrate how these affiliations either contributed, or detracted, from political leadership. In fact, the whole issue of political leadership is not even broached. Furthermore, if the essay on sources is any guide, Haas consulted no other work on urban reform and/or politics! It is nearly two decades since Jon C. Teaford wrote "Finis for Tweed and Stephens," yet it seems Haas is just entering this field with Harold Zink's *City Bosses in the United States.*

These failings cannot be ignored. *Political Leadership in a Southern City* hardly merits monograph status. In most graduate schools, it would not even pass as a dissertation. And as for the "related essays" (p. xiii) that regrettably became a book, they at best deserve a gentlemanly "B." Most likely, Haas' work will attract the attention of New Orleans history buffs; the academic world will greet it with dismay.

FRED W. VIEHE
Youngstown State University

Jazz from the Beginning. By Garvin Bushell, as told to Mark Tucker. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988. Pp. 187. Discography, glossary of musicians, index, photographs. $29.95 cloth; $14.95 paper.)

Bushell, born in Springfield, Ohio, in 1902, may be the oldest living consequential jazz musician. Never a big name, he was a solid, journeyman reed player, a sideman with such bands as Cab Calloway's and Chick Webb's, a teacher. He played in vaudeville, in musical comedy pit bands, and in symphony orchestras.

And kept his eyes open and his memory sharpened. His comments, not all of them complimentary, about big names and lesser known figures of the jazz age that, happily, is still with us after eighty plus years, are always interesting and have the ring of authenticity.

For a black man like Garvin Bushell, who came out of a pre-World I middle class, midwest background—his parents were school teachers and good singers; his father was a preacher as well as a chorister who had written a book of spirituals—the musical talent he began displaying at the age of six was a ticket to an exciting (sometimes a bit too exciting), even glamorous life of travel and performance.

Bushell's father took his preaching skills and family to New York City's Harlem in 1919. Young Garvin, who had started playing clarinet with a circus band at the age of fourteen, joined pickup bands in Manhattan and his jazz career was off to a catch-as-catch-can start. By 1921 he was on the road with Ethel Waters. For over two years, from 1925 to 1927, as a member of Sam Wooding's orchestra, Bushell toured western and eastern Europe and South America, playing for crowned heads and lesser mortals with a Harlem review called the "Chocolate Kiddies." Some of the fascinating photographs that illustrate this book show the dapper, sophisticated world travelers, including a bevy of lovely chorines, in Madrid, Copenhagen, and Hamburg; Bushell, in spats and a white homburg, arriving at a Moscow theater in an open droshky.

Glamor, yes, but the twenties, and the thirties, too, for that matter, could get rough and wild for jazz musicians. Many of them packed pistols, and some used them, including Bushell himself: "In Philadelphia I got full of that Prohibition gin and accidentally shot a girl in the heel who was trying to frame me." "Baltimore was always bad," he writes. "I hated playing dances there. You'd be a nervous wreck, because you knew there was going to be a fight and somebody would get cut." "Leroy's [in Harlem] was one of the most sensational joints I've ever been in in my life. There were at least three shooting's a week there, and a murder once a month. . . ."

Great music, too. "It was at Leroy's . . . that I first saw piano battles with players like Willie 'The Lion' Smith, James P. Johnson, Fats Waller. . . ." And "Baltimore had a great variety of jazz and many excellent musicians. There was good jazz in just about every cabaret, no matter how low or cheap. . . . An important piano influence came out of Baltimore. Players like Eubie Blake, Madison Reed, and Edgar Dowell were early exponents of ragtime who came to New York. They played modified ragtime—technically and musically more complex than what Joplin had done. . . . They had the best banjo players in the world." Bushell provides much additional evidence that when they're playing, jazz musicians, black or white, have been colorblind from the beginning. In spite of the racial prejudice Bushell encountered over his long career, including some from white (symphony) musicians, he acknowledges that four of his earliest models were white clarinetists Ted Lewis and Larry Shields and white saxophonists Ross Gorman and Adrian Rollini. In the early days, because of better training, Bushell writes, white musicianship was generally better. He even maintains that "the real blues" was not entirely black in origin but "used a melodic line together with a way of playing that combined Irish cadences and (American) Indian quarter-tones together with the Negro's repetition of melody."

For jazz historians and serious aficionados and record collectors, Jazz from the Beginning provides a complete Garvin Bushell discography from 1920 to 1964 that quickly reveals the great range of Bushell's career. From groups with names like the "Jazzbo Syncopators" in 1921 to John Coltrane groups in the nineteen sixties—Calloway, Webb, Ella Fitzgerald, Wilbur de Paris, Rex Stewart, and Wild Bill Davison orchestras and combos in between—we see the growth of a remarkable musician. In his final, thoroughly modern recording, he plays oboe and bassoon with the Gil Evans orchestra. Almost three decades later, in his late eighties, he's still around to give a salty account of it all.

PHILIP GOULD
Charlottesville, Virginia

Greatness in the White House: Rating the Presidents, Washington through Carter. By Robert K. Murray and Tim H. Blessing. (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988. Pp. viii, 145. Notes, appendices. $10.00.)

Admiral W. F. ("Bull") Halsey is quoted as saying "There are no great men, only challenges that ordinary men are forced by circumstances to meet." Whatever the truth of this observation, since the beginnings of the republic Americans have in one way or another thought of their leaders, and in particular their presidents, as having in greater or lesser degree some indefinable quality of "greatness." William K. Murray and Tim H. Blessing of Pennsylvania State University, in this slender volume, present the composite opinion of Ph.D.-holding American historians on the degrees of greatness of those presidents who served in office for more than nominal periods and attempt to discern the criteria and processes by which these historians arrive at evaluations of presidential greatness.

The seminal poll in a series of rankings of past presidents was conducted by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., in 1948. Murray and Blessing compare the results of past efforts, including that poll and Schlesinger's follow-up in 1962, with their own results from a survey conducted in 1982. The prior polls all involved selected historians who were presumed to be experts, ranging from 41 participants in the one such poll to 75 for the 1962 Schlesinger poll. The Murray-Blessing poll differs from the prior efforts in that survey questionnaires were sent to all 1,997 Ph.D. historians with the rank of assistant professor or above listed in the American Historical Association's *Guide to Departments of History* for 1979-80 and 1980-81.

Murray and Blessing received 846 responses in time to be included in the published analysis. One of their findings is that the relative and absolute rankings of the presidents by selected groups of experts in the prior polls did not differ substantially from the rankings by a sample constituting a major fraction of all of the listed historians. Murray and Blessing were not the first to survey such a large cross-section. Their synopsis of previous polls does not mention the 1970 poll of 571 historians by Gary Maranell and Richard Dodder ("Political Orientation and Evaluation of Presidential Prestige: A Study of American Historians," *Social Science Quarterly* 51 [1970]: 418), which provided specified criteria against which to measure the performance of the presidents rather than the more gestalt concept of greatness. The Maranell-Dodder results show no major differences in rankings from the reported survey or the other polls.

Murray and Blessing have picked up the baton, as it were, from Schlesinger as the recorders of temporal evolution in the opinions of historians regarding U.S. presidents (although Murray is reportedly now retired). The results of their recent update poll, subsequent to the publication of *Greatness in the White House,* of just under five hundred historians—the first such poll to include Ronald Reagan—were presented at a meeting of the Organization of American Historians in April, 1991. Reagan was ranked in the "Below Average" category, 28th out of the 37 presidents ranked. It will be interesting to see if Reagan's evaluation will improve with time, as has been the case with Eisenhower and Truman, or decline as has been the case with Kennedy (who nevertheless remains in the "Above Average" category).

The Murray-Blessing report analyzes variations in ratings of presidents by certain characteristics of the raters (age, sex, states of birth and of residence, etc.) in a partial attempt to identify the bases upon which historians determine greatness. The survey also included extensive questions concerning the respondents' views on the presidential office in general and a section asking for the respondents' reactions to specific actions by presidents during the specific time period, out of three broad periods, in which each respondent was most knowledgeable. The results were of interest primarily in their demonstration of a general lack of variation with the raters' personal characteristics in the ratings assigned, with exceptions for certain presidents. Regrettably, the authors do not report in detail the responses to those portions of the survey.

The authors report a strong and persisting consensus as to who were the greatest American presidents and, in large part, as to who were the worst. Greater variances were found in the middle of the scale, and for certain controversial presidents, such as Nixon. They find the reputations of some presidents tarnishing with time and the reputations of others growing. Interestingly, they found some inconsistencies between raters' views on the presidency in general and their ratings of specific presidents.

The most ambitious objective of studies of presidential greatness, suggested in the authors' summary, is to identify the characteristics which make a successful president, in order to predict the performance of candidates. Murray and Blessing provide a fairly comprehensive survey of the studies that attempt this, including the highly readable work of James David Barber (*The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House*, 3rd ed., Prentice-Hall, 1985). The authors agree that no such achievement has resulted from studies so far. They have, however, taken a step toward identifying the factors that lead historians to consider one president great and another average or a failure. Their recent follow-up survey apparently refines further the process of delving for the concrete bases for evaluations of presidential performance. Greatness in the White House is a modest and mildly interesting contribution to the literature on this topic, but may be of especial interest as an introduction to a continuing series.

RANDALL C. STEPHENS
Columbia

Books Received

The library has received a copy of the Maryland State Department of Education's *Maryland Newspaper Project: A Guide to Newspapers and Newspaper Holdings in Maryland.* This is a guide to the newspaper holdings of eighty-seven repositories within Maryland and institutions outside the state with significant collections of Maryland newspapers, all corrected to 1 October 1990. Arranged alphabetically by community, then by newspaper, it lists the issues each repository holds. It covers all repositories with permanent newspaper collections available for public use and will be a great help to researchers.

A Guide to Government Records at the Maryland State Archives: A Comprehensive List by Agency and Record Series by Edward C. Papenfuse, et al. serves as an overview of all of the permanent government records relating to Maryland housed at the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis. Lists of these records, generated by state, county, and municipal government agencies, were derived from eight databases at the archives. Through this guide, researchers can now access these materials by record series or name of agency with the aid of two separate indices.

Maryland State Archives, publication no. 616 (paper), $15.

Another contribution from the Maryland State Archives, *Charting the Chesapeake* by Russell Morrison and Robert Hansen, covers the history of mapping the Chesapeake Bay from the first explorations by Robert Tindall in 1607 to the present. Interspersed thoroughout the pages of the volume, seventy-five illustrations of maps and charts, many of which appear in color, provide insight into the growth of knowledge about the bay over the past 383 years. Included in the book are a chronology of the bay, glossary, and bibliography.

Maryland State Archives, publication no. 432 (paper), $20.

Two ideal Maryland history gifts for children: Karen Weinberg's *Window of Time* transports a young boy back to Gettysburg in early July, 1863, just in time to become an eyewitness to the battle (White Mane, $9.95); Branda Seabrooke's *The Chester-Town Tea Party* (Tidewater, $8.95) charmingly tells of a girl's part (in boy's disguise) inthe dumping of tea into the Chester River in May, 1763, when citizens rose up against the British Tea Act. Both books are wonderfully illustrated—Seabrooke's in full color by Nancy Coates Smith.

Letters to the Editor

I am enclosing a copy of our school newspaper with a poem written by one of my students. It is a kind of Mennonite, nonresistant response to the sentiments expressed in "Maryland, My Maryland."

James W. Lowry, Hagerstown

"My Maryland"
The sandy shores and mountain peaks,
Maryland, my Maryland!
The fertile hills and rippling creeks,
Maryland, my Maryland!
Adorned with nature rich and rare
Its beauties—all who wish may share,
America in miniature—
Maryland, my Maryland!

The Balt'more Oriole's lilting trill,
Maryland, my Maryland!
Floats down across each vale and hill,
Maryland, my Maryland!
Which crowned with Black-eyed Susans fair
Boasts of a heavenly Father's care.
With them this lovely state we share—
Maryland, my Maryland!
Margaret Eby, Grade 10

The Maryland history class learned that "Maryland, My Maryland" is Maryland's state song. Since the words of this song are very militaristic, some students were assigned to write more fitting words. They used the same rhythm pattern as the original. Not only are the original words of "Maryland, My Maryland" unsuitable for a Christian, but they also seem unsuitable for the state. The pro-Confederate sentiments make it a strange song for Maryland, which remained loyal to the Union during the Civil War. Below is another revised stanza.

I see the spring upon thy cheek,
Maryland, my Maryland!
The green that spreads from creek to creek,
Maryland, my Maryland!
The summer's beauties and the fall's,
The brown, the orange, the red enthralls.
The winter's snow to us that calls
Maryland, my Maryland!
Marcus Petre, Grade 9

Notices

MARITIME HISTORY CONTEST

The deadline for submission to the Maritime History Contest is 24 January 1992 with the winners being announced in late spring, 1992. Mail papers to the Maritime Essay Contest, The Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201. See the fall 1991 issue for rules and prize awards.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY BOOK PRIZE

Submission deadline for the Maryland Historical Society's $1,000 book prize is 13 March 1992. The prize is awarded to the author of a book, published during the preceding two years, which makes an unusual contribution to our understanding of Maryland history and/or culture. This award also recognizes original scholarship, fullness of interpretation, and high literary quality.

CAROUSEL EXHIBIT AT HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF TALBOT COUNTY

"The Art of Fantasy of the American Carousel" offered in cooperation with Americana Antiques can be seen at the society from 7 November 1991 until 12 January 1992. Featured in the exhibit are carved antique figures of carousel horses and menagerie against a background of old photographs which showcase the artistry of the American carousel carver and provide a nostalgic look at the history of the carousel industry during its heyday, 1880-1930. For more information, contact the society at 25 South Washington Street, Easton, Maryland 21601, (410) 822-0773.

WARD FOUNDATION UNVEILS CONCEPT OF NEW MUSEUM

The Ward Museum of Wildfowl Arts wishes to share the conceptual idea behind the construction of their new museum: "have the building and site reinforce the spirit of wildfowl art." This image will be achieved by using glass and wood, intricately combined, for the 'finished' portions of the building and utilizing 'uncarved' portions of concrete to anchor the building into the hill. Once inside the museum, a visitor will see reconstructed marshes, woods, and carving workshops; the education wing complete with the Wildfowl Library and Archives; two-dimensional wildfowl paintings; and carvings from the museum collection and other private collections. The museum is scheduled for opening in April, 1992. For further information, please telephone the museum at (800) 742-4988.

DELAWARE ART MUSEUM EXHIBT SCHEDULE ANNOUNCED

"Eighty Years of Collecting: American Illustrations" will be featured at the museum from 13 December 1991 until 23 February 1992. "Jacob Lawrence: The Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman Series of Narrative Paintings" will follow that exhibit and is scheduled from 6 March 1992 until 26 April 1992. Please contact the museum at (302) 571-9590 as exhibition and event dates are subject to change.

NATIVE AMERICAN SYMPOSIUM

The United States Capitol Historical Society will sponsor a symposium entitled "Native Americans in the Early Republic" on 4-5 March 1992. 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 JoAllyn Archambault, R. David Edmunds, Vivian Fryd, and notable others. The proceedings will be open to interested persons free of charge, and no advance registration is required. For additional information, please write to Professor Ronald Hoffman, Department of History, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland 20742-7315.

LOMOND PUBLICATION CHANGES ADDRESS

Those readers wishing to purchase *Small Town Destiny: The Story of Five Small Towns Along the Potomac Valley* by Gilbert Gude are asked to order their copies by writing to Lomond Publications, P.O. Box 88, Mt. Airy, Maryland 21771.

NEW ACQUISITIONS IN THE LIBRARY

The library has recently purchased or generously been given many fine items. A sampling of materials accessioned or catalogued since November, 1990:

Reference Division

The Baseball Business: Pursuing Pennants and Profits in Baltimore by James Edward Miller shows the hard business side of the national pastime. *The Poetical Works of Edgar Irving Brenner* is a reissued volume of poems by a nineteenth-century Washington County, Maryland poet. *The Journal of Jennie M. Wilcox,* memoirs of Wisconsin and Michigan girlhood. *Archaeological Investigations in the First Terrace at Mt. Clare Mansion* by J. Norman, archaeology at an historic Baltimore house. *Baltimore County Second District Inhabitants during the Emerging Thirties* by C.L. Weidemeyer, a survey of Hebbville and Woodlawn in the 1930s. *King's Reach and Seventeenth-Century Plantation Life* by D. Pogue, the history of a Calvert County, Maryland plantation. *Mayflower Families Through Five Generations,* volumes three and four of the descendants of George Soule and Edward Fuller. *Yanks from the South! The First Land*

Campaign of the Civil War by Fritz Haselberger covers the first West Virginia campaign of 1861. *Harford County Wills, 1774-1800* by Ralph H. Morgan. *Worcester County Marriage Licenses, 1795-1865* by Mary Beth Long.

Prints and Photographs

Albumen photograph of print of Capt. Smith, ca. 1880; Baltimore College of Dental Surgery Commencement, 18 May 1909 program; Business card and menu with cover from Buell's Restaurant; Hermann and Susanne Spielman family photograph, ca. 1910; Hilltop Theater prints for *Springtime for Henry* cast, etc.; *Kiss and Tell*, Ford's Theater program, [March 1945]; Manokin Presbyterian Church program, 29 July 1951; Metropolitan Opera, *E. Onegin and Otello*, Baltimore Opera Club, 1958; Mr. Rennie at desk [1961] and Mary Jane Rennie with baby in hospital, 1963; Photograph album of Rutter, Spicer, and Curlett family members, [c. 1864-70]; Polish National Alliance, Council 21 of Baltimore letterhead, 1970; Print, printing out paper, cabinet card [female member of the Spieker family] by Hebbel; St. John's/Tolchester excursion 12 July 1887, ticket; Vote for Democratic Candidates brochure [1928]; and William H. Brown & Brothers Wholsale Druggist, booklet, ca. 1878.

Manuscripts Division

MS. 2720, Samuel Kirk & Son, Inc. Papers, records of a well-known Baltimore silversmith firm which later merged with the Stieff Company, 1834-1979; MS. 2768, Serena Johnson Papers, the papers of a slave owned by the Henry Rieman family of Baltimore City; MS. 2773, Henry Frederick Dorton Travel Diary, a diary kept during his assignment to the American postal station at the Paris Exposition of 1900; MS. 2777, Thurman-Ollivierre Letters, correspondence between Dorthy L. Thurman and her future husband, Everell Ollivierre, while he was a soldier during World War II; MS. 2786, Buckler Family Papers, correspondence covering the China trade, Baltimore events and epidemics, and the war with Mexico; MS. 2794, Mary Josephs Fowler Papers, the correspondence, poetry, short stories, and memoirs of a field nurse who served on the French front during World War I; MS. 2796, Harmonie Singing Society Papers, documents relating to a German-American choral society located in Baltimore; MS. 2799, Severn Teackle Wallis Autograph Album, autographs of prominent Marylanders, including Maryland legislators and the mayor of Baltimore, held at Fort Warren prison in Boston during the Civil War; and MS. 2807, Carroll's Island Club, various records of a duck hunting club located in the Chesapeake Bay area.

CORRECTION

In the last issue of the magazine a review of Bob Arnebeck, *Through a Fiery Trial: Building Washington, 1790-1800*, mistakenly stated that the book lacks an index. The published volume (our reviewer read bound page proofs) does indeed include an index, and we regret the error.

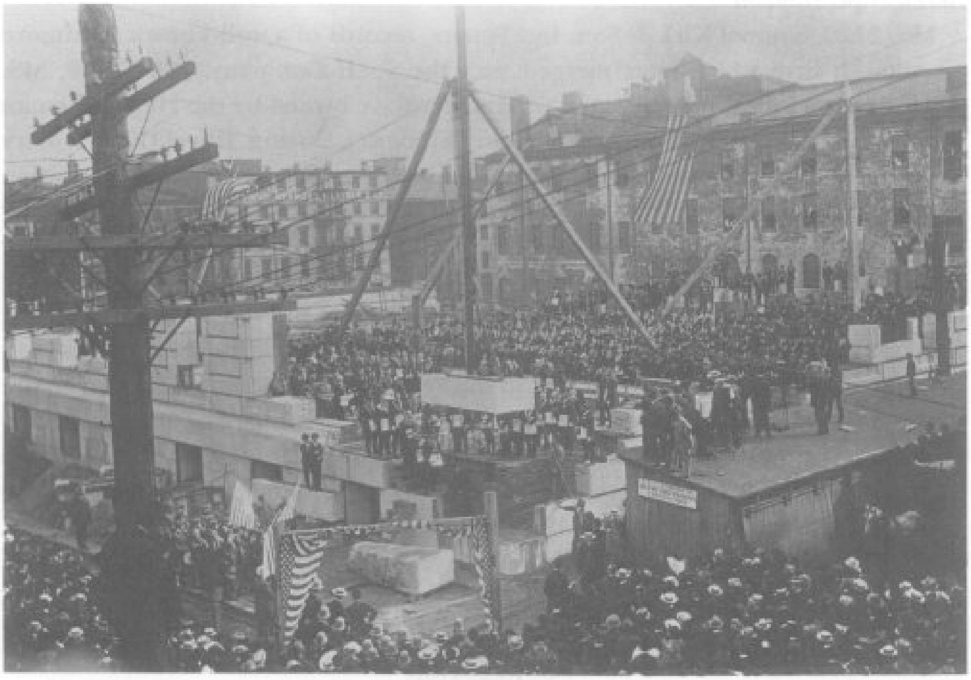
Picture Puzzle

Test your knowledge of Maryland history by identifying the location and date of the photograph below. What building is being constructed? Send your answers to:

Picture Puzzle
Prints and Photographs Division
Maryland Historical Society
201 West Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland, 21201

The fall 1991 Picture Puzzle shows Fayette Street looking east from St. Paul about 1914. The Baltimore courthouse, built in 1930 and still standing, can be seen at left, and the old post office, razed in 1930, appears in the distance.

The following people correctly identified the summer 1991 Picture Puzzle: Mr. John Riggs Orrick, Mr. William Hollifield, Mr. Earl G. Davis, Mr. Albert L. Morris, Dr. Lenora H. Nast, and Mr. C. Gordon Kirwan, Jr.



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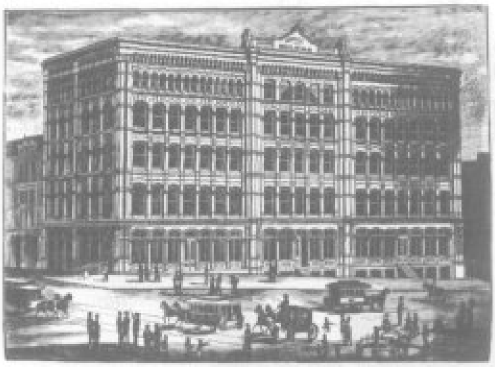

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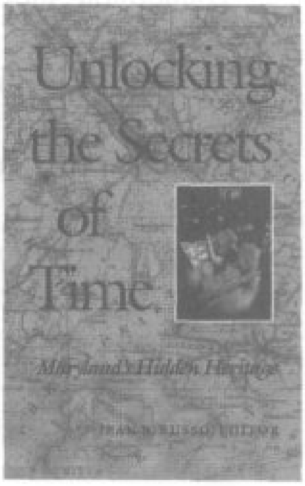

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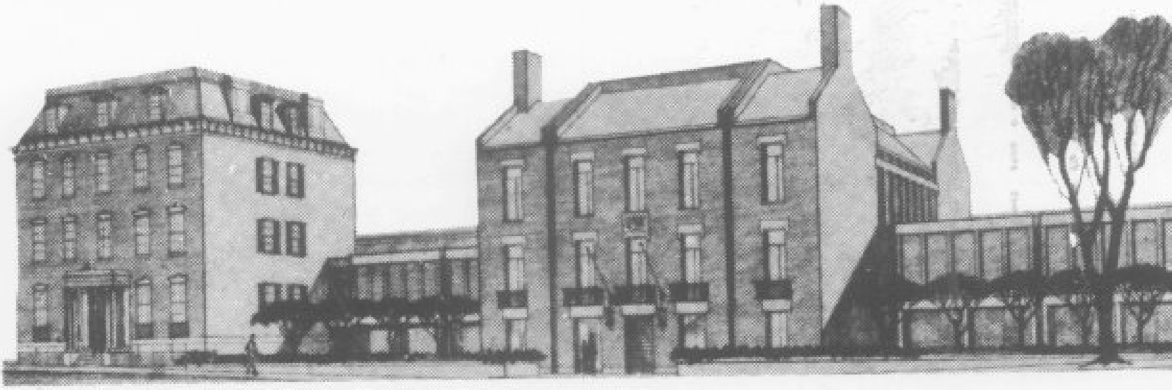

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